

DE GRUYTER

Nicholas Horsfall

**VIRGIL,
›AENEID‹ 6**

A COMMENTARY

VOLUME 1: INTRODUCTION, TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Nicholas Horsfall
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by

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For Licia Ricottilli

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Preface

There was a time when I was to write a short *Aeneid* 6 for undergraduates, not for de Gruyter, and in collaboration. That was not how it turned out. There was a crisis (indeed, there were three, even four, but I refer here to the serious one), and Michiel Klein-Swormink appeared *ex machina*, punctual to the minute: since that moment, or rather, after the seven minutes during which this book was without publisher, his support has been magnificent. There were even funds for my ms. to be copy-edited, and I was allowed to recruit for the task an old classical friend; she was a great pleasure to work with and I am deeply grateful to her for helping me to begin to *see* on the printed-out page missing spaces, extra commas, and their many equally unwanted friends and relations. But her aid was withdrawn (not by me, not by de Gruyter) before the task was completed and, alas, I came to discover that her eye had not been anything like flawless. No names, therefore, and not much reproach, for I remain most grateful for that first, bracingly educative but consistently good-humoured, phase of editorial reading.

Though I have changed publisher, it seemed best to aim at producing a commentary closely similar in form and scope to those on *Aen.*7, 11, 3 and 2. I explain *infra* (xxxvii) an easy decision not to repeat earlier notes on standard features of Virgilian language, grammar and versification.

I should also state at the outset that this commentary is not aimed at the needs of undergraduates (needs which reviewers have indeed reproved me for failing to take into account). Keith Maclennan (whom I have known about as long as I have known *Aen.*6) has recently met those needs most creditably (vd. xxvii)¹ and what follows is aimed specifically at the scholarly reader. What my own views of the after-life might be is altogether irrelevant to this book and I have taken care to reduce to a minimum terms (such as ‘Purgatory’) which might be thought too rich in Judaeo-Christian connotations.

1 The short commentary on *Aen.*6 by P. Johnston (Newburyport, MA 2012), aimed at American undergraduates, became available too late for me to make any detailed use of it; its use not of Conte’s text, nor of Mynors’ nor of Geymonat’s, but of the old Hirtzel OCT anyway sounds alarm bells. Tarrant’s *Aen.*12, at an altogether higher level, I have been able to digest with rather more care, as indeed it deserves.

This book has been written for choice in a remote area of the northern Highlands. By no means a ludicrous place to write a Virgil commentary. Consultation e.g. of my bibliography to *Sibyl(s) and Cave(s)* or to the concluding Gates may suggest that I was not starved of secondary literature. But over the four years of composition, from compiling my first bibliographical lists, to sending off the complete and corrected ms, I have received much assistance, for which I shall try to express my thanks, carefully and gratefully.

When Prof.P.Ceccarelli (then Durham) discovered that my access to e-material was limited and irregular, she and Prof.G.Boys-Stones (whom I have never even met) excogitated the ingenuous solution of having me appointed an honorary professor in their department. Of a sudden, all doors (well, *nearly* all) are flung open (cf. nn. on **53, 81** for the evidently miraculous character of doors opening thus; I do not seek to identify the divinity involved) and I am deluged with resources and information. But it should not be imagined that the commentator (even one now so surprisingly Hon.Prof.Dunelm.) has but to clap his hands for the genies to arrive bearing photocopies and e-files. To transform my original bibliography (about 550 items) into accessible texts entailed my asking a number of friends/acquaintances/colleagues for substantial help; behind the list that follows here, I know that there lurks another of those that have no memorial, of the exact and industrious research assistants who did much of the actual xeroxing.

In the first instance, then, my thanks to J.N.Bremmer (Groningen), Jim O'Hara (Chapel Hill), Tony Corbeill (UKansas), Irene Peirano (Yale), Aldo Lunelli and Roberta Nordera (Padova), Marco Fernandelli (Trieste), Gunhild Vidén (Göteborg), Debra Nousek (UWO) and Niklas Holzberg (München).

In addition, Robert Lister (London), Paola Ceccarelli (*supra*), Maria Luisa Delvigo (*infra*) and Irene Peirano (*supra*) have been wonderfully helpful in those moments of crisis when I discovered that I needed urgently a copy of some obscure note, or had either mis-recorded or indeed simply left out some item in the bibliography. I should add that I checked my own references; this substantial task was made almost tolerable by Robert Lister's generosity in bestowing on us an excellent espresso coffee machine, and remaining errors are entirely my own fault.

I cannot claim to have a full list of everyone who sent me a relevant article while I was writing on *Aen.6*; for books, on the other hand, I do hope that my list is complete. Some are recorded in footnotes in the commentary, but I here mention with gratitude Sandro Barchiesi (Arezzo), Maria Luisa Delvigo (Udine), Annette Giesecke (UDelaware), Aldo Setaioli (Perugia; over a long period), G.Mazzoli (Pavia), Massimo Gioseffi (Milano),

C.S.Kraus (Yale), K.Coleman (Harvard), H.Flower (Princeton), A.Deremetz (Lille), Marion Lausberg (Augsburg), D.R.Shanzer (Vienna), R.Nauta (Groningen), L.Fratantuono (Ohio Wesleyan), G.W.Most, G.B.Conte, Giulia Ammannati (Pisa), M.D.Reeve, E.Gowers, L.Coo (Cambridge), Anna Chahoud (TCD), S.J.Harrison (Oxford), E.A.Schmidt (Tübingen), Eva Nilsson Nylander (Lund; a reference I should not have missed earlier) and E.Kraggerud (Oslo).

In the course of writing the eight hundred pages that follow, I have corresponded with a lot of people: with some, to clarify a small technical point, with others on a copious and regular basis, with some in urgent pursuit of specific information: I am delighted to have been able to consult Tony Cutler (State College, Penna.; not even so great an authority on ancient ivory was able to solve the problem of the Gates, alas), Lin Foxhall (Leicester), Antonio Stramaglia (Cassino), Carlo Franco (Venice), Danny Richter (USC), Elisa Romano (Pavia), Barbara Boyd (Bowdoin), G.B.Conte (*supra*) and J.N.Bremmer (*supra*). Prof. Sallie Spence (UGeorgia) arranged most generously for the swift publication of several articles in *Vergilius* (a series of supplementary appendices, if you will, to this volume), while the invaluable contribution of Dr. Paolo Caputo (Cumae, above ground) I shall record more fully *ad loc.* (*SC*, after the bibliography).

I was delighted to be invited to deliver lectures on aspects of *Aen.6* at Pisa, Milan, Pavia, Verona, Padova, Venice and Durham, where enthusiastic audiences provided me with occasions on which to try harder to clarify my thoughts.

Naturally, correspondence with Irene Peirano, Sallie Spence, Emily Gowers, Michele Lowrie, Annette Giesecke, Marco Fernandelli, Jim O'Hara, Joe Farrell, Cliff Weber and G.B.Conte has reminded me energetically but very pleasantly that there has been some progress in the criticism of Latin poetry since the days of Norden and Heinze, or even since I first opened *Aen.6*, ca. 1960. No-one shares the responsibility for such typos and wrong references as may remain: some effort (vd. *supra*) has been spent on their extirpation; inevitably, it is never enough. The same, one discovers, applied to Norden; that is some slight comfort, but no real consolation.

Cliff Weber, Maria Luisa Delvigo, Annette Giesecke, Robert Lister, Ursula Gärtner and, on a most generous, supportive and agreeable scale, Bonnie MacLachlan (UWO) have corresponded with me over recent years sometimes, but not always about *Aeneid 6* and related topics. They have been most tolerant of my hellish (or Elysian) preoccupations and have done much to cheer me up. A good part of the time Biscuit (who was used to a place in my prefaces) used to sleep noisily in one or other of the filing baskets, and much appreciated that the work of correction eventually created more room for her above the unchecked pages. Her successor, Crumbs,

could not have done more in the time available to impede the task of checking references, while Ailsa has rung the bell (my school did not have bells; this is all quite new) to remind me of the very pleasant life beyond my study door.

One of the valued friends who had read drafts of my earlier commentaries has now withdrawn on grounds of age. Another possible reader unfortunately viewed instalments of my ms. only as a failure to adhere to the tenets of a particular ‘school’ of Latin studies, so we could not continue; I remain *nullius addictus iurare in uerba magistri*. And my beloved teacher, and reader, Margaret Hubbard has died. To her teaching, and love, over the years I am far more deeply indebted (as I explained in the preface to my *Aeneid* 7) than I could begin to express here. Towards the end of checking the references, I also received the news of Antonie Wlosok’s death; she shared the dedication of my *Aen.2*, and I wrote there about the decades of our friendship; not all that long ago she muttered to me, of *Aen.2*, ‘but you *did* choose your words carefully. Thank you’; I shall not repeat those words here¹. The world is colder and greyer without her². But my generous friend Jim O’Hara has continued to read acutely what I write, as he started to do in the mid-90s, with undeviating generosity, and pugnacity, both greatly appreciated.

Licinia Ricottilli (Verona) and I have been friends for rising twenty-five years: Virgilian gestures nourished our earliest conversations, but her hospitality, generosity, good humour and sense of friendship rapidly rescued our relations from any risk of pedantry. It was, however, her matchless courage and dignity in the face of personal tragedy that established her incontestable claim to this paragraph and to the dedication of this book as an expression of my regard and love.

Nicholas Horsfall
Dalnacroich, Wester Ross,
March 17, 2013.

1 But see the obituary notice forthcoming in *Vergilius* 59 (2013).

2 As it is thanks to the recent death of David West, a dear friend, an admirable Latinist, a poet in his prose, and a splendid expositor of the Golden Bough, as will be seen.

Introduction

(1) *Aeneid* 6

The commentator who passes directly from *Aen.2* to *Aen.6* might be thought rather greedy for the best and only the very best; indeed the writing and the matter are truly far superior to what we find in e.g. *Aen.11*. It was easier to write tersely of the great, but essentially simple, virtues of *Aen.2* than it is to do the same for bk.6, but 6 is a triumph for all that. Other readers, even many other readers, will have been bored and depressed by the sequence Misenus-Palınurus-Deiphobus, as I can remember being at the age of thirteen. I can only say that the more advanced reader who does not take the care necessary to understand sufficiently how very different those three episodes are actually deserves a dull time of it. If there is a weak passage in the book, it is rather the antechamber of the Underworld, full of abstractions and monsters: other readers may find more of a lift to the spirit in **273-289** than I do. **886-901** may be the only passage in the book that the poet never brought up to a high standard of finish. It is easier to say that I vastly admire *Aen.6* than to explain exactly why I so much enjoyed writing a commentary on it, even directly after the great narrative triumphs of bk.2. There are moments of remarkable human interaction: not only Aeneas and Dido, but also Aeneas and the Sibyl, and even, fleetingly, Aeneas and his father (and Deiphobus too, modestly).¹ Actual narrative excitement may be absent, but **255-272** constitute as fine a sustained passage of unnerving and eerie writing as I know in Latin before Apuleius. Virgil's balancing Tartarus and Elysium are magnificent; the latter in particular I have long found peculiarly charming and moving.

After a certain amount of captious criticism in recent years, I might be permitted to say once more that the sequence *Heldenschau*-funeral of Marcellus is an unmatched display of sustained elevation, the more striking because Virgil is so careful to avoid great heights of lexical and stylistic elaboration². In expounding **756-901** I have tried to steer a course between the insistence on blame, criticism and subversion found in some modern studies and the equally objectionable black-shirted devils of ultranationalist patriotic rhetoric. Certainly the funeral of Marcellus was conceived from

1 Charon and the visitors is another matter, being clearly enough conceived as lighter relief.

2 See *Vergilius* 57 (2011), 63-73 on the simple, austere language of **excudent alii**.

the beginning as part of the *Heldenschau*,¹ and is as profoundly successful an antidote to coarse patriotic gloating as one could hope to encounter.

Aen.6 is quite hard work, but all the funerals, religion, eschatology, philosophy are integrated, essential, elevating. Exciting they are not, unless we chance to share, apolitically, even, in the *famae uenientis amor*. The whole is *intellectually* satisfying; one wonders whether *Aen.6* is an ideal text for reading at school, as I had to, twice, half a century ago (see p.631f.). That is no overture to unsheathing adjectives such as ‘slow’ or ‘dull’, altogether inappropriate, if the book is read with due care and thought. Bk. 6 is also massively integrated into the poem's plot and intellectual structure. Aeneas has just been bidden to come and visit the Underworld by his father, as *Aen.* and *Anch.* seem likely to have met at the cult-site at Avernus in Naevius; see *SC*, (18)(d). Compare of course Odysseus' encounter with his mother Anticleia, *Od.* 11.84ff.. The Sibyl already reveals detail of *Aen.*'s future in Italy before he passes below ground (83-97), and *Anch.* will tell him more (890-2), just before he returns to earth. But it is the moral and emotional link between *katabasis* and future that is closest. Here *Anch.* tells *Aen.* that he will expound **hanc prolem...meorum/ quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta** (717f.), and once the exposition is over, V. concludes in his own voice (889) **incenditque animum famaе ueientis amore**.² *Aen.* will both live up to his Trojan ancestry (650, 756) and set in motion (756-9) the Trojans' great destiny in Italy. This nexus of motivations is familiar, but its elaborate development should not be undervalued.

(2) Chronology

Readers should perhaps be reminded that the absolute chronology of 6 is not altogether easy to establish. Consider (i) 794f. **super et Garamantas et Indos/ proferet imperium**. No clues there. (ii) 825 **referentem signa Camillum**. Cf. Prop. 3.11.67 (perhaps of 22) *signa Camilli*. Probably both V. and Prop. re-cast Camillus' achievements (here, note, not the familiar, ‘standard’ ransom but ‘standards’) in the light of the imminent settlement with Parthia (22). (iii) The death of Marcellus, in late 23. It is not clear exactly when this happened (Rice Holmes, *Architect*, 2, 27, n.7), or when the *epicedion* was completed and read, if indeed it was read, to the imperial family (854-6), (3). We have a chronological context, to within a year, but not more precisely. (iv) The *ludi saeculares* were celebrated in 17BC; it has been suggested that the celebration was to have occurred in 23. We may note 69-73 and 792f. **aurea condet/ saecula qui rursus Latio**, but the

1 See (756-846), (1), (2), (854-86) and in particular, Companion, 148.

2 See (756-846), (5), for Virgil's use of ‘genealogical protreptic’.

arguments advanced (vd. notes on those passages) risk circularity and the case for Virgil writing with a projected earlier celebration in mind is altogether inconclusive.

(3) Structure

It seems curious that the topic has not been subjected to closer scrutiny.¹ Unsurprisingly, I find myself in agreement with Otis on the book's main divisions, and prefer therefore not to offer once more a familiar list of scenes here, with the main divisions indicated. Emphasis will be given to the balance between Tartarus and Elysium, to the way in which the finding of the Golden Bough and the funeral of Misenus are interlocked, and to the similar sequences with which Dido and Deiphobus are introduced, as the climactic figures of groups of tragic lovers and warriors.

(4) *Aeneid* 6 and its neighbours.

Bk.5 and bk.6: see E.L.Harrison, *ANRW* 2.31.1 (Berlin 1980), 369-372, S.Kyriakidis, *Narrative structure and poetics in the Aeneid. The frame of book 6* (Bari 1998), 47-74. The complex problem of Virgil's two accounts of Palinurus' death (337-83) appears hardly to affect the smooth passage from bk.5 to bk.6. At the end of 5, the Trojans seem to leave Palinurus unburied on the Italian shore (5.871), near the home of the Sirens, probably, that is, W. of Positano. Aen. sails his ships across the Bay of Naples, and beaches them at Cumae (6.1-2). As for the passage from bk.6 to bk.7, see Kyriakidis, 75-117, Harrison, 372-7. 7.1 *tu quoque* links Caieta to the tombs of Misenus and Palinurus (vd. n. on 7.1). We do need to remember that if we read **limite** at 6.900 (where Aen. sails to Caieta), then 901 may very well be Virgilian.

(5) Language, grammar, syntax, style

I note with mild glee, as I have noted in previous volumes, breaches of the 'school rules' of Latin at 293, 318, 335 and 568.

Likewise I record (for I have been pursuing these usages for a long time) a *genetivus inhaerentiae* at 438 and perhaps 293, and a number of instances of abl. of extension (vd. English index s.v.). But this is not a book rich in those oddities of Virgilian syntax, which Woldemar Görler has done so much to explain in the last thirty years; one notes the exchange of objects at 847f., the double enallage of 268 (and a fair number of in-

1 See Otis, 281f., Quinn, 160f. R.S.Conway in *Essays and studies presented to William Ridgway* (ed. E.C.Quiggin, Cambridge 1913), 1-26 hardly addresses the topic, despite the title of his paper, 'The structure of the sixth book of the Aeneid'.

stances of enallage recorded in the index). At some fifteen points in the translation I indicate doubt about V.'s precise sense; I note for the moment the difficulties present at **96, 473f., 601,**¹ **761, 870f.** But we may remark, not for the first time², a certain careful avoidance of grand language and extravagant syntax: the subject matter provides ὕψος enough and much of the writing is really quite bald and plain.³ There are seven similes (which include the great visual riches of Cybele's crown (**784-7**) and Dionysus' return from Nysa (**804f.**)); add the *Kurzvergleich* of **471**. On V.'s imagery I comment at **5, 77, 87, 255, 273, 305, 339, 424, (494-547), (ii), 626, 734, 736, 742, 746, 806, 830, 881**. Readers will be right to notice a marked reluctance on my part to identify V.'s use of 'technical language' (vd. index s.v.); all too often what is claimed as such (by Serv. and his more recent followers) proves to be no more than the use of some standard expression to describe an action whose character might be described as technical. V. uses frequent colloquial idioms, to characterise speech as being indeed speech and to maintain our strong sense of the Parade of Heroes as a lively, informal occasion, described, after all, in a speech: see **32, 97, 368, 389, 463, 505, 687f., (756-845), (6), end, 760, 777, 824, 852**. For debts of language and manner to earlier authors, I summarise:

(i) Homer **4, 6, 52, 58, 83, 164, 165, 172, 179-82 (!), 219, 221, 226, 228, 232f., 275, 287, 304, 305-8 (!), 309-12 (!), 336, 377, 413 (bis), 426-547, 440, 456-66, 462, 492, 501, 547, 549, 596, 597, 625-7 (!), 649, 654, 657, 687, 765, 767, 787, 788, 797, 893-6 (!)**.

(ii) Aeschylus **343, 438, 534, 589**.

(iii) Sophocles (?) **310, 707-9**.

(iv) Euripides **25, 30, 362, (?) 395, 456-66, 469, 511, 899**.

(v) Hellenistic (Call., AR, Lyc.) *SC*, **(18)(c), 72, 85, 88, 94, 204, 258, 300, 309-12, 360, 398, 422, 438, 443, 453-4, 460, (548-636), (i), 558, 659, 707-9**.

(vi) Naevius No unchallengeable verbal echoes.

(vii) Ennius⁴ **16, 58, 86, 87, 91, 104, 114, 125, 130, 160, 165, 179-82 (!), 180, 185, 194, 210, 238, 261, 264, 300, 301, 322, 328, 332, 337, 345, 364, 365, 366, 376, 382, 383, 391, 394, 408, 424, 436, 486, 493, 494-547, (iii), 516, 520, 555, 556, 559, 562, 573, 585, 591, 592, 605, 625-7 (!), 638, 649,**

1 Where a tricky use of the relative may be the easiest solution to a famed nexus of problems.

2 See xiii, n.2.

3 Note a certain partiality for archaisms: **15, 74, 76, 97, 180, 196 (bis), 200, 221, 276, 277, 315, 316, 321, 322, 326, 383, 437, 463, 465, 468, 481, 505, 508, 537, 544, 554, 615, 628, 670, 690, 697, 730, 747, 756, 766, 791, 826, 839, 868, 890**.

4 See *EV* 2, 314, Guillemin, *Quelques injustices*, 11f., Wigodsky, 40-75, *passim*. Comm. will be found to challenge frequently No.'s suggestions of Ennian origin.

680, 683, 707-9, (724-51), (1)(a), 727, 728, 729, 735, 746, 748, 780, 781, 787, 799, 820, 821, 828f., 833, 841, 842f., 846 (!), 856, 878, (893-6), (8), 895.

(viii) Pacuvius¹ 195, 413, 586, 692.

(ix) Accius 240, 462, 598, 599f., 715, 720, 743, 879.

(x) Cic.*Carm.* 49, 159, 442, 463, 495, 556, 573, 599, 640, 675, 715, 725, 833.

(xi) Lucretius 4, 5, 6 (!), 7, 11, 16, 19, 23, 55, 101, 118, 127, 134, 141, 149, 159, 167, 168, 185, 191, 220, 227, 237, [242], 262, 267, 271, 273, 274-87 (!), 276, 278, 287, 289, 294, 308, 373, 420, 435, 472, 518, 522, (548-636), (iv), 551, 578, 592, 596, 598, 599f., 600, 625-7 (?!), 640, 659, 662, 675, 706, 715, 718, 719, 721, (724-51), (1)(a), 724, 725, 726, 728 (!), 730, 732, 734, 759, 760, 761f., 772, 785 (*bis*), 797, 833, 847, 849, 851.

(xii) Catullus 20,² 21, 23, 27, 29, 30, 48, 55, 78, 83, 99, 185, 206, 210, 213, 223, 255, 258, 259, 266, 283, 297, 300, 335, 363, 367, 428, 436, 442, 455, 457, 460 (!), 468, 494-546, (iii), 617, 649, 692, 695, 705, 787, 792, 800, 813, 872.

(6) Sources

(A) By scene; I offer a summary of V.'s probable sources, scene by scene, in order to convey a sense of the intellectual and historical texture of the book:

(1) The presence of the Sibyl at Cumae: attested by Varro in his famous list, *SC*, (12); the possibility of autopsy by the poet is a palpable absurdity, for she had fallen silent long since, and we have no idea what the local guides might have displayed to Augustan visitors as her cave.

(2) It seems that in Naev. *Aen.* consulted the Cimmerian Sibyl, a close neighbour of the Cumaean (*SC*, (18)(d), (k)); that said, *Aen.*'s visit to the Cumaean Sibyl here has no real history, except in the context of V.'s use of seers and oracles in the *Aen.*: see Horsfall (1989), 14, O'Hara, *DOP*, 54ff..

(3) The Cretan scenes on the doors of Apollo's temple (14-41): an aetiological frame, and deep indebtedness to Cat.64 and to *Buc.*6. Armstrong, 7-12 refers to *Od.*11 and to Hes.fr.145MW. But no clear sense emerges of how V. became so pervasively familiar with the Cretan myths. Note that Pasiphae reappears at 447, in a passage where many suspect the use of mythological manuals (vd. (426-547), *ad fin.*).

(4) It should have been clear that caves/forests and sulphureous lakes are scenic elements that one would expect to find in the description of an orac-

1 The influence on Roman tragedy in bk.6 is notably slight.

2 A remarkable concentration on the temple doors, thanks to the importance of Crete in Cat.64.

ular cave, by the conventions governing the portrayal of such spots. *SC*, (7), (8).

(5) I explained in 2006 (comm., *Aen.*3, pp.477-9) that V.'s description of the Sibyl's madness was a construct of peculiarly simple origins, and easily identifiable details: see *SC*, (1)-(4) for traditional metaphors, conventional physiological details and the regular association of mantic and manic. Note too the solidly Varronian palm-leaves, *SC*, (5).

(6) The Golden Bough (136-48): *Aen.* is led to the GB by two doves, exactly after the manner of foundation-portents in Greek foundation-narratives. It is hardly true to say that we do not know what V.'s source was for the GB; Meleager's reference to Plato's poetry as 'the golden bough' is clearly part of it, and serves as a 'signal' for the many later Plat. references in the text. A great many other rods, staffs, branches, etc. will have to be taken into account. That Virgil's description is illustrated by a simile rich in botanical nonsense is no surprise and matters not at all. It is just possible that AR's description of the discovery of the Golden Fleece bears on V. here and the GB may have seemed to many Roman travellers to be the mythological equivalent of a conventional talisman. Nothing suggests that it was an ancient element of legend or folklore, whether at Cumae or elsewhere, but clearly there is a lot of reading behind it.

(7) Misenus: solidly enough located in the antiquarian tradition about the companions of *Aen.* (DH, Strabo; about Varro, nothing can be said). Upon which foundations, an Homeric burial (after those of Elpenor and Patroclus), with some influence also from AR's Idmon, is constructed.

(8) Felling the forest (179-82): V. has *Il.*23 and Enn. at his back, and elaborates moving tributes both to ravaged nature and to the superseded magnificence of early Latin epic.

(9) The ritual detail of Misenus' funeral is a typical blend of Greek and Roman usage (which indeed are sometimes identical). Significant for V.'s approach to repeated ritual scenes (there are at least four funerals in *Aen.* on which I have commented) and therefore of relatively slight importance for understanding V.'s reading for *this* book. Note the particularly illuminating detail of (233) Misenus' oar and trumpet on his burial-mound.

(10) Piacular sacrifice (236-63): again a complex amalgam, largely understood, of Greek and Roman usage. Here it is at least as unclear as elsewhere how Virgil acquired a working knowledge of so much ritual detail, apparently precise in its particulars. Whether the outcome really is a coherent whole is more than we can tell.

(11) The *Katabasis*: vd. *infra* p.xxii, (i). Note in particular the significant details 260 (ghosts and metal; see too 291), perhaps from the *Katabasis* of Heracles, 264 (noise made, or not made, by ghosts) and 256-8, signs of the

arrival of Hecate, a familiar *congeries* of the indications of a deity's arrival; see too nn. on **53** and 3.90-2.

(12) Abstracts, monsters, personifications: V. seems to have used in particular Homer, Hesiod, Empedocles, Lucretius, not to mention Ennius and Cicero; vd. **268** and **274-89**. One cannot exclude that some author of a mythological manual might have collected a large number of personifications; the alternative is to suppose that V. here undertook a notably wide range of reading for results rather modest in scale.

(13) The tree of dreams (**282-4**): of completely uncertain origin. An element in the image seems to be missing, for V. does not tell us with what the dreams that cluster on the branches of this *arbor infelix* are identified. Italian folklore or a scrap of curious learning from an Hellenistic botanical text? We have no idea.

(14) Charon (**293-304**, etc.): it is at least clear enough that C. is described after the manner of Hellenistic realism (artistic and literary) in the portrayal of the working man. It is not clear whether V. was working with an earlier portrayal specifically of Charon in mind.

(15) Rivers of the Underworld: The river over which Charon carries the visitors is not clearly identified at the outset (**295-336**), but emerges later as being the Styx. The rivers of the Underworld are Homeric (**295**, **297**); their interrelationship is not offered for us to understand on any map outside the imagination.

(16) The groups of those not allowed to cross the Styx (**306-8**): V. starts from Homer and elaborates with touches from epigram and epitaph; note in particular **308 iuvenes ante ora parentum** and see further (21) *infra*, a passage quite closely related.

(17) Theology of the hundred years of wandering (**329**) for the unburied dead: roots possibly in Plato and those whom Serv. calls the *physici* ('natural scientists').

(18) Palinurus (**337-83**): the name and narrative expansion (in whatever direction) in the antiquarian/historical tradition, filling an obvious narrative need. Much of the narrative is Homeric, in part apparently mediated through Naevius, and containing elements both from AR and (of great interest) epigram: see (148), (1)(a), (337-83), (3).

(19) Charon and the Styx: see (14), (15) *supra*.

(20) Cerberus (**417-25**): a standard mythological figure, of particular importance in the *Katabasis* of Heracles. See (120), (2)(c), **395**. Virgil's Cerberus is ludicrous, engaging, but not necessarily for that reason Aristophanic in origin.

(21) *Mors immatura*, **426-449**; see (426-547), *ad fin.*, and **434** for suicides. V. lists in four sections the categories of the inhabitants of the *lugentes campi*. Here, V. distinguishes those who died in infancy, falsely condemned,

by suicide, from love. Such groups are listed from Hom. (*Od.*11.38-41) onwards, to Plut., Lucian and beyond. What they do appear to have in common is that their lives are in some way *incomplete*, that they all fall short of the old Hom. idea (see **434**) of their predestined span, for a whole variety of reasons. Plut. and Virgil do seem here to have a common source (n. on **427 infantum**). Note also the ἄωροι in epitaphs (**426-547**), and the epitaphic theme of lovers reunited in death (**474**). Nothing unusual or un-Virgilian about a lost principal source, enriched by further reading, especially when that reading is characterised by familiarity with the manner and language of epitaphs (cf. n. on 7.1). As for possible consultation of mythological manuals, at least in the case of those who died for love, see n. on **448-9**. V.'s victims of love as *comparandae* for Dido are a bizarre, disunited collection.

(22) Dido (**450-76**): V. reworks his own narrative in *Aen.*1 and 4 with brilliant use of the Ajax of *Od.*11.

(23) The warriors (**477-93**): compare the **bello clari** of **478** with **648-55**, especially the **magnanimi heroes** of **649**. For **660**, see (28).

(24) Deiphobus (**494-547**): V. makes what he can of the slender references in Hom. and the Cycle to D.'s union with Helen: see (**494-547**), (i)(b). For the detail of D.'s mutilation, I suggest that V. was only too probably influenced by the horrors and outrages current at Rome during his own younger years.

(25) Tartarus (**548-627**): a complex structure, rather less disorderly and confusing than many have supposed, once it is realised how many disparate types or groups of sinners are involved. The presence of Salmoneus and Phlegyas is largely a Virgilian innovation. 'Modern' groups of sinners are attested from Polygnotus and Plato (see n. on **601-7**) on, while the mythological sinners derive from a long literary tradition, reaching back to Homer and Hesiod. Phlegyas' warning (**619f.**) seems to derive from Pindar but his admonitory role within Tartarus is apparently (though perhaps not definitively) Platonic. The anonymous sinners of **621-4** are arrestingly modern and have a strong feeling of Ciceronian language and of the period immediately after Caesar's death. See n. on **608-15** for the literary history of 'modern' sinners in Tartarus.

(26) The hundred mouths (**625-7**): Homer enriched by Ennius and Hostius (and possibly Lucr.), not to mention G.. The whole is then cast as a declaration of Callimachean brevity and omissiveness.

(27) Leaving the Golden Bough (**628-36**): insoluble; conceivably a gesture of deep eschatological significance, but quite as likely to be no more than a conventional act of the dedication of a thank-offering.

(28) Elysium (**637-78**): heavily Orphic, indeed the closest convergence between V. and that tradition: vd. the **ob patriam pugnando uulnera passi** of **660**, where I note affinity with the Bologna papyrus and with early Greek

elegy (the theme of *pulchra mors*). Compare Elysian athletics (642f.), as in Pindar, and music (644) as in *Ar.Ran.* and the Bologna papyrus. To 662 **quique pii uates et Phoebos digna locuti** the Bologna papyrus comes close (quoted at 644); likewise 663 **inuentas aut qui uitam excoluere per artis**. The motif of doing good to others (664) is solidly anchored in Plato. See further (B)(iii), *infra*.

(29) Finding Anchises (679-723): Aen. and the Sibyl are told by Musaeus where Anch. is to be found. This role of question-and-answer is a typical element in *katabasis*-narratives: see (120), (f), n. on 669.

(30) *Principio caelum* (724-51): see below, B (ii), (iii), (iv) for Platonic, Orphic and Ciceronian elements, and (8), p.xxvi for a schematic presentation of V.'s oscillating eschatological doctrine.

(31) *Heldenschau* (756-846): here, I say very little, for the literary texture and intellectual (and indeed visual) origins of these lines have hardly anything to do with those of the rest of the book. See (756-846), (7), though we should not forget that some structural influence of *Il.3* and *Od.11* has been detected.

(32) *Excudent alii*, (847-53):¹ a singular measure of V.'s grounding in the finer points of rhetoric, at once a *Priamel* and a *synkrisis*. V. also reveals intimate knowledge of the themes expected in a *laus urbis*.

(33) The *epicedion Marcelli* (854-86): V. has in mind both *epicedion* and monody (close in manner to *e.*), and blends consolation and panegyric. If there is one text that V. has particularly in mind here, it is the *teichoskopia* from *Il.3*.

(34) *Aëris in campis latis* (887): V. is probably thinking here of the 'astral immortality' of the soul, with which he was evidently familiar from, above all, *Cic.Somnium*.

(35) The Gates (893-6): see *Od.19.560-9*. I have not been able to find a coherent explanation of V.'s meaning in these verses, let alone a proof of what interpretation of Hom.'s verses V. was following here.

(B) By type; I offer a second summary, this time arranged by source:

(i) Narrative (Homer, and perhaps Polygnotus): naturally, in the first place, Odysseus' visit to the dead in *Od.11*, though of course he does not pass into the Underworld, though some detail of it is known to the author (633-5). Knauer's discussion and results (107-47) are not repeated here. For verbal debts, see (5)(i) above (xvi). For larger thematic and structural links, see 1-13, *SC*, (20), 38, (83-97), 94, (148), (1)(a), 260, 337-83 (Palinurus), 432, (440-9), (3), (456-66)(Dido), (494-547), (1)(a)(Deiphobus), (637-751) (Elys-

1 Over and above comm., see *Vergilius* 57 (2011), 63-73.

ium), **695-8**, **(724-51)**, **(1)(b)**, **(756-846)**, **(7)(a)(i)**(*Heldenschau*), **(893-6)** (Gates). But Hom. does not supply V. with the *meat* of bk.6, for Aen. and Od. encounter the Dead in entirely different spatial contexts. For Aen. underground, for Tartarus and Elysium, entirely different reading is necessary, and it is not easily identified,¹ though attention is naturally drawn to the *Katabaseis* of Heracles and Orpheus, **(120)**. We do not know if V. ever saw Polygnotus' great painting in the lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi, and if he did, whether it influenced him.

(ii) Plato:² see **107** (rivers of the Underworld), **(120)**, **(1)(a)**(revelation of secrets (*)),³ **(136-48)**, **(2)(a)**(Plato as poet and the Golden Bough), **329** (the hundred years of waiting), **426-547**,⁴ **431** (courts in the Underworld), **474** (lovers reunited in death), **540-3** (parting of the ways)(*), **548-636** the relationship of Plato to the Bologna papyrus(*), **558** (punishments in Tartarus), **566** (judges in the Underworld), **595-600** (Tityos), **608-15**, **621-4** ('modern' sinners in Tartarus); **609** (striking a parent), **613** (perjury), **618f.** (warnings to those passing through the Underworld), **620** (importance of justice), **623** (sexual aberrations), **645** (Orpheus in the Underworld), **656** (meadows of Elysium), **661** (status of the purified)(*), **664** (evergetism in V. and Plato), **667** (Musaeus), **678** (view from a great height), **705** (river of forgetfulness), **707** (flight of the soul)(*), **(724-51)**, **(1)(b)**(p.485, n.1), for Platonic elements in V.'s doctrine of the soul, **761** (order of deaths assigned by lot), **887** ('astral immortality').

(iii) Orphics: There is a lot of probable Orphism in *Aen.6*; now that the Orphic fragments are edited by Bernabé, our pursuit of this element of *Aen.6* should be less liable to injudicious speculation. I do not here distinguish systematically between V. and Orphic texts (e.g. the Bologna papyrus) and V.'s affinity with texts (Plato⁵, Aristophanes, Pindar) in whom probable Orphic elements have been detected. See **(120)**, **(1)** for the points of contact which make likely V.'s use of a *katabasis* of Orpheus; **258** (**procul o procul este profani**, a 'signpost' that what follows will be Orphic doctrine), **266** (possible element of 'Orphic' secrecy in **fas**), **(548-636)**, **(iv)** and **(v)** (traditional punishment staff and modern sinners), **558** (possible Orphic view of punishments), **563** (**casto** and Orphic view of purity), **566**, **571** (Rhadamanthus; just possibly); **576** (just possibly the Hydra), **601-7**, **(iii)**, **608** (fratricide), **612** (connivance in adultery), **618f.**

1 See R.J.Clark, *PCPS* 47 (2001), 104.

2 Dodds' commentary on the *Gorgias* is remarkably useful to the commentator on *Aen.6*.

3 I mark with an asterisk items for which an origin of Orphic character seems particularly likely.

4 *Plat.Rep.*10.615C: infants, suicides, pious and impious

5 For Plato, cf. further, p.485, n.1

(warnings uttered in Tartarus), **620 (iustitiam)**, **638** (joyous Elysium), **640**, **656** (meadows), **640f.** (wondrous light), **644**, **657** (song), **645** (Orpheus; possibly used as 'signpost'), **657** (symposium of the just), **661** (purity), **661 (sacerdotes casti)**, **662 (pii uates)**, **662** (culture-heroes) with **663 (uitam excoluere per artes)**, **667** (Musaeus), **705** (memory and forgetting), **707-9** (bees), **732**, **734** (clogging 'corporeality' of the body), **743f.** (the 'good-plus'), **758** (the wheel).

(iv) Stoics: see **95 tu ne cede malis**, **105 omnia praecepi**, **376 fata deum**, **724-51**, **(1)(b)**, **726f.** (*anima mundi* and *intus*), **727 agitat**, **730 igneus... uigor**, **731 seminibus**, **737** diseases of the soul, **747** functions of the soul, **aurai simplicis ignem**.

(v) Cicero:¹ see **887** on *Somn.Scip.*² and astral immortality, **678** on viewing from a height and **(724-51)**, **(2)** for eschatological outlook (and further bibl.), **(756-846)**, **(7)(a)(ii)**. See also *ib.*, **(7)(a)(vi)** for *exempla* and the Parade of Heroes, **(756-846)**, **(7)(a)(ii)** for *synkrisis*, for *synkrisis* in **6** and Cic. *TD*, see further **(847-5)**, **(3)**, **(4)** and for immortality as reward in Cic.*Rep.*6.13, see **718**, **889**.

(vi) Jewish texts. I know of no passage of *Aen.*6 for which a Jewish origin may safely be claimed.³ That was not the case with *Buc.*4. Here, then, see the detailed case against Jewish influence advanced at **320** (deictic pronouns), **428** (alleged condemnation of abortion, which this v. is not); **658** (the river allegedly cascading down from on high; a likely misunderstanding of the Latin); **678** (view down from on high); **792** (Golden Age). It is disappointing to find that the excitement aroused in Radermacher and Norden by the discovery of an Ethiopic version of *IEnoch* has never been subjected to dispassionate analysis. Bremmer's energetic attempts to push 'progress' beyond the point reached by Norden only intensifies the reader's sense of unease. All the stylistic and thematic detail for which a Jewish origin has been claimed emerges, after careful study, as material that could every bit as easily, if not more so, have reached the poet by other, more conventional, routes and the role of *IEnoch* remains no more than an hypothesis, by which this reader remains altogether unpersuaded, however exciting it once seemed, and however distinguished its proponents once were.

1 See R.Lamacchia, *RhM* 107 (1964), 261-78, Horsfall, *Prudentia* 8 (1976), 80. *EV* s.v. disappointing.

2 For the importance of *Somnium* as myth, cf. Solmsen, *ORVA*, 220, Pöschl, *Dichtkunst*, 26.

3 See nn. on **320**, **792f.** and Horsfall, *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 67-80.

(7) Inconsistencies:¹ Before we face the ‘classic’ question of V.’s picture of the afterlife, it may also be useful to consider specifically the inconsistencies identified in bk.6. Hyginus’ comments² reveal a clumsy and trivial mentality, an unhappy and unproductive approach to *Aen.*. The mere collection or accumulation of inconsistencies on their own was never, from Hyginus to Henselmanns (diss. Würzburg 1913), an illuminating approach. But we can now³ thread a path rather more easily between confusion or inconsistency in V.’s sources, ‘mere’ authorial oversight, and studied Alexandrian allusion to conflicting versions. Not to mention the apparent conflict between **146** and **211**, which led many recent readers of *Aen.*6, especially in the USA, to the conclusion - one that I do not at all share - that *Aen.* was *not* the leader chosen by destiny and beloved of the gods. Study of the many inconsistencies in bk.6⁴ leads to some strong suspicions about sources and methods, but to no general conclusions. A. Cartault’s account (1, 429-530) reveals V. as some lazy, uncaring blunderer, another view that I am reluctant to share.⁵

If we pass by, with no qualms of conscience, the small apparent differences between the Sibyl’s instructions and *Aen.*’s funeral rituals for Misenus and piacular rites performed before entering the Underworld (see **(148)**, **(2)**), the inconsistencies I have gathered seem to fall naturally into five categories:

(i) Disorder or inconsistency in Virgil’s localisation of certain figures: the Eumenides are spread generously about the Underworld: **280**, **375**, **555**, **571**. Cerberus seems to move slightly between **395f.** and **417**, though that

1 See *Alambicco* 98f. (mediocre), Henselmanns, 20-22, Sabbadini (bks.1-3), li-liiii, B.Otis, *TAPA* 90 (1959), 165-70, F.Norwood, *CPh.*49 (1954), 16f., Butler, 10-18, R.D.Williams, *ORVA* 200-2, O’Hara, *Inconsistency*, 91-3, A.Setaioli, *EV* 2, 95f., M.Squillante Saccone, *ib.*, 957.

2 It is at the very beginning of frs. 7 and 8GRF that we first encounter the assertion ‘Virgil would naturally have corrected this had he lived’. Clearly critics who accept this view should avoid the quayside at Brindisi.

3 I am most grateful to Jim O’Hara for energetic discussion of these problems over a long period; his *Inconsistency* (2007) at last makes it possible to view the topic without a sense of exasperation, for it is now evident that inconsistency is a fascinating problem, vastly more complex than the mere solving of puzzles.

4 I record with no sense of triumph that my list is longer than Henselmanns’ (xxiv-v).

5 **601ff.** is to many a chaotic maelstrom, ornamented with lacunae, emendations and transpositions. I detect an exciting and unprecedented level of complication in the groups or categories of souls present in Tartarus. Readers are invited to decide for themselves between such conflicting views.

is trivial. Theseus is present at **122f.** and **617f.**; unsurprisingly V. does not choose definitively between the many stories about his adventures in the Underworld. The Hydra is present at both **287** and **576f.**; there are warriors at both **478** and **660**, and judges at both **432** and **566**.

(ii) Some of the ways in which individual figures are categorised appear at least rather odd: we may wonder why Sychaeus, who is not a victim of love, is at Dido's side (**473f.**). The victims of love are a particularly untidy group (**442ff.**), blameless and scandalous, suicides and not.

(iii) V.'s conception of the Underworld; oscillation in his conception of certain details: are rivers sluggish, or rough and noisy? See **323**, **551f.**. Just how (in)corporeal are the dead in the Underworld? See n. on **306**; there is no clear answer. No more is it clear whether the Underworld is silent or filled with the twittering of the ghosts (vd. n. on **264**). And V.'s view of the need for a drawn sword in the Underworld is not perfectly coherent (n. on **260**).

(iv) Ways in which the history of certain figures is conceived: at **718** V. seems to refer to versions in which Anch. reaches Italy alive; **760-6**, the well-attested problem of the Alban/Roman descendants of Aeneas; **815**, apparent conflation of Ancus Martius and Serv. Tullius; note also possible conflation of Mummius and Aem. Paullus (**838**).

(v) In several ways, the action seems not to be smoothly organised, both (a) between bk.6 and other books and (b) within bk.6:

(a) Principally, Palinurus, on whom see (**337-83**), (**2**); note also Deiphobus (**494-547**), (**1**)(c). Aen. refers to Lavinium (**84**), but has not yet been told about it.

(b) The awkward division of prophetic roles between Anchises and the Sibyl (vd. **890**); the movements of Aeneas and the Sibyl are not quite clear after the end of the *Heldenschau* (**886-901**); contrast **520 curis** with **513 gaudia**; the question of whether the Sibyl has actually visited Tartarus (**565**).

(8) Eschatology

We have seen that the texture of *Aen.6* is extremely complex and that V. writes with a certain disregard (for a variety of reasons, it appears) for precise harmonisation of detail and elimination of inconsistencies. It is perhaps even more important always to bear in mind that we have no reason to suppose that V. is attempting to present some sort of creed or system of belief: that would make the centre of *Aen.6* entirely unlike everything else he wrote.¹ The book is a magnificent construct, a masterpiece of es-

1 I do not cite Solmsen's two papers very often, because I do not believe that *Aen.6* conveys an eschatological system.

chatological *bricolage*,¹ just as one should expect from study of the poet's methods elsewhere. You do not find an orderly system of belief, because you have no business to look for it. The rich range of inconsistencies, on the other hand, is precisely what one might expect of V.'s vast and complex reading here; they do not suggest a poet aiming at the presentation of some *system*. Bk.6 offers a construct, not a creed. It may help to reduce the book's eschatological 'statements' to schematic form, in support of the drastic view just proposed:

Present state 305-36 inops inhumataque turba (325)	For how long centum errant annos (329)	Ultimate destination admissi stagna exoptata reuisunt (330) , across Styx
337-83 Palinurus 426-93 lugentes campi (441) 494-547 Deiphobus	requires burial 365f. no indication of any kind whatever no indication of any kind whatever permanent ²	will receive burial 380
548-627 Tartarus, both mythol. and 'modern' victims 637-78 Elysium	no indication of any kind, though one might wish to argue by analogy with Tartarus the doctrine of rebirth (719-21)	
703-23 animae quibus altera fato/ corpora debentur (713f.) ³ 724-51 After death (735), animae purged of accretion of sin by poenae . Purging by the elements (735-42) suffered by those destined to rebirth 743-7 pauci ⁴	a thousand years (748) longa dies 745	on their way back into human bodies fire 745-7

1 Something of the same, F.Norwood, *CPh* 49 (1954), 15. Perhaps rather surprisingly, I find her exposition (*cit.*, 15-26), like Otis' (*TAPA* 90 (1959), 165-79). still valuable and illuminating.

2 See **598 immortale iecur**; **617 immortale sedebit**

3 It is not clear who they are, or through what stages, if any, they have come since their death.

4 The sense of these verses is peculiarly difficult; see n. on **743-4**, with summary *ad fin.*. The problems of articulation make it impossible to offer readers any reliable reconstruction of some eschatological system, to which the authority of Virgil's name can honestly be lent.

(9) Commentaries

Of the virtues and vices of quite a lot of *Aeneid*-commentaries, I offered an evaluation at *Aen.3*, xliii and *Aen.2*, xxv. Mme Guillemin's *Aen.6* (Paris 1936) is fully as good as her *Aen.2*, though of course stronger on datives than Orphism. Keith Maclennan's commentary (Bristol 2006) is careful and courageous, more helpful, as it should be, on grammar than on philosophy.¹ Of Fletcher² (repr. Oxford 1948), Roland Austin remarked (Henderson, 66) "of course it is a bit thin", a view already expressed in 1939 (*ib.*, 157); one is surprised to find the occasional lucid and thoughtful note, but they do exist. Austin's³ own *Aen.6* (Oxford 1977) was written under the burdens of failing health and energies and was published posthumously. He wrote in 1971 "I had come to the conclusion that *Aen.6* is really beyond me" (Henderson, 66). In the event, he asked Colin Hardie to supply the topographical notes, and surely should also have called for similar aid on matters philosophical and religious. By 1977, Austin's natural conservatism had taken on a rather sad and tired appearance, but a fair number of notes still bear witness to his admirable grasp of Virgilian style and language.⁴ The weaknesses of R.D.Williams⁵ commentary (*Aen.1-6*, Macmillan, London 1972) are shown up rather brutally by the difficulties of bk.6. H.E.Butler⁶ aimed a good deal higher, and aspired (Blackwells, Oxford 1920) to offer in some sense a patriotic critique of Norden.⁷ That it failed to be, and its many inaccuracies (vd. 748 for perhaps the worst) make it an untrustworthy guide. On Norden, like some great eagle among a flock of little, chattering garden birds, I comment more fully elsewhere (647-56).

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- 1 He is particularly good at not sidling away from difficulties and is notably careful in labelling case-usages; I have often been most grateful for the care he took.
 - 2 See N.Hopkinson in (ed.) R.B.Todd, *Dictionary of British classicists* 1 (Bristol 2004), 325, J.Henderson, 'Oxford reds' (London 2006), 156-8.
 - 3 See Henderson, 37-69 (fascinating, charming) and S.Döpp in Todd, 1, 35f.
 - 4 For the splendid level of his *Aen.2*, see my comm. on that book, xxvi^f.
 - 5 See R.Rees in Todd, 3,1063f. and Henderson, 152-5.
 - 6 See M.E.Irwin, in Todd, 1, 138f., N.Annan, *The dons* (London 1999), 324. Irwin's account is not satisfactory: is B.'s *Aen.6* what she describes falsely as 'the school text of Virgil's *Aeneid*'?
 - 7 Not in the same class as Mme.Guillemin's acute and amusing *Quelques injustices...*(Chalon-sur-Saône 1920)

(10) Text¹

As in my previous commentaries, the bold letters **O**, **P**, and **T** in the margins of the text printed refer to notes on orthography, punctuation and text proper in the commentary. There are in fact quite numerous and singularly challenging problems in the text to be discussed: (I select) **122** (punctuation), **484** (with **529**), **601-2**, **664**, **743-4** (punctuation), **806**, **900**, **901**, **852**, in the face of a correct statement of the evidence ceases to be any sort of textual problem, though the lexicographical issue remains interesting. G.B.Conte's new Teubner ed. of *Aen.* (see my rev., *RFil* 140 (2012), 197-206) provides ample information on a number of newly collated c.9 mss. and is unprecedentedly precise in its reporting of the many hands at work in **M**, **P** and **R**. His apparatus also includes quite a lot of textual comment and discussion, often highly provocative. In general, I am more often surprised and grateful than entirely convinced. For my position on matters of orthography, I refer again to a brief discussion at *SCI* 24 (2005), 225-8.

1 See bk.7, xxvi-xxxi for dating of mss, etc.

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1 I only write Apld. (Apollodorus) for the author of *Bibl.* and [Apld.] for author of *Epit.*, to distinguish them, not because either work was written by an identifiable Apld. (cf. Cameron, *Greek mythogr.* xii, 103, M.Rossum-Steenbeek (426-547), 26): c1BC-c.3AD.

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1 It should be noted that Maiuri never published his grotto fully; Dr.Caputo informs me that, despite prolonged enquiries, he has found no trace of the material excavated and there is no reason to think that it survives.

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- SC *The Sibyl(s) and the cave(s)*(2, 70-84)
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Praemonenda

A few general remarks about the scope and methods of this commentary are perhaps called for.

(1) This is not a short book; if I had repeated old notes about grammar, syntax, prosody, lexicon, metre, etc., it could easily have been much longer; the price of avoiding that increase is that readers will have quite often to refer to my earlier commentaries for such material.

(2) Bold type is used only for references within *Aen.*6; **157** in a note elsewhere in the book may refer either to that line or to the note on it¹, and users will soon realise which it is advisable to consult first. Line-references without book number are to bk.6; this short cut is, I hope, only used when there is no possibility of confusion.

(3) In the text of bk.6, **O** in the margin indicates a note in the commentary on a point of orthography; likewise, **P** for punctuation and **T** for text. Often enough I have written **O** when others might write **T** or *vice versa*. Given the availability of Mynors, Geymonat, Geymonat (ed.2) and Conte, I have dispensed with a conventional apparatus, but give full details of mss. when and as necessary for the argument. Garcia's availability seems limited outside Spain. Bold type is used to indicate the capital mss..

(4) The bibliography that precedes contains most of the short titles and abbreviations used; those used within the individual sections are to be found in the introductions to those sections. (**156-263**) - e.g. - after an author's name signifies that the full title is to be found in my note on those lines (i.e., in this case, the introduction to that section of narrative).

(5) Reviewers of my earlier volumes of commentary have continued to censure the critical element in my refs. to *EV*, though the system and the need for it have been explained before. The point remains important: though in some sense conceived and indeed hailed as a standard work of consultation, the *EV* is a mixed bag: its quality oscillates from the palmary to the pitiful and by that view, which has proved shocking to some, I stand unabashed. I rarely comment explicitly on the merits of an article, but '*EV* 4, 1234' indicates a piece less good than '*EV* 4, 1234 (Pecorino)'; that, in turn, is less good than a reference to the author including initial or Chris-

1 I try to distinguish between **893-6** (the four vv. themselves) and (**893-6**), my discussion of them.

tian name. These three categories all fall between (infrequent) explicit condemnation or commendation. Elsewhere in the commentary I have occasionally offered a very brief comment (e.g. *male*, *bene*) on the quality (conspicuously low, or high) of some earlier discussion. Bibliography as used here is not a mechanical accumulation, but a working tool, sharpened by the exercise of judgement: the mere counting of heads does not come into it.

(6) In the bibliography, I do not include e.g. Schwyzer, KG, *ANRW*, DS, Mommsen, *StR.* and the like; those who are able and willing to consult them will certainly know such standard abbreviations. The same goes, naturally, for the even more familiar *TLL*, *OLD*, PW. Unlike some recent commentaries, I do not list what edition I use of every author that I quote. Note that I cite Naev. *Bell. Poen.* from Strzelecki (Teubner, 1964), Ennius, *Ann.* from Skutsch, *Enn. trag.* from Jocelyn, the other fragments of tragedy and comedy from Ribbeck, ed.2 (1871, 1873; ed. 3 lacks the index), Lucilius from Marx, Cicero's poetry from Soubiran (Budé, 1972), the fragments of Latin poetry usually from Courtney, with cross-references to Hollis, where appropriate; Blänsdorf too is sometimes to hand (I do not enter into questions of merit), Varr. *RD* from Cardauns (*Abh. Mainz* 1976). *Festschriften* and collected papers I cite in as brief a form as possible; likewise the *acta* of academies by *SB* or *Abh.*, followed by the name of the city, not the region, while the *Klasse* is usually *Phil.-Hist.* or the like.

(7) I am no lover of (superfluous but mysteriously fashionable) bibliographical detail. Fifteen years ago, a friend reproved me, in print, for using a 'citation-style' without titles, too difficult for many of today's students (*Vergilius* 43 (1997), 135). That is a sad reflection on those students', and on their teachers', capacities. This book is not aimed at young readers unwilling to master their subject's traditional conventions, nor at Virgilians who would prefer me to waste paper; no need whatever to offer full details of Burkert's *Greek religion* or *Homo necans* whenever I cite those works. Lastly, when an article or a series of articles is cited without author's name, they are my own: much repetition of a familiar name would have been most distasteful. My bibliography is fairly full up to the end of 2011; thereafter, thanks to my friends' kindness, I have been able to add a number of more recent items. Much recent work has proved a disappointment; I have not forgotten the friend who wrote to me about footnotes: "editors want to cut everything. They want a text appealing to the large audience." An entirely mistaken line of reasoning: you used to learn even when you disagreed, and you learned too how to construct a balanced, informed, helpful footnote. *Sed haec prius fuere*. When I refer to a discussion or bibliography as full, I mean 'full', not 'comprehensive'; 'comprehensiveness'

is an unhelpful myth, and not even the list offered at the beginning of *SC* is, or is aimed to be, complete.

(8) For Homeric *Realien* I use old Seymour rather than *Arch.Hom.*, for it is the text of Homer rather than the archaeological find that is important for Virgil. For myth, Robert remains unmatched, and the labour of burrowing through the unindexed parts has been delightful and rewarding. Increasingly, I have cited Ro., and PW, and sometimes Gruppe in addition. *NP* I have not found very helpful. I have learned to appreciate the great merits of Gantz' *Early Greek myth* and the need to steer a course between minute and complex mythological variants has sent me not to *LIMC* but to the old German reference works and Gantz. In the end, I decided to do without a couple of weeks in London with *LIMC* heaped in front of me; I hope that that decision proves justifiable.

(9) As already explained in the Preface (p.x), this commentary has been written entirely in a rather remote corner of northern Scotland, but modern tools of communication and research do a great deal to mitigate any inconveniences in this arrangement, though it may be that the latest published dissertation or conference publication is slightly less likely to be cited than some arcane discussion of the 1890s. My debt to helpful friends and booksellers is very great (again, vd. Preface), but I ask comprehension, as before, for any inevitable delays and holes. Plainly bad books and articles it is usually easier to pass by in silence than to cite and criticise; the expert will note some significant omissions in my references. The same applies to books or articles unobtainable without prolonged effort or friendship with the author. I have sometimes even cited translations when originals were slow in the finding. The acute and informed reader will be able to reconstruct where the limits of my patience lie. Maltby's *Lexicon of... etymologies* I only neglect because for V. it is superseded by O'Hara. Readers will discover that I have spent a good deal of time with Plato and *SVF* in hand, but I can only declare my (evident; not, though, total) lack of familiarity with the recent bibliography on Greek philosophical texts about the afterlife.

(10) A lot has been written about *Aen.6*; I am appalled by the bulk of some of my bibliographies; pre-war items and items from obscurer journals are sometimes omitted to save space and effort; items that I simply lost when gathering bibliography have usually been recovered later. If I lived nearer a first-class university library, this would probably be a much longer book; in Wester Ross, it is easier to split wood than to pass hours in the contemplation, or composition, of tiresome polemic.

(11) For all of *Aen.6*, I wrote (as I had done in my previous volumes) the first draft of a commentary, section by section, without consulting my predecessors; that draft was then vastly improved by consulting (*inter alios*

et multos) La Cerda, Heyne (and Wagner), Forbiger and Conington (more than Benoist), Henry, Page (more than Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke), Norden, Pascoli, Guillemin, Maclennan and Austin. For the experience of working for three years in the shadow of Norden's great book, see pp.647-56.

(12) Between Heracles and Hercules, between Ulysses and Odysseus, when discussing a Latin author writing devotedly in the Greek tradition, satisfactory decision is hardly possible; I can only apologise for my inevitably inconclusive solutions.

There is an appalling abundance of quasi-learned general articles about *Aen.6*; I ran a rapid eye over those to which I had immediate access, and even when I discovered another couple of pages of such references did not consign them to immediate oblivion. But I have tried to be careful not to clutter my pages with such peripheral and ephemeral work and have resisted the temptation to list the ten worst articles (or indeed books) on these lines that I have encountered.

Text and Translation

Sic fatur lacrimans, classique immittit habenas	T1
et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris.	T
obuertunt pelago proras; tum dente tenaci	
ancora fundabat nauis et litora curuae	
praetexunt puppes. iuuenum manus emicat ardens	5
litus in Hesperium; quaerit pars semina flammae	
abstrusa in uenis silicis, pars densa ferarum	
tecta rapit siluas inuentaue flumina monstrat.	
at pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo	
praesidet horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,	10
antrum immane, petit, magnam cui mentem animumque	
Delius inspirat uates aperitque futura.	
iam subeunt Triuiae lucos atque aurea tecta.	
Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna	
praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo	15
insuetum per iter gelidas enauit ad Arctos,	
Chalcidicaque leuis tandem super astitit arce.	
redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacrauit	
remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.	
in foribus letum Androgeo; tum pendere poenas	O 20
Cecropidae iussi (miserum!) septena quotannis	
corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.	
contra elata mari respondet Cnosia tellus:	
hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto	
Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis	O 25
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae,	O
hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;	
magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem	
Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resoluit,	
caeca regens filo uestigia. tu quoque magnam	30

So he spoke in tears, and gave the fleet free rein; eventually they glided in to the Euboean coast of Cumae. They turned their bows seawards; then, with firm-holding teeth, the anchors began to secure the ships and the curved hulls fringed the shore. An eager band of young men (5) leaped forth on to the shore of Hesperia. Some of them sought out the seeds of fire hidden away in the veins of flint, some scoured the thick woodland, lairs of beasts, and displayed the water they found. But obedient Aeneas made for the heights over which lofty Apollo presides, and, at a distance, a fearful cave, the fastnesses of the tremendous Sibyl (10), upon whom the prophet of Delos breathes mind and spirit and reveals the future. Now they draw near the groves of Trivia and the gilded dwellings.

Daedalus, as the story goes, fleeing from Minos' realm, dared commit himself to the sky on swift wings (15) and by an unfamiliar path his wing-strokes bore him to the chill North; eventually he stood hovering over the Chalcidian citadel. Restored to this earth, he first dedicated to you, Phoebus, his oar-pair of wings and built a massive temple. On the doors was the death of Androgeos, then the children of Cecrops ordered to pay the penalty (20) every year, the bodies of seven of their offspring (o the pity of it!). The urn stands with its lots drawn. Facing this scene stands the land of Cnossos, raised from the sea. Here is the destructive love for the bull, and Pasiphae mated by craft and the Minotaur, that bastard offspring, her bi-form progeny (25) is there, that record of unhallowed love. Here is the toil of that palace, and its insoluble maze. Daedalus himself solved the building's puzzle and trickery, directing [Theseus'] footsteps by means of the thread. You too, Icarus, would have a great place in this mighty work (30),

partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare. haberes. bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro, bis patriae cecidere manus. quin protinus omnia perlegerent oculis, ni iam praemissus Achates adforet atque una Phoebi Triuiaequae sacerdos,	35
Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi: “non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit; nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuuenos praestiterit, totidem lectas ex more bidentis.”	T
talibus adfata Aenean (nec sacra morantur iussa uiri) uocat alta in templa sacerdos.	40
Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum, quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum, unde ruunt totidem uoces, responsa Sibyllae. uentum erat ad limen, cum uirgo “poscere fata tempus” ait; “deus ecce deus!” cui talia fanti ante fores subito non uultus, non color unus, non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum, et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque uideri nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando	45
iam propiore dei. “cessas in uota precesque, Tros” ait “Aenea? cessas? neque enim ante dehiscent attonitae magna ora domus.” et talia fata conticuit. gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit ossa tremor, funditque preces rex pectore ab imo:	50
“Phoebe, grauis Troiae semper miserate labores, Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras tot maria intraui duce te penitusque repostas Massylum gentis praetentaque Syrtibus arua;	55
	O
	60

did grief allow. Twice he tried to portray his son's fall in the gold, and twice a father's hands dropped. They would have gone on and read right through the scenes, did not Achates, sent on ahead, arrive, and with him the priestess of Phoebus and Hecate (35), Deiphobe daughter of Glaucus, who spoke as follows to king Aeneas:

“This moment does not call for such sightseeing. Now it would be preferable to slaughter seven beeves, and as many hoggetts, duly selected.”

So she spoke to Aeneas and the Trojans did not delay (40) obedience to her ritual instructions. The priestess summoned the Trojans to the lofty temple.

A great face of the Euboean crag is hollowed out into a cave; into it, there lead a hundred entrances and as many door(way)s, and from here there pour as many voices, the Sibyl's replies. They had reached the threshold, when the virgin priestess spoke.

“It is time to call for the expressions of destiny (45). Here is the god; the god is here.” As she spoke thus before the doors, suddenly her expression and complexion changed, and her hair did not stay neat, but her breast heaved and her wild heart swelled with madness. She was larger to behold and did not sound human, since she was inspired by the closer presence of the deity (50). “Trojan Aeneas, do you delay, do you delay over your vows and prayers? Before that the great mouths of the thunderstruck abode will not open.”

She spoke thus and fell silent. A chill shiver ran through the Trojans' hard bones and their king poured forth prayers from the depths of his heart (55):

“Phoebus Apollo, you who have always pitied the Trojans' painful toils, who directed Paris' hands and arrow into the body of Aeacus' grandson, with you as guide, I have entered so many seas, girding mighty lands, the deeply set-back tribes of the Massyli and the lands bordered by the Syrtes (60).

iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras;	P
hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta.	P
uos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti, dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens gloria Dardaniae. tuque, o sanctissima uates,	65
praescia uenturi, da (non indebita posco regna meis fati) Latio considerare Teucros errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae.	
tum Phoebos et Triuiam solido de marmore templum instituiam festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.	T 70
te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris: hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata dicta meae genti ponam, lectosque sacrabo, alma, uiros. foliis tantum ne carmina manda, ne turbata uolent rapidis ludibria uentis;	75
ipsa canas oro". finem dedit ore loquendi.	
At Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro bacchatur uates, magnum si pectore possit excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.	80
ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum sponte sua uatisque ferunt responsa per auras: "o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periculis (sed terrae grauiora manent), in regna Lauini Dardanidae uenient (mitte hanc de pectore curam), sed non et uenisse uolent. bella, horrida bella, et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno. non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles, natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno	TT 85
	90

Now at last we are taking hold of Italy's escaping shores; thus far may Troy's luck have followed us. It is right for you too to spare the people of Pergamum, all you gods and goddesses in whose path stood Ilium and the great glory of Dardania. You too, most hallowed priestess (65), informed in advance of the future, grant (nor do I ask for a realm not owed by my destiny) to the Trojans a settlement in Latium, along with their wandering gods and the buffeted deities of Troy. Then I shall found a temple of solid marble to Phoebus and Trivia, and festival days in Phoebus' name (70). You too does a great sanctuary await in my realm, for your responses and the secret revelations spoken to my people I shall place there and, kindly Sibyl, I shall set over them chosen men. Just do not consign your responses to leaves, lest they be disturbed and fly as playthings for the lively winds (75). I beg you to chant in person."

He made an end of speaking. But the seer, not yet in thrall to Phoebus, raved monstrously in the cave, to try if she could cast the mighty deity from her breast. All the more did he wear her frenzied mouth, compelling her savage spirit and moulding it by his pressure (80). Now the hundred great doors of her abode opened of their own will and bore the seer's answers through the air:

"You are finally rid of the great dangers from the sea (but those graver dangers of the land await you); the Dardanians will reach the realm of Lavinium (put that concern from your breast)(85), but they will not also be glad to have come. I behold dreadful wars and the Tiber frothing with abundant blood. You shall not want for Simois, Xanthus or Dorian camp. A different Achilles is now born for Latium, himself likewise of a divine mother. Nor shall Juno ever stand back from dogging the Trojans (90):

usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraueris urbes! causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris externique iterum thalami.	
tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, qua tua te Fortuna sinet. uia prima salutis (quod minime reris) Graia pandetur ab urbe.”	95 T
Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit, obscuris uera inuoluens: ea frena furenti concutit et stimulos sub pectore uertit Apollo.	O 100
ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt, incipit Aeneas heros: “non ulla laborum, o uirgo, noua mi facies inopinawe surgit; omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.	105
unum oro: quando hic inferni ianua regis dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso, ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora contingat; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.	T 110
illum ego per flammam et mille sequentia tela eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi; ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat,	T
inualidus, uiris ultra sortemque senectae. quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem, idem orans mandata dabat. gnatique patrisque, alma, precor, miserere (potes namque omnia, nec te	115 O
nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis), si potuit manis accersere coniugis Orpheus Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris,	PO 120

with what peoples, what cities of Italy will you not in critical circumstances then plead in supplication. Once more the cause of your troubles will be a foreign bride for the Trojans, once more a foreign marriage. Do not surrender to disaster, but rather do you go forward more boldly (95) the way your fortune permits. Your first path to survival (as you hardly imagine) shall open from a Greek city”.

With such words from out of her cave the Sibyl of Cumae chants her awful riddles; her voice booms in the cave as she mingles truth with falsehood. Such reins does Apollo shake as she raves (100), such goads does he wield beneath her breast. When her madness first eased, and her raving voice fell silent, the hero Aeneas began:

“These toils, virgin Sibyl, have no new aspect, in them arises no surprise. I have foreseen everything and gone over it all previously in my mind (105). One thing I beg: since this is said to be the doorway of the king of the Underworld, and this the murky swamp where Acheron is flung back, may it be my lot to advance to see my beloved father's face. Will you please teach me the road and open the sacred gates. Him I snatched away on my shoulders through the flames and a thousand pursuing spears (110) and carried off from the midst of the enemy. He followed my course, endured all the seas in my company and bore all the threats of sea and sky, feeble as he was, beyond the forces and lot of his old age. Yes, he did also speak and give me instructions to seek you out and approach your entrance (115). Be kind, I beg you, take pity on son and father, for you have all such powers and Hecate to very good effect placed you in charge of the groves of Avernus. If Orpheus was able to summon the spirit of his wife, trusting to his lyre and its tuneful strings (120),

if Pollux rescued his brother by means of an alternating death and passed down the road again and again. Why should I mention great Theseus, why the great son of Alceus? I too am descended from almighty Jupiter.”

Thus he spoke and kept hold of the altar.

Then the seer spoke: “Son of a divine line (125), Trojan, son of Anchises, the descent to Avernus is trouble-free and the doorway of dark Dis stands open day and night, but to turn back your course and emerge to the airs above, *this* is the task, *this* the toil. There have been a few, loved by a favouring Jupiter, or raised to the skies by the blaze of their valour (130) and offspring of the gods, who have succeeded. Forests fill everything between and Cocytus gliding in its curves surrounds it. But if you have such a longing, such a desire in your mind twice to swim in the pools of Styx, twice to see black Tartarus, and if you actually *want* to take pleasure in this mad undertaking (135), listen to what must be accomplished first. A bough, golden in its leaves and yielding twigs, is concealed upon a dark tree. It is said to be sacred to the Juno of the Underworld and it is concealed by an entire wood; through the dark valleys, the gloom hides it away. But it is not granted to descend into the hidden places of the earth (140) before one plucks from the tree its golden-haired harvest. This the lovely Persephone has laid down as the offering to be borne to her. When the bough is torn away, a second, likewise of gold, is not wanting and the branch goes into leaf of the same metal. So seek it out in the lofty depths of the forest with your eyes and when it is found, pluck it with vigour, by due ritual (145), for it will come away easy and willing if destiny summons you. Otherwise, you will not be able to get the better of it by any force or detach it by any hard edge of iron. What is more, the lifeless body of a friend of yours (alas, you do not know who) is lying there and pollutes the entire fleet by its death (150),

dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes. sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro. duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt. sic demum lucos Stygis et regna inuis aspicies.” dixit, pressoque obmutuit ore.	T 155
Aeneas maesto defixus lumina uultu ingreditur linquens antrum, caecosque uolunt euentus animo secum. cui fidus Achates it comes et paribus curis uestigia figit. multa inter sese uario sermone serebant,	160 T
quem socium exanimum uates, quod corpus humanum diceret. atque illi Misenum in litore sicco, ut uenere, uident indigna morte peremptum, Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter aere ciere uiros Martemque accendere cantu.	T 165
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta. postquam illum uita uictor spoliauit Achilles, Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.	170
sed tum, forte caua dum personat aequora concha, demens, et cantu uocat in certamina diuos, aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est, inter saxa uirum spumosa immerserat unda.	175
ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant, praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae, haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulcri congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant. itur in antiquam siluam, stabula alta ferarum; procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex	T 180

while you are seeking out responses and tarry at my doors. Return him to his resting-place and lay him in his grave. Bring black ewes; let them be the first expiation. So you will in the end set eyes on the groves of Styx and the realms impassable to the living.”

She ended, closed her lips and fell silent (155). Aeneas, with his eyes kept down in a sorrowful expression, left the cave and went on, pondering those incomprehensible events in his own heart. The trusty Achates went as his companion, and, with the same concerns, planted his steps. In varied conversation between them, they discussed many matters (160), who was the dead companion that the prophetess meant, which the body to be buried. As they arrived, they saw Misenus above the high water mark, carried off by an undeserved death, Misenus son of Aeolus, than whom no man was more able to rouse his comrades with the brass, and fire warlike spirit with his music (165). He had been the companion of mighty Hector and beside Hector he faced combat, distinguished both with the trumpet and with the spear. After the victorious Achilles deprived Hector of life, Misenus, that most valiant hero, joined Aeneas as a companion, not following any inferior (170). But then, just when he made the waters ring with a conch-shell - the madman! - and with his playing challenged the gods, Triton, in competition, snatched him up, if this is fit to believe, and plunged the man into the foaming sea, between the rocks. So all the Trojans lamented him with a great cry (175), in particular the dutiful Aeneas. Then, weeping, they hastened to perform without delay the Sibyl's orders and were quick to build up the tomb-altar and raise it to the sky. There was a movement into the ancient forest, the deep domain of wild beasts. Pines crash forwards, the holm-oak rings, struck with axes (180),

fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
scinditur, aduoluunt ingentis montibus ornos.

Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.
atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde uolutat 185
aspectans siluam immensam, et sic forte precatur:
“si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia uere
heu nimium de te uates, Misene, locuta est.”
uix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae 190
ipsa sub ora uiri caelo uenere uolantes,
et uiridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros
maternas agnouit auis laetusque precatur: **T**
“este duces, o, si qua uia est, cursumque per auras
derigite in lucos ubi pinguem diues opacat **O** 195
ramus humum. tuque, o, dubiis ne defice rebus,
diua parens.” sic effatus uestigia pressit
obseruans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.
pascentes illae tantum prodire uolando **P**
quantum acie possent oculi seruare sequentum. 200
inde ubi uenere ad fauces graue olentis Auerni,
tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aëra lapsae
sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt, **T**
discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.
quale solet siluis brumali frigore uiscum 205
fronde uirere noua, quod non sua seminat arbos,
et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos,
talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea uento.
corripit Aeneas extemplo auidusque refringit 210

the lengths of ash and the oaks ready for splitting are divided; they roll great manna-ashes from the mountains.

Aeneas too, foremost amid such labours, encouraged his companions, and was equipped with the same tools; he pondered these things by himself in his sorrowing heart (185) as he gazed at the measureless forest and chanced to pray thus:

“If only that golden bough would reveal itself in so great a wood! Since the seer spoke everything, alas, only too truly about you, Misenus.”

He had just finished when a pair of (?) rock-doves (190) happened to come flying through the sky into Aeneas' gaze, and lighted on the green ground. Then the mighty hero recognised his mother's birds and, delighted, prayed:

“Be my guides, if there be a way, and direct your path through the air into the wood where that branch of rich gold shadows (195) the favoured ground. And do you not, my divine mother, fall short at this moment of crisis.”

So he spoke and planted his steps, watching, when they advanced, where they made to go. As they fed, the doves advanced just so far in their flight as the eyes of those who followed could keep them in sight (200). Then when they came to the crater of malodorous Avernus, they soared up swiftly and gliding through the clear air settled in their longed-for perches on the twofold tree, where the contrasting waft of gold shone through the branches, as mistletoe is used, in the woods, in the chill of winter (205), to turn green with new growth, mistletoe that its own tree does not engender, and to gird the smooth trunks with its yellow growth. Such was the appearance of the leafy gold upon the dark ilex, and so the gold leaf rustled upon the dark holm-oak. Aeneas seized it forthwith and eagerly snapped it off (210)

cunctantem, et uatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.

Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucrici
 flebant et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.
 principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
 ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris 215
 intexunt latera et feralis ante cupressos
 constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis.
 pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis
 expediunt, corpusque lauant frigentis et unguunt.
 fit gemitus. tum membra toro defleta reponunt 220
 purpureasque super uestis, uelamina nota,
 coniciunt. pars ingenti subiere feretro,
 triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum
 auersi tenuere facem. congesta cremantur
 turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres oliuo. 225
 postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quieuit,
 reliquias uino et bibulam lauere fauillam,
 ossaque lecta cado textit Corynaeus aëno.
 idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda
 spargens rore leui et ramo felicis oliuae, 230
 lustrauitque uiros dixitque nouissima uerba. **T**
 at pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
 imponit suaque arma uiro remumque tubamque
 monte sub aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
 dicitur aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen. 235
 His actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.
 spelunca alta fuit uastoque immanis hiatu,
 scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
 quam super haud ullae poterant impune uolantes
 tendere iter pennis: talis sese halitus atris 240

as it came slowly away, and carried it to the home of the prophetic Sibyl.

No less in the mean time did the Trojans lament for Misenus on the shore and bear the last honours to his ungrateful ashes. To begin with, they erected a great pyre of resin-rich pine and cut oak. They twined its sides with dark leaves (215) and before the pyre set cypresses of mourning and on top adorned it with Misenus' shining weapons. Some of them hurried to prepare hot water and boiling cauldrons bubbling over the flames. They washed his chill body and anointed it. A lament arose. Then they placed Misenus' limbs, duly lamented, upon the bier (220) and on top, they cast purple clothing, those familiar garments; some of them went close to the mighty bier, a sad task, and turning away, in the ancestral manner, held torches pointing downwards. The offerings of incense were heaped up and took fire, the foodstuffs, and the jars from which the oil had been poured (225). After the ash had fallen in, and the flames died down, they washed the remains and the thirsty (?) clinker with wine; Corynaeus gathered the bones and placed them in a jar of bronze; he likewise purified his comrades three times with fresh water, sprinkling them with a light spray from a branch of (?) fertile olive (230). He purified the Trojans and spoke the last words. But the dutiful Aeneas set up the great bulk of a tomb, and on top his arms, both oar and trumpet, beneath the great mountain, which is now called Misenus after him and holds a name that lasts through the ages (235).

When this was done, Aeneas continued swiftly to carry out the Sibyl's orders. There was a deep cave, hideous with a huge mouth, jagged, protected by the black lake and the darkness of the forest, over which no birds could safely make their way in flight. Such an exhalation (240)

faucibus effundens supera ad conuexa ferebat. [unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornum.]	T TO
quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuuenos constituit frontique inuergit uina sacerdos, et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima, uoce uocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem. supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem succipiunt pateris. ipse atri uelleris agnam Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaue sorori ense ferit, sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, uaccam; tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras et solida imponit taurorum uiscera flammis, pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.	245 O 250 O TT
ecce autem primi sub limina solis et ortus sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moueri siluarum, uisaeque canes ululare per umbram aduentante dea. “procul, o procul este, profani,” conclamat uates, “totoque absistite luco; tuque inuade uiam uaginaque eripe ferrum: nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.” tantum effata furens antro se immisit aperto; ille ducem haud timidis uadentem passibus aequat.	TP 255 260
Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late, sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine uestro pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas. Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram perque domos Ditis uacuas et inania regna: quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna	T 265 T T 270

poured from the black crater and went up to the vault above [wherefore the Greeks called the place Aornus]. First of all, the (?) priest placed four black-backed young bulls and poured wine on their foreheads. (?) (S)he cut the ends of the hairs between the horns (245) and placed them on the sacred flame, a first offering, calling by name upon Hecate, powerful in the sky and in Erebus. Others struck low with their knives and took up the warm blood in dishes. Aeneas himself struck with his sword a lamb of black fleece, to the mother of the Eumenides and her mighty sister (250), and to you, Proserpina, a cow (?) with no calf. Then he improvised altars by night to the Lord of Styx and on the flames set the unmixed flesh of bulls, pouring rich oil upon the blazing entrails.

Look! At the sun's first gateway and rising (255) the ground began to groan under their feet and the forest's ridges to move, and as the goddess drew near, her hounds were seen to howl through the darkness.

“Begone, begone, you uninitiated” cried the prophetess; “withdraw from all the wood. Do you, Aeneas, enter upon your path and draw your sword from its sheath. (260) Now you need courage, now a stout heart.”

So she spoke and made off into the gaping cave; with bold paces he matched his guide as she went on.

You gods who hold sway over the souls, and you silent shadows, and Chaos and Phlegethon, places lying everywhere silent under the darkness (265), may it be right for me to utter what I have heard; may it be with your approval to reveal matters plunged in darkness deep beneath the earth.

They walked a lonely road through the shadows, dark in the night, through the empty halls of Dis and his insubstantial realm, like a journey through the woods under the meagre light of a half-seen moon (270),

est iter in siluis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
 Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.
 uestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci
 Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,
 pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus, 275
 et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,
 terribiles uisu formae, Letumque Labosque; **O**
 tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis
 Gaudia, mortiferumque aduerso in limine Bellum,
 ferrique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens 280
 uipereum crinem uittis innexa cruentis. **T**
 in medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit
 ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia uulgo
 uana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.
 multaue praeterea uariarum monstra ferarum, 285
 Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque bifformes
 et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernae
 horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
 Gorgones Harpyiaequae et forma tricorporis umbrae. **T**
 corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum 290
 Aeneas strictamque aciem uenientibus offert,
 et ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore uitas
 admoneat uolitare caua sub imagine formae,
 inruat et frustra ferro diuerberet umbras. 295
 Hinc uia Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.
 turbidus hic caeno uastaque uoragine gurgis
 aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
 portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina seruat
 terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
 canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma, **T 300**

when Jupiter has hidden the sky in shadow, and dark night has removed colour from the world. In front of the forecourt itself, at the top of Orcus' throat, Grief and vengeful Worries have set their chambers and pallid diseases dwell, as does woeful Old Age (275), and Fear and Hunger, that offers evil counsel, and disgraceful Want, forms of fearful aspect, and Death, and Toil; then came Slumber, sibling of Death, and wicked Delights of the mind, and War, in the gateway facing. Then the Eumenides' iron-built chambers, and mad Discord (280), her viper-filled hair bound with bloody fillets. In the middle, a great, dark elm has spread its limbs and aged branches, which they relate that empty dreams occupy in crowds, and they cling under all its leaves. And also there were many, varied, monstrous beasts (285); Centaurs made their stables at the doorway, along with twin-formed Scyllas, and hundred-armed Briareus and the beast of Lerna, hissing hideously, and the Chimaera, armed with flames, and Gorgons, and Harpies, and the shape of the three-bodied shade. At that point, Aeneas, fearful with sudden alarm, snatched up his sword (290) and showed the unsheathed blade to the oncoming figures. If his well-informed companion had not warned him that it was insubstantial bodiless beings that fluttered there under the hollow appearance of a shape, he would have rushed to belabour the shades to no avail with his steel. From here went the road which led to the waters of Acheron-in-Tartarus (295). Here, gushing with mud and in a huge swirl, the whirlpool seethes and spews all its sand into Cocytus. The fearful ferryman Charon stands by the river, in all his hideous squalor; on his chin there sits an untrimmed mass of white beard; his eyes are unmoving and fiery (300).

sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus. ipse ratem conto subigit uelisque ministrat et ferruginea subuectat corpora cumba, iam senior, sed cruda deo uiridisque senectus.	T 305
huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat, matres atque uiri defunctaque corpora uita magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae, impositique rogis iuuenes ante ora parentum: quam multa in siluis autumnis frigore primo lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto	310
quam multae glomerantur aues, ubi frigidus annus trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis. stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore. nauita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos, ast alios longe summos arcet harena.	315
Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu “dic,” ait, “o uirgo, quid uult concursus ad amnem? quidue petunt animae? uel quo discrimine ripas hae linqunt, illae remis uada liuida uerrunt?”	T 320
olli sic breuiter fata est longaeua sacerdos: “Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles, Cocyti stagna alta uides Stygiamque paludem, di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen. haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est;	325
portitor ille Charon; hi, quos uehit unda, sepulti. nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt. centum errant annos uolitantque haec litora circum; tum demum admissi stagna exoptata reuisunt.”	330

A dirty, knotted cloak hangs off his shoulder. With a pole, he propels his craft; he attends to the sails and transports the bodies in his dark vessel. He is already elderly, but a god's old age is fresh and vigorous. This way the entire crowd was pouring in a rush towards the bank (305), mothers and men, and the bodies of great-hearted heroes come to the ends of their lives, boys and unwed girls and young men set on pyres before their parents' eyes, as many as the leaves in the woods that slip and fall with the first chill of autumn or as many as the birds that mass toward land from the high seas (310), when the cold season chases them over the sea and consigns them to warm lands. They stood begging to be the first to make the crossing and stretched out their hands in longing for the farther bank. The grim waterman admitted now some, now others (315), but others yet he kept cleared away at a distance from the sands. Aeneas was truly amazed and troubled by this crowd and said: "Tell me, virgin, what does this gathering by the river mean? What do these souls want? Or by what criterion do some leave these murky shadows and some sweep over the dark waters under oars (320)?"

The aged priestess replied to him briefly as follows: "Son of Anchises, undoubted offspring of gods, you are looking at the dark swamps of Cocytus and the marshes of Styx, by whose power the gods themselves fear to swear falsely. All this crowd that you see is bereft of help [sc. in burial] and unburied (325), nor is it granted to them to cross the harsh-sounding waters before their bones find rest in the tomb. For a hundred years they flutter and wander about these banks and then in the end they return to the sight of the pools they long for" (330).

The son of Anchises halted and stayed his feet, considering many things, pitying in his heart their unjust lot. Then he saw, unhappy and lacking the honours due to death, Leucaspis and Orontes, leader of the Lycian fleet: them the South wind overwhelmed as they voyaged from Troy over the windy seas (335), rolling under the water both men and ship.

Here was Palinurus the steersman on his way: on the voyage from Libya, while he was observing the stars, he had fallen from the stern, spilt out into the midst of the waves. When Aeneas saw him in his sorrow, and not clearly, either, in the thick darkness (340), he addressed him first, as follows:

“Which of the gods, Palinurus, tore you from us and plunged you into the depths of the sea? Tell me, for Apollo, whom I never before found deceitful, toyed with my wits over this one response, when he prophesied that you would not be harmed at sea, and would reach the land of Ausonia. Was this the trust he promised?” (345)

But Palinurus replied: “Phoebus' cauldron did not deceive you, son of Anchises and my leader, nor did a god plunge me into the sea, for it was the tiller, torn from me by chance with great violence, to which I was assigned, and stuck to, as my watch, as I guided the course (350), that I tore away with me as I plunged. I swear by the cruel sea that I experienced no fear so great on my own account as that dread lest your ship, deprived of her gear, and torn from her steersman, should go down amid such swelling waves. The south wind carried me for three stormy nights over the wide sea (355), blowing strongly over the water. Only just, on the fourth day, raised on the crest of a wave, did I catch sight of Italy. Slowly I swam for the land, and indeed I grasped my safety, had not a savage, well-armed people attacked me, weighed down as I was with a sodden garment and grasping with hooked hands at the sharp peak of the crag (360)

ferro inuasisset praedamque ignara putasset.
nunc me fluctus habet uersantque in litore uenti.
quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras,
per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,
eripe me his, inuicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram 365
inice, namque potes, portusque require Velinos;
aut tu, si qua uia est, si quam tibi diua creatrix
ostendit (neque enim, credo, sine numine diuum
flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem),
da dextram misero et tecum me tolle per undas, 370
sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.”
talia fatus erat coepit cum talia uates:
“unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque seuerum
Eumenidum aspicias, ripamue iniussus adibus? 375
desine fata deum flecti sperare precando,
sed cape dicta memor, duri solacia casus.
nam tua finitimi, longe lateque per urbes
prodigiis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt
et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollempnia mittent, 380
aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.”
his dictis curae emotae pulsusque parumper
corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terra.
Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluuioque propinquant.
nauita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda 385
per tacitum nemus ire pedemque aduertere ripae,
sic prior adgreditur dictis atque increpat ultro:
“quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,
fare age, quid uenias, iam istinc et comprime gressum.
umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae: 390

and in their ignorance thought me a prize. Now the waves hold me, and the winds toss me on the shore. So I beg you by the pleasant light and breezes of the sky, by your father and by your hope in the growing Iulus, rescue me, unconquered Aeneas, from these terrors: either cast earth upon me (365), for you can, and make for the port of Velia, or else, do you, if there is some way, if your divine parent shows you how, for it is really not without divine approval that you are about to plunge into such great rivers and the shallows of the Styx, lend your right hand to this poor wretch and bear me with you through the waters (370) that at least in death I may repose in a quiet dwelling.”

So he spoke and so the seer replied: “How come, Palinurus, that you have this wild desire? Are you, though unburied, going to look upon the waters of Styx and the cruel stream of the Furies? And, though not invited, will you approach the bank? (375) Stop hoping for the divine fates to be altered by your prayers. Listen to what I say, and remember, some solace in your hard situation. For the local people, far and wide through their towns, driven by warnings from the sky, will expiate your bones, will raise a mound and to the mound will offer annual ritual gifts (380), and the place will bear forever the name of Palinurus.”

With those words, his sorrows were dismissed and for a while the woe was driven from his grieving heart and he rejoices in the land that shares his name. So they continued on the journey they had begun and drew near to the river. As the boatman saw them from the waters of Styx (385), passing through the silent forest and drawing near to the bank, he spoke to them first and started off in reproof:

“Whoever you are, who are making your way to my river under arms, go on, say why you are coming and halt your steps. This is the place of ghosts, of sleep and of drowsy night (390);

corpora uiua nefas Stygia uectare carina. nec uero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque, dis quamquam geniti atque inuicti uiribus essent.	395
Tartareum ille manu custodem in uincla petiuit ipsius a solio regis traxitque trementem; hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti.” quae contra breuiter fata est Amphraysia uates: “nullae hic insidiae tales (absiste moueri), nec uim tela ferunt; licet ingens ianitor antro aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras, casta licet patruī seruet Proserpina limen. Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis, ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras. si te nulla mouet tantae pietatis imago, at ramum hunc” (aperit ramum qui ueste latebat) “agnoscas.” tumida ex ira tum corda residunt;	400
nec plura his. ille admirans uenerabile donum fatalis uirgae longo post tempore uisum caeruleam aduertit puppim ripaeque propinquat. inde alias animas, quae per iuga longa sedebant, deturbat laxatque foros; simul accipit alueo ingentem Aenean. gemuit sub pondere cumba sutilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem. tandem trans fluuium incolumis uatemque uirumque informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulua.	405
Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci personat aduerso recubans immanis in antro. cui uates horrere uidens iam colla colubris melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam	P 410 415 420

it is wrong to ship living bodies in the barque of Styx. I took no pleasure in welcoming Heracles upon the water, nor Theseus and Pirithoos, though they were the children of gods and in their might unconquered. Heracles sought violently to cast into chains the guardian of Tartarus (395), from the throne of King Pluto in person, and dragged him off quivering. The other two attempted to carry off the mistress from Dis' bedchamber."

Amphrysian Apollo's seer replied briefly: "Here there are no such deceptions - do not be alarmed - nor do Aeneas' arms bring violence. The vast doorkeeper in his cave (400) is welcome to terrify the bloodless shades with his eternal barking and Proserpina may mind her uncle's doorway unassailed. Trojan Aeneas, famed for devotion and in battle, descends towards his father, into the lowest shades of Erebus. If no spectacle of such great devotion stirs you (405), then at least recognise" - she drew out the bough which was hidden in her garment - "this bough." Charon's heart sank back down from its swelling with rage, and he spoke no more. He revered the awe-inspiring token of the bough of destiny that he had not seen for a long while, turned his dark blue barque and brought it near to the bank (410). Then he cleared off the other souls who were sitting on the long thwarts and emptied the decks: at the same time, he took on board the vast Aeneas. The sewn planks of the hull groaned under the great weight and took in through the cracks ample marsh-water. Eventually, he disembarked seer and hero (415) unharmed across the river amid the shapeless mud and grey sedge. These realms the vast Cerberus caused to echo with the barking of his three throats, as he sprawled hugely in the cave facing them. As the Sibyl saw his hackles shiver with serpents, she tossed him a 'cake', made soporific with honey and drugged meal (420).

obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resoluit fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro. occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto euaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.	425
Continuo auditae uoces uagitus et ingens infantumque animae flentes, in limine primo quos dulcis uitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo; hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis, nec uero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes: quaesitor Minos urnam mouet; ille silentum consiliumque uocat uitasque et crimina discit. proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi proiecere animas. quam uellent aethere in alto nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores! fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae alligat et nouies Styx interfusa coerces.	P P P 430 P T 435 TT
nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem Lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt. hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit secreti celant calles et myrtea circum silua tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt. his Phaedram Procrinque locis maestamque Eriphylen crudelis nati monstrantem uulnera cernit, Euadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia it comes et iuuenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus rursus et in ueterem fato reuoluta figuram. inter quas Phoenissa recens a uulnere Dido	P 440 O 445 450

Cerberus, crazed with hunger stretched his three throats and snatched the 'cake' he was offered. Stretched on the earth, he relaxed his vast back and was spread hugely across all of the cave. With its guardian buried in sleep, Aeneas made swiftly for the entrance of the cave and quickly went on from the bank of the river over which there was no return (425).

Right away, they heard voices and a great wailing as the souls of the infants wept, those whom on the first threshold of life the day of darkness carried away, with no share of sweet life and torn away as they were from the breast. Next to them were those condemned to death on a false charge (430). But this region was not assigned without lot or jury. The magistrate Minos shakes the urn; he summons a jury-panel of the silent spirits and learns the lives and crimes of these victims. Then, those sad figures occupy the next area, who, all guiltless, procured their own deaths by their own hand, and in hatred of the light cast away their own souls (435). How glad they would be now in the air above to endure poverty and hard toils. But the rules stand in the way, the mournful marsh of the loveless river bars the path, and the Styx, bowed nine times, constrains them.

Nearby, spread out in all directions, the Fields of Mourning are displayed (440); that is what they call them. Here are those whom savage love devours with a cruel wasting-away. The hidden paths conceal them, as the thicket of myrtle gives them sanctuary. The cares of their love do not leave them even in death. In this region, Aeneas sees Phaedra, Procris and tragic Eriphyle (445), displaying the wounds inflicted by her cruel son, with Evadne and Pasiphae. Laodamia goes with them as companion, and Caeneus, once a boy and now a woman and then turned again by fate into her former form. Among them, Phoenician Dido, freshly wounded (450),

roamed in the great wood. The moment the Trojan hero stood by her and saw her dimly through the shadows, like one who sees or thinks he sees the moon rise amid the clouds at the beginning of the month, he let fall tears and addressed her with tender love (455):

“Poor Dido, was it a correct message that had reached me that you were dead and had pursued your end with the steel? Woe and alas, it was your end that I caused. I swear by the stars, by the gods above and by whatever trust there is deep below the earth, unwillingly, Queen, I left your shores (460). But the gods' commands, which now compel me to pass through the shadows, through regions rough with decay, and through deep night, drove me on with their behests. Nor could I credit that I brought on you such grief by my departure. Halt your steps and do not remove yourself from my gaze (465). Where are you fleeing? It is fated that this is the last time that I speak to you.”

With such words Aeneas tried to soften Dido's spirit as it blazed and stared fiercely at him, and tried also to raise her tears. She turned away and kept her eyes fixed on the ground, nor, once Aeneas began to speak, did she change her expression any more (470) than if there stood a hard flint or a crag of Marpessian marble. At last she tore herself away and in her enmity fled to the shady grove where her original husband Sychaeus responded to her with his affections and matched her love. Aeneas was no less stricken by the cruel blow of fate (475) and accompanied her with his tears and pitied her as she withdrew.

Then they continued on their assigned path. Now they were occupying the furthest fields, the retreat of those famous in war. Here Tydeus came to meet them, here Parthenopaeus, illustrious in war, and the pale ghost of Adrastus (480).

Here were the descendants of Dardanus, much mourned on earth after falling in battle. He saw them all in long array, and groaned: Glaucus, Medon, Thersilochus, the three sons of Antenor, and Polyboetes, vowed to Ceres, and Idaeus, still keeping (?to) his chariot and weapons (485). To left and right the ghosts thronged thickly about Aeneas; it was not enough just to see him once. They took pleasure in staying on with him, in keeping his company, and in learning why he had come. But the leaders of the Greeks and Agamemnon's ranks, when they saw the hero Aeneas and his shining armour through the shadows (490), trembled with a great fear; some turned tail as once they had made for their ships; some raised a thin cry, but the shout they had started let them down as they gaped.

Here, he saw the son of Priam, Deiphobus, with his entire body butchered, with his face cruelly shredded (495), his face, and both his hands, and his temples plundered of his ravaged ears and his nose lopped with a dishonourable wound. Only with difficulty did he recognise Deiphobus as he cowered and tried to hide his horrible injuries, and with his familiar voice he addressed him first:

“Deiphobus, famed at arms, scion of the lofty blood of Teucer (500), who preferred to exact such brutal punishment of you? Who was permitted so much at your expense? A story reached me that on Troy's last night you were exhausted by your mighty slaughter of Greeks and had dropped onto a jumbled heap of bodies. Then I erected an empty barrow on the shore at Rhoeteum (505) and thrice I called to your spirit in a loud voice. Your name, your arms stand watch over the spot. You, my friend, I could not catch sight of, nor, on my departure, lay you in your native soil.”

To that, Priam's son replied:

“My friend, you left nothing undone (510).

sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae his mersere malis; illa haec monimenta reliquit. namque ut supremam falsa inter gaudia noctem egerimus, nosti: et nimium meminisse necesse est.	O
cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua uenit	515
Pergama et armatum peditem grauis attulit aluo,	O
illa chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum ducebat Phrygias; flammam media ipsa tenebat ingentem et summa Danaos ex arce uocabat.	
tum me confectum curis somnoque grauatum	520
infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti. egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis emouet, et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem:	T
intra tecta uocat Menelaum et limina pandit,	525
scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti, et famam exstingui ueterum sic posse malorum. quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo, comes additus una	T
hortator scelerum Aeolides. di, talia Grais instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco.	530
sed te qui uiuum casus, age fare uicissim, attulerint. pelagine uenis erroribus actus an monitu diuum? an quae te fortuna fatigat, ut tristis sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?"	
Hac uice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem; et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus, sed comes admonuit breuiterque adfata Sibylla est: "nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas.	T 535
hic locus est, partis ubi se uia findit in ambas:	540

But I was plunged into these woes by my destiny and by the Spartan woman's murderous crime. It was she that bequeathed me these memorials. You know how we spent that last night amid misconceived delights and necessarily you will remember only too well. When that fatal Horse at a leap came into lofty Pergama (515) and weighed down bore that well-armed infantry in her womb, the woman invented a dance and led about the Phrygian women crying their ritual chants. In their midst, she herself carried a huge torch and summoned the Greeks from the heights of the citadel. At that point my unlucky bedchamber held me, worn down by worries and burdened with sleep (520); as I lay there, a sweet, deep sleep, very like tranquil death, weighed me down. In the mean time, my admirable wife moved all my weapons from the house and withdrew my trusty sword from under my head. She invited Menelaus into the house and threw open the doorways (525), clearly thinking that that would be a great boon for her lover and that the fame of her old lapses could thus be cancelled out. Why delay? They burst into my bedroom: the son of Aeolus, that champion of outrages, joined Menelaus to assist. Gods, pay the Greeks back for such deeds, if I call for punishment with a dutiful voice (530). But come on and tell me in your turn what chances have brought you here alive. Driven by your wanderings over the sea or by the gods' instructions? Or does some chance dog you, to make you visit the gloomy sunless haunts, the swirling region?"

At this exchange of conversation, Dawn in her rosy chariot (535) had now crossed the middle of the vault in her course through the sky and they might perhaps have spent the whole time assigned them in such conversation, but his companion, the Sibyl, admonished him and spoke briefly:

"Night is rushing nearer, Aeneas, and we pass the hours in tears. This is the place where the way divides in two (540);

dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit, hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeua malorum exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit.”	
Deiphobus contra: “ne saeui, magna sacerdos; discedam, explebo numerum reddarque tenebris. i decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere fatis.”	545
tantum effatus, et in uerbo uestigia torsit. Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra moenia lata uidet triplici circumdata muro, quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,	550
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa. porta aduersa ingens solidoque adamante columnae, uis ut nulla uirum, non ipsi excindere bello	T
caelicolae ualeant; stat ferrea turre ad auras, Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta uestibulum exsomnia seruat noctesque diesque. hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeua sonare uerbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catena.	555
constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit. “quae scelerum facies? o uirgo, effare; quibusue urgentur poenis? quis tantus plangor ad auras?”	T 560
tum uates sic orsa loqui: “dux inclute Teucrum, nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen; sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis, ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit.	TT 565
Cnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem. continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello	O 570

the right-hand leads along the foot of the walls of mighty Dis and this is our way to Elysium; the left-hand exacts punishment of evildoers and sends them to Tartarus, home of the ungodly.”

Deiphobus replied: “Do not be angry, priestess. I shall be off and make up the count. I shall be restored to the darkness (545). Go, great glory of Troy, go and enjoy a better destiny .”

Thus much he spoke and upon that word, turned his steps.

Thereupon, Aeneas looked back, and at the foot of a cliff to his left saw spreading fortifications, surrounded by a triple wall; Tartarean Phlegethon flowed swiftly round them with its raging flames (550), and spun sounding rocks. Facing him there was a great gate, and columns of massive adamant, such that no human force, not even the gods of heaven have the strength to tear them down. A tower of iron rises to the skies. Tisiphone sits there, clothed in a bloodstained cape (555). She watches the entrance night and day, unsleeping. Up from Tartarus, groans are heard and savage whip-strokes resound; then, the clanking, as chains of iron are dragged. Aeneas halted, and, petrified, absorbed the din.

“Tell me, virgin Sibyl, what is this display of crimes? (560) By what penalties are they afflicted? What is this great lamentation rising skywards?” Then the prophetess began to speak:

“Famed leader of the Trojans, no pure individual may tread on the Trojans' threshold. But when Hecate placed me in charge of the forests of Avernus, she herself explained to me the divine punishments and took me through everything. (565) Rhadamanthus of Cnossus inhabits these cruellest realms. He punishes misdeeds, gives them a hearing, and compels the confession of what deeds requiring expiation, put off until their eventual death, each one had committed in the world above. gloating in their thoughtless deceptions. Forthwith, avenging Tisiphone, equipped with her whip (570),

Tisiphone quatit insultans, toruosque sinistra intentans anguis uocat agmina saeua sororum. tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae panduntur portae. cernis custodia qualis uestibulo sedeat, facies quae limina seruet?	T P 575
quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra saeuior intus habet sedem. tum Tartarus ipse bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum. hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes, fulmine deiecti fundo uoluuntur in imo.	 580
hic et Aloidas geminos immania uidi corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum adgressi superisque Iouem detrudere regnis. uidi et crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas, dum flammis Iouis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.	 585 PT
quattuor hic inuectus equis et lampada quassans per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem ibat ouans, diuumque sibi poscebat honorem, demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.	 590 T
at pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum contorsit, non ille faces nec fumea taedis lumina, praecipitemque immani turbine adegit. nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum, cernere erat, per tota nouem cui iugera corpus porrigitur, rostroque immanis uultur obunco	 T 595 T
immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis uiscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.	 600

brandished it as she leaped at the guilty, and pointing her grim snakes with her left hand, summoned the savage ranks of her sisters. Then at last the accursed doors with their shrieking hinges were opened. You see what guardian sits in the entrance-hall, what sight guards the threshold (575). Monstrous with her fifty huge jaws, the dreadful Hydra has her place inside. Then Tartarus itself stretches straight down and plunges into the darkness, twice as far as you look up into the sky towards heavenly Olympus.

Here are the ancient offspring of Earth, the Titans' brood (580); cast down by a thunderbolt, they roll in the depths of the pit. Here also I saw those vast figures, the two sons of Aloeus. With their hands, they tried to tear down the great sky, and force Jupiter from his realm above. I also saw Salmoneus paying a cruel penalty (585), incurred while he imitated the flame and thunder of Olympian Jupiter. Riding in a four-horse chariot and brandishing a torch through the nations of Greece, and through his city in mid-Elis, he rode in celebration and for himself claimed divine honours, a madman to counterfeit the inimitable storm-clouds and thunder (590) with mere brass and the beat of horn-hooved horses. But the all-powerful father whirled his weapon through the thick clouds, no torch that he threw nor lighting smoky with pitch-brands, and drove him headlong in one great plunge. You could also see the Titans, the (foster-) offspring of all-bearing Earth (595), whose body was spread over full nine (?) acres. The great vulture with his curved beak tore at his undying liver and innards rich in punishment, digging for his dinner and dwelling deep inside his front, nor was there any relief for the re-born lobes (600).

quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque?	T
quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique	T
imminet adsimilis; lucent genialibus altis	P
aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae	
regifico luxu; Furiarum maxima iuxta	605
accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,	
exsurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore.	T
hic, quibus inuisi fratres, dum uita manebat,	
pulsatusue parens et fraus innexa clienti,	
aut qui diuitiis soli incubuere repertis	610
nec partem posuere suis (quae maxima turba est),	
quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti	
impia nec ueriti dominorum fallere dextras,	
inclusi poenam exspectant. ne quaere doceri	
quam poenam, aut quae forma uiros fortunaue mersit.	615
saxum ingens uoluunt alii, radiisque rotarum	
districti pendent; sedet aeternumque sedebit	
infelix Theseus, Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis	
admonet et magna testatur uoce per umbras:	
“discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere diuos.”	620
uendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem	
imposuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit,	OP
hic thalamum inuasit natae uetitosque hymenaeos:	
ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti.	
non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,	625
ferrea uox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas,	
omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.”	
Haec ubi dicta dedit Phoebi longaeua sacerdos,	
“sed iam age, carpe uiam et susceptum perforce munus;	
acceleremus” ait; “Cyclopum educta caminis	T 630

Why should I mention the Lapiths, Ixion and Pirithous? Why those over whom the black rock, about to fall at any moment, looms as though in descent? The golden head-rests gleam on the lofty banqueting-couches and before his eyes the banquets are prepared with regal luxury. The greatest of the Furies reclines next to him (605) and with her hand stops him touching the tables. She rises, lifting her torch, and roars loudly. Here are those who hated their brothers while their lives continued, who struck their parents, or plotted deceit against their clients, or who all alone gloated over the riches they had discovered (610) and laid aside no share for their kin; theirs is the greatest crowd. Those who were killed for adultery, who followed an unhallowed flag, and had no scruple to deceive their masters' right hands. Shut up, they await punishment. Do not ask to know their punishment, or what shape or share of justice overwhelms them (615). Others roll a great rock and hang spreadeagled on the spokes of a wheel. Unhappy Theseus sits and will forever sit. Most wretched Phlegyas warns them all and bears witness through the darkness in a loud voice: "Be warned; learn justice; do not make light of the gods." (620) This man sold his country for gold and set over it a powerful master, set up laws and abrogated them for a price; this man entered his daughter's bedchamber and its forbidden union. They all dared a great wrong and laid hold on what they dared. Not if I had a hundred tongues and a hundred mouths (625) and a voice of iron could I embrace all the aspects of their crimes, or could I pass in review all the names of their punishments."

When Phoebus' ancient priestess had spoken thus, "Come and make a start and accomplish the task you have undertaken," she said. "I see the walls erected from the Cyclopes' furnaces (630)

moenia conspicio atque aduerso fornice portas,
 haec ubi nos praecepta iubent deponere dona.”
 dixerat et pariter gressi per opaca uiarum
 corripunt spatium medium foribusque propinquant.
 occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti 635
 spargit aqua ramumque aduerso in limine figit.
 His demum exactis, perfecto munere diuae,
 deuenere locos laetos et amoena uirecta
 fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.
 largior hic campos aether et lumine uestit 640
 purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.
 pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,
 contendunt ludo et fulua luctantur harena;
 pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.
 nec non Threicius longa cum ueste sacerdos 645
 obloquitur numeris septem discrimina uocum,
 iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno. T
 hic genus antiquum Teucri, pulcherrima proles,
 magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis,
 Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor. 650
 arma procul currusque uirum miratur inanis; T
 stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti T
 per campum pascuntur equi. quae gratia currum
 armorumque fuit uiuis, quae cura nitentis
 pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos. 655
 conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laeuaque per herbam
 uescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis
 inter odoratum lauris nemus, unde superne T
 plurimus Eridani per siluam uoluitur amnis.
 hic manus ob patriam pugnando uulnera passi, 660

and the entrances with their facing arches, where our instructions bid us offer this gift.”

She spoke, and they went on together through a dark stretch of the way. They make quick work of the distance before them and draw near the doors. Aeneas moves fast to the entrance, sprinkles his body with fresh (635) water and plants the Bough on the lintel facing him.

At the conclusion of these events, when his offering to Proserpina was performed, they came down to the place of rejoicing and the delightful greenery of the blessed groves, and to the homes of the blessed. There was a wider sky, and it clothed the meadows with a (?) reddish light (640). They have their own sun and their own stars. Some of them exercise their limbs in grassy rings, struggle in play and wrestle in the dark-yellow sand. Some stamp out the dances with their feet and call out the songs. The Thracian priest, in his long mantle (645) performs in harmony with their tune the intervals of the seven notes; now he sounds them with his fingers, now with the ivory plectrum. Here was the ancient line of Teucer, that fine-looking race, valiant heroes born in a better age, Ilus, Assaracus and Dardanus founder of Troy (650). At a distance, Aeneas wonders at the heroes' arms and empty (?) chariots. Their spears stand driven into the earth, and their horses graze untethered across the grass. The very interest they took in chariots and horses when they were alive, and the care they took to feed their gleaming horses attend them now they are laid in the earth (655). Others he caught sight of to right and to left across the grass, dining and singing the cheerful paeon in chorus, through a wood fragrant with bays, out of which, up on earth, the mighty Eridanus rolls through the forest. Here was a group who had endured wounds for their country's sake (660);

quique sacerdotes casti, dum uita manebat, quique pii uates et Phoebos digna locuti, inuentas aut qui uitam excoluere per artis quique sui memores alios fecere merendo: omnibus his niuea cinguntur tempora uitta.	T 665
quos circumfusos sic est adfata Sibylla, Musaeum ante omnis (medium nam plurima turba hunc habet atque umeris exstantem suspicit altis): “dicite, felices animae tuque optime uates, quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? illius ergo uenimus et magnos Erebi tranauimus amnis.”	670
atque huic responsum paucis ita reddidit heros: “nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis, riparumque toros et prata recentia riuis incolimus. sed uos, si fert ita corde uoluntas, hoc superate iugum, et facili iam tramite sistam.”	675
dixit, et ante tulit gressum camposque nitentis desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina linquunt. At pater Anchises penitus conualle uirenti inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras	680
lustrabat studio reCOLENS, omnemque suorum forte recensebat numerum, carosque nepotes fataque fortunasque uirum moresque manusque. isque ubi tendentem aduersum per gramina uidit Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,	685
effusaeque genis lacrimae et uox excidit ore: “uenisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti uicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri, nate, tua et notas audire et reddere uoces? sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum	690

they had been chaste priests, while their life lasted, and devoted seers and poets who uttered songs worthy of Phoebus and enriched life by means of the arts they invented. They made others recall them by means of their good deeds. All of them had their temples girt with white fillets (665) and as they poured around her, the Sibyl addressed them thus, Musaeus in particular, for the great crowd held him in their midst and looked up at him as he towered over them with his lofty shoulders.

“Tell me, you fortunate souls, and you, most excellent seer, what direction (?), what area contains Anchises. It is for his sake (670) that we have come, and have crossed the mighty stream of Erebus.”

The hero replied to him briefly as follows:

“No-one has a settled habitation; we live in shady woods, we occupy the comfortable banks of rivers and meadows fresh with running water. But do you, if that is what you want, cross this ridge, and I will set you on the easy path.” (675)

He spoke, and made his way in front of them, and showed them the gleaming meadows from above. Then they quit the lofty heights. Now father Anchises was going over in painstaking review the souls shut in a verdant valley, destined to pass to the light above (680); he just happened to be reviewing the whole mass of his kin and his beloved descendants, the heroes' destinies and adventures, their conduct and their deeds. When he saw Aeneas to his front and coming across the grass, he stretched out both of his hands (685) eagerly. Tears poured from his eyes (?) and speech came from his mouth:

“So in the end have you come, and has the devotion your father counted on overcome the trials of the journey? My son, is it granted me to look at your face, to hear your voice, and to reply? That was just what I calculated and considered would happen (690),

tempora dinumerans, nec me mea cura fefellit. quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora uectum accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periclis! quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!”	
ille autem: “tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit; stant sale Tyrrheno classes. da iungere dextram, da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro.”	695
sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat. ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum; ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago, par leuibus uentis uolucrique simillima somno.	700
Interea uidet Aeneas in ualle reducta seclusum nemus et uirgulta sonantia siluae, Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem.	T T 705
hunc circum innumerae gentes populique uolabant: ac ueluti in pratis ubi apes aestate serena floribus insidunt uariis et candida circum lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.	O 710
horrescit uisu subito causasque requirit inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro, quique uiri tanto compleverint agmine ripas. tum pater Anchises: “animae quibus altera fato corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam securos latices et longa obliuia potant.	P 715
has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram iampridem, hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum, quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.” “o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reuerti	720

counting up the dates, my worries did not mislead me. I welcome you after traversing what lands! What seas! Tossed, my son, by what dangers! How I feared lest the kingdom of Libya harm you!”

But Aeneas replied:

“It was your ghost, my father, your sad ghost (695) that came to me often, and drove me to make for this entrance (?). My fleet lies in Tyrrhenian seas. Let me clasp your hand, my father, do let me, and do not withdraw from my embrace.”

As he spoke, he bathed his face with ample tears. Then three times he tried to put his arms round his father's neck (700); three times, grasped to no avail, the ghost escaped his hands, like light breezes and very similar to a swift dream (??).

In the mean time, Aeneas saw in a receding valley a well-hidden wood, and the sounding thickets of a copse, along the stream of Lethe that flows before these gentle abodes (705). Around it, there hovered innumerable nations and peoples. And as when bees in the meadows in settled summer land on the various flowers and all around white lilies are spread, and all the meadows resound to the bees' buzz. Aeneas shuddered at the sudden spectacle and in his ignorance asked the explanation (710), what the river was over there and what heroes filled the banks in so great a column.

Then father Anchises replied:

“The souls to which other bodies are owed by fate by the stream of the river Lethe drink the waters of forgetfulness and long oblivion (715). These I have long wanted to explain to you and show them to you to your face, this progeny of all my descendants I long to expound, so you may rejoice all the more in your discovery of Italy.”

“My father, are we to think that some exceptional souls (?) go up to the sky from here and return to sluggish bodies? (720)

corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?”	
“dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo”	
suscipit Anchises atque ordine singula pandit.	T
“Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentis	
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra	725
spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus	
mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.	
inde hominum pecudumque genus uitaeque uolantum.	
igneus est ollis uigor et caelestis origo	730
seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant	
terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.	
hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras	
dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.	
quin et supremo cum lumine uita reliquit,	735
non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes	
corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est	
multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.	
ergo exercentur poenis ueterumque malorum	
supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanes	740
suspensae ad uentos, aliis sub gurgite uasto	
infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni.	P
quisque suos patimur manis; exinde per amplum	P
mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arua tenemus,	
donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe	745
concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit	T
aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.	
has omnis, ubi mille rotam uoluere per annos,	
Lethaeum ad fluuium deus euocat agmine magno,	
scilicet immemores supera ut conuexa reuisant,	P 750

What terrible desire possesses the wretches?"

"Well, I shall tell you, and I shall not hold you in suspense," replied Anchises, and explained the details in order.

"First, the divine breath informs from within sky, lands and watery plains, the moon's glowing globe and the Titans' sun (725); the divine mind, spread through its members, sets in motion the entire mass and mingles in its mighty body. From which comes the race of men and of beasts, and the living things that fly. They have a fiery force, and their seeds a heavenly origin (730), so far at least as their harmful bodies do not clog them, nor their earthbound limbs and mortal members impede. In consequence, they fear and desire, they grieve and rejoice, nor do they gaze out at the airs of heaven, shut in the dark of their unseeing prison. And when on their last day, they leave their life (735), still then not all the evil departs from them, nor do all their bodily pollutions quite leave them and it is inevitable that many [ills of the body] have been grafted deeply onto the body and grown into it in extraordinary ways. So they are tested by punishments and pay the torments of their bad old ways. Some, hung up into the winds (740), are spread out insubstantially; in other cases, the crime with which they are stained is washed out of them by the vasty deep or is burned out by fire. We are each of us bound to endure our own individual spirit; then we are dispatched across Elysium and a few of us (?) occupy the blessed meadows, until a lengthy stay, once the cycle of time is completed (745), has removed the ingrown taint and has left pure our ethereal senses and the fire of uncontaminated atmosphere. All these others, when they have turned the wheel for a thousand years, the god summons to the river Lethe in a great column, to the end that they revisit the vault of the sky with no recollections (750)

and begin once more to wish to return into heavenly bodies”.

Then Anchises finished speaking and took his son and the Sibyl with him, into the midst of the crowded, ringing assembly. They went to a mound, from which he could review all those who faced him in their long array and learn the faces of those who advanced (755).

“Come now, I shall explain and tell you of the glory which will one day attend upon the offspring of Dardanus and of the descendants of your Italian stock. I shall teach you your destiny. That young man who leans on an untipped spear (760) occupies the next position by the lots that assign the light and will be the first to rise of mixed Italian blood to the airs of heaven. Silvius, an Alban name, your posthumous son, whom your wife Lavinia shall bear to you late, in your old age, and raise him up in the woods as king and the father of kings (765), after whom our race shall rule in Alba Longa. After him comes Procas there, the glory of the Trojan race, and Capys and Numitor and Silvius Aeneas who in his name will recall you, distinguished alike in devotion and at arms, if he will ever take on Alba to be ruled (770). What young men! Look at the strength they display; they wear their temples shaded by the Civic Crown. They will set the fortress of Collatia on the mountain-top, and Nomentum, and Gabii, and the city of Fidenae, and Pometia, Castrum Inui, and Bola and Cora (775). One day, these will be great names; for now, they are lands without a name. Yes, Romulus, son of Mars, will join his grandfather as a companion, whom his mother Rhea will raise up of the blood of Assaracus. Do you see how his twin crests stand upon his helmet-peak and the father of the gods himself already marks him out with his honour (780)?

en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo, septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces, felix prole uirum: qualis Berecyntia mater inuehitur curru Phrygias turrata per urbes	785
laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes, omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis.	T
huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli progenies magnum caeli uentura sub axem.	790
hic uir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis, Augustus Caesar, diui genus, aurea condet saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arua Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,	795
extra anni solisque uias, ubi caelifer Atlas axem uero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum. huius in aduentum iam nunc et Caspia regna responsis horrent diuum et Maeotia tellus, et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.	800
nec uero Alcides tantum telluris obiuit, fixerit aripedem ceruam licet, aut Erymanthi pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu; nec qui pampineis uictor iuga flectit habenis Liber, agens celso Nysae de uertice tigris.	805
et dubitamus adhuc uirtute extendere uires, aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra? quis procul ille autem ramis insignis oliuae sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanae menta regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem	T 810

Behold, my son, under his auspices that great city of Rome shall match her role to the globe itself and her spirit to the skies and, a single city, shall gird seven hilltops with her wall, rejoicing in her offspring of heroes, just as the Mother of Berecyntus is carried in her towered crown through the cities of Phrygia (785), rejoicing in her offspring of gods, embracing a hundred descendants, all of them gods, all of them occupying the heights above. Turn your gaze here now, and look at this people: your Romans. Here is Caesar and all Iulus' descendants, about to pass under the great vault of heaven (790). This, this is the man whom you often hear is promised you, Augustus Caesar, offspring of the deified [Caesar]; he will establish again the Age of Gold in Latium, once ruled over by Saturn, and shall extend Rome's rule over Garamantes and Indians. Our lands shall lie beyond the zodiac (795), beyond the paths of the sun and the year, where heaven-bearing Atlas spins upon his shoulder the heavens' axis, studded with blazing stars. At his arrival, even now the Caspian kingdoms and the land of Azov shudder at the gods' responses and the quaking mouths of the sevenfold Nile are troubled (800). Not even Alcaeus' descendant Heracles covered so much of the earth, for all that he shot the brazen-hooved hind, or brought peace to the forest of Erymanthus and terrified Lerna with his bow. Nor did Liber, who steered his chariot with reins of vine-tendrils when he drove his team of tigers down from the lofty peak of Nysa (805). Do we still hesitate to extend our might by means of our courage, or does fear prevent us from settling in the land of Ausonia? Who is the man over there carrying the sacred objects and distinguished by the sprigs of olive? I recognise the grey hair and beard of the king of Rome who will first found the city on a basis of law (810),

fundabit, Curibus paruis et paupere terra missus in imperium magnum. cui deinde subibit otia qui rumpet patriae residesque mouebit Tullus in arma uiros et iam desueta triumphis agmina. quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus	T 815
nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris. uis et Tarquinius reges animamque superbam ultoris Bruti, fascisque uidere receptos? consulis imperium hic primus saeuasque securis accipiet, natosque pater noua bella mouentis ad poenam pulchra pro libertate uocabit, infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:	 820 P
uincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido. quin Decios Drusosque procul saeuumque securi aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.	 825
illae autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis, concordes animae nunc et dum nocte prementur, heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina uitae attigerint, quantas acies stragemque cieunt, aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci descendens, gener aduersis instructus Eois!	 T 830
ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite uiris; tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo, proice tela manu, sanguis meus!	 P 835
ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho uictor aget currum caesis insignis Achiuis. eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae ipsumque Aeaeciden, genus armipotentis Achilli, ultus auos Troiae templa et temerata Mineruae.	 840

sent from the poor land of little Cures to a mighty rule. Him there will then succeed Tullus, who will breach his country's calm and stir his placid warriors to arms in their columns now unused to victory. Close by, the ambitious Ancus follows him (815), who now already takes too much pleasure in the breezes of popular favour. Do you care to see the royal Tarquins and the haughty spirit of Brutus the avenger and the *fasces* recovered? He shall be the first to receive a consul's authority and the cruel axes and as a father shall summon to punishment his sons (820) who raise unexpected wars, on fair liberty's account. Poor man, however later generations shall relate those deeds, love of country will conquer, and a great desire for recognition. Look at the Decii and the Drusi too at a distance, and at Torquatus too, brutal with his axe, and at Camillus carrying back the standards (825). Those harmonious souls whom you see gleaming in the same armour, for now and as long as they are covered by Night, what a war, what battles, what mutual slaughter will they, alas, arouse, if they lay hold of the light of life. The father-in-law descending from the ramparts of the Alps and the citadel of Monaco (830), the son-in-law drawn up in the opposing ranks of the Dawn. Do not, boys, do not accustom your spirits to war, nor unleash your mighty forces upon the bowels of your country. Do you first, do you who draw your line from Olympus draw back first and, my own blood, cast the weapons from your hand (835). Victorious in his triumph over Corinth, *he* will drive this chariot to the lofty Capitol, distinguished by his slaughter of the Achaeans. *He* will demolish Argos and Mycenae, Agamemnon's city, and Aeacus' descendant, the stock of Achilles, mighty at arms, to avenge his Trojan forbears and Minerva's defiled temple (840).

quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat? quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli, Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, paruoque potentem Fabricium uel te sulco, Serrane, serentem? quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es, unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.	T 845 T P O
excudent alii spirantia mollius aera (credo equidem), uiuos ducent de marmore uoltus, orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.”	850 TT
Sic pater Anchises, atque haec mirantibus addit: “aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis ingreditur uictorque uiros supereminet omnis. hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem, tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.”	855 P
atque hic Aeneas (una namque ire uidebat egregium forma iuuenem et fulgentibus armis, sed frons laeta parum et deiecto lumina uoltu) “quis, pater, ille, uirum qui sic comitatur euntem? filius, ane aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum? qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso! sed nox atra caput tristi circumuolat umbra.”	860 T 865
tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis: “o gnate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum; ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra esse sinent. nimium uobis Romana propago	O T 870

Who would leave you, great Cato, or you, Cossus, without a word? Who would pass by the stock of Gracchus and the two sons of the Scipios, the two thunderbolts of war, the ruin of Libya, and Fabricius powerful from his slight beginnings, or you, Serranus, sowing in the furrow. Where, Fabii, are you rushing me? You are that Maximus (845) who alone restored the state for us by your delaying.”

Others may beat out breathing bronze more supply, may draw living expressions from marble, may plead cases better, may expound the movements of the heavens with a pointer and tell the risings of the stars (850). Do you remember, Roman, to rule imperially over the nations (these shall be your skills), to set the force of habit upon peace, to spare those who submit and crush in war the haughty.”

So Anchises spoke, and went on to his marvelling audience: “Look how Marcellus advances decorated with the *spolia opima* (855) and towers conquering over all. Mounted, he will steady the Roman cause, under the upheaval of a mighty onslaught; he will lay low Carthaginians and Gauls who renew the fight and will dedicate a third set of captured armour to father Quirinus.”

At that point, Aeneas - for he saw advancing with him (860) a young man distinguished for his beauty and shining armour, but his expression was hardly cheerful and his eyes and features were cast down - “Who, father, is the man who thus accompanies the hero Marcellus' advance? Is it his son, or a member of the mighty stock of his descendants? What a din from the companions about him! For how many of them does he stand!(865) But black gloom hovers about his head with tragic darkness.” Then father Anchises began with swelling tears: “O, my son, do not ask about the great sorrow of your kin. Destiny will just reveal him to the earth, but will not let him exist further. Rome's stock would have seemed too powerful to you (870),

uisa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent. quantos ille uirum magnam Mauortis ad urbem campus aget gemitus! uel quae, Tiberine, uidebis funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!	875
nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos in tantum spe tollet auos, nec Romula quondam ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno. heu pietas, heu prisca fides inuictaque bello dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset obuius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.	880
heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas! tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis. purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani munere.” sic tota passim regione uagantur aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant. quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit incenditque animum famae uenientis amore, exim bella uiro memorat quae deinde gerenda, Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini, et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.	P 885
Sunt geminae somni portae, quarum altera fertur cornea, qua ueris facilis datur exitus umbris, altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto, sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes. his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna, ille uiam secat ad nauis sociosque reuisit.	O 895
Tum se ad Caietae recto fert limite portum. ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.	T 900

gods, if these gifts had been lasting. What great lamentations from its citizens will the Campus uplift, by the great city of Mars. Or, father Tiber, what a funeral you will see when you roll past the fresh-worked tomb. No boy of Trojan stock (875) will exalt by his promise his Latin ancestors, nor will the land of Rome ever take such pride in a descendant. Alas for his piety, alas for his ancient honour, and right hand unconquered in war. No-one would have clashed with him under arms with impunity, either when he advanced on the enemy as a foot-soldier (880), or when he dug his spurs into the fore-quarters of a foaming horse. Woe upon you, poor boy: if only you could break the harsh bonds of fate, you will be Marcellus. Offer lilies with full hands. I shall scatter bright, red flowers. I shall at least heap the soul of my descendant with these gifts and perform this empty (885) task.”

So they ranged widely over the whole region, in the spreading plains of light and viewed everything. After Anchises had taken his son everywhere, in detail, and fired his spirit with desire for the glory to come, he related to his son the wars that he would have to fight (890) and explained to him the people of the Laurentes and the city of Latinus and how too he should flee, and how bear, each challenge.

There are twin gates of dreams, of which one is reported as being of horn, where true spirits are granted an easy passage, the other is formed all gleaming of bright ivory (895), but the Manes send through it false dreams to the heavens.

With these words, Anchises then saw his son upon his way, and along with him the Sibyl, as he passed them out through the gate of ivory. Aeneas cut a route to his fleet and rediscovered his comrades. Then he made for the harbour of Gaeta by a straight course (900). Anchors were cast from the bows; the ships stand along the shore.

Commentary

1-13 Aeneas arrives at Cumae See *SC*, §19 for Aen. and the Sibyl of Cumae, (337-83) for Palinurus at the end of bk.5 and n. on **sic fatur lacrimans** for the textual issue here. Compare *Od.*11.13-22, Od.'s arrival at the stream of Ocean (Knauer, 130), along with the tears of 11.5 (: **sic fatur lacrimans**). On the opening of the book in general, vd. xv, Harrison, *infra*, S.Kyriakidis, *Narrative structure and poetics in the Aeneid. The frame of book 6* (Bari 1998), 36-8, Worstbrock, 54.

1 sic fatur lacrimans Compare *Il.*1.357, etc. ὡς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, *Aen.*9.303, 11.29 *sic ait illacrimans* (where vd. n.; here therefore no discussion of heroic weeping), 3.344; *sic fatur* and compounds also used without partic.. The simplex *l.* used by Enn. (*Ann.*, *trag.*), Lucr. (*bis*), Cat.63. Aen.'s tears for Palinurus follow naturally upon either version of his death, and likewise his relative proximity to Cumae suits both accounts of Palinurus' end. One might suspect that V. opened 6 neutrally, in such a way that these vv. could stand after *any* account of Pal. at the end of 5. At 5.871, Serv. writes *sciendum sane Tuccam et Varium hunc finem quinti esse uoluisse; nam a Vergilio duo uersus sequentes huic iuncti fuerunt. unde in non nullis antiquis codicibus sexti initium est*; on 6.1 we read *sane sciendum, licet primos duos uersus Probus et alii in quinti reliquerunt fine, prudenter ad initium sexti esse translatos, nam et coniunctio poematis melior est, et Homerus etiam sic inchoauit* ὡς φάτο δάκρυ χέων. No book could, on the other hand, have opened **obuertunt pelago proras**. See comm. on 7.464, G.P.Goold, *HSCP* 74 (1968), 125, Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti*, 97-9, *id.*, *Per la storia*, 117f., 183, Crump, *Growth of the Aen.*, 66, M.Bandini, *AR* 36 (1997), 96-9, E.L.Harrison, *ANRW* 2.31.1, 369-72, H.D.Jocelyn, *CQ* 35 (1985), 470, *id.*, *Sileno* 16 (1990) 266, Zetzel, *Lat. text. crit.*, 52, 94f., Geymonat, *EV*, 2, 289. At *Od.* 13.1, no tears, but exactly the same run-on speech-conclusion at book-opening (so too *Il.*7.1, Harrison, 370, n.31, Bandini, 96), which should be quite enough, even on its own, to exclude the possibility that these vv. could ever have stood at the end of bk.5. Tears and speech-end, *Il.*1.357, 19.301, 338, *Od.*24.438, etc.. Little though one is inclined to swallow Serv.'s references to *antiqui codices* (Zetzel, 94f., Horsfall, *Vergilius*, 41 (1995), 57ff., L.Gamberale, *Atti conv.virgil.bimill.Georg.* 1975 (Napoli 1977), 359-67, against e.g. Timpanaro, 117; note Jocelyn's useful list, 470, n.190), in the c.9/10 Vat.Reg.Lat. 1625, in an abbreviated version of Serv.Dan. on 5.871, J.J.H.Savage found specific references to (sc. mss.) *Cornelianis et in Hebrì* (*HSCP* 43 (1932), 109). Just what the actual relationship was between V.'s editor (Varius, in the Suetonian tradition; Tucca only induces suspicion; vd. *Companion*, 23, n.141 for bibl., Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 18, n.7), 'Probus', and the 'antiqui codices' is far from clear, though there are no reasonable grounds for doubt about what V. had written here. Bandini's intuition that the confusion

in Serv. derives from a roll which bore, as was often the case the first two vv. of bk.6 at the end of bk.5 is notably acute; vd. Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti, cit.*. Such run-on verses are called in Italian, *richiamo*, also, variously, *reclame, custos*, catch word; my thanks to Prof. Adam Bülow-Jacobsen.

classique immittit habenas Cf. 5.662 *furtivimissis Volcanus habenis*; note too 5.818, 12.499. For this use of *i.*, cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.471.48ff., *Acc.trag.*10, *Lucret.*5.787; also used by V. of ropes, 8.708 *laxos iam iamque immittere funis*. So too in Gk.; No. here refers to Oppian, but Pind.*Isth.*8.45 would have served as well; cf. Steiner, *Crown of Song*, 58, Taillardat, 293f., for the regular Gk. interchange of metaphor between ships (both oared and sailing) and horses (not to mention chariots); comms. on *Cat.*64.9 point out though that the metaphor of *currus* for ship is basically Greek and exceptional in Latin. Here note that we have *both* the interchanged metaphor *and* the genuine vicinity of ropes and reins. For *habenae* used of the ropes of ships, cf. too Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2392.79ff., citing also *Varr.Men.*224, *Ov.F.*3.593. Cf. n. on 3.5 for the Trojan *fleet*. We should remember that at least according to the narrative of *Aen.*5, the Trojans here are at sea somewhere between the waters off Positano and the harbour of Cumae; cf. **337-383**, (2)(i).

2 et tandem The adverb typical of Virgilian narrative, with its suggestions of delay to the fulfilment of the Trojans' destiny and long, painful, dangerous effort; cf. e.g. 3.131, 205, 278.

Euboicis Cumarum...oris Cf. 3.131 for the mildly allusive shores of the Curetes. Here V. interweaves in a display of moderate learning (Weber, (14-41), 47) historical and legendary colonisation, as the Trojans arrive (anachronistically; vd. *EV* 1, 153 and No. for the Gk. origins of anachronism-criticism) at the first Greek colony in the west, Cumae, founded from Euboean Chalcis (thus Timaeus and Varro, according to No., 120 and R.Ritter *De Varrone Vergilii...auctore, diss.phil.Hal.* 13 (1901), 308-13; such analysis has quite lost its force) traditionally in 1050, and actually some three centuries later. There is evident enallage of the epithet; it is of course Cumae that is Euboean: see Conte, *Virgilio*, 25. Cf. Bunbury, in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom.geogr.*, 1, 716, and the ample summary by Oakley, at *Liv.*8.22.5 (pp.631-3); also J.Weiss, *PW* 11.2476.35-64, G.Radke, *Kl.P.*3. 397.27ff., Bérard, 37-40, 48f., F.Zevi, *RFil.*123 (1995), 178-92, *id.*, in *Il destino della Sibilla*, ed. P.Amalfitano (Napoli 1986), 21-41, and (atypically wayward) F.Bömer, *Gymn.* 93 (1986), 97-101. We need also to bear in mind **17 Chalcidica ... arce** (for which this v. 'prepares', Weber, *cit.*) and 9.710 *Euboico Baiarum litore* (cf. Conte, *cit.*). Cumae was founded by the Chalcidian Megasthenes and the Cymaeae Hippocles; named, by agreement, for Cymae but described as Chalcidian, according to *Strab.*5.4.4. For Euboean Chalcis, cf. Barrington, map 55, F4. That explains the reference

here, and that at 9.710; Euboean Baiae seems to be a simple extension of the foundation of Cumae. Precise identification of founding Cymae is rather trickier, between Euboean Cyme (von Geisau, PW 11.2474.38ff.) and Aeolian (Bürchner, *ib.*, 2475.6ff.), perhaps Euboean Cyme's mother city. Weiss (l.c., 41-52) surveys the evidence with care and suggests that the notably obscure Euboean Cyme (mentioned only by SByz.; cf. Bérard, 48f.) is the likelier mother-city of Campanian Cumae (vd. too Oakley, *cit.*). For Daedalus' arrival at Cumae as symbolic of the Greeks' arrival (physical, artistic, literary, cultural), in Italy, first via Cumae and nearby Ischia vd. Zevi. For the *dispositio* of the adjs., cf. Conte, *Virgilio, cit.*

adlabitur Cf. 3.131 (vd. n.), 569, 8.108, Flobert, 115. Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 85, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1659.24; speed perhaps reduced to avoid grounding.

3 obuertunt pelago proras The fleet not beached (always with bows facing seawards; cf. n. on 3.71; add Morrison/Williams, *Gk. oared ships*, 311), but at anchor offshore, again prudently facing seawards: vd. Morrison/Williams, *cit.*, 204 (the sequence of manoeuvres in detail), A.Jal, *Annales maritimes* 1 (1843), 929, 939, Seymour, 314, Casson, *Ships and seamanship*, 252. Beaching only to be contemplated when reconnaissance (6-8) reveals that Cumae is safe; cf. n. on 7.149 for this regular element in epic narrative. Cf. n. on 3.204 for the lofty *pelagus*. The molossus perhaps suggestive of the hard work involved in swinging the ships round to face seawards before the final stern-first run in to land (vd. Morrison/Williams, *cit.*): for **o.**, vd. *EV* 5*, 509f., Johann, *TLL* 9.2.313.46ff.; see Cic.*Arat.*129-33 for this sequence of operations (vd. Kidd on *Arat.*345, Johann, 313.76ff., and Soubiran's translation of Cic., *cit.*).

tum dente tenaci Anchoring in a natural sequence after the ships are brought about; cf. Morrison/Williams, 302f.. **T.**: *OLD* s.v., §1b and see Squillante Saccone, *EV* 1, 53 for Virgilian adjs. in-*ax*. For the common metaphor of *dens*, vd. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.542.23, comparing the agricultural teeth of *G.*2.406, 423; Serv. notes the *morsu* of 1.169. Casson explains (253, n.115) that the Roman anchor had no flukes, in the modern sense; **V.** refers necessarily to the grip exerted by the weighty shank and arms (Casson, 252ff. with plates 183-5); his anchors are, however, anachronistically up-to-date in comparison with the Homeric stone, F.H.Sandbach, *ORVA* 451, Horsfall, *EV* 1, 152. Note that from here until **8 monstrat** there is no end-stopped line; the actions of Aen.'s well-trained men sweep smoothly on over one line-end after another.

4 ancora fundabat nauis Cf. LHS 160, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 172, 177, n.185, *id.*, *Enchiridion*, 48, *EV* 2, 609, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1561.84, and Norden's n.. No. observes that in prose something like Caesar's *deligatas ad ancoras* (*Gall.*5.9.1) might be expected and Maurach, LHS realise that

V. here employs hypallage, or something like it, possibly to avoid the intractable *ancoras*. But there is nothing quite so simple as exchange of subj. and obj. here. Suet.*Claud.*20.3 writes of C.'s work at the port of Ostia *profundo iam solo mole obiecta; quam quo stabilius fundaret, nauem ante demersit*; so a metaphrast might here have written *ancoris naues fundabantur* (*anchoris fundari* TCD); apparently not considered by Görler in his valuable discussions of the wilder shores of hypallage. Note too the use of collective sing. **ancora**; Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 875, Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 1₂, 19. Impf. presumably inceptive ('began to take hold', sc. as the ships back shorewards), rather than Au.'s ref. to 'one ship after another'. The verb favoured by Lucr. (*sexies*).

et litora.../ 5 praetexunt Cf. Suter, *TLL* 10.2.1045.30f., to line, as of buildings lining a river, Sen.*Ep.*89.21, and already in *Buc.*7.12, *G.*3.15 of reeds.

curuae/ 5 ...puppes Cf. *G.*1.360, *Aen.*2.179, Hom. *κορῶνις*. Schwering, *TLL* 4.1550.40f. and *EV* 1, 965 unilluminating

5 iuuenum manus...ardens Cf. 9.309, 10.498 and vd. n. on 2.315 for *manus*. **A.** an excellent word to apply to these bold young Trojan scouts: cf. the familiar material collected by Ferraro, *EV* 1, 302f., or in my nn. on 2.316, 7.393. Au. well notes the change of movement in the verse, from laborious nautical manoeuvres to swift movement on shore. *Aen.* has higher tasks; this is not the time for him to engage upon *aquatio*, etc.; barely decent indeed. No. refers to Serv.Dan on 1.180; see too W.V.Clausen, *AAVM* 63 (1995), 25 = *VA*, 14, and my remarks, *Maia* 41 (1989), 54.

emicat Much favoured by V. (*octies*; *EV* 3, 518; cf. n. on 2.175, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2. 486.41ff., quoting also 11.496); *ter* in Lucr. and note particularly 5.1099 *emicat inter dum flammai feruidus ardor*. Serv.Dan. thinks the vb. is chosen because of the Trojans' imminent search for flints; V. surely builds a little nexus of fire-images (cf. also **ardens**) and it is perfectly sensible (*pace* Rehm) to point out that a *fiery* band *flashes* out to seek the seeds of *flame*.

6 litus in Hesperium Cf. 2.582 *Dardanium...litis*, 7.198, 1.196, **6.505**. Loftier than the gen., as found at 3.122 *litora Cretae* (cf. n. on 7.1). **H.**: for the history of this word, 'the western land' vd. *JHS* 99 (1979), 39, nn. on 2.781, 3.163; probably an Hellenistic, not a lyric term in origin.

quaerit The Trojans have apparently run out of flints (?and kindling) since 1.174-6; cf. too *G.*1.135 *ut silicis uenis abstrusum excuderet ignem*, Lucr.6.160ff., *Ov.Fast.*4. 795ff.. For such methods of heroic fire-lighting, ample detail is available in M.H. Morgan, 'De ignis eliciendi modis apud antiquos', *HSCP* 1 (1890), 13-64, at 35-8 (stone against stone; pyrites and flints employed) and 38-9 (stone against metal; Lucr.6.314). The topic

essentially Lucretian, therefore. Add Pease on Cic.*ND* 2.25 and *id.*, *CP*. 34 (1939), 148. The vb. altogether standard Latin.

pars.../ 7 ...pars Cf. n. on 7.624, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.455.25.

semina flammae V. takes particular delight in the description of humble acts in exalted language; cf. the discussions cited *supra*, **5 iuuenum manus...ardens** and add my remarks, *Class.Med.*52 (2001), 309f. and n. on 11.777; also Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 75. I have used the old term ‘euphuism’. The expression is recognised as having complex origins, both *Od.*5.490, a simile of the countryman hiding a brand deep in the embers, to preserve the *σπέμμα πυρός* (cf. *Class.Med.*, *cit.*, 311f., Seymour, 206), and *Lucr.*6.160 the *ignis ...semina* present in clouds; unsurprisingly, *Lucr.* is fascinated by the origins of fire (e.g. 1.901ff., 5.1091ff., 6.879ff.).

7 abstrusa These almost magical seeds hidden not merely in the embers of a fire but deep inside veins of rock, as though the ground itself could in a sense bring forth fire from stones. From *G.*1.135, *supra*; see Vollmer, *TLL* 1.203.83f., quoting *Plaut.Trin. arg.1 thesaurum abstrusum*.

in uenis silicis *G.*1, *cit.* and earlier: *OLD* s.v. *uena*, §4 cites *Claud. Quad.fr.*52P and *Lucr.*5.812. Add *ib.*, 1255; a word very dear to *Lucr.*; *silex* familiar in *Lucr.*, *Buc.*, *G.*

densa ferarum/ 8 tecta So competition between man and beast for *saxea tecta* (*Lucr.*5.984; cf. *Buc.*10.52); the dwellings of wild beasts a theme very attractive to poets (note *Cat.*63.53 *ferarum gelida stabula* and cf. *Ev.Matt.*8.20). **T.** common idiom in V. for non-human dwelling-places, *EV* 5*, 72. With the adj., *Traina (EV* 2, 25) compares not so much *Od.*10.283, the *πυκινούς κευθμῶνας*, stout sties of swine, as *Hes.Erga* 532 *κέπτα μαιόμεναι πυκινούς κευθμῶνας ἔχουσι*, which seems the origin of V.'s appositional expansion here. The *densissima silua* of *G.*2.17 altogether different.

rapit ‘Percorrere in fretta’, *EV* 4, 400. Compare perhaps *OLD* §8b, citing later epic uses of *r.* in the sense of ‘cover rapidly’ (so too Henry, *Au.*). Use of *r.* in the sense of ‘sack’, ‘plunder’ not excluded (*OLD*, sv., §2, citing 2.374 *rapiuntque...feruntque*, not really analogous), but speed (so Heyne) seems (though not decisively) more suited (*pace* Butler) to the scene than efficient attention to supplies of wood and water.

siluas Cf. 179-82, *ad fin.* for recent destruction of the forest close to Misenum. Unremarkable apposition: cf. *EV* 1, 239-41, No., *Au.* and see n. on 842 **duo fulmina belli**; so too e.g. 10f. **secreta Sibyllae, tectum immane** and 179 **antiquam siluam, stabula alta ferarum**. A means of adding colour or detail without the tedious necessity of subordination, or the clutter of prepositions.

inuentaque flumina Cf. 7.150f. *haec fontis stagna Numici/ hunc Thybrim fluiuium* (with n. for other instances of epic reconnaissance). The find-

ing of streams nearby and the need for *aquatio* of very limited narrative importance and V. dismisses the topic with exceptional styl. economy. Van Nes/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.136.66f. quote *Corp.Gloss.4.448.23 allatam aquam breuiter ostendit*. 'Look, we found some water.' TCD remarks correctly on the economy of means by which V. passes over the hunt for water and records only its finding.

monstrat Vd. previous n..

9 at pius Aeneas Cf. n. on **232**; here Aen. in obedience to his father (5.729ff.) and his oracular kinsman Helenus, 3.441ff., calls upon the Sibyl in Apollo's temple; the epithet is more than amply justified on religious grounds. Cf. Bailey, 161, 166f., and n. on 7.5. **At** distinguishes Aen. from his men.

arces Visitors to Cumae, and pedants, will observe that Apollo's temple, if correctly identified, does not occupy the very highest point of the acropolis, *SC*, (**13**). Ignored, *EV*; it is most unlikely that V. refers here to the actual *temples* of Zeus and Apollo on the citadel(s) of Cumae. Cf. nn. on 2.41, 7.696, 11.490 and on 7.70 for *a.* as the symbol of power and authority; note *G.4.461 Rhodopeiae arces*, Prop.3.15.25 (Cithaeron), Man.4.562 (Capitol) and cf. plur. of *mons*, *iugum* often of a singular geogr. feature; Cunningham (**18**) concentrated on (comparable) coasts, shores and banks. Vd. Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.98 for the perspiring cult-statue.

quibus.../ 10 praesidet Cf. nn. on 3.35, 7.799; Apollo's dominion here both physical and religious.

altus Apollo The epithet both transferred from the citadel on which A.'s temple stands and applicable to A.'s lofty majesty. Cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, 109, Mantovanelli, *EV* 1, 121, *TLL* 1.1773.32 (von Mess), Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien*, 53, n.119. Vd. *SC*, (**24**) for the precedence or prominence given to A. in Virgil's narrative and vd. too Adler, 18f. for the notable sequence (from Leucadian Apollo on) of temples of citadels encountered by the Trojans.

10 horrendaeque...secreta Sibyllae For the (conventional) adj. ('awful', in the old sense), cf. **298** and Au. here. **S.**: *EV* 4, 743 (unilluminating). *OLD*, s.v. *secretum*, §2a, compares *G.4.403 secreta senis*.

procul Cf. *SC*, (**13**): altogether imprecise ('near', that is, or 'far').

Sibyl(s) and cave(s)

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To Dr. Paolo Caputo, currently director of the archaeological site of Cumae, I am deeply grateful for the time, acumen, erudition, hospitality and goodwill he lavished on my visit to the site: our positions proved agreeably, even surprisingly, close, but discussion with him did a great deal to sharpen my conclusions.

The interpretation here offered of the Cumaean Sibyl is, above all, intended to be compatible with what has emerged of Virgil's technique in respect of cult-sites and cults from a long period of analysis of such passages - in partic-

ular, Albunea, Soracte, Delos. There is nothing special about Cumae that enjoins different treatment.

(1) We begin from a neglected and uncontroversial aspect of the Sibyl, rather more widely significant than seems to have been realised. Virgil sets forth the details of the Sibyl's possession in three passages (3.441-7, **6.46-51**, **77-82**); the details were gathered and discussed quite recently (comm., on 3, *cit., ib.*, pp.477-9; vd. further on **77 Phoebi...patiens**). Here I only summarise my earlier discussion, with occasional updating:

(2) Details deriving from metaphor (vd. Lightfoot, 10):

(a) **6.49**, the swelling of the wave of madness, **et rabie fera corda tumment**. Cf. Aesch.*Eum.*832 κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος, Dem.19.314, Taillardat, 184f., LSJ s.v. κυμαίνω, §2.

(b) **6.77 Phoebi...patiens** (cf. **101 stimulos sub pectore uertit**). See Au. here, No., p.144, comm. on *Aen.*3, p.478, Russell on Longinus 13.2, Burkert, *Gk.rel.*, 117, S.Skulsky, *AJP* 108 (1987), 58-63 (*bene*), Johnston, *infra*, 40ff., and discussion of the words *plena deo*, attributed to V., 629ff.. This use of the 'horse and rider' metaphor (No., p.145f., Taillardat, 105f., Adams, *LSV*, 165f.), of goads and whips in accounts of possession (cf. comm. on 7.336, 405) and of the image of the god's domination of his mistress/seer (cf. the story of Apollo and Cassandra) in erotic terms (vd. Skulsky, Russell, Adams, *supra*) is widespread and familiar. Note Serv. on **321 Sibyllam Apollo pio amore dilexit (!) et ei obtulit poscendi quod uellet arbitrium**.

(3) The language of madness: 3.443 *insanam* (where vd. ample n.), **6.49 rabie**, **80 os rabidum**, **100 furenti**. The Sibyl accused of madness by non-believers, Lightfoot, 14, n.67. **6.78 bacchatur**: the language of Bacchic inspiration used of a back-street prophet, *Dig.*21.1.1.10; cf. Lightfoot, 10. The association of mantic and manic has long been recognised, Arist. *Probl.*954a35, Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.1, Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*109ff., S.I.Johnston (**98**), 109ff., Dodds, *Gks. irrat.*, 70ff., *Aen.*3, p.479.

(4) Accounts of physiological states not distinctively Sibylline: at *Aen.*3., p.477f., I listed **6.47 non uultus non color unus**, **48 non comptae mansere comae**, **48 pectus anhelum**, **49 maiorque uideri**, **50 nec mortale sonans**, **54f. gelidus... tremor** in the beholders. Vd. further comm. on these passages. The reader familiar with ancient accounts of such states (e.g. from Dodds' remarkable discussion) will recognise the conventional details, applied elsewhere to many other human conditions.

(5) Alongside Sibylline prophecy, V. recognises the Cumaean Sibyl's use of palm-leaves for written prophetic statements, 3.444-52 (where vd. n.) and **6.74f.** This is information of solidly Varronian origin,

ant.div.fr.58Cardauns (Serv. on 3.444) and *fr.297GRF* (=Plin.*Nat.*13.68). Such use of palm-leaves might be compared with the Italic oracular use of wooden tablets (n. on 3.444); palm-leaves also attested in Egyptian magical texts (Norden on 74ff.). Precise support is probably to be found in the second Sib. oracle preserved in Phlegon, *reb.mir.*, v.65 ἐν πετάλοις ἐμοῖς (Stramaglia, ed. Teubn., p.44), apparently an authentic text, perhaps of c.2BC: see n. on 851 for discussion of the problems of authenticity and chronology, with detailed bibliography (entirely omitted here). Possibly in Varro's time (and indeed V.'s) seen as a survival of earlier usage. But these leaves may also have a poetic force (leaves whisper in wind, blown by wind, *et sim.*): vd. on 3.441-60.

(6) 3.446 *digerit in numerum: in ordinem* glosses Serv.. A difficult expression clearly suggestive of some kind of sorting or filing. The only detail in V.'s accounts of the Sibyl 'in action' that is not perspicuously clear.

(7) So the prophetic detail is literary/derivative in origin, as easily shown in detail. Let us remember too that (8) there was no longer a Sibyl to observe, nor should we forget that the details of the landscape, or scenery, are likewise altogether conventional, though that cannot exclude some degree of harmony with sites on the ground at Cumae or Avernus:

(a) A wide and varied terminology is applied to the passages between upper world and lower, often dependent on function: see Ganschietz, 2378.30-68; they do of course vary notably in shape, size and surroundings, but descriptions tend more to uniformity than does the reality: cf. n. on 7.563-71, Reeker, 68f., B.Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis* (*Philol.*, *Supplbd.*24.2, 1932), 74f.. Cf. too Ganschietz, 2379.55ff. for caves and *ib.*, 43ff. for pools. Note in particular:

(b) Caves, as of e.g. Amphiaraus, Trophonius (Paus.9.39.10), and Calchas and Podalirius on Gargano; see Johnston (98), 93, 94, 95. Stärk, 21, Parke, 89f.(useful), K.Latte, PW 18.832.58ff. (s.v. 'Orakel'), Ganschietz, 10.2379.65ff. (s.v. 'Katabasis'; exceptionally detailed), No., p.134 (Euseb. on the oracle of Apollo at Branchidae), Rzach, 2084.65ff. (Sibyl's cave at Erythrae). Compare 3.443 *rupe sub ima* (with n.; of the Cum. Sibyl), 446 *antro* (again, Cumae), 6.11, 77, 157, 237 (where vd. n.), 261. The issues of method in topogr. description discussed at *GR* 32 (1985), 197-208 should not be overlooked.

(c) Forests. Cf. nn. on 179-82, (vi), 7.82 (Albunea), 566 *nemoris* (Ampsanctus), Reeker, 66f., 134, Rehm, 74f..

(d) *Ostia, fauces*. Cf. 43, 81 (*ostia*), 106 (*ianua*), of the entrance to the Sibyl's 'cave', 109 (*ostia*), 273 (*fauces*), of the entrance to the Underworld.

Fauces verges on the technical (n. on 274); for *ostia*, cf. Plaut.*Trin.*525, *trag.inc.*48, *G.*4.467, *Aen.*8.667, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1155.48ff.

(e) Lakes, ponds, swamps, pools, etc. often stinking and sulphureous (compare Avernus): vd. on [242], 7.84 (Albunea), 567 (Ampsancus), Rehm, 75-7, Reeker, 69.

(8) That shows clearly enough that V. here (even here) writes in terms of conventional landscape-types and elements, just as he does elsewhere (Rehm, 62-83, Reeker, Horsfall, *GR* 33 (1985), 199f.): the Sibyl's madness and the scenery within which she is sited are notably similar in their typical, conventional character. We come inevitably to the old discussion about V. as a topographer. Did he habitually visit the places he described and describe them with specific, even accurate detail? For surveys of the issue, vd. *Aen.*7, pp.417-8, *PBSR* 50 (1982), 50-2 and (1985), *cit.*, 197. As for Cumae, we know, independently, that V. lived nearby (cf. *Companion*, 7f.), and we know too that Statius (*Silv.* 3.5.97) visited the *tecta* of the Sibyl. We should record, still, many more or less underinformed proponents of V. as a scrupulous observer of topographical detail, Della Corte, 104f., Parke, 82, Paget, *Vergilius* 13 (1967), 50, and Smolenaars, 184. Contrast my prudent and lamented friend Castagnoli, 1011 (= *CF*, 50): 'lo studio del Lazio virgiliano mi ha persuaso che Virgilio non è una buona guida topografica', Stärk, 21, Paratore, 28, Monti (1994), 19, Clark (1991), 63, Eitrem, 91f., Corssen, 8.

I first became seriously involved with questions of Virgilian topography in 1968 and still share Castagnoli's position with conviction; here, several arguments have already been advanced to explain why this comm. stands firmly with the sceptics. We shall come (21) to the role of local guides, particularly well-attested at Cumae, though they cannot be shown to have influenced V.'s view.

It is singular that, given the great volume of discussion on the Cum. Sibyl, we have no historical account of her activity. Note, though, Frederiksen, 76: 'it is most unlikely that the prophecies took place in Virgil's day; by the time of the Roman empire, the practice was certainly no longer extant'; R.D.Williams' reference (on 6.2.) to an Augustan *restoration* of the Sibyl's *worship* at Cumae I do not understand. Virtually no detail or discussion is offered, but Frederiksen's conclusions are surely correct; cf., even more briefly, Parke, 81. Petr.48.8 suggests the conservation of relics (of, that is, a Sibyl dead for some time; vd. Schmeling *ad loc.*) and Sil.8.531 *quondam fatorum conscia Cyme* suggests that the Sibyl was known not to have functioned for a significant period before the days of Silius (vd. Spaltenstein's n.); SHA *Clod.Alb.*5.4 purports to record an imperial consultation, perfectly in keeping with the work's concern with religious oddities and the minutiae of Virgilian scholarship: cf. my remarks, *Coll.*

Hist. Aug. 3 (1995), 175-7, Syme, *Emp. Biogr.*, 203, D'Arms, 106. If V. could only listen to the guides' imprecise chatter, in lieu of gazing upon the priestess' frenzy, our understanding of his descriptions is inevitably affected.

(9) Before we summarise the hunt(s) for the mantic cave(s) at Cumae, it may help to summarise the 'evidence' provided by the text of *Aen.* 6. This has been done before, though with insufficient care (Corssen, 1f., Clark (1996), 217-223, *id.*, (1991), 61-6, Fletcher, 50-2, Eitrem, 92f., Paratore on 35) and increased familiarity with the bibliography compels me to follow the hero's steps with some care, however tedious the detail may seem:

(a) The *rupe sub ima* of 3.443 has far too often been taken mechanically as meaning 'at the bottom of the rock'. So Norden, p.134, Monti (1994), 22, Corssen, 2. This is not good Virgilian usage: cf. note on 7.82f. *lucosque sub alta/ consulit Albunea*. So at 3, *cit.*, 'in the depths of the rock' (thus too Fletcher, p.50, n.1). That will prove relevant later, (e)-(g).

(b) 9ff. **arces...petit** with 11 **antrum immane** and 13 **iam subeunt Triuiae lucos atque aurea tecta**. Aeneas, Achates and the unspecified Trojans of 41, 54 make uphill from their anchorage to the citadel of Cumae. Their goal is the temple of Apollo on the acropolis and, at an unspecified distance (10 **procul**), the Sibyl's **secreta** (*ib.*), where she receives Apollo's inspiration.

(c) 41 **alta in templa** The Sibyl has been fetched by Achates (34) and summons Aeneas **alta in templa**. Apollo's, presumably; the text supplies no other candidates, though if the Sibyl's **antrum** were also taken here as in some sense a *templum*, that would ease the flow of the narrative, as Heyne noted. Is Apollo's temple a lofty building? Or does it stand on a lofty crag? Or are both implied? Vd. Fletcher, *cit.*, Clark *Lat.* (1977), 493f.. 9 **arces** suggests a temple on the *arx*, though its height is not excluded.

(d) 42 **excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum** with 45 **uentum erat ad limen**, 53 **attonitae magna ora domus**. The cave of 11, clearly enough. It seems as though the Sibyl's cave has both an entrance (45; cf. 47 **fores**) and 'windows' which amplify the Sibyl's voice and cause it to re-echo (43 **aditus**, **ostia**); both for the suppliants to approach the **antrum**, apparently, and for the voice to emerge. This ensemble appears to be the **domus** specified at 53. Its physical relationship to Apollo's temple has overtaxed scholars for generations, but a precise understanding of the details is quite unnecessary for our understanding and enjoyment of the narrative.

We pass on to Apollo's immanent presence:

(e) 77f. **in antro/ bacchatur uates**.

(f) 81f. **ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum/ sponte sua uatique ferunt responsa per auras**.

(g) 98 ex adyto...99 antro.

Ring-composition (**43, 81**) guarantees that it is the **ostia** of the Sibyl's **antrum** that fly open (sc. upon Apollo's invisible arrival/presence) and that same presence drives the Sibyl to prophesy in her **antrum**. Virgil's use of **domus, tecta** hardly deserves the attention it has received at e.g. Corssen, 7, Clark (1996), 218f.; 'living quarters' as against 'temple' is not mandatory. A natural term for 'seat', and the more specific 'dwelling' is not necessarily involved. *EV* 5*, 72. 'The seat of the Sibyl's activity', were one to spell it out. V. also uses **tecta** (**211**). As Clark notices, this terminology is used of both caves.

(h) 157 linquens antrum See (**10, infra**); this is the point at which Aen. leaves the acropolis of Cumae.

(i) 162f. in litore sicco,/ ut uenere, uident.

(j) 179 itur in atiquam siluam; the topography of the Misenus-scene, cf. (**148**), **(1)(d)**. The **tecta Sibyllae** of **211** remain potentially perplexing: does V. refer to the 'upper' or to the 'lower' cave (vd. *infra*)? See Clark (1996), 220f., Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1971.28f.. Hardly an issue fit for discussion, surely, for the poet declines entirely to offer us an answer to an issue he so visibly prefers not to adumbrate.

(10) At this point, we must concentrate on the cave(s) in V.'s narrative, more briefly than in some earlier discussions. Contrast:

(a) the **antrum** of **42, 99, 157**, present in the narrative before V. leaves the heights: vd. **(9), (f), (g)** and

(b) 237 spelunca alta fuit, with **237-41** for the ample detail of the *Katabasis*-site. The two sites do appear to correspond neatly enough to the twin aspects of the Sibyl's activity, Apolline and chthonian, as has long been realised, Eitrem, 90, Clark, (1991), 63f., (1996), 219.

(11) At Cumae, we have to bear in mind the literary tradition, the archaeological finds, what V. may have been told by local guides (vd. **(21)**), and what he may, or may not, have seen. Our study of the evidence *need* not lead to any sort of secure answer, nor to any bright light of understanding that shines steadily upon the text. A particular merit of Stärk's study is the distinction he draws (19) between (i), the actual Sibyl's cave, (ii), what V. saw, if indeed he saw anything, and (iii), what was later shown as what V. had seen. This discussion may seem laborious and pedantic, but both Paget's discovery and, in particular, Maiuri's (*infra*, **13**) were greeted with high excitement, to be compared, in recent times, with that with which the discovery of the 'Tomb of Aeneas' was hailed in 1972 (for details, see *CQ* 29 (1979), 388).

(12) Before we look at the archaeological issues and at the evidence for cave(s) and Sibyl(s) at Cumae, it will be useful to consider briefly

Varro's famous list of Sibyls: see Parke, 2f., Waszink, 159=55f., Wlosok, *RHRD*, 310f., B.Cardaus, *Herm.*89 (1961), 359, Rzach, 2076.36ff., Nikiprowetzky, 4, Lightfoot, 4, Miller, 134, Clark, *Catabasis*, 205. It is perfectly clear from e.g. Rzach's meticulous account (2091.9ff., 2095.11ff.) that Cumaean and Cimmerian Sibyls were altogether distinct. At Varr.*ant.div.fr.*56aCardaus we read (*Lact.inst.*1.6.4) *quartam Cimmeriam in Italia, quam Naevius in libris de belli Punici, Piso in annalibus nominet...*(10) *septimam Cumanam nomine Amaltheam, quae ab aliis Herophile uel Demophile nominetur, eamque nouem libros attulisse ad regem Tarquinium Priscum.* The Cimmerian Sibyl we will find to have been located somewhere very near Lake Avernus (16), the Cumaean at, or very near, the top of the Cumaean acropolis (13). Note, however, Clark's acute remark (1996, 225f.) that by *Stat.Silv.*5.3.172f. (St. a local boy, by birth) the two sites/Sibyls were predictably conflated, whereas they are still kept distinct at *ib.*, 4.3.114-6 and 131-3. Let us try to disentangle the literary and archaeological evidence as it refers to the two Sibyls. There are some further Augustan texts (23) that bear on the Cumaean Sibyl.

(13) Archaeological and literary evidence for the Sibyl on or near the acropolis. On the peak of the acropolis at Cumae there are the remains of a temple probably to be ascribed to Zeus (*Liv.*27.23.2, Corssen, 4f., Maiuri, 121-2): given that such a temple existed (*Liv.*, *cit.*), it might be thought to have occupied a slightly higher position than the neighbouring temple, probably Apollo's. For Cumaean Apollo (vd. Miller, 135, Unte, Galinsky, 74, 77, 117-21, Caputo, 83-96), the evidence is equally fragile. A relevant Oscan inscription seems to have been lost (see e.g. Clark (1991), 61f.). Note however the dedication to *Apollini Cumano*, *CIL* 10.3683 = *ILS* 4038 (vd. Caputo, 42). If the findspot is correctly recorded (cf. Clark, *loc.cit.*), then it is not (*pace* Clark) so much a circular argument, as evidence for the dedication of the Temple of Apollo. But I am advised by Dr. Caputo that the recording of the findspot inspires only suspicion. Cf. *Coel.Ant.fr.* 54P for the cult statue there. Augustan work on the temple does not bear on the problems here discussed (see McKay (1973), 61, 63 (speculative), Caputo, 37, Maiuri, 19-21). Virgil called the Sibyl's cave (unhelpfully; the word is altogether imprecise: 'relative to the situation', observes Au., well) **procul** (10) from Apollo's temple. For *Ps.Arist.*, cf. (18)(i). The cave's location baffled scholars until May 1932, and in all probability it should still: at that date Amedeo Maiuri ('le grand et vénéré Maiuri', writes Heurgon) began to excavate a remarkably tempting candidate for the Sibyl's cave (vd. the fine description, Hardie in Au., pp.53-5): this was a gallery, or *dromos*, of trapezoidal section, just over 130 yards long, cut from the tufa, with six windows facing seawards; even photographs convey something of the effect that it has upon the viewer. See

Clark, (*Lat.*1977), 491f., Heurgon, 157, Monti (1994), 20, Sbordone, 125 (and for full details, De Franciscis, *Atti* 1981, 2 (Milano 1984), 161, n.57) for Maiuri's successful, essentially unpublished, but splendidly publicised dig; in the immediate aftermath of the bimillenary of V.'s birth (vd. L.Canfora, *EV* 2, 469-72), the 'discovery' was wonderfully well-timed (vd. P.Caputo in *Lo sistema uomo-ambiente...*, ed. C.A. Livadie and F.Ortolani (Bari 1998), 54, n.3, and P.G.Guzzo, *Enc.Biogr.Ital.*, s.v. for M.'s philo-Fascist sympathies; available online). No detailed publication, no account of the objects found in the *dromos*, no prudent scholarly discussion (a year after Rehm's brilliant thesis was published, §7 (a)), were ever offered and the superficial charms of M.'s case still hold the field, as in Caputo, etc., 53-63, except for the reference to a 'galleria militare' at 44 and the suggestion of a much later date, c.4-3, at 62: in such a popular account, there can still be no place for cautious scepticism, alas. Are the windows the **ostia** of (9), (f)? Is Maiuri's identification binding? In fact the gallery's date and function are altogether unclear. It can hardly have been the work of Aristodemus of Cumae (late c.6 BC); the date is probably a couple of centuries later. It might have been excavated for military, or perhaps for religious purposes (cf. Parke, 80, 85, Monti (1991), 41-4, Clarke (*Lat.*1977), 486), or so it is argued. Dr. Caputo advises me that the elaborate systems for water-storage (cf. *id.*, *Cuma*, 57) point most naturally to a military function. Recent debate has been fundamentally unilluminating, and we have no detailed archaeological record. From the first, the identification of the gallery with the **domus** of 81 has provoked doubt in respectable, even distinguished, scholars (Stärk, 18f., Castagnoli, 1010f., Marrou, 32-4, van Essen, 354, 359f., D'Arms, *Vergilius* 15 (1969), 59, Lavagne, 481f.; cf. further Clark (*Lat.* 1977), 482, 486f.); the six windows and concluding 'adyton' (cf. Maiuri, 133, fig.78) are not sufficient *proof* of identity between V.'s site and Maiuri's. It seems to me that we can say no more than that Maiuri's gallery *may*, perhaps, have influenced V.'s picture.

(14) Only one ancient text (apart, potentially, from *Aen.*) seems to refer specifically to the gallery, the c.3 Christian Ps. Just. *Cohort. Gent.* 37 (=35A^f); text and translation are easily available (Rzach, 2092.62ff., Clarke (1977) 487ff., Monti (1991), 47f.), but the relationship of *Aen.*, Ps. Just. and Maiuri's gallery has provoked hasty and optimistic speculation (Clark (1977), 487, (1996), 232, McKay (1970), 208). The relationship is correctly stated by Stärk, 19: Ps. Just. describes with some care what he was shown as being the Sibyl's cave, some 250 years after *Aen.* Ps. Just. described the cave as 'hewn out of a single rock' and 'deserving of all admiration'. In the middle of the 'basilica' they showed three δεξαμενάς, tanks, cut out of the rock, in which the Sibyl bathed. The presence of three tanks

in the centre of Maiuri's gallery shows clearly enough that Ps.Just. was describing the *dromos* we still admire.

(15) The site attracted a surprising amount of attention in the early Byzantine period, from Johannes Laurentius Lydus (*Mens.*4.47; a catalogue of Sibyls), Agathias (*Hist.*1.10) and Procopius (*Bell.*5.14.3; related to Agathias here, Monti (1991), 47ff.): see Monti (1991), 46-9, Rzach, 2092.55ff., Clark (1977), 487). Agathias describes the cave as having been destroyed during the siege by Narses (552AD; for the context, cf. Gibbon, ch.43; 4, 497f. in the World's Classics ed.). Dr. Caputo informs me that the walls above the present entrance to the *dromos* do display traces of damage compatible with the collapse narrated by Agathias. Cf. P.Caputo, *Boll. Arch.*22 (1993), 124. Ps.Justin probably does *not* describe the same site as the Byzantines.

(16) Downhill, the situation is a good deal more complicated. First, no suitable site has ever been found in the vicinity of Lake Avernus, which it will soon emerge is where we should be looking for a Sibylline cave. Cf. Hardie, in Au., p.108. It is only too likely, however, that bradyseism long ago destroyed any above-ground traces of the entrance, though modern echo-sounding techniques may rediscover it. Secondly, the sites proposed as pretenders to a Sibylline association (whether Cumaean or Cimmerian) are strikingly unsuitable; two will detain us for a moment:

(a) The *antrum* leading inland from the harbour at Baiiae (see map, Paget (1969), 103) is in quite the wrong place for either Sibyl, and indeed neither Paget nor Hardie ever quite call it Sibylline (vd. de Franciscis, 152f., Lavagne, 481f., Castagnoli, 78 = 1038f.); used perhaps for drainage (vd. Castagnoli, Lavagne).

(b) The original 'Grotta della Sibilla' is likewise not in the right place, and is now securely identified as a tunnel of the 30s BC, part of the military development of the area; cf. Clark, (1996), 223-9 with map, 230, showing clearly the tunnel's line, Caputo, etc., 132ff., 169ff..

(17) It does, however, emerge from the literary evidence that there indeed was another Sibyl located somewhere near the crater of Avernus (Frederiksen, 76, with Clark, *Catabasis*, 204-6, *id.*, (1991), 66, (1996), 219, Rzach, 2095.11-62, Perret, 101f., Parke, 72, 93, Corssen, 9, Ganschietz, 2420.4ff., Hardie in Au., pp.279-81, Hardie (1969), 32f., Heurgon, 157-61). Hardie approaches the evidence for the Cimmerian Sibyl with atypical severity.¹ The Cimmerian Sibyl's presence at Avernus is a by-product of the transference to the West of (parts, at least) of the story of Odysseus: the

1 Long ago he used to discuss these texts with me, and I am deeply grateful for his learned and gentle friendship

Cimmerians of *Od.*11.14, like Circe, and like the Sirens and Laestrygonians found a home off the W. coast of central Italy, close (it can hardly be an accident) to Pithecussae; their association with *Od.*'s *Katabasis* leads them naturally to Avernus: see Hardie in *Au.*, p.282, A.Ballabriga, *Les fictions d'Homère* (Paris 1998), 32ff., 147, H.-H. and A.Wolf, *Der Weg des Odysseus* (Tübingen 1968), 119 (*caueas, lector*), E.D.Phillips, *JHS* 73 (1953), 53-67 at 56f., Thomson, *Hist.anc.geogr.*, 25f., J.Bérard, *La colonisation grecque*₂ (Paris 1957), 309, *et passim*, and my notes on 3.386, 7.5-24 (with further bibliography). D.Ogden's account of necromancy at Avernus, 61ff. unfortunately and quite unacceptably reduces the oracles at Cumae and Avernus to a single one (66; necromancy in *Aen.*6, etc.).

(18) I list the texts which bear (or might bear) on the Cimmerian Sibyl and on the Oracle of the Dead at Avernus in roughly chronological order and so far as possible try to simplify the problems of date, authorship and interpretation. (c) and (i) may well not belong here at all.

(a) Aeschylus, *Psychagogi*, *TGF* 3, F273ARadt; R. is far less sure than Rusten, 34, 37f. that the reference here is to Avernus.

(b) Ephorus, *FGH* 70F134, ap. Strab.5.4.5 refers to the Cimmerians and their oracle, without naming the Sibyl in his rationalistic account, though I find it hard to credit that he is *not* referring to the oracle at Avernus. Cf. Corssen, 9, Hardie (1969), 32, *id.*, ap. *Au.*, p.285f., Parke, 73f..

(c) [Lyc.]1279f.: the gloomy dwelling of the Sibyl (located somewhere near Cumaean Apollo), roofed over by the pit of the cavernous chamber ('coperta dalla volta ricurva di una spelonca'; tr. Fusillo, etc., 'couverte par le gouffre de la caverne qui l'abrite', tr. G.Lambin). These vv. are part of the 'Roman lines' of Lyc., long suspected as being interpolated, and in which I have detected many later Greek plays upon Virgil's Latin, *JCS* 30 (2005), 35-40. [Lyc.] might seem to fuse, perhaps inspired by V., Apollo's temple with the cave in Avernus. See Waszink, 51ff.=155ff., Parke, 71f., Miller, 134f., Monti (1991), 48f.; the focus of discussion is altered if the text is post-Virgilian (not, probably, by long) and I doubt that Parke's argument for Lycus of Rhegium (72) as Lyc.'s source applies equally to a post-Virgilian [Lyc.].

(d) Naev.*Bell.Poen.*fr.12Strz. = Lact.*Inst.*1.6.9. See (12), *supra*. Cf. Flores, 826, Parke, 72-4, Galinsky, 70, Stärk, 21f., S.Mariotti, *Il Bellum Poenicum e l'arte di Nevio* (Roma 1955), 46, M.Barchiesi, *Nevio epico* (Padova 1962), 521f.; if we are right in using *OGR* 10.1 to supplement Varro here (see (k), *infra*), then enticing perspectives open, of Naevius' *Aen.* consulting the Cimm. Sibyl at least about Prochyta's death.

(e) Piso, fr.41P =fr.2 Chassignet/Beck-Walter (cited by Varro (ap.Lact.) on the Cimmerian Sibyl; see (12), *supra*).

(f) Cic.Tusc.1.37 *inde ea, quae meus amicus Appius νεκρομαντεῖα faciebat, inde in uicinia nostra Auerni lacus: unde animae excitantur obscura umbra aperto ex ostio altae Acheruntis...*(trag.inc.76f.).

For Appius' dabbling in necromancy, vd. Rawson, *Intell. life*, 310, Ogden, 150. For the tragic reference to Avernus (which must have made some sort of sense to a contemporary audience, familiar with what happened), cf. Corssen, 10, Hardie (1969), 32.

(g) Liv.24.12.4: Hannibal went to Avernus with his army, *per speciem sacrificandi*; see Hardie (1969), 32, *id.*, in Au., p.286, n.36.

(h) Maximus of Tyre (c.2.AD) 8.2. refers to a μαντεῖον ἄντρον by Lake Avernus; see Corssen, 10, Hardie (1969), 32.

(i) [Arist.] *mir.ausc.*97 (for the c.2AD date, cf. K.Ziegler, PW 18.3.1150.61ff.); the underground chamber of the oracular Sibyl, called by some Cumaea, by some Melanraera. I have wondered whether the 'underground chamber' might not be more appropriate to the Cimmerian Sibyl, anyway more prominent in the pre-Virgilian Greek tradition.

(j) Serv. ad Aen.3.386 (*inferniq̄ue lacus*) *Lucrinum et Auernum dicit, inter quos est spelunca per quam ad inferos descendebatur*. Cf. Clark (1996), 225.

(k) *OGR* 10.1 refers to a consultation of the Cimmerian Sibyl by Aeneas. The reference to Piso at the end of the paragraph (by which time the story of Aen. and Prochyta is long mislaid) is no sort of evidence for such a story having been told by the annalist. Nevertheless, fr.3, Chassignet/Beck-Walter is attributed to Piso, on quite inadequate grounds.

The κερβέριον of PsScymn.289 is probably interpolated. But there seems to be enough evidence (I refer in particular to Cic. and Livy) even so for Sibylline activity by Lake Avernus (and possibly necromantic too), not as a matter of mere literary fantasy. But it is no surprise that it was the Cumaean, not the Cimmerian Sibyl who offered Tarquin her books.

Six brief appendices are offered:

(19) Aeneas and the Cumaean Sibyl. The precise extent of the influence of Naev.'s Cimmerian Sibyl must remain unresolved. Before V., there is no explicit link between Aen. and the Cumaean Sibyl: cf. Bömer, *cit.*, Perret, 101f, Mariotti, 41f., Corssen, 11, Waszink, 160=56. Note, though, DH's reference to the presence of Aen. and the Trojans 'in Sibylline oracles', *AR* 1.49.3. We have seen that [Lyc.]1278-80 is post-Virgilian, (18)(c); Miller, 134 at least allows that the text may not be by Lyc.. Associations between Aen. and the *Eastern* Sibyls (J.B.Garstang, *CJ* 59 (1963), 97-101; loosely argued), such as that of Erythrae, are attested, DH 1.55.4 (with comm. on *Aen.*3, xxxi, n.59, G.Vanotti, *L'altro Enea*

(Roma 1995), 202; note too *Aen.*3.85) and are no surprise. For the Cimmerian Sibyl, vd. previous section.

(20) The Cumaean Sibyl in the tradition of guides to the Underworld. Alongside Tiresias (*Od.*11; Knauer, 199-209), note that the 'katabatic' Heracles (see (120)) is guided by Hermes (*Apld.Bibl.*2.5.12), bearing a golden *caduceus*, almost Bough-like, (136-48), (2)(c). Note also the analogy between Circe's role in *Od.*11 and that of the Eleusinian Eumolpus before Heracles' descent. Cf. [*Apld.*], *cit.*, Clark, *Katabasis*, 217-222, Lloyd-Jones (120), 211-3, 224-5, Parker (*ib.*), 98. Dionysus guided by Polymnus, *Paus.*2.37.5 (cf. Clark, *Catabasis*, 104f.).

(21) The oral tradition at Cumae. Cf. Stärk, 19, Monti (1991), 46, Potter, 482, Rzach, 2093.30. *Strab.*5.4.5 (repeatedly), *Paus.*10.12.8, *Ps.Just. Cohort.*35B/37.1, *Procop.Bell.*5.14.3 and *Agathias Hist.*1.10 all refer to local, oral accounts at Cumae. For the remains of the Sibyl, cf. Hyperochus, *FGH* 576F2 (with T.J.Cornell, *Mus.Helv.*31 (1974), 206), *Paus.*10.12.8, *Petr.*48.8, with Smith, Schmeling *ad loc.* and Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 2, 424. For 'local tradition and guides' stories' (Habicht's phrase, *Pausanias' guide*, 30), see e.g. *ib.*, 145, L.Casson, *Travel*, 264f., R.Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 110f., R.MacMullen, *Paganism in the Rom. Emp.*, 29, with nn. 54, 55, E.Gabba, *JRS* 71 (1981), 61, W.M.Calder, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 281-7, L.Friedlaender, *Sittenges.*19, 451f., S.Reinach *DS* 2.1, 885-6, *RMM*, 6, 9. Such *periegetai* and *exegetai* present also in Italy/Sicily: e.g. *Liv.*43.13.4, *Gell.*6.1.6. Did V. himself pay his *as*, to hear an *aurea fabula*? We have no idea at all.

Paus. reports that the Cumaeans could not point out where the Sibyl's Cumaean oracle actually was. *Ps. Justin*, a century later, describes *Maiuri's* gallery as the Sibyl's. So was *Paus.* not shown it? In his time, was it not shown off as the *Virgilian Deiphobe's*? The conflict between *Paus.* and *PsJust.* discourages any overconfidence in the identification of *Maiuri's* gallery.

(22) The spelling of 'Cumaean' and the name of the Cumaean Sibyl. At 98, **Cymeia MR, Cumaea P**: At 3.441 **M** has -y-, and **P**, -u-; at 2, **R** has -y-, and **MP** -u-, and at *Buc.*4.4 **R** has -u- and γ (here for **P**) -y- (the indir. tradition divided and the weight of the c.9 mss. -u-). To judge by *Schwering, TLL Onom.*2.742.47f. the standard spelling in Lat. texts is -u- and there is insufficient evidence here to introduce -y-. Certainly *Flores* (826) should not have concluded that V. deliberately used here the anomalous, 'refined' Greek form. Note though that -y- at *Sil.*8.531 might suggest that *Varro* had used that spelling. But *Sil.*'s mss. yield some strange toponymy: *BSL* 19 (1989), 177.

With the name Deiphobe Glauci (36), V. breaks sharply (and it seems not to be quite clear why) with existing versions (vd. e.g. Gruppe, 927, n.6, §7); Varro, *cit.* offers the names Amalthea (vd. Tib.2.5.67), and alternatively Herophile/Demophile (or Demo, Paus.10.12.8=Hyperochus, *FGH* 576F2) for the Cum. Sibyl. Cf. too ‘Melancraera’ in the source (not automatically Timaeus) of [Arist.] *Mir.Ausc.*95/97. See Rzach, 2091.9-2092.24, Cardauns on Varr., *cit.*. Her father Glaucus a shepherd of Anthedon (in Boeotia, facing Euboean Chalcis, 17), divinised and traditionally oracular (can V. actually have read Cic.’s youthful *Glaucus Pontius*? A favoured topic: so already Alex.Aet.fr.1Powell, and Call., recorded in the *Suda*’s entry). Vd. Gantz, 2, 732f., G.Petrone, *EV* 2, 768, Kirchner, *PW* 7.1408.54ff., Gaedechens, *Ro.* 1.1678.67ff..

(23) Other Augustan evidence for the Cumaean Sibyl (*Buc.*4.4, Tib.2.5.67): Whether V.’s words (*ultima Cumaei uenit iam carminis aetas*) refer to an *actual* Sibylline text is a problem much-discussed: cf. Nisbet (82), 59f. (= *Coll. papers* 47f.), Wlosok, *RHRD*, 310f. (removal of Cymaean Hes. from the discussion). Certainly the immediate context of an *ultima...aetas* in *Buc.*4 refers to a principal concern of Sibylline, and indeed all eschatological, writing: with *or.Sib.*3.197, cf. Nikiprowetzky, 88-112, *OT Pseudepigrapha* ed. J.H.Charlesworth, index s.v. Time, end of. On Tib.2.5.67 (which refers only to Amalthea, as the Cumaean Sibyl was sometimes called), see F.Cairns, *Tibullus* (Cambridge 1979), 76f., Tib. ed. Maltby, p.431, Miller, 143, Waszink, *cit.*, Cardauns (1961). Tib.2.5 is not comparable to the heavy Virgilian influence discernible in *Hor.C.*4 and *Prop.*4, and, though he could have known *Aen.*6, Tib. seems to avoid open acknowledgement of V.’s influence, though that has been claimed (cf. Maltby, Tib., p.431 for a sane view).

(24) Deiphobe between Hecate and Apollo: from 9 on, the less-than-attentive reader might proceed on the assumption that the Sibyl is some sort of acolyte or assistant of Apollo. The case against such a view is first made by P.Corsen, *Sokrates* 1 (1913), 1-16; see too Norden p.154 and on 9-13, 109 *doceas iter*, Lloyd-Jones (120), 225, Miller, 134, Gercke, 176ff., Eitrem, 90ff.. Apollo’s presence in the book is familiar (9, 12, etc., listed, Miller, 146, n.119), but the Sibyl’s associations are *both* Olympian/oracular *and* expertly chthonian (13, 35, 117f. (with 564), 142 with 402, 628-36, not to mention 69); she is after all (35) **Phoebi Triuiaequae sacerdos**. We should compare the division of the narrative between citadel and crater (13), (16) and the oracular associations of Cumae, both richly Apolline and, down by Lake Avernus, amply chthonian (*supra*, §18). If V. makes a Sibyl, a seer inspired by Apollo, into a guide to the infernal regions, she will inevitably manifest mixed, but traditional, and therefore relatively

unsurprising, associations. His Sibyl both distinguishes, and fuses, the two traditions; vd. Cartault, 431f. and Butler's n. on 9-45. Note that Hera too was once an oracular deity at Cumae; for the epigr. evidence, cf. Parke, 88f., P.Johnston, *Vergilius* 44 (1998), 16f., Ogden, 69. It is hardly relevant that V. refers to Proserpina as *Iuno inferna* (138).

11 antrum immane Appos. promptly adds a definition to *secreta*; cf. *SC*, (10), (11) and see too *ib.*, (7)(b) for the conventional role of caves in such descriptions. So too at 237 of the Sibyl's *spelunca*, no longer on the acropolis; see *SC*, (10)(b). I.: *EV* 2, 924, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.440.37.

petit Cf. 492, nn. on 2.25, 3.115, 'the flattest of words available'.

magnam...mentem animumque Nothing quite similar in the list of instances of *m.*+abstracts in V., *EV* 3, 321; 'proleptic'. notes Bulhart. *TLL* 8.136.67f. (but vd. *infra*). Negri, 237-47 offers a typically minute analysis: note (i) there is little or no point in trying to distinguish the location and role of *m.* and *a.* in such an expression, (ii) the possible influence on V. of *Lucr.* 1.74 *mente animoque* and (iii) the (?influential) affinity of Hom. expressions such as *κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν* (Negri, 245); the accumulation of synonyms, though, is deeply rooted in earlier Latin. Students of these words have also asked whether the *mentem animumque* to which V. refers are the Sibyl's or Apollo's: N. retorts briskly (248) that in the comparable passages 49 *rabie fera corda tument*, 78f. *magnum si pectore possit/ excussisse deum* and 80 *fera corda domans*, it is the Sibyl's spirit, not Apollo's, that concerns the poet. That said, the issue is only of limited importance. Perhaps the significance of the adj. has been undervalued: that the Sibyl's (probably) spirit 'grows' under the influence of the *magnus deus* of 78f. seems altogether appropriate. Apollo's inspirational might is immeasurable (for *m.* of divinities, *EV* 3, 320), as though the rushing mighty wind of *Acts* 2.2 had some place on the Beaufort scale.

cui.../ 12 ...inspirat Cf. González-Haba, *TLL* 7.1.1961.40 (comparing 1.688 *occultum inspires ignem* and Negri, 238 (post-Virgilian instances of the element inspired within the person). Knauer compares the *ἐμπνευσε* of *Il.*10.482, 102f., n.4, and indeed the common *κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν* for *mentem animumque*, *supra*.

12 Delius...uates Reisch, *TLL Onom.*3.89.64; see n. on 3.85-9 and now Miller, 103-11 for V.'s view of Delian Apollo. V. of a deity apparently very rare: J.K.Newman, *The concept of Vates in Augustan poetry* (*Coll. Lat.*89, Bruxelles 1967), 33, *EV* 5*, 456, *OLD* s.v., §1a, Val.Fl.4.445.

aperitque futura A.: cf. *EV* 1, 217 (thin), Prinz, *TLL* 2.217.83f., 12.26 *haud mollia fatu*, *Ov.Met.*15.559, *OLD* s.v., §12a. F.: cf. *G.*4.239 *haud incauta futuri*, *OLD* s.v. *futurum*, *Cic.Phil.*4.10 *futura praedicunt*. Paschal-

is, 210, O'Hara, *TN*, 165f. suggest, attractively, a play between **Delius** and **aperit** (i.e. δηλοῖ), citing e.g. Serv. on 3.73.

13 iam subeunt Cf. nn. on 7.161 (?), 7.668 *sic regia tecta subibat* ('hitherto military and comic'). Plur. not quite as at **34**, because there Achates is absent, whereas here he might be included, and at **158** he definitely is.

Triuia Cf. n. on 7.774 and *SC*, (**24**) for the Sibyl's links to Hecate/Trivia.

lucos Cf. *SC*, (7)(c) for forests as a conventional element in such scenery; apparently, no distinctions are observed between the various words for 'forest', 'wood', 'grove' (see e.g. n. on 7.82). No more should we toil to establish whether these *luci* are the same as those of **118** and **564** (so Au.); careful reading of V. quite fails to establish that he wrote with an eye to such tiresome consistency.

atque aurea tecta Cf. **211 uatis...aub tecta Sibyllae**. *Apollinis scilicet* Serv.; there might seem to be a hint of Augustan, and more precisely Palatine, magnificence, though the texts seem not to offer detail on the roof of Pal. Apollo. Comms. rightly remark that that splendour hardly suits some permanent residence of the Sibyl; the epithet altogether likelier to refer to Apollo's temple. But did the Sibyl have a grander residence not on the acropolis at Cumae? An untimely question, undeserving of reply; we may have begun to learn (*SC*) that this is not how the topography of bk. 6 functions.

14-41 The doors of Apollo's temple

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1 I have added titles here, on account of the very varied content of these vv..

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(1) The introduction of Apollo's temple at 14 has been described as abrupt (so e.g. Fitzgerald, 52). And so in appearance it seems at the outset, but 17 **Chalcidica** takes up 2 **Euboicis**, as 18 **Phoebe** does 9 **Apollo** and 19 **immania templa** does 13 **aurea tecta**. 14-9 is a peculiarly correct, formal *aition* of the presence of a great decorated temple of Apollo at Cumae, long even before the arrival of Aeneas. This is subject-matter of a type familiar since Hdt. and canonised by AR and Call. himself; vd. n. on 3.692-707. It is also worth recalling the concentration upon Crete in Call.*HZeus*. Note:

(2) 18 **sacrauit** Vd. n. there for the standard sailors' usage of offering/dedication promised in exchange for safe passage.

(3) 14 **ut fama est**. Vd. n. there for V. and his sources here; in fact he expands upon previous accounts of Daedalus' flight and refers to the 'learned' tradition in, typically, a faintly misleading way.

(4) The commemoration of Icarus comparable to those of Misenus (232-5), Palinurus (378-81) and Caieta (7.1-4).

(5) 17 **Chalcidica** typical reference to the name of the mother-city.

(6) 19 travellers/colonists build temples (as they do tombs, altars): see *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 27, citing e.g. 5.759-61.

(7) For pictures on temple doors, vd. Mynors' n. on *G.3.26*; we agree that (Syracuse) Cic.*Verr.*4.124 and (Palatine Apollo) Prop.2.31.13f. are the

1 I am much obliged to the author for a copy of this very rare item.

parallels to cite. On the former, vd. Pollitt, *Art of Rome*, 69, Pottier, DS 3.1.606f., and on the latter, Platner-Ashby, 17, Dudley, *Urbs Roma*, 155, Richardson, *Topogr. dicty.*, 14. Yet another summary of writing on ekphrasis since Friedlaender is not called for here, but it is worth recalling Pöschl's acute definition of ekphrasis as compressed epyllion (1975, 119, *Dichtkunst*, 181). V.'s writing in these lines is markedly neoteric in character: vd. in particular Weber, 46-51, with Armstrong, 140 and Clausen, *THP*, 113 (so already No., 122); much of W.'s analysis I have gratefully rearranged (with some small adjustments of detail) in comm.. We need also to bear in mind two remarkable antecedents available to V. for the treatment of Cretan myth in recent Lat. poetry, Cat.64 and V. himself, *Buc.*6.45-7: vd. Alfonsi, *cit.*, Armstrong, 80-4 and ch.5, Weber, 50. The passage is not only Daedalus' tribute to his son, but V.'s own to the masters of his youth. Does his pen seem to fail, in reverence for their talents? Note at least that careful analysis of **30 tu quoque** does seem to guarantee an essential, visible link in V.'s writing between Daedalus' art and the Roman poetic tradition.

(8) Virgil does not narrate Icarus' flight, nor did Daedalus portray his son's death. Daed. could not, from grief, and V. will not, from loyalty or respect towards the grief felt by his fellow artist. Daedalus has portrayed himself in his own relief (widely recognised as a major novelty in ekphrastic writing); V. had perhaps in mind Aen.'s recognition of himself in the battle-scenes of Juno's temple, 1.488 *se quoque*. We see Daed.'s hand through V.'s pen. His reliefs are hexametric; goldsmithing lives through poetry. Daed.'s inability to continue is respected: not only no death scene but Aen.'s study of the reliefs is cut short by the Sibyl. What else could there have been to be seen? Vd. Casali, 2-4 for speculation.

(9) In reaction to portentous discussion of the Death of Art (in particular, vd. Segal (136-48, 1965), 644, Pöschl (1975), 121, Staley, 142), see Paschalis, 36. Talk of Daedalus' 'failure' is indeed in some basic ways unsatisfactory: Daedalus' art survives thanks to the *Aeneid*; through Virgil, and not through his completed art, his love for his son is preserved for ever (so too Aug. and Marcellus, Mez. and Lausus, Evander and Pallas). Love and pity crippled his work, but they both now survive, typically of V., triumphant (vd. Klingner, 495). Art and poetry are mutually indispensable, and, thanks to V., we share in Daed.'s sense of loss. His 'failure' is as immortal as his success would have been. *Aen.* is in some sense his consolation.

(10) The structure of the scenes on the doors is a source of vigorous speculation, even if we eschew consideration of what (else) Daed. may have left out; Icarus' wings are not even present in the panels of the door, but have been relegated (?) to the author's introduction. On the arrangement of the panels, vd. Pöschl, *Dichtkunst*, 184, Zarker, 221, Fitzgerald, 54, Erdmann, 486. Not even the number of panels seems to be clearly estab-

lished, though a balance (**23 contra**) between Athenian and Cretan scenes seems to be indicated. I have wondered whether **23 respondet** might not hint, metapoetically, at discussion (possibly between Aeneas and his comrades, as in **34 perlegerent**), of the scenes' meaning.

(11) Discussion of the scenes has in large measure revolved around the precise identification of the scenes (not entirely clear) and the associations which they are held to evoke. I offer, (14)-(23), a list, roughly sorted, and with some comment, to indicate an approximate assessment of each association's credibility, somewhere between near-certainty and the merest har-oliation.

(12) Language and objects: **22 stat ductis sortibus urna**; compare the courtroom urn of **432**, operated, interestingly, by none other than Minos, as a judge of the dead. For the labyrinth, cf. (13).

(13) Cross-refs. within *Aen.*: **20** Androgeos; the name used by V. for a Trojan warrior, 2.371. See Kraggerud, 56-9. Pasiphae reappears in the same passage as Minos (**447**), as one of the victims of love. **23 contra elata mari respondet Cnosia tellus** might recall to some the Trojans' own visit to Crete, 3.129ff. (Catto, 74). The Labyrinth itself has been associated with Troy herself (Catto), or indeed with the toils of Carthage from which Aen. escaped (*ead.*, 71, n.4 with further refs.). For the L. itself, vd. further on **27 inextricabilis error**. Many discussions of the L. accept it as a pre-figuration of the windings of the Underworld: Clark, *Catabasis*, 148-50, Kinsey, *cit.*, Day, 34, Casali, 4 with n.4, Staley, 140, Erdmann, 504; the suggestion first advanced, apparently, by Margaret Verrall, *CR* 24 (1910), 44, no less unpersuasively, alas, than her successors; I should be readier to embrace this view as beyond reasonable doubt did the narrative of **6** show clearer signs of portraying the Underworld as indeed explicitly labyrinthine; for Ephyra, vd. on **27, cit.**. Compare also 5.498ff. (vd. Capdeville) and 12.763ff. (with Erdmann, 501ff.).

(14) Associations (a list that does not pretend to be complete):

(15) Daedalus and Aeneas. See the first para. of this introduction for the familiar manner in which Daed.'s journey to the W. is introduced; with **14 fugiens**, cf. 1.2 *profugus* and *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 25, n. on 7.300. See e.g. Staley, 138, Day, 33, Fitzgerald, 52, Kraggerud, 52, 54f., Pöschl, 182, Ratkowitsch, 2 48f.. Certain beyond reasonable doubt.

(16) Daedalus and Augustus. Proposed twice by Rutledge; altogether unconvincing.

(17) Daedalus and Deiphobe. If (*supra*) the Underworld is accepted as labyrinthine, then the Sibyl as guide must in some sense correspond to Daedalus, guiding Theseus with Ariadne's thread, **30 caeca regens filo uestigia**.

(18) Icarus and Marcellus. The beloved sons lost young and bitterly lamented (there are others of course in *Aen.*), bound by intense paternal *pietas* (Klingner, *cit.*, Lowrie, 117). Vd. Pöschl, *Dichtkunst*, 183, Day, 33, Fitzgerald, 52f., Kraggerud, 68. The two tragedies 'bracket' the book, clearly enough. Daed. is clever and even deceitful, but (Lowrie) his pity dominates.

(19) Icarus and Palinurus. Overstated, for, though *Aen.* laments Pal.'s death, this latter was no son, nor close to being. See Lee, 59, Paschalis, 40.

(20) Pasiphae and Dido. Cf. P.A.Miller, 232, Pike, *cit.*, Day, 34f., Staley, 139, Erdmann, 498f.; instances both of the cruelty of love. Is that, by itself, enough? Apollo presides, remarks Spence (39), over some lurid and disreputable scenes.

(21) Ariadne and Dido. See n. on **28 reginae**. Kraggerud, 60f..

(22) Aeneas and Theseus (Zarker). Certainly Dido and Ariadne (*supra*) lend themselves to comparison, above all in the matter of love and desertion.

(23) Heinze (399) once described these scenes as retardatory, inserted to keep us busy until the Sibyl arrives (cf. Norden, on **14ff.**). Perhaps a little more than that. If one had to offer a single likely function for the scenes in their context here, it seems as though Daedalus portrays his past in these vv., just as *Aen.* will in the Underworld encounter his own past (Misenus, Palinurus, Dido, Deiphobus), a suggestion that might be reinforced if one were to accept the 'labyrinthine' character of the Underworld itself, as many do (but not this comm.; see **(13) supra**).

14-19 Daedalus See Gantz, 1, 260-2, 273-5, Robert, 2.1, 171-4, 364-9, *id.*, PW 4.1994.13-2006.63, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*3.15.8, E.Simon, *EV* 2, 12-4, Armstrong, 124-9, Christmann, 273-6, Erdmann, 483, 489, Kraggerud, 53-6, Segal (**136-48**, 1965), 642-5.

14 Daedalus As voyager in Sall., *infra*; vd. also Cic.*Brut.*71, of Liv.Andr.'s *Od.*: *est sic tamquam opus aliquod Daedali*. For Greek lit. antecedents, vd. Armstrong, *cit.* **Vt fama est** points to the presence of a learned, Alexandrianising element in the narrative, and in fact the story of Daedalus' flight to the west *is*, literally and exactly, the foundation-legend of that temple which *Aen.* has just reached.

ut fama est Not so much an invention as an elaboration, an advance upon earlier versions (*PLLS* 6 (1990), 56 = *Alambicco*, 126) of the story of D.: in Diodorus (4.76-80; cf. Paus.7.4.6), D. reached Sicily (vd. Bérard, 421f., M.Paschalis, *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 34, n.6), in Sallust, Sardinia (*Hist.*2, *fr.* 6, 7).

fugiens Cf. nn. on 7.300 *profugis* and 3.272 *effugimus*, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 25: some comparison is to be drawn between the flight of Daedalus

from Cnossos and that of Aen. from Troy (vd. p.88f.). Of the 'parallel' with *G.4.317 fugiens Peneia Tempe* much has been made, Weber 52f..

Minoia regna The adj. form visibly grander than the gen. (cf. 181, 225 and n. on 3.272 *Laertia regna*). Daedalus' motives for escape are not precisely clear, Gantz, 1, 273f., and V. is careful not to enter into unnecessary specificity.

15 praepetibus pennis *Felicibus* comments Serv. unhappily, because, he remarks, *praepetes* are birds of good omen. Cf. n. on 3.361 *praepetis...pennae*; there augural language and probably not *also* an allusion to Cic.*Marius* fr.3.9 (*p.* also used by Enn., Matius). For the augural sense, cf. Hyg. *ap.Gell.7.6.3* (= Hyg. fr.6GRF) *quae aut opportune praeuolant aut idoneas sedes capiunt*. Not applicable here, clearly, so Hyg. reproves V. for writing *improprie et inscite*. That exhibits a notable absence of lucid thinking; *p.*, as H. can hardly not have known, was often used in the sense of 'winged' (vd. *OLD* s.v., §2a) or 'swift' (*ib.*, §2b), either of which would serve well here; so Serv.*Dan.uelocibus*; see Morano, *TLL* 10.2.765.22ff., Sk. on Enn.*Ann.86*, Courtney on Matius, fr.3, Nettleship, *Contr.Lat.lex.*, 555f., Wigodsky, 112f.; clearly good archaic poet. usage.

ausus Cf. *G.2.332f. inque nouos soles audent se gramina tuto credere*, *Aen.* 5.383 *si nemo audet se credere pugnae*, *EV* 1, 396. Compare too *G.3.78 audet et ignoto sese committere ponti* (or *ponto*), and *Hor.C.1.3.25 audax omnia perpeti* (of Daed.).

se credere caelo Further allit. to draw attention to the drama of the scene. Vd. *supra* and 10.289, 11.114 (vd. my n.), 153, 706f., Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1132.51f. (previously com. and prose).

16 insuetum per iter Clearly mild humour to be sought here, as in the case (Au.) of *Buc.5.56 candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi* (Daphnis after all had never been there before). Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.1.2030.55ff.. Possibly the multiple assonance reflects Daedalus' unusual and violent motions.

gelidas...ad Arctos Multiple levels of meaning sketched out; Au. at his best. A. indicates the Great Bear (*G.1.245f.*, etc., *EV* 1, 915); so, here, given the choice of adj., V. hints at both 'up to the icy stars' (so *Lucr.6.720*, Geissler, 1727.13ff.), and 'the frozen north' (so *Cic.Arat.97*, Geisler, 1726.70ff.); Cumae is indeed to the north of Crete, but in the perspective of a Cretan origin, it is indeed a distant, and therefore chill, land; Serv. suspects that 'chill' bears in some way upon the melting of Icarus' wings. The palm-girt reality quite irrelevant. Geissler, *TLL* 6.2.1727.14f..

enauit Quint. comments (8.6.18) that the metaphor, like *pastor populi*, is not suited to oratory, *licet hoc Vergilius in apibus ac Daedalo speciosissime sit usus*; so already Enn.*Ann.18 transnauit* (where vd. Sk.) and *Lucr.3.591 enaret*, *Aen.4.245f. tranat/ nubila*; cf. Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.602.48ff.;

vd. Au., *bene*, though his 'floated out' is hardly appropriate to the clear implicit correspondence between the swimmer's stroke and Daedalus' avian motions. No.'s pursuit of Greek origins for the metaphor seems rather forced (τάρσος for 'wing', 'oar'), but e.g. Philo *Opif.*63 suggests that there may be relevant material to be found.

17 Chalcidicaque...super...arce For C., vd. on **2 Euboicis Cumarum...oris**; for the form C., cf. *Buc.*10.50 (and see Weber (14-41), 52-3, etc. for Gallus and Chalcis), already in Cic., Varro. Cf. **9 arces**; 80 m. above sea-level (imposing, for all that), TCI guide *Napoli e dintorni* (Milano 1960), 355. For the disposition of noun and adj., cf. n. on **301**. LHS 284 suspect that V. refers to a double compound *superastitit*, 'häufig in den hohen Dichtung'.

leuis Cf. *EV* 3, 198, Koster, *TLL* 7.2.1203.42. So 5.838 of Somnus, 11.595 of Opis, and *G.*4.55 of bees. Adj. for advb.; cf. n. on 7.598.

tandem astitit The advb. in harmony with a journey either to the far North or to the furthest reaches of the heavens. The vb. 'stand unmoved', *vel sim*; cf. 3.150, 5.10. No. compares the phrasing of Pind.fr.51a.3f.Sn. (cf. *Aen.*4.252f.), but V.'s phrasing is suited to any (semi-)divine flight and is not perforce in debt to Pind.'s lines.

18 redditus 'Restore', 'return'; *EV* 2, 117; cf. **545 reddarque tenebris**, 5.178 (returned from the depths), n. on 11.269.

his...terris The earth shared by Daedalus, V. and his readers. For the plur., cf. M.P.Cunningham, *CP* 44 (1949), 11f., 13 on *aquae*.

primum The word order suggests that it was *here* that D. landed rather than that *here* he first built a temple in thanksgiving. Given that *Troiae qui primus ab oris* was energetically polemical (*Vergilius* 32 (1986), 15, with bibl.), it could be (cf. Galinsky, *Vergilius* 55 (2009), 74) that V. offers more of the same here (vd. n. on **14 ut fama**), at the expense of Sicilian and Sardinian versions of D.'s flight.

tibi, Phoebē The apostrophe 'in part as a re-enactment of the original verbal dedication', Williams, *TI*, 183ff., comparing **250f.**, 7.389 (not strictly comparable; vd. my n.), 8.84f., 10.541f., 11.7 (vd. n.); vd. also E.Block, *TAPA* 112 (1982), 11, n.19.

sacrauit Cf. 7.62 (tree), Fugier, *EV* 4, 630. A clear suggestion in this markedly ktistic, aetiological context that D. should be thought to have vowed the wings to Phoebus, if he should return safely to land (perfectly in keeping, therefore, with mariners' usage); cf. 11.558 and n. on 3.404. D.Wachsmuth, ΠΟΜΠΙΜΟΣ Ο ΔΑΙΜΩΝ (diss. Berlin 1967), 133ff., 453, etc.. Cf. **233** (Misenus' oar on his tomb), with Doors, (2). Here, oddly, *tacet* Pfister.

19 remigium alarum One of V.'s more famous linguistic inventions; already applied to Mercury at 1.300f.; Au. points to antecedents of the metaphor both in Lucr. (6.743 *remigi oblatae*) and in Gk., widely: see Wigodsky, 91, Hollis and Bömer on Ov.*Met.*8.228, E.S. McCartney, *CJ* 34 (1938-9), 234-7. The use of *r.* to be compared with *iuuentus* for *iuuenes*, *comitatus* for *comites*, *conkursus* for *concurrentes*. Here the abstr. takes the place of a set, or, more precisely, a pair of oars. Cf. Ferraro, *EV* 1, 380 and see on **16 enauit**.

posuitque Cf. *G.3.13 templum de marmore ponam*, *EV* 4, 200, *OLD* s.v., §3; the vb. common of buildings, cities: 4.344, Hor.*Carm.*2.6.5, etc..

immania templa Of a single temple (Cunningham, 8); cf. n. on 2.115, *delubra, tecta*; cf. **41 alta in templa**, **840 templa et temerata Mineruae**. V. is hardly forced by the metre (Au.) to avoid sing. *immane*, for e.g. *immanem et construit aedem* might have served. The adj. stands beyond *ingens*, not merely huge but awe-inspiring; cf. **11 antrum immane**, 4.199, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.440.76.

20-22 Death of Androgeos See Gantz, 1, 260, 262, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.* 3.15.7, Robert, 2.2, 689-97, *EV* 1, 166, Toepffer, *PW* 1.2143.42-2145.20, Zarker, 221f., Armstrong, 195f..

20 in foribus Evidently to be read as a specific part of the preceding **templa**; a smooth and considered transition. Cf. *G.3.26* (pictorial temple doors), *Aen.*1.505 (Dido has arrived, as the Sibyl will here).

letum Androgeo For the normal (Attic 2nd. decl.) form of the gen., cf. Holzweissig, 468, NW 1, 209f.; this form is preserved by a few c.9 mss., by a couple of citations in Serv. and Serv.Dan. and by the grammarians. The capital mss., most of the c.9 mss., and [Prob.], *Gramm.Lat.*4.227.34 prefer the commoner **Androgei**. V. elects not to choose a version of this event, Gantz, 1, 262f., Robert, 2.2, 689f..

tum The natural next scene; cf. n. on **iussi**, *infra*.

pendere poenas So Cat.64.297, *Aen.*7.595, Gatti, *TLL* 10.1. 1045.75ff. at 1046.44f. (here, note the exceptional use of the acc.**corpora** to indicate the actual nature of the penalty paid); *poena* also with *expendere*, *dependere*, *OLD* s.v. *poena*, §1b, and vd. too *ib.*, s.v. *pendo*, §4a. This is standard, correct language, not 'technical' (as Weber, 50; vd. on **22 ductis sortibus**), but simply the normal way, at all periods (note instances in Plaut. and *Cod.Theod.*) and levels, of saying 'to pay the penalty'. We can hardly fail to recall Cat.64.77 *poenas exsoluere*.

21 Cecropidae Reisch, *TLL Onom.*2.292.79f.; the form a good deal more tractable than *Athenienses*; E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 578ff.. In Hdt.,

Eurip., Euphorion, Callim.. Only mildly learned (cf. Weber, 48); perhaps a thought of Cat.64.79 *Cecropiam...dapem*.

iussi As a result, probably (at least, in the present context), of the death of Androgeos at their hands, Robert, 2.2, 689, Gantz, 1, 262.

miserum As exclam., cf. LHS 48, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1106.47f., Tib.2.3.78. 'To enhance the subjectivity of the narrative', Weber, 48.

septena.../ 22 corpora natorum Zorzetti compares (*EV* 3, 786) **38f.**, but there, there are fourteen sacrificial victims. Here, V. again selects a variant (vd. Weber, 47), the less cruel seven, as against the familiar fourteen (so the fourteen victims, **38f.**; Fitzgerald, 58): vd. Robert, 2.2, 691, Roscher, Ro., 1.343.16ff., Gantz, 1, 263, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*3.15.8, and also Bell, 55, 60, 110f. for the suggestion that each *corpus natorum* consists of a pair, youth and girl ('singular for dual', not to be dismissed out of hand). For V. and the choice of mythol. variants, see *Alambicco*, 68f., 78ff., O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, index, s.v. variants. The distributive form **septena** indicates 'seven each year'; LHS 212f. (cf. 5.560, 10.207). **C. n.** a familiar type of periphrasis, of Greek tragic origin, full n. on 7.650; Serv. and Serv.Dan. exercised by the thought that V.'s point might be the need for the parents to bury their children's bodies. They were right to look for some reason for the periphrasis' use, but it may be no more than a means to make us think of a ship charged with real, live, distressed, howling children.

quotannis Attested as early as Plautus and Cato. The frequency thus, Hyg.41.1; alternatively, every eight years (Plut.*Thes.*15.1, if his phrasing indicates inclusively 'eight', rather than modern 'nine'): see Robert, 2.2, 691, n.1. V. seems therefore to have selected a harsher variant.

22 stat...urna Striking coincidence of word-accent and metre, lending a weighty solemnity to the v. (a hint of the immobility of the object depicted?); V. prefers not to write *ductis stat sortibus* (cf. n. on 7.408); Au. on 1.1 cites 1.299, 565, 5.751. Cf. also Williams on 5.116 and notably Conway on 1.26. Serv. remarks well, in the end *aut re uera stat post ductas sortes* (cf. Kraggerud, 59) and continues *aut certe ad picturam respexit nam uolui in pictura non poterat*. Gk. πάλλειν, remarks No. (cf. Jebb on *Soph.El.*710, LSJ s.v., §1.3, Seymour, 525; ignored, Lécivain, *DS* 4.2.1402); this Hom. and tragic *shaking* (till one lot jumps from the urn) is however absent from the classical *drawing* (not shaking) of lots (see Lécivain's detailed account of the procedure for drawing, *cit.*, 1416), which is what **ductis** clearly suggests that V. had in mind here. In his good article on *sto*, Bartalucci (*EV* 4, 1026) compares the *stabis* of *Buc.*7.32, where Clausen cites *G.*3.34, *Hor.Serm.*2.3.183.

ductis sortibus Cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2148.1f.: Serv.Dan. *proprie autem 'ductis sortibus'*; 'technischer Ausdruck' (and old) No. (whence e.g. Web-

er, 50), citing J.Schmalz, *ALL* 9 (1896), 578, ‘terminus technicus’. *Sorte ductus* (2.201) not quite the same. But the situation is a little more complex (cf. *Vergilius* 57 (2011), 72f.). ‘To draw a lot’ is clearly *not* the special vocabulary of a professional group (vd. H.D.Jocelyn, *PLLS* 2 (1979), 115), and a glance at the material collected by Schmalz and Hey shows that the expression is found in oratory, history, law and philosophy; compare Hor.*Ep.*1.20.28, *Culex* 162. The ‘correct’ expression in Latin is therefore *ducere sortem*, not e.g. *excipere*; *vox propria* is to be understood, therefore, generally, and there is no reason to doubt that the expression is far older than Cic. or Sall.*Hist.*

23-30 Pasiphae, and Ariadne See Gantz, 1, 260f., 275, Robert, 2.1, 361-4, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*3.15.8, E.Simon, *EV* 3, 1005f., Scherling, *PW* 18.2069.10-2082.10, Skulsky (77), 67ff., Alfonsi, Camilloni, Pike, *citt.*, Armstrong, 127f., P.A.Miller, 232, Weber, 53f., Segal (136-48, 1965) 643.

23 contra...respondet Cf. 3.552 *attollit se diua Lacinia contra*, Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.738.68. For *r.*, *OLD* s.v., §14c correctly renders ‘to correspond in position (to)’; we find correspondence in form, function, size, amount also (*OLD* cites Cic., Varro).

elata mari Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.146.57f. cites e.g. Varr.*RR* 1.29.3 *inter duos sulcos elata terra*; used in this sense by Lucr.6.89.

Cnosia tellus So *Saturnia, Mauortia, Oenotria t.* (etc.); here only very mildly allusive but *V.* remains consistently in this vein of *doctrina* (Weber, 48). Unsurprisingly, the adj. from Cat.64.172. **Cnosia P, Gnosia MR:** Leumann, 180, 188. In *V.*'s time, the spelling was *Cn-*; Housman, *Coll.pap.*, 3, 1142.

24 hic...27 hic Pointing anaphorically to the second (?) of the panels.

crudelis amor tauri *Tacet* No.; Au. without discussion prints **crudelis...tauri:** cf. however *Buc.*10.29 *crudelis amor* (cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1227.32, 6.442). Is rational decision possible? Are both senses intended? Pascoli refers to Pas.'s love for the bull as a *punishment*, but that is only Hyg.'s version, 40.1, Scherling, 2073.5, Gantz, 261, Robert, 364, Türk, *Ro.*3.1668.9ff., apparently post-Virgilian. However, punishment or not, the love of Pas. and beast may fairly be considered *cruel*, whereas it is notably harder to attribute any cruelty to the *bull*. Comms. have learned to prefer, in general, double senses; here, however, the reference to *Buc.* and the careful reader's sense of the situation point clearly enough to **crudelis amor**.

suppostaque furto/ 25 Pasiphae For the syncope, *-osta*, vd. Au., No., Holzweissig, 134, Leumann, 96. *S.:* vd. n. on 7.283, Col.6.27.10 *imponitur* (of the stallion); here, cf. too *Juv.*6.334 *imposito clunem summittat asello*,

Ov.*Am.*3.7.10; but, *pace* my earlier n., *summittere* is not a t.t.. I have checked the language used of mating by Col., in respect of sheep, pigs, horses and cows. **F.** seems to suggest (Au.) both the device of the wooden cow (note Heuzé, 459 on V.'s explicitness) and the extra-marital *furtum* of Pas.'s union with the bull; only an oblique hint at criticism of Daedalus' ethical standards. *Tacet EV*; Serv. *adulterio*; Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1649.12f., E.L.Wheeler, *Stratagem and the vocabulary of military trickery* (*Mnem.*Suppl.108, Leiden 1988), 63ff.. No. remarks that Pas. was *supposta propter amorem* and that V. therefore employs terse, neat parataxis to avoid a causal clause; vd. No.'s rich n. and Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 73, 227.

mixtumque genus Both Minotaur and Labyrinth are splendid stimuli to verbal elaboration, the more so given this passage's literary precedents. Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1891.9f.; cf. **580, 648**, g. common of single or multiple offspring; *EV* 2, 658. Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 8.1095.68f. compares Ov.*Her.*2.70 *mixtaque forma uiri*, Liv.38.17,9, etc. and draws attention to Eur.*Kretes*, fr.472aΚαννίχτ *κύμικτον εἶδος*. For the birth of the Minotaur, cf. Hes.fr.145.15ff.MW, Armstrong, 10.

prolesque biformis For **p.**, cf. Foucher, *TLL* 10.2.1822.53f., *EV* 4, 308 and more conventionally, **322**. For **b.**, vd. Ihm, *TLL* 2.1980.44f.; also at **286** and Hor.*Carm.* 2.20.2 (probably earlier than bk.6 so **b.** hardly to be claimed as a Virgilian coinage, *pace* Cordier, 46). The v. an elaborate compound ABBA expression, **genus** and **proles** almost synonymic, the adjs. related in sense; rather more than hendiadys.

26 Minotaurus inest The precise disposition of the various scenes on the (apparently) second panel of the doors seems to be of no special interest to V., and there is no need for us to explore. The name **M.** is strikingly delayed; **Daedalus**, *infra*, less so. Note *CIL* 4.2331 *Labyrinthus. hic habitat Minotaurus* (= Diehl, *Pomp.Wandinschr.* 53), with drawing. For the application of **i.** to a work of art, cf. Ter.*Eun.*584 *ibi* (sc. *in tabula*) *inerat pictura haec, Iouem/ quo pacto Danae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum*, Furnée/ Wieland, *TLL* 7.1.2050.49f..

Veneris...nefandae Cf. 4.497f. *abolere nefandi/ cuncta uiri monumenta iuuat*; the coincidence of both noun and adj. makes the notion of a ref. back to 4, *cit.* credible enough. Cf. Kraggerud, 61f.

monumenta Cf. *EV* 3, 564, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1461.67f.; **monim-MPR**; **monum-** **F**; Buchwald, *ib.*, 1461.17ff., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 450, Leumann, 87, Sommer, 105f., Holzweissig, 63, Lindsay, *Lat.lang.*, 238; *-u* perhaps the (older) spelling which V. was likelier to have used. **M.** as a record not necessarily admonitory (cf. 3.102, 8.312), though here the presence of **n.** seems to suggest that Aen.'s relations with Dido are relevant and should be borne in mind.

27 labor ille domus The poet. challenge of encapsulating the Minotaur in an elaborate compound expression carries V. forward to the challenge of describing the Labyrinth unmistakably, but without naming it (cf. *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 35). **L.** the product of toil, the thing worked; Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.795.29f.; a very common usage, in a wide variety of senses (Lumpe, 794.31ff.); cf. *Buc.*10.1 (a written work), *G.*1.325 (crops; cf. n. on *Aen.*2.306), 2.155 (cities), *Aen.*1.455 (the work of the temple at Carthage and its pictures), 7.248 (with n.; of *uestes*). **D.** defining gen., Antoine, 76-9; used of Labyrinth also at *Ov.Met.* 8.158, etc., Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1971. 78ff.. Captious objections, Paschalis, *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 38, n.27. Is there an etymologising ref. to *labor-inthus*? O'Hara, 166 rightly hesitates.

et inextricabilis error 'Metonymice de labyrinthi ambagibus', Hey, *TLL* 5.2.815.34ff., citing also *Cat.*64.115 *tecti...inobseruabilis error* and *Aen.*5.591 *indeprensus et irremeabilis error*. The adj. used by Varro of the Labyrinth, as *comparandum* for the tomb of Lars Porsena, *ap.Plin.Nat.* 36.91 (part of a long verbatim quotation) *intus labyrinthum inextricabile, quo si quis introierit sine glomere lini, exitum inuenire nequeat*. Cordier, 145 lists *i.* as a Virgilian invention, but did not have Szantyr's *TLL* article to consult. For the apparent labyrinth at the entrance to the oracle of the dead at Ephyra, cf. *Companion*, 150 (photos available on line); this comm. is not the place for labyrinthine discussions of theories of the *meaning* of such structures in antiquity (see e.g. Jackson Knight, *Cumaeae Gates*, index, s.v.); for a cool summary of recent excited studies (with bibliogr.), vd. Armstrong, 134-40.

28 magnum reginae...amorem Cf. *Cat.*91.6, *Cic.Att.*5.19.3, *Aen.*1.171, 344, 716, 3. 330 *ereptae magno flammatus amore*, 4.395 *magnoque animum labefactus amore*, 5.5 *duri magno sed amore dolores*, 9.197; there might even be a touch of humour in V.'s economy of means, in contrast with *Cat.*64. If **26** suggested Dido, then **28** reinforces that suggestion; on Dido as *regina*, vd. Pease, p.24, Wigodsky, 129, *EV* 4, 423, 467 etc.. The epithet is lent weight by its position as self-contained first-foot spondee (cf. n. on 7.406); cf. No., 391f. on adj. at beginning and noun at end of verse.

The problem of **reginae** deserves a moment's more concentrated attention (vd. Fitzgerald, 63, n.14, Armstrong, 141):

(1) The conventional view (so e.g. Armstrong, 127, Casali, 5f., Zarker, 222) is that **r.** here denotes Ariadne, passionately in love with Theseus (and for the use of **r.** not of the monarch's spouse but of a daughter, vd. *OLD* s.v., §1b, *EV* 4, 467); it seems to be the helpful, indeed compassionate, Daedalus in person who here rescues Theseus, and not, as normally, conventionally, Ariadne herself, on Daedalus' suggestion of using the thread; here, that is, Daedalus, as begetter of the idea, is given prominence, while Ariadne, as a mere agent, is suppressed (Frazer on [*Apld.*].*Epit.*1.9, Gantz,

1, 264f., Robert, 2.2, 681f.; Weber, 47 overstates slightly V.'s 'originality' in the ref. to D.). Cat.64.54 shows that there is room for Ariadne in dactyl. verse; **R.** is hardly a periphrastic remedy (*pace* Au.).

(2) Fitzgerald, 63, n.14 (after Segal (136-48, 1965), 643, H.C.Rutledge, *CJ* 67 (1971), 111f.; cf. Paschalis, 37, Staley, 139, Armstrong, 136), has raised anew the possibility of a reference not to Ariadne, but to Pasiphae (note too Otis, 284, n.1, Pas.' love for her child the Minotaur); *Buc.*6.46 not relevant. Can the *magnus amor* of **28** really be the love of mother for son, above all so soon after **26 Veneris monimenta nefandae**? Can it also point allusively to the loves of Dido and Aeneas? Clearly enough *not*, without a bizarre leap of association. Au.'s suggestion that V. here is *interpreting* the stories on the doors, rather than *describing* them, is not helpful; V.'s shift to Ariadne here is not altogether easy to spot at once, but we realise soon enough that his focus has changed.

sed enim With marked postposition, cf. detailed n. on 2.164 and for postposition, a neoteric mannerism, vd. *ib.*

miseratus Vd. *EV* 3, 547: Aen. charged with absence of pity at 4.318, 370; V. suppresses Aen.'s reactions to Dido (*Companion*, 130, Feeney, *ORVA*, 182), not because he *has* no emotions (quite the reverse, *Companion*, 125, n.20), but because their absence from the text is essential to his account of their love. Daedalus, on the other hand, is quite free to display the dangerous sentiment of pity (cf. Armstrong, 127, 141), even to the extent of outwitting his own invention, the Labyrinth. At *Il.* 18.590-2, on the Shield of Achilles a dancing floor *like* the one Daedalus made for Ariadne at Cnossus.

29 Daedalus ipse The Athenian; in Crete, because exiled from Athens for the murder of his nephew Perdix, Gantz, 1, 262 (*bene*), Robert 2.1, 171-4, 364, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*3.15.8. Here the master-craftsman: his skill has not merely helped assuage Pasiphae's desires but also now, as pity determines its application, it enables Ariadne to rescue her beloved Theseus.

dolos tecti ambagesque Cf. 5.589f. *incipitemque/ mille uiis habuisse dolum*, Speranza, *EV* 2, 122, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1859.31f. ('res dolo seruiens, doli causa facta'). **A.**: for the application to a concrete thing, cf. *Ov.Met.* 8.161, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1833.69f.; Au. suggests, credibly, a further sense of 'puzzle'; cf. Nettleship, *Contr.Lat.lex.*, 149; at **99 a.** of the Sibyl's riddles (vd. n.). For the coupled synonyms. vd. Hahn (1930), 206.

resoluit Cf. *Lucr.*5.773, *EV* 4, 937, *OLD* s.v., §1e. Pres. or perf.? Unclear.

30 caeca...uestigia Both adj. and noun Cat.'s (*infra*); for the adj., compare the walls of the Labyrinth, 5.589, and Eur.*Phoen.*834 τυφλῶν πόδι (common Gk. usage; vd. Au., *LSJ* s.v., §I.2), Della Morte, *EV* 1, 599, Burger,

TLL 3.46.26f. (citing also 4.209, **6.157**); regular usage of the adj., therefore, and hardly transferred epithet, as Bell suggests (320). Strong pause at the bucolic diaeresis, as sometimes to underscore a dramatic moment (Winbolt, 45-9, Clausen on *Buc.*6.3 and *infra*, Au. on 1.348, 6.138, Williams on 3.207, 5.815); here **quoque** is essentially proclitic, reducing any jarring effect in the pause at 5D. The careful reader remarks that the **uestigia** are not Daed.'s own, but Theseus's, an *ad hoc* extension of usage.

regens filo Cf. Cat.64.113 *errabunda regens caeco uestigia filo* (Theseus; vd. Clausen, *THP*, 113f.), Prop.2.14.8, Ov.*Her.*10.72; vd. Giordano, *EV* 4, 423, and n. on the (slightly different) 3.659, *OLD* s.v., §2. Quite possibly a play on **28 reginae** (part, after all, of the same story - Theseus, Ariadne, the labyrinth - in the same passage); cf. Putnam, 80.

30-33 Icarus See Gantz, 1, 274, Robert, 2.1, 364-9, Frazer on [Apld].*Epit.* 1.11, Robert 2.2, 689-97, *EV* 2, 889f., Heeg, PW 9.985.52-989.2, M. O. Lee *Fathers and sons* (Albany 1979), 59-62.

30 tu quoque Cf. full n. on 7.1. **tu quoque litoribus, nostris, Caieta, dedisti**: this is the characteristic manner (apparently not hitherto noted here) of Latin epigrams upon poets (Cic. p.239 Soubiran, and Caes. (Courtney, p.153) on Ter., Dom.Marsus on Tib. (Courtney, p.303)); authorship less important than styl. continuity. So therefore the poet here commemorates the artist (or at least his son), as though a poet, and distinctively so. Note too *CLE* 580.1 and the frequent καὶ cú in Gk. verse epigrams (Peek, *GVI* 1479.1, 1854.1, 1855.1). The epigrammatists use these words to associate the individual with the common lot.

magnum/ 31 partem...haberes Cf. *G.*2.40, *Aen.*2.6 *pars magna* (with n.), 7.686, 10.128 *haud partem exiguum montis* (with Harrison's n.), etc.; conventional language, as is *partem habere*: see e.g. Plaut.*Rud.*552, Lucr.1.617. Vd. Squillante Saccone, *EV* 2, 311 for enjambement in which adj. is followed directly by noun in the next v. (so e.g. **843**).

opere in tanto *In foribus adfabre factis* Serv.; Ehlers, *TLL* 9.2.845.35, comparing *Buc.*3.37, *Aen.*8.432, 10.785 (standard Latin); *EV* 3, 863.

sineret dolor Cf. *EV* 4, 884, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1845.72. Ellipse of *si* with elegant parataxis, typical of spoken Latin (suggesting the intimacy of V.'s address to Icarus, perhaps), KS 2, 166 (but could V. here hint at a *wish?*), LHS 657 (and 332), with Hofmann-Ricottilli, 249-52, Lunelli-Janssen, 110f.. No. compares Ov.*Met.*9.490 *omnia, di facerent, essent communia nobis* (where vd. Bömer). Predictably uncommon in Aug. poetry.

Icare Pathetic apostrophe; V. addresses the young victim, as though present, perhaps also suggesting Daedalus' own laments for his son. It is easy to think of Augustus and Marcellus (in some sense thus 'bracketing' bk.6), and likewise Aeneas and Pallas, Mezentius and Lausus (see Doors

(18)); that Aen. thought of Palinurus too as a sort of lost son is much less plausible (so Lee, 59).

32 bis.../ 33 bis Cf. 2.218 (where vd. n.), **6.134**, 9.799f., 11.629f.; not clear why here preferable to the commoner anaphora of *ter*. Comms. refer, not quite persuasively, to Od.'s three vain leaps forward to embrace his mother, *Od.*11.206 (cf. nn. on **700f.**).

conatus erat And failed, but if the poet too had failed, we would not know today that the artist had ever tried. The subj. not specified; Au. suggests *pater* should be extrapolated from *patriae*, but only a very dull reader, surely, would require such assistance.

casus The allit. perhaps the sound of D. working the gold. V. plays on the cognate *c.* and **caedere** in the next line (cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 166); not only that, but here, *c.* clearly indicates both 'chance' and 'fall' (for other instances of these common meanings vd. *EV* 1, 598).

effingere in auro Cf. Prop.3.9.9, *EV* 2, 526, Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.185.26f. and see Doors (7) above for reliefs on real temple doors.

33 patriae...manus *Patris* would never do; the loftier adj. clearly desirable; cf. n. on 2.539. As Page notes, Daed. as father has discreetly taken over from Daed. the craftsman. Note (No.) Philip, GP, *GP* 2813-8, epigram on a stonemason who executed a tombstone for his son; 'mere sentimentality and bombast' (and worse follows)(GP).

caedere The fall of the father's hands echoes that of the son's body; 'Greek' caesura, perhaps suggestive of the hands' fall (for the etym. play, vd. **32 casus**); cf. No., p.431f. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.18.36. Not so much a conventional gesture, as the considered, here tragic, opposite of the craftsman raising his hands to his work (cf. e.g. G.Zimmer, *Röm. Berufsdarstellungen* (Berlin 1982), pl.147).

quin Cf. Harrison on 10.23f., Au. on 1.279, LHS 676f., Hofmann-Ricottilli, 192, *OLD* s.v., §2a. 'introducing a statement that corroborates and amplifies what precedes'.

protinus Breimeier 10.2.2286.31ff. compares 7.601f. *quem protinus omnes/ Albanæ coluere sacrum*, where vd. my n. ('successively') and 9.337.

omnia Trochee, not dactyl, by synizesis; cf. (possibly) *G.*4.221 and see Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881, comparing Lucil.438M. Just possibly the vanished syllable reflects the Sibyl's urgent interruption.

34 perlegerent oculis The hitherto unspecified Trojans are here present, considering the reliefs; they are still doing (note the vb. impf. not plpf.) just what we readers have done; Knauer acutely compares the condition at *Od.*16.220f.. At least Butler realises that these mysterious others are present; they may recur in the **uiri** of **41**. Achates not included; he, we are

about to be told, has been sent off on an errand and is only now returning; he will still be with Aeneas at **158**, but nothing suggests that he remained at his side in the Underworld. Vd. Keulen, *TLL* 10.1.1514.74f., comparing the ‘reading’ of *animorum indicia* on the forehead, *Pan.Lat.4.1.2*. The choice of verb surely brings close once more poetic (‘reading’) and artistic representation.

ni iam At this very moment; in some uncomprehended way, the incomplete ‘reading’ corresponds to the unfinished execution.

praemissus Achates P.: cf. 1.644 *praemittit Achaten*. Apparently first here in vv., but standard in prose and comedy; likely to have occurred in historical epic. For Achates, cf. n. on **158**.

35 adforet Cf. n. on 7.270.

atque una V.: cf. **528, 752, 860. 897**, etc. (vd. Merguet).

Phoebi Triuiaequae sacerdos As Haemonides at 10.537. Cf. *SC*, (**24**) for the Sibyl's two spheres, and n. on 7.774 for the title *Triuia*. For the phrasing, cf. 2.319. Paratore, after [Edward] Holdsworth and [Joseph] Spence in [ed. P.W.Buckham] *Miscellanea Virgiliana* [Cambridge 1825], 207ff., as cited by Conington, argues at some length for the presence of this **sacerdos** in the narrative as a subordinate figure of cult entirely independent of the Sibyl. A grave blow to the economy of the narrative, and as an hypothesis ingenious rather than creditable; already a fine response by James Henry in ironic vein.

36 Deiphobe Glauci See *SC*, (**22**).

fatur quae talia Cf. 10.523; *talia fatur* of course far commoner (Moskalew, 65, n.82).

regi For Aen. as *rex*, cf. Cairns, 1f., *EV* 4, 466, Pomathios, 175-7 and **55, infra**.

Mackie (116) discerns most improbably a reference to Aen. as *rex sacrorum*.

37-9 The Sibyl's speech. The first indication of the vigour with which V. will characterise the Sibyl; Highet (114, n.29) well compares her words to Palinurus, **373-6**, energetic reproof balanced by solace. Here she bursts into brisk censure, followed directly (could irony be intended?) by ponderously polite instructions to offer sacrifice. Highet, *cit.*, 308, n.9, Mackie, 115, Cartault, 1, 431, 432.

37 non hoc...tempus Apart from 12.156 *non lacrimis hoc tempus*, the common *tempus poscit* is apparently not an idiom found elsewhere negatived (PHI search).

ista...spectacula Schievenin, *EV* 4, 980 refers to two possible senses (and both may be present), (i) the reliefs themselves and (ii) the act of

viewing. For (i), cf. Hor.*Serm.*2.2.6, the *picta spectacula* of the peacock's tail, *OLD* s.v., §1a and for (ii) Liv.23.47.3 *ad spectaculum pugnae*, *OLD* s.v., §4.

sibi...poscit Scheible, *TLL* 10.2.79.34ff. gathers numerous instances of *tempus poscit* (Cic., Nepos, early books of Livy); apparently first here in poetry, then Ov.*F.*2.791 *poscunt sua tempora somnum*. **Poscit FP**, almost all later mss., grammarians; **poscunt MRn**; *EV* (4, 230) seems to take the plur. as somehow more than mere scribal confusion between subj. and obj.. Possibly taken up or answered by **45 poscere fata/ tempus**.

38 nunc.../ 39 praestiterit Cf. 1.135, 3.429, Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.909.6f.. The perf. subj. used to make a polite suggestion, Ernout-Thomas, 237f., Handford, 104f., Bennett, 1, 202f., LHS, 333f., Kroll, *Wiss.Synt.*, 67f., KS 1, 176.

grege de intacto Not yet yoked; cf. *G.*4.540 *intacta...ceruice* (vd. Mynors), Furnée, *TLL* 7.1.2068.55f., *EV* 5*, 30, Watson on Hor.*Epd.*9.22, Lersch, 177, Krause, *infra*, 242.44ff. (technically *iniugis*); the beasts sacrificed have naturally to be perfect, Bömer on Ov.*F.*1.83, Ziehen, PW 18.592.38ff., Kruse, *ib.*, Suppl.5.242.25ff., Wissowa in Marquardt, *StV*, 33, 172. **G.** of cattle as often, Burckhardt, *TLL* 6.2.2331.51ff., citing e.g. Varr. *RR* 2.5.5.

septem...iuuencos Cf. Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 786 for 'seven'; we have no idea of why seven, beyond, perhaps, some link (possibly no more than a recollection in the poet's mind) with the seven victims of **21**. For **iuuenci**, cf. n. on **243**. Note the sacrifice at *Od.*10.527f., in obedience to Circe's orders (cf. **40f. sacra...iussa**) at 516; Knauer, 130, n.3.

mactare Standard language for 'offer, sacrifice', Bulhart, *TLL* 8.22.37ff.; the vb. used by Cato, Enn., the tragedians, Lucr.. *EV* 3, 305.

39 totidem...bidentis T. an aid to terse, neat phrasing (cf. **44**), 14x in *Aen.*. We have no idea whether this might be a hint that the victims of **21** had been of both genders. For **b.**, cf. n. on 7.93; probably hoggets, year-old sheep; *THESCRA* 1, 157f. insufficient. Cf. Moskalew, 90f. for 'formulaic' elements in Virgilian sacrifices.

lectas ex more Cf. 3.369 *caesis...de more iuuenis*, 4.57 *lectas de more bidentis*, 5.96 *caedit binas de more bidentis*, 8.544 *mactat lectas de more bidentis*. Here, **F** preserves **ex** while the **de** of **MPR** is presumably the result of echo-corruption. For **ex more**, cf. 5.244, 8.186, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1527.26ff.. For the criteria (vd. **lectas**) for choosing a victim, cf. Kruse's unusually full account, *cit.*, 239.29ff. (ritual, deity, occasion, colour, age, beauty, sex, state...), Wissowa, *cit.*, 170ff., *id.*, *RKR*, 413, *THESCRA* 1, 95ff., 150-2, 200f.; for **I.**, cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1133.45 (apparently not common usage; cf. Pease on 4, *cit.*).

40 talibus adfata Aenean Cf. 8.611, and Moskalew, 65 on *dictis adfatur*.

nec...morantur/ 41 ...uiri See n. on **34 perlegerent** for this unspecified group of Trojans and cf. Laurenti's collection of material, *EV* 5*, 552. **M.**: Reichmann/ Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1499.3, comparing 7.388, 11.177, 12.874; common thus in litotes, *EV* 3, 585.

sacra.../ 41 iussa *S.* of magical (and accursed) utterances, *Hor.Epd.*17.6; of silence of a sacred occasion, *Hor.C.*2.13.29 (vd. NH). See *OLD* s.v., §§1a, 3d.

Teucros uocat...sacerdos *S.*: cf. **35**, **244** (?), **321**, **544**; **u.**: not particularly imperative in tone (cf. 4.288, 7.193, etc.). **T.**: vd. n. on 3.53, Zaffagno, *EV* 5*, 291. Does *V.* mean only Aen. and Achates (so TCD), or are the mysterious plur. subjects of **34 perlegerent**, not to mention the unspecified **Teucris** of **54** included? Could these *Teucris* too be no more than Aen. and Achates?

alta in templa The temple lofty? In a lofty position? Both? We have no idea at all and clearly no topographical 'conclusions' may be ventured: see *SC*, (9)(c).

42-76 Comm. on the symptoms of the Sibyl's possession at **47-50**, as at **77-80**, expands, *passim*, my earlier discussion, *Aen.*3, pp.477-9; it is singular that these symptoms are not discussed by Heuzé.

42 excisum...in antrum Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1243.48ff. compare *Petr.*120, v.67 *est locus exciso penitus demersus hiatu*; this use with prepos. has no exact parallel, though note 3.533 *portus...curuatus in arcum*; note also *Cic.Verr.*2.5.68 (of the Lautumiae at Syracuse) *totum est e saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso et multorum operis penitus exciso*. The vb. perhaps introduced into poetry by *V.* but note also at much the same time *Hor.C.*3.3.67. For the conventional character of oracular caves, vd. *SC*, (7)(b); for (vain) attempts to locate the 'Sibyl's cave' on the Acropolis at Cumae, vd. *ib.*, (13).

Euboicae rupis *E.*: cf. n. on **2**; 'Chalcidian' and 'Euboean' add a pleasantly learned tone; vd. *Au.* for *rupes* + a geogr. adj. elsewhere in *V.*. Compare 3.443f. *rupe sub imal fata canit* (of the Cumaean Sibyl), where vd. n; see further *SC*, (7)(b).

latus ingens Cf. n. on 7.566 *latus nemoris*. Alternatively **ingens...antrum**, though the interwoven word-order that results is not compellingly attractive; **excisum...in antrum** frames the line, and I suggest that it is the enclosed **latus ingens rupis** that had been hewn out.

43 quo...ducunt Cf. 11.524 (of a *semita*), where vd. n..

lati aditus The adj. unsurprisingly used (often) of (e.g.) *uia*, *limes*, *fenestra*; for **a.**, Dittmann, *TLL* 1.697.30ff. compares 11.524. *Au.* acutely

notes paronomasia with **latus** in the previous verse; for the prosodic variation, cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 61f..

centum...centum Cf. **81** and Zorzetti, *EV*, 3, 785; see *SC* (**13**) for an explanation of my extreme reluctance to identify the *dromos* excavated by Maiuri in 1931 with the monument described here; the numerical discrepancy is hardly significant. The anaphora of **c.** six times in *V.*, including **625**; cf. Pease on 4.200.

ostia Cf. **81**; the **ostia** there swing open on the deity's approach and *Au.* here therefore supposes that the **ostia** are the actual doors which close the **aditus** to the Sibyl's sanctuary. That could be true, but **o.** here could indicate 'doorway' just as well as 'door'. **109** refers of course (cf. **106 ianua**) to entrances to the Underworld.

44 unde ruunt So of *fama*, 4.173, 9.474; Cavazza, *EV* 4, 604.

totidem uoces T. neatly as at **39**. Some sort of echo-chamber is envisaged, perhaps deliberately so constructed, perhaps displayed and demonstrated to visitors; for some instances of a comparable use of acoustic devices in oracular sanctuaries, cf. Reisch, *PW* 5.1680.58ff., Dubois, *DS* 5, 476, Johnston (**98**), 66-8 (Dodona), *Clem.Alex. Protr.* 2.11.1, citing Dodona, the *lebes* of Ephyra (on which vd. Bremmer (2002), 75) and the obscure tripod of Cirrha (note perhaps the close links of *C.* and Delphi); Clement was taken up with minimal variation by Euseb. *praepar. evang.* 2.3.1 and Theodoret, *Graec. affect. cur.* 10.3.5. As for the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia, *Plut. de genio, Mor.* 590B refers only to 'things remarkable to hear' (cf. R.J.Clark, *TAPA* 99 (1968), 64). The plur. takes up **43 aditus**: **u.** suggests that the Sibyl's mantic voice was emitted as though multiplied (i.e. echoing).

responsa Sibyllae Yet another instance of elaboration by apposition, as at **8f.**, **10f.** For **r.** (standard language), see nn. on 7.86, **6.799**.

45 uentum erat For the tone of the impers. pass., vd. n. on 7.553; here, cf. *G.* 3.98, 4.375, *Aen.* 2.634 (vd. n.), 4.151, 8.362, 10.710, 12.739, 803. *Au.* suggests that this is equivalent to the (e.g.) *hic* that so often 'picks up' an ekphrasis; hardly, for here there is in truth no ekphrasis.

ad limen Sc. of the **antrum** (**42**).

cum uirgo.../ 46 ...ait For **u.**, cf. **104**, **318**. Deiphobe's words classified as a command, *Hight*, 307. The Sibyl's sense that in a moment she will be possessed by the god brilliantly conveyed by the extreme brevity of her words. Cf. n. on 7.552 for *V.*'s use of speech-beginnings/ends not at line-beginning/end, to indicate a heightened emotional state.

poscere fata Cf. Bailey, 205f. for **f.** in the sense of 'oracular utterance', cf. **72**, 2.246 with n., 7.123 with n., *G.* 4.452; possible etym. play

with **fanti** at the same position in the next v.. Scheible, *TLL* 10.2.76.7ff. s.v. *posco* compares Quint.*decl.min.* 323.6 (*oraculum*), Juv.1.82 (*sortes*).

46 tempus Very common with infin., *OLD* s.v, §8c, citing *G.*2.542, *Aen.*5.638.

deus, ecce deus Geminatio reflecting sacral language (Au.'s hesitant phrasing inexplicable), suggesting (if not guaranteeing) here the cry of priest(ess) to worshippers. For another striking case of 'ritual gemination' (vd. above all No. here), cf. n. on **258 procul o, procul este, profani**, and for strictly analogous instances of θεός/*deus* geminated, note a dozen instances in *Psalms* alone and only two in Greek tragedy (strikingly rare indeed in early, class., and Hellenistic texts; note though some geminated names of individual deities). For Latin up to the Augustans, see *Lucr.*5.8, *Buc.*1.6f. (where vd. Clausen), 5.64, *Hor.Epd.*14.6 (vd. Watson), Bömer on *Ov.Met.*15.677 *deus en, deus est*, Appel, 189, Wills, 61f., 77, and Norden's majestic note here. Gudeman's entry in *TLL* exceptionally unhelpful. **Ecce** suggests strongly a dramatic gesture by Deiphobe as she senses Apollo's arrival within her.

cui talia fanti Dat. 'of reference'; cf. **54**, Antoine,107. Cf. 2.6 *talia fando*.

47 ante fores After **45 limen**, clearly enough the entrance to the Sibyl's **antrum** (specified at **42**). See *SC*, (**9**); V. may envisage a natural cave equipped with a man-made entrance, but that is not perfectly clear, nor need it be. F.: cf. **20**, **286**, **634**, etc..

subito Cf. nn. on 3.259, 7.446 for the conventional and literary character of the specifically sudden onset of such symptoms

non uultus Changes of emotional state produce, naturally, changes of expression; cf. passages and bibl. cited at comm. on 3, p.477, with, further, *Sen.Ira* 3.1.7 *neque enim ulla uehementior intrat agitatio quae nihil moueat in uultu*, 3.16.5, *Physiogn.*50 and Dyck's rich note on *uultus* at *Cic.Leg.*1.27.

non color unus Cf. Degl' Innocenzi Pierini, *EV* 5*, 399 for the sense of 'not the same as before', though clearly she should not have cited the irrelevant 10.703; cf. rather *G.*4.254 *continuo est aegris alius color*, *Hor.C.*2.11.9ff. *non semper idem floribus est honor/ uernis, neque uno Luna rubens nitet/ uultu*. C. neither in *G.*, *cit.* nor here mere 'general appearance' (Erren); the parallels and bibl. cited at comm. 3, p.477 make it clear that it is the change of *color*, 'colour', even 'complexion', that strikes the beholder. Add *Physiogn.*88, Fedeli on *Hor.C.*4.13.17, Bömer on *Ov.Met.* 4.193, Hofmann, *TLL* 3.1718.73ff.

48 non comptae mansere comae *Manere*, as very often, with predicate, Tietze, *TLL* 8.287.9ff., citing from *Aen.* 1.26, 257, 4.449, 8.428 (vd. further

EV 3, 337-9). Vd. *TLL* 3.1992.83ff. (Simbeck) for *comptus*, common of neat, orderly hair (so at 10.832 *comptos de more capillos*). See Tarrant on *Sen.Ag.*712 and my nn. on 7.394, 403 for the conventional connexion of disordered hair and ecstatic states.

sed pectus anhelum The orderly description of a disorderly state (cf. *Au.* on 47ff.): three parallel, negative members, followed by a pair of positive details and a final negative. Nothing exaggerated or extravagant; *Au.* unkindly contrasts *Lucan* and *Sen.trag.*. Compare 78f. **magnum si pectore possit/ excussisse deum**. *A.* ‘qui movet anhelitus’, *Klotz, TLL* 2.67.61ff. at 68.14ff. of parts of the body (*V.* here the earliest thus). For the noisy breathing of the person possessed, cf. *Aen.*3, p.477f., and *Onians*, 49ff. for the physiological relations of breathing and emotion. Note too perhaps *Cat.*63.31 (*Attis furibunda simul anhelans uaga uadit* (panting primarily with exhaustion (so *edd.*), but the juxtaposition of the adjs. is striking).

49 et rabie...tument Possession perceived as madness, *Aen.*3, comm., p.479, in some detail. **T.**: apparently the metaphor of the ‘wave’ of madness, *Aen.*3, comm., p.478. **T.** of the sea common, *EV* 5*, 312, citing e.g. *Cic.carm.Arat.fr.*3.2; for the ‘swell’ of madness, vd. *EV, cit.*, and n. on 407 **tumida ex ira tum corda residunt** for the physiology of the swelling of bile.

fera corda For **c.**, cf. n. on 407, *cit.*. *V.* takes these words up at 80 **fera corda domans**; see *Klee/Vollmer, TLL* 6.1.605.44 glossing *efferrata*.

maiorque uideri *Sc. est*, with **uideri** as epexegetic infin. dependent on **maior**: cf. *LHS* 351, n. on 164f. **praestantior...ciere**, *Görler, infra* and compare *Hor.*4.2.59 *niueus uideri*, *Muecke, Enc.Oraz.*2, 768. Alternatively, and a little less credibly, *histor. infin.* (cf. *Görler, EV* 2, 271). Those possessed appear of prodigious size, *Bömer* on *Ov.F.*4.861, in notable detail.

50 nec mortale sonans Cf. *Roiron*, 205, for *V.*'s common application of words of the group *sonus* to the human voice; note in particular 1.328, *infra*. Compare also *G.*3.149 *acerba sonans, Aen.*9.125 *rauca sonans*. Cf. *Fordyce* on *Cat.*42.8, *LHS* 40, *Ernout-Thomas*, 26f., *Maurach, Dichtersprache*, 42f., 91 and *Page's* n. here for the use of a neut. adj. as an advb. (a likely *Grecism*); n. on 467 for plur. adj. thus. **ML.**: *Reichmann/ Lumpe, TLL* 8.1512.81f.; cf. *Aen.*3, p.478 for the vast inhuman voice of the possessed (sufficiently recognised as such) and cf. too *Aen.* at 1.328, commenting on *Venus, nec uox hominem sonat*, a voice not human but evidently divine (so *Liv.*5.32.6, *uocem clariorem humana*).

adflata est Cf. 1.589ff. *namque ipsa decoram/ caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuuentae/ purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores*; *Zim-*

mermann, *TLL* 1.1240.83, *OLD* s.v., §3 ('to breathe on to so as to arouse love, inspiration, etc., inspire (with)').

numine.../ 51 iam propiore dei Compare Mart.5.5.1f. *Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Mineruae, ingenio fruieris qui propiore dei* (the emperor; cf. Nauta, *Poetry for patrons*, 134f.). Cf. Pötscher, 100, Bailey, 67, Ramming, *TLL* 10.2.2027.13. The closer the deity, the stronger the afflatus, the nearer the beloved, the stronger the passion (Ov.*Her.*18.177), the closer the sun, the greater its heat (Ov.*AA* 2.59f., 85): the analogies are so simple as to be almost shocking. For the phrasing **n.d.**, cf. Cic.*div.*2.29, 47, etc., Liv. 5.23.11. See 625ff. for the (?) Virgilian *plena deo*, whose original place, or so it has been suggested, might have been here.

quando In marked anastrophe; Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots*, 3, 127. For conjunctions at v.-end (as at 10.366), cf. Norden, 401f., citing *quando* at Lucr.1.188.

cessas.../ 52 ...cessas? 'The pattern of the returning question', Wills, 104, comparing 10.88f.; his case (306) that V. here too reflects the manner of the old formula *uigilasne, rex? uigila* is not strongly persuasive. For *cessare* + in + acc./abl., cf. Bannier, *TLL* 3.962.84ff., 963.24f. (both standard Lat. usage; good *comparanda* in No.). The Sibyl's second set of orders (Hight, 307) closely similar in scale and manner to her first, **37-9**.

in uota precesque So 11.158, where vd. my n.; a standard pairing, though not a very common one.

52 Tros, ait, Aenea? Cf. 2.289 *teque his' ait 'eripe flammis* (where vd. n. for the use of *ait*). Cf. 12.723 for Aen. described thus; **Troius A. ter** (see **403**) and cf. use of *Troianus*. Trojan Aen., of all people, should not be backward in displaying *pietas*. The sing. adj. form seems to be distinctively Sibylline in origin (cf. n. on **126 Tros Anchisiade**); it is very rare in Greek before the second Sophistic and is apparently first attested in the Sibyll. oracle preserved by Phlegon, *Mirab.*10b.v.69 (p.45, v.523 Stramaglia). In Lat. apparently not before V., perhaps as a back-formation from Hom. Τρῳεῖς, but as now becomes an enticing possibility (vd. on **851 Romane**), quite possibly as a distinctively Sibylline form. Less significant the presence of a temple and a statue in Phlegon, *ib.*, vv.56, 63 (No.). *EV* 5*, 291 not satisfactory.

neque enim See n. on 2.376. Synaloepha at 4tr. (uncommon; then of **-im** at 4D too); vd. Norden, p.454.

ante In the very common advbl. sense of 'before', Merguet. 54.

dehiscent Common of the earth in prose and verse, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.590.7ff.; note that *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*, Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 334f.; cf. the iamb *dehinc* at 3.464 (vd. n.), 5.722, and Williams on 5.186 *praeunte*, L.Müller *de re metrica* (1894), 313f..

53 attonitae...domus Serv. comments *stupendae, non stupentis: ergo 'attonitae' facientis attonitos, ut 'mors pallida', 'tristis senecta'*; that is a perceptive note on Lat. adjectival usage, as No. shows (cf. now Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 107 and vd. on **275 pallentes**, Münscher, *infra*, 1157.10ff.), but it may well not be appropriate here (Traina, *EV* 5*, 214, No., *cit.*), if V. in fact refers to the entrance of the cave as itself thunderstruck by the increasing presence of the divinity, not only a sort of pathetic fallacy, but the familiar theme of surroundings affected by the presence of a deity on earth: vd. full n. on 3.90-2. Given that V. is so clearly writing in terms of conventional descriptions of possession (*SC*, (1)-(4)), it seems peculiarly appropriate that the surroundings too are (conventionally) affected by the presence of the selfsame deity. A.: Münscher, *TLL* 2.1156.78ff. shows that of places it is then used by Sen.*trag.*, Luc., etc.; in V. elsewhere (vd. Traina, *cit.*) of the mind, of animals, of individuals.

We pass to what V. may mean by **domus** and its **ora**; Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1091.61f. glosses **d.** with *caernae*; see Clark (1997), *id.*, (1996), 218. Fletcher, p.50 (gravely misconceived and well answered by Clark (1997), C.G.Hardie in Au., p.55, Monti (1994), 25f.). The answer to the problem sketched at *SC*, (9) lies not in Cumaean topography but in cult and superstition: doors should 'in the presence of a deity,...fly open...a traditional sign of divine presence or power'; see full n. on 7.620 *morantis*. We have no idea of where exactly we are on the ground at Cumae, but, I sense, every idea of just what is going on. 'The inner sanctum is thrown open' (Miller, 141); yes, but there was more to be said; the choice of **dehiscent** is crucial for that suggests not that the doors will be opened, but that they will, simply, open. Enter, the *numen* of Apollo.

magna ora for the use of **o.** thus, Tessmer, *cit.*, compares Sen.*HF* 664 *hic ora soluit Ditis inuisi domus*; cf. too OLD s.v., §5a, comparing, strikingly, Liv.45.27.8 *Lebadiae quoque templum Iouis Trophonii adit: ibi cum uidisset os specus, per quod oraculo utentes sciscitatum deos descendunt*.

et talia fata/ 54 conticuit Talia fatus, 10.495; *talia fatur* of course common. Here apparently an original speech-end. C. at 3.718 *conticuit tandem* (after the narrative of bks.2-3): vd. n. there.

gelidus.../ 55 ...tremor Understandably, as the Trojans in some way sense Apollo's presence about to work upon the Sibyl; cf. the sequence 3.90-3, leading up to *summissi* and comm. there. For these words, cf. n. on 2.120f. *gelidusque per ima cucurrit/ ossa tremor*: conventional physiological beliefs. So too 12.447-8 and note the variations at 8.390, 11.296f.. See Moskalew, 97 for the repetitions of this theme.

Teucris It is not quite clear just who these Trojans are; see on **41 Teucros**.

per dura.../ 55 ossa Cf. Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1099.79ff.; for the epithet, cf. 9.65, Bannier, *TLL* 5.1.2304.52ff.; it is not through the bones themselves, but through the marrow that the Trojans' fear passes (cf. n. on 7.355, Onians, 149ff.).

cucurrit See n. on 2.120, Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1516.58.

55 funditque preces Cf. 5.234 *fundissetque preces*, Cat.64.125 *imo fudisse e pectore uoces*, Hor.*Epd.*17.53 (where vd. Watson's n.). See too Cic.*Div.* 2.110 *Sibyllae uersus obseruamus, quos illa furens fudisse dicitur* but in particular Cic.*cons.*fr.2.28f. *multaque per terras uates oracla furenti/ pectore fundebant tristis minitancia casus*. See Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1566.45ff. at 79f.: 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. *EV* 2, 610 unimpressive.

rex Vd. n. on 36 regi.

pectore ab imo Cf. 1.485 *ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo*, after Lucr. (3.57) and Cat. (64.125 *supra*, 198). Cf. Negri, 205, n.15. In the case of this v. and 11.840, N. is in doubt whether the formula indicates 'la sincerità, la profondità dei sentimenti' as localisation in the *pectus* often seems to or whether (as the evidence strongly suggests) the expression is by now merely formulaic. She collects an impressive number of passages in which the breast is home to words, and, better, sentiments, from *Il.*10.9f. on.

56-76 Aeneas' prayer to Apollo Though that is no name to call it by. Only **56-62** are addressed to Apollo; **65** signals that Aen. is now addressing the Sibyl, and in between he briefly addresses the gods once hostile to Troy; not just Juno and her subalterns for we recall 2.622f. *inimicaque Troiael/ numina magna deum* and the preceding theophany of Troy's divine enemies. Study of Highet's appendices, 320-3, s.v. addressee, reveals other speeches thus divided in their objectives. See Miller, 98,137-40, Mackie, 116, Cartault, 433-5, Highet, 41, 315, Unte (*SC*), 233-4.

56 Phoebe The metrical form of certain names (Apollo, Venus) excludes them from first place in the hexam.; possibly the reason for **Phoebe** here; cf. Miller, 48. Vd. Robert, 1, 231f., 287 for the name Phoebus itself.

grauis Troiae...labores The stock *labores* of Troy, 1.597, 2.11 (where vd. n.), 9.202; g. Bräuninger, *TLL* 6.2.2288.70, citing Cic.*carm.**Eur.*6.4 (but hardly a significant parallel).

semper miserate A regular element of prayer-style is the appeal to a deity when 'he is asked to help because he has done so before', thus NH on Hor.*C.*1.32.1, and see comms. on Cat.34.23 *antique ut solita's* (vd. also *Aen.*9.406-8, 12.778, Appel, 150, n. on 11.786 for the suppliant's own previous piety towards the deity now addressed). The use of partic. and rel.

clause already noted by No., and now generally familiar: vd. e.g. NH 1, pp.127, 150, Norden, *Agn. Theos*, 168ff. for the latter and for the former, e.g. No., *ib.*, 166ff., *G*.1.41, *Aen*.1.597, *Ov.Am*.2.13.19 (despite silence of modern comms. on these passages). Cf. Miller, 98 for Apollo and the Trojans in Hom.. **M.**: *EV* 3, 547, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1132.11; standard Latin.

57 Dardana...Paridis...tela manusque Enallage, inasmuch as it is Paris, not Troy's weapons of war, that is distinctively Trojan. Reisch, *TLL* Onom.3.46.15 compares 2.618, *T. arma*. The paired nouns then at 10.433; apparently a Virgilian formulation.

qui...direxti For the syncope, NW 3, 500ff. at 504, Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 349f., Holzweissig, 787, Platnauer. *Lat. eleg. verse*, 69f., Müller, (52), 508f., Lindsay, *Lat.lang.*, 508, Bonaria, *EV* 4, 873: a form gratefully adopted by the dactylic poets (cf. 1.201, 4.682, 5.786, 11.118) from (general) pronunciation and the usage of comedy. For the prefix **di-** (**MPR**), vd. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 401, Dittmann, *TLL* 5.1.1232.81 (the forms *di-* and *de-* coexist and I follow the ms. evidence *here*). Of weapons, Dittmann, 1241.59 (apparently first thus here; common of ships, steps, path, *sim.*). For Apollo and Paris, vd. **56 semper miserate** and for Paris' killing of Achilles, first narrated in the *Aethiopsis* (p.47.20f.Davies, but vd. already *Il*.22.359), see Gantz, 2, 625-8, Robert, 2.3, 1186ff..

58 corpus in Aeacidæ The patronymic as a lofty, Homeric alternative for 'Achilles'; so too AR, *Enn.Ann*.167Sk.; vd. (*bene*) Vinchesi, *EV* 3, 1029f. (and see too *ib.*, 2, 155). See on 3.296 for use of Neoptolemus. Standard anastrophe of prepos., but for position between noun and attribute, vd. No..

magnas obeuntia terras An arresting leap of direction from Achilles' mighty frame; only with postponed **duce te** does the impeccable logic of **58f.** fall into place, with **te**, Apollo, climactic. **O. terras cingentia** Serv.; cf. Quadlbauer, *TLL* 7.2.48.39f., 8.553, 10.483 of garments. Is V. thinking of the Trojans having had to sail *round* large islands, such as Sicily? Compare 3.211 *Ionio in magno*. So of the sea in general, *Liv.Andr.tr*.33Ribb., *Enn.tr*.43Joc., with his n. (rendering 'the open sea'), citing also *Enn.Ann*. 434Sk., *Lucr*.2.1; cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.124.73ff..

59 tot maria Cf. **112 maria omnia**, 1.524, etc., *EV* 3, 372; the plur. as often 'intensified' by **tot**. Apollo (sc. by means of oracles) has led Aen. and the Trojans the whole way (by sea) from Troy to Cumae (cf. Miller, 99f., and my remarks, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 14).

intraui Hardly just the 'start' given by A. at Delos (Miller, tentatively), for further back there had been Grynium (4.345), of exalted literary interest (Euphorion, D'Anna, *EV* 2, 807f. and Gallus too, Weber (*SC*), 52 *et passim*).

duce te Cf. Hor.C.1.10.13; for *te duce*, cf. *ib.*1.2.52, 6.4 (i.e. earlier than *Aen.*6); both forms already in Cic.. No. suggested an allusion to Apollo *Archegetes*; cf. e.g. C.Dougherty, *Poetics of colonisation* (New York 1993), 104f., Gruppe, 1232, n.10. Oddly, no discussion by O'Hara; No.'s claim is very attractive, if not quite certain. Possibly here a small bow by V. to his friend.

penitusque repostas/ 60 Massylum gentis Cf. G.Meyer's long list (*TLL* 6.2.1854. 77ff.) of **g.** with partitive gen. of the name (cf. Antoine, 78, LHS, 62f.); notable discord over the definition of this gen.. The Massyli an important tribe of Numidia (cf. 4.132, 483), located in mod. central (not coastal, as *maria obeuntia magnas terras* might suggest) eastern Algeria, Barrington, map 34, EF 2. See E.H.Bunbury, Smith, *Dict Gk.Rom. Geogr.*2, 453, *EV* 3, 403f., W.Huss, *BNP* s.v., Schwabe, PW 14.2166, 22-58. **R.**: see n. on 3.364 *terras...repostas*; **p.**: 'deep within' *vel sim.*; Spoth, *TLL* 10.1.1079.56f. and vd. n. on **679**.

praetentaque Syrtebus arua P.: cf. 3.692 with n., van Leijenhorst, *TLL* 10.2. 984.72f.. The Syrtes are nowhere near Aen.'s route as carefully recounted in *Aen.*3; cf. n. on 7.302, *EV* 4, 896f.; Serv.'s *circumfusa* here is not helpful (but he goes on well enough *incerta enim sunt illic maria et terrae*). Better his gloss at 3, *cit.*, *anteposita*; 'facing'. Au. suggests that V. might have had in mind Cato's march along the shore of the Syrtes (Rice Holmes, *Rom.Rep.*, 3, 221), not convincingly.

61 iam tandem Quater in *Aen.*; Hand, 3, 121, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.115.65ff. at 69.

Italiae fugientis...oras For the name **I.**, cf. n. on 7.178; for the prosody of the initial *i* (so already Call.*H.*3.58), cf. Au. on 1.2 and for the phenomenon, E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906) 330f.. For her receding shores, cf. 5.629, n. on 3.496 *arua...semper cedentia retro* and Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1483. 6ff.; here, Au. refers to editors who have taken **fugientis** with **Italiae**: unacceptable and unvirgilian, we agree. Punctuation has however been in more serious dispute: Mynors has colon at the end of **60**, full stop after **61 oras** and semicolon after **62 secuta**; Au. and Conte, semi-colon, colon, full stop after the same three lines. **Intraui** opens the journey that ends with **prendimus**, so the light semi-colon at **oras** is appropriate; **62** is in some sense a comment on what precedes, but hardly needs to be fenced off from what precedes by heavy marks of punctuation. Mynors' semicolon after **62** seems infelicitous, for the development of Aen.'s argument needs firmer articulation.

prendimus Vd. Suter, *TLL* 10.2.1162.38f., comparing Ov.*Am.*2.9.31 (?), Luc.5.576; taking hold of Italy involves food and fire, wood and water and thus the Trojans are indeed (continuous present) engaged in taking hold of Italy.

62 hac...tenus Cf. Hand, 3, 8 ('usque ad hunc locum'), Haffter, *TLL* 6.3.2749.24; the tmesis frequent in poetry. Vd. Haffter, *ib.*, 47f. ('de loco'; also in a work of literature).

Troiana...fortuna Cf. 2.34 *Troiae...fata* (with n.), 3.182 *Iliacis...fatis*, 7.294 *fata Phrygum* (with n.), 11.345 *fortuna...populi* (with n. for origins in ideas of Hellenistic city-*tyche*), Bailey, 214. After the proverbial *Ilias malorum* (Otto, 171), and the *tychai* of Priam (Mayor on Juv.10.258-71), there is clearly room for improvement.

fuerit...secuta Cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1183.36, citing Brutus to Cic., *Ep.Brut.*1.16.9. Perf. subj. used in a wish, Ernout-Thomas, 240, Handford, 88, LHS 456. **S.** as often used in a hostile sense, *EV* 4, 787, citing e.g. 4.626; add e.g. 7.300; not necessarily *simplex pro composito* (Sabbadini).

63 uos quoque Specified at the beginning of the next v.; **uos** of course acc..

Pergameae...genti Ignored by *EV* s.v. 'Troiani, nome dei'; for **P.**, vd. n. on 7.322 (**P.** strictly the citadel of Troy). For the form of the adj., vd. n. on 7.589 (**V.**'s adjs. in *-eus*): apparently a Virgilian coinage, without Greek antecedents, as I should have noted on 3.476.

iam fas est Cf. **266 sit mihi fas audita loqui** and n. on 2.157f..

parcere Cf. *EV* 3, 970, Korteweg, *TLL* 10.1.336.25f.; no close analogies, apparently, but notably familiar in the language of pleas, Appel, 120.

64 dique deaeque omnes Cf. *G.*1.21 *dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arua tueri* (where vd. Mynors), Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.909.19, Appel, 83f.. Note that here there is no passage from the specific to the general, as there had been in *G.*1 and indeed the 'general' formula is promptly limited in its application by the **quibus...** clause.

quibus obstitit The theme fundamental since *Aen.*1.8f. *quo numine laesol quidue dolens regina deum*; cf. Buchheit, *Sendung*, 18ff., Feeney, 146f., *Companion*, 103, with n.18 and for the envy of the gods more generally, vd. n. on 11.43. 'Sc. nimio splendore', comments Oomes, *TLL* 7.2.247.4f.; cf. *EV* 4, 1028.

Ilium Cf. n. on 3.3.

et ingens/ 65 gloria The sense sweeps on over v.-end, with adj. last word of **64**; so too **30f.** (vd. *EV* 2, 311 and Paratore's n. here; for noun first and adj. run-on, cf. No., p.399f.). The phrasing and disposition borrowed exactly from 2.325 (where vd. n.). Ignored, Niehl, 59.

Dardaniae Cf. n. on 3.52 (Euripidean in origin, apparently).

tuque, o sanctissima uates So too in address to Venus, **196**; the overlap between addresses to humans and to gods calls for fuller investigation. **O:** n. on 7.360 for the elevated tone. The Sibyl regularly called *uates*: vd.

n. on 3.443. The superl. used by Evander of his wife, 11.158, *EV* 4, 673. Note 8.131 *sancta oracula*.

66 praescia uenturi P. apparently first here (alongside *consciūs, insciūs, nesciūs*), Zoppi *TLL* 10.2.821.50f., Cordier, 145; ignored, *EV* s.v. *scio*. V.: cf. *Buc.*4.52 *uenturo...saeclo*, *OLD* s.v. *uenio*, §16b; compare *G.*4.239 *parcesque futuro* (and *OLD* s.v. for the much commoner *futurum*).

da The Sibyl herself does not of course have the superhuman power to grant what Aen. asks, but is the mouthpiece of a god well able to communicate what will be granted. **Da** standard prayer language, n. on 7.331; for the dependent infin. (**67**), vd. LHS 345, W.Görler, *EV* 2, 271 (V.'s use of infin. after causative verbs), Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1690.2, citing e.g. 3.77, 10.235.

non indebita.../ 67 regna meis fatis For litotes with a word itself containing a negative element, Au. well cites Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 2, 297-9, which offers a fine selection of Virgilian instances, *haud ignota, haud incerta, non sine...*, etc.; cf. now Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 122f. **I.**, like a fair number of V.'s compounds with a neg. prefix, seems a Virgilian invention; Cordier, 144f., O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.1122.47f.. For the idea of 'owed by fate', cf. **713f.**, 7.120 *fatis mihi debita tellus* (with n.), and (different) 11.759 *fatis debitus*. For the *fata* of Aen. as an individual, cf. 7.234 *fata per Aeneae iuro* (and poor n. there), 11.160 *mea fata* (with n.), Bailey, 211f., Pötscher, 46. And lastly, for the *regna* awaiting Aen., cf. **71**, 4.194, 381, 5.656, etc.; Pomathios, 174 atypically uninformative.

posco Vd. **45 poscere fata**. The parenthesis perhaps moderates the tone of **posco** and restates to the non-divine Sibyl Aen.'s (entirely justified) conviction that his destination is indeed predestined.

67 Latio considerare Teucros Typical juxtaposition of contrasting names (vd. e.g. comm. on bk.2, index, s.v.), here separated by **considerere**; cf. 1.572 *uultis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis*, 3.162 *Cretae iussit considerare Apollo*, 4.349f. *quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra/inuidia est*, 11.323 *considant...et moenia condant* (vd. n.): a solid part of the Virgilian lexicon of colonisation. **T.**: cf. **41**.

68 errantisque deos Cf. 1.6 *inferretque deos Latio*, 2.320 (with n.), *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 17, 24f., n. on 2.320. For **e.** cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.2.807.17f.; compare 1.32 *errabant acti fatis maria omnia circum*, 1.333, 756, 3.101 (with n.), 204; cf. (cognate) **532 erroribus**. There seems to be a studied contrast, an element of paradox, between partic. (not established in a shrine or temple, as at **69ff.**) and noun, as there more clearly is between **agitata** and **numina** (where one almost suspects a faint smile). The settlement of the Trojan penates in Latium symbolic of the entire westwards transference of the Romans' ancestors: cf. *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 24f..

agitataque numina Troiae N. virtually synonymous with **deos**, Bailey, 63, rightly. **A.:** Hey, *TLL* 1.1330.80, *EV* 1, 56, *Aen.*11.694 (Camilla) *magnum agitata per orbem*, 12.803f. *terris agitare uel undis/ Troianos potuisti*. Double (adj. and noun) theme and variation.

69-76 Palatine Apollo; the Sibylline books

Bibliography: Beard-North-Price, 1, 62f., 198, 201-6, Binder, 98f., L.Breglia Pulci Doria, *EV* 4, 828-31, F.Castagnoli, *ib.*, 1, 224, G.K.Galinsky, *Augustan culture* (Princeton 1996), 102, 215, *id.*, *Vergilius* 55 (2009), 75, V.Gardthausen, *Augustus...* 2.2 (repr. Aalen 1964), 577, n.11, R.A.Gurval, *Actium and Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1998), 111-23, T.Rice Holmes, *Architect of the Rom. Emp.* 2, 49, 69, T.E.Kinsey, *Maia* 39 (1987), 41, Latte, 160, 304, R.MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman order* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966), 130, Wissowa in Marquardt, *StV.* 3, 350ff., 382ff., Miller, 97, 99f., Parke (*SC*), 136-51, Rzach, *PW* 4A.2105.12-2117.26, K.F.Smith, Maltby, introd. to *Tib.* 2.5, Syme, *RR*, 443, R.Thomas, ed. *Hor.C.4* and *CS*, pp. 53 -7, 271-3, W.Unte (*SC*), 234ff., Wissowa, 536f., P.Zanker, *Power of images* (Eng.tr., Ann Arbor 1990), 65-70, Zetzel (**136-48**), (**2**)(a), 279f.

Aeneas lists the detail of his (implicit, but hardly the less solemn for that) vow to Apollo (vd. Beard-North-Price, 1, 32-5, Diliberto, *EV* 5*, 629-33, Oakley, *Liv.*8, p.481, Hickson, 91-8; thus the temple of Palatine Apollo vowed in 36, Woodman on *Vell.*2.81.3): all this will be Apollo's eventual reward (vd. Au. on **69**) for his support here prayed for, to be expressed via the Sibyl. V. refers to: (i) temple of Palatine Apollo; (ii) *ludi Apollinares*; (iii) *libri Sibyllini*; (iv) *xviri sacris faciundis*; (v) avoidance of leaves in recording the responses. (i)-(iv) all of course belong historically to the recent past, though not to a past quite recent enough to provide a specific chronological indication (cf. *Aen.*3, xxii). *Aen.* vows, and Octavian fulfils; a good instance of the plasticity of *Aen.*'s histor. outlook. The details I discuss together, lest their combined ideological impact be in some way lessened.

(i) The temple of Palatine Apollo (cf. too 8.720), dedicated 9 Oct., 28BC: the monument that defines the character and ideology of the early principate, Galinsky, 213-24, Zanker, *cit.*, Beard-North-Price, 1, 198f., Gurval, index, s.v. 'temples'. No reader for one moment forgets the intensity of the *princeps*' association with Apollo (vd. Miller, ch.1).

(ii) Primarily, the *ludi Apollinares*, founded 212 BC, by order of a Sibylline oracle (*Liv.*25.12): Latte, 223, Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies*, 159f.. Kinsey sees little point in their presence here and argues for the *ludi Actiaci*. But they are not Augustan, Roman enough in the intensely *Palatine* context of these vv.. Attempts to read *Aen.*6 in the light of the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BC have some appeal: vd. R.Merkelbach, *MH* 18 (1961), 83-99 at 90ff., Au. on **70**, Binder, 99 (and his comm., p.197), No., p.143, Gleis, 306-8, Kinsey, Beard-North-Price, 1, 205, Syme *RR*, 339. That association will perhaps have been clearer to the 'Augustan reader' when *Aen.*

became generally available after V.'s death in 19 than when he first wrote these vv., perhaps around 23. The sums were not difficult, though: *princeps*, poets and readers could work out that another celebration of the *ludi* ought to be near (Weinstock, *DI*, 195, Cairns, *Tibullus*, 85); an ideological context for Tib.2.5 (the closest parallel we have) is easier to fix than an actual date (cf. Maltby, p.39f.). Was there a plan to celebrate the *ludi* in 23? Were *these* lines of bk.6 written in 23/22, like the *epicedion* on Marcellus? Could the *epicedion* have been written, say, in 22? Marcellus' death is not precisely datable (Gardthausen, *Augustus*, 2.2, 405, n.43, Rice Holmes, *Architect* 2, 27, n.7). The case for *ludi saeculares* planned for 23 has been energetically put forward, but there is no historical certainty against which we can assess these lines.

(iii) This is not the place to chart the history of the *libri Sibyllini* in various guises, from Tarquin the Proud to late antiquity (see Rzach, Smith, *citt.* for the earlier period, Potter, *infra* and Lightfoot for the later and Parke for an overview). The books were translated from Jupiter's protection to Apollo's at some (early Augustan) date, Smith, p.444; the approved, collected responses, perhaps from 28 on, were stored in two golden boxes placed under the statue of Apollo, Suet.*Aug.*31.1. Readers curious to form an idea of what the 'oracles' actually were like in the Augustan period should be grateful to Phlegon of Tralles for the (probably authentic) lines he excerpted and preserved, *passim* (vd. **87**, **851**); translation and comm. offered, Beard-North-Price, 2, 179-81, Hansen (**851**), 186-9, Thomas, pp.277-8.

(iv) Cf. D.S.Potter, *Prophecy and history...* (Oxford 1990), 112, Latte, 160, n.4: fifteen members from Sulla on; under Aug., the college serves as a typical exercise of imperial patronage, in the name of restored religion (cf. Syme, *RR*, 382, *Aug.arist.*, 47-9). Female prophetic frenzy and the risk of subversive content (MacMullen, Lightfoot, Potter) brought under control, discipline, organisation by a college of distinguished men, in short, by a safe and experienced committee. Cf. Wissowa, 534ff., and 537, n.4 for the problem of spurious material.

(v) See *SC*, (**5**). Here V. takes up 3.444-52; Aen. has not forgotten Helenus' warnings. *Vt solet, miscet historiam* Serv.; cf. (E.)Thomas, 257f., A.Pellizzari, *Servio...* (Firenze 2003), 111ff. for Serv. on V.'s allusions to Augustan history.

69 tum Once Apollo, as *Archegetes* and as the Sibyl's inspiration, has permitted the Trojans to settle in Latium.

Phoebo et Triviae Cf. **56** and **118**; the *cella* of the temple contained statues of Apollo, Diana (rather than Hecate, naturally enough; cf. n. on 7.774) and Latona, Platner-Ashby, 17.

solido de marmore templum S.: Brandt *TLL* 8.411.27; solid blocks of white Luna marble, apparently, Prop.2.31.9, *Aen.*8.720. *niueo candentis*

limine Phoebi, with Serv.'s note; no mere fashionable veneer (Lafaye, DS 3., 1598, Friedlaender, *SG* 2₉, 332, etc.). Vd. *G.3.13*, n. on 11.10 for V.'s free use of the prepos. phrase; *OLD* s.v. *de*, §8. **Templum MR**, Serv. on 3.274; **templa P**, TCD and most c.9 mss.. The plur. (vd. **41**, **841**) may be used correctly for a single temple and the sing. is printed here with no great confidence.

70 instituam Cf. Kröner/Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1987.76f..

festosque dies So at *G.2.527 ipse dies agitat festos*; standard prose usage, Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.628.6ff..

de nomine Phoebi See (**69-76**), (ii). For the use of **de**, cf. *Lucr.6.908*, 1.277, *OLD* s.v., §5a, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.55.68ff. (an article notably user-hostile).

71 te quoque Aen. passes from deity to priestess; not only Apollo, but the Sibyl's prophecies *too* will be honoured in the realm of Aeneas: not only will a board of *quindecimviri* superintend her preserved utterances, *supra*, (iv), but the texts themselves, far from flying at random about her cave (**74-6**), will be preserved in golden boxes and with all due dignity in the god's great new temple, *supra*, (iii).

magna...penetralia P. is the sense of 'aedes, sacrarium' (Wirth, *TLL* 10.1. 1061. 71f.), as *Ov.Met.11.593 penetralia Somni*; note also the commoner sense, 1061.35ff. of 'inner sanctuary', at 5.744, 9.259, *Liv.6.41.9*, *Ov. F.2.69*, etc., Wirth, 1061.35ff. Beneath Apollo's statue indeed, on the Palatine. The adj. routine hyperbole.

manent In the common sense of 'expectare', *EV* 3, 338. Tietze, *TLL* 8.291.33ff.. to await by fate or law; more particularly of concrete objects, 292.25ff.; T. compares *Hor.Epd.13.13*, 16.41, *C.2.18.31*.

regnis...nostris Cf. **67** for Aen.'s *regna*.

72 hic...namque For here, sc. in the great sanctuary of Apollo; **n.** postponed in the Hellenistic manner, n. on 2.164. Not a formal, developed aetiology here, but Aen. hints at the manner of an *aition* (cf. e.g. **378**, 7.765, 10.189), of, that is, what will be done to conserve the oracles.

ego... 73 ...ponam Cf. **611 nec partem posuere suis**, but I suggest that here **p.** is *simplex* for *deponam*, I will deposit, *OLD* s.v., §7a, though *ib.*, s.v. *pono*, §8b is quite similar.

tuas sortis 'An oracular response (strictly one obtained by cleroman-cy...)', *OLD* s.v., §3, and my n. on 7.254 *uoluit sub pectore sortem*, 'the metonymy of *sors* for any oracular response'. Cf. too *EV* 4, 951.

arcanaque fata Theme and variation removes any perplexity that there might be about the sense of **s.**: cf. n. on 7.123 *fatorum arcana* (with n.); **f.** in the common etym. sense of 'things uttered (by the gods)'; cf. n. on 3.380, Bailey, 205-7, Pötscher, 68-71.

73 dicta meae genti Cf. 3.501 *gentique meae* with n.; an uncommon formulation. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.978.42 compares Hor.C.3.3.57f. *sed belliosis fata Quiritibus/ hac lege dico*.

lectosque... 74...uiros Unexpectedly uncommon phrasing: before this passage vd. Sall.*hist.*3.98 (probable); then 11.60f., Liv.37.40.6, Sil., Val.Fl., Tac., von Kamptz. *TLL* 7.2.1133.42. The ‘sacerdoti addetti alla consultazione dei libri sibillini’ of *EV* 3, 172 follows Beringer, 49f., who cites in turn Serv. on 3.332 *quia quindecim uiri Librorum Sibyllinorum sunt antistites*, at last a correct statement of the matter: not so much what we understand by ‘sacerdoti’, as, by V.’s time, reliable agents of imperial supervision, (69-76), (iv).

sacrabo Cf. *EV* 4, 630, *OLD* s.v., §1; use of an individual/individuals apparently not common, though neither surprising nor difficult.

74 alma See n. on 117.

foliis...carmina manda So 3.444 *folisque notas et carmina mandat*, where vd. comm.; m. Bulhart. *TLL* 8.261.82, citing Sulpicia, Tib.3.13.7 (of *tabellae*).

tantum ne Exactly our ‘just don’t...’; occasional in Livy, rather a favourite with Ovid, but not a generally popular idiom. The use of *ne* + imper. ‘handy but archaic’, cf. n. on 7.96.

75 ne turbata uolent Allit. of *u* and *r* clearly suggestive of the winds’ activity. **T**: *OLD* s.v., §4a, *EV* 5*, 318; for *uolare* thus of objects, *G.*1.368 *frondes uolitare caducas*, *OLD* s.v., §2b, *EV* 5*, 612. Abbreviated from 3.448-51.

rapidis...uentis *Quater* in Ov..

ludibria Because of the play of the winds? Polverini, *EV* 3, 277; cf. Prop.2.25.27 and *l.* also of things playing in the wind, as at Claud. 11(*Fescenn.*1).12. See Hor.C. 1.14.15f. *tu nisi uentis/ debes ludibrium, caue*. Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1771.51f. for *ludere*; the noun used thus Lanciotti, *TLL* 7.2.1759.33ff. compares to Lucan 8.710, of Pompey’s corpse, a *ludibrium pelagi*. The winds will reduce the Sibyl’s prophecies to their playthings if she does not do as Aen. asks.

76 ipsa canas oro I.: ‘in person’, 3.457, *EV* 4, 313, Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.329.59. **O.**: *EV* 3, 890, Tessmer/Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1040.4. Perhaps not so much paratactic indir. command (which is perfectly possible; *EV* 2, 273, LHS 529), as jussive subjunctive and **oro** used as little more than ‘please’, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 284. **C.** in an oracular sense, *EV* 1, 649, n. on 3.155, Poeschel, *TLL* 3.271.17f.

finem dedit ore loquendi This concluding formula only here in V.: *finem dare* (cf. 1.199, 241, Bauer, 6.1.796.67) is apparently of tragic origin, Acc.*tr.*37, 293, 577. Note also Lucil.18 *dedit pausam ore loquendi*.

The whole expression of a clearly archaic flavour and quite possibly earlier, in origin, than the attested late c.2.

77-97. See 83-97.

77 at...nondum At 5.545 *at pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso*, *at* refers to the whole sentence, and *nondum* just to *misso*, while here **at** is understood with **bacchatur uates** and **nondum** just with **Phoebi...patiens**. Cf. Cic.*Phil.*10.16, Ov.*Met.*8.372.

Phoebi...patiens Cf. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.738.54ff., Labhardt, *ib.*, 7.1.524.36; 7.490 *manum patiens* is quite irrelevant (vd. my n.). Cf. rather Ov.*Tr.* 4.6.1 *patiens fit taurus aratri*, Suet.*Iul.*61.1 [*equum*] *patientem sessoris*, Sen.*Ag.*719 *maenas impatiens dei*, Stat.*Theb.*10.165. At *Aen.*3, p.478, I discuss the evident sexual metaphor used here. To my refs. there for the sexual sense of **p.**, add Kruse, 738.61ff., citing e.g. Liv.39.13.11, 14, and perhaps Laber.*mim.*56Ribb.; see also S.Skulsky, *AJP* 108 (1987), 56-8 (*bene*), Miller, 141, Russell on [Longin.]13.2 ἐγκύμωνα. The language of sexual possession is often used (and not only in anti-pagan polemic) of similar cases of divine ‘possession’; in particular, Russell and I have noted the frequent use of ‘pregnant’. Suet., *cit.*, makes clear that there is also an equine association in V.’s phrasing (so Serv. on 79: *et nunc Sibyllam quasi equum, Apollinem quasi equitem inducit et in ea permanet translatione*, Skulsky (77), 63); ‘horse and rider’ then also carry a strong sexual suggestion, Taillardat, 105, Adams, *LSV*, 165f.; not to be dismissed as slender or fanciful here, because ‘horse and rider’ will emerge as a major metaph. thread in V.’s phrasing. The language of goads and whips occurs in other accounts of relig. possession (*Aen.*3, p.478; vd. 6.101, Wilamowitz, *Hera-kles*, comm., p.12, Norden, p.144) and it is no surprise to discover that the application of horse-and-rider metaphors to madness, religious frenzy, etc. is also very well attested: vd. Eur.*IT* 934, *Or.*45 (vd. Willink), Soph.fr.444.6Radt, Eur.*Ba.*166, 1056 and the majestic discussion by Wilamowitz, *cit.*, p.195.

immanis *EV* 2, 924, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.440.29, in the sense of ‘horribilis, terribilis’ (but see also n. on 7.510), comparing Cic.*carm.*Hom.1.11, *Aen.*5.822, 6.576, 10.209 and of course used adverbially. Might there perhaps be (also) a faint hint of enallage, conveying an appropriately vast and/or hideous cave? Not to be taken as a mere expansion of 49 **maiorque uideri**: vd. my discussion, *Aen.*3, p.479.

in antro See 42 **ingens...in antrum**, 99. The Sibyl apparently approaches/ enters her cave, *SC* (9); clearly, she is no longer **ante fores** (47). But we can hardly suspect V. of working *just* with the tradition of the Sibyl’s cave and must also be alert for e.g. Greek oracular caves: see *SC*, (7)(a). Cf. too n. on 237.

For the words *plena deo*, attributed to V. by Sen.Rhet., see appx.1.

78 bacchatur So of Dido (4.301), *fama* (4.666); but also of a street seer, Ulp.*Dig.*21. 1.1.10 *circa fana bacchatus sit et responsa reddiderit*, and cf. Arnob.1.1 *insanire, bacchari et uelut quiddam promptum ex oraculo dicere*; see *Aen.*3, p.479. This sort of literary madness thrives on the cross-fertilisation of various forms of religious enthusiasm. Diehl, *TLL* 2.1664.10f.. The vb. *bis* in Cat.64.

uates Cf. n. on 3.443 *insanam uatem* (of the Cumaean Sibyl).

magnum.../ 79 ...deum Cf. 2.623 *numina magna deum* (with n.), Hor.*serm.* 1.7.33 *per magnos...deos*, [Tib.]3.4.16 *nec laesit magnos impia lingua deos*, Prop.2.34.46 *despicit et magnos recta puella deos*; distinguish Di Magni, Magna Dea; here as at 2.cit., simple but magnificent lack of specificity (cf. **46**).

si...possit **Si** common thus after a verb suggesting an attempt or effort, KS 2, 425f., LHS 666, Ernout-Thomas, 387f., *Aen.*4.84f..

pectore/ 79 excussisse Cf. 5.679 *excussaque pectore Iuno est*, Sen. *Ag.*800 (with Tarrant's n.), Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1310.36. So the mice from their banqueting couches, Hor.*serm.*2.6.112, and often of horses throwing their riders (Liv.8.7.10, Tarrant, *cit.*), 11.615, 640, Liv.8.7.10, Rehm, 1310.40f. (vd. n. on **77 patiens** for the metaphor of horses and riders). 'The perfect infinitive looks forward to the act as if already completed': vd. Au.'s informed note on this 'timeless' use of the perf. infin. particularly in wishes (vd. too Norden (*bene*), LHS, 351f., Görler, *EV* 2, 273, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 59); again at **86 uenisse uolent**. Negri, 264 compares 5.679, 6.101 for the use of **p.** as home of thoughts and emotions. Note the sequence **possit... excussisse**; a hissing expulsion of breath in the Sibyl's frenzy.

tanto magis So regularly in Lucr.; LHS 592; no explicit antecedent.

ille fatigat Comm. note that the vb. is regularly used of riders, 1.316f., 11.714 (where vd. n.), Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.349.38f., who compares Sall.*Iug.* 70.1 *fatigare animum*, to wear out his heart. Note marked allit. of f in this v. and the next.

80 os rabidum So Amata at 7.451 *rabidoque haec addidit ore* (where vd. n.); words soon to be recalled, at **102 rabida ora quierunt**. Cf. Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1078.5.

fera corda Cf. **49 et rabie fera corda tument** (q.v.), here elegantly turned around, so that it is Apollo himself who exerts control.

domans Of the Pythia, Luc.5.193 *domita iam uirgine* (Au.); of horses, cf. Lucil.1042 *Thessalam* [sc. *equam*] *ut indomitam frenis subigamque domemque*, Banner, *TLL* 5.1.1945.32f.; *indomitus* often used of horses, Plaut.*Men.*863, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.1224.8ff..

fingitque premo The account of the Sibyl's struggle against her inspiration concludes in familiar equestrian language, as Au. well explains. It is odd that Pade, *TLL* 10.2.1176.8ff. classifies this passage (in isolation) s.v. 'absolute et in imag. de Apolline Sibyllam domante'; the object is very easily supplied here and the sense is rather as at 1.63 *et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas*, 11.600 *pressis... habenis* (where vd. n.); control, therefore, by pressing down, shortening, tightening the reins: cf. Pade, 1176.4ff., citing also Sen.*Phaedr.* 1075 *pressis... frenis*. *EV* 4, 255 unhelpful; likewise at 2, 526f.. For *fingere* used thus, cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.773.53ff., Hor.*Ep.* 1. 2.64 *fingit equum tenera docilem ceruice magister*, Varius fr.149.3Hollis (a good n.), fr.3.3Courtney, *insultare docet campis fingitque morando*. The sexual element detected in Apollo's mastery of the Sibyl may resurface here; for *premo*, *opprimo*, *comprimo* employed *sensu erotico*, vd. Adams, *LSV*, 182, Miller, 141, S.Timpanaro *Contributi di filologia greca e latina* (Firenze 2005), 111f., n.24.

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81 ostia...domus...ingentia Cf. Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1155.53ff. (who oddly classifies these Apolline doors along with doorways of Hell); cf. **43 ostia centum** and note also the (infernal) doors of **106, 109**. Note also **53 attonitae magna ora domus**, Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1971.28, whose material shows that *d.* is used of a wide range of mythological habitations; here, like the adj. (cf. 7.170), of little actual force, but a modest contribution to this image of solemn majesty. See *SC*, **(9)(f)**.

iamque Cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.108.76ff.; a handy variant of *iam* attested from Naev., Enn., Acc.. For the anastrophe, cf. No., 404.

patuere For doors opening mysteriously on account of a divine presence, cf. full n. on 7.620: this is a conventional signal unmistakable to the educated reader. Cf. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.658.43; the perf. 'of immediate action' (cf. n. on 2.465 *impulimus*, Au. on 1.84, Quinn, 91, n.1, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 59f., H.Blase, *Tempora u. Modi*, in Landgraf, *Hist. Gramm.* (Leipzig 1903), 168f.), typically an alien presence in a sequence of histor. presents, pointing to a fresh turn in the action. For 3plur. perf. indic. in *-ere*, cf. Au.. on 2.53 (*bene*).

centum So, altars (1.416, etc.), temples (4.199), columns (7.170), brazen bars (7.609) and the **aditus** and **ostia** of **43**, to which this v. refers back (cf. S.Skulsky, *AJP* 108 (1987), 65); cf. *EV* 3, 786. Even if V. really was both a neighbour and a regular visitor, he describes the site in conventional epic terms.

82 sponte sua Conventionally miraculous (vd. on **patuere**, *supra*). **S.s.** not common in V.; cf. n. on 7.204. Already at *Il.5.749*, 8.393 the gates of Olympus opened ἀὐτόματα (same metr. value, same *sedes*) for Hera's egress.

uatisque...responsa For **u.**, cf. on **78. R.** standard language, **44, 799**, 7.86, etc..

ferunt...per auras Cf. 4.226 *celeris defer mea dicta per auras*, 357f. *celeris mandata per auras/ detulit*, 378 *fert horrida iussa per auras*, Moskalew, 110. Handy 'formulaic' language. *Ferre* and compounds used with weightless objects (audible, as though material); Catrein, 143f..

83-97 These majestic and appalling lines (cf. Tiresias to Od., *Od.11.100-37*, and Knauer, 130f. on Tir. and the Sibyl) appear to have attracted far less concentrated attention than they merit. See Cartault, 434-6, W.S.Anderson, *TAPA* 88 (1957), 17-30 at 17-9, *Alambicco*, 82-4, A.Kurfess, *Ztschr. f. Relig.-u. Geistesgesch.* 3 (1951), 253-7, di Cesare, 97-9, Pomathios, 226f., Miller, 141f., 145. I offer brief comment on content and style:

(1) The narrator will describe the Sibyl as **obscuris uera inuoluens (100)**; in these vv., her revelations of Aen.'s coming trials do not at any point lure the hearer - as often occurs; cf. O'Hara, *DOP*, 16-8, *et passim* - into an optimism not tempered by sufficient regard for concealed negative implications, but will rather tend to terrify the audience by offering a view of coming events a good deal blacker than what will in the event emerge from V.'s narrative. The Trojans will actually win their war in Latium and establish their promised city; despite the presence of a new Achilles, the new plain of Troy will lead them, and their unexpected *Greek* allies, to victory this time (cf. 5.730f. *gens dura atque aspera cultu/ debellanda tibi Latio*). The Trojans' Greek allies will be a complete surprise to the reader and, despite the Sibyl's words, the Trojans will *not* have to beg for assistance. Even Juno will be reconciled to them before the end of the poem. The Sibyl therefore blends moral encouragement (95f.) with systematic misinformation, except on the important matter of the Trojans' arrival in Latium (84f.).

(2) V. is well able to suggest distinctively oracular style (n. on 3.383), even distinctively Sibylline language (nn. on **52, Tros, 87, Thybrim, 851 Romane**), but the styl. features (rhyme, assonance, anaphora, etc.: I.M.LeM. Du Quesnay, *PLLS* 1 (1976), 77-81, R.G.Austin, *CQ* 21 (1927), 100-5, and,

with welcome scepticism, R.G.M.Nisbet, *BICS* 25 (1978), 72, n.8, Light-foot at **86**, *infra*) and themes (vd. Kurfess) found in common between V. and *Or.Sib.* (cf. n. on **86 uenisse**) prove interesting but not overwhelming, though of course V. has mastered the manner of lofty oracular poetry. A close study of the allegedly (or actually) Sibylline texts preserved by Phlegon and discussed at **87** and (more fully) **851** leads to more distinctive results. Here, note the anaphora of **bella** (**86**) and the form used of the name Tiber (**87**); note also the idiom of spoken Latin, **97 minime**. Heyne (on **81f.**) waxes eloquent about the stylistic elaboration of these vv. in the context of V.'s evident liking for the prophetic manner.

83 o tandem...defuncte O + partic. well identified by Au. as being in the lofty manner of Gk. trag.: he compares 1.597, 5.870; cf. also *Buc.*8.32 *o digno coniuncta uiro*, *G.*4.353 *o gemitu non frustra exterrita tanto*, *Aen.*1.199 *o passi grauiora*, 4.31 *o luce magis dilecta sorori*, 11.732 *o numquam dolituri*, 12.95f. *o numquam frustrata uocatus/ hasta, meos*, *Hor.Epd.*15.11 *o dolitura*, *Cat.*64.22f. *o nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati/ heroes*. For Gk. trag., Au. compares *Aesch.Pers.*709, *Soph.Phil.*1380, *Eur.Tro.*764. Add *Soph.Trach.*102, *Ant.*1263f., *Aj.*845, etc.: it would clearly be easy enough to continue. The interjection followed directly by an advb. is also common: see some of the Virgilian passages just cited, and Wieland, *TLL* 9.2.10.84ff., *passim*. **D.** of dangers conventional idiom, *Cic.SRos.*21, *Cael.*, *Cic.Fam.*8.1.4, Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.378.17ff.. Cf. **687**, 8.73. for similarly emotive *tandem*.

magnis pelagi...periclis Pelagi the lang. of high poetry in Lat. (n. on 3.204); πέλγυρος already in Hom. ('the high sea'). **Periclis** as at e.g. **693**; Sacerdoti, *EV* 4, 25, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1469.53f.. Compare 10.57 *totque maris uastaeque exhausta pericula terrae* (vd. Harrison's n.), 1.598f. *terraeque marisque/ omnibus exhaustos iam casibus*, *Liv.*33.39.6, with Hardie, *CI*, 302ff. at 306: a very common polarity and the Trojans' sufferings on both land and sea a frequent motif from 1.3 on; *now* they are in Italy and a whole new cycle of labours is to unfold. 'The dangers of the sea, and...the violence of the enemy', *Book of Common Prayer*. The syncope of *periculis* prosodically essential, Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 336-8. The epithet (cf. Reineke, 1467.44ff.) conventional, in prose, of dangers, *Sall.Cat.*35.1, *quater* Nepos, *quinquies* Livy, 21x in *Cic.*, *novies*, *Caes.* and *sexies* in the Corpus (*magnum periculum* not checked).

84 sed terrae For the polar opposites, vd. previous n.. **T.** and **pelagi** can hardly be different cases, and though *terrae* is often claimed as loc. (NW 2, 641f.) the same cannot (at least not easily or naturally) apply to *pelagi*; best therefore to acknowledge two (unproblematic) gens., as passages cited in the previous n. confirm was common usage. Codd. are, though, troubled:

terrae MP (and Serv. on 7.117, 304); **terra R**, TCD; c.9 mss. split, and Serv. here recognises both readings, and continues *unum tamen est* ('means the same', Zetzler, *Lat.text.crit.*, 91). The abl. introduced by someone who did not understand the gen..

grauiora manent *Periculum graue* recorded by Reineke, 1467.51 at Cic.*Off.*1.67, *Phil.*3.38. **M.** as often of a threat, *vel sim.*, impending, *EV* 3, 338f, Liv.1.53.7, Tietze, *TLL* 8.290.75. Further sufferings for Od. by sea, *Od.*11.104.

in regna Lauini The city (Lavinium; near mod. Pratica di Mare) that Aen. and the Latins will found jointly after his victory over Tu. and named after Lavinia, 12.194; cf. F.Castagnoli, *EV* 3, 149 and my remarks, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 17f., *EV* 3, 142. For the phrasing, cf. 1.206 *regna...Troiae*, 1.346 *regna Tyri*, etc., and for the conveniently oscillating prosody of the *a*, cf. my remarks at *Aion* (Sez.ling.) 14 (1992), 173. The reading **Latini** preserved in Serv. ('alii') an unnecessary trivialisation. Miller objects (145, n.117) that Aen. has not yet heard (let alone uttered) the toponym (though it is familiar to the reader): that is the sort of 'inconsistency' briefly satisfying to the discoverer but in no way discreditable to the poet.

85 Dardanidae uenient Just possibly V. hints at the Trojans' return to the land from which Dardanus had once departed for Troy, though as yet to a very different part of that land (cf. nn. on 3.94, 7.195). Often, though, *D.* used simply as one of the common synonyms for 'Trojan', *EV* 5*, 292. The vb. is suggestive: cf. 7.98 *externi uenient generi* (where I quote 1.283, 10.11): cf. Lyc.768, 852, 856, etc. and very common in *Or.Sib.*; effortlessly, V. hits off the manner of prophetic speech; not only here (cf. n. on 3.383).

mitte hanc...curam Cf. Fleischer, *TLL* 8.1177.34, Hor.*C.*3.8.17 *mitte ciuilis super urbe curas*, Liv.30.3.4. For **m.**, cf. too Gudeman, *TLL* 4.1473.8f.. **Hanc** = as often 'de hac re'; for the brachylogy, cf. n. on 2.171. 'Do not worry about a pilot', Circe to Od., *Od.*10.505.

de pectore P. as at **78**; the 'sede dei sentimenti', and here in particular of anxiety: cf. Negri, 203.

86 sed non et For **sed non**, cf. 3.255 (with n.), **6.140**, 7.736, 756; for the addition of **et**, cf. 7.736f. *patriis sed non et filius aruis/ contentus* (with n.), 10.343, 584. All three words retain their full force, 'but not even/ also'. The Trojans will not *also* be pleased to have come. Miller refers (142) to the 'destabilising adversative' opening two lines in three.

uenisse uolent Allit. (also taking up the preceding **uenient** with what Wills calls verb-shift) followed by gemination (Wills, 64): repetition was long ago claimed by R.G.Austin as a distinctive common feature of *Buc.*4 and *Or.Sib.* (*CQ* 21 (1927), 100-5; cf. J.Lightfoot, *Sibylline oracles* (Ox-

ford 2007), 192 and my remarks, *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 71; but repetition, remarks Lightfoot, is not distinctively Sibylline. V., I would add, is wonderfully skilled at suggesting the distinctive manner of some non-epic modes of writing: the oracular, indeed: cf. nn. on 3.383, 7.69f. for the far more distinctive *double* gemination and note also the suggestive verbal detail discussed in nn. on **85 uenient**, **851 Romane**; certainly, the mature V. uses techniques of stylistic characterisation more subtle and elegant than repetition in isolation; but that the Sibyl should be made to speak in a repetitious and incantatory manner is altogether likely. Au. also refers back here to the ‘timeless’ perf. infin. **79 excussisse**, but **uenisse** is surely a ‘normal’ perf., in the sense that the Trojans will not (in the future, when they reach Latium) prefer (for this force of *uelle*, cf. n. on 2.653) to have (conventional perf.) arrived. Better, Au. compares the tragic use of $\chi\alpha\rho\omega\nu$ as at Soph.*OT* 363; see Jebb on *Phil.* 1299.

bella, horrida bella Cf. n. on 7.41 *horrida bella*. I note polyptoton of $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ at *Or.Sib.* 11.281 (out of 110⁺ instances in the corpus; many less forceful comparanda: wars a favoured topic of orac. literature), and the anaphora might therefore be sensed to have a perceptibly prophetic flavour here: not so, though, at (e.g.) *Enn.Ann.* 184 *non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes*, *Rhet.Her.* 4.24 *pace bellum quaeritas, in bello pacem desideras* (with *Liv.* 1.27.2); it would be easy to continue and anaphora of *b.* emerges as widely employed and hard to characterise precisely. For the epithet, cf. n. on 7.41 *dicam horrida bella*, B.A.Müller, *TLL.* 2. 1847.41ff., Ehlers, *ib.*, 6.3.2994.52; *EV* 2, 857 unenlightening. Cf. Moskalew, 158, n.56 for other anticipations of the war in Latium in bks. 1-6 (e.g. 3.458, 539f.).

87 et Thybrim Cf. n. on 7.303, ‘his normal form of the name...for both speech and narrative in the *Aen.*’ (apparently ignored by Cairns), after *EV* 5*, 156f., J. Le Gall, *Le Tibre dans l’antiquité* (Paris 1953), 50-4, 333, Cairns (see **873**), 68-9. T. used by V. in *poemate* Serv.; apparently a new form of the name (possibly an anti-Ennian choice) in lit. texts, probably Etr. in origin and very possibly Sibylline in character and associations (Phlegon, p.85, v.5 Stramaglia $\Theta\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$; for the oracle cited, vd. n. on **851 Romane**: possibly c.2BC; strangely ignored by Cairns); No. also compares the oracle at Lucian, *Alex.* 27 ($\Theta\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho-$) and $\Theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\rho-$ at *Or.Sib.* 8.64. Cairns’ case for an association with both Etr. origins and Trojan Thymbris is predictably elegant and ingenious, but does not demonstrate indisputably that the time has come to abandon Serv.’s unusually neat and practical sorting of the material, for all that it entails, as one might indeed expect, a number of difficulties/ anomalies.

multo...sanguine Cf. 2.532, 551, 662, 11.421 (vd.n.), etc.: standard phrasing. More important, a familiar, widespread oracular theme (cf. n. on

7.97): at 11.393f., I noted the oracle cited by Phlegon p.26, v.11 Stramaglia αἷματι δὲ πλήσει ποταμούς (*Or.Sib.* prefer rivers of fire, but cf. 3.320 for blood, αἷματος ἔκχυμα, 5.200f., 372); here, two demonstrably ‘oracular’ terms (but, notice, not from *Or.Sib.*) in four words cannot be accidental. There is also a great deal of blood in *or. Sib.* (e.g.15x in the third). My generation is still shaken and startled by J. Enoch Powell's use of these words in a speech of April 1968. Like other seers, he was, however, proved wrong, for racial integration in Britain has taken, largely, a less ensanguined path. See H.H.Huxley, *Vergilius* 44 (1998), 24-7 and R.B.Todd, *ib.*, 45 (1999), 73-6.

spumantem Cf. 9.456 *spumantis sanguine riuos*, *Enn.trag.*118Joc. *maria salsa spumant sanguine*, with *EV* 4, 1004 (G.Franco). Water fouled with blood/blood washed with water a favoured image: cf. variously *Il.*7.329 (blood and Scamander), *Aen.*11.393f. *Iliaco tumidum qui crescere Thybrim/ sanguine* (with my n.), 9.818f. (with Hardie's n.), 2.719f. (with my n.), 12.35f. *recalent nostro Tiberina fluent/ sanguine adhuc*, NH on C.2.1.33, NR on 3.6.34, 13.6f.

cerno Emotionally coloured sight: vd. n. on 11.703, Lamacchia, *EV* 1, 748. No. notes the alternation of prophetic *statement* (**uenient**) and *vision* (**cerno**), with many parallels from other writers in the vatic mode.

88 non Simois Cf. n. on 11.257, Harrison on 10.60f., G.Bonamente, *EV* 4, 871f. (*bene*), W.Leaf. *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge 1923), 158ff., 173ff., Seymour, 532f., J.M.Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973), 55, 66, etc., Kirk on *Il.*5.773f., Janko on 13.675. But the exact identification (anyway not in real doubt) is of little importance. Paired with the Xanthus, *Il.*6.4; likewise by *Plin.Nat.*5.124.

tibi.../ 89 defuerint Energetic litotes (cf. 7.678): ‘will be with you’, *vel sim.*. Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.783.28.

nec Xanthus The river called Scamander by mortals and Xanthus by the gods (*Il.*20.74; on these double names, vd. West's formidable n. on *Theog.* 831, Janko on *Il.*14.290f.); for X., cf. n. on 3.350, with bibl.. As No. remarks, there is a natural association between a river called Xanthus and the Tiber, *multa flauus harena* (7.31). The Sibyl does not waste her words: there is an elaborate and detailed anticipation of bks. 7-12 (see e.g. Carcopino, *VOO*₂, 676, n.3, A.Deremetz, *La Sibylle* (SC), W.S. Anderson (89)17-9, A.Rengakos, *AuA* 39 (1993), 119) and Cairns' claim (81, n.43) that Tiber and Numicus are *not* generally equated by V. with Simois and Xanthus, as Carcopino suggested (*cit.*, 674; cf. Rehm, 43 for V.'s linking of Tiber and Numicus), is deeply unconvincing; here at least the analogy, clearly enough, ‘may be thought to work’, not least in view of the repeated **iterum** of 93, 94. This is indeed a wide-reaching programmatic declaration, not requiring re-statement, and V.'s plain meaning has been generally

understood and accepted by scholars (*pace* Cairns): see at least Carcopino, *cit.*, and my n. on 7.797 (in the wider context of the correspondence plain of Troy :: Roman Campagna discussed *GR* 32 (1985), 203, *EV* 3, 142, *Companion*, 182, *Alambicco*, 83, Cairns, *VAE*, 118-21); no statement of disbelief, similar to Cairns', is known to me, even after renewing familiarity with the literature.

nec Dorica castra The phrasing just that of Lyc.284, as No. remarks. **D.c.** first used 2.27 (where *vd.* my n., on *cacemphaton*, etc.). Note also 2.462 *Achaica castra*, Prop.4.6.34. In the narrative of bks. 7-12, corresponding primarily to the Latins' army besieging the Trojan camp (clearly not an actual Greek army, *pace* Cartault, 435): 9.315 *castra inimica petunt*, 371, etc., Mansuelli, *EV* 1, 695, Traina, *Poeti*, 3, 146, correctly, against Kinsey, Perotti, 195, *infra*; the motif of 'a second siege' for the Trojans is widespread, and important here: cf. 7.322, 9.598f., 635, 10.25ff., 11.402 (with n.). It is probably not significant that *c.* does not always apply to a camp, properly speaking, and the senses 'exercitus, militia, bellum, milites', etc. are well attested, Bannier, *TLL* 3.561.63ff., 562.59ff.; here, then, 'camp' and 'army' would do equally well, though 'camp' is clearly preferable on any 'Iliadic' reading of the words.

89 alius...Achilles Words that have attracted (too) much attention recently: see T.E.Kinsey, *Maia* 31 (1979), 267, E.Valgiglio, *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi... Della Corte* 2 (Urbino 1987), 507-15, A.Traina, *Mnemosynum. Studi...Ghiselli* (Bologna 1989), 550-5 = *Poeti latini* 3 (Bologna 1989), 145-51, *id.*, *EV* 5* (1990), 327f. = *Poeti latini* 5, 107-10, C.J.Mackie, *CQ* 41 (1991), 261-5, P.A.Perotti, *Maia* 43 (1991), 195-8, A.Traina, *Maia* 44 (1992), 159, *id.*, *Poeti latini* 4 (*ib.*, 1994), 77f., 91f. of which only Traina (1989) pays proper attention to a tricky linguistic point (cf. LHS 207). Clearly T. is right, as against Wigodsky (*contra*, Cairns, *VAE*, 119, n.21) and Kinsey (with whom O'Hara, *DOP*, 51f. shows some sympathy), in seeing a reference to Tu., not Aen., here; only thus can the words be comfortably embedded in the wider pattern of thematic references back to the plot of the *Iliad*. However (so, Traina, 551 = 147), 'perché *alius* e non *alter*'? For 'a second Demosthenes' *vel sim.*, Latin uses *alter* (Cic. *orator* 226; cf. *Aen.* 3.86, 7.321, where *vd.* my n.); in V., apparently only *Buc.* 2.73 *inuenies alium...Alexim* is quite comparable to the phrasing here (Traina, after *EV* 1, 104, Hey, *TLL* 1.1648.75): 'another Alexis, unlike the first'. So here, not 'another Achilles' but 'a different Achilles', Latin, for all his Argive ancestry. 'Un po' poco' remarks T., a page later, having also considered comparable usage in Greek. He might on the basis of Hey's material, have suggested further that at Manil.4.53 *alium... Magnum* should therefore indicate an *Italian Alexander*. At Val.Max.5.3.4, *alius Cicero* may suggest a *different Cicero*, alive, not dead (Sh. Bailey translates as though

alter); at Curt.9.8.5 Alexander is thought not another, but a different, Bacchus. Note, though, that Krebs, *Antibarbarus*, 1, 144 suggests that usage merely grew more relaxed under the Empire. But the sense and intellectual context will, I hope, be a little clearer by now.

Latio iam partus No prophecy of a distant future; according to the Sibyl, the new Achilles is already alive (cf. Wagner, *QV* .xxiv, §5), and lives nearby. Cf. 3.404, 5.633 for a similar sense of immediacy in the future. Aen. already speaks of Latium at 1.205: no problem for those disinclined to worry; Latium also mentioned by Ilioneus, 1.554, by Dido at 4.432, as it is prophetically by Jup. at 1.265 and by Anchises at 5.731. **L.** dat. or abl.? Con. troubled, but the issue unreal; my instincts strongly for dat.. Quite understandable, therefore, to Aen. here. **P.:** cf. n. on the equally prophetic 2.784. This is not the place to re-enter the discussion of Achillean elements in the characterisation of Turnus (or, for that matter, Aeneas): see *Companion*, 204f., Cairns, *VAE*, 71, Traina, *EV* 5*, 328, *id.*, *Poeti*, 3, 149-51, Mackie, Valgiglio, *citt.*, Williams, *TI*, 94ff., W.S.Anderson, *TAPA* 88 (1957), 25f.

90 natus...dea Cf. 10.76 *cui diua Venilia mater*, with Harrison's n., Cairns, *VAE*, 122f., Mackie, 263. *Tacet* Schenk. The evident similarity of sound between Venus and Venilia attracted etymologists, Schol.Ver. *ad Aen.*10.78, R.Schilling, *EV* 5*, 486f.; it is just possibly implicit here.

et ipse Cf. 11.741, with n..

nec.../ 91 usquam aberit Only too true, at least until her pact with Jup. in bk.12. Compare the litotes at **88f. nec.../ defuerint** and in a positive sense 2.620 *nusquam abero* (with n.), Klotz, *TLL* 1.206.67f., 209.9.

Teucris addita 'Con il chiaro senso di "unirsi"', *EV* 2, 117. Better, Serv. writes *inimica. est autem uerbum Lucilii et antiquorum, ut Plautus 'additus Ioni Argus' (Aul.566)*. In other words, once used (alongside positive implications, e.g. 8.301) in the sense of 'to dog' (Kennedy's felicitous rendering, then Page, Au.); here perhaps 'inflicted on'. Kempf, *TLL* 1.580.76f. remarks 'de comitatu intellegendus est', rather weakly. Compare rather Page's good n., *Plaut.MG* 146 *quem concubinae miles custodem addidit*, Lucil.fr.469M *si mihi non praetor siet additus atque agitet me*, *Hor.C.3.4.78f. nequitiae additus/ custos* (of Prometheus' vulture), with NR. T.: V.'s commonest word for 'Trojan'; Zaffagno, *EV* 5*, 291.

Iuno Cf. n. on 7.293-322, Buchheit, 72ff., Feeney, 146f., *id.*, *ORVA*, 339ff., *EV* 5*, 325, etc. for her continued hostility to the Trojans on Italian soil. Kn. compares Pos. hounding Od., according to Tiresias (*Od.*11.101-3).

91 cum tu supplex Upon the traditional understanding of **cum** here as equivalent to *et tum*, R.D.Williams' paraphrase *cum interea* is a marked improvement (so Au., rendering 'while all the time'; Goold simply

‘while’): cf. LHS 419, Ernout-Thomas, 364, KS 2, 340f. (with prose *comparanda*). **S.** as often augments adverbially the force of a vb. of prayer/supplication, 4.205, 424, 11.365, 12.930, etc.; *EV* 4, 1085f. unhelpful.

in rebus egenis **V.** may have had in mind the structure of *G.1.146 duris urgens in rebus egestas*, where Erren compares Plaut.*Most.1041 in rebus dubiis*; cf. too *Capt.406 rebus in dubiis egenis* (cf. *Poen.130*), *Trin.344 in rebus aduersis*, *Hor.C.3.2.5f. trepidis...!* *in rebus* (vd. NR), *Caes.Civ.3.80.3*; in Cic. speeches, only a common turn in *Phil. (quinquies*; occasional elsewhere). Note also *rebus...egenis* at *Aen.8.365, 10.367*. Vd. Broccia, *EV* 2, 179, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.231.41, who refers to Norden, p.372: the adj. also at *Liv.9.6.4*, so might presence in Plaut., *Liv.* second pentad and *Aen.* indicate use by Enn.?

92 quas gentis Italum Cf. 1.96, **6.60**, G.Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1854.77ff. for gen. plur. of name of tribe after *gens*.

aut quas...urbis Cf. my remarks, *Athen.78* (1990), 523-7 :: (better) *Aion* (sez.ling.) 13 (1991), 17-25, on **V.**'s version of the social structures of primitive Italy. See Conte, xxvi for the ending: both *-is* and *-es* authentically Virgilian and choice originally made on grounds of sound; in every case, the weight of the ms. evidence to be followed. For the idiom *qui non*, vd. **Au.**'s note; probably to be counted as a rare variant of litotes (*qui non...?:: nec non*); **non** clearly to be taken also with **gentis**, LHS, 835.

non oraueris Clearly fut.perf.indic.; in the event, **Aen.** mentions emphatically to the Arcadians the Trojans' need for help (8.120, 127), whereas **Ev.** tells **Aen.** of the Etruscans in revolt against Mezentius, bound by prophecy to place their command in foreign hands (cf. my discussion, *RFil.* 119 (1991), 188-92), which they do with no call for the detail to be narrated (8.605f.). **Evander's** offer of Arcadian troops, 8.518f., is made quite casually and bk.8 does not reflect the urgent pleading suggested here. Note **V.**'s interest in the ongoing discussion about the responsibility for declarations of war in archaic society; n. on 7.611. The Sibyl's professional rhetoric compels her to blacken the outlook; a cheerful optimistic Sibyl would never do. For the (oscillating) prosody of the final syllable, vd. **Au.**'s note; add NW 3, 428f., Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 348, Holzweissig, 116.

93 causa mali tanti Cf. n. on 7.553 *stant belli causae* for thoughts (and bibl.) on **V.** and the causes of war. **M. t.** repeated at 10.510 (*fama m.t.*), 11.480 (*causa m.t.*) of Lavinia (cf. Moskalew, 169); vd. my n. and **Kn.**, 287 for **V.**'s debt to *Il.22.116*, Helen as *νεϊκεος ἀρχή*, and for some other comparable phrases; O'Hara suggests 2.97 *hinc mihi prima mali labes*. See too Moskalew, 158, n.56. **Malum tantum** by no means a stock expression. **Kn.** compares *Od.11.101-3* on the woes that **Od.** will find when he returns home and their explanation, together with 11.436-9.

iterum.../ 94 ...iterum Cf. 7.322 *funestaeque iterum recidiua in Pergama taedae*, where vd. my n.; cf. too Hardie on 9.598 for this ‘strategic’ importance of *iterum* (understated, Harrison on 10.26-8) and Wills, 117.

hospita coniunx Cf. Lunelli-Leumann, 166, n.39, n. on 3.377 for the hist. of this handy form (both noun and adj.); used at Pacuv.*trag.*232: old (Plaut., etc.), but not distinctively tragic. Here V. draws nearer ‘authentic’ oracular ambiguity: Lavinia clearly does not fit the ‘model’ of Helen (cf. Hor.C.1.15.2), for she is inactive in love and does not travel. Her father’s hospitality to Aen. is, though, an essential motive force in the action of bks 7-12. *EV* 2, 861.

94 externique...thalami Cf. *RFil.* 119 (1991), 188-92 for discussion of e., a term crucial to the political argument of *Aen.* and vd. also n. on 7.97f. *thalamis neu crede paratis./ externi uenient generi* (energetic variation on this passage); No. well compares Lyc. 60 λέκτρων θ’ ἑκατι τῶν τ’ ἐπειράκτων γάμων, but that may suggest a common prophetic manner rather than specific indebtedness here. Aen. was once told of the foreign marriage to come (2.783f.), by Creusa, but needs perhaps to be reminded of this impending union, on a less harrowing occasion. **T.** (Catullan; *ter*) extended from ‘marriage-chamber’ to ‘marriage’ and the handy borrowed term popular in *Aen.* (20x); here note the proximity of *coniunx*; Paterlini remarks how often the meaning is clarified and reinforced by the presence of a synonym (*EV* 5*, 160; useful).

V. evidently remained undecided over the division of prophetic roles between Anch. and the Sibyl, and not in bk.6 alone (even 2.780-4 have been invoked): cf. n. on **890**; I have however wondered whether some part of the evident duplication may not be studied imitation of the parallel roles of Circe and Tiresias (cf. Knauer, 140f., 202). The element of disorder here is often claimed to be one of those ‘problems’ which were going one day to be ‘cleared up’ in V.’s unfinished sorting-out of (all, even) the disordered passages in *Aen.*. Günther is sure that *this* passage is the later version (cf. too Heinze, 440) and is convinced that *this* was an inconsistency the poet surely meant to sort out. See Berres, *VH*, 130, Günther, 37f., Sparrow, 44, A.Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (Berlin 1913), 37f. I remain ever less convinced that this was how V. worked.

95 tu ne cede malis Au. suggests a didactic tone, comparing *G.*2.408f., *Aen.*12. 438f., but that is not the appropriate manner here; rather, ‘hortatory’, and indeed ‘elevated’. Cf. therefore **365f. tu.../ inice**, **834 tu parce**, **851 tu...memento**, 2.717 *tu, genitor, cape sacra manu*, 7.41 *tu uatem, tu, diua, mone*. **C.**: cf. *EV* 1, 721, Bannier, *TLL* 3.728.19. **M.**: cf. **93**. The tone is typical of the (Stoic, or Stoicising; Pomathios, 226) Rom. outlook (but not of course exclusively so): cf. C.M.Bowra, *ORVA*, 370, NH on Hor.C.

1.24.19f., *Aen.* 1.207, 5.710, *Sen.Prov.*4.7, *Const.sap.*10.4, etc.. ‘This line has a fine encouraging pomp’ Au., well put. Kn. compares the vengeance that Od. will exact upon the suitors, *Od.*11.118-20.

sed contra *TLL* 4.742.54ff. (Spelthahn): common enough in prose, *Cat.*13.9. C. ‘on the other hand’ rather than (Geymonat) sc. *mala*, i.e. ‘in opposition’.

audentior Compar. of partic. used as adj. (perhaps first in V.), here employed adverbially; Hey, *TLL* 2.1258.8f.; cf. 9.291 *audentior ibo* (these words ingeniously reworked). Non.p.431.4f. explains *audacia temeritatis est, audentia fortitudinis*.

ito Also at 12.566; for the fut. imper. in V., cf. n. on 3.388 (also a solemn Sibylline context).

96 qua So the second hand in Bern.165 (and conjectured by Bentley); **quam** *MPR*, the other Carolingian mss., Serv., TCD and *Sen.Ep.*82.18. **Qua** strongly supported by 2.387f. *qua prima ...Fortuna salutis/ monstrat iter, quaque*, 12.147 *qua uisa est Fortuna pati*, 10.49 *et quacumque uiam dederit Fortuna, sequamur* (where foll. *uiam* leads some mss. to write *quamcumque*). **Quam** supported by Serv., Bell, 400, Sabbadini (ed. mai.), Norden, Butler, Paratore. Serv. writes absurdly enough *sed esto audentior quam tua te fortuna permittit* and Paratore offers more of the same (cf. too *EV* 4, 884); Au. (after Henry) may be right in suggesting that it was the vicinity of the compar. that led to someone's idea that *quam* was called for here. Timpanaro's support of so weak a reading (Henry, admirable here, puts it more strongly) is hard to grasp; sense and grammar can be found, eventually, in **quam**, but its difficulty is not here in its favour and an early misunderstanding of the grammar explains the balance of the evidence. See Timpanaro, *NC*, 306, n.15, Miller, 143. J.Svennung, *Eranos* 54 (1956), 195-201 (a comprehensive defence of **qua**).

tua...fortuna For the *fortuna* of the individual (nearly, ‘luck’), cf. **683 fataque fortunasque uirum**, 4.434, 11.43, Pötscher, 47, Bailey, 238.

te...sinet For polyptoton of pronoun and pronom. adj., cf. n. on 2.543, Wills, 266. Compare 1.18 *si qua fata sinant*, 12.147 *qua uisa est Fortuna pati Parcaequae sinebant*.

uia prima salutis Cf. 2.387 *o socii qua prima, inquit, fortuna salutis/ monstrat iter*, with n., for the notion of the ‘path to safety/ salvation’, Svennung, 199, *OLD* s.v., §8a. *EV* 5*, 526-8 not much recommended.

97 quod minime reris *M.* ‘a poetis neglectum’ Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.1.582.73, perhaps because sensed to be too much a part of spoken idiom, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 210, 369, Axelson, 92. Here, presumably, to indicate the spoken character of these vv., however exalted the speech of the Cumaean Sibyl. **R.** ‘imagine’, as it might be; cf. *EV* 4, 437 (Borioni): par-

enthetic (cf. **83, 84**; cf. Tarrant (**667**), 153f.); cf. *ut rere* 7.437, *ut rebare* 10.608, *ut reor* 12.188. Desirable in parentheses perhaps on account of brevity and convenient form.

Graia...ab urbe G. archaic and poetic, Au. on 2.148, my n. on 11.289. Read in an Augustan key by Syme, *RR*, 463 (Octavian's friends at Apollo-*nia*). The story that Rome was settled by the Arcadian Evander has exercised scholars a good deal recently and I offer a sceptical summary of how it may have appeared to V., who gaily invents and develops an encounter at Rome between Aen. and the elderly Ev.:

(i) It has been claimed that Ev. was a venerable figure of Greek myth: in passing in Hes. (fr.168MW s.v. offspring of Pelasgus), but hardly in Stes.*Ger.*, for it is far from clear that the Sicilian mentioned Arcadian Pallanteum in an Evandrian context (cf. PMG fr.182 with Page's n.) or that his Heracles visited Ev. on his way home from the far West. Wiseman (2008), 55 makes much of 'Eratosthenes' ap.Schol.Vet. *ad Plat. Phaedr.*244B; see however Parke, *Sibyls*, 35 for the Byzantine embroideries in this text, unsurprisingly shunned by recent editors, coexisting with older material, as Wiseman's own citation of Clem.*Strom.*1.21. 108.3 shows.

(ii) It is easier to suspect than to prove the antiquity of the story of the Arcadian settlement at Rome; they are convenient hosts to the returning Heracles but that role is not provably old (*supra*). These Roman Arcadians have long given the impression of being the narrative offspring of Hellenistic etymological scholarship, on the basis of a link established between Arcadian Pallanteum and Roman Palatine. In *Aen.*, however, the story bears an air of respectable antiquity, though it is but a chronologically shocking innovation (*Alambicco*, 83f.).

(iii) This role assigned to the Arcadians to be considered in the wider context of the motif of reconciliation between Trojans and Greeks: cf. *Aen.*3, p.408, A.Rengakos, *AuA* 39 (1993), 120f., C.P.Jones, *HSCP* 97 (1995), 233 (not an entirely satisfactory discussion). On Rome's Arcadian origins, see O'Hara, *TN*, 202, Horsfall, *ORVA*, 467, *Alambicco*, 50, 82-4, Gleis, 197, Fordyce on *Aen.*8.51ff., T.P.Wiseman, *Myths of Rome* (Exeter 2004), 26ff., *Roman studies* (Liverpool 1987), 208, *Unwritten Rome* (Exeter 2008), 54-8, J.Poucet, *Origines de Rome* (Bruxelles 1985), 47, 288, Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 68f., Schwegler, 1, 351f..

pandetur Cf. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.196.84f., 12.626 *qua prima uiam Victoria pandit*, Ov.*F.*4.449, Beikircher, *EV* 3, 953. Variation on the common *uiam aperire*.

98 talibus...dictis As *talibus inter se dictis*, and *talibus...dictis* enclosing speaker's name. Only here, though, is the local origin of speech specified. *Silet* Hight 1974.

ex adyto Cf. nn. on 2.115 and 3.92, 7.269 (both oracular), Burkert, 91, with ref. to Stengel, *Die gr. Kultusaltertümer*, ed. 1/2, 25f.; see too E.Saglio, DS 1, 91f. and for Delphi, S.I.Johnston, *Ancient Greek divination* (Chichester 2008), 49. Au. cites appositely Serv. on 2.115 *adytum est locus templi secretior, ad quem nulli est aditus nisi sacerdoti*. The term rashly used by archaeologists in accounts of Cumae; vd. Hardie at Au., p.54: here to be understood in terms of numinous associations, not topography, at least by the cautious student of Virgilian places.

99 horrendas...ambages A.: Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1834.62f. (s.v. ‘de dictis obscuris, suspensis’), comparing *Ov.Met.7.761* (common in Liv.1-5, *Ov.F.*), but the word had long been familiar in the humbler sense of ‘roundabout statement’: Plaut., Ter., and *Lucr.6.919, 1081*, then *G.2.46, Aen.1.342*. **H.:** cf. *TLL.6.3.2982.50f.* (Ehlers). Compare 9.112, the *uox horrenda* of the Magna Mater defending her ships.

canit Cf. 3.155 (with n.).

antroque Cf. 42.

remugit Used at *Cat.63.29* of the *tympanum*; *Hor.Epd.10.19* (wind over water); *G.3.45 uox adsensu nemorum ingeminata remugit*; see M.Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 3, 613, Miller, 141. Compare n. on 3.92 (*mugire* used of Delian Apollo's *cortina*), *Phaedr. Appx.8.4 mugit adytis religio*.

100 obscuris uera inuoluens Cf. I.Kapp, *TLL* 7.2.265.11, *Ov.Ib.57 historiis inuoluam carmina caecis*. For **o.**, cf. Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.173.2: the antithesis of a common type, as in *Cic.part.12* (vs. *dilucidis*), *nat.deor.3.38* (vs. *apertis*); Kn. compares the truths and falsehoods of *Od.19.203*.

ea frena Ea quoted by Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.473.27f. under the heading ‘*talis, tantus*’ (472.80), comparing 1.529, 9.748; Wagner, *QV* xvii, §3 adds further instances (e.g. 3.376, 4.379). Au. quite wrong to compare the brachylogic *ea fama* of 2.17. V. returns to the familiar sexual metaphor of the horse tamed, n. on 77. Note the hissing alliterative reins (*OLD* s.v., §1b, U.Leo, *TLL* 6.1.1293.60f.): harness long used metaphorically, D.Steiner, *Crown of song*, 58, Taillardat, 293f..

fuventi Cf. *Aen.3*, p.479, §3 (a), nn. on 2.345 (Cassandra), 3.443 *insanam* (the Cumaean Sibyl) for the connexions of mantic and manic. The Sibyl called *furens* at *Cic.Div.2.110*; cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1626.80. Note **102 furor**.

101 concutit Gudeman, *TLL* 4.118.54. Cf. 5.147 of *lora* (reins); a verb much favoured by both *Lucr.* and *V.*; reins shaken to make the horse feel the bit (Con.).

et stimulos...uertit Re-used (cf. Moskalew, 98) at 9.717 (Mars and the Latins) *stimulos acris sub pectore uertit*. See too *G.3.210 stimulos...amoris* and *Aen.11.337 stimulis...amaris* (with n.) and 7.405 *stimulis...Bacchi*

(where vd. fuller discussion of the history of metaphorical goading). The climax of Apollo's equestrian/ erotic domination; clearly relevant here that *stimuli* are also used of (Pichon's phrase) *aut uehementis affectus ardores*, Prop.3.19.10, Pichon, *Index verb. amat.*, 268. Absent from Miller's good summary, 141. V.: *EV* 5*, 508; so *uersare*, to flex or wield a weapon, as at 9.747; *OLD* s.v. *uerto*, §13 compares 7.112 *uertere morsus*. Contrast the simpler Homeric 'put strength into' (e.g. *Il.*17.569-70) with the effects of developed metaphors of inspiration.

sub pectore Cf. **78 pectore**, Negri, 208.

Apollo Climactic: we have reached the end of this account of Apolline possession.

102 ut primum Cf. n. on 11.300.

cessit furor Manic/mantic: vd. on **100 furenti**. Cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1635.53f., Bannier, *ib.*, 3.724.43f.. Only when the fit passes is Aen. able to respond.

et...quierunt Cf. 11.300 *trepida ora quierunt* (where vd. n.), *Ov.Pont.*2.5.47. The expression apparently a Virgilian innovation, which hardly took on. For the state following after mantic frenzy, No. admirably quotes for the end of a Sibyl's raving *Lyc.Alex.*3f., *Or.Sib.*3.3, 295f.; add *ib.*, 11.322-3.

rabida ora Cf. Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1078.80; for **r.**, see **49 rabie**, **80 os rabidum**.

103 incipit Aeneas heros The vb. occasional in speech-openings, 10.5, 12.692, etc.; cf. Sparrow, 84, but no discussion there, in Moskalew, or in Hight 1974. **Aeneas heros** only here in *Aen.*; *Troius heros* (e.g.) much more popular (Moskalew, 82).

103-23 Aeneas to the Sibyl: cf. Mackie, 117, Cartault, 437f., Miller, 145, Hight, 41, 279f.. Aen. assures the Sibyl that he will not be unnerved; he is already prepared for everything; not in the sense that he knows it all, but because he is mentally, as a good Stoic, prepared. Of the Sibyl, he has one request to make, leave to visit his father, loved and revered; appeals to human ears are little different in form from those to deities; Aen. is careful to cite four *exempla* of distinguished visitors to the Underworld, whom the Sibyl has permitted to enter. Kn. compares Od. to Tiresias on the imminent encounter with his mother Anticleia, *Od.*11.139-44. Cf. No. here for the formal rhet. structure.

103 non ulla laborum/ 104 ...facies Cf. **560 scelerum facies** (from *G.*1.506), *Sall.Jug.*51.1 *ceterum facies totius negoti uaria, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis*. *TLL* 6.1.52.13f. (Hey); Serv. glosses *species*. For (thematic) *labores*, cf. n. on 7.117. For the strong litotes *non ullus*, cf. n. on

11.148. Hight, 201 compares the thought of [Aesch.]PV 101-3 (both positive and negative statements).

104 o uirgo ‘Polite, often respectful’; Dickey, 200f., 365; on V.’s use of emotive *o*, cf. n. on 7.360.

noua...inopinaue N. *EV* s.v. §2.2 ‘Ignoto...non familiare’, Nosarti, *EV* 3. 769, comparing e.g. 1.307, 3.240, 591. The synonym **i** reinforces rather than specifies; cf. Hubbard, *TLL* 7.1.1751.51f., *Aen.*5.857, 8.476 (‘improvisus, subitus’).

mi...surgit Used in *Aen.* of *sententia*, *amor* and (*ads-*) *irae*; also e.g. of wars, noise; *OLD* s.v., §11. For the ‘ethic’ dative, Antoine, 144f.; the monosyll. form only here and at **123** in V.; both Ennian and comic, common in Cat. polymetra and Cic. *ep.* (NW 2, 349-51, Burckhardt, *TLL* 5.2.254.48ff., Holzweissig, 579, Leumann, 174, Allen, *Vox Lat.*, 43, Niedermann, *Phon. hist.*, 80, Sommer, 410). Perhaps felt by V. to be (just) suited to speech but basically non-epic (cf. Axelson, *UW*, 129); vd. Allen on the classical history of the decline of intervocalic h. **Mihi R** (cf. Serv.’s n. on the pronunciation).

105 omnia praecepi A fine instance of *Aen.* being made to speak as a conventional Roman of Stoic sympathies (cf. nn. on 2.79f., 701, 3.114, 182; 11.128 and possibly 7.378-83; one might wish to compare G.L.Beccaria’s recent *Sicuterat* on the penetration of Christian Latin into popular Italian speech, [Milano] 2002). Cited by Seneca (*Sen.Ep.* 76.33) with complete approval and the paraphrase *hominem paravi ad humana*; compare *ib.*, 24.1, Cic. *TD.*3.29, *Off.* 1.81 (where vd. Dyck); see too Liv. 7.26.8 (*euentum animis*), Norden on **103-5**, M.W.Edwards, *Phoen.*14 (1960), 151, n.2, Bowra, *ORVA*, 371, Cova, *EV* 4, 1030, Baumgartner, *TLL* 10.2.452.80f. and n. on the very different (*pace* Baumgartner) 11.491 *et spe praesumite bellum*. The spectre of Dido may be thought to suggest the limits of Stoic self-discipline; it will hardly do to answer that *Aen.* has not been told that he will meet her.

atque animo mecum...peregi Peri, *TLL* 10.1.1177.69f. compares instances in Cato *Orig.*fr.108P and Liv.2.1.1. In the same sense, *exigit*, 4.476 (*EV* 1, 56). Note too **157f. caecosque uolutat/ euentus animo secum** (with n., for the pleonasm), Negri, 145 (‘sede delle attività intellettive’, comparing also **690**), 306; **a.** to be understood with both verbs (No.).

ante Adverbial, as often; vd. Merguet s.v..

106 unum oro Cf. 9.284, 10.903, 12.60, Degl’ Innocenzi Pierini, *EV* 5*, 398; apparently not a standard phrase at all (Ter.*Eun.*1084, Cic.*Planc.*56; some poet. imitations after V.); at [Quint.] *decl.mai.*13.1 perhaps a Virgilian echo. *Vnum... quaeso*, Plaut.*Capt.*747. Cf. rather nn. on **107** and *SC* (7)(d) for the topogr. issues.

quando.../ 107 dicitur Norden comments on the visibly Greek means of expression (cf. usage of *καλοῦνται* in e.g. Strabo). The apparent claim to tradition discussed at *PLLS* 6 (1990), 53f., *Alambicco*, 123f., s.v. ‘the illusory footnote’ and, more particularly, among the many instances of genuinely traditional material claimed by the poet as being traditional. Here, then, note Strab.5.4.5f. (note §5 *νομίσαντες*, §6 *νομίζουσι*) and Ephorus, *FGH* 70F134 (=Strab., *cit.*): both authors ‘were shown many curious natural phenomena in the area and were offered bizarre explanations’. So V. refers to ‘just such patterns of explanation...in formally ambiguous, conventional and distancing language’ (Horsfall (1990), 54). Au. (on **126**) and Clark (**136-48**), after e.g. Gercke, 188-92, are exercised by Aen.’s surprising degree of topographical knowledge here; I wonder, though, whether a more tolerant or charitable reader might not suppose that a further, implicit recollection of 5.735-6 (Aen. has met the Sibyl, and *therefore* he must be within reach of an entrance to the Underworld), not to mention Helenus’ words at 3.441-2, furnish some sort of narrative ‘justification’ for Aen.’s apparently over-informed words here. He asks **doceas iter** very reasonably because he, as a living mortal, has no idea of what to do *after* the **infernii ianua regis**. These pages do in general reflect a suspicion that V. does not write as one much concerned with getting this sort of detail exactly right.

hic The *ianua* not to be thought of as being on the acropolis of Cumae. See on **107** and for the larger problems, *SC* (7)(d), *et passim*.

infernii...regis Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1371.45; his material shows that the adj. is used of Dis/Pluto frequently from Ov. on (and cf. F.Leo, *ALL* 10 (1898), 436f. for the histories of *inferus* and *infernus*). Carter, *Epitheta*, 33 unilluminating. Cf., though, Bruchmann, *Epitheta*, 2: this reference to Dis/Pluto/Hades as *king* of the Underworld as old as Aesch.*Pers.*629; then Bion, Moschus. A handy summary of such uses of *rex*, *EV* 4, 466 (Venturini); note 1.52 of Aeolus; common of Jup., but not of Nept..

ianua In Gk., *θύραι* not common thus (Porph.*antr.nymph.*31 = Pherec.71B6 DK, Hecate addressed as *προθύραιε*, Procl.*H.*6.2, 14), but in Lat. ‘door’ (as against ‘gate’, *porta*, *πύλαι*) so used quite frequently: **127**, Lucr.6.762, Varr.*ap.Macr.Sat.* 1.16.18 *mundus cum patet, deorum tristium atque inferum quasi ianua patet*, Sen.*Apoc.*13.3, *HF* 587, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.136.58ff. (with **ostia**, **109** (where vd. n.), *G.*4.467, etc., **uestibulum**, **273**), and Setaioli’s full account, *EV* 2, 879-83. *Ianua leti* also attested, Lucr.1.1112, Ar.*Ran.*163 *θύρα*. ‘Gates’ (of Heaven, Hell, etc.) a closely similar (the distinction one merely of grandeur) but much more frequent image, (**893-6**), (**4**). For the terminology of entrances to Hades in general, and *πύλαι* in particular, cf. Ganschinietz, *PW* 10.2378.17ff.. Nor should we forget V.’s description of Charon as *ianitor* (**400**, 8.296).

107 et tenebrosa palus Cat.'s *tenebricosus* not suited to dactyl. verse. *Tenebrosus* first attested in Cic. *pro Corn.* fr.11 Crawford *in scalis tenebrosus*; so already No., and Au. should not have suggested a Virgilian coinage. For adjs. in *-osus*, cf. n. on 7.566. The adj. could be claimed as well-suited to the shadowy volcanic crater of Lake Avernus, once heavily wooded. Or indeed as appropriate to a site closely associated with the gloomy nether regions (cf. **238, 545, 734** for **t.**).

Acheronte might (Au. here) suggest a 'fusion' of Lacus Avernus with the *palus Acherusia*: Strab.5.4.5, Sen.*Ep.*55.6, Plin.*Nat.*3.61, etc., Diehl, *TLL* 1.391.15ff.; identified with either Lago di Fusaro, or Lago Lucrino, Castagnoli *Topogr. ant.*, 2, 1035 and the identification not clear in antiquity either, Strab.5.4.6, Colin Hardie, *PBSR* 37 (1969), 33.

refuso Serv. *nam Auernum significat, quem uult nasci de Acherontis aestuariis*; so comms. picture the river perpetually flooding up from the Underworld, unconvincingly (and in matters topographical Serv.'s 'authority' is very slender). No such connexion between subterranean Acheron and terrestrial Avernus seems attested and the nearest Strabo gets to such a connexion is in his reference (5.4.5) to the popular belief that *one spring* in the area was believed to gush dangerously with the waters of the Styx. Is the relatively unimportant *Acherusia palus* relevant here? Should we exclude the flooding up of subterranean rivers because the sulphureous underground waters that emerge all over central Italy do tend to do so rather in slow, stinking bubbles (cf. my nn. on Albunea and Ampsanctus in bk.7, 81ff., 563ff.) and scarcely in any visible sense of 'pouring' or flooding? There may be a contamination, even a double contamination of topographical 'reality': first, a contact between earthly and subterranean lakes, when none was believed to exist here, by association with other sites where it was more clearly thought to take place: cf. n. on 7.568 *spiracula, spiramina* where the nether world breathes, and for waters proper, Plat.*Phaed.*112A-113C, and Ganschmietz, PW 10.2.2379.23ff., citing e.g. the *specus Acherusia* of Heracleia Pontica (Mela 1.103), and the Alcyonian lake (Dionysus' *Katabasis*, Paus.2.37.5). The other contamination is by association with the sea: at Lyc.695f. (cited by Heyne) *κάχερουσίαν/ρόχθοις κυμαίνουσαν οἷδατος χύειν*, von Holzinger suspects the inrush of the sea. That *v.* is probably to be understood in tandem with Strab.5.4.5, the Acherusian lake an *ἀνάχυστις* of the sea: if that sense is transferred here, then the lake foams not with Stygian belchings but with the sea swelling over the narrow barrier and into the lake itself, in stormy weather. V.'s uses of **refuso** no simple matter: cf. nn. on 7.225, 590 for 'hurl back'; here, cf. rather the sense of 'flood', *OLD* s.v., §1b, citing Tac.*Hist.*1.86 of the flooding Tiber. We would be imprudently simplistic here if we settled for the single traditional sense of 'waters swelling up

from underground Acheron'; there do seem to be more complex associations present. 7.569 *ruptoque ingens Acheronta uirago* is often cited here; appositely, could we be sure that the sense here was that traditionally favoured by comms..

108 ire ad conspectum...et ora The heart of Aen.'s plea carefully couched in simple and affecting language (**ire ad**: Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.640.75f.; **ora**, Tessmer, *ib.*, 9.2.1087.42f.). Near-synonyms paired: the sight and/or the face; Hahn (1930), 242f..

cari genitoris Cf. 2.560 *subiit cari genitoris imago* (with n.). V. involves our affections through Aeneas'. The gen. clearly (see Hahn) objective (cf. Liv.1.27.9, 29.27.10, *et saep.*). To this plea, the Sibyl makes no explicit answer, but obedience to her instructions will lead Aen. to his father.

109 contingat Cf. 1.96 (where vd. Conway), 9.268, 11.371 (with n.), Hor.*Ep.*1. 17.36, etc., Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.719.21: a hint of solemnity in the use of the impersonal and the faint implication that Aen.'s ability to descend to meet his father depends on forces (lot, fate, destiny) outside his, and indeed the Sibyl's, control; it is the detail of the journey to meet Anch. that depends on the Sibyl. **Contingat M**; **contingam PR** (misled by the relatively unfamiliar impersonal use).

doceas iter Bulhart, *TLL* 5.1.1727.59, Tessmer, *ib.*, 7.2.542.62f., *EV* 3, 51 and Grillo, *ib.*, 2, 118; the vb. common thus in V. (1.392, 3.717, etc.) with the acc. of the thing expounded. But, complains Norden, the Sibyl is an actual guide, as is conventional in *katabaseis* (154, 156); actually she fills both roles (cf. Guillemin's amusing discussion, 7), as both guide and seer. For a wider view of Aeneas' 'journey' through the underworld, vd. Bremmer, (2010), (2011).

sacra ostia Sacred, presumably, to the gods of the Underworld (cf. 138, 4.703, 5.48), though Serv. also suggests 'accursed'. For the use of **o.**, cf. n. on 106 **ianua**, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1155.53.; note e.g. Plaut.*Trin.*525, Sen.*Tro.*404. It is presumably 262 (with 237) that is meant; presumably, too, this is the sort of minor topographical detail on which the reader is ill-advised to linger. It has been suggested that once the Sibyl carries the GB, she becomes in some sense κλειδοφόρος; vd. Eitrem (*SC*), 95, 103. Maybe: in harmony with other aspects of the GB: (136-48), (6).

pandas So also of *portas*, *limina*, Beikircher, *EV* 3, 953, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.196.44. See 2.27 *panduntur portae* (where vd. n.).

110 illum ego Typical juxtaposition of opposing pronouns, nn. on 3.155, 156, 458, 7.427, etc.. Cf. further 112 **ille meum**.

per flammis Cf. n. on 2.289 '*teque his*' *ait 'eripe flammis*' for detailed discussion of the motif of fire in narratives of the Fall of Troy. Note also 2.358f. *per tela*, *per hostis/ uadimus* (with n), 664 *per tela*, *per ignis*

(with n.). I have written too much about the iconography of Aeneas' rescue of his father from Troy: *Stesichorus at Bovillae?*, *JHS* 99 (1979), 27-48, *The iconography of Aeneas' flight: a practical detail*, *AK* 22 (1979), 104-5, *Some problems in the Aeneas-legend*, *CQ* 29 (1979), 372-90, *EV* 2, 224-5, *RMM*, 18-9, *Hermathena* 171 (2001), 95-9 (rev. Erskine, *Troy*), *Aen.* 2, p.501, etc.. No call for a further summary here.

et mille sequentia tela The conventional use of 'thousand' well discussed, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 786. 'Pursuing weapons' not found elsewhere; a phrase without ancestors or progeny, apparently. Norden grumbles, even Hardie (*CI*, 300). 'A rhetorical exaggeration; there is no mention of them in 2.721-9': Butler, unhelpfully; he could have cited 2.358. Myth and rhetoric do not operate independently in *Aen.*

111 eripui Cf. 2.289 *supra* with n.. Parallel verbs enclose the line; the enclosed abls. varied enough to avoid tedium.

his umeris Cf. n. on 2.707 for the issue of how exactly Aen. carried his father. **His** might suggest that Aen. gestures proudly at his robust physique; does V. even hint that Aen. naïvely suspected that a Sibyl might be impressed?

medioque ex hoste Cf. 2.377 *medios...in hostis*, 3.283 *mediosque...per hostis* (with n.), 9.554, 799, 12.477, 650 *medios...per hostis*. For the collective sing., cf. 2.290 *hostis habet muros*, nn. on 2.7, 20, 11.516.

recepti Cf. Bartalucci, *EV* 1, 654; so of safe returns 9.262 (Aen. himself), *Hor.C.2.7.27* (Hor.'s friend Pompeius; vd. NH), 4.2.47f. (Aug.; vd. Fedeli's n.). Serv. compares (less closely) 1.178 *fruges* and glosses oddly *liberaui*.

112 ille meum...iter Cf. n. on **110 illum ego**; here the juxtap. of demonstrative and pronom. adj. less striking (cf. 2.548, 4.28, 5.393, etc.). The noun has just been used (**109**), but we have learned that V. was not troubled by this sort of repet..

comitatus Cf. 11.52 (with n.), Bannier, *TLL* 3.1812.32f.; standard Lat. from Acc. on (*semel*, Cat., *bis* Lucr.).

maria omnia Cf. 1.32, 524, 5.790; used rarely and on high-profile occasions.

mecum/ 113...ferebat Mecum and a form of *meus* in significant juxtaposition also at **717-8 hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum/ quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta**. F.: cf. n. on 2.407, Zucchelli, 2, 493.

atque omnis...minas In chiasmus with **maria omnia**, *supra*; Hardie, *CI*, 300, notes the preceding hyperbolic **mille** and perhaps a hint of trial by fire as well. Cf. *EV* 3, 531. Threats of nature (after those of war): cf. *Lucr.* 5.1003, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.993.39ff..

pelagique...caelique The nouns inverted by **M** (perhaps with 10.695 *minas perfert caelique marisque* in mind); the remainder of the tradition uniform and the order of words confirmed by Sil.'s echo, 12.157: cf. V.Ussani Jr., *Mem.Acc.Linc.* 8.3.2 (1950), 97. For **p.**, cf. n. on 3.204 and for the (very common) polarity, Hardie, *CI*, 298-302 at 300.

114 inualidus Cf. 12.132, Muhmelt/Frei, *TLL* 7.2.118.57f., who suggest wrongly that the word is first attested in V., when both Liv.5.38.8 and 6.8.2 are likely to be earlier than bk.6 (and even, perhaps, 10.34.12; vd. *Aen.*3, xxvi); of course presence in both *Aen.* + early Livy might suggest an Ennian origin. *Tacet* Cordier. For Anch.'s bodily state, and its history, cf. n. on 2.647, comm. on bk.3, xxxvi.

uiris...sortemque S. a development of the sense 'human lot, destiny'. Compare **332**, 11.165f. *sors ista senectae/ debita erat nostrae*, 12.54. Anch. weaker than the state normally allotted to old age. *EV* s.v. *sors* not helpful; contrast Pomathios, 339. The addition of **u.** (cf. *EV* 5*, 569) creates a particularly satisfactory, neat, typically Virgilian compound expression: the physical strength allotted to human old age.

ultra Only here in *Aen.* as prepos. (Merguet); in Lucr. and Hor.*C.* but never common in poetry.

senectae For the form, cf. n. on 11, *cit.*.

115 quin Cf. nn. on 3.403, 7.321; energetically asseverative.

ut te supplex peterem Cf. 1.666 *supplex...posco*, 3.592 *supplexque manus...tendit*, 4.205 *Iouem...supplex orasse*, 424 *hostem supplex adfare*, and cf. n. on **91**; **s.** to be understood with both verbs. **P.** probably in the sense of 'make for' rather than 'beseech', *EV* 4, 51, comparing 1.611 *Ili- onea petit* (cf. Dubielzig, *TLL* 10.1.1950.33).

et tua limina adirem Not, as Au. remarks, hyst.-prot.; the linked verbs describe a compound action, supplication at the Sibyl's shrine. *TLL* 7.2.1409.3 (Meijer), 1.624.82f. (Dittmann). Cf. the **limen** of the Sibyl's cave, **45**, nn. on 2.366, [2.567]. For the synaloepha at 5tr., cf. Winbolt, 173, Norden, p.455.

116 idem orans 'He likewise/also'; cf. *G.*4.36, *Aen.*3.448 (?), 5.371, 8.290, 9.416, 10.732, *EV* 4, 313 (Giordano Rampioni), Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.192.42, LHS 470. **Orans** curious (so already Serv.), when the Sibyl is well able to give orders; but *orare*, *orator* is archaic for 'speak', 'spokesman'; cf. **849**, *EV* 3, 890, Tessmer/Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1037.3ff., Fordyce on 7.153, Harrison on 10.96.

mandata dabat Cf. 9.312 (where vd. Dingel); *TLL* entirely unilluminating. Edd. solemnly ask whether V. should be taken as suggesting that Anch. repeated this behest over and above 5.731ff., as indeed 4.353 and

6.695f. might suggest. But we may have begun to doubt that V. was much exercised by such concerns.

gnatique patrisque For **gn-**, cf. n. on **868**; here given by **MP**, as against **R nati**. Cf. Amata's reference to herself as *matris* (7.361; vd. n.); the son's claim to benevolence on the grounds that he wishes naturally enough to visit his father rings a little oddly addressed to a Sibyl. So TCD *utriusque repetitio moueat tangatque miseratio ut satis sibi patris et filii desiderium faciat*. For the phrasing, cf. on n. [*Aen.*]2.579. 4.605, 10.525 (vd. Harrison), 11.178 (vd. my n.).

117 alma As at **74**; cf. 2.591, 11.557 with nn., A. Traina, *Poeti latini*, 4, 48, and above all Appel, 99 on the use in prayer-language of appeals to the deity's benevolence. Not 'feminine and gracious' (Highet, 279), but a modest expectation of the Sibyl's favour. Actively functional here, therefore (appeals to the Sibyl naturally couched in prayer-language), and not at all formulaic, as *EV* 1, 117 rather suggests.

precor Cf. 9.525, 12.179, 777 *Faune*, *precor*, *miserere*, Hor.C.4.1.2, (with Fedeli's n.), *TLL* 10.2.1158.16ff. (Reijgwart). A poetic rendering of prayer-language.

miserere Appel, 129, Bömer on Ov.*Met.*9.780, *Aen.*10.598, 12.777: again, poetic extension of prayer-language, on which *TLL* s.v. is unilluminating. Note the 'Greek' caesura, with conventional caes. at 1½, 4½ (vd. further, Au.).

potes...omnia δύνασαι γάρ; see next n. (Norden, comm., F. Williams, Mineur), NH on Hor.C.1.28.28, Appel, 153, Norden, *Agn. Theos*, 221, Watson on Hor.*Epd.* 17.45. Established prayer-language. There are many semi-proverbial expressions about divine omnipotence and human lack thereof: Tosi, n^o494, Otto, 254f., Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.2.138.53ff. (*omnia posse* from Ter. *Hec.*322).

namque Standard in *Gebetstil*: F. Williams on Call.*HApoll.*29, Mineur on *id.*, *HDel.*226, Norden, *Agn. Theos*, 154 and n. here, NR on Hor.C.3.11.1, Au. on 1.65, Fraenkel, *Kl.B.* 2, 151, n.1, G.W. Williams, *TORP*, 139f.. For the postponement of **n.**, cf. NH on 1.18.3, Watson, Hor.*Epd.*, p.456. I have distinguished, perhaps unnecessarily, between widely-attested *Gebetstil* and elements that seem to occur only in Lat. poetry.

nec te/ 118 nequiquam...praefecit Cf. van Leijenhorst, *TLL* 10.2.622.8f., **6.564 sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis**; cf. *G.*4.37, 500f., *Aen.*8.370. Au. on **66** rightly points to V.'s liking for litotes, however ponderous it may now seem. Vd. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 2, 297f., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 122, *id.*, *Enchiridion*, 150. See Au.'s n. here for V.'s preference for **n.** over *frustra*; **n.** proclitic and this line ends therefore with - in effect - a single word; cf. Norden, p.448, Winbolt, 140-2, n. on 11.429.

lucis...Auernis Cf. *SC*, (24), Cancik (148), (3), 59ff. for the problem of the Cumaean Sibyl's close association with Hecate at Avernus. **A.** an adj. from *Lucr.* 6.738, 818 (*loca*); also *G.*2.164 *fretis*. **V.** further uses the form *Auerna* (sc. *loca*): *Aen.*3.442 (where vd. n. on the name itself), 5.732, 7.91 (where vd. n. on the neut. plur. form).

Hecate Cf. 247, 564, 4.512, 609; cf. also n. on 7.774 for Trivia and the frequent association with Artemis. Here clearly viewed as a principal deity of the Underworld (*Manium potens*, *Apul.Apol.*31), though her powers are elsewhere more varied. See Pease on 4.511, H.Sauer, *Kl.P.*2, 982f., Robert 1, 321-7, Roscher in *Ro.*, s.v., *EV* 2, 160-3 (Chirassi Colombo), West on *Hes.Theog.*404-52.

119 si potuit Cf. 1.40, 242, 8.384 *potuit*, n. on 7.305 *ualuit* and see also n. on 3.311 for discussion of this particular line of exemplary argument (Lausberg, 1, 228f.), anticipated by Andromache and apparently neglected in the scholarship. It would be trivial to complain that *Aen.* is not trying to recover Anch. or that Orpheus failed to recover Eurydice; the point is simply that Orpheus *was* able at least to enter the Underworld and to start, with Eurydice, on his return to this world. He was therefore admitted to the Underworld and the *exemplum* is therefore altogether relevant. *Orpheus...pro coniuge, pro germano Pollux adire inferos meruit* TCD (Marshall, 12). On the force of **si**, here and in 121, No. consulted Wilamowitz: **si** explains the grounds of *Aen.*'s plea to the Sibyl for compassion towards father and son, and used thus is (in either language) equivalent to ἐπεὶ (cf. the material collected by KS, 2, 424, NH, *bene* on *Hor.C.*1.32.1, Appel, 150); mere Latinists ought to be truly grateful for answers from Olympus, at least when they are so clearly correct. Editors slow to grasp the pellucid structure of the argument confused the punctuation here; I follow Mynors and Conte without further debate.

manis accersere coniugis See Nettleship, *Contr.Lat.Lex.*, 17 for *a.* (= 'summon') as a verb distinct from *arcessere*. But this distinction is not accepted by *TLL* (Bickel, *TLL* 2.454.3f.), *OLD*, EM, or WH and the two forms are more probably separated by - at most - orthography and scribal usage. For **m.c.**, cf. Bömer, *TLL* 8.297.48; 'a rather concrete instance, something like 'ghost' in sense', Bailey, 259. See bibl. at 743, 896; above all, once more, vd. Negri's discussion, 88-95 ('l'anima di un singolo morto' ... 'fatta uscire dall' Ade', comparing 5.98).

Orpheus Cf. n. on 645 **Threicius...sacerdos**. Gantz, 2, 722f. offers a very useful summary of work on the question of who first mentioned the presence of O.'s wife in Hades and O.'s attempt to rescue her (vd. also next n.); the supposedly 'classic' account is by C.M.Bowra, *CQ* NS 2 (1952), 113-26; cf. too F.Graf (645), 81f., J.N.Bremmer, *Greek religion and culture...* (Leiden 2008), 127-30 (with critique of Bowra), *id.*, in (ed.

P.Borgeaud) *Orphisme et Orphée en l' honneur de Jean Rudhardt* (Genève 1991), 13-7, *Orph.* fr.986-99Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2. Mynors on 4.453-527 is, atypically, rather superficial and unsatisfactory; cf. rather Biotti, p. 341f.

120 Threicia...cithara In the Orphic *Argonautica* (c.4AD or later; West, *Orphic poems*, 37) there is an apparently singular juxtaposition: at v.41 the poet refers to Taenarum, on Orpheus' route to his wife's side, perhaps in V.'s mind at *G.4.467 Taenarias etiam fauces* (cf. Bremmer (2009), 195, Norden here and *Kl.Schr.*, 506f.); in the next v., he writes ἤμετέρη πικρὺν κιθάρη, which seems to be (part, at least, of) V.'s source here, in some far earlier version, such as the *Katabasis of Orpheus*, to which I turn in a moment. For O. and the *cithara*, cf. n. on **645 longa cum ueste**, West, *Anc.Gk. music*, 51-6 ('box lyre'), *EV* 4, 1042. As presented by e.g. Mynors on *G.4.453-527*, the argument for V.'s use of a lost *Katab.Orph.* looks decisive; however, we should recall that Taenarum is a renowned and diffused name, also present in the *Katab.Heracl.*, *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.12; vd. *infra*, (2). For T. in general see *Pind.Pyth.4.44* (with Giannini's n.), F.Bölte, *PW* 8A.2044.12-48, *EV* 5*, 94f., while Orpheus' Thracian lyre is already present in *Eur.Hyps* fr.1.iii.10 (= *Orph.* T1007.2 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2) and, much more prominently, at the outset of Hermesianax' long catalogue of loves, fr.7.2Powell. Not one of Norden's strongest arguments for V.'s use of an old *Katabasis*; against the striking 'Orphic' parallel, we should allow proper weight to the frequency of the details contained; cf. next n. for the motif of O.'s music in the winning back of his wife. Mme Guillemin's assault (her doctoral thesis, *aet.*53) on Norden's method begins, significantly enough, with this verse (3f.).

fretus *TLL* 6.1.1318.25 (Rubenbauer); standard usage. Cf. *EV* 2, 593. Gk. πικρὺν is more visibly poet. and exalted (Hom., Hes., Pind., etc.). No. remarks on its 'solemn', 'feierlich' character (cf. Guillemin, 3f.); an old word, sometimes used in solemn contexts; *Cic.Fam.*, *Plaut.*, *Ter.*, as well as *Naev.* and *Enn.* For the motif of the power of O.'s music in the Underworld, cf. *Eur.Alc.*357-62, *Moschus* 3.[*Epit.*]123f., *Conon*, *FGH* 26F1 (§45), *G.4.481* with Biotti's n., *Hor.C.2.13.33ff.* (with NH), *Ov.Met.* 10.41ff. (with Bömer's n., and *id., ib.*, p.9), *K.Ziegler*, *PW* 18.1269. 17ff., *O.Gruppe*, *Ro.3.1160.27ff.*, *Robert* 2.1, 400, n.4 *ad fin.*, *Gantz* 2, 722-4.

fidibusque canoris Also at *Hor.C.1.12.11*; 'Virgil may have borrowed from Horace' NH (1.12 dated before Marcellus' death), *Poeschel*, *TLL* 3.277.69f.. 'Durch die Gewalt der hellklingenden Saiten der Thrakischen Kithara', *G.Wille*, *Röm. Musik*, 546; actually, *fides* (Klee, *TLL* 6.1.692. 34f.) is merely a synonym of *cithara*, *lyra* and the whole expression a typical (but quite weighty) Virgilian 'theme and variation'.

Katabaseis

Thanks to Eduard Norden's intuition and ingenuity, and to papyrus discoveries, two early literary 'descents' have graduated from mere matter for complex speculation to recognition as an important element in Virgil's reading, parts of which can be reconstructed with some confidence. Here (1) *KH* = 'Katab. of Heracles', and (2) *KO*, 'of Orpheus'. Bibliography: *Orph. fr.* 707-17 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2, Bremmer (2009), 193-5, Clark, *Catabasis*, 88-92, 154-6, 211-24, *id.*, *Phoen.* 24 (1970), 244-55, H.Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967), 206-29, Norden, p.5, n.2 (lists his scattered discussions of the *katabaseis*), R.Parker, *Athenian religion* (Oxford 1996), 98-100, *RTA*, 173f., Setaioli, *EV* 2, 957-8, G.Thaniel, *Phoen.* 25 (1971), 237-45, R.Thomas, in *Style and tradition* (848), 110-4, West, *Orphic poems*, 12f.. The Bologna papyrus (*Orph. fr.* 717 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2), though rightly classed as 'katabatic', is apparently neither a *KO* nor a *KH*.

(1) The Orphic *Katabasis*. Cf. West, *Orphic poems*, 12, Bernabé, *Orph. fr.* 707-11, *PEG* 2.2, Norden, p.158f., *RTA*, 173f., Clark, *Catabasis*, 120-2, Graf (609), 141f., Bremmer (2009), 196, *id.*, (2011), 14-7 for authors and dates; primarily accounts in the first person of Orph.'s descent to recover Eurydice. I offer, after Setaioli, 958 and No., p.5, n.2, a summary of the principal points of contact suggested with *Aen.* 6.

(a) Revelation of 'secrets' (264-7; vd. comm.). Norden, p.208f. expounds amply the Orphic tradition behind **audita loqui**; cf. now Bernabé on *PEG*, fr.2.1, 424 (Plat. *Meno* 81A, citing, generally, Pindar), 2.2, 666).

(b) Punishments of the damned (557f.). Norden, p.275; cf. Clark, *Catabasis*, 169-71, Bremmer (2011), 17. Norden compares the catalogues of punishments at Plut.*Mor.* 590F (*gen. Socr.* 22) and Lucian, *Ver.hist.* 2.29 (: *Nekyom.* 14); such punishments (cf. Plat.*Rep.* 2.361CE, No., *cit.*) presented by Plato (note Musaeus, *Eumolpus, ib.*, 363C) in a markedly Orphic context. No., p.273 argues for the Hydra's presence, not strongly.

(c) Orpheus' Thracian lyre (120). Norden, p.158f: not his strongest case (vd. *supra*, **120 Threicia...cithara**), *pace* the emphasis given by Bremmer (2009), 195.

(d) Charon and the descending hero (392). Norden, p.237. On 392, Serv. offers challengingly *lectum est et in Orpheo quod, quando Hercules ad inferos descendit, Charon territus eum statim susceperit*. 'Perhaps an Eleusinian poem about Heracles' descent to Hades and initiation', West, 268 (s.v. fr.296Kern), *Orph.* fr.714 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2. Lloyd-Jones, 222 suggested that a *KO* was just as likely. Lucan's poem *Orpheus* (Schanz-Hosius 24, 495, A.Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae*, 60, n.17) has been proposed and contested (so Norden, 237, Hosius, *Luc. ed. Teubn.*, p.328f., Dieterich, 134, n.1). See too Au. on 392 and Clark, *Catabasis*, 192-4, Rohde, *Psyche*_{7/8}, 2, 179, n.2, F.Comparelli in *Servio: stratificazioni esegetiche...* (ed.

S.Casali, F.Stok, *Coll. Lat.* 317, 2008), 183. The graver issue of Serv.'s (or rather, Serv.'s sources') access to a Greek *KH* or *KO* has not been faced; some form of indirect access is not altogether unlikely.

(e) Rhadamanthus, Tisiphone (**555, 566, 571**). Cf. Norden, p.274f., who cites Lucian, *Katapl.* 22-4 for an account in Eleusinian terms. Vd. also Bremmer (2009), 194.

(f) Phlegyas (**618f.**). Norden, p.275f. acutely remarks that the warnings uttered by those undergoing punishment are a motif present both in Pindar (*Pyth.* 2.21f.) and, widely indeed, in Plato (he cites *Rep.* 10.616A, *Phaed.* 114A, *Gorg.* 525C).

(g) The bees of **707-9**. Norden, p.306 offers *KO* as an entirely hypothetical (and unsubstantiated) source for this simile.

(h) Conclusion. Though we should probably dismiss (g), and even perhaps (c), from the argument, the case for V. having read a *KO* remains strong.

(2) The Heracleian/Eleusinian *Katabasis*. Cf. *Orph.* fr. 713-6 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2. The title (desperately fragmentary) of Pind. *Dith.* fr. 70b Sn. may have been *Katabasis Herakleous* or *Cerberus*; the attribution of *POxy.* 32.2622 (Lobel; cf. Lloyd-Jones, 206-11, R.J.Clark *PCPS* 47 (2001), 112, *id.*, *CQ* 50 (2000), 195) to Pindar is 'likelier than not' (Lloyd-Jones, 217) and it is pub. among the Pindaric *dubia* (fr. 346) by Snell. Thaniel (241) registers dissent without specific argument. The topic, though, was a favourite with Pindar (Lloyd-Jones, *ib.*). But it seems likely (Lloyd-Jones, after Norden, Clark (1970), (2001), Graf (**609**), 142-7, Setaioli, 958, Bremmer (2009), 193f., *id.* (2011), 14-7) that we can take a step behind Pindar to a text (directly, or perhaps in some cases, indirectly) used by him, Soph., Bacch., Aristophanes, *Apld.*, and indeed Virgil, that narrated Heracles' *Katabasis* in a precise context: 'the story of how Heracles before his descent into Hades to recover Cerberus was initiated at Eleusis' (Lloyd-Jones, 211; cf. Parker, 98-100, Bremmer (2003), 194; ? mid-c.6 and probably Athenian in origin). The evidence, neatly sorted by Setaioli, *cit.*, I summarise, with some bibliography and comment:

(a) The Sibyl's admonition to Aen. not to draw his sword, **292-4**. Cf. *Apld.Bibl.* 2.5.12, Bacch. 5.71ff., *Ar.Ran.* 564, Norden, p.206.

(b) The similes of the leaves and the birds, **309-12**. Cf. Norden, p.223f., Clark, (1970), with Thaniel's sharp answer, Thomas, Lloyd-Jones, 214-6. Bacchyl. 5.63-7 (leaves, no birds), *P.Oxy.* 32.2622.12-15 (perhaps referred to birds by sea and leaves by land), the leaves of *Il.* 6.146-9 and the birds of 3.2-7, and the similes of AR 4.216f. and 238-40 (Nelis, 251f.), with *G.* 4.473-4 (birds; vd. also Otis, 411, G.N.Knauer, *ANRW* 31.2 (1981), 898f.) suggest a nexus of incestuous ancestors (or antecedents), rather than a neat genealogy: the evidence of *P.Oxy.*, *cit.*, is not quite enough to anchor *KH* securely in this tradition.

(c) Removal of Cerberus, **395-6**. Much disputed; No. (p.238) first rashly suggested comparison with *Apld.Bibl.2.5.12*, separating physically a request for permission from Pluto and the actual removal of Cerberus from 'the gates of Acheron' and arguing for a comparable sequence in V.: **petiuit** in the sense of 'asked for permission for' and **a solio regis** as 'from Pluto's authority'. No. soon realised that this would not do (p.466); the sense of **395-6** is a typical complex expression of the 'theme and variation' type; the hero seeks out Cerberus from Pluto's very own throne (**ipsius**; cf. Au.) and carries him off a-quiver: the topogr. inconsistency with **417** is trivial. Cf. now Setaioli, Au., Thaniel, 238, n.4; Clark, *Catabasis*, 214, *id.*, (1970), 244f., *CQ* 53 (2003), 308f., and in *Mystic cults in Magna Grecia* ed. G.Casadio, P.Johnston (Austin 2009), 190-203 at 191 continues, unhappily, to champion No.'s early view.

(d) The weight of Aeneas in Charon's barque, **413-4**; No. compares Lucian, *Dial.mort.4.1*, 10.1 (a motif also present, *Sen.HF* 775ff., *Stat.Theb.5.401f.*).

(e) The flight of the Greeks at the sight of Aeneas, **489-92**; cf. *Apld.Bibl.2.5.2* (all except Meleager and Medusa fled).

(f) Aeneas' question to Musaeus. In his n. on **666-78**, No. draws attention to Dionysus' question at *Ar.Ran.431f.* and suggests that the motif of questions asked by the katabatic hero (vd. infra on **669** for Lucian's parody) may have been traditional. Cf. Graf (**609**), 146, n.23. However, Musaeus is associated with Eleusis only from the late c.5 (Lloyd-Jones, 223, Bremmer (2009), 195, *id.*, (2011), 15) and it is far from clear exactly how his role as an Elysian informant reached V.. Possibly via a *KO* (Mus. being important in Orphic texts). That (c) (and (b) too, if we are honest) can no longer stand does not substantially weaken No.'s case for the wide spread and importance of *KH* in the literary tradition. Lloyd-Jones, 228f. is quite right to insist, against No., that poets do not find similes in mythol. handbooks; the matter mis-stated by Thomas, 111, correctly by Clark, *Catabasis*, 212.

121 si fratrem...redemit Rescued, saved (not by means of money), *OLD* s.v. (No. compares the *πρίατο* of *Pind.Pyth.6.39*); cf. too, roughly, *Ov.Rem.Am.229*.

Pollux What happens after Castor's death is clear enough, but the detail was never settled, and indeed was never likely to be, because it would have required tedious linguistic elaboration: in *Il.* the earth covers the twins (3.243f.), in *Od.* (11.303f.), ἄλλοτε both live, ἄλλοτε both are dead. They live, and are dead, alternate days, ἐτερήμεροι. In the *Cypria*, Zeus grants them immortality day and day about (phrasing as in *Od.*, abbreviated, Proclus, p.31.31Davies). In Alcman, they apparently remain together, living under ground at Therapnae with Menelaus (fr.7.12f.PMG). At *Pind.Pyth.11.61-4* the twins spend one day at Therapnae and one on Olympus; at *Nem.10.55-9*, 85-8 the same. But, remarks Gantz, it is not clear in

Od., *Cypria* and Pindar (*bis*) whether they alternate together, or in turn (thus, potentially, never meeting); in Hom., more probably, together (plur. verbs), in *Nem.* perhaps alternating, in turn. Lyc.566 seems to suggest that they alternated together between Hades and Olympus. Lucian, *Dial.*4 returns to the Hom. phrasing (ἑτερῆμεροι) and in *Dial.* 25 finally specifies: the twins are never in the company of Apollo and Hermes *together* (which makes it far harder to tell them apart), but appear on alternate days, a passage that shows, incidentally, that Gantz was not wrong to pursue his fine point. What then of V.? V. focuses on Pollux (singular verbs), and it looks, therefore, as though for him the twins alternated between worlds separately, on alternate days. Bethe, PW 5.1115. 3-42, Gantz, 327-8, comms. on *Apld.Bibl.*3.11.2, Robert, 2.1, 317, Angeli Bernardini on *Pind.Pyth.* 11.61-4, Lyne on *Ciris*, *cit. (infra)*. *EV* 2, 88 insufficient. Serv. writes *quia horum stellae ita se habent ut occidente una oriatur altera*, unhelpfully, and TCD avoids the issue entirely. But there is a real problem here, usefully addressed by Lyne and Gantz.

alternā morte Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1754.70ff. collects a number of later applications of *a.* to the fate of C. and P., notably *Ciris* 397 and *Ov.F.*5.719.

122 itque reditque uiam Cf. *Tib.*2.6.46, *Eleg.Maec.*1.6, *Ov. F.*1.124, *Trist.*5.7.14, *Hor.Ep.*1.7.55 *it redit et narrat*, etc., Wills, 446f.. Au. correctly notes that the first *-que* here is connective. More important, Henry points out that this phrasing does not indicate a continued alternation AB, BA, AB, BA...but rather (vd. too his n. on 5.709 *trahunt retrahuntque*, citing further *fertque refertque* 4.438, 12.866) a continuous covering of the route AB, AB, AB.... **Viam** as at *G.*3.77, *Hor.Ep.*1.2.65; the acc. (when the sense is fairly close to that of the vb.) common enough with intrans. vbs. of motion, particularly in poetry; see Antoine, 39, C.F.W.Müller, *Synt. des Nom. u. Akk.* (Leipzig 1908), 23f., KS 1, 276f., LHS, 39.

totiens The marked dactyl. rhythm suggesting their endless motion here (with advb, in final position; cf. n. on **794 quondam**) brought to an abrupt end at 3½ caes..

quid.../ 123 quid memorem Formula of *praeteritio*: cf. **601 quid memorem Lapithas...?**, 8.483, *G.*2.158, *Plaut.Amph.*41, *Sall.Cat.*13.1, [*Sall.*]*Rep.*2.9.1, *Hor. Serm.*1.8.40, O.Prinz, *TLL* 8.687.43f.. With *dicam*, cf. *G.*1.104, 311, *Aen.*4.43, with *loquar*, *Cic.Verr.*2.2.160, *Ov.Ars* 3.169, etc..

Thesea An old pseudo-problem, on which Gell.10.16.11 reports a long complaint by Hyginus, *GRF* fr.8 (p.531f.), concerning the inconsistency between this v. and **617f. sedet aeternumque sedebit/ infelix Theseus**; the conflicting passages are not far apart in the text and little wonder that Hyg. was convinced (*infra*, §12) `that *correcturum fuisse Vergilium putat*,

nisi mori occupasset. Both versions, however, are familiar from other sources (Gantz notes a comparable inconsistency in DS) and 617 represents the older version; here (Gantz, 1, 291-5, comms. on *Apld.Bibl.* 2.5.12, *EV* 5*, 143f., Robert, 2.2, 703-6, Steuding, Ro.5.719.15-721.41, H.Herter, PW Suppl.13, s.v. Theseus, §102, in particular, 1177.50ff.), V. follows a version probably in origin c.6-5 Athenian (Theseus could hardly be allowed to remain in Hades), Eur.*HF*.1169f., *Heracl.*218f., Philochorus, *FGH* 328F18b, DS 4.63.4, [*Apld.*] *Epit.*1.24, etc.. Cf. Zarker, *infra*, *Alambicco*, 49, 95, O'Hara, *Inconsistency ...*, 91.

magnum Cf. Bömer's n. on *Ov.Met.*7.433, *te, maxime Theseu*. Are we to punctuate before or after the epithet? An issue with a long history: vd. comms., *Companion*, 230, Bell, 13f., *EV* 5*, 144 (*tacet* Galinsky, *ib.*, 2, 362), H.R.Pontes, *Vergilius* 42 (1996), 66-82 (elegantly argued), J.W.Zarker, *CJ* 62 (1967), 220-6, G.B.Townend, *PVS* 9 (1969-70), 83, *id.*, *CQ* 19 (1969), 339. The problem of 7.38 *tempora rerum* or *tempora, rerum... status*) is often compared, fallaciously: there, *tempora rerum* is a Lucretian clausula, but *rerum...status* is a collocation of marked and familiar historiographical flavour (in a proem long recognised as being close in tone to the historians). I am delighted to have the support of G.P.Goold (847-53), 116 there and the distinctive lexical/generic character of *status rerum* is decisive. Here, the issue is more delicate: for what it is worth, Serv. favours **magnum...** **Alciden**, though his reasoning is unimpressive, while punctuation in the capital mss. is divided (at **Thesea**, **P**²; at **magnum**, **M**^x); comms. compare 5.414, 8.103, little though such parallels actually *prove*. No objection to the pause at 5D; Norden, p.389, with n.5, Pontes, 73-5, Winbolt, 54-6, but Conte seems right to point out that in such parallel questions, you do not find anastrophe of the interr. pronoun; **quid** repeated as first word produces (Pontes) elegant *isokolia*. Townend sagely pleads for **magnum** ἀπό κοινοῦ, and in the end is probably right (so too Bell, Zarker, 223, n.13), while Fletcher subtly remarks that **memorem** also governs *both* names, comparing 161f. and, better, 841, **tacitum** and **relinquat** with *both* Roman heroes (cf. Pontes, 75-80).

123 Alciden Cf. n. on 801; V. is compelled by simple considerations of prosody.

et mi Pointing the relevance of the *exemplum*; cf. *Buc.*9.32f..

genus ab loue summo Cf. 1.380 (where, however, vd. Conte's apparatus for the case against Virgilian authorship), 5.45 *genus alto a sanguine diuum*, Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1188.38; add 3.168, 5.117, 6.500 **genus alto a sanguine Teucri**, 8.51, 12.225. The epithet very common, Carter, *Epitheta deorum*, 55, from Plautus to Avienus. Aen. is son of Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, and also descendant of Dardanus, son of Zeus and Electra, n. on 7.219.

124 talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat The verse taken over with small adjustments from 4.219 *talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem* (with 4.437 Whose altar is meant? Apollo's? Hecate's? (Cf. *SC*, (24)). V. is discreetly silent. For the plur. used of a single altar, cf. n. on 2.115. *Altaria* and *arae* used 'promiscue. imprimis metri ut videtur causa', Weynand, *TLL* 2.389.7f.. On touching altars in supplication, in both Greek and Roman usage, Pease on 4.219 collects ample material (cf. also Appel, 194, Reisch, PW 1.1689.62ff., McCartney, *CJ* 21 (1925), 122, n.96, Sittl, 192f.). One might also wish to adduce the importance of touching the ropes used to pull *tensae* at Rome, n. on 2.239 and McCartney, *cit.*, 112-31 on the folk-lore of touching sacred objects in general. Kn. compares Tiresias' reassuring words at *Od.*11.149-9, along with Circe's instructions at 10.504-40.

125 cum sic orsa loqui Cf. 562. *Orsus* without infin. only *ter* to introduce speeches. *TLL* 9.2.947.57 (Bohnenkamp). Note too 4.8 *cum sic...adloquitur*. V. does make some effort to vary his speech-formulae. Cf. Moskalew 63-6, G.Highet *HSCP* 78 (1974), 192.

uates See n. on 78.

125-155 The Sibyl replies to Aeneas. Ignored by Highet (classified under 'commands', but without comment 121, 307); cf. Cartault, 438f., Binder, comm., pp. 201f., Delaunois, 53 (in terms of a formal rhet. structure; *tacet* Norden, 160), Knauer, 139f.. The Sibyl detailed and practical in her information; she offers a grim view of the trials that face Aen., but accepts that he is quite determined, and indeed makes it clear that the *Katabasis* is feasible, if he is indeed called by fate. Note though the touch of sympathy at 150. Articulation perspicuous: a difficult journey, accomplished by few (125-32). If Aen. is quite determined, there are necessary preliminaries (133-6), the GB to be picked (136-48); Misenus to be buried (149-55): a range close to Circe's in *Od.*10.489-540.

sate sanguine diuum A bow to Enn.'s *sanguen dis oriundum* (*Ann.*108), avoiding the archaic form. Note also 5.45 *Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine diuum*. Kn. notes the formality of Circe's opening, *Od.*10.504.

126 Tros Anchisiade Also at 10.250 (in nom.); the Sibyl addresses Aen. in grand language: the patronymic occasional in Hom. and possibly first here in Latin; it here reinforces the Sibyl's reference in the previous verse to Aen.'s divine ancestry; cf. further 131 **dis geniti potuere**. Cf. too n. on 52, where Aen. is addressed as **Tros...Aenea**, for the suggestion that adjectival T. may be a Sibylline form. Sing. ethnonym as a form of address, vd. Dickey, 207 and n. on 851 **Romane**. For the form, cf. NW 4, 27.

facilis descensus Auerno Much rather unprofitable discussion (N.E.Collinge, *Phoen.* 13 (1959), 69-72, K.Wellesley, *CR* 14 (1964), 235-8, L.Colucci, *RIL* 106 (1974), 180-95, T.E.Kinsey, *LCM* 4 (1979) 59, Paratore's n.), to which little detailed reference is made here. **Auerno MP**, TCD, schol. Bern.; **Auerni P₂R**; both readings known to Serv.; c.9 mss. divided. The gen. very much a *facilior lectio* (though excellent Latin; cf. Liv.44.35.17 *descensus ripae utriusque in alueum trecentorum ferme passuum erat*); presumably readers troubled by the dat./abl. were driven in the end to correction. For the name itself (evidently of Oscan origin), cf. n. on 3.442; Wellesley, 235 sorts V.'s usage neatly and observes that elsewhere in **6 (118, 201, 564)** V. uses the name to designate the lake, though elsewhere in *Aen.* (cf. n. on 7.91) **A.** is applied to the underworld as a whole. It may turn out that sense depends on case and the grammatical issue is largely resolved by the context: to **facilis** responds **129 hoc opus, hic labor est** and to **f.d.A.** responds **128 sed reuocare gradum superasque euadere ad auras**. That seems to rule out the interpretation of **A.** as an abl. 'prosecutivus' (the usage discussed so well by Malosti; vd. also Wellesley, Colucci); note also that the isolated toponym does not correspond to the categories she analyses. That leaves dat. (cf. Antoine, 150, KS 1, 317, 320, *EV* 2, 266 (Görler), LHS 100f.), after a noun no more surprising than acc., 3.507 *unde iter Italiam* (where vd. my n.), 6.542 *iter Elysium*; cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* 1₂, 253ff., LHS, 34, G.Landgraf, *ALL* 10 (1898), 402, C.F.W.Müller, (122), 158. In the case of such a bold, inventive phrase, a precise parallel is not required (cf. n. on [2.586f.], with Renehan's fine discussion, *CP* 68 (1973), 197ff.). There has also been much anxiety about the sense, at least inasmuch as **facilis** appears to stand in evident conflict with V.'s many references (e.g. **255-62**) to the grave trials of the journey (Colucci, 190f., Norden on **125-32**, Paratore, etc.). But it is indeed notably easy to enter Avernus if all you have to do is die (cf. Henry, with dry Irish drollery); the challenge is that of entering by some other means, so that there is also the chance to emerge, in the manner of Heracles, etc.: extremely difficult, and rarely achieved. Serv. and TCD miss both problem and apparent solution. According to DL 4.49, Bion declared that the way to Hades was εὐκολον. Possibly (it has been suggested) an (indirect?) source for V., but the notion was commonplace: cf. Aesch. *Telephus* fr.239Radt (and vd. his ample n.) *ap.* Plat. *Phaed.* 107E, *Persae* 689f., Leon.Tar., GP, *HE* 2465ff., *Sen.Prov.* 6. 7. Fifty years ago, I was warned of sub-standard work by the dread initials *f.d.A.*

127 noctes atque dies 'A marvellously slow, tolling line', Au., with whom one differs very rarely on such a point. The line opens with a Lucretian formula (2.12, 3.62); we should note both the initial self-contained spondee (n. on 7.80) and unelided *atque* (n. on 7.473) linking polar opposites

(Pflugbeil, *TLL* 5.1.1038.70ff., in various forms. Cf. too Soph.*El.*1365, *OC* 618, Eur.*Ba.*187, *IA* 398, etc.). At the caesura, however, a marked variation, as the complete coincidence of word-accent and metrical beat takes over (with self-contained 4th. foot spondee): cf. (Au.) 2.661, 4.384; not, however, particularly rare: cf. nn. on 7.291 *stetit acri fixa dolore*, 625 *omnes arma requirunt*, 2.557 *iacet ingens litore truncus*, Au. on 1.1 (citing 6.22, 1.299, 481, 565, 5.751), Williams on 3.9, 5.116 ('rare').

patet...ianua Cf. 2.661 *patet isti ianua leto* (where vd. n.). This doorway of Pluto's is traditional parlance: Lucr.6.762f.; cf. n. on **106 inferni ianua regis**.

atri...Ditis For **D.**, cf. n. on 7.568 and for the identification of old Dis with Pluto (explicitly, Lact.*Inst.*1.14.5), helped presumably by a sort of calque (via 'rich' in Gk., Lat.), cf. Wissowa, 309-13, Bailey, 250f.. *Tacet EV*. The colouring conventional: cf. nn. on 7.329, **6.866**.

128 sed reuocare gradum Knoche, *TLL* 6.2.2143.49f. collects imitations. Note 9.125 *reuocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto*.

superasque...ad auras Cf. G.4.486 *redditaque Eurydice superas ueniebat ad auras*, Aen.5.427 *bracchiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras*, 7.768 *superas caeli uenisse sub auras* (with n.).

euadere *TLL* 5.2.989.36f. (Leumann). Hyginus, writing about **122** (q.v.), comments *qui descenderint illuc atque inde rursum euaserint*. Sen.*HF* 675ff. writes *nec ire labor est...* (678) *gradumque retro flectere haud umquam sinunt*. But here, Aen. emerges by a very different route, as we shall see, (**893-6**), (**2**)(c). **Reuocare gradum** therefore refers to a return to the upper world in general, and not to the *antrum apertum* of **262**.

129 hoc...hic For the 'geminated demonstrative', cf. Wills, 76f. (and possibly the Sibyl is to be imagined gesturing, though hardly gesticulating); **hic...hoc** at 1.17, 11.739. The prosody of **hoc** often discussed: originally *hodce*, *hocce*, whence the vowel counts as long, prosodically, but is pronounced short: Leumann, 220, W.S.Allen, *Vox Latina*, 76f. (with citations from *Gramm.Lat.*), Niedermann, *Phon.hist.*, 120, Sommer, 276.

opus...labor Note 11.183 *opera atque labores*, Oakley on Liv.6.1.6 (other instances of this stock expression), Ehlers, *TLL* 9.2.843.9f., Lumpe, *ib.*, 7.2.796.28f..

pauci, quos The Sibyl returns to the *exempla* adduced by Aen. at **119-23**. Compare **744 pauci laeta arua tenemus**.

aequus.../ 130 Iuppiter Cf. Hor.*C.*1.28.28 (NH 'favourable', citing Housman on Man.4.174; add, more helpfully, Brink on Hor.*Ep.*2.1.68, McKeown on Ov.*Am.*2.11.34); also Ausfeld, *TLL* 1.1035.24, *EV* 2, 979. Heracles, Castor and Pollux, as sons, naturally favoured; Orpheus son of Apollo in some versions (Gantz, 2, 725, etc.), Theseus (not that this weak-

ens the argument much) of mere heroic stock. Au.'s 'impartial' hardly in keeping with good Lat. poet. usage.

amauit Cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1954.1ff.; of deities, from Plaut. on. *EV* 1, 145 unilluminating. Cf. also *HHymnDem.* 487 with Richardson's n.

130 aut ardens...uirtus Cf. Stat.*Theb.*2.571f., Vollmer, *TLL* 2.487.23f. and Taillardat, 165f. for some Greek analogies; O'Hara, *TN*, 166f. notes an etymology of sorts: *aether* 'blazes' (the Gk. verb, Serv.Dan. on 1.394) and that origin is glossed by **ardens**. See Hor.C.3.2.21f. *uirtus recludens immeritis mori/ caelum* (with NR), 3.9f. *hac arte Pollux et uagus Hercules/enisus arcis attigit igneas* (with NR), *Ep.*2.1.5f. *Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux/ post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti* (with Brink's ample n., in particular p.40), Dyck on Cic.*Off.*3.25. Frequent reference should have been made to A. La Penna in *Hommages...Le Bonniec. Res sacrae.* (*Coll.Lat.* 201, Bruxelles 1988), 275-87 ('Brevi considerazioni sulla divinizzazione degli eroi e sul canone degli eroi divinizzati').

euexit ad aethera Cf. Hor.C.1.1.6 *terrarum dominos euexit ad deos*, Val.Max. 8.15.9, *EV* 5*, 470, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1008.22f.. Compare the sense of both [Simon.] *AP.*7.251.4 = Page, *FGE* p.199f. ἀνάγει and Enn.*Ann.*54f. *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerulea caelii templa*, *Aen.*1.259f., 3.462 *ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam* (with my n. for further refs.), Hardie, *CI*, 291.

131 dis geniti Vd. n. on **129f. aequus.../ Iuppiter**. For polemical *reprise*, cf. **394**, and compare too 9.642 *dis genite et geniture deos*, Geissler/Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1977. 66ff.. No shortage of *uirtus* in *Aen.*; his mother a goddess too.

potuere Cf. n. on **119**, *ad init.*. 'Greek' caesura at marked sense-pause.

tenent...siluae See *EV* 5*, 100 for similar uses of the verb (*G.*1.115f., etc.); no attempt here (cf. n. on **106f.**) to work out exactly the area meant (but cf. Clark (**136-48**), 169); reference to **256f. iuga coepta moueri/ siluarum** perhaps ought to have been enough.

media omnia Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.587.65f. comparing use of *medio*, in *medio*. More to the point, No. admirably compares the μέσων of both *Od.*11.156f. and *Ar.Ran.*469.

132 Cocytusque Already at *Od.*10.514; a poetic name, Plat.*Phaed.*113C. Cf. *EV* 1, 830 (Chirassi Colombo), Reisch, *TLL Onom.*2.521.13 (previously in Cic.*philos.*, *G.*), Stoll, *Ro.*2.1.1267.65ff., Pieske, *PW* 11.11065.65ff.. The river of wailing; a tributary of Acheron. Cf. G.Brugnoli in *Tradizione e innovazione...Scritti...Gentili* 3 (ed. R.Pretagostini, Roma 1993), 981-8.

sinu...atro The adj. at **127**; just possibly thematic. Or cf. n. on 7.554 *arma* for V.'s evidently casual approach to such repetitions. S. *EV* 4, 890; similarly of coils of a serpent, *G.*3.424, *OLD* s.v., §10a.

labens Cf. Flury, *TLL* 7.2.787.7, *EV* 3, 84; of *flumina* at *Lucr.*2.362.

circumuenit Bannier, *TLL* 3.1179.64f., *Sall.Jug.*68.2 of a plain surrounded by mountains.

133 quod si...si Repeated **si** at 1.546, 2.54, 3.434, etc.; its weight reinforced by the repetition **tantus...tanta**. The sequence *si tant...si tant...* unexpectedly uncommon and not elsewhere in poetry.

tantus amor menti ‘Onesti desiderii’, Fedeli, *EV* 1, 144, comparing **314. M.** ‘la sede del desiderio e della volontà’, Negri, 173. Compare 2.10 *sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros* and 349f. *si uobis audendi extrema cupido/ certa sedet* with both my nn..

tanta cupido More than a mere stylistic variation, Pascucci, *EV* 2, 965; rather, ‘amplificazione semantica’, for part of this *cupido* is about to be defined as *insanus labor*. *TLL* 4.1423.2 (Hoppe), n. on 2.349.

est For the aphaeresis, see n. on 7.311, *EV* 2, 201; omitted by **P**.

134 bis...bis Cf. **126**: a second journey, in addition to that accomplished inevitably at Aen.'s death, for which see *Od.*12.21f. *σχήτλιοι, οἱ ζῶοντες ὑπήλθετε δῶμ' Ἀίδαο/ διθανέες, ὅτε τ' ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνήσκουσ' ἄνθρωποι*, and NH on *Hor.*'s *et calcanda semel uia Leti* (*C.*1.28.16). For the anaphora, cf. 2.218 (where *vd.* n.).

Stygios...lacus Cf. n. on 7.773, Au. on **295** (expressing welcome scepticism about V.'s nomenclature and geography of the rivers of Hell). In Gk. literature from Hom. on; cf. also Bethe, *PW* 7A.464.64ff., Waser, *Ro.* 4.1566.59ff.. **L.:** **393**, 8.296, *Prop.* 4.3.15, *Tib.*1.10.38, 2.6.40. *TLL* 7.2.862.54 (van Wees), s.v. ‘latius de fluviis, fontibus’, terrestrial as well as infernal (cf. 8.66; no prose instances cited).

innare Cf. **369 Stygiamque innare paludem**, 8.651, *TLL* 7.1.1700.43 (Schmeck). Intrans., *Cic.ND* 2.100; for transitivisations in V., cf. A. Lunelli, *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 79ff. and index s.v., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 65f.. For the (very) Virgilian infin. after noun, cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 271, Maurach, *cit.*, 61, LHS, 351 and No. for its Gk. origins, with *KG* 2.2₄, 13f..

nigra.../ 135 Tartara Variation on **132 atro** (*Lucr.*3.966 *Tartara...atra*); Edgeworth, 139, André, 54f., 341f.. **T.:** here in the general sense of ‘realm of the dead’; cf. on **548-636**.

uidere The normal attentive reader may not quite realise how heavily V. lays stress upon the visual aspect of Aen.'s experience: explicitly at **323**, **325**, **333**, **419**, **446**, **482**, **487**, **490**, **495**, **549**, **574**, **582**, **585**, **596** - and I call a halt at the borders of Elysium. *Tacet* Smith, 82ff..

135 et...iuuat indulgere Iuuat: n. on 3.282, Henry, *VP*, 203, n.6; **indulgere** as at 9.615; Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.1252.1f., but above all a re-working of 2.776 (*Creusa* to Aen.) *quid tantum insano iuuat indulgere dolori...?*

(where vd. nn.; here Au. atypically misquotes); the play of *-dul- -dol-* cannot be repeated here. *EV* 2, 950. Note the assonance of **in-...in-**.

insano...labori I: Lumpe, *TLL* 7.1.1834.29f., *id.*, 7.2.796.62. *Tacet EV*. The Sibyl, who has some familiarity with what is to come, regards any desire, however legitimate, to face the horrors of the journey when not strictly necessary as lunacy. Contrast Circe's terse *χρέτλιοι*, *Od.* 12.21, at **134 bis...bis**.

136 accipe Expository; 2.65 with n.

quae peragenda *TLL* 10.1.1177.17 (Peri); the vb. in *Enn. Ann.* (485); in this sense ('accomplish, perform'), cf. 9.242 *ingenti caede peracta* and common in Sall., Nep.. *Sint* quite unnecessary.

prius Cf. **328**; common and unobtrusive.

136-48 The golden bough; introduction.

(1) Ancient views of the problem(s).

(a) *Macr. Sat.* 5.19.2 on Dido's lock cites (and savages) Cornutus: *unde haec historia ut crinis auferendus sit morientibus, ignoratur: sed adsuevit poetico more aliqua fingere ut de aureo ramo*. But is *fingere* the right word to use of V.'s technique of identifiably erudite inventivity? For the terminology (cf. Gk. πλάσμα), cf. *Alambicco*, 23, *Athen.* 66 (1988), 49f., C.Lazzarini, *MD* 12 (1984), 125f..

(b) *Serv.* on **136**: *licet de hoc ramo hi qui de sacris Proserpinae scripsisse* [cf. *Serv.* on 4.458 for the phrasing] *dicuntur, quiddam esse mysticum* [cf. *Serv.* on G.4.502] *adfirmit, publica tamen opinio* [cf. *Alambicco*, 22 and *Serv.* on 8.601 for the phrase *publica caerimoniarum opinio*] *haec habet*; *Serv.* goes on to describe the ritual followed in the temple of Diana at Nemi, whereby runaway slaves had the opportunity to *ramum...auferre* from a certain tree (whose branches were otherwise protected); that done, he might fight the current priest. *nunc ergo istum inde sumpsit* [sc. Virgil] *colorem* [phrasing *Serv.* does not use elsewhere], above all because the Bough had to be the cause of *unius...interitus*, in this case Misenus'. *Serv.* concludes with a strange account of the possible relevance of the Pythagorean interpretation of the letter Y (cf. R.U.Smith). Note that the content of the *publica opinio* here cited is, as has long been realised, the sole foundation of Sir James Frazer's discussion, n. on 7.764, *Alambicco*, 22-3. On the other hand, *quiddam mysticum*, understood sensibly, is pretty clearly some part of any thoughtful analysis.

(2) Some golden boughs. From Cornutus on (*supra*) it has regularly been claimed that V.'s source here is not known. That said (not quite as correctly as is often claimed), it is rather surprising how many other golden boughs of one sort or another turn out to be known:

- (a) In an admirable paper (1945), Mrs. Michels drew attention to Meleager's account of his anthology, *AP* 4.1 (=GP, *HE*, 3926-3983), where at vv.47f. (*HE*, 3972f.) he refers to the 'golden bough', χρύσειον.../ κλῶνα of the poet-philosopher Plato τὸν ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντοθι λαμπόμενον; a signpost to V.'s use of the myth of Er, later on in *Aen.*6. Such coded signposts for the educated reader are extremely Virgilian (*Alambicco*, 103-16) and the Platonic contribution to our understanding of the GB has been hailed with general favour: *Alambicco*, 23f., Bremmer (2009), 199, R.U.Smith, 11, J.E.G.Zetzel, *TAPA* 119 (1989), 276f., West, *ORVA*, 235-7, Préaux, 159, Clark, *Catabasis*, 198.
- (b) Isis. *Apul.Met.*11.10 *quintus auream uannum aureis congestam ramulis*; cf. Luck, 155. Unlikely to be really, or seriously, relevant.
- (c) Golden staff of Hermes. The *caduceus* golden from Hom. to Hor.; cf. *Od.*5.87, NH on Hor.*C.*1.10.18f.. A staff is not a bough, but since Heyne scholars have suspected that the golden *caduceus* might be relevant: Clark, *Catabasis*, 217. Circe's golden wand (7.190; vd. my n.) just deserves a mention in this context.
- (d) Tiresias and Minos carry golden sceptres in *Od.*11 (11.91, 569; Segal, 396). Retrospective honour or currently significant symbol?
- (e) Cf. too the obscenely carved fig-branch that Dionysus planted on the tomb of Prosymnus (*Arnob.*5.28, *Clem.Protr.*2.34.3, Clark, *Catabasis*, 105, 153, Segal, *cit.*).
- (f) And note the botanical discoveries made by Heracles when in the Underworld, the *phyta mystica* of *Lex.Patm.*154.28, *Phot.Lex.*μ.246.17; cf. Norden, p.172, Butler's n..
- (g) Persephone and Eleusis. We have seen - (1)(b) - that those who wrote on the cult of Persephone addressed the GB, and Serv. on 136 indeed writes *et ad sacra Proserpinae accedere nisi sublato ramo non poterat*. At 142f., V. writes **hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus/ instituit**; the epithet conforms to Persephone's καλλιότης. So Norden, 171; at *Alambicco*, 25, I should have queried this statement, for καλλιότης is not actually used as an epithet of P. in Phlegon's second oracle (v.32, p.39Stramaglia) and neither Bruchmann nor Gruppe supply other instances. Note too that branches were carried by the initiands in the rites of Eleusis, *Schol.Vet. Ar.Eq.*408, *Alambicco*, 25, Bremmer (2009), 200; Zetzel, 276, n.52 nevertheless refers weightily, but without explanation, to the 'problems involved'. Once therefore carried by Heracles himself in his *Katabasis*, presumably (to which the GB therefore alludes? Bremmer, *cit.*. Just possibly.).
- (h) Serv.'s Pythagoreanising comment towards the end of his n. is too bizarre to require detailed comment; cf. (1)(b).

(i) The Golden Fleece, in AR: cf. Nelis, 239-42, though not all the analogies of detail in the locations and discoveries of GF and GB to which he points resist careful examination. See (4) for some details, and objections. Nelis, 248 also notes points of similarity between the GB and Medea's Prometheion.

(j) Norden notes the end of an hexameter, χρυσορραγῆς ἔρνος preserved by Hesych. χ 801 = *Suppl.Hell.* 1120f. (no longer assigned to Callim.).

(k) See Christopher Faraone in *Myths, martyrs and modernity. Studies...Bremmer* (Leiden 2010), 145-66 for the talismanic use of inscribed golden leaves. I am most grateful to Prof. Faraone, an expert on talismans, for pointing me in this direction.

(3) Botany, and Balderdash (West's immortal expression, *ORVA*, 228). In illustration of the GB's appearance, V. offers a simile (207-9). The GB is compared to mistletoe (ital. *vischio*), with its *croceo fetu* on an ilex or holm-oak (ital. *leccio*): if the GB is compared to mistletoe in a simile, that means that it cannot itself *be* mistletoe. If it is described as having yellow berries (cf. Edgeworth, 122f.), V. cannot be referring to the familiar north European *viscum album* and must refer to the *loranthus europaeus*, mistletoe indeed, but yellow. However, this type of mistletoe is, *pace* 206, deciduous. One way or another, V. is wrong on the botanical detail (Salanitro, 50f., Maggiulli, 481f., *ead.*, *EV* 5*, 570). Unfortunately, Nelis, 240f. (followed uncritically by Bremmer (2009), 199) writes as though V.'s *ilex* (Maggiulli, 319-22) might in some way be the equivalent of AR's δρῦς; both are visible from the window of my study, and the trees not only are not comparable, but are hardly even liable to inexpert confusion (see, nevertheless, e.g. Weber, 27, Préaux, 152), though both belong formally to the genus of oaks. Cf. Mynors on *G.2.14-6*, Meiggs, *Trees and timber*, 45, 539, Olck, PW 5.2.2013.9-2076.37 at 2058.56ff.. Despite these observations, a lot of northern mistletoe-lore (the object of West's memorable scorn) has been strung from the boughs of V.'s *ilex*; it cannot be shown that such lore was known at Rome at V.'s time (*Alambicco*, 24f.), though it just could have been, via - as it might be - Posidonius (but on Gaul, see the sceptical Kidd, Posidonius, 2, 308-10). Much attention has also been paid to the amount of gold in V.'s description (141, 144, 187, 204, 208) and to the chthonian associations of gold (Clark, *Catabasis*, 197, Eitrem (98, (3)), 104, Weber, 5ff., 22f., Wagenvoort, 98f.). Gold, however, also gleams brightly, and it is the colour effects of these vv. (gold, e.g., against the very dark leaves of the ilex) that predominate. Cf. Edgeworth, 101. The incorruptible (cf. gold) type of mistletoe mentioned by Plin.*Nat.*13.119, after Cornelius Alexander was exceptionally rare, and did not grow on oaks; scarcely relevant here, therefore (*pace* e.g. Guillemin).

(4) Foundation-narratives. V.'s use of a pair of (?)doves (**190-209**), Venus' birds, to lead Aen. to the GB is suggestive of the role of guiding animals in foundation-stories (and similar): Norden, 173f., *Alambicco*, 21f., *Vergilius*, 35 (1989), 13 (in *Aen.*, the sow of Alba sedentary; elsewhere often nimbly trotting); cf. A.S.Pease, *CPh.*12 (1917), 8f., Bremmer (2009), 199, Williams on Call.*HApoll.*66 and Bömer's ample n. on *Met.*3.10. Note too that **202 lapsae** and **203 sidunt** belong to portent-language, and **201 fauces** to that of geography (cf. *Alambicco*, 22). For specific analogies, cf. (No., p.173f., etc.) Alexander's march to Ammon, and the miraculous intervention of the crows: Plut.*Alex.*27 and Arr.*Anab.*3.3.5, with Lane Fox, *Alexander* (paperback ed.), 206, Green, *Alex. of Macedon* (paperback ed.), 273f., Tarn, *Alexander* 1, 43. Vd. the account at QCurt.4.7.15 *cum complures corui agmini occurrunt: modico uolatu prima signa antecedentes [et] modo humi residebant, cum lentius agmen incederet, modo se pennis leuabant ducentium iterque monstrantium ritu*. Norden refers also to a version of the foundation of this very Cumae by colonists led *columbae antecedentis uolatu* (Vell.1.4.1), to the dove who flew to Dodona from Egyptian Thebes (Hdt.2.55), and a ritual of Plataean Hera, which involved observing the tree on which the crows who caught up the sacred entrails chose to settle (Paus.9.3.3f.). Compare also Stat.*Silv.* 3.5.78-80 a *columba* and the foundation of Naples, and Pease, *cit.*, for the eagle and the Sicilian Galeotae, SByz.196.18ff., the white crows of Magnesia (emigration, not settlement; Schol.Ar.*Nub.*133, etc.) and the lark of Messenian Colonides, Paus.4.34.8. Henry also quotes Tac.*Hist.*1.62 (an eagle that seemed to lead Fabius Valens' troops). Cf. further, Gruppe, 843, 1230f. and see n. on 7.64-70 for similar lore involving bees. Bremmer (2009), 199, after Nelis, 240f., argues that V. is also influenced by the discovery of the Golden Fleece, shining on its oak (AR 4.162) in a dark forest; the Argonauts led thither, at least through the Symplegades, by a *πλειάς* or *columba* (2.328-31). V. may have enriched his solidly traditional colonisation-guide story with some Apollonian detail, but the case would be stronger were it not thus split in two, were Colchis not so far from the Symplegades. The botanical fallacy at the heart of this argument from AR has just been noted (§3 above).

(5) Some other narrative elements.

(a) The other appearances of GB. The GB is deeply embedded in the narrative structure of the book: the talisman is functionally, structurally, essential: **136-48**, **187-211**, **406-13** and **635-6** represent traces of more than one narrative structure: **635-6** (Bremmer (2009), 198, Wagenvoort, 93, Weber, 17f.) take up precisely enough **142-3**, and it may well be that the Sibyl's reference to Proserpina at **402** explains to us verbally, as the display of the GB does to Charon symbolically, that Aen.'s visit is fully authorised and

documented; cf. Bremmer (2009), 198f., 199f., Zetzel, 276f., Eitrem, (SC), 104f., *Alambicco*, 22, 25. It is presumably the Sibyl's link to Proserpina (142; cf. p.153) that dictates the Sibyl's role as actual bearer of the GB. There remains the question of whether the interweaving of GB and Misenus is in some way 'theological', or best understood as a skilfully managed structural arrangement; 183ff. offers (note 184 *paribus...armis*, Aen. too ready to do his best with the axe) the context of cutting timber for Misenus' pyre for the miracle of the discovery of the GB. Cf. 183-211 *infra* for the interweaving of the narratives. See Eitrem, *cit.*, 92f., Weber, 28, Knauer, 136, Cartault, 439-44, Otis, 287, Büchner, 362.50-363.28, Clark, *Catabasis*, 152f., Quinn, 164, C.Segal, *EV* 4, 396f., (1965), 620-4, 636-42.

(b) The motif of the bough's resistance. The much-disputed vv. 146-8 and 210-1 will be discussed, *infra* (at 137). Here, in the context of V.'s 'sources' (one might try 'factual inspirations', for of conventional sources there are none) for the GB, I repeat that resistance on such occasions is a well-established motif of mythol. narrative, (Bremmer, *MMM*, 105-11, *Alambicco*, 26f., *Companion*, 150), as informed readers can hardly have failed to recognise.

(c) When had Charon seen the GB before (409)? Interest in the 'correct' answer to this question (e.g. Clark, *Catabasis*, 191-3), as a possible 'clue' to other *katabaseis* known to V., may betray naivety in the face of V.'s rhetoric, for V. is himself repeatedly engaged with (possible, improbable) answers (119-123, 129-31, 392-7). Is the reader is expected to know the answer (or indeed that there is no full, clear answer)? **Longo post tempore** is clearly flexible and one mythological 'generation' is clearly not excluded as an answer.

(6) Conclusion. The GB that Deiphobe carries functions as a sort of talisman to ensure a safe passage; cf. Lee 52, 57, Luck, 155, Wagenvoort, 97, Weber, 31. One might want to compare the *diploma* carried by a well-connected Roman traveller (S.Mitchell, *JRS* 66 (1976), 126); or, more seriously (cf. Segal, *cit.*), not so much the oar placed on Elpenor's tomb (Clark, *Catabasis*, 42, n.12, 152; cf. rather n. on 655 *eadem* for the oar's role in the Afterlife) as the *moly* given to Od. by Hermes to protect him from Circe's potions (*Od.*10.302-6, where vd. Heubeck's n., Page, *Folktales*, 51f., 55, 64ff., A.Ballabriga, *Les fictions d'Homère* (Paris 1998), 80f.. Compare indeed the statues, charms, amulets carried by a pagan traveller, Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (paperback ed.), 151, 160, Wachsmuth (18), 198). Very typically V. shrouds a likely invention in complex erudition, which we should probably assume was understood by at least a few readers; the category of 'too difficult even for Horace (or indeed Varius)' is not easily imagined.

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latet Cf. **406**, *EV* 3, 127. For all the brilliant contrast of the gold against its dark green background, it is but one bough in a great forest and the difficulties in the hunt for the talisman will create narrative tension and the need for Venus' (implicit) intervention (**193**). What follows is a conventional ekphrastic structure (note **138 hunc tegit**); the introductory verb is discreetly unconventional, but the whole structure evolves with exceptional smoothness.

arbore opaca Shaded by **lucus** (**138**), and **umbrae** (**139**), with/in their **conuallibus**; cf. *EV* 3, 856 (G.Giardina), 7.36 (Tiber shaded by woods). Cf. *TLL* 9.2.658.12 (Beikircher), comparing **208**, **283**, 11.851. Cf. Clausen, *THP*, 155f., n.46 for contrasts of bright and dark in *Aen.*

137 aureus...ramus The analysis just offered suggests that even V.'s most learned readers will have viewed these words as beyond a mystery or challenge; rather, an invention founded upon a mixed, suggestive, even frustrating range of passing hints and elliptical clues. 'Golden' in the sense not so much of 'gold-coloured' (though that, necessarily, it is), but rather (**208**) 'made of gold'. The adj. is, and is not, in enallage (vd. Ladewig): the bough is golden, but the leaves and branches/shoots are golden too (*aureo* of course not normally available). The abls. comparable to (e.g.) *G.*2.241 *spisso uimine qualos*, *Aen.*1.164 *siluis scaena coruscis*, Bell, 328, Antoine, 188f., Sidgwick, 2, 492, s.v. 'material', Görler, *EV* 2, 268 and my n. on 7.30 *fluuiio Tiberinus amoeno* (= *Tiberis, fluuius amoenus*).

et foliis Cf. **144 simili frondescit uirga metallo**, and **206**, **208**. The **brattea** of **209** refers naturally to gold leaf (Blümner, *Technologie*, 4, 307f.): the leaves of rustling, tinkling, thinnest gold.

et lento uimine V. (cf. *uieo*): the pliable (young) branches/shoots of a tree, Maggiulli, *EV* 5*, 542; Serv. *flexilis*. Surprising, even challenging, here, as Maggiulli remarks, because the ilex is a tree of hard, stiff wood. Compare in particular *G.4.34 lento...uimine* (hive-making), *Aen.3.31 lentum conuellere uimen* where vd. my note. At 11.65 *uimine querno*, V. refers to young oak-shoots (vd. my n.). The exact force of the adj. is crucial to one of this book's 'classic' problems (cf. **146-8, 211**), to which a range of possible answers will be suggested, not in order of merit: see (**136-48**), D'Arms, answered by Avery, who is in turn answered by Segal (1968); also R.Thomas (1988), 267, Lee, 55-7, Pinotti, *EV*, 3, 175f..

(1) The problem is set, we must realise, in a natural paradox, or wonder (in such terms many wrote of the mistletoe in antiquity, Norden, p.165, (b)), even in a sort of material *adynaton*: the GB is a bough, yet it is clearly and explicitly made of gold (bough as a whole, leaves, shoots); still, it bends (**lento uimine**) and resists (**cunctantem**, perhaps), though golden, like a natural bough (cf. Segal, *EV* 4, 396); perhaps V. has also in mind the easy ductility of heated gold (cf. 10.138, Plin.*Nat.* 33.98, Blümner, *Technologie*, 4, 302ff.) or indeed gold leaf. The adj. is often used of branches, withies, shoots, and the like, Collassero, *TLL* 7.2. 1162.58, and n. on 3.31, with the detailed evidence; also used, we might remember, of metal, *G.4.170* (in-gots), *Aen.7.634* (silver). Such green, thin, whippy, pliant wood is cut easily enough, but broken or snapped only with difficulty, at least in the real natural world. The Sibyl offers unhelpful instructions: apparently it has been *auulsus* (**143**) before, but it may be plucked (**146, carpe manu**; cf. Malory's 'lightly and fierly pulled it out of the stone', of King Arthur and the sword, p.8.27f. Vinaver₂); a metal edge will not answer (**148 duro... conuellere ferro**; so 3.31, cited above), and no more will brute force (**147f. aliter non uiribus ullis/ uincere**), and in the event, *Aen. corripit... re-fringit* (**210**) the bough. Some of these details require fuller examination:

(2) **143 auulso** Cf. **148 conuellere**. Vd. Avery, 270f., Segal (1968), 74f.. Language to be understood in combination with Charon's complaints at **392f.** about Heracles and Theseus (with Pirithous) as passengers, and recognition at **408f.** of the **uenerabile donum/ fatalis uirgae longo post tempore uisum**. The Sibyl knows (**143**) what happens when a GB is torn off (we shall see that V. uses several verbs suggesting violent action), and it has therefore happened in her experience: after the Sibyl's explanation of the procedure travellers to the Underworld must follow, and Charon's reaction to *Aen.*'s GB, we can hardly suppose that Charon's earlier 'anomalous' passengers did not carry Golden Boughs; what concerns Charon is not *Aen.*'s authorisation (he does not, after all, mention the GB) but that *Aen.* is not about to make the sort of trouble experienced from previous temporary visitors. He is warned by the Sibyl that *Aen.* is only going to see his

father and the sight of the GB confirms to him that Aen.'s voyage is destined. Segal's suggestion, (1968), 75, that there were previous failed attempts to remove the GB is unhappy, for it introduces a new element, quite absent from V.'s narrative, into the argument.

(3) **146 carpe manu** Segal (1968), 75f. is quite right to protest, against Avery, 271, that **manu** has nothing to do, one way or another, with the **ne duro poteris conuellere ferro** of **148**. In V.'s usage, *manu* very rarely indicates precisely 'using your hand or hands', as against using a tool or instrument; here, then, 'pluck with energy', *vel sim.* If Aen. is *not* the man of destiny, no use of brute strength will avail him, nor (even) an axe or knife.

(4) **146 uolens facilisque** D'Arms, 266 and Segal (1968), 77 rightly see in V.'s phrasing a hint that the GB is in some sense animate, endowed with a life of its own. Lee, 56f. writes 'talismans in quest legends *will* of their own accord who is to find them' (cf. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan horses*, 101 and for the active goodwill necessary in tutelary statues, cf. too A.Graf, *Roma...nel medio Evo* (Torino 1915), 155f., n.36). That is comparable to but a good deal more than V.'s familiar but under-studied use of the pathetic fallacy and related attribution of emotions to natural objects, nn. on 7.722, 759, G.2.500f. *quos rami fructus, quos ipsa uolentia rural sponte tulere sua*.

(5) **210 auuidus** Just Malory's 'fiersly'. As Serv. noted, Aen.'s excitement in tension with the resistance of the GB, as an alternative to the natural resistance offered by the gold. This vigour conveyed too by the choice of verbs used of Aen. (**148, 210**); the GB's *cunctatio* perhaps in some measure a counterpart to the hero's haste.

(6) **211 cunctantem** Used on a number of critical occasions in *Aen.* (Putnam, *VA*, 156, Lee, 56f.), though I am not about to invoke significant repetition here. Not quite ready to yield? Not quite ready to succumb to Aen.'s eagerness? Slightly too strong to yield to Aen.'s first tug? One or more of these explanations must, perhaps surprisingly, work, for as I suggest at the end of this discussion, the Sibyl's warning, **147f. si te fata uocant; aliter non uiribus ullis...** does not in practice apply to Aen.'s attempt, for the GB *does* come away and serves successfully as a talisman in Aen.'s quest for his father.

(7) Jan Bremmer (*RMM*, 105-11 at 110f.; first in (ed.) M.J.Vermaseren, *Studies in Hellenistic religions* (Leiden 1979), 9-22; absent from Segal's 1988 survey in *EV*) has attempted an entirely new approach, which has not been answered (nor indeed has my cautious restatement of B.'s point, *Alambicco*, 27). Bremmer compared the delay offered by the GB to the grounding in the Tiber of the ship carrying the image of Cybele to Rome in 204 (Ov.*F.*4.303), as indeed to the grounding of the raft carrying a statue of

Heracles to Erythrae (Paus.7.5.5). Not to mention 7.620 *morantis*, the reluctance manifested by the Gates of War, in the face of Juno's opening thrust. The delay here heightens the drama of the critical moment, in the context of resistance and delay encountered in rites of passage.

(8) Those few (and for the contrary view of the GB, cf. Segal (1965), 633, (1968), 78f., Putnam, *VA*, 15, 44, Brooks, 273f., Dyson (148), 41, with n.22) who still anxiously suspect that Aen. may after all be the 'man of destiny', founder of Lavinium, the *gens Iulia*, etc. will recall with satisfaction that Aen. clearly plucked, in no impious manner, the right GB, the **fatalis uirga** indeed, and was meant to do so: he was led to it by Venus' birds, and both the Sibyl (211, 406) and Charon accepted it (406); Aen. was himself able to return to the upper world. That seems a sufficient reply to the Sibyl's condition, expressed to Aen., **147 si te fata uocant**, and does seem to suggest that the delay in the GB's yielding was not in the end a fatal flaw, or challenge, to Aen.'s 'divine right'. If Aen. was in some modest sense 'a man of destiny', that does not mean that Destiny always rushed to anticipate the hero's wishes and the place of **cunctantem** on Aen.'s charge-sheet proves in the end not to be unchallengeable; cf. my nn. on 3.32, 37 for a comparable approach to Aen.'s actions at Polydorus' tomb.

138 Iunoni infernae Lofty periphrasis for the prosodically intractable '*Proserpinae*' (though the Gk. form *Persephonae* would have answered), on whom vd. **136-48, (2)(g)**. Cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1371.49 and 45ff. for similar language about Pluto (with Au.'s good n. here for Silver Latin instances and Fleischer/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1389.82ff.). Dyson (148), 42 refers to Juno's general hostility to Aen.; if that reference were in truth present (it just could be), it would help integrate Aen.'s travails in the Underworld with those elsewhere in the poem.

dictus sacer *Dicatus* Serv.: cf. his n. on 8.344, Non.p.280.18, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.978.46, 76f., *EV* 4, 629, but agreement among the grammarians is not mandatory and **d.** should here more probably (Au.) be taken as participial equivalent to *dicitur*, as at 7.411f. *locus Ardea quondam/dictus auis* (where vd. n.); cf. **107 dicitur**. This passage escaped my survey of the material; in the absence of a source for the GB, these words belong to the familiar category of 'traditional colour' applied to apparent innovations, *Alambicco*, 126-30 :: *PLLS* 6 (1990), 55-8.

hunc tegit The pronominal element of an ekphrastic structure, n. on **136 latet**. The GB is hidden in a great forest; for **t.**, in the sense of 'cover', 'hide', *EV* 5*, 71, quoting e.g. *Buc.*7.46, *G.*3.558, *OLD* s.v., §6a. The line closes with monosyll. followed by a pair of disyllables. About once in a hundred verses, but (*tacet* Au.) **hunc** (though not of course proclitic) is taken closely with **tegit**, which almost restores the familiar coincidence of

ictus and accent: cf. Norden, pp.446-8, summarised by Au. here, Au. on 1.199, Winbolt, 137ff.

omnis/ 139 lucus Cf. *nemus omne*, *Buc.*6.11, 7.59, *G.*2.429, *Aen.*12.722, with 5.149, 7.514f., 8.215f., 305, *EV* 3, 844-6; sixth-foot **o**. with run-on noun very common. See *SC*, (7)(c) for the topography of this wood/forest; V.'s apparent synonyms for 'wood/forest' (cf. too *silua*, *nemus*) not discussed by *EV*, nor by *TLL* s.v. *lucus*.

et obscuris...conuallibus The eyes of *Aen.*, and the reader, are directed discreetly to the 'valleys' (*SC*, (16)) below the citadel of Cumae. Gudeman, *TLL* 4.813.55, Kuhlmann, *ib.*, 9.2.168.54f., comparing 9.244 *obscuris...sub uallibus* (cf. *EV* 3, 806). For **c.**, vd. 679. The abl. perhaps local but more probably of agent with **claudunt**.

claudunt...umbrae Cf. 1.311 *arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris*, repeated at 3.230 (where vd. n. for its necessary deletion), Hey, *TLL* 3.1302.81f. and Angela Maria Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 378 (*bene*) on the place of *umbrae* in the Virgilian *locus horridus*. It is the valleys that naturally create the shadows which hide the tree; V., though, arrestingly attributes that action to the shadows, demoting the valleys to the abl..

140 sed non Cf. 3.255f. *sed non ante.../quam*.

ante.../ 141 ...quam Cf. n. on 3, *cit.*

datur Cf. nn. on 3.7, 7.313.

telluris operta For the idiom (substantivised adj. - here, in fact, partic. - with dependent partitive gen.), cf. n. on 11.319. Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.689.36. **T.**: cf. 1.358, *OLD* s.v., §3b ('the earth...as that under which things are buried or hidden'). For rare wd.-end at both 4tr. and 5tr., vd. Au..

subire 'Pass down into', *vel sim.*, *OLD* s.v., §1a, 1.171, 3.83, *Liv.* 5.55.5, *EV* 2, 323.

141 auricomos...fetus The adj. a Virgilian coinage (Cordier, 59; missing, 144), after Gk. χρυσόκομας/ -ης, common as epithet of Apollo (Tyrt., Pind., Eur.): Bruchmann, *Epitheta deorum*, 35. *Lucr.*6.152 has *lauricomos...montes*. Cf. Gradenwitz, *Laterculi*, 505, *EV* 1, 864 (Colonna; interesting collection of material on compounds; cf. too Norden's fine note, though his claim that the formation is likely to be Ennian after Eur. is not persuasive). The underlying metaphor of this wondrously compressed 'gold-foliaged' is of course the ancient one of foliage as hair, from *Od.*, *LSJ* s.v. κόμη. **F.**: *TLL* 6.1.639.16 (Leonhardi); cf. 207 and common in *G.* of plant growth (1.55, 2.56, etc.); 'il ramo giovane', *EV* 2, 507, n. on 7.60.

quis...decerperit arbore The verb (fut. perf.; Handford, *Lat. Subjunc.*, 161-4, Woodcock, 184f.) Lucretian (1.928, 4.3); *TLL* 5.1.158.16f. (Simbeck). **M** has **qui**: **quis** one might have expected more conventionally (Au.) in the form *cui datur* in 140; here displaced into the temporal clause,

it is mildly arresting to those few who notice that there is anything odd. **Qui** is perhaps *difficilior* and used to prove irresistible to editors, employed, that is, after the manner of *si quis*, Gk. ὅστις, LHS, 554, KS 2, 282f. (vd. e.g. Ladewig, Page); however, here most likely to be a scribal lapse.

142 hoc Markedly deictic.

sibi...ferri Cf. 4.218, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.542.4ff.; cf. the very common *dona ferre*.

pulchra...Proserpina See (136-48), (2)(g).

suum...munus Of an offering to the gods, common, 637 (of the GB), 3.177, 4.217, Citroni, *EV* 3, 620. Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1666.56f.. The concentration **sibi...suum** is singular: only here thus in V., but with *tu[us]...tibi* much commoner (*G*.1.17, 4.354, 498, *Aen*.1.257f., 9.626 *ipse tibi ad tua templa feram* and in the first person likewise, 3.489 (with n.), Wills, 241f.). No., p.171 shows that the conventional phrasing in Gk. is closely similar (as e.g. in the secular oracle, Phleg.*mirab.* p.40, v.33f.Stramaglia).

143 instituit ‘Laid down’, *OLD* s.v., §2a, with acc. and inf. as at Vell.2.3.6 (*ut*+subj., Liv.4.4.3); contrast ‘taught’ at *G*.1.147f. *prima Ceres ferro mortalis uertere terram/ instituit* (after Lucr.5.15; vd. Mynors, Thomas), *Buc*.2.32f., 5.30; unnecessary hesitation at Kröner/Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1989.33f.. *Tacet EV*.

primo auulso The vigorous language present also at **148 conuellere** (there applied, however, to some metal tool); the GB has been pulled away before, (137), (2). Avery, 270f. collects evidence (cf. Ihm, *TLL* 2.1306.1ff. and Priam’s head, 2.558) for the substantial degree of force normally implied by *auellere*, to which Segal objects (1968), 74f that if *Aen.* really is divinely chosen, then in *his* case at least, the GB should come away easily. I take a large round of relatively green hardwood, place it on the block and grasp the maul; it will, I know, split easily, *uolens facilisque*, indeed (an unflinching satisfaction to the splitter), but to ensure that result I must put (very) considerable force into the accurate blow, to overcome the inevitable natural resistance of the wood. *Aen.* must work hard to attain easy results, all the time: others too have suspected that for those not divinely chosen, no degree of force will sever it from the tree; for *Aen.* a proper degree of effort is inevitably required. For the sequence **primo...alter**, cf. Lucr.4.275ff., *Ov.F*.4.25ff., Hey, *TLL* 1.1744.38. Such regeneration, from root or branch, is common enough in the natural world (cf. Lucr.5.833; not, however, in all trees, *G*.2.17); cf. further Mynors, Thomas on *G*.1.127f., 2.10f. for spontaneous generation. Elsewhere (renewal of wine in a cup, for example, *Ov.Met*.8.679f., *F*.5.511ff., *Sil*.7.187f., *Call.Hec.* ed. Hollis, p.348), as clearly here in the case of a *golden* bough, regeneration is evidently

miraculous. Strangely, not even La Cerda and Norden are interested by this theme.

non deficit alter/ 144 aureus Neat litotes; cf. *Cic.Rep.*6.26, *Juv.*3.311. The enjambement in splendid harmony with the sense: the adj. spills over (Au.'s expression) as the next GB emerges and 1D **aureus** takes up that of 137, with some sense of vigorous growth.

et simili...metallo Similis another oversight of M; cf. 141 **qui. 144** a variation on the theme of 143-4, noted by Henry, along with theme and var. at 138-9. *TLL* 8.874. 13f. (Brandt); s. perhaps used because a great deal more convenient than *eodem* or *parsi* would have been.

frondescit uirga Cf. 208f. **talīs erat species auri frondentis opaca/ilice**. The succulent phrasing duly praised by both *Macr.* 6.6.8 *pulchre usurpauit...quam bene usus est 'f.m'*. and *Serv. honeste locutus est* (not standard phrasing; vd. on *Buc.* 5.90, *Aen.*5.179). The case against attributing *trag.* 151 (ed. *Vahlen*₂=*trag.inc.* 133 *Ribb.*₂) *arbores frondescere* to *Enn.* was made by *Jocelyn*, p.285, with which cf. *Stabryła*, 31 (both ignored by Au.), though this use of *frondescere* seems at least to be tragic (if post-Ennian); *Lucr.*1.1092 is not challenged, so clearly the word was felt to be old, but *Cordier*, 112, etc. should not simply have recorded it as 'Lucretian'. **Virga** used again of GB at 409; *EV* 5*, 558 havers unhelpfully between 'virgulto' ('bush'), which is clearly wrong, and 'ramoscello' ('twig'), which is too small.

145 ergo The discovery of the GB emerges as an inescapable precondition.

alte uestiga oculis For common pleonastic o., cf. n. on 2.68. The advb. ignored by the thoughtful *EV* entry on *altus*; cf. rather von *Mess*, *TLL* 1.1783.55-7 for a. with verbs of seeing (e.g. *Cic.Rep.*6.25 *alte spectare si uoles*, *TD.*1.82). High in the trees? Deep into the forest? We have no idea. The vb. *sexies* in *Aen.* (not before bk.6); *Ennian* (n. on 7.132). *EV.* 5*, 520.

et...repertum See next n..

rite 'rite carpe' *Serv.*, *Heyne*; *id est cum obseruatione* *Serv.Dan.* 'with due respect' (cf. *Lumpe/Szantyr*, *TLL* 9.2.196.80ff.) for the instructions given (a single effort; the GB Proserpina's, but the reader is hardly invited to dwell upon such detail). *EV* 4, 511, n. on 7.93. A moment's thought detaches **rite** from **repertum**, *pace* (e.g.) Au., *Bell*, 293f., *EV* 4, 441, and despite the alliteration ('both finding and plucking must be done in due solemnity'. Au.) not only rings improbably but does not square with the agreeable accident of the GB's actual discovery. One learns often to take advb. with both partic. and vb. in such cases, but clearly sometimes that is best not done.

146 carpe manu Cf. 12.412, *Bannier*, *TLL* 3.492.17f.. For the elusive **manu**, see further (137), (3): m. can indicate both 'by hand' (with use of

tools clearly implied) and more generally (and much more often) ‘with effort’. Cf. Heuzé, 21f.

namque Cf. Hand, 4, 1-3 (not clearly distinguishable from *nam*).

ipse uolens facillisque I. ‘of its own accord’; for this sense of *sponte*, cf. Wagner, *QV* xviii, §2m), and for the combination with words designating ‘will’, note Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.336.68ff. (in particular, cf. Sall.*Jug.*76.6 *poenas...ipsi uolentes pependere*). **F.:** *TLL* 6.1.60.78f. (Banner), *EV* 2, 454. The adjs. not thus paired elsewhere; cf. *EV* 5*, 615; cf. (137), (4) for the implications of **uolens**.

sequetur Cf. *OLD* s.v., §8a ‘to follow or yield to the movement of (a person or thing exerting a force)’, citing e.g. *G.*2.52.

147 si te fata uocant Zurli's useful discussion (*EV* 5*, 636) compares 11.96f. (where vd. my n.), 5.23 (of *Fortuna*), 10.471f. (where see Harrison for the Hom. antecedents; add Pfeiffer on Call.fr.350) and *G.*4.495f.. See too Pötscher, 46f., Pomathios, 335, Bailey, 216f. (‘general conception of a destiny which rules the world and shapes its events’); compare too Williams on 5.656 *fatisque uocantia regna*.

aliter Neat and economical; cf. *dis aliter uisum* and many formulae connecting simile and narrative. Surprisingly, absent from the articulation of Lucretian argument.

non uiribus ullis Cf. 12.782 *uiribus haud ullis*, when Aen. is unable, before Venus' intervention, to pull Turnus' spear out of the tree-stump, in some sense a thematically related passage; see now Tarrant's n. on 12, *cit.*.

148 uincere Cf. *G.*3. 560, *EV* 5*, 545f.; ‘to get the best of’.

nec...poteris conuellere See (137), (2); Wulff, *TLL* 4.818.39f., s.v. ‘de-fringere’, Cat.62.40 *nullo conuulsus aratro*, *Aen.*3.24, 31 *lentum conuellere uimen*, 12.774 *uoluitque manu conuellere ferrum*, *EV* 5*, 474.

duro...ferro Cf. Lucr.2.449, Hor.*C.*3.11.31f., Tib.1.1.63, Ov.*Am.*1.11.9, Met.1.127, 3.83, *F.*4.923, *Pont.*4.12.31 with Varr.*RR.*2.9.15, Sen.*const. sap.* 10.4 *duritia ferri*.

Misenus

(1) Figure and episode.

(a) Structural and thematic antecedents: Homer, AR and Naevius.

The burial of Mis. is indebted particularly to that of Patroclus, *Il.*23.108-257 (with 18.343-55, Knauer, 136); cf. 184, 233). That is by no means all: the tripartite Homeric Elpenor (*Od.*10.552-60, 11.51-83, 12.8-15, Knauer, 135ff., *id.*, *GRBS* 5 (1964), 66, 69, Clark, *Catabasis*, 153f.) is reworked into the *tripartition* of Palinurus, Misenus, and Caieta, with some help from another Trojan nurse, Naevius' Prochyta (Mariotti, 40-7, Horsfall (1999); cf. too Barchiesi, *Nevio epico*, 220f., n.1096). Not to mention the

majestic motto-reference of **149 iacet**, to *Il.*22.386, *infra*. Though Misenus is present on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (which flaunts unlikely indebtedness to Stesichorus), that is far likelier to be Virgilian influence on the relief than Stesichorean detail present in the text of Virgil: Horsfall (1979) 39f., *et passim, id., Aen.*2, p.589. Jackson's pre-Virgilian dating (543; cf. Sbordone, *Itin.*, 129) of the *TIC* is a lapse he could easily have avoided, though we agree that V.'s Mis. could not derive from Stes.. For Apollonius' contribution, cf. n. on **233** for his Idmon.

(b) The antiquarian/historical tradition. At **233**, Aen. sets **remumque tubamque** on Mis.' funeral mound; already, briefly, at 3.238f. (vd. n.) a trumpeter (for Palinurus is Aen.'s steersman), while on the *TIC*, though Mis.' burden is not clearly identifiable, it is more probably a trumpet (Horsfall (1979), 39, n.89; cf. Clark, *Catabasis*, 153). The antecedent tradition is complex, though not even R.Ritter's 1901 Halle dissertation (*De Varrone Vergilii...auctore*) makes any sort of case for Varro having studied, let alone surveyed and sorted, the mythol. links of the Campanian coast in any detail; Norden, 179 overly optimistic. At Strab.1.2.18, M. is a companion not of Aen., but of Od., and it is not as clear as it once was (*ib.*, 39, n.95) that Strab.'s source was Tim. (Lyc.737 not pertinent; the reference geographical, not mythological though clearly an *aition* might have been present in Lyc.'s source), let alone Plb. (Clark (1977), 68, n.19). A follower of Aen., but not a specified specialist, DH 1.53.3. *OGR* 9.6 refers to Mis. as Aen.'s trumpeter, but cites the *Quaest.Pontif.* of L.Iulius Caesar for Mis. as a steersman: see Frier, *Libri annales*₂, 51f.; Cameron, *Greek mythogr.*, 328-34 unsettles recent overconfidence in the *OGR*'s references, but without reference to this passage. Cf. Jackson, 543, E.Paratore, *ACCF*, 34, Perret, J.Schmidt, Stoll.

(c) Fault and death of Mis.. Wine brought Elpenor to the grave (*Od.*10.555, 11.61; cf. nn. on 2.253, 565); Palinurus was overcome by sleep while at the helm (5.838ff.; contrast the fault-free **338-9**); Misenus challenged the gods to a contest of trumpeting (**172-4**), a common motif of mythological narrative (vd. Au.'s good n., Bömer on *Ov.Met.*6, p.93, Jackson, 543, Norden, p.180). Not therefore unprovoked divine *phthonos*, but in some sense a punishment for an act of bravado, if not impiety. The **indigna** of **163** is the comment offered by Virgilian sympathy upon the 'disproportionate' severity of the punishment. See further n. on 172.

(d) Topographical complications; associations of Cape Misenus and surroundings. Cf. Clark (1977), McKay (1984), 130-3, Della Corte, 107-10, Corsen (*SC*), 8, Jackson, 543, L.S.Hitchcock, *CJ* 28 (1933), 505-14; Rehm's admirable study of V.'s geography of Italy disdains these issues altogether; Reeker, 132-8 more forthcoming. See further, *infra*. It is difficult to read the opening of *Aen.*6 except on the assumption that V. thinks of

the Trojans as landing somewhere on the coast directly below the citadel of Cumae. Legendary toponymy fixes the death and burial of Misenus firmly at/very near Capo Miseno. It is not helpful at this point to reach for the map and work out how far it *really* is from the acropolis of Cumae to Cape Misenus, or how far Aen. and Achates have to walk on a literal (or litoral), modern, cartographic reading of the action in the first third of *Aen.*6. Some ingenuity has been lavished on the resolution of these problems. but the narrative has two poles, not one, and, as the *columba* flies, they are five miles apart; McKay's 11 km seems to be the distance by road. The majestic narrative of Aen.'s preparations for his descent to the Underworld can hardly be tinged with farce, and implicit perspiration. The poet superimposes in some way the E. (Cumae) and W. (Misenum) shores of the Misenum promontory; the tip is surmounted by a mound-shaped hill. The Trojans do seem to land below the hill of Cumae and apparently it is near that landing-place that Aen. finds Misenus' corpse on returning to the shore. Miss Tilly (*Gnom.*47 (1975), 363) well referred to V.'s 'habit of telescoping, even ignoring distances'; cf. Au. on 6.13, n. on 3.557, McKay (1984), 131, Nelis, 242, n.68, Hitchcock, 511. There is no Muse of Cartography. The notion that V. simply disdained such considerations is confirmed by the other latent problem, the distance from Cape Misenum, or the Roman harbour of Misenum, to the crater of Avernus, or wherever exactly Aen. found the Bough: just under five miles, in a straight line, and a good deal further on the ground. From Cumae to Avernus is hardly over a mile; if Misenum has strayed poetically to the shore below Cumae, there is no problem at all. Direct knowledge of the terrain seems to be a real impediment to understanding the text here; Servius does not record the complaints of villa-owners shocked by the poet's ignorance of the site of their villas. The death of Marcellus at Baiae is unlikely to be relevant here (*pace* Clark (1977), 69); his funeral was Roman, in life and in the *Aen.*; cf. **854-86**.

(2) Organisation of the Sibyl- and Misenus-narratives.

See Büchner, 362.50-363.28, d'Arms (**136-48**), 266, Heinze, 355f., Hinds, *infra*, Jackson, *infra*, Otis, 287f., Quinn, 164f., Segal (**136-48**, 1968), 77, *id.*, *EV* 4, 396f., Weber (**136-48**), 27-30, Williams, *TI*, 79.

The narratives of the burial of Mis. and of the search for the GB are elaborately interlaced (Otis, Williams); at the outset, they are adjacent in the Sibyl's speech (**140-8** and **149-52**) and the end of Aen.'s quest for the GB will be most elegantly presented as the outcome of prayer and divine intervention (**187-9** and **193 maternas**) in the course of collecting wood for the funeral; G.W. Williams does well to compare the interlaced narratives of Sinon and Laocoon (see on 2.40-56, §2). The death of Mis. is both a tragedy and in some sense a consolation (**188-9**), for the accuracy of the Sibyl's prediction that Aen. will find one of his companions dead, as is

immediately verified, proves to Aen. that the remainder of her prediction is likely to be similarly fulfilled, and Aen. does indeed find the GB in the immediate future. Clearly Palinurus could not have been meant (*pace* Heyne); as Au. remarks, Aen. has lost a comrade *unexpectedly*, as the Sibyl specifies (**150 heu nescis**) and we are no longer anywhere near the spot forever linked with Pal. (cf. Heinze, *VeT*, 366, n.15). It will emerge that I have no sympathy with Büchner's view of the role of Mis. in the narrative as essentially retardatory; he is there to make a major point, and we do (roughly) understand what that point is. That it is the *burial* of Mis., not his *death*, that carries the narrative forward (Quinn) seems of no significance.

Some recent discussion has focused upon the detail of the religious acts prescribed and performed (Dyson, Thomas, 268): (a) the whole funeral more than what the Sibyl prescribed (**152**; Thomas, 267f.); (b) Aen. finds the GB before (**ante**, **152**) he buries Mis. (ib., 268, n.19, Dyson, 40); (c) the **prima piacula** of **153** are reduced to a single sheep and at the wrong point; (d) naturally the GB resists, for Aen. disobeys the ritual detail of his orders (Dyson, 41). We have been here before (*Aen.3*, pp. 60f., 70, *Aen.11*, pp. 96-8); the case against Aen. as brutal, violent and sacrilegious seems a good deal weaker than some of his recent critics have supposed, and here (for detailed discussion vd. *infra*), mildly encouraged by the silence of those late-antique critics, who are sometimes roused to frenzy by ritual minutiae, we should remember that it is by no means established, and certain (cf. e.g. *Aen.3*, xxxii-xxxiii, indices to *Aen.2*, 3, 7 s.v. inconsistencies; *Aen.11*, pp.473-5), that these very minor narrative discrepancies mattered a scrap to the poet. Likewise, after forty years of (I hope) increasingly wary work on such religious detail in *Aen.* (vd. *Alambicco*, 43, 115, 148f.), it becomes ever less clear to me that the minor particulars of ritual acts mattered nearly as much to V. as they did to Serv. and Macr. (not to mention those critics just cited). To return to the detail:

(a) Cf. **152 sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulchro**. Thomas, *cit.* objects that Aen. does more. Indeed Otto Skutsch, Ennius, p.341 remarked 'the enormous preparations for the funeral of one man are astonishing' (cited with approval, Thomas, Weber, 28, Hinds, 12). But V. wisely concentrates ritualised grief into the funerals of Mis. and Pallas, to avoid tedium and delay; the rites for Mis. are clearly to be understood as honouring all the casualties of the journey (*infra*), and they may also (*infra*) formalise a sense that Mis. dies to ensue his commander's safe return; To reduce V.'s Mis. to an *aition* of the Cape, here inflated out of proportion (so e.g. Delaunoy, Guillemain; cf. Della Corte, 107, Paratore on 149), is quite to misunderstand the virtues of V.'s economy. In such altered circumstances, some elaboration of the rites to be expected and the grand artistry of V.'s

description (vd. E.A.Schmidt) is deployed once only in all its magnificence; so too the funeral of Pallas.

(b) and (c) will be discussed *ad loc.*.

(d) does not impress, for Aen. does *not* significantly disobey his orders, while the GB comes away slowly (137, 211); Aen. is a strong man but cannot simply snap gold like a dry twig. Aen. is not home to cheap and improbable feats of heroic super-strength, little suited to a serious Augustan hero.

(3) Aetiological associations deriving from the Aen.-legend are very numerous and have been examined with some care (Horsfall, *RMM*, 13; Pfister, 1, 156ff.); there is a particularly dense concentration round the Bay of Naples (*ORVA*, 468f., *SCI* 18, *cit.*, n. on 7.1-4); typically, V. selects and concentrates on Mis., Palinurus (cf. Jackson, 542) and Caieta; Palinurus' burial is explicitly postponed to later generations (378-81), while clearly of Mis., as of Pal., it could be said *unum pro multis dabitur caput*. Whether one could *prove* that Mis. is *also* a sort of living sacrifice made to ensure Aen.'s safe return from the Underworld is likely, not certain (cf. H.Cancik, *AU* 23 (1980), 55, Segal, *EV* 4, 396f., Weber, 27f., Brooks, (136-48), 276, Otis, 288 and vd. Paratore on 153). V. protests at Mis.' underserved end (162 **indigna morte**) but that does not align Mis. (*pace* Jackson, *cit.*) with V.'s many young heroes who die *ante diem*.

Bibliography: R.J.Clark, *TAPA* 107 (1977) 63-71, *id.*, *Catabasis*, 152f., Della Corte, 107-9, J.Dyson, *King of the Wood* (Norman, Okl. 2001), 39-41, S.Hinds, *Allusion and intertext* (Cambridge 1998), 12-4, J.Hubaux, *Ant.class.* 2 (1933), 135-64, G.Jackson, E.Greco, *EV* 3, 541-6, A.G.McKay, *GR* 14 (1967), 6-8, *id.*, in *Mnema...* K.K.Hulley (Chico, Cal. 1984), 130-3, Maiuri, 92-9, S.Mariotti, *Il Bellum Poenicum e l'arte di Nevio* (Roma 1955), 42, T.E.V.Pearce, *Lat.* 42 (1983), 112, J.Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris 1942), 84-9, 109ff., F.Pfister, *Reliquienkult* (*RVV* 5, Giessen 1909), 140, 147, 158, E.A.Schmidt, *Hyperboreus* 3 (1997), 57-81 (*bene*), J.Schmidt, *PW* 15.2041.58-2043.47, Skutsch, Ennius, p.341, Stoll, *Ro.* 2.3026.48-3027.29, R.Thomas, *TAPA* 118 (1988), 267f., my nn. on 3.238, 7.1-4, and *SCI* 18 (1999), 45f., *JHS* 99 (1979), 39f., with n.89.

149 praeterea Tragic and common in Lucr.; n. on 7.71.

iacet...tibi Very clearly the κείται of *Il.* 22.386 (Patroclus), signalling the importance that that passage will prove to have; κείται so used elsewhere, too, but not of comparable importance to V. here. See Salemme, *EV* 2, 875, Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.16.49f., comparing Lucr. 4.923, 6.1254. The dat. 'ethic', 'marks the speaker's involvement with the feelings of the person addressed' Au.; Antoine, 100-2, Sidgwick, 2, 491, Bo, indices to Hor., 213; dat. 'sympatheticus', LHS, 93.

exanimus...corpus Cf. 1.484; a much-favoured adj., heteroclite as required (for *-e* would not answer here). *Quater* in Lucr. (thrice indeed of *corpus*, 1.774, 3.714, 6.705), and also Liv.1. See *EV* 2, 445f., Burckhardt, *TLL* 5.2.1173.14.

amici For *comites, socii*, cf. n. on 3.613. **A.** of Aen.'s friends Salius, 5.350, Nautes, 5.719, Deiphobus **6.507, 509**. No clear differentiation between the three categories (Mis. a *socius* at **161**) and *a./amo* one of the *EV*'s more reprehensible omissions.

150 heu nescis The Sibyl offers parenthetical comment, showing an unexpected flicker of sympathy for Aen. (Au.'s 'an aside' rather less than the context requires), who does not yet know one of his friends is dead: when he learns the news, he still does not know (**161**) who is meant, in a situation rich in tragic irony. Compare 4.541 (Dido of herself) *nescis, heu, perdita*.

totamque...classem Not just his shipmates, but Aeneas, Achates, and the entire fleet: only here in *Aen.*

incestat funere *Polluit* Serv., Non.p.461.22; also TCD 1.45.20, 23 on Oilean Ajax, O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.892.78ff.; the vb. already in Plaut.. **F.** common in *V.* as, simply, 'death'; Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1604.52ff., Paolo Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 600 (*bene*), comparing e.g. 2.539, 4.308, **6.429**. Vollmer, though (*ib.*, 1.605.41), cites this verse s.v. '*cadaver, corpus mortuum*', another common sense (strangely, thus too No., Au.), but one tautologous and unwelcome so soon after **corpus** in **149**, the subject of the sentence. Cf. the same alternatives, n. on 2.539. *Mors, corpus, funus* (introduced by analogy with *mors*, No.) used to avoid the low *cadauer* for 'body', Axelson, 49, Norden here, noting the exception, 8.264 (Cacus' monstrous remains). Jackson, *EV* 3, 543 is deplorably confused. For the pollution inherent in an unburied corpse at Rome, cf. full n. on 3.62.

151 dum consulta petis Cf. *Tac.Hist.*4.65 *consulta responsaque*, Burger, *TLL* 4.588.83; for the vb., cf. 7.86 *in dubiis responsa petunt* (*p.* the standard term, *Cic.Div.*1.88, 95, Dubielzig, *TLL* 10.1.1949.71f.).

nostroque in limine Cf. **45, 115**; the entrance to her cave; cf. R.J.Clark, *Lat.*36 (1977), 482-95. Cf. *SC*, (**9**)(g).

pendes As Reineke explains '[*pend*] -ent homines, qui cunctantes vel expectantes alicubi morantur nec discedunt', *TLL* 10.1.1033.41f.; nothing clearly similar until *Stat.Theb.*3.611. *Hic totus intentus es* TCD, while Serv. claims for *pendere* the sense *desiderare aliquid audire*. *EV* 4, 16.

152 sedibus...suis Theme and variation: the *sedes* defined as the *sepulchrum*. For this sense of 'resting-place', cf. n. on 7.3 (not simply 'tomba', *pace* Spallone, *EV* 4, 750).

hunc refer ante 'Bear to his due place': cf. n. on 7.134. Thomas, 268 and Dyson, 40 object that Aen. has been told to bury Misenus *before* he

seeks out the GB and will be at fault for not having done so. Or did V., not having mentioned the GB for four verses, now mean 'before you venture to enter the Underworld' (so explicitly, very soon, at **154f.**)? More to the point, had Aen. ignored Venus' doves and delayed the garnering of the GB, might he not have lost it for good, having offended both his mother and Proserpina? Does Aen. not pass through the Underworld entirely unharmed? Does that not suggest that he has not offended the gods by his entrance and passage? Thomas' and Dyson's cavil seems untimely and unhelpful.

et conde sepulcro Cf. 3.67f. *animamque sepulchro/ condimus* (where vd. n.; Enn. and standard Latin).

153 duc Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2143.78; not a technical verb of leading animals to sacrifice, but standard for leading animals anywhere: *G.2.395*, 4.551 indeed sacrificial (as Lucil.1145, *Ov.Am.3.13.13*), but 5.385, 7.276, 8.552 of prizes, gifts, and cf. 10.858 (battlefield), *Buc.1.12f.* of bucolic goat-herding.

nigras pecudes Anch. had told Aen. that the Sibyl would bring him to the Underworld *nigrarum multo pecudum...sanguine* (5.735f.; Mis. perhaps not yet in V.'s plans. Cartault, 439), but in the event, Aen. sacrifices one black sheep and a barren cow (**249-51**). V. would have corrected the inconsistency (No.); Aen., typically uncaring, makes the wrong sacrifice (Dyson, 40f.). We might feel that at least the colour was right (n. on 3.120, Lehr, 79, Wissowa, *RKR*, 413, n.6, André, 338) for deities of the Underworld, though that rule is not universal and binding, Latte, 381, any more than that about the gender of victims (n. on 3.120, Lehr, *cit.*). **P.** can refer (cf. Dyson, 41, n.21) to either sheep, or cattle; *tacet EV*; Hillen, *TLL* 10.1.957.39ff., 958.20ff. herds the evidence into appropriate pens. If the Sibyl requested multiple sheep (or indeed, cows), then surely (No., Dyson) Aen. was wrong to sacrifice but one of each (and what of the four bullocks, **243-9?**). Did V. care about such trivia, and would he ever have bothered to sort them out? The one black ram sacrificed to Tiresias, *Od.10.524f.*, 11.32f. is (literary) justification enough. Cf. nn. on **94**, (**148**), (**2**)(Misenus). The large number of such small inconsistencies suggests either that the work of correction would have taken another decade and might have left us a work of sterile perfection, or that V. cared very little for exact consistency between e.g. orders and performance thereof. Long years of commenting upon narrative detail in *Aen.* have led me to favour the latter conclusion; furthermore, a divergence (see next note for a significant instance) between (relatively slack and easy) epic usage and (sometimes, perhaps, really quite precise) Roman reality may well have been sensed, and even respected.

ea prima piacula An anticipatory expiation to be made before the burial (to which they do not in practice belong: cf. Jackson, 543, after Paratore here); in the event, though, complains Dyson, 40, n.20, they were offered

after the burial. She claims that No. here interprets *prima* as meaning ‘before Aen. visits the Underworld’; that is not the case. Cf. also Corsen, 13f. For *piacula*, cf. *EV* 4, 86, Bailey, 85f., Beringer, 89f., Wissowa, 392f., W.Ehlers, PW 20.1179.56-1185.11, Wissowa in Marquardt, *StV*.3₃, 257ff., J.Toutain, DS 4.1, 454f.. Cf. **379 ossa piabunt**, where the **finitimi** shall bury Palinurus’ remains and make offerings; so here too (vd. *EV*, *cit.*, Lersch, 172f.). *Piacula*, expiatory, purgatory offerings are not normally part of funeral rites. It is, however, perfectly clear that interference with the burial of a corpse does at Rome require a *piaculum*: cf. Paul.*Sent.*1.21.4 *qui corpus perpetuae sepulturae traditum...nudauerit...piaculum committit*, ILS 8381 (*piaculo prius dato operis faciendi oue atra*), Ehlers, 1184.53f.. Here, then, the non-burial of Mis. incurs a *piaculum*, apparently to be performed **prima**, first of all, before the funeral itself, though, as we have seen, it actually takes place later, a flaw not in the event fatal to Aen.’s *Katabasis*. TCD (Marshall, 13) *sic enim incestationem factam poteris expiare*. Eitrem’s suggestion (**98**, (**3**), 95; cf. Heyne) that Aen. has to perform a *piaculum* for his imminent violation of the Underworld seems not to correspond with context or usage. Aen.’s *Katabasis* outrages not the custodians of Hell but, rather, disproportionately delicate scholarly sensibilities.

sunto Cf. nn. on 3.388 and **851 memento** for other instances of the ‘fut.imper.’ in *Aen.*, often, as here, solemn in tone.

154 sic demum Unobtrusive parataxis for ‘if you sacrifice **n.p.** you will...’ (cf. Val.Fl.4.616; cf. 2.795 for the (exceptional) phrasing, *semel* in Sen.*NQ*, *semel* VF; for *ita demum*, Hand, 2, 255 and note similar expressions, **330**, **573**, **637**.)

lucos Stygis So *lucos Silari*, *Molorchi*, etc.; cf. **13**, **118**, **564**. The gen. unfamiliar enough to have wrought mild scribal confusion.

regna inuia uiuis The Sibyl concludes with ringing paronomasia. The adj. attested only at Sall.*Hist.*1.11, 3.96C3 before V. (*quinquies*). Cf. **391**, **531** for the paradox of Aen.’s travels, alive, in the Underworld.

155 aspicias Cf. n. on 3.443.

dixit Dixit...-que (when the second verb also refers to speech/silence) only here in V. (contrast 3.312, end of speech + tears).

pressoque...ore *TLL* 10.2.1172.39f. (Pade); the expression comic in origin, Tessmer, *ib.*, 9.2.1079.4ff., Plaut.*Asin.*586, Ter.*Phorm.*986 (both with *opprimere*).

obmutuit Present in Ter. and Cic.: elevated by V. (first at 4.279); interestingly, only once in Ov.; Lebek, *TLL* 9.2.119.70f.. *Tacet EV* s.v. *mutus*. A closing formula quite without close analogies; cf. Au. for the Sibyl’s silences. Compare (Kn.) Tiresias falling silent, *Od.*11.150f..

156-182, 212-235 Burial of Misenus

The general sources of V.'s Misenus are discussed at **148** (see further **149** for burial of Patroclus) and at **212-35** I take issue with the conventional view of these verses as a faithful portrait of a traditional Rom. funeral. See Knauer, 136, 220, 394-5, Cartault, 439-44, Nelis, 240-8, 258, Bailey, 287-90, Heinze, 369, n.1, *EV* 3, 541-6 (Jackson, Greco; the former unilluminating).

156 Aeneas The hero's name as first word of a para.; hitherto, he has been politely in the Sibyl's shadow but now emerges energetically to direct his comrade's funeral. There seems to be no other instance of quite this sort of significant positioning of Aen.'s name in the poem.

maesto...uultu Cf. **862 deiecto lumina uultu**, 12.807. An expression that one expects to be formulaic; the discovery that it is not (cf. Catrein, 104 for analogies) is mildly surprising. 'The adj. sets the tone for the whole scene': n. on 11.26 *maestamque Euandri...urbem*, early in V.'s other great funeral. Note Fo's useful remarks, *EV* 3, 308f.

defixus lumina Cf. L. Ricottilli, *MD* 28 (1992), 28, Heuzé, 565-8, Lobe, 61f., Catrein, 104 (*fixing* the eyes) and my n. on 7.249f. (meditative, rather than grieving, with antecedents in Hom. and AR; cf. too 1.495, 1.561 (with Ricottilli's excellent discussion), 8.520). A downward gaze in Greek visual representations of grief, Neumann, 136 (citing also Plut.*Mor.*528E), but not a standard literary representation of sorrow (though note Serv. *defixa lumina habens, per quod tristitia mentis ostenditur*): it may be that Aen.'s grieving expression reflects his knowledge that a comrade has died (TCD *tristis nuntio uatis effectus*), while the downward gaze manifests rather, as often (*supra*), his meditation, or reflection (cf. **157f.**), upon who the victim might be (and why he might now be dead). V.'s sense might appear simple, but is not. With **defixus** + acc. of part of the body - *TLL* 5.1.341.46 (Simbeck) -, we return to easier terrain: cf. E.Courtney, *CJ* 99 (2004), 431 for a useful and lucid summary of the many discussions of 'retained accusative' (application to (e.g.) the gaze much favoured).

157 ingreditur Cf. n. on **856**. Serv. detects *compositum pro simplice*, but the compound seems here well suited to their slow and melancholy gait.

linquens antrum The simplex well-suited to V.'s bald transitions between scene and scene, 3.124, 550, **6.678**. The cave clearly the Sibyl's on the acropolis of Cumae, **42** and for Aen.'s (downhill) movements here, cf. (**148**), (**1**)(d).

caecosque.../ 158 euentus Cf. nn. on 3.200, 7.591 for V.'s common use of **c.** in the sense of 'dark, obscure'. Add Burger, *TLL* 3.45.83ff. at 3.46.28; the sense is old enough (Cic., Lucr.) and frequent. **E.** 'event, happening'

(i.e. the death of a comrade) as at the reworked 10.159f. *secumque uolutat/ euentus belli* [milit. language] *uarios* (where vd. Harrison on Aen. as the lonely, thinking hero). Cf. 5.2.1021.14 (Hey), *EV* 5*, 489.

uolutat/ 158 ...animo secum Familiar and traditional language: cf. *Buc.*9.37, *Aen.* 1.50, 4.533 (vd. Pease), **6.185**, 10, *cit.*, 12.843, *EV* 5*, 626; cf. already *Lucil.fr.*1017M, *Lucr.*3.240, *Laev.fr.*3Courtney *corde uolutat*, influenced, as **u.** often is, by Gk. ἐλίccειν (vd. Harrison). The expansion of the vb. by a local abl. (notably, the metrically handy *corde*) is similarly widespread: see e.g., outside V., *Cic.Rep.*1.28, *Liv.*40.8.6, *Sen.Ep.*24.15, and for the amply pleonastic use of *mecum*, *secum* ‘accanto lo psiconimo’, vd. Negri in detail, at 145, for **a.** as the seat of mental activities and at 306 for the pleonasms comparing **105**, 1.50, 4.533. Here perhaps doubled to lend weight to the deep, solitary character of Aen.’s meditation.

158 cui.../ 159 it comes As at **448**; a useful, metrically diverse alternative to *comitatur*, 8.466, 11.33 (with n.), 12.881; cf. n. on 3.613 for Aen.’s *comites*.

fidus Achates Cf. n. on 3.523 for Achates (add N.Moseley, *Characters and epithets* (diss. Yale 1925), 17). A.’s fidelity, loyalty, or mere reliability remains a mystery (cf. *EV* 2, 511, Pomathios, 116, Moseley): clearly a virtue appropriate to the close companion of *pious Aeneas*. **F. A.** then enjoyed a long *fortuna* as a catch-phrase (see e.g. Buchmann, *Geflügelte Worte*, Brewer, *Dict. of Phrase and Fable*, Fumagalli, *Chi l’ ha detto?*, Larousse, *Locutions Latines*) for educated writers and speakers from Mississippi to Volga; the public use of such expressions today would alas merely incur opprobrium; cf. F.Waquet, *Latin, or the empire of a sign* (Eng.tr., London 2001), 216 (significantly, s.v. ‘class’), C.Stray, *Classics transformed* (Oxford 1998), 65-8,75-80.

159 et paribus curis Already at **157f.**, Aen. is anxious to know whose death the Sibyl had indicated; now Achates shares (**paribus**; *EV* 3, 966) his leader’s concerns (Fedeli, *EV* 1, 962, Gudeman, *TLL* 4.1474.62). For the abl. ‘of means’, vd. Antoine, 197.

uestigia figit Problematic in antiquity. Alongside *irent* TCD, Serv. writes (on **157**) *ingreditur pro graditur* and (on **159**) *...aut 'figit uestigia', id est stat subito*. So too in some c.19 comms., and it is disappointing to discover readers of this passage (*EV* 5*, 520 (Deroy), *ib.*, 2, 513 (Jackson), Au., No.) who do not reveal that V.’s sense was once in doubt. A number of comparable expressions might suggest that ‘go’ (with some hint of a solemn, weighty tread) is preferable to the ‘stop’ of many comms. here: cf. Lackenbacher, *TLL* 6.1.713.65f. and compare *Cic.Sest.*13 *uestigia non pressa leuiter...sed fixa*, the prominent *Lucr.*3.3f. *inque tuis nunc/ ficta pedum pono pressis uestigia signis* and *Cic.Arat.(Phaen.) fr.*15.4 *ille tamen*

nitens grauitur uestigia ponit. That said, though, a sense of ‘stop’ is very likely for both **Aen.6.197 uestigia pressit** (meaning surely guaranteed by the next passage) and **331 constitit...et uestigia pressit** (meaning guaranteed by theme and variation), while ‘halt’ is altogether clear from the context at **389 comprime gressum**. We may be less sure than No. was of Enn.’s presence behind such language. The context here does nothing to secure the meaning of **u.f.** and only on account of the nearby presence of **197, 331** and **389** do I incline slightly towards ‘stop’, rather than ‘go’. **Venerere (163)** indicates a phase of motion, but that is not decisive for **159**. For the post-Virgilian evidence, cf. on **197**.

160 multa inter sese...serebant With **multa** as the obj. of *serere*, cf. comic and Livian *sermonem, infra*, and *fabulam* Liv.7.2.8, 38.56.8; here V. takes an old etymologising phrase, slips the noun into the abl., conserving the *fig.etym. (infra)* in a new, equally etymologising v.-end (*infra*), while coining the (slightly) novel *multa serere*. **Inter sese bis** in *G.*, *quater* in *Aen.*; the iterated form common since Plaut., Holzweissig, 581, Leumann, 461.

uario sermone Multiplici...sermone at 4.189; *uarius* used similarly at e.g. 10.97 *adsensu uario*, 11.296, 455; vd. Maselli, *EV* 5*, 443. But E.Narducci (*Maia* 35 (1983), 19f.) identified **uario sermone** not only as Ciceronian, but as deriving both from Cic.*Sen.46 ad multam noctem... uario sermone producimus* and also from a book much studied for *Aen.6*, that is, *Rep.6.10 sermonem in multam noctem produximus*; he continues, (even) less convincingly, to argue for an Ennian original. **Sermone serebant** one of the old, ‘classic’ instances of *figura etymologica* in *Aen.*: cf. O’Hara, *TN*, 167, Au., Bartalucci, *EV* 4, 794, Danesi Marioni, *ib.*, 797, Wills, 245, G.J.M. Bartelink, *Etymologisering bij Vergilius (Med.Kon.Ned. Akad.* 28.3, Amsterdam 1965), 100. A variation on *sermonem serere* (already in Plaut.: *Curcul.193, MG* 700; cf. Caecilius fr.152R); the etym. (correct; cf. WH, EM) was, it is clear, always sensed, and is spelled out by (e.g.) Varr.*LL* 6.64 and Serv. here. The *figura*’s presence in Plaut. and Caecil., as also at Liv.3.17.10, 7.39.6 (where vd. Oakley), and 28.25.5 renders stronger No.’s case for an Ennian influence here.

161 quem socium exanimum Dependent on **multa...sermone serebant**: V. introduced OO with notable freedom and variety, apparently not so far closely examined (but see in general Woodcock, 238f. and n. on 2.121). For *Aen.*’s *socii*, cf. n. on 3.12; **exanimem M; -um PR**, TCD, Priscian, c.9 mss.: a recurrent issue (cf. nn. on 11.30, 51) in the case of this Lucretian, conveniently heteroclite adj. (15x in *Aen.*; cf. n. on **149**): I simply follow here the weight of the evidence, with no sense that it is necessarily right. Are there too many words ending in *-um* hereabouts (No., comm., and

p.406; vd. Au. here)? Or would yet another be welcome? No sort of binding argument, either way.

uates The Sibyl predicted (Mis.) death (149-53); she is regularly called **uates**, n. on 3.443.

quod corpus humandum Let us not forget: the polluting body to be buried forthwith (152-3), for the best of narrative reasons (183-211). For *humare* of cremation, cf. n. on 11.2. C. of the dead body awaiting burial, 1.484, 486, *et saepe*, nn. on 2.644, 11.593, Heuzé, 53f.. The indirect questions neatly parallel in the best Virgilian manner, n. on 7.37f., Au. here.

162 diceret ‘Meant’, even ‘predicted’ (cf. *EV* 2, 46); cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1. 985.75f.. Depends, not closely, upon **sermone serebant**; at least one of the items meant by **160 multa** was this question.

atque illi.. / 163 ...uident A. ‘introduces a dramatic new turn of events’, Au. on 1.227 (quoting this passage); cf. *id.*, here, Wagner, *QV* xxxv, §22, Hand, 1, 480ff. and Harrison’s useful n. on 10.219, followed as here by pron. at 4.261, 663, **6.494**, 7.29, 10.*cit.*. Already in Plaut.: cf. Clausen on *Buc.*7.7. Fletcher finds **illi** here ‘unnecessary and unnatural’, is perhaps unaware of the idiom, and goes so far as to propose **illic**. Only now, after some studied retardation, do Ach. and Aen. see just who the victim was.

Misenum Cf. n. on 148: M. is first named here, though readers with a decent knowledge of mythol. geography (cf. (148), (1)(b)) will have worked out who it was to whom the Sibyl had referred, creating a fine instance of tragic irony.

in litore sicco So, likewise at v.-end, 3.510; above the high-water mark, for safety and decency (for the juridical terminology, cf. n. on 3.135 *sicco...litore*). Wills, 136 argues not decisively for a debt to Cat.64.133.

163 ut uenere, uident Sight (and all the emotional consequences of precise, visual identification) here far more important than mere factual arrival, which is subordinated parenthetically. Neatly expressed; however, strangely enough, apparently not an expression attested elsewhere in class. Latin.

indigna morte peremptum Cf. n. on 11.110 for the vb., *G.* and *septies* in *Aen.* (often in both *Cic.carm.* and *Lucr.*), Mensink, *TLL* 10.1.1476.50f.. The ethical evaluation of the news is expressed as the viewers’ perception (**uidere**), not the poet’s: V. will shortly offer an account of Misenus’ death as in some sense a merited punishment, (148), (1)(c), and can hardly be supposed to offer a quite contrary view so close by. **I.** conveys a very strong comment, which may (elsewhere) be either the poet’s or his characters’; cf. 2.285 (with n.), 4.617, 4.696 *merita nec morte*, 11.108 (vd. n.), 12.411, 811. A brave man like Mis. deserved to die in battle, comments TCD (and *Serv.* similarly); certainly that (as an implicit comment by Aen.

as yet not informed, or by the Trojans) is part of what is meant. Note the very similar structure of the end of **121**.

164 Misenum Aeoliden Epanalepsis reinforced by patronymic. This strongly emotive figure has attracted much discussion (cf. nn. on 7.586, 649, Putnam, *VA*, 126-31, Wills, 136, 154, on top of a rich n. by Au.). For the 'reinforced' epan., cf. 2.318f. *ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achium/ Panthus Othryades*, and note too 10.778f. *Antoren.../ Herculis Antoren comitem*. **Aeoliden** is a fine Homeric echo, after the epanalepsis of *Il.6.153f.* ἔνθα δὲ Ἐΐκυρος ἔσκεν.../ Ἐΐκυρος **Ἀιολίδης**. There are other instances of 'Aeolides' in Hom. and AR, and at **239** we will see that AR's Idmon should probably enter the picture. On 3.239, Serv. suggests that the god of the winds was an appropriate father for a trumpeter, which is probably also relevant. The Aeolus and Aeolides found lurking in the *ind. nom.* to *Aen.* (9.774, 12.542) are clearly not germane. Note also that the famous Aeolus fathered many children (vd. Ro., s.v. 'Aeolides'), not really including Ulysses (more precisely an alleged bastard grandson) at **529**. V.'s biography of Mis. is notably elaborated, in the interests of pathos, beyond indeed his famed 'battle biographies' (for which, vd. n. on 11.32). An obviously 'interesting', credible paternity makes good sense in such a context.

quo non...alter Cf. 7.649f. *quo pulchrior alter/ non fuit* with detailed n. (after *Il.2.553f.*).

praestantior The adj. *bis G, novies Aen.*; the compar. only here. The adj. (Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.912.30f.) *ter* in Lucr.; Skutsch not opposed to the attribution of Enn.*Ann.dub.fr.15 o praestans animi iuuenis* to the *Annales*, p.776. VSD repeats a peculiarly silly tale (§34; cf. Serv. on **165**) that V. completed the unfinished vv. **164, 165** extempore at a recitation; the presence of hemistichs in successive vv. is not acceptable in a text intended for (semi-)public recitation: for discussion, vd. *Companion*, 19f..

165 aere ciere A fine ringing line, framed by the abls., and then by the infins., with the two objects juxtaposed at mid-line. One learned early that the trumpet (so 8.526) was an Etruscan import into the Greek world (Soph.*Aj.17*; for the availability of bronze, cf. German 'Erz' with Ital. 'Arezzo'); actually (West, *Ancient Greek music*, 119), Hom. did know of the trumpet and mentions it in a simile, *Il.18.219*. But the range of possible antecedents for this v. is clearly a little restricted, historically; cf. too Enn.*Ann.451*, and n. on 2.313. V. clearly started from Cat.64.262 *tereti tenuis tinnitus aere ciebant*; cf. Wills, 154 and note too Cat.68B.88 *ciere uiros*. Cf. Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.1055.3ff.; the vb. also used of rousing battle in Liv., first (5.47.4) and second (7.24.2, 9.39.8) decads (Spelthahn, *cit.*), which might suggest Enn. (who has *citus, citatus*) behind Cat. and V.. Cf.

EV 1, 781. For the (common, epexegetic) infin. dependent on adj. see e.g. W.Görler, *EV* 2, 271, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 64, LHS 350, *infra*.

uiros Catullan; *supra*.

Martemque accendere Lommatzsch, *TLL* 1.278.45ff. compares usefully Liv.9. 39.6, 23.46.2, 27.32.5; add e.g. 6.38.9. ?Ennian; ?high annalistic. Behind such expressions, the Homeric (and later) 'blaze of war', *Il.*20.18, *Ar.Pax* 310f., Taillardat, 363 with n.2, *Aen.*7.550, 623. For such 'routine' metonymy (Ceres, Bacchus, Liber, Mars, Neptune, etc.): cf. *EV* 2, 519, n. on 7.111, Pötscher, 126, Catrein, 78..

cantu As of Triton's shell, **172**: standard of musical instruments, *TLL* 3.294.62ff. (Poeschel), and e.g. *Lucr.*2.619, *Aen.*9.615. V. enumerates Mis.' virtues in order to accentuate what the Trojans have just lost by his death, as TCD explains. The v., as Henry remarks, a fine ex. of theme and variation.

166 Hectoris...magni...Hectora The epanalepsis of **162-4** is shortly followed by a simpler polyptoton. On Hector as paladin, cf. nn. on 2.285, 11.289, *Aen.*2., index, s.v. Hector, as paladin, *Aen.*3, index, s.v.: his moral and emotional importance in *Aen.* does not correspond to his single, ghostly appearance. But it is a measure of the attention with which V. builds up the figure of Mis. that he is represented, over two lines, as having been Hector's attendant on the battlefield. The epithet altogether conventional (cf. 5.371 *maximus*): cf. the list of applications, *EV* 3, 320.

hic...fuerat comes For c., cf. n. on 3.613. An old technique for lending interest to minor figures (see n. on **164 Misenum Aeoliden**, *ad fin.*) as also to weapons: they had followed (or been wielded by) an altogether more significant figure, as at (e.g.) 5.412, 9.648, 10.315, 11.32 (vd. n. for further instances of both things and men).

circum For use of disyll. prepos. in anastrophe, cf. n. on 7.673. 2.632, indices s.v.. Page suggests influence of Gk. οἱ περί τινα, credibly enough.

167 et lituo... insignis...et hasta Cf. **403 pietate insignis et armis**, 7.745 *fama et felicibus armis* (with n.), 11.291 *ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis* (with n. on the striking coincidence with the contemp. Liv.6.24.10), Alt, *TLL* 7.1. 1903.69f.. **H.** hardly needs comment; the trumpet (cf. **165**) is rather more interesting, on account of its possible presence in the artistic tradition, (**148**), (**1**)(b); for the *lituus*, cf. *EV* 4, 1040: G.Marzi's suggestion that at 7.187 the *l.* might be musical, not augural, is risible. Better, Wille, 81, 90-2, R.Cagnat, DS 3.2, 1278f. with good illustrations, showing the end curved right round to face the player. *Lituus* of Mis. at *Stat.Silv.*4.7.19f.; *tuba* at *Prop.*3.18.3 not a significant variant, Wille, 539.

pugnās...obibat Cf. *Lucr.*4.967 *proelia obire*, Quaddlbauer, *TLL* 9.2.47.32.

168 postquam Cf. 3.1, 192, etc.; a stately opening (note self-contained opening spondee) favoured by V..

illum uita...spoliauit Cf. 12.935 *spoliatum lumine*, Lucr.4.377 *spoliatur lumine terra*, OLD s.v., §5a, EV 4, 1003. τοῦ ζῆν ἄπετετέρησεν [Aesch.] PV 681. But not enough evidence to justify reference to ‘tragic’ or ‘Lucretian’ idiom. Allit. and strongly spondaic verse suited to H.’s tragic death.

uictor...Achilles Cf. 1.622 (Belus), 3.324 (Pyrrhus), 7.661, 8.203, 562 (Hercules), 11.247 (Diomedes), Turnus and Aeneas, Augustus and Antony; Binder, 142ff..

169 Dardanio Aeneae Et mi genus ab Ioue summo, as Aen. had recently said; for details of this illustrious genealogy, both paternal and maternal, cf. n. on 123. For the phrasing, cf. 1.494, 617, 11.472.

sese../ 170 addiderat socium Cf. Kempf, TLL 1.580.70f.; the phrasing also at 777 **auo comitem sese...addet**, with n., and see 8.496.

fortissimus heros Strong language, unique indeed in Aen. (cf. only 7.752 *fortissimus Umbro*, 8.513 *fortissime ductor*); such claims well suited to the transitory exaltation of secondary figures. Cf. Hey, TLL 6.1.1146.39f., Kornhardt, *ib.*, 6.3.2662.71f., confirming the isolated, hyperbolic character of the language.

170 non inferiora secutus The ‘hinge’ of this biography: Mis. has restored his fortunes by passing to the suite of Aen. and, as often, Aen. is exalted by association with Hector (for this tactic, cf. n. on 11.289, with bibliography; add n. on 2.289-95). But at just this happy moment, Mis. incurs (justifiable, even) divine displeasure: cf. (148), (1)(c) and 172 **certamina** for the motif of the untimely challenge. For the shared compliment to Aen. and Mis. here, V. offers a finely-worked phrase, after Ares’ words to the Trojans at *Il*.5.467f. κείται ἀνὴρ ὃν Ἴσον ἐτίομεν Ἐκτορι δίῳ, Aeneas, son of Anchises, with 17.513. For the neut. plur. of adj. used (as often) thus as noun., cf. Hor.C.1.34.12f., Sidgwick, 489, s.v. adjective, Williams on 5.168, LHS, 153f., Ernout-Thomas, 165; the neut., and the discreet litotes, excuse Virgil elegantly (‘no worse a condition’ *vel sim.*) from having to say that Aen. really was Hector’s equal (which both poet and readers knew he was in truth not).

171 sed tum Careful setting of the scene for divine intervention, with **tum** preparing us for **dum**.

forte...dum personat aequora ‘Nicht ‘zufällig’ als ob keine Absicht darin läge, sondern temporal ‘gerade’ Norden. I wonder (as did Hey, TLL 6.1.1131.10): was there (*infra*) no element of chance in the idling Misenus picking up a handy shell? But **forte** is inside a cluster of words indicating ‘time’, as often (Hey, 1131.47), and ‘but just then’ is likelier to be right than ‘but then by chance’; cf. Hand, 2, 734. For **p.**, cf. 418 (of Cerberus’

barking), Tac.*Hist.*3.76.2, Dubielzig, *TLL*10.1.1735. 60f., Roiron, 205, 390-4.

caua...concha It is disappointing to find so many learned readers of this verse hastening to the apparent safety of their predecessors' conclusion when the factual information necessary to a more informed and persuasive view lay within (relatively) easy reach. Unhelpful indecision, *EV* 5*, 274. Heyne wrote '*concham paullo durius pro tuba vel lituo posuit*'. 'Absurd' countered Page, with unnecessary generosity. But unfortunately, this very curious view, that in a poet writing of the seashore, *concha* might mean not 'shell' but (arguably 'shell-shaped') 'trumpet' took hold and acquired the appearance of authority, Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.29.8ff. (cf. Hultsch, PW 4.799.13-5), though *TLL* does of course allow that 'shell' is the primary meaning of *concha*. Best to begin from the ample material collected by West, *Anc. Greek music*, 121, for the use of pierced seashells as musical instruments. West's evidence divides into material pertaining to Minoan cult, literary testimony for the use of shells as signals in real life or in texts aiming at realism, for the attribution of shells to musical Tritons and Nereids, and 'to some foreign peoples not civilised enough to have war trumpets'. Not to mention children blowing through limpets and mussels. For the antiquity of the seashell's music (far greater than the trumpet's), cf. also Hesych. κ 3882, s.v. κόχλος (used by seamen before the invention of the trumpet), [Hyg.]*fab.*274.20, schol.Nic.*Alex.* 393. See in addition Norden, p.179f., H.Herter, PW.13A.272.50ff., Wille (120), 555f., E.Saglio, DS 1.2.1265f., Gow on Theocr.9.25, 22.75, Bühler on Moschus, *Europa* 124. Ample evidence, then, for 'real life' at [Theogn.]1229f., Eur.*IT* 303 (summoning the neighbours), Theocr.9. 25, Plut.*quaest.conv.*713B, and Naumachius 62f.Heitsch (blown into by the frivolous). For Tritons, cf. Moschus, *cit.*, and compare Lyc.250 (Ares) and Theocr.22.75 (Amycus). Note also the abundant artistic evidence collected by West and Bühler, *citt.*, and also by Dressler (173), 1180.15-20, Herter, PW13A.303.39ff.; add, notably, the fragment of a relief depicting the battle of Actium, cited by Harrison on *Aen.*10, *infra* (P.Zanker, *Power of images*, 83 with fig.63). It is a pleasure to find Austin surveying the Latin evidence (clearly from *TLL*) with all his old vigour and good sense; Butler also writes creditably. The *concha* blown by Triton in watery contexts: Ov.*Met.*1.333 (called *bucina*, 335, 337, but described in terms of a shell's spirals, 336), Luc.9.348f., Sil.14.373f., Apul.*Met.*4.31.7 *concha sonaci leniter bucinat*. 'Shell' is the evidently natural rendering in all these passages. At Plin.*Nat.*9.9, a Triton is reported to the emperor as having been heard (in Portugal) playing a *concha* in a sea-cave. Evidently, the same conclusion applies: had his use of a *trumpet* been reported, Tiberius' likely reaction is best not contemplated. We may also compare [Hyg.]*fab.*274.20, the *tuba* is invented ultimately

thanks to Tyrrhenus, son of Hercules, who shows what can be done with a *concha pertusa*; note too Claud.10.132, *concha*-playing Tritons; [Hyg.] *Astr.*2.23 not explicitly maritime. That leaves *Aen.*10.219 (where vd. Harrison): could the Triton here alone in classical texts be playing a *trumpet* at sea? Hardly: let us leave sea-deities to blow their own trumpets; that is, conch-shells or similar. **Caua**: the adj. might seem better suited to the hollows within a shell than to a trumpet, but is in fact often used of the latter, indeed of Mis.' own trumpet, 3.240 (cf. *G.*4.464, Varr.*Men.*465, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.716.78ff.). What then had happened on shore? Is the reader invited to speculate? In *Aen.*'s absence, Mis. was apparently 'off duty' and without his trumpet; V.'s plain sense is that he then picked up a seashell and blew down it; a direct challenge to Triton, as Mis. may or may not have known (cf. Wille, 556 and the sane nn. in Page and Williams here); there might be tragic irony here. Certainly, there is very little of this sort of divine intervention in *Aen.* (Feeney, *Gods*, 182). Burck (179-82), 432 writes correctly of *Schuld*.

172 demens Hom. νήπιος, as has long been realised (perhaps *Il.*2.38 most of all; Knauer). Cf. 4.562, **6.590**, 9.728 (vd. Hardie) for this same run-on position, favoured by Hom. for v..

et cantu Cf. **165**.

uocat in certamina Compare 11.221 *posci in certamina*, used as synonym with *uocari* (Zurli, 5*, 637), *OLD* s.v., §5a, *TLL* 3.881.32f. (Burger). Cf. (**148**), (**1**)(c) for Marsyas, Arachne, Thamyris, Orion (even perhaps Niobe, Gantz, 2, 539, and for that matter cf. **585f.** on Salmoneus). *Repentina dementia possessus deos homo in certamina credidit prouocandos* TCD; *improuidus, qui non considerauit etiam deos in aemulationem posse descendere* Serv..

diuos Only Triton, but plur. here swells the gravity of the offence.

173 aemulus 'Jealous', 'emulous'; amusing to Au., 'for the emulation was on Misenus' part'. Or was it? Is V.'s point perhaps that Triton was indeed himself jealous of the wonderful boom that Mis. was able to raise with a shell picked up casually upon the beach?

exceptum Cf. *Buc.*3.18 (hunting; see Clausen's good n.) and *Aen.*3.332 *excipit incautum*; here tersely, 'seized and'; Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1255.4. Standard Latin.

Triton Marine deity, offspring of Pos. and Amphitrite; a subaltern role at 1.144, 5.824; depicted, 10.209. See *EV* 5*, 273f., Gantz, 1, 62, Robert, 1, 598-601, Hes. *Theog.*931 with West's n., Dressler, *Ro.*5,1150-1207, but above all, Herter's majestic account in PW.

si credere dignum est In my earlier discussion, it ought to have been made clearer that this formula (used first at *G.*3.391, where V. follows

Nicander, fr.115Gow/Sch.; see too Macr.5.22.10) is here applied to a story traditional in form, (148), (1)(c), but clearly enough invented in its application to Mis.. Such formulae are often enough applied to clearly invented stories (*PLLS*, 55-8::*Alambicco*, 126-30); here, V. observes that though a story of heroic folly and divine spite may be told by the poet, it is evidently fabulous. Cf. G.W. Williams, *TI*, 158, T.C.W. Stinton, *PCPS* 22 (1976), 65, Horsfall, *PLLS* 6 (1990), 55::*Alambicco*, 125.

174 inter saxa Comms. rush to identify the rockier stretches of the present coastline.

uirum...immerserat The point is not that V. seeks to avoid the unacceptable *eum*, which indeed he does, but that Mis. is a *mortal*, not a god, and will therefore necessarily lose any real contest, above all one that he has himself, unnecessarily, provoked. ‘Submergendo occiderat’ paraphrases Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.454.69f.; he compares *G*.4.29 and *Aen*.3.605 (where vd. n.: prose, elevated by V.).

spumosa...unda Because of the rocks? Proleptic, because Mis. is hurled into it? Cf. *G*.4.529 (foaming because Proteus jumps in, G.Franco¹, *EV* 4, 1003, Mynors). Death appropriately closes the narrative explanation of what *Aen.* and Achates return to see.

175 ergo omnes V. passes over in silence the first contacts between *Aen.* and those who have stayed behind, and goes directly on to the scene of *Aen.* and his men standing about the body.

magno...clamore Formulaic: cf. n. on 2.58.

circum...fremebant Cf. n. on 7.589 for the tmesis of *circumfremere*. For *f.* of lamentation, cf. 4.668, *EV* 2, 590 (Traina), ‘se lamentant à grands cris’, Cartault, 440: a sense so uncommon as to be unlikely, and not easy to justify, here. Are the Trojans not rather, in the first instance, angry and indignant? That is a sense far more widely attested: *OLD* s.v. *fremo*, §2a, *TLL* 6.1.1282.54ff., 1283.82ff. (Fr.Müller); so e.g. 12.535. *TLL* misses the tmesis (as often) but does indeed classify **fremebant** as I suggest, 1282.61. So TCD, rather well, *quasi irascentes naturae, quae illum tam necessarium, tam optimum uirum, comitem regis, indigna morte pressisset*. The Argonauts *lament* for Idmon (*AR* 2.835-7), but that is no proof of V.’s sense here.

1 It gives me great pleasure to record that my dear friend Giovanni Franco celebrates his ninetieth birthday, on the very day that another dear friend, Antonie Wlosok, celebrates her eightieth, the week that I write this note. But both have now died, within a few days of each other, a great double sorrow for me, that overshadows the completion of this book.

176 praecipue Cf. n. on 7.746. The first half of the line already at 1.220 (lament for comrades lost in storm); Moskalew, 103f.

pius Aeneas Loyalty to friend? Thoughts of the rituals to be undertaken? Obedience to the Sibyl, whose predictions are not swiftly confirmed? 'Devotion to his men and sense of responsibility towards them': Au., a little vaguely; cf. rather Moskalew, 104, Traina, *EV* 4, 96. The sense is clearly more than simply funerary (as at 5.26 and perhaps 286).

tum Evidently, the next stage, urgent enough (**177 festinant**); cf. nn. on 3.62, **153 piacula**.

iussa Sibyllae So of Helenus' instructions, 3.684 (with n.).

177 haud mora Cf. n. on 7.156.

festinant flentes Not a typical Virgilian allit. pattern (but cf. **427** for repeated *f* and grief). 7.156 continues *festinant iussi* (where vd. n.); the vb. sometimes transitive at least from Sall. (so 4.575). *TLL* 6.1.618.51 (Lackenbacher). The partic. discreetly adds a first sign of emotional reaction (cf. e.g. 9.451). The haste perhaps that of *Il.*23.139.

aramque sepulcri Much progress has been made recently in our understanding of the cult of the Manes in the Augustan period (summarised, n. on 3.63, with bibl.; now vd. nn. on **743, 896**), but as yet no tomb (**sepulcri**) has been erected to Misenus (see **232**) and the solution seems to lie in a different direction, as explained in Au.'s note (with Lattimore's splendid collection of material, 131f.; note too Bailey, 297, Lersch, 160f.). But we need to consider first (i) **P's sepulcro**, possibly an echo of v.-end at **152**; here it gives no sense, and the gen. is anyway confirmed by the echo at *Sil.*15.387f. *alta sepulcri/ protinus extruitur caeloque educitur ara*. Along with (ii), vd. Serv.'s comment, *Probus tamen et Donatus de hoc loco requirendum adhuc esse dixerunt*. Cf. on **473, 782** for similar comments (Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 119); the difficulty is hardly textual, but, much more probably, is in the use of *ara* and *sepulcrum*, and as used here will have shocked the literal and simple-minded Roman exegetes of V.'s religious language. Serv., though, manages creditably here, remarking that the structure is also called *pyra* (**215**), often built in the form of an altar (citing **178**). But 3.63 (where vd. my n.) is not to be compared, because here in bk.6 there has as yet been no funeral, which must precede the erection of a *sepulcrum*. 3.305 (double altars, long after burial) likewise not pertinent (vd. n.). At 5.58, Anch. has been dead for a year and no number is specified (plur. *aras* is arithmetically indeterminate). At *Buc.*5.65f., Daphnis is already a rural deity. Here, the problem appears to be not of religion, but of varied usage, admirably clarified by Lattimore, with no special reference to V.: tomb and altar had long ago converged, sometimes in appearance and also in both funerary (e.g. offerings; vd. **224f.**) and epigraphic/poetic usage; the latter, perhaps, exceptionally, at *Simon.fr.*531.3PLG (but note also

Aesch.*Cho.*106), the former copiously illustrated by Lattimore. Note too Sen,*Ep.*86.1 (at the villa of Scip.Aem.; cf. D'Arms, *Romans on the bay of Naples*, 6) *ara, quam sepulchrum esse tanti uiri suspicor*. The only other vbl. parallel seems to be Sil.'s imitation (*supra*). If this explanation is correct, then **sepulcri** should be treated as (virtually) a *genetiuis inhaerentiae* (vd. indices, s.v.), and if *ara* for 'tomb' is primarily epigraphic usage, then it would be by no means the only time that V. shows familiarity with this register (n. on 7.1 *tu quoque*).

178 congerere arboribus Probst, *TLL* 4.278.75; the vb. used similarly, *Buc.*1.68 *pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen*, *G.*2.156 *tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis*, 4.243, *EV* 2, 714. Standard Latin.

caeloque educere Borrowed from 2.186 (where vd. n.).

certant Burger, *TLL* 3.896.61: standard (n. on 2.64).

179-82 Felling the forest. The extraordinary quality (as high as anything in V., as anything, indeed, in Latin epic; 'von unerhörter Dichte', Schmidt, 64) and importance of these vv. call for rather fuller comment, if only to suggest that Quinn's deplorable remark, 'organised in a spirit of conscious pastiche' (367), is profoundly misconceived. It may help to have three other passages close at hand:

*Il.*23.114-122:

οἱ δ' ἴσαν ὑλοτόμους πελέκεας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες
 ρειράς τ' εὐπλέκτους· πρὸ δ' ἄρ' οὐρῆες κίων αὐτῶν. 115
 πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχημά τ' ἦλθον·
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κνημοὺς προσέβαν πολυπίδακος Ἴδης,
 αὐτίκ' ἄρα δρυὺς ὑπικόμους ταναήκει χάλκῳ
 τάμνον ἐπειγόμενοι· ταὶ δὲ μεγάλα κτυπέουσαι
 πῖπτον. τὰς μὲν ἔπειτα διαπλήσσοντες Ἀχαιοὶ 120
 ἔκδεον ἡμιόνων· ταὶ δὲ χθόνα ποσσὶ δατεῦντο
 ἔλδόμεναι πεδίοιο διὰ ῥωπήϊα πυκνά.

(ii) *Enn.**Ann.*175-9:

incedunt arbusta per alta, securibus caedunt, 175
 percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur ilex,
 fraxinus frangitur atque abies consternitur alta,
 pinus proceras peruortunt: omne sonabat
 arbustum fremitu siluai frondosai.

(iii) *Aen.*11.134-8:

per siluas Teucri mixtique impune Latini
 errauere iugis. ferro sonat alta bipenni 135
 fraxinus, euertunt actas ad sidera pinus,
 robora nec cuneis et olentem scindere cedrum
 nec plaustris cessant uectare gementibus ornos.

V.'s lines are open to analysis by rhythm, by alliteration, by the distribution of dactyl and spondee, by the shape and length of words, by the voice, tense and person of the verbs, by the distribution of activity over tree-types and phases of felling, by source and by imitator (under each of the preceding headings, indeed). Much of this sort of traditional analysis has been done (cf. Au. on V. and Enn.); the results are largely known and will be summarised *infra*. Additionally, E.A.Schmidt¹ achieved a notable advance in our understanding of V.'s technique in his arrangement of the material with his analysis of what he calls the *schema Horatianum*, a form of synecdoche (E.A.Schmidt, 65) whereby the forest is distinguished into four types of tree and the felling into five procedures (here and in bk.11). Here, two sorts of tree are split, while in bk.11, two other trees (oak and cedar) are likewise split; to each of the remaining trees, one single phase of felling is applied. That means neither chaos nor farce; rather, by synecdoche, each phase of felling is applied to each kind of tree. The arrangement, which turns out to be common enough in both Horace and Virgil, is so discreet that apart from a passing reference by Gransden on 11, *cit.*, it was apparently not observed or mentioned until Schmidt's discussions (first, *WS* 103 (1990), 57-98; now *vd.* the enlarged reprint in his *Zeit u. Form* (Heidelberg 2002), 335-79); significantly, it is not picked up by V.'s impercipient imitators. An elegant economy of detail is thus achieved (perhaps something similar at **884-6**). Here (Schmidt, 65; compare 11.135f.), the falling tree stands before the wielding of the axe, perhaps because (i) after **175f.**, V. has for the moment removed specified human agents from the narrative and it helps to begin not with the fellers but rather with the trees, and (ii) because bringing down tall pines can stand for the entire operation. To return briefly to the traditional analysis of these vv.:

(i) alliteration. Of *f* and *p* in Enn; of *p*, *s* and *f* in V., where allit. is indeed a more present and noticeable feature than in Enn.; no specific intentions or results are here attributed to V..

(ii) distribution of dactyls and spondees; effects of rhythm. Discussed recently elsewhere with energy and strong expressions of partiality; from the initial molossus to the spondees of **182**, V. is notably sparing of massive, or thunderous, effects. Cf. Au., §3 on V.'s avoidance of Enn.'s more striking rhythmical effects.

(iii) word-shape and length. Note the two molossi, **procumbunt** and **aduoluunt**; note too V.'s typical avoidance of the Ennian 'liberties', already in Cic.'s time thought rather low (Au., §2), *securibu'* and *fraxinu'*; his use of

1 Ernst August Schmidt was an admirable guest at the celebrations for Otto Skutsch's 80th. birthday; twenty-five years on, his goodwill and generosity remain exceptional.

closely similar *securibus* and *fraxineae* seems almost a protest at Ennius' more 'casual' usage. For V.'s avoidance of Ennian repetition, cf. Au., §4.

(iv) voice, person and tense of verbs. V. removes any distraction from the sequence of presents. After Enn., he employs both act. and pass., naturally, with variation in the point of view. Only V.'s last verb narrates the felling from the Trojans' perspective, whereas previously, intransitives and a passive were employed. Cf. Au., §5.

(v) types of tree and phases of felling. In Enn.'s footsteps, V., in comparison with Hom., is notably sparing in precise details of the felling: whereas Enn. (even more sparing than V. in the matter of tools and techniques) is stately and symmetrical in his account, V. employs a dazzling new technique (*supra*) to pare down and accelerate the narrative yet further. For the trees chosen, cf. Au., §7.

(vi) V.'s introduction, 179. We are led into the set-piece through a solemn impersonal passive (cf. n. on 7.553) and two lofty, elevating adjs.; in the context of V.'s formal tribute to Enn. here, tinged with a consciousness of superior technique, it is hard to resist the metapoetic reading of these vv. offered by Hinds. Not just a destruction of the old Italian order (Thomas; less convincing, though of course he is right about V.'s empathy), but an equally fundamental change in how Latin was written; here of course V. offers the attentive reader a specialist anthology of the ways in which Latin has been polished and beautified since the days of Ennius, whose rough-hewn majesty has indeed been felled. It was not at Avernus (G.2.161-4) so much as at Misenum (Puteoli) that Rome's main fleet bases were developed and it just might be that the destruction of ancient forest there (as specifically recorded by Strab.5.4.5) was an actual, painful, local, recent memory. A.G.McKay, *GR* 14 (1967), 8, *id.*, *Vergil's Italy* (Bath 1970), 218f., *id.*, (148, 1984), 134f.; for the chronology, J.H.D'Arms, *Romans on the bay of Naples* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970), 136f., M.W.Fredericksen, *Campania* (Rome 1984), 333f.). Della Corte, 109 writes of the destruction of the forests of Avernus without reference to this passage; cf. rather Paratore, *ACCF*, 35, Frederiksen, *cit.*, 347, n.150.

Bibliography. P.J.Aicher, *CJ* 85 (1990), 218-24 (at 221f.), E.Burck in *Vom Menschenbild...* (Heidelberg 1981), 431-4, S.M.Goldberg, *Epic in republican Rome* (New York 1995), 83f., A.Gratwick in *Cambr.Hist.Class.Lit.* 2, 71f., S.Hinds, *Allusion and intertext* (Cambridge 1998), 11-4, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 237f., J.K.Newman, *Augustus and the new poetry* (*Coll.Lat.* 88, Bruxelles 1967), 92-5, Quinn, 367f., E.A.Schmidt, *Hyperboreus* 3 (1997), 57-81 (in particular, 58-65), R.Thomas, *TAPA* 118 (1988), 267f., Wigodsky, 56-8, G.W. Williams, *TORP*, 264f., Worstbrock, 136. A fine, detailed discussion of V. and Enn. in Au..

179 itur See above, §6. Used also at 9.641 *sic itur ad astra* (Dingel suggests unpersuasively that *i.* is a stileme significantly limited to the later books; for the wider issue, vd. comm. *Aen.*3, xxviii, *Companion*, 236), 12.528.

in antiquam siluam The adj. often used as here with strong affective force; cf. n. on 2.626 (a mountain-ash, but also e.g. Troy; see n. there and on 2.363 *patriam antiquam*). In general, see too Évrard, *EV* 1, 195f.. One might also note that over the generations, the beasts have colonised ever more intimately the depths of this great forest (**siluas** and **stabula** have, that is, an intimate, affective link): this introductory verse sets a tone both lofty and moving.

stabula alta ferarum Cf. 9.388, 10.723 for **stabula alta** and note Cat.63.52f. *ferarum/ gelida stabula*; clearly conventional, but the precise sense here is slightly problematic: vd. Au. and Mantovanelli, *EV* 1, 121. 7.82f. *sub alta/...Albunea* (with 95 *alto...luco*) perhaps both high and (or indeed, and therefore, because old enough to have grown) deep (vd. n. on 7.82; *sub* there ‘deep in’); at 9.617f. (after Cat.63.11f. *ad alta...Cybeles nemora*) *alta Dindyma* is further tinged by the idea of the height of the mountain. **7f. densa ferarum/ tecta ...siluas** is close in means of expression, but quite distinct lexically. Henry plumps for a ‘standing epithet’ of **stabula**, unhelpfully. If we allow that V. had here been closely focused upon the actual sense, one might argue that the height of the trees was irrelevant to the beasts, whereas the depths of the forest were more pertinent, as providing convenient lairs. One can hardly exclude that both senses are present; of the two, ‘deep’ seems better suited to the context. Naturally the home of wild beasts, *Buc.*10.52f., *Aen.*3.646f., 7.404 (where vd. n.), 11.686, *Hor.Epd.*5.55 (with Watson’s n.), *Lucr.*5.201, 967, *Ov.Met.*1.475, *Sen.Phaedr.*473, *Luc.*6.42, etc.. On the easy formal inconcinnity of the appos., cf. LHS 443.

180 procumbunt Used of *culmus* at *G.*1.111; see Wild, *TLL* 10.2.1568.77. A weighty word, well suited to the fall of the great trees.

piceae Maggiulli has discussed the problematic identification of **p.** with care but with no certain outcome (the word, adj. formation from *pix*, not found in Lat. before V.): *EV* 4, 91f., *ead.*, *Incipient siluae*, 399-401. For her preferred *pinus Halepensis* (Aleppo pine, which does grow near the coast), cf. Hora (182), 66, Meiggs (182), 43f.. *Aliter*, Sargeant (182), 99-101. There is a good deal of uninformed speculation on the topic, not here cited.

sonat A notable improvement upon (and reduction of) Hom.’s slightly predictable *μεγάλα κτυπέουσαι* and Enn.’s non-specific *sonabat*; cf. Roiron 205f.. V. presumably conveys the effect of the rhythmical blows of expert teams of axemen.

icta securibus Cf. Hor.C.4.6.9f. *icta ferro/ pinus*, Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.160.14f., *EV* 2, 876: the vb. archaic in poetry (NW 3, 416f.), apart from persistence of ppp. The axes both Ennian (*supra*) and Homeric (Seymour, 319, with n.1) and for their central role in felling, cf. Meiggs (182), 330f.. The allit. of *c* and *x*, suggesting the blows of the axe, is particularly successful.

ilex Cf. (136-48), (3). For the botanical detail, cf. Coombes (182), 163, Hora (182), 126, 127, Howard (207), 193f..

181 fraxineaeque trabes Avoiding Ennian *fraxinu'*, though the noun (*Buc.*7.65, etc.), firmly of the second declension (NW 1, 770, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1277.27f.) fits easily in the dactyl. hexam.; cf. Sommer, 388: even if *f.* were (sometimes) fourth declension, the *u* would not (in nom.sing.) be long. Perhaps V. prefers the adj. form (so *G.*2.359) to avoid the appearance of challenging Enn. over so trivial a point of prosody, and may welcome the nobler ring of the adj. (nn. on 7.1, 10, etc.). The identification of **f.** was not in doubt: Sargeant (182), 48f., P.d'Hérerville, *Géorgiques I-II*, 74f., Mynors on *G.*2.66, Maggiulli, 299-301, R.Billard, *L'agriculture dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1928), 483f.. For the ash-tree in general, cf. Coombes (182), 229, Hora (182), 246-7. **T:** cf. *EV* 5*, 224, *OLD* s.v., §3; any cut length of timber.

cuneis see 182 **scinditur**.

et fissile lignum V. could have written *scissile lignum/ finditur*, giving a very similar sense; cf. *G.*2.79 *finditur in solidum cuneis uia*. **F.** an old word (Plaut.) that V. had used at *G.*1.144. Given how close the roots are in sense, it appears that V. may be trying (Schmidt, 78) to increase the density of synonyms without obtrusive parallelism.

182 scinditur The use of wedges thus referred to at *G.*1.144 (earlier than saws, but the splitting of wood with wedges my own preferred non-classical activity for many years), *Aen.*7.509 and 11.137, *EV* 4, 727, DS 1.2.1588, and, for a proper discussion of the ancient use of wedges, Blümmner, *Technologie u. Terminologie...* 2 (Leipzig 1879), 299f., (with attestations from *Soph.El.* on). Cf. *OLD* s.v. §1a. MacLennan notes the remarkable sequence of *-nd-...-nt-...-nt-*.

aduoluunt...montibus 'De montibus ad ignem' Klotz, *TLL* 1.896.71f., comparing *G.*3.377f. *congestaque robora totasque/ aduoluere focis ornos ignique dedere*, though there the dat. of motion towards and the prefix of the verb pull in the same direction, whereas here 'to the pyre' is left to be understood, and we are invited, in a rather cavalier manner, to work out that the abl. is of motion from which (Antoine, 161f.). Did *auoluere* exist, we should hasten to restore it here; note the *deuoluere* of Sil.10.533 in a lavish expansion of the present passage. Cf. Meiggs, *Trees and timber*,

332-4, 341 (with plate, DS 2.1, 102) for the work of mules (cf. *Il.*23.121, *supra*; cf. Seymour, 341, 355f.) and men (*dendrophori*) in the first stage of shifting tree-trunks in the real world. There might be a distant recollection too of *Buc.*6.70f., of Hesiod, who *solebat/ cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos*. The *montes* are presumably the various strange cones of former volcanoes in the neighbourhood (see e.g. the maps, D'Arms (177), 4, Au., p.xi, and vd. Frederiksen, (SC), 4-6).

ingentis...ornos The manna-ash (J.Sargeant, *Trees, shrubs and plants of V.* (Oxford 1920), 93, Mynors on *G.*2.71, Maggiulli, 382-4. For technical details, cf. B.Hora, *Oxford encyclopedia of trees of the world* (Oxford 1981), 246f., A.J.Coombes *Alberi* (Ital.tr., Milano 1992), 230. Will reach a height of twenty metres, so, as though it mattered, *ingentis* is hardly idle hyperbole.

183-211: the Golden Bough is found.

A notably skilful, elegant arrangement, in that a natural development of the narrative of the funeral (the search for timber to burn) leads *both* to the confirmation of the Sibyl's predictions (189) *and* to a welcome division in the narrative of the funeral: see (136-48), (5)(b) and (148), (2). Both, that is, a modest lightening of the tone and a (retardatory) interweaving of strands. *Bona oeconomia uenit ad ramum* indeed (Serv.; cf. n. on 2.298. *O.*, in the sense of *dispositio* or *ordinatio*, from *Cic.Att.* on: see H.Georgii, *Antike Äneiskritik*, 564). The discovery of the GB also serves to lessen Aeneas' (and perhaps the Trojans') grief; cf. (perhaps unexpectedly in the middle of a comrade's funeral but an inevitable consequence of the inserted narrative) 193 *laetus*, after 185 *tristi cum corde* (with 223 *triste ministerium*; cf. too n. on 11.839). Quinn's use of 'fantasy' (164) for V.'s account of Mis.' death suggests a certain lack of sympathy with V. (cf. further on 179-82), also evident elsewhere. Bibliography: cf. also Cartault, 442, Mackie, 119f..

183 nec non Just as the Sibyl (140-55) tells Aen. to find the GB *and* bury his companion (Mis.), so here Aen. is busy with the burial *and* here thinks of the problem of finding the GB. For the litotes, cf. 645.

Aeneas...primus Only here (but cf. too 10.310f.) of Aen.; 'takes the lead', *vel sim* (cf. Pomathios, 184; *tacet* Mackie, 119).

opera inter talia Only here in class. Latin, apparently. Nelis draws attention to the Jason of AR 1.363, perhaps rightly.

184 hortatur socios Leads by precept and example, indeed, however deep in grief (cf. Au. on 185). For *socii*, cf. n. on 3.12. For *h.*, cf. 3.134, Munzi, *EV* 2, 858 and we might note the list of speeches classed as 'encourage-

ments' by Hightet, 309. The line, *pace* Norden, not to be claimed as hysteron-proteron, at least not after McDevitt's fine paper, *CQ* 17 (1967), 316-21.

paribusque...armis Axes and wedges, at very least (cf. Bickel, *TLL* 2.590.63ff.; *qualia alii gestabant* TCD, Baer, *TLL* 10.1.262.6f.); saws and ropes not to be excluded, on the basis of Meiggs' splendid account, (182), 330-4. V. varies general and particular; *cunei* are not avoided because a *sordidum uocabulum*; though of course V. goes to notable lengths to avoid technical terms (cf. discussion, *Maia* 41 (1989), 251-4), he is also well able to relish, as desired, the occasional precise detail (cf. bk.2, index s.v. 'language'). The adj. is significant and neglected, for it conveys that Aen. has gone into the forest to work alongside his men, for he carries the same tools as they do; *qualia alii gestabant* TCD. Cf. *EV* 3, 966. We do not think of Aen. as a very 'hands-on' hero, though here he toils in the forest, whereas Agamemnon sent men under the supervision of Meriones to collect wood for Patroclus' pyre (*Il.*23.110-3). Difficult to imagine him as (e.g.) caked with brine and building a raft, but Pomathios (184) has drawn up an interesting and helpful list of half a dozen exceptions to this impression (perhaps the most important, cutting the cable at 4.579f.) and when Feeney writes (*ORVA*, 183) 'Aeneas is distant from his men also', there is some (hardly atypical) exaggeration. La Cerda offers a formidable list of ancient commanders who participated in the labours of their men.

accingitur *Semel*, G.; *undecies*, *Aen.* (note 570); cf. Klotz, *TLL* 1.302.60, nn. on 2.613, 7.640.

185 atque haec...uolutat Cf. 157 (the repetition immaterial; n. on 7.554); *Buc.*9. 37 *mecum ipse uoluto*, *Aen.*1.50 *talia flammato secum dea corde uolutans*, 4.533 *secumque ita corde uolutat* (where vd. Pease), 10.159 *secumque uolutat* (where vd. Harrison for refs. to the solitary, pensive Aeneas), 12.843 *secum ipse uolutat*; note Plaut.*Capt.*781 *quanto in pectore hanc rem meo magis uoluto*, *MG* 196 *quod uolutas tute tecum in corde?*, *Most.*87 *eam rem uolutauit*, Lucil.1017 *in corde uolutas*, Cic.*Rep.*1.28 *animo uolutare*, and Liv.9.17.2 *tacitis cogitationibus uolutauit animum*, Traina, *EV* 5*, 626. Presence in V., in early Livy, and in both Plaut. and Lucil. ought to mean an Ennian origin; *tacet* Norden. Cat.64.250 has *animo uoluebat...curas*, Lucr.6.34 *uoluere curarum tristis in pectore fluctus*.

ipse suo Typical attraction of pronouns into juxtaposition: cf. 780 (?; vd. n.), 7.103 (vd. n.), 11.74 (vd.n.), 12.393. Some overtranslation in Au..

tristi cum corde Ennian (*Ann.*507); cf. Lucr.6.1233 *maesto cum corde* and *Aen.*8.522 *multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant*. Negri, 196f., n.6, 299, 306f., typically careful and acute. For the adj., see 183-211.

186 aspectans Cf. von Mess, *TLL* 2.801.5, *EV* 4, 979, 10.251 *supera aspectans conuexa precatur*; Serv.Dan. on 12.136 considers the compound

archaic (cf. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*326, Norden, *EuV*, 45, n.1, Harrison on 10.4), which relative absence from e.g. Cic. confirms.

siluam immensam Cf. Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.451.3, *EV* 2, 924. Collecting wood for the massive pyre has led Aen. into the depths of a vast forest, which brings home to him the hopelessness of his search for the GB, not yet under way. Gloomy spondees, clash of ictus and accent, and the need for divine intervention. Nelis, 240 quotes AR 4.123-66, on Jason and Medea heading for the sacred grove in their quest for the Fleece; interesting similarity rather than conclusive indebtedness.

et sic forte precatur Compare 9.403, 11.784 *sic uoce precatur* (and **uoce** is indeed given by **R** here) and 12.175 *stricto sic ense precatur*. That might even suggest that V. repented of his use here of *forte*. So already Serv.: *uacat 'forte': et est uersus de his qui tibicines uocantur, quibus datur aliquid ad solam metri sustentationem, ut...[5.457]: nec enim possumus intellegere eum fortuito rogasse*. Serv. only uses such language here (cf. also *Companion*, 16f.; *EV* 5*, 167-70, equating *tibicines* and *hemistichia*, is altogether misconceived). Actually, though we will not know it for another couple of lines, the timing just chances to be wonderful, in that two of Venus' birds are about to appear; what *is* a little odd, and has apparently not been remarked (though Au. here nearly makes the point) is that **forte** reappears in the same *sedes* at **190**, where it seems much more at home. We have learned that V. is little bothered by such repetitions (cf. n. on 7.554, after Au. on 2.505), but here, and to a modern ear, once would surely have been preferable to twice. Cf. Highet, 37.

187-9 Aeneas' prayer The fulfilment of the Sibyl's command to bury Mis. brings Aen. up against the apparent impossibility of finding the GB. Ignored by Hickson, perhaps because clearly (n. on **189 Misene**) not strictly a prayer. The wish makes explicit Aen.'s pessimistic thoughts. Vd. Highet, 118, n.40, 315 (s.v.prayers), Cartault, 442 and Au. on **185 uolutat**.

187 si nunc se nobis.../ 188 ostendat For the 'optative' use of *si+pres.subj.*, cf. W.Görler, *EV* 2, 273. LHS 331 (first in V.), KS 1, 184f., Ernout-Thomas, 241, D.R.Shackleton Bailey, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 202f.. **Nunc** no mere 'filler'; it is here and now in this vast forest that Aen. (the plur. **nobis**) needs help. **O.**: Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1123.80 unhelpful; cf. rather Lenaz, *EV* 3, 902, who points to Cic.'s use of *o.* reflexive, at *Arat.* 65f., 77. Not distinctive, but an interesting concentration in a text V. knew well enough. The pronouns typically juxtaposed.

ille aureus...ramus I. not the bough of such universal fame, but the GB which the Sibyl has just specified to Aeneas. Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.342.37ff.; cf. (**136-48**) for discussion and **137 aureus...ramus** for the phrasing.

arbore Au. reflects that V. could have written *aureus...ramus*, without *arbore*, or *ille arbore ramus*, without *aureus*; ‘the two words. so placed, suggest a special kind of bough on a special kind of tree’.

188 nemore in tanto The **siluam immensam** of **186**, seen by Aen.. On the relative size of a poetic *nemus*, cf. (inconclusively) n. on 7.83. Add H.-D.Reeker, *Die Landschaft in der Aen...* (Hildesheim 1971), 67.

quando omnia.../ 189...de te...locuta est Standard is *uera dici*, Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1665.11ff.; with *omnia*, cf. *Cic.carm.Limon* 4 (Soubiran, p.238). *EV* 3, 248. She had spoken truly of Misenus, so how was Aen. to fulfil the other part of her instructions?

uere/ 189 heu nimium Cf. 4.657 *felix, heu nimium felix* (Dido on Dido), 11.841 (with n.; Opis on Camilla): three instances, then, at a high emotional level. Some sort of neoteric origin would not be unlikely. **Nimium** rare in V. (cf. 9.617), but current in both Cat. and Lucr.; also *Cic.carm.* Soph.; V.’s comment, **heu nimium**, is run on for greater force.

uates Cf. 6.12, etc..

Misene For the apostrophe, cf. n. on 7.1; the old bibliography collected, Lunelli-Kroll, 25, n.25. That Misenus, not Venus, is addressed in these vv. makes it hard to claim that they are, formally, a prayer.

190 uix ea fatus erat *Quinquies* in *Aen.*, along with *uix ea fatus eram, tantum effatus, effata*, Moskalew, 65, n.82, and n. on 3.90: ‘frequently in the context of divine intervention’, as Au. notes (here).

geminae...columbae A pair of serpents kill Laocoon and portend the fall of Troy, n. on 2.203f., citing H.Kleinknecht, *Herm.* 79 (1944), 72f.; add F.Luterbacher, *Die Prodigienlaube...* (repr. Darmstadt 1957), 53f., Pease on *Cic.Div.* 1.36, Bell, 60. But though the pair of snakes is frequent in Rom. portents, it is not clear that the number is significant here. On the hopeless task of identification, vd. n. on 2.516 (‘some sort of rock-dove?’); ‘dove’ is probably near enough, much though we might prefer tiresome ornithological precision.

cum forte Cf. n. on **186**; now at last Aen. is confronted by the happy operation of chance. Cartault, 442, n.1 (p.499) sees no operation of chance here, oddly.

191 ipsa sub ora uiri **Sub** ‘down into’ *vel sim.*; Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1086.72f. compares *Ov.Pont.* 2.8.8 *caelitibus missis nostra sub ora tribus*. **Viri**: not quite as at **174**, though here too there may be a sense that the mortal hero receives a divine signal; for the poet. use of *vir* to replace avoided oblique forms of *is*, cf. Axelson, 70f., nn. on 7.296, 757.

Serv. here comments *perite, ne si longius uolarent, non ad eum pertinere uiderentur*, etc., suggesting that the *columbae* fly close to make sure that they are within Aen.’s sphere of augural vision, or *conspicio*, as we

learn from Varr.*LL*.7.8, though Aen. is not here acting as an augur. This is typical late c.4 overenthusiasm, which should never have seduced competent commentators; the birds here fly down into Aen.'s view, land and settle; complications unwelcome. But Serv.'s n. here is the tip of an iceberg, upon which even Norden's normal good sense is wrecked. There is much more Roman religion in Serv. and Macr. than in Virgil: altogether understandable, given the historical context in which they wrote: cf. *Alambicco*, 115, 158, with Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 60. Serv. offers some other comment on (alleged) augurs' technical language in V. (cf. n. on 3.291) and a lot of comment on augury in *Aen.*: Lehr, 96-104, Lersch, 165f., but still, preferably, Thomas, 268f. The end of Serv.Dan.'s long n. on 1.398 refers to the present passage as an *augurium* and many references to augury in Serv.'s comm. on these vv. will be discussed below. Norden never doubted that Serv. was right, and expanded the list of allegedly significant details. In late 1968, Stefan Weinstock set eyes on my discussion of 7.141-3 as an *auspicium impetrativum* (cf. *Aen*.2, p.482), and a couple of days later he explained to me, *cum ira et studio*, in two or three minutes (no more, in truth, was needed), that this was not how Virgil worked. 2.679-704 (where vd. comm.) is quite another matter, for the whole referential pattern is explicit and unproblematic. Here, though, the initial idea, in Serv.'s source, was not good and Norden's pp.189f. do him little or no credit; the weaknesses of detail will be discussed *seriatim* below. Here, V. is writing in an altogether different, Greek, mode, (136-48), (4). The birds are not augural, but sent as guides, implicitly by Venus. V.'s language seems to overlap at certain points with that used by augurs (inevitably; poets and augurs both sometimes use standard Latin: see e.g. on 192 *sedere*), but Serv.'s case will swiftly reveal certain major weaknesses, though few as laughable as the discussion of 197 *effatus*. The story of the guiding birds is of a familiar type; it could have been enriched with hints of augury, but at no point can we be sure that it actually is.

Mackie suggests (119), quite without argument, that Venus sending the doves was a reward to Aen. for his *pietas* in burying Mis.: that is not at all how V. presents the matter, for, through no fault of Aen.'s, the burial is overdue and the corpse an agent of pollution. Is the sending of the *columbae* a key instance of Venus aiding her son? Is this a significant moment in the teleological structure of the poem? Or rather a kindly, passing gesture to reward Aen. for a single act of *pietas*? We do need (vd. *infra*) to bear in mind that V. is at pains *not* to attribute directly the birds' arrival directly to Venus, but that is how Aen. understands the matter (194 *maternas agnoscit auis*, 197).

caelo uenere ‘Along the sky’ Au., rightly pointing to an abl. of extension (cf. Cat. 62.20, 26, Hor.*Epd.*15.1, *G.*1.366, 4.103, 426, *Aen.*3.515, 12.76, Malosti, 54, 57, 69, 89 etc.).

uolantes The means of **uenere** specified neatly and alliteratively. though there is hardly any significant addition to the sense. Lucr.6.833 *uenere uolantes*, Wigodsky, 119, 124.

192 et uiridi...solo Cf. 3.304 of *caespite* (with n.), 5.330 *herbas*, 7.800 *luco*. Edgeworth, 43, 167.

sedere Spallone (*EV* 4, 749) notes acutely that **s.** is likely to be perf. of *sido*; ‘settle’, as at **203**; cf. too 10.785 (of a spear; vd. Harrison's n.). Cf. n. on **203 sidunt**. No. claims **sedere** as augural, after Regell; indeed the vb. (or vbs.) is used of birds (and bees) settling: cf. Cic.*div.*1.78 and *Aen.*7.66 (with my n.)(bees), *Aen.*12.864, Tac.*Hist.*2.50, Luterbacher, 51 (with ample evidence). Naturally, *also* the normal word for the settling of bees/birds in a non-augural context.

tum maximus heros For **h.** of *Aen.*, cf. **103**, Pomathios, 187, *EV* 2, 845 (*tacent* Moseley (**158**), Mackie). The superl. rather as at 5.530, 8.470; cf. *EV* 3, 320, Pomathios, 202. 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.

193 maternas...aues Bulhart, *TLL*.8.469.39f. compares *Ov.Am.*1.2.23 (where vd. McKeown, and *id.*, on 1.13.32 for the elevated adjective). On the association of doves with Venus (in post-Class. Greece; Sapph.fr.42LP proves nothing), cf. Robert, 1, 381f., D'A. Wentworth Thompson, *Gloss. Gk. birds*, 246, Dümmler, *PW* 1.2767.24-34. *Aen.* thinks the birds were sent by Venus; do we? were they?

agnouit Used of the augur Tolumnius recognising a message from the gods, 12.260; cf. the similar 9.660. But the vb. used equally of comic recognition (so here too, by identifying the birds, *Aen.* identifies his mother's hand in the action). No reason, therefore, *pace* No., to suppose that *also* in the present passage the verb has an augural flavour. **Agnouit M**, Serv.Dan. on 1.193; **agnoscit PR**, TCD, c.9 mss., in a long sequence of perfects unwelcome and arguably unvirgilian. For the perf., Conte quotes **498** and 10.874 as (good) analogies.

laetusque precatur Joy in recognising that his mother is (indirectly) taking care of him, even here on the brink of the Underworld, overrides grief at the loss of Mis. and fear of the travels to come. **L.** in the introduction to a speech, 7.259. **P.**, as at **186**.

194-7 Both a plea to the birds themselves and a more conventional plea to the mother who seems to have sent them; Cartault, 442, Hightet, 37, 118, n.40, 315.

194 este duces The imper. also at **258**, 12.647. **D.**: *TLL* 5.1.2325.74f. (Hey); de Nonno (*EV* 2, 148) points to *Enn. Ann.* 430 *dux ipse uias* (gen. sing.), *Buc.* 8.38 *dux ego uester eram*, *Aen.* 3.470 (where vd. n.), etc..

o Cf. **196**; for this use with imper. ('con una valenza iussivo-incidentiva', Lepre, *EV* 2, 994), cf. Wieland, *TLL* 9.2.5.54ff., 61ff. (from *Enn.*).

si qua uia est Cf. full n. on 7.4 *si qua est ea gloria*; note 12.157 *si quis modus*, **6.458f.**, 1.603, 2.142, 536 (with n.), 4.382, 5.688, 9.446, 12.56f., 152, etc. for such 'uncertainty-formulae' in prayers. **Via**: the way, evidently, to find the tree that bears the GB.

cursumque per auras/ 195 derigite in lucos Dittmann, *TLL* 5.1.1240.48f.; **di- PR**; **de- M**, Serv., TCD, Non.. The older spelling preferable. *Cursum d.* standard Latin, Cic., Caes., Nep., Liv., Vell.; prose rather than verse, but on account of subj.-matter rather than because of any sense of the expression being flat or low. **Per a.** a clausula *semel* in *G.*, 17x in *Aen.*. Cf. n. on **188** for *silua*, *lucus*, *nemus*; here apparently all used interchangeably (**186**, **188**, here).

ubi...opacat *Pacuv. trag.* 362 *nunc primum opacat flora lanugo genas*, Cic., *G.* 2.55; possibly felt still as tragic (cf. Cordier, 30, n.3, 40). Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.656.54f. compares Colum. 4.24.3 *per meridiem plures palmites summittantur, qui laborantem matrem [the 'mother-tree'] feruoribus aestiuis opacent*.

pinguem.../ 196...humum Note the chiasmic arrangement of adjs. and nouns, round a central verb. Ottink, *TLL* 10.1.2171.33f. compares *Ov. Her.* 1.54, *Ars.* 1.360. The ground enriched possibly by the density of the forest and the leaves of the ilex and most probably by the proximity of the gold, as the juxtaposition of the adjs. quite strongly suggests. The notion offered by Butler and Williams that the soil was so very rich that it produced a golden bough is very peculiar; the GB is of no natural growth.

diues.../ 196 ramus So Tib. 1.9.31 of *auri pondere*, 1.10.7 of *auri*, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1591.27. A choice variation on **187 aureus**.

tuque...ne defice *TLL* 5.1.336.55ff. (Leissner). An equivalent-by-litotes of common *adesse* (Appel, 115f.). The form of prohibition slightly archaic; cf. n. on 7.96.

o Cf. **194**; part of a distinct syntactical structure and no perceptible gemination, therefore.

dubiis...rebus Cf. 11.445 (with n.) and vd. No. here: numerous early attestations and a presumably, if not distinctively archaic flavour. Compare **91 rebus egenis**; here probably an abl. abs., not dat..

197 diua parens Delayed and climactic. Used by Dido at 4.365 and not elsewhere in *V.* or indeed in class. Latin. Cf. n. on 2.664 *alma parens*;

here, the epithet is upgraded in recognition of the notable assistance provided by Venus' birds.

sic effatus Speech-formula (*quinquies* in *Aen.*); Moskalew, 65, n.82. Serv. comments: *proprie effata sunt augurum preces: unde ager post pomeria, ubi captabantur auguria, dicebatur effatus*. V.'s sense is perfectly clear here (*supra*), and so is Serv.'s (Wissowa, 472, n.3, Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.199.23ff.; the augur's definition of an area): clearly, they do not coincide, for V. uses *e.* as a speech-end formula, while Serv. recalls, inappropriately, that the word *also* can be used, in an augural sense (cf. Bannier, 5.2.199.35f.). Cf. too Flobert, 354, for Serv.'s use of *effor* as a passive). A droll instance of the wilder shores of Serv.'s religious preoccupations.

uestigia pressit At 11.788 *premius uestigia* (where vd. discussion) more probably of a firm, deep footprint. Both here and at **331**, Henry argues (rather perversely) for 'went slowly'. Cf. *TLL* 10.2.1176.25 (Pade). But at **331**, given the parallelism of **constitit**, there is no serious room for doubt that the sense is 'halt', and, given **331**, it is difficult to give the phrase a significantly different sense here (note too, substituting the *simplex*, **389 comprime gressum** (clearly 'halt') and 2.378 *pedem...repressit* with n.); for non-Virgilian instances, cf. n. on the doubtful **159 uestigia figit**. Most of Henry's parallels are not quite close enough to be decisive in either direction; it is quite likely that imitators understood a tricky, elusive Virgilian phrase in whatever way suited them best. Serv. here offers, not quite accurately: *quia ad captanda auguria post preces immobiles uel sedere uel stare consueuerant*. For the *seated*, immobile augur, vd. my discussion, *CR* 34 (1984), 227 and vd. Pease on *Cic.Div.1.31 consititisse* ['took position']. Not only is *Aen.* not engaged in augury here (not least because there has been no unquestionable portent), but he is neither suitably seated, nor correctly dressed. No. is impressed by Serv. here, but should not have been.

198 obseruans *TLL* 9.2.204.44f. (Lumpe/Szantyr); with a dependent clause thus from Plaut. on. Serv. *Dan. seruare enim et de caelo et de aibus uerbo augurum dicitur. Seruare, not obseruare*; it is the latter that is standard Latin for 'observe' which suits very well here. So too the Argonauts observe the *peleia* leading their passage through the Symplegades, *AR* 2.563 (Nelis).

quae signa ferant Hey glosses (*TLL* 6.1.547.1) 'columbae praeuolantes'; the language is ordinary and natural Latin for 'give a sign'; not, *pace* Norden ('t.t. für die Zeichen des Auguriums'), technical or augural. Are we not to suppose that the birds are simply giving *Aen.* indication of the way to follow? Obviously *signum* can be and is used for an omen or portent (*OLD* s.v., §5b), *Cic.Div.1.30, 77 obiecto signo, 118 certa signa*, but nothing suggests that that is mandatory here, and No.'s suggestion (at

199) that it is the **signum** of the birds' feeding to which V. refers is not happy. When Henry argues that *s.f.* here too means 'lead, advance' (in the very common military phrase; cf. 7.628 with n.) he is hardly wrong; the *columbae* are indeed in some sense Aeneas' standard-bearers at this point. Theme and variation, as Prof. O'Hara notes, with **tendere pergant**.

quo tendere pergant Cf. Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.1434.64ff.; common in the sense of 'proceed', with infin. of vb. of motion (Holmes, *cit.*, 54ff.). **T.**: *EV* 5*, 95; 'make their way', *vel sim.*; 11.494, 12.579 *et saep.*. A reference (No.) to the augurally significant direction of the birds' flight (cf. *Cic.Div.*2.80, etc.)? Or at least a hint thereof? But the birds are here present to *guide* Aen. to the GB, (**136-48**), (**4**), in a clear literary tradition; their function is therefore not primarily augural. *Columbae* (whatever they are, exactly) are indeed not augural birds, as No. acknowledges, on the explicit evidence of *Serv.Dan.* on 1.398.

199 pascentes An old problem of punctuation; *Serv.* explains that some punctuated before **p**, others after. There is punctuation *after p*. in **MP**. No. and Au. are clearly enough right to observe that the structure of **199-200** (framed by the two partic., as are **202-3** by **tollunt...sidunt**, as No. remarks) is a balanced whole, which would be damaged by excepting **pascentes** from it; not to mention (Henry) the disproportionate stress laid upon **p**. if run on. *Optimum significatur augurium, quod pascebant* *Serv.*; for discussion, cf., amply, Pease on *Cic.Div.*1.27 *neesse est*. We might recall that these birds are not chickens, and that Aen. is not looking for an omen, least of all for the typically military omen from feeding birds. The vb. seems *not* to be an augural, technical term for significantly feeding birds (Krömer, *TLL* s.v.; Pease, *cit.*) and the evidence for such a use seems limited to *Serv.* here; of course, **p**. is the natural word for V. to use of feeding birds; it would naturally be, likewise, a natural word to use of chickens feeding augurally, or significantly.

illae The *columbae* have not been specified since **190**; here, **i.** discreetly reminds us that they are still the subject, Wagner, *QV* xxi, §5.

tantum.../ 200 quantum The weighty correlatives quite to V.'s taste: cf. *Buc.*1.24f., 7.51, 9.11ff., 10.73f., *G.*2.376ff., 4.101, *Aen.*6.578f., 7.252f. (avoid poor n.).

prodire uolando Historic infin.; cf. n.on 11.142 for bibl. of discussions, and add Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 62. The vb. standard; for narr. prose, (Caes., Cic., Liv.), cf. Vestergaard, *TLL* 10.2.1599.57ff.; ignored, *EV* 2, 323. TCD worried by **u.**, because he 'knows' that **p**. should be used of the feet. Since **192**, the *columbae* have taken off again.

200 acie Kempf, *TLL* 1.401.35f., s.v. 'vis videndi', *OLD* s.v., §2a; *Lucr.*1.324, *Aen.*12.558, etc. (standard usage). This sense simply ignored by *EV* s.v. (Malavolta).

possent Subjunctive, to convey the intent or purpose (or even, simply, thought) of the *columbae*, i.e. they advanced slowly enough for the observers' gaze to be able to follow them. Most probably, therefore, final (Handford, *Lat. subjunc.*, 50, Bennett, 1, 256 for archaic instances), or just possibly 'virtual oblique' (Woodcock, 238f.). The search for definition, discussion or precise analogies fruitless but instructive.

oculi...sequentum Not just *Aen.*; the plur. shows that *Aen.* is not at this point alone, a point seemingly not made elsewhere. Cf. *Aen.*9.394 for the anonymous 'followers' thus neatly introduced. Note *-um*, not *-ium*; common in the poets, E.Bednara, *TLL* 14 (1906), 341, NW 2, 139ff., Sommer, 383, etc..

seruare Augural language again for No., after *Serv.Dan.* (cited, s.v. **198 obseruans**); but *s.* is standard Lat. usage for 'keep in sight', *OLD* s.v., §3b. For the mythographic context, vd. (**136-48**), (4). Note that V. uses *s.* only two lines after **obseruans**: cf. n. on 7.554 *arma*; uncaring, rather than significant repetition, *pace* Wills, 441.

201 inde ubi Cf. 3.69 (with n.), 5.139, 8.407, 10.888.

ad fauces The technical term in geogr. and scient. texts for the rim of a crater (cf. *Alambicco*, 22, *Lucr.*1.724, etc., *Cic.ND* 2.95, *G.*4.467, Wulff, *TLL* 6.1.397.49ff. at 62f.; *ora* (e.g.) would have been comprehensible, but V. selects the proper word. **F.** also of a cave, **6.241**, where vd. n. for ample comparanda. C.G.Hardie's n. here in *Au.* is slightly indecisive, for he is exercised by the problem of whether **f.** here might not mean the passage from Lacus Lucrinus to *Av.*, rather than the great crater of *Av.*, however much decayed it already was in literal truth by V.'s time; Hardie is excellent, though, on representations of *Avernus* as a grand, entire crater, for literary effect. Study of *TLL* s.v. *f.* quickly shows that it is the 'jaws' of a great crater that the word most naturally suggests, and so Hardie rather tentatively concludes. Gk. γνάθος occasionally so used (*Aesch.*, *Strab.*).

graue olentis Cf. *G.*4.31 *grauiter spirantis copia thymbrae*, 270 *graue olentia centaurea* (then *Plin.Nat.*, (?)*Apul.Mund.*, *Palladas*, *Bräuninger*, *TLL* 6.2.2268. 19ff., writing **g. o.** as a single word); compare the formations *bene olens*, *suaue olens*, *Sinko*, *TLL* 2.2106.11ff. (from *Cato* on), *Catrein*, 160 (*heavy odour*); *Pascucci*, *EV* 3, 701 should probably not have suggested that *graue-* was a back-formation from earlier *bene-*, for that is to ignore *Nicander's* βάρυδομος (*Ther.*51; a passage V. knows well; see *Mynors*, *Thomas* on *G.*3.414). *Cordier*, 46 is probably right to suggest a *Virgilian* coinage. I have visited many a *fumarola* and the stench is indeed prodigious (the winner, perhaps, *Bagni di Tivoli*), as *Serv.* knew (on

11.785); cf. further nn. on **239-42**. Cf. S.Lilja, *The treatment of odours in the poetry of antiquity*, *Comm.hum.litt.* 49 (Helsinki 1972), 201.

Auerni For the form of the name and the location, cf. n. on 3.442; vd. further *Itin.*, pls. 87, 88, McKay, *Vergil's Italy*, 215-7, Castagnoli, *Topogr. ant.*, 2, 1007, 1025, etc., Maiuri, 149-60, F.Sbordone, *EV* 1, 430-2, Kinsey (**126**) and C.G.Hardie's note here in Au. Readers, like e.g. Hardie, rash enough to focus on the geogr. details of V.'s narrative find a problem here: from the Trojans' landing-place, Aeneas climbs to Apollo's temple and the Sibyl's abode; thence, to Misenum, and on to Avernus (**162, 201**), thence back to Misenum (**232**, etc.) and on to the cave (apparently inside the crater of Avernus) that leads down into the Underworld (**236-42**). Set out like that, the narrative might appear disorganised and lacking in spatial unity (slightly farcical, even), but I rather suspect that V. did not expect such map-in-hand readers; cf. R.J.Clark, *TAPA* 107 (1977), 64 for a more respectful view of the issue, but his evident familiarity with the western (Cumae) and eastern (Misenum) shores of the promontory of Misenum leads him to the dangerous and unfounded assumption that Virgil's readers, even readers who had some acquaintance with the area, would likewise be troubled by a poetic fusion or superimposition of the two faces. Cumae and Misenum are nearer in the poem than on the map, and that matters not a scrap. Cf. (**148**), (**1**)(**d**) for some discussion of V.'s elastic topography.

202 tollunt se Au. well notes other instances of initial spondaic verbs used reflexively, so that a molossus-by-sense is created, avoiding the sometimes unwelcome self-contained first-foot spondee (cf. n. on 7.406). Some discussion of V.'s quite common use of reflexive *tollere* (5.369, 8.541, etc.), *EV* 5*, 206 (de Vivo).

celeris Of swift flight, cf. 3.243, 5.217, etc., *EV* 1.725.

liquidumque per aera Cf. 7.65 *liquidum trans aethera uectae* (with n.): the adj. as I wrote "primarily= 'clear'" (Non.p.334.18M = *purum*, glossing this v.); cf. *TLL* 7.2.1485. 34 (Stirnimann), *EV* 3, 231. Serv. sees a contrast with the stinking airs of Avernus and may be right to do so.

lapsae A word which could/should have been used in the argument about V.'s supposed description of the *columbae* as a portent. **L.** does indeed belong solidly to the language of portent-description, but is also the most natural word for V. to use of a pair of birds gliding through the skies (n. on 2.693); here, after, as we have seen, no clear and specific efforts to depict the arrival and departure of the birds as portentous, it would be odd to introduce, as an afterthought, **I.** as characterising language.

203 sedibus optatis Desired by Aen. or by the doves? Given that the main verb refers to the *columbae*, and that Aen. is not present in the sentence, **o.** refers naturally to the birds' choice (vd. Guillemin's n.), which turns out to

be exactly what Aen. himself would have wished; of course Venus' birds and Venus' son work in harmony. 'What Aen. wanted' is a distinctively 'modern' reading (though already championed with vigour by Henry), which seeks to insert a hint of Aen.'s wishes at the cost of forcing the natural sense, by expecting us to welcome his awkward presence. **O.** also 'ein sakrales Wort', according to No., comparing 3.109 (where vd. my n.); at *TLL* 9.2.826.56ff. (s.v. 'eligitur hostia'). Keudel invokes Norden's n. here, misleadingly: when No. writes 'ein sakrales Wort', in terms of *sacrifices* that seems quite true (Fest.p.202.12ff.L), but his leap to the equally sacred character of sought-out, desired city foundations ('durch Auspizien'; sacred though they clearly in a quite different sense are) is unpersuasive. Unlike Keudel, No. does not mention 3.132. Just because *o.* is used technically of sacrifices, that does not mean that it is likewise sacral when applied to birds, or colonists, though colonists' activity does contain a religious element of its own; it is a pity that this needed to be spelled out. As Butler remarks, it 'has nothing to do with the case'. A plain, non-technical sense is altogether acceptable both here and in 3, *citt.*, *pace* Lehr, 103, *EV* 3, 862, both dazzled by No..

gemina super arbore Cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1748.20f.; TCD comments on the neatness with which a pair of doves settle on a double tree, *quae frondem duplicem materiamque portabat*. Not that V. really needs to, but he makes the sense very clear in what follows. Ladewig well compares 1.655 *duplicem gemmis auroque coronam*. **R's geminae** the work of a scribe with his mind on the birds, not the tree, for all Henry's energetic pleading to the contrary.

sidunt Cf. **192 sedere**. Certainly a word of portent-language (*supra*; cf. *Alambicco*, 22, written when I was not yet aware of how V. had passed by every chance to portray the birds as Roman and portentous from the outset). But also, once more, the obvious and natural non-portentous word to use of birds settling. TCD comments on how V. suppresses the (only superficially exciting) details of Aen. following the *columbae*.

204 discolor...auri...aura A phrase remarkable even by V.'s very highest standards. Of the adj., *Differentiae* (ed. Beck), p.51.22 writes *dispare colore est, uel est uarius, ut pardus*; before V., found in Varr.*RR* and Cic.*Verr.*. Illuminatingly, Ov. writes thus of the contrasting colours of the *latrunculi* on a 'chess' board, *Trist.*2.477. TCD expands quite well *ex ea quae uiridis fuit aliud genus coloris effulsit*. There is surely a double synaesthesia here, the branch's 'breath', contrasting *both* in colour *and* in material, as does not quite emerge from Catrein's fine discussion (77f.). It may well be that V. is here inspired by a singular phrase in Call.*H.Dian.*117 φάεος... ἄυτμήν/ ἄβέετος. Noted by Heyne and then e.g. Forbiger, Hey, *TLL* 2.1474.71 (1904; an excellent entry, even by H.'s high standards,

and above all for that date), Butler, Au., but apparently not No.. Note also Varr.*Men.*139 *simul ac languido corpori solis calidior uisa est aura*, *OLD* s.v. *aura*, §7b. Serv.'s *splendor auri* here is a little crude. Macr. 6.6.8 aims higher: *quid est enim aura auri, aut quem ad modum aura refulget? sed tamen pulchre usurpauit*. For the common metaph. use of *aura* (rumour, fame, etc.), cf. **816**, but Nettleship also surveys application to e.g. odours (*Contr.Lat.Lex.*, 385f.), and NH on Hor.C.2.8.24 render as 'emanation', 'influence' (to which an earlier generation might have referred knowingly as 'It'). At Hor.C.1.5.11, NH draw attention to a play between *aurae* and (v.9) *aurea*; so clearly here: O'Hara, *TN* 167. Cf. also Edgeworth, 100, 124, Catrein, *supra*; *tacet EV*.

205-7 Simile of the mistletoe

See Hornsby, 83f., Segal, *EV* 4, 396, J.W.Hunt, *Forms of glory* (Carbon-dale 1973), 74, R.Rieks, *ANRW* 2.31.2 (Berlin 1981), 1038f., Brooks (**136-48**), 269-71, Clark, *Catabasis*, 196f., von Duhn, 121-5. Cf. (**136-48**), (**3**) for discussion of the botanical problems and of the parasite's irrelevant Nordic/Celtic associations. Gold against dark green (see in particular **204**; contrast **208 opaca**), compared to mistletoe against leafless boughs (and, inevitably, winter sky). The gold no more, or less, part of the ilex than mistletoe is part of the host-tree. Far more has been claimed for these verses, once in Germany and later in the USA, but this is not the place for mantic speculation (in similar terms, Clark, 197). A connexion between the *columbae* and bird-lime made from mistletoe-berries (*OLD* s.v. *uiscum*, §2) could easily be confected, but is hardly profitable.

205 quale...// 207 talis Cf. *Buc.*8.85 *talis...qualis*; a rare means of embedding a simile in the text; in Hom. οἶος...τοῖος markedly commoner.

solet siluis For the abl. of extension, cf. Malosti, 92f., *Aen.*7.491, 11.686 and note also similar use of *lucis*; marked allit. perhaps associated with the rustling to come (**209**).

brumali frigore Bannier, *TLL* 2.2209.73; the adj. *bis* in *Cic.Phaen.*, *bis* in *Lucr.*; *ib.*, 6.1.1134.80f. (Rubenbauer) adds nothing.

uiscum Vd. *supra*.

206 fronde uirere noua Mistletoe is evergreen, *Plin.Nat.*16.246, Edgeworth, 365, Maggiulli, 481f. (and *EV* 5*, 570), Howard (*infra*), 159; vd. too *EV* 5*, 563,. The vb. in *Cic.*, *Hor.C.*1, *Buc.*, *Liv.*6, but above all *Cat.* 64.293, *Lucr.*1.18; standard Latin, altogether acceptable in high poetry. Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1349.5f.: **f.n.**: cf. *G.*2.82, *Hor.C.*3.4.12, *Ov.F.*1.138, *AA* 2.199. Note *Plin.*'s use of *adnascor*, applied to parasitic growth, *Nat.*16. 245; and vd. *ib.*, 244, *Arist.gen.anim.*715b29f., *Thphr.caus.plant.*2.17.2 for such parasitic growths in general.

quod non...seminat The vb. only here in V.: ‘engender’, ‘give birth to’, while Page’s ‘sows’ is rather unhappy; the seeds are transported by the agency of birds, who eat the sticky berries and then wipe their beaks against the bark of the host tree (*Enc.Brit.*₁₁ s.v. Mistletoe, Howard (*infra*), 158f.) and not, as was once thought, via their droppings (Plin.*Nat.*16.247, Isid.*Etym.*12.7.71 with Steier, PW 15.2067.47ff.).

sua....arbos Cf. *Buc.*1.37 *sua...in arbore poma*, *G.*2.82 *miraturque nouas frondes et non sua poma*.

207 et croceo fetu Cf. (136-48), (3), *TLL* 4.1212.67f. (Lommatzsch), 6.1.639.16 (Leonhardi). we recall the **auricomos...fetus** of 141. For the (roughly comparable) gold of the Bough and yellow of the berries, cf. Edgeworth, 122f..

teretis...truncos See the excellent Alexander L. Howard, *Trees in Britain...* (London 1949), 194: ‘its bark is smooth and green in early life, but later becomes fissured and scaly’. Smooth and green indeed, just like the leaves; there may be an element of transference from the one to the other. Cf. *EV* 5*, 130, 305.

circumdare Cf. *Buc.*6.62, *Bannier*, *TLL* 3.1133.4f.. Actually, mistletoe does not so much twine round its host-tree like some gigantic creeper as form great disorderly loose balls, almost like the nest of some large, untidy bird; amply present e.g. in Alsace in the Spring.

208 erat species Cf. *EV* 4, 978, *G.*4.406 *tum uariae eludent species atque ora ferarum*. ‘Aspect’, ‘appearance’.

auri frondentis A phrase deserving to stand alongside **204 auri...aura**: the GB is clearly made of gold, but its form is in all aspects that of the bough of a natural holm-oak. Cf. 5.129 *frondenti ex ilice*, *Robbert*, *TLL* 6.1.1345.44f.; already in *Acc. trag.*, *Lucret*, *Buc.*. Adjs. and nouns discreetly arranged in the sequence ABBA.

opaca/ ilice Cf. **136 arbore opaca**, *TLL* 9.2.658.14 (Beikircher), 11.851 *opacaque ilice* (where vd. n.), *EV* 3, 856.

209 sic leni...uento. Cf. 3.70, *EV* 3, 175. 3.70 is in some way important to V.’s phrasing here, for there he had described *Auster* as *lenis crepitans*, of a gentle wind humming in the rigging, perhaps causing it to drum against sails (vd. n. there).

crepitabat Cf. *Sen.Ag.*855 *crepitante lamna* (of the Tree of the Golden Apples), where Tarrant draws attention to *Ov.Met.*10.647f. (yet another debt to this passage; cf. Bömer there); cf. Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1170.23¹.

1 Two kindly old craftsmen let me watch them apply, garrulously, gold leaf to a tomb in Westminster Abbey in spring 1964; their use of ‘air oil’ was memorable, and my preference for ‘rustling’ over ‘tinkling’ is therefore also (mildly) informed.

brattea Gold leaf, Blümner, *Technologie* 4, 230, E.Saglio, DS 1.1, 747f., Münscher, *TLL* 2.2166, 52f., already in Lucr. 4.727 (thin, indeed, as a cobweb). The GB is arboreal in form and entirely golden in matter.

210 corripit Aeneas A vb. often used by V. of energetic action, ‘snatch, grasp vigorously’ (Milani, *EV* 4, 401, n. on 2.167), not because Aen. is about to try to wrench it off (not, after all, possible), but because his mother’s birds have at last brought him to the right tree and there is huge natural excitement (powerfully conveyed by four successive words, allowing for Aen., the subj.) to be discerned in the energetic lexicon applied. The problems raised by this v., in the context of the GB’s moment of resistance to Aen.’s energetic assault, have already been discussed in some detail, (136-48), (5)(b) and (137), (5); here in particular, cf. too Avery (136-48), 271, Segal (*ib.*, 1968), 76f., *id.*, *EV* 4, 396, d’Arms (136-48), 267, Clark, *Catabasis*, 186.

extemplo Immediate reaction to to the revelation that he has, at last, thanks to careful observation of the *columbae* reached the right tree; cf. n. on 7.276.

audisque So too 1.514, 3.132, 12.909, etc.. Cf. *EV* 1, 428, *TLL* 2.1426. 33f. (Hey). Serv. *ut ostendat auellendi cupiditatem*.

refringit Used by Enn. of Discordia bursting open the Gates of War, *Ann.*226. *OLD* s.v., §1a finely notes ‘to break (by exerting pressure against), break back’, citing Cat.63.86 *refringit uirgulta pede uago*. ‘Snaps off’ even.

211 cunctantem Cf. (136-48), (5)(b) and (137), (1), (6); at 137, *cit.*, a full discussion of Aen.’s eagerness and the GB’s resistance is offered and nothing will be added here. At (136-48), 56f., Lee offers a list of other ‘significant moments’ at which c. is employed (cf. Putnam, *VA*, 156f.). The vb. (*tacet EV*) clearly well suited to the narration of a slightly delayed climax, and its relative frequency may say rather more about V.’s narrative technique than about the peculiar significance of the present passage, or indeed the alleged defects of Aen..

et uatis...Sibyllae Cf. 65, etc.. See (136-48), (5)(a) for the close narrative association of GB and Sibyl in the rest of *Aen.*6.

portat sub tecta Kruse, *TLL* 10.2.46.20; the verb much discussed of late, because apparently of popular origin, but much favoured by the poets, while substantially absent from *Kunstprosa*; cf. nn. on 7.167, 11.333, Lyne, *WP*, 57-60, Axelson, *UW*, 30, Lenaz, *EV* 4, 224. For *tecta*, vd. *SC*, (19), (vi), and for the topogr. difficulty, *SC*, (9)(f), (j).

212-235 Burial of Misenu (concluded)

At p.194, Norden remarks of the scene ‘Sie ist auch für uns eine Fundamentalstelle für italisch-griechisch Bestattungen und Opfergebräuche (die V. absichtlich mischt)’. This view of the passage is restated without hesitation by (e.g.) Au, p.102 and McKay (1984), 133. But significant problems of method do obtrude and demand to be considered here, in no spirit of disrespect towards No..

(i) It is not Virgil's practice to describe precisely and undeviatingly Roman religious procedures, any more than the details of Campanian geography (cf. vd. *SC*, *passim*); compare my analysis of the incubation-oracle at Albunea (7.81-106) and of the fire-walking on Mt. Soracte (11.785), with *CR* 27 (1987), 179 and *Alambicco*, 43. The oddities and complexities of V.'s religious detail sometimes left Serv. perplexed and critical (see *Alambicco*, 43, n.89 for bibl.; even at **6.229** he (sensibly) offers alternative explanations) and compare too **215f.** (hurdles), **216** (cypresses) and **217** (arms) for details which remain obscure despite the mass of parallel material available. The precise record of an unvarying ancient ceremony? **More parentum (213)** is as much atmospheric as accurate description and we should perhaps also note that what I have called ‘euphuism’ (**218f.**) is not a manner of writing that a poet concerned with full and precise description would naturally adopt. After the description of Mis.' pyre and the rites performed there, V. passes directly to another rite, that of the piacular sacrifices, and it is surely significant in the present context that he will there introduce (**245f.**) a small detail (cutting the hair from the victim's forehead) that has no place in Rom. usage, but is clearly of familiar Greek origin; cf. too **248f.**, which may be another instance of Greek detail. Norden's initial comment is perplexing: is the funeral then *both* literary and ‘real’, both Greek and Roman and precise in both Greek and in Roman terms?

This is the third (even fourth, for there are two in bk.11) detailed Virgilian account of a funeral on which I have written commentary (cf. 3.62-8, 11.29-99, 182-202); the detail is not simply repetitive, and there are minor differences, as in the biers of **6.216**, 11.188f. and the types of lustration, **6.229f.**; the number of victims, **243**, may point to Hom. but I sense that V.'s choice of numeral (whether random or erudite, or even a bit of both) is beyond us. No more was there a single, orthodox and conventional Homeric funeral: V. has Patroclus' principally in mind, but there are others which contribute (notably Elpenor's, Knauer, 136, n.3). Between Elpenor and Misenu, there also stands AR's Idmon (Nelis, 242-4). V. in short offers a typically complex and elusive account, both Greek and Roman, both literary and ‘real-life’; it can hardly be described as ‘authentic’ for too many distinct strands are identifiably present in it.

212 nec minus interea Cf. n. on 7.572, with the (controversial) bibl. on *interea* in V. (here clearly of simultaneous action).

Misenum...Teucrici/ 213 flebant The vb. run on (a self-contained first-foot spondee) for maximum effect (vd. n. on 7.80); for **f.**, cf. *EV* 2, 541; Gk. κλαῖον.

in litore Cf. **162, 362, 505**, etc., and for the motif of the grave by the shore, see T.E.V.Pearce, *Lat.*42 (1983), 110-5 at 112, comm. on 7.1-4 (for the sequence Misenus, Palinurus, [Deiphobus], Caieta, and its sources).

213 et cineri ingrato See detailed n. on **885 inani/ munere** for the theme of the uselessness of mourning; Harrison, *GEVH*, 219 refers to Cat.101.4, in the context of a series of allusions in V. hereabouts to that poem, though none of them is specific enough to focus the reader's attention. **C.** is in a sense proleptic, for Mis. has not yet been cremated (*cum nondum arsisset, sed mox esset arsurus, recte defuncti corpus cinerem dixit* TCD); of **i.**, Serv. writes *gratiam non sentienti* (much better than his first try) and Sidonius glosses (so Szantyr), *Ep.*4.11.6, *gratiam non relatuero*. Cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.1074.58, Szantyr, *ib.*, 7.1.1562.65f.; *EV* 2, 792 poor.

suprema ferebant Hey, *TLL* 6.1.542.34 (*ferre*, as often, of offerings, etc.; Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 494); **s.** much favoured by V. of last days, honours, *et sim.* (Battezzatore, *EV* 4, 1081; useful); cf. 3.68 *magna supremum uoce ciemus*, 482, **6.735 supremo cum lumine**, 11.25f. *supremis/ muneribus*, 61 (with n.), 76 *supremum...honorem*, The hint of Cat.101.3 *postremo... munere* is not strong (Harrison, *GEVH*, 219). For the neut.plur. as substantive, cf. LHS, 153f., Lunelli-Kroll, 7, Ernout-Thomas, 165. For the rhyme of first and last words in the hexam. thus, cf. No., p.392f.

214 principio Cf. nn. on 3.381, **6.724**; Lucretian in tone, but very rare in V. to introduce a section of *narrative* (as at 2.752. 4.56. 7.342); here followed by **220 tum**. Cf. Spoth, *TLL* 10.2.1315.63.

pinguem taedis.../ 215 ...pyram V. has in mind the lexicon of 4.504f. *pyra penetrati in sede sub auras/ erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta* but here condenses and elaborates the phrasing. The Gk. noun (contrast *rogum, bustum*) apparently first in poetry twice in *Aen.*4; in prose, *Bell.Afr.*91.2, *Bell.Hisp.*33.3, 4, *bis* in Vitr.. For cremation and inhumation in V., etc., cf. *Aen.*11, index s.vv.. The adj. (*EV* 4, 114 poor) is used with gusto: before Ottink, *TLL* 10.1.2170.1ff., vd. Serv. acutely *aut de Graeco transtulit λιπαράν magnam: aut hypallage* [enallage, or transferred epithet, in my own terminology] *est, hoc est de pinguibus taedis*; cf. G.B.Conte, *Virgilio* (Torino 2002), 58, Maggiulli, 450, *EV* 5*, 18. Compare *Buc.*7.49 *taedae pingues*, where Serv. remarks *desudantes picem* and 8.65, *p.* of *uerbenas*. The wood, then, is clearly rich in resin. *Taeda* has also been used of pine-wood in narrative prose, *OLD* s.v., §1a, citing e.g. *Caes.Civ.*2.11.2.

Comms. should not have tried to identify **t.** as a (particularly resinous) kind of pine. Norden points to the admirable (chiastic) balance of **pinguem taedis** with **robore secto ingentem**; that solves neatly the tedious and unedifying discussion (summarised in Au.'s n.) of which adj. should be taken with which noun.

et robore secto/ 215 ingentem For **r.** as 'oak', not in any precise, botanical sense, cf. n. on 2.186, after Maggiulli. Compare also 2.16 *sectaque...abiete* (with n.), 4.505. For abl. after *ingens* thus, cf. n. on 7.483, Antoine, 194f., Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1540.79ff.. The great size a debt to *Il.*23.164.

struxere Cf. 11.204 *innumeras struxere pyras* (with n.), 4.680 *his etiam struxi manibus* (sc. *rogum, pyram, vel sim.*), *EV* 4, 1042. Found *bis* in *trag.inc.*, Cat. polymetra, *semel*, Lucr., *bis*. Standard Latin, not shunned by poets.

cui The dat. once called 'of advantage': Antoine, 100f., LHS 94f. and, amply, Bennett 2, 150f..

frondibus atris Not only dark (as the ilex is, as though it mattered); Edgeworth, 79 compared Hor.C.4.4.58 (where vd. Fedeli), *Aen.*1.165, but 'gloomy, sinister' (n. on 2.272f.) and, more specifically, 'funereal' as at 3.64 *atroque cupresso* (vd. n.), 4.633 *cinis ater*, 11.186 *ignibus atris*. No close verbal parallel cited, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1352.26f..

216 intexunt latera Cf. 2.16 *sectaque intexunt abiete costas* (of the Trojan Horse)(with n.) and 11.64f. *cratis et molle feretrum/ arbuteis texunt uirgis* (where I wrote of the (?) bier 'the reality of the object described is elusive'). V. apparently envisages light hurdles of interwoven branches at the sides of the pyre, presumably to prevent the great mound of heaped tree-trunks from rolling apart; contrast the neat little stack of logs, DS 2.2, fig.3363 (with E.Cuq, *ib.*, p.1394) with the massive structures depicted, J.Arce, *Funus imperatorum* (Madrid 1988), 144f.. Evitable confusion at *EV* 5*, 158, where the cypresses (which are not part of the pyre) and Serv.'s comment on them are imported into the discussion. L.: Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1028.20.

ante Cf. Hey, *TLL* 2.128.24ff., Hand, 1, 362f. Advb. of place, but the precise, actual sense is not quite clear (no help from Serv./TCD, for whom real life is often a mystery): cypresses simply driven into the ground as funerary ornaments or standing in front of the woven screens so as to keep them upright. Serv. tells us that, according to Varro (the reference is not precisely specified) places of burning were surrounded by a ring of cypresses to screen the mourners from the worst of the smell, which could have been thought true, but does not help here. Cf. Maggiulli, 282.

217 constituunt Cf. 11.5f. *ingentem quercum.../ constituit tumulo* (of a tree set on a burial mound; vd. n.), Gudeman, *TLL* 4.511.35.

decorantque super Also used at 11.25f. *decorate supremis/ muneribus*. *TLL* 5.1.212.59 (Leissner); the vb. used by Naev., Enn., Pacuv., Lucr.. S. as often advbl..

fulgentibus armis See **861** and n., and full n. on 2.749 for this favoured clausula. See n. on 11.91 for the place of a soldier's arms in his funeral. Au., though, is perfectly right (vd. **232**) to observe that these *arma* are probably not Misenus' own. Readers will have remembered what happened at Caesar's funeral, when soldiers hurled offerings of weapons on to the pyre (cf. my n. *supra* and Weinstock, 355, Arce (**216**), 54); for Aug.'s funeral (medals thrown. Cass.Dio 56.42.2), vd. Mau, PW 3.355.62.

218 pars Then again at **222**; here as often with plur. vb., Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.455.24, LHS 436, The v. after *Il.*18.349 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ ζέεεν ὕδωρ ἐνὶ ἦροπι χαλκῶ.

calidos latices For **1**, cf. n. on 7.464 *exsultantque aestu latices*, with n.; old high poetic diction. The adj. used already of *l.* by Acc.*trag.*666; see Heine, *TLL* 7.2.1003.41f..

et aëna undantia flammis Typical Virgilian euphuism for 'boiling pots'; cf. detailed discussion, *Maia* 41 (1989), 251-4, indices to comms. s.v. euphuism. The quotidian elevated to the majestic by verbal manipulation (vd. e.g. **6 semina flammae**); verbal decorum preserved, with much gentle humour for those alert to it; *exquisita enim grauior est quam simplex* TCD, which is not quite the point but shows him an alert reader here. Cf. 7.463 *undantis aëni* with notes; actually, *aënum* for object made of *aes* is common parlance, Bickel, *TLL* 1.1445.69ff.; for synecdoche of material for object, vd. Harrison on 10.206, Lunelli-Kroll, 39, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 141f.. V.: cf. n. on 7., *cit.*: this is lofty language. F. abl. of cause; Antoine, 189f.: one of the grander ways of saying 'over the fire'; cf. n. on 7.462f. *flamma.../ uirgea* for 'kindling'. Here **f.** to be understood with both halves of the v.. Both *TLL* and *EV* disappoint here.

219 expediunt *TLL* 5.2.1609.76f. (Hiltbrunner); TCD carefully explains that the Trojans prepared the hot water so that they could wash the chill corpse.

corpusque lauans Beikircher, *TLL* 7.2.1050.10. For this ritual washing, *THESCR*A 2, 71 (Saladino) not helpful; see still, neither Toynbee (on whom, vd. n. on 11.29-99, where much modern bibl. is collected), nor even J.Bodel in *Art of ancient spectacle* (ed. B.Bergmann, C.Kondoleon, New Haven 1999), 259ff., but Marquardt-Mau, 346f. and Cuq (**216**), 1387f., *Apul.Met.*8.14 *corpus ablutum*.

frigentis *TLL* 6.1.1323.7f. (Rubenbauer); the vb. itself very rarely of the dead in class. Latin, *ib.*, 1322.4ff.. Cf. n. on 11.818, Delvigo, *Servio*, 103-5, and Onians, 95 for physiological ideas about the chill of death.

et unguunt Cf. Marquardt-Mau, Cuq, *citt.*, Onians, 277, Dyck on Cic.*Leg.*2.60, Hor. *Serm.*2.5.85f., Pers.3.104 *crassisque lutatus amomis* (where vd. Jahn), Lucian *de luctu* 11 and Mayor on Juv.4.109. Quinn, 165, n.2 compares Enn.*Ann.*147 *exin Tarquinius bona femina lauit et unxit*; no verbal parallel, but both passages refer to the same rite (cf. Sk.'s n. on Enn.'s simple and natural description). Note Wigodsky's sensible remarks, 53. Patr.'s corpse washed and anointed at *ll.* 18. 343-51, in particular, 350 (see Seymour, 474). Homeric usage thus coincides with that of old Rome. The v. framed by third-person verbs (Norden, 392, Kvičala, *Neue Beiträge*, 278) and the effect expanded by initial vbs., **216**, **222**, final **219**, **220**.

220 fit gemitus So *fit strepitus, sonitus, sonus, murmur*, n. on 2.209.

tum...toro...reponunt **T.** used of many kinds of couch both natural and man-made; *tacet EV*. Note **604**, 1.708, 2.2 (with n.), 3.224 (with n.), 4.207, 508, 650, 659, 691, 5.388, 7.460, 8.177, 9.334, 11.66 (vd. n.; there and here of the 'upper layer of a bier'). See nn. on 11.30, 64 for the little that we know about this laying out of the corpse upon a *lectum* (*vel sim.*; there seems to be no regular word); vd. above all Flower (**756-846**), (7)(b)(3), 92-5. **R.**: sc. 'in the right place'; cf. 11.594, of the remains of Camilla, with n..

membra...defleta Hofmann, *TLL* 8.639.50f., 641.10, Simbeck, *ib.*, 5.1.360.7f.; the vb. at Lucr.3.907 *insatiabiliter defleuimus*. *Tacet* Cordier.

221 purpureasque...uestes Cf. n. on **884** for the associations of **p.** with death, and 4.139 for **p. u.** Vd. full n. on 11.72 (funerary use of purple *uestes*, both Homeric and old Roman) and note also, (i) for the clothing of the deceased displayed and consumed on the pyre, Liv.34.7.3, E.Cuq, DS 2.2, 1395, Mau, PW 3.355.35ff., Blümner, *Privataltertümer*, 500 with n.7, Marquardt-Mau, 347 and (ii) for throwing clothing on to the pyre, Suet.*Caes.*84.4, E.Cuq, *cit.* (with n.12), Mau, *cit.*, 355.59, Blümner, *cit.*, with n.13, Becker-Göll (**224**), 3, 527f., Marquardt-Mau, 366, with n.2. V. may hint at either ritual, or indeed at both.

super On to the *torus* or *lectum*, on which Mis., since **220**, is lying.

uelamina nota For the particular pathos of the familiar, cf. Williams, *TI*, 160, nn. on 2.401 *nota...in aluo*, 7.491 *limina nota*, 11.195 *munera nota*; No. shows (comparing Plut.*Mor.*1104D) that in the Greek tradition garments known and loved were sought out: the appositional phrase thus acquires a precisely affective role. **V.** *semel* in *G.*, *ter* in *Aen.*; *tacet EV*. Used *semel* in Lucr. (who is very partial to such formations) and note *sem-*

el too in Liv.1. Possibly therefore of archaic origin. See Norden *Enn. u. Verg.*, 27, n.2.

222 coniciunt Burger, *TLL* 4.306.31f.; common of hurling into flames, but apparently not specially funerary. See n. on 7.456 for the verb's unexpectedly complex range.

pars See **218**.

ingenti...feretro Cf. n. on 11.64 for Pallas' *feretrum* (and note Flower, *cit.*, pls.5, 6 with 93ff., 98f.); the adj. a little predictable.

subiere Cf. 7.161 *muroque subibant* (with n.); they went up close to the bier from below, for it lay atop the pyre. *OLD* s.v., §2a, *ad fin.*. No. (with TCD's *ferendi* on his side, though not weightily so) considers that the Trojans **subiere feretro** because the bier was not yet on the pyre and had to be carried there upon their shoulders (so at Rome, e.g. Marquardt-Mau, 255). But I suspect that **subiere** is taken up by **subiectam**: the two words refer to the crucial little realistic detail of lighting the pyre from the bottom, necessarily from near at hand, to which V. is about to turn, while perhaps none do to the great but rather obvious struggle to place the bier atop the pyre.

223 triste ministerium Bulhart, *TLL* 8.1008.38f.; *m.* perhaps introduced to poetry here, but a dozen times in Livy's first pentad, so the case for a lost common source is quite strong; No. might seem to suggest that *m.* is a *vox sacrorum* according to Varro, but this is not so. Harrison, *GEVH*, 219, refers to Cat.101.8 *tristi munere*, not compellingly. Cf. LHS, 429f., Highet, 62 and Au.'s ample note for the accus. 'in appos. to the sentence', and its Greek origins.

et subiectam.../ 224 ...tenuere facem For *tenere* thus with predic. adj., cf. n. on 2.1. See n. on 11.186 *subiectis ignibus atris* for this (entirely correct) way of lighting a pile of wood from below; notes by scholars who apparently never lit a wood fire (e.g. Paratore) droll but uninformative. Cf. 7.109f. *et adorea liba per herbam/ subiciunt epulis* (with n.), 2.235f. *pedibusque rotarum/ subiciunt lapsus*.

more parentum Cf. Cat.101.7 *prisco...more parentum*, Wigodsky, 117, and full n. on 11.186 *more...patrum*. The Trojans already respectful of tradition; naturally, for they are almost Romans.

224 auersi Marquardt-Mau, 382, with n.8, Sittl, 73, Lersch, 271f., Bömer on *Ov.F.* 5.439, Mau, PW 3.356.14ff. (unhelpful), Cuq (**216**), 1395, Blümmner, *Privataltertümer*, 501, W.A.Becker-H.Göll, *Gallus* 3 (Berlin 1882), 529 take **a.** as corresponding to Rom. usage, rightly indeed, though the texts cited *passim* as though they were supporting evidence are not specially relevant or impressive; elsewhere in this passage I have tried not to multiply unnecessarily references to the antiquarian discussions. There seems

to be no exact Roman parallel, but what V. writes does correspond sufficiently to other instances, in different rituals (vd. Bömer), of averting the head.

congesta cremantur Cf. 7.74, 295 for similar allit. (? of crackling flames). Note *G.3.377 congestaque robora totasque/ aduoluere focis ulmos*, *TLL* 4.277.45 (Probst) and 1156.83f. (Hoppe), *EV* 2, 714.

225 turea dona Cf. Au. on 2.543 for adj. as loftier alternative to gen. (here specially apparent) and for the whole issue, see Bell's illuminating list, 216 and Nisbet-Rudd on *Hor.C.3.16.11*; at 7.1 and 252 I discuss the special case of adj. forms of proper names. Sufficient bibl. between Au. and me. The adj. form Virgilian: first apparently *G.2.117 turea uirga*. For *dona* thus qualified, cf. *TLL* 5.1.2022.49ff. (Rubenbauer), *Aen.* 1.695, 3.462, 485. Offerings of incense at funerals: cf. *Plin.Nat.* 12.83, *Suet.Caes.* 84, *Lersch*, 272, *Cuq* (216), 1395, with n.17, *Marquardt-Mau*, 382; do not confuse the burning of incense about the bier, *Marquardt-Mau*, 345, n.4, *Dyck* on *Cic.Leg.* 2.60 (*acerra*). *Cic., cit.*, citing *XII tab.* 10.6.a (*FIRA*), places this burning in its proper context of funerary display and ostentation (not just, that is, as desirable in a hot climate), to be limited by the laws; see *Flower*, (756-846), (7)(b)(3), 119, *Bodel* (219), 270.

dapes Au. havers between (225) 'a costly meal' and (225, further on) 'a cake'. *TLL* 5.1.38.37f. (Gudeman). The 'costly meal' appears to be confusion with the funerary banquet (cf. *Bodel*, 259f., *Marquardt-Mau*, 380, etc.) or *cena nouemdialis*; accounts of what was actually thrown on to the pyre do mention *liba* (*Marquardt-Mau*, 382 cite *CIL* 3.2919); more to the point, cf. *Cat.* 59.2f. *saepe quam in sepulcretis/ uidistis ipso rapere de rogo cenam*; for these thefts, cf. *Kroll's n.* there, *Cuq* (216), 1395, *Opelt*, *Schimpfwörter*, 92, 103. These foodstuffs clearly enough burned on the pyre so as to feed the deceased in the next world; so here. See now the discussion by *S.Yona*, *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 53-66.

fuso crateres oliuo For the (Gk.) nom. plur. of *c.* ('bowls'), cf. *n.* on 7.147. In *Enn.*, and, as *creterra*, in *Naev.* (cf. *Skutsch* on *Ann.* 532, 621). For *f.*, cf. *EV* 2, 610; *Robbert*, *TLL* 6.1.1563.82 lumps this passage s.v. 'vinum'. The abl. abs. probably to be classified as a sort of 'abl. of description', *Antoine*, 188f.; cf. *Buc.* 3.39 *hedera pallente corymbos*. *Comms.*, *Cuq*, *Marquardt-Mau* adduce nothing similar (oil not in bowls included). See though *Il.* 23.170 (jars of oil and honey), *Od.* 24.67, *Seymour*, 216 and note too the two bowls of oil at *Buc.* 5.68. Cf. also *Lersch*, 188 and compare 254, oil used to rouse the flames. The form *o.* used in *Cat.*, *polymetra* and *Lucr.*; clearly useful for 'oil' at end of hexam..

226 postquam As initial spondee without synaloepha (cf. n. on 7.406).

conlapsi cineres *TLL* 3.1574.7f. (Hofmann) and Hoppe, *ib.*, 1070.12f., *EV* 3, 85.

Cineres as a poet. plur. first in V. (from *Buc.*8.101), Maas, *ALL* 12 (1902), 516-9, As a whole, the verse (*pace* Norden) certainly not to be considered hyst.-prot.; so, well, McDevitt (184), 318f. **226** long recognised as essentially Homeric (No., Ursinus): see *Il.*9.212., 23.251, which Cunliffe renders 'had died down' (vd. *infra*).

et flamma quieuit Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.868.76, *EV* 4, 374.

227 reliquias Cf. n. on 7.244. Of remains after cremation, vd. *OLD* s.v., §2.

uino...lauere L. probably not thus at *Lucr.*2.376 (vd. Lachmann); see *EV* 3, 154, *TLL* 7.2.1052.27f. (Beikircher). Quenching the last flames with wine (or sometimes water) a familiar and ancient element in the ritual, *Lex Numae* fr.7, *FIRA* 1, p.11, NH on *Hor.C.*2.6.23, Onians, 277f., Marquardt-Mau, 382, Becker-Göll (224), 3, 530, Cuq (216), 1395.

et bibulam...fauillam Perhaps after the *bibulam...harenam* of *Lucr., cit.* (and No. lists Gk. antecedents); *TLL* 2.1968.81 (Münscher). On the deverbative form *b.*, cf. Leumann, 311. **F:** Ammann, *TLL.*6.1.380.1ff.. The precise sense not quite clear: at *Nat.*19.19, Plin. writes *regum inde funebres tunicae corporis fauillam ab reliquo separant cinere*, as though *f.* referred to those parts of the body not reduced to ash, but at [Tib.]3.2.10 clearly ash is indicated. Here, though, **f.** (theme and variation with **reliquias**) is apparently opposed to **ossa**, and **cineres** have already been specified; the use of *f.* for light volcanic ash at 3.573 (vd. n.) no help here. *OLD* sagely distinguishes between 'ash' and 'remains', while TCD omits *f.* from his paraphrase. *Isid.Etym.*16.1.2, 19.6.6 talks of *f.* as we would of the clinker of wood and coal, which would do very well here, but I remain as perplexed as EM.

228 ossaque lecta Possibly a hint at what was perhaps the 'official' name (found only in the *Glossaria*), *ossilegium* (Marquardt-Mau, 382, etc.). For *legere* thus, see *XII Leg.*10.5*FIRA*, *Cic.Leg.*2.60 (with Dyck's n.), *Tib.*1.3.6, *Suet.Aug.*100.4, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1124.12ff.. Same vb., same act, already at *Il.*24.793f. (cf. *DCass.* 56.42.4).

cado...aeno C. a very large jar, usually of pottery (but see *Macr.*5.19.9 for the Sophoclean *Medea's* use of bronze *cadi*), equivalent to Gk. *amphora*, and holding three *urnae*, *Grom.p.*376.10, *Metrol.p.*129.2, *TLL* 3.37.35ff. (Hoppe). The placing of the remains in the 'urn' a familiar part of Roman cremation ritual (and Homeric, *Il.*23.252f., etc., Rohde, *infra*, 1599.40ff. Seymour, 477f.): *Prop.*2.13.32, Marquardt-Mau, 383f. (a great variety of materials employed for the container), Cuq (216), 1395f., Becker-

Göll (224), 3, 534f. and notably G.Rohde, PW 18.2.1599.3ff.. This substantial bronze jar a curious item for the Trojans to have carried with them thus far. The *cadus* a common container for wine in Hor..

textit Cf. *humo tegere*, G.1.213, etc., [Tib.], 3.7.204 (of *tumulus*). *EV* s.v. unilluminating.

Corynaeus Perhaps killed at 9.571; cf. though 12.298 (a living homonym; the inconsistency noted, *Macr.*5.25.10). For speculation about the name cf. Garbugino, *EV* 1, 889, C.Saunders, *TAPA* 71 (1940), 546. *Tacet* Paschalis.

229 idem Cf. n. on 116.

ter Cf. nn. on 2.174, 792f. 11.188f. (with further bibl.; another triple illustration at the end of a funeral: see 231). Conveys an impression (even a correct impression; cf. Boehm (230), 2036.40ff., *Plin.Nat.*34.151) of ritual usage (cf. Bömer on *Ov.F.*2.573), but is also an epic cliché (an issue known to Serv.: *aut saepius aut re uera ter*). Cf. Lehr, 92.

socios *EV* 4, 913 (Évrard), Pomathios, 110: the terminology used of Aen.'s companions not rewarding.

pura...unda Surprisingly, the expression only here in V.; cf. *EV* 4, 357. For the importance of *fresh* water on such occasions, cf. n. on 2.719 *flumine uiuo* (which Serv. quotes here). Ritual analogies abound, not verbal parallels. Cf. *EV* 5*, 390 (Bartalucci).

circumtulit Not hypallage, but when used thus in the sense of 'encircled' *c.* an *antiquum uerbum* (Serv.), quoting *Plaut.fr.inc.*148Lindsay; cf. also *Plaut.Amph.* 776, *Cat.Agr.*141.1. Non., for *circumferre* used in the sense of *lustrare*, cites this verse of *Aen.*, and *Amph.*, *cit.*. Goetz, *TLL* 3.1141.78ff., Boehm (230), 2030.64ff..

230 spargens Cf. *G.*2.347, *Aen.*4.635 *corpus...fluuiali spargere lympha*, 6.636, *EV* 4, 976 (Torti), *OLD* s.v., §8a.

rore leui For *r.* used thus, Crevatin, *EV* 4, 578 compares *G.*1.385 and *Aen.*3.567, 5.854 *ramum Lethaeo rore madentem*; cf. *OLD* s.v., §2a. **L.**: *TLL* 7.2.1207.72f. (Koster), comparing e.g. *Germ.fr.* 4.158. For such lustrations, here to purify the Trojans of the pollution incurred on account of the proximity of the dead Misenus (the completed ring again noted by TCD), cf. Wissowa, 390, A.Bouché-Leclercq, *DS* 3.2, 1417, nn. on 150, 3.62, Cuq (216), 1397, Marquardt-Mau, 378, 382, PW 13.2.2036.40ff. (Boehm). *Licet enim a funere contraxerint pollutionem* Serv., who is perplexed by **ter**.

et ramo felicis oliuae *EV* 4, 398; see 808 **ramis insignis oliuae** (Numa). Hendiadys of the branch and the water it applies, Hahn (1930), 147, n.617, 233, n.1078. For the idea of the *arbor felix*, cf. *TLL* 6.1.437.47ff. (Ammann), J.N. Bremmer, *RMM*, 82, and *HSCP* 87 (1983), 308 = *id.*,

Greek religion and culture ... (Leiden 2008), 184: such trees are primarily those, like the olive, that bear fruit, though mere fertility is by no means the only criterion involved; cf. Macr.3.20.3 with Latte, PW 9.1540.63ff.; Butler's distinction between 'infertile' and 'ill-omened' infelicitous). Cf. further Lersch 273 and for the rite of sprinkling, Tac.H. 4.53, Lyne on *Ciris* 376 and notably Bömer on Ov.F.2.35 (pp.83f.), Courtney on Juv.2.157f., Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer*, 87, 94. Paratore's notion that it is the *touch* of the twig that is significant seems not to be attested in the sources. Serv. offers a complex rigmarole (after Ael.Donatus, which makes one a little less ready to dismiss it out of hand; cf. Drew, *Allegory of the Aen.*, 98-101 and now Pellizzari (68), 107ff. for Aug.'s presence in Serv.) about V.'s avoidance here of the strongly Augustan laurel, normally used in this ritual. Such touches of 'Augustan' colour one learns to view with suspicion, and it may be that V.'s substitution of one tree with another may be no more than venial oversight.

231 lustrauitque uiros The triple *lustratio* of the pyres, on horseback, at 11.188f. clearly of a quite different character. Cf. *TLL* 7.2.1873.2f. (Clavatscher), Beringer, 88, *EV* 3, 287 and bibl. s.v. **rore leui. Viros FMP**; **domos PR**, feebly enough.

dixitque nouissima uerba So at 4.650 (but of the last words *spoken*) and *quinquies* in Ov., *cons.Liv.*307; on the identification of these words, cf. nn. on 3.68, 11.97f., Au. here; not, when spoken *over*, and not *by*, the deceased, *ilicet*, but *salue atque uale, pace* Serv..

232 at pius Aeneas Cf. **176**, 7.5, 11.170 (Aen. likewise engaged in funerary rites, as TCD already remarks), Traina, *EV* 4, 96, Boyancé, 70, N.Moseley, *Characters and epithets*, 83, Moskalew, 82.

ingenti mole Cf. 5.118, 223, 12.161; abl. 'of description', Antoine, 202f., Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1342.45. *EV* 3, 559 disappointing.

sepulcrum/ 233 imponit Ring-composition with the Sibyl's instructions, **152**. Hofmann points to the Zeugma, *TLL* 7.1.653.7f. (cf. TCD *constituebat*, which suggests that he found *i.*, in any normal sense, awkward with **sepulcrum**); also bear in mind the Homeric $\chi\upsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\nu$ (*Il.*23.256), where the compound vb., given the different object, raises no sense of discomfort.

suaque arma uiro A. used to be confused with **217 decorantque super fulgentibus armis** (vd. Au. on Serv.'s n.), but there they are the *arma* of Mis.' companions, as the context, and Rom. usage, make clear, and the **arma** here are very much Mis.' own, specified by **remumque tubamque**: **a.** in the sense of 'tools, equipment' perfectly common, **184** (for tree-felling), Bickel, *TLL* 2.590.58ff., citing e.g. *G.*1.160, *Aen.*1.177, 5.15; *tacet*

EV. Viro specifies the ref. of *sua*; see my n. on 3.469: this is correct and common usage.

remumque tubamque See **655** for discussion of such objects, both to commemorate the deceased's specialised activities and for him to use in the next life. The oar a recollection of Elpenor's, *Od.*12.15, stuck on top of his tomb (Knauer, 136), and here a memorial to Mis.' active role in Aen.'s crew, 3.239f. (with discussion). But the learned and attentive reader cannot stop there; V. has scattered a few passing hints of Idmon (Nelis, 242; cf. [242] for an Apollonian burial close to an entrance to the Underworld, **175 ad fin.**, for first lamentations for Idmon/ Mis., and in particular - the small precise detail which first alerts the erudite reader - the shared patronymic 'descendant of Aeolus', AR 1.143, 2.849f., **164**, Nelis, 243); here he has also in mind AR 2.841-4, where, on the tomb of Idmon (Nelis, 242-4), is set his *phalanx* (cf. AR 1.375, Wotke, PW 19.1646.45ff., Casson, *Ships and seamanship*, 89, n.62), or roller (for dragging the Argo over dry land), and in a related scene 1.1062 *κῆμα... καὶ ὀπιγόνοισιν ἰδέεθαι*. Both memorials will then be visible to later generations, AR 2.842, **6.235**. Nelis, 246-8 also draws attention to the rituals performed by Jason at 3.1026-51, over and above those performed by Od. in obedience to Circe's orders at *Od.*10.517-40 (cf. Knauer, 130, 134). Note the prayers to Hecate, AR 3.1211, **6.247**; the detail of **248** non-distinctive, but that of **255-8** a good deal more striking, if not distinctively Apollonian (vd. n. on **256 sub pedibus**). Pfister wrongly suggests that Mis. at DH 1.53.3 is specified as a trumpeter (*Reliquienkult*, 1, 147); the artistic evidence inconclusive, *JHS* 99 (1979), 39, n.89. For the distribution of memorials to Aen.'s men in the area, cf. Pfister, 158f., Horsfall, *SCI* 17 (1999), 46, n. on 7.2.

234 monte sub aërio The hill over the cape rises to 167m., but the tomb seems to be thought of as at sea level. The hill over Gaeta 171m.; the tomb is not specifically located, and we may think of it as being on the hilltop only because the whole hill looks like a burial mound and because L.Munatius Plancus is so massively buried there (n. on 7.6). Cape Palinurus rises to 202m., and somewhere nearby (**380**) the Trojans raise a burial mound. For Misenus and Palinurus, cf. *Itin.*, pls. 93, 98; for Caieta I can cite only a relative oddity, C.Frommel's pair of plates in his *50 Bilder zu Virgils Aeneide* (Carlsruhe s.d.[ca. 1830]). Cf. further, (**148**), (**1**)(**d**). The adj. (von Mess, *TLL* 1.1063.17ff.) often used of mountains, to suggest 'reaching to the sky', *Buc.*8.59 (after Cat.), *G.*3.474, *Aen.*3.291, etc..

qui nunc.../ 235 dicitur For **nunc**, cf. 7.3 (with n.), O'Hara, *TN*, 90f.; for **dicitur** similarly used, cf. 5.602 *Troianum dicitur agmen*, O'Hara, *cit.*, 75 ('naming constructions'; indispensable).

Misenus ab illo Cf. *Ov.F.*2.511 *collis quoque dictus ab illo est*, 6.609 *dictus sceleratus ab illa*. For M., see (**148**).

235 aeternumque...nomen Cf. **381** (Palinurus) **aeternum...nomen**, 7.2 (Caieta; vd. n.) *aeternam...famam*, linking formally the three burials: at all three, the *nomen* of the deceased survives in the toponym. Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1145.11f., *EV* 1, 44, O'Hara, *TN*, 167f. (**n.** 'signals' the presence of the etymology). Misenus' name is of course still there on modern maps and the sonorous but conventional line is well suited to close the episode.

tenet Cf. 5.121 *domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen*, *EV* 5*, 100 (thin).

per saecula In expansion of **aeternum**, and carefully placed between adj. and noun. Cf. 1.445, 12. 826; not before V..

236-63 Towards the entrance to the Underworld

The burial of Mis. does not lead directly to Aen.'s entry into the Underworld. The many readers who do not have at their fingertips the detail of the triple, or quadruple, ring-composition (vd. *infra*, s.v. **236, praecepta Sibyllae**) between the Sibyl's orders and Aeneas' performance of them, will unfortunately lose track of the piacular sacrifices by which the Trojans are relieved of the pollution incurred by the presence of Misenus' unburied corpse. The action moves a short distance (**236-41**) from Misenus' tomb to the (?fantasy) cave within the crater of Avernus (vd. *SC*, §16), and there (**243-54**) the sacrifices are performed, in detail, not merely retardatory, but also in obeisance to the need for perfect purity and full ritual observance in the hero about to visit the Underworld. The reader who recognises these vv. as distinct from the burial of Mis. (and distinct indeed they are) will also be attentive enough to enjoy the precise and learned detail, mingling as it does Greek and Roman practice, literary and liturgical origins; whether any of the detail is *specifically* and recognisably piacular I rather doubt (despite No. on **243ff.**). Fifty years ago, at school, these vv. were a good deal less interesting. But at **255**, there is a marked change of style and tempo: ritual ends and Hecate arrives, unseen but omnipresent, and variously sensed (**256-8**). We are not invited to ponder what ends her presence serves. In reaction, the Sibyl (**258-61**) bids the uninitiated begone and tells Aen. to draw his sword. There are no **profani** actually present, and no ghosts to keep at bay. The long preparations are at last over, and alongside his *dux*, *dux Aeneas* strides towards the Underworld. See Cancik (**148**), (3), 61-3, Clark, *Catabasis*, 153f., *id.*, *Two worlds*, 173ff., Della Corte, 108, 111, Ganschinetz, *PW* 10.2418. 42ff., Nelis, 246-8, Rehm, 74, Reeker, 135-8, Schoder (**237**), 106f., Eitrem (*SC*), 97ff.; much good sense in Guillemain's introduction.

236 his actis Cf. 12.843; *his rebus actis* found *bis* in Livy's first decad (and once in Sall.); neither expression Caesarian, nor in *HRR*. When V. is in a hurry between major narr. sequences, he writes as baldly as any man; so

here. Recognisable, perhaps, as the manner, if not as the language, of the historians; cf. too next n., No. here, Wigodsky, 118.

propere exsequitur Krylová, *TLL* 10.2.1988.54ff., 1989.65ff. notes the popularity of **p.** in histor. prose: Cato fr.inc.34 Jordan is corrupt, but see Claud. Quad.fr.35P, 12x in Sall., 42x in Livy (9x first pentad, 5x second). The linguistic character of **his actis** thus acquires clearer contours. **E.** used thus also at 4.396 *iussa tamen diuum exsequitur*; cf. P.Schmid, *TLL* 5.2.1851.61f. (old standard Latin).

praecepta Sibyllae Cf. *G.* 4.398 (Proteus), *Aen.* 2.345 (of Cass.), 607 *praeceptis parere* (of Venus), 3.546 (of Helenus); cf. Baumgartner, *TLL* 10.2.455.33: elevated by V. from histor. prose, letters. Thus V. closes a splendid piece of triple, even quadruple, ring-composition: the Sibyl bids Aen. bury Mis. (149-52) and perform the *piacula* incurred by his death and unburied state (153), for only then will he be able to enter the Underworld; he has done the former (213-34) and now turns to the latter (243-54); shortly, he will enter the Underworld (254-63). The Bough (136-47) Aen. has already found and delivered to the Sibyl (183-211). The first seeds of the idea are in Hom., orders at 10.517ff., fulfilment, 11.23ff.. Note how TCD refers to *rediit ad ea unde recesserat et completis in causa rami partibus ad Miseni exequias reuolutus est* (on 212).

237 spelunca alta In some respects, a stock, conventional description, as has long been realised: cf. 7.81ff. (Albunea; vd. comm.), 563ff. (Ampsancus; vd. comm.), Rehm, 74ff., Reeker, 135-8, Norden, p.199, Giesecke, 62-5. The *Grotta della Sibilla* used to confuse this description: it is in fact, as has been realised since 1932, one of the tunnels built in the mid-30s, between Avernus and the Lucrine lake; vd. Sbordone, *EV*, 1, 430, Maiuri, 155f., Frederiksen (*SC*), pl.xiv (with precise localisation), 334, R.V. Schoder, *CJ* 67 (1971-2), 106f.. Not surprisingly (Hardie and Austin on 237ff.), no such cave within Avernus was ever found, but the Educated Reader (with some recollection of e.g. the Oracle of Trophonius in mind, given substance thanks to the familiar, standard details of a *nekyomanteion* or *Plutoneion*) will naturally suppose that the entrance to V.'s Underworld is quite likely to be in a cave (Ganschietz, *PW* 10.2379.55ff. offers analogies and discussion; cf. too Bremmer (2002), 75), though it does not have to be, and Ganschietz offers alternatives. Lucr. far more important than either AR (2.734ff. and 4.505f.; vd. Giesecke, *cit.*, Nelis, 244f.) or the map; vd. *infra* on **uastoque...hiatu** and n. on [242]; even with that v. ejected, Lucr. remains behind 239. Cf. too *infra* on **hiatu** and 297 **erucfat**. The epithet refers in all probability to the depth of the cave, Mantovanelli, *EV* 1, 121, n. on 7.82f. *sub alta/ Albunea*, and vd. *SC*, (7)(b) and on 179.

fuit The ekphrasis opens (see n. on 7.563-71; here, note *Il.* 13.32); it is the **hic** of 243 that responds.

uastoque...hiatu Comms. have long insisted upon the ‘gaping sounds’ created by the frequency of a and u in **237f.**; the concentration of n in **238** seems not to attract the same attention. For **h.**, cf. *EV* 2, 851, Hastrup, *TLL* 6.3.2682.28f.; the noun *quinquies* in Lucr., so the origin presumably perceptible here and at 11.680, where vd. n.. See Pinotti's useful discussion of **uasto**, *EV* 5*, 455f., citing *Enn.trag.* 152Joc. *inferum uastos specus*, Lucr.5.375 *sed patet immani et uasto respectat hiatu*, of the *leti...ianua*, for which see **106** and (**893-6**), (**4**). Huge and desolate.

immanis Cf. **10f. horrendae...secreta Sibyllae/ antrum immane**, Lucr.5.375 (*supra*), *EV* 2, 924, *TLL* 6.1.1440.37f. (Labhardt).

238 scrupea From *scrupus*, a pointed stone (EM); cf. Cordier, 161 and n. on 7.589. Strongly of the flavour of old tragedy: cf. *Enn.trag.*113Joc., Pacuv. *trag.*309, Acc. *trag.*431 (‘perhaps’ Joc.); *scruposus* also found in *trag.*.

tuta Cf. 5*, 309, common of places, ‘protected’, *vel sim.*

lacu nigro Abl. of instrument or cause, Antoine, 189ff.. The lake will shortly be identified, allusively but definitively, as Avernus. Clearly, the colour is not just that dark water you naturally expect in a deep volcanic lake, but is also appropriate to and anticipatory of the waters of the Underworld. Cf. Edgeworth, 139, André, 51, Cancik, (**148**), (**3**), 56.

nemorumque tenebris So 9.384 *tenebrae ramorum*. Here too, both the darkness appropriate to a thickly-growing wood and that of this ante-chamber of the infernal regions (similar **107**, **545**, 7.325). Cf. Setaioli, *EV* 5*, 97.

239 quam super Typical anastrophe of disyll. prepos.; vd. indices s.v.. Note though that V. writes **quam**, not *quem*: what follows, therefore, is concerned, formally, with the effects of the cave, not of the neighbouring lake, though they are commonly understood as referring to the latter; noted correctly by Cartault, 444.

haud ullae *Ter* in *G.*, *ter* in *Aen.*; cf. n. on 11.441. ‘No birds were able...’.

poterant.../ 240 tendere iter pennis For the *locus* of sulphureous vapours as dangerous to birds, cf. n. on [242]. Compare 7.7 *tendit iter uelis*, where vd. n. for Acc.'s use of the expression (and cf. too e.g. *derigere*, *uertere cursum*). Abl. of ‘means or instrument’, Sidgwick, index, s.v.; cf. **644 pedibus. P.**, ‘wings’; cf. ital. ‘pennuto’, bird. See Schwind, *TLL* 10.1.1092.58ff. for common use thus in abl. and 1087.4ff. for use in the sense of *alae*.

impune Cf. **879**.

uolantes Cf. **728**; the periphrastic usage of early Latin (a simple form of Kenning); cf. ἑρπετόν, *altiulantes*, *pennipotentis*, *arquitenens*, West, comm.Hes.*Theog.*p.89, Lunelli-Kroll, 43, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*76, *EV* 1,

861f., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 75, 79, I.Waern, ΓΗΣ ΟΣΤΕΑ (Uppsala 1951), 17, 97f. etc.. At *Lucr.*6.742, *uolantes* refers to preceding *auibus*, and is not used as here.

240 talis...halitus Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.3.2516.63ff.: used of many kinds of exhalation by e.g. *Sen.Nat.Quaest.* and *Plin.Nat.*, but also *Lucr.*6.478 and quite differently by *Cic.carm.Soph.*1.36 ('last breath'). Lofty standard Latin. *EV* 2, 831 (much information, not all correct).

sese.../ 241 ...effundens Sese (vd. **160**) understood with both partic. and main verb. *TLL* 5.2.223.5f. (Leumann), *EV* 2, 610.

atris/ 241 faucibus The dark jaws of the cave leading to yet darker realms. Cf. on **238 nigro**; for **a.**, cf. **127, 132, 215. F.**: vd. **201**.

supera ad conuexa Cf. n. on **750. Supera F**; **super MPR**. For comparable instances, vd. Conte's apparatus (**750, 787**, etc.) and my n. on 7.562.

ferebat Hey, *TLL* 6.1.561.21f., *EV* 2,494f..

242 [unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornum]

See *Aen.*7, comm., p. xxx for the status of this v. (interpolated in **Ry** - but absent in **P** and likewise absent in Serv., TCD - from Priscian *perihieg.*1056 *GGM*) and for bibl. on the debate (a verse where Fraenkel was clearly enough wrong). See too O'Hara, *TN*, 168f.. For birds' inability to fly over such places, comms. quote notably *Od.*12.62 (not even birds may pass over the Planctae), *AR* 4.601-3 (over the smoking remains of Phaethon) with 2.734-42 (Cape Acheron, *AR*'s own *Katabasis*; Nelis, 244), along with *Lucr.* and Varro, *infra*. But such accumulation of testimonia is misleading: cf. nn. on 7.84 *saeuam...mephitim* and 570 *pestiferas...fauces*; not just a matter of bad smells, but the vapours actually are toxic, even to humans, to judge by the notices posted at Amspanctus, at least thirty years ago. Sulphuretted hydrogen is strongly poisonous, after all (*Enc.Brit.*₁₁ s.v. sulphur); the risk to humans and birds dependent on the concentration released. See, for the range of *testimonia*, Pease's rich note on *Cic.Div.*1.79 *mortifera* and Beaujeu's 'commentaire' in his Budé ed. of *Plin.Nat.*2, p.249f., on ch.207 *spiritus letales*; the etymology it itself attested at *Dion.Perieg.*1151 (Hadrianic) At least as much general knowledge about a common geological phenomenon as specific literary indebtedness. There is a long written tradition about the birdlessness of Avernus (Marconi, *EV* 2, 831, J.J.L.Smolenaars, *Lampas* 32 (1999), 179-97): so [Arist.] *Mir.ausc.* 839a24 (=ch. 102/108 Westermann) challenges its truth, as does *Strab.* 5.4.5 ('a local tradition'). See then *Lucr.*6.740-8 (over Avernus) and Varro *fr.*381GRF (=Serv. on 3.442, *Plin.Nat.*31.21). V. and *Lucr.* compared by *Non.*p.14.4ff.. Clearly, too, the amount of sulphuretted hydrogen released at or near Avernus may have declined and even returned thereafter (Smo-

lenaars). **Aornum** κγ, Conte, **Aornon** Aldine ed., 1501, Mynors. **Avernum** Rabx. **Aornin** Priscian, *cit.* (Müller, *GGM*, 2).

243 quattuor Cf. Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 786, who refers to the four horses of *Il.23.171*, perhaps rightly. Norden, La Cerda invoke the relatively less fortunate character of the even number ($4 = 2 \times 2$); cf. X.F.M.G.Wolters, *Notes on antique folklore* (Amsterdam 1935), 36-9, E.Tavener, *Studies in magic* (New York 1916), 119, Bömer, *Ov.F.1*, p.35.

hic primum With the GB delivered and Misenus buried, Aen. is now for the first time free to attend to the piacular offerings.

nigrantis terga Cf. 5.97, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 55, G.Landgraf, *ALL* 10 (1898), 210, 214, comparing *Ov.Met.7.468* of the *monedula, nigra pedes*. For the acc. of reference, used of colours, L. compares *G.3.427 maculosus...aluum*. Serv.Dan. on 4.120 tells us that *quaeritur* (see Thomas, 251f.) who previously used *nigrans*: the sole answer, apparently, *Varr.RR* (2.1.14, 5.7, 9.3). Cf. V.'s use of *liueo, uireo, caneo, candeo, albesco, rubeo, flaeo, erubesco, nigresco, rubesco, uirido*, André, 242ff.. The colour conventional (but not binding) for sacrifices to the dead, the Underworld, etc.: TCD thinks both number and colour here ritually significant; see Wisowa, 413, *id.*, in Marquardt, *StV*, 3, 174, nn. on 3.20f., 120, 7.87, Lehr, 79, J.Toutain, *DS* 4.2, 974f., P.Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer* (München 1898), 134ff. (on colour, gender and age of victims in Greece), Latte, *PW* 9.1120.30ff. against not the detail (on colour of victims, *infra*, 245.46ff.), but the conclusions, of C.Krause, *PW Suppl.5.244.32ff.*

iuuencos No longer a *uitulus*, not yet a *bos* or *taurus* (bullock, stirk, if we go by *age*), *Varr.RR* 2.5.6 (the second of the four *aetates* of cattle), *Isid.Etym.11.2.16*, 12.1.28, 32, Heck, *TLL* 7.2.730.64ff., *Aen.3.21*, Wisowa in Marquardt, *supra*, 3, 172, Krause, *cit.*, 260.33ff.; vd. Lehr, 80f., Latte, *cit.*, 1120.25ff., Krause, *cit.*, 246.32ff. for the significance of the victims' *age*. Glossed as *tauri*, Heck, *TLL* 7.2.730.63, as 'bulls' by Edgeworth, 141. Are these *iuuenci* then the *tauri* of **253**? In the face of Varro and Isidore, they clearly are, as Heck's evidence makes clear (730.70ff.; cf. Krause, *cit.*): vd. e.g. *Lucr.2.360* (mate of a *uacca*), as *Buc.6.46*, *Aen.3.247* (*boum, iuuencis* theme and variation), *Hor.C.3.27.26*, 45 (*tauro :: iuuen-cum*). Much more might be cited, but clearly the grammarians' *differentia* is not much observed in practice. We should also note that four male beasts are offered to Hecate; ritual concord of gender is not, however, invariably observed, full n. on 7.87, Krause, *cit.*, 252.7ff..

244 constituit Cf. 5.236f. *candentem in litore taurum/ constituum ante aras*; No. compares 8.85 *sistit*, but **c.** not a word specially, technically associated with ritual acts, Gudeman, *TLL* 4.510.71f..

frontique Cf. Antoine, 133-5 for dat. after many *in-* compounds.

inuergit uina Cf. Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.163.30ff.; Serv. comments that in *infernis sacris*, *uergere* means to pour with the left hand in such a way that the *patra* is completely turned over. For this pouring of wine, vd. Toutain, *cit.*, 975, Eitrem, 456f., *id.*, *Symb.Osl* 24 (1945), 99, Pease on Cic.*Div.2.37 uinum inspersionis*, Wissowa in Marquardt, *supra*, 33, 180, n.9, *id.*, *RKR*, 417, with n.6, Krause, *cit.*, 274.24ff., Latte, *cit.*, 1128.4ff.. In Greece, water used thus, Toutain, *cit.*, 966. Plur. *uina* strongly preferred; Löfstedt, 1₂, 48.

sacerdos It seems generally to be assumed that *s.* here refers to the Sibyl, **Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos (35)**. That may well be true, but there is a problem (of narrative, not of ritual; contrast discussion at **(148)**, **(2)**). At **153**, the Sibyl orders Aen. to perform piacular rites, and here the rites begin with a sacrifice not prescribed by the Sibyl, but apparently performed by her and not by Aen. at all. This **sacerdos** could just as well, I sense, be an anonymous Trojan priest, acting on Aen.'s orders; even the obscure Corynaeus, active in the ritual as recently as **228**. Cf. *EV* 4, 631, Lersch, 163f. for the activities of *sacerdotes* in *Aen.*; if the Sibyl is not the **sacerdos** here, it is not automatically Aen. who performs these first ritual acts; at **249** he assumes an active role. At least a moment's thought should be given to this minor and perplexing figure.

245 et summas...saetas The ends of the hairs, or the longest hairs? If *c.* is understood in the sense of 'plucking, tugging' (is cutting implied here? or excluded? 12.173f, might suggest a knife and Eur.*El*.811, *Alc*.74 - with scholia on 74, 76 - explicitly do), then *V.* can hardly be understood as writing of the *sacerdos* tugging off only the upper part of the hairs; sceptical readers are invited to try, preferably on their own hair. On the other hand, *G*.3.465 *summas carpentem ignavius herbas* refers clearly to the tender topmost ends of the grass (cf. *Buc*.2.47 *summa papauera*, *G*.2.28f. *s. cacumen*, 299f. with Mynors' n.). *V.*'s usage is never clearly in favour of 'longest' (relative, that is, to other hairs), but just possibly see 7.808f. (with n.), 12.492f.. Here, it seems most likely (though I am not entirely confident) that a knife *was*, necessarily, used (cf. **248 cultros**) and that *V.* refers to the ends of the hairs.

carpens Of the GB, **146**; cf. *EV* 1, 676, Bannier, *TLL* 3.492.82f. (Prop.2.5.23 *carpere crines* barely comparable). The use of *carpere* is not incompatible with the employment of a knife or saw, Prop.4.3.19, Luc.6.551.

media inter cornua Anastrophe of disyll. prepos.; here cf. 4.61 *can-dentis uaccae media inter cornua fundit*, 5.478f. *durosque reducta/ librauit dextra media inter cornua caestus*; Bulhart, *TLL* 8.597.78f. (s.v. enallage). This detail has not escaped students of sacrificial ritual; we may (probably) compare 12.173f. *et tempora ferro/ summa notant pecudum* (where vd.

Traina), with Lersch, 180. But this is familiar *Greek* practice (Hom., indeed: *Il.*3.273, *Od.*3.445f., 14.422, *EV* 4, 634), not Roman: Wissowa in Marquardt, *supra*, 33, 181, *id.*, *RKR*, 417, n.7, Legrand, *DS* 4.2, 966, Stengel, *cit.*, 99, n.13, Eitrem, 407ff., *id.*, (*SC*), 99, Krause, *cit.*, 274.53ff., Latte, *cit.*, 1128.39ff., W.Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 5, with n. 18.

246 ignibus...sacris Cf. n. on 3.406 *sanctos ignis*; for *sacri i.*, vd. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.292.22f. (citing e.g. *Il.Lat.*34, *Aetna* 351).

imponit Cf. 1.49, 4.453, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.652.77f..

libamina prima Eng. ‘libation’ (liquid, in all normal usage) is confusing here: *libare*, *libamen*, *libamentum* (cf. Gk. λιβή) do refer primarily/etymologically to liquid offerings but in Lat. usage also extends early to cover solids (cf. EM, Lat. *libum*, a bun, cake): so Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1338.66ff., n. on 3.301, *ad fin.*, Cato *Agr.*134.4, Varr. *LL* 5.106, 120, Cic.*Leg.* 2.19. No need to continue.

247 uoce uocans *Paronomasia, figura etymologica* or, in Ital., ‘paretimologia’. Comms. cite **506**, 12.638; cf. Wills, 247, Bartelink, 94ff., O’Hara, *TN*, 60ff., *EV* 2, 403. So already Enn.*Ann.*49 *uoce uocabam*; cf. too Au. here and Sk. on *Ann.*43 for redundant *uoce*.

Hecaten Cf. **118**; vd. in addition (*SC*).

caeloque Ereboque Cf. 7.140 *duplicis caeloque Ereboque parentis*, with note on the polar expression. For comparanda, cf. Eitrem, (*SC*). 105f., quoting in particular Plut.*Mor.*pp.368E, 416E.

potentem Cf. 3.528 *di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes* (where vd. n.), 1.80, *G.*1.27 (all with gen., not abl.); the gen. perfectly easy (cf. 3.164, with n.), but apparently not elsewhere thus of attributes of deities. The *sacerdos* calls upon Hecate correctly by her names and powers (n. on 7.337, etc.).

248 supponunt...cultros Compare *G.*3.492 *ac uix suppositi tinguntur sanguine cultri*, *Aen.*11.119 (of fire). Both literary and Roman: cf. the sacrifices of *Od.*11.35, 44, *AR* 3.1208, Nelis, 247. But note also ‘apply from below’, *OLD* s.v., §2a (ὑπετίθεσσαν, *DH* 7.72.15); cf. Bömer on *Ov.Met.* 7.599, and for the use of the knife, Bömer on *Ov.F.*1.347, *DS* s.v. *culter* (S.Reinach), with remarkable range of illustrations. Many accounts (e.g. Toutain, *cit.*, 977, Wissowa in Marquardt, *cit.*, 33, 181) suggest that the knife was used for smaller victims, such as sheep, whereas for bulls, etc., the axe was used. That is not always so: cf. on a Boscoreale cup, A.Kuttner, *Dynasty and empire in the age of Augustus* (Berkeley 1995), 131-6, with plate 9: at bottom l., the *uictimarius* is clearly holding a triangular knife, which he will use as soon as the bull is stunned. See Krause, *cit.*, 275.32ff., Latte, *cit.*, 1129.10ff., *id.*, *RR*, 388, Serv.’s n. here, *DH* 7.72.15, I.S.Ryberg, *Rites of the state religion in Roman art* (*Mem.Amer.Acad.*

Rome 22, 1955), 194ff. Serv. refers to *s.* as a *uerbum sacrorum*; cf. 211-235. It becomes ever plainer that for Serv. this means no more than ‘used on a religious occasion’; *culter* clearly standard Latin and cannot be claimed as a technical term of specialised religious language. Elsewhere too I have suggested that Serv., with many students of V. in his train, is rather too eager to identify words as belonging to technical ritual language (cf. 203, 244), when a more sceptical reader notes only use of (often) standard Latin in a ritual context. *S.* a neat, specific way of saying ‘apply from below’, as in the case of fire, 11.119, or bathwater, Scrib.Larg.140. More prudently characterised as ‘standard Latin’, naturally applicable to the act of slaughter in a sacrifice, which is not the same as a real, technical *uerbum sacrorum*. Not technical sacral language simply because used in the description of a relig. act.

alii From the **sacerdos**, we pass to **alii**, and thence to **Aeneas**; much care paid to the orderly diversification of this modest and neglected scene. Just possibly anonymous **alii** because the actual slaughter at Rome was habitually performed by lowly assistants, *uictimarii*, *cultrarii*, etc., Wis-sowa in Marquardt, *cit.*, 3, 181, *id.*, *RKR*, 417f.. These lowly **alii** do not escape Eitrem, (*SC*), 99.

tepidumque cruorem Whereas the Greeks are careful, when the victim is large, to collect the blood so that it does not fall upon the ground and may be poured from a dish on to the altar (Burkert, *Homo necans*, 5), it seems that we have no directly relevant and explicit evidence, literary or visual, for what happened at Rome (Krause, *cit.*, 275.54ff., Latte, *cit.*, 1129.41ff., *id.*, *RR*, 388, Bömer on Ov. *Met.*7.599). I have in particular been through the Latin evidence collected by Latte, and nothing suggests that at Rome the blood was gathered in a dish. The human blood alleged at Sall.*Cat.*22.1 proves nothing.

249 succipiunt pateris Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.693.44ff. does not cite this passage s.v. *patera* and offers no *comparanda*; likewise DS s.vv. *phiala*, *patera*, PW s.v. *phiale*. For the vb., cf. *EV* 1, 654, Prop.4.9.36 (water taken up in cupped hands). *Succ-* the ancient spelling, *susc-*, the current (so Serv. here); **succ- FP**, **susc- MR**, so one prints the form likelier to have been used by V..

ipse.../ 250 Aeneas At this point Aen. in person takes over the ritual and performs all the remaining stages (*tacet* Mackie, 120).

atri uelleris agnam A black ewe-lamb, entirely appropriate in colour (243) and gender (n. on 7.87) as sacrifice to Earth and Night; vd. too n. on 3.120. Omitted by Krause, *cit.*, 257.54ff. (many other instances of sacrifice of ewe-lambs). The gen. ‘descriptive’, Sidgwick, index, s.v., Antoine, 75f.. **A.u.**: the colour hereabouts thematic as well as ‘by the rules’: cf. 215, 243;

u., ‘fleece’, *EV* 5*, 474; contrast Pease on 4.459, white, festal wool. Note the black ram offered to Tiresias, *Od.*10.524f., 11.32f..

250 matri Eumenidum Of the four deities now specified, three are named periphrastically. Grand periphrases to augment the level of awe and mystery (Au.), but hardly to be counted riddling or learned (as so well discussed, Kroll, *Studien*, 266ff.); we should perhaps bear in mind the listing of names and titles in the address to a deity, n. on 7.337, Appel, 75ff.. The genealogy conventional: cf. n. on 7.331 *uirgo sata nocte*, 12.846f., Gantz, 1, 13, Robert, 1, 835, etc..

magnaeque sorori Periphrasis dependent upon periphrasis; the sister of the now-resolved mother of the Furies is (apparently) Earth/Gaia, according to Serv.; cf. on 2.251. No independent support for this identification and no obvious clue to how readers might be able to resolve this second periphrasis. The epithet suitably vague and lofty; cf. Eur.fr.839.1TGF Γαῖα μεγίστη (Soph.fr.269.51TGF no longer thought germane). Vd. J.B.Carter, *Epitheta* s.v. *Tellus*.

251 ense ferit Cf. 12.458, Hor.*C.*2.17.32 *nos humilem feriemus agnam*, Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.512.26. The sword not used for sacrifices at Rome, but easily comprehensible in the hands of a warrior prince on a strange shore, Krause, *cit.*, 275.22ff., Wissowa in Marquardt, *cit.*, 33, 181, Toutain, *cit.*, 976.

sterilemque...uaccam From *Od.*10.522 (11.30), to be offered by Od. to the dead, when he returns to Ithaca; see **249**, where the black ram derives from the same passage in *Od.*. Cf. Krause, *cit.*, 262.63f.. For **s.**, which can indicate both ‘has not borne’ and ‘cannot bear’, cf. Chirassi Colombo, *EV* 4, 1021f.. Serv. here *numquam enitenti*, TCD both a *Veneris rebus immune* and [animal] *infecundum*, during an explanation of why *hostiae steriles* are best suited to *dei inferi*. The lexicographers silent, but see WH.

tibi, Proserpina Unobtrusive apostrophe adds variety, avoids the metrically impossible dative (vd. E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 568f.), and lends proper emphasis to Proserpina, of such importance in V.'s narrative (**98**, **(3)**; also **138**, **142**, Gantz, 1, 64-6). As Au. remarks, V. in consequence offers us a snatch of Aen.'s prayer.

252 tum Cf. **20** for use of next item in a list.

Stygio regi Periphrasis again (loftier, too, than e.g. *tunc Erebi regi* would have been), clearly for Pluto; so in Gk. (without name) βασιλεὺς ἐνέρων, Bruchmann, *Epitheta*, 2 (from Aesch.*Pers.*629 on), Carter, *Epitheta*, 33. Note Ov.*F.*5.448 *Stygii...Iouis*, but V.'s exact phrasing seems to have neither ancestor nor progeny.

nocturnas...aras V. is careful to mark the passage of time (as e.g. at 2.250, 3.515), and so here in passing indicates neatly and unobtrusively

that it is now night-time (and indeed just before dawn, as we are about to learn, **255**; Butler's preference for midnight untimely), in harmony with the offering of **250** to Nox and the 'colouring' of the coming scene. The phr. then at VF 6.440, Weynand, *TLL* 2.388.6f..

incohat *Perficit* Serv.; 'melius' (Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.971.16) TCD *nocturna sacrificia instituit exhiberi. Verbum sacrorum* adds Serv. again; cf. No. on **243ff.** (but see, however, n. on **248 supponunt**): here again Serv. may well be deceived by the subject matter into taking an old, lofty word as technical when it is only the subject matter that is provably religious. Henry refers to *Differentiae, Gramm.Lat.*7.530.21f. *inchoare et incipere. inchoat qui incertum facit, incipit cuius exitum sperat* and renders 'sketches', as also at Cic.*Rep.*1.55; but vd. rather Hofmann, 967.32-5 for the development of this meaning. Here perhaps the suggestion that Aen. simply in some way improvised field altars by night; cf. Eitrem (*SC*), 99, n.1. See Hofmann, 966.78, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 122f. for the orthography (here, 'correctly' in **P**). Found at Enn.*trag.*210Joc. and perhaps Acc.*trag.*35, *bis* in Cat.35.

253 et solida...taurorum uiscera Cf. **243 iuencos** for these bulls. Compare 8.180 *uiscera tosta...taurorum*. Sense and ritual are both a little tricky: *uiscera* are commonly rendered in English as 'entrails', but that is quite misleading here. Serv. writes *non exta dicit, sed carnes, nam 'uiscera' sunt quicquid inter ossa et cutem est* and Isid. (11.1.116) *non tantum intestina dicimus, sed quidquid sub corio est, a uisco quod est inter cutem et carnem*. Vd. also W.Eisenhut, PW 17A.352.21ff., Lucr.2.905, G.4.302 and recall that at a *uisceratio* those present fed not upon innards alone, but upon the flesh of sacrificial victims (vd. PW s.v.). Serv. here is convinced that V. *holocaustum significat* and seems to have convinced e.g. Montanari, but the poet's bilingual etymologies are better signalled and more visibly executed than this, not least because *holocausta* are not common in Rom. usage, Wissowa, *RKR*, 418, n.2, who overstates; Toutain, *cit.*, 976 quotes Henzen, *Act.frat.Arv.*, 135. For Gk. usage, I refer only to Burkert, *Gk.rel.*, 56f., *Homo necans*, 36f., 292; there in general, the meat was eaten and only the *exta* left for the gods. Though *holo-* might indeed be rendered by **solida**, here the adj. suggests 'all meat', no bone and gristle (E.Montanari, *EV* 4, 927, *OLD* s.v., §1 and my n. on 2.765 *auro solidi*, 'of solid gold'). The piacular sacrifice has reached its later stages and V. here narrates the Trojans' consumption of the victims' roast meat; the innards, *exta*, in this context, were indeed consumed (having been cooked), but upon the altar, and by fire. Cf. Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies*, 23, Wissowa, *RKR*, 418, *id.*, in Marquardt, *cit.*, 3, 183-5, Eitrem (**244**), 99, Toutain, *cit.*, 976, Krause, *cit.*, 277.64ff., Latte, *RR*, 390-2, *id.*, PW 9.1132.61ff., R.Schilling, *Dans le sillage de Rome* (Paris 1988), 79.

imponit...flammis The phrasing of **246** repeated; one might even wonder whether V. might not, being nearly now at the end of this elaborate description, have lost his concentration or enthusiasm just a little.

254 pingue...oleum TCD writes well *ut aris imposita facilius exurerentur*. Ottink, *TLL* 10.1.2168.74f. compares *Buc.5.68 crateras...pinguis oliui*. Cf. *EV* 4, 114.

super Some recce.; the rest of the transmission and Schol.Ver. on 9.402 read **superque**; Ribbeck accepted this and posited a lacuna after **254**. Altogether unnecessary: the intrusive **-que** inserted *metri causa* (Conte compares 1.668; metrical oddities regularly engender textual confusion, as at 7.464, where vd. n.). No surprise that scribes were foxed by the lengthening (diastole) in *arsis* of **super**, possibly (No.) after Hom. ὑπεῖρ, Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2, 44, Fordyce on 7.174, Winbolt, 202f., Nettleship in *Con.-Net.*, 3, p.488. I suspect that **s.** is not advb., but rather the prefix in tmesis (cf. n. on 7.589). I am pleased to find Tremoli, *EV* 2, 610 alive to the tmesis (so too, Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1963.34f., MacLennan), which quite excludes the **infundens** of **M**, a reading that shows that the tmesis was ignored long before No. and Au.. The vb. often found with dat. (*OLD* s.v.).

fundens Vd. previous n. for (common, standard) *superfundens*.

ardentibus extis Cf. Kapp, *cit.*, Vollmer, *TLL* 2.484.34. Surprisingly, no analogies cited. But see *Il.11.775* ἐπ' αἰθομένοισι ἱεροῖσι. The patient reader, alive to the correct use of *uiscera* and *exta*, will recognise that V. refers here to an exact and specific detail: the burning of the entrails (here precisely but not obscurely used), upon the altar, **253**, after the pouring of oil has invigorated the flames (vd. TCD, *supra*). It may even be that the introduction of oil here is an actual symptom of haste on the Trojans' part to be done with this sequence of ritual acts, with the first suggestion of dawn and some faintly perceptible hint of the terrors to come. It is worth comparing the addition of oil at **225**, apparently as here to increase the force of the flames.

255 ecce autem The energetic pointer to a new turn in the action, the change of the subject-matter and the marked alteration in the level of writing all suggest that a new para. ought to be marked, however brief it may be. **Ecce a.** to indicate a moment of surprise or wonder; comic usage promoted to high poetry, n. on 7.286.

primi sub limina solis Lumina PR, Serv., TCD, grammarians; but **limina FM** is clearly what V. wrote here, despite Au.'s rather uneasy defence. Note once more how V.'s styl. level rises at moments of drama (whereas **lumina solis** is merely tedious here, though respectably Lucretian; vd. Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1811.48ff.). Crucial is *Cat.64.271* (V.'s favourite poem, after all) *Aurora exoriente uagi sub limina Solis*: literal, and not, as

here, metaph.: here therefore V. adapts elegantly his evident source, to his educated readers' delight. Cf. Wigodsky, 130. The Dawn as threshold of the day is a fine, bold notion, one in truth easy enough (with **ortus** to follow as a sort of gloss) and rather in its favour is that there seem to be no exact parallels; cf. though (893-6), (4), 11.423 with n., and the (Lucretian) thresholds of life and death. Norden's poetic sense of this image greatly to his credit. My search for Greek antecedents surprisingly fruitless. **Primi...solis** is a common way of putting things, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2.1347. 26ff., 10.508 *prima dies* (a different sense), 7.130 *primo...cum lumine solis* (with n.).

et ortus The plur. abstr. noun, upon ample foundations, much to V.'s taste (*semel, Buc., sexies, G.*); cf. Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 150, Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 1₂, 34f., P.Maas, *ALL* 12 (1902), 487, 494, G.Landgraf, *ib.*, 14 (1906), 73, Gk. ἀντολαί, *Lucr.* 5.698, *Cic. Marius*, fr.3.8 and as a poeticism in *Liv.* (Landgraf). The hour, just before dawn, is traditional (for AR, see next n., Philochorus *FGH* 328F86b; add Roscher, *Ro.* 1.2, 1896.1ff.). We shall be told when this day reaches noon (535).

256 sub pedibus The goddess Hecate, called upon at 247, is somehow present at 258 *dea* (No. at 247) and the presence of Hecate does not (No. here) pass unmarked, for V. offers three conventional indications of epiphany (cf. n. on 3.90-2 for reactions in the natural world to an epiphany). Actually, Hecate seems not to appear, nor to undertake any active role (cf. Eitrem, (*SC*). 96), though her contribution in terms of awe or terror (in our eyes, and in Aen.'s) should not be ignored. Cf. 4.490f. *mugire uidebis/ sub pedibus terram* (with Pease's note). V. owes a good deal to AR 3.1209-14: Jason sacrifices to Hecate and just before dawn (1223-4) she appears, with serpents, hounds and quaking of the ground (Nelis, 247).

mugire solum Pease on 4, *cit.* restricts himself to the ground rumbling when the earth parted for spirits to emerge; here, cf. rather Ustrnul, *TLL* 8. 1559.39ff., nn. on 3.90 *tremere omnia uisa repente* (with ample bibl.), and 92 *mugire...cortina*, Miller, 106f., *Cic.Div.* 1.35 *terrae...mugitus*, Bömer on *Ov.Met.* 7.206. In bk.3, on Delos, Apollo has just been invoked (3.85), and is about to speak to the Trojans (3.94-8), while in between nature registers, by means of the booming ground, etc. (three parallel infins.) the vicinity of the god. The sequence here is identical, though Hecate does not speak. Au.'s case for **mugire** as hist. infin. vigorously attacked by Catrein, 65, and indeed No.'s simple point that **m.** and **ululuare** depended on **uisae** (so already Ael.Don. on *Ter.Eun.* 454, with Catrein, 48) was always going to be decisive. In practice, of course, all three infins. (including, as we shall see, **coepta moueri**) depend on **uisae**, the three parallel symptoms of the (concluding) advent of the goddess: TCD certainly saw the three groups of phenomena as exactly parallel in thought and grammar at 540.20-23 (vd.

too Guillemín). Catrein notes acutely (65) the frequent use of *uideri* applied to the perception (not always strictly or exclusively *visual*) of supernatural phenomena (*tacet, ut uidetur*, Luterbacher): thus e.g. 4.461, 7.73 *uisa*, Liv.34.45.6, Obsequens 12, 14, Oros.4.5, just as No. well remarks, in a suprisingly ‘modern’ mode (cf. Catrein 65, n.184), the synaesthesia of **mugire...[uisum] solum** and **uisae canes ululare**.

et iuga.../ 257 siluarum Ignored, *TLL* s.v. *iugum* and searches in PHI reveal nothing similar; the gen. indicating ‘forest’ dependent upon nom. indicating ‘ridges, crests’ (Heyne compares Hor.*Serm.*2.6.91 *praerupti nemoris...dorso*; cf. too *G.*3.436 *dorso nemoris*), so the phr. quite ‘interesting’; cf. n. on 7.586 for the difficulty of *pelagi rupes*.

coepta moueri ‘Appeared to begin to move’; if we eschew the lame interpretation of **mugire** as histor. infin. (which quite eliminates the grammatical unity of the passage), then both **mugire** and **ululare** clearly depend on **uisae**, and, that said, the only difficulty might lie *here*: see Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.1426.63 (with LHS 422) for this v. as an instance of the normal passive constr. with *coepi*. With **coepta**, supply *esse*, dependent on **uisae**. V. rarely troubles to supply all the trivial detail of a construction when the outlines are so clear.

257 uisaeque canes For **u.**, cf. on **mugire solum**, *supra*. The hounds (note that they are female here) of Hecate familiar in lit. and art. sources, Gruppe, 804, Chirassi Colombo, *EV* 2, 162, Gow on Theocr.2.12, Heckenbach, PW 7.2776.37ff., Robert, 1, 326, Dieterich, 51, n.2, Roscher, Ro.1.1895.22ff., Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 65 and AR 3.1040.

ululare per umbram P.u. 14x. at v.-end in *Aen.*, here maintaining the sequence of *u*-sounds. Cf. Theocr.2.35 ὠρούονταί and Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 5*, 364 for the vb..

258 aduentante dea Cf. n. on 7.69 for **a.** (*Enn.trag.*); the goddess stands as the anonymous climax of the passage. *Scilicet Proserpina* Serv.; **247** strongly suggests Hecate, as do the hounds (Clark, *Catabasis*, 188f., correctly, Eitrem, (*SC*), 101, Nelis, 247).

258-61 The Sibyl's instructions The Sibyl appears to exclude the *profani* from the scene, though they are hardly present; the allusive signal, though, is to the Orphic tone of what follows. *Aen.* is told to draw his sword, though there are no ghosts yet to be kept at bay (nor will there be till **305**), nor until **273** any monsters to affright him. However, Deiphobe speaks in the grandest manner and my cavils may be unsuited to the occasion. Cf. Hight, 307, Cartault, 445, Bremmer (2009), 185, Clark, *Catabasis*, 187, *id.*, in *Two worlds*, 167, 176, Cancik (**236-63**), 62f..

procul, o procul, este The speech-opening at mid-line may carry a suggestion of urgency, G.Hight, *HSCP* 78 (1974), 193ff.. Norden's claim

that this was a ritual cry which belonged to the mysteries (p.136; so still Wills, 99) will not do (cf. Bremmer (2009), 185), though his exx. of ritual anaphora are invaluable (vd. too Headlam/Knox on Herond.4.61); εὐφημεῖτε (which is repeated in e.g. Aristophanes) is no exact parallel. Two passages in Call.H. are cited, 5.1f. (repeated ἔξιτε), which offers a quite different context (vd. Bulloch's n.) and 2.2, repeated ἐκάς; Eur.Ba.68 (vd. Dodds' n.) refers to those in the street (anaphora) who will make way for the procession. On Call.H.2.2, Williams refers to the 'ritual significance' of the repetition (though his parallels, discussed here, are unimpressive): certainly V. had had the passage in mind (nn. on 3.90, 92 and next n. here), and Hecate's epiphany here too is tinged with Apollo's. But what actually lay behind V. (and quite possibly Call. too), thematically, if not stylistically, has recently become much clearer (lucidly expounded, Bremmer, *cit.*, 185f.), in direct and indirect transmissions: the reconstructed opening of the oldest Orphic theogony (fr.1a, b, PEG 2.1, p.2 Bernabé) has now been confirmed by the opening of the Derveni papyrus (*ib.*, fr.3): the doors are closed, the βέβηλοι are excluded, and the theogony is addressed to initiates alone. For the indirect confirmation, cf. Bernabé, PEG 2.1, p.2f, Bremmer, *cit.*, 185, n.16, *id.*, (2011), 20 and *id.*, 'The place of performance...' to appear in *LXV Nugae...A.Bernabé*. A further ref. to the secret character of Orphic doctrine may be present at 266, but the prominent allusion here is fully enough to count as a 'signal' to the reader, to be specially alert, in this case, for Orphic content in what follows; cf. *Alambicco*, 103-16, *Aen.*3, index, (and index, *infra*) s.v. signposts. **O**, interposed between repeated **procul**, elevates the tone of majestic excitement: cf. 2.644 *sic, o sic*, 8.579 *nunc, o nunc* (surely preferable to *nunc, nunc o*), LHS 809, Wieland, *TLL* 9.2.6.60-2; I have seen nothing else quite similar.

profani The metrically identical ἀλιτρός of Call.H.2.2, in the same *sedes*. Brenner, *TLL* 10.2.1663.24; **p**. can indeed be used in the sense of 'uninitiated': Cat.64.260 (in the Bacchic mysteries), Hor.C.3.1.1 *odi profanum uulgu et arceo* (with NR). Are there still a few Trojans accompanying Aeneas (vd. n. on 200 **sequentum**)? The relatively careful reader surely by now supposes that he is quite alone. Is the cry altogether general and conventional?

259 conclamat uates V. V.'s preferred term for the Sibyl, 12, etc.; cf. n. on 3.443. For **c.**, cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 4.70.4f.; used in Cat.42, but apparently not elsewhere in high poetry before V.; *decies* in *Aen.*, though, and perhaps brought to V.'s notice by Livy (*novies*, first pentad, *quinquies*, second; also, notably favoured by Caes. (17x), and eschewed by Sall., *semel*); just possibly from (e.g.) Enn.. *EV* 1, 809.

totoque...luco Cf. the *nemora* of **238**. **T.** very common as here to convey intensification, exaltation of tone and force; common (e.g.) with words for 'sky'; cf. **423**, complementing **ingens**.

absistite Vd. Vollmer, *TLL* 1.171.17f.; common in *Aen.* and Livy (but not first decad); Wölfflin's case for classifying the vb. as part of the language of milit. command, on the basis of *Caes. Gall. 5.17.3* (*ALL* 5 (1888), 519) is hardly compelling. In Augustan literature, the vb. has a wide range (*Hor. Serm.*, *Ov. Met.*, much favoured in *Aen.* and by Livy), and I suspect that it must long have been in use. *EV* 4, 1028 uninformative and Cordier silent.

260 tuque inuade uiam The Sibyl turns from the anonymous and perplexing **profani** to *Aen.* himself (cf. Highet, *cit.*). Cf. *Serv.* here *ingredere*, 3.382 *inuadere portus* (with n.; used by *Acc. trag.*), Mühmelt/ Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.114.81: Henry compares 2.731 *euasisse uiam*.

uaginaque eripe ferrum Cf. *Od.* 11.48 (with Knauer, 131, n.2) αὐτὸς δὲ ξίφος ὄξυ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ. 4.579 *uaginaque eripit ense*. For the synecdoche, cf. n. on **218** and for the use of **f.**, 2.614, 627, 671, etc., Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1. 579. 48ff.. For Virgilian scabbards, cf. Malavolta, 123, Saunders, 165, Lersch, 83. More important here, the implicit and familiar terror felt by ghosts in the face of cold steel: vd. *Schol. Q* on *Od.* 11.48, for the common *hypolepsis* among men that both the dead and *daimones* fear metal; No. further compares *Lyc.* 685, *Hdt.* 1.172, *Plut. apophth. Lac.* 236D. Very possibly the belief reaches *V.* ultimately from the *Katabasis* of Heracles, (**120**), (**2**)(a). See Clark, *Catabasis*, 214-6, Norden, p.206f., Rohde, *Psyche*, 1, 56, n.2, H.Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967), 227, Frazer on *Apld. bibl.* 2.5.12, Smith on *Petr.* 62.9 (presented as a common superstition), Ogden (*SC*), 180. Prof. A. Stramaglia (Cassino) kindly drew my attention to the discussion by I. Goldziher, 'Eisen als Schutz gegen Dämonen', *ARW* 10 (1907), 41-6, strong on Islamic comparanda. But an apparent inconsistency has inspired anxiety in comms. here (vd. e.g. Au., Mackie, 121, n.1): here *Aen.* is bidden draw his sword, while at **290** he is bidden put it up, when terrified by Gorgons, Chimaera, etc.; such monsters are after all not ghosts and are a threat only to *Aen.*'s nerves, for his visit is authorised. Is the Sibyl really concerned (so Au.) that *Aen.* might be frightened? That surely would be inconsistent characterisation. At *Od.* 10.535, *Od.* must sit with sword drawn to keep the ghosts away from the blood of his sacrifices, until he has spoken to Tiresias, and this, at 11.48, is what he does. If there is a narrative flaw here, it may be rather that the Sibyl does not explain to *Aen.* (and to us) why his sword needs to be drawn just now, for *Aen.* is *not* for the present about to be surrounded by swarms of ghosts.

261 nunc...nunc Cf. n. on 11.86, Hand 4, 342; in effect ‘both...and’.

animis ‘Courage’, and its seat, as is indeed guaranteed here by theme and variation; Negri, 252. Compare 8.150f., 11.451f..

opus For *opus est*; Ehlers, *TLL* 9.2.860.77ff. (the idiom of comedy, Lucil., *Cic.Epp.*).

Aenea Marking and slowing the articulation of the synonyms.

pectore firmo Negri, 252f., n.43. Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.915.26, compares *Enn.trag.* 256Joc. *pectus purum et firmum gestitat*.

262 tantum effata And at 12.885; cf. 7.456 *sic effata*.

furens Cf. n. on **100**; at the outset of her role as guide, the Sibyl is in a state of man(t)ic frenzy.

antro...aperto A cave (cf. **237**) standing permanently open (TCD *quod semper patebat*)? Or one that now opened for Aen. and his guide (a familiar motif (n. on 7.620), but nothing in its favour here)? Discussed, Clark, *Catabasis*, 187; see **237 uastoque immanis hiatu**, strongly in favour of TCD. It matters very little that no such cave exists upon the map, for at this point V.'s map is drawn by Lucr.(**237**), not the Istituto Geografico Militare.

se immisit For the reflexive use, cf. *Cic.TD* 1.116, *Liv.*7.6.5, J.B. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.469.14f..

263 ille The subject neatly changed; Aen. and the Sibyl have a line a-piece.

ducem...uadentem As ‘guide’, cf. **194** (the *columbae*), 3.470 (pilot), Pomathios, 154, de Nonno, *EV* 2, 148. But we are used to Aen. as *dux* or *ductor*, 8.496, 10.602, etc., and here there may be some *point* to the spectacle of Aen. keeping up with his female guide. Cf. **863 uirum...euntem** (with n.).

haud timidis...passibus Cf. 2.724, *infra*; the litotes (vd. **117f.**, **645**) shows him heeding the Sibyl's call for **animis** and **pectore firmo**. *EV* 5*, 181. Sibyl and hero face the (relatively, for she knows the way) unknown shoulder-to-shoulder.

aequat Von Mess, *TLL* 1.1021.26 compares 3.671 (where vd. n.), 10.248. Note also 2.724 *non passibus aequis* (where vd. n.).

264-94 Into the Underworld At **264** Aen. and the Sibyl are not in the Underworld; at **295** they clearly are. In between, however, there is no visible descent, such as I seem to recall from Jules Verne; the only actual motion appears to be their tour of the **domos Ditis**, which might even be no more than a circular digression during which the travellers advance not at all (R.J.Clark *CQ* 53 (2003), 308); certainly, the *narrative* does not progress until Aen. draws his sword (**291**). V. begins with nine vv. of unmatched magnificence and then passes to the singular ekphrasis (for such in some sense it is) of the **domos Ditis** (**269**), relieved only by the myster-

ious centrepiece of the Tree of Dreams. **265-73** promise great things, but what follows brings us up sharply, to wait and ponder, with expectations, perhaps rather to our surprise, suspended. See A.Barigazzi, *Prometheus* 8 (1982), 213-23, R.J.Clark *CQ* 53 (2003), 308f., Mellinghoff-Bourgerie, 176f., West on Hes.*Theog.* 270-336, Bremmer (2009), 186f., Setaioli, *EV* 2, 956, Johnson, 88ff. (admirable), Raabe, 143f., Pötscher, 135f.

264-7 Prooemium / prayer. Not the place for an appeal to the Muses (cf. Heinze, 241f., *EV* 3, 625-41, etc.), though the subject matter, **audita loqui, pandere res**, is no different (cf. 7.37, 645f. with my nn.); in the Muses' stead, an appeal to a suggestive miscellany of local forces, not for help or inspiration, so much as for authorisation to reveal what he knows: V.'s tone and language again suggest mysteries and initiates, in a calculated darkening of the tone beyond that of yet another literary *Katabasis*. Heyne, splendidly of these vv., 'habet insignem vim ad animos excitandos et horrore quodam sacro imbuendos... poeta...nunc ipsum se prodit et audientium animos in se convertit'.

264 di, quibus...est For rel. clauses in prayer/hymn that express the power(s) of the god(s) addressed, cf. Norden, *Agn. Theos*, 168ff., NH, *Hor.C.1*, p.127, n. on 7.309 (with 1.46), *Enn.trag.* 309Joc. *di, quibus est potestas...*; already used at 5.235 *di, quibus imperium est pelagi* and cf. *Venus* at 1.229 *o, qui res hominumque deumque ...* (with NH on *Hor.C.1.12.14*); compare also *Pater noster, qui es in coelis*. The traditional expression both literary and liturgical; no specific source to be sought.

imperium...animarum Cf. 1.138 *imperium pelagi*, 5.235 *supra*, and Antoine, 109 for the dat. of possession. V. addresses the lords of the Underworld with appropriate obliquity, embracing all those powers which, on the mythol. view of the hereafter, might exercise control over the souls of the deceased. Cf. *EV* 2, 927.

umbraeque silentes Cf. 432f. **silentum/ consilium**, Matius fr.8 *at maneat specii simulacrum in morte silentum* with Courtney's n. (probably gen. plur.; he renders 'an image of the appearance of those silent in death'). Cf. Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 12, Norden, p.209, Bömer on *Ov.F.2.609* (with further bibl.), Setaioli, *EV* 2, 956, Cumont, *LP*, 70 and notably J.N.Bremmer, *Early Greek concept...*, 84f.. Unsurprisingly, No. turns to 'silence' in magical texts (and indeed comms., apart from Page, not helpful on this point), but some understanding of the spirits' 'silence' emerges from more familiar authors:

(i) It has of course been noted that in many texts the souls are not silent at all, in that they make a good deal of noise (but Serv. on **264 nam hominum umbrae loquuntur** seems anomalous) but that noise is far from human speech and clearly reflects theriomorphic views of the soul. Notably as

bee; see n. on **707-9** and, more fully, *Vergilius* 56 (2010), 39-45 at 40f.; whence the souls buzzing at Soph.fr.879Radt. But also birds, Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 371, n.2, Cumont, *LP*, 293-302, Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational*, 162, n.38, comms. on *Od.*11.605f., *Plin.Nat.*7.174 (Aristeas), n. on **309-12**. So the cheeping and twittering indicated by Hom. τετριγυῖα, *Il.*23.101 (with Diog.Laert.8.21). Not to mention bats, *Od.*24.5, 9, *Tert.An.*32.3, *ad fin.*, M.Wellmann, *PW* 6.2741.38ff., Bettini (**707-9**), 225f. and n. on **283** for Lucian, *VH* 2.33. Cf. too the extraordinary cry of *Od.*11.43. In one sense, therefore, 'silence' suggests inability to communicate in human speech; cf. the phantasm of Aen. at 10.639f. (Juno) *dat inania uerba,/ dat sine mente sonum*.

(ii) Here, comms. naturally compare **432 silentum** (that is, roughly, 'the dead'; *OLD* s.v., §2) and **492f. pars tollere uocem/ exiguum** (strongly suggestive of Hom., just cited); cf. too Hes.*Scut.*131 (death that steals the voice), *Theogn.*568f. (when dead, as a voiceless stone). *Cic.TD* 1.37, *CLE* 1552.38. On the other hand, complete silence would be inimical to the plot, whether in *Od.*11 (cf. Page, *Hom. Odyssey*, 24) or here; so in Hom., blood endows the dead with speech (cf. A.Heubeck on *Od.*10.516-40), while in V. the dead speak as required, and Elysium seems particularly vocal. The absence of laughter (Bremmer, *Early Greek concept...*, 85f.) not directly relevant, but it does seem to fit in easily with the ancient apophatic vein (cf. **426-547**) and vd. Page here; see too Johnson, 88-90) in characterisation of the Underworld: absence of strength (*Od.*10.521, etc.), of colour (e.g. **272**, **480** (where vd. n.), *G.*1.277), of substance (**269**, **292**, **413**), of light, (**265**, **267**, **270**, *G.*4.472), of touch (**700-2**), and naturally of sound (see too *infra*, **tacentia**). No essential inconsistency, but a variety of ways of conceiving the Underworld.

265 et Chaos Associated with Erebus and Hecate, 4.510f.; Hoppe, *TLL* 3.991.59, *EV* 1, 651, Gantz, 1, 3. But see above all West's splendid discussion at Hes.*Theog.* 116. This dark and intangible chasm (West's language) presumably Hesiodic in origin here and peculiarly appropriate. V. has the enviable task of choosing two resonant names that will stand for all the Underworld and its horrors.

et Phlegethon V. evidently indebted to the Pyriphlegethon (present in several texts; no more than an alternative form) of *Od.*10.513 (it and Cocytus, a branch of Styx, flow into Acheron). Vd. too Plat.*Phaed.*113A^f on the river Pyriphlegethon, there already, inevitably enough, associated with fire and lava, as also (*ib.*114A) with punishment (parricides, matricides, murderers). Cf. Chirassi Colombo, *EV* 2,538, Höfer, *Ro.*3.2.2377.8ff., and (*bene*) Eitrem, *PW* 20.258.41ff.; 'Feuerstrom' a neat and successful rendering.

loca...tacentia A telling phrase (appos., clearly, in explication of the preceding noun-pair), created of the simplest ingredients (note *late loca* 2.495, 698; *silent late loca* 9.190); cf. **534** for the similarly appositional **loca turbida**. **T.** from the simple need to vary **silentes** in the previous v. (Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 8). There is slender ms. evidence for **silentia** (inserted distractedly after **265 silentes**), **M₂P₂γω**, but clearly that is not what V. wrote.

nocte Cf. **268, 827** and *G.4.497*. ‘Darkness’ rather than ‘night-time’ as Henry remarks.

late An unobtrusive spondee that adds instantly a touch of grandeur, even hyperbole, without significantly altering the sense; *tacet EV* s.v. *latus*. Vd. for example 2.495, 698, 7.104, 486.

266 sit mihi fas The wish thus in V. from *Buc.8.89, 10.46*. For the ‘valenza permissiva’ of *fas*, vd. **63**, *EV* 2, 467, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.288.69f. (prayers as here; cf. *Ov.Her.16.63*), 289.40f.; here cf. *Hor.C.4.4.22 nec scire fas est omnia*, *Caes.Gall. 6.14.3 neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare*, *Macr.1.7.18 quae sciri fas est*, etc.. Hickson, 53f. expounds in some detail such prayers for permission to describe or disclose something that might be thought ‘secret’, citing *Cat.51.2 ille, si fas est, superare diuos*, *Hor.C.2.19.9ff. fas...est mihi...cantare*, *G.1.126-7*. V. raises the level by wrapping his eschatology in mystery, with a touch of the mysteries; *de alta dicturus prudentia miscet poeticam licentiam* says Serv., rather well.

audita loqui Cf. 3.107 *si rite audita recordor* (with n.), 8.140 *auditis si quicquam credimus*, *PLLS* 6 (1990), 58.: (better) *Alambicco*, 130, Horsfall, *Athen.* 66 (1988), 33. But we cannot here simply suppose that V. goes through the ceremony of asking permission to repeat (written, of course, rather than oral) tradition, sometimes with reference to authentically traditional material and sometimes not. Even twenty years ago, there seemed to be a clear connexion with the Orphic ‘signpost’ displayed at **procul, o, procul este, profani** and a need to understand these words in Orphic/ Eleusinian terms (cf. too J.N.Bremmer in *Secrecy and concealment* (ed. H.G. Kippenberg, G.G.Stroumsa, Leiden 1995), 70ff., *id.* (2009) 186), that is, as the poet’s prayer that he is not about to breach any of the initiates’ secrets (Bremmer (2009), 186, n.19, citing *Cat.64.260*, *Eur.Ba.471f.*; cf. too Richardson on *HHDem.474-6*, Williams, *TI*, 49, Heinze, 242, n.1). No. also drew attention (the ref. is wrong, however) to *Plat.Gorg.524B* (Underworld), to *Men.81A* (metempsychosis) and to *Gorg.493A* (life as death), all claims to traditional authority (cf. Burkert, *LS*, 78, n.157, 130, 248, n.48), though not all clearly Orph./Pyth., and to the presence of such claims to the authority of tradition in (later) Orphic poetry, *PEG* 2.1.102.4 Bernabé, *Lithica* 698, etc.). However, such claims are no less part of the Greek poet. tradition (Hom., Pind., Hdt., etc.: so again No. here, Bernabé on *PEG*

2.1., *cit.*, and my remarks, *Athen.66* (1988), 33ff.). Here, then, perhaps not to be claimed as securely or definitively Orphic; equally, it is inevitable, given the content of what follows, that V. will now appeal to the powers of the Underworld (basic principles of the relevance of deities invoked); in such circumstances, some parallels with magical texts (No.) are unsurprising and *not* specially significant.

sit Cf., for the gemination of the wish, 12.826f. *sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges/ sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago*, Hor.C.2.6.6f.. Norden refers to the use of *sit* in the sense of *liceat*: with Lachmann on Lucr.5.533, cf. LHS 349. But that is not essential here, if we accept that ‘happen’, ‘occur’ is sufficient (cf. n. on the Grecism **596 cernere erat**, 8.676, G.4.447, *OLD* s.v. *sum*, §9 (‘to exist as a possibility’), Goodwin, *Moods...*, §772, Mayer, *ALLP*, 181, KS 1, 669).

numine uestro Between ‘inspiration’ and ‘consent’, Bailey, 67; cf. **368**. There seems to be an increasing agreement between comms. (e.g. Au., Williams) that **fas** needs to be supplied again with this second **sit**. I wonder (so too Butler and, with energy, Pascoli): there seems to be a solid, balanced structure here of **sit....mihi fas....audita loqui** against **sit....numine uestro....pandere res**; the sense is cumulative; both actions in keeping with **fas** and with the support of **numine uestro**; likewise, what V. will relate is *both* traditional and wrapped in mystery. Pascoli well draws attention to the similarity of bare **numine** here to *non sine numine* (so at **368f. neque...sine numine diuum/ flumina tanta paras...innare**). Abl. perhaps of accompaniment: cf. 8.381 *nunc Iouis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris*, 2.247, 4.331.

267 pandere res 10.1.199.12f. (Kruse), *EV* 3, 953, Lucr.1.55 *rerum primordia pandam*, G.4.283f. *tempus et Arcadii memoranda inuenta magistril/ pandere*, *Aen.*3.179 *remque ordine pando*.

alta terra M altas, an aberration after **res**. After Lucr.6.583f., G.3.376f. *sub alta/ otia agunt terra*. Cf. Mantovanelli, *EV* 1, 121. Here perhaps ‘hidden deep in the darkness under the earth’, though the case for hendiadys is not binding. The adj. presumably to be taken with both nouns.

et caligine Cf. *trag.inc.75 crassa caligo inferum*. Long dear to the poets, Cat.64, Lucr.3, Cic.*progn.*, etc.. *Decies* in V.; however, *tacet EV* and Cordier, 101, n.2 quite insufficient.

mersas Cf. *EV* 3, 491, Lausberg/Bulhart, *TLL* 8.834.1; in this extended sense of ‘hide’ perhaps first here, but the original meaning (‘plunge’) possibly still felt.

268 ibant Exalted claims have been made for the connotations of the impf. of *ire* (J.R.T.Pollard, *PVS* 7 (1967-8), 43). Note here a paragraph opening with a self-contained first-foot spondee: ‘often it describes men doing

things with an effort, or walking at a slow pace', Winbolt, 107; cf. n. on 7.406. As Au. remarks, Aen. and the Sibyl were *already* on their way.

obscuri The figure here employed was identified, not for the first time (that was actually Serv., writing of *hypallage*; vd. also No. here, LHS, 160) by Leo in 1898 (*Ausgew.kl.Schr.* 2, 177) and was discussed with typical learning by Bell in 1923 (317f.). Once the double enallage had been identified, little more needed to be said (sensibly, Au., *EV, infra*; cf. G.B.Conte, *Virgilio* (Torino 2002), 39f., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 39, F.Burkhardt, *Gymn.* 78 (1971), 411f.): to the prosaic mind, the night is dark and 'lonely' naturally applies to Aen. and the Sibyl; *both* adjectives are transferred. To dismiss the double enallage as 'an old theory' (Quinn, 165, n.3) is to attempt to trivialise serious progress in the understanding of V.'s style. Cf. n. on **847 excudent** for the even odder exchange of objects. Typical use - both **847-53** and here - of simple language and complex stylistic devices at a critical moment. See *EV* 3, 806, where D'Angelo, after C.Gallavotti (see *ib.*, 2, 216), usefully draws attention to Empedocles' ἀτερπέα χῶρον, DK 21F121, v.1, filled with unpleasant personifications, as at **274ff.**; for use by V., vd. Farrell, *Vergil's Georgics* (index s.v.), Gallavotti (*cit.*), comms. on *G.2.483f.*

sola sub nocte Standard phrasing (see e.g. 7.16, 87). Compare perhaps Empedocles DK21F49 (Kyriakidis), though 'lonely night' is only what V. writes in a most superficial sense. Once the enallage is identified, the apparent problems found here (Quinn, 165, Pollard, 43, S.Kyriakidis, *PLLS* 7 (1993), 97-100) are greatly simplified, for it is *de facto* Aen. and the Sibyl who are lonely and investigation of the sense in which night herself might be lonely is hardly pertinent. West remarks (*ORVA*, 439) that only to **sola** is there no correspondence in the simile, but because simile and narrative are otherwise so closely bound, we suppose naturally that the night walk in the woods is a lonely one. It is singular that Au. refers to 'personal experience by the poet in his country days' (on **272**), just as F. Della Corte, *Mappa...* (1971), 111 likewise seems to hint at V.'s personal experience of evening walks round Lake Avernus; the darkened ways of *Od.2.388/11.12* might be rather more to the point.

per umbram Another prepositional phrase in elaboration of **ibant**. Cf. *Buc.7.10*, *G.4.511*, *Aen.4.660*.

269 perque domos...uacuas Simple anaphora of the prepos. leads us into a ringing expansion (entirely on the theme of absence of substance, **264**) to close the para.. For u., cf. Pinotti, *EV* 5*, 414, *OLD*, s.v., §1e. Compare *5.732 infernas accede domos*, **6.534 tristis sine sole domos**, **705 domos placidas** by the stream of Lethe.

Ditis These halls, or home, or domain, or realm (on *d.*, *tacet EV*) governed principally by Dis/Pluto, on whom see nn. on *7.327*, 568.

et inania regna In chiasmus with **domos...uacuas**. **R.**: cf. Pomathios, 174, *EV* 4, 467; often of the Underworld, **154 regna inuia uiuis**, **417**, **566**, etc.. **I.**: vd. Scarcia, *EV* 2, 931, O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.823.9 (the adj. then much used by Ov. of his Underworld).

270-3 The memorable opening of the *Katabasis* proper is now appropriately illuminated by one of V.'s most memorable similes, that is closely bound to the narrative (vd. West for the details; note the balance of the prepositions, **268-70**, **sub...per...per... sub**, the first two in the narr., the second two in the simile). He appears to have no identifiable sources here: see D.A.West, *ORVA* (1969), 438f., Johnson, 88-90, von Duhn, 132-3, and vd. also the related **450ff.** (with Hornsby, 98).

270 quale.../ 271 est iter in siluis Q. without correlative as at e.g. (simile, too) **453**. **Est iter** takes up, gravely, the prominent **ibant** of the narrative; cf. *EV* 3, 51 and 9.321 *hac iter est*. Pollard, *cit.*, 44 asks unhelpfully whether 'it is a real path that one can visualise or the abstract notion of a journey', appearing to write as one who had never been lost in woodland or caught on a long walk by failing light. Certainly it is helpful here to bear in mind attestations of the Romans' fear of great forests: vd. Liv.9.36 and e.g. A.J.Woodman, *Rhetoric in class. historiography* (Beckenham 1988), 172, *id.*, *Tacitus reviewed* (Oxford 1998), 70ff. for Tac. and Germany. But it is no use to compare the first stage of Aen.'s descent to some abstract notion of a journey: once 'personal experience' is cast aside, we can still safely attribute to him an informed sense of what it is (or rather, perhaps, 'might be') like to find your way through woodland with bad light and a fitful moon.

per incertam lunam Common enough phrasing, 2.255, 340, 397, Hor.C.2.16.3f. *neque certa fulgent/ sidera nautis* (Au.), Tib.1.9.10, von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.1131. 57ff.. Pollard, *cit.*, 44 rightly dismisses Quinn's bizarre notion (165) that there was no moon. **Inceptam** Serv. (for whom **inceptam** is an *alii legunt* reading) and some c.9 mss.; an unattractive alternative, requiring no dismissal; for **incertam lunam**, see *TLL* 7.1.880. 74ff. (Ehlers), 7.2.1831.55ff.; TCD *hoc est in ipsis initiis positam aut sub nubilo constitutam; incipientem* Serv.. Compare 3.203f. *tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles/ ...totidem sine sidere noctes* (which V. may have in mind here), with n., Sall.Hist.4.40 and Liv.41.2.4 of a still faint morning light. *EV* 3, 280 offers dim and fitful illumination, while V. typically offers some explanation in the next two vv., with their hints of both darkness and heavy cloud, and Heyne refers sagely to 3.203f..

sub luce maligna Hey, *TLL* 8.184.2f., *EV* 3, 336. TCD *non clara et non plena, et quae securo inuideat gressus* (an excellent explanation), Serv. *obscura: nam malignum est proprie angustum*, quoting 11.525

(where *vd. n.*). Pollard, *cit.*, 44 rightly insists that we have here to allow for *both* ‘spiteful’ and ‘sparing’: the light is unkind to the wayfarer, above all because there is so little of it. Note the elegant ABBA structure of noun and adj..

271 ubi caelum condidit umbra/ 272 Iuppiter Here still as god of the sky and weather, Bailey, 133, *EV* 2, 744. For **caelum**, cf. *OLD* s.v., §7a, Bannier, *TLL* 3.82.47, comparing 11.187 *conditur in tenebras altum caligine caelum*, where *vd. n.*. For **condidit**, *vd.* Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.149.81 and compare 5.126, *Hor.C.2.16.2f. simul atra nubes/ condidit lunam*. On **u.** as ‘ombra della notte’, *vd.* the ample discussion of Angela Maria Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 381, §11, comparing e.g. 2.251, 360. For a flat and literal version, ‘hides the sky in darkness’.

et rebus...abstulit...colorem **A.:** *EV* 2, 496, *TLL* 2.1335.42f. (von Mess/Ihm). **R.:** admirable phrasing, where a lesser writer might have favoured either a vague *omnibus*, or a too-specific *arboribus*. Cf. Laurenti, *EV* 4, 448 (compare *G.4.441, Aen.9.461, 10.18*, etc.). From **ubi caelum to colorem** the subject matter is (with theme and variation) nightfall, which has already been suggested by **per incertam lunam; sub luce maligna** might suggest to us either passing clouds or trees, to ensure that little moonlight reaches the traveller. The uncertainty challenging, indeed welcome. Note *Lucr.2.798 qualis enim caecis poterit color esse tenebris*, A.K.Michels, *AJP* 65 (1944), 136. For absence of colour in the corresponding Underworld, *vd.* **264**.

nox...atra Cf. **866**, 2.360 (*vd. nn.*), etc..

273 uestibulum ante ipsum Borrowed verbatim from Priam's palace, 2.469, where *vd.* full n., though V.'s sense in the two passages need not be identical; here, *vd.* *EV* 1, 687, 5*, 519, E.Wistrand, *Opera selecta* (Stockholm 1972), 354, *id.*, *Eranos* 68 (1970), 196ff., 220f.. **279 aduerso in limine** does suggest that the **u.** is, as in bk.2, conceived as being *outside* the main door, or entrance, of the ‘palace’ (so too Wistrand, 354f.); certainly, it appears that an Augustan reader might still conceive (*infra*) of the **u.** as *external* (i.e. to the front door of the house), C.C. Van Essen, *Mnem.3.7* (1939), 231, Fiechter, *PW* 1A.983.50ff., Wistrand (1970), 210, *id.*, (1972), 352, 358, Norden's fine, sensible note here, Marquardt-Mau, 224f. and *OLD* s.v., §1a. Further, the prepos. may suggest not, conventionally, ‘in front of’ (i.e. outside), but perhaps also ‘at the front, in’ (Wistrand (1970), 221, ‘vorn in’, with TCD *in primo uestibulo*, Au.). The sense of **u.** was perceived as having changed with time (from external court to internal; *vd. n.* on 7.181), and became a topic dear to grammarians and antiquarians (see next n.), though not one always clearly perceived by them: C.Aelius Gallus, fr.7GRF, *Gell.16.5.1-12*, *Macr.* 6.8.15-23, Wistrand (1970), 197f.,

203-5 (other texts illustrating **u.**), 220f.. It is possible that at **282 in medio** our imaginations should still be lingering in this forecourt, in whose middle grows the monstrous elm. Note the laurel tree in Priam's palace and the palm in Augustus', n. on 2.513.

primisque in faucibus Apparently theme and variation with what precedes (**P** omits **-que**), and so, potentially, a clue to the correct sense of **ues-tibulum ante ipsum**. The cautious reader needs to bear in mind not so much (again) antiquarian discussion of room-names as Lat., and particularly Virgilian, usage of *fauces*. At **201**, **241** and 7.570 (vd. nn. and note too *G.4.467 Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis*), **f.** seems to be used in a sense close to 'crater': from the passages through which gas, magma, flames and the like are spewed forth, the word widens into the craters themselves, *Lucr.3.1012*, 6.639, *Liv.10.1.5*, *Wulff, TLL 6.1.397.49ff.* Beyond the literal sense of 'gullet' or 'throat' (of human or animal 2.358, 774, etc.), see S.Boscherini, *EV 2*, 480 and compare also *Enn. Ann.81* (opening of *carcer* on racecourse), *G.1.207* (Hellespont), *Aen.11.516* (mountain pass), *Vitr. 6.3.6* (a corridor, but not in the right place; cf. Marquardt-Mau, 246), wooden tubes and necks of jars, *Wulff, 397.36ff.* Clearly, therefore, well suited to a narrow passage between larger spaces, both at the entrance into the Underworld and in the Roman house, apparently as a passage between the street and the *atrium*. **V.** carefully avoids any explicit indications of spatial progress between **273** and **294**, and the corridor or passage leads inescapably in two directions; both *Gell.* and *Macr. citt.* are much exercised, to no decisive end. Their various *faux pas* will not be examined here, nor Bremmer's unconvincing account of the image, (2009), 186f.. Norden well notes that *Apul. Met.7.7* and *Arnob. 2.53* show the *fauces Orci* conventionalised in the wake of the Underworld's development as a wild beast (so *Lucr.1.852 Leti sub dentibus*; possibly (so O'Hara) and also *Aen. 7.568 spiracula Ditis*). But **faucibus** in the end do not solve the problem of **ues-tibulo** and I can only say that **u.** seems here to bear most easily the sense of some kind of external forecourt, from which the **f.** may be thought to lead in and down. Note [*Plat.*] *Axiochus 371B* for the *propyla* of the way to the Underworld (Butler).

Orci Vd. n. on 2.398, Casertano, *EV 3*, 878f., Jocelyn, *Enn. trag.*, p.255f.; an ancient (Hesiodic and tragic; probably not Ennian) synonym for 'Underworld' (or ruler thereof), *bis* in *G.*, *septies* in *Aen.* Is there a play between *Orcus* and *orca*, a large jar? **F.** can clearly be used as the way in to either or both (cf. (e.g.) Bremmer (2009), 186, Paschalis, 177 and see too R.J.Clark, *PCPS 47* (2001), 115). The possibility cannot be excluded. Nor indeed can an association between *O.* and the Greek for 'oath', Paschalis, 215f..

274-89 Personifications Comm. will indicate that V. has drawn widely for his ample selection of personifications (cf. **289a-d** for analysis of style and arrangement): use of Hesiod (Morbi, Senectus, Metus, etc.), Empedocles (**274, 275**), Ennius (Discordia) seems probable and analogies with the lists in Cic.*ND*, [Hyg.] and Cebes, not to mention Erinyes in the Bologna papyrus (along with Eros, *PEG* 2.2, 717.26, 35Bernabé), will suggest yet wider reading. But Lucr. is central (**275**, etc., Lucr.'s pairing of Centaurs and Scyllas; see Dyson, Giesecke, Barigazzi and Mellinshoff-B. who tabulates the details, 176f.) and his presence here may be part of a strategy to convey to the reader that Lucr. has changed the way Romans view the monsters of mythology and the Underworld (*Alambicco*, 126f., Giesecke, 66f., Barigazzi, Dyson, *infra*). Note too the painted personifications in scenes of Hades, [Dem.] 25.52 (Guillemin). Williams, 3, 4 is right to draw attention to the appropriateness of the abstracts selected to the themes of the epic (such as the *curae* of Dido, the Chimaera on Turnus' helmet). The tree of dreams on the other hand looks like one of V.'s typically learned composites, an invention dressed in erudition. If the Tree in some sense balances the Gates, some might wonder whether this display balances the Parade of Heroes, future against myth, motion against stillness, colour and noise against chill, grey silence. For the visual tradition, vd. H.A.Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek art* (Zürich 1993); in general, vd. D.Feeney, *Literature and religion at Rome* (Cambridge 1998), 87-92, *EV* 4, 37-9 (Pöschl), Barigazzi (*supra*), 220-2, R.D. Williams, *PVS* 10 (1970-1), 3-5, J.Dyson *AJP* 118 (1997), 452ff., Mellinshoff-Bourgerie, 173ff., 185f., J.Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects...* (Paris 1949), 117f., A.Bendlin, H.A.Schapiro, *BNP* s.v. 'Personification', Giesecke, 65-9. The ample survey by Deubner, Ro. 3.2068.34ff. still deserves regular consultation.

274 Luctus V.'s many tired literary offspring listed by Kemper, *TLL* 7.2.1740.54ff.; not even Norden (p.213) laid hands on a persuasive source or analogy; note, however, Cebes 10.2 Λύπη, with Höfer, Ro. 2.2146.65ff., *id, ib.*, 2210.7ff. and Willink on Eur.*Or.*399.

et ultrices...Curae Personified likewise at Hor.*C.*2.16.11 (with NH), 22, 3.1.40 *post equitem sedet atra Cura*. For C., vd. Roscher, Ro.1.932.11, Aust, PW 4.1773.8ff.. The epithet at 4.473 and 610 of Dirae; here, the suggestion seems to be that of the pangs of conscience which punish misdeeds (so already Serv. *conscientiae, quae puniunt semper nocentes*), Courtney on Juv.13.191, G.Thome, *Vorstellungen vom Bösen...* (Stuttgart 1993), 370f., Williams (**274-89**), 3 (so covering Aen.'s pangs of conscience over Dido; perhaps rightly). P.Fedeli, *EV* 1, 962 unilluminating. Broccia, *EV* 2, 179 suggests the influence of Hes.*Theog.*217 Μοίρασ καὶ Κῆρα... νηλεοπίονουσ ('punishing ruthlessly', West), possible but by no means mandatory, like his claim for Hes. ἄλγεα (*Theog.*227) behind C. here.

posuere cubilia Cf. 9.715f. *durumque cubile/ Inarime Iouis imperiis imposta Typhoeo*, Sen.*Ep.*5.2 *cubile humi positum*, Solin.38.8, *EV* 4, 200, Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1270.33f.. *EV* 1, 687 suggests we might imagine kennels, as though of guard-dogs. This pleasant whimsy not impossible Latin (Lambertz, 1271.79ff., c. of pigsties, henhouses, etc.), but in the context of at least a sketched-out palace, we might expect a more conventional bed-chamber, certainly not at the very front: cf. A.J.Brothers in *Roman domestic buildings* (ed. I.M.Barton, Exeter 1996). 42f., J.E.Stambaugh, *The ancient Roman city* (Baltimore 1988), 164f., Marquardt-Mau, 248). It is just possible that Synesius' phrasing (*prov.*1.1) in introducing his citation of Emped.fr.121, *supra*, ἐς τοὺς κυγενεῖς ἀλύκθηναι κευθμῶνας, may reflect Emped.'s wording just prior to the passage cited; were that so, that phrasing is not far from V.'s here.

275 pallentesque...Morbi Quint. 8.6.27 (vd. Au.) quite right to point to this v. as illustrating *quo id quod efficit ex eo quod efficitur ostendimus*; the pallor of the victims, in other words (cf. Plaut.*Pers.*24, etc., Zäch, *TLL* 10.1.123.79ff.), is attributed to the diseases that create the pallor; vd. Maurach's useful discussion, *Dichtersprache*, 107; add Bömer on Ov.*Met.*3.490. Diseases personified at Hes.*Erga* 102, Emped. (268), v. 16 νόχοι; amply surveyed, Wagner, Ro.3.457.64ff. at 466.9ff., G.3.552 *pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque* (possibly Tisiphone's epithet there influenced V. here); see too Reichmann/Ehlers, *TLL* 8.1482.57. V. is here citing himself, though not on the same topic (in G., on the general condition of man): G.3.67f. *subeunt morbi tristisque senectus/ et labor...*, after Hom. γήραϊ λυγρῶ. Vd. *EV* 5*, 272.

habitant Cf. 3.398, 11.265 and (with n.) 7.151; bland, as though one of the verbs for 'inhabit' employed in 7.647ff.. Wistrand, 354 rather too eager to determine just where Age and Disease dwelt in this fragmentary palace, when that is a detail that V. seems at pains here not to specify; vd. Au. here.

tristisque Senectus Cf. M.Martina, *EV* 4, 769f., oddly certain of V.'s use here not of Hom. (*supra*) but of Hes.*Theog.*225, which describes old age as οὐλόμενον, far less close, however, to V.'s sense than Hom., *supra*. Cf. Stoll, Ro.1.1628.6ff., Höfer, 4.710.24ff., Zwicker, PW 4A.1457.60ff.. At Cic.*ND* 3.44, listed between *Fatum* and *Mors*, and also present, at Death's side, in Hyg.'s list, p.10.2Marshall.

276 et Metus Cf. G.3.552 (cited, 275 **pallentes**); Hes. pairs Phobos and Deimos at *Theog.*934 (where vd. West). See Höfer, Ro.3.2386.28ff., *EV* 3, 510, E.Bernert, PW 20.309.3ff..

et malesuada Fames M., suggests No. (p.372; cf. Cordier, 278, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.178.43), on the basis of Plaut.*Most.*213, was once in

some archaic poet, and thence passed to V.. Famine at Hes.*Theog.*227 Λιμόν (where West cites instances in *Orphica* and *Or.Sib.*), Hunger at *Od.*17.286-9; see Broccia, *EV* 2, 179, Crusius, *Ro.*1.1443. 36ff., Schirmer, *ib.*, 2.2052.34ff., Waser, *PW* 6.1979.35ff.. As for hunger's evil counsels, cf. [Eur].*El.*375f.. TCD acutely compares 3.56f. *quid non mortalia pectora cogis/ auri sacra fames!*

ac turpis Egestas T. much the sort of epithet that poverty attracts at Rome (cf. *egentes ac perditii, egentes atque improbi, latro atque egens*, R.MacMullen, 'The lexicon of snobbery' in *Roman social relations* (New Haven 1974), 139, s.v. *egens*, I.Opelt, *Schimpfwörter*, 215). Serv. comments *quae turpes facit*, perhaps with discussion of **275 pallentes** still in mind; here, a less persuasive approach. The adj. here may derive (Broccia, *cit.*) from *Lucr.*3.65 *turpis enim ferme contemptus et acris egestas...67 et quasi iam leti portas cunctarier ante* (which will surely have been in V.'s mind here). *EV* 5*, 338 obscure. For Πενία/ *Egestas*, cf. Hes.*Theog.*593, Cebes, 26.3, anon., *PW* 5.1982.54ff., Voigt, *ib.*, 19.495.66ff., Broccia, *EV* 2, 179, Roscher, *Ro.*1.1217.68ff., Höfer, *ib.*, 3.1921.15ff..

277 terribiles uisu formae Much after the manner of the non-catalogue elements in V.'s catalogues, which these vv. do in some sense constitute (Scarcia, *EV* 1, 702). Nothing unpoetic about the supine with adjs. in *-ilis* : cf. 1.111, 3.621 with n., 7.78, 10.637, etc., LHS 382; however '*uisu terribilis*' and obvious variations apparently not found elsewhere in V.. Cf. I.Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1078.8, Broccia, *EV* 2, 559 for this favoured use of *f.* for '[monstrous] vision': cf. *Cic.cons.fr.*2.27, *Aen.***6.289, 293**; No. compared *Soph.El.*198, μορφάν.

Letumque Cf. the Θάνατον of Hes.*Theog.*212, *Cic.nat.deor.*3.44, Hyg. p.1.2Marshall. See Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 597, R.Peter, *Ro.*2. 3218. 40ff., O.Waser, *ib.*, 5.481.55ff., Latte, *PW* 12.2148.34ff., Lesky, *ib.* 9A. 1245.15ff..

Labosque The archaic spelling transmitted here (vd. Leumann, 179, Lumpe. *TLL* 7.2.789.34ff., Sommer, 368) and the uncouth sound of *-orque* avoided apparently by all copyists. *OLD* oddly suspects that **-osque** might be (an old) *v.l.*, but its credentials are excellent. Compare Hes.*Theog.*226 Πόνος, *Cic.nat.deor.*3.44 (with Pease's n.), *EV* 2, 179, Höfer, *Ro.*3.2754. 25ff., G.Herzog-Hauser, *PW* 21.2426.60ff.. A fine allit. pair (enough to account for the choice of **Letum**), though not at all synonymic. For the lit. history of correlated abstracts (from Hom.), cf. Wills, 374.

278 tum 'After that', shading into 'next in a spatial sequence', or indeed in an enumeration, *OLD* s.v., §8. Note (on the temple doors) **20f. tum pendere poenas/ Cecropidae iussi** and the instances discussed, Wagner, *QV* xxv, §6c.

consanguineus Leti Sleep and Death as siblings, Hes.*Theog.* 212, 756 (where vd. West), *Il.*14.231, 16.454, etc.. See Robert, 1, 843, Gantz 1, 5, *EV* 4, 941. C.: of fine poet. pedigree, Pacuv., Acc., Cat.64, Lucr.3. *Tacent* Cordier, *EV*.

Sopor *Bis* in Acc., Cat.63, *octies* in Lucr.; a lofty synonym for *somnus*, Cordier, 135, 160; *dormitat* *EV* 4, 940f.. *Somnus* in Acc., Pacuv., common in Enn.*Ann.*, Cat., Lucr.; *sopor* perhaps on occasion handier, more melodious or simply welcome as an alternative; no help in Festus, Isidore, Nonius, [Fronto]. But note (after No.) Plin. *Nat.*21.119 normal *somnus*, which may be induced, as against heavy *sopor* from over-use of a natural sedative (cf. *ib.*20.198, *OLD* s.v., §2 for *sopor* as ‘sleeping-draught’). As personification, cf. Hyg. p.10.3Marshall.

et mala mentis/ 279 Gaudia Mala *mentis Gaudia* comments Serv. (whereas TCD takes the adj. with **G.**); approved, e.g. by *EV* 2, 638, unpersuasively, for there is little change to the sense and nothing specially desirable or attractive in the enallage. Sall. *Iug.*2.4 *corporis gaudiis*. Sen. noted of Virgil, quoting these vv. (*Ep.* 59.3): *uoluptatibus hoc nomen imposuit et quod uoluit expressit; significauit enim homines malo suo laetos*. Norden therefore compared Cebeus 9.1f., Clem.*Protr.*2.26.4, on bodily pleasures as the expression of mental weaknesses. Cf. now Long/Sedley 2, 522f., 539.

mortiferumque...Bellum At **280 Discordia** :: Gk. *Eris*; here **Bellum** :: Gk. *Polemos*. For the personification of war (in our texts from Pindar fr.78.1Sn. on), vd. Au. on 1.294 and in rather more detail, n. on 7.607 *sunt geminae Belli portae*; Wissowa, *Ro.*1.777.47ff., Höfer, *ib.*, 3.2607.65ff., Aust, *PW* 3.258.16ff., G.Herzog-Hauser, *ib.*, 21.1358.19ff., Lotito, *EV* 1, 481.

aduerso in limine Cf. **636**. V.'s sense here seems to be that *facing* Aen. and the Sibyl there is a gateway or entrance (cf. Wistrand 1972, 354). See **273**, *ad init.*, for the bearing these words may have on the topography of this rather overpopulated forecourt of the Underworld. See *EV* 1, 687, 3, 225, van Essen (**273**), 231: though **282 in medio** occurs *after* this reference to an entrance, it is less clear (and in truth does not matter a scrap, as *EV* 1, *cit.* allows), whether the monstrous elm stands in the centre of the original *uestibulum* or of some further, deeper court; see, however, **282**.

280 ferreique...thalami **F.** a spondee by synzesis; otherwise not admissible in dactylic verse, Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 880, Leumann, 120, 286, Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 335 (ignoring V.). **F.**: cf. **554**, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.573.46. Cf. Wistrand (1972), 354 for the bedchambers of these virgin ladies - *Furiae numquam nupserunt* remarks Serv. - in the context of V.'s use of **thalami**; cf. **274** for the exactly parallel **cubilia** of the **Curae**. For **t.** (by no means always marital, *Ov.Met.*2.738, *OLD* s.v., §1a), cf. nn. on 2.503, 7.388, *EV* 5*, 159, and Carrara interestingly draws attention (*Prometheus* 6

(1980), 271-3) to Antimachus, *Suppl.Hell.fr.65.3*, the brazen *thalami* of the Arae (cf. Aesch.*Eum.*417, Robert, 1, 834, n.4; an alternative term for Erinyses). Perhaps not so much a debt of V. to Antim. as a surviving trace of a lost convention. See 554 and notably Wormell cited there for the whole topic of metal constructions in the Underworld. Hes.*Theog.*758 refers baldly to οἰκί' ἔχουσι. Heyne thinks of servants' *cellae*, while Pascoli visualises **Bellum** and **Discordia** somewhat in the roles of porters or guard-dogs (cf. n. on 274 **posuere cubilia**). The Furies asleep when not at work, No., citing Aesch.*Eum.* (e.g. 47); cf. E.Wüst, PW Suppl.8.127.57ff.

Eumenidum Cf. n. on 7.323-40 for V.'s view of the Furies; *EV* 2, 620-2 unedifying. They are called *Erinyes* in bks. 2 (337, [573]), 7 (447, 570), *Eumenides* in bks. 4 (469; simile), 6 (250, a mere genealogical periphrasis; 375); *Furiae* (605, n. on 3.252, 8.669). They are located all over the Underworld (375, 555, 570-2, 605; vd. No., p.214 and Henselmans, *Widersprüche*, 107). To reduce their many habitations (and even names) to order might have occupied much of the intended sojourn in Greece which the biographers alleged among V.'s intentions (VSD 35; *Companion*, 20f.), were there any sign or hint that such consistency had ever mattered to him in the very least.

Discordia demens Cf. nn. on 7.323-40, 540-640 for the literary traditions behind Eris and Discordia and nn. on 7.461, 550 for V.'s general view of war and strife as lunatic activities; Bellum and Discordia are not, however, presented here in such a way as to justify an 'Augustan' reading of this corner of the Underworld (victories over War and Discord; vd. Maclennan, Fletcher). Insistent allit. of *d* (but cf. the yet stronger 2.44, 136, 802, 11.870).

281 uipereum crinem Cf. n. on 7.351 *uipeream...animam*; for snakes in the Furies' hair, cf. 7.346, and nn. on 7.329 *colubris* (main note), 450 (Furies and pairs of snakes). Adj. for gen. of course, and for adjs. in *-eus*, cf. n. on 7.589. Snakes are attributes familiar among deities of this type (n. on 7.329 for Hecate, Dirae, Lyssa).

uittis...cruentis At 7.352, Allecto's serpent *becomes* a *longae taenia uittae* (sense not quite clear) in her 'conquest' of Amata; here, Discordia wears fillets, it appears, simply as a common visual attribute of divinities, in particular Nike (Beringer, 53-6, Schuppe, *infra*, H.Graillet, DS 5, 952). See, in particular, the fillets worn by Nike in *Enn.Alex* (fr.67Joc., *id.*, p.229, Schuppe, PW 8A.2003.30f.). Cf. 1.296 for Furor's *os cruentum*, 6.555 for the **palla...cruenta** of Tisiphone, 7.399 for the *sanguineam aciem* of the disguised Allecto, 8.703 for the *sanguineo...flagello* of Bellona. Such ensanguined attributes reflect the bloodstained activities of the deities listed. Much more interesting than e.g. simple *sanguineus Mauors*.

innexa Cf. Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1696.72f.; to the bibl. collected at 7.669 *Herculeoque umeros innexus amictu*, add now E.Courtney, *CJ* 99 (2004), 427. Here, **R** offers meaningless **innixa**, just as at 7.669 **PR** have **innixus**.

282 in medio We have seen that as a topographical indication this is typically ambiguous: **273 ad fin.**, **279 ad fin.**; Serv. sees that there is a difficulty *aut uestibulo: aut absolutum est*. Suet.*Vesp.*25.1 *media parte uestibuli* proves little. If the poet seeks to convey a touch of mystery - indeed he does, and more than a touch - then he will not be working with a neat diagram to hand, as some of his readers have done here; the text clamours for Blake, for Doré at worst, not the Ordnance Survey. Vd. Blümner, *Privat-altertümer*, 12, n.5, *ad fin.*, for the absence of evidence for plants, trees in Rom. *uestibula*. The *cauaedium*, however, was another matter, and not just in poetry: cf. **273 uestibulum**, *ad fin.*. But we can hardly be sure that normal Roman usage applies here.

ramos...pandit *Non aperit sed expandit, id est extendit* Serv.Dan.; Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.195.11f., Beikircher, *EV* 3, 952. V. cites himself on the *aesculus*, with alterations, *G.2.296 tum fortis late ramos et brachia tendens*. Compare Col.4.24.11 *unde se pendant quattuor, ut dixi, brachia*, Plin.*Nat.*19.134.

annosaque brachia For **b.**, cf. Spelthahn, *TLL* 2.2160.13f.. In quite common (prose and verse) use in the (personified) sense of 'branches'; predictably dear to Ov., in *Met.*, Spelthahn, *cit.*, 9ff.; so used e.g. at Cat.64.105 *quatientem brachia... quercum*, *G.2.296*, 368. Theme and variation, not arcane botanical detail. The adj. of *robur* at 4.441, *ornus* 10.766, Lehnert, *TLL* 2.114.38. Previously only in mime (Lab.); cf. n. on 7.566 for adjs. in *-osus*, both colloqu. and at home in high poetry.

283 ulmus One of the more enticing challenges faced by the interpreter of bk.6; hitherto, only tackled seriously, it seems, by F.Granger, *CR* 14 (1900), 25 (altogether unmerited disdain from Butler, 146) and Norden, p.216; cf. also Maggiulli, 468f., *ead.*, *EV* 3, 840, M.Schuster, *PW* 17A.554.3ff., Steiner (**724-51**), (**1**)(a), 85-8, Gruppe 2, 1920, s.v. 'Ulmen', *Alambicco*, 126f.: *PLLS* 6 (1990), 56, Williams (**283f.**), 4f., Bremmer (2009), 187. Easiest perhaps if it is said, firmly, at the outset that the case for the elm as a piece of inherited folklore is not strong; the evidence, such as it is, gives the appearance of a piece of Virgilian bricolage, of a typical learned construct. The placing of the dreams clearly in some way corresponds to those at *Od.*24.12. The elm considered ἄκαρπον by some, Thphr.*HP* 3.14.1; in other words, though perhaps not universally, an *arbor infelix* (see n. on **230**); planted by the grave of Eëtion, *Il.*6.419 (cf. Seymour, 482); also of Protesilaus, Philostr. *Her.*9.2. But the tree itself yields less information than does its role: here dreams huddle under the leaves of

the elm; so on the portentous plane-tree at Aulis (*Il.*2.312), sparrow-chicks huddled under the leaves and note too (Con.) Sleep hiding in a fir-tree at *Il.*14.286ff.. However, the image here is clearly not limited to birds, and we have recently seen that souls might be viewed as bees/birds/bats (n. on **264 silentes**; for souls, vd. Bettini, *cit.*, there); this swarming (or flocking, or clustering) is easily transferred to dreams (Granger, who extends the argument to leaves, **309f.**); dreams too are winged (for the soul, vd. **707-9**), Lucian, *VH* 2.34, *Eur.Hec.*71. Comms. note the forest of Lucian *VH* 2.33, inhabited only by bats. V. is careful not to identify the missing link in the image: dreams - *identified as what?* - who cluster under the leaves of the elm. Just as perplexing the bees of **707ff.**; the precise *explanation* of their presence at that point we are left to work out, amid only too many enticing hypotheses. V. adorns his account with **ferunt**, though hardly with **uulgo ferunt**; we have learned that such expressions may as well state the traditional character of a story as adorn an invention (cf. my discussions, *supra*). There remains the possibility of a connexion, as Serv. on **in medio** realises, with the **falsa insomnia** of **896**; cf. (**893-6**), **(3)** and n. on **894 facilis...exitus**. V. might have intended to work up the connexion more fully, with a weighty and significant link between the two appearances of dreams; however, discussion at (**893-6**) will show a strong preference for a linear, not a circular view of bk.6. If, though, we do have here all that V. intended to leave us on these first dreams, then we might even feel that we were being teased, rather than challenged, by the easy cross-reference to the Gates of Dreams.

opaca ingens Cf. **136 arbore opaca, 208f. opaca/ ilice, 673 lucis...opacis**, *EV* 3, 856, *TLL* 9.2.658.14 (Beikircher); even at one of the grandest and most mysterious moments in the book, V. does not eschew the favourite adjective; cf. Au. for such asyndetic adjs..

quam sedem...284 tenere Cf. *Cat.*67.4 *cum sedes ipse senex tenuit*, *Liv.*1.48.2, 41.23.12, *Hor.C.*4.9.5f., *Ov.Ib.*174; standard Latin and no significant echo.

Somnia.../ 284 uana According to Serv. here, dreams from heaven are true, 5.722, dreams from the Underworld, as here, false (for traces of this view, vd. Steiner (**724-51**), **(1)(a)**, 55f.). *EV* 5*, 435, *Aen.*8.42 *ne uana putes haec fingere somnum*, *Liv.*33.32.7, *Hor.Ars* 7, *Ov.Met.*11.614 (V. echoed). At *Met.*, *cit.*, Bömer renders V.'s sense here as 'körperlos', but 'misleading' is clearly enough also present, as Serv.Dan. rightly states.

uulgo/ 284...ferunt An old problem of sense: *temere, passim, cateruatim...* Serv.; *tacet* TCD. Serv. convinced e.g. Heyne and Norden, and clearly they all took **u.** with **tenere**. The alternative is to understand **u.** with **ferunt**; an '*uulgo ferunt*'? as Serv.Dan. continues; so too apparently *OLD* s.v, §5a and noted by Forbiger, Butler. The issue not lexical; both senses

are clearly acceptable Latin: for Serv.Dan.'s preferred sense of **uulgo**, cf. *OLD* s.v., §4, *Enn.Ann.*479, *Lucr.*4.88. Fletcher argues for **uulgo tenere** as theme and variation with **foliis sub omnibus haerent**: that would carry more weight if theme were more evidently parallel with variation. It is word-order that seems to be decisive, for **uulgo** stands between **Somnia** and **uana** ('misleading dreams *en masse*') and nothing forces, or invites, the reader to wait, with attention suspended, for **ferunt**; Williams, (274-89), 4 and comm., offers no coherent defence of his preference for **uulgo...ferunt**. Word-order equally tells against Bell's preference (301) for **uulgo** to be understood in *both* senses.

foliisque sub omnibus Bat-like, or bird-like; not to be dismissed as fantasy (not that that would matter at all, though) by readers who have witnessed the roosting of either or both. Paschalis (215) hears a poetic confusion between Hesiod's *φῦλον ὄνειρων* (*Theog.*212) and *φύλλον*, a leaf; that this association may have lurked somewhere in V.'s ear cannot be excluded.

haerent Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2499.69 notably unhelpful; apparently no discussion in *EV* s.v.; compare e.g. *Ov.Met.*1.105, *Nux* 149 *nidos foliis haerere*, *Varr. RR* 1.59.3. A small issue of grammar remains, the change of subject between **ferunt** and **haerent** and the place of the latter, clinging bat-like to the relative clause: cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxiv, §4, with Con.'s criticism (n. here); closest perhaps is 9.593f. *cui Remulo cognomen erat, Turnique minorem/ germanam nuper thalamo sociatus habebat*. So here **somnia** was the object of **ferunt** and becomes the implied subj. of **haerent**, Hahn (1930), 58, 222f., Bell, 132, LHS 566, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 95, 186, n.196.

285 multaue...monstra A fine generalising conclusion to this section of the list. Cf. *EV* 3, 575, Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1454.18f.. **Monstrum** common in V., though not in 6, for 'monstrous being, creature' (e.g. 3.214, 658).

praeterea *Octies* *Lucr.* has lines that begin *multaque praeterea*, but I am not sure that there is necessarily a Lucretian tone here, since the words are themselves so banal.

uariarum...ferarum Neither *EV* 2, 502 nor 5*, 443 very helpful; *tacet TLL*. Note *G.4.406 uariae... species atque ora ferarum*. Compare **6.289 forma tricorporis umbrae**, **293 caua sub imagine formae**, 7.18 *formae magnorum ululare luporum* (where vd. n.). For *monstra ferarum*, cf. detailed n. on 7.650 *corpore Turni* (a Gk. trag. idiom); here therefore 'the varied monstrous beasts', *vel sim.*

286 Centauri Cf. n. on 7.304, 674, *EV* 1, 730ff. (Arrigoni), Gantz, 1, 143-7, NH on *Hor. C.*1.18.8, 2.12.5, Rose, *Gk.myth.*, 256, Roscher, *Ro.*2.1032. 18ff., Bethe, *PW* 11. 172.50ff., Robert, 2.1, 4ff., etc.. For their presence in

the Underworld (there are inconclusive scraps of artistic and mythographic evidence; Bömer on *Ov.Met.*12.441 clearly will not do), cf. No., p.215f., Bethe, PW 11.174.37ff., Cumont, *SF*, 455f., n.3, Arrigoni, 731; *ead.*, 730f. draws attention to the Centaurs' position in the gateway, 'balanced' between earth and Underworld.

in foribus stabulant Brandt, *TLL* 6.1.1063.10f.; Serv.Dan. *in aditu*. Vd. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.769.62f., Tib.1.3.72; standard idiom, like *in porta*. The vb. first used as intrans. at *G.*3.224; see *OLD* s.v., §2 (trans., Varr. *RR*). R.J.Clark, *CQ* 53 (2003), 308 continues ingeniously to pursue the house-planning arrangements of these figures, by referring to the *equilia*, stables (how appropriate for the semi-equine Centaurs, we might think, after Serv.), balancing the *cella* of the *ostiarius* at the entrance of the typical Greek house (Vitr.6.7.1), but we may wonder quite how far the reader is expected to go in pursuing the Romanising domestication of this scene: after van Essen, Wistrand (*bis*), *EV*, *passim* (Scagliarini Corlàita) and now Clark, convinced of an actual 'House of Orcus' (so named, but not by V. himself) here, there is every danger of this hunt for identifications descending into an untimely hobby (e.g.: Aen. leaves the 'House of Orcus' by the way that he took on entering. Thus, *inter alia*, Clark) for suitably-inclined Virgilians.

Scyllaeque biformes See n. on 3.420-8 (add Gantz, 2, 731-3 and a fine coin illustration, *EV* 4, 725); a good discussion, P.Pinotti, *EV* 4, 726, who remarks that the plur. is not Gk., but Lucretian (4.732, 739, 5.878, 891) and Ciceronian (*ND* 1.105); a plurality of Odyssean Scyllas rather than single instances of the two famous ones, *Buc.*6.74f.. Norden's search (215) for some explanation of their place in the Underworld is not impressive (vd. Pinotti); Pinotti herself remarks that the ancestry (Typhon and Echidna) which Hes. attributes to various mythol. monsters at *Theog.*304ff. is shared by Scylla at Hyg. 151.1, but that is really not quite enough to prove the antiquity of their place in the Underworld. For **b.**, cf. **25** and *TLL* 2.1980. 48f. (Ihm). Scylla and Centaur an attractive biform pair, here naturally associated. They are not, *pace* Dyson (**274-89**), 452, themselves dreams or in some way *in* the elm-tree.

287 et centumgeminus Briareus Cf. **800 septemgemi**, Colonna, *EV* 1, 866. Precisely Homeric (*Il.*1.402f. ἐκατόγχειρον.../ ὄν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί). The adj. apparently a Virgilian coinage (cf. Cordier, 46), often more flexible than *septemplex* (12.925). Briareus (see Hom., *cit.*) identical with Aegaeon (the name used by mortals; cf. **88**), a complex, violent figure for V. at 10.565 (cf. *Companion*, 114, 184), but by no means so at *Il.*, *cit.*. See Gantz, 1, 45, Robert, 1, 48, West on Hes.*Theog.*149, *EV* 1, 534f., etc. for B. and the 'Hundred-handers' more generally; also, vd. Call.*HDel.*141ff. and n. on 3.578 for his imprisonment under Etna. For his place in the Un-

derworld, and for further anatomical elaboration, cf. West on [Hes.] *Theog.* 734f. (see *ib.*, p.358 for authorship).

ac belua Lernaë For **b.**, cf. Ihm, *TLL* 2.1861.56, citing Cic.*div.* 1.49, a dream-vision of some great Hydra-like beast. Here a minimum of allusion by way of variation (Giesecke, 67 acutely compares Lucr. 5.26 *Lernaëaque pestis*), and again, at least a trace of apposite pairing, for the Hydra of Lerna was nine-headed. Its elimination Hercules' second labour, *Apld.Bibl.* 2.5.2 (with Frazer's nn.), Robert, 2.2, 444ff., Gantz, 1, 384-6, West on Hes. *Theog.* 319, *EV* 2, 897f.. Lerna 10 km. S. of Argos on the sea, near the SW end of the plain; the entry in Smith, *Dict. Gk. Rom. geogr.*, s.v., typically rich in curious detail. The Hydra will enjoy a brief reappearance at **803**.

288 horrendum stridens Cf. 9.632, 732, 12.700 (vd. Traina) for **h.** similarly advbl. of sound; see Görler, *EV* 2, 267f., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 42f., Antoine, 50f. for the neut. acc. of adj. used as advb.. Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2983.26f.. Gk. origins rather overstated, *EV* 2, 857, citing e.g. Hom.'s δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε of armour. S.: cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 1035. The Hydra's heads are conceived as essentially serpentiform (vd. e.g. Gantz, *supra*), and the vb. is also used of Allecto's snakes, 7.561, where vd. n..

flammisque armata Cf. 4.472f. [Orestes] *armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris/ cum fugit*, *TLL* 2.619.18f. (Vollmer).

Chimaera *Il.* 6.180, West on Hes. *Theog.* 270-336, *Apld. Bibl.* 2.3.1, Gantz, 1, 22, 23, *EV* 1, 765f., Robert, 2.1, 179-83 and full n. on 7.785 (Chim. on Turnus' helmet). *Prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa Chimaera*. The flames were always an essential part of her armoury: *Il.* 6.182, Hes. *Theog.* 319 (with West's n.), *id.*, fr.43 (a). 87MW, etc.. Lucian has her placed in Hades (No.).

289 Gorgones To nn. on 7.341, 2.616 add Gantz, 1, 20-2, 304-7. Standard Gk. prosody. Cf. Clark (**120**, 2009), 198f. for the placing of the Gorgons further into the Underworld in the *Herakleous Katabasis*.

Harpyiaëque To n. on 3.212, add Gantz, 1, 18-9, 350-6. For the diphthong *-yi-*, cf. Holzweissig, 48, Leumann, 78.

et forma The dependent *umbrae* (A.M.Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 379, atypically without discussion) seems to be a *genetivus inhaerentiae*, for nom. and gen. have converging senses. Cf. n. on **285 uariarum...ferarum** for the accumulation of **formae** in these vv. (with Broccia, *EV* 2, 559).

tricorporis umbrae After (loosely) Lucr. 5.28 *tripectora tergemi uis Geryonai*; for such *tri-* compounds, cf. Colonna, *EV* 1, 866; cf. also Au.'s useful collection of material on poet. *bicorpor* and the tragic adj. τριχώματος. The tenth of Hercules' labours, to fetch Geryon's cattle, *Apld.Bibl.* 2.5.10. On account of the reappearance of the cattle in *Aen.* 8 (200ff.; cf. 7.661-3) and of the discovery of a substantial fragment of

Stes. *Geryoneis* (vd. Page *Suppl. lyr. Gr.* fr.S7ff.), G. is of particular interest: cf. Gantz, 1, 402-8, Robert, 2.2, 465-83, *EV* s.v. *Gerione*, C.M. Robertson, *CQ* 19 (1969), 207-21, NH on Hor.C.2.14.8 (excellent) and cf. n. on 7, *cit.* for the development of the Hercules/Geryon story. It does not emerge clearly from V.'s description whether some of these figures are here because they are dead (*iam mortuas* Serv.), just as (e.g.) Dido is dead, whereas others (like the Furies) are depicted in their conventional abode (an abode which is clearly appropriate here), but the two types of explanation can clearly co-exist. It may even be (Con.) that this uncertainty is calculated, and therefore meant to reflect post-Lucretian doubt in these monsters' reality.

289a-d Serv.Dan. writes *sane quidam dicunt uersus alios hos a poeta hoc loco relictos, qui ab eius emendatoribus sublatis sint:*

*Gorgonis in medio portentum inmane Medusae,
uiperae circum ora comae, cui sibila torquent
infamesque rigent oculi, mentoque sub imo
serpentum extremis nodantur uincola caudis.*

These vv. have received only a little more detailed attention than they deserve: see Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 193f., *Virgilianisti*, 153f., E.Paratore in *Scritti...Riposati* (Milano 1979) 331-7, Y.Gomez Gane, *MD* 63 (2009), 175-90, I.Peirano, *The rhetoric of the Roman fake* (Oxford 2012), 250f.. See too my remarks, nn. on 3.204a-c (2006), and 7.464 (2000); also *ICS* 31 (2006), 5, *Aen.*2, p.560 (2008), and *Companion* (1995), 24, along with M.Geymonat, *ib.*, 300, and G.P.Goold, *HSCP* 74 (1968), 133f.. T.Berres, *Vergil u. die Helenaszene* (Heidelberg 1992), 221ff. moves in quite another universe of knowledge and evidence. For the negligible importance of the claim *quidam dicunt* in such writing, vd. *Companion*, 3. By *emendatores*, Serv.Dan. presumably means 'Varius and Tucca' (cf. Gomez Gane, 175, n.1); that places his testimony on a level with other references in the grammarians' tradition to these shadowy figures. It is now exactly a century since Diehl began dismantling the evidence of the *Vitae*, and there has been no answer to my discussion of VSD as romantic fiction, containing a few tiny scraps of original fact (1995); the supposed work of the *emendatores* was a valuable contribution by the 'biographers' to the not-very-arduous task of creating some pretty legitimation for the work of interpolators. Gomez Gane seems ignorant of the English-language bibl. and therefore unaware that the entire structure of biography along with its textual implications has been eliminated from serious discussion (Goold, and my n. of (2000)). That said, it would be hypercritical to deny that these four lines *could* be of the c.1 AD, and stand as much, or as little, chance of being Virgilian as (a) 1.1a-d, (b) 3.204a-d and (c) the Helen episode. After Gamberale's work on (a) and Delvigo's on (b), no more needs to be said on either passage; on (c), after Horsfall (2006) and (2008), at least at the level

of exact textual scholarship, the case *against* authenticity has been restated with ample new arguments (vd. too Peirano, *cit.*, 244-63), and though it seems that some serious Latinists continue to believe in Virgilian authorship (e.g. new ed. Teubn.), the gravity of the case against stands undiminished and so far unchallenged in its details. These vv. then are already impugned by the very evidence for their existence and by the company they keep. Something needs to be said about (a) their style and language and (b) their suitability in the context.

(a) Four vv. in the manner of V. are a great deal easier to write than twenty-two; or rather, in the shorter passage, the author offers fewer hostages to precise analysis. It is odd, though, that we still have no detailed discussion of the style, evidently a surer guide to the issues than the tawdry charms of pseudo-biographical chatter. For now, therefore, note

(i) *portentum* with defining gen.: no repub. or Augustan instance, Scheible, *TLL* 10.2. 21.40ff.; with *monstrum*, cf. **285 uariarum monstra ferarum** and Szantyr, *TLL* 8. 1454.11ff. (not with proper names).

(ii) *Gorgonis...Medusae*: cf. *Medusae/ Gorgonis*, *Ov.Tr.*4.7.11f..

(iii) *uiperae circum ora comae*: difficult not to suspect that author has in mind **281 uipereum crinem**. Cf. Berres, 223. Note too *in medio* 289b, **282**.

(iv) *sibila torquent*. La Penna (vd. *infra*) sensibly took *sibila* as obj. of *torquent*, but that leaves *comae*, the (snaky) hair as subj., and therefore *cui* dat. 'of interest' referring to Medusa. Not very pretty. *Sibila torquent* in itself rather better, *Prop.*4.8.8, *Sil.*7.424, *VF* 7.525f..

(v) *infamesque* Cf. Gomez Gane, 176, n.1 "'malfamati' in quanto pericolosi"; if that is right, not the same as *i.* of Helen at *Hor.Epd.*17.42. Bulhart quotes nothing quite similar, *TLL* 7.1.1340.57f..

(vi) *rigent oculi* Cf. 7.447 *deriguere oculi*, with n.; an exceptionally uncommon 'physiological' phenomenon and the two passages are inevitably, therefore, related.

(vi) *mento...imo* : cf. *Sil.*13.333.

(vii) *serpentum extremis nodantur uinacula caudis*. The author's one elaboration, a little ponderous but agreeably lurid. Cf. *Germ.Arat.*189 for *e.c.*.

It is odd that this list had still to be compiled, apparently for the first time, with the help of *TLL* and *PHI*; but cf. already on *sibila torquent* La Penna, *Maia* 31 (1979), 135-7, summarised, Gomez Gane, 181. From Gomez Gane, I add

(viii) p.186 on the similarity of sound between 289b and **299**; but we should not be troubled in either direction, for we have learned that V. was sometimes singularly deaf (by modern standards) to repetition of various kinds; cf. n. on 7.554 *arma*.

Items (i)-(vii) on the charge sheet show an author who knows bk.6 passably well, who is not far from the idiom of silver epic, and who might

belong to mid-late c.1. Paratore (337) notes that Dante, at *Inf.* 9.38-52, seems to know our passage (but does he? I am less sure), though Serv. Dan. had not yet been rediscovered. Interesting, if true, but easily explicable, either if these vv. had been written in the margin of a codex that Dante had seen or if he had chanced to find them somewhere in an (unidentified, unknown) Virgilian commentary. It is worth adding, finally, that Catalogues are by their very nature particularly prone to interpolation: for Hom., vd. e.g. H.Cancik in *Homer, the Bible and beyond* (ed. M.Finkelberg, G.Stroumsa, Leiden 2003), 119, n.16, M.W.Haslam in *A new companion to Homer* (ed.I.Morris, B.Powell, Leiden 1997), 83, J.A.Davison, in *Companion to Homer* (ed. A.J.B.Wace, F.H.Stubbings, London 1963), 239.

(b) The context. It is a pity that Kyriakidis (756-846) says so very little (23, n.34) about the catalogue-technique of these vv.. Four lines on the single figure of the Medusa are entirely out of keeping with the modest and regular arrangement of this list or catalogue, entirely static and notably short on verbs (274 **posuere cubilia**, 275 **habitant**; 281 **pandit**, with 284 **ferunt, haerent**); relatively modest on colour and epithets too, so that the centre-piece (central alike in the arrangement of the *fauces Orci* and in V.'s account) stands out, along with the very slightly greater expansion lavished on Hydra (**horrendum stridens**) and Chimaera and the terse periphrases used of Hydra (**belua Lerna**) and Geryon. After such a chill, comfortless, unnerving display, it would be untimely and unwelcome to conclude with a bold, energetic, colourful Medusa, rich in movement, verbs, adjectival elaboration. So already Au. in slightly different terms. The objections of Gomez Gane, 178 carry little weight, but his survey of possible poetic motives that might have driven the interpolator to work (188-90) displays laudable ingenuity. The four lines remained in the grammatical tradition and like Helen, *ille ego*, and *hinc Pelopis gentes*, were never 'promoted' into late antique or Carolingian mss..

290 corripit...ferrum Cf. **260 uaginaque eripe ferrum**; for c., cf. **210** on the GB.

hic 'At this point'; cf. Au., n. on 7.141, 2.699, 5.340, Tietze, *TLL* 6.3.2770.84ff..

subita trepidus formidine Successive anapaestic words of curiously similar sound (*subita*, *trepidus*, even a central *i* in both). Compare 9.169 *trepidi formidine* (and 9.756 *uersi trepida formidine*), *TLL* 6.1.1097.68f. (I.Kapp); *ib.*, 25ff. for other instances of the sudden onset of fear and cf. n. on 7.446 *subitus tremor*. The fearful hero? No comment in Mackie; see also 3.29f. (likewise in the face of the eerie-supernatural). For t., cf. Crevatin, *EV* 5*, 264.

291 Aeneas The run-on molossus brings Aen. back to energetic reaction in the face of his grim surroundings.

strictamque aciem Cf. nn. on 2.333, 7.526 and Ugenti, *EV* 4, 1038 with synonyms for 'sword'. S. standard Lat. usage, Caes., Liv., etc., *OLD* s.v., §4.

uenientibus Aen. does not draw his sword without reason; these figures are approaching closer. Neat use of the partic.; cf. 2.59, 111, 3.130, etc..

offert *EV* 2, 497, Heine, *TLL* 9.2.505.42f.; he also cites Liv.9.3.3 *ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est hostis* (Caudine Forks) and so lofty a context in L., alongside this v., might suggest an epic, even an Ennian origin.

The motif of the katabatic hero who draws his sword against the monsters of the Underworld has a complex history: Lloyd-Jones (120), 221, R.J.Clark, *PCPS* 47 (2001), 114f., *id.*, (2009), at (120), (2)(c), 192, *id.*, *Catabasis*, 214-6, Gantz, 1, 413-6. See (120), (2)(a) for the secure place of this episode in the *Katabasis Herakleous*: thus e.g. *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.12 Her. drew his sword against the Gorgon but learned from Hermes that she was an empty phantom (cf. *Ar.Ran.*564), *Bacchyl.*5.71ff. (warned by the spirit of Meleager to put up his bow). We look back also to *Od.*10.535f. (Circe to Od., to draw his sword), 11.48f. (Od. with sword drawn to keep the spirits from the sacrif. blood). The chief difficulty seems to lie with V. himself at 260, where the Sibyl tells Aen. to draw his sword (perhaps more of a comfort than a weapon), but this seems to be one of those cases in which the poet is faced by two conflicting traditions and embraces both, in rather disconcerting proximity. Cf. Horsfall, *ORVA*, 466ff., *Alambicco*, 91ff.; a different but helpful approach, O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 76ff..

292 et ni 2.599 slightly different (*et, ni...*).

docta comes C. of the Sibyl also at 538 (*infra*); for the fem. use, cf. 10.220, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1769.39ff., Barchiesi, *EV* 1, 853. The epithet, of a well-informed seer, Bulhart, *TLL* 5.1.1756.76ff., perhaps as from *Enn.Ann.*15.

tenuis sine corpore uitas Cf. *G.*4.472 *umbrae ibant tenues* (where vd. Biotti's useful n.; cf. Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 379), *Aen.*2.791 *tenuisque recesit in auras*. *EV* 5*, 110 seems to have undergone amputation by some editorial sword. **Sine c.** common Lucretian phrasing (*novies*; also *quater*, Cic. *philos.*), *Hor.Ep.*1.12.13 *animus sine corpore uelox*. A substantial accumulation of expressions of incorporeality, and more are about to accrue.

293 admoneat Cf. 619 and 538 **comes admonuit**. *EV* 3, 563, Klotz, *TLL* 1.765.43f.; the use of pres.subj. in prot. and apod. gives the passage a greater immediacy: 1.58f. (with Au.), 2.599 (protasis), 5.325, 11.912 (with n.), *KS* 2, 399f., Ernout-Thomas, 382, Handford, *Lat. subunc.*, 121f.,

Woodcock, 155, LHS 332, Kroll, *Wiss.Synt*, 70f.. Had I written anything similar at school or university I should have been severely reprov'd; it gives a certain delight (which Kroll here shares) to discover how wrong my teachers would have been: even had they known that V. permitted himself the present, they would not have permitted it to their pupils.

uolitare Cf. n. on 7.89, **6.329**.

caua sub imagine formae Cf. nn. on **285**, **289**: again, the gen here close to a *gen. inhaerentiae*. Compare 2.360 *nox atra caua circumuolat umbra* (where vd. n.), but exact analogies are not to be expected when both nouns, plus adj. , work together in the interests of sinister impalpability. The Hom. ἄττιουσιυ (*Od*.10.495) is less elaborate and inevitably conveys a rather simpler image to the imagination.

294 inruat Primmer, *TLL* 7.2.449.83ff. compares 2.383 (where vd. n.), 757. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 433.

et frustra Typical Virgilian expression of the vanity of human effort, valour, etc., but here hypothetical, in most exceptional circumstances; Duckworth, 9, with n.22.

ferro diuerberet F.: see e.g. **148**. Hofmann *TLL* 5.1.1571.41ff. compares 5.503 [*sagitta*] *uolucris diuerberet auras* (Serv. *scindit*) and 9.411 *hasta uolans noctis diuerberat auras*. The vb. at *Lucr*.1.222 (and *sexies* the *simplex*); cf. (surely overinterpreting) Dyson, (**274-89**), 453f.; the numerous verbal references to *Lucr.* in these lines may coax the reader towards a state of Lucretian disbelief, but they do not seem to amount, collectively, to a reasoned argument. *Tacet EV*.

umbras Cf. **264**, **401**, Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 380.

295-336 By the waters of Styx V. is not yet quite clear (**295**, **327**) about the name, but **369**, **374** and **391** seem to guarantee the identification (Pachalis, 216-9). Once *Aen.* had passed through the 'antechambers' of the Underworld, V. could have brought him directly to *Palinurus*, but that would have meant passing over both a theological explanation of the fate of the unburied dead and the chance to prepare the reader for *Charon's* substantial role in *Aen.*'s own story (**384-416**). V. therefore preferred a quite leisurely preparation for the unburied dead: *Charon* was a splendid opportunity which V. relished to the full (**298-304**) and *G.4* proves an invaluable quarry both for the groups of **306-8** and for the similes of **309-12**; not all the rest of the passage is of equal quality and the fate of the unburied dead is embedded in a rather unmemorable dialogue between *Aen.* and the *Sibyl*. See Büchner, 363.66ff., Cartault, 1, 448f., di Cesare 104f., MacKie, 120f., Quinn, 166f..

295 hinc So the intellectualising, Lucretian *domus Ditis* stands in the place of some sort of more adventurous descent (cf. Gantz, 415); that might be a small step towards understanding better the balance of tone and mood at the end of the first third of the book.

uia...quae fert Hey, *TLL* 6.1.545.34, comparing 11.525, *Caes.Civ.* 1.27.4 (apparently standard Latin, therefore), *OLD* s.v, §6b, Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 495. for **uia** thus, *EV* 5*, 527 compares **122, 540**. ‘A road or drive’, Au..

Tartarei...Acherontis ad undas The clausula *sexies* in *Aen.*; of the waters of Styx, 7.773 (where vd. n.). The adj. used by Cic., *carm.Soph.* 1.40 (cf. further n. on 7.328) and in *Aen.* usually of the Underworld in general, rather than in the precise sense found at **543, 577** (vd. Setaioli, *EV* 5*, 46f.). No inducement to keep in use Ennius' *Tartarinus* (*Ann.* 220; vd. Skutsch: the *i* is perforce short). Acheron not in the sense of ‘Underworld’ (7.312, with n.), but strictly, ‘the river Acheron’ (in Hom.'s list of rivers, *Od.* 10.513); cf. Chirassi Colombo, *EV* 1, 23f., Stoll, *Ro.* 1.9.52ff. and for the possibility of an Apollonian influence, Nelis, 245. I am as little inclined as Au. was (cf. too **132**) to map V.'s conception of the rivers of the Underworld.

296 turbidus...caeno T.: cf. *EV* 5*, 319 (Strati), as already *G.* 2.137 *auro turbidus Hermus* (with the *fluentis...harenas* of *G.* 3.350). The adj. in Enn. and *Acc.trag.*, Lucr.. A formidable accumulation of detail, as at **268-72**; no single gramm. structure, but the detail points in a single direction. Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.97.76ff. compares Cic. *phil.fr.* ix.12 Müller = *de luctu fr.* 15BK *deprimi in tenebras atque in caeno iacere*.

uastaque uoragine Admirable allit. expansion of **caeno**, recognised as hendiadys by Hahn (1930), 118 (here containing both the material and the type of motion); Au.'s notion of *uasta uoragine* (descriptive) balancing *turbidus caeno* is not at his best level. *Vorago* in keeping with the conception of the Underworld as greedy, devouring (*uorare*): cf. Caviglia, *EV* 5*, 627, comparing Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.23 *immensa aliqua uorago est aut gurgis uitiorum turpitudinumque omnium* (with *Sest.* 111, Opelt, 157).

hic Evidently local, though after **295**, the reference to an actual *river* Acheron is not perfectly clear.

297 aestuat Found in *Cat.* 25, and 63 (and *Hor.C.* 2.6.4); a verb ill-shaped for dactyl. verse, as *fluctuare*. *Tacet EV.* Bannier, *TLL* 1.1113.45f.

atque...Cocyto eructat Cf. n. on 3.576 (of Etna; also at 632) for this coarse and colourful (Lucretian) verb, after *AR* 2.744 ἀνερεύεται, Nelis, 245. The (explicitly) anatomical is not a register V. much favours (vd. No., p.115, n.1), but cf. (e.g.) n. on 3.217 *proluuias* (Harpy-droppings) and 9.326 (drunken snoring). Before V., in Cic. and Varr., after, in *Sen.trag.*

and Sil.. The river of wailing again in Hom.'s list, *Od.*10.514; cf. *G.*3.38, *Aen.*7.479, 562, Chirassi Colombo, *EV* 1, 830.

omnem...harenam Cf. n. on 7.31 (sand carried down by Tiber).

298-304 Charon A figure strong in colour and visual detail; C. popular also in the artistic tradition (Polygnotus, Athenian white lekythoi), though that need not perforce imply V.'s use of a specific artistic source or sources. The first reference to Charon in literature seems to be in the *Minyas*, fr.1 Bernabé, but the dating of the *Minyas* is far from clear, once the connexion with Prodicus is revealed as simple textual error (West, *Orph. poems*, 10, n.17) and the citations of *Min.* by Philodemus (fr.6) and Paus. (fr.1-5) are not necessarily direct. There is no proof even (vd. Gantz against the optimism of e.g. Bremmer, Bernabé and Latacz, *BNP* s.v. *Minyas*) that the text is earlier than our c.5 art. evidence and it is far from clear in what guise Charon reached Virgil. See Au., p.125, Gantz, 1, 125, Robert, 1, 818-9, R.J.Clark, *CQ* 50 (2000), 192-6, *id.*, *Catabasis*, 161f., F. de Ruyt, *Charon, démon étrusque...* (Bruxelles 1934), 246-53, A.Setaioli, *EV* 1, 674-6, F.A.Sullivan, *CJ* 46 (1950), 11-7, Bremmer (2009), 187-8, Williams (274-89), 5. Such realism in the description of the working man familiar in Alexandrian texts and art; for the *Moretum*, vd. my remarks, *Class.Med.*52 (2001), 309, 311 and, more amply and generally, G.Zanker, *Realism in Alex. poetry* (Beckenham 1987), 42ff., T.B.L.Webster, *Hellen. poetry and art* (London 1964), 166ff.; fishermen not so far from ferryman.

298 portitor...horrendus...seruat *EV* 4, 835 (weak) suggests similarity to *G.*4.383 (Nymphs) *centum quae flumina seruant* ('proteggono'), but here the sense of 'guard, watch over' is clearly dominant (and does not exclude 'keep to as regular abode'). So *Lucr.*5.32f. *aureaque Hesperidum seruans fulgentia mala...serpens*. **H.:** cf. 3.658 (vd. n.), 679 (Cyclopes), **6.10** (the Sibyl), Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2982.6ff.. **P.:** Au.'s agreeable n. now overtaken by *TLL* 10.2.42.4ff. (Kruse) and vd. too O.J.Todd, *CP* 40 (1945), 243-7 (lucid and entertaining), Vittinghoff, *PW* 22.346.13ff., R.Cagnat, *DS* 4.1, 590, Setaioli, *EV* 1, 675, Casson, *Travel in the ancient world*, 290f.. From 'customs official', the word passed to mean 'carrier, boatman', slipping away from its true origin as a derivative of *portus* (EM); used often enough of C., and Todd argues that the change may have been due to V. himself, probably with Gk. in mind (of Charon, *Eur.Alc.*253, etc.) and clearly in part under the influence of *portare* (*portator* not class. Lat.). The details do not need to be surveyed again here. V. had used the word of Charon at *G.*4.502 and will do so again at **326**.

has...aquas et flumina Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.964.60 quotes no other instance of these coupled near-synonyms ('waters of the river'); cf., howev-

er, Varr. *LL* 5.71, Ov.*Her.* 6.87, *Il.Lat.*918. Not a strong expression and unsurprisingly unpopular.

299 terribili squalore Note V.'s *squalentem barbam* (of the vision of Hector) at 2.277 (where vd. n.), *EV* 4, 1005; used by Lucr.2, Liv.2. The state of C.'s person and dress sufficient to strike fear into the beholder, *EV* 5*, 139; systematically overtranslated, Quinn, 166. For the abl. ('descriptive', perhaps), cf. Antoine, 202f.

Charon See 298-304.

cui...mento/ 300 ...iacet Dat. 'of reference' (cf. Antoine, 105ff.); the abl. local. Cf. Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.18.16ff., comparing e.g. Ov.*F.*2.772 for the abl.. **M.**: *TLL* 8.784.29 (Klepl), comparing 809.

plurima.../ canities inculta Cf. 2.364f. *plurima...sternuntur inertia.../ corpora*, 5.250 *plurima.../ purpura...Meliboea cucurrit*; *TLL* concerned rather with the application of *p.* to categories of noun (Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1608.18f.). **C.**: Meister, 3.260.30ff., comparing Cat.64.224, *Aen.*10.843, 12.611; the abstr. noun used easily of the actual hair. **I.**: Lambertz, *TLL* 7.1.1070.45f., comparing Cic. *leg.agr.* 2.13 (of *corpus*), and of hair in Ov., *Her.*9.125, *F.*3.470. As No. points out, conventional of a sailor, Petr.99.5 *barbis horrentibus nauta* (for the wider context of *cultus* of the person, cf. Ramage, 91, Blümner, *Privataltertümer*, 271, etc.). V. had concentrated briefly on the Tree of Dreams but now lavishes ample detail upon Charon; a notable change of tone, pace and focus.

stant lumina flamma Flamma M (corr. Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius) **P**, Serv., DServ., TCD (who understands V. clearly and correctly); **flammae MRP**² (?), PsAcro, Serv.; c.9 mss. divided. Cf. *EV* 4, 1027. For the unmoving eye, which V. suggests here, cf. *Od.*19.211 ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὥς εἰ κέρα ἔτασαν..., *Aen.*7.249f., 447, 11.507 with nn., Ov.*F.*6.133 *stantes oculi*, with further instances in Henry, pp.292-3; Serv.'s *horrent* as a gloss on **stant** has merits. Most oddly, Henry thought that to a Roman *lumina flammae* could mean 'eyes of fire'; it is no surprise that he could cite no evidence in support of this English (or French/Italian) expression ill-disguised in a semblance of Latin. See n. on 7.587 for the very doubtful Latinity of *pelagi rupes* and the point of usage which underlies such expressions. Yet worse, Fletcher's notion that **f.** was nom., 'his staring eyes are flames'. **Flamma** (abl.) on the other hand is supported by 12.407f. *iam puluere caelum/ stare uident* (where vd. Traina); that is good, Ennian Latin (*Ann.*612, where vd. Skutsch, for further material, such as Sisenna fr.130P *caelum caligine stat*; *OLD* s.v., §5b). **Flammae** probably no more than a mechanical oversight, the consequence of preceding plur. vb. and noun. 'Fire/flames in the eyes' is a common conceit, and material collected at 7.448f. will not be repeated here; add Lobe, 67-9 (of slight merit). A play between Charon's name and Gk. χαροπός, bright-eyed, was noted first by

La Cerda: vd. O'Hara, *TN*, 169, who points out the learned Hellenistic form $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$ (Lyc., Euphorion), enough, one would think, to convert most sceptics.

301 sordidus...amictus The adj. of *uestem* at *Enn.trag.*276Joc. (cf. *EV* 4, 947); the noun *semel* in Lucr. and *quater* in *Cat.*64 (Cordier, 202 inadequate). For verses framed by adj. and noun, cf. No., p.391f., Au. on 17. A. can be used both of a cloak or more generally of a non-specific garment. Comms. refer to the *exomis* without discussion, but *e.* is called (in the Gk. lexicogr. tradition) *comici uestitus* by Festus (p.71.3L, the only citation in Latin), perhaps not the right association here. Gk. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, however, might do better, as an identification of a cape less encumbering than the *paenula* (which covered both shoulders): Pollux 4.118f., Amelung, *PW* 3.2328. 29ff.; *ib.*, 2329.10ff. for *exomis* as a garment of slaves and the poor, and thus appropriate here; see also H.Bender, in *The world of Roman costume*, ed. J.L.Sebesta, L.Bonfante (Madison, Wisc. 2001), 149. Exactly what was meant is clear from *Ro.*1, 886, figure (cf. Gantz 1, 125).

ex umeris nodo dependet The *a.* hangs off the left shoulder (note *Aen.*'s *laena*, 4.263 *demissa ex umeris*, and the bow of 11.774), leaving the right arm clear to work. Au. quotes well Plaut. *MG* 1180 *id [palliolum] conexum in umero laeuo exfafillato bracchio* (which is part of an *ornatus nauclericus*). The plur. perhaps to avoid successive words in **-o -o** (Au.); for plur. of parts of the body, even when anatomically single (cf. *fauces*, *corda*), see Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 150, after Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 1₂, 30f.; V. in fact equally ready to use the sing., 10.341, 11.575, 652. The knot implied in *MG*, *cit.*; cf. too 1.320 *nodoque sinus collecta fluentis*; *Od.*'s brooch, *Od.*19.225, for a grand cloak, in an imagined outfit and no sort of realistic contrast to Charon's knot (for historic Gk. usage, S.Reinach, *DS* 2.2, 1103). Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.568.14ff. collects numerous instances of *dependere ex* from Lucr. 6.914 on.

302 ipse...conto subigit Cf. *G.*1.201f. *lembum/ remigiis subigit*, *EV* 1, 56. In neither Virgilian passage is *OLD* s.v., §1a 'to propel by exerting pressure from below' quite happy. The punt-pole conventionally called *contus*, *Plin.Ep.*8.8.3, *QCurt.*9.9.12, *Rut.Nam.* 1.348 (used also for ridge-pole of tent); Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.809.59ff.; cf. Casson, *infra*, 334 for insufficient discussion of the ancient punt; better, Cagnat, *DS* 1.2, 1495. The punt traditionally Charon's craft, *Eur.Alc.*254; oars in Polygnotus, *Paus.*10.28.1.

ratem Originally a raft, whence any (basically flat-bottomed) boat, craft, vessel, EM, *OLD* s.v., Casson, *Ships and seamanship*, 217, 399.

uelisque ministrat So too at 10.218; there Harrison prefers dat., 'at-tends to the sails', whereas here he renders 'directs [the ship] with sails'. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.1020. 18ff. undecided, as was Serv.. Though 'directs the

ship' seems hardly to fit within the range of *ministrare* (*TLL*, *OLD*) elsewhere, that is just how (vd. No.) imitations at VF 3.38 *ipse ratem uento stellisque ministrat* and Tac.*Germ.*44 *nec uelis ministrant* [sc. *navis*] (Bulhart, 1023.30f.) seem to understand it; on the other hand, 'attend to', with dat., is entirely in keeping both with how *m.* is employed (*OLD* s.v., §1) and with V.'s case usage (Antoine, 112ff., Görler, *EV* 2, 266) and should probably be preferred here. *Pace* No., the apparent parallelism of **conto subigit** is not enough to *determine* the grammar, in the face of contemporary usage. For simultaneous use of oars and sails, cf. n. on 3.128f., but successive use of pole and oars seems likelier here, as when a ship clears the shore under oars and then sets sail (cf. nn. on 3.520, 7.7). The boat (not yet Charon's) under sail at Aesch., *cit.* (**304**).

303 et ferruginea...cumba C. basically 'skiff', Casson, 330, 335, 395; used of Charon's, *G.*4.506, *Aen.*6.413, Hor.*C.*2.3.28, Prop.3.18.24, Mertel, *TLL* 4.1588.11ff.. But see also Plin.*Nat.*7.208, and Mertel, 1587.67ff. for general use. The colour is perplexing; at **410**, called **caeruleam**. Cf. W.McLeod, *Phoenix* 24 (1970), 145 (with Edgeworth, 237-9). As though the colour mattered, *pace* Edgeworth, 228. As it happens, **f.** has a peculiarly wide range (Edgeworth, 227-235), and here one might expect something in the area of 'dark', 'black'.

subuectat corpora Cf. 391 **corpora uiua nefas Stygia uectare carina**, Lopez, *EV* 5*, 470. For **c.**, vd. **306** (the same difficulty).

304 iam senior A particularly fine and memorable close; C. has become less **horrendus** and on account of the *epiphonema*, we may tend to recall him rather as one of those many clear-eyed but shabby old sailors one sees sitting on quayside bollards in the sun. Cf. 5.179, 7.46 (where vd. n.), 736, with Martina, *EV* 4, 769. Williams is worried that C. is old though divine; more to the point, Charon is from inception a droll figure (*Ar.Ran.*180ff., etc.); he has long been the revenge of authors and public upon the exactions of boatmen and harbour officials (cf. Casson, *cit.*, **298**). Sullivan, 12 surveys the *testimonia*; note that Aesch. refers not to Charon, but to a nameless ship that crosses Acheron (*Sept.*857).

sed cruda...uiridisque senectus C. evidently after Hom. ὠμογέρων, *Il.*23.791 (and cf. *Od.*15.357). Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1236.8; note Sen.*Oed.*168 *durus senio nauita crudo*, Tac.*Agr.*29.4 *adfluebat omnis iuuentus et quibus cruda ac uiridis senectus*. A nice paradox (cf. Hor.*C.*1.9.17), in that for all Charon's **canities**, his old age is **uiridis** ('merely means "vigorous"', Edgeworth, 33; see, however, Cic.*Am.*18, *OLD* s.v., §5b, citing Sen.*Ep.* 66.1, and Plin.*Ep.*7.24.1 on Ummidia Quadratilla); called 'oxymoron', with hinted disapproval, by Edgeworth, 167: the adjs. are far separated and the play between them will appear deft to those who note it. A complete

contrast with the immensely aged (and mortal) Sibyl, though that is an aspect of her (321) of which V. makes very little. *Senectus* takes up and corrects *senior* (No.; *tacet* Wills); cf. (No.) 2.354 (with full n.), 6.776 (with n.); the neat and forceful rhet. point typical of a Virgilian climax.

deo Cf. Battezzatore's useful list of the figures to whom V. applies the term *deus, dea*, *EV* 2, 35, with Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.887.36ff.. It is no surprise to find Cotta at *Cic.ND* 3.43 contemptuous of Charon's claims to divinity (so Pease). Of M.L.West's conjecture **adeo** (on Hes.*Erga* 705), Conte writes very fairly 'ingeniose sed inaniter'.

305-8 Introduction

(i) The relationship of these vv. to *G.4.475-7*, and of **309-12** to *G.4.473-4*. See *Aen.3*, intro., xl-xli, citing above all Otis, 408-13 (at 411) and, more precisely, G.N.Knauer, *ANRW* 2.31.2 (Berlin 1981), 890-918 (at 898f.), with *id.*, *GRBS* 5 (1964), 61-84 and *vd.* already *id.*, *Aen. u. Hom.*, 131f. *G.4.472ff.* reads (of the souls already in Erebus, *G.4.471*) *umbræ ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum,/ quam multa in foliis auium se milia condunt,/ Vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber,/ matres atque uiri defunctaque corpora uital magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,/ impositique rogis iuuenes ante ora parentum,/ quos...*, after *Od.11.37-41* ψυχὰι ὑπέξ Ἑρέβευς νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων/ νύμφαι τ' ἠἰθεοὶ τε πολύτλητοὶ τε γέροντες/ παρθενικαὶ τ' ἀταλαὶ νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι, / πολλοὶ δ' οὐτάμενοι χαλκῆρες ἰ ἐγχείρισι/ ἄνδρες ἀρηΐφατοι βεβρωτώμενα τεύχε' ἔχοντες. Altogether in keeping with V.'s growing understanding of the use of Homer (as analysed by Knauer); the evident priority of *G.* will emerge in a moment, when we come to the similes of **309-12**. It should be understood that on any critical view of Serv.'s biographical approach to V.'s textual history, there is no serious evidence in favour of two editions of *G.4.*, to complicate the argument: see *Companion*, 13f., 86-9, and my intr. to Biotti, comm. on *G.4*, pp.21-3. The hypothesis that the vv. in *G.4* might belong to a second ed. and be later than those in *Aen.6* does not survive an attentive reading of the Latin; cf. Otis, 408, Knauer (1981), 912 with n.84, rightly. Berres, 110-28 continues to complicate the issue (cf. my remarks, *CR* 37 (1987), 15), but there is no call for any further detailed answer. See too H.D.Jocelyn, *Atti*, 1, 431-48, (120), (2)(b).

(ii) This is rather more than a repeated Homeric imitation; the categories already present in Hom. clearly overlap (the prematurely dead, those dead by violence) with the groups *Aen.* will shortly meet beyond the Styx: Bremmer, *Early Greek concept...*, 102f., S.I.Johston, *BNP* s.v.*Ahoros*, Lattimore, 186f.. See further **426-449** for some discussion of the beliefs underlying these categories in both Hom. and V.. No. and Au. slightly disappointing.

305 huc No. and Au. creditably detected a small difficulty here: to what exactly does **h.** refer? An anticipation of **ad ripas**? No, because directly dependent on **effusa**. Hardly the *cumba* (so No.; vd. Au. on the inexplicable, isolated detail). Or to Charon (a personal reference)? For **huc** = *ad eum* (Charon), Au. can only cite VF 6.579f. (Rehm, *TLL* 6.3.3068.59f., ‘*de tertia persona*’). But V. does use **huc** as the second part of an ekphrasis-structure. Vd. the description of Albunea, 7.83f., followed by *hinc...huc* (7.85f.). Likewise, *est in conspectu* (2.21, where vd. n.), taken up by *huc* (2.24) and *terra procul...*(3.13), taken up by *huc* (3.16). All local, not personal, though. It seems not to have been observed that the Charon-lines, **298-304** could be removed without any awkwardness, and if they were, **huc** would refer back smoothly to **297**. That might offer a clue to how the section was composed.

omnis turba We do not yet know, but are about to learn (**315**), that **omnis** covers both buried and (**325 inops inhumataque turba**) unburied. **T.** here hardly pitying as at **325**; cf. rather **753 turbamque sonantem**. Strati, *EV* 5*, 318 does not discuss this passage in detail.

ad ripas effusa Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.221.14f. compares Liv.24.16.16 *Beneventani omnes turba effusa* and Sen.*Ag.*253. The underlying image is that of a crowd as some great fluid mass (cf. Paschalis, 218, with the rivers of the Underworld in mind); cf. *Od.* 8.515, the Greeks pour out of the Wooden Horse, ἰππόθεν ἐκχύμενοι, 10.415 (*Od.*'s men thronging about him), *Il.*16.267 (Myrmidons pour from ships), Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1572.64f. (*fundi* of crowds). For the sense of plur. **r.**, cf. Cunningham (**18**), 3ff.

ruebat Alliterative with **ripas**. Of *iuuentus*, 2.63f., *genus*, 3.675f., *numerus*, 7.573f., 12.123 *exercitus*. *EV* 4, 603 not helpful.

306 matres atque uiri = *G.*4.475, *supra* and not corresponding closely to Hom., though note *Od.*11.38 νύμφαι τ' ἠἴθεοί τε. Cf. 2.797 *matresque uirosque* (*feminae* of course intractable). Apparently not a standard noun-pair; Bulhart, *TLL* 8.439.29f. adds only *Ov.F.*4.295 and PHI holds no surprises. Note both first-foot self-contained spondee (vd. **202**) and *atque* not in synaloepha (cf. n. on 7.473): a sad and solemn effect.

defunctaque corpora uita = *G.*4.475, *supra*; contrast (sharply, indeed) *Od.*11.37 ψυχὰι ὑπέξ Ἑρέβευς νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων. **D.** ‘come to the end of, complete’. Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.378.29 compares *Ov.Her.*14.125, Sen.*Ep.*99.10 (and vd. 378.25ff. for use not in sense of ‘die’). Only Fletcher (*bene*), MacLennan (and Erren on *G.*, *cit.*) seem to have read with eyes/ears open, for there is at least the ghost of a major problem here, just as at **303 subuectat**. At **292**, V. referred to **tenuis sine corpore uitas** (and cf. *G.*4.472 *umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum*).

Do we not suppose (i) that in V., the Dead are mere twittering wraiths? Or (ii) have they not somehow here, as at **303**, acquired bodies? For (i), cf.

391, the clear distinction between **corpora uiua** and **umbrarum**. So the ψυχὰι of *Od.*11.37, Lattimore, 21ff., Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 379ff. (with ample documentation), Bremmer (2002), 3f. (ii) Not only were the spirits of the Dead *not* universally thought to be bodiless (Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational*, 138 (with n.18, where V. is duly cited, and *Pind.Ol.*9.33ff.), but in V., as Maclennan correctly notes, citing **410-4**, **489-93**, **700-3**, there are phases of increased corporeality in his account of the Underworld: note the problem at **320**, while at **655** (pleasures of life retained in Underworld) Elysium, in the best Greek (or at least Orphic) tradition (cf. Dodds there cited), lurches cheerfully towards Cockaigne. Apparently no discussion in *EV*.

307 magnanimum heroum = *G.*4.476; no exact correspondence in Hom., beyond adj. μεγάλθυμος; see n. on **649 magnanimi heroes**; for the old gen. plur. (*m.* the only 2decl. adj. thus contracted in V.), cf. n. on 3.704, Wigodsky, 124.

pueri innuptaeque puellae = *G.*4.476 and cf. *Od.*11.38 νόμφαι τ' ἡϊθεοί τε; see too 2.238 (entry of the Horse into Troy) *pueri circum innuptaeque puellae* (where vd. full n.); oddly not listed by Wölfflin as an allit. noun-pair (which it clearly is). For the lyric (used heavily by Cat. and *decies* in *Hor.C.*) and elegiac flavour of *puella* (Leumann, 284, Highet, 224, Axelson, 58), I did not also cite (on 2, *cit.*) U.Hübner, *Elegisches in der Aeneis* (diss. Giessen 1968), 84-9; **puellae** bizarrely called 'prosaic' by Briggs (**309-12**), 24. I.: vd. *Od.*11.39 παρθενικαί τ' ἄταλαί; see n. on 2.31 for Catullan antecedents. On these categories, cf. further (**426-547**).

308 impositique rogis Cf. *Lucr.*3.890 *ignibus impositum*, *Cic.Rep.*6.3 *rogo impositus*, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.651.52, *EV* 4, 201.

iuuenes ante ora parentum For the phrasing, cf. n. on 2.531 *ante oculos...et ora parentum*. See nn. on 11.53 *nati funus crudele* (parents burying a child), 159 *felix morte tua* (parents outlive children), 887 *ante oculos lacrimantumque ora parentum* (parents bury child; witness death of child), 2.531 *ante oculos...et ora parentum* (witness death of child). See in particular Lattimore, 187f. for origins in tragedy, epigram, epitaph, and Griffin, 123ff. (with index, s.v. parents, bereaved) for Hom.; no clear link with *Od.*11. This Virgilian pathos is wonderful (*istorum mortem cum miseratione poeta commemorat* TCD), and profoundly typical of the poet, but here it is no surprising novelty to the educated reader.

309-12 Similes of the leaves and birds See Nelis, 251f., Hornsby, 84f., R.Rieks, *ANRW* 2.31.2 (Berlin 1981), 1063f., Lyne, *WP*, 146-8, E.Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien (Symb.Osl., Suppl.*22, 1968), 74f., W.W.Briggs, *Narrative and simile... (Mnem.Suppl.* 58, Leiden 1980), 23-5, Williams, *TI*, 66f., von Duhn, 125ff.. For sources, see (**120**), (**2**)(b); in the detail, V. has drawn on an even wider range of texts, as comm. aims to show. We now have four

lucid recent accounts of the relationship of these vv. to *G.4.472-4*: Knauer and Otis (as cited, **305-8**, (i)), along with Briggs, *cit.* and Thomas (in *Style and Tradition*, **848**), 110-4; R.Niehl, *Vergils Vergil* (Frankfurt 2002), 197-9 rather less helpful. Gratitude once expressed, let me be brief: V. took the idea of a bird-simile from *G.4*, but re-wrote it altogether; as Thomas notes (113), he preserves the leaves (*quam multa in foliis*), and they are promoted to serve as the theme of the new second simile; the detail of both is accumulated from Hom., AR and V. himself.; perhaps also Sophocles. No clear sign of use of Pindar (?) or Bacchyl.. Note Otis, 411 and Au. on **309ff.** on the difference between the similes in *G.4* and *Aen.6* (*Aen.* expands; solemnity of anaphora with variation of position of *quam multa(e)*) as also on the difference of tone between the similes here paired: they are linked by the cold (**frigore...frigidus**), but whereas the first marks slow, fluttering descent, the second points up the great masses involved and the movement *over the water*; when we reach **317 tumultu** we may begin to think also of the racket the migrating birds will have made.

309 quam multa Cf. *G.4.473 quam multa in foliis*. First there, it is said, but presumably (cf. Thomas, 113) under the influence of *Il.6.146* (leaves, correlative) οἴη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοῖη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. See also AR 4.216 ὄρα (*infra*).

in siluis As **271**, *et saepe*. Not necessarily the ὕλη of *Il.6.147*.

autumni frigore primo Cf. *G.2.321 prima uel autumnii sub frigora*, *Ov.Met.3.729 frondes autumnii frigore tactas*. In V.'s varied antecedents, there are quite numerous references to the seasons and to weather conditions (the spring of *Il.6.148*, the χειμῶνα of *Il.3.4*, the *hibernus...imber* of *G.4.474*, for example). Ihm, *TLL* 2. 1603.72f..

310 lapsa cadunt folia Compare **602f. lapsura cadentique/...adsimilis**, *Cic.Off.1.77 de manibus audacissimorum ciuium delapsa arma ipsa ceciderunt*, *G.2.133 folia haud ullis labentia uentis*, *Prop.4.4.64 ipsaque in Oceano sidera lapsa* (if not *lassa*, favoured by Goold, Hutchinson, Heyworth, against *lapsa*, Fedeli) *cadunt*. Verb and partic. have different senses (Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 84); the synaloepha at 2D must somehow express the fluttering leaf. Flury, *TLL* 7.2.780.34, Hoppe, *ib.*, 3.17.70, I.Kapp, *ib.*, 6.1.1011.61. Note the (rather different; less fine and precise) detail accumulated at AR 4.216f. (only mentioned in passing by Thomas): ἢ ὄρα φύλλα χαμάζε περικλαδέος πέεν ὕλησ/ φυλλοχόρῳ ἐνὶ μηνί. Two sorts of falling indicated there too, but not distinguished, and juxtaposed antithetically.

aut The second of the paired similes a line longer than the first; we seem not to have an accessible study (nor even a list) of similes (Virgilian,

Homeric, Apollonian) paired, or coupled, thus, but vd. for now Fraenkel, *Horace*, 427f..

ad terram The shorewards flight might owe something (cf. Lyne, 147) to Soph.*OT* 177, lives dispatched, like the bird in flight, ἀκτὰν πρὸς ἑσπέρου θεοῦ and the image is also present at *G*.1.362 (birds in the weather-signs) *clamoremque ferunt ad litora*. Above all, cf. 7.704f. *aeriam sed gurgite ab alto/urgeri uolucrum raucarum ad litora nubem*, where vd. n..

gurgite ab alto For the clausula, cf. n. on 7.704 (well-established poet. idiom).

311 *quam multae* See 309.

glomerantur aues Cf. n. on 2.315 for **g**.; AR 4.239-40 lays emphasis on the flocking of the birds. Lyne, 148 draws attention to 329 **uolitant**, an echo of the bird-simile, but also a reflection of the pervasive ancient view of the soul as winged, as even sometimes taking the form of bird/bat/bee; see 283, 707-9.

ubi frigidus annus Cf. Lehnert, *TLL* 2.120.3ff. for *annus* in the sense of ‘season’ (*OLD* s.v., §7): cf. *Buc*.3.57 *formosissimus annus*, *Hor.Epd*.2.29 *tonantis annus hibernus Iouis* (vd. Watson), *C*.3.23.8 *pomifero graue tempus anno* (vd. NR), 4.7.7 *monet annus* (Porph. *anni tempora*).

312 trans pontum fugat F.: Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1500.66f., comparing e.g. *Liv*. 3.29.9. For the rhythm created by the pyrrhic in 2nd. foot, cf. n. on 2.29 *hic Dolopum manus, hic...*; the birds flee swiftly, in contrast to the three long syllables (: ‘the great waste of sea’), in two heavily consonantal words, that open the line. For **p**., cf. n. on 7.300 (lofty, Hellenising).

et terris immittit apricis I.: Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.469.38f. who cites *Buc*.2.59 and *G*.2.342 for letting animals loose; additionally, vd. *Colum*.2.17.6 *quod ne pecora quidem oportet teneris adhuc et subsidentibus pratis immittere*. For **a**., cf. *EV* 1, 242 (Vinchesi), Klotz, *TLL* 2.318.19f.; the adj. in Varro and Cic., in Hor. (both *C*. and hexams.) and throughout *V*., *Buc*., *semel*, *G*., *semel*, *Aen*.5.128. Not specially old or poetical, and favoured in e.g. *Colum*., but a good word to close a passage; life beyond Acheron will likewise be pleasanter. Lyne is wrong (147) to say that the Underworld is not sunny: that depends on where you are (641; cf. too *Macr.Somn*.1.9.8, *Glei*, 166). Au. does well to cite here W.Warde Fowler, as expert on birds as on Roman ritual, *A year with the birds* (London 1931), 252f. on birds fleeing the icy North on their annual migration to the southern hemisphere for the winter, and pausing in Italy. Sabbadini helpfully quotes Varro's account, *Varr.RR* 3.5.7 (of the offshore islands) *ibi enim in prima uolatura, cum ueniunt, morantur dies paucos requiescendi causa itemque faciunt, cum ex Italia trans mare remeant*.

313 stabant orantes We return to the chilled crowd of **306-8**; another self-contained initial spondee (vd. **306**), this time followed by a molossus. No slower movement possible. **S**: cf. *EV* 4, 1026; **o**, *ib.*, 3, 890f.: they had rushed towards the shore (**305**) and are now motionless.

primi For **V**'s use of nom. and infin. after verbs of speaking, believing, etc., vd. Görler, *EV* 2, 272, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 61, *KS* 1, 706f., Ernout-Thomas, 322f., *LHS*, 363f. (Plaut., Ter., Cat., Hor.), Fordyce on *Cat.*4.2. Noted as a Grecism by Serv.; cf. *ALLP*, 181), but long present in Lat. usage. See too n. on 2.377 *sensit medios delapsus in hostis*, with further bibl.

transmittere cursum For the (internal; cf. *ire uiam*, **122**) acc., cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* 1₂, 259, *KS* 1, 265, 269, Müller (**122**), 143; similar instances, Görler, *EV* 2, 267; *OLD* s.v. *transmitto*, §3.

314 tendebantque manus Gestures of supplication are identical, whether the figure addressed is human or divine; Charon we have just discovered to be (low-rank) divine. Conventional gesture and language: see nn. on 2.153, 405, 3.176f., 592, W.S.Anderson, *ICS* 18 (1993), 166-71, Lobe, 173, n.628, F.A. Sullivan, *CJ* 63 (1968), 358-62 at 359.

ripae ulterioris amore With strong pathos in the repeated **-or-** sound, both bearing both word-accent and metr. beat. **V**.: *Liv.*21.26.6, 22.44.3, etc. (*sexies*), *Q.*Curtius *ter*; oddly not *Caes.*, *Tac.*: **V**. does not use milit. language here; rather, **V**. and the historians use a standard expression. **A**. thus: cf. **133**, Fedeli, *EV* 1, 144, *TLL* 1. 1969.69 (Vollmer).

315 nauita sed tristis **N**. archaic and poetic (Plaut., *Cat.*64, 66, *Hor.C.*), Holzweissig, 132, 136 (epenthesis of vowel), Leumann, 454, *EM*, 432. **T**. stern and/or ill-natured, as we are about to see explained; vd. *OLD* s.v., §§ 3, 4; *EV* notably unhelpful. For **sed** second word, see Norden, 404, Ross, *Style and tradition*, 67-9 (widespread neoteric inversion of particles). Charon also **portitor** at **298**, **326**; again **nauita** at **385**, when at last he will address *Aen.*; the rough humour of Charon surrounds the pathos of *Palinurus*: ring-composition (almost; see **384-425**), contrast, retardation.

nunc...nunc Cf. n. on 11.86.

hos...illos Cf. **320 hae...illae**, 5.441 *nunc hos, nunc illos aditus*, 10.355 *nunc hi, nunc illi*, *Liv.*34.13.2 *nunc hac parte, nunc illa*, Wagner, *QV* xxi.3, Haffter, *TLL* 6.3.2736.73 (also with balanced adverbs); both moments and groups swiftly differentiated.

accipit Cf. *SHA Aurel.*1.1 *uehiculo suo me...accepit*, Hey, *TLL* 1.311.44ff.

316 ast alios **Ast** grand and archaic, nn. on 7.308, 395, and, after *Au.*, Nettleship, *Contr.Lat.lex.*, 329, Leo, *praef.Sen.trag.*, 1, 215; **alios** expands **hos...illos**: Hey, *TLL* 1.1647.62f.

longe They are not even allowed consolingly near the longed-for river. We might recall 1.31 *arcebat longe*. To be understood with both vb. and partic.; the partic. is proleptic and close in sense to the main vb.: cf. Bell, 256 on 6.8, Görler, *EV* 2, 270, KS 1, 239f. on e.g. *submersas obrue puppes*.

summotos arcet harena S.: cf. *EV* 3, 609, *OLD* s.v. §1a, ‘remove’: after Au.’s colourful paraphrase, one might expect singularities of usage; in vain, beyond Au.’s own citation of Liv.3.48.3 (a lictor clearing a crowd). **A.** common with abl. (e.g. 11.826), *EV* 1, 296, Oertel, *TLL* 2.443.81f.. MacLennan suggests, a little fancifully, another use for Charon’s punt-pole.

317 Aeneas miratus.../ 318 ait Cf. 7.259 *laetus ait*, with 9.303, 11.29 *ait inlacrimans*, for expanded speech-formulae used to set, or comment on, tone. **M.:** cf. 651, 854; *tacet EV*.

enim For asseverative *enim*, cf. n. on 2.100; Serv. argues for ‘Aen. spoke, for (parenthetically) he was moved and astonished’, which rather suggests that Serv. was not well informed on all such finer points of Aug. idiom.

motusque tumultu M.: cf. *G.4.505*, 7.312 (with n.), Wieland, *TLL* 8.1542.57f.; possible as a *simplex* in its own right and not necessarily a replacement for the *compositum commotus* (as *G.4.471*, *Aen.1.126*, 360); Fo, *EV* 3, 609. **T.:** vd. n. on 2.486: both noise and disorder (‘panic’, indeed); *EV* s.v. capricious. Survivors of the twice-daily *tumultus* on the trains passing under Naples will know what V. means.

318-20 Aeneas’ question to the Sibyl V. describes the scene; now Aen. has to view it, so that the Sibyl may explain its significance. That in turn will enable V. to bring forward Aen.’s unburied comrades, and in particular Palinurus. Highet, 316, Mackie, 121, Cartault, 1, 449.

318 dic...o uirgo Cf. 104, 560; **dic** as at 343; perfectly friendly and polite (cf. 1.753, 5.551).

quid uult *OLD* s.v., §17, ‘mean’, citing e.g. Hor.*C.3.8.2*. Two parallel questions (**quid...quid...?**), closely parallel, followed by a third (**quo discrimine...?**), bearing more closely on the situation. Cf. Wills, 85f.; Aen. would hardly dare show impatience to the Sibyl, but he is (317) astonished and moved.

concursum ad amnem A prepositional phrase, far less illicit than we were assured at school; cf. nn. on 7.178, 11.154, KS 1, 213ff., Madvig, *Lat.gramm.*, §298. **C.:** Burger, *TLL* 4.115.36; *quinquies* in *Aen.*; 24x in Livy, first pentad. Standard Latin. **A.** the loftiest of V.’s words for ‘river’, Parroni, *EV* 1, 140f..

319 quidue petunt Cf. n. on 2.151.

animae Cf. Negri, 45, 275: so too **264**, **411**, etc.; a favoured term for the souls of the dead in the Underworld.

uel quo discrimine Remarkably deft, dense phrasing, showing V.'s avoidance of subordination at its best; presumably a deft variation on *nullo discrimine*, Lucr.5. 1314, *Aen.*1.574, etc.; Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1358.22f..

ripas/ 320 ...linquunt The banks of **305**; I. as at **157**, **678**: the standard, bald language of (e.g.) narr. transitions, or those dialogues directed not so much at revealing human interaction as at the swift and painless extraction of important information (cf. Highet, 113, 316).

320 haec...illae Taking up the phrasing of the narrative at **315**. The insistently deictic pronouns at **318-20** and **560-1** have recently attracted attention (Bremmer (2009), 188, *id.*, (2010), 318f. and (2011) 18f., 20f., Lightfoot, 502f., n.113), on account of the styl. similarities (note also question-and-answer structure) with *IEnoch* (e.g. ch.23.4, Charlesworth, *OTPseud-epigrapha*, 1, 25). A text that V. could indeed have read alongside other narratives of katabatic hero and guide, **98**, (**5**). But deixis is equally present when Anch. takes over from the Sibyl and monologue replaces dialogue: (**756-846**), (**8**); if Helen was Priam's guide round the Greek array with questioning (*Il.*3.192, 226) and deixis (*ib.*178, 192, 226, etc.; cf. now Bremmer, *Lampas*, 78f., comparing also Eur.*Phoen.*119ff.), and if Anch. is in some sense *Aen.*'s guide round the Forum of Augustus in the *Heldenschau*, then the Sibyl leads him 'through' Polygnotus' painting in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi; the roots of question-and-answer guiding are there in Hom., and n. on **669** will show that enquiry of the long-term residents is a traditional element in katabatic narrative. We should not forget the unforgettable parody of the q.-and-a. technique in Ov.'s account of the triumph, *AA* 1.219ff., which itself contains an impressive sequence of deixis, *hic...*(223ff.). No., 278 draws attention to Lucian, *VH* 2.31 (infernal periegesis with *uidi*-element). Hellen. Jewish apocalyptic may be *an* element (though hardly one to be claimed as *necessarily* present) in a complicated nexus of rhet. origins here; no solidly demonstrable debt. Bremmer, (2011), 20 has traced the history of *IEnoch* as a potential source for *Aen.*6 back to Radermacher (*Das Jenseits...*(Bonn 1903), 49f.). Such contact was perhaps (just) possible in terms of Judaeo-Roman intellectual relations; vd. my discussion of *Buc.*4 (**792f.**) and (2012), *infra*; the four actual points of contact that Bremmer adduces (vd. **320**, **428**, **658**, **678f.**) are attractive details advanced to adorn an enticing hypothesis, but they hardly survive patient and sceptical analysis, or at least not as compelling proofs. For fuller discussion, see my paper in *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 68-70.

remis...uerrunt Vertunt P, and one Carolingian ms., but at 3.208 (with n.: Enn., Cat.64, Lucr., Cordier, 84), 290, 4.583, 5.778 no grounds for doubt and here there is either visual confusion or preference for the

commoner verb (which is not used in V. of ships). Though the ppp is shared with *uertere*, here there is no difficulty; much dark shed in light places, *EV* 5*, 507f.; better, Wigodsky, 50. Charon's barque, however, if we look closely, is rather problematic: though the hull may at last be better understood (**414 sutilis**), that leaves (i) propulsion and (ii) dimensions:

(i) punt-pole and sails (**302**), employed by Charon himself. Here, though, oars, and not, as in Polygnotus' painting, plied by Charon (*ib.*), but by the apparently incorporeal **animae** (cf. **306**), an issue less nautical than eschatological, though nonetheless disturbing.

(ii) V.'s language is elastic and does not lead the reader to a precise image: **cumba** (**303**, **413**) the experts render 'skiff'; **391**, **carina** and **412**, **alueo** suggest a more substantial vessel, as might **411 iuga longa** (thwarts/beam) and **412 foros** (deck). There may have been some variation in the sources; equally, V. may have havered between Charon, literally ferrying all the duly buried dead over Acheron, and a more practical image of the dead rowing themselves over under his strict supervision.

uada liuida For the adj., Edgeworth, 137, *EV* 3, 236, Beikircher, *TLL* 7.2.1546.30f.; *nigra* Serv. ('murky' might do; cf. Cat.17.10f.). **R's liquida** unhappy, but not, at least for Lucr., unmetrical, Stirnimann, *TLL* 7.2.1483.14ff.. **Vada**: particularly of the surface of the river for Cipriano, *EV* 5*, 416; preferably, though, for *OLD* s.v., §4, the waters of a river, or of the sea, regardless of depth, citing 5.615, 7.198, 10.208. Strong allit. of **-u-** over three words, presumably suggestive of the boat's motion through the mud and slime of Acheron.

321 olli Cf. n. on 7.458: spondaic, archaic, Ennian.

sic breuiter fata est Sic + some form of *for* or compounds just over 30x in *Aen.* at beginning/end of speeches; cf. Moskalew, 65, n.82. **B. septies** in speech-introductions, always with a form of *for*; the advb. used of the Sibyl also at **398**, **538**, so pretty clearly to be taken as characterisation. Cf. E.Gowers, *CQ* 55 (2005), 175 for other indications of the terse, hurried, peremptory, irritable seer.

longaeva sacerdos L.: cf. **628** for **l. sacerdos** and **764** for the adj.; perhaps (No.) verbal tension between **breuiter** and **longaeva**. For **s.** of the Sibyl, **35**, etc.. The great age of the Sibyl a gift from Apollo (Serv. here); according to Phlegon, *Peri Macrobion*, she had lived for just under a millennium, and in proof, he quotes a Sibylline text (Phleg.*longaev.*6.1, 122f., 128, pp. 76, 78 Stramaglia) on her ten generations; cf. further, Lightfoot (**86**), 15, n.73, Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 67, n.1, Parke, *Sibyls*, 20, n.15, Hansen (**851**), 183f., Schmelgel on Petr.48.8.

322-330 The Sibyl answers The Sibyl opens by relating to *Aen.* details already well known to the reader (**323**, **326**; note Cartault's eloquent com-

plaints). But the **turba** V. has shown us (**303**) the Sibyl now explains to Aen. (**325**), in some detail, and her account (**325-30**) of the fate of the Unburied (**328, 329**) prepares Aen. and explains to the reader our imminent encounters with the lost shipmates of bk.1 and above all with Palinurus and (in some measure) Deiphobus. See Cartault 1, 449, Highet, 106, 310f..

322 Anchisa generate The participle unsurprisingly of Ennian origin, *Ann.*29, G.Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1790.46; the form of the patronymic as at *Cic. carm.*Aesch.2.2 *generata* (voc.) *Caelo*. See Dickey, 112-4, 211f..

deum certissima proles The double address by patronymic (loosely defined) as at **125f. sate sanguine diuum/ Tros Anchisiades** (where vd. n. for divine ancestry); Vinchesi, *EV* 3, 1029f.. Aen. *therefore* deserves respectful treatment and full answers to his questions; we may recall the argument from Aen.'s genealogy at **130f.** For addresses to *proles*, vd. Dickey, 113, 352. Cf. n. on 7.691 for **p.** (poetic, archaic); for the adj., vd. Seyffert/Müller on *Cic.Am.*70 (p.442), Elsperger, *TLL* 3.918.2f..

323 Coctyti stagna alta C.: 297. As at *G.*4.479, at times more of a marsh (vd. *EV* 1, 830). **S.** of Acheron too, **330** and of Lethe, *Prop.*4.7.91; *tacet EV*. Cf. *OLD* s.v., §2 for *s.* used thus of (sea and) rivers. We are too ready to plump for 'swamp, marsh'; I lived once on a Roman *stagnum*, no swamp but the *naumachia Augusti, structo trans Tiberim stagno*, as Tac. wrote (*Ann.*12.56). Cf. *Curt.*5.1.29 of the *altum limum* carried by the Euphrates; *OLD* s.v. *altus*, §4a. Von Mess, *TLL* 1.1775.47ff. contains some roughly parallel instances.

uides Cf. 3.316, **6.760**.

Stygiamque paludem S.: 134, 154, 252. P.: cf. *OLD* s.v., 2a ('applied to the waters of the Underworld'), Hodges, *TLL* 10.1.179.15ff., **107, 369, G.4.479, 503; the range of **p.** appears more narrowly swampy than that of **s.****

324 di...timent For the familiar doctrine of the gods' oaths by Styx, cf. Janko's fine n. on *Il.*14.271-9 ('to invoke powers greater than oneself to uphold the truth of a declaration'), Burkert, *Gk. rel.*, 251, West on *Hes.Theog.*793-805 (Orphic doctrine of punishment for gods guilty of perjury; *PEG* 2.1, fr.345Bernabé), Gantz, 1, 29, Robert, 1, 33. *EV* 5*,181. That V. thought Styx and Acheron the same river - so e.g. R.D.Williams - seems an unfounded fantasy. Con. on **295** advances the notion of a single river with a multiplicity of names, but, for a lucid account, Heyne's exc. ix to the book is a far preferable introduction to an insoluble muddle, transmitted by V.'s sources (Homer, Plato) to a beneficiary uncaring of order and system in such matters.

cuius...numen In the common sense of 'power, authority', Pötscher, 100, *EV* 3, 781.

iurare...et fallere Exceptionally neat and elegant phrasing; as Au. remarks, *peierare* not possibly in dactylic verse. Note:

(i) *iurare* with direct obj., Tessmer, *TLL* 7.2.675.58f.; probably from (?old) sacral language, Cic.*Fam.*7.12.2 (vd. Shackleton Bailey, comm., 1, p.339); for the acc. of things solemnised or sworn) see Müller (122), 25, KS 1, 264, *Aen.*6.351, 12.197 (where vd. Traina); Tessmer cites numerous instances from Prop. and Ov..

(ii) the almost Ovidian neatness of the ‘hendiadys’ (so Forbiger) of the two verbs. Bell, 262 analyses the v. in terms of one infin. representing a partic., *iuratum fallere numen*, but I suspect that simple parataxis, in lieu of a cumbrous compound expression, might do just as well (or even, better) as an explanation of several of Bell’s instances (e.g. *libabant...paterasque tenebant, sentiat et tandem Turnum experiatur*, 350, *infra*). Little joy from *EV* 3, 65f..

325 haec omnis Thus too at *G.*4.532, *Aen.*11.320.

quam cernis Cf. 323 **uides**, Smith, 83; so, in ten lines, *Aen.* will see Palinurus; for *c.*, cf. n. on 11.703.

inops inhumataque Cf. *Od.*11.54 ἄκλαυτον καὶ ἄθαπτον (with *Soph.**Ant.*29, *Eur.**Hec.*30, Highet, 249, 11.372 *inhumata infletaque turba* (with n. on the pairing of neg. compounds), Highet, 249, Roberta Strati, *EV* 5*, 318 (*bene*). **Inhumata**: vd. 11, *cit.* (Pacuv., *Lucr.*; now also *Hor.*C.1), *Molian*, *TLL* 7.1.1608.80f.; **inops**, *EV* 3, 861; ‘cui nemo opem tulit; iusta persolvit’ Heyne. Serv. fanciful. Compare 9.290 *solare inopem*, of Euryalus’ mother, *opis* [clearly burial] *expertis* *Lucr.*6.1241; I.Kapp, *TLL* 7.1.1753.61ff.; Butler introduces the issue of unpaid fares, perhaps unwisely. In the context, and given the proximity of the adjs., the succour that this *turba* did not receive was presumably that of burial: Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 28.

turba est Cf. 305.

326 portitor ille Charon Ille...hi: cf. 315, 320; vigorously deictic. **P.:** vd. 298 and for Charon, 298-314.

hi...sepulti The Sibyl passes from the crowd of the unburied (one senses a wide sweep of the hand at 325), to Charon, and then in orderly progression, to those who have been buried. **S:** see n. on 3.630 (poetic, archaic).

quos uehit unda Cf. 356, 7.23f. *Neptunus...uexit*, 197f., (with pass.) 10.165, *OLD* s.v., §3a (‘carry along’), Lopez, *EV* 5*, 469. For **unda** of the waters of a river, vd. *OLD* s.v., §2, *EV* 5*, 390.

327 nec...datur Cf. (e.g.) 3.670, 7.591, and n. on 11.293 *qua datur*.

ripas...horrendas R.: cf. 305, 314, 319; **h.** of Charon, 298. The growling allit. of 327 might seem better suited to rocks and rapids than to the

sluggish swamps of Acheron; there might, though, also be a hint of the cries of the unburied (Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 4, 406, afer Au.).

et rauca fluenta *EV*, *cit.*, quoting e.g. *G.1.109*, *Aen.* 5.866, 9.124f., *Hor.C.2.14.14* for **r.** of moving water. We have not yet been told that Charon is ferryman of the *Styx* (**295-336**); for now we might still be thinking of Acheron (**295**), or of one of the rivers named in **323**. It hardly matters very much (a discreet nod at the problem, Clark, *Catabasis*, 154, n.21), though I am surprised at Bacherler's preference for Cocytus, *TLL* 6.1.949.67f.. **F.** a Lucretian word (5.949; Cordier, 157) for liquid, water; then *G.4.369*, *ter* in *Aen.*; otherwise not in Aug. poetry and indeed not a common word until prose of the later empire.

328 transportare 'Them' borne in mind from **326**; **t.** commonly with acc. of both river and passengers (Müller (**122**), 144); the vb. in Caes., Cic., Liv. and apparently first here elevated to high poetry. For *portare*, cf. n. on 11.333; here *transportare* the natural, businesslike word for 'to ferry over'.

prius quam *EV* 1, 874; *octies* in *Aen.*: *Enn. trag., Ann., Pacuv., Lucr., Cat.* (instances as here without tmesis); Terkelsen, *TLL* 10.2.1414.13f.; at 1410.57f. he remarks helpfully that the presence of the caesura indicates that **p.** should probably be written here as two words (as sometimes in *Cat., Lucr.*).

sedibus ossa quierunt For the importance of burial, cf. *Il.23.71-4* (Patroclus), *Od.11.54* (Elpenor), nn. on 2.646, and (in some detail, not here repeated) 3.62, NH on *Hor.C.1.28.23*, Bailey, 244-7. Add Cumont, *LP* 393, etc. (index s.v. *insepulti*). Already, *Enn. trag.* 299 with Jocelyn's n., *Buc.10.33 ossa quiescant*, *ILS* 7967.6, J.E.Church, *ALL* 12 (1902), 226-38, Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1097.46., *EV* 4, 373f.. For **s.**, cf. nn. on **152** and 7.3 *et nunc seruat honos sedem tuus* ('resting-place'). At **371**, V. will make use of the phrasing of this v.. This has been standard doctrine since *Il.23.72-6* (the River not named there); see Bremmer, *infra*.

329 centum...annos Cf. 1.272, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 785. These hundred years of homeless wandering for the unburied dead call for some clarification: see Ter Vrugt-Lenz, 75f., Norden, 10f., Bremmer, *Early Greek concept...*, 89-92, Clark, *Catabasis*, 152-4, 158f., Lattimore, 220ff., Waszink, ed. *Tert.An.*, pp.565-6, Cumont, *LP*, 22f., 305f., *id.*, *After life*, 67f., Setaioli, *EV* 2, 956f., 960. We need to bear in mind:

(i) Serv. on **325**: '*centum*' autem '*annos*' ideo dicit, quia hi sunt legitimi uitae humanae, quibus completis potest anima transire ripas, id est ad locum purgationis uenire, ut redeat rursus in corpora. Cf. Serv. on 4.386: the *biothanati* must first *uagantes legitimum tempus fati compleuerint* (cf. Serv. on **545**); here, Serv. cites as source the *physici* (on whom - 'natural scientists' - see now Delvigo, *Servio*, 33-7, etc.); a link to Neopythagoreans

and/or magi used once to be argued (Ter Vrugt-Lenz, 76, Norden, 11, n.2); less persuasive now that *physici* is more clearly understood.

(ii) Varr. *LL* 6.11: *saeculum spatium annorum centum uocarunt, dictum a sene, quod longissimum spatium senescendorum hominum id putarunt.*

(iii) Plat.*Rep.*10.615A: human life lasts a hundred years and we pay tenfold for our crimes on earth, being therefore punished for a thousand years.

(iv) Tert. *de an.*56.2 *creditum est insepultos non ad inferos redigi quam iusta perceperint.*

(v) Serv. on **154** quotes Sen.fr.12 Haase, but to pursue an Egyptian explanation when a Greek is available would seem rank unwise.

Clearly enough not a Virgilian invention: the *testimonia* lead towards Plato (iii; Plato's sources seem hardly to enter into it. See further on **748**), and possibly also towards natural scientists (for the *physici*, vd. *supra*). Cf. (? significantly similar) discussion of sources of **426-547**. But the tragic status of the unburied (**328**) is amply attested, and Plato (a famous passage to which V. will return later in the book) is already visible in the background. Serv.'s Egyptianising explanation (n. on **154**, *ad fin.*) is not at all to his credit.

errant...uolitantque V.: cf. nn. on **293**, **707-9**. E.: Hey. *TLL* 5.2.807.18ff., citing **451** and Tib.1.10.38.

haec litora circum Disyll. prepos. as often in anastrophe; cf. n. on 7.673.; I. of a river, as often, n. on 7.477, *TLL* 7.2.1540.9ff. (Plepelits).

330 tum demum Cf. **573**; *quinquies* in V.. Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.513.74ff. (Plautus, *ter* in *Lucr.*), Hand, 2, 253f.

admissi To Charon's barque, presumably (so, explicitly, Sabbadini; cf. too Cartault, 1, 449, 'à la faveur si convoitée du passage'); Kempf, *TLL* 1.750.52f. uncommunicative.

stagna exoptata S.: **323**; e.: G.Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1550.78 and see n. on 2.138.

reuisunt Cf. **750**, **899**.

331 constitit Eight lines in *Aen.* begin thus, but none continue in the same way.

Anchisa satus Only here in *Aen.*; *satus Anchisa, ter* (see n. on 7.152). Essentially a formulaic line: *Aen.* is about to be presented as caring deeply for the lot of his men, and thought is as elsewhere associated with immobility (cf. n. on 7.250, 1.495, 10.159...). Compare **322 A. generate**.

et uestigia pressit Vd. nn. on **159**, **197**.

332 multa putans After the manner of an Homeric formula; compare 8.522 *multa...putabant (reputans, cum animo pertractans* Serv. here). Comms. from No. on have noticed that this is a sense of *p.* common in Plaut. and Ter.; Au. insists (perhaps too much) upon the original sense of

‘clean, clear’ (Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects de la formation...*, 17), as here of mental activity (‘clear up’). Cf. *EV* 4, 359, Axelson, 64, Cordier, 57, 68, 86.

sortemque...iniquam Cf. 12.243 *Turni sortem miserantur iniquam*. See nn. on 3.17 *fatis...iniquis*, and for *sors*, Pomathios, 339, **6.114** and **761**.

animo miseratus M: Wieland, *TLL* 8.1132.17f., of respectable ancestry (Enn.*Ann.* Acc.) and dear to V. (**28, 56, 476, 882**); No. notes Naev.'s *ei uenit in mentem hominum fortunas* (*BP* fr.16Strz.). It seems extraordinarily difficult to find an account of pity as displayed by characters in *Aen.*, notably *Aen.* himself; not, that is, *just* pity towards the suppliant victim (a concentration that cheapens and oversimplifies). Some material does exist to illustrate *Aen.*'s sense of pity (Mackie, 121 insufficient): see also, for a start, **6.28**, 10.823 (with gesture of sympathy), alongside tears (n. on 11.29) and Dido's reproof upon its absence, 4.370. Creditable, Ugenti, *EV* 3, 547; cf. also Traina, *ib.*, 4, 96. The ms. tradition gives **animo**, with the exception of **M**'s **animi** (apparently later corrected), presumably by echo of 10.686 *animi miserata* (where vd. Harrison and cf. 5.202 *furens animi*); good sense offered by Perret. **A**. ‘la sede dei sentimenti’, Negri, 120.

333 cernit ibi The Sibyl gestures to *Aen.*, and the poet to us; **c**: **325**, and Cordier's suggestion that it is used as *simplex* for *compositum decernit* is not persuasive, 68, n.7.

maestos Cf. n. on 11.26, and Fo, *EV* 3, 308 for *m.* used of the individual contemplating his own death, **445**, 10.819f., etc..

mortis honore Cf. 11.22f. *inhumataque corpora terrae/ mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est* (where vd. n.), Fo, *EV* 2, 854, Mehmel, *TLL* 6.3.2925.33f.; the *honos...tuus* of 7.3 is probably not exactly similar.

carentis V. has recently been working with *G.4.472 simulacraque luce carentum* (**292, 305-8**), which perhaps suggested the formulation; G.Cupaiuolo (*EV* 1, 662) correctly (but without due ref. to Meister, *TLL* 3.450.33f.) cites here *Cic.Inv.1.108 communi quoque honore in morte caruit* and *Sen.75 ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est*.

334 Leucaspim Names which blunt the effect of Otis' view (289f., after Conway; by e.g. Clark, *Catabasis*, 162, Mackie, 125, Bleisch (**494-547**), 187 regarded as definitive) of *Aen.*'s encounters with Palinurus, Dido and Deiphobus presented in reversed chronological order. First, after all, come the victims of the storm in bk.1, which stood between Deiphobus and Dido in narrative order. Leucaspis is not named in the earlier narrative, but is identified by Serv. there with the anonymous *magister* of 1.115; for the loss of Orontes, cf. 1.113, 220 and note 1.221f. for other named victims of

the storm. *EV* 3, 195, Stoll, Ro.2.2, 1986.9ff., Meuli, PW 12.2258.15ff., Saunders (228), 539, n.9: L. the name of a leader of the Sicani, DS 4.23.5, commemorated on Syracusan coins.

et Lyciae...classis Lycia on the S. coast of Asia Minor, W. of centre. Rashly identified with Aen.'s fleet, *EV* 2, 544. But V. could here refer to the Lycian ships of *Il.*2.876f., among whose commanders L. might here be conceived as having served. Alternatively, Cordier, 68, n.9 suggests an 'old sense' of *classis*, of a single ship. But this is no old sense (*tacet OLD*); rather a notion of Servius', for which *TLL* 3.1283.60ff. (Maurenbrecher) cites no instances independent of the grammarians: vd. NR on Hor.C.3. 11.48.

ductorem Cf. n. on 2.14 *ductores Danaum* (Acc. (?), Lucr.). *Sonantius est quam 'duces'* Serv. there; Cordier, 68, n.8. Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2168.55.

Oronten Vd. s.v. **Leucaspim**; *EV* 3, 891, Saunders (228), 541, n.16, Stoll, Ro. 3.1.1056.17ff.. The name appears in Nonnus (Saunders), but V. could at least as well have had in mind the name of the Syrian river (cf. *Aen.*7, index s.v. 'river-names').

335 quos...uectos For the (? many) allusions in this line, cf. n. on 3.325 (Cat.101.1 *multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus*, then Hom.); cf. too Wigodsky, 126, n.632, Wills, 144, S.V.Tracy, *AJP* 98 (1977), 20-3, Harrison, *GEVH*, 220f..

simul a Troia The prepos. no misprint or scribal error: see nn. on 3.149 *a Troia* and 595 *ad Troiam* (the grammatical point: the 'school rule' forbidding prepositions before city-names is by no means binding). **ab P**; **a MR**; cf. n. on 3.149, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 388, NW 2, 850ff.; *ab* before *t-* is common enough, but not to be imposed here against the weight of ms. evidence. S. of the Trojans leaving *together* under Aen.'s command. Con.'s discussion of **simul...obruit** as a unit unimproving.

uentosa per aequora V. quotes himself, *G.*1.206 *quibus in patriam uentosa per aequora uectos*, and through *G.*, Cat. (64.12, 101.1, *supra*).

336 obruit Cf. 1.69 *incute uim uentis submersasque obrue puppis*, Lossau, *TLL* 9.2.153.6f., and for the fine poetic vb., Hor.C.1.28.22, n. on 2.411.

Auster Vd. n. on 3.61 for the S. wind.

aqua inuoluens I.Kapp (*aet.* 75), *TLL* 7.2.462.47f., in the sense of *demergere*, first thus here; then Luc.3.631; the synaloepha presumably depicts the action.

nauemque uirosque A fine bald coupling of common nouns, apparently only attested here, perhaps with Hom. νῆας τε...καὶ λαόν in mind, to close the 'historical' reminiscence. For this sort of reference to past 'history' in V., cf. comm. on 11, p.xiii, *Companion*, 188, and for *-que...-que*, cf. n. on 7.470.

337-383 Palinurus

(1) Name, etymology, etc.

(a) According to DH, the Trojans first anchored in Italy ‘at the harbour of P.’, one of the κυβερνητῶν of Aen., who died there (1.53.2; vd. G.Vagnotti, *L' altro Enea* (Roma 1995), 181-3); after Tim., it used to be thought, perhaps rightly (No.; accepted, Perret, 118f.. Compare e.g. *FGH* 566F51, 53) and then ‘transmitted by Varro’ (not impossible). Strab.6.1.1 refers to the promontory but offers no explanation of the name (cf. Plin.*Nat.*3.71). Tacet *OGR*. See K.Scherling, C.Koch, PW 18.148.67-151.20, O.Immisch, Ro.3.1295.29-1300.63, Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 158, etc.. The numismatic evidence now often cited (e.g. McKay (1984), 125, Greco, *EV* 3, 939) was once dismissed altogether, Scherling, 149.36ff.. Aen. himself is not associated with any sites in N.Sicily, Bruttium, or Lucania (*RMM*, 15, *EV* 2, 223), and of his comrades or kin, only Palinurus is, so far as I can see (cf. Bérard, 362, Boas, *Aeneas' arrival...*, 11ff., Pfister, *cit.*). Polites is Odyssean (Brenk (1987), 572), but also Callimachean, *Di-eg.*4.6ff. (*Aet.*fr.98Pf., Setaioli, 87ff. (Callimachus), Bremmer, *Early Greek concept*, 106f.). The place (and toponym) is of ancient and dangerous fame: cf. *MRR*, 253BC (the consuls wrecked on their return from Africa), Brenk (1988), Woodman on Vell.2.79.3 (ships lost during the campaign against Sex. Pompeius) and Horace may actually have been there (NR on *C.*3.4.28, Horsfall in *Style and tradition* (848), 46). One would therefore expect that some plausible etymology of the name might have been devised in antiquity to reflect a fatal accident to some companion of Aen..

For views of the etymological uncertainty, cf. Ambrose, Merkelbach, Brenk (1984), 777, O'Hara, *TN*, 170, Paschalis, 228f., Setaioli, 77f.: no general agreement, however, no preferred explanation, and not a high point in modern etym. enquiries. Does **350 custos** hint at Gk. (ἐπι-)οὔρος, watcher, guardian (Merkelbach)? Do thistles (or spiny shrubs, *paliurus*) come into it? It is hard to see quite how (Setaioli, 78, Maggiulli, 387), but vd. *ad fin.* οὔρος is also the Gk. for ‘fair wind’ (cf. adj. οὔριος), so does πάλιν- then suggest ‘contrary wind’? Or (Setaioli 78f., after A.Dihle, *Glotta* 51 (1973), 268-74 at 273, fascinating), of a cape (as P. really is) where the wind changes when you weather it? (Cf. too Samos, *infra* and note ‘Spartivento’ as a name for capes in Italy: the S. end of Sardinia, and of Calabria, as well as Punta Sp., *Itin.*, 133, a point on the S. face of Capo Palinuro). That is argued with care, but οὔρος does normally refer to a *favourable* wind. We might think we had no idea at all of the preferable answer, but there are other places named P. (Setaioli, 78f.), notably, the NE point of Samos, cape-shaped like Italian Palinurus; Libyan Paliouros, however, is not a cape or point. But two sharply pointed capes, the Lucanian and the Samian, bearing the same name, clearly ought also to share an

appropriate *etymon* (vd. Dihle, *supra*). The pretty scrap of Virgilian/Apollonian onomastics at *ILS* 8195b (the - presumably seaman - brothers Pal. and Tiphys) is a nice instance of the diffusion of our texts, and no more; cf. *Companion*, 254, with n.51 for other instances of such literary slave-names. One last suggestion remains: in these vv., V. has Od.'s swim to Phaeacia much in mind; that includes the simile of the *akanthos*-tufts, 5.328f.. At Thphr.*HP* 1.5.3 the *paliurus* is called *akanthodes* (cf. 1.10.6, 3.3.2, etc.), and it could just be that a botanical comment on *Od.5, cit.*, helped lead V. towards the adventures of Pal., endowed as he was with an almost-thirsty name amid the waves.

(b) At 5.843 Pal. is named *Iasides*; the same patronymic borne by Aen.'s doctor, Iapyx, 12.392. Could they have been brothers (Macr.5.15.12)? Was there any thought of association with the Iasius of 3.168? Vd. my n. there, F.Stok, *Att.conv.Brindisi*, 191-8. But nothing suggests that either *Iasides* is a figure of grand and distant royal origins (so e.g. McKay (1984), 128); certainly, neither is built up as such. More to the point, the patronymic is solidly and recognisably *Trojan*.

(2) Inconsistencies

The list of inconsistencies between the Pal.-narrative in bk.5 and that in bk.6 (*infra*) is familiar and scarcely in dispute; I shall also suggest that we have good grounds for deciding which of the narratives is the earlier, for let us be clear: in a polished, finished narrative there will only be room for one of the two; this is surely the one point in our present text of *Aen.* where such a choice was not in fact made after V.'s death, perhaps because neither version could be detached, swiftly and without damage, from the whole (cf. *Alambicco*, 100f., Thomas, 273). But first, a more fundamental problem needs to be considered; both narratives can be localised precisely enough on the map, but when this is done, we are left with geographically incompatible versions of Aen.'s route:

(i) Bk.5: Pal. is himself, at least from Tim. on, inseparable from the immovable Lucanian toponym (solidly attested in the geogr. tradition, Strab.6.1.1, Mela 2.69, Plin.3.71), and we must think of him as having gone overboard not very far from that spot, compatibly with a route from W.Sicily to Cumae; see (1). Thence, Aen. must reach Cumae, and the only clue Aen. gives us is the *scopulos Sirenum* of 5.864: cf. *Alambicco*, 70, ch.3 of Norman Douglas, *Siren Land*, *EV* 4, 892, Nelis, 206, E.Delage, *La géographie dans les Argonautiques...* (Paris 1930), 240f., Vian, ed. *AR* 4, p.40. Clearly, V.'s inhabit Li Galli, the rocky islands a couple of miles off the S. shore of the Sorrento peninsula, to the W. of Positano, more recently the property of Rudolf Nureyev; vd. Strab.1.2.12, an irreproachably precise identification. Aen. is not pressed unanswerably to bury Pal.'s corpse for he is heading urgently towards Cumae; in bk. 5, V. briskly avoids such com-

plications of chronology and navigation. 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? *Vix*. Vd. Harrison, 371.

(ii) Bk.6. Pal. invites Aen., as Elpenor had invited Od. to return to Aeaea, to return to Velia, near Palinurus, for his burial (366; cf. TCD, p.552.18ff.: the Sibyl's prophecy removed the compulsion that otherwise requires Aen. to see to the burial of his men). That, by the imperatives of geography and of Aen.'s mission, is no longer possible (Knauer, 137f.). Heyne (on 346 - 59) acutely noted the link of the Laestrygonians with Formiae, north of Cumae, here on Aen.'s route northwards to Caieta, but that is deep in the tempting realms of associative geography; see NR on Hor.C.3.17.6-9.

The list of narrative discrepancies between the books is familiar (*Alambicco*, 100, Thomas, 273, Williams, *Aen.5*, xxv, Setaioli, 92, Berres, 250, Sabbadini, xxxix, etc.) and the list itself is perhaps less important than the consequences to be drawn

(a) The role of Somnus (838-61) in bk.5 is entirely absent from the narrative in 6. Indeed, there is, explicitly, no divine intervention, **348 nec me deus aequore mersit**.

(b) The actual cause of Pal.'s fall. At **341f**. Aen. asks Pal. what god threw him overboard, whereas at 5.870f. Aen. taxes Pal. with entirely human overconfidence, *o nimis...confise*. There had in fact been a divine intervention, but mortals do not refer to it (that applies to both narratives; cf. **348**), and the narrative unfolds in entirely human terms. At **6.351**, Pal.'s fall overboard is apparently narrated in terms of accident. Elpenor had been sozzled, and when he recovered, was dead. At the Fall of Troy, the defenders were lulled with wine (cf. full n. on 2.265); likewise the Latins about to be attacked by Nisus and Euryalus (9.336, etc.). In bk.5 Pal. falls asleep; *Schuld* for those who seek it out, whereas here Pal. is no more blamed for falling than Aen. is for not burying him. Note too *Proverbs* 23.34 (Vulgate numeration), the sleepy steersman who loses his *clauus*.

(c) The weather. **355f**. refer to a storm, whereas the entire narrative in bk.5 depends on easy, favourable conditions. A divergence required by divergent plots. For a more complex account, Mandra, 131f..

(d) At **338** Pal. is lost **Libyco cursu**, q.v., for further discussion; in bk.5, the Trojans are of course sailing from Sicily to Italy.

(e) The precise chronology of Aen.'s encounter with Pal.: cf. Mandra, 129-35, Perret, ed. Budé, p.171, in some detail, Scarcia on **337**. In other words, how do the three nights in the sea and sighting of land on the fourth morning (**356-7**) square with the rest of the narrative of Aen.'s passage from Lucanian waters to Cumae and with Aen.'s arrival in the Underworld to meet Pal. who is already there? There are readers who find it, however, difficult to take in a complex epic narrative while devoting full attention to

stopwatch and time-chart: three days at sea is just about credible and that passage of time is just about enough to convey Aen. via Cumae to the Underworld, though my own sense is that Aen. is thus badly rushed. The exact timing of parallel narratives is surely too much to ask of V..

There is a widespread feeling (so e.g. Kehoe, 249: views surveyed, Setaioli, 90) that the account in bk.6 was written earlier, but that only reflects a general sense that the *Aen.* was written *not*, by and large, in the order in which it now stands, nearly enough, but as seems most appropriate to modern critics. I offer a detailed argument for composition roughly as *Aen.* now stands at *Aen.3*, comm., xx-xl. The literary texture of the *Aen.6* narrative ('of some complexity', Thomas, 269) is much the richer and denser (contrast e.g. Williams on 5.823ff.). However, I do still find it hard to accept that V. really can have wanted to replace a typically well-nourished narrative (bk. 6) containing antiquarian (even historical), Homeric (mediated in part by Naev.), Apollonian and epigrammatic/elegiac elements, mutually interactive, to replace it with one (bk. 5) so much simpler in texture. Notably, no attack upon Pal. on shore, no *aition*, no aetiological eternity (Pal. after all is still the name). An improbable move towards increased simplicity: however, one realises that this argument is strong but not decisive. Certain it is only that the versions would never have coexisted after a final revision.

(3) Literary influences

(a) Homer. By no means just Elpenor: of course E. is central (for the detail, cf. Knauer, 132, n.1 (pellucid), 135-9, Harrison, 371), but we need also to bear in mind (1) Hom.: the death and burial of Phrontis, steersman of Menelaus, *Od.3.279-85*, and, more important, (2) Od. himself, swimming towards Phaeacia. Much of the detail in Pal.'s account will turn out to derive from *Od.5*, while the narrative structure clearly belongs to Od.'s meeting with Elpenor.

(b) Naevius. Scevola Mariotti (148) showed that it was most probably Naevius who first showed how Elpenor might be reworked in an aetiological context (42, n.62 in particular) and might even be developed into more than one figure (vd. *SC*, (18)(d), (148), (1)(a) for Naev. and Prochyta); if that is right, then the *Bell.Poen.* is of fundamental importance for V. here; cf. Knauer, 137, n.1, Horsfall (1999), n. on 7.1-4 (with further bibl.).

(c) Apollonius. Vd. 4.912-9, Butes leaps overboard and, swimming, makes for the Sirens' isle; vd. Nelis, *cit.*

(d) Epigram. For common motifs, cf. (4), nn. on 338 **Libyco cursu**, *ad fin.*, 338f., 339, 349, 351, 359, 361, 371. Vd. recently Thomas, Barchiesi, Brenk (1984), 800, Setaioli, 82-6.

(e) *Hor.C.1.28*. Not securely an early poem (NH 1, xxx: epodic metre no proof of date), but its genesis hardly separable from *Aen.6*. Note 336

obruit; Hor.C.1.28.22 *obruit* (also in both, storm, body on shore, imperative of burial); equally **362 habent**; Hor.C.1.28.9 *habent* (Thomas, 271). The question of priority (not soluble) less important than the certainty of (very possibly reciprocal) influence.

(4) The shipwrecked sailor

Pal.'s misadventures are developed in detail: he falls overboard, swims, reaches land, is fatally attacked: the first three elements (see **(3)(a)**) are Odyssean (but now in the first person); the fourth, however, is no longer a cannibal nightmare of the early seafarers (n. on 3.622, C.Dougherty, *Raft of Odysseus* (New York 2001), 140f., A.Ballabriga, *Les fictions d'Homère* (Paris 1998), 112-21), but reflects a regular peril of sea-travel, and is much more widely present than may generally be realised in *Aen.*: 1.526-8, 539-41, 3.592 *ad litora* (with full n.), 7.229f. (with n.). For shipwreck in the lawyers, in fiction, declamation and daily life (see Friedlaender, *SG* 19, 334f.), vd. on 3, *cit.* (the evidence of the Quintilianic declamations has hardly yet been considered) and add G.B.Conte, *The hidden author* (Berkeley 1996), 60f. (my thanks to Prof. Danielle Van Mal-Maeder) and thereafter Mayor, Courtney on Juv.12.27 (votive representations), Pers.1.88-90 (shipwrecked sailors beg; vd. Jahn, and Brink on Hor.*AP* 20). Further researches (I omit fatal encounters at sea with pirates) suggest increasingly that Brenk, Barchiesi and Thomas (vd. T., 270-3) were right to hunt for epigrammatic motifs (e.g. the wrecked sailor, in the tradition of Od. himself, swimming for his life, Posidippus 90.2, 92.4). For V., though, the decisive point is Pal.'s arrival at the Lucanian shore, not his salvation, but paradoxically his end, and that topic requires a little further illustration (Brenk (1984), 798 underinformed): in Antip.Sid. (*AP* 7.745 = GP, *HE* 286-95), Ibycus is killed by robbers on landing on deserted shore, in 'Plato' xviii (Page, *FGE*, p.176 = *AP* 7.268; note the garment of v.6, as here), a corpse is robbed on the shore; three epigrams recount the deaths of shipwrecked sailors at the hands of wolves/snakes (Antip.Thess., *AP* 7.289 = GP, *GP* 221-4, Flaccus, GP, *GP* 3807-12 = *AP* 7.290, Leonidas of Alexandria, *AP* 7.550). But note also App.*BC* 5.104 (in war), Strab.6.1.5 (Od.'s companion Polites, Brenk (1987), 571f.), Phaedr. 4.23.14-7 (Simonides reaches Clazomenae after shipwreck because he is not carrying his worldly goods, while his richly-laden comrades are killed), Petr.114.14. Take Quint.*decl.min.*299.4 *cui lucem uiuo, fluitanti mare, naufrago portum, morienti terram, defuncto sepulcrum negat?*: the act is peculiarly evil, but is also familiar and dramatic; indeed peculiarly so, as the tragic sequel to the tragedy of the shipwreck: irresistible therefore to the poet as a necessarily double drama, though not a visibly or provably epigrammatic motif. A natural 'enrichment' to the narrative of a shipwreck or a loss at sea.

(5) Palinurus as a sacrifice.

See 5.815 *unum pro multis dabitur caput*. Cf. too **(148)**, **(2)(a)** and **(3)** for our sense that Misenus has died in some sense to ensure his commander's safe return from the Underworld. Here perhaps again, though the motif (but does the sacrifice really need to be *repeated*?) is much more explicitly present in bk.5 than in the narrative here: cf. Brenk (1988), 71, 74f., Hardie, 32f., W.S.M.Nicol, *CQ* 38 (1988), 466-70, Dyson, **(136-48)**, 74-94.

Readers of **6** who have concluded that Palinurus and Misenus are no more than awkward doublets (cf. Setaioli, 81, n.35 for bibl.; Rehm, 31 predictably sensible) are invited to inform themselves better about the tone, texture and content of the two episodes (see **148**). Two companions of Aen. die and are, or will be, buried on the coast of Italy. To the attentive reader, what is then fascinating is how differently the two episodes are developed. Cf. Harrison **(1)**, 372.

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337 ecce Deixis by the poet; our eyes are directed where (by implication) Aen.'s already have been. Thanks to the Sibyl, and to V.'s careful structuring, we are still firmly located, topographically and theologically, among the unburied.

gubernator Cf. n. on 3.269 for the (Ennian) wd.. Was the choice of word meant to distinguish him from the *magister* of Orontes (1.115)? Hardly, but Mackie, 124f. and Thaniel, 152 seem quite right to deny Pal. an anonymous presence in bk.1, though he does appear repeatedly as Aen.'s faithful steersman (Pomathios, 116).

sese...agebat Cf. 8.465, 9.696, Hey, *TLL* 1.1372.8ff. (who cites numerous instances from comedy). Serv. glosses *sine negotio incedere*; 'aimlessly'. Not impossible. Donatus '*agere se*' enim tardi et tristes dicuntur (on *Andr.*4.2.25[708]) which No. takes seriously. Both comments seem overinterpreted. So the arrival of the unburied Elpenor, *Od.*11.51.

Palinurus For the name, etymology, etc., cf. **337-383**, (a).

338 qui.../ 339 exciderat puppi Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1235.65ff. compare Plaut. *Rud.*201 *etiam quae simul uecta mecum in scaphast, excidit*. Standard Latin, rather than comic, or indeed 'nautical'; natural language for the situation. **P.** is here used precisely, of the loss of a steersman, 5.12, 841, 858. Deaths by falling, or being swept, overboard, at sea, are surprisingly uncommon in the texts, *AP* 7.374.7f., Petr. 114.6 (the end of Lichas) *illum quidem uociferantem in mare uentus excussit*. Not to mention *Aen.*1.115f..

Libyco cursu Apparently one of the thornier problems of Virgilian studies. See Brenk (1984), 776f., n.3, Berres, 259-65, Sabbadini xxxix, Laudizi, 59, Buchheit, 140, Thaniel (1972), 152, Heinze, 146, n.1, Gercke, 20, Kinsey, 379f., M.M.Crump, *Growth of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1920), 64, Henselmans, 59f., F.Conrads, *Quaest. Virgilianae*, progr.Trier 1863, xxiii, D'Anna, 88, Setaioli, 92, 94, W.Kroll, *Jhb.class. Phil.*, Suppl.27 (1902), 155, Williams, *TI*, 281f.. Why are the Trojans said to be sailing from Libya, when they are sailing from Sicily? Or are they meant to be sailing *to* Libya? Was the original order of Dido-honours to Anchises-arrival on the Lucanian coast not therefore different? And so one might continue, ever more misleadingly (but cf. Heinze, summarised, Hight, 107, n.19: perfectly logical, but too complicated). Serv. provides a sane and simple answer, entirely in keeping with the passages discussed *infra*: *nauigatio non a deuerticulo, sed ab intentione accipit nomen*; certainly, if V. has written *Ausonio cursu* there would have been no problem, but as it is, he quite fails to grasp the scale of the problem he raises here. We remember the storm at the beginning of bk.5 and the circumstances of the Trojans' diversion (*deuerticulum*) to Sicily. It would have helped to collect other instances of the use of the geogr.adj. to define the goal of a journey (a welcome awareness, Setaioli, 94f.; usage not understood, Thaniel, 152): though of course V. here seems to write of the starting-point, for the use of an adj. to give precision to a journey's goal, cf. *uia Ardeatina, uia Tiburtina, et sim.*, Cic.*Ep. Brut.* 1.15.5, *in medio Achaico cursu* ('in the middle of the journey to Greece'), Tessmer, *TLL* 7.2.540.14ff. for *iter Hispaniense*,

Asiaticum, *Arpinas*, *Capitolinum*; most of the evidence is in Cic., and *iter Brundisinum* is not ancient, *pace* Setaioli. The idiom may reflect a Rome-centred universe, in that these routes presuppose departure *from* Rome, whereas in *Aen.*6 Rome (not to mention Lavinium, Alba) is not yet founded, and the name seems therefore (inevitably, naturally) to be that of the point of *departure* for no specific goal (apart from the various general terms for 'Italy') as yet exists. No satisfactory answer to the problem has been offered (so too Kehoe, soberly); Profs. G.B.Conte and A.Lunelli have remarked to me that they suspect I define the use of the geogr. adj. with too much rigour; that could well be, though their case would be far more persuasive if we could cite a few instances of geogr.adj. *not* of destination; a start might be made from Cic.*QFr.*1.1.17 *Asiaticis itineribus* ('through Asia' translates Sh. Bailey), as also from *NSc.* 1928, 169, v.2 *Tyrrhenum per iter placida labante karina*. I very much doubt therefore that wider conclusions about the 'growth of the *Aen.*' are to be drawn (likewise Kehoe, again very sanely) and am not eager to make deductions about the place of Libya in some earlier version of the later stage of *Aen.*'s voyage. For Jacob's argument that Pal. had originally died on the voyage *to* Libya (1.113-7), *LEC* 20 (1952), 163-7 (*non uidi*), see Highet, 107, n.19, D'Anna, 87f., Kehoe, 255, n.22. Brenk (1984), 800 argues (rather loosely) that *L.* refers (*also*, perhaps) to the Libyan sea in the epigrammatic tradition: see *AP* 7.273.4, 293.2, 395.2, 543.2, 9.290.1. From Dido's capital, to western Sicily, *Aen.* indeed sailed over the Libyan Sea; it was not in that sea that Pal. died, but, given *Aen.*'s original point of departure, it may be that V. tinges Pal.'s death with an element of epigrammatic association between Libyan sea and wrecks.

dum sidera seruat Cf. *G.*1.204f., 335 (with 402, of the sun), *Aen.*5.25; *EV* 4, 814. *OLD* s.v., §2a, citing Cic.*Div.*1.36, suggests that this is standard Lat. idiom. For the history of astral navigation in epic seafaring, see *Aen.*3, index, s.v. *astral*, and note (of Pal. himself) 5.853 *oculosque sub astra tenebat*.

339 mediis...in undis Cf. 3.202 (*media...in unda*; vd. n.), 10.305; for the 'intensive' use of *medius*, cf. Fordyce on *Cat.*64.149, n. on 7.372.

effusus Leumann, *TLL* 5.2. 'i.q. prosternere, mediopass. i.q. *concidere, procumbere*'; cf. n. on 7.780 (the death of Hippolytus) *et iuuenem monstris pauidi* [sc. *equi*] *effudere marinis*. There seems to be a paradoxical transference of image, the victim as though poured (like liquid) into the sea. Cf. Antip.Thess.GP, *GP*, 251ff. = *AP* 7.625; note v.4 = 254 ἐκχυμένου, the same use.

340 hunc...maestum Clearly because for now denied burial (cf. 333, Fo, *EV* 3, 308); *Aen.* has not yet thought to set up a cenotaph (see n. on 3.304),

as he had done for Deiphobus (vd. **505-8**), and in fact the tomb will be raised by **finitimi** (**378**), and not by Aen. at all; Aen. *could* perfectly well have raised a cenotaph to him (cf. 3.304, with n.). The question of why he did not directly do so for Pal. (e.g. alongside the memorial to Misenus) is not raised, perhaps because, for the Lucanians to be warned by prodigies and to raise a memorial in penance (**378f.**), it was necessary for Aen. to hold back, and his destiny anyway beckoned from Latium.

ubi uix...cognouit Because of the thick *umbra*, naturally. Nor enough for Serv. who turns to the entirely different purification of **745** and suggests that Pal. is imperfectly visible because not yet properly purified (cf. A.Setaioli, *La vicenda dell' anima...* (Frankfurt 1995), 251, with further refs.); *EV* 5*, 605 unnecessarily favourable, for we have not at this point come anywhere near to the doctrines of purification (vd. nn. to **736**, **740f.**), and Serv.'s n., though ingenious, is here just untimely. C.: cf. 12.903, Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.1502.44f.

multa...in umbra Cf. **multam...paludem**, *multa...harena*; **u.** rarely intensified adjectivally (the odd instance of *magna, ingens, pallentis, silentes*).

341 sic prior adloquitur Cf. 1.594, 4.8, 222, 10.228, Odysseus, *Od.*11.56; familiar formulaic language. But the addition of **prior** might seem more interesting: so the disguised Venus at 1.321, Achates, 1.581, Latinus, 7.194 (with n. on the privilege of rank), 8.469, etc.. Could Aen. have spoken first in order to pre-empt some reproach at his delay in erecting a cenotaph (**340**)? But that is not so much as hinted and the very notion may be no more than a consequence of the baneful climate of modern hostile 'readings' of Aen.; Kn., 138f. makes it perfectly clear that there was, geographically, no option to return to Lucania. Cartault (450) explains satisfactorily that Aen. by speaking first is 'prévenant et charitable'; there may also be a hint of urgency in his doing so, from the middle of a verse (Highet, *HSCP* 78 (1974), 197). For the dialogue-form in both Hom. and fun. epigram, cf. Thomas (2004), 274.

341-6 Aeneas to Palinurus So Od. asked Elpenor whether he reached the Underworld on foot or by boat, *Od.*11.57f. (vd. Knauer, Mackie, Highet). Note Highet, 38, n.33 for Aen.'s speeches to his comrades. For a classic oracular ambiguity see **341**, and for the roles of Apollo and Neptune, see next note. See Mackie, 125f., Cartault, 450, Lossau, 114f., Knauer, 132, n.1, Perkill, 135f., Highet 201f., O'Hara, *DOP*, 96f..

341 quis...deorum The question *quis deus* (3.338 *quisnam deus*; *quis* at *G.*4.315, etc.) of a familiar form; gen. rather than nom. hailed as a Grecism by Serv. (Mayer, *ALLP*, 167; KS 1, 424, Bennett, 2, 20). Cf. Neptune's assurance, 5.814f. (a Trojan will die, but the fleet will be safe), whereas

here Apollo has told Aen. (344f.) that Pal. would reach Italy safely (**ponto incolumem**), which indeed he did, only to be killed on *shore* (cf. for example Bailey, 166, Miller, 131, O'Hara, *DOP*, 17f., 96, usefully comparing the *tangere portus* of 4.612). At 348 Pal. will explain **nec me deus aequore mersit** (but his entirely unexplained fall tore away the tiller), whereas at 5.838ff. personified Somnus works on Pal. before he leans fatally against the tiller. For the inconsistencies, cf. (337-83), p.274f.; Aen.'s pursuit of information, amid such uncertainty, seems entirely justified.

te.../ 342 eripuit nobis Cf. 2.738 *fatone erepta Creusa*, 7.51 *primaque oriens erepta iuuenta est* with nn., *EV* 4, 401 (unhelpful), Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.793.58ff.. Also the language of Latin epitaphs (Hoogma, 246, Brandt, 793.71, etc.); unsurprisingly, so too in Gk., ἥρπασε, ἥρπασας (both literary and epigraphic). On **n.** Serv. comments well enough *bene 'nobis': gubernator enim communi perit periculo*.

medioque sub aequore Standard phrasing, *G.*1.361, *Aen.*10.451, 665: then *Ov.*, *Luc.*, *VF*, etc..

mersit Cf. 348, Lausberg/Bulhart, *TLL* 8.832.11; standard idiom, *Cic.**ND* 2.7 (drowning chickens). The v. 'framed' by vbs., *No.*, 392f..

343 dic age *Hor.**C.*2.11.22, 3.4.1, *Serm.*2.7.92; appropriate, apparently, at any level, but not common before Ovid (*quinquies*), Lyne on *Ciris* 234. There remains, perhaps, a touch of common speech (vd. Hofmann-Ricottilli, index s.v. *age*).

namque *Aen.* offers the explanation that he had, for the first time, been 'deceived' by Apollo (but see 341 **quis...deorum**).

mihi.../ 344 ...animum delusit 'La sede dei sentimenti e del pensiero', Negri, 147, comparing 9.205. For **d.**, cf. 10.642, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.473.31f.. For the dat., Antoine, 103ff.. Lyne, *WP*, 131-4 argues that *d.* is a colloquialism, exploited with eye-catching bitterness, etc.: just now, a synonym for *fallo* (vd. **fallax**) is needed, and *V.* avoids the metr. equivalent *decepit* (Acc., *Lucr.*, *Hor.**C.*2, *quater* in *V.*). Is the element of *lusus* still heard in *deludere* (a hint, Lyne, 132; perhaps rightly)? The idea that Apollo has toyed, played with Aen. (who failed to understand the oracle's precise sense)? The distinction of *tone* between the synonyms perhaps not yet fully understood.

fallax Cf. n. on 2.80 for adjs in *-ax* in *V.*; **f.** standard Latin, prose and verse. Vd. *EV* s.v. *fallo*.

haud ante repertus *Comms.* compare *Aesch.**Cho.*559 (Apollo) μάντις ἀψευδής τὸ πρίν. **Ante** very common as advb. of time. *Lymphae non ante repertae* may be what Tullius Laurea wrote at v.5, if he did not write *arte*, which might, however, be not a (neat, attractive) correction, but a misprint by Courtney (p.182); see Hollis, p.327, Blänsdorf, p.187.

344 hoc uno responso Massively spondaic, the effect augmented by words of regularly increasing length, and by synaloepha at caesura. Might we think of Aen. gesturing towards his lamented steersman, or even towards the heavens? Some sort of prophetic/oracular response not attested elsewhere (note O'Hara, *infra*, 56f. for prophecies in *Aen.*). Cf. 4.19 *huic uni...culpae*, Cat.15.13, 45.14, Lucr.2.1056, 5.909. **R.**: cf. 799.

Apollo Cf. **341 quis...deorum**; for prophetic deceits in *Aen.*, cf. O'Hara, *DOP*, 16-8, *EV* 2, 458f.. Note too *Il.*12.164.

345 qui fore te...canebat C. of a divine prediction, n. on 3.155, *EV* 1, 649.

ponto incolumem Told, in a sense, truthfully (cf. **341 quis...deorum**), but Aen. was also, in a sense, deceived; a fine emotional exploitation of oracular ambiguity. **P.**: high, Ennian language, n. on 7.300; abl. of extension (Malosti, 44, etc.). For the adj. (not provably Ennian, but a favourite with V.), cf. n. on 2.88.

finisque.../ 346 uenturum Ausonios Cf. 3.440, 5.82, 7.334 (with n.) *Italos...finis*, 8.602 *f...Latinos*, 11.317 *f...Sicanos*, *EV* 2, 527; 'territory'. For the accus. of destination, cf. n. on 2.253. **A.**: cf. detailed n. on 7.623. The fut. partic. unsurprisingly common in prophetic contexts, 1.22, 3.158, 186, 458, etc..

en Cf. *EV* 2, 996 (reinforces pronoun), exclamatory (No., Au.), LHS 464, or interrogative (Burckhardt, *TLL* 5.2.545.74f.; so too Hand, 2, 369, 'aut exprimit admirationem et stuporem cum quaestione coniunctum, vel ironiam'). 'Can *this* be...?'

haec promissa fides est Delhey, *TLL* 10.2.1869.38f., *EV* 2.510; *ib.*, 4, 309 compares 2.160f. (Sinon speaking) *tu modo promissis maneat, seruataque serues! Troia fidem*, 11.55 *haec mea magna fides?* Cf. too (reversed) 4.552 *non seruata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*. Aen. lets loose an appalling suspicion, that there was no *fides* in Apollo's assurance; O'Hara compares Evander's vain relig. acts on behalf of his son's return, 11.49ff., *DOP*, 48. For the final monosyll., with clash of ictus and accent (vd. Au.), expressing indignation (so Hellegouarc'h, *Le monosyllabe* (Paris 1949), 54), cf. too No., 448f. .

347 ille autem At change of speaker; see 695.

347-71 Palinurus to Aeneas A narrative to explain to Aen. just how Pal. had got here, just in the manner of Elpenor (*Od.*11.60-78, Knauer, 132, n.1), at least as far as **363 quod** ('so'): there the narrative passes easily into a plea (not rich in stylistic elaboration) for rescue to Pal.'s old commander and V. slips easily from aetiology into the consolation of burial (Cartault). See Hightet, 310, n.15, 132f., Cartault, 450; vd. also 349 **namque** for narrative speeches in *Aen.*.

347 neque te.../ 348...nec me Apparently no other instances in V. of this delicate and elaborate balance (parallelism in structure, opposition in sense). Hor.C.1.38.6f. much simpler. For litotes in V., see on **117f.**

Phoebi cortina The rounded vessel placed on the sacred tripod, n. on 3.92; allusive ‘shorthand’ for Apollo at Delphi/Delos and therefore perhaps a (Delian) clue to the mysterious **responsum** of **344.**

fefellit *EV* 2, 459; answering **343 fallax haud ante repertus.** Hofmann, *TLL* 6.1.186.59f. compares Ov.*Met.*1.491. Kn. refers to Anticleia, who assures her son that Persephone does not deceive him, *Od.*11.217.

348 dux Anchisiade Here only, an immediate sign of Pal.’s unaltered reverence for his old commander. *Dux* of Aen., *EV* 2, 148 (de Nonno), Pomathios, 154, **6.562. A. sexies** in *Aen.*; cf. n. on **126.**

deus aequore mersit Takes up Aen.’s question **341f. quis te...deorum/...medioque sub aequore mersit?** In one sense, it was however Somnus, in the guise of Phorbas, who pitched Pal. into the waves (5.838ff.). Contrast *Od.*11.61, the bad *aisa* of a *daimon* and unlimited wine. *Hic distinguendum, ne sit contrarium: nam eum Somnus deiecit* Serv., though the discrepancy is too deep to be fudged by repunctuating.

349 namque It was *not* a god, for...; Pal. then explains what actually happened (cf. Hight, 107, in the context of V.’s fourteen narrative speeches). The radical change of narrative tone is also important; compare **509-30** (Deiphobus), two (balancing, of course, as comrades perpetuating aetiological/etymological links) supplements to the narratives of bks. 2 and 5, and eventful/ adventurous points of contrast to Aen.’s stately, guaranteed, destined passage through the familiar horrors of the Underworld. Serv. comments sensibly on the tiller *ut sit ueri simile*; Pal. was still afloat after three days. See next n..

gubernaculum Here without the normal anaptyxis; cf. **693 periclis.** A notable advantage in archaic/popular poetry to have these alternatives (comedy, Lucr., Cic. *Arat.*) to hand, Leumann, 102, 313. Standard Lat. for ‘tiller’; for ample technical detail and terminology of the steering-oar, see Casson, 224f. (good, and with good plates), A.Jal, *Annales maritimes* 1 (1843), 976-8 (*bene*); the oar is fastened securely, and pivots, through the quarter; it is actually controlled by a tiller-bar, and ‘t.’ is probably the most satisfactory rendering. For Hom., Seymour, 311. V. here mentions a *single* oar; so in Viking ships, and so at Lucr.4.903f. (the point is made that a single steering oar is enough to steer a *magnam...nauem*), but two were normal in classical ships. *Od.* clung to a single plank, 5.371; here, in both narratives, Pal. enters the water with his tiller, for the sake of credibility, and in the best poet. tradition (cf. too *AP* 9.109, Antip.Thess., GP, *GP* 222 = *AP* 7.289.2).

multa ui Entirely ambiguous and excludes any precise apportioning of blame. Cf. *G.*3.220, *Aen.*1.271, 8.452, 11.744 (with n.), 12.720: Lucr. and perhaps once Enn.. Vd. Au. for the need to avoid self-contained spondaic fourth foot.

forte Cf. n. on 7.494; **f.** seems to exclude both divine intervention and human clumsiness. **V.** refers to the unexplained intervention of a violent force; the reader is invited not to enquire further. For **multa ui forte**, **P** imports from 5.270 **uix arte**.

reuulsum The vb. *undecies* in *Aen.*; E.Romano, *EV* 5*, 474. Cf. 5.858 (the same story) *et super incumbens cum puppis parte reuulsa/ cumque gubernaclo*; note also 8.262 *foribus domus atra reuulsis* (note other weak points, such as the passage of the steering-oar through the quarter, Casson, 227, with n.9, or the pintles in which a rudder is hung). Note that Od. himself *let go* his steering oar when swept from his raft, *Od.*5.315f.

350 cui datus The relative to be taken with both partic. and vb.; de Rosalia compares the *cura datur* of 9.160, and the *comes...datus* (with 8.518f. *ro-bora pubis/ lecta dabo*), *OLD* s.v., §13a, *TLL* 5.1.1700.46 (Rubenbauer).

haerebam custos Cf. *TLL* 4.1574.62f. (Mertel), *ib.*, 6.3.2494.77f. (Bulhart), 5.852 (Palinurus) *clauumque adfixus et haerens/ numquam amittebat*. *EV* 1, 967, 2, 829 (the latter far more useful).

cursorque regebam *TLL* 4.1352.69 (Hofmann), *OLD* s.v. *rego*, §4a, *EV* 4, 423; compare (of *Aen.*, after Pal.'s disappearance), 5.868 *ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis*, 10.218 *ipse sedens clauumque regit uelisque ministrat*.

351 praecipitans *TLL* 10.2.465.24f. (Adkin), 5.859f. *liquidas proiecit in undas praecipitem* (sc. Pal.), 11.617 (with n.); for intrans., vd. on 2.9. Either (Au.) trans. ('flinging') or intrans. ('tumbling'); I rather agree with Au. that transitive, in close cooperation with **traxi**, may be neater and more powerful.

traxi mecum Cf. *EV* 5*, 248. TCD (as a demonstration of how much *uis* was applied) *quando cum ipso gubernaculo, cui tenaciter inhaerebam, praeceps datus sum et cum ipsius puppis parte*. Compare the fall of Elpenor from the roof, *Od.*10.559, 11.64 (with *AP* 7.625, =Antip.Thess., GP, GP, 251-6; see 339), and note the broken *g.* of *Suet.*Aug.17.3.

maria aspera Cf. 5.767, of the *maris facies*, *Hor.*C.1.5.6f *aspera/ nigris aequora uentis*, *EV* 1, 371, Hey, *TLL* 2.809.37f. ('exagitatus, turbulentus').

iuuro For the dir. obj., cf. n. on 324.

352 non ullum pro me...timorem For the litotes, cf. 103. The idiom of *timor pro* apparently not elsewhere in *Repub./Aug.* texts. So a PHI search

and Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.1423.6f.. This fear for Aen. and the fleet a motif shared with 5.850f., in quite different language.

tantum.../ 353 quam Antithesis between alternative constructions, **pro me** and **ne deficeret**. Cf. 5.850f. and Pomathios, 116, helpfully on the consistently expert and conscientious Pal..

cepisse Cf. Hey, *TLL* 3.329.24, who classifies this passage quite correctly s.v. the common idiom of *capere* + abstr. noun, in the sense of ‘undergo’ (with *metum*, Liv.33.27.10); Au. briefly toys with the possibility of [*me*] as obj. of *timorem* (so too e.g. Con.), but it is poet. usage to omit on occasion the *subject* in such contexts (cf. n. on 2.25); here notably easy on account of the proximity of **pro me**.

353 tua.../ 354 ...nauis The possessive thrust forward to convey the force of Pal.'s concern for the safety of his vessel, commander and shipmates.

ne.../ 354 deficeret Standard Latin, though apparently not common in this sense: Leissner, *TLL* 5.1.331.8f. cites *Bell.Alex.*13.1 *nam decem missis [sc. nauibus] una in cursu litore Aegyptio defecerat*. The rhetor Rufinianus cites the v. with **ni** (*RLM* 56.7), unappealingly. Note, though, that Timpanaro approves of it (‘con valore finale negativo’), though without argument, both here and at 12.801, *Per la storia*, 151.

spoliata armis Note 5.224 *spoliata magistro*, **6.168**, 12.935 *corpus spoliatum lumine*, *EV* 4, 10, *OLD* s.v., §5b. **A.** (thus too Gk. ὄπλα) common usage for ‘equipment, tackle’, of the farm (*G.*1.160), the horse (*Ov.Am.*1.2.16, where vd. McKeown) and the ship, Bickel, 2.590.65ff., who cites 5.15 and later poets; hardly, therefore, at least on board ship, ‘standard Latin’. We may recall that *Hor.AP* 379 uses *campestris arma* for what we would call ‘sports equipment’.

excussa magistro Serv. comments *noue dixit: de qua fuerat magister excussus*; a fine instance of hypallage, which has attracted much comment: Bell, 320, E.A.Hahn, *TAPA* 87 (1956), 156, G.B.Conte, *Virgilio* (Torino 2002), 31 (startling syntactical invention tempered by notable symmetrical arrangement), in a context discussed by W.Görler, *Vergilius* Suppl.2 (1982), 68f., *ALLP*, 282f., Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1313.83 (**spoliata** hints to the attentive reader how **excussa** is to be understood; in much the same way, indeed). The conventional mind expects *maria naue excutiunt magistrum*; V. offers not exactly hypallage (nothing quite so *easy* as a mere exchange of subj. and obj.) but rather an exchange (Hahn, Görler) between the conventionally smaller and moved (so 1.115 *excutitur...magister*; Rehm, 1310.30ff.) and the larger and immobile. Norden suspected the implicit presence of the horse-and-rider metaphor (cf. 11.640, 12.470, 532; *e.* often so used, 11, *cit.*, Rehm, 1310.40f.), but he never really came to terms with V.'s experimental audacity and his n. here is not illuminating. **M.** is used by the poets as an alternative term for ‘pilot’ (*EV* 3, 319 (*vix*), Casson, 317,

n.79, Wolff, *TLL* 8.80.82ff., Bömer on *Ov.F.3.589*, *Aen.1*, *cit.*, 5.176, etc.). The waves call for a strong allit. of *s*.

354 tantis...surgentibus undis Rather surprisingly, no parallels seem to exist for this (slightly banal) expression. For *s.*, cf. n. on 3.196.

355 tris...hibernas...noctes ‘Stormy’, rather than ‘wintry’; Kornhardt, *TLL* 6.3. 2686.79f. (Serv. glosses *asperas*). Contrast the evidently wintry *soles* of 1.746. The chronology of this episode is already tricky enough without having to locate it in the calendar; vd. Butler. Two days and two nights, *Od.5.388f.*; does V. essay a studied ‘improvement’ upon the model?

Notus The S. wind, Labate, *EV* 5*, 497. Well suited to the journey from W. Sicily, but liable to blow the Trojans on to the Lucanian shore.

immensa per aequora Metaphorical at *G.2.541*. Cf. too *G.1.29*, 3.541, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.450.69, *EV* 2, 924.

356 uexit me Cf. 7.24, *EV* 5*, 169, *OLD* s.v., §3a.

uiolentus aqua V. of winds as at 2.107; so of the *uis...uenti* at *Lucr.5.1226*; Traina, *EV* 5, 548. **A.** apparently an abl. of extension (cf. Malosti, 79ff. for this abl. with *ponto*, *aequore*, *gurgite*, *pelago*, ?*mari*).

uix ‘Only’, as at 1.383, 7.646 (after Hom. οἶον), 9.544 *uix unus Helenor*, *OLD* s.v., §2a; *EV* 5*, 605 (Mastellone Iovane). The strong allit. of *u.* perhaps suggestive of the sound of the wind.

lumine quarto Cf. 3.117 *tertia lux* (and *Od.5.390*, *infra*, much in V.’s mind here), *EV* 3, 291, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1813.67f., citing *Lucr.6.1197* and *Enn.trag.224Ribb.2*; the latter most unlikely to be *Enn.*, Jocelyn, p.349 (ignored by Ehlers), but perhaps authentically tragic. See further **355 tris** and for the chronological problem, **(337-83)**, **(2)(e)**.

357 prospexi Italiam Cf. 1.155, 7.289 *Dardaniam Siculo prospexit ab usque Pachyno* (with n.), Cipriani, *TLL* 10.2.2221.11f.. Contrast the Trojans’ first view of Italy, 3.521ff.. At *Od.5.392f.*, the hero, after two days and two nights in the water, catches sight of Phaeacia for a moment, carried upwards by the swell; it begins to become clearer to the reader that *Od.5* is here enriching *Od.11*.

summa...ab unda Cf. *G.4.352*, *Aen.1.127*, 147; with the insertion of a prepos., position in the line is neat and inevitable.

sublimis ‘Borne aloft’; my dear friend Giuseppe Cavajoni (*EV* 4, 1053) compares usefully 11.67 *iuenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt*.

358 paulatim *Septies* in *Aen.*; a favourite with *Lucr.* (23x).

adnabam terrae The vb. at 1.538 (Ilioneus: *pauci uestris adnauimus oris*), 4.613 *terris adnare* (Dido on *Aen.*’s possible arrival in Italy; a curse unfulfilled). Used by *Caes.* and *Cic.* and apparently introduced to poetry by *V.*. Serv. undecided on the punctuation: *before* or *after terrae*. Unimprov-

ing discussion in Au. and at Townend, *PVS* 9 (1969-70), 83 (even perhaps in some way ἀπὸ κοινοῦ? No., Delvigo, 57). Clarity emerges when the reader looks at the ‘problem’ with the eye of one confronting the text (unpunctuated, naturally) for the first time. At **adnabam** you ask: ‘Pause? Or is there more to come?’ The latter, clearly, for there is nothing to *mark* any sort of pause and **terrae** in fact supplies a useful dat. of destination after the vb. (as in bks. 1, 4, *supra*). The ponderous rhythm, with clash of word-accent and metr. beat, clearly expressive of Pal.’s slow and laborious advance through the water (cf. 1.118). Compare Od. swimming, *Od.5.399*.

iam tuta tenebam Cf. **170 non inferiora secutus** for discussion of neut.plur. of adj. as noun (‘safety’: so with *t.* at 1.391, 9.366, 11.871); **tuta**, *EV* 5*, 310. Strong allit. of *t* might suggest breakers on the rocks or hands scrabbling at the shore. The force of the impf. is slightly elusive: in the light of **360**, Pal. is not yet *holding* the rocks, but the impf. has an inceptive (Woodcock, 156) or (cf. Ernout-Thomas, 227, citing **467**) conative sense; LHS 316. *EV* 5*, 100f. opaque.

359 ni Page and Au. did much to explain the grammar here (see too Handford, 124ff.): cf. n. on 2.55 *impulerat* (protasis *si mens non laeva fuisset*), with refs. to the grammars. ‘I had a hand on safety, and would have held it, had not...’ *Tacet* No.. **gens crudelis** Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1225.67, compares Liv.21.44.5 *crudelissima ac superbissima gens* (Hannibal of the Romans). See above **337-383**, p.277 for the motif of plundering and killing the shipwrecked sailor.

madida cum ueste V., characteristically untroubled, amalgamates two constructions (Con., No., Au.): (i) cf. Plaut.*Rud.*251 *cum madida ueste grassabimur*; Hey, *TLL* 4.1352.3f. compares **645 Threicius longa cum ueste sacerdos**, where vd. n.; (ii) *madida ueste grauatum*. For **m.**, vd. Richter, *TLL* 8.36.43, 5.179. The adj. in comedy and techn. prose (also *semel*, Cic.*Epp.*, Suet.); *udus octies* in V. (common in high poetry; also techn. prose, Petr., Apul.). In *Od.5.*, Od. is still wearing Calypso’s presents, which weigh him down (321); the drowned sailor robbed of his cloak, Page, *FGE* 640-5 (‘Plato’) = *AP* 7.268.

grauatum *TLL* 6.2.310.36 (Bräuninger); the vb. quite common in Cic., *semel* in Lucr., *semel* in Cic.*carm.*, Hor.*C.*4.11, ca. 15x in the elegists.

360 prensantemque Holmes, *TLL* 10.2.1186.69ff. quotes a number of imitations and parallels, Luc.3.664 *robora cum uetitits prensarent altius ulnis*, Sil.4.586f. *et celso connisus corpore prensat/ gramina summa manu* (banks of the Trebia), Amm.Marc. 14.2.6 *scandere cliuos sublimes, etiam si lapsantibus plantis fruticeta prensando uel dumos*. He had crawled up the cliff and was clinging to the top, Con., altogether improbably; the cliffs

certainly not in Virgil. Vd. TCD *infra* and cf. *Od.*5.428 (grasps the rock with both hands), 434, Lyc.758f..

uncis manibus Cf. the claws of the Harpies, 3, 217, 233; also Pers.1.40 (claws), *EV* 5*, 389. More specific than the two hands of *Od.*5.428; *Od.*'s fingertips clutching the rocks at Lyc.759 are a modest improvement of detail, which might have struck V. at this point (No.).

capita aspera montis *Aspera saxorum, quae ex radicibus montium quasi cum quibusdam capitibus in mare producta tenduntur* TCD, rather well and at *TLL* 3.413.68, Maurenbrecher explains V.'s sense as 'de saxis in ora maris extantibus'. Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1432.2ff. cites many later instances; 'peak' clearly the *usual* sense of *caput montis*, but V. in a grand, dramatic narrative has little use for the usual and 'projections'; even 'crag's', forces *capita* not at all. Hey, *TLL* 2.808.32ff., cites e.g. *Sall.Cat.*59.2 for the frequent use of *a.* to characterise mountains or parts thereof. The ἀκτὰὶ προβλήτες...επιλάδες τε πάγοι τε of *Od.*5.405 (*male*, No.). V. prudently omits the Odyssean waves breaking against the reefs and rocks.

361 ferro inuasisset Cf. *TLL* 7.2.109.66 (Mühmelt/Hiltbrunner); standard language of any sort of violent assault (e.g. *Nep.Dion* 9.4, Prop.3.8.5). Note the 'rhyme' with v.-end and n. on [2.568], rhyming particl.. Here cf. 4.410, 9.338, but *-eret...-eret* is the only subjunc. 'rhyme' or frame that is at all common: cf. variously *Aen.*4.231, 8.354, 10.568, 11.47, 103. The prosod. structure of *-erit...-erit* unsuited to such framing or rhyming.

praedamque...putasset Cf. *Ov.Met.*3.606 *praedam deserto nactus in agro* and Gatti's ample list of instances of *praeda* to designate the victims of many types of criminal assault, *TLL* 10.2.525.31ff.. Vd. e.g. n. on 2.539 for such syncopated forms. Pascoli acutely remarks that to Lucanian eyes a survivor still clothed (359) could so easily be carrying objects of value. Page's n. a warning, intelligent and amusing, against taking the expression as strictly 'hysteron proteron'; cf. Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 194f., *id.*, *Enchiridion*, 100f..

ignara Unaware, that is, that the wave-tossed Pal. will yield no rich plunder. So Au. (e.g.), but no illumination in Serv. or TCD. Was Pal. actually killed, or merely tossed back into the unforgiving waves? V. does not tell us. Rather the same point is made by Leon.Tar. (not enough to suggest indebtedness, however), *AP* 7.654.3 (GP, *HE* 2050); pirates should not have been attracted by the speaker's modest ship. Ribbeck called for a lacuna after this v., but that does not help towards solving the issue of the two drafts.

362 nunc Pal.'s spirit meets Aen. in the Underworld, while his body, at the same moment (**nunc**)....

me fluctus habet Cf. 1.556f. *te.../ pontus habet*, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.946.57f., Bulhart, *ib.*, 6.3.2431.57. The pron. referring to the familiar, physical ‘me’ is given prominence.

uersantque in litore uenti Cf. *Od.*1.162 εἰν ἀλὶ κῦμα κυλίνδει, or Polydorus of himself, *Eur.Hec.*28 κέϊμαι δ’ ἐπ’ ἀκταῖς, ἄλλοτ’ ἐν πόντου κάλω, *EV* 5*, 509. The alliterative phrasing sounds familiar and conventional, but seems in practice to be quite new, at least in Latin.

363 quod te.../ 364 ...oro Cf. 2.141 *quod te...143 oro*, *Hor.Ep.*1.7.94f., Salemme, *EV* 3, 890. **Quod** = ‘wherefore, so’, n. on 2, *cit.*, where vd. also similar hyperbaton to augment the appeal’s effect.

per caeli...lumen et auras So at 2, *cit.*, *per superos et conscia numina ueri./ per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam/ intemerata fides*, 4.319, 10.903, and the mass of parallel material collected by Tessmer/Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1052.65ff.. **Caeli**: Bannier, *ib.*, 3.80.19; **auras**, Hey, *ib.*, 2.1480.17f., n. on 7.593; **lumen**, Ehlers, *ib.*, 7.2.1812.22 (with n. on 3.600). Again, one might have expected some comparanda, but the phrase seems to be new and not imitated. The theme of **363-71** reflects that of *Od.*11.66-78 (Elpenor to Od.).

iucundum Without the adj., the contrast between sky and Underworld would have been clear enough, but it is now sharpened by the affective adj., used only here in V.: compare Lattimore, 161 (‘the bright sky’, etc.). Some thought perhaps of *Cat.*68.91 *ei misero fratri iucundum lumen ademptum* and note too *CLE* 963.1 *o iucundum lumen superum, o uitae iucunda uoluptas* [Bücheler would remove the first *iucundum*, *recte, ut uidetur*]. Lossau, *TLL* 7.2.592.55f. suggests an elegiac tone; vd. *id.*, *Eranos* 68 (1970), 109-14, Au. here and Watson on *Hor.Epd.*1.6, ‘a strongly affective or sentimental flavour’, B.Krostenko, *Cicero, Catullus and the language of social performance* (Chicago 2001), 11, n.22. Indeed not generally epic, but favoured by *Lucretius* (*quinquies*, + *iucunde, ter*), and *ter* in *Cat.*64, as against *bis* *Tib.* (+ *bis corp.Tib.*), *sexies* *Prop.*, 12x *Ov.* (not *Met.*).

364 per genitorem Clearly *Aen.*’s father, given that the speech is addressed to *Aen.*, and that Iulus follows directly. **G.** an old poet. word (*Enn. Ann.* 108, *Acc.trag.*, *quater*, *Cic.cons.*, *bis*).

per spes surgentis Iuli After 4.274 *Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli* (where Pease cites some imitators) and re-used, 10.524, *per patrios Manis, per spes surgentis Iuli* (where vd. Harrison for Hom. origins of adjurations by addressee’s kin; here cf. notably Elpenor’s long plea, *Od.*11, 65-70, by those left at home, by wife and father). Cf. too 2.281, *s.* of *Aen.* himself, and Gk. usage of ἐλπής, e.g. *Call.epigr.*19.2. **S.** a metaphor from plant-growth (No., citing *Colum.*); **spes** also very much a

farmer's word; cf. my n. on Hor.*Ep.*1.7.87 and No. here. By your wife, your father and by Telemachus, says Elpenor, *Od.*11.67f..

365 eripe Rather a favourite vb. (*quater* in **6**); cf. *EV* 4, 401, Brandt, *TLL* 7.2.795.25.

me his...malis Familiar juxtaposition of opposed pronouns, here with synaloepha of monosyllable, Norden, 456-8, Hellegouarc'h (**346**), 244ff.. **His malis**: as at 4.549, **6.512**; **horum... malorum** at 11.361; Serv. comments, paraphrasing, *quae cernis*: true enough; deixis to what Aen. sees in Pal.'s narrative.

inuicte Cf. *Enn.var.*3 *Scipio inuicte*, *Acc.praet.*5, Hor.*Epd.*13.12; Dickey, 334 omits both Greek origins and *Acc.*, while *TLL* s.v. does not consider instances of kletic *i.*. Eros called at ἀνίκατε at *Soph.Ant.*781; Dio 61.13.5 falls under Rom. influence.

aut tu mihi Again juxtaposition of pronouns; cf. *Buc.*8.6 (vd. Clausen's n.), *Aen.*1.78. Au. rightly draws attention to the use of **tu** in 'sol-emn command'; cf. my nn. on 2.606.

terram/ 366 inice So *Enn.trag.*138Joc., *Cat.*64.153, *Cic.Leg.*2.57 *inicta gleba* (with Dyck's n.), *Ciris* 442 (with Lyne's n.). Cf. NH on Hor.*C.* 1.28.23 and n, on **328** (importance of burial). Rooted in both high poetry and ancient usage. For the Hom. antecedent, vd. n. on **380**.

namque potes The language of appeals between humans (even heroes) and of appeals from mortals/heroes to gods is at many points not to be distinguished: cf. nn. on **117 potes namque omnia** and 7.335 *tu potes*.

portusque...Velinos Cf. the plur. at 1.427, 3.10, 7.22, etc., and for the poet. plur. use of *p.*, vd. Plepelits, *TLL* 10.2.60.7ff.. The use of an adj. form contributes variety and often (though not here) resolves prosodical difficulties: Plepelits, 61.10ff., nn. on 3.280, 7.697, Ernout-Thomas, 43, LHS 63. E.Greco really did not need to mention that there were in fact two ports (*EV* 5*, 472); that has no bearing on usage. Velia (Gk. Elea) will perplex the reader with access to a map, on two counts: (i) because not yet founded in Aen.'s time, Hyg.fr.7*GRF* (=Gell.10.16.1; cf. Serv. on **359**); long recognised as silly, captious stuff (cf. *EV* 1, 153 with refs.); (ii) Velia 18km. NW of Palinuro (Greco's figure, *cit.*, is perplexing). Why Pal. should direct Aen. to go to a town ten miles from where his corpse is tossed upon the shore is as unclear to me as to other comms.; both places had modest harbours, and they are likewise juxtaposed at *Plin.Nat.*3.71. See E.Greco, *EV* 5*, 472f., G.Radke PW 8A, 2399.58ff., E.H.Bunbury, *Dict.Gk.Rom.Geogr.* 2, 1266-8, F.Speranza, *Itin.*, 136.

require Cf. 3.170f. *Corythum terrasque requirat/ Ausonias*; used by *Enn.* (*Ann.*169). A.S.McDevitt, *CQ* 17 (1967), 320 argues that symbolic burial is more important than geographical destination and is therefore

naturally placed first. So too at 2.353 *moriamur et in media arma ruamus* (where vd. n.). So Elpenor to Od.: return to Aeaea to bury me, *Od.*11.69f..

367 aut tu...[**369 da**] The first suggestion modest and irreproachable; the second will enrage the Sibyl, **373-6**, for here Pal. seems to ignore the inferiority of his status to Pirithous' (**392f.**); Pal. may be so new an arrival to the crowd of unburied dead that he does not yet know the length of the sentence due to him, if he does not receive burial.

si qua uia est Cf. nn. on **194 si qua uia est**, 7.4 *si qua est ea gloria*; at 7.4 readers and poet share deep uncertainty, whereas at **194** only V. knows how the situation will be resolved; here, though, Pal. expresses a hope which poet and readers know cannot ever be filled.

si quam tibi.../ 368 ostendit For the anaphora, cf. full n. on 3.433f. *si qua...si qua*; nothing exactly like this polyptoton of the indef. pronoun. Lenaz, *EV* 3, 902 compares 1.382 *matre dea monstrante uiam*. Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1125.42 cites *Cic.har.resp.*63, *Cael.*41, *Liv.*4.48.6 (with *uiam* as obj.).

diua creatrix C.: *Cat.*63.50, *natura creatrix ter* in *Lucr.*; as 'mother', cf. (exactly) *Aen.*8.534, Wulff, *TLL* 4.1115.75. An exceptional way of saying 'divine mother'.

368 neque enim See n. on 2.376.

credo Cf. n. on 7.297; the idiom of spoken Latin and a touch of irony here on Pal.'s part may suggest a degree of intimacy between commander and steersman.

sine numine diuum So with litotes 2.777 (with n.), 5.56. *Aen.*'s *Katabasis* evidently privileged or approved to a high degree; a recurrent motif, **119-23**, **129**, **403-9**, etc.. Comms. quote closely similar expressions in Gk., *Aesch.Pers.*162, *Moschus, Europa* 152, where vd. Bühler's ample n..

369 flumina tanta Modest exaggeration, for *Aen.* seems only to cross *one*.

paras Cf. 3.248, 382; very little more than the fut. indic. (here *innabis*).

Stygiamque...paludem Cf. **323**, and see (**295-336**) *ad init.* for the identification of the river.

innare Cf. **134**. *Serv. nauigare: more suo*. Pal. indeed has a last voyage to accomplish.

370 da dextram See on **697 da iungere dextram** (and perhaps vd. in particular Patroclus to Achilles, *Il.*23.75). A pitiable impossibility, as *Serv.* notes; cf. n. on **697**. The situation requires assistance, not pledge, though *Con.* was right to ask which was called for.

misero Pal. appeals to Aen.'s sense of pity for his state, which we naturally share. For **m.** thus, of the speaker in person, cf. Ugenti, *EV* 3, 546, citing e.g. Polydorus (3.41), Sinon (2.70) and Ilioneus (1.524).

et tecum me tolle Marked allit. (taking up that of **da dextram**), juxtaposition of pronouns once more, and powerful effect of a sequence of short, simple words. For the vb., cf. *EV* 5*, 206. Either Pal. has not been told the 'rules' (325-30) or he thinks that an exception can be made for Aen. on his behalf; even a bit of both.

per undas Cf. 134, 323, 327; the Styx seems to be at once river and swamp.

371 sedibus...placidis Cf. 522 **dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti**, 9.445 *placidaeque ibi demum morte quieuit*, with 1.249, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.2280.28f., *EV* 4, 129; I expected a wider range of epigraphic instances than that supplied by Reineke, *cit.*, 33ff..

ut saltem...in morte quiescam Serv. *quia nautae semper uagantur*; a comment described as 'strano' by Ferrero, *EV* 4, 374. Not at all: after the long, tempestuous voyage from Troy, the gallant swim to the Lucanian shore, and the terrible end in the breakers, 362, an eternity of *quies*, at least (*s. quater* in *Aen.*) in the *sedibus...placidis* of death is the peak of Pal.'s aspirations; cf. notes on 7.598 *quies* and *portus*. For the occasional antithesis seafaring/quiet of death, cf. *AP* 6.69, 7.278.7, 9.9.4, *CLE* 1533. The position of **s.** has attracted some discussion (cf. Setaioli, 82f.), but here, at least, the question of just where **s.** fits in the structure of the whole is in a sense misconceived, for clearly **sedibus...placidis** are a component, an element of **morte**, indeed almost hendiadys (*tacet* Hahn): word-order is indeed against taking **s.** with **morte** (so Page), but seems rather to impose our taking it with **sedibus...placidis** (which is however part of **morte**). Serv. *ut saltem in morte requiescam sedibus placidis*, helpfully; TCD *ut in morte saltem sedibus placidis quiescam qui in uita tutus esse non potui*. Corresponds (Kn.) to Patroclus' appearance to Hector at *Il.*23.371 (his best to bury him with all speed); Fletcher also does well to cite Stevenson's 'Home is the sailor, home from the sea, And the hunter home from the hill'.

372 talia fatus erat Only here in V.; *uix ea fatus...* much commoner, Moskalew, 65. An Ennian 'Floskel' for No.; the evidence given on p.374 insufficient.

coepit cum talia Only here in V.. Au. rightly sees no awkwardness in the repetition of **t.**; cf. (with polyptoton) 1.503, 4.437, 7.555.

uates Cf. n. on 3.443.

373-81 The Sibyl responds. Pal. passed from narrative to supplication and in reply the Sibyl lays severity aside for the wonderfully consoling news of

forthcoming burial. V. takes evident pleasure in his characterisation of the atrabilious seer; note e.g. **37** (where vd. Au.), **539** on time-wasting and see on **399-407**. See Cartault, 450f.; *tacet* Highet (21 hardly suffices).

373 unde...tibi Cf. *Buc.*10.21 *omnes* “*unde amor iste*” *rogant* “*tibi?*”; cf. also, for interrog. use, *Aen.* 8.114, 10.670. **Tibi** simply possessive. Given the synaloepha, the line begins with three monosyllables; that, and the two hyperbata (is passion seen to sever the bonds of regular speech?), and allit. of *t/d* suggest a moment of rage on the Sibyl's part.

haec...tam Cf. *Buc.*1.70, *Aen.*9.19.

dira cupido A favoured expression, from *G.*1.37, and used again at *Aen.* **6.721**, 9.185; Henry, *VP*, 202, n.18. Perhaps suggested by *Lucr.*4.1090 (Hardie, *Dingel* on 9, *cit.*, Traina, *EV* 2, 94).

o Palinure *O* + personal name in voc. not specially common in V. (*Aen.*8.72, 11. 152; with undifferentiated nom./voc. less striking), *EV* 2, 994; *tacet* Dickey, 225-9. For emotive *o*, cf. n. on 7.360.

374 tu...inhumatus Taking up, no less sternly, preceding **tibi**. The word used by Dido in her curse, 4.620 *mediaque inhumatus harena* (of the course of the Numicus). The adj. used by *Lucr.*6.1215 and already by *Pacuv.trag.*102f..

Stygias...aquas Cf. 7.773 *Stygias...undas* (with 3.215, **6.385**, 12.91), **6.134 lacus**, **369 paludem**, 12.816 *fontis*.

annemque seuerum In the sense that the Styx (vd. (**295-336**), *ad init.*) is essential to the execution of the severe lot of the unburied; the adj. hardly therefore transferred from the Eumenides, as Leotta, *EV* 4, 815 reasonably but unnecessarily suggests. At *G.*3.37 **s.** more simply of Cocytus (No. cites *Ar.Ran.*472, *AP* 7.377.8), which many claim to be the river meant here, in the face of V.'s own indications; the adj. not particularly applied to the Underworld (of the threads of the Parcae in *Ov.*). Cf. Brugnoli (**132**), 982 for possible links with *Hermesianax*.

375 Eumenidum Au. well cites *Erucius*, *GP*, *GP* 2281f. for Cocytus and the Furies; and vd. n. on **280**, for their multiple, varied presence in V.'s Underworld, never authoritatively located in any one spot.

aspicies Cf. nn. on 11.43 (the link between sight and longing fulfilled in V.) and [2.568] (sense of ‘gaze upon’).

ripanque iniussus adibis From the *ripa*, those (and only those) properly buried may of course embark (vd. **305**, **314**, etc.). Standard acc. of destination after vbs. of motion, Antoine, 61-5. A.: Dittmann, *TLL* 1.652.11. I.: van den Hout, *ib.*, 7.1. 1686.9f., who adduces *Serm.*1.3.3, the unbidden poets who never cease from spouting. Also *Epd.*16.49 (*tacet* Watson); not attested before Hor., *bis*. Half the Carolingian mss., Serv. and TCD favour **abibis**, unacceptably.

376 desine Cf. Enn.*Scip.*6 *desine Roma tuos hostis*, *Aen.*4.360 *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis* (vd. Highet, 77f., n.56), 12.800, after Lucr. (2.1040), Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.726.77.

fata deum Cf. Bailey, 224-6, Boyancé, 44ff. (with older bibl.), Pötscher 58f., 83, C.H.Wilson, *CQ* 29 (1979), 361f., 367 (Pal.'s ignorance of his lot, which is not elsewhere linked to Jup.'s will; contrast Deiphobus), Bianchi, *EV* 2, 477; for possibilities of delay, conflict, alteration to the *fata deum*, which Pal. has not *seriously* contemplated, see Bianchi, *cit.*, 478. Cf. Setaioli, 98. Far closer, *pace* Serv. (with Mellinghoff-Bourgerie, 44, n.43) to Stoicism than to Epicureanism; cf. Cleanthes, SVF 1, fr.527, Long/Sedley, 2, 364-6 and No. here; cited, as a definitive statement of the inflexibility of destiny by Sen.*ep.mor.*77.12. This vast topic will not be examined further here.

flecti sperare precando Terse, lucid phrasing. See Klee, *TLL* 6.1.894.36, quoting Cic.*Cat.*3.19 *nisi di immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent*. The gerund a weightier equivalent to *precibus*.

377 sed cape dicta memor After Hom.; *Il.*1.297, etc. $\kappa\upsilon\delta' \epsilon\nu\iota \varphi\rho\epsilon\kappa\iota \beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\omicron \kappa\eta\iota\kappa\iota$. Cf. Cic.*rep.*6.1, Hom.Lat.691 *capit aure preces*, *CLE* 272.1ff. *Memnonis...clarum ... sonorem// auribus ipse meis cepi*, Catrein, 128, Hey, *TLL* 3.321.40f.. **M.**: cf. 10.491 *memores mea dicta referte*, 11.176, O.Prinz, 8.656.47f..

duri solacia casus S. *semel Buc.*, *quater Aen.*; *quater* in Lucr., the diminutive in Cat.; V. has also the alternative *solamen* (Cordier, 138, 166). Bannier, *TLL* 5.1. 2306.40f., and Hey, *ib.*, 3.580.39f. quote a couple of instances of *durus casus* from *Bell.Alex.*, unlikely to be V.'s inspiration here, but the author of *Bell.Alex.* is partial to poet. tags.

378 nam tua.../ 379 ...ossa 'Il corpo dopo la morte', Franzoi, *EV* 3, 899, Baer, *TLL* 1097.69f. (less minutely differentiated).

finitimi Cf. 5.106; as adj./noun *quinquies* in *Aen.* and here for 'local people', the *gens aspera* responsible for Pal.'s death. Bacherler, *TLL* 6,1,801.37

longe lateque Cf. *G.*3.477, and previously prose; vd. the detailed account, Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 265 ('alliterierende Verbindungen').

per urbes Cf. *Athen.* 78 (1990), 525 for V.'s view of urbanised heroic Italy.

379 prodigiis...caelestibus Cf. introduction to 2.679-704, (iii), Pease on Cic.*div.*1.97, Luterbacher, 22, Bloch, *Les prodiges dans l'ant. class.*, 115ff., for the sort of thing that was meant. No sort of contact here with the story reported by Serv., *infra*; odd that Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 517 refers the two passages to the same story. Brenner, *TLL* 10.2.1607.35 cites Liv.1.

34.9, 2.42.10 (both between five and ten years earlier than **6**) for the expression.

acti Hey, TLL 1.371.36f., EV 1, 95f. compares *acti casibus, fatis, auguriis*. On **378** Serv. writes *de historia hoc traxit. Lucanis enim pestilentia laborantibus respondit oraculum manes Palinuri esse placandos: ob quam rem non longe a Velia et ei lucum et cenotaphium dederunt*. For Serv.'s use of *historia*, cf. n. on 2.557 *ingens...truncus* and his narrative (pestilence>oracle>expiation) is in a sequence that V.'s readers might have approved: cf. E.Rawson, *Rom. culture and society*, 8, Oakley, comm. Liv.6, pp.58f., 733, Luterbacher, 33ff., Levene, infra, index s.v. 'plagues'. For Delphi, vd. Hdt.1.167, Liv.5.15f., with Levene, *Religion in Livy*, 178-81. Note the anger of Polites' spirit in Strabo's account, 6.1.5 (with Paus.6.6.8), Setaioli, 87f., after Brenk (1987), 571f.: **337-383**, (4). But clearly the story-type is not rare; I am grateful to Prof.P.Ceccarelli for a reference to Paus.9.38.5 (burial of Actaeon); see A.Stramaglia, *Res inauditae, incredulae* (Bari 1999), 322, n.22.

piabunt The procedure of expiation discussed at **153 piacula**; here, their original interference with Pal.'s burial imposes on the *finitimi* the need to offer a *piaculum*, as earlier expiation (on account of the delayed burial) had to precede the burial of Misenus.

380 et statuent tumulum Cf. **505 tumulum** (Deiph.) and 7.6 *aggere composito tumuli* (Amata; vd. n.), with (**337-383**), p.276 for the complex origins of the sequence Misenus-Palinurus-Caieta, further enriched and elaborated by Deiphobus. Cf. too 11.6 (Pallas). Vd. with caution EV s.v. *tumulus*. S. used of *urbs, effigies, ara*; OLD s.v., §2a (standard Latin usage).

et tumulo sollemnia mittent The polyptoton serves 'narrative and argumentative continuity' (Wills, 272); in other words, an elegant connexion between the two halves of the line (vd. No. for other instances) and spares V. the use (No.) of undesirable *ei*. Cf. 4.623 *cinerique haec mittite nostro* (vd. further Pease), 5.605 *tumulo referent sollemnia*, EV 3.553, 4, 930, Fleischer, TLL 8.1187.6ff.; a common sense of the vb. (cf. Lucr.3.53, Varro, LL 5.64). The verse corresponds to Elpenor's behest, *Od.11.75* $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ $\theta\iota\nu\acute{\iota}$ $\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\eta\varsigma$; the oar of 11.78 (+12.14) has already found a home at **233**.

381 aeternumque...Palinuri nomen Cf. **235 aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen**, 7.2 *aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti*, O'Hara, TN. 73ff., n.329 (an excellent survey of the linguistic side of V.'s etymologies), Vollmer, TLL 1.1145.11f.. Better than *tuum*, comments Serv., whose small classroom witticisms are undervalued. Brenk also draws attention to the epigrammatic tradition of the name on the empty tomb, (1984), 799.

locus...habebit Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2418.68 compares Ov.*AA* 1.72 *porticus auctoris Liuia nomen habet*.

382 his dictis Cf. 4.54; also with *simul* preceding or with one word interposed (e.g. *his demere dictis*).

curae emotae E.: Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.525.64; cf. Hor.C.4.15.11 *emouitque culpas*. C.: ‘trouble, affliction’ (very close to *dolor*), Fedeli, *EV* 1, 962.

pulsusque.../ 383 ...dolor In this structure, parallel to **emotae**, presumably to be understood as *simplex pro composito* (i.e. *expulsus*). Compare, for the *simplex*, 5.394f. *nec gloria cessit/ pulsa metu*, Hor.C.1.7.31 (of *curas*), Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1014. 37f., *EV* 4, 10. **Dolor**: Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1840. 36f., 1847.79.

parumper Only here in V., *quinquies* in Enn., Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti*, 123, n.180, Baer, *TLL* 10.1.545.65f., 546.59f.; ‘for a short while’ seems the likeliest sense (cf. Setaioli, 86, n.61), *paulisper quasi perparuum*, Paul. exc.Fest. p.247.25f.L, *cito et uelociter* Non.p.378.14 (most unsatisfactorily); *id est paulatim laetari coepit* Serv.. But now Pal. has to return to waiting to be allowed to cross the Styx.

383 corde...tristi So too at 8.522, with **6.185 tristi cum corde** (Ennian); Negri, 194, ‘la sede dei sentimenti’.

gaudet cognomine terra Serv.; **terrae** Mss., TCD, Non. p.378.17; see Timpanaro *Per la storia*, 165, *Virgilianisti*, 122f., M.D.Reeve, *Paideia* 56 (2011), 453f.. Serv. preserves, with a correct explanation, the abl. (common gender) of the adj. *cognominis* (Plaut., Afran., then Liv.5.34.9, just earlier than *Aen.*6; Liv. + V. could point to Enn.). A good instance of the value of the indirect tradition, which here preserves a *lectio multo difficili- or*, that is also an archaism. The ending in *-e*, rather than *-i*, may disconcert; see though Holzweissig, 348, NW 2, 54ff.: here probably by analogy with the familiar noun, *metri gratia*; *-e* from adj. in *-is* would not be surprising in Ov., Bömer on *F.*3.654, Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 343. The banal **terrae** spread almost everywhere because safe and easy. Note that even if we accept **terra**, we must also consider (with Reeve) the *case*; to (e.g.) Henry, here below his splendid best, it is nom.. Whatever we decide to do, there is change of subject, but from **corde** to Pal. himself is a very short step, whereas from **corde** to ‘the land named after Pal.’ is a sterner leap, nowhere helpfully signalled by V. in the text. **G.**: Pal. will delight in the (homonymous) land personified; at 7.800 *viridi gaudens Feronia luco*, the goddess rejoices in her seat); note too 5.757 *gaudet regno Troianus Acastes*. It is not significantly in favour of **terra** nom. that *gaudere* is often used of places: Hey, *TLL* 6.2. 1708.39ff. *Buc.*6.29, *G.*2.181, *Aen.*12.702, etc.. *EV* omits *gaudeo*.

384-425 Crossing the Styx.

Charon has been described recently by the poet, **298-304** (with activities, **315f.**), so when we return to him swiftly here, it is not so much ring-composition as the studied embedding of the complex, tragic meeting with Pal. between two scenes of the grim, but colourful, and even in the end richly humorous, Charon (so already *Ar.Ran.* 180ff., with Williams, *cit.*, and note half a dozen other Gk. comic references, not to mention Lucian, as Mme. Guillemin remarks). The wakeful reader is surprised and delighted to find genuine humorous relief in these vv., and in the scene with Cerberus that follows. Bibliography: R.D.Williams, *ORVA*, 196, Cartault, 451f., Otis, 293, Büchner, 364.40-52, Di Cesare, 105f., A.Setaioli, *EV* 1, 674-6, Quinn, 79f., 167f., Nelis, 248-51, R.G.Austin, *PVS* 8 (1968-9), 52-6; Guillemin (excellent here; she may slightly overstate the case for drollery) and Austin relish amply the amusing detail and the use of comic language (vd. No., Au.), stiffly ignored by less humane and alert exegetes (e.g. Cartault), who prefer to pass swiftly by these verses. See too E. De Saint-Denis, *Essai sur le rire et le sourire des Latins* (Paris 1965), 201.

384 ergo Palinurus is for the moment consoled, so Aen. and the Sibyl can pass on without actual inhumanity, though hardly without grief for Aen. (Au., *PVS*, 52). Formally, this looks back to Aen. and the Sibyl halting, **331**; the parallels quoted by No. span a much lower number of lines. See Hand 2, 463f..

iter inceptum Cf. **95 sed contra audentior ito**. Aen.'s passage through the Underworld called both *uia* (**260, 540**) and *iter* (cf. **109**). *TLL* 7.1.915.81 (Hofmann), 7.2.544.41 (Tessmer). Cf. Gk. *Katabasis*. For Aen.'s visit to the Underworld as a journey of a type familiar in eschat. writing, cf. Bremmer (2002), 5f., *id.*, (2009), 188f., *id.*, in *Other worlds and their relation to this world...* (ed. E.Eynikel, etc., Leiden 2011), 305-22, *id.*, (2011), 13ff.; for the Pythag. view, Cumont, *SF* 422-4, *LP* 278-80. Note that 8.90 begins with the same three words.

peragunt See *EV* 1, 56, Peri, *TLL* 10.2.1179.66, s.v. '*praevalente notione exsequendi, perpetrandi vel agendi*'; for use of a journey she compares pleasantly the mice at *Hor.Serm.* 2.6.99 *propositum peragunt iter*. *Sexies* in *Aen.* (note **105**) and *ter* in *Hor.Serm.*; *Enn. Ann.* 485 but standard Latin and not to be thought of as recognisably Ennian/archaic.

fluioque Cf. **415, 749**. The river is only now to be named clearly enough as Styx; vd. **295-336**. Not to be claimed as a further complication in the geogr. of the Underworld.

propinquant *Lucr.* 5.630 and 14x in V. (very rare in repub. prose); the *simplex* a necessary alternative in dactyl. verse to the common prose *appropinquo* (Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 597f.).

385 nauita See **315**.

quos...ut...prospexit ‘Connecting relative’; cf. Traina, Bertotti (**827**), 394f., and, more fully, KS 2, 319f.. For temporal *ut*, cf. n. on 3.306. **Prospexit**: *TLL* 10.2. 2221.39f. (Cipriani), comparing 4.410 for use with acc.+inf.; used recently, **357** (in both passages the sense of ‘see at some distance’ marked).

iam inde...ab Natural instinct is clearly to take **iam inde** together; that is Virgilian (cf. *G.3.74 iam inde a teneris*), and good Latin (*infra*), though the sense is not perfectly unambiguous. J.B.Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.111.64f., without clarifying the role of **inde**, firmly sets this passage among instances of the pairing *iam...ut*, quite common, but at V.’s time distinctively the usage of comedy. V. could hardly have intended **iam** and **inde** to be taken separately (with **inde** an anticipation of **Stygia...ab unda**), for so complex an interweaving of temporal and local senses expects far too much of the reader. The combination *iam inde* is common standard usage: Hofmann, 92.19ff. (Plaut., Ter., Pac., Cinna, Sall., Cic., Liv., etc.). Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1110.55f., takes **inde** here in an entirely temporal sense (as indeed does *OLD* s.v. *inde*, §4b), comparing Lucr. 2.1131, 3.1027, 5.710 (note too common temporal *inde a, ib.*, 1110.24ff.). But that is not necessarily right, if we take into account the imminent **Stygia...ab unda**, and the way in which V. will shortly refer back to Aen. and the Sibyl here, at **389 iam istinc** (*a loco in quo nunc es* Serv.); it is surely the physical distance between them and Charon that matters. Cf. (e.g.) Varr.*Men.*402, Liv.25.21.10, Val.Max.9.1.2 for *inde a*, with local force, apparently underrated by *TLL*. One does not differ lightly from J.B.Hofmann on such a point, but I remain reasonably confident that ‘just when he saw them, right from the waters of Styx’ might render V.’s sense here. For synaloepha of the monosyll. (20x in *Aen.*), cf. Norden, 456-8, Hellegouarc’h, 244ff..

Stygia...unda Cf. 3.215, 7.773, 12.91. See further **295-336**. Aen. and the Sibyl have at last passed through the crowds awaiting passage and are drawing near to the river itself.

386 per tacitum nemus ire V. is still writing in the bald manner of his transitional passages: **t.** is perhaps the first word since **384** clearly to do more than convey factual information, a sharp contrast with Charon’s shout. Cf. **444, 451** for woodland in the Underworld; there will be more (e.g. **638**). Compare 7.505 *tacitis...siluis*, with Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 8, *ad init.*. Compare above all **265 loca nocte tacentia late** and vd. **264 umbraeque silentes** for the question of speech in the Underworld. Marked hurrying dactyl. rhythm with Greek caesura in 3rd. foot (Au.) and 4th. foot caesura blurred by synaloepha.

pedemque aduertere ripae Sing. **pedem** used thus (cf. 5.309, 8.153, and *G.1.11 pedem*) where the literal mind might expect plur.; the ‘distribut-

ive singular', Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 875f., KS 1, 70, Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 1, 87f.. For **a.**, cf. *TLL* 1.861.76f. (Kempf), comparing 12.555. The **r.** apparently the same as the **ripas** of **319**; only at **384 ergo** has movement begun anew.

387 sic prior adgreditur dictis Cf. **341** (on when speaking first is significant); so here it is the outraged ferryman who is driven by the apparently imminent breach of the rules to speak first (so too, **ultro**). For **a.**, cf. 4.92 *talibus adgreditur...dictis*, 3.358 (with n.). *Hoc sermone ostendit iratum* Serv..

atque increpat ultro So 9.127, 10.830; cf. *EV* 1, 928, *TLL* 7.1.1056.26 (Buchwald); Charon speaks before he is spoken to (**u.**); the element of reproof not inevitably present in **i.** (so Buchwald) is clearly not lacking here.

388-96 Charon's speech Dressed in not a little brief authority (for his role, as explained at **325-30**, is genuinely important), Charon provides a most satisfactory change of tone between Palinurus and Dido/Deiphobus (too briefly present in de Saint-Denis' chapter on '*Le sourire di Virgile*'). He has every reason to view this new visitor with the deepest suspicion. See Hight, 306, 313, and, for the language, Austin, *cit.*, Norden *ad loc.*

388 quisquis es So 1.387 (the disguised Venus to Aen., where vd. Au.'s n.), 2.148 (Priam to Sinon; see Au.'s note, and mine), 4.577 (Aen. to Mercury; 'in the usual precautionary way', Au., with Norden, *Agn. Theos*, 183, n.1, Bömer on *Ov.F.*6.731; cf. the *quaecumque* of 1.330, with Appel, 79), 9.22 *quisquis in arma uocas* (where vd. Hardie, Dingel; similar to 4., *cit.*).

armatus Cf. **260** for Aen.'s need of cold steel in the Underworld. Serv. remarks *nihil pium molitur armatus*; TCD refers to the *exempla uiolentiae* by which the underworld is troubled (cf. **392-3**).

qui...tendis Cf. **684**, 1.205, 5.286, 8.113, etc., *OLD* s.v., §8a (citing *Acc.trag.*, *Lucr.*), *EV* 5*, 95.

nostra ad flumina Au., *PVS*, 52 engagingly draws attention to the manner of the comic slave, who can refer to *nostras...aedis* (*Truc.*256) in speaking of his/her master's house; so too e.g. *Aul.*361, *Most.*446.

389 fare age Also at 3.362 (where vd. n.); cf. **6.531 age fare**, *Ov.Met.*4.770, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1030.58f.: while **age** is very much part of the energetic spoken language, **fare** is altogether epic; only its brevity lends it credibility as a sort of 'heroic colloquialism'. No. compares *Plaut.Amph.*377 *loquere, quid uenisti* (cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 143, Au., *PVS*, 52). *Il.*10.82 only roughly comparable.

quid uenias Q. in the sense of ‘why’; cf. Pascucci, *EV* 2, 1000: apparently some 60 instances in V.; ancient and perhaps in origin colloquial but by V.’s time standard usage, LHS 458.

iam istinc Even rarer than *iam illinc* (cf., without *iam*, Plaut. *Capt.* 603 *istinc loquere*; Au. draws attention to *i.* by itself as an indication of ‘lowered tone’); indeed Hofmann, 113.53 cites only this v.. The punct. , **iam istinc et comprime gressum** (No.) is not at all attractive; cf. **385 iam inde** for discussion.

et comprime gressum Cf. *EV* 4.256, Hey, *TLL* 3.2160.47f., Hey/Knoche, *ib.*, 6.2. 2328.80, and n. on **197 uestigia pressit**.

390 umbrarum hic locus est Charon’s language rises but that hardly means that comedy has had its day: cf. Au., *cit.*; ‘grandiose and pompous’, *id.*, comm.. Cf. **540 hic locus est, ...ubi**, 2.30 *classibus hic locus*; the gens. disposed frame-like around **locus**, at the ends of the line, with but one connective and a single adj.. For **u.**, cf. n. on **893**.

somni noctisque soporae The adj. (for the form, and affinities, Holzweissig, 995, *EV* 4, 1061) apparently a Virgilian invention (Cordier, 145; ‘highly poetic’, Au., *cit.*) and found only here in *Aen.*. Charon uses familiar language: for night, vd. **265, 268, 462** (with *EV* 3, 770), and for slumber, vd. **278** (with *EV* 4, 941).

391 corpora uiua In contrast to **umbrarum**. Nouns and contrasting adjs. arranged ABBA around **nefas**; the immediately pertinent reference to the living is thrust forward: common Lucretian phrasing, as Lommatzsch makes clear, *TLL* 4.1009.29ff., citing 2.153, 206, 703, etc.; Capizzi (*EV* 5*, 604) helpfully reminds us of **154 regna inuia uiuis**. Note also **306 defunctaque corpora uita**. See **306** for discussion of the degrees of corporality in V.’s Underworld.

nefas With infin., cf. n. on 2.719.

Stygia...carina For the adj., vd. **385**; for synecdochic **c.**, cf. n. on 7.431 (Ennian).

uectare Used also at 11.138 (a cart loaded with elm-trunks), where vd. n.. Possibly Hor. *Serm.* 1.6.59 *me Satureiano uectari rura caballo* suggests a lexical level here well suited to quotidian mass transport (cf. Au., *PVS*, *cit.*, comm.). Note though that V. has *conuecto*, *subuecto* and *circumuector* (*EV* 5*, 470f.). Vd. Butler, against No.’s view of a ‘lowering of the heroic tone’ here; Guillemin suggests **uectare** to avoid *uehere* (but **portare** would serve as well).

392 nec uero Cf. **431, 801** (where vd. n.). Au., *cit.*, writes of an old man drifting into reminiscence, but we should rather attend to the similarity of **119-23**, the use of Orpheus, Pollux, Theseus and Heracles as *exempla* (cf. n. on **119 si potuit**) to legitimate Aeneas’ intended *Katabasis*.

Alciden...euntem Cf. n. on **384 iter**; so here, Heracles ‘on his travels’ *vel sim.*; Bell, 143. For **A.**, cf. n. on **801** and for the story of Her. in the Underworld, in pursuit of Cerberus, vd. n. on **123 Alciden**. Serv. here refers to a *uolunt quidam* etymology of Alcides from ἄλκη; not much favoured. Wagner, *QV* xxviii, (2)(a) takes this pres. part., and many others, as having a future sense; here at least not convincingly. Bell, 209 for *uenientem*. *EV* 2, 323 simplex for *adeuntem*, unconvincingly.

me.../ 393 accepisse lacu Van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.862.52ff. collects an impressive array of instances of **I.** used of the infernal waters (3.386, **6.134**, Tib.2.6.40 and later). Cf. Bartalucci, *EV* 1, 654 for such abls. with *accipere* (1.289f., 3.78f., 4.540f., **6.412 accipit alueo**). I have wondered, though, whether **I.** here might not be abl. of place (Antoine 208-12 offers similar instances, with *pelago, caelo*, etc.).

sum laetatus Cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.881.1: the acc.+inf. thus very common with **I.** Cf. Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots*, 2, 11ff., 24 for the copula preceding, to place in relief what actually happened. There is quite possibly an amusing and paradoxical etymological play between the grumpy Charon and Gk. χαίρειν (noted by Serv. at **299**): see No., O’Hara, 171 (citing *Ar.Ran.*184), M.Mühmelt, *Griech. Gramm. i.d. Vergilerklärung* (München 1965), 65, J.C.B.Foster, *PVS* 22 (1996), 102. The possible influence of *Il.*1.330 (‘nor did Achilles, on seeing them, rejoice’; cf. 13.344), *Od.*12.88 (no-one would rejoice at the sight of Scylla) and (unpersuasively) *AR* 3.584 has been claimed.

393 nec Thesea Pirithoumque So *Od.*11.631, the names at the beginning of the line. Cf. **122** for Theseus in the Underworld, with bibl.; for Pirithous, specifically, vd. **601**, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.12 (still perspicuous) and *Epit.*1.23, Gantz, 1, 291-5, *EV* 4, 119-20, Zarker (**14-41**). For the attempt upon Proserpina, cf. **397**. Polysyll. ending with Gk. name, Norden, 438.

394 dis quamquam geniti Cf. the concluding argument at **123 et mi genus ab Iove summo** and **129ff. pauci...dis geniti potuere**, with 9.642 *dis genite*. Geissler/Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1977.67. V. makes nothing of the fact that Charon’s passengers were *alive* (a key issue in the *LCM* debate, *infra*): more to the point, for all their splendid physique and distinguished ancestry, their visitors had been a source of endless trouble. Behind these words, note the interpolated *Od.*11.631 (of Thes. and Pirithous) θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα.

atque inuicti uiribus The adj. unsurprisingly Ennian (n. on 11.306); Imhof, *TLL* 7.2.187.20f.; of Hercules at 8.293, of Aen. himself at **365**. ‘Unconquered in strength’ rather than, as at *Liv.*2.58.8 (vd. Imhof, 189.62) ‘by strength’; cf. Imhof, 189.56ff., *Cic.leg.agr.*2.95 *armis*, **6.878 Bello** (so *Liv.*5.44.2), *Liv.* 8.3.7, 9.18.17, *bellis*, *Ov. Met.*7.792 *certamine*, *Sen.Ep.*

83.22 *acie*. Comms. do not stoop to consider this little point, but vd. Fowler, *infra*, 78, who sees a reference to the Rom. cult of Hercules *Inuictus* (a title present in the accepted supplement at Bacchyl.5.57) and in **uiri-bus** to the common Gk. βίη Ἡρακλείη (both credible rather than certain).

essent Rather too early for *q.*+subjunc. (so Guillemin, 24, Williams, comm., *perperam*), for that usage begins in verse with Ovid, LHS, 602, KS 2, 442. Rather, a simple indication that it was Theseus, etc. who claimed that they were (implied indir. speech). This modest point was once discussed with passion in *LCM*: D.P.Fowler, 7 (1982), 76, O.Skutsch, *ib.*, 90, T.Kinsey, *ib.*, 155, Fowler, *ib.*, 8 (1983), 77f., Kinsey, *ib.*, 96, J.Pinsent, *ib.*; the approach here proposed is closer to Kinsey than to Fowler. Charon took no pleasure (a form of litotes; Fowler, 77 cites *Il.*1.330, *Od.*12.87f.; , here perhaps employed as a means of characterising the droll and aggressive ferryman) in his distinguished passengers, even though they were the offspring of gods (i.e., in some way he suffered for having given them passage); Servius' story of Charon's imprisonment as a punishment for letting Hercules across the river is unimpressive; vd. (120), (1)(d), Robert, 2.2, 485; Fowler is quite right (78) to say that this late story of H.'s imprisonment is much less important than the amount of trouble that Charon's passengers then caused. At 391 Charon had said he might not transport living bodies (and these great heroes are indeed living), but that is no longer quite the central point here, for Charon has passed from the general rule (no living bodies) to the grounds for an occasional exception, inescapable (whether alive or not), because they are big, not to be bested and of semi-divine status; vd. Lloyd-Jones (120), 222, Fowler, 78. Serv. remarks that Charon does not know/affects not to know Aen.'s family, i.e., by implication, that he *did* know the genealogies of his other passengers.

395 Tartareum...custodem Exalted periphrasis replaces unsuitable cretic *Cerberum* (cf. 138, Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 580, Au. here and at 2.543, etc.), just as the adj. form replaces the potential cretic *Tartari* (see again Bednara, *ib.*, 594). For **c.**, vd. Mertel *TLL* 4.1573.80f.; cf. 424 and *EV* 1, 967 (unsurprisingly, the noun used both of guard-dogs and of hounds of hell); Au. collects instances of φύλαξ used of Cerberus. For **T.**, cf. 135.

ille...// 397 hi Neat, helpful, unobtrusive articulation of the sentence.

manu As very often, 'forcibly, violently' (vd. on 7.455) but not often conveying quite such vigorous activity. See 392 **Alciden**.

in uincla petiuit Cf. Dubielzig, *TLL* 10.1.1963.38ff. (s.v. 'petuntur animalia, ut dentur in praedam uel dono', comparing *Ov.Met.*1.616 (Io); *Non.p.*366.35 cites this passage for the sense *abducere*. There is presumably some form of ellipse: 'pursued [so as to throw] into chains', *vel sim.*; for **in**, Dubielzig and others well compare Quint. 7.1.55, on *controversiae*, in *quibus petuntur in uincla, qui parentis suos non alunt*. Behind V.'s Cer-

berus, R.J.Clark, *CQ.* 50 (2000), 192ff., claimed to have discerned Eur. *Pirithous*, as identified and reconstructed by Page, *Gk.lit.pap.* 3, p.120ff.: note however, a marked lack of precise verbal indebtedness and the re-edition and re-attribution (apparently unknown to C., but known to him the next year at *PCPS* 47 (2001), 103, n.1 and see now Bremmer (2011), 15) by Snell, *TGF* 1, 43F1, F7 (Critias, *Pirithous*, markedly less likely reading for V.). The story of Her.'s theft of Cerberus, linked as it is to that of the rescue of Thes. and Peir., is familiar, complex and full of variants (vd. **122**, **123**; a story told by Herc. to Od., *Od.* 11.620-5); V. surely draws on the 'common store' of mythol. narrative, whether or not, at this point, that 'store' was (cf. xvii, xix, xx) most accessible in some form of manual.

396 ipsius a solio regis See (**120**), (**2**)(c) for discussion of these once-debated words; Au. overlooks No.'s change of heart (p.466), but was quite right to criticise No.'s original position. Gantz well surveys the artistic evidence, 1, 413-5. Apparently not at Pluto's 'official' throne (which stood *interius*, Serv., with **541**, **630**; cf. Cairns, 27 for Pluto's infernal monarchy) but at the entrance to Hades proper, **417**; Serv. troubled by this small discrepancy. See further **417-25**. Serv. remarks on the nature of dogs, who run to their masters when frightened, and rightly sees in **solio** a reference to Pluto's authority (cf. *EV* 4, 928): a poor sort of guard-dog, that shrinks from the unfamiliar threat, back into his master's protection. V. has by no means finished with the humorous touches present in these vv. (vd. too next n.). For the short **i** of **ipsius**, see Leumann, 479.

traxitque trementem Cerberus is actually shivering in terror as he is carried off: his teeth seems to chatter alliteratively (cf. 11.424, 12.761; a common effect, fully discussed by A.Traina, *EV* 5*, 262). The vb. considered, *ib.*, 248 (unilluminating); cf. Cacus and the cattle of Hercules, dragged by the tail, 8.210 and V.'s account of Priam's death at the altar, 2.550f. (where vd. n.). Note Cerberus in the faintly different version, 8.296f..

397 dominam The dental allit. carried on, typically with less obvious purpose, into the next phrase. Cf. Fedeli, *EV* 2, 124. *Tacet TLL*. To be understood with **Ditis**, with **thalamo**, or indeed with both? The issue already present to Serv. (*aut de Graeco tractum est, qui uxorem δέσποινας dicunt: aut 'Ditis thalamo', ut 'dominam' Charon ad se retulerit*); cf. Serv.Dan. on 3.113, I.Kapp, *TLL* 5.1.1940.24ff.. Readers today are inclined, in such cases, to accept both options, though Au.'s suggestion, that there is a sort of parallelism with **ipsius a solio regis** and that therefore **Ditis thalamo** should be understood together, still deserves consideration. No. points to the bridal-chamber of Persephone in Gk. funerary epigram; only two instances, though, in Cougny's old collection (in *TLG*). More to the point,

though, the common title of Proserpina, *δέσποινα*, Robert, 1, 756, Bruchmann, *Epitheta* (Ro. Suppl.1), 191, to which V. may indeed allude. The grammarians did not fully understand *d.* here, nor, to be honest, do we (so too Con., Fedeli, *cit.*), but TCD is clearly right to say that Charon accumulates detail to lend weight to the picture of the outrage (throne, bed-chamber, ruler and wife).

Ditis Cf. 127 and n. on 7.568.

thalamo deducere Vd. Stöger, *TLL* 5.1.271.14f.. For versions of the story of this attempt upon Proserpina, cf. Gantz, 1, 291-2, Robert, 2.2, 703-6, *Apld.Bibl.* 2.5.12, *Epit.* 1.23, (with Frazer, Scarpi/Ciani), Steuding, Ro.5. 717.58ff., H.Herter, *PW Suppl.* 13.1173.22ff. at 1175.41ff. **T.** : cf. *EV* 5*, 159.

adorti Also at 7.386; *EV* 3, 888. With infin. at *Lucr.* 3.515 and common thus in prose. Old standard Latin; Kempf, *TLL* 1.816.79.

398 quae contra Anastrophe of disyll. prepos.; note 9.280 *contra quem*, Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.751.38f., LHS 228.

breuiter fata est Cf. 321, 538, of the Sibyl (that is, studied characterisation).

Amphraysia uates V. often of the Sibyl, 65, 78, etc.. The epithet has attracted some attention: see Miller, 146, Mynors, Thomas on *G.* 3.2, Williams on *Call.HApoll.* 47f.. *Tacent EV*, Frenzt, Cadili. V. refers to Apollo Nomios, associated with Amphrysus (a river in Thessaly, where Ap. served Admetus as a shepherd, Thomas, Mynors) by *Call.*, *cit.*; the river flows from Mt. Othrys to the Pagasaeon Gulf (not much joy in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom.geogr.*, *PW*). *Longe petitum epitheton* remarks *Serv.*, very fairly: here the epithet simply passes from the god to his priestess; very difficult for the reader not acquainted with *Call.* (a reference already noted by Heyne here).

399-407 The Sibyl's speech An energetic response of rare vigour and humour, neglected by Highet (recorded as a 'persuasion', 313, but not discussed); see rather Cartault, 451, Au., *PVS*, 53 and on 398 and for humour and the Sibyl, cf. R.B.Lloyd, *CJ* 72 (1977), 254. The hectoring Charon is effortlessly bested at his own game. The Sibyl holds all the cards; she apparently begins and ends with a gesture (the second of splendid effect); note too the parentheses of 399 and 406. Charon and Cerberus are grandly sent about their harmless business and Proserpina is invited to relax. This visitor is altogether respectable, and the speaker carries proof: do we conclude that *Aen.*'s violent predecessors had not carried and had thus potentially discredited the talisman? Certainly, Charon is left in no doubt. There is grandeur, or dignity, in the Sibyl's speech, but it is also unquestionably funny.

399 nullae hic insidiae tales The Sibyl opens her response with a grand, gesturing (**hic**) generalisation: cf. *EV* 2, 990; *tacet EV* s.v.. An answer to what Charon suspected, TCD (cf. Au.), but it is not easy, *pace* Au., to read these words as a precise answer to Charon, for the attacks upon both Cerberus and Proserpina were hardly matters of plot, snare, deceit and the like; Hes.fr.280MW, apparently the one rationalised account of the assault on Pros., does not run to trick, and barely to persuasion. Not what Quinn (168) gracelessly calls ‘a doped biscuit’, either, for the **offam** of **420** is offered by the Sibyl herself, who is neither here nor elsewhere presented as a threat to order and decency; V.'s travellers anyway do not intend to carry the dog off with them. Aen. is armed but intends no *uis*; *insidiae* are hardly his style and there is consequently no danger to Pluto's domain and authority. TCD: *tales, scilicet qualis ille aliorum exemplis extitisse narrauerat*; that still skates over the exact force of **t.**, which V. may have used without precise consideration of the means used by Aen.'s ruffianly predecessors. Aen.'s weapons are not the point; they are carried openly but **tales** presupposes a link to the predecessors and that still remains absent.

absiste moueri So too at 11.408 (where *vd. n.*) with *EV* 3, 608, 8.403; *EV* 4, 1028 unpersuasive (**a.** no more than a periphrastic negative imperative). Apparently a new usage (cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 1.172.13). ‘The parenthesis gives an impression of lively talk’ (Au.); here inside **nullae...nec**. For V.'s parentheses, cf. *EV* 3, 972-4, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 262-6, Tarrant (667), 151-7 (*bene*). *EV* s.v. *parlato* less satisfactory. Does not the Sibyl soothe Charon as she might a dog?

400 nec uim tela ferunt *TLL* 6.1.548.52f. (Hey), *EV* 2, 494; TCD makes it laboriously plain that though armed Aen. does not intend *uiolentia*. Harrison takes the *uim ferre* of 10.77 as *simplex pro composito* for the very common *uim adferre* (von Mess, *TLL* 1.1205.17ff.) and that seems the most satisfactory explanation here too (cf. Bell, 331). Cf. **260** for the wider issue of Aen.'s arms in the Underworld.

licet...// 402...licet Concessive parataxis (cf. Serv., Woodcock, 202f., *EV* 3, 993), ‘let him howl and scare...’; for the anaphora, cf. 7.315f. (with *n.*); already at *Enn.trag.* 388f.Jocelyn and routine in Prop..

ingens ianitor Cf. 8.296f. *te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento*; cf. too Hor.C.3.11.16 (with NR), Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.132.67f.. Cf. **417**, **423** for this same adj. used of Cerberus.

antro As at 8.297. In the Underworld, apparently, caves take the place of kennels.

401 aeternum latrans The neut. used as advb., *G.*2.400, *Aen.*6.617, 11.97, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1147.76. No.'s claim that this Grecism is Augustan has

been challenged, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 42f., 90f., Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 48 (use of sing. old Latin; plur. in *Enn.*, and of Gk. origin), LHS, 40. Nothing unheroic about barking, *Enn. Ann.* 542, Varr. *Atac. fr.* 10.1 Courtney, *Aen.* 7.588 (with my n.); cf. Pecere, *TLL* 7.2.1013.65f. (apparently first here of Cerberus).

exsanguis...umbras For the adj., P. Schmid, *TLL* 5.2.1824.58f., nn. on 2.212, 542, and compare 4.243 *pallentis*, 8.245.; see too n. on **306** for the (inconsistent) incorporeality of V.'s ghosts.

terreat A truly fear-inspiring monster, if you are but a bloodless ghost; the Sibyl, here and elsewhere energetically characterised, cheerfully mocks the hapless hound. It is interesting to note that V. studiously avoids presenting her as a grimly austere, monochrome priestess. Between Palinurus and Dido, it is not hard to see why V. decided upon admirably full-blooded, even cheerful, encounters between Charon (and then Cerberus) and the Sibyl.

402 casta Thrust forward and clearly enough to be understood in a predicative sense, 'remaining inviolate'; *this* new visitor has no evil intentions. Given the solidly Roman tone of what follows, *c.* too clearly suggests the traditional Roman ideal (Treggiari, *Roman marriage*, 233, Wistrand on [*Laud. Tur.*] 1.30, etc.). The notion (*EV* 1, 696) that *c.* is *concessive* because the **limen** of **563** is called **sceleratum** does not deserve serious consideration.

patrui Proserpina daughter of Ceres and Jupiter (Frazer on *Apld. Bibl.* 1.3.1, etc.), brother of Pluto.

seruet Proserpina limen Cf. **556 uestibulum seruat**, **575 facies quae limina seruet**; Aragosti, *EV* 4, 814 plumps for a sense of 'guard' (clearly correct at e.g. 2.450, 9.43, 161, 11.506). Rather, 'kept to': cf. n. on 7.52, citing *CLE* 52.8 *domum* (much in the same vein) *seruauit*; cf. too *Hor. C. 1.* 25.3f. *amatque/ ianua limen* (vd. NH), *Prop.* 2.6.24 *et quaecumque uiri femina limen amat*. Now V. for a moment changes tone; from jest, the Sibyl turns to lofty justification of Aen.'s presence. She introduces Aen. to Charon in a single, sonorous hexameter, but jest will turn out not to be over.

403 Troius Aeneas As at 1.596 (Aen. introducing himself), 7.221 (Ilioneus of Aeneas). Cf. Moskalew, 82.

pietate insignis et armis Cf. **769f. Siluius Aeneas, pariter pietate uel armis/ egregius**, 1.10 *insignem pietate uirum*. For the historical tradition behind Aen.'s *pietas*, cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 95, *RMM*, 13f., *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 8; for Aen. as warrior, cf. *RMM*, 12, (1986, *cit.*), 16f., *Alambicco*, 84f.. In contrast to earlier visitors, this spotless Bayard will be no threat to hounds or spouses. The adj. with coupled dependent nouns also at *G.* 3.56,

Aen. 4.134, 5.295, **6.167**, 7.745, 11.291. If not exactly formulaic, a much-favoured and notably convenient arrangement of words. *EV* 2, 990, Alt, *TLL* 7.1.1903.70.

404 ad genitorem Personal and local destinations coupled; apparently not common. **G.**: nn. on 7.122, 306 (Ennian).

imas Erebi...ad umbras Cf. *Cic. Arat.* 83 *depulsus ad umbras*, *G.* 4.471 *Erebi de sedibus imis*, Fleischer/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1402.17. For **E.**, the realm of darkness, cf. n. on 7.140 (the Underworld in general), West on *Hes. Theog.* 123. Simple enallage of the epithet which logically belongs to **Erebi**; Conte, *Virgilio*, 61, n.89.

descendit Cf. **126 facilis descensus Auerno**; language otherwise eschewed in **6**, but cf. 12.648f. *ad uos.../ descendam*.

405 si te...mouet For the common emotional sense, cf. Fo, *EV* 3, 608, comparing e.g. **317**, 11.368, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1542.41. Butler, No. well refer to the plea *trag. inc.* 247f. *nil fraterni nominis/ sollemne auxilium et nomen pietatis mouet* (vd. Ribbeck, *Röm. trag.*, 452, Stabryła, 64f.).

nulla...imago O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.413.79 and *EV* 2, 921 both naturally compare 9.294 *atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago* (where vd. Hardie's thoughtful n. and Traina, *EV* 4, 95), 10.824 *et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago*. Cf. D. Gagliardi, *Orpheus* NS 1 (1980), 124, Moskalew, 140. For this use of *nullus* (a reinforced *non*), vd. on [2.583].

tantae pietatis Cf. **688 uicit iter durum pietas** (where vd. n.); not only did *Aen.* save his father from Troy, but now he visits the Underworld to see him once more, no less great a display of filial devotion.

406 at Charon may not appreciate the significance of *pietas*, but cannot fail to recognise the force of the GB; for the issue of its history previous to *Aen.*, cf. **(136)**, **(5)(a)**, **(c)** and *ib.*, **(6)** for its role as equivalent to a traveller's talisman. For the use of **at** to introduce the apodosis, Ihm, *TLL* 2.1105.65ff., Hand 1, 427f. at 428.

ramum hunc The gesture signalled by **hunc**, and 'explained' by the parenthesis. Tarrant comments (**667**, 156): 'the *Aeneid* contains fewer lighter moments, but this is surely one of them; the retarding parenthesis, though formally in the narrator's voice, perfectly captures the Sibyl's amused mastery of the situation'. Cf. too Au., *PVS*, 53. The Sibyl has just presented *Aen.*'s credentials grandly, solemnly, but T. is quite right to detect a note of cheerful triumph in the Sibyl whipping the unanswerable argument out of her unspecified garments, with her last word an evident cry of 'just look at this'. The practical necessity of carrying the GB without inconvenience neatly exploited; we will shortly learn that she also carries a succulent *offa*. See Au., *PVS*, 53, at his best, who compares 12.206f. *ut sceptrum hoc (dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat)*.

aperit ramum In contrast to **latebat**, ‘reveals’, ‘brings into the open’ (cf. *EV* 1, 217). At *RhM* 131 (1988), 151-6 R.J.Cormier argues that *Aeneas* is the subject of **a.**; there is a scrap of mediaeval evidence to support him, but the changes of subject thus entailed are altogether intolerable. For the ‘Ovidian’ repetition of **ramum** (with a single synaloepha), cf. Au., *PVS*, 54, Wills, 465. Note also Wills’ suggestion (338) that in a metaliterary sense the reader is invited to recognise the GB, which has not been mentioned for a long time: not demonstrably false.

qui ueste latebat This was the vb. used of the GB’s original hiding-place, **136** (*EV* 3, 127). So Medea drew the *pharmakon*, to be used against the Colchian dragon, out of her *mitrē* (girdle, rather than headband), AR 3.867, 1013f., Nelis, 248.

407 agnoscas *TLL* 1.1354.71 (von Mess); *tacet EV*. ‘Mockingly deferential’ R.D.Williams, perhaps rightly. See on **ramum hunc**. For the last word of a speech that ends early in a line, vd. Tarrant on 12.45 (*bene*); also vd. *id.* on 12.206 for a more solemn and dramatic visual revelation.

tumida... ex ira For Charon’s ill-nature, No. cited a scrap of Achaeus (*TGF* 1, 20F11). Cf. **49 fera corda tument**, 8.40f. *tumor omnis et irae/ concessere deum*, *Cic.carm.Hom.* fr.6.1, *Liv.*31.8.11 *iraque inde tumentibus*, *Ov.Her.*11.15 (vd. Knox’ n.), 16.136, *Met.*2.602, 13.559. Neither *EV* 5*, 312f., nor comms. (except for Eden on 8, *cit.*), nor, apparently, Harris’ *Restraining rage* seem very interested in the physiology here presupposed, but *swelling* rage is not merely loose talk. See *Il.*9.646 ἄλλὰ μοι οἰδάνετ’αι κραδίη χόλω, NH on *Hor.C.*1.13.4, Tarrant on *Sen.Ag.* 247, Knox on *Herondas* 1.56, Onians, 84ff. at 88f.: in rage, the liver (seat of various emotions) is heated and swells (with bile), whence a wide range of expressions is derived. For the heart and lungs, similarly, cf. 10.387, *Ov.Her.*8.57, Onians, 52, Negri, 199, n.11, 215, n.5, 264. **Ex:** compare *Cat.Agr.*157.8, *sanus fiet ex eo morbo*, *Cic.Arch.*12 *animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur*, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1089.71 (in a splendid collection of material); cf. too Hand 2, 642. Norden and Au., *PVS*, 54 take **tumida...residunt** as a second, parallel parenthesis: neither attractive nor necessary.

tum corda residunt See **49, infra**, **382f.**, 12.269, Negri, 194-7 (a comprehensive list for V.), 199, n.11, 215, n.5, 292, n.40 for emotions and the *cor*. For the use of the plur., cf. *animi* and plur. often used parts of the body; cf. *ead.*, 199, n.11, 324, P.Maas, *ALL* 12 (1902), 536, Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 12, 30f.. For **r.**, vd. *Cic.TD* 3.26 *cum tumor animi resedisset*, *Liv.*2.29.6 *cum irae resedissent*, *OLD* s.v., §4b.

408 nec plura his Sc. *dicta* (numerous other options suggested by Butler); cf. 7.117 *nec plura, adludens* (with n.), Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 2, 244ff., Hofmann-Ricottilli, 343f. (such ellipses of *verba dicendi* at all styl. levels).

ille admirans For the vb., see *EV* 3, 541 (thin), Klotz, *TLL* 1.742.1f. and n. on 2.797; sufficient poet. antecedents.

venerabile donum A gift for Proserpina, not Charon, of course, **142f.**, **636**. Montanari, *EV* 5*, 485 correctly remarks that the GB was picked at the orders of the Sibyl, who was inspired by Apollo (**136ff.**), is sacred to Hecate (**138**), and indeed, as we have just seen, is required by Proserpina. V. used also at 12.767; *quinquies* in Livy, first pentad, *semel* in the second; perhaps surprisingly, No. does not argue from that for a remote, common origin (Enn.).

409 fatalis uirgae Gen. ‘of definition’, Antoine, 76-9; descriptive or explanatory in Sidgwick’s useful index and see Bell, 219. V.: cf. n. on **144**. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.332.69; the adj. *semel* in Lucr.; 12x in *Aen.*; see **147 si te fata uocant** (and if not, no-one can pluck it).

longo post tempore From *Buc.*1. (29, 67); apparently not elsewhere before V..

uisum A (small) unsolved mystery: see (**136-48**), (**5**)(c) and (**137**), (**2**). Hardly Theseus (with Pirithous) or Hercules: their visits mere displays of brutish violence to no lasting purpose and not to be associated with this lofty symbol of destiny’s approval; **119ff.** might suggest the possibility of Castor and Pollux, or Orpheus and Eurydice; **129-31** wrap the issue in generalising rhetorical vagueness (for we do not know whether the lack of specificity is calculated imprecision or - less likely - allusion to a series of stories no longer identifiable). Clark, *Catabasis*, 191-3 offers extended speculation.

410 caeruleam...puppim Cf. n. on 2.256 for synecdochic **puppis**. Charon’s barque described at **303** as **ferruginea**; Edgeworth, 109 thinks of a blue *stern*, without allowing for the common use of **p.** for the whole boat or ship. It would be quite exceptional if in passages a hundred lines apart V. were to use the same colour-adj. and the ‘discrepancy’ is in no way troublesome. W.McLeod, with typical ingenuity, *Phoen.* 24 (1970), 148, 149, points out that both colours (at least if simplified to ‘blue’ and ‘red’) seem to have an Homeric origin, which might make matters easier.

aduertit Cf. Kempf, *TLL* 1.861.82ff. at 862.7 and n. on 7.35 *terraeque aduertere proras*. Used at Liv.37.9.7, but otherwise poetic thus.

ripaeque propinquat R. clearly to be understood with both verbs; for simplex **p.**, cf. n. on **384**.

411 inde Clearly, from his barque.

alias animas Cf. n. on **306** for the (inconsistent) corporeality of the deceased in **6**. ‘His companions, the ghosts’ (*alias* = other than himself)’ Au. (an ample n.); ἄλλοc used thus, KG *Satzlehre* 1₄, 275, but not certainly a Grecism in Latin, Löfstedt, *Synt.* 2, 188-90, against Munro, Bailey on *Lucr.*1.116. See also LHS, 208, Ladewig and Page here, Bell, 196, Hey, *TLL* 1.1625.75ff..

quae per iuga longa sedebant *Graece dixit*: ζύγα enim dicunt quae transtra nominamus Serv. (for the context, Mayer, *ALLP*, 157ff.; Baer, *TLL* 7.2.643.16ff. compares his n. on 5.136, *Isid.Etym.*19.2.5; see too Casson, *infra*, 220, Morrison and Williams (**413f.**), 51): V. chooses the Greek word (note *Il.*2.293), while elsewhere he is quite happy with the Latin *transtra* (*ter* in *Aen.*); evidently V. could expect his readers to be familiar with the Greek term. The standard term (in whichever language) for the beams of a rowing or sailing ship (Casson, *cit.*); as a Lat. calque, cf. EM, 327, LHS, 23*. The epithet nothing to do with the *naues longae* of *Enn.Ann.*504 (‘warships’: cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1634.28ff., Casson, *Ships and seamanship*, 159, n.7); perhaps a hint at the number of passengers that the barque was expected to carry on each trip. C. de Meo, *Lingue tecniche del latino* (Bologna 1983), 257 agrees that port-to-starboard beams was indeed the normal sense of the word, but suggests that *here* (hence the adj. and hence too the Greek word) they are used of bow-to-stern beams: ingenious, but quite unsupported by other textual evidence or by ancient shipbuilding usage and terminology.

412 deturbat The tone of drollery not yet extinguished: Charon has brought his barque back to the bank on which *Aen.* and the Sibyl are standing and there unceremoniously clears out the souls (O’Hara notes **305 turba**) to whom he had most recently granted passage. Comedy, prose, but also *Lucr.*5.401, and *ter* in *Aen.*, *bis*, *Liv.* first pentad, *semel* second; *EV* 5*, 319.

laxatque foros *Forus/fori* (cf. Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*512 for number-usage) standard Latin for ‘deck’: cf. 4.605, *Isid.Etym.*15.6.8, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1209.20ff., Casson, *cit.*, 178f., n.54, de Meo, *cit.*. For the vb., cf. 2.259 *laxat claustra Sinon*, *EV* 3, 159, van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.1071.52ff., *OLD* s.v. §2b, ‘clear’. *Tabulata uacuat* Serv..

simul An excellent small touch: as Charon clears the deck, he summons *Aen.* on board, apparently before his passengers are all ashore.

accipit alueo Cf. **414**, the same vb. for the same boat making water. For the synzesis, which permits use of the cretic word, cf. n. on 7.303, Sebastiano Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 880. For the prosodic advantages of this freedom, cf. E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 335f., A.Lunelli in Jansson-Lunelli, 92, n.34; for **a**. in the sense of ‘hull’, cf. Ihm, *TLL* 1.1790.12ff.,

citing Sall.*Iug.*18.5, Paul.exc.Fest.p.169.8L (common in both poetry and prose).

413 ingentem Aenean At 8.367, the massive hero (same wording) agreeably contrasted with Evander's modest dwelling; here V. contrasts the disembarking ghosts with the embarking Trojan, not merely living, but massive (and note 5.487 *ingentique manu*); this v. and the next leave us in no doubt that V. is still smiling, and expecting us to do the same. Cf. Heuzé, 430f.; *tacet* Mackie; for Aen.'s size, vd. the brief indications, M.Griffith, *CP* 80 (1985), 318, n.38.

gemuit...cumba/ 414 sutilus For **cumba**, see **303**. L.Casson's discussions of **sutilus** (*CR* 13 (1963), 257-9, *id.*, *Ships and seamanship*, 9; vd. too Au. here and J.S.Morrison, R.T.Williams, *Greek oared ships* (Cambridge 1968), 50) enable the commentator to dispense altogether with a great weight of earlier uninformed speculation. Homer refers to the loosened cording of a ship's hull (*Il.*2.135, though the v. has been taken to refer to rigging); for comment, cf. not so much schol. there as (1) Varro ap. Gell.17.3.4 *set hi* [sc. Liburni] *plerasque naues loris suebant, Graeci magis cannabo et stuppa ceterisque satiuus rebus, a quibus σπάρτα appellabant* and (2) Plin.*Nat.* 24.65, of Greek usage *cum fierent sutils naues, lino tamen, non sparto umquam sutas*. Casson is probably right to say that these comments derive from discussion of Hom., *cit.*. Hom.'s words account both for occasional references in ancient texts to 'sewn' hulls (Aesch.*Suppl.* 134 (with detailed, neglected scholium), *Peripl.Mar.Erythr.* 15, 16, 36 where vd. Casson's comm., Hier.*Ep.*128.3 *sutilem ratem* (after V.), and above all to Pacuv. *Niptra, trag.* 250f.R₂ (of Od.'s raft) *nec ulla subscus cohibet compagem aluei/ sed suta lino et sparteis serilibus*. No mere technical detail, therefore, but Homeric, tragic, and Varronian. The sound might, technically, be that of the cords shifting, with Aen.'s weight, in the holes in the planks; I.Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1762.51f. compares (not very closely) the mast of Hor.*C.*1.14.6; *EV* 2, 652. Note **sutilus** where one might expect *sutus*, Bell, 208; cf. n. on 7.351 *tortile*.

sub pondere Not only colourful, specific, amusing but learned: see Schlunk 22f., Schmit-Neuerburg 268, n.724. At *Il.*5.838f., the chariot axle μέγα ἔβραχε with the βριθοσύνη of the joint weights of Athena (for divine avoirdupois, vd. Gruppe, 994, n.3) and Diomedes. Schol.A remarks with disapproval that Hom.'s lines are γελοῖοι; indeed they are, and V.'s hero and seer neatly balance Hom.'s hero and goddess, though we might suspect irreverently that Athene is rather more solidly corporeal than the Sibyl. Note also Heracles forcing down the keel of Argo, AR 1, 532f., Nelis, 249, n.102. This commentator now boards a traditional Venetian *traghetto* with extreme circumspection.

414 et multam...paludem Cf. Hodges, *TLL* 10.1.179.30f. 'pro aqua palustri'. For the synecdoche, she compares *Ov.Pont.2.7.74 aequoreo bibitur cum sale mixta palus*, *Stat.Silu.4.3.8*.

accepit Hey, *TLL* 1.310.11 compares 1.122 *laxis laterum compagibus omnes/ accipiunt inimicum imbrem*, *Liv.24.34.11 aliquantum aquae acciperet*, 35.26.8 (of an old ship) *quae per se ipsa omnibus compagibus aquam acciperet*.

rimosa 1.123 continues *rimisque fatiscunt*. The cords have not been tightened for a while (cf. the Greek ships, *supra*) and the barque naturally lets in water; Austin well cites Lucian *dial.mort.4.1,10.1* for Charon's boat maintenance problems; I wonder whether No. is right to claim that these passages of Lucian prove that for V. the motif of the leaky barque was traditional.

415 tandem Self-contained spondaic first foot (cf. n. on 7.406). A slow passage across, and not a pleasant one; Serv. remarks acutely *aut propter pondus Aeneae, quod est melius; aut propter paludis magnitudinem: aut propter caeni densitatem*.

trans fluuium S.v. '(without idea of motion across) on the other side of, beyond'; *OLD* s.v., §1b. Note once more that V.'s conception of the Styx flows smoothly from river to marsh and back again.

incolumis *EV* 2, 936 (Bandiera) solemnly (and correctly) replies, at unnecessary length, to Jahn's suggestion that **i.** is nom., used of the boat. With **uatemque uirumque** following immediately that is clearly impossible. The adj. used recently (**345**) of Apollo's tricky prophecy that Palinurus would undergo no harm *at sea*. *Tacet TLL*. Evidently, wet feet do not impinge upon *incolumitas*.

uatemque uirumque Neat, powerful, alliterative, antithetical (cf. **116 gnatique patrisque**); for correlating **...-que...-que**, cf. Au.. **Vir** as often almost in the sense of 'hero' (so e.g. 7.296).

416 informi limo Cf. Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1476.46f. and n. on 3.431 for 'shapeless' (so here, liquid enough not to hold its form); cf. *G.4.478 limus niger et deformis harundo*. For the mud of the Underworld, Au. cites *Ar.Ran.145, 273*, and cf. too Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 226f., Hodges, *TLL* 10.1.179.15ff. (*palus*).

glaucaque...in ulua In the vowels of this v., Au. hears a 'stodgy, oozy sound'. **G.** used of *ulua*, *Buc.8.87*, of *harundine*, *Aen.10.204*, of willows, *G.2.13, 4.182*; cf. G.Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.2039. 23f., Edgeworth, 133. **V.** common of any sort of marsh grass or sedge, Maggilli, 470f, Mynors on *G.3.175*; Sargeant, *Trees, shrubs and plants*, 132f. seeks unlikely precision.

exponit Cf. *EV* 4, 201; Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1757.45f, classified as distinct from (*ib.*, 73) 10.287f. *socios.../...exponit*, in the technical military use of *e.* in the sense of ‘disembark’. Here, though, of an individual (or very small group); cf. *Hor.Serm.* 1.5. 23, *Sen.Ep.*53.2; the distinction of number seems not particularly helpful. Nelis, 249 compares AR 4.121-2, Jason and Medea crossing the Phasis.

417-25 Cerberus put to sleep ‘The devouring aspect of death is embodied in the hound C.’ (West on *Hes.Theog.*769-73; in *Hom.* present but not named, *Il.*8.368, *Od.*11.623), but by V.’s time C. has rather lost his teeth (vd. *Serv.* on **395**, with Gk. etym. *kreo-boros*), to become instead much more of a guard-dog. Like Charon, important in *Ar.Ranae*. V. continues to find this phase of Aen.’s journey rather absurd, and plays engagingly upon the monstrous hound reduced to impotence by an attractively disguised sedative (cf. Austin, *PVS*, 55); whence the old expression ‘to give a sop to Cerberus’, to arrest a threat by the use of a tempting inducement. Austin, *PVS*, 55-6, Massenzio, *EV* 1, 740, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 50, Highbarger (**893-6**), 84-91, Cumont, *AL* 10, 83, 87, Cartault, 451f., Bremmer (2009), 189, Clark, *Catabasis*, 79-88, *id.*, *Phoen.* 24 (1970), 244, etc. (for Clark, *passim*, on Cerberus, vd. (**120**), (**2**)(c), *ad fin.*), Williams, *ORVA*, 196f., Gantz, 1, 127, Setaioli, *EV* 2, 960, Robert, 1, 808f. and for the *Katabasis Herakleous* and Cerberus, vd. (**120**), (**2**)(c). For C. in general, vd. O.Immisch, *Ro.*2.1119. 24ff., S.Eitrem, *PW* 11.271.40ff.. Cf. Nelis, 249f. on these vv. and the scene of Jason and Medea approaching the lair of the Colchian dragon.

417 Cerberus...ingens For C., vd. *supra*; a thick cluster of the favourite adj. hereabouts, **400**, **413**, here, **423**, **426**. Generally held to be a big dog; the adjs. in **417**, **418** recur (chiastically) in **423** (Au.) and note too the splendid *Apul.Met.*6.19, rich in Virgilian echoes (vd. Kenney, Purser).

haec...regna Cf. **566**, 1.572. For sing. 1.17.

latratu...trifauci The noun Accian, *trag.*569R (if the reading is sound), then *Sall.Hist.*, *Varr.Men.*; a useful account of *l.*, *balatus*, *mugitus*, Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379. The markedly ‘physical’ adj., qualifying an abstr. noun, probably a Virgilian coinage (note *Cic.*’s *triceps*, V.’s **forma tricornis umbrae** (of Geryon, **289**), *tergeminus* of Geryon (8.202), *Hor.*’s *triformis* of Hecate, and *trilinguis* of Cerberus, *C.*2.19.31); note Colonna’s discussion of such number-compounds, *EV* 1, 866. Au. rightly notes the use of the sound *au* used of the barking of Greek and (*baubor*, *Lucr.*5.1071) Roman dogs; Italian too (‘bau bau’). C.’s bark ‘as loud as a trumpet’, *Hes.Theog.*311, where vd. West, and of course indebted to the Colchian dragon’s hiss, AR 4.129-38, Nelis, 248; that is a passage to which V. will return, 7.516f. (where vd. n.).

418 personat Cf. **171**, Roiron, 206f., 394: 'cause to echo'. Dubielzig, *TLL* 10.1.1735.61f., A.Traina, *EV* 4, 943.

aduerso...antro Cf. **279 aduerso in limine**; here, the cave facing the Sibyl and Aen.. Cf. **400, 423**: the Underworld full of such caves.

recubans So Hercules will be described as not afraid of the *ianitor Or-ci, ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento* (8.296f.). The vb. used also of Tityrus and the white sow of Alba (n. on 3.392; the vb. Lucretian).

immanis The bark of a gigantic hound, indeed; cf. **576** of the hydra, **582** of the Aloidae, the vulture of **597**, the Lapiths of 7.305 (where vd. n.); so too e.g. Varr.*Men.*299. *EV* s.v. most disappointing; in V.'s lexicon, a close, important ally of *ingens*. Au. quotes Colum.'s splendidly apposite words (7.12.3) on the qualities (size, aspect, the right sort of bark, *uasti latratus canorique*) of a good guard-dog.

419 cui The reader may not be as patient as the grammarian: we are asked to wait till **obicit** before concluding that **cui** is the indirect object: maybe, but it is far easier to take it as dat. of reference with **horrere...colla** (cf. Sabbadini here, Antoine, 105ff., Bennett, 2, 137, citing e.g. *XII Tab.*10.8 *quo i auro dentes iuncti escunt*). It may be that **cui** performs *both* functions.

uates...uidens Allit. of both **u** and **c**; the Sibyl is alert to the threat Cerberus poses and has come armed with the answer; that suggests good information and/or successful previous visits.

horrere...iam colla colubris For **colubris**: cf. nn. on 7.329 *tot pullulat atra colubris* (snaky monsters), 352 (the Lucretian noun). Probst charts these necks, rewritten and elaborated over another century and more, *TLL* 3.1661.46ff.. It is worth quoting, after la Cerda, Pliny's account of a splendid hound given to Alexander: at the sight of an elephant *horrentibus quippe uillis per totum corpus ingenti primum latratu intonuit...* (*Nat.*8.150). Cerberus' hackles rise like any dog's, when a threat is perceived, but with serpents rather than mere hair; snakes down his back, *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.12. Not hypallage, *pace* Serv., as Conte notes (*Virgilio*, 58, n.81); see Bell, 320.

420 melle...et medicatis frugibus The honey used rather as at *Lucr.*1.936; cf. M.Schuster, *PW* 15.376.46ff. and see further, *infra*. Gundel, *TLL* 8.546.58ff. has no justification for classifying this v. under 'magic'; V. offers a perfectly sensible way to disable temporarily a large dog and the vb. is used as at 12.418 ('fill with medical properties'); at 545.57ff. Gundel helpfully surveys this usage, citing e.g. *Colum.*9.13.2 and Serv. on *G.*4.264 (of *mel medicatum*). **F.** of any kind of grain; Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.1450.64f..

soporatam...offam 'A term for the food used for fattening birds', Pease on *Cic.Div.*1.27 (see too 2.73), Hermans, *TLL* 9.2.486.43ff.. To calm a dog, *Plaut.Poen.* 1235; Psyche has hers ready for Cerberus, *Apul.Met.*6.

18; cf. Isid.*Etym.*20.2.26. A strikingly large variety of *offae* for fattening/treating animals, *TLL*, s.v., citing Varro, Columella, Pliny and other agricultural/medical/veterinary texts. *Ofella*, used of small pieces of meat (vd. André, *Alimentation*, 150 for ancient *souvlaki*) briefly distracts Serv., but the grain, to neutralise and diffuse the unpleasant flavour of the medication (what it was is not specified and James Henry's demonstration that we have no idea at all of what sedative V. had in mind is admirable; contrast sharply *Aen.*4.485f.) and the honey, further to counteract its taste, and, naturally, to attract the hound, leave us in no doubt as to what is intended here (vd. Binder's good n.; Brandt, *TLL* 8.608.29 writes sensibly of a *placenta mellita*). Note the kitchen skills unexpectedly displayed by Deiphobe. S.: the vb. (5.855) apparently a Virgilian coinage, Cordier, 145; *tacet EV*. Quinn's 'doped biscuit' (*supra*) therefore not merely inappropriately facetious (in poor taste, indeed) but actually wrong. Nor do I see that the honey-cakes offered to chthonian powers in Greece (Stengel, *Gr. Kultusaltertümer*₂, 90, Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 68 with n.16, etc.) are particularly relevant, with the striking exception of Ar.*Nub.*507f. with schol. (ἵνα τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἐμφιλοχωροῦσιν ὄφεσι διδόντες μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν δυσχερές πᾶσχωσιν), the cakes carried by visitors to the oracle of Trophonius, to ensure safety at the hands of the snakes dwelling there; Paus.9.39.11 records the cakes but ignores the snakes. AR 4.156-8 (Medea drips from a twig *pharmaka* into the dragon's eyes) is a good deal less persuasive.

421 obicit Lumpe, *TLL* 9.2.54.54 well compares Cic.*Div.*1.27 of an *offa* tossed to the sacred chickens, but the vb. is used often of giving feed to animals (*ib.*, 54.48ff.). Note Sen.*ira* 3.37.2 *et hic, cum multum latrauit, obiecto cibo mansuescit.*

ille The focus of the narrative changes unobtrusively, and will change back at **424**.

fame rabida Cf. 9.340, 10.724 *uesana* (where Harrison cites *Od.*18.2, γᾶσπερι μάργη), 2.357 (vd. my n.), 9.64 *rabies* (the innate *rabies* of the wolf conflated with the pangs of hunger: so Hardie). For the abl., as though 5th. decl., cf. Leumann, 444, 448, and for details, NW 1, 374f. (a common form).

tria guttura The growling alliteration inescapable, but evidently also welcome; cf. n. on **417 trifauci**.

pandens Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.197.54, Beikircher, *EV* 3, 952f.

422 corripit The run-on dactyl to convey C. 'snapping up' the *offa*. Cf. **210**, 12.299, *EV* 4, 401, Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1040.69.

obiectam 'Participial resumption' of **421 obicit** (note also **624**); cf. Wills' ample discussion of this figure, 311-3.

atque immania terga resoluit For **i.**, cf. **418**; even had **C.** been a more conventional hound, **t.** could well still have been used in the plur. (2.208, 474, of snakes, **n.** on **301**, of plur. body-parts). *Soluere* of sleep, wine 4.530, 9.189, 236; thus here of the effect of the drugs. Of muscular relaxation, *EV* 4, 936 (not good) compares *G.3.423f.* (a serpent's tail). Cf. *AR* 4.149-53, *Nelis*, 249 on the relaxing effect (ἀνελύειν) of Medea's drugs upon the Colchian dragon.

423 fusus humi F. thus a common use (first in *Cic.*), from 1.193 on (and note *Lucr.4.757 cum somnus membra profudit*); **n.** on 11.665, *EV* 2, 610 (*Tremoli*), *Robbert*, *TLL* 6.1.1569.73ff., 1572.10.

totoque...antro The sprawling hound fills all its cave; cf. **596f.** of *Tit-yos*. Cf. **nn.** on 7.793f., 11.450: clearly enough an *abl.* of extension here. Cf. *Malosti*, 64 on **99 antroque remugit**.

ingens See **417**.

extenditur Cf. 5.374 *fulua moribundum extendit harena*, 9.589 *multa porrectum extendit harena* (where *vd.* *Hardie*); a variety of *Hom.* antecedents, around the *vb.* (ἐκ-) *ταυύειν*, *Il.7.271*, 11.844, 18.26, etc.. *Hiltbrunner*, *TLL* 5.2.1972.4f.; seems a *Virgilian* extension of the use of a common *vb.*, on an *Hom.* model. Clearly there is humour in the grand epic language employed for sedating the dog, but that singular vein is now closed.

424 occupat Aeneas aditum The same words at **635**; on both passages, *Serv.* comments *ingreditur*. There *Aen.* does not need to enter the quarters of *Pluto* and *Proserpina* and here he has no need to inspect the dog's private cave. *Au.*'s 'springs upon' is if anything more perplexing; better, *Goold's* 'wins'. The point is simple, that *Aen.* and the *Sibyl* must pass swiftly up to and past the cave while the potions are active and *Cerberus* consequently asleep. This sense of swift motion up to at *Hor.C.* 1.14.2f. *occupat portum*, *Ov.AA* 2.588, *Met.*1.293. *Heck*, *TLL* 9.2.384.36f..

custode sepulto C.: see **395. S.** the splendid extension of an old metaphor: cf. **nn.** on 2.265 *urbem somno uinoque sepultam* and (fuller) 3.630 *expletus dapibus uinoque sepultus*. For some history of sleep (*vd.* already **420 soporatam**) conceived as a tomb, cf. *Skutsch* on *Enn.Ann.288 nunc hostes uino domiti somnoque sepulti*; he is right to say that the image is not *Homeric*. The drugged dog is now 'buried' in [the tomb of] sleep. *EV* 4, 782 insufficient.

425 euaditque *Cerberus'* cave seems in some way to stand guard over the paths away from the far bank of the *Styx*. For use with *dir. obj.*, cf. 3.282, 9.386, *Leumann*, *TLL* 5.2.989.66.

celer The *Sibyl* implicitly keeps up with *Aen.*, as *Aen.* kept up with the pace set by the *Sibyl* at **262f.** *Adj.* as *advb.* (common: *Maurach*, *Dichtersprache*, 42).

ripam inremeabilis undae V.: cf. **326, 370.** the sonorous double-compound adj. (cf. *inreparabilis, indeprensus, indefessus, inconcessus, imperterritus, imperfectus, inexhaustus, ineluctabilis...*), occupying two full dactyls; No. offers some Gk. comparanda. Cf. 5.591 of the Labyrinth; a Virgilian coinage, apparently, Cordier, 145, 186.

426-547 Towards Tartarus

V. seems to limit the term *lugentes campi* to the area occupied by those who died for love (**441**) and not to all the categories covered in **426-547**. I have tried therefore not to misuse it (though its application to all of **426-547** would hardly be false to the spirit of the entire passage) just as I have tried also to avoid (unlike many writers on these vv.) the use of Christianising terminology (e.g. 'limbo').

Much scholarly effort has been devoted to the categories of *animae* that occupy this region and here, fortunately, we may consult both Nock and Waszink on this difficult topic, over and above Norden and Rohde. It was most injudiciously suggested (Y.Grisé, *BAGB* 1980, 298f., *ead.*, *Le suicide*, 159f.) that the suicides' place both here and in 'dans une large mesure, toute cette région achéronique' (1980, 299) was a Virgilian innovation. Norden, 11, briskly showed that the contrary was likelier to be true, but perhaps the matter needs to be stated a little more amply. The problem has often been viewed as one of religious history (e.g. Reinach, Cumont, Bremmer), on which the evidence of V.'s text, viewed apparently as straightforward and reliable, may shed some light, rather than as a substantial issue of Virgilian composition and use of sources, which itself bears in turn on the chronology of Hellen. religious ideas. Vd. Bremmer, Johnston for recent accounts of the wider relig. issues.

Much (mistaken, to speak plainly) energy has been expended on tracing anomalies and inconsistencies in Virgil's picture: cf. Henselmanns, 21, 122, Cartault, 454, Butler, p.12 and on 426-9; 'palesi incongruenze', Setaioli, *EV* 2, 957, O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 91f.. Should not Dido be a suicide, rather than a victim of love? Why are the **bello clari (478)** not in Elysium, along with the **magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis (649)**? Hints towards a more generous reading of the text (did not V. perhaps after all know what he was doing?) will be offered *passim* in comm..

One might think that **441 lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt** ought to help, but we have learned that such remarks by the poet are not to be trusted as though genuine learned marginalia. I once suggested (after La Cerda, as I should have known) that *lugentes* might be a gloss on the name Cocytus: that cannot be proved, and does not solve the wider problem(s): vd. *Alambicco*, 120, preferable to *PLLS* 6 (1990), 51; see now O'Hara's ample discussion, *Inconsistency*, 85ff., 91ff., *TN*, 78f., 171f.. V. seems in

fact *not* to refer in any identifiable way to another familiar name of the area. The name (so O'Hara, rightly) seems to constitute an active instance of the (Hellenistic) pathetic fallacy (see (137), (4) for further references and note Fletcher's hobnailed remark 'fields cannot mourn'), and is a good deal more enticing than *lugentum* might have been. Serv.'s popular etymology of *lugentes* from *lucis egentis* is unilluminating.

We resort therefore to unfashionable source-analysis of the five categories of souls that V. offers us, or rather, unsurprisingly, we find we must start from the categories of *animae* in the literary tradition prior, or parallel, to V.'s. There is some connexion between these vv. and **306-8 matres atque uiri, defunctaque corpora uita/ magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae/ impositique iugis iuuenes ante ora parentum** (clarified, 325, as the **inops inhumataque turba**), in terms of the definition of categories. The bridge between these passages is between balancing groups, unburied and incomplete (as were the lives of those who inhabit all the region from Styx to Tartarus), facing each other on opposite banks of the Styx, and matched in tone and tragedy. It is helpful to recall the palpable *literary* origins of such human categories, *Od.*11.38-41 (see n. on **306-8**). We might then note how the infants here are complemented by the **pueri innuptaeque puellae** of 307. They too are evidently Homeric in origin (*Od.*11.38-9; cf. then *Plat.Rep.*10.615C with e.g. Ter Vrugt-Lentz, 22), but the category of *animae innuptae* will only acquire importance in magic and at least by the time of *Tert.An.*56.8 (see *infra*, p.321 for these negatively-defined categories); not, though, probably by the time of V.'s first educated readers. See Norden, pp.11-3, Dieterich, 150ff., Waszink's n. on *Tert.cit.*, Ter Vrugt-Lentz, 13, Nock, 2, 714, 717, Cumont, *AL*, 137, Rohde 1^{7/8}, 326f., Bremmer (2009), 189f., S.I. Johnston, *Restless dead* (Berkeley 1999). The presence of the suicides has no precise analogy, but now that the derivative character of the other groups is so easily established, it would be extremely rash to insist that the suicides were necessarily a Virgilian innovation.

The other extant lists of the categories of *animae* have been gathered a number of times, but not with the aim of elucidating V.'s *modus operandi*: see Waszink, *Tert. An.*, p.566, *id.*, (1947), 123f., *id.*, (1949), 111, Cumont, *LP*, 307, *id.*, (1945), 124f., Nock, 2, 716. I offer therefore a largely familiar list, but in rather fuller detail, *passim*, and governed, I hope, by quite rigorous criteria:

(1) As noted *supra*, *Od.*11.38-41, though the categories are delimited only by age and gender, not by destiny; except for 11.40f., those killed in battle, evidently corresponding to the **bello clari** of 478; add those killed fighting for their country (660). Vd. on *Aen.*11.24f. for the antecedents of a motif surprisingly rare in Lat. texts.

(2) Let us pass directly to our fullest surviving list, that of Lucian, *Cataplus*, 5-6, Clotho to Charon and Hermes as he works down the list of passengers, all very droll, but such parody evidently depends on fidelity to much more serious accounts: babies (νεογνά), the elderly (γέροντες); the victims of battle (τραυματίας); suicides for love (δι' ἔρωτα αὐτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν); mutual slaughter of competitors for the throne, husbands killed by wives and their lovers; τοὺς ἐκ δικαστηρίων (after judicial punishments). Lucian continues with those lost at sea, killed by pirates and dead of fever. The substantial agreement with V.'s categories strongly suggests that both lists derive, if not from a single source, then at least from two related sources writing very much in the same tradition. We might also note Lucian's division of the dead both by *phyla* and phratries (*Philops.*24) and by *phyla* and *ethne* (*Nekyom.*15); Dieterich, 142. Cf. further 440-9.

(3) Plut. *de genio Socratis* 590F: men, women and βρέφη wailing; see Reinach, 313, Ter Vrugt-Lentz, 24 and n. on 237 **infantum**.

(4) Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 4.9; cf. Cumont (1945), 127, n.1, Nock, 715, T.Barton, *Ancient astrology* (London 1994), 126, 167: the categories ex-cogitated by the astrologers notably more complex, a natural consequence of the variations opened to them by the number of astral signs and their conjunctions available. Ample material available from the indices to Firmicus Maternus.

(5) Damascius, *In Phaedonem* (*versio* 2), §149Westerink (the text once attrib. to Olympiodorus). Deaths from suicide, deaths from war, from judicial process.

(6) Tertullian, *An.*56: §2 *insepultos*; §4 *immatura morte praeuentas*; §5 *infans, puer inuestis, puer uesticeps*.

The term βι(αι)οθάνατοι (a section of the wider ἄωροι), often found in ancient accounts of groupings of the dead, is a kind of 'blanket' heading that covers a number of forms of death (war, murder, judicial process, suicide, etc.): cf. e.g. Serv. on *Aen.*4.386 *dicunt physici* [natural scientists; for Delvigo's fine discussion, vd. 329] *biothinatorum animas non recipi in originem suam nisi uagantes legitimum tempus fati compleuerint*. Cf. 329 **centum errant annos** (with full n.), Waszink (1949), 110, *Tert.An.*, p.566, Bremmer *Early Greek concept...*, 101-8.

Note also the issue of the victims' *innocence*, Nock, 716, n.36, Waszink (1947), 123-4. Nock is perfectly right to remark that this would represent a peculiarly Virgilian unifying theme. Cf. 430 **false...crimine**, 435 **insontes**, which may be enough in the way of explicit reference to allow us to suggest that all the occupants of the region from Styx to Tartarus are in some way linked by their *innocence*.

V.'s account fits in neatly enough to a lit. tradition passing from Hom. to Tert. and beyond. We need now to look briefly at the terminology used of the dead, to classify them not primarily by the circumstances of their end (as above), so much as by some general statements of what above all it was that they had lacked in their former lives, ἄγαμοι, ἄταφοι, ἄτεκνοι, inevitable consequences of their being ἄωροι. It may be worth comparing n. on 264, the apophatic vein in descriptions of the Underworld, lack of light, warmth, sound, etc..

(1) ἄωροι. A long-established theme in Gk. and Lat. epitaphs, Lattimore, 184-7; cf. Norden, 13, Rohde, 2, 411f., Cumont, *LP*, 307, *id.*, (1945), 124f., Waszink (1949), 108f., *id.*, *Tert.An.*, p.565f. on the literary history (clearly from c.5 on) of those who died *ante diem*, and were unable to enter the Underworld proper until they had completed what would, but for their untimely death, have been the natural term of their existence. For further material, cf. Nock, 717f., Ter Vrugt-Lentz, index, s.v..

(2) ἄγαμοι. Cf. (4) for the practical significance of marriage and offspring in this context, and vd. Ter Vrugt-Lentz, 13 and index, s.v, Nock, 717 (on virginity of infants).

(3) ἄταφοι. Cf. Ter Vrugt-Lentz, index, s.v, Waszink, introduction to *Tert.An.*56. We should bear in mind both Charon's recent lecture on the importance of burial and the **inops inhumataque turba (325)**, whence the need for marriage and children to provide for their parents' burial, and also Elpenor (Bremmer, 102f.), immediate neighbour to the groups of *Od.*11.38-41, and, notoriously, unburied. Not to mention (Nock, 717) the sense of virgin incompleteness that attached to the unwed and childless.

(4) ἄτεκνοι. Cf. Waszink on *Tert.An.*56.8, Rohde, 1, 326f., 2, 392, n.2, 412, Cumont, *AL*, 137. See (3) for the significance of children in this context. Cf. Bremmer, *Early Greek concept*, 101f., for Greek views of a different after-life set aside for those whose actual life had been 'different', or in some way reduced, by comparison with the norm. Cf. (1) above. See Ter Vrugt-Lentz, 64f., B.Rawson, *Children and childhood* (Oxford 2005), 346 on the burial of children and Gris  (1982), 150-6 on the absence of restriction on the burial of suicides (with the exceptions (a) of suicides by hanging and (b) of suicides within *collegia*).

One preliminary topic remains, the question, often viewed with polemic zeal, of whether V. used, or could have used, manuals to fill out groupings and specific instances. Norden had championed consultation of manuals (pp. 259, 260, 261f.; cf. too H.Belling, *Studien  ber die Compositions-kunst Vergils...* (Leipzig 1899), 45, n.1) and I returned to the possibility, *Alambicco*, 46; cf. now Cameron, *Gk. mythogr.*, 255, Lightfoot, *Parthenius*, 298f.. Macr. writes of Parthenius *quo grammatico in Graecis Vergilius usus est* (5.17.18; embarrassingly, overlooked in *Companion*); credible, in

theory, but not easily acceptable as fact (Lightfoot, 14-6; cf. also R.R.Dyer, *Vergilius* 42 (1996), 14-24). It is, though, singular that there is *no* point of contact between V.'s list of those who died for love and P.'s *Erotika Pathemata*. Mythol. manuals were, though, almost as common as victims of love: see e.g. Cameron, 27-32, Lightfoot, 224-40, *Aen.* 11, p.470, M.van Rossum-Steenbeck, *Greek readers' digests?* (*Mnem.* Suppl 175, Leiden 1995), and the absence of any learned tribute to an (?) old teacher does not weaken the likelihood, on general grounds, that some of V.'s mythol. erudition in these vv. derives from some distant ancestor of Smith or Roscher, quite irrespective of the issue of Parthenius.

Bibliography: Austin, *PVS* 8 (1968-9), 56-60 and on **426-547**, Boyancé, 156ff., Bremmer, *Early Greek concept...*, 100-8, *id.*, (2009), 188-9, Butler, 11ff. and on **426**, W.A.Camps, *Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1969), 91f., *id.*, *PVS* 7 (1967-8), 25, O.Carugno, *GIF* 6 (1953), 63-9, F.Cumont, *LP*, 306f., *AL*, 141-7, *SF*, 281-3, *id.*, *Conf. ENS*, 2 (1945), 123-52, Dieterich, 150f., Y.Grisé, *Bull.Ass G. Budé* (1980), 295-304, *ead.*, *Le suicide dans la Rome antique* (Montréal/Paris 1982), 158-64, *ead.*, *EV* 4, 1065f., S.I.Johnston, *BNP* s.v. *Ahoroi*, Lattimore, 184-7, J.Ter Vrugt-Lentz, *Mors immatura* (diss. Leiden 1960), Nock, *Essays*, 2, 712-9, Norden, 11-14, 244-9, F.Norwood, *CP* 49 (1954), 17f., S.Reinach, *ARW* 9 (1906), 312-22, Rohde, *Psyche* 2^{7/8}, 411-3, A.Setaioli, *EV* 2, 956f., 960f., J.H.Waszink, *Vig.Christ.* 2 (1949), 107-12, *id.*, *Mnem.* 3.13 (1947), 123f., *id.*, on *Tert.An.* 56, R.D.Williams, *ORVA*, 197f. Johnston, *BNP*, *cit.* and Bremmer, 101, n.85 offer further, less directly Virgilian, bibl. I am most grateful to Prof. Bonnie MacLachlan for discussion here.

426 - 39 ἄωροι and βιαιοθάνατοι We have just considered the origins and character of these groups. V. here lists the specific categories that these wider groups include (with the victims of love and war to follow separately), in lines of exceptional emotional and stylistic density.

426 continuo Cf. n. on 7.120 for this markedly Lucretian advb.; Austin, *PVS*, 56 does full justice to the sequence of long vowels (in particular at caesura) and diphthongs, evidently suggestive of wailing.

auditae uoces Not just wailing in itself, but wailing heard by Aeneas and the Sibyl, though for the moment the authorial voice is dominant (cf. Bonfanti, 255ff.) until Aeneas realises that he is within earshot of Dido. Cf. *G.* 4.71f., 260, 493 *terque fragor stagnis auditus Auernis*, *Aen.* 2.706, 3.40, etc. (cf. R.A.Smith, 6); we need a critical survey of sound in V., one with wider horizons and less detail than Roiron, to match Smith's work on sight, the better to understand how the reality of what happens (not to mention the indispensable human reaction to sound and sight) depends on the ears and eyes of the audience/beholders. Note 7.117 *uox audita* and the standard *uoces audire*, 1.409, 4.439, **6.689** (where vd. n. for Cat.), 7.90.

uagitus et ingens The vb. Ennian (*Ann.*545; vd. Sk.; the noun (no less onomatopoeic) discussed by Varro (fr.144GRF); the first cry of a child (note *Lucr.*2.579, etc.), Heraeus, *Kl.Schr.*, 179, and see A.Traina, *EV* 5*, 417, Smith on *Petr.*63.8 *uauatonem*. The favourite adj. often enough of sounds, as Henry's famous note explains in detail, 3, p.42, *infra*, and cf. Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1539.74ff.; *EV* s.v. peculiarly unsatisfactory. We are now inside an ample compound expression (Hahn (1930), 215, 217), whether or not V. used such means to avoid a cumbrous accumulation of gens. (so Hahn), and this structure will also be found to bear on the problem of punctuation, *infra*: the **uoces** and **uagitus** and implicit *fletus* are parallel and interactive; **auditae**, **ingens** and **infantum** apply to all three nouns; the absence of formal parallelism between **animae flentes** and the preceding members is a difficulty only to the translator.

427 infantumque So in the closely parallel *Plut.de genio Socratis*, 590F **μυρίων δὲ κλαυθμὸν βρεφῶν** [eliminate the particle and you have iambic rhythm] καὶ μεμιγμένους ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὄδυρμούς. An element, that is, provably present in the common source. Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.1347.82f.. **I.**: Acc. (*bis*), *Lucr.* (*bis*). The first three words of this v. are the third element in a fine sequence of three increasing members.

animae flentes Cf. n. on **306** for discussion of the speech and corporality of the **animae**. Weeping might seem to suggest some modest degree of physicality. Vd. Viparelli Santangelo, *EV* 2, 540f. for ancient discussion of distinctions between V.'s synonyms for 'weep': **f.** *cum uoce lacrimare* (Serv. on 11.59); standard Latin. Cf. Nock (**426-547**), 713 for this wailing, simply that of life, transposed.

in limine primo Cf. 2.485 (literal), 11.423 (vd. n. for figurative sense; in *Lucr.*); Fletcher, Goold acutely (and perhaps rightly) remark that the infants are placed at the entrance of this area, because they had died at the entrance to life. I.Privitera, *MD* 57 (2006), 211-5 discusses with care the issue of whether we should punctuate before or after these words; **M** and **P** seem to prefer *after* (not that the scribes' preference matters all that much in such issues). The grammarians, presumably under the tyranny of the line-end, plump for the pause after **limine primo**: TCD, Serv. on 11.59, *Macr.*4.3.2, *Ael.Don.* on *Ter.Hec.*517. But the attentive reader will have noted the large compound expression discussed *supra*; its muscular and pellucid structure evidently reaches its conclusion at **flentes**; in other words, **in limine primo** *could*, clearly, be attached to what precedes, but only as some sort of flaccid appendix of topogr. detail, rather after the manner of **273**. Privitera understands **dulcis uitae** simply with **exsortis** and not as a gen. dependent on **limine primo** (213), against Norden, Henry, p.313 and Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1408.9, who take **dulcis uitae** with *both* **exsortes** and **limine primo**, thus both supplying the gen. that is almost indispensab-

le to the sense of *exsors* (Henry, 314f.) and attractively expanding the force of **limine**. This double role of the phrase resolves many issues that once tormented the commentator's existence and is more and more often recognised (cf. 11.366, 496, etc.) as extremely Virgilian; it is no worry that Serv., TCD offer a simpler reading. More to the point, the whole articulation of **426-8** seems clearly to require a clean break after **flentes** (*supra*). With **in limine primo** a new period easily begins and develops; the postponed **quos** is no obstacle, and indeed lends some extra weight to this metaphorical threshold. Meijer (1407.67ff.) provides an ample range of comparable non-literal thresholds, including Cat.68.4, Lucr.2.960, 6.1157. Note *CLE* 569.3 *uitaque e limine raptus*, an intelligent abbreviation of V..

428 quos...exsortes Postponement of the rel. pron. hardly remarkable; cf. n. on 7.659. For **e.**, see above; P.Schmid, *TLL* 5.2.1881.49f., 1882.50f.; *ter* in *Aen.* (apparently an innovation, perhaps after Gk. ἄκληρος), *Hor.Ars*, Liv.22. A good deal weightier and more interesting than *expers*, *pace* Cordier, 134.

dulcis uitae So *Od.*5.152 γλυκὺς αἰών, Peek, *GVI* 2554.2, 1214.4 (it would be very easy to continue), Lucr.2.997, 3.66, Cat.64.157, *reddis pro dulci praemia uita* (with 68.106). *EV* 2, 151, Lackenbacher, *TLL* 5.1.2193.84 with 2190.68ff. (including epigr. usage). Compare too 3.140 *linquebant dulcis animas* (where vd. n.), 10.782 *dulcis...Argos*. Opposed, suggests Bonfanti, 256, to **atra dies**, *infra*.

et ab ubere raptos 7.484 *matris ab ubere raptum* (the pet stag; evidently relevant to the meaning here), where vd. n.. Taken by Reinach (**426-547**; cf. Shanzer, 332f., Bremmer (2009), 189, *id.*, (2011), 21) to refer to the victims of abortion. Shanzer, 355-60 argues for the presence of an extended reference to abortion in *PEG* 2.2.717.1-4 (the Bologna papyrus); that may well be, but the issue there has no contact with the plain and evident sense of the Latin here, *pace* Shanzer, 336-8. Removal from the breast (inevitably the breast, unless understood most improbably here as altogether metaphorical or anticipatory, with no anatomical bearing; either way, inconceivable as a *necessary* reading of the text here; Shanzer, 336, n.40 loosely argued, though less so than Reinach, 314) must evidently refer to a post-natal act, for the suckling (**ubere**) of the child is clearly and necessarily implied (more fully, *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 68f.; the doubtful should compare Gk. οὔθηρα and Eng. 'udder'). Here, then, such brutal removal must refer to the many accidents of early childhood, which lead to death during the period in which suckling was still possible or likely. Certainly, that is how TCD understood our text (1.563.12-15; *ab ipsis uberibus diuelli*, etc.) and also how it seems to have been employed by the authors of *CLE* (and similar), Hoogma, 285. To read several recent accounts of abortion in the ancient world (e.g. Treggiari, *Rom. marriage*, 406-8, B.Rawson,

Children and childhood in Roman Italy (Oxford 2003), 114-6), was to shed no new light on V. here.

429 abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo Re-used by Aen. of Pallas at 11.28, where vd. my notes. Add C.Weber, *Agon* 3 (1969), 64, Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 591. It is not clear to me, given **428 quos**, how *EV* 3, 491 (Scarsi) can claim that **m.** here is used absolutely. Here, in the relatively familiar context of the ἄωργοι, the use of *acerbus* (which has the same metrical shape, the bacchius) to describe ‘unripeness’ acquires particular point (vd. Au.); *translatio a pomis* observes Serv. correctly (note Gk. ὠμός, literally unripe, cruel, and premature: vd. West on Hes.*Erga* 705 and see n. on **304 cruda**); for this metaph. use of *acerbus*, cf. Prinz, *TLL* 1.368.17ff. (from Plaut. on, Tac.*Ann.*13.17 of Britannicus' d., and often in *CLE*, Hoogma, 285-6; *EV* s.v. not helpful). Au.'s full stop after **acerbo** is not, given **hos iuxta** following directly, attractive; rather, semi-colon with Mynors, Conte.

430 hos iuxta Regular anastrophe of disyll. prepos.; cf. 3.506, 4.480, etc..

falso...crimine Hofmann, *TLL* 6.1.194.7 for instances in Cic. and later Aug. poetry. *EV* 1, 932, Burger, *TLL* 4.1192.2f. (unhelpful). Cf. **435 inson-** **tes** and **426-547** for the theme of the innocent victims.

damnati...mortis Vd. Simbeck, *TLL* 5.1.15.54ff. for *d.+gen.* of the penalty, citing Cic.*Verr.* 1.38, 4.28, Hor.*C.*2.14.19f. *damnatusque longi/Sisyphus Aeolides laboris*, Liv.5.32.8. Here Au. punctuates with a semi-colon, Mynors and Conte with full stops. Again, I wonder, given **hae...sedes** following immediately and giving point to **iuxta**. A comma seems quite enough, followed by a colon at the end of **431**. Earlier punctuations of these vv. seem to ignore V.'s passing indications of the articulations of phrasing and argument.

431 nec uero haec...datae...sedes Cf. **392**, and n. on **801** for **nec uero. datae**: ‘assigned’, *EV* 2, 115, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1667.44ff. (altogether familiar language).

sine sorte ‘The *iudices* for the case were selected by lot from this division [just defined as a decury of jurors assigned by the praetor according to precedence from a list]’; Greenidge, *cit.*, *infra*. Serv.'s view that *sorte* refers to the order of hearing and not to the sortition of jurors is generally agreed to be entirely unconvincing. Note the neat anaphora of the prepos. ‘with judge and jury’; cf. Wills, 164. See **761** with n. for the notion that places in the Underworld are assigned not by merit but by lot.

sine iudice Vd. Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.601.68f., who cites Cic.*Tusc.*1.10, 1.98 for *i.* of judges of the Underworld. Here, the presiding judge of a *quaestio*, in the sense that V. assigns Roman procedures to infernal hearings; Greenidge, 429f.. Heyne cited Ps.Asc.Argum.Cic.*Verr.*2.1, p.224.22ff.Stangl *ad hanc*

enim similitudinem poeta Vergilius Minoem iudicem apud inferos tamquam praetor sit rerum capitalium [Greenidge, 438f.], *quaesitorem appellat. dat illi sortitionem, ubi urnam nominat, dat electionem iudicum, cum dicit consilium uocat* [Greenidge, 436, 442]; *dat cognitionem facinorum, cum dicit uitasque et crimina discit* [Greenidge, 415ff.]. Courts in the Underworld (cf. **434** for the categories of their jurisdiction) employ earthly terminology and methods, and hear afresh miscarriages of earthly justice (note Plat.*Apol.* 41B): so the myth of Plat.*Gorg.*524A^{ff.} (where vd. Dodds' ample discussion, at 523A); for Lucian, vd. No. here. Note the debts to V. of Prop.4.11.19f., Sen.*Ag.*19 (where vd. Tarrant). For details of the actual legal procedure, vd. Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 217ff., A.H.J.Greenidge, *Legal procedure of Cicero's time* (Oxford 1901), 407ff., O.F. Robinson, *Criminal law of ancient Rome* (London 1995), 3f.. See further on **433 consilium**.

432 quaesitor Minos Another derivative of *quaerere*, not an alternative form of *quaestor* (EM); cf. G.Wesener, PW 24.1.720.33-9, Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 206f., Greenidge, 417, etc.. The form noted (with reference to Virgil) at Johannes Lydus *Mag.*1.25. For Minos, Rhadamanthus and Aea-cus, as judges, or rather, here, as presidents of the court (Robinson, 4), from Plat.*Apol.*41A, but for earlier antecedents, in particular *Od.*11.568-71 (Knauer, 119) vd. Gantz, 1, 259, Dodds, 374f. and on Minos, vd. also on **14** (and **566** for Rhadamanthus), Robert, 1, 815f., 825f., E.Simon, *EV* 3, 535 (by no means purely artistic).

urnam mouet Cf. Hor.*C.*2.3.25ff., *omnium/ uersatur urna serius ocius/ sors exitura* (sortition for the order of death, NH), 3.1.16 *omne capax mouet urna nomen* (where vd. NR), Prop.4.11.19. For choice of the jury by sortition, vd. n. on **sine sorte**, *supra*, Greenidge, ap. Ps.Asc., above, and cf. nn. on 3.510, 634 for other instances of sortition in *Aen.* A sense of **m.** apparently ignored by Wieland, *TLL* 8, s.v., *EV* 3, 608. Cf. n. on **22**, the urn used for sortition of the young human victims to be sent to Crete.

ille.../ 433 consiliumque uocat For the vb., *EV* 5*, 636 cites 10. 2 *consiliumque uocat diuum pater*. An old textual problem: see, over and above comms. and eds., A.La Penna, *EV* 1, 868f., N.Adkin, *Ant. Class.*71 (2002), 149f., J.Öberg, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 105f.. **Concilium MR**ω and Serv. at **431**; **consilium P**, Ps.Asc. *supra*, and TCD *in lemmate*; his use of *congregationem* in his paraphrase suggests he is *thinking of concilium*. If we read **concilium**, in this sense, then the sense of the v. as a whole is satisfyingly unified: Minos summons those whose cases are to be re-heard (so TCD; not an easy sense for **consilium**) and learns of their stories and the charges against them; in this case, **silentum** probably to be understood with *both concilium and uitas et crimina* (Öberg, La Penna). The alternative is to read **consilium**, in the sense of 'panel of jurors', with Ps.Asc.; *consilium*

was indeed the correct term for such a panel, Greenidge, 387, n.4, citing Cic.*Att.*1.14.1 *quo consilio idem praetor uteretur* and vd. further his index s.v. *consilium*. See too Mommsen, *cit.*, 149f.. The difficulty is, that it is not the *uitas et crimina* of the *consilium* into which Minos is enquiring, though the alert reader should be able to disentangle the altered reference easily enough. Adkin argues for an etym. link between **consilium** and **silentum**, on the basis of Paul.exc.Fest.p.36.14f.L: very pretty, but not in itself a textual argument. La Penna, *cit.* and Gudeman, *TLL* 4.46.11ff. seem (paradoxically) undecided. Ps.Asc. (see Wissowa, PW 2.2.1527.1ff., TSK 2, 246, Sch.-Hos. 1, 448: c.4-5AD) is not necessarily authoritative, but from his discussion emerges the excellent point that **consilium** fits perfectly into an extended pattern of straightforward, procedural allusion, to which **concilium** contributes nothing. The leap of sense in **432** is indeed a little awkward, but seems to be the lesser evil, and **consilium** is therefore preferred, though not with passionate conviction.

silentum Cf. n. on **264** for the normal view of s. as 'the dead, who no longer speak'. Note however No. (p.246) and Simon, *cit.*, who prefer a reference (perhaps a just slightly forced sense) to the (silent) voting of Rom. jurors, who used a tablet (*per tabellam*, Mommsen, *cit.*, 444f.) for their verdict; we cannot even rule out that both senses may be present. The gen. presumably to be understood with **consilium**, **uitas** and **crimina**.

433 uitasque et crimina discit *Dat cognitionem facinorum* Ps.Asc.. Compare 12.765 *sed Turni de uita et sanguine certant*: Tu.'s life and the life-blood, its vehicle and symbol. So here the charges incurred during their lives (on earth), a sort of hendiadys, or compound expression. Cf. *EV* 1, 932., Burger, *TLL* 4.1192.2f..D.: Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1332.51, *EV* 2, 95.

434 proxima...loca We have seen that suicides are not very likely to be a Virgilian addition to such groupings in the Underworld (**426-547**); a little more needs to be said of these vv.: see Gris  (1980), 295-304 :: (1982), 158-64 and the good, brief discussion by P.Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 599f.. V.'s language is in part Lucretian (3.79-81 *et saepe usque adeo mortis formidine uitae/ percipit humanos odium lucisque uidendae/ ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum*) but his strength of feeling for the victims very much his own. Our understanding will soon have to be reinforced and revised by V.'s account of Dido in the light of Homer's Ajax (**456-66**).

Compare **761 proxima sorte tenet lucis loca** with n.. The whole great area beyond Styx, towards Tartarus, divided, apparently, by category; a desire for neat and orderly division apparent also in Lucian's account. 'There is nothing to recommend the suggestion that the lines apply also to the three following categories' (Au. on **435ff.**); inasmuch as only those wrongly condemned clearly merit a second hearing, that might seem at first

sight correct, but **435 insontes** suggests quite strongly that it is the *guiltless* suicides (i.e. not those who took their lives in defeat and disgrace) who merit a place hereabouts [sc. probably, but not certainly, until what would otherwise have been the term of their lives is completed, if that is not too tediously logical]. The notion of every living individual having a predetermined span of life is present already in Hom. (vd. Janko on *Il.*15. 610-4), is well attested and emerges in the text of V. at e.g. 4.620 *sed cadat ante diem*, 697 (where vd. Pease), 10.467 *stat sua cuique dies*, Serv. on 4.386 *legitimum tempus fati*, Gris  (1982), 160, Bremmer (1983), 103, Onians, 399, E.Fraenkel, *Glotta* 8 (1917), 61 = *Kl.Beitr.* 1, 64f., Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 591, Ter Vrugt-Lentz, 61-3, Norden, p.12, Waszink, ed. *Tert.An.*, p.565f..

deinde Cf. **756, 812**, etc.; standard for indicating the next item in a list.

tenent Cf. **744, 761**, etc.; standard idiom for ‘occupy’.

maesti Cf. **333, 340**, etc.; standard Virgilian idiom.

qui sibi letum/ 435...peperere manu The vb. more often found with e.g. *bonum, imperium, laudes, gloriam*; see however *Caes.Civ.*3.69.4 (*p. exitum*), *OLD* s.v, §5b, Steinmann, *TLL* 7.2.1190.14f., Kruse, *ib.*, 10.1.401. 48ff.. **Manu**: cf. 2.645 *ipse manu mortem inueniam*, not simply, as often, ‘by force’, so much as ‘by their own efforts’. For *manu* in Rom. expressions for suicide, vd. Gris  (1982), 294. The rhythm (monosyll. + pyrrhic in 5th foot) discussed by Au. at **138**, but **qui** is almost a proclitic, which reduces the effect. See too No., p.447, Hellegouarc’h (**346**), 166-75.

435 insontes Cf. n. on **434 proxima...loca** for the guiltless, blame-free suicides; cf. Gris  (1980), 298 :: (1982), 159.

lucemque perosi In the wake of *Lucr.*3.80 (*supra*). See Keulen, *TLL* 10.1. 1607.68ff.; other readers may find the treatment of *p.* in *TLL* perplexing, even bizarre. Norden argues carefully and at length for **p.** not being a Virgilian coinage (it is used by Aug. in a serious letter, and *ter* in *Liv.*3; V. perhaps employed *exosus* in later books on the model of *perosus*; simplex *osus* established in archaic Latin). **L.**, as often, the light of life, **721, 761**. Cf. n. on **828 lumina uitae** and vd. Ehlers *TLL* 7.2.1910.69, *EV* 2, 291, quoting 4.452, 631, etc..

436 proiecere animas *Quasi rem uilem* comments Serv.; Montuschi, *TLL* 10.2. 1801.6f.. V. uses a word from his favourite poem, *Cat.*64.82 *ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis/ proicere optauit*; already in Enn. (*proiciunt sese, Ann.*237). **A.** ‘il principio vitale’, whose removal means death, Negri, 35ff. at 42, comparing e.g. 3.140, 8.566 and note 1.98 with *effundere*; the language, as La Cerda explained, is already Gk., *Eur.Ion* 1498, [*Eur.*] *Rhes.*183, etc..

quam uellent We reach a famous (vd. Serv.) bow to a great antecedent, *Od.* 11. 489ff. **βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω,/ ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρω, ᾧ μὴ βίσιος πολὺς εἶη,/ ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.** To understand Hom.'s words better, vd. Finley, *World of Od.*, 57f.. **Q.:** *OLD* s.v., §2 and for the impf. subj. 'of regret', vd. Ernout-Thomas, 241, Handford, *Lat.subjunc.*, 91, Woodcock, 88f., *KS* 1, 184, *LHS* 332f. and the typically fine discussion (including this v.), H.Blase in Landgraf, *Hist.Gramm.*, 159.

aethere in alto From *G.* 4.78. Cf. too 9.644, 4.574, 7.25, Lunelli, *EV* 1, 40, von Mess, *TLL* 1.1152.3. Familiar language: *id.*, *ib.*, 1.1774.45ff., but apparently not just thus before *V.*.

437 nunc Now, that is, that they have died and are (perhaps for what would otherwise have been the span of their earthly lives) in this largely nameless region (but see **441**); *V.*, though, comes nowhere near imposing this sort of explicit uniformity on the area.

et pauperiem *V.* clearly still has Hom., *cit.* in mind but perhaps sensed that he could not stick close to the stark and specific economic detail, or indeed failed quite to understand the technicalities of Hom.'s language; schol. and indeed Eust. here unilluminating. Just what did *V.*, or his readers, think a θῆς was? Cf. *Companion*, 68f. for slavery in *G.*. Cf. nn. on 2.87 and 3.615. The noun in *Enn.trag.* and *Hor.C.* 3, 4; nouns in *-ies* long recognised as having an archaic feel to them, *Plin.dub.serm.* 89 (ed. Della Casa; ap. Charis.), Cordier, 66, J.Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects de la formation...* (Paris 1949), 119. Cf. Bettini, *EV* 1, 290 for *V.*'s use of the prosodically handy **p.**; see E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 591f. for this element in his lexical choice.

et duros...labores Cf. *G.* 1.146 *duris urgens in rebus egestas*, 2.412, *Aen.* 8.291, and my remarks, *ORVA*, 307.

perferre Standard Latin, both verse and prose; Ramminger, *TLL* 10.1.1361.1f. notes *Ter.Ad.* 496 *paupertatem una pertulimus grauem*. Note the allit. of *p.* (the grunting of effort?).

438 fas obstat Vd. n. on **391 nefas** and vd. here *EV* 2, 466, where Sini (after Paratore) is clearly right to suppose that *V.* is likely to use **f.** in the common sense of 'la legge divina', whereas Serv. refers to *iura naturae*. At all events, the suicides clearly can have no chance of a reversal of their decision. **O.:** cf. 4.440 *fata obstant*, Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.247.6f., *EV* 4, 1028. **Fata obstant** in Serv. and c.9 mss., evidently from 4. *cit.*.

tristisque...undae So at *G.* 4.479f. *tardaque palus inamabilis unda/ aligat et nouiens Styx interfusa coerces*. Cf. **305-8** for consideration, with bibliography, of the relationship of *G.* 4 to *Aen.* 6: *V.* here, as elsewhere in bk.6, simply draws upon his earlier treatment of the subject and discussion

here will not be complicated by unnecessary and speculative hypotheses (vd. e.g. Setaioli, *Si tantus amor* (337-83), 108-111, 192-202) of second editions and the like. Here **MP** read **undae**, **unda** correctors in **MR** and c.9 mss., Serv. and TCD; scribes were baffled both by the grammatically different precedent in *G.4* and by **t.**, not distinctively genitive in appearance. The adj. very much as at **534 tristis sine sole domos** (cf. Hor.C.2.14.8f. *tristil' compescit unda*; vd. NH and, *bene*, Henrichs, 6 on the assignment of adjs. to nouns there) and the gen. (as has apparently not been noticed, a *gen. inhaerentiae*, much favoured by V. (vd. 7.150 *fontis stagna*, 242 *fontis uada sacra*, n. on 7.352 and my indices s.v.; Henrichs, *infra*, 5 only concerned with whether there are exact parallels elsewhere for bare *palus undae*; *id.*, 7, n.15 ignores this underrated use of gen.); here the swamp formed by the waters of Styx (a real, wide river, possibly with waves in it: **unda** used at **385**, plur., **370**: a frequent term) is hardly awkward. V. has altered the adj., and a further, unobtrusive alteration to the case is hardly a problem (Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti antichi*, 123, rather than *Per la storia*, 166, 167; see more fully Henrichs, 7, n.14; *tacet* Niehl (309-12), 198), producing a single massive subject for **alligat**; Con., R.D.Williams and Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 165-8, *Virgilianisti antichi*, 123f. (in polemic with Zetzel over Serv.) argue indecisively for abl. here. Note Zetzel, *infra*, 124 'there can be no question' that abl. is right, without appropriate argument, whereas Henrichs offers, in unusual detail (1-8), the case for gen., though he is unaware of Timpanaro's recent discussion. Note, whatever is read, the complex order A₁N₂A₂N₁: vd. Zetzel, *Lat. text. criticism...* (Salem 1984), 123f., Henrichs, 8, n.18 on the need to distribute the adjs., one per noun; part of the problem had evidently been that, in **tristisque palus inamabilis undae**, **palus** might appear on a hasty reading to be qualified by two adjs..

palus inamabilis P.: vd. **107**, **323**, etc..Vd. A.Henrichs, *ZPE* 78 (1989), 1-29, H.Pelliccia, *ib.*, 84 (1990), 187-94, and (not convincing) G.Brugnoli in *Tradizione e innovazione ...Scritti in onore di B.Gentili* 3 (ed. R.Pretagostini, Roma 1993), 981-8 at 983f.. Pelliccia argues that V., with Parthen. fr.640SH=fr.28Lightfoot, in mind, refers to the river's 'standoffishness', i.e. reluctance to *mingle* with other waters, typical of the rivers of the Underworld (*Il.2.753*, Plat.*Phaed.*113C, etc.; Pelliccia offers ample material). Henrichs draws attention (15-20) to Aesch. *Psychagogoi*, frag.273a.11Radt <ἄ>μέγαρτο<v> ὕδωρ of which **inamabilis** may be a (typically) Hellenistic 'correction' (Henrichs, 24, citing R.Thomas). That is all fascinating, and may even be right, though convinced adhesion to H.'s argument would be easier if A.'s play were evidently and amply familiar in the c.1BC; it seems not to have been, and we might be well advised not to pursue appar-

ently precise references to plays not at the heart of contemporary interest and scholarship.

439 alligat B.A.Müller, *TLL* 1.1683.72, *Aen.*1.169 *unco non alligat ancora morsu* (where an obj. is easily supplied from 168). But it is not at all disconcerting if the vb. is used absolutely here (Henrichs, 7, with n.16, quoting Luc.2.50 and 10.255). **A.** possibly at Pacuv.*trag.*59, but this may be the first instance in hexam. epic.

et...coercet Cf. Lambertz, *TLL* 3.1434.31; **alligat** and **c.** roughly synonymous (theme and variation, therefore). It is not perfectly clear exactly whose souls the nine coils of the Styx enclose. Just those of the suicides? I had thought so, but there are more complicated views (Setaioli, 112f.).

nouies Styx interfusa I. at Hor.*C.*1.14.16 (likely to be earlier than this v.) *interfusa nitentis/ uites aequora Cycladas*, and (very differently) *Aen.*4.644. For discussion of the nine coils, vd. A.Setaioli, *EV* 2, 960, summarising *AR* 14 (1969), 9-21, which is now reprinted in *Si tantus amor* (337-83), 105-20 (at 115-20). Serv. sees an oblique reference to the nine celestial spheres (vd. too his n. on **426**, where his doctrine of nine *circuli* delimiting the groups present in the Underworld is notably unhelpful), but vd. Setaioli, 117 for the impossibility of supposing (with No., pp.26-8) that such a doctrine of the spheres was already known to V.; in practice, it is only to be sought in and after Ptolemy (*fl.* 130-40 AD).

440-76 Dido and the victims of love

440-9 The victims of love

(1) For this category in Lucian, *Cataplus*, vd. (**426-547**) (p.320, (2)): that passage, close to V., establishes, beyond discussion, the victims of love as a distinct group in a pre-Virgilian source, among the occupants of an intermediate area in the Underworld. See further Norden, p.247f. Fernandelli, 28, Kraggerud (**448**), 67: in fact, the mythol. heroines present in the Underworld were listed often enough, and it may be useful to provide a rather fuller collection of passages than usual, in chronol. order: (i) *Od.*11.305ff. at 321, 326 (providing V. with Phaedra, Procris and Eriphyle); (ii) Polygnotus ap. Paus. 10.29.3f. (Lesche of the Cnidians): Ariadne and Phaedra; (iii) Prop. 1.19.13 *illic formosae ueniant chorus heroinae* (the women of Troy, distributed among the heroes of Greece), (iv) 4.7.55ff., Clytemnestra and Phaedra, balancing the virtuous Andromeda and Hypermnestra (vd. Hutchinson's n.), (v) *Ov.Met.*11.61ff. (Orpheus and Eurydice; vd. Bömer's n.); (vi) *Culex* 245-69 (including Procne, 251; vd. Leo); (vii) Plut. *de facie* 945a-c (on the soul of e.g. Endymion); (viii) Marcellus of Side, *Regilla*, (Kaibel, *Epigr.Gr.*1046 = Courny, *epigr.dedic.* 264.55-9), specifying Alcmena and Cadmeione (Semele? a reference to *Il.*14.323,

perhaps; vd. Gantz, 2, 473, Robert, 1, 660f.); (ix) Philostratus, *Her.*11.8 (Laodamia, in the Underworld with Alcestis, Evadne, καὶ αἱ ταύταις ἴσαι σῶφρονές τε καὶ χρησταί), and (x) the many suicides *propter amorem* in Hyg.*Fab.*243 *quae se ipsae interfecerunt*. Perhaps most strikingly (xi), (xii), Peek, *GV* 2005.22ff. (Penelope, Evadne, Laodamia, Alcestis), with *SEG* 52.942 and 1672.5-6, Bremmer (2009), 190. Note too the multiplicity of mythol. manuals available (426-547), *ad fin.*, supposing V. had decided upon a really lavish expansion of his Homeric original here. ‘Those others are figures from a classical dictionary, Dido is real’: Austin, *PVS*, 57; V., we should recognise, displays a certain restraint in leafing the dictionary.

(2) The arrangement of the names. A.Lesky, in a paper later pub. as *Studi...Castiglioni* 1 (Firenze 1960), 533-54, on V.'s lesser catalogues, inspired Perret, 251. Vd. now Kyriakidis, *cit.*. We may conceive of the names as arranged in various ways: guilty and innocent, perhaps, for it is difficult to summon up pity for the ‘victims’ in the stories of Phaedra, Pasiphae, Eriphyle, even Caeneus. One might also wonder if geography was involved: consider the Theban element, Eriphyle, Evadne, Laodamia, as against the Cretans, Phaedra and Pasiphae. The formal order, repeated in 445 and 447, is of alliterative linked pair followed by polysyllable (cf. Norden, 438), with Caeneus as evident climax.

(3) The relevance of these heroines as preparation for Dido; we might even wish to compare the Rom. heroes of the *Heldenschau* as preparation for Aeneas. The details of this approach will be worked out in comm., *infra*. On the heroines in general, vd. J.Perret, *REL* 42 (1964), 247-61, Knauer, 112-4, R.G.Austin, *PVS* 8 (1968-9), 56f., M.Fernandelli, *Incontri triestini di filol. class.* 6 (2006-7), 31-6, U.Hübner (307), 90ff., Johnston (450-476), 651, Kyriakidis (756-846), 27, Lesky, *supra*, (2), G.Stégen, *LEC* 38 (1970), 230-6, J.Tatum, *AJP* 105 (1984), 434-52 at 436f., M.O. Lee in *Two worlds* (136-48), 85f. (vd. on 445 **maestamque Eriphylen**).

440 nec procul hinc Cf. 1.469, 8.635, both in conventional ephraseis, possibly with Hom. οὐχ ἕκαστ in mind. Then Ovid, Germanicus, Statius.

partem...in omnem Tessmer, *TLL* 10.479.24 cites Ov.*Met.*3.70.

fusi Cf. *EV* 2, 610, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1570.84f., citing no earlier instance of *f.* in this sense ‘*de locis, terris*’, though other metaph. uses of *f.* are widely attested (Robbert, 1570.66ff. from Cic.*Arat.*99, with Gk. antecedents).

monstrantur A generalising reference to the explanations offered by Deiphobe to Aeneas. Commenting on the *monstrantur* of 7.569 I wrote of the present passage ‘the *campi* are not only shown to Aeneas by the Sibyl [as they will have been to earlier visitors], but have been displayed by earlier readers by V.'s predecessors’; verse *and* prose, naturally. Cf. *SC* (§21),

for the issue of what V. might perhaps have been told by the professional guides at Cumae.

440 should, in the interests of clarity, be marked as beginning a new paragraph; **nec procul hinc** marks explicitly a further stage in the articulation.

441 Lugentes Campi Cf. (426-547). The ‘Plain of Truth’ at [Plat.] *Axiochus* 371C (so Con.) is poor stuff by comparison.

sic illos nomine dicunt Cf. (426-547); see O’Hara, *TN*, 76, n.330, *Alambicco*, 120 :: *PLLS* 6 (1990), 51, nn. on 3.210, 7.208, 607; the Greek material (vd. e.g. Rhianus, *FGH* 265F45, AR 1.591, *Opp.Hal.*1.256, etc.) seems not to have been conveniently collected. ‘He may be calling attention to etymological wordplay, especially if the naming construction seems otherwise unnecessary’, O’Hara, *TN*, 76; that cautious formulation does not force an etym. reference to (e.g.) ‘Cocytus’ upon the reader.

442 hic quos...peredit It is this **hic** that limits any (correct) wider use of the term *lugentes campi*. For **p.**, cf. Schmitz, *TLL* 10.1.1297.76f. (used already thus, *Cat.*58a.9), G.Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2,178, Taillardat, 218, Pichon, *Ind.verb. amatoriorum*, 137, Kroll on *Cat.*35.15 *edunt medullam*, Pease on *Aen.*4.66 *est mollis flamma medullas*: the metaphor as old as Hom. (e.g. *Il.*6.202, translated, *Cic.carm.*Hom.fr.2.2 *ipse suum cor edens*, *Il.* 24.213); note 12.801 *edat...dolor*. The verb Catullan, the metaphor markedly so (cf. 66.23 *quam penitus maestas exedit cura medullas*). Masc. of rel.pron. for antecedents of both genders, *KS* 1, 61.

durus amor From *G.*3.259 (where vd. Mynors for occasional Gk. antecedents, such as AR 4.445, Meleager, *GP*, *HE* 4022; note Musaeus, 245); interesting to find no more than a surprisingly unimportant self-citation when we might have suspected a universal commonplace; cf. *Prop.*2.34.49, *Banner*, *TLL* 5.1.2308.76f..

crudeli tabe **T.** a ‘physical wasting away’, *OLD* s.v., §1a, citing *Lucr.*6.1201 (the vb. also in *Lucr.*), *Stok*, *EV* 5*, 2, drawing attention (after No. here) to Gk. τήκεσθαι; the vb. in *Cat.*, *Prop.*, *Ov.*, the noun in *Ov.*; see Pichon, 273 s.v. *tabescere* for wasting away from love. For the adj., so familiar in erotic literature, cf. Pichon, 117, *EV* 1, 944, Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1227.32. By no means did ‘misfortune fall upon her’ (Rivero García, *infra*, 274); her love was specifically a wasting illness (cf. further Pichon, 207, Pease on 4.1-2), so ‘plagued’ (Armstrong (447), *cit.*) is equally infelicitous.

443 secreti...calles Cf. 9.383 *rara per occultos lucebat semita callis* (vd. Hardie’s n.), *Probst*, *TLL* 3.173.62: a (sheep)-track, E.Gabba, M.Pasquinucci, *Strutture agrarie...* (Pisa 1979), 140-2 *et passim*. Cf. too *Liv.*22.14.8f. *nos hic pecorum modo per aestiuos saltus deuiasque calles exercitum ducimus*,

conditi nubibus silisque. si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M.Furius recipere a Gallis urbem uoluisset. The other common sense, 'mountain pasturage', is hardly germane here, *pace* Henry's exasperating note. Note the paronomasia (not etymologising) of **celant** and **calles**, alliterative with **circum**; cf. O'Hara, *TN* 60-3. The adj. used again of the **arua ultima** of this region, **477f.**; note also the **secretis.../ sedibus** of 7.774f. (where *vd. n.*), when Diana translates her votary Hippolytus to the distant west to save him from further punishment (cf. *Ov.F.6.756*). *EV* 4, 743 (places that conceal because they are separate, remote). The tone of these words is specific and significant: here in death, nature has come to the aid of the tragic lovers; still beset by *curae*, they have at least the consoling privacy of the kindly woods (cf. **472f. refugit/ in nemus umbriferum**): see Clausen's rich n. on *Buc.2.4f.* for the motif of the victim's appeal to sympathetic nature and Rohde, *Griech. Roman*₃, 168, with n.1, Knox on [*Ov.*] *Ep.Sapph.* 137-40 for the Hellen. motif of the lover's solitary wanderings. Serv.'s *amantibus congrui* is charming but perhaps not quite to the point; in the Underworld, V.'s lovers are hardly presented as pursuing their amours in an earth(ly) manner. Cf. **653** for such continuation of old, familiar activities. No. on **442 ad fin.** expounds the relevance of Lucian's parodic *VH* 2.25 (lovers' stroll in Elysium) with notable skill.

celant *Vd.* E.Romano, *EV* 1, 726; missing at Elzberger, *TLL* 3.769.60.

et myrtea circum/ 444 silua tegit Circum in an amplifying role in a favourite position (3.306, 5.250, **6.517**, etc.), in a full double theme (**calles celant**) and variation (**silua tegit**), that lends specificity to the woods through which the **calles** pass. The adj. previously in Cato, *Agr.* **M.** a shrub (growing to two metres high, *RHS Encyc. plants and flowers* (**883**)), peculiarly appropriate here (Maggiulli, 366f.), given its associations with both death (cf. also 3.23 (with full n.), 5.72) and Venus (cf. Mynors, Thomas on *G.1.28* and more fully n. on *Aen.* 3.19: there is no precise, agreed explanation). It is refreshing to see that Conte is untroubled by the **murtea** of **MP. T.**: cf. *Lucr.6.852* (of night), *EV* 5*, 71.

curae A view sharply opposed to that of *Lucr.3.904f.* (death as the end to *doloribus aegris*) and evidently balancing Dido's desire *finemque imponere curis*, by death, at 4.639 (*vd. Kraggerud*, 69). V. is clearly enough influenced here by the common poetic view of love surviving into the Underworld, *Theocr.1.103*, 3.48, *Hübner* (**307**), 93f., *Smith* on *Tib.1.3.59-64*, *Maltby* on *ib.*, 57-66; *vd. too Austin, PVS*, 56 and see on **474. C.** itself an essential part of elegiac love, *Pichon*, 120f., *McKeown* on *Ov.Am.2.10.12* with further bibl., *Fedeli, EV* 1, 962, *Perret*, 258 (and *tacet Harrison, GEVH*); for the Gk. terminology, No. on **442, ad fin.**

non...relinquunt After *non* a *de facto* litotes, 'clung close to'; cf. 10.855 *nunc uiuo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo*.

ipsa in morte So too Cat.76.18, but hardly to be considered a conscious echo here.

445 his...locis Cf. 8.335. No obvious poet. antecedents, but, perhaps surprisingly here, typical of Caesarian prose, *Gall.* 2.35.3, 3.1.3, etc.; the detail not essential to the tone of the passage as a whole, so V. is perhaps happy to employ a flat, neutral expression, which we happen to know is Caesarian.

Phaedram From *Od.*11.321; for the story of the Cretan P., daughter of Minos see e.g. W.S.Barrett, comm. *Eur.Hipp.*, pp.1-15, Gantz, 1, 285-8, Frazer on [Apld.] *Epit.*1.19; here, it would be easy but pointless to multiply refs.. Note Perret, 253, Armstrong (447), 104-7 (on possible analogies between the stories of Phaedra and Dido, with Lee, 86 on Phaedra's nurse and Dido's sister). Note that V. does not prefer a selection of unquestionably noble, wronged heroines to prepare us for Dido (thus too Tatum, 436): or rather, at least in the case of Phaedra, there is nothing to show whether V. viewed her as virtuous or adulterous; the story is notably rich in conflicting variants and we should not assume that V. must necessarily have the surviving Euripidean version in mind.

Procrimque Again Homeric (*ib.*). See e.g. Gantz, 1, 245-7, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.* 3.15.1, Robert, 2.1, 162-7, *EV* 4, 292; also Tatum, 436, E.J. Boneschanscher, *CQ* 32 (1982), 148-51, West (*infra*, 1980), 52, Perret, 249, 251. P.'s chastity is tested by a seven years' absence of her husband Cephalus, and is further tested on his return; P. then follows her husband suspiciously when he goes out hunting and is accidentally killed. Not a suicide, and altogether guiltless. West (*infra*) draws attention to the wound Cupid inflicts on Dido (1.688, 4.1f.); add perhaps Dido as the unwary victim of (Aeneas as) the Cretan archer, 4.69-73 (Lee, 86); as Cretan clearly the user of poisoned arrows. But it may be that modern readers of these vv. have gone too far in their ingenuity.

maestamque Eriphylen The adj. hardly to be limited to E.; as an adj., **m.** rather over-used, **333, 340, 434**. Hom. (*Od.*11.326) calls her $\sigma\tau\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\nu$ and V. *uituperatur sane* (Serv.) on account of his deviation from the Hom. model. For E., see Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.* 3.7.2-5, calling her 'giddy and treacherous', Gantz, 2, 506-8, 525f., Robert, 2.3, 915-9, 956f., Venini, *EV* 2, 366. Wife of Amphiaraus, bribed her husband with Harmonia's necklace to join the Seven against Thebes. There he was killed, as was she, later, by their son Alcmaeon. Did V. know a version in which E. had been the lover of Polynices, supplier of the necklace? That is energetically disputed (West, 54, n.5, Venini, Rivero Garcia, 280f.). What was the role of *love* in the story of E.? Neither E.'s place in the group, nor her relevance to Dido, is quite clear and the volume of recent discussion is significant: are the wounds in common really quite enough (**446, 450**, Au., *PVS*, 57)? Might

one even have to think of Dido's inducements to Aen. to *stay* at Carthage (1.572f.) or of his potential role as Dido's defender against her neighbours (4.40-4)? Neither Serv. nor TCD offers a convincing overall view, but Lee's suggestion (refining Perret, Kraggerud, West; cf. Fernandelli, 35) that many of these victims correspond to *one phase* in the story of Dido will be found more helpful than many. See G.S.West, *Vergilius* 26 (1980), 52-4, Venini, *cit.*, Perret, 249, Fernandelli, 32f., Kraggerud, 70. L.Rivero García *HSCP* 104 (2008), 273-87 is exasperated by the divergences between E. and Dido, and rewrites V. the better to suit his more logical view of the argument, while R.D.Williams *ad loc.* comments 'seven heroines irrelevant to the action of the *Aeneid*', a view of which it would be hard to speak at all favourably.

446 crudelis nati...uulnera Inflicted by her son Alcmaeon, to avenge his father Amphiaraus, *Apld.Bibl.*3.7.5, Robert, 956-9; justifiable matricide, we might feel, but V. invites our sympathy for the victim, irrespective of Alcmaeon's excellent motive. The suggestion that we should also bear in mind the *wound* inflicted by Venus' *cruel son* Cupid upon Dido should be viewed with cautious approval (cf. 1.719 *miseræ*, of the recently 'wounded' Dido, by way of comment): Kraggerud, 70, West, 52, Lee, 86. **C. n.** a subjective gen.; Antoine, 82f.

monstrantem Contrast **440** (shown to the Sibyl and Aen.).

cernit Vd. **87** ('emotionally charged sight').

447 Euadnenque At the fall of Thebes, Evadne threw herself on to the pyre of her husband Capaneus. Particularly in the light of Sychaeus' presence at Dido's side, **473f.** (Perret), it is easy to read Evadne's suicide as referring to Dido's. Or are we meant to think (Lee, *cit.*) of Dido's delusion that she is somehow married to Aen.? (vd. *Companion*, 128 for the details.) See Perret, 252f., Tatum, 436, Robert, 2.3, 923, Garbugino, *EV* 2, 437, Gantz, 2, 522, and Frazer's ample n. on *Apld.Bibl.*3.7.1.

et Pasiphaen Vd. *Apld.Bibl.*3.15.8, *Buc.*6.46f. (where vd. Clausen, *bene*) and **24f.**, *supra*, E.Simon, *EV* 3, 1005f., Robert, 2.1, 361-4, Gantz, 1, 260f.. Pasiphae's union, thanks to practical assistance from Daedalus, with the bull that Posidon had sent to her husband Minos seems to be the only story to which V. can refer here; of her death we seem to know nothing at all, or at least, nothing before Malelas, as Butler remarks. Was her union as monstrous as the friendship between Carthage and Rome predicated by the loves of Dido and Aen.? Or does Pas. illustrate the destructive effects of a great passion (vd. *Buc.*6, Armstrong, Lee)? See R.Armstrong, *Cretan women* (Oxford 2006), 107, L.Alfonsi, in *Mythos. Scripta ... M.Untersteiner* (Genova 1970), 33-6, Lee, 86, Fernandelli, 33, Kraggerud, 70.

his.../ 448 it comes Cf. 2.704 *comes ire*, **6.159 it comes** (vd. n.), 12.881 *comes ire*.

Laodamia Cf. S.Viarre, *EV* 3, 118, Frazer on [Apld.]*Epit.*3.30, Robert, 2.1, 60-4, Gantz, 2, 592f.: L.'s husband, Protesilaus, was the first Greek to fall at Troy, but Hermes, out of pity at her distress, brought Prot. back to earth for a limited period, but, when he returned to Hades, she killed herself, becoming thereby able to share at last the same world as her husband; cf. Dido's fidelity to Sychaeus, in death: Lee, 86, Fernandelli, 35, Kraggerud, 70, Perret, 252.

448 et iuuenis quondam, nunc femina Note the neat ABBA order; for the balance **quondam - nunc**, cf. 7.411f. For **iuuenis - femina**, cf. Quadlbauer, *TLL* 7.2. 735. 18ff., comparing Hor.*C.*3.14.9 *uirginum matres iuuenumque*, Tib.1.1.65f. *non iuuenis...non uirgo*, 1.3.63.

Caeneus There is, first, an attractive verbal joke, in the juxtaposition of **femina** and **Caeneus** and the studied false concord between **reuoluta** and **Caeneus**; Au. refers to Fordyce's note on *Cat.*63.8, though there the ms. tradition has been confused by the change of gender; cf. now A.Richlin, *Garden of Priapus* (New York 1992), 97, with n.25, Ruurd Nauta in (ed. R.N. and A.Harder) *Catullus' poem on Attis* (Leiden 2005), 92-5, with some discussion of parallel material (and see also A.Corbeill, *Controlling laughter* (Princeton 1996), 150, 163, Opelt, *Schimpfwörter*, 155, *Tac. Ann.*6.5). We consider now

(i) the story of Caeneus. A story modest, almost trivial, in comparison with the six changes in Sostratus' account of Tiresias' vicissitudes (O'Hara). In Hes. (fr.87MW) and later (Call., AR) the nymph Caenis underwent a single change (into the Lapith Caeneus), along with the gift of invulnerability, as compensation for her rape by Posidon. The change back (that specified here, from man here only represented jestingly as woman into authentic woman) is unique to V., at least until late antiquity (Robert, 11, n.2). See *EV* 1, 728, Frazer on [Apld.]*Epit.*1.22, Gantz, 1, 280f., Robert, 2.1, 10-2, Bömer on *Ov. Met.*12.168-209, T.Gärtner, *Lat.*66 (2007), 891-9 (for Ovid's version), J.J.O'Hara, *TAPA* 126 (1996), 173-219 at 181, Nelis, 308.

(ii) the place of C. in the present context. C.'s notable valour in battle after her first transformation may be compared with Dido's manly talents as founder and administrator (Tatum, 437) and his regression to her original state may be compared to Dido's reversion to the company of Sychaeus (Kraggerud, 69f., Perret, Au., Fernandelli, *citt.*, West, 318f.). See E.Kraggerud, *Symb. Osl.*40 (1965), 66-71, G.S. West, *TAPA* 110 (1980), 310-24, Perret, 252, Lee, 86, Tatum, 436f., Au., *PVS*, 57, Fernandelli, 35.

449 rursus Cf. 7.767, with n., 'back'. Wakefield understood **r.** with **femina**, but with **Caeneus** interposed, the reader is little inclined to understand

r. with what precedes, when **r.** is, altogether conventionally, comprehensible in tandem with **ueterem** following so soon, ‘back into his/her old form’.

et in ueterem...figuram Another small item of verbal play, between the *καίνος* present in Caeneus and **ueterem** (cf. Kraggerud, 69, O’Hara, *TN*, 172f., No.). Cf. Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.723.67f., Strati, *EV* 2, 515 (comparing 12.862), Evrard, *ib.*, 5*, 525. **Et** postponed, after **rursus**, in the Hellenistic manner; cf. n. on 11.81.

fato Cf. Pötscher, 32, who might seem to understand **f.** with **ueterem** (‘what was by destiny his original form’; cf. Bailey, 208-14). Certainly not so, little though in practice it matters.

reuoluta ‘By destiny returned’; vd. *OLD* s.v., §4a, ‘fall back again, relapse’. On the pleonasm **rursus...reuoluta**, Forbiger refers to *G.1.200 retro...referri*. See Pease on 4.531, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 223, n. on 2.169 *retro...referri*.

450-476 Dido For Homer’s Ajax, vd. **456-66**. Essential to our understanding of this scene is its relationship to the Dido of *Aen.* 1 and 4; the reiteration of ‘facts’ already established (cf. **Phoenissa**, **a uulnere**, **amore**) requires no comment here, but students of these vv. have long realised that V. executes at the same time a number of more or less significant inversions of the earlier narrative. Notably, it is here *Aen.* who takes the verbal initiative, who speaks first, who weeps and displays evident tenderness (**455**), who indeed pleads with Dido; the relatively uncommunicative *Aen.* of 4 is transformed. See Feeney, *ORVA*, 182, Hardie, 88, Skinner, 12f., Edwards, 264, Scafoglio, 85 but above all von Albrecht (1965), (1999). Note also (i) Dido now *obscura* (see on **453-4**), as against the *Aen.* of bk.1, then revealed in bright light (1.588) and now shrouded in darkness (**452**); (ii) Dido now hard as rock in the face of the once oak-like, indeed, once rock-born (4.366, 441-9) Aeneas (**471**); (iii) Dido who flees (**472**), as against *Aen.* who had made for his fleet (4.396), and Dido who returns to love in death (**471f.**) against Dido who loses her love in 4. Inversion may also be (part of) the answer to the problem of **460**. Dido, her breach of fidelity to Sychaeus’ memory forgiven, returns (?happily, one assumes) to his arms, while *Aen.*, though transformed in his behaviour, once again fails to convey his thoughts and feelings to his beloved. There is no happy emotional closure: no bawling, no abuse, either, but we see that chill silence is if anything worse. See R.G.Austin, *PVS* 8 (1968-9), 57-60, Cartault, 456-8, Di Cesare, 106-8, G.B.Conte, *Rhetoric of imitation* (Eng.tr., Ithaca 1986), 88-90, D’Elia, 223f., M.J.Edwards, *Ant.Class.* 66 (1991), 260-5, T.S.Eliot,

What is a classic? (London 1945), 20f.,¹ A.Feldherr, *Arethusa* 32 (1999), 85-122, R.D.Griffith, *TAPA* 125 (1995), 47-59, P.Hardie, *Virgil, GRNSC* 28 (1998), 88, J.Heurgon, *Mél. P.Boyancé (CEFR 22, Rome 1974)*, 395-400, Horsfall, *Companion*, 132f., Hübner (307), 97, Johnson, 82-4, P.A. Johnston, *AJP* 108 (1987), 649-54 (on 460), Knauer, 108-12, E.Kraggerud, *Symb.Osl* 72 (1997), 107-10, A.Laird, *Powers of expression...* (Oxford 1999), 184-8, Lobe, 140-5, Lyne, *FV*, 171-5, Mackie, 128-33, R.Nauta, *Lampas*, 44 (2011), 53-71, Quinn, 168-70, F. De Ruyt, *LEC* 11 (1942), 320-4, Ricottilli, 106-16, Rieks, *Affekte*, 154, G.Scafoglio, *AuA* 49 (2003), 84f., O.Seel, in *Hommages M.Renard* 1 (*Coll.Lat.* 101, 1969), 677-88, M.Skinner, *Vergilius* 29 (1983), 12-8, S.Skulsky, *AJP* 106 (1985), 447-55, *ead.*, *ib.*, 108 (1987), 56-80, R.A.Smith, *Phoenix* 47 (1993), 305-12 and *Primacy of vision*, 118-21, G.Vögler *AU* 24 (1981), 63f., M. von Albrecht, *Herm.* 93 (1965), 54-64, *id.*, *Roman epic (Mnem.Suppl.* 189, Leiden 1999), 123-9, R.D.Williams, *ORVA* 197.

450 inter quas Comm. suggests at various points, after (e.g.) Perret and Kraggerud, that the personages named from Phaedra to Caeneus are there because of their relevance to Dido, and indeed we are now told that Dido is physically there in their midst.

Phoenissa...Dido So 1.670, 714, 4.348, 529: on the Phoenician origins of Tyrian Dido. Note Sall.*Iug.*78, Leptis as a colony of Sidon, Plin.*Nat.*5.76, Leptis and Tyre. For Carthage proper, the evidence begins with Tim., *FGH* 566F82 (Pease, p.16), with Justin 18.4, an entirely Hellenised account, Bickerman, *CP* 47 (1952), 65-81, and note Plb.31.12.11 on the historical tradition about the Carthaginians sending offerings to Tyre, just as Greek colonists did to their mother-city, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 17. Vd. Cassola, *EV* 4, 351, *id.*, 5*, 186, Pease on 4.75 *Sidonias...opes*, and even my own remarks at *ORVA*, 134f., about D.'s Sidonian/Tyrian origins; for Dido's name, vd. Pease on 4.211 (with pp.16, 540), O'Hara, *TN*, 110 and n. on **errantem**, *infra*). Given the importance of the back-references throughout this passage, V. may be hinting here at the importance of Dido's origins and first great, Tyrian love (1.343ff., **6.473-4**).

recens a uulnere Contrast the simple abl. of **674 prata recentia riuis**; here, cf. *OLD* s.v. §4a, citing e.g. Sen.*Cons.Marc.*1.8 *nam uulnerum quoque sanitas facilis est, dum a sanguine recentia sunt*, Hand, 1, 46. 'The blood was still flowing', Con.; after Dido's death, and all the time it took the Trojans to reach Cumae from Carthage, via Sicily, indeed. Lyne, *WP*, 180f. draws attention to this expression as evocative of all Dido's tragedy in bk.4, focused upon her death; wounds are regularly (but not of course

1 Vd. D.W.Blandford, *Pentekontaetia* (London 1993), 29f., for the history of this lecture.

rigidly) non-literal, MacLennan, *OLD* s.v., §3, *EV* 4.688 (Pinotti, with antecedents in AR, Enn., Cat.64), *ib.*, 5*, 611, *Aen.*1.36, 4.2, 67; naturally *saucius*, *telum* are aspects of the same metaphor (Pichon, 259, 275, 302).

451 errabat A learned (indeed non-IE) etymology, whose presence in this emotionally elevated context might bear on our view of the problems of **460**: cf. 4.211 *femina, quae nostris errans in finibus* (and note the moon of 1.742). So Timaeus, *FGH* 566F82 (a central, familiar text), Dido so called on account of her extended *πλάγη*; so too *Etym.Magn* s.v. *Δίδω*. See Pease, s.v., Bartelink, 64, O'Hara, *TN*, 173. Dido travelled from the Lebanon to Tunisia (*supra*), and continues to roam the *calles* of this region of the Underworld; likewise, of course, Aeneas, 1.755, etc.. This dolorous, spondaic (cf. Austin, *PVS*, 57) perambulation attracts the eloquent Johnson, 68: not quite correctly focussed, for it is mere loose thinking to suggest that Dido is undergoing any sort of punishment; she is of course serving out the years until she reaches the term she would have attained had she not taken her own life (vd. 4.697).

silua in magna Cf. nn. on **386**, **639** for woodland in the Underworld and note **186 siluam immensam**. Here perhaps a continuation the **myrtea.../ silua** of **443f.**

quam.../ 452 ...iuxta stetit Cf. 7.72 *et iuxta genitorem astat Lauinia uirgo*; common anastrophe of disyll. prepos.. Aen. stands close to Dido from attraction? Or discretion? Or simply to lend greater weight to Dido's eventual stalking off, **472**? We have of course no idea. Standing by D. and recognising her are essentially simultaneous, above all in the woodland of the Underworld; cf. further **453-4**.

Troius heros Of Aen., *quinquies* in *Aen.*; cf. Moskalew, 82.

452 ut primum Cf. **102** and n. on 11.300.

agnouitque per umbras Cf. **257**, **268**, **490**, **619** for the clausula; for the vb., cf. n. on **193**, comm. on 11.910, E.Kraggerud, *EV* 3, 766. **Vmbram** a corrector in **M**, most c.9 mss., Serv. on **340**, 'de Didone' and here, *recenti morte, ut diximus supra* [**340**]. **V**. with **obscuram** TCD; Butler not right to claim that Serv. too understood the text thus. **Vmbras PR**. See L.Deschamps, *Kentron* 4 (1988), 59. The placing of **per umbras** lends extra force and meaning to run-on **obscuram**.

453 obscuram Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.168.41f.; cf. Hardie, 88, *EV* 3, 280 (unilluminating). Evidently, we recall **268 ibant obscuri** (with **270 per incertam lunam**); note also *G.4.424* the *nympha* who *ipsa procul nebulis obscura resistit*. The adj. could as well be applied to the moon; Kuhlmann, 168.71ff.

453-4 Moon simile V. has risen, as we quickly realise, to an exceptionally dense and complex level of writing: he looks, as we have just seen, to the reference to Aen. himself and to the Sibyl as **obscuri**, and to the comparison of their journey to (270f.) **iter in siluis** by a fitful moon, and he also bows, deeply (cf. Williams, *TORP*, 733f., Nelis, 392), to AR 4.1479f., where Lynceus thinks he sees Heracles far away: τῶς ἰδέειν, ὥς τίς τε νέφω ἐνὶ ἥματι μήνην/ ἢ ἴδεν ἢ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλύουσιν [sense disputed, but note AR's source, Arat.906, where Kidd renders the same form 'hazy'] ἰδέσθαι. The attentive reader should now also bear in mind 1.586f. (von Albrecht (1999), 124, (1967), 57), where the cloud about Aeneas (rendering him *obscurus*) vanishes and reveals him in bright light; such a triple inversion might at first sight have seemed forced or fantastical, but it has emerged (450-76) that the whole scene is built around a series of them. See M.O.Lee, *Vergilius* 34 (1988), 11, Rieks (204), 1022, 1046, 1076, Pöschl, 185-7, Hornsby, 98, Nelis, 392, Hügi, 35,105, Skulsky (1987), 70f. (a thoughtful discussion of Dido's associations with Diana and the moon), Smith, 117, Skinner, 13, Tatum, 439, von Albrecht (1965), 57, (1999), 124, von Duhn, 134ff..

qualem The noun delayed to the end of the following line creates tension, and a tight, enclosing structure.

primo...mense Cf. Varr.*RR* 1.37.1 *quo die dicitur luna esse extrema et prima*, Gundel/Bulhart, *TLL* 8.747.19f., Breimeier, *ib.*, 10.2.1357.16ff., Deschamps, 59-63, who rightly insists (60) on the departure from AR (hardly a 'correction'): there at daybreak, with the moon pale and faint against the daytime sky, here, the new moon early in the month (the degree of visibility variable from place to place and cycle to cycle; for details, readers are urged to consult on line Moonwatch, issued by HMNAO, Her Majesty's Nautical Almanac Office). I am not at all sure, *pace* D., that V. really needs a source (she suggests Berossus (fr.17, *FHG* 2), *vel sim.*, after Vitruvius 9.2.1) and a scientific explanation for saying that the moon is not sharply visible early in the month.

qui...surgere.../ 454 aut uidet aut uidisse putat S. the normal vb. for the rising of a heavenly body, *OLD* s.v., §4a; not so much 'technical', as the obvious, natural vb., as at e.g. 4.352. Cf. n. on 2.801. V. now turns from the moon to the human viewer, from **obscuram**, the moon's state, to the earthly viewer's uncertainty. The repetition with variation evidently after AR (who varies not tense but degree of certainty); cf. Wills, 307f. for comparanda, from both Ovid and Milton. Here the viewer either sees or thinks he saw (i.e. does not currently see), which is very much the point of **270 incertam**, (where *vd.* n.).

per nubila So Cicero's planets that wander *per nubila caeli*, Arat.230; *per nubila* also *bis* in Lucr.6.

lunam So AR had placed μήνην at v.-end; see above on **qualem** for the wd.-order.

455 demisit lacrimas Cf. Kieckers, *TLL* 5.1.490.59, Flury, 7.2.840.26; so too with *dat, profudit*. Cf. n. on 7.194 (with e.g. 1.459, 3.320, 492, 10.628), and likewise at speech-end (3.312 and n. on [2.588]) for tears as an explicit evaluation of tone at the beginning/end of a speech; cf. *Companion*, 125, n.20 for *Aen.*4.449: there is no rational room for doubt that the tears at 4, *cit.* are in fact Aeneas's (cf. 4.395 *multa gemens*). But of course here it is Aen. who pleads, while there it had been Dido, via Anna. Both times, in vain, and tears (Dido's, 4.437, and Aen.'s twice) are as unavailing as speech. Cf. further **468 lacrimasque ciebat** and **476 prosequitur lacrimis**: Aen., altogether free to weep, does so, as any reasonably thoughtful reader will suppose that he did in bk.4 (449; *supra*). Dido had called Aen. hard and unfeeling (4.369f.) but V. now reveals his behaviour as altogether inverted. Cf. nn. on 11.29, 41 for the tears of Aeneas.

dulcique...amore So Od. to Ajax, *Od.*11.552 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐπέεσσιν προσηύδων **μειλιχίοισι**. Cf. 4.395 Aen. *magnoque animum labefactus amore*, and *Companion*, 125 for Aen.'s love for Dido; note too Ricottilli, 112 for V.'s explicit setting of the speech's tone. **Dulci** hardly weaker, in the context, than *magno* had been; one of the beauties of the complex relationship between these vv. and bk.4 is that in part it is static, or unchanging (as here), while in part it thrives upon reversals. For **d.**, cf. *Buc.*3.109f., *EV* 2, 151; Lackenbacher, *TLL* 5.1.2192.34 and Vollmer, *ib.*, 1.1970. 66ff. accumulate between them a formidable array of instances, from *Cic.Fam.*2.1.1 (*dulcem et optatum* indeed), but we need hardly go beyond *Cat.*64.120 *omnibus his Thesei dulcem praeoptarit amorem* (with 66.6, 68.24 and 78.3).

adfatus...est *Adfata, adfatur* (Moskalew, 65) much commoner in speech-formulae.

456-66 Aeneas to Dido Odysseus had besought Ajax to approach him and talk, but, like Dido, Ajax did not answer and went off silent to Erebus, and though Od. claims he would *then* have spoken to Od., Od. himself wished to go on to see other spirits of the dead, *Od.*11.561-4 (Knauer, 109f., Ricottilli, 115, n.60). An antecedent already remarked by Serv.; schol. at *Od.*11.563 and Longin.9.2 comment on the superiority of this silence over any words. Note also the nurse's account of Medea's silence, *Eur.Med.*24-9 (with the rock of 28, cf. **471 cautes**), with Muecke, 105 (see too **469**; the allusions mutually reinforcing); Aen.'s previous speech to Dido, 4.333-61: since then, Dido has committed suicide, and Aen. encounters her in the Underworld by chance, while he is on the way to meet his father. But now he comes up with much of what was lacking before, love, tears, pity, warmth, even an interjection; Aen.'s language even takes up Dido's at

4.308-14 (vd. comm.). However, Dido of course now reacts at least as impassively as Aeneas had done (471; cf. 450-76), in a profound, *double* reversal of roles. See Highet, 138f., Feeney, *ORVA*, 182, Cartault, 456f. Mackie, 130f., P.Cugusi, *RFil.* 134 (2006), 66-73. Austin, *PVS*, 57f. and Ricottilli, 112-4 notably acute. 'L'inutile et maladroite palinodie d'Énée': exceptionally unsympathetic, even by Cartault's brutally rebarbative standards (1, 458); contrast TCD on 456: *dictio ista mira arte concepta est et pro personarum et causarum ratione composita*, or Eliot, 20f. 'complex in meaning and economical in expression'.

456 infelix Dido *Bis* of Dido in bk.1, *quater* in bk.4 (Highet, 139 prefers 4.456), and indeed *bis* in bk.1; distinctive and characterising, Bellincioni, *EV* 2, 487, Moseley, 24f., E.A.Hahn, *TAPA* 56 (1925), 204f. (far ahead of her time), Pease on 4.68: not part of Catullan *amor*, but very common in the elegists (Pichon, 168).

uerus...nuntius For this abstract use of *n.* in the sense of 'message', Nicastrì, *EV* 3, 799 compares 4.237, 7.437, 8.582, 9.692, 11.447, 897; vd. also my *n.* on 7, *cit.* both for use of abstract *n.* and for employment with acc. and inf. (note too Görler, *EV* 2, 271). **Verus n.** already at 3.310 (where vd. *n.*): this is precisely Homeric language. One of those quite numerous instances in *V.* where we would do well not to consider exactly how the news reached Aen. (*pace* Au., *PVS*, 57f.), since *V.* himself is at some pains not to tell us; the flames of 5.3-7 are neither imposed nor excluded. Cf. *Companion*, 132f.. Mme. Guillemin might be right to suggest that *n.* is an epic equivalent to the elegiac *fama*, Pichon, 142.

mihi.../ 457 uenerat Of messengers, unsurprisingly Caesarian, *Gall.*2.7.1, 6.10.4, *Civ.*2.36.3; likewise with *legati*, *ib.*, 2.6.4.

ergo 'The word expresses rueful realisation that something has turned out the way it has', NH on Hor.*C.*1.24.5, *bene*, citing *inter alia* this passage; cf. too Denniston, *Particles*, 35 on ἄρα ('the surprise attendant upon disillusionment'); as e.g. at *Il.*5.674. Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.770.40.

457 extinctam Cf. *n.* on 7.662 for the verb's tragic associations; favoured by *V.* and imitators, *n.* on [2.585]; note C.Weber, *Agon* 3 (1969), 46f. for the full range of synonyms for 'kill'.

ferroque extrema secutam E. as noun, as at 1.219, 3.315, Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.2006.82f., Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 592 (note Sen.*Ag.*680 *extrema loqui* of the swan's song). For the metonymy *f.*, cf. *n.* on 7.692 (the *ferrum* used to cut Berenice's lock has been compared, Cat.66.42). *EV* s.v. *sequor* altogether unsatisfactory; vd. *OLD* s.v., §16a and **170 non inferiora secutus**; q.v. for discussion of the common use of plural neut adj. in substantival sense and see also *n.* on 7.86.

458 funeris Thrust forwards, in front of **heu**; cf. 7.594. Au. rightly refers to von Albrecht's discussion, *Herm.*93 (1965), 58 and I incline to accept von A.'s point, that Aen. can see that Dido is dead and therefore does not need to *ask funeris* [*death*, that is, rather than any other suffering or distress], **heu, tibi causa fui?** Exclamation therefore preferable. For **f.** in the simple sense of '[cause of] death', cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1604.52ff., at 64 citing 2.284, 361, etc. (common in V.), Serra Zanetti, *EV* 2, 600 (naturally, more nuanced).

heu Cf. n. on 7.594.

tibi causa fui Cf. *Buc.*1.26 *et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa uidentis*, *EV* 1, 715. Cugusi, 70 observes the common refs. to *causa* in fun. epigrams, *CLE* 1035.5, 1198.7.

per sidera iuro Cf. 3.599 *per sidera testor* (with 4.519f. and Pease's n. there, 9.429), n. on 2.154, 12.197 *haec eadem, Aenea, terram, mare, sidera iuro*. Both constructions well attested: without *per*, vd. **324, 351**, Tessmer, *TLL* 7.2.675.52ff. and with *per* cf. 7.234, *ead.*, 674.84ff. at 675.10. Cf. nn. on 2.141, **6.324** for powers sworn by; Hickson's general account of oaths in V. not illuminating; cf. Pease on 4.24, *ad fin.*

459 per superos For the (common) multiplication of powers invoked, cf. 3.599f., with n.; for **s.**, cf. n. on 7.312.

et si qua fides The variation of construction is of a familiar type: cf. 2.141f. *quod te per superos et conscia numina uerit/ per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam/ intemerata fides* and the other passages quoted in my n. there. The construction well discussed, KS 1, 585; whereas a prosy paraphrast might have written *per fidem, si qua fides...*, the antecedent here is actually attracted into the rel. clause. See further n. on 2, *cit.* For the (impalpable) degree of uncertainty present in Virgilian *si qua*, cf. n. on 7.4 *si qua est ea gloria*.

tellure sub ima est Cf. 4.24 *sed mihi uel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat*, Fleischer/ Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1402.17f..

460 inuitus Cf. 4.340ff.; in particular, 361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*. Note also 12.809 *et Turnum et terras inuita reliqui*; Wills, 74 draws attention to 12.816 *adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis* (comparing **458 iuro**).

regina Cf. 4.1, 296, 504, etc.; cf. Pease, 24, n.163, Cairns, 39ff., Pomathios, 45f.. Aen. had used the respectful appellative in his only speech to Dido, 4.334. Note Dickey, 107, 355.

tuo de litore *Ab litore*, preferred elsewhere, not of course usable here.

cessi So Aen. of his departure from Troy, 2.804 (where vd. n.).

The issues raised by this verse and the 'unwelcome and jarring allusion' (so, provocatively, Feldherr, 108) it contains have generated energetic discussion over recent decades; one can but hope to add more light than

heat. Compare, of Berenice's lock: (i) *Call.Aet.fr.110.62-4* (remotely; we do not have the exact antecedent for Cat.'s words); (ii) *Cat.66.39 inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi, inuita: adiuro teque tuumque caput*. Is it enough to suppose that V. has brought off a brilliant reference to Catullus (so e.g. Harrison 445 'his aim was simply to display cleverness and originality'), however ill-suited the context might seem to be to 'mere' brilliance? How intimately is V.'s reader expected to recall Cat.'s style and context? Will (s)he remember the antithesis of lofty style and witty context? Easily reworked, therefore, by the removal of the Catullan context (Conte)? Could there be a reference to *Aen.*'s ultimate deification (Wigodsky, Nadeau, Skulsky, Johnston)? Is it relevant that the lock may be understood as a pledge, or indeed offering (Skulsky)? Is the lock's reference to truth-telling upon oath relevant? With **458**, cf. *Cat.66.40-1* (Tatum). Since in *Call./Cat.*, the lock would be delighted to return to its original place, is *Aen.* also willing to renounce the heavens to return to Dido (von Albrecht)? Is there also tragedy implicit in *Call./Cat.* (Clausen, Tatum, Feldherr)? Is Berenice merely an elaborate cover for the funeral of Patroclus (Drew Griffith)? Is *Aen.* suggesting that the loss is as though a part of himself (Ricottilli)? That is to summarise, drastically, the issues present in the debate (cf. also Feldherr, 108ff.), though no general agreement seems to have emerged, or so I sense, that any sort of decisive answer has been reached. Few relatively minor Virgilian issues have remained quite so long so unresolved. But should we also ask how many other locks of hair are we expected to bear in mind? That cut by Iris off the dying Dido (4.698f., 702-5) perhaps: see Skulsky (1985), 451, Tatum, 444, Smith, 306, Griffith, 49f.. Perhaps also Eur. *Alcestis*, 74-6, behind *Aen.4, cit.*: see Smith, 308, Griffith 49f.. It is not clear to me whether or not we should *also* think of e.g. 4.357, the heads of father and son by which *Aen.* had sworn. Regrettably, I find myself quite unable to offer any sort of definitive answer. See (and the list could be far longer) von Albrecht (1965), 60, with n.2, (1999), 127, W.V. Clausen, *HSCP* 74 (1970), 90f., Conte, *Rhetoric*, 88ff., Edwards, 260ff., Feldherr, 107-11, J.Ferguson, *PVS* 11 (1971-2), 35f., Drew Griffith, 47-50, P.R.Hardie, *JRS* 96 (2006), 34, E.L. Harrison, *ORVA*, 445, Hightet, 202, Johnston, 649ff., E.Kraggerud, *SO* 72 (1997), 107-10, Y.Nadeau, *Lat.*41 (1982), 101ff., H.Pelliccia, *CJ* 106 (2010-1), 149-219 (available only after these pages were written), Ricottilli, 115f., Skulsky, (1985), 447f., R.A.Smith, *Phoen.*47 (1993), 305ff., Tatum, 440-3, R. Thomas, *Reading Virgil* (Ann Arbor 1999), 120. Wigodsky, 127, Wills, 74; *EV* 1, 712 insufficient; better, *ib.*, 2, 1006. We naturally recall 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*, though the point is not exactly the same (vd. Mackie, 13).

461 sed me ‘I went not of my will; but the *iussa deum* compel me’; the same ‘unanswerable’ defence offered now as was offered at 4.345ff. (*sed nunc...*).

iussa deum Cf. 3.114 *diuum...iussa* (where vd. n.), 4.378 (Dido), 396 (the narrator); see Bailey, 225, comparing *fata deum* (in the most literal sense). We think of Aen.’s *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes* (4.346), of the divine *mandata* of 4.357, of Apollo and the *Lyciae...sortes* at 4.376ff.. Less commanding than *imperia*, as Ael.Don. *ad Ter.Eun.*389 explains (Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.576.3). Knauer, 110 compares *Od.*11.558f., none other was *aitios*, but it was Zeus brought about the conflict of Danaans and Trojans.

quae nunc Obedience *now* balances obedience *then*; Aen. a man under authority, and made to suffer grievously for it.

has ire per umbras Cf. 268 **per umbram**; plur. **452, 490, 619**.

462 per loca senta situ Simple, alliterative and memorable; cf. **265 loca nocte tacentia late**. The anaphora of *per* common (**363f., 458f., 588**, etc.). Compare *G.*1.72 *segnem patiere situ durescere campum*, 7.440 *uicta situ uerique effeta senectus* (where vd. n. for the metaphor from the vegetable world; connected with *sentes*, brambles, EM), repeated at 452. *EV* 4, 898. **Senta** ‘rough, rugged, uneven’, *OLD* s.v.; first in Ter. (transferred to person, *Eun.* 236), then Acc. (*Andromeda*) *trag.*111 *miseru obualla saxo sento*. V. has in mind the Homeric δόμον εὐρώεντα of Hades (the adj., ‘mouldy’, ‘dank’), on which he has chosen to elaborate.

cogunt Apparently not elsewhere applied by V. to divine compulsion; cf. *EV* 1, 56.

noctemque profundam Recalled from 4. 26 *pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam*; vd. Hays, *TLL* 10.2.1751.59, Mantovanelli, *EV* 4, 304 (subtle and complex). The adj., as M. explains, suggests both the depths of the Underworld (cf. *Il.*8.13f., Hes. *Theog.*736, 740) and the deep intensity of the blackness (Stes.fr.185. 3Page, *PMG* (*perperam EV, cit.*), [Aesch.]*PV.* 1029. Note the *profundas tenebras* of Ael.Tubero fr.9P (Regulus’ prison).

463 imperiis egere suis Re-used, 7.240 (vd. n.). E. hardly used here as though a cognate of **cogunt** (which of course it is); cf. **379** (*prodigia*; vd. n.), 1.32 (*fata*), 240 (*casus*), 3.5 (*auguria*; vd. n.). For such divine *imperia*, vd. n. on 7, *cit.*; two lines after **iussa**, *imperia*; Aen. is leaving nothing to chance. Au. is clearly right to remark that **suis** refers rather to **deum** than to **iussa**.

nec credere quiui Not as rare as **507 nequiui**. In Acc., Cat., Lucr. (often), Cic.*carm.Hom.*1.2, Hor. hexams.; also prose and comedy; after V. occasional in prose and apparently not in poetry. ‘Archaic/colloquial’,

Harrison on 10.19. See too *EV* 4, 367. Were one to draw up with care a wide-ranging list of Aeneas' virtues or qualities, imagination would not be strikingly prominent.

464 hunc tantum...dolorem Cf. *G.4.86 haec certamina tanta, Aen.4.419 (infra)*; compare *quis tantus Buc.1.26, G.4.495, Aen.4.98, 6.561*; also note *hic ille* (7.128, 255 with nn.), *haec eadem* (Lucr., *Buc.2.35*, etc.). For *d.*, cf. 9.216 *tanti sim causa doloris*; of Dido, 4.419, 547, etc., *EV* 2, 122, Pichon, 132f.; above all though, Dido's *hunc... tantum sperare dolorem* (4.419). The pronoun here deictic, as *Aen.* points to the (visibly dead) Dido.

tibi me...ferre Characteristic juxtaposition of pronouns. Cf. *Buc.4.64 matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses, G.4.251f. quoniam casus apibus quoque nostros/ uita tulit, Aen.11.791 mihi cetera laudem/ facta ferent. Liv.6.3.4 Etruscis se luctum lacrimasque ferre*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.546.59f. (but perhaps vd. rather 549.3ff.), and *EV* 2, 495 ('procurare', 'causare', 'produrre') (Zucchelli); 11.900 also similar.

discessu Also at 8.215; rare in verse, but already at *Lucr.4.41*. Ignored by Cordier, but see Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379. Lyne, *FV* 174 is quite right to make the point that *Aen.* here refers to his misjudgement of Dido's likely reactions to his departure at the time he was still himself at Carthage. Does *Aen.* mean to hint (so TCD) that had he known the consequences, he would not have left, however untrue that might in fact have been? Or would *Aen.* have gone, all the same? The speculation is at least acute and interesting.

465 siste gradum Taken up by *Prop.4.10.36*; *g.* used in a wide range of similar compound expressions, Knoche, *TLL* 6.2.2147.10ff. at 59ff. (as at **128, 488**). Cugusi, 69 draws attention to the common inscriptional invitation to the wayfarer to stand and read: cf. Hoogma, 288, Courtney, *Musa lapidaria*, nn. on 8.2, 17.1; add *CLE* 2082.1 Lommatzsch *siste uiator iter*, Lattimore, 230-4; see too Peek, (e.g.) 1317, 1321, 1327, 1328, 1935. An epigraphic theme that may well influence *V.* here (cf. n. on 7.1); of course *V.* also influences the later epigrams' language (vd. Hoogma). *Aen.* has just seen Dido begin to slip away, but can halt her steps as little as he can sway her heart.

teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro The vb. again at **698** (where vd. n. on *V.*'s employment of variation of this phrasing). Dat. standard after transitive *sub-* compounds; Antoine, 129 for *subiungere, suffundere*, *KS* 1, 332 and for (archaic) dat. in *u.*, Cordier, 49, Holzweissig, 395f., etc.. Cf. n. on 7.96 for the (archaic) *ne + imper.*. *A.*: von Mess, *TLL* 2.805.48f.; perhaps surprisingly, *septies* in *Aen.*; in the fr. of *Enn.trag.*, Pacuv., *Acc.*, but not *Cat.*, *Lucr.*. See Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379 for such abstracts in *Aen.*.

466 quem fugis Even shorter and more agitated than **siste gradum**; inversion, we have seen, of Dido to *Aen.*, 4.314 *mene fugis? Quem fugis* at

*Buc.*2.60 and *Aen.*5.742. Cf. **450-76**: Dido's flight here an admirably conceived riposte to Aen.'s (e.g. 4.338; for this key term, see Pease on 4.306, 328) in bk.4; standard elegiac language, Pichon, 156f., and for Gk. instances, vd. No.. Jackson Knight's suggestions (*Roman Vergil*, 253) are not overwhelmingly convincing.

extremum...hoc est Cf. Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.2009.9f. (perplexingly classified as adverbial, surely by some oversight, or perhaps by confusion with the clearly adverbial *e.* of 9.484, *Ov.Trist.*1.3.15). Note rather **457 extrema**, *Sen.Ira* 3.27.3 *peccauit: hoc enim primum? hoc enim extremum?* We may also recall 4.429 *extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti* (Dido, via Anna, to Aen.); Au., *PVS*, 58 finely remarks of the message at 4, *cit.* 'begging him to hear and stay', while here Aen. asks her rather to 'stay and hear'. Might some droll imitator of Ovid's not have attempted a further visit by Aeneas? Even accompanied, after some years, by Lavinia? Serv. supposes (which itself suggests that some readers did wonder whether they might indeed have met yet again) that after his death, Aen. will occupy a different *circulus* of the Underworld, so they should *not* meet again. For the prosody of **hoc**, vd. n. on 2.664, and for double monosyll. at v.-end, No., p.448.

fato Cf. Pötscher. 27, Bailey, 219; completely distinct from the last words spoken to the dead (nn. on 11.67f., 3.69), though they may be present in the reader's mind. An abl. of cause.

quod te adloquor A. 14x in *Aen.*; standard Latin from Naev. and Enn. on. *Quod* taken rightly as 'cognate' by Con., Page and not as direct obj.; cf. *Sen.Ep.*121.4 *et ex gratulatione natum sit quidquid adloquimur*, Woodcock, 10. The last time that Ajax addresses the sun (*Soph.Aj.*857f.) possibly in V.'s mind.

467 talibus Aeneas.../ 468 lenibat dictis animum **Dictis** long delayed (far longer than in any of V.'s other 16 instances of **t.d.**) because **ardentem et torua tuentem** is inserted before **lenibat**, to make the precise point that Aen. 'was trying to soothe Dido's spirit, for all that it was...'. For the form (rather than impossible *leniebat*), rightly called archaic by Serv. (vd. Leumann, 578, Holzweissig, 724f. for details), cf. n. on 7.790 *insignibat*; add No. here and E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 353. For I. (found in Cat. elegiacs, *Hor.C.*1, 3), see Ravenna. *TLL* 7.2.1141.62 and *EV* 3, 175 (Ricci); inevitably we recall 4.393f. *quamquam lenire dolentem solando cupit* and cf. KS 1, 121, LHS, 316 for the conative imperfect. Now of course intentions pass into action, too late for it to make any difference. Negri (123-8) argues that **animum** is an acc. of whole and part, like 10.698, 12.273, with Müller, (122), 131; the **corde** of **383** is not relevant to her case. That is all clearly wrong: (i) on reaching **animum**, the reader encounters no indication that this word is not the object of preceding **lenibat**; (ii) whereas in the

other instances cited, the passage from whole to part is perspicuous, here, it makes no sense to be invited to suppose that **animus** in some way = *Elisam*. Nor is it necessary: *lenire animus* is unremarkable Latin (Ravenna, 1141.59ff. cites *Cic.Orat.132, Fin.1.47, Hor.C.3.14.25, etc.*; cf. *Aen.1.57 mollit*), like *animus ardentem* (the adj. at 2.41, 7.345 of individuals; 8.163 *mens...ardebat*). Vollmer, *TLL* 2.485.13ff. points to *Cic.rep.2.26, Att.10.2.1* and *Liv.38.25.16* for the fiery *animus/animi*. We shall reach a bold linguistic invention, but one set in a very normal context. Discussion absent, Smith, 118; cf. rather Farron, *infra*, 85, and Au. comm., *PVS*, 58.

ardentem Vd. *supra*.

et torua tuentem So 9.794 *acerba tuens* for this use of plur. adj. (after the Gk.; cf. ὑπόδρα ἰδοῦσαν and Norden's n.): see Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 91, LHS, 40 for poet. instances (but not *Enn.Ann.334*; vd. Sk.). Serv. well enough *terribiliter*; vd. Iodice de Martino, *EV* 5*, 221. Clearly the *animus* that *torua tuetur* is bold, though less so if we think of Greek antecedents, in the context of eyes as windows of the soul (cf. nn. on 7.250, 399, 447 (in particular), 2.406 *uincula* and the material collected by Tosi, n°673), *Cic.de or.3.221 imago animi uultus, indices oculi, etc.* Cf. too [Arist.] *physiogn.* 811b13ff.. We should also bear in mind a range of passages from Aesch. and Soph. collected by No. and Au. that illustrate this link (cf. too Stanford on *Soph.Aj.955*, Jebb on *Phil.1013ff.*). Emendation is altogether unnecessary, though it has been tried (vd. Geymonat).

468 lacrimasque ciebat Words energetically considered; Seel's thoughtful and amusing discussion should not have been ignored in detail. Compare the (essentially superfluous and unnecessary) debate on the *lacrimae* of 4.449; here too the issue is at heart one of 'whose tears?', and that in turn depends on careful study of the usage of *ciere* (Scarsi, *EV* 1, 781, Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.1055.24ff. at 38). TCD prefers *Aen.*'s own tears. Serv. writes *sibi* [Serv.Dan. continues *non Didoni; uel profundebat*]. *aut certe illud dicit, sermo quidem eius lacrimas exigebat - nam 'ciere' est proprie alteri fletum mouere*. Serv. might be wrong (Gijssels, 213); indeed he of course is, frequently, even; but this time his preference for *Dido's* tears is reinforced by V.'s own sequence of thought and that must be respected. We have just read the words **lenibat dictis animus** and there is no indication that either (i) the object of the action is changed, any more indeed than (ii) the force of the imperfect, just established as conative. Either change, un-signalled, would indicate an intent to bewilder the reader. We can, though, hardly ignore a clear and simple form of theme and variation: 'tried to soften her heart and tried to summon up her tears', which also rather tells against those inclined to see *both* senses present here (e.g. MacLennan). What then does the usage of *ciere* tell us? Did the sense of the line permit (*supra*), and were *Aen.* not already weeping (455), it could certainly refer

to Aen.'s own weeping, as is the case at 3.344f. (with n.), *G.3.516f.*. But that is not so at e.g. *Cat.64.262 aut tereti tenuis tinnitus aere ciebant*, *Sen.HF 901f. belligera Pallas, cuius in laeua ciet/ aegis feroces ore saxifico minas* or nature at *Cic.ND 2.81 sine ratione cientem motus in corporibus necessarios*. Certainly *ciere* would more normally apply to Aen.'s own tears: however, 'the rule is not as clear as Au. suggests', as Fowler, 52 well remarks, and should certainly not be applied here at the cost of reducing the verse to a disconnected jumble of words and ideas. Nor does Au.'s observation of the chiasmic relationship of **469** to **455** *prove* that because the tears of **455** are clearly Aeneas', they must be here too. That is not quite all: Fowler discusses, after Au., V.'s probable technique of referring at the end of a speech to reactions aroused while it was being delivered, even to a reaction at the very beginning of the speech (**470 incepto sermone**; so too the movement of **472** has already been given a context by **465 siste gradum**). The simile of Dido's emotional immobility (**469-71**) immediately precedes her actual physical departure, if F. and Au. are right to equate the movement of **465** with that of **472**. How much of the thought processes behind Dido's stony exterior may V. reveal? Cf. the fine, subtle discussion, Fowler, 54 and see too J.Gijssels, *Lampas* 11 (1978), 212-7, O. Seel in *Homm.M. Renard 1 (Coll.Lat.101, 1969)*, 677-88, Don Fowler, *PCPS* 36 (1990), 52-4, Au., *PVS*, 58, Ricottilli, 110, Lobe, 143 (deplorably uninformed), Mackie, 133, n.1, *Companion*, 132f., n.56.

469 illa...auersa The line, almost unaltered, already of Pallas at 1.482 *diua solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat*, (loosely) after *Il.6.311* (with Muecke, 106, Moskalew, 159); so too 4.362 (Dido) *talia dicentem iam dudum auersa tuetur* (whereas it is Aen. who keeps his eyes unmoved at 4.369), *Eur.Med.923 στρέψασα λευκὴν ἔμπαλιν παρηΐδα*, where vd. Page (see too **456-66** for V.'s interest in *Med.* hereabouts). Cf. also n. on 7.618, Sittl, 84, Lobe, 144, Ricottilli (1992), 36, n.78. Here, clearly enough, physical looking away rather than mental disinclination (though that may be implied too). Dido is not only looking down (*infra*), but also away; Farron (85) goes too far in suggesting that Dido has her back to Aen..

solo fixos oculos...tenebat Cf. 7.249f. *talibus Ilionei dictis defixa Latinus/ obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret* (with n., for the downward gaze in Hom., AR), **6.156 defixus lumina uultu**, 8.520 *defixique ora tenebant*. The dat. of direction or goal, Antoine, 151; cf. *G.2.290 terrae defigitur arbos*. *Tenere* often so used with predic./proleptic adj./partic., Lackenbacher, *TLL* 6.1.719.35ff., citing 1.482, 12.773. Vd. too Jackson, *EV* 2, 512f.. Cf. 9.285f. and n. on 3.388 *tu condita mente teneto* (*EV* 5*, 100f. not helpful). L. cites (718.51f.) *Theocr.2.112 ἐπὶ χθονὸς ὄμματὰ πῆξας*, where Gow lists a number of parallels from Hom. (*Il.3.217*), AR (1.784, 3.22, 422, 1022) and later epic. See n. on 7.249f., F.Muecke, *BICS* 31

(1984), 105, Ricottilli, 116, and *ead.*, *MD* 28 (1992), 35-7 (*bene*), Heuzé, 567, S.Farron, *Acta Classica* 27 (1984), 83-90, Catrein 104, Smith, 124, 127.

470 nec magis.../ 471 quam si Only here in V. and of essentially Lucretian origin: 5.1135, 6.154, 1009ff., though in all cases without the final *si*.

incepto...sermone Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.916.44ff.; Serv. glosses *a principio orationis*. Cf. n. on **lacrimasque ciebat**, *supra*, *ad fin.*. Note the *medius sermo* of 4.277, 9.657.

uultum...mouetur For the part of the body in acc. thus, after a pass. vb., cf. Courtney, *CJ* 99 (2004), 428f.. For **m.**, cf. *EV* 3, 608, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1539.30.

471 Simile Inversion of both Dido to Aen., 4.366f. *sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens/ Caucasus*, and (more loosely) of Aen. as the unmoved oak-tree (4.441-6; Hardie). See Hardie, *Virgil (GRNSC 28)*, 88, Rieks, *ANRW* 2.31.2 (Berlin 1981), 1076, von Duhn, 156, Hornsby, 98f., Vögler, 63f., Fowler, 53, Heuzé, 567. Such comparison to rocks is (Homeric and) tragic, *Eur. Med.* 28, *Andr.* 537 (vd. Stevens' n.), n. on 7.586-90. Hornsby's repeated references to 'sharp' seem not to correspond to anything in the Latin text; hardness is clearly the quality at issue. For V.'s shortened similes, vd. *infra*, s.v. **stet**.

471 dura silex Only thus here (PHI). Bannier, *TLL* 5.1.2302.60 compares *Buc.* 8.43 (*d. cautibus*; with *G.* 4.203, *Aen.* 4.366). For *silex*, flint, as a symbol of hardness, vd. Pease on 4.366, citing e.g. *Cic. Tusc.* 3.12, *Ov. Met.* 9.614 (where vd. Bömer), *Trist.* 3.11.4. *Durus* also belongs, of course, to the *sermo amatorius*, Pichon, 136.

aut stet Cf. n. on 2.113: 'standing is a good deal more than mere being' (with instances); so too here, and this element of [grimly] static opposition gives the v. a dimension lacking in 2.15 *instar montis equum*, 3.637 *Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar*, 5.317 *nimbo similes*, 740 *fugit ceu fumus* or 9.706 *fulminis acta modo* (with *G.* 4.41 and a disappointing, omissive summary on Virgilian *Kurzvergleiche*, Rieks, 1062; cf. rather G. Carlsson, *Die Verwandlung der hom. Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis* (diss. Heidelberg 1972), 158f.); for Hom., cf. (e.g.) *Il.* 4.276, 7.219, 23.455, *Od.* 17.463 (a rock, indeed) and Carlsson, 170ff., 181ff.. The vb. to be understood with both **silex** and **cautes**; Au. does well to cite E.J. Kenney, *CQ* 8 (1958), 55 on this type of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; for further bibliography and other instances (including 10.134; *tacet* Harrison), see n. on 7.586 *resistit*.

Marpesia cautes. We have just seen **c.** used of extreme hardness; *tacet EV* but vd. Wulff, *TLL* 3.711.19. V. refers specifically to the brilliantly gleaming marble of Mt. Marpeessus on Paros: see O. Rubensohn, *PW* 18.4.1791.50ff., NH on *Hor. C.* 1.19.6, Smith, *Dict. Gk. Rom. Geogr.*, 2, 553 and

Blümner, 3, 32. Was Dido in some way luminescent through the gloom? *Lapis, vel sim.*, commoner to indicate hardness, Pease, *supra*, Pichon, 184.

472 tandem First-foot self-contained spondee suggesting D. eventually tearing herself out of immobility; cf. n. on 7.406, Norden, p.435f..

corripuit sese Cf. 11.462 (with my variously erroneous n.); see Lambert, *TLL* 4.1041.34ff. at 37, citing e.g. *Lucr.*3.925 *cum correptus homo ex somno se colligit ipse*. Note his careful lemma: *se vel corpus -ere i.q. coniti ad surgendum et abeundum, deinde i.q. celeriter se conferre vel raptim aliquo discedere*. The idiom of comedy, as Au. observes, but *Lucr.*'s usage is most probably what affected V.. Dido has not been in bed till now and therefore here starts off, or rushes. Turnus at 11, *cit.* had likewise not been reclining previously. Milani, *EV* 4, 401 renders both instances 'alzar-si', which is palpably incorrect, twice over.

atque inimica So 4.656 *inimico a fratre* (Dido of Pygmalion), *EV* 2, 978, Frei, *TLL* 7.1.1624.45ff. (not citing this passage).

refugit Cf. 7.618 *auersusque refugit* with n., 2.380 *trepidusque repente refugit*, 12.449 *tremefacta refugit*.

473 in nemus umbriferum The natural world here offers gentle ring-composition with **443f.**, **451**. Clearly we should not enquire too closely into apparently normal (as at *Buc.*1.4, etc., Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 378) shadows in the Underworld. The adj. attested at *Cic.Cons.fr.*2.73, *carm.Hom.* fr.1.10, *Varr.RR* 2.2.11. Cf. Cordier, 228. The Homeric κκιερός, κκιόεις; Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 383. For such compounds in V., cf. on 7.631. Compare **443-4**: Nature provides discreet concealment for the victims of love; so here, Dido slips out of sight, into the concealment provided, to rejoin Sychaeus. At what point does she pass out of sight? Could Aen. see Sychaeus? What is the bearing of **476 euntem**? If Sychaeus were visible, then ought we not also to think of an element of jealousy in Aen.'s parting? Were such a flood of questions absent, would we suspect that V. was writing below his best?

coniunx ubi pristinus Cf. Wild, *TLL* 10.2.1379.47ff.. Serv. comments unhappily *prior, quod difficile inuenitur; nam de hoc sermone quaerit et Probus et alii*. P. 'long ago'; Wild well refers to 4.458 *coniugis antiqui* and also cites *Suet.Dom.*7.1, the four old, or original, circus factions (see Cameron, *Circus factions*, 45 with n.1). It would be most injudicious to suppose that V. is telling us that Dido was twice married, first to Sychaeus and then to Aen., though it has been claimed that there was *coniugium* between Dido and Aen.; for the relevant passages, which clearly demonstrate that there was *not* any such *coniugium*, cf. *Companion*, 128.

illi/ 474 respondet curis Clearly the line consists of theme and variation. The precise sense and grammar, though, are less clear; vd.

Castagna, *EV* 4, 452. Even if we dismiss C.'s notion that **illi** and **curis** might *both* be dat. (part and whole), some difficulty persists: **illi respondet** means something like 'reacts to her' and **c.** must surely refer to Sychaeus' *curae*, not Dido's. Woes/troubles/preoccupations, or 'love'? Cf. Pichon, 120. I agree with Fedeli, *EV* 1, 962 that 'amore' is the likeliest sense and **curis** should be understood as abl. of means: 'reacts to her by means of his love/affection'. Hardly therefore one of the problems of understanding that remain seriously unsettled.

aequatque...amorem. Von Mess, *TLL* 1.1021.34f. compares *G.*4.132, *Aen.*2.362; Eng. 'matches' close enough. On **442** No. refers to the motif (familiar in epitaphs: vd. Lattimore, 247-50) of lovers reunited in death, quoting Plat.*Phaed.*68A, Eur.*Alc.*363f., Prop.1.19.11ff. and Ov.*Met.*11.61ff. (where vd. Bömer). See **440-9**, (1).

Sychaeus Au. writes here (and is then closely followed by R.D.Williams): 'formally, Sychaeus has no place in the *lugentes campi*'; true, only if the *campi* are considered as exclusively the abode of those driven to death by love. However, S. had been murdered (1.350) and is a perfect example of the innocent victim of violence (cf. **426-547**): though indeed that most familiar grouping is not specifically mentioned in V.'s prefatory list (**426-30**), no reader even minimally informed about the tradition in which V. is writing here would feel any sense of incongruity in the juxtaposition of victims belonging to such closely related categories. Cf. Pease, p.39, P.Johnston, *AJP* 108 (1987), 650 for the importance of Dido's sense of guilt at her betrayal of S.'s memory by means of her affair with Aen.; a key element in the extreme hardness of her reaction to Aen. here. For the story of Sychaeus/Sicharbas/Acherbas, vd. Pease on 4.20, Xella, *EV* 4, 833f., Lamer, Ro.4.1614.25ff., Schur, PW7A.1012.66ff., Perret, 91. S. is absent from Timaeus' account of Dido (*FGH* 566F82), at least in its present state, and it is not quite clear how V. learned of him. See however Justin, 18.4.15 (Acherbas a priest of Hercules/Melquart) and it may be that the Moorish tribe of Suchaei, Steph.Byz.p.582.8, have some connexion with his name.

475 nec minus Aeneas Nonetheless, Aen. loves and pities her (vd. Au., comparing **212**). Does the epithet **iniquo** show Aen.'s uneasy conscience (Au.)? Does Aen. think also of his own *casus* (Au.)? To neither question is the answer automatically positive, though clearly Aen. might (also) have thought of his own *casus* as *iniquus*.

casu...iniquo Aen. displays pity for Dido here too; what befell her she did not deserve. *EV* 2, 979 notably unhelpful; cf. Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1641.14, comparing *CLE* 658.1.

percussus Cf. *G.*2.476, 9.197 *obstipuit magno laudum percussus amore*, 292. *Tacet, ut videtur*, Reineke, *TLL* s.v.. **Percussus R**, c.9mss.,

TCD; **concussus MP** is a good deal commoner and might well appear here by echo from e.g. 5.700 *casu concussus acerbo*, and/or 869 *casuque animum concussus amici* (cf. too 9.498, 11.451, 12.411, 594). Surprisingly, Conte prints **con-**; the case for *difficilior lectio* seems quite strong (if not completely decisive) here.

476 prosequitur lacrimis longe Cf. n. on **455** for the Aen. of this encounter altogether inverted, and unfamiliar in comparison with his conduct in bk.4. Serv. remarks *oculis eam sequebatur umentibus*. Roughly ‘escorts’ and Ottink classifies this line. s.v. ‘laxius pertinet ad visum’, TLL 10.2.2188.38; note 12.72f. *ne me lacrimis neu omine tanto/ prosequere in duri certamina Martis euntem* and (Au.) Suet.*Tib.* 7.3. More conventionally, cf. 3.130 of a favouring wind, **6.898**, 9.310, etc. and cf. n. on 7.812 for Roman rituals of escort. How far does **longe** suggest? Unanswerable, of course, but the general issue might be significant: cf. n. on **473 in nemus**. Aen. had wept at **455**, weeps again here, but is unlikely to at **467**.

et miseratur euntem Obviously, sc. *eam*. Cf. 2.111, 3.130, **6.392**, **863**, 7.813, 11.46, etc. for V.’s neat and powerful way with this partic.. Aen.’s pity discernible for at least as long as Dido herself is in sight; the scene closes with a detailed, powerful response to Dido’s justified insults, 4.369f.; Aen. clearly now feels pity (no rage? no jealousy?) and sheds tears. The vb. standard Latin (vd. *EV* 3, 547).

477-493 From Dido to Deiphobus: the warrior heroes

No reader could pass directly from Dido to Deiphobus, from tragedy to horror without pause. Both poet and reader need to stand back a little; what might seem a [‘mere’] digression or retardation in fact reflects an emotional necessity. And in the Underworld, it would not be easy to insert a low-key equivalent to an Homeric sequence of dining, drinking, sleeping, re-arming. Virgil has quite deliberately selected groups of heroes of no outstanding emotional or literary interest, and with them Aen. has no interaction (vd. Pomathios). Contrast the older, largely anonymous generation of warriors in Elysium (**648-55**). Likewise, heroes of too direct an interest (Hector, for example) must be avoided. Deiphobus is therefore introduced as the climax or focus of a group of figures of studiously middling interest (a friend and kinsman, after all); for Deiph. himself, see (**494-547**) and La Penna, 987. It is strange that Büchner challenges the obvious inference from this scene that the warriors are heroes who died in battle, if not actually young, then at least younger than they would otherwise have been; cf. (**426-547**). We have already seen that those who have died in battle are familiar members of such accounts, and there is therefore no need to spell out an explanation for their presence here. Büchner very oddly denies that it is their early death that consigns these heroes to the realm of the prem-

aturely dead; naturally, that is the common lot that they bear: of course it does not any longer need to be spelled out. Bibliography: Di Cesare 108f., Cartault, 1, 458f., Quinn 170f., Büchner 365.37ff., Otis 295f., Pomathios 195, Kyriakidis, *Catalogues*, 99f.

477 inde In a context of motion, **i.** probably to be taken here in a local sense, as often, e.g. 2.434.

datum...iter De Rosalia's helpful survey of usage compares (*EV* 2, 115f.) **431 nec uero sine sorte datae, sine iudice sedes** (and note also **537 datum...tempus**); common of grants by the gods, by fate, by human authority. Here, though, there is no telling whether it is the Sibyl or the gods who are thought of as disposing Aen.'s further journey. **I.** common of Aen.'s passage through the Underworld, **109, 384**, etc..

molitur Compare 10.477 *uiam clipei molita per oras*, 2.108f. *fugam.../moliri* (where vd. n.), *EV* 3, 560, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1362.44f. (and Tessmer, *ib.*, 7.2.544.53), 'accomplishes with a degree of effort'.

iamque Here clearly 'and now', a stage *after* the hard **iter** immediately preceding (note variation of tense).

arua.../ 478 ultima A.: cf. **744 laeta**. 'Last' (given further prominence by enjambement; the very last group promises an element of special interest, amply fulfilled by Deiphobus) because we have here reached the fifth and final category of the untimely dead, discussed at **426-547**. This will prove to be the final stage before the great division of the ways between Tartarus and Elysium, **535ff.**

tenebant Cf. **434, 744**: V. is still writing in the bald manner of the necessary, almost mechanical, transition.

478 quae...secreta For all their early glory in war, shining arms, chariots, they occupy for the moment an obscure corner of the Underworld. For s., cf. **443 secreti celant calles**, where vd. n..

bello clari Cf. (**426-547**) for antecedents and analogies, notably the 'killed in battle' of *Od.*11.41. Cf. *EV* 1, 811 (thin) and Probst, *TLL* 3.1274.51f., whose material shows that the expression is visibly a favourite of the historians, *Sall.Cat.*3.1. *uel pace uel bello clarum*, *Iug.*39.1, *Liv.* 8.29.9, 9.26.14 etc.: apparently not Ciceronian, epic, or tragic; a little less close, Prof. O'Hara notes *Aen.*2.241f., 8.480, 12.347. Rather surprisingly, there seems to be no close Hom. equivalent (but cf. e.g. δουρὶ κλυτὸς).

frequentant Cf. **486 frequentes**: the repetition might be casual, or an indication that *this* area, at *this* point in mythol. time, was particularly full. See U.Leo, *TLL* 6.1. 1308.57f.: the vb. common in repub. prose, but also found at *Cat.*64.32, 37.

479 hic...hic...// 481 hic Wagner, *QV* xxiii; Tietze, *TLL* 6.3.2762.13f..

illi occurrit Cf. 10.220, Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.392.4; the vb. standard Latin, prose and verse, Enn. included (*Sat.*5)

Tydeus As at 445ff., V. turns briefly to the Theban cycle (clearly tragic rather than epic in literary associations at Rome), and first to Diomedes' father, famed in war above all for the attack of the Seven on Thebes: vd. e.g. Zumbo, *EV* 5*, 172f., Gantz, 2, 508ff., Robert, 2.3, 924-8, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*1.8.5, West on *Hes.Erga*, 162. For his end in battle before Thebes, vd. *Apld.Bibl.*3.6.8.

includus armis Only one verse after **bello clari**; V. gives heavy emphasis to a tone of ancient epic heroism, altogether appropriate to figures of the Theban cycle. O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.958.49; used by Naev., Enn., Acc., Lucr.: Cordier, 226f., *et passim*, *EV* 2, 935. There Bandiera draws attention to *Il.*21.159 κλυτὸν ἔγχει, incautiously, for that v. might be thought if anything closer to 167 **lituo...insignis...et hasta**. For comparable Gk. expressions, cf. rather Barchiesi, *Nevio epico*, 435f., and for orthogr. and further Gk. antecedents, cf. n. on 2.82.

480 Parthenopaeus Member of the Seven against Thebes; an Arcadian. *EV* 3, 989f., Gantz, 2, 515-7, Robert, 2.3, 914f.. Died in the battle for Thebes, *Apld.Bibl.*3.6.8; the details vary.

et Adrasti pallentis imago Enallage, for it is the **imago** of A. that is specially *pallens*: for the use of **i.** of denizens of the Underworld, cf. 695, 701 (Anchises); for their pallor, see n. on 264, on the apophatic denial of colour to the dead, where 272 and *G.*1.277 are also cited. Add 8.244f., 4.26 (where vd. Pease), 243, Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 3, 945f. and NH on *Hor.C.*1.4.13 *pallida Mors*; for Cartault, 458, still pale on account of his defeat, unpersuasively. Adrastus king of Argos; another of the Seven against Thebes and father-in-law of Tydeus. *EV* 1, 30, Gantz, 2, 506ff., Robert, 2.1, 911-3, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*3.6.3; Quinn calls Tydeus and Parthenopaeus the sons of Adrastus (170), inexplicably. The battlefield is absent from accounts of his death (Stoll, *Ro.*1.81.16ff.); possibly V. recalled his place among the warrior Septem but had forgotten the details of his end, or indeed (O'Hara) prefers to improvise.

481 multum fleti With the third **hic**, V. passes to Aen.'s remoter kin; the old foes of Thebes grand, remote, quite interesting, but rather bookish and sterile. Πολύκλυτος is post-Homeric, though few readers would recall that; common enough in *Anth.Pal.* and on stone. Adverbial **m.** 1.3, but not common in *Aen.* or *Hor.C.*; archaic/vulgar: see G.Bonfante, *La lingua parlata in Orazio* (Ital.tr., Venosa 1994), 110f. (*tacet* Axelson). **F.:** *TLL* 6.1.900.73f. (Gudeman), *EV* 2, 541.

ad superos Von Mess, *TLL* 1.521.58f. compares *CLE* 84.3, 91.2 *et saep.*; also in later epic.

belloque caduci Ἀρηίφατοι, closely enough. **C.:** *EV* 1, 598, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.34.41, comparing 10.622. The adj. *semel* in Lucr., *bis* in Hor.C.1-3; rare in poetry, ignored by Cordier.

482 Dardanidae We come not to some retardatory group of Argives or Mycenaeans, but, with far greater impact upon Aen. and upon us, to a group of Trojan nobles; the first to be specified will be sons of the distinguished Antenor. Cf. 3.94, 7.195 for **D.:** no allusion here to Corythus, clearly; rather **D.** refers here as often not to the stock of Dardanus, but to the Trojans as a whole, just as Lucr. and V. use *Romulidae* of the Romans at large. See *EV* 1, 998, 3, 1030, 5*, 292, of which the second entry is perhaps the most helpful here and note also Gantz, 2, 557 after Robert, 2.1, 388f. for the likelihood of a shorter, older genealogy of the kings of Troy, bringing Dardanus and Hector notably closer.

quos ille...cernens Cf. n. on 11.703: **c.** rather weightier and emotionally engaged than *uidens* would have been.

omnis longo ordine The suggestion perhaps, in **omnis**, **longo** that the five named stand for long ranks of Trojan princes killed in battle. The expression to be repeated shortly at **754**, where *vd.* n..

483 ingemuit These sons of Antenor begin to raise the emotional temperature in preparation for Aen.'s encounter with his cousin, the princely Deiphobus. Cf. *EV* 2, 652, *semel*, *Buc.*, *semel*, *G.*, *septies Aen.*; *bis* in Lucr.; ignored by Cordier.

Glaucumque Medontaque Thersilochumque: see n. on **484**. Only Glaucus had acquired distinction in the combats of the *Iliad* (named 18x), if he is indeed the same Glaucus, son of Hippolochus who shares command of the Lycians with Sarpedon at 2.876, etc..

484 tres Antenoridas Many sons are attested; cf. the list, Oertel, *Ro.1.1.* 365.24ff.. Here, though (Wills, 379f.), the attentive reader notes not so much the genealogy as a delicate, elegant piece of workmanship: compare:

(i) 12.363 *Chloreaque Sybarimque Daretaque Thersilochumque*

(ii) *Il.17.216* Μέεθλην τε Γλαῦκόν τε Μέδοντά τε Θερσίλοχόν τε
and (iii) *ib.*, 21.209 ἔνθ' ἔλε Θερσίλοχόν τε Μύδωνά τε Ἴακύνθον τε

Thersilochus appears only in these two vv. in Hom.; here (Wills) 'he has used the syntax of *Il.21* (a verb and three nouns joined by *-que*)...', while the names are simply transferred from *Il.17*.

Cererique sacrum Cf. 11.768 (Chloreus) *sacer Cybelo* with n., 10. 315f. (Lichas), Bailey, 73. We have no idea what Demeter might have had to do with Polyboetes; about Lichas, Serv. could well be right (Apollo and births by Caesarian section).

Polyboeten Cf. *EV* 4, 161f., Stoll, *Ro.3.2.2636.23ff.*, Treidler, *PW* 21.2.1592.48ff. and No., Paratore here. Only one corrector's hand in **P**

provides evidence that V. could have written **Polyboten** and that is not enough. Nor does it help to refer to Polybos, son of Antenor at *Il.*11.59; the run of V.'s sentence here suggests that V.'s Polyboetes was *not* a son of Antenor, though V. might possibly have recalled the name, hazily. Heroes named Polyboetes are entirely absent from Ro., PW, while the Polypoetes of *Il.*2.740 etc. is unfortunately a *Greek* commander (Höfer, Ro.3.2.2715.20ff.). Some students of this passage are driven to toy unconvincingly with the notion that V. wrote **Polyboten**, known as a giant, though it is a hero-name we need here. After some mythol. manual, suggests Norden (unconvincingly, again). The Polyphetes of *Il.*13.791 is hardly germane, and the warrior-priesthood (post-Homeric; apparently first Cyclic) hardly rare or odd enough to be significant (cf. full n. on 2.429). Just possibly V. is not writing here with meticulous attention to detail (cf. *Aen.*11, pp.473-5).

485 Idaeumque A common enough name and it is not completely clear which I. is meant: see *EV* 2, 895, Stoll, Ro. 2.1.95.8ff.; probably the Trojan herald of *Il.*3.248, etc., who is possibly the same as Priam's charioteer, 24.325 (hence chariot here; for the additional arms, cf. nn. on 2.477, 11.32 and the overlap of armour-bearer and charioteer). The homonymous son of Dares at *Il.*5.11 is an unwelcome complication.

etiam...etiam Wills, 116 compares *Buc.*10.13f; Friedrich, *TLL* 5.2.928.46. Serv. glosses *adhuc*.

currus...arma Cf. **651 arma...currusque uirum, 653f. quae gratia currum/ armorumque fuit uiuis**, when V. returns to an even more distinguished group of the heroic dead, in Elysium. See n. on **655 eadem** for the widely-diffused sense that the dead continue to be occupied with what occupied them when they were alive.

tenentem Of *arma*, 7.784, 8.299; for *currus*, Wulff, *TLL* 4.1524.59f. compares Stat. *Theb.*7.356 *adhuc currus securaque lora tenebam*; an apparently ignored zeugma, for with *currus*, *t.* must mean nearly enough 'occupy'.

486 circumstant animae A.: vd. on **319**; V. has in mind here *G.*4.216 (bees, of course, not heroes) *circumstant fremitu denso stipantque frequentes*. The vb. not considered, *EV* 4, 1028; used by *Enn.trag.*27Joc., *Lucr.*3; *bis G.* and *septies Aen.*

dextra laeuaque Cf. **656**, n. on 11.528.

frequentes Cf. n. on **478 frequentant**; *TLL* 6.1.1301.54 (U.Leo). Found in *Cat.*44, 63, *Hor.C.*1-3. Adj. reinforces vb.; the Trojan dead crowd closely round *Aen.*

487 nec uidisse semel Cf. *Cic.Verr.*2.4.125, *Mart.*8.25.1; not a common way of putting things.

satis est Cat.67, 68B, *ter* in Lucr. and over a hundred instances in Cic.; *Buc. semel*, *G. semel* and *Aen. quinquies*; *sat est* much commoner in comedy, but does not alter the rest of the picture.

iuuat Cf. n. on 2.776.

usque morari For **u.**, cf. LHS 253; 'to keep on in his company', extending the time element present in the verb (cf. 4.51, 568, etc.).

488 et conferre gradum Cf. *G.3.169 gradum conferre iuuencos*, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.180.12ff. and Knoche, *ib.*, 6.2.2147.17ff. and Zucchelli's useful entry, *EV* 2, 497: standard Latin from Plaut. on for 'to walk beside someone'.

et ueniendi discere causas *Dicere causas* Lucretian; with *discere*, *Caes.Gall.* 6.13.12, *Cic. de orat.*2. 100 (and - so O'Hara - *Sen.Apoc.*12.3 (23)). *Aen.* is a familiar sight but an alien presence (cf. **490**, **491**). The Trojans' reaction no surprise; nor indeed the Greeks'.

489 et Danaum proceres P.: see n. on 3.58 (old, tragic); **D.**: *V.*'s commonest word for 'Greeks'; see n. on 3.87.

Agamemnoniaeque phalanges The nouns parallel, the second, for partial variation, qualified by adj., not gen.. See on **838** for the vast, splendid adjectival form. The noun already in *Caes.*, *Nep.*, *Liv.*8, 9 (for date, bk.3, p. xxvi), and would occasion no surprise in *Enn.*; cf. n. on 2.254.

490 ut uidere uirum D. and **A.** signalled the change of focus; we are now concentrated upon the reactions of the Greek dead. **V.** does not automatically stand for the unacceptable *eum*, but may as well indicate 'the hero [sc. Aeneas]'. So rightly *Au.* and *Laurenti*, *EV* 5*, 550. When necessary, visibility through the Stygian gloom is perfectly adequate (cf. e.g. **582**, **585**).

fulgentiaque arma Cf. 11.6 with n.. We have just noted the absence of *colour* hereabouts (n. on **480 pallentis**) and it seems now that the brightness of well-tended metal is equally absent; for Roman usage, cf. *Horsfall, Culture of the Rom. plebs* 107 with n.31, *R.W.Davies, Service in the Rom. army* (Edinburgh 1989), 48, *Blümner, Technologie* 2, 179, but I am not sure that *V.* knew, any more than we do, how Agamemnon's own cuirass was shined up; much *olio di gomito*, clearly, and not the hero's own.

per umbras Between **umbram** and **umbras**, this l-end *sexies* in bk.6.

491 ingenti...metu [All] shook with fear; some bolted; some whimpered. *Vd. Szantyr, TLL* 7.1.1538.29ff. for *i.* applied to states of mind and 43ff. for fear, citing *Sall.Jug.* 91.5 and *Liv.*3.22.2 for use of *metus* before *V.*; also of e.g. *terror*, *pauor* (n. on 7.458).

trepidare *Trepidare metu* at 2.685 where *vd.* n.. For the hist. infin., cf. n. on 11.142, *Maurach, Dichtersprache*, 62, *Au.* on 2.98.

pars.../ 492...pars Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.455.25, KS 2, 70; my nn. on 7.624, 11.794ff. are not sufficient.

uertere terga Cf. 8.706 (and vd. 5.586); a standard expression of military prose, *OLD* s.v. *tergum*, §4a, citing Caes., Liv..

492 ceu quondam Not as at e.g. 2.416 (used *ter*, in fact, to open a simile), but **quondam** used as an indication of an ‘historical’ reference to events in Hom. narrative. For such refs. to ‘Homeric history’, cf. *Companion*, 187f., *Alambicco*, 69f., comm. on 11.243-95, a topic to which I hope to be able to give the attention it merits.

petiere rates Au. refers strangely enough to the Greeks' momentary panic at *Aen.*2.399ff.; V. must surely think of the Greeks' great flight, leading to the battle at the ships, *Il.*14.14, etc.: *Aen.* is full of allusions to *Il.* (and indeed *Od.*) as records of ‘historic’ events (vd. previous note). **P.** in the very common sense of ‘make for’, *EV* 4, 51, n. on 3.253, etc..

tollere uocem/ 493 exiguam See detailed discussion of speech in the Underworld, and of the spirits' various forms of sub-verbal communication, n. on **264 umbraeque silentes**. For *tollere* applied to sounds, cf. *Enn. Ann.*428, *Aen.*2.338 (with n), and de Vivo's account, *EV*, 5*, 207. V.'s expression here does not refer necessarily to comprehensible human speech (vd. n. on **264**, Paterlini, *EV* 5*, 634, citing usefully Lyc.686f. ὄπτα/λεπτῆν. Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1476.34ff. gathers other interesting instances of *e.* used of sounds, notably the human voice, from *Ov. Her.*14.52 on.

inceptus clamor Only at the very end of this transition does V. return to his higher levels of writing. Serv. comments *decipit clamare cupientes*; Hofmann glosses ‘fere i. temptatus’, *TLL* 7.1.916.48f..

frustratur hiantes Greeks who want to shout defiance? Trojans who want to welcome their prince? Possibly, rather the latter, since we have been told that the Greeks run off. Hastrup, at *TLL* 6.3.2813.6f. compares TCD at *Aen.*3.310 *perturbatione mentis hiabam potius quam loquebar*. They open their mouths to shout and only a slender squeak emerges. Mouths open ‘per lo stupore’, Munzi, *EV* 2, 850; nothing to suggest that, for **inceptus clamor** explains very well why mouths are open. **F.**: Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1438.58f.. The squeak that emerges *deceives* the spirits of the heroes: they stand there still believing that to shout all they need do is open their mouths, and command their vocal chords, as once they did, yet nothing happens. Subtle writing and a fine pathetic moment.

494-547 Deiphobus

We can hardly fail to notice that De. is a male form of the Sibyl's own name (**36**), Deiphobe; a coincidence (?) that has attracted some speculative attention (a summary, Bleisch, 219f., n.68); cf., not *EV* 2, 15, but Paschalis,

232, after von Kamptz, for De.'s name, probably 'who puts the enemy to flight'. Do Helen/Helenus (who is after all prophetic) in some way correspond to Deiphobe/Deiphobus? Vd. S.Skulsky, *AJP*108 (1987), 68f.. The near-identity seems to require some form of explanation, which we do not yet have; mere *Wirrwarr* I omit; cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 132 for a partner in scepticism.

Deiphobus is a fine instance of an episode of high pathos and emotion, a major pillar of the book, apparently created out of very little inherited material. It seems to suggest (i) painstaking study of the rather meagre hints offered by the poetic tradition and (ii) minute attention to the episode's integration into the emotional and intellectual structure of the whole. Note also (iii) the usual rich admixture of texts and motifs which do not derive directly from (i). For the mutilations inflicted upon De., cf. note on **494 laniatum corpore toto**.

(i) We need to bear in mind (a) Hom., (b) the Cyclic epics, and in addition V. himself, both (c) bk.2 and (d) the 'divergent' account elegantly inserted at **502f.**

(a) We shall see (**494**) that Hom. contributes to the horrid detail of De.'s end, and (*infra*) that De.'s union to Helen is pretty clearly (if not explicitly) Homeric. More important are Demodocus' narrative at *Od.*8.517 (vd. (d), *infra*; see E.Harrison, 211, Clausen, 117f.) and notably Agamemnon's conversation with Od. in *Od.*11, on which see Knauer, 114-7, with *ib.*, 171, n.2, Bleisch, 209f., Scafoglio (2004), 178f., Reckford, 93-5. Not only is V.'s conversation carefully modelled upon Hom.'s in structure, but Agam. has been betrayed by Clytaemnestra as De. has been by Helen (so already Hom.; see **511**) and even the manner of their deaths will be seen to correspond (vd. **495** for Aesch.'s *maschalismos* of Ag.).

(b) Cf. Clausen, 118, Erbse, 435, Romano, *EV* 2, 13. See *Il.parv.*, p.52.11Davies, De. marries Helen, *Il. persis*, p.62.21f.Davies, Menelaus kills Deiph. and carries Helen off. The marriage of De. and Helen is implied by Hom. (*Od.*4.274; vd. e.g. Bleisch, 207f.) and recognised by the Cycle: see Frazer on [Apld.]*Epit.*5.9, Robert, 2.3, 1216, Gantz, 2, 639, Vian on QS 10.344-6, *id.*, *Recherches*, 73, Gerlaud on Triph.45; see also, for De.'s end, Gärtner, 252. Hainsworth's n. on *Od.*8.517ff. suggests that De.'s marriage to Helen is cyclic and not Homeric: neat but not altogether persuasive. The detail that Priam bestowed Helen upon 'the bravest in battle' (Clausen), proves to derive from Schol.Lyc.168 (compare Schol.D, *Il.*24.251, Wagner, 2405.39, Robert, 1216, n.5, La Penna, 987). It is the manner of De.'s end that is novel in V.; Hyg.240 goes so far as to say that Helen herself killed De. (? a novel, or novelistic, elaboration of V.'s account).

(c) Very little needs to be said about the inconsistency between De.'s narrative and the Helen-episode after my two previous discussions, *ICS* 31 (2006), 11f. and (on this point fuller) *Aen.*2, p.556f.; see also Highet, 173-6, O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 87. The author of the Helen-episode clearly enough moulds Aeneas' rage against Helen after Menelaus' traditional fury against her, *Aen.*2, p.560, (2006), 16. Here, on the other hand, the joint attack on the sleeping De. by Menelaus and Ulysses, with Helen's active connivance, appears at least in part a novelty (cf. Robert, 1265f., Gantz, 2, 650f.), from which the author of the Helen episode apparently feels free to distance himself. At 2.310 De.'s house is on fire (as Aen. sees directly on waking; that might, in the present context, imply welcome difficulties for the hated Helen, as Cartault, 458f. suggests), whereas here it seems to stand unharmed over its sleeping occupant.

(d) Aen. had heard a report that De. had died fighting like a hero and is therefore all the more appalled by the spectacle of his pitiable remains (cf. Falkner, 34). The insertion of the false report therefore an instance of what Serv. calls *prooeconomia* (vd. index, *Aen.*2). 'Fighting like a hero' seems to reflect Demodocus' account, *Od.*8.517f., not a brutal and treacherous surprise but a great fight, De. against Menelaus and Od.. Stabryła, 94f. argues for a substantial contribution from Accius, *Deiphobus*, but that is more than the fragments actually prove: cf. cool reactions from Wigodsky, 83, n.410, Scafoglio (2004), 181, n.37, La Penna, 989. Vd. also Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, 410f..

(ii) De. is the last of Aen.'s encounters in the Underworld before he reaches his father in Elysium; that sets De. alongside Misenuus, Palinurus and Dido. He likewise belongs among those for whom Aen. has raised a tomb, Polydorus, Anchises, and, more precisely, Misenuus, Palinurus and Caieta. At the same time, his visible injuries set him with the maltreated Hector and the beheaded Priam (vd. Fuqua, Bleisch, 191, Scafoglio (2004), 183, and for the belief that the dead bear the injuries they have received in life, No. on 446 and Dodds on Plat.*Gorg.*524A-525A, with my n. on 2.281-6), not to mention Eriphyle (446) and perhaps a hint at 660; note Aen.'s questions, 2.285ff.. Hor. *C.*4.9.22 will pair Hector and Deiph. as Trojan warriors (La Penna 988; let us not forget that De. was the dearest of Hector's brothers, *Il.*22.232ff.). Perhaps most important (vd. Bleisch, 192), with Hector's instructions to Aen. to carry with him beyond the seas the Penates of Troy, 2.293-5, compare De.'s farewell, **546 i, decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere fatis**. De. remains, for now, mutilated, whereas Aen. goes forward to a better destiny, as a **decus** of Troy. Laudizi, 246 addresses the reasonable question of *why* Aen. encounters Misenuus, Palinurus and De. at different points in his *Katabasis*. Not a matter of logic, however, but of poetic organisation of material. How far is Helen's feigned

ritual (**517 simulans**) comparable to Amata's *oreibasias* (7.385 *simulato numine Bacchi*; vd. n. on that very difficult phrase)? Amata's torch (7.397) a 'stock element of Maenadism' (vd. my n. there), whereas Helen's is a signal, flawlessly concealed (but note that Helen's is a very *large* torch, **ingentem**, MacLennan) in the execution of a ritual in (by clear suggestion) Bacchus' honour (**517**). For torches and Furies, see n. on 7.456; La Penna (989, 999) reminds us of the well-established image of Helen as Fury: cf. *Enn.trag.*48Joc *Lacedaemonia mulier Furiarum una*, *Aesch.Ag.*749, *Eur.Or.* 1389. Hecuba dreamed of giving birth to the firebrand Paris (n. on 7.319f.; add *Hyg.Fab.*249), but it is unlikely that we have art. evidence at Pompeii for a torch-bearing Helen-as-Fury that is demonstrably independent of V.. See Robert, 2.3, 1245, n.5, Engelmänn, *Ro.*1.2.1969.61ff., La Penna, *cit.*.

(iii) Here, a few words on the influence of Ajax, of Catullus' brother (vd. *Cat.*65.7), and of Ennius: for the tombs of Ajax and Cat.'s brother, see further n. on **505**. Bleisch pointed out the association of Telamonian Ajax and De. in an opposed pair of statues at Olympia, *Paus.*5.22.2. But not all the connexions between Ajax and De. (Bleisch, 197) or between this scene and *Cat.*65 (*ead.*, 216-8) that Bleisch suggests seem altogether persuasive.

No. pointed out *o lux Troiae...*(*Enn.trag.*69ff. Joc.) behind **500ff.** (cf. Wigodsky, 77, Scafoglio (2004), 172 on the shared sequences of questions); note also *trag.*72f. Joc. (again from the *Alexander*) *nam maximo saltu...* behind **515f. cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua uenit/ Pergama** ... (vd. Wigodsky, *ib.*), not to mention possible Ennian contributions to the images of torch and Fury, *supra*. V. does not revert so much to his own account of the fall of Troy as once more to the classic accounts of his beloved Ennius. Cf. Scafoglio (2004), 170ff., La Penna, 999, Stabryła, 75ff.. Bibliography: P.Bleisch, *Class.Ant.*18 (1999), 187-226, Büchner, 365.37ff., Cartault, 458-61, Clark, *Catabasis*, 162-6, Clausen, *VA*, 114-22, Di Cesare, 108f., H.Erbse, *Herm.* 129 (2001), 434-8, T.Falkner, *Class.Bull.* 57 (1981), 33-7, C.Fuqua, *CP* 77 (1982), 235-40, Gärtner, 251-3, E.L.Harrison, *PLLS* 3 (1981), 209-25 at 211, Highet, 107f., Knauer, 114-7, A. La Penna *RCCM* 20 (1978), 987-1006, G. Laudizi, *Orpheus* 13 (1992), 245-60, Mackie, 134-6, O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 87, 93, Otis, 296f., Pearce (**148**), 112f., Quinn, 171, *id.*, *Latin Explorations* (London 1963), 216f., K.Reckford, *Arethusa* 14 (1981), 85-99 at 93-7, Rieks, 240-2, D.Romano, *EV* 2, 16f., G.Scafoglio *AuA* 49 (2003), 80-9 at 85-7, *id.*, *Herm.*132 (2004), 167-85, Stabryła, 94f., Wagner, *PW* 4. 2404.52ff., Worstbrock, 100f.. For Helen in *Aen.*6 and in the Helen episode, cf. also my remarks, *ICS* 31 (2006), 11f., *Aen.*2, p.556f.

494 atque hic Here, among the frightened Greeks and his own old comrades-at-arms, the terrible surprise of the mutilated Deiphobus.

Priamiden.../ 495 Deiphobum A son of Priam: the father beheaded, then the son grossly mutilated. In Hom., D. prominent only in the combat

of *Il.13*. In the *Il.Parv.*, he marries Helen and in the *Il.Pers.* he is killed by Menelaus (*supra*, (i)(b); cf. *Od.8.* 515ff.). In QS, however, he is more prominent, which suggests that *somewhere* in the post-Hom. tradition (Accius? mythographers?) there was simply more material for V., more episodes, more interest (vd. Gantz, index, s.v., Romano, *cit.*).

laniatum corpore toto The vb. used of rending and devouring by beasts: Cic.*TD* 1.108, *Marius* fr.3.5, *carm.*Hom.1.16, *G.3.*514; of a corpse maltreated, Cic.*Phil.*11.5, of an inexperienced charioteer after an accident, Cic.*rep.*2.68, *Aen.*12.606. Van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.931.41. *Lanius* a butcher or slaughterer, but this sense or implication no longer dominant, or even markedly present in the vb. by the late republic; Garbugino, *EV* 3, 112 remarks that the noun is vulgar and the vb. elevated. The abl. of place particularly favoured with noun + *totus/ omnis/ et sim.*, Antoine, 214f., **6.423, 886**; *corpore toto bis* in bk.12; reversed, *semel*, bk.9. Bleisch throws out the suggestion (211) that these words may be meant to suggest that De. is seen mutilated beyond what is specified in the text. Unnecessary but not impossible (and even ingenious); it might even be taken as suggesting e.g. emasculation.

The detail of this description many readers will find ghoulish ('*orrido e macabro*' in Mazzochini's index, not unfairly), and in the conventional literary bibliography, there is little discussion: Heuzé, 74-6, 112-21, Miniconi, 172, Seymour, 618-22, Dingel, index s.v. *Verwundung* (*Aen.*9). L.Wickert, *Phil.* 85 (1930), 449-55, W.-H. Friedrich, *Wounding and death...* (Eng.tr., London 2003), s.v. 'low realism' (p.v). See however E.Cantarella, *Les peines de mort en Grèce et à Rome* (French tr., Paris 2000), *Du châtement dans la cité*, (*Coll.Ec.Fr.Rome* 79, 1984), hereafter *Châtiment*, and K.Latte, *Todesstrafe* in *PW Suppl.*7.1599.58ff.. Terminology seems to have been unnecessarily complicated in two ways:

(i) In his discussion of the death of Melanthius, *Od.*22.474-7, Fernandez-Galiano refers first to ἀποτυμπανισμός, which is quite irrelevant (see Latte, 1606.8ff.).

(ii) F.-G., citing Merkelbach, then invokes *maschalismos*, a term which reappears too frequently in recent discussions (e.g. Paratore on **530**, La Penna, 988, *EV* 3, 92, 112, Scafoglio (2004), 180, Erbse, 435). In *Myths, martyrs and modernity. Studies ... Bremmer* (Leiden 2010), 246f. I suggest that *maschalismos* is a term currently used with careless and imprudent freedom: the etym. after all suggests hanging of body-parts in the *armpits* (not so here); some similarity is undeniable, but no evident identity. Here therefore I refer only to 'mutilation'. V.'s tolerance of the extremes of anatomical detail may seem surprising; in my discussion of Priam's beheading, *supra*, 243-6 (cf. n. on 2.556) I suggest that the brutalities of the second Triumvirate may have influenced Priam's death and beheading in

*Aen.*2 in their way as much as Hom.; they will certainly have raised the level of acceptance of such detail in both V. and his readers. Note 8.261, 485-8, out of Cic.*Hortensius*, 644-5, 9.330-4, 698-701, 749-55, 10.395f., 12.304-8: instances largely supplied by my memory and enough to suggest that the poet was not at all squeamish; for the boundaries of poet. decorum in such descriptions, cf. Clausen, *VA*, 122f. ('the mutilation of Deiphobus is a punishment fit only for a slave', *id.*, 121). But the origins of D.'s mutilation seem mixed and complex. Here, I offer only a list of points at which such mutilations occur in the written and artistic traditions, with a minimum of bibliography and comment.

In Hom. see not only Melanthius, *cit.*, with Cantarella (2000), 21-5, *ead.*, *Châtiment*, 38-48, M.Davies, *CQ* 44 (1994), 534-6, Fernandez-Galiano, *ad loc.*, Bleisch, 211 but also the Centaur Eurytion, *Od.*21.300-2, and the beggar Irus (only a threat), *ib.*, 18.86f. Egypt: vd. Hdt.2.162.5. Further East, vd. La Cerda's remarkable n. here and Hdt.3.118, 154 (Zopyrus, with Asheri/Medaglia on chs. 153-8; the motif of self-inflicted tortures may go back to *Od.*4.244); vd. also Hdt. 9.112, but especially 3.69.5f. with the n. of Asheri/Medaglia and C.Nylander, *AJA* 81 (1980), 329-33 (Medes): naturally, it is the offending limb or sense-organ that is the first to be punished. In Gk. tragedy, vd. Soph.fr.528Radt (Agamemnon); Aesch.*Kerukes* not relevant: see Radt, Aesch.fr., p.226. *Maschalismos* proper (vd. La Penna, *cit.*) extends the list (Aesch.*Cho.*439, Soph.*El.*445, fr.623Radt).

A. Corbeill points out the (very different) story of preemptive mutilation at Cic.*Off.*3.46. For Rome more generally, compare Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 981, n.4, Marquardt, *StV.*, 2, 573 on the cutting off of hands as a punishment under Rom. military law for desertion, espionage or theft while on active service. Cicero's head and hand(s) of course fit precisely into this same context (H. Homeyer, *Die ant. Berichte...* (Baden-Baden 1964), 15) Other comparable instances are attested during the Second Triumvirate: F. Hinard, *Châtiment*, 295-311 at 302ff. cites Luc.2.119-21 with Comm. Bern. (M. Baebius), Liv.*Per.*88, Sen.*Ira* 3.18.1f., Luc.2.181ff. (M. Marius Gratidianus). Such punishment is later extended (e.g. to Christians); compare too Ogilvie on Liv.2.12-13.5 (mutilation as a punishment for breach of oath). Such extreme brutality is now applied to Deiphobus (cf. Dictys 5.12) by Ulysses and Menelaus (see F. Vian, *Recherches*, 64, Gärtner, 180, 251ff.), evidently on account of his brief union to Helen, whereby he must have seemed to Menelaus to share in Paris' unforgivable conduct; if we pause to ponder, De. is not entirely an innocent victim (a necessary point, Bleisch, 211, and a tribute to the spells V. weaves that it needed to be made), whatever our strong sense of pity and sympathy. We cannot say precisely by what route and in what form the episode reached Virgil. In QS, the tortures are applied to Sinon, to establish his 'reliability' as a source for the Greeks'

intentions, and not to Deiphobus at all (12.366-8; cf. Triph.259-61; *perperam*, La Penna, *cit.*).

495 uidit FP, Serv., TCD and most c.9 mss.; **uidet R**, Turcius Rufus Apronianus in **M**, correctors in **FP**, a papyrus, PsAcro and five Carolingian mss.; **uidit et M**; **uidet et** Heinsius. Asyndeton here is much preferable, as Au. argues; **uidet** perhaps influenced by **490 uidere**.

lacerum crudeliter ora Cf. Montefusco, *TLL* 7.2.820.66ff.: the adj. *semel* in Lucr., *Sall.hist.*, Liv.1 and *ter* in *Aen.*; the vb. *Enn.trag.*, *Cic.carm.* (a favourite), *ter* Lucr., n. on 3.41 (*semel*, *Buc.*; *bis*, *Aen.*). ‘Mangled’, as here, apparently the word’s original sense. The accus. of respect as often after adjs., passives, intransitives, partic., Antoine, 60; the precise sense of the mutilated face will appear in the next vv.. The advb. slightly predictable (cf. **501 crudelis...poenas**); *EV* 1, 944; apparently first here in poetry and unremarkable qualifying an adj., LHS 171.

496 ora manusque ambas For the pathetic epanalepsis, cf. 10.821f., LHS 811, Wills, 155, 171. **A.**: cf. Cat.35.10; *both* the hands (*sc.*, not just one). Face and hands coupled, as 2.681, 3.490.

populataque tempora Evidently not limited to what we call (properly) ‘the temples’ (*EV* 1, 900), since the ears are placed there; 9.418 and Cat.61.6 do not clarify the geography. **P.**: as often. ppp of depon. vb. (extremely strong; Au. remarks ‘almost ‘looted’’) used in pass. sense, as *Hor.C.3.5.24*; see Flobert, 358. The vb. in *Pacuv.*, *Acc.*

raptis/ 497 auribus *EV* 4, 400, *OLD* s.v., §13c; cf. *Aen.7.742 raptus de subere cortex*.

et truncas...naris The fourth and final item of the gruesome polysyndeton (with the ears added via abl. abs.). The adj. and the noun the same word (‘trunk stripped of branches’; *EM* s.v., *Varr.RR* 1.14.2). Cf. *OLD* s.v., §1a, comparing (not close) Cat.64.370. Clausen, *VA*, 122 remarks on how V. avoids wounds to the nose elsewhere, while here it is ‘imposed’ by the conventions of mutilation; his account does not, however, make it clear that Hom. has no scruples about wounds to the nose (cf. *Il.5.291*, 13.616, 14.467, 16.349, 23.395), which makes V.’s reversion to older, broader limits of decorum that much easier. Cf. J.N.Adams, *BICS* 27 (1980), 55.

inhonesto uulnere As viewed by *Aen.* (**495**), but also a comment by the narrator on Greek conduct (Heinze, 371f., Williams, *TI*, 201-3; cf. de Jong, *Narratological commentary* on *Od.4.772*). Compare 4.194 *turpique cupidine captos* (the view of *Fama* and of the poet), 7.619 *foeda ministeria* (comment by Lat. and by the poet). Cf. Hofmann/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1598.13f. (‘respicitur deformitas’). Cf. *Il.21.19*, 22.336, 395 (vd. de Jong, *Narrators*, 138, Griffin, *Hom. on life and death*, 85), 23.24 (??; vd. Richardson’s n.) and 23.176.

498 uix adeo A. ‘underlining **uix**’; vd. Au.’s good n., Clausen on *Buc.*4.11, with further refs., Hand, 1, 146. ‘With real difficulty’, after the mutilations.

agnouit 30x in *Aen.*; Kraggerud, *EV* 3, 766. **Agnouit FR; adg- MP.** The case for assimilation strong, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 399.

pauitantum Ter in *Aen.*(from *Lucr.*); cf. nn. on 2.107, 11.813.

ac dira.../ 499 supplicia Cf. **740**, 8.495 (a direct response to 8.485-8); the *dira...supplicia* of 11.273f. are (merely) a metamorphosis, coloured with portent-language (vd. my n.). **D.:** Traina, *EV*, 2, 94, Tafel, *TLL* 5.1. 1271.83f.; nothing distinctively ominous about the **supplicia** here.

tegentem Serv. comments *tegere uolentem: nam truncis manibus quid tegebat?* Quite so, but might D. not have turned or sought to hide himself? *EV* 5*, 71.

499 et notis...uocibus Au. well notes the pathos of a familiar and therefore comforting voice (cf. n. on the closely comparable 7.491 *rursusque ad limina nota*); *Aen.* and *De.* are also third cousins. The plur. perhaps only a matter of metr. convenience; *EV* 5*, 634, 4, 150. LHS, 484 suggests that **et** is used instead of *cum* in a *cum inuersum* structure; that is hardly convincing and I see no difficulty in taking **et** as simply connective, in a loose, paratactic narrative sequence.

compellat Ennian, Catullan, n. on 2.280, Moskalew, 65.

ultro *Aen.* recognises *De.* and does not wait to be addressed (cf. nn. on **341, 387**).

500-8 Aeneas to Deiphobus *Aen.* recognises the terribly mutilated *De.* with difficulty, but then addresses him with marked cordiality and respect. There is much that he does not know of what happened the night Troy fell. In Homeric terms, this speech corresponds to *Od.*11.397-403, Odysseus interrogating Agamemnon about the latter’s death, of which he knows as yet nothing. Vd. further (**494-547**). See Mackie, 134f., Cartault, 459f., Hightet, 203, *id.*, *HSCP* 78 (1974), 196, Knauer, 115.

500 Deiphobe armipotens Hightet (*supra*; cf. Clausen, *VA*, 114) well contrasts this grand and sonorous address with that to *Palinurus* at **341** (in mid-verse; no compound epithet). **A.:** *Acc.tr.*127, *Lucr.*1.33, Bickel, *TLL* 2.617. 10ff., Cordier, 284 *et passim*. We should not be tempted to recall (n. on **495**) his limited role in battle.

genus Offspring (one or more; of a noble line): cf. **792, 839**, Pease on 4.230, *EV* 2, 658, nn. on **123, 648, 792**. Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1890.68ff. at 71.

alto a sanguine Teucri Cf. 4.230, 5.45 *genus alto a sanguine diuum*, Moskalew, 87. **T.:** see n. on **648**.

501 quis...optauit S.v. ‘respectus praeferendi subauditur’, Keudel, *TLL* 7.2.825.74 (at 84f.), comparing 1.425, 3.109 (vd. n.), etc.; Serv. well notes

elegit ut sumeret and Ugenti, *EV* 3, 862 refers not unfairly to ‘voglie sadiche’. TCD writes well *principia ista non tam interrogantis sunt sed potius admirantis et dolentis* (cf. Clausen, *VA*, 114). The question (or perhaps exclamation, with altered punctuation; full stop in No.) precisely that put by Od. to the dead Agam., τίς νύ κε κῆρ ἔδάμασσε; (*Od.*11.398), Knauer, 116, n.2.

tam crudelis...sumere poenas *Sumere poenas* standard language for V., 2.103, [576], 11.720, with nn. (particularly on the last). Rare prose previously. (*Cic.Inv.*). The epithet (see **495 crudeliter**) notably colourless; Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1227.13 cites *Cic.Phil.*11.1, [*Sall.*]Rep.1.6.4.

502 cui tantum...licuit Buchwald, *TLL* 7.2.1362.30f. compares (‘indicatur de quo (qua re) facultas agendi sit’) *Cic.Inv.*1.102 *ut ex eo, quod uni concessum sit, sibi quoque tali de re quid liceat, intellegere possint*, *Sen.const. sap.*10.3.

de te Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.70.12f. uninformative (*licere de*); but see rather, *ib.*, 62.6ff. for the common use of *de* of the victim of a punishment, from *Plaut.Asin.*482 on (comedy, *Cic.*, *Liv.*, *Ov.* cited). No., after Henry, correctly remarks that **de te** is also to be understood with **sumere**.

mihi fama.../ 503 ...tulit A common idiom in V., *EV* 2, 461 (*thin*), *ib.*, 495 (*better*), 7.231f., 11.139ff. (*vd. n.*), Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.219.79f., Hey, *ib.*, 544.37f.: it appears that this use of *fama fert*, etc. is a Virgilian coinage, though *fero* in the sense of ‘report, announce’ is Plautine.

suprema/ 503 nocte Cf. 2.11 (where *vd. n.*), 5.190, *s.* used of the end of Troy.

fessum...te For the adj., cf. on 7.298; *EV* 2, 504 unilluminating. Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.610.30 compares *Liv.*22.48.6 and 25.6.13 of the similarly exhausted warrior.

uasta caede...Pelasgum Cf. 1.471 *Tydidēs multa uastabat caede cruentus*, *EV* 1, 599; the adj. (and V. also uses *tanta*, *nimia*, *ingens* of *c.*) not conventional of *c.* (Hoppe, *infra*, 54.58; Pinotti’s thoughtful analysis, *EV* 5*, 454-6, apparently ignores this passage). For obj. gen. after *caedes*, cf. 3.247 *caede boum* (with *n.*), Hoppe, *TLL* 3.49.9ff. (very common). For **P.**, cf. *n.* on 2.83. Butler suggests, most improbably, that De. is so exhausted by his defeat at the hands of Od. and Menelaus at *Od.*8.517 that the victors will now be able finally to dispose of him; one combat per epic between Deiph. and his killers is clearly quite enough.

504 procubuisse Cf. *n.* on 2.425 *ad aram/ procumbit*.

super confusae stragis aceruum Cf. 10.245 *ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis aceruos*, 11.207 *confusaeque ingentem caedis aceruum* (where *vd. n.*), 384f. *stragis aceruos/ Teucrorum*, Aricò, *EV* 1, 18 (also of weapons); of slaughter already in *Acc.tr.*323., *Cat.*64.359. **S.**: cf. *EV* 4, 1033. The

adj., Meister, *TLL* 4.266.1; apparently *not* (so PHI) part of the common lexicon of battlefield description. The interposition between prepos. and acc. of the dependent part. of a notably rare type, Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots*, 3, 43, Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 2, 196. Conte, *Virgilio*, 52 correctly observes enallage; it is the heap, not the butchery that is confused.

505 tunc egomet Wagner, *QV* xxv offers a useful survey of V.'s usage of *tum/tunc*; for *-met* compounds, vd. n. on 7.309 (archaic, spoken Lat.), NW 2, 362ff., Leumann, 464.

tumululum...inanem Cf. n. on 3.304 *Hectoreum ad tumulum*, *uiridi quem caespite inanem* for the amply attested idea of a cenotaph. Compare the cenotaph Menelaus raised for Agam., *Od.*4.584, and vd. also n. on 11.103 for *t.* in *Aen.*

Rhoeteo in litore An evident anticipation of the tombs for Misenus, Palinurus and Caieta. Cf. n. on 3.108 for topography and (aetiological/literary) associations (not Hom., but Cat.); no obvious link of association between De. and the sea, but V. may be thinking both of Catullus' brother's tomb (65.7f.) and of Ajax' burial there (see T.E.V.Pearce. *Lat.* 42 (1983), 112 and Bleisch, 194ff., not entirely convincing); a statue of Ajax was restored to the Rhoeteans by Augustus (Strab.13.1.30, where vd. Leaf's comm. (*Str. on the Troad*), Bowersock, *Aug. and the Gk. world*, 86, Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 1, 281 and 2, 405, Cook, *Troad*, 88f., Lyne, *FV*, 11f.; vd. also Plin.*Nat.*5.125). For the discovery of Ajax' bones, cf. Paus.1.35.5, with A.Mayor's remarkable *The first fossil hunters* (Princeton 2000), 114f.. At 3.105 V. had made Teucer land first here on arrival from Crete, but it is not easy to view that as in some way a significant localisation. **In** is omitted by **FPR**; included by **M**, Serv., TCD, the c.9 mss. and a corrector in **P**; erroneous omission is much harder to explain than erroneous inclusion.

506 constitui 217, 244, 11.6, and 185 not closely comparable; cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 4.512.80f.; but used of *sepulchrum*, Cic.*Verr.*6.94 (and amply of temples, shrines, altars, etc.).

et magna...uoce uocauit Cf. 3.68 [sc. *animam*] *magna supremum uoce ciemus*. Simple *magna uox* in six other passages in *Aen.*; the *figura etymologica* of *uoce uocans* discussed at 247 (Enn., etc.).

manis Cf. 3.303f. *libabat cineri Andromache manisque uocabat/ Hectoreum ad tumulum*, with note.

ter Cf. 10.873 *atque hic Aenean magna ter uoce uocauit* (non-funerary). Apparently not a conventionally threefold cry (Virgilian *Dreihheit* not an easily defined usage, n. on 3.37). **Ter** here *sounds* correct and convincing. whether or not it corresponded to the minutiae of usage. More to the point is the last salute to the corpse: see nn. on 2.644, 3.68 and 11.97f. *salue aeternum.../ aeternumque uale*; apparently (vd. on 3, *cit.* for

the complex issue), V.'s readers would have understood Aen. here to refer to a threefold final salute of *'salue'*. Od.'s threefold cry for each of his comrades killed by the Cicones (*Od.*9.65) contributes here (cf. Highet, 203) but is not the full answer. Bleisch, 216, draws attention to the triple *frater* of Cat.101; since there is indeed a link via Rhoeteum (**505**), this might be relevant.

507 nomen et arma So Antenor at Padova, 1.248; so too the *names* (i.e. toponym and/or epitaph) of Misenus (**235**), Palinurus (**381**) and Caieta (7.3) will survive and preserve the fame of their origin. TCD here helpfully: *signatus est locus ipse nomine tuo et arma illic tui uocabuli appellatione decorata sunt*, so that the viewer thinks the bones too are buried there. For **arma**, cf. those of Misenus (**233**); the attentive reader of **523f.** might wish to raise difficulties, just as Sabbadini wonders how De.'s *arma* were found, but not his corpse, but that is just how we should try *not* to read V.. On **a.**, Serv. ingeniously comments *depicta scilicet* (in keeping with Gk. usage; vd. No.); in any case, probably not D.'s own, whereas the name suggests perhaps both an inscription and Deiphobus' own name. We all however realise that the cenotaph to Deiphobus on the shore is a (timely, consolatory) Virgilian fiction, absent from the antiquarian tradition, which (*supra*) locates Ajax, not De., at Rhoeteum; cf. Bleisch, 199f.

locum seruant Cf. 7.3 *et nunc seruat honos sedem tuus* (where vd. n.; the *EV* article (Aragosti) not satisfactory). The senses of 'keep to' and 'watch over', discussed at 7, *cit.*, are both likely to be present here.

te, amice 'Affectionate address', Dickey, 310 (cf. 148); let us not forget that De. responds directly in the same terms, **509 nihil o tibi, amice, relictum**, as V. leaves us in no doubt that Aen. and De. were in truth, and reciprocally, friends (cf. Clausen, *VA*, 116). **Te** shortened before **amice**; 'correction in hiatus', present from comedy on, in the case of syllables not bearing the metr. accent; here therefore quite possibly a conversational, informal touch (Au.). Cf. Lindsay, *Plaut.Capt.*, p.47f., *id.*, *Lat.lang.*, 209, Postgate, *Prosodia latina*, 39f., Cat.55.4 *te in* (vd. Fordyce's n.), 97.1 *di ament*, *Lucr.*2.617, etc. (vd. Bailey, 1, p.128), *Hor.Serm.*1.9.38 *me amas*, *Verg.Buc.*2.65 *o Alexi*, 3.79 *uale inquit* (vd. Clausen and Coleman), 6.44 *Hyla omne*, 8.108 *qui amant*. For further bibl., vd. Au.'s n..

nequiuu/ 508 conspicere N.: NW 3, 432, *EV* 2, 323, 4, 367: 'I was not able'. NW 3, 623ff. shows the occasional distribution of (*ne*)-*queo*: *decies* in V., found in *Lucr.*, *Cat.*, *Cic.carm.*, tragic fragments and used in V. as an occasional rather archaic alternative for (*non*) *possum*. *Tacet* Cordier. For c., cf. n. on 3.306.

et patria...ponere terra Probably *simplex* for *componere* or *deponere*, to lay out for burial, nn. on 11.30 and 2.644 (where that may not be the sense); vd. also 4.681 *posita*. Cf. *EV* 4, 200f. (confused). **Patria...terra**: cf.

10.75, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.762.44ff. at 48, citing *Lucr.*2.642; it is odd that (e.g.) Guillemin understands these words ‘with’ **decedens**; they are naturally understood with both *infin.* and *partic.*.

decedens Cf. 4.306 *tacitusque mea decedere terra*, 11.325 *possuntque solo decedere nostro*. See 3.5-8 for the sequence of events which makes it positively easy for Aen. and his followers to erect a cenotaph for De., while they are building their fleet.

509-534 Deiphobus to Aeneas De.'s answer couched in narrative form (Highet; vd. the list, 310f.): an episode of the Fall of Troy of which Aen. could have known nothing at the time, nor has he since encountered survivors who might have told him more; only now can he talk to non-survivors who can offer entirely new perspectives upon events (vd. the studied contrast between the **fama** of 502-4 and the horrid reality of this speech). Cf. Highet, 107 for a good account of other narrative speeches in *Aen.*, and note *ib.*, 108 for the (strong) case against Norden's claim that vv. 511f. are a rhet. *propositio* (see too Erbse, 436f., Guillemin, 24f.).

509 ad quae Priamides Some increase of urgency suggested by the beginning of De.'s response in mid-verse, Highet (500-8), 197f.. **Ad quae** only here in *Aen.*. The illustrious patronymic reminds us that this is conversation at the highest princely level. **P.** also of Helenus, 3.295; alongside the mutilation, some association between De. and Hector may be suggested.

nihil...tibi...relictum Dat. of agent and a strong litotes; for the sense of **r.**, cf. *OLD* s.v., §10, ‘to pay no attention to, disregard, ignore’, citing e.g. *Lucr.*1.53. For the synaloepha of *tibi*, cf. No., 454: the close connexion of **t.** and **a.** mitigates the awkwardness of synaloepha here.

o...amice Interwoven word-order of notable complexity; the elements of the apostrophe are broken up by what is actually said to Aen., and that in turn directs attention to the paths of the apostrophe; 3.489, 4.31 and 8.78 are not closely comparable; better, *Ov.Met.*2.426 *o comitum, uirgo, pars una mearum*, Wieland, *TLL* 9.2.11.32ff.. See further n. on 507 **te, amice** and for **o**, n. on 7.360.

510 omnia...soluisti ‘Pay’, ‘perform’, *EV* 4, 935, in this case the honours due to the (absent) corpse, *OLD* s.v., §21a and cf. n. on 7.5 *exsequiis...solutis*, the *tumulus* erected for Caieta; exactly, as Ladewig notes, the sentiment of *Xen.Anab.*4.2.23 πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν. To Aeneas, the great survivor, there clings inevitably some faint suspicion that he did not do all that he could to save his city and kin, that his very existence is itself a criticism: cf. n. on 2.289-95, Clark, 166. So, exculpation by De. here; we should compare the crucial role of Hector in bk.2, where the dead paladin orders the fated survivor to flee.

Deiphobo Speaker uses own name; markedly emotive and not uncommon: cf. ample n. on 7.401.

et funeris umbris V. the spirit of the dead De. (cf. 5.81, 10.519, 11.81, and the full discussion offered by Angela Maria Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 379f.). **F:** ‘cadaver, corpus mortuum’, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1605.42f., comparing e.g. Cat.64.83, *Aen.*2.539 (*perperam*; clearly enough *not* the sense there); **6.150** (again, pretty clearly misunderstood; vd. n., *supra*), 9.489; add 11.3 (where vd. n.). *EV* 3, 600 (s.v. *Morte*) disappointing. But Binder well cites Varr.*RR* 1.4.5 *omnes domus repletae essent aegrotis et funeribus*; so too *OLD* s.v., §2a. De. therefore refers to his spirit, that survives his corpse, an expression that might be thought rather difficult, even forced.

511 sed me.../ 512 ...mersere Cf. **429, 615**; Lausberg/Bulhart, 8.835.21f.. Liv.3.16.4 has (No.) *mergentibus malis*.

fata mea The alliterative play between pron. and pronom. adj. is not uncommon: 4.28, 340, 434, etc., Wills, 242. For the fate of the individual, cf. **66** with n., Bailey, 208f., Pötscher, 47, Pomathios, 334.

scelus exitiale S.: Helen's *repeated* infidelity; see n. on 2.164 *scele- rumque inuentor Vlixes*, *EV* 4, 697. The adj. used already at 2.31 *innuptae donum exitiale Mineruae*, (where vd. n.; previously *bis* in Lucr.); Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1526.37. Note the hint at Helen's morals unleashing a fatal (**exitiale**) chain of events.

Lacaenae The speaker declines to name a particularly loathed individual, and employs instead (a form of metonymy) the ethnonym; exactly thus *Ithacus* at 2.122, where vd. n.; cf. too (with n.) 7.363 *Phrygius...pastor* (Paris) and see (O'Hara) 4.640 *Dardanii capitis*, Au. here, my indices s.v. ‘name’. V. has used *L.* at *G.*2.487 and *Aen.*2.601 (where vd. n.). Clausen (*VA*, 119, with n.16.) draws attention to precisely this use of ‘Lacaena’ at Eur.*Tro.*869, in Diggle's ed.. We compare Agam. on the role of Aegisthus, with Clytaemnestra, *Od.*11.409f.; cf. *ib.*, 438f. for the ancient analogy drawn between Helen and Clyt..

512 his...malis Vd. n. on **365**. If **his** is intended deictically, then we should perhaps suppose that De. has overcome the shame of **498f.** and is actually using his stumps to indicate the detail of the outrages he has suffered.

illa...reliquit Helen left (not the mementoes of happier times, such as remained in Dido's palace, 4.498, and cf. also 3.486, 5.538, but) terrible tokens of her unstable morals and loyalties, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1465.37f.; compare 12.945f. *oculis postquam saeui monumenta doloris/ exuiuasque hausit* (*Aen.* of Pallas' baldric worn by Tu.). Note that Helen herself here leaves these tokens as though she had inflicted the wounds in person, which she does only in Hyg., (**494-547**).

haec monumenta Vd. previous n..Strongly deictic; an unmistakable gesture here. **M.**: the orthography usually problematic: **monimenta PR**, **monumenta FM**; see Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 450 and n. on 3.486 for the complex issue of orthogr. in a period of change. Contrast of course the cenotaph (i.e. monument) that Aen. raised for De., Bleisch, 202.

513 namque ut De. spends from **513** to **519** narrating shared experiences (though he was himself at home and asleep at least some of that time), as though nerving himself to tell (from **520** to **529**) what happened inside his own house and affected him only too directly.

supremam noctem Repeated from **502f.**; unnecessary labour to ex-cogitate a variation.

falsa inter gaudia Hofmann, *TLL* 6.1.193.35, Hey, *ib.*, 6.2.1716.59ff., *EV* 2, 638: such joys attested in comedy, Cic., elegy. Garlands, hymns, a procession, much drinking will not have been forgotten by readers of bk.2.

514 egerimus With short *i* in 1pers.plur. of pf. subjunc.; the first certain instance (No.); cf. Platnauer, *Lat.eleg. verse*, 56, Holzweissig, 116, Bömer on *Ov.Met.2.516*, NW 3, 430. *Metri necessitate corripuit* as Serv. correctly remarks. Hey, *TLL* 1.1401. 22f. compares 5.51, 9.156; *EV* 1, 56.

nosti For pres. stem **809**, 11.708, 12.876; for perf. stem, *Buc.3.8*, *G.2.493*, 4.21, 392, etc. (vd. Merguet); *EV* 3, 766.

et nimium meminisse Cf. *Plin.Ep.3.14.1*, [Quint.]*Decl.Mai.12.4*, Tac. *Hist.2.48 neu patrum sibi Othonem fuisse aut obliuisceretur umquam aut nimium meminisset*. Cf. *EV* 3, 730 (sc., so as to render it unforgettable). For the play with **512 monumenta**, vd. O'Hara, *TN*, 174.

necesse est Cf. n. on **737** (strongly Lucretian); 'it is inevitable'.

515 cum fatalis equus Cf. 2.237 *fatalis machina*; the adj. used 12x in *Aen.*; cf. *Hor.C.1.37.21 fatale monstrum*, 3.3.19. *Liv.5.19.2* (Camillus); used by Cic. and Varro, the weighty term acquires sudden popularity in the 20s. Cf. Traina, *Poeti latini*, 3, 143, nn. on 2.13-39 and 15 *equum*.

salto Not what happened in bk.2, but an image richly founded in Aesch. and Enn.: see n. on 2.237 *scandit fatalis machina muros*.

super...uenit Cf. n. on 7.559 *super...est* for *super-* compounds in V. used with tmesis. Tmesis 'implies something rather unusual', Williams on 3.634. Not at all: see Housman on *Manil.1.355*, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 33, n.48, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.376* ('tmesis of verbs compounded with disyll. prepositions is not rare'), Norden, 402, n.2, L.Müller, *de re metr.* repr. 1967, 457ff., Horace, ed. Klingner, index, p.323, my comms. to bks. 3, 7, indices s.v.; there are several types of tmesis, but that of the disyll. prefix is in no way uncommon or unusual (vd. indeed **517f. infra**, of precisely the same type). *Superuenire*: 'to come down on top of', *OLD* s.v, §1a, citing 12.356.

ardua.../ 516 Pergama The Horse's smooth and irresistible advance conveyed by the run-on **P.** For the sense of **P.** ('citadel of Troy'), cf. nn. on 2.41, 7.322. **A.** out of Enn., *infra*; probably both 'lofty', and 'placed in a lofty spot'; cf. del Chicca, *EV* 1, 304.

et armatum peditem Cf. n. on 2.20 *armato milite* for this military use of the collective sing., and for the use of *armatus* in precisely this context, after Enn.*trag.* 72f. Joc. *nam maximo saltu superauit grauidus armatis equus/ qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama*; vd. Wigodsky, 77. **P.** vastly easier than *militem* in dactyl. poetry and a contrast with the Horse's hooves may be implied.

grauis The long history of the 'pregnant' Horse, and the elaborate reworking of Enn., *supra*, point us firmly towards a double meaning, the simple weight of the laden Horse (2.243f.) and its notorious 'pregnancy'; cf. Bräuninger, *TLL* 6.2.2276.80f., citing Serv.'s *gravidus* and comparing 1.274. *EV* 2, 794f..

attulit alueo MR; normalised to **aluo** in **FP**; for the synzesis, cf. nn. on 7.33, 303. For **a.** as belly/womb, cf. n. on 2.51, and for the (common, ancient) notion of the Horse as pregnant with armed men, n. on 2.20 *uterum*. For the (common enough) vb., cf. *EV* 2, 496, von Mess, *TLL* 1. 1195.36f..

517 illa chorum simulans For the narrative motif of cultic activity set in motion primarily in the interests of deception, cf. my discussion at 7.373-405 (under Allecto's influence, Amata leads the Latin matrons into the hills in a feigned Bacchic revel) with further observations at v. 385 *simulato numine* (cf. *EV* 4, 867); this passage is the clearest instance I cite there: there are no precisely comparable pre-Virgilian narratives and typically **V.** does not specify whose *orgia* were celebrated (though that is *hinted* clearly enough) or for what apparent motive.

euhantis orgia.../ 518 ...Phrygias For the Bacchic cry *euhoē*, cf. n. on 7.389. **E.** used by Cat.64.391 as though an adj., (and indeed *all* instances, including this, taken as adjectival, Burckhardt, *TLL* 5.2.1035.1), but the internal accusative might suggest that **V.** sensed **e.** as a verb; cf. *bacchari Naxon* implied at the difficult 3.125, *gemere, fremere*, Antoine, 37, and, *multo melius*, with abundant parallel material, Müller (122), 10. **Orgia**: cf. n. on 7.403, Cat.64.259f., *G.*4.521, *Aen.*4.303, Bohnenkamp, *TLL* 9.2.973. 16f., in the sense of 'rites': Bacchic, in the other passages cited (though by no means exclusively or distinctively so; see Grandolini, *EV* 3, 884), and here also on account both of the ritual character of *euhoē* and of the proximity of fem. **Phrygias** (cf. n. on 7.392 *matres*, 9.617). Given the association of Phrygia primarily with the (formerly) male orgiastic priests of Cybele, these Trojan (i.e. Phrygian) female votaries of Bacchus are something of a provocation. This dance not the same as, but perfectly compati-

ble with the Trojans' dances of naive delight to celebrate the Horse's entry within the walls, 2. 238f.

circum/ 518 ducebat Cf. 515 for V. and the regular tmesis of disyll. prefixes; Probst, *TLL* 3.1134.2 is commendably clear in noting it and engagingly compares (*ib.*, 25), Phaedr.4.1.4, the begging priests of Cybele who *take round with them* an *asinus* for their baggage.

flammam...tenebat/ 519 ingentem Cf. 4.594, 8.282. I distinguish seven distinct torch-signals present in the narratives of the Fall of Troy in my n. on 2.256. There is nothing quite like this one (n^o 5 in my list), from Helen to the Greeks (as Robert's meticulous account confirms, *Griech. Myth.*, 2.3, 1253) and its practical function quite so late in the narrative (long hours after the Greek fleet had set sail from Tenedos, at least according to 2.254f.) is not easy to understand. Cf. *EV* 4, *cit.*, and *ib.*, 4, 885) for summaries of events; in the text *here*, Helen does appear to be signalling to the Greek fleet (*supra*), but only at an advanced stage in the story of the Fall, now that both Horse and contents, as well as Helen herself (519) have reached the citadel of Troy (cf. 2.245 *sacrata...arce*). It might be that V. here has a quite different conception of the sequence of parallel events from that in bk.2, but that seems unnecessarily hard to accept. Or are the Greek forces already on the shore, merely waiting to rush inside the walls and up to the citadel? We have no idea at all. In Triphiodorus' account (512-3), Helen displays a torch-signal all night from her room. The epithet does not seem specially significant; the size might mean that it is a *big* torch, to signal over a long distance.

media ipsa Cf. *G.*2.297 (the majestic *aesculus* and its spreading branches), Bulhart, *TLL* 8.582.36. Perhaps a hint of *Lucr.*5.905 *prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa Chimaera*.

519 et summa...ex arce Cf. n. on 518f.; these words confirm that at 516 **Pergama** is used in the limited, 'correct' sense of 'citadel of Troy'.

Danaos...uocabat So Juno at 2.613f. *sociumque furens a nauibus agmen/ ferro accincta uocat.*; Zurli, *EV* 5*, 636 collects other instances of *u.* used in the (military) sense of 'summon' (e.g. 7.508, where *vd. n.*; cf. too 6.572). What, however, is less clear is the means employed: a (heroically raised) voice, or the torch used in non-verbal summoning (cf. Zurli, *cit.*, *OLD* s.v., §2a and note 8.696)? I rather agree with Zurli that the torch is meant; certainly that is what readers familiar with some at least of the other torch-narratives would expect.

520 tum me A change of focus: [as Helen was signalling,] at that moment, *I* was fast asleep.

confectum curis Old phrasing, perhaps a hint of Hom. (e.g. *Il.*10.98, *Od.*6.2); then cf. *Ter.Andr.*304 [*animus*] *postquam adempta spes est, lassu'*

cura confectus stupet. Hoppe, *TLL* 4.202.71. Cares and concerns in a general sense (e.g. for the survival of his city), but the peculiar problems that face Helen's second Trojan husband on the night of the city's fall perhaps also touch upon the erotic sense of *c.* (cf. 474). Apparently absent from Fedeli's survey, *EV* 1, 961f.; cf., though, M.R.Petringa, *Orpheus* 17 (1996), 109ff. on the history of anxieties about this v., from Serv. and TCD on (e.g., 'inconsistency' with 513 *gaudia*); her conjecture *cyathis*, though, is neither necessary nor convincing.

somnoque grauatum G.: *EV* 2, 796; Bräuning, *TLL* 6.2.2312.74f. quotes Liv.25. 24.6 *grauatis omnibus uino somnoque* (the partic. might after all be a Virgilian floscule); wine and sleep are Ennian (*Ann.*288; see n. on 2. 265), but there is nothing to show that the vb. is too; Enn. preferred *domiti*. At QS 13.355 De. is sozzled, as are many defenders of Troy on the night of the Horse's entry: for the motif of wine-bibbing and the fall of cities, vd. n. on 2.265; No. insists on how important it is here to maintain De.'s dignity and decorum. De.'s sleep, over the next couple of lines, will draw closer and closer to death.

521 infelix...thalamus A bedchamber (in both concrete and extended terms) disastrous (cf. *EV* 2, 487, Duckworth, 13) to De. and to Troy; the word apparently introduced to Lat. poet. language by Cat. (cf. *EV* 5*, 158 and 159).

habuit Not 'he was in bed', but 'the bedroom held him', a small variation of perspective, rather less radical than those studied by Woldemar Görler, *Vergilius* Suppl.2 (1982), 71-3, *ALLP*, 282ff.; cf. nn. on 3.72, 11.602, 662. That this is not an idle fancy is shown by its inclusion in Bell's discussion of hypallage. 321 and by the comparable expression that follows: not 'and he was fast asleep', but 'sleep weighed upon him'.

pressitque iacentem Cf. 12.908f. *ubi languida pressit/ nocte quies*, *EV* 4. 255, Pade, *TLL* 10.2.1177.30f., quoting Liv.22.50.4 *dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret*. The partic. standard, *EV* 2, 875, Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.15.7f.; we are drawn ever closer to the tragedy of the slumbering and weaponless De..

522 dulcis et alta quies Cf. *Od.* 13.79f. καὶ τῶ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐπιπτε/ νήγρετος, ἥδιστος, θανάτῳ ἀγχις τα εὐκίως. V. finely both reduces the two words for 'sweet' to one, and trims 'not-to-be awakened' to 'deep'. **D.**: *EV* 2, 151, Lackenbacher, *TLL*, 5.1.2190.78; **a.**: von Mess, *TLL* 1.1780.9, Mantovanelli, *EV* 1, 121; the latter remarks that Greek sleep is not βαθύς until ps.Theocr.8.65f.; more relevant, Lucr.3.465f. *altum...soporem*.

placidaeque simillima morti Sleep the brother of Death, *Il.*14.231, 16.672 (twin brothers), Hes.*Theog.*756 (with West on *Theog.*212, Moya,

EV 4, 941). So the ghost of Creusa, 2.794 *par leuibus uentis uolucrique simillima somno* (where Gk. *comparanda* are cited) and the ghost of Anchises **702 par leuibus uentis, uolucrique simillima somno** (part of the three-verse repetition from the earlier books). **P.** used amply of both sleep (*Ov.Met.*6.489, 8.823, with Bömer's nn.) and death (vd. **371**), *EV* 4, 129. The motif of Trojans slaughtered in their sleep is well-established, n. on 2.253, Robert, 2.3, 1252, n.3, 1255, n.1.

523 egregia...coniunx The adj. evidently with strongly ironic tone: Lloyd, *EV* 3, 24f., Sidgwick, 2, index, s.v, p.503, La Penna, 998; Hight disappears. Similarly at 7.556 (vd. my n.) and 4.93; Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.289. 24ff. indeed collects numerous instances of **e.** employed with this marked tone, from *Cat.*67.29 and *Cic. on. Per ironiam* Serv. here and at 7.190 (cf. his comments at 4.93, 10.608 and his occasional use of *sarcasmos*).

interea 'Meanwhile', conventionally (vd. n. on 7.572 for bibliogr.).

arma omnia The adj. important in the narr. sequence: De. shall find nothing to hand when he is wakened.

tectis/ 524 emouet Note Paris in his *thalamos*, busy with his arms, *Il.*6.321; spear-racks in the home, Seymour, 188; Penelope fetches Od.'s bow from the storeroom, *Od.*21.8ff., 51f., Seymour, 198. In the heroic age, the weapons of war and domesticity are not kept separate (cf. *Aen.* 4.507, 7.460 with n.) and there is nothing odd in the simple fact of Helen handling them. Note *Od.*16.283-5 (Od. to Telem.), placing the arms out of the suitors' grasp. La Cerda well cites *App.BC* 2.409: the younger Cato habitually kept a ξιφίδιον by his bed; compare likewise *Tac.Hist.*3.28. **Emouet F**, a corrector in **P** (apparently), **R**, most c.9 mss., Mynors, Conte; **amouet F** (a corrector), **M**, **P** (another corrector), four c.9 mss., Probus, Geymonat; **et mouet P**. Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.526.6f.; 2.493 *emoti*: doors shifted out of sockets. Little clear distinction between the words ('out of' vs. 'away from'), but in a sense of 'cleared the house of', **e-** might seem preferable.

et fidum...ensem Cf. 7.640 *fidoque accingitur ense* with my n., 9.707 *lorica fidelis*, and 12.737ff. with D.A.West, *GR* 21 (1974), 28f., *Moretum* 21 (mock-heroic), Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.705.7ff.. Vd. **523f.** for details.

capiti subduxerat Used of milk, *Buc.*3.6 (on not milking suckling ewes); vd. Clausen, Coleman there and *OLD* s.v., §§2a, 6a. The vb. widespread, and common of various kinds of theft. **C.** dat. after **subduxerat**; cf. Antoine, 100ff., Ernout-Thomas, 70. The plpf. suggests that the sword had been removed at an earlier stage, perhaps during De.'s first, deep sleep. No.'s suggestion that **c.** could mean 'pillow' or 'bolster' is infelicitous, though a sense of 'head of a bed' will be found in the Vulgate, Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.413.10ff..

525 intra tecta uocat Cf. 7.168 *intra tecta uocari*; the repet. of *c* an uncomfortable sound. The effect of the first foot spondee greatly reduced (No.) because the word is proclitic.

Menelaum A dramatic moment for us, for Helen: will the blood of De. wash out two betrayals?

et limina pandit Cf. Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1409.19, comparing 2.480 and 7.613, not closely similar. J.Yardley (*Emerita* 49 (1981), 65) enquires whether *V.* refers to the *limen* of the house or of the *thalamus*: an issue that *V.* did not raise and no more should we.

526 scilicet...sperans Scilicet in the sense of ‘...’, often with heavy irony (vd. 523); *EV* compares (4, 724) 4.379, 11.371 (where vd. n.), 387 and 12.570, along with [2.577]; *V.* sets the unmistakable tone for what follows, for no authorial sympathy is wasted upon Helen here. Contrast [2.577f.], where *H.* seems to rely rather upon the effect of her beauty.

id...fore Cf. 7.79.

magnum...munus Marked allit. (including *amanti*); cf. 5.537; standard language (in various senses, *Cic.Brut.*, *semel*, *Sall.Jug.*, *bis*, *Caes.Civ.*, *semel*, *Liv. semel*, *Asin.Pollio, semel*, *Nepos, ter*; then *Ov., bis*); not to be thought of as specially prosaic.

amanti *V.*'s tone has turned positively sarcastic: Helen has betrayed her latest husband, but he is still, for a couple of minutes, alive, and her help to Menelaus is therefore presented as being offered to a lover. Cf. La Penna, 998. Erbse, 437; Yardley, 65f. sees a reference to the lover coming by night to the beloved's door, unnecessarily.

527 et famam exstingui...sic posse So what would Helen have to do to outweigh her betrayals? The reader of *Aen.* is little used to such levels of conduct, but *V.*'s narrative shows tersely appropriate language. Tietze, *TLL* 5.2.1920.14f., Vetter, *ib.*, 6.1.210.10f. compare *Nep.Them.1.3 sine summa industria non posse eam exstingui* [*sc. contumeliam*], *Liv.23.45.4 ibi praeteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri exstinctam*, 27.16.6 *ad proditiōnis famam...exstinguendam*. Standard language; hardly distinctively historical. *EV* 2, 461 thin.

ueterum...malorum Cf. 739, 11.280, with n.; not significant echo but standard phrasing.

528 quid moror Cf. 2.102 (in some detail), 4.325. Both *De.*'s audience and *Virgil*'s would now much prefer to come to the point. Low motives less welcome than high action.

inrumpunt thalamo T.: vd. 521; **R** (along with three c.9 mss. and a papyrus) **thalamos**. Conte refers to 4.645 *inrumpit limina* and 11.879 *portas primi inrupere patētis* (where vd. n.), though of course neither passage explains **R**'s reading; the vb. a great favourite of histor. narrative and *inr-* is

clearly enough the correct form; cf. n. on 11.879 for this case of assimilation avoided). For the dat., Primmer, *TLL* 7.2. 444. 74f. quotes only *Sil.*2.378; for acc., cf. *Aen.*4 and 11 *supra*, Primmer, *ib.*, 445. 28ff., quoting also *Sall.Jug.*58.1. If the acc. is the result of echo-corruption, the dat. is also rather more difficult and should therefore perhaps be read here.

comes additus una For **c.**, cf. n. on 3.613; **u.** a sort of gloss on **comes** (*cum+ire*); compare 2. 476, 477. **additus PR**; **additur FM**, a papyrus, TCD. The c.9 mss. divided. The indic. perhaps an echo (Conte) of 5.761 *additur* [*sc. tumulo*] *Anchiseo*. Nothing suggests that Men. came without henchmen (if the plur. **inrumpunt** stretches beyond Ul. and Men.), but Ulysses is the only companion worthy of mention, just as Men. is clearly to be understood as first murderer. So already *Od.*8.517ff.: Demodocus tells of Od. and Men. going to the house of De..

529 hortator scelerum Cf. *Cic.Phil.*3.19 *quorum consiliorum Caesari me auctorem et hortatorem et esse et fuisse fateor*, and elsewhere, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.3004.28ff.. Compare above all 2.164 *scelerumque inuentor Vlixes*, with n. (for the implicit *scelera* of Ul. in bk.2); *EV* 2, 324 and 4, 697 not satisfactory; vd. rather Bömer on *Ov.Met.*13.45.

Aeolides The allegation that Sisyphus fathered Odysseus by Anticleia is as old as Aeschylus (*Hoplion Krisis*, fr.175, where vd. Radt's note; cf. also Gantz, 1, 175f., Robert, 2.1, 177, n.5, 2.3, 1058, Bömer on *Ov.Met.*13. 25f., *Alambicco*, 60, n.36); then (vd. Robert) attested *passim* in Soph. and Eur.. Ul. here named for his *grandfather* (Bömer uses appropriately 'Papponymikon'); cf. *Aeacides* of both Achilles and Neoptolemus (and indeed of both Pyrrhus and Perseus, kings of Macedon); vd. n. on 3.296. Compare too Hercules as *Alcides* and *Aen.* as *Dardanides* (though that has become no more than a lofty term for 'Trojan'). The insinuation of bastardy is a relatively familiar element in ancient abuse: for Mark Antony and Augustus, cf. Syme, *RP* 2, 512f.; see further, Opelt, *Schimpfwörter*, 210, Bömer on *Ov.Met.*13.25f.. In *Aen.*, loathing for Ul. is widely expressed, until the beginnings of some (extremely Virgilian) sympathy for his sufferings in bk.3. See nn. on 2.7 (with bibliogr.), 262, 3.588-691 (change of attitude).

di As non-specific addressees of a prayer or appeal predictably common (cf. 264): *tacent* Appel, Hickson, Bailey, but vd. the survey, *Battegaz-zore*, *EV* 2, 36.

talia Grais/ 530 instaurate Cf. *EV* 2, 991; better, Alt writes (*TLL* 7.1.1976.45f.) 'singulariter de malis ulciscendo redditis' (and nothing comparable is cited): cf. TCD *sol...di potestis esse huius sceleris uindices quo innocens perii, qui talia rependatis Grais qualia in meam exercuerunt perniciem* and O'Hara contributes 8.484 *di capiti ipsius generique rese-ruent*. V. has described De.'s mutilated ghostly state, but now offers no detail of his actual death or of when or by whom the mutilations were in-

flicted. De. is denied the chance to die fighting like a hero, which is what Aen. had wrongly suspected, on the basis of **fama**, 502-4; it is not perfectly clear what **talìa** suggests: clearly, more than mere death; possibly actual mutilation, but at least some form of unheroic end, *mortes non pulchrae*. Bleisch, 210 notes acutely Aesch.*Cho*.439ff.: the explicit *maschalismos* of Agamemnon; that is not quite what has occurred here, narrated in a passage markedly influenced by Agamemnon's colloquy with one of De.'s attackers, Odysseus, in *Od*.11 (Knauer, Mackie,135). Readers, therefore, who recall their Aesch. will recognise how very well this curse will be fulfilled. Vd. Bleisch, *cit.* after Reckford, 94, La Penna, 1000.

pio...ore Blundell, *TLL* 10.1.2243.1 compares *Ov.F*.3.326; **pio** is (reduced to a minimum) that element in prayers by which the suppliant brings to divine attention his own merits, services, etc. wherein his claim to divine attention and goodwill are believed to lie (vd. Appel, 150, nn. on 56, 11.786; so too Knauer, citing *Il*.1.39-42). It may (also) suggest that there is nothing unfitting, irreligious in making such a request (Henry, Con.).

si poenas...reposco *OLD* s.v., §2a, 'to claim as one's due, right, etc.' [the force of *re-*]; compare 2.139f. (Sinon's fantasy of the Greeks calling for punishment against his home and family) *quos illi fors et poenas ob nostra repositent/ effugia* (where vd. my n.; the vb. from *Lucret.*).

531 sed te...uiuum De. turns from his own history to his visitor's: clearly, Aen. is alive, for were he not, he would be in De.'s own company in the Underworld. The bulk, the voice, and the weapons of the living hero also mark off the visitor. So Anticleia asks her son Od. at *Od*.11.16f. how he had come, being as he was alive; similarly Achilles, *ib.*, 475f..

qui...casus.../ 532 attulerint Cf. 516. Von Mess, *TLL* 1.1204.75ff. shows that this is standard prose idiom, comparing *Cic.Verr*.6.39 *ad quod recens cum te peropportune fortuna attulisset*, *Manil*.45 *Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones Fortuna populi Romani attulisset*, *de orat*.2.15 *quaecumque vos causa huc attulisset*; *Ov.F*.5.236 then also comparable.

age fare Cf. 3.362, 6.389 for *fare age* and vd. both nn.; both heroic and colloquial.

uicissim Markedly Lucretian (cf. on 7.435); Au. cites P.Thielmann, *ALL* 7 (1892), 371f. (Lat. reciprocals).

532 pelagine...erroribus Cf. 1.755 *erroresque tuos*, 7.199 *errore uiae* (with n.); according to Hey, *TLL* 5.2.820.36, a gen. of place (LHS 53, 85), comparing *Stat.Theb*.1.230, *Paneg*.5(8).17.1. **P.**: lofty, poetic; vd. on 3.204. Does De. speak with some awareness that part at least of Aen.'s journey must have been by sea, or does he refer to the Homeric view of the entrance to the Underworld by Oceanus, *Od*.11.13? The question hardly demands an answer.

uenis...actus Cf. of the Trojans 1.240, 333, 3.708, 7.199, 213.

533 an...an With **-ne** preceding; cf. *G.*1.29ff., *EV* 2, 1001; a common enough sequence (from *Liv.Andr.com.*1, note *Hor.Epd.*7.13ff.), as PHI (but not *TLL*) reveals. See LHS 466, 545. A remarkable display of alternative motivations (**erroribus/monitu diuum/fortuna**); cf. *EV* 2, 477f., Bailey, 226ff., Kühn, index s.v. 'Motivierung' for other instances. So Od. had asked Agamemnon about the manner of his end, *Od.*11.398-403. For the second **an** Reeve, ap. Goold, most attractively proposes **aut**. Certainly what *V.* should have written.

monitu diuum Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1421.64f. compares the *m.* of Fortuna, *Cic.Div.* 2.86, *Liv.*5.51.6 (*deorum*), 7.6.2, 39.13.9. Cf. *EV* 3, 564. **M. septies** in *Liv.*'s first pentad; just earlier than *Aen.*4.

quae...fortuna Of the individual, Bailey, 214, *EV* 2, 566, Pomathios, 343, 344 (on co-existence of gods, *fortuna, fatum*); note too I.Kajanto, *God and fate in Livy* (Turku 1957), 72.

te fatigat So 5.253, deer pressed close in the hunt, 9.63 of hunger wearing down the wolf, 9.610 of Italians tormenting the backs of their oxen with their spear-butts, 11.306 of the effect of *proelia* on the Trojans, *EV* 2, 474. Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.348.80f..

534 ut...adires Cf. **115**, *G.*4.445f. *nostras/ iussit adire domos* and then *Culex* 373. For the use of *ut* after *fatigare*, cf. *Sall.Jug.*11.4, LHS 647, under the general heading of 'unklassisch, but see...'

tristis sine sole domos The adj. thematic in this book, **275**, **315**, **383**, **438**, etc.; **d.** as at **269**, **705**; cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1978.83f.. **Sine sole** in the apophatic manner so often encountered in bk.6 (*lack* of light, sound, colour, etc.): cf. nn. on **264**, (**426-547**). Cf. *Ov.Met.*2.331, LHS 795; [*Aesch.*] *PV* 453 ἐν μυχῶϊς ἀνηλίοις (analogous; not to be claimed as a *source* for *V.*), *Eur. HF* 607. Cf. further **535f.**

loca turbida A sort of appositional gloss (cf. **265** for *loca* used thus) on what precedes; an element of physical swirling may be present (**296**), a suggestion too that the darkness is as though in motion. Compare 11.876f. *uoluitur ad muros caligine turbidus atra/ puluis*; Strati offers a thoughtful discussion, *EV* 5*, 319.

535-47 Farewell to Deiphobus Compare **477-93**, the role of the old heroes in interposing a pause between Dido and Deiphobus; here, a 'buffer' after *Aen.*'s conversation with *De.* and before the Sibyl's account of Tartarus. We have reached the mid-point (in time) on *Aen.*'s day in the Underworld, and we reach the dividing of the ways, between the roads to Elysium and to Tartarus.

535 hac uice sermonum An exceptionally rare form of expression; cf. *Sen. Const. sap.* 7.5, *Manil.* 3.478 ('this is the sequence in which', Goold). *OLD* s.v., §4a, 'an exchange of giving and receiving, exchange'. S.: *EV* 4, 794; at 8.464 s. as 'conversation'.

roseis...quadrigris Cf. n. on 7.26 *in roseis...bigis*, for the Hom. origins of 'pink' and for Dawn's use of both two- and (Euripidean) four-horse conveyances. G.W. Williams (*TI*, 51f.) regards the presence of rosy finger'd dawn here, in a realm of inky darkness, as 'subversive', as suggestive of Aen.'s journey not being really underground at all. The issue is rather more complex than his apparently brisk and commonsensical argument suggests, in view of (i) **640f. largior hic campos aether et lumine uestit/ purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt** and (ii) **887 aëris in campis**. The second passage is clearly enough under the influence of Aen.'s close proximity to the upper air, while the first is typical of the way in which Elysium, under the influence of the Isles of the Blessed, seems often not to belong to the *Underworld* at all (vd. nn. on both passages). Here, the issue is a little more complex: the passage of time in the *Underworld* is ignored by Della Corte, *EV* 2, 237f.; cf. however R. Mandra, *The time element...* (Williamsport 1934), 164. We are, in all senses, at a dividing of the ways (cf. Cartault, 1, 461). Aen. has bidden his last farewell to his Trojan kin and comrades, is about to head towards Elysium, and will only *hear* of the terrors of Tartarus, whose outside he will see at a respectful distance (**548ff.**). This distinct new stage (cf. Worstbrock, 100) may be thought to call for an indication of the passage of *time*: Aen. and the Sibyl can only judge such a passage by the means they, and indeed we, the readers, also know; Williams does not suggest how time could be more properly measured in the *Underworld*. Butler at least recalls (as Mandra and Della Corte should have) that Aen. and the Sibyl *entered* the *Underworld* (**255**) just before dawn; now, in that case, roughly half a day has passed, by the only clock we all understand, and that is all that the poet wishes to indicate; the onset of night (**539**) is set in a context of marked and typical exaggeration on the Sibyl's part. Aen. apparently (but not necessarily) returns to his ships in time for them to sail (by day, even), across the bay to Gaeta (**899f.**), though I have no sense that V. is actively, generally interested in such details. It is not helpful to suggest that the ramparts of darkest Tartarus are delicately tinged with roseate hues; just possibly V.'s use of a non-subterranean time-scale is even meant as a faint lightening of the tone. Was Aen. perhaps allotted but a single day in the *Underworld* (vd. *infra*)? If that were indeed so, then evidently the Sibyl's haste is explained, for she knows that half of their time has already been spent.

Aurora 'A shadowy personification', n. on 7.26.

536 iam...traiecerat Cf. Liv.2.51.6 *traiecto...Tiberi*, Prop.1.19.12, *OLD* s.v., §7a.

medium...axem Cf. *Il.*8.68 ἤμος δ' Ἡέλιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκει. In such passages, **a.** little more than 'sky', *EV* 1, 443, comparing *G.*2.271, 3.351 *quaque redit Rhodope medium porrecta sub axem* (where vd. Thomas), *OLD* s.v. *axis*, §5a. Cf. further n. on 2.512.

aetherio cursu The rising sun is after all on board her four-horse chariot: compare Cic.*Nat.Deor.*2.54 *nec habent aetherios cursus neque caelo inhaerentes*. For the adj., cf. n. on 7.281, A.Lunelli, *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 23ff. *et passim*. **C.:** Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1534.40f. (of the heavenly bodies, standard Latin, *trag.*, *Cat.*, *Lucr.*, *Cic.*).

537 et fors As advb., Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1136.33ff. comparing 2.139, 5.232, 11.50, 12.183 (I include instances of *fors et*); vd. n. on 11.50 for this old syncopated form. In *V.*, presumably an archaism; odd that it is not attested earlier.

omne datum...tempus Not the whole time assigned to them for conversation with De.; that the whole visit to the Underworld might have been divided up, much like a modern state visit, into a myriad brief allocations, is palpably ludicrous. The Sibyl now recognises that the two old cousins/comrades are taking up a disproportionate part of the *whole* time at Aeneas' disposal in the Underworld. That is why there is need for haste; Serv. tells us (here and on **255**) only that the rituals performed there (**243-54**) held good only for a single day, and that therefore the Sibyl was anxious about their timetable. That has a marked air of information offered not because it was correct and generally known, but from a need felt to *explain* a couple of words not well understood. **Omne tempus** A very common way of putting things, *quinquies* in Cic.*Sex.Rosc.* and likewise in *Lucr.*; **datum** in the frequent sense of 'assign'; cf. **350**, **431** and de Rosalia's useful survey, *EV* 2, 115f..

traherent per talia Cf. 1.748 *uario noctem sermone trahebant*, *Ov.Met.*12.159, *EV* 5*, 249, *OLD* s.v., §17a. Impf., not plpf., as often (compare e.g. **31**, **34**, 7.808) including audience in the present time of the action; cf. Woodcock, 154, Ernout-Thomas, 239, LHS 334, H.Blase in Landgraf, 158. For **per** used thus in histor. prose, cf. E.W.Cornwall, *CR* 27 (1913), 230. The reader needs to be spared an unwelcome account of why Aen. is here, and the impatient Sibyl provides an admirable, credible reason for not providing the answers. Indeed this is a 'cut-off' technique (vd. **33f. omnia/ perlegerent**, Lyne, *FV*, 146), but it serves an excellent narrative purpose. Paratore correctly observed the effect of the Sibyl's intervention, but not why it was an essential narrative device.

538 sed comes admonuit C. very common of male companions (e.g. **528**); at **448** of the ambiguous Caeneus; for the fem., cf. Bannier, *TLL* 3.1769.42, citing **292**, 10.220, and in more detail, NW 1, 903; **a.**: cf. **293**, **619**.

breuiterque Cf. **321**, **398**; marked and simple characterisation.

adfata Sibylla est So. too **666**; cf. also **40**, Moskalew, 65f. (ignoring the metr. advantages of the fem.partic.).

539-43 The Sibyl's interruption Listed under 'orders', Hightet, 307. Cf. Cartault 1, 460f.; the Sibyl is consistently portrayed as impatient (n. on **538 breuiter**); there is also, objectively, a limited amount of time available: vd. on **537 omne datum... tempus**.

539 nox ruit 'So 6.539 refers to night coming, and 8.369 likewise. The verb conveys, therefore, the swift motion of celestial bodies [so too naturally day/night], and no more'. Thus n. on 3.508, with further instances; see also n. on 2.250 and Serv. there *cum impetu et festinatione uenit*. If it is midday, then does the Sibyl refer to night swiftly approaching *merely* because she is impatient? Or is this yet another hint that (R.D.) Williams might be right? *Since* they only have a day in the Underworld, they have reached midday and *therefore* night is now drawing perceptibly nearer. Perhaps.

Aeneas Yet again at fault for wasting time; cf. **37** and vd. note on **538 breuiter**.

nos...ducimus horas This hardly suggests that the Sibyl shares in Aen.'s tears (or indeed ours) for De.'s end; rather, she is inevitably tied to Aeneas' progress and they have a limited period allowed them. Cf. de Nonno, *EV* 2, 147, Hey, *TLL* 5.1. 2152. 28ff. at 2152.58; a widely-attested standard sense (*Buc.*9.56, *G.*3.379, *Aen.*9. 164, 10.192, etc.).

flendo The neat and economical gerund only here in V.. No tears yet mentioned in the text, so Reinach proposed we should write **fando**; the tears, however, entirely appropriate to the emotional tone of the episode, and this should hardly have to be said.

540 hic locus est...ubi Not common phrasing at all (indeed, apparently no classical parallels), unlike **390 umbrarum hic locus est**.

540-3 The parting of the ways:

Compare *PEG* 2.2.717.77 ἐτέραις ἐτέρωθεν ἰούσ[α]ς ['de duabus viis loquitur', Bernabé], Plat.*Gorg.*524A οὔτοι οὖν ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσωσι, δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τῷ ὁδῷ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νῆσους, ἡ δὲ εἰς Τάρταρον, *Phaed.*108A οὐδὲ ἔοικε [sc. Hades] εὐχίαις τε καὶ περιόδου πολλὰς ἔχειν, *Rep.*614C the righteous pass τὴν εἰς δεξίαν τε καὶ ἄνω, the unjust τὴν εἰς ἄριστεράν τε καὶ κάτω with G.E.R.Lloyd, *JHS* 82 (1962), 59f.. For

the Neoplat. comment on this material, we may start from Cumont's notes (e.g. *LP*, 279, n.5). Cf. Graf/Johnston for the evidence of the gold tablets: perhaps not explicitly relevant, though they do show that Right and Left, and indeed turns one way or the other (Graf/Johnston, 4f., 8f., 99f., etc.; cf. Hight, 235), could be thought essential in the Underworld. More to the point, and proof of the symbolism's force and charm, the ancient and widespread tradition of the dividing paths of virtue and vice: see Smith, 13ff., West on Hes.*Erga* 287-92, Cumont, *LP*, 278ff., Prodicus on the choice of Heracles, 77B2DK, Pers.3.56, with Jahn's fine note and Dieterich, 191, Cumont, *SF*, 424 for the Christian inheritance; the symbolism of the letter Y was regularly associated with Pythagoras (vd. Jahn, Dieterich). Is the name *Trivia* also in some way relevant (Smith 12f.)? So what might V. (and his more learned readers) have sensed about the origin of these vv.? Clearly, those well read in Plato would have reacted with a sense of familiarity; those who also knew their 'Orphic' poetry and the doctrines of 'Pythagoras' might well have recalled reading something fairly, if not exactly, similar. It would be most unwise to press for a closer answer. See Bremmer (2009), 190, Cumont, *SF*, 423-6, 509f., *id.*, *LP*, 278-80, Dieterich, 191-3, Dodds, *Plat.Gorg.*, p.375, Graf/Johnston, *RTA*, 108, 111, Quiter, 103-7, Setaioli (608), 186, *id.*, *EV* 2, 961, Smith (136-48), (2)(a), 13ff.

partis...in ambas A. used in the sense of 'both', No., or of 'two', Au., etc.; 'left' and 'right', of two ways, are not a pair (that is, are not 'both') in the same way as (e.g.) hands (496, 10.844). This passage stands alone, *OLD* s.v, §3, in the sense 'each of two'. Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1865.32f. does not reveal how he understands the word. The sense of 'directions' for **p**. is common enough, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.470.14ff. (at 18f.): cf. *Cic.Leg.*2.6 *ut enim hoc quasi rostro finditur Fibrenus, et diuisus aequaliter in duas partes latera haec adluit*.

se uia findit Leonhardi, *TLL* 6.1.769.63ff. shows that the vb. is regularly used for the division of natural features, e.g. the Fibrenus at *Cic.Leg.*, *cit.*, or the tower which *Cocytia findit/aequora*, *Claud. in Ruf.* 2.471f.. *EV* 2, 525, and *ib.*, 5*, 527 help little.

541 dextera.../ 542 ...at laeua See 540-3; vd. Burkert, *LS*, 37, n.49 for specialised discussions of ancient views of left and right, notably Lloyd, *cit.*, 56-66. V. follows the normal preference for right over left, valid also in the Underworld, except for a couple of perplexing gold tablets, Graf/Johnston, 108.

quae...tendit Cf. *EV* 5*, 95. *OLD* s.v., §9a. Of *plaga*, *Lucr.*5.481, of *semita*, *Ciris* 216.

Ditis magni sub moenia For the (entirely pallid) epithet, Wulff, *TLL* Onom.3.190. 50 compares *Ov.Met.*4.511; for Dis as a name of Pluto, cf. n. on 127. **Sub moenia** also at 8.165, 12.579; here, 'along the foot of' (*OLD*

s.v., §22a); cf. Tac.*Hist.*5.11 *sub ipsos muros struxere aciem*, KS 1, 571. Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1328.27f. classifies this v. s.v. ‘de domo regia’ (accepted in my n. on 2.234). See though e.g. **549**: this is primarily a great fortress, with towers and gates.

542 hac...nobis Terse, lucid phrasing from the Sibyl, who first explains to Aen. that their path to Elysium will pass initially below the very walls of Tartarus; **nobis** is perhaps meant to be mildly comforting.

iter Elysium For **E.**, see **744**; for the arresting but quite common phenomenon of a noun (but such nouns are visibly deverbative, which explains everything) followed by an acc. of destination, cf. LHS 34, Müller, (**122**), 158 and n. on 3.507 *iter Italiam*. Note that the paths or ways of Hades are of ancient origin, Pind.*Ol.*9.34f., with D.Steiner, *Crown of song* (London 1986), 78.

malorum/ 543 exercet poenas The *mala* of **95**, **365** and **512** are certainly woes, misfortunes rather than ‘misdeeds’; cf., however, **739f. ueterumque malorum/ supplicia expendunt** (with n.), enough to establish the likely sense of *mala* here. The more so since I am not sure that V. ever uses *mali* in the sense of ‘evildoers’ (vd. *EV* 3, 334) and it is rare as an epithet, ‘the bad’ (e.g. 1.352). Serv., though, for what it is worth, does gloss *impiorum*. Unusual are (i) **iter** as subj of **e.**, (ii) *exercere* used of *poenas* and (iii) the parataxis (vd. No.); to spell it out, the **iter** keeps the punishments going by its role in sending malefactors to Tartarus. The vb. is a Virgilian favourite, ignored by *EV*; vd. Au. (*bene*; here he suggests ‘keeps busy’) and Hey/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1376.67f.; at Tac.*Ann.*1.44.2 Goodyear recognises the phrase as a Virgilian floscule. Note also Stat.*Theb.*3.5 *supplicium exercent curae*.

et ad impia Tartara T.: see on **548-636**. To the place accrue the vices of its inhabitants (cf., virtues included, *desides Baiae, Curibus...seueris, fatorum conscia Cyme, doctas ...Athenas*; Fletcher well refers to **563 sceleratum...limen**); cf. 5.733, Plaut.*Most.* 504, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.624.34ff.. *I.* thus helps us supply (out of **malorum**) *malos* as obj. of **mittit** (Bell, 324).

mittit Fleischer, *TLL* 8.1167.52f. cites no other instance of a place (*vel sim.*) used as subj. (except for Celsus), when the sense is *dirigere*, or the like (but of places sending troops, cf. 7.715, with n.); the obj. is easily supplied, as being naturally the *mali*, easily extracted from **542** (*EV* 3, 553 gravely confused). This use of **m.** no more than a mildly audacious compression of thought; Ladewig well quotes Plut.*Mor.*1130D, where a similar path is equally active in punishment.

544-6 Deiphobus' farewell. De., humble and pathetic, ends, however, on a high note; cf. Highet, 116, 309. That might seem to be Aen.'s last contact

with his past (Palinurus, Dido, De.); Anchises is no less a figure from Aen.'s past, but clearly he does not belong to the same series.

544 Deiphobus contra C. thus, without vb., 1.76, 7.552, 9.93; absence of vb. and speech beginning in mid-v. (cf. **509**) suggest strongly enough the immediacy of conversation.

ne saeui For this archaic (as Serv. here points out; cf. Thomas, 216) form of prohibition, vd. n. on 7.96. The vb. 15x in *Aen.*, *EV* 4, 645. V. hints at a three-way conversation; at very least De. is aware that the Sibyl's admonition to Aen. is relevant to himself.

magna sacerdos S.: cf. **321, 628**; the epithet rather bland, *EV* 3, 320.

545 discedam 10x in *Aen.*; *bis* in *Cat.*64 and common in *Lucr.*; used in *Buc.* and *G.*. *Tacet EV* 1, 721. Note **464 discessu**.

explebo numerum Au. well insists that the rest of this line is to be taken as a whole: 'making up the number' therefore to be understood as a consequence of returning to the darkness, in reversed chronological sequence (No.). Klepl/ Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1716.42ff. cite *Cic.Verr.2.5.87* [Cleomenes] *sperauit iis militibus quos ex eo loco deduxisset explere se numerum nauarum et remigum posse* (cf. *Liv.2.1.11, 3.1.7, etc.*; standard Latin with an administrative tinge to it). Here, TCD remarks *expleturus numerum (quem abeundo minuerat)* and Zorzetti (*EV* 3, 794) records a singular number of interpretations that have been offered here. But De.'s return to the darkness clearly increases the number there by one and such an increase is altogether in harmony with a well-enough attested belief in an organised concern with the exact census of the various areas of the Underworld. Butler and Austin repeat items of the ample material, beginning from *Aesch.Eum.275*, which was gathered by Norden¹ (and Butler adds *Sen.Phaedra.1153*); I note with particular interest the parody by *Lucian Catapl.4* (proof enough that the theme is well-known) and *CIL* 8. Suppl. 12505 (along with some other *devotiones*), proof that the theme is not merely literary. *Explebo est miniam* writes Serv., and the curious may wish to read Bell's defence (335f.) of this (deeply) unlikely explanation.

reddarque tenebris Restored to the darkness (sc. from which he came). So e.g. 2.669 (where vd. n.), 740, de Rosalia, *EV* 2, 117 (helpful). T.: cf. 7.325 and see n. on **264** for the absence of light in the Underworld.

1 No. at his very best; the fascinating detail is not repeated in full here. It would help if someone could begin to disentangle the many latent metaphors he suggests - Hades as gathering the nations (cf. Gruppe, 400, n.2), shepherd counting flock (*Od.4.451, etc.*), bringing a military unit up to its quota, keeping an account-book (of e.g. estate manager); beyond Harris' *Literacy*, cf. R.Beigel *Rechnungswesen...der Römer* (Karlsruhe 1904).

546 i...i Cf. Wills, 93, 99, n.23, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.631.8f., Traina, 3, 135. Not a common form of gemination, apart from imitations of this v.. The repeated imper. divides the vocative, increasing the pathos. Note the sharp opposition of **inhonesta uulnera** to **decus**, of De. and past to Aen. and future; Hector had expressed exactly the same association, 2.293-5, commending the Penates to Aen.'s care. Cf. Otis, 297, Bleisch, 221, Erbse, 438.

decus...nostrum Cf. *G.2.40 o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae*, NH on Hor.*C.1.1.2 dulce decus meum*, Leissner, *TLL* 5.1.243.19.

melioribus...fatis Just as at **511** (and indeed **66f.**, **759**), the sense of *fatum/fata* of the individual. Cf. Bailey, 209, Pomathios, 334, Pötscher, 47, *Ov.Pont.4.9.9*, *Sil.5.333*.

utere The imper. at 12.932 *utere sorte tua* not similarly a wish, *EV* 5*, 408.

547 tantum effatus *Quater* in *Aen.*; cf. Moskalew, 65, n.82.

et in uerbo Forbiger draws attention to Hand 3, 284ff. for similar uses of *in*, but neither Hand, nor Hofmann in *TLL* s.v. *in*, nor PHI reveal anything exactly comparable, and Forbiger's reference to the use of ἐν ἔπει (common in the grammarians. but entirely irrelevant here) seems actually not correct; fortunately, V.'s *sense* is perfectly clear. LHS 482 considers whether this passage might be an instance (clear in late Latin) of *et* connecting partic. and main verb, taking into consideration 9.402f. *ocius adducto torquet* [vd. *infra* for text] *hastile lacerto/ suspiciens altam lunam et sic uoce precatur* and 10.877 *tantum effatus et infesta subit obuius hasta*. Is this usage epic (No. cites *Il.22.247*; he writes 447 and his ref. to Wagner is not to W.'s n. here¹) or is there a simple ellipse of *est* (as does seem very likely in 10, *cit.*)? At 9.402, Ribbeck's *torquet* is very attractive. Here, the ellipse of *est* is evident and the case for an obscure Homerism of grammar very thin.

uestigia torsit Cf. 3.669 *et ad sonitum uocis uestigia torsit*, where my n. reveals no secrets; Au. also compares 4.76 *incipit effari mediaque in uoce resistit*. **FP torsit**, **MR pressit**, after **197** (where vd. note); the situation here seems anyway to demand **torsit**.

548-636 Tartarus

At **601** I shall argue that there is no mandatory case for extensive transposition, emendation, deletion, or the like; there is indeed a problem

¹ Prof.Giulia Ammannati has kindly checked *Philol.Suppl.1*, where Wagner's thoughts on this v. might have lurked; they do not. Nor do they seem to in *Quaest.Virg.*.

but we have the luxury of being able to choose a remedy: either the hypothesis of a brief lacuna (a single line would suffice), or J.C.Jahn's ingenious explanation of the syntax; we have the text, I believe, pretty much as the poet left it.

Tartarus and Elysium are wonderfully well balanced and complementary: Elysium too balances groups of a loosely 'Orphic' character and mythical/heroic individuals, but anonymous references to modern figures are entirely absent (contrast the superficially anonymous Orpheus of **645**) and indeed the groups of **660-4** bear a markedly old Roman, almost heroic aspect. Tartarus is a more complex construct than Elysium, and much energy was devoted, about fifty years ago, to sorting elements present in V.'s Underworld into a small number of tidy piles (cf. Solmsen, *ORVA*, 208f. with further refs.). But 'mythological', 'moral' and 'philosophical' were never going to be definitions sufficient to do justice to the complexity of V.'s treatment of his sources. I try here to offer a larger number of untidier piles (e.g. than No., p.278f.), which will, I hope shed a little light on how V.'s Tartarus came into being: we are of course offered not some kind of eschatological programme (or even 'statement of belief'), but a literary construct. Many readers of these vv. take strong objection to the interweaving of modern and mythological elements, as though such groupings enjoyed the right never to be divided; that is not the case, and the categories and generations of sinners are intermingled, as we shall see they had regularly been in earlier accounts.

(i) The anonymous groups of **608-13** have ancient origins (see **608-15**), but **621-4** offer something much more original and arresting: not groups, but modern, nameless sinners. There are post-mythological individuals named in Greek eschatological texts (**608-15**) but V. seems also to have in mind the Hellenistic anonymous reference to a mythological figure (**602-5**, **616-7**, **645**; bibliogr. at (**601-7**)(iv)); the challenge (not all that hard) to solve correctly the non-literary, non-learned riddles will have held a strong appeal, not least on account of the familiar literary character of the poetic challenge to unravel the anonymous reference, of whatever character.

(ii) We shall find that the presence of Salmoneus and Phlegyas in Tartarus is largely innovative; our understanding of Phlegyas' crime depends on post-Virgilian scholiastic texts. Unsurprisingly the one more detailed account of a sinner that V. offers in this episode is of the partially innovative Salmoneus.

(iii) The pause of **614-5** to be noted as an element of literary organisation, just as the hundred tongues, etc. of **625-7** are to be recognised as at least in part an element of Callimachean disavowal of completeness.

(iv) The juxtaposition of a solidly mythological punishment staff (Tisiphone, Hydra; see (v)) with 'modern' groups of sinners is found in the

Bologna papyrus (Bremmer (2009), 193); known therefore also to V. from the common source(s) of *Aen.* and that text. Modern groups or categories of sinner in a traditional underworld are also familiar from Plato: see (601-7)(iii) with *Gorg.*525B-E, *Phaedo* 113E^{f.}, *Rep.*615C, [Plat.]*Axiochus* 371E. For Polygnotus, see (601-7)(iii). We should not attempt to introduce here the essential connexions between the punishment of the great sinners in Tartarus and the nature of their crimes; such connexions are post-Virgilian: Buffière, 485-9. Compare too Norden, *Kl.Schr.*67f., Kenney on *Lucr.*3. 978-1023 for *Lucr.*'s view (that these punishments reflect not reality, but our inner fears) of the traditional punishments of Hades.

(v) V. employs Tisiphone (571) and Hydra (576) to punish sinners; cf. the Erinyes and Harpies of the Bologna papyrus (*PEG* 2.2.717.26, 33Bernabé) and also *Od.*11.634f.

(vi) The mythological figures, whether here named or anonymous, belong to an ancient literary tradition, familiar from *Hom.* and *Hes.*, and modified and elaborated over the centuries. The punishments assigned to Tantalus are a particularly striking case, and one studied with care (602ff.).

(vii) Phlegyas' terrible warning (620) seems to derive from Pindar, but the admonitory, exemplary function of certain inhabitants of the Underworld appears clearly Platonic (and thus potentially of Orphic origin; see (120), (1)(f)) in character (618f.). Indeed in these vv., it would be hard to overstate the impact upon V.'s imagination of Plato's.

TCD comments admirably (1.581.15f.) *descriptio loci quaestionibus et supplicii recte conueniens* (and indeed detailed discussion follows, of very fair quality); not (*pace* No., Au.) a formal ekphrasis, but V. offers generous visual detail, typically (cf. Pöschl, 173ff. on 1.157ff.) as a major contribution to the tone and effect of the whole, given focus by the effect upon Aeneas. Whatever these vv. *are*, formally, their content and effect are in part comparable to those of an *ekphrasis*.

I also offer here brief remarks on *Orph.fr.*717Bernabé (*PEG* 2.2), which is known familiarly as the Bologna papyrus (*PBonon.*4; c.3-4AD, Bernabé, c.2-3AD, Lloyd-Jones/Parsons), and is apparently a text of the early Empire (Lloyd-Jones/Parsons, 88). Twenty years ago, I showed that *Aen.*6 and the papyrus depended on a common source or sources of Orphic character (of which there are traces in Plato): *ZPE* 96 (1993), 17f. (restated, Bremmer (2009), 189). The issue of the precise relationship of papyrus and epic remains unresolved, but on returning to the question after many years, I sense increasingly that the question should never have been raised: there *is* a common source; there *are* clearly several points of close contact, but there is no proof of either author having actually made use of the other (as against two authors who both make close use of a common source), and if that is the case, then the importance of mere chronological priority, in eith-

er direction, evidently declines; for what it is worth, *Aen.* seems likely to be the earlier text. Bernabé offers an ample bibliography on the Bologna papyrus, which I do not repeat here; add Bremmer (2009), 189.

Bibliography: D.Berry* *CQ* 42 (1992), 416-20, Bremmer* (2009), 190-7, (2010), 313, Büchner, 366.14ff., Cartault, 461-8, Clark, *Catabasis*, 169-76, Cumont, *AL*, 170-6, F.Della Corte, *Vichiana* 11 (1982), 95-9, di Cesare, 109f., Hightet, 244-6, Knauer*, 117-23, A.La Penna, *L'impossibile giustificazione della storia* (Roma 2005), 343, S.Lundström, *Acht Reden in der Aeneis* (Uppsala 1977), 43-60, Norden*, 13, 272-7, F.Norwood, *CP* 49 (1954), 19f., Otis, 297f., Pomathios, 150f., A.Powell in Stahl, 85-100, Quinn, 171f., Raabe, 71f., L.Radermacher*, *RhM*.63 (1908), 531-57, R.Schilling, *Dans le sillage de Rome* (Paris 1988), 89-100, A.Setaioli*, *EV* 2, 961, 5*, 46f., and *Enc.Oraz.* 2, 445, F.Solmsen*, *ORVA*, 214-6, *id.*, *Proc.Amer.Philos.Soc.* 112 (1968), 413ff., O.Waser*, Ro.5.121.12-128.37, West* on Hes. *Theog.*119 and pp. 358f., R.D. Williams, *ORVA*, 198, A.Wlosok, *RHRD*, 388, J.E.G.Zetzel*, *TAPA* 119 (1989), 264-72. Here, I have indicated with an asterisk the scholars who have contributed most to my understanding of these difficult lines.

548 respicit Aeneas subito Should we stop to wonder, it might be the terrible din of punishment (559; note also the roaring rocks of 551) that attracts Aen.'s gaze; there might even be a *sudden* peak of noise that attracts Aen.'s notice. **S.** third word (as at e.g. 7.144)? Or **et** postponed (n. on 7.761)? Or should we not ask to which vb. s. 'belongs' (vd. e.g. Paratore) and suppose rather that the advb. applies to a single action (seeing in a backwards look) expressed in two verbs?

sub rupe sinistra Aen. and the Sibyl have turned to the right along the front of Tartarus and naturally see T. to their left (540-3: the detail is important and pellucid); clearly, though, there is also present (Mastandrea, *EV* 4, 877) a hint of 'harmful, baleful'. A radical contrast to the picture of *G.2.156f.*, Roiron, 208.

549 moenia lata uidet Cf. (loosely) *Ov.F.3.182*, *Hor.Ars* 209, van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.1021.68f.; markedly uncommon phrasing. The adj. a first brief hint of the vast scale of this place of chastisement. Au. suggests that **moenia** here is used of the buildings of a city (a possible sense, full n. on 2.234), with Lumpe's support (see 541; here too s.v. 'de domo regia'). Indeed these **moenia** are surrounded by a triple *murus*, but they are also **lata**, a strange adj. to apply to a palace. *Moenia* and *murus* are pretty much synonyms (n. on 2.234); no significant distinction is offered by Menge's *Synonymik* or by the introductory paras. of the *TLL* entries. A triple wall surrounded by a wall is, potentially, a quadruple wall. Ehlers, *TLL* 8.1685. 10, 48 cites (s.v. *murus*) e.g. 11.506 for juxtaposition of the nouns in the interests of variation; also of course for intensification or amplification (not

unlike the effect of a *genetivus inhaerentiae*). **Moenia** and **muro** are, in short, parts of each other.

triplici...muro Cf. Ov.*F.*3.801, QCurt.4.7.20, Ehlers, *TLL* 8.1686. 60ff., who suggests that V. might have had Hom./Hes. τρις τοιχι in mind, as do comms. at least from Heyne.

circumdata Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1330.3ff. compares Sall.*Jug.*23.1 *uallo atque fossa moenia circumdat*, Liv.23.18.5 (so too Banner, *TLL* 3.1128. 35).

550 quae...ambit As though a moat; von Mess, *TLL* 1.1848.10ff. cites Varr.*LL* 5.28 and Sall.*hist.*4.fr.77Maurenbrecher. Hor.*Ep.*1.16.13 does not suggest that the vb. was felt insuperably prosaic (not Cat., Lucr.); standard Latin. V. plays on the derivation of *amnis* from *ambire*, O'Hara, *TN*, 174, citing Varr.*LL* 5.28 *amnis id flumen quod circuit aliquod*. Vd. *infra flammis*, and clearly the etyms. reinforce each other.

rapidus...amnis Cf. 11.562, Liv.22.5.8, Hor.*Serm.*1.10.62, C.4.14.46, Sen.*Apoc.* 7.2, Milani, *EV* 4, 401 (*bene*). Note also 12.523 *decursu rapido* and Milani's numerous instances of *r.* applied to running water. Except that Phlegethon flows swiftly not with water, but with flames

flammis...torrentibus V. clearly plays on obvious sense of scorching (e.g. G.4.425) and on noun *torrens* (a fast-flowing stream/river (see e.g. 2.305, where vd. n., 10.363), appropriate, as La Cerda saw, to Phlegethon. Note 9.105, 10.114 *per pice torrentis atraque uoragine ripas*. For the abl., cf. n. on **137**, Görler, *EV* 2, 268. These flames are scenic, traditional and 'learned', as a bilingual etym. gloss on **551 Phlegethon** (Gk. φλέγειν); O'Hara, *TN*, 174f.. Roiron examines in detail the origins of the 'river of fire' (207f.), with proper reference to Plat.*Phaed.* (vd. n. on **265**); acutely, he refers to the double simile of 2.304-8, the inferno of Troy's fall seen by Aen. compared to a fire in the fields or to a stream in spate ravaging the countryside, and seen by a shepherd. Fire and flood therefore here fused (under Platonic influence); the element of *sound* too present there (2.308 *sonitum saxi*) and cf. also Lucr.1.286, 288, G.4.370 (vd. *infra* on **sonantia**).

551 Tartareus Phlegethon For **P.**, see on **265**, a name ancient and suggestive: mentioned in the Bologna papyrus (fr.717.42Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2); note also Damascius on Plat.*Phaed.*(*PEG* 2.1.fr.341, p.283.25Bernabé). For the name **T.**, cf. on **135**; the adjectival form adjacent to **P.** neat, thunderous, alarming.

torquetque At *Il.*21.260f., the pebbles in a drainage ditch are carried forwards (*EV* 5*, 219 greatly confused; *ib.*, 4, 690 clearly better); compare rather Lucr. on a river breaking up the piles of a bridge, 1.286ff., (288) *dat sonitu magno stragem uoluitque sub undis/ grandia saxa* and even G.3.253f. *non scopuli rupesque cauae atque obiecta retardant/ flumina*

correptosque unda torquentia montis; cf. 10.362 *saxa rotantia* and G.1.473, *Aen.*3.576f. of volcanoes tossing rocks. The coordinate verb an energetic alternative to a participle. Cf. further, Roiron, 209f.. The boulder of *Il.*13.137ff. is dislodged by a flood: a rather different picture.

sonantia saxa Cf. G.4.370 *saxosusque sonans Hypanis*. Minutely discussed, Roiron, 207-10; vd. *supra* for details, in particular on **550 flammis...torrentibus ad fin.**

552 porta aduersa ingens A. simply ‘opposite, facing’; so 8.616 *arma sub aduersa posuit radiantia quercu* and cf. **279**; the other adj. hardly requires comment; the asyndeton (as at 1.384, 10.837, 12.930), of a visibly Ennian character, is rare but not extremely so (vd. detailed n. on 7.625).

solidoque adamante O’Hara (*TN*, 175) suggests that **s.** might be an etym. gloss on **a.**, columns so solid, that they could not be shaken, after the etym. at *Plin.Nat.* 24.162, 37.57, *Serv.*, *Serv.Dan.* His recent restatement *per litt.* of the case for etym. play more convincing than *TN.*, *cit.* once seemed to me. Abl. of material, Antoine, 188f. and see next n.. Cf. **69 solido de marmore templum**, *EV* 4, 927, Prop.4. (a reverently Virgilian book) 11.4 *non exorato stant adamante uiae* (vd. Hutchinson’s n.). **A.** used from [Hes.] *Scutum* 137, *Hes.Theog.*161 (where vd. West) on to indicate an exceptionally hard metal, not clearly to be identified. C.Morel, *DS* 1.1, 65. *Plin.Nat.* 37.57 (cited by Au.) says of *adamas simulque ignium uictrix natura et numquam incalescens*, which is much more relevant here than the familiar hardness. Paschalis, 220 sees a play with Rhadamanthus; ingenious, but the words are too far apart (**552, 566**).

columnae Cf. G.3.29 *nauali surgentis aere columnas* (probably a ref. to post-Actian *columnae rostratae*; cf. Richardson, *New topogr.dict.*, 97); here presumably flanking the door in some way (cf. *Mart.*4.18.1); possibly an alternative for ‘door-posts’ (7.622).

553 uis...uirum Evident allit. paronomasia, Squillante Saccone, *EV* 5*, 568; cf. EM, 740, Varro fr.461GRF (and Isid. links both *uis* and *uir* with *uirtus*). Deuticke well draws attention to the double advance (*Steigerung*) from men to gods and from **uis** to **bello**.

ut nulla...non.../ 554 ...ualeant Cf. G.4.516 *nulla Venus, non ulli anumum flexere hymenaei*. For the use of *u.*, Vinchesi compares (*EV* 5*, 420) *Lucr.*5.58 *nec ualidas ualeant aeuu rescindere leges*.

ipsi.../ 554 caelicolae For **C.**, cf. n. on 3.21 (grand, archaic tone): Tartarus immune to attack from men and from gods; the categories parallel and asyndetic, linked only by **nulla...non**.

excindere bello E.: cf. n. on 7.316, *Aen.*9.137 *ferro sceleratam excindere gentem*; **b.** fractionally weightier and more powerful than *ui*:

compare common use of *manu*, *armis*. The **ferro** of **M** (c.9 mss. divided) probably an echo of 9.137.

554 stat...ad auras For the clausula cf. on **561**; with **s.** here, cf. 2.460 *turrim in praecipiti stantem* **6.779 geminae stant uertice cristae**, Bartalucci, *EV* 4, 1026, 1027 (a good survey); note tension between the static verb and the upwardly-mobile preposition.

ferrea turris No. cites the tower of Cronus in the Isles of the Blessed, Pind. *Ol.*2.70; in comparison with the tower-filled landscapes of the Bible and *Orac.Sib.* (Babel does not stand alone), the scenery of Gr.-Rom. myth seems in comparison scantily supplied, the towers of fortified cities (Troy, Thebes) clearly excepted. Note too the striking metallic element in this landscape (cf. **552 solidoque adamante**, **558 stridor ferri**); already at **280 ferrei...Eumenidum thalami** (where *vd. n.* for the brazen chambers of the *Arae* in Antimachus). There are some indications of the origins of this picture: cf. Bömer on *Ov.Met.*4.453, Gow on *Theocr.*2.33f., Lightfoot on *Or.Sib.*2.227-8 and West on *Hes.Theog.*726: note Danae's *turris aenea* (Bremmer (2009), 191f., NR on *Hor.C.*3.16.1; as old as Soph.), the gates of Tartarus of iron and the threshold of bronze, *Il.*8.15, the brazen doors of the Titans' prison, *Hes.Theog.* 733, cf. 811 (?), iron gates of Hell, [*Plat.*] *Ax.* 371B, of adamant, *Theocr.*2.33f.. Cf. D.E.W.Wormell, *Hermathena* 58 (1941), 116-20¹. In *V.*, therefore, ample intensification, but not invention, nor any need to invoke the endless bars and gates of the Hebrew tradition (Lightfoot, *cit.*).

555 Tisiphoneque sedens S.: cf. **575**. For the Furies Allecto, Tisiphone and Megaera, cf. nn. on 7.324, 327. The Furies also located at **280** where *vd. n.* on such 'inconsistencies', cf. Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche*, 107, *EV* 5*, 192f.. *Vd.* **571** for rather unprofitable speculation on T. and Orphic sources.

palla...cruenta Cf. 8.702 *et scissa gaudens uadit Discordia palla*, 1.648, 711. *V.*'s image here expanded, *Ov.Met.*4.483f.. The *palla* 'a rectangular mantle worn especially as an outdoor garment by women', H.Bender in *The world of Roman costume*, edd. J.L.Sebesta, Larissa Bonfante (Madison 2001), 150f.. Compare the tone of Discordia's bloody fillets at **281**; here, the blood is clearly that of the victims of her scourging (**570**). Possibly with the bloody cloak of Κήρ in mind, *Il.*15.538.

succincta Cf. 7.188 *succinctus trabea* and *n.* there for this Ennian adj.; the *vb.* is not attested and it is not easy to argue that **s.** really is a partic..

1 I am most grateful to Prof. Anna Chahoud for procuring me swiftly a copy of this learned piece.

556 uestibulum seruat V.: cf. **273, 575**. As often the vb. suggests both immobility and keeping watch: cf. **298, 402**, *EV* 4, 814.

exsomnis Also at *Hor.C.3.25.9*; by no means clear which poet coined the word: Cordier, 144 plumps naturally for V., but is not necessarily right. Cf. I.Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1880.58f..

noctesque diesque From *Enn.Ann.336* (where vd. Skutsch); cf. *Cic. Arat.fr.3.2*.

557 hinc exaudiri gemitus Groans, wails, tears in Tartarus clearly enough a traditional element, as No. remarks (p.275), quoting *Plut.gen.Socr.22*, 590F and *Lucian bis* (vd. **558 catenae**). Cf. n. on 11.142 for discussions of V.'s use of the histor. infin.. For **g.**, *EV* 2, 652 unhelpful; cf. 3.39 of Polydorus unwittingly tortured by *Aen.*, 3.664, of the blinded Polyphemus. Compare 7.15 *hinc exaudiri gemitus* (Circe's lions), *Liv.28.29.12 ne gemitus quidem exaudiretur*, 29.6.12, I.Kapp, *TLL* 6.2.1750.13f., Burckhardt, *ib.*, 5.2.1190.49f.. Two instances of *exaudiri gemitus* in *Liv.*, and two in *Aen.*: not so much a debt of all four to *Enn.*, as (here at least) V. borrowing from himself and *Liv.* borrowing from V..

et saeua sonare/ 558 uerbera Saeua: *Tib.1.6.37f.*, *Culex* 219, *EV* 4, 645. Roiron, 210 suggests that **sonare** is not the sound of whips cracking in the air, but rather of whips against flesh; a suggestion that might carry more weight were the victims in Tartarus in any sort of corporeal state. I am not sure that **gemitus** alone furnish any sort of proof. For the use of whips and chains in Tartarus, see on **558 catenae**.

tum Could **tum** suggest that as *Aen.* and the Sibyl walk along the face of Tartarus, they are exposed to a variety of sounds and punishments, from a variety of areas?

stridor ferri So of hinges, **573**; here it seems most probable that the line represents a compound expression and that the **stridor ferri** is the noise made by the **tractae catenae** (Hahn (1930), 215; cf. Bell, 259, Traina, *infra*, 1035). Note the strong allit. of t and r, Traina, *EV* 4, 1036.

tractaeque catenae Cf. *Pers.5.160*, *VF* 3.225. V., it will emerge, is writing within a rich and complex literary tradition, going back to *Od.11* and studied by Norden and Radermacher (vd. here No., p.275, Radermacher, 532f., Roiron, 210). At *Pl.Rep.361E*, Glaucon recounts what the just man must suffer in life, including chains and the lash; at 363E, Adeimantus explains that these are the punishments suffered by the unjust in the Underworld, and the reference to Musaeus at 363C might suggest that Plat. is here writing under some degree of 'Orphic' influence (vd. *PEG* 2.1, fr.434Bernabé). Note too *Eur.HF* 1298, Ixion in bonds (but these are not chains; rather, he is lashed to the wheel; cf. *Pind.Pyth.2.41*, with Cingano's note), *AR* 3.62, Ixion in chains (?lashings) of bronze and *Lucian, VH* 2.29, *Menippus* 14 for whips. Note also the *uerbera* of *Lucr.3.1017*, not in Tart-

arus but in the imagination, because in this life; finally, Au. well cites *strepitus uinculorum* from Pliny's ghost-story, *Ep.*7.27.5.

559 constitit Aeneas Cf. 331 constitit Anchisa satus.

strepitumque...hausit strepitumque FP¹R, c.9 mss., Serv.; **strepitumque** MP^x (a hand not identified); **hausit** F²P, c.9mss., Serv., TCD; **hausit FMP²R**. Between **strepitu haesit** and **strepitum hausit** choice is not difficult; note, though, the (incomprehensible, but see Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 283, against its champion, [E.] Hoffmann) mixed reading in **FR**. Con., No. and Paratore argue for **strepitu...haesit**; Mynors, Geymonat and Conte print **strepitum...hausit**. *EV* 4, 1034 seems confused; not so, *ib.*, 2, 829 (Bartalucci); see too *ib.*, 2, 838; *tacet TLL* 6.3.2570.71ff.. Both readings are tolerable Latin and in keeping with Virgilian usage. Cf. (i) 4.359 *uocemque his auribus hausi* (similarly of sight, 4.661) and (ii) 3.597 *aspectu conterritus haesit*, 11.699 *subitoque aspectu territus haesit* (which could indeed have caused *haesit* to be introduced here by echo-corruption). The sequence of thought is illuminating: though Aen. has just been told briskly not to dally and chatter, he halts after a few yards (**constitit**). Does terror also reduce him to immobility (**exterritus haesit**)? In other words, do we need the strong emphasis given by the sequence **constitit...haesit**? On the other hand, V. has just recounted the awful sounds to which Aen. is now exposed, and it is particularly appropriate to learn that at this point Aen. is absorbing horrorstruck what he *hears* (**strepitum...hausit**).

exterritus Already *Enn. Ann.*35 *exterrita somno*; then *Lucr.*. Cf. **290** for Aen.'s fear, and 4.571 for the partic. used of him (after the apparition of 'Mercury'), *EV* 5*, 139.

560-1 Aeneas to the Sibyl Cf. Highet, 316; Aen. will shortly learn that he may not visit Tartarus and his question, on the basis of the horrors that he has *heard* directly is therefore a useful prompt to the Sibyl's account of what he will never see in person at close range. Indeed, even the Sibyl will tell Aen. that she has not been there herself and that she will relate only what she has heard from Hecate. But see n. on **565**.

560 quae scelerum facies V. echoes a great, grim passage from *G.*1 (v.506) *tam multae scelerum facies* (see e.g. Niehl, 64, Moskalew, 219); the hellish character of the civil wars present to the memory?

o uirgo Cf. **104, 318**.

effare Only here in V.; cf. *semel*, *adfare* and *ter, fare*.

quibusque/ 561 urgentur poenis P.: cf. **565**; **u.** used by V. of fate, sleep, love, orders, poverty; cf. *EV* 5*, 401f.. The run-on expression perhaps meant to suggest the unremitting pressure of the *poenae*.

quis tantus plangor Cf. n. on 2.42 *quae tanta insania*; **quis** MP¹, Serv., most c.9mss.; **qui** PR, TCD, three c.9 mss.; As No. remarks, Wag-

ner (*QV* xxii) established that V.'s usage was for **quis**. **Plangor MR** and most c.9 mss., TCD; **clangor P** or a corrector of **P**, Serv. on **554**; note the division in the mss. at 4.668. Au. well remarks that as **poenis** picks up **uerbera**, etc., so **plangor** picks up **gemitus**. **Clangor** would hardly pick up **stridor ferri** and the *lamentations* of those under punishment are peculiarly appropriate to the tone of the passage (No.); *EV* 4, 131 writes of a ref. here to the breast-beating of the victims of Tartarus, but vd. rather n. on 2.487f. (often of howling rather than breast-beating), TCD *planctus* and Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.2315.36f..

ad auras Also in clausula, **554**; for such repet. in V., cf. Au. on 2.505, and with some further detail, on 7.554. With ellipse of *it* or *surgit*; cf. KS 2, 551f., LHS 424. So too at **554**: the sense surely no more than ‘upwards’; no subtle issue of infernal meteorology (see Williams, *TI*, 51f.) seems to be raised, as at **535f.**, and for the sky in Elysium, vd. **640** with n.. **Ad auris P**, apparently by echo-corruption; Mynors cites 4.668 [a wrong reference that I have not been able to unravel], 9.395 (there are other examples). See now E.Kraggerud, *SO* 85 (2011), 191-2; he is quite right to point to the importance hereabouts of what Aen. *hears*. To be fair, **ad auras** might likewise be an echo-corruption from **554**. But the repetition of **ad auras** at v.-end after so few lines is of a rather favourite type (*supra*), and indeed tells somewhat in its favour, as Kraggerud does not allow.

562 tum uates sic orsa loqui Cf. **125 cum sic orsa loqui uates**. For the ‘more urgent’ tone of the speech that begins in mid-v., cf. n. on **509**.

562-627 The Sibyl explains Tartarus

See Highet 244-6, Knauer, 117-23, Cartault, 461-8, Lundström, 43-60, (601-7) for the case against transposition, emendation, and perhaps against a lacuna too and (548-636) for V.'s view of Tartarus in detail. The marked characterisation of the Sibyl in the narrative (often brisk and testy) is here appropriately superseded by grandeur and solemnity.

dux inclute Teucrum Cf. **348 dux Anchisiade**; for **dux**, vd. Dickey, 323, de Nonno, *EV* 2, 148, Pomathios, 154 and for **T.**, cf. n. on **41**. The adj. Ennian (vd. on 2.241); used at **479**, **781**. An accumulation of small indications of esteem and respect; cf. **125f.**, for the Sibyl is *not* consistently abrupt and severe in her language to Aen..

563 nulli...casto Cf. *EV* 1, 696f. (thin); see n. on **661 sacerdotes casti**: it may well be that here too (cf. n. on **258**) V. is writing (at least in part) in the idiom of Orphic purity and purification. Sibyl and Aen. are not themselves initiates (though that has been suggested in Aen.'s case), but the same virtues (or qualities, or conduct; note 5.735 *casta Sibylla*) seem to protect them from the dangers of the Underworld: while Aen. is excluded from the Underworld's most fearful level, Hecate in person had guided the

Sibyl through it, whether verbally or physically, **565**. Vd. Bremmer (**258**), *id.*, (2009), 206, Graf/Johnston, 121ff., F.Graf, *Gnomon*, 58 (1986), 361-3; for Aeneas and initiation, vd. R.Merkelbach, *MH* 18 (1961), 83-99, G.Luck, *AJP* 94 (1973), 147-66, Quiter, *passim*, with Graf, *cit.*. Twenty years ago, I welcomed (*Alambicco*, 25f., 130) Eleusinian detail in *Aen.*6; so too today, but that is not to view Aen. as identifiable as a full initiate of any mysteries. Cf. *EV* 4, 316 (Cavalca) for discussion of V.'s use of *nulli* for *nemini*.

fas Cf. **63**, **266**, etc..

sceleratum...limen Note Tib.1.3.67 *scelerata...sedes* and see n. on **543 impia Tartara** for the usage by which characteristics of the inhabitants are transferred to an epithet of the place. For **1**, cf. nn. on 7.598, 2.453. In evident opposition to **casto**.

insistere For this common use with direct obj., cf. Müller (**122**), 138, Kröner, *TLL* 7.1.1922.43ff. and 54f.; compare e.g. *Acc.trag.*506, *Hor.Epd.* 16.11 *barbarus heu cineres insistet uictor*.

564 sed me, cum lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis Cf. **117f. nec te/ nequam lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis** where vd. nn.; cf. Moskalew, 111, Niehl, 60, 64 for this unobtrusive repetition, which perhaps 'lends her revelation greater legitimacy and authority' (Moskalew). Prof.C.Weber, (*Emerita* 80.1 (2012), 171-178) offers an ingenious re-reading of these lines; see **565 perque omnia duxit**.

565 ipsa...docuit Cf. **109**, **614**; the Sibyl makes the point that her teacher was exceptionally distinguished, Hecate in person.

deum poenas For the subjective gen., cf. Antoine, 82. Alternatively, suggests Serv., an objective gen.: he specifies the Titans, but his case would be stronger were not the rest of the victims in Tartarus *not* divine. Alternatively, he persists, the penalties the gods suffer for perjury, citing *Stat.Theb.*8.30.

perque omnia duxit Object supplied from previous v.; cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2137.5ff. for this standard use of a standard verb in V.. Note **omnia**: Deiphobe is properly qualified to give Aen. a *full* account of Tartarus. Theme and variation, suggests Weber: Hecate's exposition of the **deum poenas** took Deiphobe through the whole system. Better, I agree, than a physical tour through the whole area (so e.g. O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 92), from which she is most explicitly banned by her *castitas*, **563**; no exceptions tolerated, **376**. So how come the Sibyl refers to her autopsy of two punishments (**582**, **585 uidi**; cf. **596 cernere erat**)? That Weber explains by V.'s imitation of the shift of the Sibyl's model, Odysseus, from the threshold of Hades to its interior (*Od.*11.568-626), a shift discussed at the highest level in antiquity (vd. schol. on 11.568 for Aristarchus' condemn-

ation of the passage as interpolated). Imitation of a notorious Homeric discrepancy is an ingenious notion, signalled, suggests Weber (though this is not crucial to his suggestion), precisely by V.'s imitation of Hom.'s repeated ἴδον by **uidi/ cernere erat**. A detailed exposition or a tour against the rules? Prof. Weber kindly discussed his arresting proposal with me in some detail and I am a good deal less sceptical about it than I was at the outset; if it is rejected, there is much to be explained and excused. Unless the Sibyl's 'I saw' implies, as a matter of course, 'through Hecate's eyes' or indicates the eye of her imagination (vd. n. on **573 panduntur**); prohibition of entry and claim to autopsy are markedly close together and mere oversight seems unlikely.

566 Cnosius...Rhadamanthus For the adj., vd. **23** (note correct Augustan spelling). See n. on **432 Minos** for the lit. tradition of these Cretan judges of the dead. R. like Minos a son of Zeus and Europa; located on the Isles of the Blessed by *Od.*4.564; called 'just' by Ibycus, fr.28PMG; a judge in the Underworld, like Minos, from Plat. *Gorg.*523E (see Dodds, p.374). In Pind. (*Ol.*2.59), the judgement of the dead is effected anonymously. Vd. Gantz, 1, 259f., *EV* 4, 390f., Robert, 1, 815f., 825f.; Bremmer (2002), 91 incautiously unifies the divergent roles as judges of Minos, R. and Aeacus; the case for R. as hypothetically present in some Orphic account of the Underworld is not strong (*pace* No., p.274f.); see (**120**), (**1**)(e) for a faint hint of evidence in Lucian.

haec...habet durissima regna 'Occupies' (as *frequentat, tenet, occupat*); cf. 7.696 (where vd. my n.), 9.247, *EV* 2, 824, *TLL* 6.3.2400.48ff. (Bulhart); contrast 'contains', as at 5.734, with *EV* 2, 825, *TLL cit.*, 2431.53ff.. The adj. not used elsewhere of V.'s Underworld (*EV* 2, 154); Banner, *TLL* 5.1.2308.51 compares Lygd.5.22. Cf. **154**, **269**, **417** for **r.** used of the Underworld.

567 castigatque 'Reprimand, dress down', *OLD* s.v., §1a, Elsperger, *TLL* 3.534.8f.; note 4.407 *castigantque moras*. The sense of 'verbis corrigere', virtually synonymous with *reprehendere, obiurgare*, is very common in prose, *ib.*533.17ff.. G. Norwood writes (*CQ* 12 (1918), 149): "Rhadamanthus is a kind of infernal Jeffreys, who reviles the prisoner as soon as he appears before his tribunal, next listens to his evasions (*dolos*), then extorts confession, and finally hands the sinner over to the Furies"; approved, A.S.McDevitt, *ib.*, 17 (1967), 317, n.1. Norwood's suggestion proves not to be in its first youth: cf. (thus Au.) A.Platt, *ib.*, 5 (1891), 337; this comm. rests on no exhaustive knowledge of the older bibliography.

auditque dolos Cf. *OLD* s.v. *audio*, §7b 'to hear (a case)', with instances from Cic., Caes., Liv.. **D.** of misdeeds in general, *EV* 2, 122, 'vel in universum i.q. voluntas nocendi' (a very common sense), Hey, *TLL*

5.1.1858.10f. (after Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 86; some element of a Roman, legal sense of *dolus* here presumably present: see e.g. *NP*, s.v.), *OLD* s.v., §1a ‘deliberate performance of an unlawful act’. Norwood’s ‘evasions’ does not correspond to standard Lat. usage.

subigitque fateri F.: *EV* 2, 473, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.342.74ff. ‘saepissime iungitur verbum cogendi’, citing *Lucr.*1.466, etc.; here vd. also (so No.) *Pl.Truc.*783 *uis subigit uerum fateri, ib.*, 338.26ff. for common use with dir.obj.. Standard Latin for ‘confess’ and very common in legal texts, but not here, therefore, *pace EV*, necessarily used as a legal t.t. **S.** common in the sense of ‘compel’, *EV* 1, 56, *OLD* s.v., § 6a, *Aen.*8.112, 10.65, *et saep.* (with infin.); vd. No. for **s.** as an exceptionally forceful term.

568 quae quis We wait some time for **distulit**, the second verb whose object, inserted in the rel. clause, is **commissa piacula**; the first was of course **fateri**. The actual usage of *quis* is a good deal more flexible than one was once taught (Bradley’s *Arnold*, 204; much better, *Gildersleeve and Lodge*, 200, *Roby*, 2, 482); similarly, the indicative *distulit*, in a rel. clause dependent on *fateri*, is altogether unsurprising and may be explained in many ways, *Ernout-Thomas*, 425f..

apud superos Perhaps first here; cf. *Vell.*2.48.2 *quam apud superos habuerat magnitudinem, illibatam detulisset ad inferos*.

furto...inani Not specifically theft (cf. *Rubenbauer*, *TLL* 6.1.1648.61ff. ‘latiore sensu...maxime de actionibus cum fraude doloque gestis’); the run of the sentence requires a general synonym for **567 dolos**. *Serv. latebra* [‘subterfuge’] *non ualde profutura, quippe quae fuerat publicanda post mortem*. *TCD cum arbitrentur scelerati sese fugisse uindictam nescientes suffugium furto quaesitum poenam non delesse sed in aliud tempus dura distulisse supplicia*. Compare *G.*4.400 *doli circum haec demum frangentur inanes* (‘futile’; here, rather, ‘empty, hollow’, i.e. committed with no thought of the inevitability of punishment); *O.Prinz*, *TLL* 7.1.825.3.

laetatus Evidently, the pleasure (Au.’s ‘gloating’ is good) taken in wrong conduct increases the degree of guilt to be punished; *laetitia* of short duration, as at e.g. 10.740; cf. *Lyne*, *WP*, 183.

569 distulit in As ‘postpone to a certain date’, quite unproblematic, *OLD* s.v., §4a, *Ammann*, *TLL* 5.1.1075.35f. s.v. ‘scelus i.q. sceleris poenam differre’, comparing *Sen.Ep.*87.25 *erras, inquam, si illa ad carnificem aut carcerem differs*.

seram...mortem ‘Death however late’, i.e. no matter how delayed the s inner’s death, the need for expiation will not go away; cf. *Radici Colace*, *EV* 4, 804, comparing the untreated wound of *Ov.rem.am.*101f. *uulnus/dilatatum longae damna tulisse morae*.

commissa piacula Once as much an attraction to *CR* contributors ca. 1930 (*infra*) as **394** later became to those of *LCM*. **C. p.** is the antecedent of *quae*, incorporated, as often, into the rel. clause (KS 2, 309ff., etc.) and is also the object both of **fateri** and of **distulit** (cf. Cornwall, *CR* 27 (1913), 230, with complications). **Piacula**: Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1.2072.2ff., Montanari, *EV* 4, 86, *OLD* s.v., §3a, ‘an act which demands expiation’; Serv. writes only *propter quae expiatio debetur*, while TCD offers *sed in aliud tempus dura distulisse supplicia*. Cf. Enn.*trag.*280 *palam muttire plebeio piaculum est*, Liv.5.52.13 *nonne in mentem uenit quantum piaculi committatur?*, *ib.*, 14 *flamen peregre habitando in singulas noctes tantum sibi reique publicae piaculi contrahet*, 29.18.9 *quod piaculi commiserunt*. If then **p.** can be used of (not only ‘expiation’) but also of the original act which calls for expiation, then we need to establish for **c.** a sense not of ‘incurred’ (though that could be done, Bailey, *cit.*, Witton, 171, *OLD* s.v., §18, Cic.*Verr.*2.3.30), but rather, simply of ‘committed’ (sc. a ‘heinous act’); see Mertel, *TLL* 3.1911.38, *OLD* s.v., §17, *Aen.*1.231 *in te committere tantum*. A very common sense, Mertel, *cit.*, 1910.73ff.. The context is decisive: V. is writing of Tartarus and of the role of the judge Rhadamanthus, and a sense is required that justifies entirely the application of appalling punishments to the perpetrators, especially to those who, as here, have hitherto escaped unchastised (cf. TCD): the less direct, explicit incurring of [the need for] expiation is by comparison insufficiently terrible. Vd. E.W.Cornwall, 27 (1913), 229f., W.F.J.Knight, *ib.*, 44 (1930), 5, R.S. Conway, *ib.*, A.I.Wagner, T.J.Haarhoff, *ib.*, 170f., W.F.Witton, *ib.*, 171-3, W.B.Anderson, *ib.*, 45 (1931), 13. See also *EV* 2, 497 (Zucchelli), 4, 86, Bailey, 86. *Tacet* Norden; Au., the last discussion of this difficult verse known to me, lucid but derivative; other comms. silent/obscure/disappointing. The explanation here offered does not take into account all the complications once advanced, for I believe the sense to be less difficult than it used to appear.

570 continuo Cf. n. on 7.120.

sontis The obj. of **571 quatit**. They have been judged by Minos, Rhadamanthus, etc. (cf. n. on **432**), apparently after confession (**567**) and they seem now to be on their way to a prolonged sojourn in Tartarus. Cf. 10.854; *insons* commoner in V.; cf. *EV* 4, 944f..

ultrix.../ 571 Tisiphone See **280**, **555**, **605**; not a detail at which to raise the cry of inconsistency or confusion. Like Rhadamanthus (**566**), T. appears in passing in Lucian's *Kataplus* (see (**120**), (**1**)(**ε**) for discussion by Norden and Bremmer): such apparent coincidences have been taken as clues to the possible Orphic character of the passage, or as the inevitable mythol. ‘scenery’ of an informed account of the Underworld, and for **u.**

(which is clearly enough a bilingual gloss on **Tisiphone**, O'Hara, *TN*, 175), see *EV* in next n..

accincta flagello Cf. nn. on 7.319, 336 for whips as common attributes of the Furies. For **a.**, cf. Klotz, *TLL* 1.302.61f.; something of a favourite verb (12x; 8x in *Aen.*), n. on **184**. No more than 'equipped, armed' (thus, eloquently, Henry); insufficiently elaborate for both Serv. and *EV* 5*, 357. **F. semel** in *G.*, **quater** in *Aen.*; previously in Cat. and Lucr.3.

571 quatit insultans Q.: 'brandish'; cf. **587 lampada quassans**, *G.*4.64 (cymbals in Cybele's ritual), 11.656, an axe, etc., *EV* 4, 366f.. For **i.**, *EV* 4, 655, Wieland, *TLL* 7.1.2043.13f.. No., *EV* suggest that, given the proximity of **f.**, there might be a latent equestrian metaphor, as at Hor.*Epd.*17.74. Though both vbs. *can* of course be applied to a charioteer, highly improbable in the context. Here **V.** suggests a forward, dancing movement (No. cites Aesch.*Pers.*516 ἐνῆλου), quite possibly with a sense of aggression or scorn implied.

toruosque.../ 572 ...anguis For the snake as weapon or instrument of the Furies, cf. full nn. on 7.329, 347. **T.**: see *EV* 5*, 221; TCD, Ribbeck and Paratore read **tortos**, which might seem attractive, except that it is (i) very possibly echo-corruption from *G.*3.38 and (ii), more seriously, inappropriate: **V.** is not writing of the sort of writhing knot of snakes commonly associated with Gorgons and Furies (for the latter, E.Wüst, *PW* Suppl.8. 125.29ff., *G.*4.482) but of the snake(s) used by the Fury as a precision weapon, n. on 7.347 *conicit*.

sinistra Because the instrument of punishment, the whip, is naturally carried in the 'business' hand; there just might be a hint implied of the suffering for the victims, of, that is, of *sinister* in the non-directional sense.

572 intentans In the sense of 'opponere, obicere' Reichmann, *TLL* 7.1.2123.13ff., comparing e.g. Cic.*TD* 5.76, pain which *ardentis faces intentat* against the virtues of endurance, etc., Liv.9.6.2.

uocat In the standard sense of 'summons' (cf. e.g. 2.614).

agmina saeua sororum Cf. n. on 7.327f. for the three sisters. Compare 4.469 *Eumenidum ueluti demens uidet agmina Pentheus*. **A.s.** has provoked interesting discussion, J.H. Waszink, *HTR* 56 (1963), 7-11, O'Hara, *TN*, 158, 175, and J.J.Savage, *TAPA* 56 (1925), 229-41 at 238-40, *id.*, *HSCP* 36 (1925), 91-164 at 159, n.2 on the scholium in Cod.Par.Lat.7930 on **375 quae quamuis uulgatis nominibus utantur, tamen propria nomina habent. nominantur autem his nominibus: Argentis, Pecmentis, Furina**. So does **agmina** play on **Argentis** here and at 4, *cit.*? At *BICS* 28 (1981), 22, E.Courtney rejects the *Eumenidum* of 4.469 because Pentheus does not see the Eumenides in Eur.*Ba.*; on our v., he does not comment, and at 4, *cit.*, there is no reason why **V.** should be following Eur.*Ba.* (cf. my remarks,

SCI 26 (2007), 68f.). Let us retain **Eumenidum**, at least for now, in both passages. It is interesting that *Furia* and *Furina* are identified by *Cic.ND* 3.46; certainly, if Savage, *cit. (TAPA)*, 239f. (cf. Waszink, 9f.) is right to suggest that these and other mythological etymologies in his scholiast derive ultimately from Varro, the learned reader of 4.469 and of this verse would have been likelier to identify the etymology proposed, which is at least very attractive, if not quite mandatory.

573 tum demum Vd. **330**. Serv. very oddly asks whether these lines are spoken by the Sibyl, or are part of the poet's narrative; we are of course firmly inside the Sibyl's description, unless the *alii* of Serv.'s n. thought improbably that the doors were opened (V.'s narrative), after which the Sibyl recommenced with a question.

horrisono...cardine Compare (V.) *armisonus* and outside V. *altisonus*, *suauisonus* and other compounds listed by Au.. Vd. *EV* 1, 864, Gradenwitz, *Laterculi*, 510f., Cordier, 235: of an old type of formation (*suauisonus* Naev., *Acc.tr.*; also *Enn.tr.88 saeptum altisono cardine templum*, with Wigodsky, 78, 110); *h.* itself already at *Lucret.5.109*, *Cic.Arat.13, ib.*, fr.33.13. Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2997.11ff.. Compare 1.449 *foribus cardo stridebat aënis*, and instances from comedy and love-elegy collected by Bannier, *TLL* 3.443.24ff., Lyne on *Ciris* 222. Note that *c.* is altogether unlike our present 'hinge', corresponding rather to the entire doorpost, with pins turning in sockets at both ends: vd. n. on 7.621.

stridentes...sacrae/ 574 ...portae **Stridentes**: cf. **558 stridor**, Traina, *EV* 4, 1036, noting the strong allit. of r and d. The doors are presumably sacred to the deities of the Underworld; cf. n. on **109 sacra ostia**. Here we cannot exclude at least a hint of 'accursed'.

panduntur See 2.27 *panduntur portae* with n.. It is too easy to conclude that everything recounted hitherto must have occurred *outside* the walls of Tartarus. But the scourging and chains of **557f.** are surely loud enough to be heard by the visitors on the outside, as a fearful anticipation of the Sibyl's further account here; *aliter* Au. (of the scourging). The Sibyl narrates not what is happening this very moment as Aen. watches, but what happens in Tartarus (as she has seen) when the damned are admitted inside the citadel (vd. Heyne, No.). No.'s sharp distinction (p.273f.) between what is seen (here) and what is heard (**557**) presupposes belief in a rigorously sharp and logical local organisation of the narrative, which I do not share, here or elsewhere.

cernis Cf. n. on 11.703; *not* simply synonymous with *uides*. At the end of v.575, a question mark is surely required.

custodia qualis C. common enough in the concrete sense of 'guard'; Mertel, *TLL* 4. 1558.14ff. compares *Prop.2.18.35*, *Tib.1.2.5*, *2.4.33*, *Ov. Met.6.572*, 8.684. Note V.Ferraro's thoughtful account of Virgilian ab-

stracts, *EV* 1, 378-81, at 380, comparing in particular 9.166 (*custodia*; *tacent* Dingel, Hardie), and perhaps not rightly 11.58 *praesidium*. Cf. too Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 134-7, Lunelli-Kroll, 42f., LHS 747. Note that **575 quae...** is parallel to **qualis...**

575 uestibulo Cf. **273**, **556**. Before the gates were ever flung open, Aen. had apparently seen Tisiphone (**555**) in the *uestibulum*; only now that the gates are indeed open (for whatever reason), can the Hydra be seen in much the same place. I suggested *supra* that we need a question mark at **seruet** (and perhaps at **sedeat** too). But why should not the Sibyl think that she should show Aen. what he could once see without her aid? Au. argues, after No. (the text not discussed in his comm.) and Brunck, for an adversative asyndeton after **575**; not a very strong case.

sedeat Cf. **555**, **577**, **617**; it is curious to find both a victim and two of the tormentors seated. Less menacing, one might think of the latter; *EV* 4, 749 does not confront the issue. But perhaps the seated posture in some way suggests immovable permanence. Or a mere natural and necessary pause.

facies quae Compare 5.722 *caelo facies delapsa parentis*, 8.194 *semi-hominis Caci facies...dira*, 8.298 *ne te [sc. Hercules] ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus*. The *appearance* of Anchises lends consolation to the advice he gives his son; the *appearance* of the monsters that Herc. worsted was the first, most immediate aspect that he had to overcome, an expression of all that he would have to defeat; so here it is the Hydra's *appearance* that conveys the horror and menace inherent in her presence as doorkeeper. It is not clear why the prudent Hey, *TLL* 6.1.45.42 thinks that V. is writing here of the Fury Megaera; of course he is not; *EV* 2, 454 rather disappointing.

limina seruet See **402**, **556**; there, narrated by the poet, here, by the Sibyl, but no compulsion to suppose that here too, just on account of the re-used language, Tisiphone is on guard (No., p.273). Surely **574f.** are a small roll of drums before the Hydra's appearance at **576** and the verbal repetition one of hundreds such.

576 quinquaginta atris...hiatibus The insistent repetition of long produces a wonderful gaping effect, of mouth and to ear; Cordier, *Allitération*, 73. A. perhaps both 'black' and 'sinister' (cf. n. on 7.329); Edgeworth, 80 reminds us that the jaws of Avernus (the lake, not the Underworld) were the same colour (**240**). It is not clear why he renders **h.** here 'throats', when it is inevitably the jaws, not the throat(s) that gape and draw the fearful eye. For the abstr., cf. n. on **574 custodia**, *EV* 1, 380; my n. on 11.680 should perhaps have made it clearer that **h.** is well-established as the Latin

for 'gaping jaws'; cf. Hastrup, *TLL* 6.3.2683.6ff., Cic.*ND* 2.122, Lucr.5.24, *Aen.*11, *cit.*, etc..

immanis Both vast and hideous; no wonder that Heracles needed help. Cf. *EV* 2, 924, and less impressively, *Aen.*5.822, 10.209; surprisingly, not a standard adj. for myth. monsters,

Hydra The Hydra's fifty heads from Simonides (fr.64PMG); Gantz, 1, 384-6, Robert, 2.2, 444-7 at 444, n.6, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.2. Au. well remarks 'clearly not the *belua Lerna* [287] but a relative'. An identical twin, indeed; perhaps V. here overlooks the fact that the famed Hydra had been worsted by Heracles. Paratore so appalled by the inconsistency that he considers the passage unfinished. 'The *Steigerungen*, the three degrees of horror, are: outside, Tisiphone...inside, the enormous Hydra...and, immediately beyond, the abyss of Tartarus' (Henry, right on the mark). No. (p.275) argues that the H. was present in the Orphic *Katabasis*.

577 saeuior Cf. nn. on 2.616 *Gorgone saeua* (perhaps), 3.214 (Harpies), **6.557** (chains), 7.19 (Circe), 329, 511 (the Fury Allecto; vd. nn.), 568 (Dis), 10.761 (*saeuit* of Tisiphone). *EV* 4, 644 unilluminating.

intus Presumably in the *uestibulum* (**575**), to guard the entrance. But No., p.273 thinks that for V. the Hydra is too far inside to be seen directly by *Aen.*; O'Hara suggests that the Sibyl here tells *Aen.* that (further) inside there is an (even) more savage Hydra which he cannot see from where he is. Very ingenious, but perhaps unnecessarily complicated.

habet sedem Minimal variation on **575 sedeat**; cf. *Caes.BG* 1.44.2, Cic.*leg.*2.19, *de or.*3.19, *Sall.Jug.*18.3, *Liv.*29.35.6, 33.40.6, *Ov.Met.*5.497, where Bömer might have commented upon the prosaic character of this expanded expression for 'sit'.

tum Marking a definite stage, from the (mere) *uestibulum* to Tartarus proper.

Tartarus ipse Cf. **548-636**.

578 bis Traditionally as far below Earth as the Heavens were above, *Il.*8.16 (where vd. Kirk's n.), *Hes.Theog.*720 (quoted, **581**), whence *G.*2.291 [*aesculus*] *quae quantum uertice ad auras/ aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit* (= *Aen.*4.445f., Briggs, *Narrative and simile*, 35ff.), *Apld.Bibl.*1.1.2 (cited at **581 fulmine deiecti**) with nn. of Frazer, Scarpi). La Cerda also noted Lucr.4.414ff. *at conlectus aquae digitum non altior unum/ qui lapides inter sistit per strata uiarum/ despectum praebet sub terras impete tanto/ a terris quantum caeli patet altus hiatus*. Here, the mild novelty lies in hyperbolic **bis**.

patet in praeeptis For **in p.**, cf. *G.*1.203, *Liv.*5.47.5, Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.413.25. **Patet**: cf. **127 patet atri ianua Ditis**, 8.242, *Liv.*7.6.4, *Ov.Met.*5.357, 492, *EV* 3, 1014. Marked allit. of t and p.

tantum.../ 579 quantus Vd. Lucr., *G.*, *supra* (s.v. **bis**); the origins of this expression are Hesiodic: cf. n. on **581 fulmine deiecti**.

tenditque sub umbras Cf. *G.2.292*, *Aen.4.446 supra*, *EV 5**, 95 (selective). The clausula *sub umbra bis* in V., *sub umbras quater*.

579 ad aetherium...Olympum Cf. 8.319, 10.621 (vd. Harrison), 11.867 (vd. my n.). The adj. solidly in earlier poetry (Lucr., *saepe*, Cat., Cic.*carm.*, Hostius, Varr.*Atac. Hor.C.1.3*), but the expression here apparently Virgilian, and only of venerable appearance.

caeli suspectus S. 'the view (of something elevated) from below', *OLD*, s.v., §1b, comparing 9.530 *turris erat uasto suspectu et pontibus altis*. A Virgilian innovation (Cordier, 146), by analogy with *aspectus*, according to No., Dingel.

580 hic.../582 hic et V. links thus a first group merely listed by the Sibyl to a second that she has herself seen (vd. **565**). Hight, 245 compares V.'s repeated **hic** to the frequent ὁ δέ of the Bologna papyrus; not so much proof of use in one direction or the other, as a natural way in either language to handle recurrent material.

genus antiquum Terrae 648 genus antiquum Teucri and Lucr.2.1170 *antiquum genus*. We are back at the earliest generations of mythology, and there may, suggests O'Hara, be a hint at the etym. of Gigantes from γίγνω (cf. Thomas on *G.1.278-9*); no hint or authorial nudge, but an easy etym., here quite possible; V. cannot have been an avid reader of Eumelus'(?; Huxley, *Greek epic poetry*, 22f.) *Titanomachia*. Not a topic that continued thereafter to attract V.'s preferred authors (see though Hes. *Theog.* 617-719, with West, p.337, Hardie, *CI*, 95); behind him hereabouts are, beyond Hes., primarily 'school' learning, mythol. manuals, and stray lines in learned poets (vd. *Il.14.278f.*, the gods down in Tartarus, who are called Titans; vd. Janko's n., and West, *cit. (optime)* on [Aesch.]*PV* 201-3, AR 1.503-11; vd. too *EV 5**, 194 and next n.). For the union of Gaia and Uranus, cf. West on Hes.*Theog.*133.

Titania pubes P., that is, defined by an adj. that indicates the common name of the whole brood of descendants: *EV* 4, 339 (not helpful), *OLD* s.v., §1, n. on 7.219 *Dardana pubes* (not of course identical). Vd. Robert, 1, 42ff. (Titans), 56ff. (Titanomachy), Gantz, 1, 27ff. (the Titans), 44ff. (their defeat), West on Hes.*Theog.*133, 617-719, *Apld.Bibl.*1.1.2-4, with Frazer's nn..

581 fulmine deiecti F. d. words used of Phaethon, Varr.*Atac.*fr.11, and quite possibly a simple borrowing here, though the phrasing is hardly unique or distinctive. See on **580 Titania pubes** for the defeat of the Titans. Of the forcible removal of the Titans to Tartarus, Hes. writes (*Theog.* 720f.) that they are despatched τóσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπό γῆς ὄσον οὐρανός

ἔστ' ἀπὸ γαίης/ τόσσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα. Note too that at *Apld.Bibl.*1.1.2, Gaia and Uranos produced, before the Titans, the three Cyclopes, but Uranos bound them and cast them into Tartarus τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἐρεβώδης ἐστὶν ἐν Ἄιδου, τοσοῦτον ἔχων ἀπὸ γῆς διάστημα ὅσον ἀπ' οὐράνου γῆ. Is V. simply using (and abbreviating) Hes.? Or some later version of the same (or of a similar) episode? Plur. vb. after collective **pubes**, LHS 436f..

fundo...in imo Cf. 2.419, 3.577, 5.178, 7.530. Vd. *EV* 2, 611 (meagre).

uoluntur Traina, *EV* 5*, 625, suggests that the vb. indicates that the Titans are reduced to the level of beasts. Or were they cast down with such force that they are supposed not to regain their footing over the ages?

582 Aloidas geminos Aloeus' wife Iphimedeia (*Od.*11.305-16) had by Posidon gigantic twin sons, Otus and Ephialtes (who threatened to pile Pelion on Ossa and Ossa on Olympus; the order of the mountains a matter of energetic dispute, Thomas on *G.*1.281-3, McKeown on *Ov.Am.*2.1.13f., Tarrant on *Sen.Ag.*345ff.), *Apld.Bibl.*1.7.4; a formidable presence at *Od.* 11.305ff.. See *G.*1.280-3, *EV* 1, 117 (lightweight), Gantz, 1, 170f., Robert, 1, 103-5, P.R.Hardie, *Herm.* 111 (1983), 323, NH on *Hor.C.* 2.12.7, L. Cadili, *Viamque adfectat Olympo* (Milano 2001), 50, W.Frentz, *Mythologisches in Vergils Georgica* (Meisenheim am Glan 1967), 115-8. Battagazzore (**584**) is quite wrong to call the Aloidae Titans; their genealogy is distinct and they belong (see *Apld.*, *cit.*, *Hyg.Fab.*28) to an age in which Zeus is firmly established on Olympus. Are these vv. concerned with 'contemporary political allegory' (Cairns, 26)? Analogies for such allegory in Aug. poetry are easily found (NH, *cit.*, Hardie, *CI*), but it would be much easier to follow Cairns were there some small explicit hint or signal that allegory is the mode in which V. is writing in the present (and alien, we might think) context. Hardie or Cairns might at that point retort that it is all-pervasive in *Aen.*, though I am not convinced that *here* they are right.

immania.../ 583 corpora Some weight and variety added by the apposition (Salemme, *EV* 1, 239-41, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 159); comms. quote 10.430 (and cf. too 2.556-7). I.: cf. **576**, Heuzé, 304.

uidi.../ 585 uidi The assertion of autopsy is often repeated in epic and historical narrative; vd. the wide-ranging survey by A.La Penna in *Studies...E.Coleiro*, ed. A. Bonanno etc. (Amsterdam 1987), 99-119 at 102, comparing 3.623 and **6.495**.

583 qui manibus Apparently without suitable allies or arms, but merely relying upon their amazing size and strength (details already in *Hom.*, *cit.*).

magnum...caelum The epithet conveys a suggestion of the special character of the forces at the disposal of the Aloidae; cf. *Lucr.*5.1221,

Bannier, *TLL* 3.90.77. Now even they are reduced to impotence (O'Hara compares **553 exscindere**).

rescindere From *G.1.280 coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres*; a violent verb (cf. *G.3.453*, *Aen.9.524*, 12.390); *EV* 4, 727 virtually ignores the compounds of *scindere*; *OLD* s.v., §2a ('split or break open').

584 adgressi With infin. in Lucr. and prose; see n. on 2.165, *OLD* s.v., §5, 'to...attempt, proceed, begin'.

superisque...regnis Cf. Battagazzore, *EV* 4, 1081, **481** ('on earth'), **680 superumque ad lumen** (likewise; cf. n.); here, however, as often, *s.* clearly indicates the Heavens (cf. 2.779 *superi regnator Olympi*, n. on 7.312).

Iouem See n. on **582 Aloidas geminos**; Zeus is already in charge on Olympus.

detrudere Cf. 7.469. where vd. n.; the vb. Lucretian. The theme and variation slightly lacking in vigour.

585 crudelis dantem...poenas For *p. dare*, cf. nn. on 11.592, 2.366 (common; of Ennian origin). The adj. as at **501**; altogether predictable; Hardie, *CI*, 184, n.75 notes (a minimum of) Virgilian sympathy for S.. Only Geminus, *infra* (Mesturini 664, 666), apart from V. (and indeed he may have V. in mind), dwells on S.'s continued punishment in the Underworld.

Salmonea Son of Aeolus; there are links with Thessaly, but in Elis he founded a city and attempted, not successfully, to rival Zeus: the details, on which V. touches (more fully, Apld.), are of absorbing interest, for they reach as far back as Hes.*Catal.*fr.30.4ff.MW, Soph. *Aias Lokros* (βυρροφώνης, fr.10c.6 Radt), and Eur. (see on **588 mediaeque per Elidis urbem**), and reflect (vd. the rationalisation, DS 6.6.4) the *bronteion*, a contraption used in the theatre (*BNP* s.v.; for the Roman evidence, see Reisch, *PW* 3.890.31-7; for the context, vd. my *Culture of the Roman plebs*, 59) to replicate the noise of thunder (Smith/ Trzaskoma¹, Griffith), but perhaps also employed in the context of weather-magic (Nawrath, Frazer, Griffith; the bronze cauldrons of Hes. *cit.* are after all earlier than the theatre itself), just as the references to S.'s localised four-horse chariot in Hes., V. and Apld. presumably reflect the importance of Elis for horses and racing (Olympia: cf. *G.3.49*, *Hor.C.4.2.17*). V. may be the first to introduce S. into a literary Underworld and spends ten lines on him, granting him more space than any other occupant of Tartarus; hardly (No.) because his story is so obscure (contrast the minimalised accounts of the more familiar sinners). Bremmer assumes that V.'s Salmoneus is Hesiodic. Probably so,

1 I am most grateful to Prof.Trzaskoma for providing me, almost before I asked, with a copy of their paper.

indeed (and it would be no surprise; cf. A. La Penna, *EV* 2, 388). Note, apart from his literary prominence (vd. also Soph.'s satyric *Salmones*, Eur. *Aeolus* fr.14 Kannicht), a work of Polygnotus, Geminus, GP, *GP* 2366ff.). Bremmer's description of the story of S. as 'lesser-known' (so too Hardie, 184, n.72, Norden on **587ff.**, 'weniger vulgäre') is therefore perplexing. See Bremmer (2009), 192, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.* 1.9.7, Gantz, 1, 171f., R.D. Griffith, *Philol.*152 (2008), 143-5, Hardie, *CI*, 183ff., A.M.Mesturini, *EV* 4, 663-6 (ample), Nawrath, *PW* 2A.1989.49ff., Radermacher, 554f., Robert, 2.1, 202-4, R.S.Smith and S.M.Trzaskoma, *Philol.*149 (2005), 351-4.

586 dum We can hardly suppose, on a plain and straightforward reading of these opening words, that S., even as he undergoes punishment for his impiety, continues (**dum...imitatur**) his display of imitative disrespect; well put, Au., No.. For older discussions, beyond the comms. (largely proposals of deletion and transposition), vd. the useful summary, Mesturini, 666 (cf. *EV*, 2, 923); perhaps, however, not a situation that calls for displays of audacious ingenuity (so, firmly, No.), not least because, as No. remarks, this v. is the essential brief introduction, in V's own manner as it had been in Pindar's, to what follows. I try to summarise the approaches attempted:

(i) repunctuation, by introducing a full stop at the end of **585**; that leaves **585** abrupt and **586** awkward. See further Au., No..

(ii) **dum** causal. No.'s preferred solution. Dittmann, *TLL* 5.1.2211.14 classifies our v. under 'causal' and next to Cic.'s version of Simonides on the Spartan dead, Soubiran, p.280, *dic, hospes, Spartae nos hic uidisse iacentis, dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur*. Au.'s objection (which I am not sure that I entirely understand) is that the reader is *still* bound to the intolerable (near-) simultaneity (**dantem...dum** [however understood] ... **imitatur**) of transgression and punishment.

(iii) Butler cites Geminus (*supra*) to argue that S.'s punishment lies in a continuous repetition of his crime; farcical, in itself impious or hybriatic, and quite out of keeping with the traditions of infernal punishment (No.).

(iv) Ellipse (which I incline to prefer). The Sibyl saw S. paying the penalty [sc. *quas meruit*], while he imitated thunder, etc.. Cic. (so Wagner, Con.) is again relevant: the Spartans lie dead *dum obsequimur*: the act of obedience is of course long previous to the state of lying dead.

flammas louis It is useful to be reminded that S. does not merely duplicate Greco-Roman theatrical thunderboxes, for lightning also enters into S.'s misdeeds, from Hes.fr.30.10MW and Eur.fr.929b.4Kannicht on, to *Apld.Bibl.*1.9.7, and beyond: Mesturini, 664. Not **flammas** (**P** and some c.9 mss.), on account of the parallelism with **sonitus**; **f.** of lightning as old as Pacuv.*trag.*413: see Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.866.50ff..

et sonitus...Olympi Cf. Roiron, 212-4, who points out that *sonare* and compounds are often used of thunder, 2.113 (where *vd. n.*), etc.. DS 6.7.1, on S. wanting to show he could thunder better than Zeus, reminds the reader of the rivalry between Misenus and Triton, over sounds made with the conch-shell, 171f.. The flames and thunder of Olympian Jupiter surely to be treated as a compound expression; surprisingly not in Miss Hahn's splendid account.

imitatur Cf. O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.435.41f., *EV* 2, 923.

587 quattuor...equis The two caesuras (1½, 3½) and two self-contained dactyls help convey S.'s galloping advance. Griffith, 144 explains how the bounding motion of the chariot was employed to contribute to the 'creation' of spurious thunder (perhaps in the context of weather-magic). The number suggests both race-course and Roman triumph. For the authentic Jup. in his chariot, *vd. Hor.C.1.34.5-8*.

his inuectus Cf. *n.* on 785 for use of riding in a chariot.

lampada quassans So 9.521 of Mezentius *quassabat Etruscampinum*; *EV* 4, 366. Taken up shortly (593f.) **contorsit non ille faces nec fumea taedis/ lumina**. S. hurls lighted torches at Apld., *cit.* (*vd. too* on 586 **flammas Iouis**, 593f.). D.Curiazi, *Mus.crit.*23-4 (1988-9), 309 points out similarity with *Ar.Ran.340* (hardly, though, V's *source*, as C. claims). L. an old borrowing, found in Plaut., Acc., Lucr..

588 per Graium populos For **G.**, cf. *n.* on 11.289, Austin on 2.148 (*bene*); cf. *G.4.211 populi Parthorum*, *Aen.7.716 populique Latini* (with 6.891, 10.4). For V.'s use of *populus*, cf. *n.* on 7.725; *Graios populos* naturally avoided because of homoeoteleuton, and the gen. provides an easy alternative, of a slightly more modest tone (*n.* on 7.252 for (lofty) adjs. from proper names and *nn.* on 7.1 and 652 for the general issue of gen. against adj.).

mediaeque per Elidis urbem The city S. founded was called Salmonia, DS 4.68.1, Mesturini, 664, Kannicht on *Eur.fr.14*, and on *inc.fab.fr.929b* (once *Eur.Aeolus*, fr.14 Nauck); Salmone according to SByz.p.555. 5f.. **M.**: Bulhart, *TLL* 8.585.62f.; compare 10.41 *Allecto medias Italum bacchata per urbis*, but apparently not common idiom.

589 ibat ouans Cf. 1.695 *ibat dicto parens*. Apparently something to do with the ritual of *ovatio*, but we might wonder just how much. Here, five letters surely enough to carry an explicit suggestion: as Plepelits notes 'Salmoneus quasi triumphans', *TLL* 9.2. 1197.73f., well comparing *Corn.Sev.* on Antony at the death of Cicero, fr.13.19 Courtney *proculcauit ouans*; we have not forgotten the four-horse chariot of 587. A nice point (*vd. Au.*, brief and good; *tacet* No.): Octavian celebrated an *ovatio* in 40 and another in 36 (but not in 41): Weinstock, 327, 329, Rohde, 1901.66ff.. To associate the *princeps* with Salmoneus would have been untimely and

atypical, so V. employs a distancing detail: the general who celebrated an *ovatio* did so *not* in a four-horse chariot, but on foot, or on horseback: Versnel, 166, with n.6, Rohde, 1898.53ff., Weinstock, 327 (riding in the *o.* perhaps an innovation by Caesar). Vd. M.Beard, *Roman triumph* (Cambridge, Mass. 2007), 62f., H.Versnel, *Triumphus* (Leiden 1970), 165-8, Weinstock, *DI*, 326-30, G.Rohde, *PW* 18.2.1890.50ff.. *EV* 3, 914 not adequate.

diumque...honorem Common thus of honour belonging to a god/gods, Mehmel, *TLL* 6.3.2921.74ff. (citing Cic., Varr., Liv.5.50.3 *non intermissus honos deum immortalium*).

sibi poscebat The dat. responding to **dium**; the honour due to them for himself. Scheible, *TLL* 10.2.74.25f., *EV* 4, 230.

590 demens, qui Contrast the formula of *makarismos, felix/beatus qui*, nn. on 3.321, 480. ‘Sic saepe illud Homericum *νήπιος*, praecipue in allocutione, vertit [sc., V.]’; so Gudeman of V.’s usage, *TLL* 5.1.476.51f.; here, be it said, a grave instance of folly.

nimbos ‘Thunderclouds’ (No.), quoting 2.113 *toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi* (where vd. n.).

non imitabile fulmen ‘Answering’ **586 imitatur**; O.Prinz, in *TLL*. s.v., cites only Cic.*orat.*76 before this passage. **F.**: ‘thunderbolt’ (No.), citing 12.922; add 3.578 with n. and above all n. on **843 Scipiadas, duo fulmina belli**.

591 aere A discreet hint at the obscure technology of the the imitation of thunder-noise; cf. Smith/Trzaskoma, 352f., Griffith, 144 for the detail (a wooden frame secured to a chariot; on the frame, inverted brass cauldrons, covered tautly with dry skins, chocked up at an angle to direct the sound, and containing pebbles or small stones); note the primitive rationalisations at *Apld.Bibl.*1.9.7, Manil.5.91ff.. This is clearly not quite the same as the *bronteion* more familiar in the theatre (where there is no chariot to supply the motion).

et cornipedum...equorum For the epithet, cf. 7.779, where vd. n.; probably a coinage (Cordier, 59), though by no means all his *-pes* compounds are: *EV* 1, 865.

pulsu Ultimately Ennian, *pedum pulsu* (*trag.*305); vd. n. on 7.723. Common in V. (12.334, 533, etc.). **R** reads **cursu**, probably by echo-corruption from 5.549 (Goold).

simularet Causal subjunc.; s. variation upon **imitatur, imitabile** (cf. 4.512 *latices simulatos fontis Auerni, 6.517 chorum simulans*).

592 at Strongly adversative, Hand, 1, 420ff., Wagner, *QV* xxxvii.1, *EV* 1, 441, 874.

pater omnipotens Ennian; vd. n. on 7.770. Here used with deliberation: Salmoneus is revealed as helpless when faced with the powers he had sought to mimic. Au. cites, well, Lucr. 5.399ff. on Phaethon, *at pater omnipotens ira tum percitus acril/ magnanimum Phaethonta repenti fulminis ictu/ deturbauit equis in terram.*

densa inter nubila From *G.*1.445, perhaps not consciously. Cf. Niehl, 64.

telum/ 593 contorsit For **t.** used of the thunderbolt, cf. *OLD* s.v., §2d, with Lucr.6.398, *G.*1.332; *tacet EV. Torquere* and compounds very common of a large range of missile weapons (*EV* 5*, 218); at 7.165 (vd. my n.) *contorquent* clearly indicates the use of a throwing-strap, but that is perhaps not the case here.

non ille Vd. Au. here and on 1.3, E.Wistrand, *Horace's ninth epode* (Göteborg 1958), 46, Fordyce on *Aen.*7.787, Dingel on 9.479, Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.353.24ff., and the further refs. gathered in my n. at 7, *cit.*; 'this pleonastic use of *ille* to underscore the subject of an apposition following the main verb is a favoured idiom'. Used also in negative sentences, I should have added.

faces Vd. next n.; V.'s compound expression employs three near-synonyms, an accumulation which discourages precise analysis and defies the exact translator.

nec fumea taedis/ 594 lumina Vd. 7.456-7 *facem iuueni coniecit et atro/ lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas* and 9.74-6 *atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris/ diripuere focos: piceum fert fumida lumen/ taeda...: fax and taeda* are used as synonyms, whereas *lumen* is less specific. Smoke (note too 9.74 *atris*) is a frequent concomitant; hard wood is therefore preferred to conifer in this house. Cf. *EV* 3, 292. *Isid.Etym.*20.6 does not offer a distinction between *fax* and *taeda*. See *EV* 5*, 18f. and Pottier, *DS* 2.2, 1029, with Maggiulli, 450, Meiggs, *Trees and timber*, 467-71. In origin, *taeda* a kind of pine, not securely identified (Maggiulli, *cit.*; *tacet* Meiggs, wisely), the sixth in Pliny's list (*Nat.*16.44) *flammis ac lumini sacrorum etiam grata*. Whence (cf. Mynors on *G.*2.431) anything made from it (for the synecdoche, vd. n. on 218), a torch or brand (Pottier). The adj. *fumeus* (duplicating *fumidus*, *fumosus*; *EV* 2, 607) perhaps a coinage (cf. Cordier, 144); certainly (No.) less ponderous than *fumosus*. For V.'s adjs. in *-eus*, vd. n. on 7.589.

praecipitemque...adegit Cf. 2.307 *praecipitisque trahit siluas* (vd. n.), 3.682 *praecipitis metus ager agit*, 5.175 *in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta*, 5.456 *praecipitemque Daren ardens agit*, 5.860, 12.379f., 531f. (*infra*); the sense of the adj. lends itself naturally to this proleptic use. A.: Vollmer, *TLL* 1.677.12, *OLD* s.v., §1b; *tacet EV*; surprisingly, though, the verb + proleptic adj. seems not to be attested elsewhere.

immani turbine Of the fall of S., or of the force on the thunderbolt, ask Henry, Butler. Or why not indeed of both, we might wonder, as victim and bolt are whirled downwards together. Henry cites 12.531f. *praecipitem scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi/ excutit*, which favours application to S. in person here, though I would hesitate to exclude the weapon altogether. R.Strati, *EV* 5*, 321. The adj. unsurprising, possibly half-remembered from **582**. Cf. *EV* 2, 924, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.440.39; hyperbole reduced to routine, were the reader feeling ungenerous; vd. again **597**.

595-600 Tityos T. a (vast) son of Zeus, who attempted to rape Latona; she called for help, and her children, usually both Apollo and Artemis, killed T. with their arrows. The scene depicted by Polygnotus at Delphi (Paus.10.29.3) and was also present on Apollo's throne at Amyclae (*ib.*, 3.18.15). Present in the texts from *Od.*7.324, 11.576-81, where he is the same size (**596**) and is punished the same way (*two* vultures, though). Note thereafter Hes.*Catal.*fr.78MW, Pind.*Pyth.*4.90-2, Pherecydes, fr.55, 56 Fowler and *FGH* 3, Plat.*Gorg.*525E, AR 1.759-62, Lucr.3.984, 992; no need to continue (for the ample material, vd. Waser), for V.'s Tityos is pretty solidly Homeric, with Lucretian touches. See *Apld.Bibl.*1.4.1, with Frazer's nn., Waser, Ro.5.1035.30ff., A.Martina *EV*, 5*, 194-6, Robert, 1, 234f., 822, Gantz, 1, 39f., Bremmer (2009), 192, Radermacher, 531, 533 *et passim*, NH on Hor.*C.*2.14.8.

595 nec non et Vd. discussion on 7.521.

Tityon See **595-600**.

Terrae omniparentis omniparentis P, Turcius Rufius Apronianus in **M**, a late corrector of **F**, the c.9 mss.; **omnipotentis FMR**. **Omniparentis** Lucretian (*bis*) and excellently suited here given that T. was a son of Gaia in *Od.*, in Hes.(fr.78MW) a son of Elara, but in Pherecydes is born of Gaia after Zeus hid him under the earth for fear of Hera (then cf. AR, *cit.*, Martina, 196, Waser, Ro.5.1034.10ff.). The adj. after Gk. παμμήτωρ/παμμήτειρα.

alumnus Son or foster-son, according to Serv.: *Tityos Terrae secundum alios filius fuit, secundum alios a Terra nutritus: unde poeta elegit sermonem quo utrumque significaret. Filium* glosses Non.p.243.3, on this v., as also on Pacuv. *trag.*313; 'apud poetas etiam de filiis' remarks von Mess, *TLL* 1.1794. 24f.; here, then, both son and foster son, alluding to the two versions of T.'s birth. The ambiguity of V.'s wording well noted by both Serv. and Del Chicca, *EV* 1, 117; the usage of **a**. not correctly stated, Bremmer (2009), 192.

596 cernere erat This use of *erat* identified by Serv. on 8.676 as a Grecism: vd. Mayer, *ALLP*, 167, with n.31. See Au., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 64, LHS 349.

per tota nouem...iugera Closely Homeric, *Od.*11.577 ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα; note then (Waser, 1038.50ff.) *Lucr.*3.988 *nouem...iugera*, where Kenney notes that the Greek word does not correspond precisely to the Latin, any more than either does to Eng. 'acre'. Paus. takes the measurement to refer not to T.'s size, but to his tomb's (10.4.5). Compare *1.272 ter centum totos...annos*, *OLD* s.v., §1b and instances of *t.* with a numeral collected by Au. (cf. 'full fathom five').

cui So-called dat. of disadvantage, or reference.

corpus/ 597 porrigitur Cf. *G.*3.351, 9.589 *multa porrectum extendit harena*, *Hor.Serm.*2.6.88 *palea porrectus in horna*, *Liv.*7.10.11, *Tib.*1.3.75 (a significant echo by V. ? For dating of *Tib.*1, vd. Maltby, p.40), *Aetna* 182. A richer vb. than Hom.'s (cf. No. for V.'s studied 'improvements'). Note an isolated instance of suspending the criminal for the nutrition of birds and beasts at (semi-barbarian) Amyzon in Caria, *Latte*, *PW Suppl.*7.1606.40ff..

rostraque...obunco Obunco M, a papyrus, most c.9 mss., the grammarians; **abunco FR**, four c.9 mss., **adunco P** (also *Macr.*, who cites **obunco** too); at 11.755 for **M**'s **obunco**, **R** offers **adunco** and the c.9 mss. are divided between **adunco** and **abunco**. *Ad-* used by *Enn.Ann.*517 of a hooked portable mooring-post (cf. *Timpanaro*, *Nuovi contr.*, 135ff. at 155) and by *Cic.* of the eagle's claws in his rendering of *PV* (*carm.Aesch.* fr.2.11); **ob-** better supported; *ab-* an error. The noun of a beak also at 11.756; standard Latin, *OLD* s.v., §1b. *Martina*, 196.

immanis uultur The familiar adj. (**594**). But this bird opens a serious issue: *Hom.* has two, the γῦπε of 11.578, one on each side of Tityos. *Lucr.* has non-specific *uolucres* at 3.984 (Waser, 1037.58ff.). There is, though, something both familiar and strange about these birds, brought into focus by *West* on *Hes.Theog.*523-33 (though inevitably the convergence is already noted by *Heyne*): this vulture we know rather well, for he inevitably reminds us, closely, even, of the eagle who tore at Prometheus' liver: the explanations of this duplication fascinating (vd. *West*) but here superfluous. Do not forget *Catiline*, *minaci/ pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem* 8.668f..

598 immortale iecur The epithet borrowed from *Hesiod's Prometheus*, *Theog.*523f. αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἦπαρ/ ἦθειεν ἀθάνατον; 'often used of a god's bodily parts', *West*, but here the *point* of **i.** is explained at **600**. It has been suggested (see *Martina*, 195) that *Acc.*'s *Prometheus* stands between *Hes.* and *V.*, unnecessarily; if anything, *Cic.*'s rendering of the relevant lines of *Aesch.Prom.Luom.* (*Soubiran*, pp.271f., fr.193 *Radt*); *Waser*, 1038.59ff.. Was the vulture supposed to tear at *S.*'s liver because that organ was the seat of lust (cf. *Buffière*, 272ff., *Onians*, 84ff.; *Waser*, 1039.8ff. for later texts)? Not so, replies *West*, p.313f., for the localisation is not attested

before Aesch. (certainly post-Homeric, Onians, 85; see NR on Hor.C.3.4.78, unduly sceptical). V. tends to avoid references to the internal organs; the liver he mentions only here, 'in reference to a myth in which it played a special part', Adams, *BICS* 27 (1980), 53; cf. Cantarella (495), 30-4, K.Latte, PW Suppl.7.1606.8ff..

tondens Hom. had written ἤπαρ ἔκειρον (11.578), and Lucr. 3.984f. *Tityon uolucres ineunt.../...sub magno scrutentur pectore*. Vd. Facchini Tosi, *EV* 5* 213.

fecundaque poenis/ 599 uiscera Is **p.** dat. or abl.? Con. argues for abl. on the shaky analogy of *G.2.446 uiminibus salices fecundae* (cf. Antoine, 181 for dat. there; Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.418.45ff., 420.12f., both undecided). But Serv.'s *in poenam* here indicates a clear preference for dat.. Cf. *EV* 2, 484 (alludes to the problem, but leaves it undiscussed). Cf. Adams, *cit.* for V.'s use of 'a few general words' for human innards (like *u.*, *fibrae*, *praecordia*, *exta*).

rimaturque epulis The implied dir. obj. of **r.** (cf. *G.1.384*, the birds who *rimantur prata Caystri*) remains **uiscera**; vd. *OLD* s.v. *rimor*, §1a. **E.** a dat. of purpose; for **e.** used of the food of animals, Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.701.80ff. compares *Cic.Arat.414 horribilis epulas* (poor Andromeda!), *Aen.4.484*. *Sen.Ep.114.5* attributes the words **rimatur epulis** to Maecenas (fr.2André); surely an instance of M.'s clever reworking of a 'tag' from *Aen.* (cf. Highet, 245).

habitatque 'Fere i.q. assidue commorari' Brandt, *TLL* 6.3.2476.62.

sub alto/ 600 pectore Cf. Lucr.3.985 *sub magno scrutentur pectore*, Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.912.71. Martina's suggestion of a reference to the Pindaric βαθύτερον seems a little fanciful. For **p.**, cf. *EV* 1, 901; used of the story of Prom. and the eagle by Acc.fr.8Courtney (if not of Tityos), Lucr. *supra*, *Cic.carm.Aesch.fr.2.21*, *Prop.2.1.70*. **A.**: 'deep in'; cf. 1.26 *alta mente repostum*, *OLD* s.v., §6c.

nec fibris...renatis For Hes., cf. on **598 immortale**; Lucr. 3.991 says it is not possible; cf. Martina, 195. Nelz, *TLL* 6.1.642.80f. cites *G.3.490*, *Aen.10.176* for V.'s use of *f.* in the general sense of 'liver, entrails', common enough in an augural context; more strictly, a lobe of the liver; Lehr, 104f., C.Thulin, *Die etr. Disciplin* 2 (Göteborg 1906), 42ff.. **R.** of any kind of natural rebirth, *OLD* s.v., §2b; Varr. *RR* 2.7.3 of a horse's teeth.

requies datur ulla Standard Latin: cf. Lucr.1.992f. *ni mirum requies data principiorum/ ...nulla est*, *Cic.Att.2.20.2*, *Liv.1.31.5 nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur*, 10.5.8; *da requiem ter* in *Ov.*. Cf. *EV* 4, 444.

601-27 Tartarus concluded; see **548-627**.

601-7 The Lapiths; Ixion and Pirithous

This section involves a 'classic' problem, amply and inconclusively discussed.

Bemused by the bibliography (vd. Heyne, No., Au., Paratore, Perret (notes supplémentaires, pp.173-6), Butler, L.Havet, *RPh*.12 (1888), 145-72, T. Reinach, *ib.*,13 (1889), 78-80, J.Martha, *ib.*, 97-117, A.Cartault, *ib.*, 20 (1896), 151-4, S.Reinach, *Rev.Arch* 1903, 154-200 = *Cultes, mythes et religions* 2 (Paris 1909), 159-205, Bell, 424f., H.Mørland, *Symb.Osl*.39 (1964), 5-12, G.Stégen, *Lat.* 26 (1967), 118-22, M.C.J.Putnam, *CQ* 40 (1990), 562-6, P.Salat, *Etudes de littérature ancienne*, 2 *Questions de sens* (Paris 1982), 13-29, J.Perret, *RPh*.58 (1984), 19-33, J.Öberg, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 106f., J.E.G.Zetzel, *TAPA* 119 (1989), 265-72; vd. now Bremmer (2010), 309-13, G.Liberman, *CR* 62 (2012), 150), I suggested, misguidedly and misleadingly, that punishments and sinners were not *yet* rigidly correlated (*Alambicco*, 48), to which lapse the only reference that I know (Bremmer (2009), 193, n.72) seems (justifiably) perplexed or disbelieving. In the conventional Greco-Roman tradition, there is no hint (certainly there is not by V.'s day) that the correlation of sinners and punishments may have begun to dissolve; what happens in (e.g.) the *Apocalypse of Peter* is quite another matter (Bremmer, *cit.*).

It may help to reconsider:

(i) The problem, amply stated above all by Salat and (notably) by Zetzel. V. opens **(601)** with Ixion and Pirithous, but after naming them says no more of them until **616f.** (anonymous, but the reference to Sisyphus' boulder and to Ixion's wheel is clear) and **617f.** (Theseus, with whom the story of P. is inextricably bound up; *Od*.11.631, etc. and vd. n. on **122**). Whatever we read at the beginning of **602**, a close link between **601** and **602** is unwelcome, for Ixion and Pirithous need to be kept separate from Tantalus. Au. (and cf. also Putnam) suggests that V. in some way transfers to Ixion and Pirithous the punishment(s) of Tantalus, but we will shortly find that this sort of calculated confusion between sinners and punishments is not attested (at least, not down to V.'s time), and I would be most reluctant to attribute it to V. here.

The simplest solution is to posit a lacuna, containing perhaps some further reference to the Lapiths, and probably Tantalus' name, by way of antecedent for **602**; if T. is to be anonymous (not impossible; vd. *infra*), some other means is required to separate **601** from **602**. Au. also refers to a tactful and ingenious suggestion by [J.C.] Jahn, apparently not mentioned elsewhere, that we should supply **quid memorem** again ('why should I mention those whom...?'), before **quos**, a generalising plur., as at **616 alii**, and insert only a question mark. That could well be correct (and compare

608 quibus inuisi fratres), though it may be thought to lack the virtue of simplicity; Pascoli offers a very similar explanation (*quid memorem eos quos supereminet*), though I am not convinced that he is right to suggest that **super** and **imminet** are in tmesis (cf. 12.306).

The overlap, or confusion, between **601** and **616-8** admits of no clear solution and may perhaps suggest an unfinished passage, though if that were really so, we might also expect to find a half-line. See Zetzel, 269. Au. tries gallantly to explain the unaltered transmitted text that he and Mynors print; the result is eloquently unpersuasive. What follows (two punishments of Tantalus; first group of 'modern' sinners) is polished writing of the highest quality; **608 hic** is quite enough to divide Tantalus from contemporary wrongdoing. **614-5** serve admirably to conclude the first group of contemporary malefactors and there is no risk of confusing the typically Virgilian anonymous refs. of **616-7**, with what precedes (*pace* Zetzel; vd. *infra*).

After the rock and the wheel (i.e. Sisyphus and Ixion; the reference pellucid) attributed to the generalising **alii** of **616**, V. dwells briefly on Theseus (slightly awkward, but bearable, we have seen, after **601**) and the novel, arresting Phlegyas (**618**), prominent as the last *named* sinner; Tartarus closes with another group of 'modern' sinners. Cf. Zetzel, 269f..

(ii) Some traditional solutions. Havet introduced into the discussion Val.Fl.2.190-5 and Stat.*Theb.*1.711-5, in the hope that they might shed light on the state of the text of *Aen.* available to those authors. Both passages do indeed shed light on their authors' procedure in reworking (arrestingly; radically, even) Virgilian material, but contribute nothing solid to our understanding of what might once have been the text of V. here¹. Of what Zetzel (269, n.25) calls 'drastic textual alterations' (deletions, notably Ribbeck's of **601**, transpositions, violent corrections) I say nothing, but offer a fairly full bibliography for the curious. The brief lacuna that e.g. Conte posits between **601** and **602** leaves a text not perfect but tolerable, without resort to virtuoso displays of logic and ingenuity. Liberman's mockery at Conte's suggested supplement was not called for; the logic of such a *transitus per omissionem* (TCD) need not necessarily exclude *any* expansion of detail in what follows. Jahn's hypothesis of a repeated **quid memorem** will appeal to those who enjoy a (grammatically, at least) complicated Virgil. Solutions to this sort of problem have above all to be compatible with both our knowledge of the text of V. and our understanding of his methods. Attentive readers will have noticed that I am strongly attracted by Jahn's solution.

1 A well-worn topic; for Sil., vd. V.Ussani, Jr, *Mem.Linc.*8.3.2 (1950), 87-171, more learned and ingenious than compelling.

(iii) Virgilian novelty. Two figures in this scene are (at least in part; this is after all V.) a novelty: Phlegyas and Salmoneus (**585**, **618**), but it is in the juxtaposition (cf. Zetzel, 265f., 268) of different *categories* of sinner that much of the originality, and the difficulty, of the scene lie: (a) more or less traditional mythological figures and their punishments and (b) more or less modern figures, not named but in several cases clamorously identifiable. While category (a) goes back to *Od.*11 (cf. Waser, Ro.5. 1035.30ff.; more recent lists inadequate by comparison), (b) is also old and important in eschatological writing: cf. the rich list, going back to Plato and Xenocrates, with hints of Hesiod, Pindar and Aristophanes (vd. comm. for details), Norden, pp.287-9, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 163ff., Solmsen (1968), 10f.; add now the Bologna papyrus, *PEG* 2.2, 717Bernabé, with (less informative) Zetzel, 271, Bremmer (2009), 193 ('modern' sinners with 'older' Furies and Harpies assisting in the punishment); see **548-636**, *ad fin.*, for a summary. The two categories are perhaps first juxtaposed in Polygnotus' painting in the Lesche of the Cnidians; at (1968), 12, Solmsen draws attention to Paus. 10.25ff. at 28.4 and cf. Graf (**609**), 110 for Polygnotus' Eleusinian affinities.

Zetzel (269) objects to the 'vague' **alii** of **616**; the description is not appropriate, for **614 ne quaere...** marks explicitly a new category, which will prove almost immediately to be of traditional mythol. sinners, for **alii** are identified as (though here not named) Sisyphus and Ixion, by their punishments. It is worth underlining that these punishments were *so* well-established and familiar as to have penetrated into the language of proverbs: Sisyphus' boulder, Otto, 310, Tantalus' rock, Otto, 340. Compare the mediaeval artist's task of representing (in glass or stone) virtues, vices, scenes from OT and NT, and, closely comparable to V.'s sinners, saints by means of their symbols, E. Mâle, *The Gothic image* (Eng.tr., London 1961), 281ff.. For the familiar literary character of the mythological 'puzzles' posed by V.'s anonymous references, see *Alambicco*, 62f., *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 35; for the ancient contemporary reader, identification of the 'modern' anonymous refs. will sometimes have been fascinating (vd. on **608-14**, **620-4** and the easy **838**).

(iv) How rigid was Virgilian mythology? Because Salmoneus and the Aloadae are not specifically punished here, they do not enter into the discussion and we have already seen that the Phlegyas of Val.Fl. and Stat. is of limited interest. Note however the *convergence* of Tityos and Prometheus, *supra*. In the case of Theseus and Pirithous (**122**, **601**), there is some flexibility in regard to their punishment, while in that of Tantalus, three distinct punishments are assigned (Smith, Maltby on Tib.1.3.77f., Scheuer, Ro.5.79.31ff., Gantz, 2, 531-4, Martina, *EV* 5*, 32f., [Apld.]*Epit.* 2.1 with Frazer's n.. Lundström's account, 48f., seems misleading), of the

hanging rock (**602f.**), of the inability to drink, and (**603-7**) of the inability to devour the inviting banquet, just as there is variation in specifying his crime (originally, an impious desire to share the life of the gods; *Nostoi* fr.4Bernabé). That V.'s anonymous references are both to punishments associated with Tantalus is interesting. In 1991, I pointed by way of analogy to the lack of a fixed correlation between Muses and genres (cf. NH on Hor.C.1.24.3, *EV* 3, 634, West, Hes.*Theog.*, p.32), and one might note the slow development of the canon of Heracles' labours or of the canon of the Seven against Thebes (Gantz, 1, 382, 2, 514f.), but after twenty years, I reject altogether my rash suggestion that V. might have been playing with unfixed canons. Phlegyas and Salmoneus may serve to illustrate the precise, limited and laborious character of the Virgilian innovations in this passage (cf. **618 Phlegyas**).

It is no surprise to find that the other traditional punishments and sinners are precisely enough correlated:

(i) **616**, Ixion and the Wheel: only the snakes of *G.3.38* could be called problematic, though they may be no more than an elaboration (they are normally used to bind I. to the wheel): vd. Mynors there, while for the conventional account, see Giordano, *EV* 3, 31-3, Weizsäcker, *Ro.2.1.768.47ff.*, Gantz, 2, 719f., Robert, 1, 823.

(ii) **616**, Sisyphus rolling the boulder uphill: Gantz, 1, 173f., *Od.11.593-600*, *Apld.Bibl.1.9.3* with Frazer's n., Robert, 1, 822f., Wilisch, *Ro.4.964.65ff.*

(iii) Compare too the Danaids carrying water in leaky vessels: Waser, *PW* 4.2089.34ff., *EV* 1, 979, Gantz, 1, 207, Robert, 1, 824, Smith on *Tib.1.3.79f.*. Here completely absent, but for V. and the Danaids, see 10.495-9 with S.Spence, *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 11-9.

601 quid memorem Cf. **122f.**; conventional formula of transition.

Lapithas Cf. n. on 7.304, Gantz, 1, 277-81, *EV* 3, 122, Robert 2.1, 4-26: a notoriously bellicose people of Thessaly (thus not only on account of their drunken brawl with the Centaurs initiated on the day of Pirithous' wedding). Could there be a play with **lapsura**? O'Hara, *TN*, 176, Putnam, 563.

Ixiona Pirithoumque For I.'s punishment on the wheel, for slaughter of a kinsman and for lust after Hera herself, vd. (**601-7**), *ad fn.*, with refs., **616f.** Pirithous (vd. **393, 397**), son by Zeus of Ixion's wife (*Il.14.317f.*), had assisted Theseus in his attempt to carry off Proserpina; to the 'problem' of Theseus' punishment we shall have to return (cf. n. on **122**), briefly (**617f.**). Pirithous was punished alongside Theseus, but Heracles could not release him, *Apld.Bibl.2.5.12*, [*Apld.*]*Epit.* 1.24, with Frazer's nn., Robert, 2.2, 703-6 (numerous variants), Gantz, 1, 291-5, *EV* 4, 119f., NR on Hor.C.3.4.79f.. We should not forget that *Od.* refers to Theseus and Pirith-

ous in the *praeteritio* (much as here) of *Od.* 11.631. Given the links of these names to what follows, Ribbeck's lordly rejection of this v. has little charm. For the polysyll. v.-end (Greek name), vd. No., 438, **6.393**.

602 quos super quod Fv; **quo** Ru, Serv.Dan. on **616**; **quos** F²MP, the other c.9 mss., PsProb., Macr., Serv. on **616**, TCD. **Quos** could be the work of a copyist who saw the two names preceding, saw no indication of a lacuna, and did not know the essential link between what follows directly here and Tantalus. Either case is grammatically possible after **super**; on Jahn's explanation, (generalising) **quos** is far preferable. Note **608 quibus inuisi fratres**.

atra silex 'Black', Edgeworth, 80, perhaps slightly too specific; the adj. of course can suggest a good deal more than colour (*EV* 1, 688, André, 50f.). 'Che nereggia minacciosamente', Franzoi, *EV* 4, 851. 'Flint' is often too precise: *ib.*, *OLD* s.v., §2.

iam iam lapsura For **iam iam**, cf. n. on 2.530, Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 314f.; 'any moment'. Compare here **310 lapsa cadunt folia**; **I.** indicates a weaker sense of downward motion than **cadentique** (No. here, Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 84). 'Any moment about to roll'.

cadentique/ 603 ...adsimilis Hypermetric synaloepha indicates the falling forward motion; cf. fuller n. on 7.470. The expression closely similar to V.'s four instances of pres.partic. in dat.+ *similis*; Traina, 2, 96f., citing 5.254, 8.649, 7.502 (where vd. my n.), 12.754. C.: cf. 9.711 *saxea pila cadit*; *EV* 1, 597. **A.** a useful lengthened synonym for *similis*, used by Lucr. (*ter*).

603 imminet 'Sensu strictiore de iis quae irruere vel subsidere videntur', Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.458.65f.; compare *Ov.Met.* 4.459f. *tibi, Tantale, nullae deprenduntur aquae, quaeque imminet, effugit arbor*.

lucent Cf. 10.137 *lucent ebur*, Buchwald, *TLL* 7.2.1694.5; *Enn.Ann.*, *tr.*, *Cat.*, *Lucr.*, *Cic.Arat*.

genialibus altis/ 604 ...toris Serv. refers to the *genialis torus* of the wedding celebration, oversimplifying. Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 6.2.1807.65f.. The issue is primarily one of Latinity, not of *Realien*. **T.** in the common sense of 'bed' or 'divan'; cf. nn. on 2.2 *toro...alto*, 3.224, G.Herzog-Hauser, *PW* 12A.1807.59, *et passim*, Blümner, *Privataltertümer*, 114, n.5. *Genialis lectus* a common expression ('marriage-bed'); *gen. torus* Bulhart simply glosses 'festus, laetus', comparing use with *serta, dies*. But see Schol.Bern. on *Buc.* 5.74 *tertium geniale* (sc. *genus cenae*), *quod genio nostro indulgemus*; cf. *G.* 1.302 *genialis hiems*, and Bömer on *Ov.Met.* 10.95 *platanus genialis*, NH on *Hor.C.* 2.11.13 for drinking under plane-trees. Nothing indicates that a *gen. torus* is a familiar stock expression (*EV* 2, 656 (Fasce) all at sea), yet the two words are apparently understood here as a single

unit, formed after *gen. lectus*, in the sense of ‘festival-couch’, *vel sim.*, that itself admits simple adjectival qualification; so Leo *ap. Norden*, Au.; see LHS 161, citing *naues longas* [one unit] *ueteres* (Caes.Civ.1.30.4). Mme Guillemin hesitates, fairly enough, between dat. ‘of interest’ and abl. of place.

604 aurea fulcra The precise sense of **f.** discussed with care, but not quite conclusively, W.C.F.Anderson, *CR* 3 (1889), 322-4 (*bene*), Blümner, *cit.*, 114, n.2, Courtney on Juv.6.22, 11.96; that part of the couch, probably, on which you prop (*fulcire*; cf. *Isid.Etym.*19.26.3) your head. Blümner compares Mart.8.33.6 for *brattea* so used, in place of heroic gold; vd. P.Girard, *DS* 3.2, 1021, and for ivory and tortoisehell, vd. e.g. Au. here. No., Bremmer (2009), 193 detect a flavour of oriental excess in these golden couches (cf. 1.698 - Dido - and B.’s references to the Persians, in his n.73).

epulaeque...paratae Cf. mn. on 7.110, 175. The word in itself does not indicate ‘banquet’ (Banner, *TLL* 5.2.699.32f. at 700.3f.), but some elaborate occasion is clearly suggested here; contrast **599**, where **e.** is used of the food of birds. **P.:** Breimeier, 10.1.414.57f.; of meals from Plaut.*Curc.*325 on. **R** offers **paternae**, possibly with the other T., son of Thyestes, in mind. Compare *Od.*11.586-92, naturally envisaged in the idiom not of a Roman banquet (as here) but of Phaeacian plenty.

ante ora Cf. **308**.

605 regifico luxu Cf. *EV* 3, 294 for Virgilian *luxus*; note *regifice* *Enn.tr.*91, where vd. Jocelyn for *-ficus* compounds in tragedy; for V., vd. Colonna’s useful account, *EV* 1, 862. The adj. first here, lofty and archaic in tone and clearly not to be claimed as a coinage.

Furiarum maxima Cf. 3.252, *Eur.IT* 963, *Stat.Theb.*7.477 (No.); ‘senior Fury’ an expression used from *Eur.* on to augment terror by a fiction of hierarchy. The Fury or Harpy so designated is not in practice identified. Powell (**608-15**), 85 renders ‘the largest ...’, not provably false to the Latin, but unsupported and a stimulus to comical thoughts.

iuxta/ 606 accubat **A.** Banner, *TLL* 1.339.26ff., ‘epulandi causa’; standard Latin. This is close supervision; Fury and Tantalus are actual neighbours (**iuxta**) at the banquet and she is perfectly placed, therefore, to check any attempt of his at eating; cf. 8.669.

et manibus prohibet No need for an obj. when Tantalus or *eum* is so easily supplied; the infin. after **p.** common; Kruse, 10.2.1788.62ff., citing 5.631; LHS 356.

contingere mensas Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.712.84 cites 2.239. Plur. of the three tables of a Rom. *cena*, or for the sake of poet. majesty.

607 exurgitque Fleischer, *TLL* 5.2.1957.71ff.: a standard word of rising from table (remember **accubat**), from Plaut.*Bacch.*758ff..

facem attollens At 572 Tisiphone wielded serpents; here the 'senior' Fury has a torch: for Furies thus armed, vd. full n. on 7.456. A.: cf. Sil.10.550, Münscher, *TLL* 2.1149.16f..

atque intonat ore Cf. Sen.*Ag.*544, I.Kapp, *TLL* 7.2.28.1f.; the *simplex* used thus at 11.383 (Ciceronian). The compound vb. perhaps introduced to poetry by Cic. *Marius* fr.3.12; **ore** 'loudly', as **manu** 'vigorously, violently'. P's feeble **increpat** has nothing to recommend it.

608-15, 621-4 The 'modern' sinners Or at least, non-mythological. There has been some oversimplification of the categories named/anonymous, mythological/modern and Greek/Roman. Note Ardiaeus, Plat.*Rep.*615C (see 608) and Er (*ib.*, 614B), both Pamphylians, and the Macedonian Archelaus, *Gorg.*470D, alongside the anonymous categories found from Polygnotus, Pindar and Aristophanes on (vd. Solmsen (1968), 10ff., Dieterich, *infra* and (601-7), (iii)). We have just observed the juxtaposition of modern sinners and mythol. agents of punishment (*ib.*). Comm. will discuss categories of sinner present in both Greek and Roman traditions (parent-beaters, defrauders of guests/clients, misers, adulterers); whereas 621-4, like 612-3, are pretty solidly Roman in character (vd. Berry, 416f.), the rest of 608-15 displays a magnificent polychrony of varied applications; vd. n. on 608 **inuisi fratres**. See W.R.Barnes, in *Thinking like a lawyer. Essays...John Crook*, ed. P.McKechnie, (*Mnem.*Suppl.231, Leiden 2002), 123, Berry, 416-20, Binder, 221-3, Dieterich, 163ff., Norden, 287-9, 291-2, Pomathios, 150f., A. Powell in Stahl, 85-100, A.Setaioli, *SIFC* 42 (1970), 220-4, *id.*, *EV* 2, 961, J.E.G. Zetzel, *TAPA* 119 (1989), 271. No. and Dieterich did remarkable work in elucidating the intellectual origins of these vv., and their closest analogues.

608 hic Possibly deictic; the transition from myth to history.

quibus inuisi fratres Cf. 602 for a similar generalising use of the rel. with antecedent suppressed. I.: Stiewe, *TLL* 7.2.197.28f.. Hatred between brothers already at Hes.*Erga* 328. Plato refers to the punishment in the Underworld of Ardiaeus the Pamphylian, who put to death his elder brother (*Rep.*10.615D)(an act characterised as ἀνόςσιον); No. notes the importance of brotherly love to the Socr. of Xen.*Mem.*. See too now the Bologna papyrus, vv.47f. (planning death of a brother, to procure sole inheritance). Fratricide inherent in Rome's foundation-legend, *scelus..fraternae necis*: J.Poucet, *Les rois de Rome* (Bruxelles 2000), 59-62, C.J. Bannon, *The brothers of Romulus* (Princeton 1997), 158ff., T.P.Wiseman, *Remus* (Cambridge 1995), 10ff., Powell, 87, Watson on Hor.*Epd.*7.17-20. Fratricide then a marked element in the rhetoric of civil war, *G.*2.496, with my n. on 7.335, Jal, 406f.; historical instances, and declamatory elaborations are to hand (Jal, 396ff.; note in particular the Ligarii). Note that we

are at once shown the impossibility of dividing V.'s groups neatly into conventional categories ('mythical', 'Roman', etc.).

dum uita manebat Cf. **661 quique sacerdotes casti, dum uita manebat**, where vd. n. (apparently a formula invented by V., and popular thereafter in inscrr.).

609 pulsatusue parens Forcefully alliterative; 'to assail...with blows', also in boxing, 5.460, *OLD* s.v., §5a. Striking father or mother in Dionysus' *Katabasis*, *Ar.Ran.*149f. (F.Graf, *Eleusis...* (Berlin 1974), 146 observes the notable convergence of V. and *Ran.* here); also, in an Infernal context, *Plat.Phaed.*113E^f. (in a moment of passion, violence against father or mother), *Rep.*615C (unspecific impiety against gods or parents), *Leg.*880E (violence against parents). Unsurprisingly then at Rome (presumably under the influence of Gk. codification, J.Delz, *MH* 23 (1966), 69-83): *lex Serv.Tull.* fr.6*FIRA* = *Fest.*p.260.9f.; cf. *lex Romuli* fr.10*FIRA*, *Plaut.Pseud.*367. Au. notes that legal sanctions against parent-striker then passed into the world of declamations, citing S.F.Bonner, *Rom. decl.* (Liverpool 1969), 96f.. O'Hara draws attention to *Cat.*64.399f., but V. may not here have need of a *literary* origin for the juxtaposition of fratricide and parricide; note the Platonic character of both categories.

et fraus innexa clienti Rubenbauer. *TLL* 6.1.1269.9, Szantyr, *ib.*,7.1.1695.78; the latter cites a late legal parallel for *innectere* thus, but that is all. Note the *simplex* at *Manil.*2.500 *nectere fraudem*. Only now do we reach a distinctively Roman category; compare (cited by Serv. here) *Leg.XII tab.*8.21 *Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto*; *DH* 2.10 records this provision as a *lex Romuli*, fr.2*FIRA*. For patron and client in early Rom. society, see A.Watson, *Rome of the XII tables* (Princeton 1975), 101-5. Note also *Hes.Erga* 327, *Ar.Ranae* 147 'if anyone wronged a ξένοc'; cf. Norden, *Herm.*28 (1893), 390f., Zetzel (607), 271: a sinner, therefore, with Greek origins and familiar Rom. colouring, like the parent-striker. Little to be said in favour of the thinly supported **aut** (*Serv.*, *Non.*, a c.9 ms.), *pace* Paratore.

610 aut qui...soli My friend Luciano Lenaz (*EV* 4, 934) compares *Buc.*3.107 *Phyllida solus habeto*.

diuitiis...reperitis No. and Au. are alert to the ancient interest in buried treasure, but offer little precise guidance: for actual discoveries in antiquity, cf. engrossingly, R.Chevallier, in *Two worlds of the poet...* (ed. R.M. Wilhelm, H.Jones, Detroit 1992), 213-8; more important, the prominence of buried treasure in comedy (vd. Chevallier), and in declamatory and moralising writing (including fable): see *Cic.Sen.*21, *Hor.Serm.*2.6.10-13, *Pers.* 2.11, *Petr.*88.8, *Phaedr.*1.27. The language that of *Plaut.Aul.*820f..

incubuer Cf. *G.2.507 defossoque incubat auro*, *Cic.Cluent.72 (pecunia)*, *Liv.6.15.5 publicis thesauris*. Rehm's heading (TLL 7.1.1062.77f.) is surprising: 'i.q. divitias sim. conditas et clausas tenere (imag., ut vid., a dracone fabulosa bestia sumpta)', citing Otto, 173, with *Cic.Phil.13.12*, *Paul.exc. Fest.p.59.10f. s.v. dracones*: on account of their exceptional sight *incubantes eos thesauris custodiae causa finxerunt antiqui* (and see now Bömer on *Ov.Met.4.647*, Hollis on *L.Varius Rufus, fr.148*); *A.Sonny, ALL 9* (1896), 65 quotes *Sen.Ira 1.21.2 aceruis auri argentique incubat*. Buried treasure and its (implicit) guardian serpents an unexpected register of ideas to encounter here; on earth, the sinners had watched greedily like some guardian monsters over the treasures they had uncovered. *Au.* quotes *Hor.Serm. 1.1.70f. congestis undique saccis/ indormis inhians*; note too the gnome *Incubo*, who guards buried treasure (*Schmeling on Petr.38.8*).

611 nec partem posuere suis Apparently not common language; *Tessmer, TLL 10.1.462.70* quotes no other instance before *Plin.Nat.12.89. Pars* standard usage for a part or share of material goods, *ib.*, 460.26ff.. **Suis**: family, kin, *OLD s.v.*, §6b; *No.* cites *Ter.Phorm.352ff.* for one who overlooks his *cognati*; he cites *Porph.* on *C.2.2.5* of *Proculeius qui liberalis in fratres suos fuit*, but *CLE 1141.8*, of a man not *avarus* towards his brothers, is 150 years later than *Aen.* Criticism of parsimony has a long history; already *Dieterich, 168* refers to the closing words of *Pindar's first Isthmian* for the eternal consequences of avarice (cf. too *Nem.1.31ff.*). More widely, vd. *Norden, 288*, *Cic.Off.2.64*, and *Dyck's index s.v. avarice*, *Muecke on Hor.Serm. 2.3.122-8*, *NH on Hor.C.2.14.25* (dislike of leaving wealth to an heir), *J.De Decker, Juvenalis declamans* (Gand 1913), 44-50, *Highet, Juvenal, 282*, *Courtney, comm. Juv.*, p. 561f., *Enc.oraz.2*, pt.11, s.vv. *avaritia, ricchezza*, *P.Veyne, Le pain et le cirque* (Paris 1976), 724, *et passim*. For disinheritance of kin in *Rom. wills*, vd. *E.Champlin, Final judgements* (Berkeley 1991), 107f.. Note *OLD s.v. pono*, §8a, of depositing money.

quae maxima turba est Probably *V.* does not mean that the avaricious are the *largest* group in Tartarus, merely that they constitute a very large body (cf. **667 plurima turba**, *Prop.4.1a.34 maxima turba Gabi*); of course, the other sense is perfectly possible Latin. Cf. *Pomathios, 152*, *Strati, EV, 5**, 317 for this neutral use of *t.* in the sense of 'group'.

612 quique...caesi Perhaps a hint that they were slaughtered like beasts (like the beasts they were, even); cf. *n.* on 2.116: the word particularly of animal sacrifice. See too *C.Weber, Agon 3* (1969), 51; largely ignored in the surveys of *Löfstedt (Synt.2, 342-5)*, *Axelsson (UW, 65-8)* and *Lyne (WP, 106-8)*.

ob adulterium Cf. *Lucil.140 Tantalus, qui poenas ob facta nefantia, poenas pendit*; vd. *Szantyr, TLL 9.2.19.31ff.*, 'de causis punientium', good *Lat. usage* from *Plaut.* and *Acc.* onwards, comparing *Aen.2.139*. The *lex*

Iulia de adulteriis, of ca. 18 BC (S.Treggiari, *Rom. marriage*, 277) gave the wife's father the right to kill the adulterer, summarily, in certain circumstances (Treggiari, 282-5), but belongs to the year after the poet's death; before 18, the texts do not establish that the husband has a right to kill the adulterer (Treggiari, 274). But Gell.10.23.2-5 suggests that according to old Cato, the husband who took vengeance on the adulterer was unlikely to be convicted of murder (Treggiari, 269f.). The 'law' that applied in cases of adultery in the rhet. schools (Treggiari, 272-4) was far more ensanguined and extreme than actual legal usage (Berry, 416 simplifies). Lys.1.29-31 shows that death might be inflicted on adulterers at Athens and vd. *BNP* s.v. 'Adultery' for confirmation. The Bologna papyrus seems to refer to husbands who give over their wives to the adulterer (if the conjecture at v.49 is correct); cf. Ps.Phocyl.177. For their presence in the Underworld, cf. also Lucian, *Menipp*.11. We shall also find (623) more extreme sexual sinners in Tartarus. Cf. Setaioli, 195, Powell, 88.

quique...secuti Cf. n. on 11.161; a favoured clausula.

arma.../ 613 impia The adj. sharpened by the enjambement; perhaps challenging at first sight, but the obscurity will be removed by the remainder of the line. Amply discussed by A.Traina, *EV* 4, 94; cf. too Berry, 416, Zetzel, 271, Powell, 88, Hellegouarc'h, 530f., Butler, Au., J.J.H.Savage, *TAPA* 93 (1962), 416. As Traina remarks, the precedent of the rhyming parallel members **aut qui...incubere** and **nec partem posuere** (vd. *EV* 4, 22f., n. on 7.760), makes us alert to the parallel **quique...quique**, expanded by **secuti...nec ueriti**. One war or two? Verbal parallels suggest that **arma...impia** should refer to the civil wars (vd. notably *G*.1.511 *saeuit toto Mars impius orbe*, *Buc*.1.70, *Aen*.1.294), while **dominorum fallere dextras** seems to refer rather to the slave wars. Serv., however, grasps the likely solution (whose principal merit lies in combining the parallel members) of V. alluding here to Oct.'s campaign against Sex.Pompeius, in whose ranks many slaves were held to have fought (and clearly a large number in fact did, not always on their masters' side; vd. next n.): see Watson fully on *Hor.Epd.* 4.19, Woodman on *Vell*.2.73.3 and Gagé on *Mon. Anc*.25.1. Here for the first time we emerge clearly into the present, Roman world.

nec ueriti Rare in V.: past part. of depon. vb. has obvious utility. Vd. Flobert, 56f..

dominorum fallere dextras Hofmann (*TLL* 6.1.185.26) compares *Liv*.29.24.3 *neu fas fidem dexteras deos testes atque arbitros conuentorum fallat*. Cf. n. on 7.366 for the right hand as pledge of *fides* (Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.934.34 compares *Liv*.1.58.7 *date dexteras fidemque*); the strongly alliterative phrasing is precise enough and helps confirm the interpretation offered of **arma...impia**: the *domini* are strictly the masters of the slaves

who joined Sex.Pompeius; note the stories collected by Val.Max.6.8 on the *fides* of slaves, with Cic.*QF* 1.1.17, *Clu.*181, Liv.3.16.3, Hellegouarc'h, 36. For the (far commoner) *fides* of freedmen see Treggiari, *Rom. freedmen*, 80, 217. With breach of *fides* here, we might compare the perjurers in Hell, Plat.*Gorg.*525A, Ar.*Ran.*150; a contemporary Romanisation, therefore, of a pre-existing category of sinners.

614 inclusi In fortress Tartarus, as the Greeks had been in the Horse, 2.19; Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.950.59f..

poenam expectant Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1899.33f.. How long a wait? How long a punishment? We have no idea; vd. next note. Possibly V. nods towards the discrepancy between the number of mortal sinners (who here have to wait their turn) and the apparent paucity of the 'staff'.

ne quaere doceri Cf. n. on 7.96 for the slightly archaic form of prohibition. Q.+infin., *OLD* s.v., §6b, LHS 346; compare e.g. 4,631, 7,449. The only instance of pass. d. + subord. clause that Bulhart records before Paul. exc.Fest. and Amm.Marc., *TLL* 5.1.1709. 69ff.. At **617 V.** remarks on The-seus' penalty as eternal. Are the others too? He does not tell us, nor does he explain how Tartarus co-exists with the remedial punishments of **735ff.**; in a sense the poet toys with his readers rather as the Sibyl denies Aen. much of the crucial information he seems to need. Cf. Setaioli, *EV* 2, 961, Solmsen, *ORVA*, 219, O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 91.

615 quam poenam Sc. *expectent/ expectant.*

aut quae forma...fortunae Au. surely right to argue that Serv. is wrong to interpret **forma** here in the sense of *regula* (so e.g. I.Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1080.62ff., No.); Wölfflin does not record **forma fortuna** as an allit. noun-pair, but perhaps should have; the allit. focuses our attention on a potential affinity of sense between the nouns. **Forma** could so easily indicate the form, or appearance, of punishment awaiting the individual: Broccia, *EV* 2, 559 rightly refers to **626 scelerum...formas** and **627 poenarum nomina**, along with *G.*1.506 and **6.560 scelerum facies**. **Fortuna** paraphrased 'sorte', by Scarcia, *EV* 2, 566 (cf. Bailey, 238); if I am not too hungry for simplicity, the wheel is Ixion's *forma* of punishment, according to his *fortuna*.

uiros...mersit V. close to *eos* in sense here (vd. on 7.296, 11.224, 2.146). Either (i) indic. in a rel. clause, *formafortuna quae mersit*, or (ii) indic. in a dependent question. For rel. clause as often the correct explanation for alleged indic. in indir. questions, vd. Housman, *Class.pap.* 3, 1235. (ii) The problem now finely discussed by Görler, *EV* 2, 273; cf. Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 61, 2.740, with my n., **6.771, 855f.**, both after **aspice** (vd. n. on the latter), as also **779 (uiden, ut...stant**; perhaps parenthetical, though, like **771**). Firmly rooted in the tendency to parataxis of archaic Latin, and

slow to fade (Cic., elegy; vd. Au.): see Bennett, 1, 120ff., LHS, 537ff., Leo, ed. *Sen.tr.*, 1, p.93. Lausberg/Bulhart, *TLL* 8.833.65ff. gather a striking number of instances in silver Lat. poetry of *m.* used of punitive removal to the Underworld; note also *Ov.Met.*3.272 and above all (O'Hara) 429.

616-20 The complexity of V.'s *variatio* merits comment: here we pass from anonymous categories of 'modern' sinners (in particular the slaves in Sex.Pompeius' ranks) to two anonymous but easily identifiable mythol. groups (**616-7**); thence to Theseus and Phlegyas (**617-20**) and (**621-3**) anonymous sinners evidently to be identified as belonging to the recent Roman past. The thoughtful and patient reader seems to run no real risk of confusion, and I still cannot see any compelling rational argument for major textual displacement. A passage untidy, if you must, but entirely comprehensible.

616 saxum ingens Cf. 12.896f. (with 9.569, 10.698), *Sall.Hist.fr.*3.36, *Liv.* 9.2.9.

uolunt alii For rolling rocks in siege or ambush, Traina, *EV* 5*, 625 cites 9.512, 11.529 (where vd. further my n.). The form of V.'s anonymous ref. is old and interesting (vd. **601-7**): if we look for specific styl. antecedents, cf. Aesch.*Eum.* 269 εἴ τις ἄλλος, Lucian *Menipp.*18; τις alone is better attested in lists of sinners. For Sisyphus, see (**601-7**) *ad fin.*, and for the generalising plural, vd. Löfstedt, *Synt.*1, 38, LHS 16, KS 1, 72 (the names of gods and heroes in plur., in general). On one (or more) wheels, Ixion (and, if you will, the likes of Ixion).

radiisque rotarum Compare *G.*2.444 *hinc radios triuere rotis*, *OLD* s.v. *radius*, §2a. See K.D.White, *Gk. and Rom. technology* (London 1984), 135f. for the development of the spoked wheel in antiquity. The wheel is immobile, and I am not sure what the allit. may indicate. Dieterich, 203 and No., p.286 refer to Antiphon *de venef.*20; irrelevant, for he writes of breaking on the wheel, as *Suda* τ 1072 makes quite clear and that was not Ixion's lot (better, No., p.290, citing Lucian, *Ikar.*14). That was rather to be lashed to a wheel for all eternity (ample details, for antiquity, in E.Roos, *Opusc.Arch.* 7 (1952), 87-108); in the old Field Punishment No.1 in the British army, it was, a century ago, for spells of two hours, sometimes divided into two periods (authoritatively, Richard Holmes, *Tommy* (London 2005), 559f.).

617 districti pendent Of mythol. punishment, *d.* used of Dirce by *Plaut.Pseud.*200, *Vetter*, *TLL* 5.1.1550.58ff.; compare the *deligatio* of those condemned (cf. Brand, *Rom. milit. law* (Austin 1968), 105) to a flogging *ad palum*, *Liv.*2.5.6, 28.29.11, *Sen.vit.beat.*16.3. For *p.*, compare *Cat.*64.297 *persoluit pendens e uerticibus praeruptis* (Prometheus), *Aen.*8. 668f. *minaci/ pendentem scopulo* (Catiline), *Ov.F.*6.707 (Marsyas), Rein-

eke, *TLL* 10.1.1032.30ff.: of course there is interaction between all these figures.

sedet aeternumque sedebit Repetition with pres. and fut. forms of vb. discussed in some detail, Wills, 302-4, with pre-Virgilian material, 302, n.21. The advb. as at **401**, of Lucretian origin. Theseus (and Pirithous) condemned to complete and permanent (in P.'s case) immobility (with no small variation in the practical details): vd. *EV* 5*, 144, and refs. in n. on **601 Pirithoumque**.

618 infelix Theseus Why precisely **i**? Possibly because, though Th. is in many versions rescued by Heracles, his faithful friend Pirithous will never be freed. Cf. nn. on **122 Thesea** and (**601-7**) for the notorious inconsistency. In some versions, Thes. cannot be rescued (at *Od.*11.631 he has not been; cf. Panyasis fr.14Bernabé, *DS* 4.63.5; perhaps also Polygnotus, *Paus.*10.29.9), in others, he does not wish to abandon his friend (for Eur.*Pirithoos*, see Gantz, 293). V. seems to refer, as often, in two conflicting passages to two contrasting, opposed earlier accounts (cf. *Alambicco*, 93, *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 35, O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 15). For Thes. in V., vd. further J.W.Zarker, *CJ* 62 (1967), 220-6, D.Kuiper, *Mnem.*4.16 (1963), 162-70, W.Deonna, *REG* 44 (1931), 362-7.

Phlegyasque miserrimus M.: *EV* 3, 547, and cf. Bertotti *ib.*, 4, 1077 for V.'s superlatives (Lundstöm, 55 offers further ingenious speculation); we will find that P. only sought to avenge his daughter's honour. Vd. G.Garbugino, *EV* 2, 539f., Türk, *Ro.*3.2.2378.49ff., Gantz, 2, 719 (below his best), Robert, 2.1, 26-9, Lundström, 53-7. Eponym of the Thessalian Phlegians, father of Coronis and (first in Eur.fr.424 Kannicht) Ixion; Coronis, by Apollo, would become mother of Asclepius (*Pind. Pyth.*3.34ff.), but her father, enraged at her seduction, apparently burned down the god's temple at Delphi (Türk, 2380.4ff., Robert, 28, n.1); that tale first in Serv. here and in schol.*Stat.Theb.*1.713. V. may perhaps have had in mind the story of the (admittedly less impious) Phlegian Phorbas, *Ov.Met.*11.413f. with Bömer's n., Roscher, *Ro.*3.2.2427.41ff.. Note too [*Hes.*]*Scutum* 134, Heracles' arrows feathered from the eagle or vulture (Thompson, *Gk. birds*, 204), which is described as φλεγύαο (some sort of brown); vd. Martha, 112, Au.. To the unexpected Phlegyas, Eitrem, *PW* 20.269.32ff. rightly compares the novelty of V.'s introduction of Salmoneus to Tartarus; No.'s argument, after Dieterich (citing *Plut.Mor.*566C), that there was a significant Delphic presence in Greek Underworld-lore is not convincing.

omnis/ 619 admonet It seems as though V. has drawn on *Pind.Pyth.*2.21-4 (vd. comms. and e.g. Kuiper, 164), where Ixion, upon the wheel, by order of the gods proclaims to mortals τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς / ἐπιχομένους τίνεσθαι. Comms. on V. here quote Pindar, those on Pindar, Virgil. No. (p.275) well adds *Plat.Gorg.*525C,

*Phaed.*114A (though the content of their cries and calls is not admonitory but supplicatory), *Rep.*616A (Ardiaeus and others left by the wayside to warn passers-by); that all may lead us back to an Orphic *Katabasis* (see (120), (1)(f)). The exemplary and advisory function of some of those suspended for punishment, for the benefit of new arrivals, seems therefore well-established and traditional. For **a.**, cf. *EV* 3, 563, Klotz, *TLL* 1.762.5f..

et...testatur As often, 'declare, affirm', *EV* 5*, 149, *OLD* s.v., §2a.

magna...uoce Cf. 506; standard.

per umbras Vd. 257, 268 with sing., 452, 461, 490 with plur..

620 discite...moniti Cf. *Ov.AA* 1.459, *F.3.3*13, [Tib].3.6.43; injunctions to 'learn' occasional in Gk. gnomic poetry. Here, very much in the tradition of Hes., Pind. and Plat., *supra*. This line read in terms of modern cynicism, O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 95. But if Phlegyas was punished (and our sources are not good) for having sought to punish the libidinous Apollo (vd. n. on 618), then it is indeed fitting that he must stand eternally warning those within earshot of the need to respect the gods (sc., however badly we may think they have behaved; but the story is not attested until long after V.). As father of Pindar's Ixion, he is here chosen with care. Lundström (53-60), after Cartault, 517 and Otis, 298, argues for this verse's fundamental programmatic importance in the context of the poem's concentration upon *pietas*; those still convinced that *Aen.* is organised around (and actively promotes) an Augustan moral programme will welcome this approach more keenly.

iustitiam No. acutely draws attention to *Plat.Rep.*2.363CD, where practitioners of a loosely 'Orphic' character (note the frequency of δίκη and cognates in *HOrph.*) are teased about their beliefs in justice and piety. Both the constrs. here used after *discere* are very common. For V.'s use of *i.*, cf. Pomathios, 222; beyond the reach of *EV* s.v. *iustus*.

et non temnere diuos The Lucretian *simplex* (*bis*; *contemno*, *ter*) rare by V.'s time and probably used on account of a rather archaic, solemn tone (vd. No., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 112f.).

621 uendidit...auro patriam For the subject of **u.**, see next n.. Compare Varius fr.147Hollis=fr.1Courtney *uendidit hic Latium populis agrosque Quiritum/ eripuit*. The rush to identify begins with Serv. (and evidently earlier): *etiam haec licet generaliter dicantur, habent tamen specialitatem: nam Lasthenes Olynthum Philippo uendidit, Curio Caesari...Romam*. Lasthenes 'may with little hesitation be ruled out on grounds of obscurity' (Berry, 417); also, because changes of subject when all are anonymous would be incomprehensible and unacceptable (so rightly Pomathios, 151, n.184). C.Scribonius Curio, trib.pleb.50 might seem to be another matter (Rice Holmes, *Rom.Rep.*, 2, 253-5, etc., Pelling on *Plut.Ant.*5.2, Gruen,

Last generation, 470ff.), but we cannot distribute **uendidit...refixit minuta-tim** among a number of convenient sinners (so Berry, 417, *bene*), and Curio cannot be made to fit V.'s other charges. Antony remains (despite Barnes' grumbles, 123, 'a case was once made for A. '); given the *Philippics* as primary source, it is only too easy to charge Antony with almost anything. Here (vd. Berry, 417f.), vd. *Phil.*3.10, 5.11, and the cap fits Antony comfortably enough. Indeed, all three caps do; Zetzel (271) suggests that there may be secondary allusions to additional sinners. That might be the case. See Barnes, 123f., Zetzel, 271f., A.S.Hollis, *CQ* 27 (1977), 187-90, id., n. on L.Varius Rufus, fr. 147, Courtney on Varius fr.1, Berry, 417f., Powell, 90ff., J.Farrell, *Vergil's Georgics* (New York 1991), 11f., R.Thomas, *VAR*, 89-92, Wigodsky, 103, R.Lamacchia. *RhM.*107 (1964), 271f. **Vendidit...auro**: cf. Plaut. *Bacch.*8, *Mil.*1076, *Tib.*1.9.31.

hic...// 623 hic Cf. Varius' *uendidit hic Latium populis*. Long and hotly discussed, from Serv. on; for recent bibl., vd. Hollis, 189, *id.*, on fr.147.1f., Zetzel, 271f. with n.35, Barnes, 123f., Berry, 417-9. But it is hardly prudent to consider the rhetoric of V.'s lines exclusively in the light of the Varius fragment: **hic...hic** here necessarily refers to two, not three, individuals (Berry, 417) and such sequences of a deictic pronoun are common enough in 6: **479-481**, **580-582**, **789-791**. A styl. expression of the Sibyl's periegetic function, here too, as we need to remember. **Dominumque potentem/imposuit** is Virgil, not Varius (who will resume thereafter); we are meant to notice. No comment whatever in Serv.; he does not identify **dominum potentem** as Caesar, *pace* Thomas, 91f.. Berry, 418 draws attention to *RG* 1.1 *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam* (while No. here cites *Vell.*2.61.1 - where vd. Woodman - , of Ant.'s *dominatio*), but Antony in 44 cannot be said to have *imposed* a **dom. pot.**, if he in fact *was* that same **dom.pot.** (Berry, Zetzel, 271, n.35). Was Caesar the **dom. pot.**, then? To whom Antony offered the diadem (vd. *infra*, **622**). Could V. ever have been so vehemently critical of Caesar? *Pace* Binder, surely not (vd. White, **826-35**). And yet vv. **621-2** can only refer to one person, if V. is not to be thought to sink to 'mere' puzzle-writing. It is interesting to see how modern students of this v. fight shy of the precise definition of **dom. pot.**. If Caes. cannot be meant, one could not seriously propose that V. actually wrote *dominam*, meaning Cleopatra, However, Latin does use masc. when a noun can refer to both males and females (KS 1, 61, LHS 6f.), particularly, one might suppose, when the whole context is developed in a tone of allusive anonymity. But if Cleop. is not acceptable, we may have to settle for Caesar in the end.

dominumque potentem Cf. 3.438 *dominamque potentem* of Juno; this is strong, orthodox polit. language, Cic.*Cornel.*fr.48Crawford, Sall.*Hist.*

fr.1.12, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.2.280.7ff., Hellegouarc'h, 442f., 562-5, Fedeli, *EV* 2, 123.

622 imposit J.B.Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.656.5f. compares Cic.*Phil.*13.17 *nam si ipse seruire poterat, nobis dominum cur imponebat?* (Antony offers the diadem to Caesar, Weinstock, 339). Berry, 417 is quite right to protest against the semi-colon here in e.g. Mynors; it interrupts the perspicuous sequence of parallel perfect verbs.

fixit...atque refixit So, once more, Varius *de morte, verbatim*. For the play (of a type also found in prose) of **fixit...refixit**, cf. Wills, 446-9, **6.122**. Serv. writes *possumus Antonium accipere secundum Ciceronem in Philippicis*, citing (roughly) *Phil.*2.98. Berry usefully lists the numerous passages in *Phil.* in which Cic. harps on Antony's venal legislation (predictably, *figere* and *refigere* are employed; for the rarer *refigere*, of the senate, not Antony, cf. *Phil.*12.12, 13.5 and vd. Hollis on Varius, fr.147.2). Hollis, 188, n.12 writes of a 'catch-phrase' of the 40s, while Berry, 417 rejects V.'s direct use of Cic.. Roughly twenty years passed between Antony's battle with Cic. (when V. was in his late twenties) and the composition of these vv.; it is hardly essential to establish how V. knew the right political language to use. Vd. Hollis on Varius, fr.147, Berry, 417f., Powell, 89-91, Courtney, p.272. For V.'s use of unelided *atque*, vd. n. on 7.473, and for the practical reality of posting laws passed, cf. Harris, *Literacy*, 165f., C.Williamson, *Class.Ant.*6 (1987), 159-83 and my remarks in *Literacy...* (*JRA* Suppl.3, 1991), 70.

leges Cf. Rice Holmes, *Architect...*, 1, 15f., 24, Shackleton Bailey on Cic.*Att.*366.1.

623 thalamum...natae No. explains in some detail the delicacy of V.'s language in describing incest with a daughter, but is hardly right to say that a Greek would have used γάμοι twice, where V. has **t.** and **hymenaeos**; Hahn, 1930, 143 with typical acuity points to a sort of zeugma, by which **t.** is used in the concrete sense of 'wedding-chamber' (**280, 397**), and **inuasit** therefore in a literal sense, whereas the coupled **hymenaeos** ('marriage') requires a figurative sense for the verb. *EV* 5*, 160 (Paterlini), Mühlhelt/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.114.23f.; cf. [Sen].*HO* 347 of *faces*. Note (i) extreme sexual aberrations punished in Tartarus and (ii) allegations of incest in the late republican polit. world: (i) *Ar.Ran.*148, *Plat.Rep.*589E, *PEG* 2.2.717.5-8, 51f. Bernabé; cf. Setaioli (**608-15**), 201; (ii) Berry, 419, Powell, 99, n.8 cite [Sall.]*Inv.*2 against Cic. (the victim, his daughter); for the Clodii (among siblings), vd. Treggiari, *Rom. marriage*, 105, n.121, Carcopino, *Secrets de la correspondance*, 1, 137, I.Opelt, *Lat.Schimpfwörter*, 155. No. strangely concentrates on mythol. instances of incest, clearly enough excluded by the context here.

inuasit Serv. cites Donatus for the idea that V. could be referring to Cic.; *nefas est credi* remarks Serv., moderately (but that only means that Don. had [Sall.]*Inv.* to hand). We should not have had to wait until Berry, *cit.*, to learn (which we now do, with gratitude) the identity of the obvious candidate, Catiline; thus Cic., in the *tog.cand.*, as explained in ample detail by Asconius, 91.24-6C, with Lewis' comm., p.301 and Jane W. Crawford, Cic., *Fragm. speeches*, p.193. See Berry, 419f., Powell, 91. When V. associates Antony with Catiline on the Shield (at least by proximity), he follows in Cic.'s footsteps; for Cic. who 'set out to denigrate Antony by comparing him with Catiline', vd. Berry, 420, with refs.. Highet, 245 adduces the *παρέδραθε* of the Bologna papyrus, *PEG* 2.2, 717.5; no sort of proof of indebtedness and not even closely similar euphemisms for 'made love to'.

uetitosque hymenaeos Cf. 10.9 *quae contra uetitum discordia* for **u.** used with this teleological force. Compare 1.651 *inconcessosque h.*, Rehm, *TLL* 6.3.3142.24.

624 ausi omnes...ausoque potiti Cf. Wills, 314 for (very common) repetition with shift from vb. to partic.; cf. **422**. *EV* s.v. *audeo* unhelpful; Hey, *TLL* 2.1254.63. **P.**: Gatti, *TLL* 10.2.333.49f.; compare *Caes.Gall.3.24.2 uictoria potiri*. With **auso**, cf. the use of the plur., 2.535 with n.. As Berry (419) remarks, 'the crime was premeditated'. **P.** of sexual possession: cf. No., Adams, *LSV*, 188, Pichon, *Index*, 237 (common; obscured in Gatti).

immane nefas Sini, *EV* 3, 677 compares 4.305f. *tantum/ posse nefas*, 563 *dirumque nefas*, 7.386 *maius...nefas* (vd. n.). **I.**: see *EV* 2, 924, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.440.6; a slightly tired and overworked adj..

625-7 The hundred mouths

See A.Barchiesi, *EV* 1, 737f., U.Boeck, *Herm.*86 (1958), 245f., P.Courcelle, *REL* 33 (1955), 231-40, Courtney on Hostius, fr.3, Gleis, 100, E.Gowers, *CQ* 55 (2005), 170-82, R.Häussler, *Das hist. Epos* 1 (Heidelberg 1976), 322f., S.Hinds, *Allusion and intertext* (Cambridge 1998), 35-9, 42-7, Knauer, 120-3, Skutsch, Ennius, p.628f., Thomas on *G.2.42-4*, Wigodsky, 98f., E.Wölfflin, *ALL* 9 (1896), 185f.

It may help to have the relevant texts before us in full (the formidable development of the topos after V. is not discussed here; vd. Courcelle):

(1) πλῆθὺν δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ μισθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω.

οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλώσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἴην,

φώνη δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνεΐη (*Il.*2.488-90)

(2) *non si lingua loqui saperet quibus, ora decem sint*

in me, tum ferro cor sit pectusque reuinctum. (Enn.*Ann.* 469f.)

(3) *non si mihi linguae centum atque ora sient totidem uocesque liquatae* (Hostius, *Bell. Histricum* fr.3).

(4) Serv. here writes *Lucretii uersus sublatus de Homero, sed 'aerea uox' dixit*; at *G.2.42 Lucretii uersus, sed ille 'aerea uox' dixit, non 'ferrea'*. Vd. Boeck, cit., Farrell (621), 232, n.56, H.D.Jocelyn, *CQ* 15 (1965), 140f., *id.*, *Act.Class.*29 (1986), 55, n.94, Gowers, 172, n.7, Wigodsky, *cit.*, for its Lucretian status, if indeed it is *Lucr.* and not *Lucil.*; see too Appx.1 for two words of similar status in *V.*'s margins

(5) *non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraue centum, ferrea uox* (*G.2.43f.*)

(6) See also *Plaut.Bacch.128 qui si decem habeas linguas, mutum esse addecet*, *Caecil.com.126 si linguas decem habeam, uix habeam satis te qui laudem, Lache.*

A literary set-piece of strongly traditional character with which to close the account of Tartarus, but also a programmatic, 'Callimachean' statement of selectivity, as in *G.2*. Indications of both aspects will be noted *ad loc.* below.

625 non,...si The negative thrust up to the very beginning of the sentence; the *verb* of the apodosis does not occur until the end of **627**. **Si**, we note, is then postponed, giving **mihi** prominence.

mihi...sint An entirely conventional possessive dative, Antoine, 109.

linguae...oraue Paired already by Homer and Hostius. Perhaps *Lucr.* too; Salvatore (*TLL* 7.2.1447.8f.) rashly assumes without trace of doubt that *Lucr.* here wrote what *V.* did; *Serv.*'s *Lucretii uersus* is hardly evidence enough.

centum...centum Anaphora as at **43**; anaphora of numerals apparently escapes *Wills*. *V.* appears, both in *G.* and here, to draw on *Hostius* to 'correct' the modest 'ten' of *Hom.* and *Enn.* (*Hinds*, 35f.; *Wigodsky* 98f. backs *Lucr.*), upwards; according to *Emily Gowers* (179), there is a link at least of imagery with the earlier passage (the 'mouths' of the cave:: the mouths of the *Sibyl/poet*), distant though the passages are, in both space and tone.

626 ferrea uox Ultimately from *Hom.*'s φώνη δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ; the voice from the first half of *Hom.*'s *v.*, the metal, nearly enough, from the second (whence also *Enn.*, but not *Lucr.*; *Hostius* quite uncertain). Cf. *Hinds*, 36f., *Catrein*, 140. But *ferreus* is often applied to non-metal items (*Rubensbauer*, *TLL* 5.1.574.29ff.), so the synaesthesia is presumably felt to be of reduced force.

omnis scelerum...formas *V.* concludes with two weighty parallel members depending on **possim** and linked both by the exactly balancing pairs **scelerum... formas** and **poenarum nomina** and by the variation **omnis...omnia**, at the head of each member. *I.Kapp*, *TLL* 6.1.1074.31f. compares [*Sen.*] *Oct.157 tot facinorum formas*. *V.* offers a sort of apology or *praeteritio* ('this is of course not a full account'); cf. *Gowers*, 171 for

epic means of expressing, or rather, intimating exceptionally large numbers. On *G., cit.*, Thomas is quite right to observe that there (and, one senses increasingly, here too) V. is making a discreet Callimachean point about the desirability of selection and the undesirability of a vast, comprehensive account. Of course V. cannot offer a *full* list; it would be a grave lapse of technique to attempt it.

comprendere *Cic.Brut.*19, used of *rerum nostrarum memoriam*, Petr. 126.14 *nulla uox est quae formam eius possit comprehendere* (an attractive reminiscence), Hey, *TLL* 3.2148.54f..

627 omnia poenarum...nomina The named punishments correspond of course (and apparently down at least to the late c.1AD in a long unvaried series of pairings) to the named, listed (and selected) sinners.

percurrere possim Strong allit. of **p** in the whole verse. For the infin., cf. Wenaweser, *TLL* 10.1.1231.14f.; standard prose (*Cic., Varro, etc.*) usage (and *Hor. Serm.*1.1.24) for 'go through, treat'. V.'s confession of inability of itself keeps him in harmony with the Callimachean programme.

628 haec ubi dicta dedit Cf. n. on 7.471; lofty, archaic and apparently reserved for special occasions.

Phoebi longaeua sacerdos Cf. **321** (and **764** for the adj.); vd. *SC*, (24), Miller, 147 for the persistence of the Sibyl's association with Apollo in V.'s narrative.

629-632 The Sibyl's instructions Ring-composition with **142** (see **629 perfice**). Highet, 307, Cartault, 468.

629 sed iam age Only here in class. Latin; the combination of particles formed *ad hoc* and entirely comprehensible; each one retains its full and normal value: 'but come now', *vel sim.*

carpe uiam Vd. Bannier, *TLL* 3.493.78 and (*bene*) A.Traina, *EV* 1, 676. Compare *Hor.Serm.*1.5.94f. *longum/ carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri*, 2.6.93 *carpe uiam*, *C.*2.17.11f. *supremum/ carpere iter*. 'Suggests plodding persistence' NH there, oddly, citing Lejay on *Serm.*1.5.95. L.'s is a fine, detailed note; with *uiam/ iter*, 'il indique la progression de la marche par laquelle on accomplit la route pour ainsi dire pas à pas' after Heyne on *G.*3.142 'dum singulis gressibus aliquid de spatio decerpitur'.

et susceptum...munus 'Il compito rituale' (rather than the Bough itself), correctly (one has but to consider **perfice**), Citroni, *EV* 3, 620, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1666. 56f.. S.: 'to undertake to deal with, perform, etc.', *OLD* s.v., §8a (solidly Ciceronian).

perfice Taken up, **637 perfectio munere diuae** (and see too **142 hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus**); cf. *Vell.*2.48.2 *perfectis muneribus theatri*. Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1365.67f.. Clearly, until the GB is

duly laid up, the whole business of the Bough, enjoined by the goddess and instructed by the Sibyl, is not completed.

630 acceleremus *Quinques* in *Aen.*; Acc. *semel*, *Lucr.*, *semel*; *ter* *Liv.* 1-5. Rare in *repub. prose*.

ait See on 2.155.

Cyclopus...caminis V.'s phrasing indicates (for the Cyclopes after all are *smiths*: *Call.H.* 3.60, *Aen.* 8.424; cf. n. on 3.588-691, Bremmer (2009), 198) that these walls are of metal: vd. n. on **554 ferrea turris** for this singular motif. **Caminis**: vd. n. on 3.580.

educta.../ 631 moenia In his n. on 12.674, Serv. cites this v. and defines *in altum fabricando sustulerat*. Compare 2.186 *caeloque educere*. Hey, *TLL* 5.2.121.76. These are the walls of Tartarus first sighted at **549**; No. finely cites *Pind.Ol.* 14.20, the *μελαντειχέα δόμον* of Persephone. Much of the tradition gives *simplex ducta*.

conspicio Vd. n. on 3.306.

atque aduerso fornice portas Not the *porta aduersa ingens* of **552**; the Sibyl and *Aen.* have walked some distance since then. F. 'arch' (standard *prose usage*), as Serv. and TCD here explain. Note *Aus.Ephem.* 8.24 *fornice eburno*, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1. 1125.60.

632 haec...dona Offered by the Sibyl and *Aen.* to Persephone; cf. **408**, *EV* 2, 131; plur. of a single offering, n. on 2.115, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.2017.79

ubi...praecepta iubent Cf. **236 praecepta Sibyllae**, *EV* 1, 654 and compare 3.684 *contra iussa monent Heleni*.

nos...deponere Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.577.60; not helpful, and vd. rather *OLD* s.v., §7a, for the sense 'deposit'; for infin. after *iubere*, vd. Bell, 130.

633 dixerat Cf. n. on 7.212.

et pariter gressi Clearly, the advb. applies to all the following vbs. down to **propinquant**. No. refers to *Plaut.Pseud.* 859f. *si quo hic gradietur, pariter progredimino/ manum si protollet, pariter proferto manum* and *Truc.* 124 *pariter gradere* in arguing for V.'s use of old military language here (cf. Baer, *TLL* 10.1. 283.39f.); Lang's index to Vegetius suggests he could well be right. *Direxerunt iter* TCD; Knoche, *TLL* 6.2.2138.56f.. For the form **gressi**, cf. Leumann, 562.

per opaca uiarum Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.659.23 compares e.g. *Mela* 1.73 *per amoenas umbras et opaca siluae*. For the gen. dependent on adj. thus, cf. nn. on 2.332, 725, 3.232.

634 corripiunt Cf. *EV* 4, 401 'percorrere in freta', *raptim peragunt* Serv.; Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1041.83f., comparing in particular 5.316 *corripiunt spatia*.

spatium medium Bulhart, *TLL* 8.583.40 compares Sall.*hist.*4.fr.26 (the *med. spat.* between Italy and Sicily).

foribusque propinquant P.: see **384**. F.: a synonym for **631 portas**; cf. nn. on **20**, **286**.

635 occupat Aeneas aditum As at **424**; V. is naturally in some haste for the GB to be delivered to its destination, and rarely expends real effort in passages of simple narrative transition.

corpusque.../ 636 spargit Cf. nn. on 2.167, 720, **6.229** for the ritual importance of washing/sprinkling; the familiar material will not be repeated here; just possibly the very sights and sounds of Tartarus may have been considered as pollutants, and now, for the hallowed moment of restoring the GB to its divine ‘proprietor’, a state of exceptional purity is not unnaturally required. Cf. Eitrem, *Opferritus*, 127, Lehr, 89, and n. on **230 spargens rore leui**. Serv. here and at 4.635 is, like Macr.3.1.6, predictably interested in the ritual detail, but we need always to recall that V. is aiming not at maximum ritual precision but at a level of ritual detail tolerable in poetry.

recenti/ 636 ...aqua See, again, nn. on 2.167, 720 for the importance of *fresh* water and n. on **674 prata recentia riuis**. Bremmer, *infra*, worries about where this fresh water might have been found, but I forbear to explore the secrets of the Sibyl’s reticule; the reader does not need to know if there was additionally a spare *offa* for Cerberus.

ramumque...figit Lackenbacher, *TLL* 6.1.712.9. In the sense of ‘offer, dedicate’, as often; cf. Jackson, *EV* 2, 512: compare 3.287 with n., 11.778 with n.. Standard prose and verse usage in the sense of ‘dedicate’. See *SC*, **(5)(a)** for the Sibyl and Proserpina and **(136-48)**, **(2)(g)** for the GB and Proserpina. These connexions are lightly sketched in the text, seeming to indicate not a solid link in cult and belief but rather an affinity, altogether compatible with cult and belief, but merely outlined by the poet’s erudite imagination. We may sense that we follow some of the leaps of that imagination, rather dizzily, but we do not succeed in establishing the poet’s creative steps or literary sources (see, however, Bremmer (2009), 198). Unless of course we are trying too hard, and the depositing of the GB is, and was from the first, no more than an entirely orthodox, conventional dedication in gratitude for the safe conduct that Persephone has extended to the travellers so far.

aduerso in limine Cf. **563**, **631**. Threshold or lintel? Vd. Bremmer (2009), 198, H.Wagenvoort, *Pietas* (Leiden 1980), 93. If **fixit** is used in any normal sense (Bremmer, Wagenvoort) and if we respect the normal language of dedications, (see e.g. 12.769, Hor.*C.*1.5.15, with NH on 13 *tabula*, and see too NH, Hor.*C.*1, p.300, R.Parker, *THESCR*A 1, 270), then, evidently, the lintel is meant (as TCD clearly realises); the Sibyl can hardly *hang* or *secure* the GB to the threshold; see refs. to my comms. in previous n..

637-751 The relative neglect of Elysium, as a whole, by scholars working on *Aen.6* is very remarkable (vd. bibliography, *infra*): in comparison with the darker side of the Underworld, less had apparently been written before V. about Elysium (if we exclude non-literary Orphic texts), and evergetes were very possibly a less exciting, interesting, attractive topic than sinners; certainly, there is no Elysian equivalent, nor apparently had there once been one, to Phlegyas, Ixion, Salmoneus, etc. The comm. will note a good deal of apparent Orphic influence, unsurprisingly¹, not least the presence of Orpheus himself, significantly placed as a signal to the reader of the intellectual character of what follows (**645-7**); for the question of what V.'s actual source in *Orphicis* is likely to have been, see xxii-iii, n. on **663**, Hight, 235.

Here, (1) some remarks on the advance, of *Aen.*, and of the argument, from their departure from sinners' confinement to Anch.'s philos. exposition of rebirth. At **679** a fresh section clearly begins, in terms both geographical (important to some) and emotive (colloquy of father and son; Di Cesare, 111 helpful, in different terms, Solmsen, *ORVA*, 216); Molyviati-T.'s account of the detailed eschatological subdivisions of Elysium (see (2), *infra*) is not immediately persuasive. Musaeus is both the evident pinnacle of the Orphic-cultural characterisation of Elysium (though that is not *guaranteed* to be the correct name for the area described in **637-78**) and a natural overture to Anch.'s entry upon the scene. It emerges indeed that **679-723** at large look both forwards and, in human terms (old comrades-at-arms, arguably; more clearly, ancestors, family, old loves), back². The descent into Anch.'s *conuallis* marks no change of sources, tone, or landscape; recurrent elements (e.g. grassy meads, rivers) will be noted, but the *animae* under Anch.'s direct supervision (**703-23**) are evidently at an advanced stage upon the road to rebirth; note **712 quie uiri**. Musaeus and his peers belonged, as we shall discover (**744 pauci**; vd. also (2) *infra*), to a quite different category. Insufficient attention has been paid to the increasingly strong element in the narrative of thematic preparation³ for the Parade of Heroes (PH). Not so much the reminiscent military exercises in Elysium

1 Note: joyous Elysium (**638**); meadows there (**640, 656**); wondrous light (**641**); song (**644**); symposium of the Just (**657**); self-sacrifice (**660**); purity (**661**); **pii uates** (**662**); culture-heroes (**663**); Musaeus (**667**); memory and forgetting (**705**); bees (?) **707-9**. On these topics, there is some contact between *Aen.6* and Orphic texts.

2 Men, women, and variable in Tartarus; men only in Elysium, but this may not be a significant observation.

3 Note, e.g. **682 nepotes**, *ib.*, the formal reviewing of the souls that has already begun), **694**, *Aen.*'s need of moral uplift, **706**, peoples and nations (sc., including the *populus Romanus*), **710** bees and foundation of Rome, **712 tanto...agmine**, **718**.

(651-5), anticipating the unborn triumphant warriors of the PH, as the great mass of warrior souls, *uiri, gentes populique* (in particular the *populus Romanus*, as we shall soon discover): above all, see **hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum/ quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta** (717f.), 743-4 (the sense of progress and climax toward the Parade), with (756-846), (5) and **889 famae uenientis amore**. The function of the PH as genealogical protreptic thus receives its clearest definition before ever it begins; the PH is a (crowning, final) development, rather than a surprise, in the narrative. Knauer, 126f. offers an exemplary account of the relationship of these vv. to *Od.*11. In lieu of mere translation or paraphrase here, I refer to nn. on **679 pater Anchises**, **686 lacrimae**, **687-94**, **696 adegit**, **700-2**, **711 inscius**, where some of Knauer's fine perceptions will be found gratefully but less obtrusively summarised.

(2) some clarification of the structure, subdivisions and functions of Elysium. In its way, the topography of Elysium proves almost as controversial as that of Hades; not merely a topic for those who enjoy charts and sketch-maps, for a slightly clearer spatial understanding of Virgil's design helps towards a resolution of the great problems of 743-4. *Aen.* is not an epic planned and executed always in the minutest detail (vd. indices s.v. inconsistencies); no diagrams here, either. But my reading of the later part of bk.6 is essentially (and increasingly) 'teleological', at least in the sense of a text conceived as rising towards the climactic *Heldenschau*. The motif of rebirth is introduced at **680 superumque ad lumen ituras** and returns at **713f. animae quibus altera fato/ corpora debentur** (restated 719-21). Likewise, the geography of 679 is echoed or refined at 703f.. And the need for son to meet father (nn. on 687f., 690f.) continues to dominate the narrative, as it long has. When they do meet, the increasingly serious conversation between them is embedded ever more visibly in the book's moral crescendo (cf. 718 with comm.). The unfolding of the narrative combines (imperfectly, confusingly, some would say, though few as starkly as the young Norden, *Herm.*28 (1893), 360ff., with his view of two conflicting drafts present in our text) the destinies of two quite distinct groups (a bipolarity quite common in eschat. texts; vd. 743-4, *ad fin.*): (a) a small élite, the **pauci** of 744, who will not be reborn and will in the end reach complete purification. Their relationship to vv. 637-78 is never made perfectly clear; note both that there is no mention of rebirth in these vv. and that the white **uitta** of 665 has rather the air of a badge of the chosen few. (b), on the other hand, is a great mass of souls, the **has omnis** of 748, who, after the elemental purgations of 735-42, are destined (748-51) to rebirth upon the earth. How far Virgil's conception of Elysium (if that is the right word) remains subterranean is an unresolved difficulty: vd. n. on **887 aëris in campis latis**.

Many have struggled tirelessly to explain the problems here discussed, from Serv., Serv. Dan., Macr., Fulgentius, and Favonius Eulogius down at least to *Mnem.* 1994 and A.Setaioli, *La vicenda dell' anima nel commento di Servio...* (Frankfurt 1995), but here I have preferred to try to maintain clarity and to keep bibliogr. detail to a minimum. Serv. reads these vv. as though a systematic exposition of an eschatological system, whereas a fairly careful reading suggests to me (724-51) a multiplicity of barely-compatible sources and an exposition that leaves many questions mercifully not answered (cf. further, 743-4, (1), where I offer a summary of V.'s eschat. thinking, n. on 748 mille...per annos). Careful attention paid to the verbal articulation and to much neglected ring-composition suggests an exposition quite orderly, but not eschatologically comprehensive or indeed coherent; in the 'crucial' vv., 739-47, I have removed as much punctuation as possible, believing that stylistic indications of the organisation of the argument are a good deal more helpful than modern punctuated indications of how the development of V.'s exposition should be understood.

Bibliography: cf. (over and above Norden's luminous pp. 295-6, after his earlier discussion, *Herm.* 28 (1893), 393f.), Boyancé, 162-5, Bremmer (2009), 200-3 *id.*, 'Paradise in the *Oracula Sibyllina*', in *Ultima aetas* ed. C.Kroon, D. den Hengst, (Amsterdam 2000), 83-94. Cartault, 468-73, R.J.Clark, *Catabasis*, 176-8, *id.*, *Symb.Osl.* 50 (1975), 123f., di Cesare, 110-4, Giesecke, 69f., Highbarger (893-6), 95f., n.115, 101-3, Knauer, 123-9, Lloyd-Jones (120), 223 (Aristophanes' evidence), U.Molyviati-Toptsis, *Mnem.* 4.47 (1994), 33-46, A.Novara in (ed.) F.Hinard, *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà...* (Caen 1987), 321-49, B.Otis, *TAPA* 90 (1959), 165-70, Setaioli, *EV* 2, 961, *id.*, (724-51), (1993), 328, 332, Solmsen, *ORVA*, 216-7. See 724-51 for Virgil and the doctrine of rebirth. Brief and sterile summaries ('we must dwell for a moment', *ORVA*, 200), as part of a *survol* of the whole book, are not included here.

637 his...exactis Cf. Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 5.2.1464. 35f. (unhelpful), *EV* 1, 56. The evident sense of 'conclude' is first found in Augustan texts (part of the sense at Hor.C.3.30.1 *exegi monumentum* (vd. NR); also Ov.*Her.* 11.8, Prop. 2.14.3).

demum Cf. Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.515.47f. s.v. 'significat res hominesve aliis spretis praeferri'. Perhaps 'finally'.

perfecto munere diuae Theme and variation; unobtrusive transition. The order given by the Sibyl at 142f. (**hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus/ instituit**) is at last fulfilled. A striking piece of orderly ring-composition, here ignored by No, Au., etc. Both vb. (cf. 4.639; standard Latin, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1365.68) and noun echo formally 629 **susceptum perfice munus**. The noun standard for 'offering', 4.217, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1666.56f.; Williams and MacLennan take **d.** as dat. (indir. obj.), but I doubt (not that the issue is crucially important) that that is correct: cf. rather, for the obj. gen., n. on 2.31 *donum...Mineruae*, and 2.189 *dona*

Mineruae, Antoine, 84, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.2021.68ff. (for *donum*); it is hardly significant that other instances exist for *donum* + obj.gen. thus (possibly because the verb is clearly *heard* in the noun), but apparently not for *munus*.

638 deuenere Cf. 1.365; *quater* in *Aen.*, and a long poet. history: Liv.Andr.*Odus*. 2 Mariotti, *Acc.praet.*, Lut.Catulus 1.2, a couple of times in Lucr.; the effect stately, but not at all ponderous. Here followed by acc. of destination, Antoine, 43-6, Bell, 143. Knauer well points to *Od*.4.563-8: Proteus tells Men. that he will not die in Argos, but the immortals will take him to Elysium (vd. **640 campos**). ‘And then at dawn *we came down* to a temperate valley’; Eliot after all knew *Aen*.6 rather well.

locos laetos The whole area appropriately (and alliteratively) cheerful; the adj. again at **744 laeta arua**; cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.887.66f., Hor.C.1.10.17f. *laetis.../ sedibus*. Not a certain case of influence of Hor. on V.; the adj. entirely in keeping with the traditional picture of a joyous Elysium: Norden, *Geburt*, 57f., Novara, 330f., Bremmer (2002), 124, (2009), 200f., *Orph.fr*.487.6Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2, *Or.Sib*.3.619, 785f., Plut.*Mor*.565F, *Ev.Luc*.2.10. Apparently not an adj. commonly used in its transferred sense of ‘glad’ (the original = ‘well manured, fertile’) of *places* and perhaps here and in Hor. to be sensed as applied with reference to the *inhabitants*. Acc. of destination (Au.; my n. on 3.254), or (perhaps more probably) vb. used here as transitive? Cf. 1.365, 4.125, 166, and Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.849.30 for instances outside V.; for such transitivity of compound vbs. of motion, cf. LHS, 33, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 65f., Müller, (122), 134.

et amoena uirecta Cf. 5.734f. *sed amoena piorum/ concilia Elysi-umque colo*, *EV* 1, 141 (but *laetus* was consigned to oblivion), F.X.Burger, *TLL* 1.1962.70f.. Perhaps V. heard Enn.’s *amoena salicta* (*Ann*.38). V. (compare the **conualle uirenti** of **679**) apparently both an invention and for V. a *hapax*, Cordier, 146. What *OLD* calls ‘an area of greenery’; cf. Edgeworth, 46f., 47f. (proper notice taken of the change here of colour/tone/mood after the night and flames of Hell), 165, 168.

639 fortunatorum nemorum V. spreads himself (cf. No., p.296f.) into a massive, Pindarising (even Timothean) compound expression: AA₁+B₁B (+ *gen. inhaerentiae* C₁C)+DD₁: four nouns and four adjs., each quartet verging on the synonymous; the effect (note ample use of homoeoptoton) one of weight and grandeur (cf. Norden, p.296, Sidgwick 2, 499 s.v. Style; accumulated expression, Hahn (1930), index s.v. ‘piling up’), while the sense is not much deepened: note a similarly wide range of synonyms in Gk., μάκαρα, ὄλβιος, εὐδαίμων. Not formally ekphrastic, but taken up by **640 hic** as though it were. V.’s Elysium is agreeably wooded (and not with *Boswellia thurifera*, the frankincense-tree, alone), as was Alcinoous’ influ-

ential park; cf. **658**, **659**, **704**, as Paradise had already been at e.g. *Genesis* 2.8, Pind.*Ol.*2.73, fr.129.4f.Sn.M. and *Or. Sib.*3.620. Cf. *Od.*10.509, quoted, *Orph.*fr.487.6Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2, Lucian, *Ver.hist.*2.15, Nonn.*Dion.* 19.191, *IEnoch* 28.1, 32.1, etc. (Charlesworth *OT Pseudepigr.*, 1, 27f.), Dieterich, 30f., Bremmer (2002), 109-19 at 111, *id.*, (2009) 200, 201f., Setaioli, *EV* 2, 961, Robert, *Gr.Myth.*, 1, 815, Novara, 331, Waser, PW 5.2473.59ff. and, amply, Gatz (**792**), 174-89 (at 187f.), Schönbeck (**674**), 49-56. **F.** is particularly suggestive; cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1197. 25ff. at 41f.. Serv. notes *adludit autem ad insulas fortunatas*. This use of *f.* to refer to the 'isles of the blessed' is current in Latin from Plaut.*Trin.* 549 (cf. Hor.*Epd.*16.40 *arua beata*), after Hes.*Erga* 171 ἐν μακάρων νήσοις (where vd. West). **F.** common in geogr. writers and likely to have been present in the context of Sall.*hist.*1.fr.100Maur.. Here V. hints strongly at the close association of the Isles of the Blessed with Elysium (*bene*, Gatz, on these close links). See Paul Keyser's exceptional paper 'From myth to map. The Blessed Isles...', *Anc. World* 24 (1993), 149-67 and vd. too J.S.Romm, *Edges of the earth...* (Princeton 1992), 15-20, 156f., Watson on Hor.*Epd.*16.43, Schulten, PW 14.628.26ff.. For the rivalry for identification as the Blessed Isles (Tennyson's phrase) between Canaries and Madeiras see Keyser, 157-62 (who prefers the latter). As a curiosity, I record Paratore's suggestion that **f.** and **n.** should not be taken together.

sedesque beatas Cf. Hor.*Epd.*16.41 *arua beata* (with Watson's n., Cic.*Hort.* fr.110Grilli (with his remarks, ed.2, 2010, 248), *Fin.*5.53, *EV* 1, 472), Burger, *TLL* 2.1915.47f., Prop.4.7.60 *aura beata* (in Elysium), and already, Cic.*TD* 1.25, 82 *beatioris uitae* (after death), *Sen.*67, etc., *Rep.*6.13. Again, the influence of (common) Gk. μάκαρ is in some degree likely. S. cf. **431**, Spallone, *EV* 4, 750.

640 largior...aether **A.** spondaic, after the Gk. spelling, Leumann, 111, comparing *aer*, *G.*3.546. What exactly is meant is a more complex question: the adj. may carry a hint of Lucr.3.22 [of *aether*] *large diffuso lumine ridet*: vd. Giesecke, *cit.*, and Kenney there, Lucr. 5.281 *largus...fons luminis* and see *EV* 3, 124. The compar. might reflect Hom.'s **μᾶλ'** αἴθρη/**πέπταται** (*Od.*6.44f., of Olympus); '**largior** in comparison with what, *exactly?*' is a question better not asked. Clearly **a.** here is a bow both to Hom. and to Lucr.3. Its exact sense in the context is very slightly more difficult: probably, as we shall soon see, to be identified with the **aëris in campis latis** of **887** (for the overlap of *aether* and *aër*, cf. Lunelli, *EV* 1, 40). The hint of the soul's skywards motion present at **887** (where vd. n.) might even be suggested here; V.'s poet. antecedents are clearer here than his theology. See further n. on **641**, at which point the identification of Elysium as lying in some sense beneath a familiar, 'terrestrial' sky becomes clearer.

hic Taking up neatly the ample indications of **638-9**.

campos et...uestit The ‘Elysian Fields’: at *Od.*4.563 merely, as here (and cf. **653**, **677**, **709**), a πεδίον (cf. the ‘plain’ of Lethe, **705**); ‘meadows’, however, in the Orphic tradition: see **674** with **707**, Pind.fr.129.3Sn., *Ar.Ran.*344,[Plat.]*Axiochus* 371C, *Orph.* frr.340.3, 487.6Bernabé, *PEG* 2.1, 2.2; Dieterich, 19f., Molyviati-T., 38 (not precise), Bremmer (2002), 5, 23, *id.*, (2009), 200-3. The metaphor of ‘clothing’ is old, in various applications, *Il.*14.178, *FGE* 475 (= *Anth.Pal.*7.255.4), with Page’s n., *trag.inc.* 137 Ribb.; long recognised as a favourite with *Cic.carm.* (indeed much overworked), *Arat.*205, 262, 332, 440, 473 (of both light and darkness); also *Lucr.*2.148. See Catrein, 119f., 125, and compare the *integit* of *Lucr.* 3.22 (the whole passage, 3.18-22, has often been compared to these vv.; fairly enough, in a general sense). C.: cf. **653**, **677**, **709**. Comms. (in particular, Au.) consider whether **uestit** is to be understood also (i.e. by zeugma) with **largior...aether**, or whether **lumine...purpureo** should be taken as a descr. abl. parallel to **largior**. See Hahn (1930), 120f., 124, comparing 1.693f. *mollis amaracus illum/ floribus et dulci aspirans complectitur umbra*; here she acutely suggests a degree of dissociation between **largior...aether** and what follows, and one might even wish to supply **est** with **aether**. There seems little or no doubt about V.’s sense and a minor danger of unproductive uncertainty about the grammatical means.

lumine.../ 641 purpureo Cf. 1.590f. *lumenque iuuentael purpureum*, Edgeworth 47f., 52-4, 187, n.108, 219, André, 99. ‘Bright’? Or ‘purply-red’? Or indeed both? The sense of ‘red’ or ‘purple’ has strong associations with death (cf. n. on **884**), perhaps unwelcome in the present joyous context. The less colour-specific suggestion of a vigorous brightness, popular with some edd., is rejected for V. by Edgeworth, 215-26.

solemque suum In both the passages cited at **639 fortunatorum nemorum**, Pindar (vd. Con., Au., etc.) refers to the sun (*Ol.*2.62, fr.129.1Sn.; cf. too Plat.*Phaed.* 111C). The wondrous light of Elysium a commonplace: *Ar.Ran.*155, 454f., *Or.Sib.*3.787, Val.Fl. 1.843f., *Apoc. Pauli* 21 (Elliott, *Apocr. NT*, 628), *Plut.fr.*178, 211Sandbach, Dieterich, 23f., Cumont, *SF*, 52, Rohde, *Psyche*, 2_{7/8}, 210, n.1, Bremmer (2002), 124, (2009), 200 (‘typically Orphic’) and vd. Au. for later Latin passages. Long interaction between Elysium and the more terrestrial Isles of the Blessed accounts for the easy transference of such details. It is not immediately clear to what **suum...sua** (cf. only 12.393 for the anaphora) refer. Is it (1) to Aeneas and the Sibyl, recently subjects of **deuenero** (very roughly in the spirit of **887**)? Or, better (2) to the **campos** of **640**, Elysium (sc., and its inhabitants, as the sequel, **pars...pars**, does very much suggest, though we must allow for the possibility of some shift between **norunt** and **exercent**)? The difficulty of number (**norunt**) should have discouraged Clark

(176) from referring **suum...sua** to **aether**. Serv. remarks rather unhelpfully on **solemque suum sibi congruum**, comparing *G.4.190*. The translator's casual 'their own sky' helps not at all and only worries the careful reader. Perhaps Heyne, as so often, grasps the essential: Elysium has sun and stars (in some sense) of its own, brighter and more glorious than ours, while Serv. notes dully *non nostro largior, sed quam est in cetera inferorum parte*. No binding grammatical rule applies (Ernout-Thomas, 183), and this is hardly a passage where poetic ambiguity offers a comfortable refuge. In Elysium, we are first struck by sky and light, which wreathes the *campi*; V. then changes the subject from heavens to earth, while retaining (theme and variation) the same basic sense, if it is indeed the *campi* that enjoy their own sun and **sidera**, set in the light-giving **aether**. V.'s Elysium both is [*Aen.* and the Sibyl do not ascend until **898f.**], and is not [the details here; cf. **887** with n.] subterranean. The case for an etym. link between *helios* and Elysium, for which there is evidence in Porphyry, is not immediately convincing here (O'Hara, *TN*, 176, hesitantly after Thornton, 66).

sua sidera Allit. and linked to **solemque suum** also by the anaphora; simply the nocturnal equivalent of the preceding sun.

norunt Cf. 4.33, 423, 8.317, but in particular (so Henry) *G.2.493 deos qui nouit agrestis*, 4.155 *certos nouere penatis*.

642 pars.../ 644 pars Cf. 7.624, n. on 7.686, 1.422ff., 4.405, etc., Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.455.24. Distributive apposition (without the subj. itself ever being specified), LHS, 429. From the *campi*, V. passes unproblematically enough to their occupants and moves to a fresh allit. pattern.

in gramineis...palaestris **G.** perhaps first here in poetry: already Cic., *Liv.7.37.2*; cf. n. on 7.589 for adjs. in *-eus*. Cordier 132, 163 quite wrong to say the adj. is primarily 'poetic'. A neat and elegant expression: the heroes of Gk. mythology have naturally to exercise (a literary heritage and a cultural imperative), and appropriately do so, between earthly existences, upon the grass of Elysium; we might wish to compare the Campus Martius (cf. n. on 7.162). Hodges, *TLL* 10.1. 98.70ff., Schuster, *ib.*, 6.2.2169.24. We shall find that the inhabitants of Elysium take traditional delight in music (**657**); in V., the heroes have their horses, arms and chariots (**651-5**) and here, as at Pind.fr.129.6f.Sn., enjoy traditional Greek recreations (athletics in Elys. apparently nowhere else, Gatz (**792**), 188). See Norden, p.295 and cf. too NH on *Hor.C.1.1.6* for Gk./Rom. views of the sublimely exalting effect of athletic victory, Bremmer (2009), 200f. (possibly Orphic). For the grass of Elysium, cf. n. on **656 per herbam**. Moskalew, 126 correctly points out the similarity of these vv. to 7.162f.; both passages derive their ethos from the Greek athletic tradition, in bk.7, in the 'Augustanised' version.

exercent membra Cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 8.641.40. E. of *corpus*, Cic.*Off.*1.79, of *uires*, 3.229. M. standard Lat. for 'limbs'.

643 contendunt ludo Cf. *G.*3.379 *hic noctem ludo ducunt*, *Aen.*5.593 *texuntque fugas et proelia ludo*, *TLL* 7.2.1789.74 (Kuhlmann), 4.668.57ff. (Gudeman), *EV* 3, 277, 5*, 96. These heavenly sports depicted in plain, sober, conventional language, a brief moment of relaxation for the reader amid the grandeur or majesty of Elysium.

et fulua...harena Cf. n. on 7.31 *multa flauus harena*. For **fulua**, cf. *Ov.Met.* 2.865 (with Bömer's n.), 9.36, André, 135, Klee, *TLL* 6.1.1534.14f., Edgeworth, 48. Various colours in these vv. are not quite 'standard' but it is by no means clear that they all contribute to one unified effect (*pace* Edgeworth).

luctantur Among the activities of the *palaestra*, *Plaut.Bacch.*428. *Nosarti* *TLL* 7.2.1730.68. Standard language for 'wrestle'. The allit. has now shifted to -l-.

644 pedibus plaudunt *Pars*+*plur.* (synesis) is common usage, LHS, 436, Tessmer, (*cit.*, **642**) 454.68ff.. The allit. does not suggest that the blessed were light on their feet; cf. too Lucian *ver.hist.*2.5 *fin.* (in the Blessed Isles a sound like that heard at a symposium, music, song, time beaten to flute or lyre; cf. West, *Anc. Gk. music*, 123f. and *Ar. Ran.* 157, hand-clapping), *Lucr.*5.1402 *duro terram pede pellere matrem*, *Hor.C.* 3. 18.16 *gaudet inuisam pepulisse fossor ter pede terram* (where vd. NR, who compare 1.4.7 and (with NH) 1.37.2), *Epist.*1.14.24f. *cuius/ ad strepitum salias terrae grauis*, all after the rustic, energetic *Il.*18.571f., *Od.*8.262ff. (264 πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποδί, the floor rather than the dance; vd. Sittl, 227 with n.4, G.Wille, *Musica Romana* (Amsterdam 1967), 542f.). Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.1902.37, McGowan, *ib.*, 2365. 69f. ('cum obi. rei quae efficitur'; cf. Antoine, 40, Müller, (**122**) 46, citing *Ar.Ran.*331 κρούων ποδι...ἰερὰν χορείαν). For all that, as No. remarks, **plaudunt** more refined than **pellunt**, which V. could have used. For music and dancing in Elysium, cf. *Ar.Ran.*156, [Plat.] *Axiochus* 371D, *Plut. Mor.*1101E, *id.*, fr.178Sandbach, *Tib.*1.3.59 *hic choreae cantusque uigent* (vd. Maltby), Wille, 543, Cumont, *SF*, 271, 295, Gatz (**792**), 188, Novara, 334f. and NH, *Hor.C.*2, p.204f..

choreas 'Dances': used by *Lucr.*, *Cat.*64, *Hor.C.*; cf. Reisch, *TLL* 3.1019.50f.. The -e- frequently, as here, subject to correction (Reisch, 1019.34ff.).

et carmina dicunt Cf. *Buc.*6.5, 10.3, *G.*1.350, *Hor.C.*1.32.3f., *CS* 8, *Ep.*2.1.110, *Ov.F.*3.323, *Am.*2.4.19f., etc., of poetry/song. For song in Elysium, cf. **657**, [Plat.] *Axiochus* 371D, *Tib. cit.*, Lucian *ver.hist.*2.14 *fin.*, Dieterich, 36f. and *supra* s.v. **pedibus plaudunt**. It is not clear why E. Montanari, *EV* 1, 665 renders 'composizioni musicali'. Some affinity

with *Orph.fr.* 717.103f. Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2 γὰρ ἀοιδὰς/ θεσπεσίας ἐφύτ-
ευσαν ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλωῃ [the last word being Keydell's supplement].

645 nec non Cf. Hand 4, 111f., LHS 778f..

Threicius...sacerdos The adj. as at *Buc.*4.55, *Hor.C.*1.24.13; cf. F.Graf in *Interpretations of Greek mythology* (ed.J.N.Bremmer, London 1987), 86-92. This is periphrastic, rather than allusive (cf. Kroll, *Studien*, 267f., still indispensable), a stately expansion of the balder name. Orpheus here is both musician (cf. **119f.**) and *sacerdos*, perfectly in keeping with the categories of **660-3**. Cf. Fugier, *EV* 4, 630. Is O. as *sacerdos* an allusion (Au., Bremmer (2009), 201) to 'Orphism' and its importance for the content of *Aen.*6? To some extent he clearly must be; I have long argued for the presence of many such 'flags' in *Aen. Alambicco*, ch.7 and cf. too *SCI* 12 (1993), 157, nn. on 3.209f., 623 and index s.v. signposts, n. on 2.554, and *infra* for the **tumulum** of **754**. Here, compare *Hor.AP* 391f. *sacer interpresque deorum/ ...Orpheus*, where vd. Brink's good note; cf. *Ar.Ran.* 1032f. (O. who revealed the τελεταί; cf. Brink for analogies in Plato). As **sacerdos**, one should think of him more as a shaman than a curate: cf. West, *Orphic poems*, 4f., Graf, *cit.*, 82ff., Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational*, 147. Alongside Musaeus (**667-8**) and in close proximity to the benefactors of mankind as defined in **660-3**, O. is very much a culture-hero (cf. J.Platthy, *The mythical poets of Greece* (Washington D.C., 1985), 144-88 at 168-72, with some care, Graf, *cit.*, 100f., Gruppe, *Ro.*3.1. 1103. 1ff.).

longa cum ueste Cf. *Hor.Ars* 215 (with Brink's n.), *Prop.*2.31.16, [*Tib.*]3.4.35 (with Tränkle's n.), *Ov.Met.*11.166 (with Bömer's n.), *Apul. Flor.*15, *Callistr.*7.1 (statue of Orpheus), J.Heurgon, *EV* 3, 883f.; the sweeping πέπλος (the word *Callistr.* uses) or *palla* worn by Orpheus' teacher Apollo as citharode; Leroux, *DS* 4.1, 288 and now *THESCR*A 2, 382, 386 (A.Zschätzsch). Thence by other (semi)-divine musicians (for Orpheus, and standard for mere mortal citharodes, West, *infra*, 54f.). Latinists perhaps too eager to think of the influence of one or two famed statues; the representation is standard and conventional. Above all, see Polygnotus' Orpheus, playing the cithara in the Underworld (where his presence is traditional, *Plat.Apol.*41A, *Anth.Pal.*7.363.3f.; with Musaeus, for whom cf. also *Rep.*363C), in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi, *Paus.*10.30.6, (Au., Platthy, 179, Gantz, 2, 723, Cumont, *SF*, 295, 304, Gruppe, *cit.*, 1157.32ff.). Orpheus is here represented as a citharode, 'one who sings accompanying himself on the kithara', West, *Anc.Gk. music*, 18, n.23; cf. 67f., *bene*, for the techniques. The prepos. common of clothing, weapons, things carried: cf. **359**, *OLD* s.v., §7a, Hey, *TLL* 4.1351.61ff. at 1352.4f.. *EV* s.v. 'strumenti musicali' omits altogether Orpheus' *cithara*, presumably because not specified.

646 obloquitur numeris Of Orpheus singing: ‘de concinentibus’, Halter, *TLL* 9.2. 116.4 (‘in harmony’, perhaps); a minimal sense of ‘opposition’ in *ob-*. After a vb. with the prefix *ob-*, we expect **n.** to be dat. (cf. Antoine, 135), not abl. (*pace* Henry). For the sense, compare Lucr.4.769 *bracchi- aque in numerum iactare et cetera membra*, Buc.9.45 *numeros memini, si uerba tenerem*, Aen.9.775f. *cui carmina semper/ et citharae cordi nume- rosque intendere neruis* (Hardie, Dingel indecisive), Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 794; perhaps there and here ‘melody’, ‘tune’ (Norden, ‘Rhythmen’). Many words in these two vv. have Greek equivalents (vd. Butler and Paterlini, *infra*); it is not, though, quite clear that V. was intimately familiar with the abstruse technical language of Gk. music, or that he is here writing, as sometimes he does, in both languages at once.

septem discrimina uocum D. rightly taken as an internal accusative by Au., ‘explaining the form of a ‘reply’ in harmony, not in opposition’; ‘obi. rei prolatae’ (Halter, 115.46; cf. Müller (122), 75). For the seven- string tuning, and the names which passed from the strings themselves to the degrees of the scale, cf. West, *infra*, 176f., 219f.. A ‘sententia difficil- lima’, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1357.5f., for which he proposes the meaning ‘septem diversas voces’ (and cites in support late-antique interpretations; note Vitr.1.1.9 *sonitu ex discrimine*); vd. Wille, 212, n.14 and see Paterlini, *EV* 5*, 635 for an answer-free summary of the many difficulties raised. **Septem** here refers, very probably, to the notes, **uocum**, rather than the intervals, **discrimina**. Compare too the seven notes of the harmony of the spheres, Cic.*Rep.* 6.18. St. Ambrose was, without settling the meaning, much taken with V.’s expression: cf. *Job* 4.10.36 *ut septem uocum dis- crimina numeris modulantibus obloquatur* (Wille, 402), *Hex.*5.14.49 [birds] *quaedam ex natura, aliae ex institutione diuersarum uocum ob- locuntur discrimina* (Henry, Au., Wille, 154), *Jacob* 2.9.39 *septem uocum differentias oblocutus* (Wille, 402).

647 iamque...iam First used by V. in the sense of *modo...modo*, Wölfflin, *ALL* 2 (1885), 244f., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.118.80f.; cf. Buc.4.43, Aen. 4.157, 10.161, etc..

eadem...pulsat E. refers back, clearly, to the **discrimina uocum**. The acc. again probably ‘internal’; **p.** common of striking musical instruments (stopping the holes of the *tibia*, Lucr. 5.1385); *OLD* s.v., §4a. *Tacet EV*. There is ample evidence for the use of the right hand for the plectrum, and the left for plucking the strings directly: see West’s lively summary of the evidence, *cit.*, 67-9 (note too Wille, 546). Knauer notes the boy singing the Linos-song to the lyre, *Il.*18.569-72. Philostr.*Iun.* *Eikones* 6 describes a painting of Orpheus as citharode in some detail; closer to hand, see AR 4.905-7, an altogether more boisterous, less stately Orpheus. Conte surpris- ingly approves Markland’s banal *fidem* for **eadem**.

digitis Cf. West, *cit.* (previous n.) for the finer points of fingering.

pectine...eburno Music takes over from hair care, and the tooth of the comb here stands for the plectrum. Cf. the Greek glossator Wenaweser quotes, 902.47; W.'s misunderstanding of *G.*1.294 and *Aen.*7.14, where *vd. my n.*, is lamentable: both passages refer to a weaver's comb, and the technology must be studied and understood. As plectrum, though, so used also at *Juv.*6.382 with *schol.*, *Pers.*6.2, *Sil.*5.463, etc.. For the plectrum (traditionally golden, *HHApoll.*185, etc., Edgeworth, 47), cf. Lafaye, *DS* 4.1.365, with n.10, Wille, 213, West, *Ancient Greek music*, 65-8. For the use of ivory, cf. Blümner, *Technologie* 2, 375, *Schol.Iuv.*6.382, *Aus.Cento nupt.*8.127, Wenaweser, *TLL* 10.1.903.61f., Bannier, *ib.*, 5.2.23.2. At *Apul. Met.* 11.9 (allusive) ivory combs for conventional combing of hair.

648 hic Just as in **640**.

genus antiquum Cf. **500** [of Deiphobus] **genus alto a sanguine Teucri** (as at 4. 230, of the Troj. line), **580 genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes**, Bannier, *TLL* 2.182.21f., Hey, *ib.*, 6.2.1891.15f.: an easy, common type of phrasing. V. pays sporadic attention to the earlier stages of the royal house of Troy (e.g. **778**, 12.127, nn. on 3.107f., and, with *bibl.*, 168); Aen. and his immediate kin are wedged - a mythographical, more than a poetic, legacy that weighs heavy upon the poet's shoulders - immovably between the tedious detail of the kings of Troy and that, very similar, of those of Alba; here, the exaltation of Aen.'s forbears to Elysium may be intended to suggest a like future for Aen. (and his close kin) while the kings of Alba will shortly be unavoidable as the bridge, in time and descent, between Troy and Rome (**760-70**).

Teucri Cf. 1.235, 3.108 (and see n. on 3.104 for Cretan origin of the Trojans). The Cretan father-in-law of Trojan Dardanus (**650**); eponym of the Teucri and original ancestor of the royal house of Troy. A useful account, *EV* 5*, 153-5 (Sallusto).

pulcherrima proles In apposition to **genus**, as **Titania pubes** was at **580**. So of Virbius, 7.761 *ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello* (misunderstood, Foucher, *TLL* 10.2.1824.2; *bello* there clearly the goal of *ibat*). The arrangement of words particularly convenient: cf. also **322 deum certissima proles**, 10.391 *simillima p.*, *G.*2.534 *rerum...pulcherrima Roma*. V. undertakes a most majestic expansion of **genus antiquum Teucri**, by means of a threefold apposition, now further extended over both halves of the next v.; this grandeur attaches to all the descendants of Teucer, whose names will be limited to v. **650**. *EV* 2, 658.

649 magnanimi heroes Probably Gk. *μεγάθυμος*; cf. Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.*536, n. on *Aen.* 3.704, No. on **307 magnanimum heroum**. Plaut. has the adj. at the epicising *Amph.* 212. Found also at the tragic (so No.)

Lucr.5.400 and the pathetic (No., again) Cat.66.26. See too *G.4.4 magnanimosque duces*, 476 *magnanimus heroum* (Orpheus entering Underworld), *Aen.*1.260 (divinisation) and the lofty definition, Cic.*Off.*1.65 *fortes igitur et magnanimi sunt habendi non qui faciunt, sed qui propulsant iniuriam*, Dietzfelbinger, *TLL* 8.103.14f., Kornhardt, *ib.*, 6.3.2662.13f., F.Skutsch, *ALL* 12 (1902), 208-10, *EV* 1, 865.

nati melioribus annis Cf. Cat.64.22f. *o nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati/ heroes*. No detectable antecedents for the phrasing. Behind Cat. and V. here, and long ignored by comms. (but vd. Heyne, Forbiger), lies Hesiod's Fourth Race (δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον, *Erga* 158) who fought at Thebes and Troy and now live in the Islands of the Blessed (*Erga* ed. West, p.173 on vv.156-73, Gatz (792), 45-8). Hesiod's race of heroes included those who went to fight at Troy on account of Helen (*Erga* 165); that chronology squares easily enough with *Aen.*'s visit here, where he meets earlier members of the age of heroes; not for a long time yet will his fellow-combatants against Troy have undergone enough purification and they are not therefore perceptibly here present; the warriors of 479ff. belong to a different generation..

650 Iusque Along with Assaracus and Ganymede, sons of Tros at *Il.*20.232; not a verse closely followed here, *pace* the confused account at *EV* 2, 920. For the geneal., vd. further, *infra*. Used as an etymologising alternative name of Ascanius at 1.268.

Assaracusque Father of Capys and grandfather of *Aen.* (cf. *Enn. Ann.*28f.); near enough therefore to *Aen.* to retain some significance in *Aen.*: cf. 1.284, 6.778, 9.259, 643. An ancestor of the commoner Mnesitheus at 12.127.

et Troiae...auctor Cf. *G.*3.36 *Troiae Cynthiae auctor*, *Aen.*3.503 (with n.), 4.365, *Dardanus auctor*, 7.49 *sanguinis ultimus auctor* (with n.), 8.134 *Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor* [Dardanus]. For the genealogy, cf. *Il.*20.219-41, n. on 3.167f., Frazer on *Appld. Bibl.* 3.12, Gantz, 2, 557-61 and Robert 2.1, 388ff. and vd. the tree, and analysis of the geneal. variants at *EV* 1, 374f.. The connectives as at 824f., 7.136f.; quite unremarkable. For this form of name-line, cf. Knauer, 123, n.2; he further suggests (124, n.1) that the juxtaposition of these heroes with *Aen.*'s meeting with Anch. evokes the genealogies of *Il.*20, in particular, 215f., 232.

Dardanus Son of Zeus, father of Erichonius, grandfather of Tros; cf. n. on 3.167f. and other bibliography *supra* on his descendants.

651 arma...currusque uirum Similarly associated, 653f., 485, 1.16f., 7.183f., 685f.; **u.** here 'the heroes' (cf. 683, 872; quite common and rarely if ever adds much; see n. on 2.781f.). Evidently **u.** to be understood with both accs..

procul Cf. **808, 824**, faintly distancing the observer from what (s)he sees; the distance between the heroes and their chariots is not a measurement here present.

miratur PR; mirantur FM, TCD. As Norden remarks, the Sibyl is only counted among the observers at **854** and would therefore be inappropriate here. Cf. **854 mirantibus**, *EV* 3, 540f.; more than merely ‘sees’; these chariots (which will hardly be more substantial than their owners) exactly in keeping with the ἵπποις of Pind.fr.129.5Sn.; cf. Gatz (**792**), 188, *Ov.Met.4.445 antiquae imitamina uitae*.

inanis On **652** Serv. comments *subaudis ‘inanes’, item equos inanes*. Ghostly, or empty, or both? *G.3.170, Aen.1.476* (where Serv. *sine rectore*), *Ov.Met.2.166* and *Stat.Theb. 6.520* seem all to indicate ‘without occupant(s)’, like the helmets of *G.1.496* (see O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.822.26), whereas **269 inania regna** appears to support ‘ghostly’ (cf. Prinz, 823.9, who cites many imitations from *Ov.* and later). Scarcia, *EV* 2, 931f. (a useful entry) unfortunately does not discuss this passage and his tr., ‘oziosi’, is not close. Comms. not helpful and both senses may be present.

652 stant terra MPR, *Macr.Somn.2.15.15*; **terrae F**; Carolingian mss. divided. At *G.2.290* note *penitus terrae defigitur arbos*, with Antoine, 150, who compares *10.555 deturbat terrae*, *11.205 terrae infodiunt*, *Plaut.Pers.294 te... defigam in terram colaphis*. Cf. Simbeck, *TLL* 5.1.340.6f. (340.1ff. for dat.). At *12.130 defigunt tellure hastas* **MP** have abl., **telluri R**, Serv. on *12.563*, TCD, and c.9 mss. divided; there Traina recognises that *G.2.290* is in favour of *telluri*. For spears so planted in the ground, see next n. Here, though, either vb. (abl.; cf. *Prop.4.4.12*) or partic. (dat.) could determine case but, as No. remarks, dat. would produce an unacceptable sequence of three words ending in *-ae* (*Buc.6.55f.* is no real analogy; see, though, *Laev.fr.27.3f.*Courtney, *Cat.2.1, 3.4* which might suggest that No.'s ear was over-sensitive); abl. has excellent support and is pleasantly - if not difficult, then at least unexpected. Dat. has entered the transmission as the ‘normal’ construction.

defixae hastae Cf. *Il.3.135, 10.153* spears not in use stuck in the ground, using the spike at the butt-end, E.Beurlier, *DS* 3.1, 34, Seymour, 664, Lucas on *Arist.Poet. 1061a2*; cf. *12.130 defigunt tellure* [or *telluri*] *hastas et scuta reclinant* (Tarrant indecisive). The heroes are no longer at war, and presumably because they have visitors are not currently exercising; spears (like chariots) are therefore set aside.

passimque.../ 653 per campum Cf. *2.364, 9.316, [2.570]*. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.610.72: he cites for this standard idiom *Plaut.Trin.834, Liv.30.35.2, 37.20.13; passim per agros* very Livian too.

soluti/ 653 ...equi Cf. *G.2.542 equum fumantia soluere colla, 3.64*, and with *iuga* as obj., *Buc.4.41. EV* 4, 937 (unilluminating).

pascuntur Cf. **655 pascere equos**; standard Latin (Cic., Varr. *RR*, *G.*, etc.), Krömer, *TLL* 10.1.598.59, 599.13. So too the heroes themselves feed, **657**.

quae gratia Conventionally rendered ‘charm’, *vel sim*, Au., *OLD* s.v., §6a, etc.. So J.B.Hofmann places this v. under the general heading (*TLL* 6.2.2212.65f.) ‘de qualitate rerum (quae in favore hominum sunt, amantur, placent)’; at 2213.37f., he remarks, still under the same heading, ‘potius translatio de grato hominum animo (sc. ‘beneficii vicissitudo’),’ juxtaposing *G.1.83 nulla...est inaratae gratia terrae* (a difficult passage, where Mynors compares *Col.2.2.7*; there and in *G.1*, of ground ‘so poor as not to repay cultivation’). Here, therefore, Hofmann suggests enthusiasm on the heroes’ part for the racing which, if I understand the implication of his (perhaps rather obscure) remark, has repaid their enthusiasm (**gratia**) with renown.

currum/ 654 armorumque Taking up the phrasing of **651**. The form of the gen. plur. **currum**, for conventional *curruum*, is remarkable (cf. Wulff, *TLL* 4.1519. 78ff.): cf. n. on 7.490 (where *manum* is very probably acc. sing. and not gen. plur.), NW 1, 547f., quoting *Mart.2.5.3 passum* (on which vd. Leumann, 443, on the contraction of common *passuum* in Plaut. and Cato). Instances in dactyl. poetry where *-um* is guaranteed by the metre and the text is not in doubt (as it was at *Ov.Met.* 12.216) are exceptionally few (V. and *Mart.*, *cit.*, indeed). See Holzweissig, 397, for instances preserved by the mss. of Varr. and Liv.. Might V. possibly have had an archaic model or analogy for this convenient form?

fuit uiuis Neat, terse phrasing; cf. the *uictis* of 5.353, *uiuis* 11.111 with n., Antoine, 109. *EV* 5*, 604 poor.

quae cura With infin. thus, common, Gudeman, *TLL* 4.1456.21, citing 1.704, 7.443 (where vd. n.). Compare the pet care of 7.487 (where vd. n. on 483 for the technical details) and cf. Seymour, 350, *Il.8.186ff.*, 23. 280ff. for Hom. heroes caring for their horses; vd. too (No.) *Pind.Isth.2.38f. ἵπποτροφίας τε νομίζων/ ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ* (where vd. Privitera; cf. *ib.*, 4.14). No. well notes the Pindaric motif of the fame of earthly victories reaching the other world, *Ol.8.81ff.*, 14.18ff..

nitentis/ 655 ...equos Cf. *EV* 3, 739, 7.275 *stabant ter centum nitidi in praesepeibus altis* where I refer to Pindaric φαίδιμας ἵππων (*Ol.6.14*). At *Il.23. cit.*, Achilles washed and oiled his horses, while at *Il. 8.187* Andromache gave Hector's wine to drink. **Cura** here therefore renders them **nitentis**, in some sense proleptic, the result of feeding and general *cura*.

pascere Cf. n. on **653**.

eadem Much the same use (? connective, resumptive) use at 3.158 (where vd. n.); cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.197.55f., citing also 3.95 (where vd. n.). This identity of interests and activities between terrestrial life and Elys-

ium is ancient and illustrative of a nature fundamentally unchanged by purification, etc.: thus Orion drives the wild beasts he had killed in life, *Od.*11.573, and in the often-cited Pindaric *threnos*, fr.129Sn., the heroes delight in music, games, chariots, exercises, and draughts; compare [Plat.] *Axiochus* 371D (including banquets, as here, **657 uescentis**), Plat.*Gorg.* 524C, Plut. *Mor.*1130C. Cf. Gatz, 188, Bremmer (2009), 201, Cumont, *AL*, 49, 72f., *SF*, 294f., 296, 371f., 438f., Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational*, 137f.. Note that Misenus receives upon his tomb (**233**) **suaque arma uiro remumque tubamque** not just to commemorate what he had been in life but surely also to meet the needs of his activity in the hereafter (cf. *Od.*12.15, AR 2.843, Lyc.884 and see also the toys in the tomb of Creperia Tryphaena (catal., under her name, Venezia, s.d.; ca. 1983), and the four mares in the tomb of Cimon, father of Miltiades, Hdt.6.103. See Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 2, 416, E.Cuq, DS 2.2, 1395, G.Zimmer, *Röm. Berufs-darstellungen*, 206-11 (seamen). Cumont draws skilful and learned attention to this theme in funerary usage: cf. Petr.71.7, Lucian, *de luctu* 14.

sequitur In the sense of ‘attend’; cf. **476** (with n.), 11.430, 12.32, 153, etc..

tellure repostos Cf. 11.594, Hor.C.1.10.17, *OLD* s.v., §10b, *EV* 4, 201. The prefix suggests ‘placed *duly*’ (so 11, *cit.*, *patriaegue reponam*). The syncopated form of the ppp essential in dactylic verse; cf. n. on 3.364, where I should also have cited Sommer, 606 and perhaps also E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 336-8 (very selective).

656 conspicit Cf. **651 miratur**; Aen. remains present as the obvious, unspecified observer. So of the Sibyl, **631**. See n. on 3.306 (lofty; quasi-synonym of *uidet*); the sense here ‘caught sight of’. *Diff.Serm.*, *Gramm. Lat.* 8.279.11, states (clearly not quite correctly) that *c.* is distinctively used of seeing from nearby, *prope*; cf. Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.495.68ff.. Aen. can see that some of the inhabitants of Elysium are singing, but hardly that the **nemus** is fragrant; a mild, attractive logical leap, Catrein, 59.

ecce alios The reader is invited to share a hint of excitement as Aen. catches sight of a new group in the great panorama.

dextra laeuaque Cf. n. on 11.528 (poet. language, but apparently not old).

per herbam Handy and common at v.-end; at *G.2.527*, in a context of rustic celebration, including *iaculi certamina*, but the similarities are not close. The grass/ meadow(s) of Elysium also at **640 campos**, **642 gramineis...palaestris** and the heroes themselves feed here as their horses did at **653**. Cf. *Gen.*1.11-2, *Od.*6.124 (Scherie), Pind.fr.129.3Sn., Plat.*Gorg.* 524A, *Rep.*10.616B, [Plat.]*Axiochus* 371C, Ar.*Ran.*326, Nonn.19.191, DS 1.96.5 (=Orph.fr.61FBernabé, *PEG* 2.1 with ample comparanda), *Orph.*fr.

487.6, 493 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.1, *CLE* 1233.18, Bremmer (2002), 23, 92, (2009), 201, Dieterich, 30f..

657 uescentis Cf. *Buc.* 4.45 of livestock; *EV* 5*, 514 (Flobert; useful on the vb.'s tragic antecedents). Austin's 'picnicking' is charming, but Bremmer detects (see both (2002), 6f. and (2009), 201; vd. also Graf (609), 98-103; Bremmer (2009), 201 confused) a credible hint of the Orphic 'symposium of the Just', for which cf. *Orph.* fr. 431, *PEG* 2.1, with Bernabé's n.. See [Plat.] *Axiochus* 371D, Lucian *VH* 2.14, *CLE* 1233.17-20 (Macedonia), Novara, 336f., Cumont, *AL*, 201, *LP*, 255, *SF*, 296f..

laetumque...paena The expression re-used at 10.738; von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2. 887.29, Baer, *ib.*, 10.1.28.63ff.. So already Hom. 1.473 κᾶλὸν αἰδόντες παιήονα (with 22.391). Cf. n. on 644 for song in Elysium and for the often cheerful and social singing of the paean, e.g., as here, at the symposium, vd. West's account, *Ancient Greek music*, 15f. (also Wille, 52). The paean most commonly addressed to Apollo (Miller, 148), and Au. acutely looks forward to **662 Phoebos digna locuti**.

choro...canentis Cf. Poeschel, *TLL* 3.266.68f., Reisch, *ib.*, 1022.61ff.; so of singing a paean, Arbonius Silo (if that is his name), fr. 1.1 Courtney, Prop. 3.15.41f.. *EV* not helpful.

658 inter odoratum lauris nemus Lauris G; lauri elsewhere. Compare 12.522 *uirgulta sonantia lauro*, 3.442 *Auerna sonantia siluis*, Plin. *Ep.* 2. 17.17 *xystus uiolis odoratus*. The abl. of an extremely Virgilian type (My-nors), called 'explicative' by Görler, *EV* 2, 268; cf. Williams on 5.663, n. on 3.464, Fordyce on 7.639f., Löfstedt, *Synt.* 1.2, 301. And is the Latin for 'laurel-grove' *lauri nemus*, *vel sim.*? Perhaps not, or not automatically; cf. n. on 7.586 (against *pelagi rupes*) and note *TLL* s.v. *lucus*, rich in means by which such expressions are in practice avoided. Here, **lauri nemus** is in appearance *facilior*, and its champions have not shown that it is good Latin; the words are found at Ps. *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 5.17, but that proves, after Virgil, very little. Varr. *LL* 5.152 has *silua laurea*, *Aen.* 9.85 *pineae silua*. When I published my n. on this v. (*infra*), a most distinguished Latinist assured me that 2/4 decl. tree-names did not have a dat. and abl. plural. He should not have done: see NW 1, 761ff., *passim*, Holzweissig, 483 (Plin. *Nat.* is rich in such forms). See Au., Horsfall, *SCI* 12 (1993), 157, M. Geymonat, *SCO* 14 (1965), 92-4. Are the bays Apolline? Or Stesichorean (fr. 185.5 PMG: not underworld, Miller, *infra*)? Or connected in some way with the dead? Hardly. Elysium becomes increasingly associated with poetry and my 1993 suggestion that **I.** hints at the 'divine origin and celestial benediction' of poetry (cf. NH on Hor. *C.* 2.7.19) is at least quite in keeping with the context (cf. Lilja (201), 30); see Miller, 148, Bremmer (2009), 201 on laurels, Empedocles and reincarnation, Novara, 331f..

Paschoud, *TLL* 9.2.472.39f.; on 4.132 Serv. remarks of **odoratum** *pro* 'odorum'. The adj. had recently attained popularity among poets: *ter* in *G.*, *Hor.C.2*, 3, *Tib.1* (not to mention *Flor.Epit.3.5.29 nemora odorata*). Note lastly that the *fragrance* of Elysium is solidly attested and well discussed: cf. Lilja, *supra*, 37f. *et passim*, Gatz (792), 187f., Bremmer (2002), 60, Dieterich, 30f., *Pind.fr.129.10Sn.*, Lucian *VH* 2.14, *Apoc.Petri* 16, Elliott, *Apocr.NT*, 610. For the (obvious, familiar) fragrance of the laurel, cf. Maggiulli, 335f., Lilja, *supra*, 193-5, *Ov.AA.3.690*, *Plin.Nat.15.26*, 55, *Apul.Mund.36*.

unde superne *Id est ad superos* Serv.: much perplexity surrounds these words; I do not here offer any account of explanations of the verse which seem unnecessary or improbable; Henry's robustly sensible note should not be forgotten and it lies behind what follows. Readers may find it easiest to start from **659 Eridani**. **Vnde** must refer precisely to the grove of laurels in the previous verse, and perhaps more generally to Elysium as a whole. The notable flexibility of **s.** contributed much to commentators' perplexity here: it can indicate 'from above', *OLD* s.v., §1b, *Lucr.* 1.496, or just as well, 'to a higher level', *ib.*, §1a, *Plin.Nat.19.76* and *Lucr.* 5.682 the sun runs *sub terras atque superne*. As a result, eager attempts to re-draw the rivers and mountains of the Underworld. But the advb. can just as well refer, non-directionally, to 'above', in a general sense: cf. *OLD* s.v., §1a, *Culex*, 171 (the snake's crest), *Plin.Nat.19.76* ('at street level'). These words therefore naturally indicate here that the Eridanus starts in Elysium and thence flows normally, 'at earth level', through ordinary European forests. Bremmer (2009), 201f. and (2011), 21 draws attention to *IEnoch* 28.2 (Charlesworth, 1, p.27) "and there was a stream on top of it [sc. the wilderness] and it gushed forth from above it". From the apparent similarity between that passage and this, he argues for Jewish influence upon the Eridanus here. That, though, seems not a prudent step to take, given that the sense of 'from above' is so very far from certain here. The sense for which Henry and I argue fits comfortably into the conventions of Hellenistic paradoxography (*infra*), on a topic (partially subterranean rivers) elsewhere dear to Virgil (*infra*), and there is no need to introduce Jewish apocalyptic into the argument. It is clearer than it was (792) that, when writing *Buc.4*, V. had read *Isaiah* and *Or.Sib.*, but that argument rests on an ample body of textual similarities. Here, *IEnoch* or a similar text is not absurd or unthinkable reading for V., but a more detailed and circumspect case would need to be made to establish a serious likelihood for its actual use.

659 plurimus...amnis See Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1607.84f., citing *Lucr.6.1176 multum imbrem*. Cf. too of Jupiter (i.e. the sky), *Buc.7.60* and of *ignis*, *ib.* 7.49; also *G.2.166*. For the gen., cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 1.1946.22ff., Antoine, 78, LHS, 62 ('definitivus').

Eridani Attested first as a mysterious river of NW Europe, whose very existence is sharply questioned by Hdt.3.115 (vd. Asheri/ Medaglia): vd. Hes.*Theog.*338 (with West's n.), fr.150.23, 311MW, Aesch.fr.73Radt, Eur.*Hipp.*735-7 with Barrett's n.. Identified with the Po from Pherecydes on, *FGH* 3F74. Cf. A.Ballabriga, *Les fictions d'Homère* (Paris 1998), 99; E.Delage, *La géographie dans les Argonautiques...* (Paris 1930), 220-4 still repays consultation. In the present context, what matters is the river's mysterious and subterranean origin, accepted by both poets (here) and pedants (Plin.*Nat.*3.117 *condensque se cuniculo et...iterum oriens* and cf. an *alii*-suggestion in Serv. here, *alii nasci apud inferos et exire in terras*); note the context (*G.*4.366 *omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra*) for V.'s reference at *G.*4.373 (vd. Biotti on 4.363-73, Mynors on 363, Richter on 363ff.); here, we are within earshot of Orpheus and a hint of the geography of *G.*4 is hardly out of place. Such information does not necessarily reach V. from Callim. on rivers (*pace* Thomas on *G.*4.363-373; Call.fr.458Pf. does mention the Eridanus, but in a quite different context), for, as Biotti remarks, Call.'s pupil Philostephanus (Susemihl 1, 476f.), in his work Περὶ τῶν παραδόξων ποταμῶν discussed the Eridanus (fr.22 FHG 3, p.32). Note that the Virgilian scholiasts were mildly interested in Philostephanus (Serv. *ad G.*1.19, *Aen.*1.196, PsProb. *ad Buc.*10.18). More important, cf. also, for V.'s marked and consistent interest in partly underground rivers, 3.694 *Alpheum... Elidis amnem* (with n.; =Arethusa, *ib.*, 696), 1.244-6, Timavus (*recenter uidi*), associated by Sen. (*Nat. Quaest.* 3.1.1) with the Alpheus, and *G.* 3.151 on the Calabrian Tanager (see *Riv.Fil.* 119 (1991), 215; the four serious modern comms. uniformly disappointing). For ancient writing on (partly) subterranean rivers, see n. on 3, *cit.*, Lucr.6.540f. and notably J.Beaujeu, Plin.*Nat.* 2, p.257f.. For Strabo, see too J.Livingston Lowes, *The road to Xanadu* (repr. London 1978), 359-62. Just what or who it was that first tinged with paradoxographical lore the Eridanus, on any account a great and mysterious stream (cf., for Phaethon and Eridanus/Po, Vian on AR 4.596, Harrison on 10.187-93, *Alambicco*, 109, 119), I do not think we know. Just possibly the 'missing link' here might be Phaethon, the dead *charioteer* (Gantz, 1, 31-4, etc.; see 651, 653), immortalised by the banks of *Eridanus*.

per siluam uoluitur On a sober reading of these vv., a reference to the river's *earthly* course, through - just as below ground - a conventional, visible wood (cf. the Tiber in bks. 7 (*ad init.*) and 8), possibly influenced by the poplars into which Phaethon's sisters were turned, somewhere in a real Europe. Here apparently a hint that the river's course on earth continues its Elysian character. Cf. 9.414, metaphorically, *G.*3.521f., Cat.68.58f., A.Traina, *EV* 5*, 625.

660 hic Cf. **640, 648.**

manus Cf. **5, 2.29, 7.382, 711** (vd. n.), **730, 8.328, etc.**; unsurprising with plur. partic.; LHS 436.

ob patriam pugnando uulnera passi Compare 7.182 *Martiaque ob patriam pugnando uulnera passi*, where vd. detailed comm. (notably on the rarity at Rome of the formulation ‘wounded/killed when fighting for his country’). This v. not close in detail to *Pap.Bon.4, Orph.fr.717.102* Bernabé, *PEG 2.2* καὶ δ’ αὐταὶ μὲν ὄλοντο, φίλους δ’ ἐδάωσαν, but some affinity is evidently present. If my argument (*ZPE 96* (1993), 17f.) for a pre-Platonic source of ‘Orphic’ character behind *Pap.Bon.4* be accepted (cf. Bremmer (2009), 189, n.43; Bernabé has surprisingly misunderstood problematic for insoluble), then it becomes far more significant than I realised in 1993 that V.’s view of wounds/death in battle is entirely in keeping with that of the Greek elegists (cf. the same affinity present in my discussions (with recent bibliogr.) of *pulchra mors* in V., 11.647 *pulchramque petunt per uulnera mortem* and 2.317 *pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis*; see too *Companion*, 208, n.113). The Gk. evidence admirably, and concisely, discussed, Lattimore, 237-40. Did the source of *Pap.Bon.4* then undergo the literary/thematic influence of early elegy? Such a notion seems hardly improbable.

661 quique.../ 662 quique Cf. 7.682, 12.705f.; οἱ τε. So catalogues from Hom. on.

sacerdotes casti Cf. *Cic.dom.103* (superl.), *Ov.F.1.587* (with Bömer’s n.), *Elsperger, TLL.3.565.21f.*. But ‘ordinary’ Gk. (Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 98) or Rom. ritual purity (*EV 1, 696f.*, *Fugier, ib.*, 4, 631, Bömer, *cit.*) is not the obvious, or primary, point here, for the whole context, and the direction of V.’s neighbouring allusions, indicates rather typical Orphic insistence on (purification and) purity (Burkert, *LS*, 125, Bremmer (2002), 16, 18, *RTA*, 121-9, *et passim, Orph.fr.488-91* Bernabé, *PEG 2.2* (488-90 *Thurii*, 491 *Rome*), *Plat.Phaed.69C* κεκαθαρμένος). Boyancé, 163 also adduces Olympiodorus (c.6AD) *In Phaed.*, a text now reattributed to Damascius (c.5/6AD) *In Phaed.* (versio 2) 108, including the souls of the παναγῶν ἱερέων, an expression that would not be out of place in the Bologna papyrus, and is unsurprising in Neoplat. writing on the *Phaedo*. Vd. too Novara, 339. Henry acutely remarks that *castitas* and *pietas* were part of the very nature of *sacerdotes* and *vates*, not an attempt by V. to limit the ranks of priests and poets present in Elysium only to those particularly *pii* and *casti*.

dum uita manebat Cf. **608, 5.724, 10.629** (with *maneret*) for the clausula; apparently a Virgilian invention; Hoogma, 275f. collects twenty-five epigraphic imitations.

662 pii uates In chiasmus with the preceding noun+adj.. The obvious Orphic analogy, *Pap.Bon.4*, *Orph.fr.* 717.103f. Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2 is cited at **644**. Note also Bernabé's supplemented text of *ib.*, v.106, the souls *which tell in song* [the text is not certain; the sense clear enough] of the birth of men and gods. Here perhaps both prophet and poet are indicated (J.K.Newman, *Concept of vates...* (Coll.Lat. 89, Bruxelles 1967), 38); *EV* 5*, 456 prefers exclusively 'poet', even though we are in the presence of the Sibyl. Novara, 339 well compares *Lucr.3.1036f. adde repertores doctrinarum atque leporum, / adde Heliconiadum comites*. **Pii** simply because of their speaking things worthy of Apollo, Traina, *EV* 4, 96, an uncharacteristically simple answer and rather unlikely in such close balance with **sacerdotes casti**: In such company **uates** who are **pii** must surely in some sense also be priest-seers who have manifested the ritual purity that befitted their calling; perhaps not in a specifically Orphic sense but certainly not incompatibly with Orphic 'Puritanism' (see n. on **sacerdotes casti** and Bremmer (2002), 18). **Pii** and **casti** to some extent synonymous and complementary; the point already made by Non.p.371.31.

et Phoebo digna locuti Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1665.23f. compares *Pers.1.42 cedro digna locutus*. Cf. too *Hor.C.2.13.29f. sacro digna silentio / mirantur umbrae dicere*, *Buc.9.35f. dicere Cinna / digna*, and *Men.Rhet.*'s tribute to Pindar (hymns to the god worthy of the god's own lyre, p.437.21Sp.). Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.1146.49. Words that, as Au. remarks, would suit either prophets or poets; cf. *Buc.7.22f. proxima Phoebil / uersibus ille facit* with Clausen's n. for such verses. A song that Phoebus himself might have written? Or song worthy of his inspiration? Pascoli suggests the latter, and *Men.Rhet.* supports his choice; a case in which one sense seems rather preferable to an ambiguous multiplicity.

663 inuentas...per artis V. comes close here (nowhere indeed closer) to the expression of the Bologna papyrus, *Orph.fr.*717.103 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2 αἱ δὲ βίον c[οφί]ησι ἐκόσμεον, where B. (and others, from Merkelbach *Mus.Helv.*8 (1951), 9 on), compare *Procl.Hymn.7.19 ἡ [Athena] βίοτον κόσμησας ὄλον πολυεῖδες τεχναίς*. The initial position of **i.** and the hyperbaton **inuentas ...artis** shows that is is the *discoverers* of the *artes* whom V. here honours: cf. *EV* 1, 338, 2, 1003, Klotz, *TLL* 2.669.7, *CIL* 6.4886, the *pantomimus* who *primum inuenit caudicos imitari*, *Lucr.3.1036 adde repertores doctrinarum atque leporum*, *Cic.Verr.4.128* (Aristaeus). Surprisingly ignored by Stok, Hine (**847-53**), but V. is elsewhere very well aware of the tradition of the *inventores*: cf. 7.772 **reperorem medicinae talis et artis** (with n., and Stok, 178), *G.1.122, 147f.*, 3.113 with Thomas' useful n., *EV* 2, *cit.*. To reduce **a.** to (e.g.) 'the good way of life' (so Williams) is to ignore entirely the tradition behind **i.**

aut qui The mixed sequence (**quique...quique...aut qui...quique**), and the anastrophe of **aut**, altogether unexceptional, 2.35-8, 4.83-5, Vollmer, *TLL* 2. 1565.10ff., 1571.32.

uitam excoluere Cf. Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1278.22 (cf. 1277.26 ‘colendo meliorem facere’), Cic.*Off.*2.15 *nisi tam multae nobis artes ministrarent quibus rebus excolta hominum uita tantum distat a uictu et cultu bestiarum*, Sen.*Ben.*6.17.2. ‘Manner or circumstances of life’. *OLD* s.v., §7a, citing *G.2.532 hanc olim ueteres uitam coluere Sabini*; **433 uitas et crimina discit** not the same (*OLD*, §6a); such refinements apparently not the concern of *EV* 5*, 602-5.

664 quique See **663 aut qui**.

sui memores Cf. Ter.*Andr.* 281 *hanc meritam esse ut memor esses sui: memor essem*; **m.**+pron. in genitive standard usage; as Maecenas wrote to Augustus, *Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor*. See Norden, 36, n.2 (admirable), *EV* 3, 476, O.Prinz, *TLL*. 8.657.74f.. The durability of gratitude a theme of moment, as No. explains, citing Cic.*Off.*3.25, *Aen.*4.539, Val.Max.5.3ext.3. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the importance of memory in Sen.*Ben.*; see e.g. 1.3.1, 3.4.1f., where Sen. discusses Epicurus' insistence upon the vice of ingratitude, 7.28.1f..

alios fecere Alios F₂, defhtv and citations by Ael.Don., Augustine, Macr.; **aliquos** FMPR, abcnqꝛy, citations by Ael.Don. (2) and Serv. (2). No doubt that **aliquos** is excellently supported, and easy to see how the **-q-** could have very occasionally dropped out. ‘Carries the optimistic implication that everyone can do *someone...* a kindness and so merit a place in heaven’ (Maclennan). A short history of evergetism or altruism (see Norden, 36f., Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque*) does not solve the problem, though Norden rightly gives prominence to the place of evergetes in the myth of Er (Plat.*Rep.*10.615B καὶ αὖ εἴ τινας εὐεργεσίας εὐεργετηκότες καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ὄσιοι γεγονότες εἶεν; note too Cic.*Rep.*6.13, Posid.fr.284 Edelstein/Kidd=Sen.*Ep.*90.5f., which Kidd, comm., 961f. finds more Roman than Posidonian). It is, though, the far preferable *sense* given by **alios** that seems to resolve the issue: it was not at all difficult to find references to the doing of good *to others*, such as Plat.*Rep.*, *cit.*, Arist.*Nic. Eth.* 1169a11ff., Chrysippus fr.3.625von Arnim, Sen. *Ben.*4.13, Epict.2.24.3 (a list I did not try to extend), and V. seems to make his point about the claim of this group to a place in Elysium much more strongly by extending their beneficiaries from *someone* (i.e. a few others) to the more general category of *others* (others, that is, than themselves; all those others who have been helped). Vd. R.H.Rodgers, *NECN* 19 (1991/2), 24-7.

merendo Thus absolutely also at 5.801 *merui quoque*, Prop.4.11.101 *sim digna merendo*. *EV* 3, 491, Bulhart, *TLL*.8.809.79f. and the discussion of gratitude, based on Virgilian instances, at Sen.*Ben.*7.25.2.

665 omnibus his Dat. 'of reference' or 'of advantage'; Antoine, 105-8. In Cic., *his omnibus* much commoner; surprising not to find so handy a summarising formula used elsewhere in V.; note that the list is doubly closed, by both **omnibus his** and **quos circumfusos**, perhaps on account of the majestic climax of **663-4**.

niuea...uitta For the *uitta* (female), cf. n. on 7.352; for suppliants' *uit-tae*, n. on 7.154; for celebrants', n. on 2.133. The snow-white *u.* already at G.3.487 (on the sacrif. victim); Edgeworth, 142, André, 39f.. The colour perhaps conceived as being in keeping with the exceptional purity suggested by **662**. La Cerda quotes Ael.Arist. *Alex.Epit.*p.88.17 Dind. (cf. Norden) for the dead wearing fillets; hardly a detail requiring a literary source for V., *pace* No., La Cerda.

cinguntur tempora The pass. common in arming scenes, 7.640. See Banner, *TLL* 3.1064.1, Cat.61.6, *Aen.*12.162f. *tempora...radii...cingunt*, etc..

666 quos circumfusos Cf. 11.546 *circumfuso...milite* (with n.); *tacet EV*; see Banner, *TLL* 3.1148.5: *septies* in the first decad of Livy, *quinquies* in the second and already *sexies* in Caes., *semel* in Sall.; *decies* in all Cic.. Possibly used here as having something of the tone of milit. narrative.

sic est adfata Cf. **538 breuiterque adfata Sibylla est**, a handy 'formulaic' v.-end; note also 12.10, 138; not 2.644.

Sibylla Aen. seems not to be at liberty to enter directly into conversation with the generality of the souls in Elysium and V. still makes use of the Sibyl as interlocutor; see Au. on **398** for her varying role.

Musaeum Almost inevitably present, and a presence intimately related to Orpheus and the anonymous culture-heroes: eponym of the (cult of the) Muses (cf. [Eur.]*Rhes.*945, where it is the Muse that refers to him); pupil, secretary, even child of Orpheus, father of Eumolpus, poet himself (Bernabé, T57-103; digested, with curious learning, by Platthy) and *inventor* (Bernabé, T28-30, 103), musician, particularly prominent in Orphic (*Orph.* fr.377.3, 378.4, *PEG* 2.1, 1076, *PEG* 2.2 Bernabé, etc.), and indeed in Eleusinian, (con)texts. Along with Eumolpus a guide and organiser of banquets for the Just (Plat.Rep.363C; cf. *Apol.*41A (Orph., Mus., Hom., Hes.), Cic.*TD* 1.98; Bernabé, T46-8). See Steuding, Ro.2.2.3235.4ff., Graf (**645**), 101, Platthy (**645**), 124-32, Lloyd-Jones, (**120**), 223f., L.Herrmann, *Lat.*28 (1957), 263-8 (extensive transpositions), M.M.Winkler, *AJP* 108 (1987), 655-60, N.J. Richardson, *HHDem.*, p.78f., G.Brugnoli, *EV* 3, 642-4, but, above all, testimonia and fr., Bernabé, *PEG* 2.3, 1-53.

ante omnis Cf. nn. on 2.40, 7.55; common phrasing. Conversation between the widowers Aen. and Orpheus might have been too difficult and delicate to develop (conventionally homonymous wives, lost in closely parallel circumstances); as a guide to finding Anch., Musaeus, on the other

hand, is irreproachable: he stands at the centre of a *turba* both to lend him prominence, and to place him at the centre of our attention, to play an important narrative role, as we shall very shortly see.

medium.../ 668 hunc habet Cf. 10.117 *medium...ad limina ducunt*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.582.55 (*m.* thus of person at the centre of a group, with reflexive, 5.290, 622; cf. too 5.76, 7.169, 10.117, 12.564). **H.** with obj. and predic. adj. as 10.706; cf. Bellandi's acute remarks on this sort of usage of *habere*, *EV* 2, 825.

nam In anastrophe; cf. *Buc.*9.39, *G.*4.16, *Aen.*1.444, etc.. Cf. Richard Tarrant's remarks on Virgilian parenthesis in *Style and tradition* (848), 151-6.

plurima turba Cf. 611 *quae maxima turba est*, Strati, *EV* 5*, 317; the adj. also used with energy at 669 of the **Eridani...amnis**; cf. too Dingel and Hardie on 9.348 *multa morte*.

668 atque umeris exstantem...altis For *e.*, cf. *EV* 4.1028, Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2. 1931.3f., *Ov.Met.*12.352, *Sen.Ep.*115.4. For the abl. 'of measure', cf. *G.*2.291f., Antoine, 186-8, LHS 135 ('with verbs of exceeding'). Von Mess, *TLL* 1.1775.12, 12.941 *umero...alto*, Heuzé, 305, with n.383.

suspicit *Sexies* in *Aen.*; cf. nn. on 11.130, 2.591f. for deities, heroes and men as categories declining in size. Musaeus' superiority over the gazing, surrounding *turba*, clearly not just a matter of physique. *V.* probably thinks of Ajax in the *teichoskopia*, *Il.*3.227 ξεισοχος Ἀργείων κεφαλῆν τε καὶ εὐρέας ὤμους. O'Hara also compares Dido, 1.501. Novara, 338 not entirely convincing.

669-71; 673-6 *V.* needs unobtrusively to extract *Aen.* from the centre of the action and to replace him with his father. This he does through the majestic Musaeus: the Sibyl sees him, and asks for Anch.'s whereabouts; Musaeus replies and leads the way; at 679, as *Aen.*, Musaeus and the Sibyl descend from the ridge, *V.* focuses upon Anch., who remains at the centre of the narrative until the end of the book. This bland and conventional question-and-answer, however traditional in origin (120), is clearly in part structural/functional and not merely a vehicle for the pursuit of information. Ignored by Highet and Austin; Cartault, 473 not illuminating.

669 dicite Cf. n. on 7.195, *EV* 2, 46.

felices animae For *a.*, cf. 758, 817, Negri, 46, Dickey, 311 (distinguish *ead.*, 157f., *anima* as a woman's term of address). **F.** belongs to the same nexus of adjs. as 638 *laetos* and 639 *fortunatorum* (cf. *EV* 2, 487, Ammann, *TLL* 6.1.443.38f., comparing *Ov.F.*1.297, *Sen.cons.Marc.* 25.1): blessed because free of the bonds of mortality and settled in Elysium.

tuque So of paired addressees, 196, *et saep.*; similarly, **uosque**.

optime uates Cf. 6.65 (of the Sibyl), *Ov.F.1.101*, *EV 5**, 458, Dickey, 362. For **o.**, cf. Sinko, *TLL* 2.2080.82 and Dickey, 132-41 for the general issue of superlatives in addresses. V. has *pater optime* twice, *rex optime*, *optime Teuthra*, *optime Graiugenum*, *optime regum* and once *optime* in isolation. Even if the Sibyl should herself know the answer, Norden (on 666-78; see further (120), (2)(f)) admirably compares *Ar.Ran.* 431f. and Lucian, *VH* 2.20 to suggest that an enquiry made of the resident population was a perceived motif of *katabaseis*. Winkler suggests that **uates** might point to an implicit etym. link of Musaeus and Musae, credibly enough, in a context (vd. 662, etc., Winkler, 659) so rich in references to poets and poetry; the connexion already suggested by Pascoli.

670 quae regio...quis locus? R. would appear to be used as a synonym of **I.**, as at 886, 9.390 (vd. *EV* 4. 422; Au. summarises H.Haffter's remarks on such paired synonyms in early Latin, *Unters. altlat. Dichterspr.*, 81), but there may also be a hint of syllepsis for *quae regio* [i.e. 'direction'] *fert ad Anchisen, quis locus eum habet?* This sense of *r.* as 'direction' dear to V.: see n. on 7.215, *EV, cit.*

Anchisen...habet V. re-uses, perhaps unconsciously, the idiom of 667-8 **medium nam plurima turba/ hunc habet**. Again, Bellandi, *EV* 2, 825 useful, though in the plains of Elysium I would be less ready to see a suggestion of the tomb as constraint (as 9.491, 10.706; epigr. usage in both languages: Gk. (κατ)ἔχει); Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2431. 54ff., citing *G.1.24, Aen.1.556, 6.262*. We return to the guiding theme, 5.731-6, 108f., 889-92 (where vd. n.): Aen. visits his father out of paternal *pietas* and in Elysium is briefed on national *pietas*.

illius ergo E. rare as prepos. in vv. before V. and only here in V.: *Lucr.3.78, 5.1246*, Cordier, 43, 57, Wölfflin, *ALL* 1 (1884), 175, Hand, 2, 442. Here an exceptional archaism in honour of the solemn statement of purpose.

671 uenimus Cf. 1.528, 2.743; a strong, definite sense of achievement as at 1.2 (vd. *EV 5**, 488).

magnos...amnes Cf. *G.3.28f. magnumque fluentem/ Nilum, Cat.Orig. fr.110P, Cic. ND 2.130*, with Pease's *maxima adnotationum*. The Sibyl views their crossing of the Styx through the inevitable epic lens of hyperbole and comms. here anxious about the poet's arithmetic will not be listed. Cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 1.1942.82 f.; *EV* 3, 320, 321 not illuminating.

Erebi Cf. 404. For the gen., cf. 659.

tranauimus As in the case of many of its cognates, used in the sense of *naue uehi*; cf. 134, 369, *G.4.506*, Nosarti, *EV* 3, 746. **T.** of fine poet.

pedigree, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 18, citing *Lucr.* 4.177, *Cic. Arat.* 402, *Aen.* 4.245. See Cordier, 99, 158.

672 atque huic responsum...ita reddidit Cf. *G.* 3.491 *nec responsa potest consultus reddere uates*, where Erren cites *Bell. Hisp.* 22.3. See also *Bell. Afr.* 91.4, *Cic. Planc.* 34, *quater* in first pentad, *ter* in second of Livy. Conventional, clearly, and apparently limited to prose before use in *G.*; what, though, would *Enn.* have done had he wished to say, grandly, ‘he replied’? He prefers brevity at *Ann.* 31, 53, but the evidence just quoted suggests that *responsa reddere* may once have had a longer history. Note too 5.706 *responsa dabat*.

paucis Cf. n. on 11.315; add Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.802.11ff..

heros Cf. the **magnanimi heroes** of 649 and Kornhardt, *TLL* 6.3.2662.5ff..

673 nulli Dat. of possession with copula omitted; n. on 2.71, Antoine, 109. N. for the intractable inflected forms of *nemo* (which is anyway avoided in poetry), n. on 11.343; *EV* 4, 316 flawed by unawareness of the prosodic difficulty. Kn. compares Telem.’s report of Proteus’ account of Od. detained by Calypso, *Od.* 4.556-8.

certa domus Cf. 8.39 *hic tibi certa domus*, *G.* 4.155 *certos nouere penates*, *Hor. Ep.* 1.7.58 *lare certo*, Elsperger, *TLL* 3.901.22f.. Not so much a reversion to the state of primitive man (so *Lucr.* 5.953ff., 1011ff., *Aen.* 8.314ff., B.Reischl, *Reflexe griech. Kulturentstehungslehren...*, diss. München 1976, 22ff., M.Wifstrand Schiebe, *Das ideale Dasein...* (Uppsala 1981), 48-50) as a consequence of the enchantingly agreeable living conditions; *domus* need not anyway be understood as a conventional human residence so much as, vaguely, ‘quarters’, where one hero is most likely to be found.

lucis...opacis The woods are familiar (639, etc.); the epithet conventional, 7.36, with n..

habitamus Cf. n. on 7.151.

674 riparumque toros Cf. 5.388 *uiridante toro consederat herbae*, *EV* 4, 500; here vd. not so much the ‘raised ridge’ of the actual river-bank, as the regular use of **t.** for ‘bolster’ or ‘bed’, even ‘bier’ (3.224, 4.659, 6.220). The blessed enjoy the comfort, quite as though upholstered, of the banks of Elysium’s streams; the word used, and to be read, with, perhaps, the trace of a smile. Lucian, *VH.* 2.14 refers to the *στρωμνῆ* of flowers there provided; given that that is parody, this clearly represents the originals parodied.

et prata recentia riuis Mildly problematic and not definitively resolved. Serv.: *uirentia, riuorum scilicet causa*. **Riuis**: standard ‘stream, brook’, prose and poetry; marked allit. of *r.* unexpectedly applied to purling brooks. There has been a tendency among commentators to view **re-**

centia as a participle, and even among etymologists to treat it as one; the latter hypothesis rejected, WH s.v. (*tacet* EM). *OLD* s.v., §4b plunges for ‘recently placed (in a condition)’; more helpfully, Bell, 328 suggests a contraction of *prata uirentia recentibus riuus*. **R.** used of fresh flowers and leaves, Hor.C.3.27.43, Ov.F.3.141, *OLD* s.v., §3c, so perhaps simply of grass kept fresh thanks to the ample water. Though **r.** is not standard (*perennis*, *uiuus* often so used) for fresh water as required in sacrifices (n. on 2.719, Bömer on Ov.F.2.35), it can be so used (note Guerrino’s informed but wayward discussion, *EV* 4, 410), even by V. himself, and in this same book: **635** with Serv. and vd. Macr.3.1.8. Of any fresh water, Varr. *RR*.1.41.1, 3.17.8, Col.8.9.4, 10.6, 12.9.2, 22.2, Mart.14. 117.1; *tacet OLD*. Enallage seems the obvious explanation here (thus G.B.Conte, *Virgilio* (Torino 2002), 56): the meadows [fresh] with [fresh] water. EM points out the derivation of mod.Gk. νερο from class. νεαρόν ὕδωρ. For wd.-break at 4tr., see Winbolt, 44, Norden, 427-9. For the Elysian **prata**, cf. n. on **campos**, **640** and with the streams here, cf. the 365 springs of Lucian, *VH* 2.13. More soberly, [Plat.] *Axiochus* 371C, Pind.*Ol*.2.73; vd. Bremmer (2002), 114 for water and Paradise, and Gatz, 229, G.Schönbeck, *Der locus amoenus...* (diss. Heidelberg 1962), 19-33 for the classical background to this well-watered landscape.

675 incolimus Also used at 8.478; Cat.66.88, Cic.*carm.*Aesch.fr.2.9 and common in Liv.1-10: clearly not felt to be prosy.

sed uos Cf. 1.369, 9.146; speeches thus brought to the point.

si fert ita corde uoluntas Cf. the more jingly (Bailey’s word) Lucr.3.46 *si fert ita forte uoluntas*. Compare 8.501 *fert dolor*, *EV* 2, 495, *TLL* 6.1.545.53 (Hey). Compare **670f.**; an effort of *will* required to get here, *EV* 5*, 615, Negri, 196, and *ead.*, 302ff. n.63 (on 303) for such localising expressions used of will, emotions.

676 hoc...iugum Cf. 11.514, 905 with n.; standard language for ‘ridge’. They will very shortly be looking down upon another area of Elysium; a *conuallis*, indeed (**679**), for the *campi* of Elysium are rolling, to say the least; note **678 desuper**, **summa cacumina**. That is not to say that V.’s vision of Elysium should be taken as resting upon a coherent topographical image of spatial relationships, as in many discussions.

superate Standard Latin for ‘climb over’, *OLD* s.v., §1a, *G*.3.317, *Aen*.2.303 (over a roof), 11.514 (with n.).

et facili...tramite Cf. 5.610 and, with note, 11.515; ‘path’. F.: Banner, *TLL* 6.1.57.51 used unsurprisingly by Caes. of *iter* (*Gall*.1.6.2), by Sall. *Hist.* (1.fr.108 Maurenbrecher) of *uadum*.

iam...sistam Iam indicates ‘soon’: cf. Wagner, *QV* xxiv, §5, citing 1.272 *iam...regnabitur*, 4.566, 8.42, 11.708. See Hand 3, 124f., Hofmann,

TLL.7.1.105.19ff., adding 10.449, 2.708, and instances from *Buc.* and *G.*; *OLD* atypically opaque. *Vos* to be understood as obj.; for *s.*, see n. on 2.245. *Au.* well refers to the courtesy due to strangers and compares 1.401.

677 dixit et Cf. 2.376, 3.258, etc..

ante tulit gressum Cf. 2.753 *gressum extuleram*, 11.99 *gressumque in castra ferebat*, with nn.; the phr. Lucretian. **Ante** natural of a guide; as advb. of place thus very common; Merguet, s.v..

camposque nitentis C.: see **640**; **n.**: entirely in keeping with V.'s initial concentration on light, **640f.**; note the *nitentia culta* of *G.*1.153. A light, bright, happy landscape exactly in keeping with the mental/emotional state of its occupants, *EV* 3, 739. Compare 7.25-36, with n., Puccioni, 163, A.La Penna, *L'impossibile giustificazione...* (Roma/Bari 2005), 451-7, and *id.*, *SIFC* 89 (1996), 102-22.

678 desuper Cf. n. on 2.47.

ostentat Cf. Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1145.26f., comparing *Liv.*5.30.5 and notably 21.35.8 *praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat cubiectosque Alpibus montibus Circumpadanos campos*. The vb. standard Latin for 'show, display'.

dehinc In *Hor.Epd.* and *Liv.*1; apparently, though, absent from high poetry before *Aen.*; for the synizesis, cf. Gudeman, *TLL*. 5.1.388.66f., *Aen.*1.131, 256, 9.478, *Prop.*, *Ov.*; above all, note Timpanaro's exemplary discussion, *EV* 4, 879. No. noted the motif of 'viewing from a height' in visionary texts, and both *Au.* and Bremmer, (2009), 203 and (2011), 21 have returned to the topic. In classical texts, cf. *Plat.Rep.*10.615D, 616B, *Tim.*41E, *Plut.Mor.*563E, *Cic.Rep.*6.11 (in *Somnium*) *ostendebat autem Carthaginem de excelso et pleno stellarum, illustri et claro quodam loco* and *Liv.*21, *supra*. A detail that V. could therefore have picked up with ease in the course of his 'normal' reading; though No. and Bremmer have demonstrated that the motif is no less widespread (e.g. *Ev.Matt.*4.8, *Apocr.* 21.10f.) in the Judaeo-Christian tradition(s), there is no compulsion here, in the case of so familiar a classical theme, to suggest (contrast *Buc.*4; see n. on **792**) that V. needed to consult, or necessarily consulted, Jewish texts, though the contrary (V.'s ample familiarity with e.g. *IEnoch*) has been proposed. The case for V.'s Jewish reading is far stronger than has been suspected (**792**), but can only be pursued with conviction in cases where all conventional Greco-Roman voices/sources have fallen silent.

summa cacumina C. of fine poet. antecedents, n. on 3.274. The **iugum** of **676** seems for a moment to have acquired mountainous proportions.

linquunt (*Re*)-*linquere* common in V. and well-suited to the simple movements of epic narrative (1.517, 3.10, etc.).

679 at pater Anchises So at 2.687, where vd. n. Au. draws attention to V.'s use of *at* to open major sections of narrative (e.g. 4.1, 296, 504); it is, though, passing strange that he understands **pater** as referring not to Anch.'s paternity ('Aen. has not been specifically named') but 'as marking his responsibilities'. Laertes, at *Od.*24.365-71 likewise finally meets his son (and grandson), but upon earth; contrast Anticleia and *Od.* 11.152-224. In V.'s Elysium, Anch. takes over the main lines of the role of *Anticleia*.

penitus Serv. *ualde uirenti*, comparing 1.200f. *penitusque sonantis/accestis scopulos*, where Au. is right to take *p.* with *sonantis*, not *accestis*; it is unnatural to suppress the natural connexion with *s.* so as to wait for *accestis*. The case for a sense of 'very' has no weight; that does exist (Spath, *TLL* 10.1.1080.33ff.), but is almost entirely post-Aug. and prose, as Serv. seems not to know. The sense of 'deep in (to)' dominates and we naturally wait for **inclusas**, 'penned deep in'; Spath, *TLL* 10.1.1077.59f.; so *Lucr.* 6.735f. *Aethiopum penitus de montibus altis/ crescat*, 723, 1141, *Aen.*12.256 *penitusque in nubila fugit*, 263f. *penitusque profundo/ uela dabit* (when used thus, both a verb of motion or direction and a noun indicating location are called for, as V. provides); here compare in particular *Cic.Cat.*1.31 *periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in uenis atque in uisceribus rei publicae*.

conualle uirenti For **c.**, cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 4.813.56, **139** and *ter* in *G.* Compare **703 ualle reducta**; *Varr.LL* 5.201 glosses *caua*. See Janni, *EV* 5*, 433 (imprecise). For **u.**, cf. **206 uirere**; also in *Buc.*, *G.* (standard Latin). Cf. Edgeworth, 165, 168, André, 185f.; V. maintains the tones of **638 amoena uirecta**.

680 inclusas animas Cf. *Cic.Cat.*1.31, *supra*, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.956.50; like the Greeks in the Horse, 2.19, 45, or of penning pigs, *Varr.RR* 2.4.20. **A.**: see Negri, 43ff., at 44 and cf. **669**.

superumque ad lumen ituras Cf. **758 nostrumque in nomen ituras** and cf. **790 magnum caeli uentura sub axem**, *G.*4.486 *superas ueniebat ad auras*, *Aen.*6.128 *superasque euadere ad auras*. Cf. **481, 568** and Battezzore, *EV* 4, 1081 for the sense of 'earthly', 'light of day' as here. **S. lumen** already at *Enn.Ann.*33 (where vd. Sk.), *Lucr.*6.856, *Cic.Arat.*374. See **724-51** for metempsychosis in *Aen.*, to which this is the first, passing reference.

681 lustrabat In the sense of 'look over, review'; cf. **887**, 2.564, with nn.; Au. (cf. Nadeau, *infra*) sees Anch. here as a Roman magistrate, in particular a censor engaged upon the quinquennial *lustratio populi* (Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies*, 233, R.M. Ogilvie, *JRS* 51 (1961), 31-9). It has

been suggested that the censorial *lustratio* was the actual censorial review of the people (Otto; summarised, Ogilvie, 33f.), but 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 (Scullard, *cit.*, 233, n.319, Ogilvie, *cit.*, 35) and not a review, which V. suggests (**682 recensebat**, ‘was reviewing’) is how we should view the action here. In that case, a hint at the actual censorial review (Scullard, 232)? If so, **lustrabat** would hardly be the right word. The many, varied senses of **l.** are a frequent source of confusion.

studio To Sidgwick's credit that he understood **l.s.r.** correctly, as a single unit; **s.** therefore to be understood with both *impf.* and *partic.*; the *abl.* common enough thus adverbially: cf. 4.641, 12.131, *EV* 4, 1045.

recolens Only here in V.; *tacent* Cordier, *EV*; it is not clear why *OLD* specifies (s.v., §4a, apparently after Au. here) ‘to go over in one's mind’, for the *animae* are after all penned, like pigs indeed (**680**). Anch. will shortly pass to a larger and more significant review (**755**, etc.), of which this should be seen as a sort of anticipation.

omnemque suorum/ 682...numerum So Proteus and his seals, *G.*4.436 *numerumque recenset*, *EV* 3, 793. See also *Aen.*1.170f. *omni/ ex numero*. This use of *suus* and similar forms dear to V.: see 3.347 *agnoscitque suos*, 4.617f. *uideatque suorum/ funera*, 5.600 *Albani docuere suos*, 7.317 *coeatque mercede suorum*, 9.725, 778, 11.234. Cf. too **717 meorum** (with **789 Romanosque tuos** and n. on 2.283).

forte recensebat The vb. also Protean, *supra*. ‘Seemingly accidental’, as Au. well puts it; the timing is excellent, after all. The verb technical of a military or censorial review or census, *OLD* s.v., *Liv.*1.16.1, 40.46.8, etc., Y.Nadeau, *LCM* 3 (1985), 45; the ‘Parade of Heroes’ will prove to be, in significant detail, just that: (**756-846**), (**8**), n. on **887**. Even the Gauls carried out a *recensio* of troop-numbers, *Caes.Gall.*7.76.3, and here there is an evident hint of official, magisterial activity by the Romans' forefather.

carosque nepotes Anticipating the **qui maneat Itala de gente nepotes** of **757**; see *EV* 1, 683 (omits this passage, but a good discussion), 3, 505. The adj. often used by V. of kinsmen (forbears/descendants), but only here of unspecified ‘descendants’, in the widest sense, in tribute to *Cat.*64.380; *Probst*, *TLL* 3.502.80.

683 fataque fortunasque uirum A neat, resonant, massive close to the list; two alliterative noun-pairs, each pair linked internally by *-que...-que*. The gen., for what it is worth, to be taken with both pairs (cf. Pötscher, 81); cf. n. on **872**. Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 258 compares *Rhet.Her.*2.50 *fatum aut fortunam*, *Sen.contr.* 2.1.11 *uel fato uel forte*. For the ‘parallel’ roles of fate and chance, cf. 8.334, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1194.79, Bailey, 212, Pötscher, *cit.*, n. on 11.118.

moresque manusque Not, this time, an unresolved ‘theological’ problem but a much more unusual phrase and in its way a greater challenge: neither electronic searches nor *TLL* (Bulhart, *TLL* 8.357.65f.) yield actual parallels. Cf. *EV* 3, 602. The conceptual antithesis seems to reflect *Enn. Ann.*156 *moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque* (and cf. *G.*4.5 *mores et studia et populos et proelia*). Over **mores**, comms. divide between ‘character’ and ‘habits’ (vd. *EV*, *cit.*); that distinction lies in the English, not the Latin, and V.’s use of plur. *mores* suggests a preciser range of meaning: cf. 9.253f. *pulcherrima primum [sc. praemia]/ di moresque dabunt uestri*, 11.347 *moresque sinistros*; if a translation be required, ‘behaviour’ will do, just as **manus** is visibly an alliterative, physical way of referring to the future Romans’ *uirtus*, and deeds; cf. *Sen. Agam.*23 *ob infandas manus* (‘deeds’; *tacet* Tarrant), *Med.* 181, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.357.65f.; we might wish also to compare 1.455 *artificumque manus*, with Bulhart 357.51ff. (ignore *Cic. Leg.*2.28; vd. Powell’s app.crit.) and Goodyear on *Aetna* 598. Hands in V. do not seem to have attracted the attention they deserve.

684 isque ubi...uidit So already at 3.596; cf. 9.549 and note 11.702f.; *Anch.* is now, firmly, the focal point of the narrative.

tendentem.../ 685 Aenean Rather similarly, for use of partic. thus after vb. of seeing 1.487 *tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis*, 3.652 *conspexi uenientem*. For **t.**, cf. *EV* 5*, 95. *Videre* + pres.part. thus: cf. 1.265, 8.222, 9.729, 12.446, 645, etc.. **A.** run-on and final word, for added prominence.

aduersum per gramina Cf. **656 per herbam** and Kempff, *TLL* 1.864.69; the ppp of *aduerto* used as often as adj., ‘opposite, facing’ (cf. **279, 418, 831**, etc.).

685 alacris palmas utrasque **P.** often available as a useful spondaic alternative for *manus*: see e.g. *Enn. Ann.*490. *Aen.*3.263 and 11.574 with n.: *p.* has a sense much wider than that of Eng. ‘palm’ and this is probably, therefore, not metonymy; see *OLD*, s.v., *ad init.*, while *TLL* s.v. is untroubled by refinements of sense (contrast the excellent article on *genae*, *infra*). There seems to be general acceptance that **a.** is nom. (V. uses both *alacer* and this, older, form; vd. Au.), from Serv. and Charisius, *Gramm. Lat.*1.82.31, on. But note *G.*4.498, *Aen.*1.93, 487, 2.153, 5.233, 9.16, 10.667 for similar expressions in which the hands are qualified, sometimes simply as ‘both’, but note also *inualidas*, *inermis*, *exutas uinclis*, which should be enough to make us wonder whether there might not be enallage here too. I do not know how the ancient reader formed a correct choice on such a point, as (s)he was obliged to do in reading aloud.

tetendit Cf. 2.688 *caelo palmas cum uoce tetendit* with n.; a notable instance of repetition (**tendentem...tetendit**) with variation of sense: cf. n. on 7.554, Au. here and on 2.505. For the gesture, cf. Lobe, 173, n.628: hands are outstretched in supplication (1.487), in prayer (2., *cit.*, with n.), in longing (**6.313f.**), and here, apparently, in joy and welcome (for the art. evidence, see Neumann, 41, with n. 136), as at *Od.*24.397f. (old Dolius runs towards Od. with arms outstretched); though Anch. knows that he cannot embrace Aen., the eagerly outstretched hands (*both* hands are after all specified) imply unambiguously the desire so to do: A. de Jorio, *La mimica degli antichi...* (repr., s.l. 2002), 27. Cf. Sittl, 49, n.7 for the ancient view of the cordial intent indicated by an outstretched *hand*.

686 effusaeque genis lacrimae The tears of Anticleia before her son, *Od.*11.154; also cf. *Lucr.*1.125 (possibly Ennian; cf. **724-51, (1)(a)**, Hightet, 240, Wigodsky, 74 (with further bibl., n.370), C.Walde, *Die Traumdarstellungen...* (München 2001) 214). Cf. n. on 3.312 *lacrimasque effudit*, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.217.4f. (prose, Lucretian, epigraphic); for the simplex, cf. 12.154, Flury, *TLL* 7.2.840.18ff.. For heroic/Roman tears, cf. n. on 11.29. **G.** more of a problem than might at first sight appear. One might think (cf. 7.779f. *litore...effundere*, 12.276, 380, 532 *effunditque solo*) that **g.** was naturally an abl. of extension, though Malosti apparently does not study the ‘anatomical’ extension of this use (many instances will be found, Antoine, 221-4: vd. e.g. 4.149, 181). However, the unwary reader would not be right to think that **g.** is limited in sense to ‘cheeks’. Serv. glosses *genis. palpebris*, quoting Enn. *trag.*400Joc., and this sense proves surprisingly common; Koch, *TLL* s.v. carefully distinguishes between certain and, as here, doubtful cases of ‘eyelid’; in the former category, he cites (6.2.1766.76ff.) Enn.*Ann.*546Sk., *Culex* 185; add (Skutsch) *cons.Liv.*116 (Witlox ‘h.e. *oculis*’). If we abandon ‘cheeks’ here (and No. reminds us that **excidit ore** points to the likelihood of a similar use of abl. **genis**, ‘poured out from the *genae*’), we do, however, have to decide between ‘eyelids’ and the equally common sense of ‘eyes’: cf. Koch, 1767.63ff.. However, this use as ‘eye’ is distinctively elegiac (*Prop.*, *Ov.*, then *cons.Liv.*, *Sen.trag.*, and Flavian epic). In *V.*, therefore, ‘eyelid’ is a good deal likelier. Au. cites 5.173 *nec lacrimis caruere genae*, a case (very) close to the present one; note too *Ciris* 253 *genis rorantibus oscula figens* (for Koch, uncertain). See Lyne on *Ciris, cit.*, A.Klotz, *ALL* 15 (1908), 411f.. Heuzé, 57, 619, n.474 gives the impression of not appreciating the difficulty.

et uox excidit ore Cf. 2.658 *tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore* with full n.. Here **u.** in the sense of ‘word’ (whence ‘speech’, ‘discourse’; here and at *Liv.*3.15.6 to introduce a speech; cf. *G.*4.320, *Aen.*3.246); cf. *EV* 5*, 634 and (better) *OLD*, §7b.

687-694 Anch.'s brief speech of delighted welcome (cf. above all Od. to Anticleia, *Od.* 11.155-62, Knauer, 124, 126: speeches of identical length), in which his admiration for his son's *pietas* is tinged by his anxiety about how near Aen. came to moral disaster in Libya. Further moral instruction is required, and will shortly be offered, on the grandest scale, and with *exempla*, a notion of the mode and function of the *Heldenschau* that perhaps deserves fuller exploration. Cf. Di Cesare, 112f., Wlosok, *RHRD*, 70, Otis, 299, Highet, 114, 233, Cartault, 473.

687 uenisti tandem Hom. ἤλθεε. See above all Anticleia's question to Od., *Od.* 11. 155 (πῶς ἤλθεε ὑπὸ ζόφῳ...;) and Od. to Telemachus, 16. 23 (when Od. feared he would never see him again). Cf. *Aen.* 1.369, 528, 2.117 and above all **670f. illius ergo/ uenimus et magnos Erebi tranauimus amnis**; *EV* unhelpful. **T.** employed as often for strong emotive effect, e.g. 3.131, 278. Serv. well *hoc ad adfectum pertinet desiderantis*; Anch. is not reproving his son for tardiness, though he is about to say that the months in Libya were not well spent.

tuque expectata.../ 688 ...pietas Cf. 2.282f. *quibus Hector ab oris/ expectate uenis?* with my n. (the idiom of spoken Latin; cf. Au. here). Au. surprisingly renders **pietas** as 'love', when some hint at his son's obedience to paternal instructions might have been expected, since they are so recent and precise (and 'devotion' might therefore do); **p.** (subject as last word; cf. n. on 2.5; add Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots*, 3, 139ff.) given exceptional force. 'Non è solo un virtù, è anche un sentimento' (Traina, *EV* 4, 93; cf. 95 for filial love); 'une tendresse bien éloignée de l'antique sévérité' (Boyancé, 70, of this passage; contrast Feeney's chill and polemical lack of sympathy, *ORVA*, 182). Father and son are clearly overjoyed to meet (cf. n. on 2.707); son is here, though, because he was told to come and it is filial obedience that produces the occasion for an ample display of familial affection, on both sides. **Tuque expectatata...pietas** is in some sense also periphrastic (Pascoli; cf. n. on 7.650) for *tuque piissimus, ut expectatui...*

parenti By Anch. as father; his ghostly instructions to Aen. to come to find him in Elysium had been lengthy and specific (5.731-6), and he might thereafter reasonably expect his son to arrive, eventually; cf. **690-1** for Anch.'s calculations of the possible timing.

688 uicit Little illumination from *TLL*, *EV* s.v. *iter* or *EV*, *OLD* s.v. *uincere* (§7c). But Forbiger helpfully compares *Catal.* 11.48 *mare audendo uincere*, *Mart.* 5.22.5, Claud. *3Cons.Hon.* 46. Cf. too Hor.*C.* 3.24.41 *uincunt aequora nauitae* (but vd. NR).

iter durum A hard time we had of it, as Eliot wrote of another journey. Cf. Banner, *TLL* 5.2.2306.6 (instances only from later authors, mostly verse, very surprisingly, but a check in PHI confirms *TLL*). So Anticleia to

Od. on the difficulties of reaching her, *Od.*11.156 (**hard** for the living to visit these places). *She* does not know of her son's journey to the other world, *he* does not know of her death.

datur As often (*EV* 2, 115, n. on 3.7, etc.); the question asked from delighted incredulity.

ora tueri/ 689 ...tua Cf. 3.696 *ore...tuo* (Arethusa). Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1085.43 (and 1074.10ff. for very common use of plur. *ora*, with n. on 2.475 for plur. used for parts of the body). **T.** in the sense of 'look' old and poetic; *OLD* s.v., §1; as simplex pro composito, vd. (Mosci Sassi; useful) *EV* 5*, 308; the compounds of **t.** prosodically tricky; cf. E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 597.

689 nate Cf. 2.704, 733 and n. on 3.182. Feeney, *ORVA*, 182, tries to deny that this is a conversation between father and son because it does not take place upon the earth. Cf. *EV* 3, 665, Dickey, 266-9, 344. Cf. further **693**.

et notas...uoces For V.'s frequent recourse to the affective force of *notus*, cf. n. on 7.491, with further instances and some bibliography and note in particular (Aen. to Deiphobus) **499 et notis compellat uocibus ultro**.

audire et reddere Cf., after Cat.64.166 *nec missas audire queunt neque reddere uoces* (with Cic.*Progn.*fr.3.4, Lucr.4.575 *reddere uoces*), whence first *Aen.*1.409 *ueras audire et reddere uoces* (encounter with Venus), *EV* 5*, 634 (Paterlini). For the verbal links between the two encounters of son with parents, cf. Moskalew, 150f.; further details will be noted *ad loc.*.

690 sic equidem Cf. Burckhardt, *TLL* 5.2.722.46f., quoting Cic. *de orat.*2.186; not common, as a PHI search confirms.

ducebam animo Paraphrased *uoluere, pertractare* in Non.'s survey of the meanings of *ducere*, 283.28ff.; Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2155.38ff. heads the subdivision 'computando (sumere, assumere, numerare, cogere, colligere, multiplicare)': the vb. in the sense of 'calculate, work out', *Ov.F.*1.317; previously, Lucil., Varr. and, *passim*, Cic.. **A.** s.v. 'la sede delle attività intellettive', Negri, 145, comparing **105, 157, 2.741**, etc..

rebarque futurum Vd. the painstaking survey of doubts and controversies, *EV* 4, 436f.: Serv. begins harmlessly *arbitratar, ratiocinabar esse uenturum* before going thoroughly astray; TCD soberly explains that Anch. knew Aen. would do his duty, adding that he worked out when this should happen. Problems here arose out of reluctance to take all of this line as a single unit of thought: having worked it out just so in his mind, Anch. was of the opinion that it would happen, calculating the dates. By V.'s time **r.** clearly archaic, Cic.*de orat.*3.153. Cordier repeatedly claims it as distinctively poetical (133, 156), but its presence in Ter. and Cic. in Sall. and Liv., alongside Cat. and Lucr. seems to establish it rather as (old) standard Latin.

691 tempora dinumerans ‘Enumerare, recensere, computare’ Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.1222.45ff.; at 51. So Cic.*rep.*2.29 of *regiis annis*, *Off.*1.154 of the stars; cf. Claud. *Cons.Stil.*3.3, calculating the *tempora* of a long journey. Note too the *numerat* of *id.*, *carm. min.*20.4 (the rustic calculates the age of his house; see *Inv.Luc.*13-4 (1991-2), 170f.). V.’s Anch. thus anticipates the careful calculations of R.Mandra, *The time element in the Aeneid of Vergil* (Williamsport 1934); his anxious arithmetic is, though, a human and visible sign of his longing to see his son again. Compare Anticleia, *Od.*11.161 on the long time it has taken Od. since leaving Troy.

nec me...fefellit Cf. **347**, 4.96, 7.215, 9.243, 10.608, Hofmann, *TLL* 6.1.186.62. The verb always common with preceding *non*, *nisi*: cf., in earlier poetry, *Acc.trag.*138, *Lucr.*1.136. A sort of litotes; comparable *Lucr. ne dubites*, etc...

mea cura nec decepit me dulcissimus filius Serv., unpersuasively. Rather, in the common sense of ‘worry, anxiety’, Fedeli, *EV* 1, 962. For the play of pron. and pronom. adj., cf. Wills, 242, n. on 2.154.

692 quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora uectum Cf. *Pacuv.trag.* 319 *quam te post multis tueor tempestatibus* (cf. Wigodsky, 126, n.632, Stabryła, 45), *Cat.*101.2 *multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectum* (but note that *there*, there is no communication with the dead, while here there very much is, E.Narducci, *Athen.*94 (2006), 297f., Belfiore, 23), after *Od.*1.3-4, with G.B.Conte, *Rhetoric of imitation* (Ithaca 1986), 32-5, Harrison, *GEVH*, 221f., Wills, 84, whose case for influence also at 7.296 (where vd. n.) *medias acies mediosque per ignis* is less strong. Note *G.*1.206 *uentosa per aequora uectis* (where vd. Thomas). The pronouns typically juxtaposed; cf. *Aen.*3, index s.v. juxtaposition; they stand within anaphora of **quas...quanta** (cf. *G.*1.3f., *Aen.* **6.771, 865**, 12.32f., alongside repet. of *quantus* and repet. between *quantus* and *qualis*; not of interest to Wills). Au. notes the omission of the prepos. with **terras** (as at 7.295) and usefully cites Leo, *Ausgew. kl.Schr.*, 1, 117-9 (at 118). The polarity **terras...aequora** traditional (cf. Hardie, *CI*, 302-10, an informed discussion): natural, epic, panegyric. The ppp of *uehere* dear to V. (not least for its Catullan associations); *EV* 5*, 469.

693 accipio Cf. **393, 412**, 8.155, Bartalucci, *EV* 1, 653f.

quantis...periclis A robust yet elegant structure: **accipio**, run on, governs **uectum** in the previous v., and also the parallel **iactatum** in this v.; **quantis** here takes up (polyptoton) **692 quanta**. **P.** anticipates **metui** in the next v., suggesting a sort of parallelism of Dido with the perils of sea, storm and monsters (cf. **83**, 3.367, 711). The form here is the original; familiar *-culum* by anaptyxis. The distinction in sense between ‘test, labour’ and ‘risk, danger’ proposed at *EV* 4, 24f. is not helpful.

iactatum Thematic, from 1.3 *terris iactatus et alto* on (see also e.g. 1.29, 182...); see Salemme, *EV* 2.876. What Anticleia says to Od., *Od.* 11.160.

nate Used already at **689**; a subtler technique than the *nate...nate* of 2.733 (for which, cf. Wills, 52-8 at 57, Dickey, 33f.); the repet. not underlined by framing or recurrence of position, but those who miss it miss an important indication of the speech's emotional level.

694 quam metui Apparently echoes (merely verbal; 'non-significant') *Il.* 10.538 ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δεῖδοικα. The human peril ('les risques scabreux de la Libye', Cartault) given prominence as conclusion to the whole speech. Anch.'s ref. to Dido I should have noted in my discussion of 'Footnotes' to the Dido-episode, *Companion*, 132f.. As a living *paterfamilias*, Anch. could, in Roman terms, have refused his consent to a marriage (Treggiari, *Rom. marriage*, 170-6, *ead.* in *The family in Greece and Italy* (ed. D.I. Kertzer, R.P. Saller, New Haven 1991), 95), had such been intended; dead, he could only express, retrospectively, his anxieties and implicit disapprobation. At Carthage, Aen., himself anxious, dreamed of his father, 4.351-3 (vd. too n. on **695**). A.-M. Guillemin, *Originalité de V.*, 95, acutely compared the situation at Ter. *Andr.* 106 *ei metui a Chryside*.

ne quid...tibi...nocerent Cf. 7.338 (with n.), 511 on **n.** and *Allecto*; 5,618, *Iris*. Four instances perhaps insufficient to justify a claim that *V.* elevates **n.** to a word, and activity, significant in his picture of the forces opposed to Troy.

Libyae...regna Anch. does not name Dido. Tact, or (cf. n. on 11.348) loathing, on account of the risks posed to his susceptible son? Is the phrasing here conceived as a reference in particular to Dido's proposal to Ilioneus of an alliance between Trojans and herself, 1.569ff. (and cf. 4.350)? The danger, that is, conceived as political, as much as personal. Aen. has overcome all the physical challenges set him so far; he has even reached Elysium; there is, however a recent moral failure, still troubling Anch.; that should perhaps be included in our view of the context and purpose of the Parade of Heroes. TCD opines that the danger in Libya lay not in the too friendly queen but in the hostile population and this view has surfaced in the comms.. Altogether ludicrous in the view of modern readings of *Aen.* 4 and 6 (though TCD's 'reading' surfaces in some comms.), but the risk of Libyan hostility had been a motif present in *V.*'s narrative (*ORVA*, 132, etc.; there is clear textual support for such a view, which I discuss) and it may therefore not be altogether outrageous to admit a possible ambiguity here.

695-8 Aeneas' reply; Od. to his mother (*Od.* 11.210-4) not in *V.*'s mind *here* (Knauer, 125, n.1, quite unpersuasively); cf. rather **719-21** (see Knauer,

127, altogether convincingly: there, there is a complex thematic link, whereas here, 'mere' close verbal similarities). See **702-4** for the content, in the context of the wider 'failed embrace' motif. Unwisely dismissed as a mere exchange of greetings (Highet) or 'strangely formal and unintimate' (Feeney). The interlocutors are in tears, and are about to be denied the solace of embrace. We shall see that Aen.'s language responds very closely to Anch.'s (as e.g. Guillemin notes) and his refusal to talk to his father about Dido is clearly a significant silence in any consideration of Aen.'s family relationships (vd. **700-2**). See Cartault, 473, Highet, 114, Feeney, *ORVA*, 182.

695 ille autem At the start of a speech, like **347**, 9.219 (with delayed *ait*), 10.739, 878. Münscher, *TLL* 2.1589.59ff.. A speech that begins at 1½ suggests the informality of intimate conversation: cf. G.Highet *HSCP* 78 (1974), 197f..

tua...tua tristis imago Cf. 1.664, Wills, *infra* for the gemination; the inevitable allit. is continued with **tr-**. Cf. 4.351f. *me patris Anchisae.../...admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago*, 5.722ff.. Here not so much echoed as inevitably recalled; the father's concerns endure, as do the son's dreams and visions. **I.**: O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.409.5 compares 1.353, 4.*cit.*, 5.363; thus used already in Varr.*Men. EV* s.v. unsatisfactory. *Tristis* because the waking Aen. knows that it is of his dead father that he has dreamed? Not on the Lucretian view (cf. n. on 2.268-97), but here Aen. is awake, and Anch. is no dream vision.

me The pron. set between repeated pron. adj. in typical juxtaposition (vd. indices, s.v.); **me** thus also placed almost two lines before the vb.; Wills, 84 compares Cat.68.21 *tu mea tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater* which he claims is *echoed* here; *vix* (which is not to deny that Cat. may be present here as a subconscious influence on the *dispositio verborum*). Note **691**, 3.155 (with n.) and 7.221 (with n.) for closer instances of this well-loved arrangement. *Mea me* and *tua te* commoner; the number of instances further increased if the interposition of one or two 'alien' words be admitted.

genitor So too at **698**, framing the speech exactly as **nate** did in Anch.'s; cf. the play of pronouns and pron. adjs. in *both 691 and 695*. Cf. Dickey, 112, 270, 329 (tone apparently not clear). The word itself (cf. n. on 7.360) in Enn., Acc., Cat., Lucr., Cic.*carm.*; absent from comedy and rare in prose. Cordier, 134, etc..

696 saepius occurrens The advb. only *quater* in *Aen.*; cf. **791** and n. on 2.456. **O.**: Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.391.68; common standard Latin. Compare the reproachful *totiens* that Aen. addresses to Venus, 1.407.

haec limina tendere Acc. of goal; n. on 3.253. **Haec** might suggest a gesture by Aen. towards his surroundings. Rather casually, Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1407.41 lumps these *limina* with all those preceding in Orcus (*ib.*, 34ff.: 279, 402, 563, 575, 636); *EV* 3, 225 more acutely refers them to ‘le difficoltà dell’ accesso agli inferi’, summarising in some sense the various gates and barriers which Aen. has had to surmount. We are not invited to populate Elysium with further gateways. **T.**: cf. 684 **tendentem**, *EV* 5*, 95.

adegit Cf. 7.113 with n. (Lucretian); cf. nn. on 7.214, 393 for V.’s free hand with infin. after causative vbs.. So Od. to Anticleia, *Od.* 11.164, the need to consult Tiresias brought, conducted him down (κατήγαγεν) to the house of Hades.

697 stant...classes Cf. 3.277, 403 *transmissae steterint trans aequora classes* (with n.), **6.901 stant litore puppes**, 10.223 *steterant ad litora prorae*; for archaic **c.** as ‘ships’, cf. nn. on 3.403, 2.30. A. Bartalucci’s discussion, *EV* 4, 1027 notably helpful. It may be that V. is thinking of the νηῦς...ἔσττηκεν of *Od.* 24.308 (Od., not recognised, to his father).

sale Tyrrheno The ships are drawn up on the beach (6.3-4), rather than anchored offshore as the phr. might seem literally to suggest. **S.** as ‘sea’ both Hom. and Ennian, also *Cat.* 64, *Lucr.*: n. on 3.385; add *EV* 4, 651f., Cordier, 158. **T.**: cf. 1.67 *Tyrrhenum nauigat aequor*. The name applied to the waters off central W. Italy from *Thuc.* 4.24.5 to the present (whether Virgilian or indeed the year of writing this commentary), K. Scherling, *PW* 7A.1939.21ff., Bunbury, in Smith, *Dict. Gk. Rom. Geogr.* 2, 1248.

da.../ 698 da So in prayer-lang. at 3.85, with n. on 7.331. See too Wills, 93.

iungere dextram Cf. 1.408, 514, 8.164; Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.928.36, von Kamptz. *ib.*, 7.2.658.8ff.. For the handshake as a friendly, even an intimate greeting (as against a pledge), cf. *Il.* 10.542, etc. *Aen.* 1.408 (Venus), 514, 611, Lobe, 152f., E. Belfiore, *Phoen.* 33 (1984), 23, Sittl, 27f. (rated lowest on the scale of intensity of greeting), Neumann, 49 (‘ein Zeichen der Zuneigung und Liebe’), Wills, 205, n.42.

698 genitor See 695.

teque...ne subtrahe Cf. 465 **teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro**, *EV* 5*, 249. *Lucr.* 6.605 (Cordier ignores), then *Aen.*; common in prose. This form of prohibition archaic by V.’s time (n. on 7.96, 202). The echo of 465 is crucial (cf. Moskalew, 151): not only of the vb. but, partially, of the noun too.

amplexu...nostro Dat., as, perhaps, 8.568 *non ego nunc dulci amplexu diueller usquam*. Cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 1.1998.15ff. for usage by cases (with Cordier 37, 49, 54, Holzweissig, 395f., Leumann, 442f., E. Bednara,

ALL 14 (1906), 343f., NW 1, 542); here, dat. is expected, and -u is convenient. The noun *Lucr.* 5.319, but hardly used before *Aen.* (Cordier ignores).

699 sic memorans Cf. 9.250, and note also *sic memorat*, O.Prinz, *TLL* 8.686.75f..

largo fletu Cf. 2.271 *largosque effundere fletus* (with n.). Not only do the speeches of father and son correspond, but both weep (see **686**, Ricottilli, 176, 189 comparing Hector and *Aen.*, 2.271, 279f.).

simul Cf. (e.g.) 9.644, 10.856, 11.827, 12.692, 758 for *s.* used of simultaneous speech and action at the beginning/end of speeches.

ora rigabat Cf. 9.251 *uultum lacrimis atque ora rigabat* (after *sic memorans* in the previous verse); standard Latin, entirely acceptable to poets, *Lucr. sexies*, *Cic. de cons. fr.* 2.44, *Arat.* 173.

700-2 Repeated from 2.792-4, where vd. comm. for details. That Serv. does not comment on **702** and that **P** (unlike **FGMR**) omits the *v.* should not have prompted Ribbeck to omit the *v.* from his text. So substantial a repetition does occur, but rarely, elsewhere in *Aen.* (Moskalew, 22, n.2 for details); cf. nn. on 3.163-6, 389-93 (prophecy and fulfilment). Vd. also (I select): Niehl, 65, Moskalew, 150-2, Sparrow, 148-50 (highly eccentric), n. on 2.792f, Feeney, *ORVA*, 176, Lobe, 153f., C.Segal, *CJ* 69 (1973-4), 97-101, *id.*, *Eranos* 72 (1974), 34-52, E.Belfiore, *Phoen.* 38 (1984), 19-30 (valuable), Ricottilli, 180, Williams, *TI*, 52f., Highet, 203, di Cesare, 112f., Putnam, *VA*, 94f., Cartault, 474, Mackie, 139f., G.Lieberg in *Vergiliana*, 188-9. The repetition to be seen in the context of an extended sequence of related, failed embraces. The motif first in the case of Achilles' failed embrace of the spirit of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.99-101) and Od.'s of Anticleia's, (*Od.* 11.206-9). Thereafter, note AR 4.877 with Nelis, 201, which seems to influence V.'s **leuibus uentis**. In V., (i) *G.* 4.498-502: Eurydice disappears like smoke as Orpheus stretches out his arms. (ii) *Aen.* 1.407-9: *Aen.* denied any contact with his mother (contrast Venus, 8.615, who actually embraces *Aen.*). (iii) 1.715-7: *Aen.* denied the embrace of his real son (cf. 12.432-4; the helmet gets in the way). (iv) *Aen.* 2.792-4: *Aen.* denied the embrace of Creusa. (v) 4.388-91: *Aen.* denied further speech by Dido's departure (not, that is, the same motif, but evidently related). Cf. further **6.469-73**. (vi) 5.740-2: *Aen.* denied the embrace of Anchises' ghost. (vii) the present passage. *Aen.* is denied the consolation of contact with wife, mistress and father, and to his father's anxiety about Dido he pointedly fails to respond; nothing will, in the end, heal the wounds of Carthage, nor will there be any bridge between *Aen.*'s isolating mortality and the affectionate embraces of his parents, not to mention his absent son. The motif is employed with remarkable frequency, and stands as a major element in V.'s representation of *Aen.* as a lonely and isolated figure.

703 interea The sequence of events carefully disentangled by T.E.Kinsey, *Glotta* 57 (1979), 262f.: during the sequence of his repeated attempts to embrace his father, he speaks (**695-8**), pleadingly and in vain. And it is while Anch. eludes his grasp that, in the mean time, Aen. catches sight of the great mass of Souls, his gaze having perhaps (Kinsey) been led towards the sight by Anch.'s movement. See also Kinsey, *EV* 2, 992f..

uidet Aeneas The occupants of the *uallis reducta* are delayed until **706**; there will first be two lines of description (given precise point by the ring-composition of **705-748**); tranquillity, vegetation and water repeat what we have already learned and suggest that we are still firmly in Elysium. Smith, 85 suggests that the fleeing *imago* of **701** leads eye and mind towards the *imagines* of the Parade of Heroes: clearly a 'modern' reading, but not demonstrably invalid.

in ualle reducta Cf. **679 conualle uirenti**, 2.748 *curua ualle*. Conventional phrasing: cf. 8.609f., *Hor.Epd.*2.11 (vd. Watson), *C.*1.17.17 (vd. NH). We have no idea (*pace* Au.) whether there is any topographical connexion with the valley of **679**. Some repetition of language between **679-80** and **703-4** is quite unremarkable: both are altogether conventional; once a battlefield, Guillemin, 9.

704 seclusum nemus N. as at **658**, while s. makes very much the same point as *reducta* in the previous v. (and indeed as **680 inclusas**): s. prose and *Lucr.*; in V., cf. 3.446. Note *Sen.cons.Marc.* 6.18.5 *seclusae nationes locorum difficultate*. Not part of the conventional lexicon of *amoenitas locorum*.

uirgulta sonantia siluae V. undergrowth, brushwood, not the same as *silua*, but a modest part thereof (not therefore *genetivus inhaerentiae*): Mynors on *G.*2.3 (*bene*), n. on 7.677 (again in proximity to *silua*). For s., cf. Roiron, 214-20, with *EV* 4, 941-4 (the *simplex* vb. there neglected): the thickets sound to the hum of bees (cf. *Buc.*2.13 *resonant arbusta cicadis*, 7.13 *eque sacra resonant examina quercu*). **Siluae** GM₁PR, Serv.; **siluis** FM₂; the c9. mss. divided; the abl. by echo from 3.442.

705 Lethaeumque...amnem Cf. **714 Lethaei...fluminis** (with **715 longa obliuia potant**), **748 Lethaeum ad fluuium**, with 5.854 *Lethaeo roro*. So *G.*4.545 *L. papauera*, *Cat.*65.5 *Lethaeo gurgite*. Cf. *G.*3. 180, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.958.69ff., *id.*, *ib.*, 979. 16ff., Gudeman, *ib.*, 1.1946.30ff.: the (loftier) adj. form of the name common in verse, occasional even in prose. Cf. n. on 7.1 *Aeneia nutrix*. It seems unlikely that V. deliberately avoided simple *Lethe*, good enough for Ovid, frequently; at the end of the scene (**748**) the literal sense, 'river of forgetfulness', will become crucially significant. Cf. W.Kroll, *PW* 12.2.2141.26ff., Stoll, *Ro.*2.2.1956.58ff.; Ameles is a plain at *Plat.Rep.*621E while *Lethe* is a plain at *Theogn.*1216 and *Ar.Ran.*

186, but a river at Plat.*Rep.*621C and *Phaedr.*248C. These earliest attestations contain, according to Kroll, a hint of *Seelenwanderung*. *Anth.Pal.* 7.25.6 (Lethe) is not Simonidean, but Hellenistic: cf. GP, *HE* 3329, with further *FGE*, 282. The evidence for an Orphic interest in Memory and Forgetting summarised, Bremmer (2002), 92; for *mneme* and *pistis*, cf. further Burkert, *LS*, 248f., n.48, Dodds on Plat.*Gorg.*493C3, Bremmer (2009), 203, n.140. There was also a spring of Lethe at the oracle of Trophonius, Paus.9.39.8. Novara, 339f. compares the elaborate scenes of revel on the banks of Lethe at Plut.*Mor.*565F (cf. Bremmer (2002), 93f.).

domos placidas Cf. Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.2280.32; the adj. summarises the life of the heroes as so far described; even their exercise of arms is no more than gently reminiscent. **D.** hardly ‘case’, *EV* 4, 129: see **673 habitamus**, Roiron, 215; the domestic arrangements of this élite are not specified and the suggestion seems to be that they do not exist. The δόμοι of Lethe, *trag.adesp.*(*TGF* 2), fr.272.4 Kannicht/Snell vaguely ‘habitations’.

qui praeantat Flows before, in front of, apparently a Virgilian coinage, Friis Jensen, *TLL* 10.2.729.11ff., Cordier, 145. The transference of **n.** and cognates from the swimmer to the swum-in as old as Enn. (*Ann.*602; cf. *G.*4.496, etc.). The rel.pron. third word and the object of **praeantat** placed between the obj. (adj.) and obj. (noun) of **uidet**. Cf. Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots*, 1, 112-8; **L.** given very marked prominence.

706 hunc circum Regular anastrophe of disyll. prepos.; nn. on 3.685, 7.673. This might appear to be the ‘formula’ with which the orthodox ekphrasis is closed (Au.), but here there is no *est campus, vel sim.*, to introduce it.

innumerae *Bis* Lucr., ‘epitaph of Plautus’, v.3, Courtney, p.47, Tib., Ov.; cf. Mühmelt, *TLL* 7.1.1726.75f., 11.204, *EV* 3, 794. The ἔθνεα μύρια νεκρῶν of *Od.*11.632.

gentes populique Cf. Lucr.5.1222 *populi gentesque*, *Aen.*10.202 *gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni*, with Harrison’s n., and my remarks, *Athen.*78 (1990), 523. A *populus* in bk.10 the subdivision of a *gens*; here (in a non-ethnographic context) the words apparently synonyms, but the lexical choice prefigures the ample presence, close by and soon, of the *gens Romana* (cf. **757**, **875**, etc.). No. notes a similar register of language at Lucian, *Philops.*24 (*phyla* and *phratries*).

uolabant Souls and bees drawn closer by their shared use of flight; ‘transfusion’, West, *ORVA*, 441; cf. Harrison, *GEVH*, 237, Lyne, *FV*, 121.

707-9¹ Comms. draw attention to *Il.*2.87-90 (bees pour from a hollow rock and cluster here and there over the spring flowers) and AR 1.879ff. (the

1 I offer a fuller account of these vv. at *Vergilius* 56 (2010), 39-45.

women of Lemnos compared to bees which emerge from the rock and ἐπιβρομέουσι about the lilies, which do look like a specific linking detail). Similarities to the bees of 1.430-6 lead the reader in irrelevant and unwelcome directions (cf. Hornsby, 51). The suitability of the bees in the present context emerges in two distinct directions: (i) the importance of poetry, poets and song in Elysium and the bees' literary associations (see e.g. Olck, PW 3.447.32ff., Plat.*Ion* 534B, Fedeli on Hor.C.4.2.25-32, Griffin, *Latin poets and Roman life*, 167ff., Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek poets*, 59, 80), Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*, 431-3, W.Robert-Tornow, *De apium mellisque...* (diss. Berlin 1893), 100-18, J.H.Waszink, *Biene und Honig...*, *Rhein.-Westf. Akad., Vortr.* 196 (1974), M.Bettini, *Anthropology and Rom. culture* (Eng.tr.Baltimore 1991), 198f. and Williams on Call.*HApoll.*110. (ii) The bee as a human soul awaiting rebirth, Soph.fr.879Radt (*infra*), with Porph.*de antro* 18 (soul awaiting rebirth once called 'melissa'), 19 and schol.Eur.*Hipp.*73 (line 40) (the bee signifies, allegorically, the soul (Biotti on G.4.219-27, after Cook, 16, n.124; cf. Robert-Tornow, 155f.); Soph.'s souls *may* indeed hum because they have no voice (Bremmer, *Early Gk. concept of the soul*, 85; better, *id.*, (2002), 4), but more obviously do so because perceived as apiform (for aviform souls, cf. further on **310-2**) and deserving of words suited to bees (see n.1, *infra*) βουμβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν νεκρῶν κμηῆνος, ἔρχεται τ' ἄνω, as Porph., *cit.*, will later make plain. Cf. too both Plat.*Phaedr.* 246C (the soul is winged and μετεωροπορεῖ, with Biotti on G.4.226, citing Cic.*Rep.*6.14 *euolauerunt* and Sen.*cons.Marc.*23.1 *reuolant*) and perhaps Orph.fr.749 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2 κμηῆνεα δ' ἐργάζοιο μελιττῶν ἄδιναῶν (bees oracular). But these bees are not poetically isolated: note Enn.*Var.*18 *uolito uiuos per ora uirum*, G.3.9 *uictorque uirum uolitare per ora*, *Aen.*12.235 *uiuusque per ora feretur*: as swan? as bee? as bat, even (see **264** (i))? as immortal soul (vd. Lucr.3.732, G.4.226 and nn. on **293**, **329**)? as author of winged words? 'on the lips of men'? on the wings of Fame? Clearly some polyvalent answer required. Cf. Cumont, *LP*, 293-7, *SF*, 108-12, Bremmer, *Early Greek concept...*, 65, Steiner, *Crown of song*, 105f., Fedeli, *cit.*, Buchheit, *Der Anspruch des Dichters*, 100 and, on Enn.*Var.*18, M.Lausberg, *Das Einzeldistichon* (München 1982), 277 (properly open-minded). One might expect, and could wish for, some explicit link between bougonia and metempsychosis (Norden, 306), but it seems not to exist. See Norden's admirable n. here (V. may indeed have used a text known to Soph., rather than Soph. himself), von Duhn, 148-50, Weniger, *Ro.*2.2. 2641.1ff., M. de G. Verrall, *CR* 24 (1910), 45, Gruppe 801, n.6, A.B.Cook, *JHS* 15 (1895), 19f., D.E.W.Wormell, in *Vergiliana*, 431, M.Bettini, *Atti conv.Virg. Brindisi* 1981, 346, n.4, Briggs, *Narrative and simile*, 75f., J.Farrell, *Vergil's Georgics* (New York 1991), 263, L.Nosarti, *Studi sulle*

Georgiche di Virgilio (Padova 1996), 95. Rieks, *ANRW* 2.31.2, 1045 unilluminating; *tacet* West in *ORVA*. The scenery of the simile will be found to correspond less to the immediate context than to V.'s image of Elysium elsewhere; apparently, the point of comparison lies only in flight, bustle and excited sound. The literary potential of bees in a complex text such as this is remarkable, for at **710**, we will discover that V.'s bees are *also* to be understood as to some degree portentous.

707 ac ueluti...ubi Only here in *Aen.* is the common opening-formula for a simile *ac uelut (i)* continued with *ubi* (at 4.402-3, with *cum*); there is no 'apodosis' or correlative, which is present at 4.404. Absent also at 2.626 (where vd. my n.); there, we find a half-line nearby and the suggestion that the whole passage is unfinished. For the synaloepha at 3tr., cf. Norden, Appx.xi.1.4, p.454. I prefer the slightly-better attested **ueluti** (FGM, as against **uelut**, PR), with no strong conviction of being right.

in pratis As at **674**.

apes See **707-9**.

aestate serena *G.4.156*, summer, the time of the bees' hardest work. The adj. used also of spring, winter and the heavens in general; *EV* 4, 792 compares *G.4.59 per aestatem liquidam*, which corresponds perhaps closest in tone and sense, to our 'limpid'. Here 'calm, settled'.

708 floribus...uariis Cf. *Cat.61.87ff.*, *Buc.9.40f.* (vd. Clausen), *Aen.4.202*, *Tib.1. 7.45*, *Lydia 13*, I.Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.937.37.

insidunt Echoed, *Plin.Nat.11.18f. mortuis ne floribus quidem, non modo corporibus, insidunt*. The vb. *Lucr.3.901, 918*, but also common in *Cic.*. Wolf, *TLL* 7.1.1885.34f..

candida.../ 709 lilia Cf. **883** for Virgilian lilies, and their whiteness, in some detail. Just possibly here an anticipation of those soon to be cast at Marcellus' funeral.

circum .../ 709 funduntur Enjambed tmesis (and interlocking word-order); Robbert *TLL* 6.1.1563.37, comparing 12.433; add Banner, *ib.*, 3.1147.41ff., *G.4.274*, *Aen.3.635* (with full n.).

strepit...murmure S. here of the place filled with noise and not, as more commonly, of the source of the noise; cf. *OLD* s.v., §3, comparing *Liv.6.25.9* (an open-air school). For **m.** of the hum of bees, cf. 12.591, *Colum.9.9.4*, *TLL* 8.1677.27f. (Halter). Elaborate allit. of m, r and s; cf. *EV* 4, 1034, *EV* 3, 624. These words clearly *not* the 'apodosis' of **ac ueluti** (*pace* Heyne, atypically obtuse): such an 'apodosis' not in fact required (see **707**; Fletcher, Au. here and J.Öberg, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 107, all quite correct): as Au. remarks, 4.407 *opere omnis (!) semita feruet* at the end of a simile corresponds precisely.

omnis...campus So already **653, 677**. As *EV* 3, 844 remarks, **o.** common in *V.* with *nemus, ager* and the like; see previous n..

710 horrescit Cf. nn. on 2.204, 3.394, TCD on 12.315; part of the language of poetical *Prodigienstil*, and this colouring will become immediately clearer. Note too Scipio's *cohorru* at the dream-revelation of *Rep.*6.11.

uisu subito Suddenness a recurrent feature in prodigy-language; n. on 7.120 (both poetic and prose instances cited); add *Val.Max.*1.6.8, 8.5, etc. (a PHI search of *subit-* in *Val.Max.*1 is rewarding), H.Kleinknecht, *Herm.*79 (1944), 69f. = H.Oppermann, *Wege zu Vergil* (Darmstadt 1963), 431. **V.:** cf. nn. on 2.212, 3.36, 11.271 (all portents): 'typical Virgilian flirtation with *Prodigienstil*', but the effect of three successive suggestive words is clear and cumulative. What *Aen.* sees is sensed as in some way portentous; for the portentous character of Greek and Roman bees, see full n. on 7.64-70. There the bees point forward to the eventual foundation of Lavinium; here, as *Anch.* and *Aen.* pass from Elysium via Rebirth to the PH, it is tempting to suspect that the bees are an anticipation, a portent even, of the foundation of Rome.

causasque requirit Cf. 3.32 *causas penitus temptare latentis*, 2.105 *quaerere causas*, with nn. (surprisingly, not Lucretian in origin). **R.** a vb. to *V.*'s liking, 7.460, 625, etc.. What governs **sint** and **complerint** is not quite clear; *Aen.* may be asking for an explanation of the function of river and crowd (dependent on **c.r.**), or else (cf. Hubbard, *TLL* 7.1.1844.42) **inscius** may govern both ind. questions (H. quotes, *ib.*, 38ff., 1.718, *Hor.C.3.5.37*, *Liv.*1.54.3, etc.). It may well be that decision does not need to be reached; that is a problem only for the translator.

711 inscius Aeneas Cf. previous n., and Egil Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 728 on **i.**. When *Od.* failed to embrace Anticleia, he asked her whether Persephone had sent a ghost (*Od.*11.213-4), and she replies with a brief statement of the outlines of Hom. eschatology. So here we are leading up to *Anch.*'s eschatological lecture (**724-51**); cf. Knauer, 127.

quae sint ea flumina Plur. of a single river is good poet. usage, *Cat.*64.89 (*Eurotas*), *Lucret.*6.1114 (*Nile*), Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.958.39ff., E.Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 149 (comparing Hom. ῥέεθρα), P.Maas, *ALL* 12 (1902), 525 (poet.plur. of bodies of water); very strangely omitted from Bednara's useful list of 3rd. decl. poet. plurs., *ALL* 14 (1906), 554-62. In *V.*, vd. *Buc.*6.64, *G.*4.278, *Aen.*11.659 (where vd. my n. for further instances).

porro 'Further off, beyond', *OLD* s.v., §1b; this local sense is the original one (EM): apparently rare (but note *Liv.*1.7.6) and possibly felt as archaic.

712 quive uiri A common type of sequence of interrog. pronouns, nn. on 7.37f., 642; we are getting ever closer to the **uiri** - the Heroes of early Rome - who are about to take over and dominate (**784, 791, 814, 856**, etc.) the remainder of the book.

tanto...agmine Cf. 5.378 *ex agmine tanto*; **a.** of any large body of men, *EV* 1, 56f.: 7.703 (where vd. n.) is no parallel. Serv. *cursu, impetu* is wayward; cf. rather **749 agmine magno**. Again, though, note a sense of the host of the Romans, on parade, approaching.

complerint...ripas R.: vd. **674. C.**: cf. 2.495, 5.107, Wulff, *TLL*.3. 2092.45. For the plur. **r.**, see **305**.

713 tum pater Anchises Cf. **867** and 3.525.

713-8 Anch. delivers the first brief instalment of his answer to Aen.'s questions of **710-2**. See T.Kohn, *Vergilius* 44 (1998), 29. Cartault, 474. Kohn, 28-30 argues that the speech continues without interruption until **722** but

(i) This was not how the passage was understood in antiquity: vd. Serv. on **719 noua breuitas: nam dicendo 'o pater' qui loquatur ostenditur** and Prisc.*Inst.*18.303 (*Gramm.Lat.*3.374.5f), who quotes **723** and glosses *respondit ad interrogationem Aeneae*.

(ii) It is not what the perspicuous articulation of the passage suggests (cf. G.Highet, *HSCP* 78 (1974), 214f. for abbreviated indications of who is speaking in *Aen.*). **Laetere** is perforce addressed to Aen., concluding Anch.'s first answer to Aen.'s questions of **710-2**; **o pater** is therefore, naturally, Aen.'s address to his father (whom he often, unsurprisingly, calls *pater*; **o** is in keeping with the solemnity and intensity of the occasion). Not (Kohn) Anch.'s address to Jupiter. To Aeneas' *renewed* questions (**719-21**), Anch. says he will answer and not leave Aen. perplexed. This he will very shortly do.

(iii) An entirely flawed understanding of the textual issue at **723** does not at all help K.'s argument. Vd. *infra, ad loc.*.

Aen. will express a surprising knowledge of Orphic/ Platonic doctrine (**719-21**), in order to elicit Anch.'s fuller exposition, and Feeney, *ORVA*, 182 finds this passage an easy target for his mockery; stilted dialogue (and stilted it undeniably is) is not the perfect way to get a long philosophical exposition under way, but since the exposition is inescapable, it would hardly be more satisfactory to embed it in a tender, colloquial, familial conversation. Di Cesare, 114 is less unsympathetic than F..

713 animae Cf. **669, 680**, etc., Negri, 44, 283. Michael Reeve (letter of 28.1.10) remarks that V. leaves it unclear whether this line refers to *all* souls (comma after **animae**) or to a particular group of souls (those to whom *altera corpora debentur*); we agree that the latter option is prefer-

able, and that the comma should therefore be removed. Confirmation will be found at **748-51**.

quibus.../ 714 ...debentur Cf. 7.120 *fatis mihi debita tellus*, with n., *EV* 2, 1.

altera.../ 714 corpora V. refers to rebirth (for which, see **724-51**) at **680**; here, that knowledge is shared for the first time among the characters (Au.). A. in V. not yet an alternative to *alius* (LHS 208, KS 1, 651); rather, ‘next’, that is, ‘other [sc. ‘of two’]’, with reference to the preceding *corpus*. Hey, *TLL* 1.1733.81, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.1001.71f..

fato Even the unborn soul has an individual lot that determines the body into which it is to pass, Bailey, 209f., Pötscher, 32.

714 Lethaei...fluminis Cf. **705 Lethaeum...amnem**.

ad...undam Not quite *gen. inhaerentiae*; these ‘waters’ of a river have distinguished antecedents: Cat.64.281, *Lucr.*1.1031, *Matius* fr.7Courtney, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1. 961.12ff..

715 securos latices L. an old poetic word for water or wine (a poured liquid, in origin), in Acc. (*trag.*666), *Cic.carm.Hom.*1.8, *Lucr.* (15x). The adj. (here, strictly, waters which induce freedom from care) *bis G*, *quinquies Aen.*; already *quinquies* in *Lucr.*. *EV* 3, 128, 4, 748. No. draws attention to Kaibel, 244.10=Peek, *GVI* 1585.10 **παυσιπτόνῳ Λάθρασ...πόματι**.

et longa obliuia O. *quater* *Lucr.*, *semel* *Hor.Serm.*; Lumpe, *TLL* 9.2.106.70f., *EV* 3, 805; cf. further on **748 mille...per annos**, **750 immemores** and see *EV* 1, 379, Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 591f. for the evident convenience of such abstr. plur. forms (as against e.g. *obliuio*).

potant Comedy, occasional in *Cic.*, *Sall.*, *Lucr.*, *bis* in *Lucr.*4, *bis*, *Hor.C.*1-3, *Liv.* 1.57.6; a modest alternative to *bibere*, tolerated in high literature (already *ter* in *G.*). The line contains a play, even a multiple play, on Gk. *Lethe* and the general sense of ‘forgetting’: we have already seen (**705**) the evidence for a Gk. river called *Ameles/ Lethe* and in the prev. verse **Lethaei**, serves (as often) as a gloss and pointer. Cf. O’Hara, *TN*, 176, with 69, n.326 (glosses on river-names) and *ib.*, 57ff. (Virgilian glosses). Here both **securus** and **obliuia** (a single notion, expressed rather, even very, fully) gloss **Lethaei**.

716 has Picking up *animae*; as the topic becomes more difficult, V.’s attention to extreme perspicuity and meticulous structure becomes more strikingly apparent.

equidem Marked assertion by the speaker, **722**, *G.*1.193, 415, *Aen.*2.704 (with n.), 3.315 (with n.), *Hand* 2, 426f..

memorare tibi Cf. **123**, **601**, O.Prinz, *TLL* 8.687.45f.; no more than ‘relate, tell’. For synaloepha at 3tr., cf. No., 454.

ostendere Cf. **869**, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1121.70f..

coram Cf. 3.173 *coram agnoscere*, 8.122f. *coramque parentem/ adloquere*, 11.248 *coram...fandi*.

717 iampridem Cf. Cic.*Att.*2.5.1 *cupio equidem et iam pridem cupio Alexandriam reliquamque Aegyptum uisere*. Spoth, *TLL* 10.2.1227.7

hanc prolem...meorum Cf. **648**, **756**, **784**: **p.** a key, recurrent term for the Trojan 'stock'; **m.**: cf. n. on **681 suorum** for the affective use of pronom. adjs..

cupio enumerare According to Isid.*Diff.*1.583, *cupere* stronger than *optare*, which is in turn stronger than *uelle* (vd. Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1429.40ff.); vd. *EV* 1, 959f., 4.393f.. **E.** at Lucr.2.1071 and otherwise solidly comedy and prose. Hahn, *TLL* 5.2.618.74; cf. too Feeney, *ORVA*, 171. A sonorous verb as the climax of a long but simple structure: the souls are those of Anch.'s own people and **m.** is the last word, secured to initial **has** by the parallel members depending on **cupio**. The radical remedies once proposed by overly logical editors are not called for (vd. No.). We are not, though, quite at the end; Anch.'s bald words are about to be given a resonant, climactic statement of purpose.

718 quo magis Cf. *G.*4.248, *Aen.* 4.452, 5.29: frequent in Lucr..

Italia...reperta R. apparently only used here of the Trojans' goal (but vd. **145** of the Golden Bough, with 3.390, 395); cf. however the use of *inuenire*, with Bellincioni's energetic survey of lexical and thematic discoveries, *EV* 2, 1003). For the name of Italy, cf. n. on 7.178 (in detail); the Trojans' goal from 1.2 on (there of course then identified specifically as *Lavinia...litora*).

mecum laetere The vb. Naev.*trag.*, Enn.*Ann.*, Lucr., Cat.; *semel Buc.*; *nouies Aen.*, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.880.25; *EV* unilluminating. Anch. explains to Aen. that the PH will add the dimension of history and a resulting element of shared joy (not an emotion strong in Aen., before or indeed after this v.) to the Trojans' safe arrival; Lavinium's future will console them for the loss of Troy's past. **mecum** takes up **meos**; cf. n. on **112**. Allusion to versions in which Anch. does indeed arrive in Italy: O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 85.

719 o pater Cf. Dickey, 120-2, 348; at 10.18 addressed to Jup., but here, in the context of a conversation between son and father, it is not the moment to argue for an address to Jup., *pace* Kohn, 29. Compare **863** and 3.710.

anne...putandum est For **a.**, cf. **864** (*semel*, Lucr.), Vollmer, *TLL* 2.1.11ff. (Enn. *trag.*, Cat., Lucr.); a distinctively Lucretian line-end (*putandum est* 14x in Lucr.; cf. Bailey, 1, 103f.; unsurprisingly, Lucr. often continues with acc. and inf., as here). For the nom. gerund in *Aen.*, cf. 2.118, 9.175, 320, 12.890, n. on 11.230 (*EV* 2, 716-8 unilluminating) and for **p.** here, cf. *EV* 4, 360.

aliquas.../ 720 sublimis animas For the indef. pron. used as adj., cf. *Buc.*6.60, Cavalca, *EV* 4, 316, *TLL* 1.1608.32ff. (Vollmer). For **s.**, cf. 1.415, *EV* 4, 1053 (the sense to be given precision with **ad caelum**); compare *Acc.trag* 576 *aut saepe ex humili sede sublima euolat*. Wd.-order does not though suggest an intimate connexion of thought between **sublimis** and **ad caelum**; Serv. writes *non omnes, sed sublimium* and Henry therefore compares **758 illustres animas** and 11.24 *egregias animas*, comparing *Hor.Ep.*2.1.165 for such a sense of *sublimis*. He is very probably right to do so.

ad caelum hinc ire Cf. **750f.**. Tersely expressed: significant juxtaposition of starting-point and destination (compare indices s.v. ‘juxtaposition’ for similar phenomena); cf. e.g. 1.194, 8.546.

720 iterumque From which the souls had originally come, ‘back again’; Szantyr, *TLL* 7.2.556.73 compares *Ter.Ad.*525 for use with *reueriti*.

ad tarda.../ 721 corpora Contrast **sublimis animas** and compare **731 noxia corpora tardant**; Riganti, *EV* 5*, 41, citing the *minus tardabitur cursus animorum* of *Cic.TD*1.75; *Cic.* continues shortly *etiam cum soluti sunt, tardius ingrediuntur, ut ii qui ferro uincti multos annos fuerunt*. *Au.*’s ‘clogging’ implies an ‘active’ force for the adj. that seems to go rather beyond the evidence.

reueriti Cf. **751**, *EV* 5*, 510.

721 quae...tam dira cupido Cf. 1.539, 605, 2.373, 519, etc. for *tam* inserted in a question. **D.c.** from *G.*1.37; also at **373** and 9.185: note *Lucr.*4.1046 *dira lubido*, 1090 *dirae cuppedinis* (with Brown’s nn.), 3.59 *caeca cupido*, and 3.1077 *quae mala nos subigit uitai tanta cupido*. Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.1273.6ff., who usefully collects Serv.’s glosses: *Serv.Dan.* on *G.*1.37 *magna uel uehemens*, *Serv.* on **373** *ex deorum ira ueniens; aut certe magna*; *Serv.* on 9.183 *magna*. Cf. Traina, *EV* 2, 94f., *id.*, *Poeti latini* 2, 19 (the unnatural and unreasonable desire to return to life). Vd. also *EV* 1, 960, *TLL* 4.1422.13 (Hoppe). Has *Aen.*’s experience of life hitherto been so appalling that he *naturally* cannot believe that any soul might wish to be reborn? Or is he here no more than a mouthpiece for *V.*’s preliminary exposition of Orphic/Platonic doctrine? Or indeed, are elements of both present?

lucis Cf. n. on **828 lumina uitae**; see **733-8** for *V.*’s fuller expression of this ‘Orphic’ position.

miseris Cf. n. on 2.268 (*Lucr.*, *Hom.*); *Aen.* pities the future Romans for their ignorance of the vanity of life; as both expounder of Orphic doctrines and ancestor of the Romans, he occupies, briefly, conflicting positions; a conflict not to be pressed.

722 dicam equidem For **e.**, see **716**, and for **d.e.**, see 11.348. ‘I shall indeed tell you’, or something of the kind.

nec te suspensum...tenebo For V.'s favoured use of *tenere* with a predicative adj., cf. **469**, 1.482, 2.1 (with n.), 802, 3.388, 7.249f., 8.520 (enallage, as 2.1). Compare here Cic.*Brut.*200 *sic illos uiderit oratione quasi suspensos teneri*. **S.** as applied to the emotions, thoughts, *OLD* s.v., §2a, *Aen.*4.9, full n. on 3.372; *tacet EV*. Cf. **691 nec me...fefellit** and compare *Lucr.*6.245 *neque te in promissis plura morabor*.

nate Cf. **689**, **693**, etc..

723 suscipit Anchises *EV* 1, 654, *OLD* s.v., §2b, ‘reply’. A rare, occasional sense in prose (*OLD* quotes Varro, Quint., Apul.), perhaps here in keeping with the sober philosophical exposition to follow. **GMP** and some c.9 mss. transpose the letters (or indeed echo the **suspicit** of **668**) and read **suspicit**, which offers sense of a sort, but of no particular relevance (*pace* Kohn) to the situation. Priscian *Gramm.Lat.* 3. 374.5 paraphrases well *respondit ad interrogationem*.

atque...singula pandit Cf. 3.179 *remque ordine pando* with n.; **s.**: *OLD* s.v., §2, *Hor.Serm.*1.8.40 *singula quid memorem?*, *Ov.Trist.*3.1.33 *singula dum miror*.

ordine Cf. 3.179, *supra*.

724-51

(1) Readers must always have been struck by a singular, dominating counterpoint in these vv., between (a) the strongly Lucretian language and (b) the content, ‘Orphic’, Platonic and Stoic.

(a) Apart from the Lucretian language noted in comm., see in particular Adler, Michels (for *Lucr.* and bk.6, outside these vv.), Lucherini, Giesecke, 70-4 (a good summary), Mellinghoff-Bourgerie, 173-88 at 182f., Highet, 237-40, Harrison, *GEVH*, 232, and (*bene*) Romano. In part, V. *naturally* uses Lucretian language when writing about philosophy (cf. Cartault, 474, Romano, 95, Wigodsky, 137); its *generic* suitability overrides any conflict of philos. appropriateness; he may also have taken technical pleasure, shared inevitably by the informed reader, in the difficulties of using language once applied to Epicureanism in the exposition of such different doctrines; cf. further n. on **724 principio**. For *Aen.*6 and the apparition to Enn. of Hom.'s ghost, cf. Skutsch on fr.iv of *Ann.*1, Highet, 240f., S.Mariotti, *Lezioni su Ennio*₂ (Urbino 1991), 45-62 at 52, Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 627-9, Wigodsky, 73f., Setaioli (1975), 6-9, E.L.Harrison, *CJ* 73 (1978), 193-7, H.R.Steiner, *Der Traum in der Aeneis* (Bern 1952), 9-18, Walde (**686**), 211-8, from all of whom much further bibliography can be derived. It is clearly likely that V.'s exposition of metempsychosis is Ennian both as a whole and in many details no longer securely recognisable.

(b) Orphic, Platonic and Stoic elements will emerge in comm.. For the first, cf. (637-51), footnote, much indebted to recent work by Bernabé in particular; many 'Orphic' elements will in practice have reached V. via Plato. For likely echoes of Plato, I again offer a list¹; given V.'s marked, easily recognisable indebtedness to Platonic *metaphor*, direct consultation seems a good deal likelier than Posidonian mediation. For the Stoics, the existence of Long/Sedley (vd. **726 infusa per artus**), alongside *SVF* and the older handbooks, is of notable assistance². Cf. *EV* 4, 1030, Solmsen, *ORVA* 218f.. Note also the formal correspondence to Anticleia's account of the nature of death, *Od.*11.216-24 (Knauer, 125, 350).

(2) Cic., *Somnium Scipionis*. It has never been clear to me why there should be such reluctance to admit Cic. as an author read by V. with pleasure (he can hardly have disdained *Somn.*) and indeed profit; cf. *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 55-6, against the excessive scepticism of J.G.F.Powell, comm., Cic., *Am.*, *Somn.*, 131; cf. Norden, 26f., Braund, 217f., Lamacchia (still very useful), Habinek, 234f. (ungrateful), Hardie, *CI*, 75f., Grilli, *EV* 1, 774f.. See in particular nn. on **678 dehinc**, **732 moribundaque membra**, **734 tenebris et carcere caeco**, **743f. per amplum/ mittimur Elysium**.

(3) Norden's intro. (20ff.; contrast *Nachträge*, 459f., for his recantation) is a fine example of his age's unhealthy preoccupation with Posidonius; in particular with V.'s hypothetical use of Pos. as an easy and preferred alternative to direct use of both Stoic and Platonic sources; Moreschini, *EV* 4, 232 takes no note of the flow of scholarly opinion away from Pos. at least since J.F.Dobson, 'The Pos.; myth', *CQ* 12 (1918) 179-95 and Reinhardt's *Kosmos und Sympathie* of 1926 (vd. Norden, *Nachträge*, p.459f.); the ed. by Edelstein/Kidd has lent added force to the case for scepticism, as some of the key passages cited by Norden turn out no longer to be recognised as Posidonian at all. See that ed., 1, xvii^{ff.} for some account of the debate, and Grilli, *EV* 1, 194 for a summary of the evidence. In general, we may compare Boyancé's unconvincing case (1960, summarised, Boyancé, 151-3) for V.'s use of Antiochus of Ascalon. Vd. further **731 noxia corpora**, **736f. omnes/ corporeae pestes**, **739 (ergo: purgations)**, **748 has omnis** (cycle of purgation).

(4) The question of the origins (the key figure perceived in antiquity as having been the historical Pythagoras, late c.6) and development of the

1 See nn. on **731 noxia...corpora**, **732 moribundaque membra**, **733 metuunt**, **734 tenebris et corpore caeco**, **736f. omnes/ corporeae pestes**, **738 inolescere**, **739 ergo**, **741 suspensae**, **742 eluitur**, **743 quique suos...**, **748 mille...per annos**. Cf. too Boyancé, 167-9, Solmsen, *ORVA* 217f..

2 **726 spiritus, intus alit, infusa per artus**, **730 igneus...uigor**, with **731 seminibus, caelestis origo**, **731 noxia corpora**, **733 metuunt**, **747 aetherium sensum**, **747 aurai simplicis ignem**.

doctrine of metempsychosis. That doctrine (see e.g. Binder) is what makes it possible for V. to reveal to us the pageant of great, unborn Romans. Cf. Burkert, *LS*, 120-3, *et passim*, Bremmer (2002), 11-5, Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational*, 150-2, *et passim*, Solmsen (1968), 13, Heuzé, 354-61.

(5) See **637-751**, *ad fin.*, for these vv. as typically Virgilian in thought and language, as, that is, asystematic and impressionistic in exegesis, while maintaining a notable, undervalued formal clarity by familiar means (ample indications of articulation and ring-composition); it is very easy, by answering questions that V. never sought to ask, to raise unnecessary confusion and even easier, by the heavy-handed use of punctuation, to obscure the poet's evident sense. No attempt to reconstruct an entire Virgilian system of eschatology will be offered here (but vd. **743-4**, *ad fin.*, and the schematised summary, xxvi); the poet typically offers us apparent scraps of such a system (and had Silenus and Iopas done significantly more? Cf. *Il.*18.483ff., *AR* 1.496ff., with Nelis, 349, *Cic.cons.fr.* 2.1-12, with Setaioli, 1975); with such scraps (drawn from widely varied sources, as Cartault, 475f. already remarks, with disapproval) the reader must be satisfied. Much thought has recently been devoted to the juxtaposition of history and philosophy in these vv.: Williams, *ORVA*, 202, Solmsen, *ib.*, 221f., Habinek, 226-38, Zetzel (1989), 275f.. Comm. has noted, in the vv. introductory to this philos. exposition, ample anticipation of the PH (**710**, bees as foundation-portent, **712 uiri**, and in particular, **717-8**). Not only artistic, even stylistic juxtaposition/opposition but also (Hardie, *CI*, 66-70, *78 bene*) both a 'cosmic' setting and in some sense an *aition* for the greatness of Rome.

Bibliography: Adler, 295, M.Arundel, *PVS* 3 (1963-4), 27-34, J.P.Bews in *Laurea corona. Studies...Coleiro* (Amsterdam 1989), 91-8, Boyancé, 165-74, *id.*, *Hommages ...Dumézil* (*Coll.Lat.* 45, Bruxelles 1960), 60-76, Bremmer (2009), 203-5, S.Morton Braund in *Cambridge companion to Virgil* (ed. C.Martindale, Cambridge 1997), 216-20, Cartault, 474-6, Clark, *Catabasis*, 177-83, M.Deramaix, *REL* 72 (1994), 90-112, S.D'Elia, in *Lecturae vergiliana* (ed. M.Gigante, Napoli 1983), 187-231 at 200f., L.Fladerer, *Lat.57* (1998), 336-61, T.N.Habinek, *HSCP* 92 (1989), 223-35, Hardie, *CI*, 66-83, Heuzé, 354-61, Henry, *VP*, 134, 136f., Heyne, exc.xiii on bk.6, Highet, 233-41, J.Hubaux, *Hommages...L.Herrmann*, (*Coll.Lat.* 44, Bruxelles 1960), 436-45, R.Lamacchia, *RhM.* 107 (1964), 261-78, O.Lucherini, *Athen.67* (1989), 296-305, Mellinshoff-B., 193-204, A.K.Michels, *AJP* 65 (1944), 135-48, Norden, 16-20, 309f., E.Romano, *Pan* 5 (1977), 91-9 (*bene*), A.Setaioli, *EV* 2, 961-2, *id.*, *SIFC* 47 (1975), 5-26, *id.*, in *Cultura e Lingue Classiche* 3 (ed. B.Amata, Roma 1993), 330-3, F.Solmsen *ORVA*, 217-23, *id.*, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 112 (1968), 8-14, G.Stégen, *Ant.Class.* 36 (1967), 144-58, Thornton, 35-8, Williams in *ORVA*, 200-2, Wlosok, *RHRD*, 358, 374, *et passim*, J.E.G.Zetzel, *TAPA* 119 (1989), 282, Horsfall, *Companion*, 151-3.

724 principio A significant opening, which I discussed as one of Virgil's more striking 'segnali per strada' (*Alambicco*, 111, comparing *arma uirumque*, the *Aen.* both Iliadic and Odyssean): this is not only going to be an exposition eschatological, even in some sense philosophical in *content*, but, thanks to **principio**, we know from the first word that it will be Lucretian, didactic, expository in *manner* (p. 37x in *DRN*, Spoth, *TLL* 10.2.1315.58f.); also used by *Cic.Cons.fr.2.1*, at the outset of a cosmological passage. With the sequence **principio...inde...hinc**, No. compares *Lucr.5.510ff.*. How much conscious wit or paradox there is in the opposition of Stoic/ Platonic matter and Lucretian manner remains to be explored. See Setaioli (1993), 331, (1975), 8ff., who rather tends to restrict the range of V.'s reading.

caelum ac terras This v. contains, to use Hardie's term (*CI*, 313-22; vd. also 70f.), a 'distribution over three terms' in describing the universe, with 'expansion of the list of the three divisions to include the heavenly bodies' (*ib.*, 320); so already the opening of Hom.'s Shield of Achilles, *Il.* 18.483ff., *Lucr.2.1084f.*, 5.68f., etc.: vd. Hardie for further details and n. on **756 deinde**. Such polar expressions more widespread than Hardie's readers might quite realise, thus here cf. *Plaut. Am.1055, Trin.1070* (with *Mil.1395, Per.604, Trin.947*), *Ter.Ad.790, Enn.trag 223, 235* (where vd. Jocelyn's n. for instances in *Cic.*, after Landgraf on *Rosc.Am.131*), *Ann.556, Afran.com.fr.9Ribb.*, *Cic.Cons.fr.2.3, 32* (both bipartite), before ever we come to *Lucr.* and Ciceronian prose. **Terras F₂GM; terram FPR**; c.9.mss. divided, while the many citations mostly favour plur.; plur. is the normal idiom in such instances of polarity, as Hardie's list of 'universal' expressions rapidly makes clear (313ff., citing e.g. 1.58, 224, 280, 3.193). Scribes may have sought to impose a sequence of sing.+sing.. Cf. too Wagner, *QV* ix.3, §vi. For the Stoic view of the elements, vd. Long/Sedley, *infra*, 2, 264-85.

camposque liquentis Cf. *Lucr. 5.488, 6.405, 1142 camposque nantatis*. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 3.220.67f., Stirnimann, *ib.*, 7.2.1480.43f.; the periphrasis for 'sea' (so too e.g. *prata, arua*; vd. No., Au.) explained by *Macr.6.1.45* and [Prob.] *ad Buc.6.31, Serv.3.2.337.23* (ed. Hagen). Note that the transference of c. from land to sea is of clear Greek origin, *Aesch.fr.150.1Radt*, *LSJ* s.v. πεδίων, §1b. The adj. has distinguished antecedents, *Lucr.2.992, Cat.31.2, G.4.442*, but V.'s expression here will probably have been sensed as a new, but 'traditional', variation (perhaps for reasons of allit.) upon a familiar Lucretian original. The third element in the tricolon longer and weightier, linked by marked allit. to the expansion of the 'celestial' element in the following v.. *Tacet EV*.

725 lucentemque globum lunae The adj. *sexies* in *Cic.Arat.* (though not of sun and moon); in particular, cf. 324 *lucens uis magna Nepai. TLL* 7.2.1696.72f. (Buchwald). *Tacet EV*, Cordier. The rest of the expression

once more, unsurprisingly, Lucretian, 5.69 *lunai ...globum* (with 665 (of sun), 720 *globum...pilai*, and (of moon) 722), *TLL* 6.2.2051.67 (Blatt), Pease on *Cic.ND.2.47*. There is at very least some form of paronomasia here, and perhaps a hint (O'Hara. *TN*, 177) at the etym. *lumen* > *luna* (*ib.*, 152, *Varr.LL* 5.68, *Cic.ND.* 2.68 *luna a lucendo*).

Titaniaque astra An old problem: *aut stellas dicit, aut solem* *Serv.*. Hard to see any point in a pairing of 'moon and stars' here; hard too to explain such a reference to the Titans. Arundel, 28 cites passages in which the sun is clearly represented as one of the stars (*Cic.ND.2.41*, 92, 101-2; cf. *OLD* s.v. *sidus*, §2c for the sun as *sidus*), but that is very different from showing that *astra* can be used - comprehensibly - in the sense of 'sun and stars'. The sun called a Titan (4.119, where *vd.* Pease; also *Cic.Arat.60*), and acknowledged as the son of the Titan Hyperion (Weizsäcker, *Ro.1.2.2842.19ff.*, West on *Hes.Theog.134*, etc.). The problem lies in the use of plur. **astra** used of the single sun. That the sun was later called (sing.) *astrum* is little help (Dittmann, *TLL* 2.972.67ff., citing Avienus; for [Sen.] *HO* 728, see Zwierlein's ed.). *OLD* s.v., §2b and *TLL*, *cit.* line 68 accept the sense of 'sun' here, though *astra* does not appear in the lists of poet. plur. compiled by Maas (*ALL* 12 (1902), 503ff.), Löfstedt (*Synt.12*, 29ff.), Kraggerud (*EV* 4, 149f.) and Bednara (*ALL* 14 (1906), 539ff.). For poet.plur. of *sidus*, *OLD* s.v., §2b cites *Val.Fl.2.364* (and cf. also *Ov. Met.14.172 sidera solis*, with Lyne on *Ciris* 37, for *sidera* used of sun/moon); Henry's two instances of poet.plur. use of *astrum* (*Stat.Theb.* 11.93f., 1.305) are challenged by J.Pfundstein, *Vergilius* 43 (1997), 24f., perhaps rightly. Pf.'s zodiacal interpretation of the phrase is untimely and unconvincing; his view of the dating of Manilius is gravely confused. *EV* 5*, 194 and M.Deramaix, *REL* 72 (1994), 101 shed no light. If (e.g.) *altar-ia* can be used of a single altar, it is not significantly harder to use plur. *astra* of the one sun; in the case of such a Virgilian linguistic invention (*vd.* R.Renehan, *CP* 68 (1973), 197ff., terse and excellent), it is less worrying that there are no antecedents than that there are no evident imitations. Cf. Habinek, 229f. for a very different view. For the synaloepha at 5tr., cf. No., 456.

726 spiritus Immediately recognisable even to the scantily-educated reader as the *anima mundi* (see e.g. Chrysippus, *SVF* 2, pp.306-9; 'deum esse corpus', von Arnim); remoter antecedents, which can be traced back via Plato to the Presocratics, are hardly relevant here. Here, though, the reader naturally thinks back to *G.* 4.219-227, the bees *partem diuinae mentis* (there *vd.* the comms. of Biotti, Mynors and notably, Richter) and see also *uno diuino et continuato spiritu* *Cic.ND.2.19 ad fin.* (translating πνεῦμα), with Pease's n. (note too *ib.*, 2.30, 41). Negri, 191-3 (with ample citations, and specialist bibl.), Cumont, *LP*, 113f., Arundel, 28f., correctly noting

that **spiritus** and **mens** are synonyms, forming part of a typical Virgilian compound expression. Arnold, *Rom. Stoicism*, 181f., Long/Sedley, 2, pp.281-5. *EV* 4, 1001 not helpful.

intus alit I. corresponds to Gk. ἔνδον at e.g. Epict.1.14.14, not in itself technical but used in technical Stoic texts much as **intus** is here. Cf. Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.105.25ff., Sen.*Ep.*41.2 *prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est*, *NQ* 6.16.4. **A.**, though, does turn out, perhaps surprisingly, to belong to the technical language of the philosophers: cf. von Mess, *TLL* 1.1709.35f. with Cic. *nat.deor.*2.41 *uitalis et salutaris, omnia conseruat, alit, auget, sustinet, sensuque adfcit*, Sen.*NQ* 6.16.1 *sed illo [sc. spiritu] dico uitali et uegeto et alente omnia*. Norden cites (misquoting slightly) Zeno fr.120, *SVF* 1.34.25, a kind of fire that is αὔρητικόν.

totamque.../ 727 ...molem Lucretian: cf. Lucr.5.95f. *multosque per annos/ sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi*, Ov.*Met.*1.258 *mundi moles operosa*, Lumpe 8.1343.57f., *EV* 3, 559. Lumpe and Bömer on Ov., *cit.*, cite later instances. **T.** because the divine *mens* penetrates, as though a fluid (*vd. infra*), to all corners of the entire fabric.

infusa per artus A notable enrichment of *G.4.221 ire*. Of **a.**, Serv. writes *per elementa, quae membra sunt mundi*; that is apparently quite correct, for Bannier, *TLL* 2.720.3ff. compares Manil. 1.138 *per quattuor artus*, which are *terra, flamma, aer* and *umor*. **Infusa** ‘*c. not. diffundendi*’, Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1508.52ff.; *EV* 2, 610 offers no help. Hardly the suggestion that **V.** thought the *anima mundi* was in some sense liquid; rather that it pervaded the whole as though it were. D.A.Russell (*ap. Au.*) cites Posid.fr. 21, 100EK (Pos. favours διήκειν to express the all-pervasiveness of the νοῦς; see *EV* 4, 232); *vd. Kidd's* rich nn.. As Negri remarks, 191, 235f., **V.** typically repeats the idea with varied phrasing (**spiritus...**; **mens...**). Perhaps not quite ‘hendiadys’ (*vd. Negri's* fine note on this whole manner of writing, 236, n.4). The clausula is very familiar from Lucr. (with e.g. *commixta, concussa, partita* preceding); less striking Cic.*cons.*fr.2.3, 10. See A.A.Long, D.N.Sedley, *Les philosophes hellénistiques* 2 (Paris 2001), pp.253-64.

727 mens The *diuina mens* of *G.4.220* (*vd. Biotti's* useful n.); Adorno (*EV* 3, 484) interestingly adduces 5.56f. (*mente* parallel with *numine*; the sense of a divine *design* there clearly present). *Vd. Arundel*, 29 (the idea traced back to the Presocratics), Negri, 179-81, 191-3, Hofmann, *TLL* 8.712.69f..

agitat Cf. *EV* 1, 56, *TLL* 1.1336.66f. (Hey), Sen.*NQ* 6.6.2 *aquas esse in causa quibus hic orbis agitur*, Cic.*ND.*2.31, 42. Clearly renders Gk. κινεῖ, a term very common in the Stoics. The fr. of Zeno (fr.135, I.38.3ff. von Arnim) that *Au.* cites here refers to the individual soul (the warm breath by which we are stirred), not the *anima mundi*.

et...se...miscet Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 8.1092.72ff.; the vb. used by Lucr., but standard Latin (also e.g. Cic.*Arat.*) and not here distinctive. *EV* 3.541 thin. Au. writes oddly 'in procreation', adducing *G.2.325ff.*; vd. Thomas there, of the earth made fertile by the aether, an important part of the whole here described; here, however, the *mens* penetrates throughout the *magnum corpus*, and procreation is only one of its roles (cf. Arundel, cited on **mens**). Bews, 92 unilluminating on the 'metaphor'.

magno...corpore Cf. (e.g.) 2.486, 12.444f. for unambiguous instances of the abl. after *miscere*. Cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.1003.31f., who quotes Enn.*var.51* (*Epicharmus*) *terra corpus est, at mentis* [nom.] *ignis est*. Cf. *ib.*, 1024.63ff. for the sense present here of 'massa', the whole 'body' of the universe in which the divine intelligence is diffused; L. quotes e.g. Cic. *Tim.14 uniuersi corpus*, 15, *Aetna 102 diuiso corpore mundi*, Aug.*civ.Dei 7.9. mundi corpus*. See too Lucr.5.364 *corpore mundi*. For the abl. alone thus after *miscere*, cf. *Buc.5.3*, *G.3.516*, *Aen.3.557 aestu miscentur harenae*, 12.68f. *lilia multa/ alba rosa*.

728 inde Markedly Lucretian, 1.15 *inde ferae pecudes*, 3.247, 248 (82x, in various senses). Cf. Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1114.82ff.. Here, a vb. such as *gignuntur* easily supplied; for that matter, simple *natum*.

hominum pecudumque genus The three groups of living inhabitants corresponding to the tripartite universe of vv. **724-5**; cf. Hardie, *CI*, 320. Compare *G.3.242 omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque/ et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque uolucres* after Lucr.2.342-4 *praeterea genus humanum mutaeque natantes/ squamigerum pecudes et laeta armenta feraeque/ et uariae uolucres*, itself a sort of précis of 1.1-20, *Aen.1.743* (Iopas' song) *unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes*, Varr.*RR 2.1.3 et homines et pecudes; hominum...pecudumque* at Lucr.6.1092, 1127. Cf. too Liv.24.20.4 *pecudum hominumque*; so too in Cic.*de orat.2.153* and *quater* in the *philosophica*, in particular *nat.deor. 2.131 non modo hominum sed etiam pecudum generi* (with Pease's n.). The use of *genus* with gen./adj. peculiarly Ennian (after *Il.2.852*, etc.): see Skutsch on *Ann.8*, 76; then also Lucr. (1.162 *squamigerum genus et uolucres*, 227). See Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1893.69ff. and for **p.**, Hillen, 10.1.959.2ff., who most ill-advisedly takes the word to refer to 'aves et pisces vel reptilia', when clearly they are the **pecudes** who inhabit (**724**) **terras**. Cf. Hillen, 958.44ff. for this generalising sense, citing Lucr. 2.343, 1083, and then more closely *G.1.423* (of birds), *Aen.4.525 cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque uolucres. Tacet EV quoque*. The opposition **pecudes**><**homines** an old, standard polar expression, Brink, *TLL* 6.3.2876.16ff., from Plaut. *Pseud.* 825 on and see Mynors' helpful n. on *G.3.368* on how V. pairs *pecudes*.

uitaeque uolantum Another lofty periphrastic expression (cf. full n. on 7.650 *corpore Turni*; see G.3.369 *corpora magna boum*), arranged chiasmatically; it draws the reader's attention, alliteratively, above all to the vigorous life of the birds. Cf. Enn. *Ann.*76 *genus altiuolantum*, Lucr.2.1083 *corpora cuncta uolantum*. The use of **uitae** has no obvious parallels and looks as though it may have been invented by V. *ad hoc*, with the 'parallel' of **genus** in mind. *EV* unilluminating. Cf. Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 341, NW 2, 144 for the common, indispensable alternative form of the gen. plur. of the pres. partic..

729 et quae...monstra The third member of the list weightily occupies an entire line. The antecedent as very often incorporated into the rel. clause, Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Lat. Gramm.*, §616, LHS 564. Cf. *Od.*3.158, μεγακῆτεα πόντον, Hor. *C.*1.3.18 *monstra natantia* (where vd. NH and note too 3.27.26f. *scatentem/ beluis pontum* (with NR), 4.14.47 *beluosus* (where vd. Fedeli), Albinovanus Pedo, v.5f., Courtney p.315 *hunc illum, pigris immania monstra sub undis/ quae ferat, Oceanum* (vd. Courtney's n.), *Dirae* 56f., not to mention (Paratore) 5.822 *immania cete* and Alcmán, fr.89.5PMG; Bernard Heuvelmans, *Dans le sillage des monstres marins* (Paris 1958; Eng.tr. 1968) provides a splendid introduction to the interaction between ichthyofantasy and the assiduous fisherman's odder catches. For the actual world, the admirable drawings to Alan Davidson's three volumes of (largely) edible sea creatures will serve as a start. In-depth exploration of a good Venetian *zuppa di pesce* is still unnerving and informative. **M.**: Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1451.33ff.; not here specifically portentous.

marmoreo...sub aequore **A.** here the surface of the sea; cf. n. on 3.197, *EV* 1, 37f. (Aricò), *TLL* 1.1024.31 (Vollmer): not necessarily flat/calm. The adj. unexpectedly elusive: vd. *EV* 1, 38, *TLL* 8.413.59ff. (Brandt); *EV* 3, 383-5 unconstructive. There is an echo of Hom. (*Il.*14.273 ἄλα μαρμαρέην) and Enn.'s use of *marmore flauo* (*Ann.* 377) needs also to be taken into consideration (vd. Skutsch there). 'White with foam' (i.e. like the whiteness of marble) is in favour; vd. Skutsch for a fine discussion of the sea as white and see Lucr.2.764f., Cic.*Progn.*fr.3.3, *Acad.*2.fr.4, *Aen.*8.672, Sen.*Ag.*441 (where vd. Tarrant). It is easy but unconstructive to be dazzled by the whiteness of Carrara. Colour indeed may not be relevant at all (for the range, including the sea-like *verde antico*, see e.g. my friend Deborah Howard, *Archit. hist. Venice*₂, 60); we could as well consider both the solid sheen of the surface and, most of all (so, rightly, Ailsa Crofts), the polychrome veining both of marble and of seawater in motion. An open and unresolved problem.

fert...pontus V. selects a lofty, Ennian word for 'sea'; cf. n. on 7.300. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.554.7. V. reworks G.1.184f. *quae plurima terrae/ monstra ferunt*.

730 igneus...uigor Cf. *TLL* 7.1.284.42 (Rubenbauer); **I.** used by Lucr. (1.679, 6.297) and common in Cic.*philosophica* (*TD, nat.deor.*); **u.** *G.*4.418; for Lucr., vd. Lachmann on 5.1112. Otherwise, rare in prose before V.. V. now specifies the fiery character of the *spiritus/mens*, in distinctively Stoic terms (the soul a spark of the *anima mundi*): see Kidd's rich n. on Posid.fr.100, *SVF* index, 4, 125 *ad fin.* (god as fire), Chrysippus fr.1027, *SVF* 2.306.19f. νοερόν θεόν...πῦρ τεχνικόν, Arundel 23, Arnold, 180, etc., Long/Sedley 2, pp.253-64.

est ollis A favoured archaism, noted in antiquity (Quint.8.3.25); cf. n. on 7.458, Skutsch, pp.64-6, Lebek, *TLL* 7.2.571.2f.. Pronoun, probably, rather than adjectival here (Au., Lebek, s.v. 'usu anaphorico'); **uigor** and **origo** are distinct and parallel elements in an ample compound expression and to both are attached possessive datives (Antoine, 108f.). It would just be possible to take **ollis** as adjectival, but we reach a completed phrase at **uigor**, and therefore have no reason to wait for a distinct expansion of **ollis** in *caelestis origo/ seminibus*.

et caelestis origo **O.** used by Cinna *carm.*fr.1.4Courtney, Cat. (4.15), and 15x in Lucr.. Bader, *TLL* 9.2.983.31f. cites Sen.*cons.Helv.*6.7 (origin of *mens*) *si primam eius originem aspexeris: non est ex terreno et graui concreta corpore, ex illo caelesti spiritu descendit.* Also Cic.*Sen.*78 *est enim animus caelestis* with Powell's n., *Leg.*1.26 *solum hominem erexit*, etc. (vd. Dyck). The adj. *octies* in Lucr.; the fire, as we have seen, divine or heavenly (see e.g. Zeno, fr.102, *SVF* 1.28.30).

731 seminibus *Animalium semen ignis is, qui anima et mens* Zeno fr.126, *SVF* 1.35.31f., cited by Varr.*LL* 5.59, and further fr.128, *SVF* 1.36.1ff.; these σπέρματα the particles of the divine fire, Arnold, 161, Arundel, 29f., Long/Sedley, p.254. *EV* 4, 762 does not recognise that the context here is primarily *Stoic*.

quantum non A generally ignored form of limiting clause (with both indic. and subjunc.): cf. Ernout-Thomas, 341, KS 2, 308, Roby 2, 299, 341, *OLD* s.v., §3a; the construction far commoner than such scholarly neglect might suggest (vd. Lucr.'s simple *quantum in se est*, *Aen.*8.403 *quantum...ualent*, and use of *quantum* in e.g. Sall., Vell., Val.Max.).

noxia corpora The adj. in a non-legal sense (*OLD* s.v., §2 'harmful, injurious, noxious') not clearly attested before V., n. on 7.326 (*crimina noxia*), G.Thome, *Vorstellungen vom Bösen...*(Stuttgart 1993), 97 (with use of *TLL* resources). Discreetly, and with no helpful hints for the reader, the poet slips increasingly away from Stoicism towards Plato and the Orphics (cf. Solmsen, *ORVA*, 217). Cf. (724-51), (3) for the movement away from Norden's hypothesis that V. derived a syncretism of Platonism and Stoicism not so much from a direct reading of the texts as from the work of Posidonius. Here vd. e.g. *Phaed.*65A, 66A, *Phaedr.*250C; so already Serv.

on **703** for V. and *Phaedo*; while Aug.DCD 21.13 (with Hagendahl, *Aug. and the Lat. classics*, 1, 347) refers to *Platonici*; cf. n. on **739**, Boyancé, 166ff., *id.*, (1960), 60ff.. See Long/Sedley, 2, pp.518-41 (at 527f., 539), Arnold 241f., Arundel, 31-2, Kidd on Posid.frr.153, 169F (influence of body upon passions). The alternatives are actually, typically, more complex, for it is abundantly clear that V. knew intimately the profoundly Platonic *Somnium Scipionis*: vd. *infra*, **734 tenebris** and *supra*, (724-51), (2).

tardant See n. on **720f. tarda.../ corpora**. It matters not at all whether we treat this verb (and indeed the next) as intrans. or supply the obj. (*semi-na*) from what precedes.

732 terrenique...artus Cf. Cic.TD 1.62 *terrena mortaliq̄ue natura, ib.*, 42 *terreno principiorum genere*, 47, and even commoner in *nat.deor.*, OLD s.v., §4. Lucr. has *terreno corpore* at 1.1085, 2.1114. A.: Bannier, *TLL* 2.713.66ff. Note Lucr.4.1042 *per membra atq̄ue artus*; here V. offers a substantial compound expression, the two nouns synonymous and the adjs. cumulative in effect ('earth-bound', 'mortal').

hebetant Also Liv.8.10.3 (slightly earlier than *Aen.2*, it is now thought; *Aen.3*, xxvi), *hastas aut praefregissent aut hebetassent*, Groth, *TLL* 6.3.2584.63ff.. At 2.605, I was clearly quite wrong to follow Cordier (so too Ladewig, Norden) in saying that this was a Virgilian coinage. Possibly both Liv. and V. follow an earlier use (as it might be, Enn.).

moribundaque membra Of the adj., Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1489.66f. writes well 'proprio de hominibus omnino morti destinatis, caducis', comparing Apul.*Socr.4 immortalis animis, moribundus membris*. See too *TLL* 8.639.36 (Hofmann). The clause that began with **quantum non** ends in a weighty allit. clausula. The body 'heavy, earthly, visible', Plat.*Phaed.*81C, 'mortal', *Orph.*fr.425, 717.129Bernabé *PEG* 2.1 and 2.2, Cic.*Rep.*6.26. 'Limbs' part of an elaborate stylistic expansion of simple 'body', and not any sort of significant debt to Plat./*Orph.*. We have yet to reach the dominant image (**734 carcere**). Vd. Lamacchia (1964), 263, Bremmer (2009), 203, Arundel, 31f., Boyancé (1960), 64.

733 hinc 'Propter corpus' Rehm, *TLL* 6.3.2801.50f.; used thus as a back-reference in argument. Lucr.3.884, etc..

metuunt The division of emotions is widely attested, and not characteristic of any school (Serv. *Varro et omnes philosophi*; possibly Varro's *de philosophia*): Plat.*Phaed.* 83B τῶν ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ λυπῶν καὶ φόβῶν, Chrysipp.fr.380 = *SVF* 3.92.32ff. (= Cic.TD.4.14), 381= *SVF* 3.93.10ff. (= Cic.*Fin.*3.35), fr.394 = *SVF* 3.95.36ff., fr.459 = *SVF* 3.111.32ff., Hor.*Ep.*1.6.12 *gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne* (cf. 1.2.51, 16.65), Cic.TD 1.22 *cupere timere anḡi laetari*, 3.24f., Boyancé (1960), 64, 66, Arnold, 353, von Arnim, *SVF* 4, 109 (no agreement on the finer points of

classification), Long/Sedley, pp. 521, 522, 535. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.902.48f. *EV* s.v. *m.* not satisfactory.

cupiuntque Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1429.66f., *EV* 1, 960; cf. the passages from *Hor.Ep.* cited in the previous n..

dolent Cf. *Hor.Ep.* 1.6.12 (*supra*), Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1820.53f.; *tacet EV*.

gaudentque Cf. again *Hor.Ep.* 1.6.12, and see Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1702.28f.; *EV* s.v. *gaudium* stops short of the verb. Fitting the four passions tranquilly into a single line a notable *tour de force*; note 'Greek' caesura at 3tr. and sense-pause at 5tr.; subsidiary caesura at 4sp. blurred by **-que**: vd. further Au..

neque auras/ 734 dispiciunt Dispiciunt TCD and some c.9 mss.; **despiciunt** FMPR and some of the remaining c.9 mss. (yet others transmit, like Serv., **respiciunt**); **suspiciunt** Aug. *DCD* 14.3, 21.13. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1415.40f.: **dispiciunt** a favourite with *Lucr.* (though his codd. too are confused), 2.742 (those born blind, who have never **d.** the light of the sun), etc.. The sense given by **dis-** is necessary for the image to function: imprisoned in the body, the souls *see at a distance* the airs of heaven; cf. *Cic.TD* 1.45 *cum has terras incoletentes circumfusi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis dispicere cupiebant*, *Liv.* 44.6.17 *quorum nihil cum dispexisset caecata mens subito terrore*, *Sen.Ben.* 5.4.4 *quibus ad dispiciendam veritatem non erat obfusa caligo*. The only small problem lies in the identity of the subject; since **clausae** is fem.plur. it can only be (as supplied by the context) *animae*. Serv. *nam quia cohaerent corpori, obliuiscuntur naturae suae*. TCD *corpus inimicum est ei quem intra se habet, ut sit caeco corpori comparatum*. The *aurae* those of their native *caelum*, **724**, **730**; a fine note by Henry, who cites *Cic.Leg.* 1.26 *domiciliique pristini conspectum*, where vd. Dyck.

clausae Cf. Hey, *TLL* 3.1308.25ff., *Sen.Ep.* 65.17 *sic animus in hoc tristi et obscuro domicilio clusus, quotiens potest, apertum petit*, 76.25 *clusas et obsessas* (souls in body). Marked, hard allit. of c.

tenebris et carcere caeco A fine compound expression (hendiadys, to some): see Hahn (1930), 177 (on coordination of an object with the shadow it casts, comparing *G.* 3.418, *Aen.* 10.190 *populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum*). Cf. Setaioli, *EV* 5*, 98. At *Cic.TD.* 1.74, the *sapiens* passes *ex his tenebris in lucem illam*, but all the same does not break his bonds *nec tamen illa uincla carceris ruperit*. See further Probst, *TLL* 3.437.58ff., comparing *Cic.Scaur.* 4 *cum corpore animus tamquam carcere saeptus teneretur*, *Rep.* 6.14 *qui e corporum uinculis tamquam e carcere euolauerunt* (vd. Zetzels and Powell's nn., Lamacchia, 263); *Macr. (comm. Somn.* 1.10.9) elaborates: *ipsa corpora quibus inclusae animae carcerem foedum tenebris, horridum sordibus et cruore patiuntur*. The metaphor has a distinguished and important history: see Arundel 32, Lamacchia (1964),

263f., Boyancé (1960), 64f., Bremmer (2009), 203, n.141, Powell on Cic.*Sen.*73, 81, Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.110 *uinclis corporis* and Au.'s note here. Compare Philolaus, 32B14DK (= 1.315.28 = Bernabé *PEG* 2.1.p.360.12; see Burkert, *LS*, 220ff.), *Orph.*fr.429Bernabé, *PEG* 2.1 (=Plat.*Phaed.* 62B), with ample bibl., *ib.*, fr.430 (Plat.*Crat.*400C; the first expression of $\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha$ $\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha$), *Phaed.*67D, 81C, 91E, Cic. and Sen., *passim* (*supra*), Cic.*Sen.*77 *inclusi in his compagibus corporis*, Sen. *cons.**Polyb.* 9.3, Pallas, *AP* 10.88.3. Many further instances could no doubt be collected; for V. and his readers, the 'prison' bears a clear flavour of Orphics/ Plato.

735 quin et Cf. n. on 7.750. Romano, 92 compares Lucretian *quin etiam*.

supremo...lumine 'On the last day of their lives'; cf. **502f. nocte/ suprema**, **513**. De Vivo, *EV* 3, 291 well compares 2.668 *lux ultima* (where vd. my n.). For the use of **l.** in the sense of 'day', cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1813.62ff., *OLD* s.v., §2b: if not Ennian (vd. Jocelyn, p.349 on *trag.*fr.224Ribb./Klotz; see too A.J.Boyle, *Rom.trag.* (London 2006), 76), then dictionaries quote instances from Q.Cic. (Courtney, p.179, v.5) and Lucr. (3.1093 *hodierno lumine*, 6.1197). For **s.** used of 'last day', etc., vd. *OLD* s.v., §4b, *Acc.trag.*37, etc..

cum...uita reliquit Sc. *corpus*, or, more generally 'us'; cf. 10.819f. *tum uita per auras/ concessit maesta ad Manis corpusque reliquit* after Lucr.5.63 *quem uita reliquit*. The expression also found with inversion, whereby *we* leave *life*, 4.452 (where vd. Pease's ample n.), 5.517, after Enn.*Ann.*137 *lumina...reliquit* (vd. Skutsch's n.), Lucr.3.542 *lumina qui linquunt*, 1025 (quoting Enn., *cit.*). Most probably, there is (at least a form of) hypallage involved here: cf. W.Görler, *ALLP*, 269-86, *id.*, *Wü.Jhb.* 8 (1982), 69-81 (in particular, 80), and above all, *id.*, *Vergilius* Suppl.2 (1982), 48-73 at 65f. and G.B.Conte, *Virgilio* (Torino 2002), ch.1 for valuable discussion of such 'reversible' expressions. Henry remarks that **cum** conjunction occupies the place that **cum** preposition would naturally fill: quite so, but V. was evidently not troubled; nor, for that matter, his readers. Could they (Henry) have understood **cum** as *both* prepos. and conj.?

736 non tamen *Septies* in *Aen.*, *quater* in Lucr., *semel*, Cat.64; both neg. and adversative forces clearly visible here. Cf. *OLD* s.v. *tamen*, §2b for *nec tamen*.

omne malum We reach the doctrine of purification. *Omne bonum* 8x in Cic., *o. malum*, *bis*. Contrast use of **m.** at **527**, 7.375. The noun in the sense of 'evil' very common in Cic., and indeed in V., Pini, *EV* 3, 334f.

miseris Cf. **721**. The material collected by Leumann, *TLL* 5.1.1205.47ff. suggests that this is abl. (though a dat. is not unthinkable, Antoine 133, quoting *Buc.*6.16): note e.g. 1.357 *patria*, 11.540 *urbe*, Au. suggests that we

supply 'souls', but **m.** may as well be simply (noun) 'wretches'. Strong allit. of **m** in this v..

nec funditus Cf. n. on 11.413; in *Acc.trag.*22 and *Enn. Ann.* 134, 619.

omnes/ 737 corporeae...pestes C. occasional in Cic., 11x in Lucr.. Spoth, *TLL* 10.1.1931.54ff. notes the *pestis* by which Dido is gripped at 4.90. Here, he helpfully draws attention to **746 concretam...labem** but then suggests that **p.** is used 'de parte aegra' as at Cic.*Sest.*135, very much less persuasively. The sense to be assessed in terms of the Gk. analogies and antecedents (vd. Boyancé (1960), 67f. (needlessly complex; Solmsen, *ORVA*, 217f., n.34 shares my doubts), Arundel, 32f., Stok, *EV* 4, 48, Au.): cf. Plat.*Phaed.*81B the soul defiled and impure from contact with the body (cf. *Rep.*611BC); Stok well draws attention to *Rep.*10.609-10, on the diseases of body and soul (so already *Gorg.*524A, where vd. Dodds); note too Plat.*Leg.*906C *et passim* on the diseases of the *polis*. See W.V. Harris, *Restraining rage*, chs. 14,15 on anger as sickness, and S.Braund, C.Gill (eds.) *The passions*, index, s.v. sickness. For Stoic 'diseases of the soul', cf. Arnold, 353, von Arnim, *SVF* 4, 101, Long/Sedley, 2, p.540. Here, though, the context is markedly Platonic.

excedunt Compare Cic.*parad.*40 *cum cupiditatis dominatus excessit et alius est dominus exortus ex conscientia peccatorum, timor*, Sen.*Phaedr.* 469 *excedat aegedum rebus humanis Venus, cons.Marc.*25.1 *nihilque in terris relinquens sui fugit et totus excessit*, Leumann, *TLL*.5.2.1207.67ff..

penitusque Cf. n. on 2.19. The cause of the failure of the *pestes* to depart at death is introduced paratactically. Clearly to be understood both with **concreta** and with **inolescere**.

necesse est Cf. **514** and n. on 3.478: extremely common in Lucr. (nearly a hundred instances) and may have been sensed here as specifically Lucretian in flavour.

738 multa diu concreta Serv. *coniuncta et conglutinata*, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.97.46 and cf. further on **746**: the partic. here very close in sense to the infin.. Part of the old Lat. farming lexicon, Cato, *G.*, Colum., Plin.*Nat.* and an image much appreciated by Cic. in *philos.* **Diu** because present from birth in every individual.

modis...miris Cf. n. on 7.89 for this Ennian/Lucretian expression; part of the traditional language of high poetry rather than a recognisable debt to a given author.

inolescere First found at *G.*2.76f. *huc aliena ex arbore germen/ includunt udoque docent inolescere libro*; cf. Cordier, 145, Scheller, *TLL* 7.1.1739.14ff., EM s.v. *alo*; Serv. glosses *concrecere* and Erren 'drin wachsen'. If we look back at the passages just cited in explanation of **corporeae pestes**, we find Plat.*Phaed.*81B ἀεὶ ξυνοῦσα, *Rep.*609A ξύμφυτον [exactly the same metaphor as here; cf. too *Phaedo* 81C, *Tim.* 42A; No.,

G.Perrone, *Civ.class.crist* 6 (1985), 40]... κακόν τε καὶ νόσημα, 611C κοινωσία of soul and body; not so much significantly similar as inevitably close.

739 ergo Possibly felt as Lucretian in tone, 1.72, etc., Romano, 93f.. We pass to a post-Homeric generation of punishments, in some sense comparable to a passage from Hell to Purgatory (cf. Bremmer (2002), 64-9): these punishments (for that is what V. clearly calls them; ‘purifications’ is not a term properly applicable here) by wind, water and fire have received little detailed study. Here, the scanty antecedents and *comparanda* are surveyed anew, for we need some idea of how such punishments may have been viewed by V. and his first readers. Orphics envisaged some form of punishment for the individual after death (*Orph.fr.*490.4, 493Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2), but the details are not yet clear; certainly the distinct groups of evergetes of mankind and of evil-doers in the Bologna papyrus (*Orph.* 717Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2; cf. *RTA*, 126f., Bremmer (2009), 202, etc.) might seem to imply distinct and appropriate destinies in the hereafter. Dieterich’s reference to ‘die orphische Theologie’ (201) may be correct but remains speculative. Note indications of the purification of *mystai* by fire, air and water, so they may avoid such purifications in the hereafter (Cumont, *LP* 209, *SF* 134, with n.3, *RTA*, 121-9). Empedocles, *Katharmoi*, 21F115DK refers to the punishment of the criminal’s soul in one element after another (Norden, 28, Arundel, 33, Au.): not normal reading for V.. Plato refers explicitly to the impurities present in souls on first leaving mortal bodies (*Phaed.*81B, *Rep.*10.614D, Perrone, 39 with n.29). Serv. on **741** comments *loquitur quidem poetice de purgatione animarum, tangit tamen quod et philosophi dicunt*. Augustine’s discussion of these vv., *DCD* 21.3, alongside Cic.*TD.*1.42-3 (where purgation is only implicit; Perrone, 38, Buffière, 477), *comm.*Luc.9.9 (vd. Hagendahl, *cit.*, 2, 406) and Serv. on **733** and **741**. led Schmekel in 1892 via V.’s hypothetical source Varro back to Posidonius; that for a while persuaded Norden (20, 25, 28), but he famously recanted later (459f.) and for the case against Posid. here, cf. more fully Hagendahl (**731**), 2, 405-8. After V., cf. *Sen.cons.Marc.*25.1 *paulumque supra nos commoratus, dum expurgatur et inhaerentia uitia... excutit* and for Apul., Norden, 28. See Dieterich, 200ff., Norden, *cit.*, Bremmer (2009), 204, *id.*, (2002), 66, Perrone, 33-41 (at 37-40), Arundel, 33f., Solmsen, *ORVA*, 218, Cumont, *LP*, 209, *SF*, 133f., Setaioli, *EV* 2, 961, R.J.Clark, *SO* 50 (1975), 121-41 at 127 with n.19, Buffière, 477 and (on the reworking of the punishments of the Hom. Hades in general) 489ff..

exercentur poenis Cf. *G.*4.453 *non te nullius exercent numinis irae*, *Aen.*6.543 (sc. *via dextera*) **exercet poenas**, *Lucret.*5.1424, Hey/Mauren-

brecher, *TLL* 5.2.1371. 70f., *EV* 4, 154 (but the vb. one dear to V., not to the *EV*).

ueterumque malorum/ 740 supplicia Referring back to **736 omne malum**. Note the *ueterum malorum* of 11.280 and **527** with n.. At. 11.257f. V. is thinking of this v.: *infanda per orbem/ supplicia et scelerum poenas expendimus omnes*, quite ignored by Moskalew and Niehl. *OLD* s.v. *supplicium*, §4a.

expendunt Cf. 2.229 *scelus expendisse* (with n. for Accian origins and Virgilian instances), Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1642.11f..

aliae.../ 741 ...aliis A first indication of the admirable articulation of these vv. (cf. 1.427f., 12.577f.); discussion will start from a conviction that the issues, hitherto much discussed, are quite as much of punctuation as of eschatology (cf. *Companion*, 152f.; vd. *infra*, **743-7**). **Aliis** might be dat. 'of disadvantage', or dat. of agent after pass. verb; no need to settle the issue.

panduntur Assonance with **expendunt** (and cf. **741 suspensae**) ; cf. *EV* 3, 952 (Beikircher), Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.195.30ff.; in the context of purificatory punishments, we should think not only of the use of *pendere*, of slaves, for a beating (cf. Dieterich, 203, citing Ter.*Phorm.*220, *Eun.*1021, Plaut.*Asin.*301; cf. **617**, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1032.22ff.) and for that matter hanging (*OLD* s.v. *suspendo*, §3), and crucifixion proper (Sen.*Ep.*101. 12, etc., Reineke, 1032.37ff., but also (*bene*, Henry) of the occasional use of *pandere* itself to refer to crucifixion: cf. Manil.5.551 (Andromeda) *mollia per duras panduntur brachia cautes*, Germ.205f. (Androm., again) *districtaque pandit/ brachia* and Mart.*spect.*9.4 (with Coleman's full n.); for crucifixion at Rome in general, vd. further Coleman, *cit.*, M.Hengel, *Crucifixion* (Eng.tr., Philadelphia 1977), 22ff..

inanes An issue occasionally raised by comms. here (*bene*, Au.) is discussed painstakingly by Perrone, *cit.*, *supra*. Is **i**. nom. or acc.? Codd. give **-es**, but this is altogether inconclusive, since they are by no means consistent in giving the 'correct' acc. plur. in **-is** and **-es** can perfectly well represent either case: see Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 407ff., Conte, xxviii. It is not in favour of nom. that adjacent **suspensae** is a complement of **aliae**, and the double predicate is, though possible, awkward. More important, the use of **inanes** to describe the winds is Virgilian usage (10.82) and corresponds well to the poet's loving insistence on the insubstantial (cf. *G.*4.196 *nubila*, *Aen.*7.593 *auras*; vd. *EV* s.v. **i**.), not to mention (Au.) the balance with **gurgite uasto**. A clearer understanding of the eschatological issues (*supra*) does not help clarify the grammatical question: acc., probably, if not conclusively (so too O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.823.33f.).

741 suspensae ad uentos In the best Greek (Plat.*Gorg.*525C, Soph. *Ant.*309, Diog. Laert.8.21, Norden, p.275, Dieterich, 129, Au.) and Roman

(*supra*) traditions of punishment. Von Mess, *TLL* 1.510.36f. compares (again *pand* - and *pende-* interacting, as we have seen) *G.1.398 non tepidum ad solem pennas in litore pandunt*, 4.27f. *alas/ pandere ad aestivum solem*. These winds do not prove (see n. on **887**) that V. envisages the whole scene as occurring in a sublunary sphere; his Underworld (which corresponds in part at least to the Fortunate Isles) is at least able to enjoy poetically sky, sun, winds, etc..

sub gurgite uasto A Ciceronian clausula already used twice by V.: see n. on 3.197. Water in violent motion, Marchetta, *EV* 2, 821, G.Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.2360.31 s.v. ‘vorago, vertex’: the term is not precise but Au. is rather too concerned to cut it down to size.

742 infectum...scelus Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1414.80ff. refers back to Norden ‘*scelus quo infecti sunt*’, a sort of syllepsis here. Cf. *EV* 4, 697, n. on 3.604. The metaphor is of dyeing or staining (note also *washing* out here); Tailardat, *Images d' Aristophane*, 344, *Cic.Leg.1.47*, 3.30: the ample moral range of *inficere* clearly visible at *OLD* s.v., §4. Not the metaphors used at *Plat.Phaed.81BC*. Cf. ‘ingrowing’, **inolescere (738)**, and for scarring left by vices, Cumont, *SF*, 133, n.3, *LP*, 209 with n.3.

eluitur Krohn, *TLL* 5.2.435.19ff. compares *Cic.Verr.2.5.121 errabas Verres, et uehementer errabas, cum te maculas furtorum et flagitiorum tuorum sociorum innocentium sanguine eluere arbitrabare, Leg.2.24 nam illud uel aspersione aquae uel dierum numero tollitur, animi labes nec diuturnitate euanescere nec amnibus ullis elui potest* (where vd. Dyck's n. for more routine purification by water), *Sen.Phaedr.* 893 *labem hanc pudoris eluet noster cruor*. Cf. *Plat.Phaed.113D* (Acheron), Dieterich, 201.

aut exuritur igni Not at all ‘si dissolve nel fuoco’ (*EV* 5*, 403), but ‘is burned out’, ‘viene eliminato, espulso col fuoco’, as it might be, [*Plat.*] *Axioch.372a*. Schmeck, *TLL* 5.2.2123.37ff. compares *Sil.13.871f. perfidiae Poenus quibus aut Phlegethontis in undis exuret ductor scelus* and *Arnob.Nat.2.14* on *Plat.Phaedo, non Acherontem, non Stygem ... nominat, in quibus animas adseuerat uolui mergi exuri?*

743 quisque suos patimur Manis *Acc.fr.3.4f.* Courtney *famulosque procurant/ quisque suos* is in the 3rd. person and quite unremarkable; here, though, 1st. person plur. with **quisque suos** is surprising (see Wackernagel, *Vorl.Synt.* 2, 2, 95f., LHS 176; for the initial position, cf. *ib.*, 199, Leumann, 475): the experts conclude ‘a kind of contamination’ (cf. closely *Liv.34.2.9 istud ipsum suos quaeque domi rogare non potuistis?*). With *patitur* there would have been no problem, but the following 1st. pers. verbs impose **-mur** here too, and *quisque nostros* would anyway never have done. Anch. is moreover speaking of a category that includes himself (Henry) and that exercises a decisive influence. *Pati* as often of undergoing a state or condit-

ion: vd. Henry, again, and Kruse, *infra*, 721.60ff., citing e.g. Ov.*Tr.*3.3.7 *caelum patimur* ('endure, put up with'), and 723.38, citing Luc.5.88 *quis terram caeli patitur deus* ('stand, tolerate'); also VF 3.378ff. *non si mortalia membra!.../ perpetimur*. So too Henry. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.724.8ff. establishes the further category of the sufferer enduring, reflexively, a condition of his own, comparing Sen.*NQ* 4.praef.1 *turbam rerum hominumque desiderant qui se pati nesciunt; tibi tecum optime conuenit*. It is far from certain that that our interpretation of the words is required to exhibit some connexion with the purifications endured by the *anima* (I have in mind the admonitions of Boyancé, 170f. and Setaioli (*infra*), 170, 172 on the importance of the context), for after **exuritur igni** it is the *person* that changes and **quisque suos**, with no link to what precedes, also therefore signals a change of direction. That in turn suggests that **quisque suos patimur manes** is *unlikely* to be connected with the purifications just expounded, and, no more than *sunt lacrimae rerum*, should be taken as some sort of passionate personal reflection upon our mortal lot.

Aus.*ephem.*3.57Green (p.10) *patiturque suos mens saucia manes*, Macr.*comm.* *Somn.*1.10.17, Lact.*Plac.*Stat.*Theb.*8.84 (with Rose, 46f.) and Serv. here give some clue to how the words were understood in c.4-6, but offer no sure guide to their Augustan sense.

Interpretations have divided neatly enough into 'Greek' and 'Roman'; by 'Greek' I mean those scholars who think of the words as rendering in Lat. letters a generally recognisable reference to δαίμονες. So Bailey, Setaioli, 170, Magotteaux, Norden, Boyancé (1935), (1960). Vd. Plat. *Phaed.*107D, 113D (a text that we have seen is essential to V. in these vv.), Plut. *de gen.Socr.* 591-2 (at e.g. 591D; and indeed the two *genii* invoked by Serv. are not far distant from Gk. *daemones*); for theories about *daemones* at V.'s time, vd. Kidd, *Posid.*, 2, p.431. Rose, 46 is vigorously opposed to the presence of Gk. ideas here (cf., anxiously, Au., p.228). For the 'Roman', or 'Latin' view, see the contemporary [*Laud.Tur.*] (for dating, title etc., my remarks, *BICS* 30 (1983), 85-98) 2.69 *te di manes tui ut quietam patiantur atque ita tueantur opto*, where vd. Wistrand and Durry for the beginnings of the Roman sense of the *manes'* tutelary power under the influence of Gk. *daemon*, Cumont, *LP*, 394, Latte, 287, n.3. At Stat.*Theb.* 8.84f. Pluto explodes to the living Amphiarus '*at tibi quos*' inquit '*manis, qui limite praeceptis/ non licito per inane ruis*', with Lact. Plac. (handily available, Rose, 47) and with Ov.'s *subductaque suos manes tellure uidebit* (again of Amph.; *Met.*9.406); an extension, Au. well remarks, of the use of *m.* for 'the individual spirit of a person' (cf. 119, 3.303, with my n.), at a time when, clearly enough, the use of *m.* is undergoing Gk. influence. *We* (that is, inevitably, we in (roughly) the same condition as Anch.; 'we' not yet quite limited to the **pauci**) [have to] put up with, or endure, our indi-

vidual *daimon*, by whose influence or effect we may be in Elysium (or just possibly may have been purified for a thousand years prior to rebirth). But no understanding of these words is satisfactory. See Bailey, 260, 277f., Boyancé, 170f., *id.*, *RBPh*.61 (1935), 189-202, *id.*, *cit.* (1960), 69f., Bömer, *TLL* 8.294.48ff. (with unhelpful older bibliogr.), R.J.Clark *SO* 50 (1975), 125, Dieterich, 155, L.Herrmann, *RBPh*. 12 (1933), 118-24, E.Magotteaux, *Ant.class.*24 (1955), 341-51, Marbach, *PW* 14.1057. 8ff., Montanari. *EV* 3, 340, H.J.Rose, *HTR* 37 (1944), 45ff., A.Setaioli, *AR* 12 (1967), 169-72, and, naturally, Henry, *Au. ad loc.*, Norden, 33f.

exinde *Acc.trag.*74, *semel*, *Lucr.*, *quater*, *Cic.Arat.*. Also *Plaut.*, *Ter.*, prose; standard Latin, therefore, and long acceptable in high poetry. W.A. Camps, *AJP* 94 (1973), 145f. argues unconvincingly for a sense of ‘where-of’, without troubling to consider historical usage as surveyed admirably by B.Rehm in *TLL* (here see 5.2.1507.39ff.).

per amplum/ 744 ...Elysium A. thus at *Liv*.5.24.5 of the *ager Veientanus*; in *Cic.* sometimes of a (named) *ciuitas*, but not normally applied, it appears, to toponyms. Cf. n. on **640** for the history of an area named ‘Elysium’; Waser, *PW* 5.2470.12ff., West on *Hes.Erga* 171, Clark (1975), 127. *At.* 5.734f., *Anch.* told *Aen. sed amoena piorum/ concilia Elysiumque colo*: that apparently remains - in literal terms - ‘correct’; cf. *Molyviati-Toptsis* (**636**), 33f.

The exact reference of these words is not altogether clear: should we ask to which verb or verbs **pauci** applies, the answer is not automatically ‘both’ (*pace* Sidgwick, Clark, *Catabasis*, 177-9, *id.*, (1975), 131), and if it is by no means clear that **p.** ‘goes naturally with both halves of the sentence’ (Clark’s phrase), it is no more certain that the *adj.* should be understood with **tenemus** alone (but note that if it is to be, then a comma after **Elysium** is called for). To be understood with both **mittimur** and **tenemus**, according to TCD, for what that is worth; TCD does often have a good (not a flawless) sense of the articulation of a Virgilian sentence. There is no ‘rule’ in *Lat. usage* (Leo, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.*, 1, 75ff., Lunelli-Kroll, 35, with n.38, Kroll on *Cat.*68.1 and his index s.v. *Worstellung* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ); the ‘rule’ I recall as having been taught fifty (and more) years ago (common *adj.* with the first noun in *Gk.*, with the second in *Lat.*) seems unknown to LHS and KS. There is at least a clear, indeed crucial, distinction between many and few: V. writes of the first category as **706 innumerae gentes populique** (cf. further *Anch.*’s exposition, **713-8**, and *Aen.*’s further question, **719-21**) and refers to them later (**748**) as **has omnis**; to the exact reference of **pauci** we shall return in a moment. Does this distinction of number then correspond in some way to that between the wide *loci laeti* of **637ff.** and the *conuallis uirens* or *uallis reducta* of **679ff.** and **703** (cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 165f., n.2, Solmsen, *ORVA*, 216, Clark, *Catabasis*,

179)? That would neatly solve a number of disputes, but one learns to hesitate in ‘discovering’ tidy answers in V.’s underworld. More important, Norden, 40f. had already pointed to similar distinctions of larger and smaller number at Plat.*Tim.*42B and (more clearly) Plut.*de def.orac.*10 (*Mor.* 415B); we might add *Orph.fr.*576Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2, many carry the *narthex*, but there are few *bakchoi*. Above all, though, with V.’s **pauci** we should compare the ‘good-plus’ of *RTA*, 100ff. (an élite reconstructed on the basis of Pind.*Ol.*2, *id.*, fr.129-30Sn., and Plat.*Rep.*10. 614E^{ff.}; for the role of initiation in respect of this category, cf. *RTA*, 105). Cf. too Bremmer (2009), 205-7, Molyviati-Toptsis, 33, 40 and see also Burkert, *Gk.rel.*, 280 for the rites which bind a limited group of initiates. See further below. Ample eschatological conclusions have been avoided here, as at **637-71**; see though **743-4**, *ad fin.*.

743-4 These vv. are difficult enough to have provoked radical textual proposals: Bömer, *TLL* 8.294.49 reports on **743** ‘versum cum sequenti secludit Jachmann’ (‘eiecit Güthling’ I discover in Conte’s apparatus); **743-4** were transposed in the Parma ed. of 1793, after Brunck (and not that of 1479, *pace* Goold, Norden, 18, etc.; vd. Reeve, ap. Clark, *Catabasis*, 178, n. 82 for the bibliogr. details, and now, Reeve, *Paideia* 56 (2011), 449-55 at 450f.) to a position after **744** (in which original position, suggests Goold, they had been omitted by homoeoteleuton, until they were later restored in the wrong place).

The problem of these vv. presents a bracing challenge to the careful reader and V.’s sense is far more important than (modern) punctuation. After **742 igni**, there is (cf. n. on **743 quisque...**) clearly a strong pause; we have seen that **quisque** marks a new syntactical development and there is a change in the person of the verbs. **Exinde...**, on grounds of sense, refers to a stage successive to **patimur**, but such a stage applies necessarily to those same individuals affected by **patimur**: in other words, *etiam ei qui per Elysium mittuntur (aut saltem eorum magna pars) nonnulla supplicia antea passi sunt* (not necessarily the purifications of **736-42**, on account of the break between **742** and **743**). **Pauci** (vigorously discussed with Michael Reeve, until we realised that we largely agreed) must be considered in terms of what follows: V. concentrates uninterrupted on them as a group as far as **747 ignem** and only then changes his focus, turning back (with the unmistakable signalling offered by **has omnis**) to the wider categories covered by **706 innumerae gentes**, **712 tanto... agmine** (with explanation, **713-8**, etc.). Cf. Solmsen, *ORVA*, 218f.. V.’s own indications of how these vv. are articulated seem clearly enough to suggest that it is the whole of **743-7** that are to be understood as parenthetic; to limit the parenthesis to **743-4** is difficult and ill-advised. That might seem to leave two relatively small points unresolved:(1) whether **pauci** just qualifies **laeta arua tene-**

mus or applies to a possibly wider group, in particular those covered by **per amplum/ mittimur / Elysium**. It is not enough to say that **patimur**, **mittimur** and **tenemus** are all 1pers.plur. and therefore refer to one and the same group throughout, for **exinde** discourages us from treating the three verbs on parity and the grammatical point (placing of the adj. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ) has just been discussed, and with no very clear outcome. Oddly, it seems not to have been noticed that these vv. form a splendid tricolon (despite the pause at **Manes**, where the reader takes breath): (i) **quisque suos patimur Manes**; (ii) **exinde per amplum/ mittimur Elysium**; (iii) **et pauci laeta arua tenemus**. The advance from the sufferings of “purgatory” to the most blessed corner of Elysium is overwhelmingly evident and it is altogether natural that the numbers should be (gradually, perhaps) limited; a climactic limitation of the number of souls to a chosen handful, as here by the introduction, in the last member, of a neat **pauci**, is familiar to experts in eschatology, as we have just seen, s.v. **per amplum/ Elysium, ad fin.**

(2) Whether **Elysium** and **laeta arua** refer to the same area: a distinct facet of the previous question, which bears on the further issue of how strong a break there is at **679**. We should not suppose that **638 locos laetos** *proves* that everything between there and here refers to one single, undivided area. See (**637-751**), (2). More clearly, there is a contrast felt between the wide prospect of Elysium and the **ualle reducta** of **703**. But such issues are clearly not grounds sufficient for proposing (let alone accepting) a transposition. *Companion*, 152f., Habinek, 228, n.7, Austin, p.227, Henry 3, 396f..

The thought therefore develops roughly as follows:

(a) **733-42**: the generality of mankind (to whom V. later returns with **748 has omnis**) are purged, after death, by the elements.

(b) **743-7** are marked off by the initial pronouns and by the change of person (**patimur...mittimur...tenemus**); they are also quantified by **pauci**, though V. declines to specify the exact application of **p.** within the three first-person verbs. We do not know therefore just how limited numerically all the three groups present in **743-4** in practice are. The **pauci** (probably) proceed (after some purification, if **patimur** is understood correctly) through **Elysium**, and reach the **laeta arua** (possibly a smaller subdivision of E.; this is where we *seem* to be already at **637-78**, though that is by no means certain). Only long thereafter, after further elemental purifications, is this élite turned into purest fire. After **tenemus** there is clearly no break, for V. continues to speak of an evident, super-blessed minority, and **donec** therefore indicates naturally a dependent clause, not a quite new sequence of thought. **Ignem** marks the end of V.'s account of the blessed few.

(c) **748 has omnis** represents V.'s return to the generality of mankind, purged for a thousand years and now returning to a life upon earth as e.g. Romans (as was the case at **702-23**). Note the contrast of **745 perfectio temporis orbe**, with the thousand years of **748**; that reinforces the more familiar opposition of **744 pauci** and **748 has omnis**.

That is no more than an outline, which raises numerous questions and problems, but it does try to offer an honest account of the 'system' that V., with calculated absence of detail, offers as a rough, impressionistic sketch to his readers; that these vv. are *intended* as a coherent exposition of a comprehensible system I cannot quite believe. The correspondences between V.'s narrative and dialogue down to **723** with the 'theory' of **724-51** are particularly impalpable. On the difficulties inherent in any poet. presentation of philos. ideas within a narrative, vd. too Williams, *ORVA*, 201, and for the outcome if you try to reduce V.'s account to a neat and comprehensible scheme, vd. xxvi.

744 mittimur Only here thus in V.; cf. *missus*, common in *Aen.*, and used at **812 missus in imperium magnum**. See Norden, 392f. for verbs 'framing' the verse; on **749**, he cites Lucian, *de luctu* 7 (souls into Elysium) πέμπουσι; cf. too Aesch. *Pers.* 630 πέμψατ'.

et pauci See n. on **743f. per amplum/ ...Elysium** and cf. further, for the notion of a limited, privileged religious group, n. on **258 profani**.

laeta arua The adj. at **638**, an early characterisation of Elysium; the meadows hardly to be distinguished from the **campos** of **640**, or from **674 prata** and **677 campos** (and both terms are present in the simile of **707-9**); though there is a clear enough distinction, both in respect of the character of the area traversed and of its occupants between what lies before **678** and what lies after **679**, the details of the landscape do not vary greatly. See (**637-751**), 439.

tenemus Cf. n. on 7.739.

745 donec Cf. n. on 7.406 *postquam*; majestic self-contained spondee to open an elaborate development; there is no obstacle to the reader's natural understanding of **d.** as depending on the preceding 1st. person verbs, in particular **tenemus** and there is nothing to suggest a major pause in the development of thought before **aurai simplicis ignem**. V. refers to a universal, valid in both past and future (it really matters very little that the first main verb is perf., the second, pres.); for use of pf. indic. after **d.**, cf. LHS 629, KS 2, 373, *Aen.* 10.300, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1995.6f.

longa dies For the gender, cf. n. on 7.145, Fraenkel, *Glotta* 8 (1917), 61 = *Kl.B.* 1, 64f.: experts have used the expression 'metrical convenience'. Adj.+ noun neatly used in the sense of e.g. 'longitudo dierum':

‘concretising’, Ferraro, *EV* 1, 380; cf. LHS 751. Cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1636.76f., Pflugbeil, *ib.*, 5.1.1053.69ff..

perfecto temporis orbe Serv. *finito*; classified by Reineke under ‘(medio) passive’, *TLL* 10.1.1366.25f.; cf. **637 perfecto munere diuae**. **O.**: Bohnenkamp, *TLL* 9.2.912.51ff., s.v. ‘de circuitu temporum variorum’, comparing Hor.*CS* 22, the *certus...orbis* of 110 years.; note too the *annuus...orbis* of 5.46 and the *magnum orbis* of thirty years, 1.269, all after Lucr.5.644; *EV* 3, 877. Here, the circle, or circuit (for eschatological associations, see Clark (1975), 126), but at **748**, the wheel: of such mysteries, the poet must speak in metaphors. No surprise to discover that χρόνου κύκλος is familiar phrasing, Plut.*Mor.*569C, Arist.*Phys.* 223b32, etc.. On cyclic and linear views of time in V., cf. *Companion*, 164, A.Novara, *Poésie virgilienne de la mémoire* (Clermont-Ferrand 1986), 133 and cf. P.Hardie in *Roman poetry and propaganda...*, ed. A.Powell (London 1992), 59-82.

746 concretam...labem Cf. n. on **738 inolescere** for the image. *EV* 1, 927 no help; Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.97.36f., Serv. *adfixam, inhaerentem*. **L. macula**, taint; Flury, 7.2.771.9f.. Old standard Latin, long employed by the poets, Enn. (*Ann.*262), *trag.* inc. (84R), Lucr. (2.1145), and Cic.. Cf. n. on 2.97 for detailed discussion of **L** in V.. **R** writes **tabem** here, unpersuasively.

exemit Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1500.73f., Ov.*AA* 2.653 *eximit ipsa dies omnis e corpore mendas*.

purumque reliquit R as often with predic. adj., *OLD* s.v., §6b, Lucr. 3.40, *G.*4.148, *Aen.*3.446, n. on 11.845. **P.**: *OLD* s.v., §2a, *EV* 4, 357f.. V. may well have in mind the Orphic use of καθαρός, *RTA*, 121-9, Bremmer (2002), 18. *Orph.*fr.488.1Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2. **Relinquit FM; reliquit F₂PR**; Serv., DServ., TCD and c.9 mss. divided. Perf. introduced for the sake of concinnity with **exemit** and the slightly more difficult combination of perf. and pres. is entirely Virgilian; Ladewig and No. quote 3.192f., 8.83, 506, 9.332.

747 aetherium sensum The line to be understood as constituting an ample, single, compound expression (‘la sensibilità universale divina’, Negri, 185); the *anima*, after purification, returns to its ethereal, exclusively fiery (yet sentient) state (the individual *anima* being a part of the divine mind that rules the universe, **726 spiritus**); V. returns to the thought of **730**, where vd. n.. Cf. *G.*4.220f. *esse apibus partem diuinæ mentis et haustus/aetherios dixere* (where vd. Biotti’s informed note), Hor.*Serm.*2.2.79 *diuinæ particulam auræ* (the individual soul, that is, part of the divine *pneuma*; vd. Muecke’s n.). For the view of the sensory functions of the soul (part, after all, of the divine *anima*), cf. Long/Sedley, 354-5, Arnold, 130f.; following closely Stoic usage of αἰσθητικ (Negri, 185f., with n.8, citing

DL 7.139, who paraphrases Chrysippus), *s.* for 'sense/sensation' is normal usage (Arnold, 131, *EV* 4, 779). Negri's discussion, 183-6 is excellent; *vd.* also Isnardi Parente, *EV* 1, 172.

atque aurai simplicis ignem For V.'s use of the *gen.* in *-ai*, cf. *n.* on 7.464, with *bibl.* (note Leumann, 418), and for the air (*s.*) of heaven, *n.* on **733 auras**. *S.* 'unmixed'; at *Cic.ND* 3.34 contrasted with *concretum ex pluribus naturis* (*vd.* also 3.30, *Sen.NQ* 6.6.1), *OLD* *s.v.*, §3a; cf. Chrysippus, *fr.* 642, *SVF* 2.194.6 the aether τὸν καθαρῶτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον. For the fiery character of the *spiritus*, cf. *n.* on **730 igneus...uigor**. As at 7.464 (where *vd.* *n.*), *mss.* here much exercised by the archaic form.

748 has omnis, ubi V. returns to the mass of souls destined for rebirth, and excluded from permanent residence in Elysium; for this meticulous articulation, cf. **637-751**, and more fully, **743-4**; note how the text invites us repeatedly to recall the mass of souls viewed earlier by Aen. and Anch. (**720-1**:: **751**; **712**::**749**; **705**::**749**; **706** (with **712**, **717**)::**748 has omnis**). As Dieterich pointed out (156), there is ring-composition with the scene of Aen.'s first sight of the crowd of souls undergoing Anch.'s review, **712**; the connexion already suggested by Henry.

mille...per annos V.'s eschatological arithmetic is decidedly Platonic in origin: cf. *Plat.Phaedr.*248E^{ff.} (soul returns to place of origin after ten thousand years, except those of philosophers and lovers, who for three periods of a thousand years choose such a life, etc.), *Rep.*615A (cycle of punishment lasting ten human lives; the total, a thousand years), 621D ('journey of a thousand years' at end of myth of Er). Dieterich (116ff.) pursued these numbers back to Emped., 15B115 (207), v.6DK and elsewhere (cf. *Pind.fr.*131bSn., with *Ol.*2.61-7 and Dieterich, 110, *Cic.Rep.* 6.12, with Zetzl's *n.*), but in V. they appear to have a distinctively Platonic character. Cf. Clark (1975), 136f., *n.*15 for the decline in Posid.'s supposed role; *vd.* further (**724-51**), (**3**). V. is here clearly writing of the generality of souls currently in Elysium, summoned back to rebirth after a thousand years of purification; he does not make it clear where they have been previously, or quite how and why they have reached Elysium and there is little to be gained from adding to the endless speculation on such topics, usefully summarised by Clark (1975). See Butler, p.229f., Clark (1975), 129f. *et passim*, Dieterich, 154-60, Norden, 16-20, Setaioli, *EV* 2, 961f., Cumont, *LP*, 199, Bremmer (2009), 204. These thousand years are clearly a span incomparably shorter than that envisaged by **745 perfecto temporis orbe**.

rotam uoluer Cf. *Sil.*6.121 *rota uoluitur aevi. Est autem sermo Ennii* Serv.; see Skutsch, pp.166f., who, in the probable context of Hom.'s exposition of the *natura rerum*, rightly prefers to *orbem perficere*, 'complete the intervals between incarnations', a sense that 'has more to do with the

Orph.-Pyth.' wheel known above all from *Orph.fr.488.5* Bernabé, *PEG* 2.2 κύκλου...βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο (where vd. B.'s comm. and *RTA*, 127); cf. Clark (1975). Bernabé sensibly prefers, p.58 (c), 'potius cyclus animae migrantis', comparing Diog.Laert.8.14, Hdt.2.123.1 (=Orph.fr.423 Bernabé, *PEG* 2.1), *Orph.fr.* 338.4, 348, 467.4 Bernabé, *ib.*, while adding, (d), the possibility ('simul intelligi potest') of a hint (previously championed by Clark), of *rotae tormentum* (see n. on **616**, *G.4.484*); it is by no means clear that there is (Fletcher) an inversion (in itself entirely Virgilian) of subj. and obj. here¹.

749 Lethaeum ad fluuium Cf. nn. on **705**, **715**.

deus euocat Cf. 4.242 (where vd. Pease) and Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1054.73. That does not mean that V. suggests that the god here is Mercury, for that identification seems wilfully obscure in the present passage and the familiar role of Hermes as *psychopompos* is hardly, *pace* No., enough to impose specificity where V. so visibly avoids it. Cf. Hermes who ἐξεκαλείτο the souls of the dead at *Od.24.1*; compare too e.g. Aesch. *Pers.*621, Max.Tyr. 8.2b, Celsus, *ap.Orig.C. Cels.*1.68 (p.90 in S.Rizzo's BUR ed. of C.), *Hymn.Orph.*57.6-9, Bremmer (2002), 73, M.Dickie, *Magic and magicians* (London 2003), 237, Ogden (*SC*), 72, McKeown on *Ov.Am.* 1.8.17, etc.. Cf. Battezzatore, *EV* 2, 34, Pomathios, 351, Bailey, 227 and my nn. on **348** and 3.715 for other instances of studiously anonymous *deus* in *Aen.*

agmine magno Cf. **712 tanto...agmine**, reinforcing the ring-compos. suggested above, **748 has omnis**. Note assonance of **agm-** **magn-**.

750 scilicet...ut For s., cf. n. on 11.371 (here possibly Lucretian in tone, 35x in L.); here, though, there is no sense at all of irony and Leotta rightly classifies this passage s.v. (b), 'con valore affermativo o asseverativo', *EV* 4, 724 (common enough in *G.*).

immemores Glossing **Lethaeum** in the previous v.; cf. nn. on **705**, **715**, O'Hara, *TN*, 176, surprisingly omitting **749-50**. In particular, the Romans whom we are about to encounter know nothing of their previous existences.

supera...conuexa Both **M** and **P** troubled by the synaloepha and double adj..Cf. n. on 7.562 *supera ardua* for 'adj. used as noun and itself qualified by adj.'. For c., cf. **241 supera ad conuexa**, with n. on 7.543 (add now Timpanaro (2001), 56-61), where Conte and I both believe, *pace* Timpa-

1 The passage of Proclus *comm. in Plat.Tim.* quoted in Butler's n. proves to be a cento of Proclus and Simplicius; details to be found in the *testimonia* for *Orph.fr.348* Bernabé, *PEG* 2.1.

naro, that V. wrote **conuersa**, not **conuexa**, and 10.251 (with Harrison's n.); Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.871.61.

751 rursus No. does well to place a comma at the end of **750**, where no reader can really be expected to wait, after the verb, for a final run-on adverb. The result proves to be a favoured arrangement of words: *G.2.480 rursus...residant*, *Aen.6.449 rursus ...reuoluta*, 9.391 *rursus...reuoluens*, 11.621f. *rursus... reflectunt*. *G.2.231f. omnemque repones/ rursus humum* is a quite different case, for we are waiting for the obj. *humum*. Note too *Aen.4.531 rursusque resurgens*; Au., citing LHS 798, rightly draws attention to the traditional pleonastic advb.. Note the favoured postponement of *et* obtained with this punctuation, n. on 7.761.

et incipiant...uelle Taking up *Aen.*'s initial question **721 quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?** (Au.); Cumont, *LP*, 200, explains how the souls, despite their purification, retain the *desire* to return into human bodies, for the effects of Lethe have made them forget the beneficent purgatory they have undergone; cf. (Cumont, 200, n.1) Macr. *Somn.1.9.5 aut noui corporis ambit habitaculum*, [Philolaus] 32B22DK, Porph. *Peri Stygos, ap. Stob. Anth.1.49.49* (vd. further Cumont's n.). Contrast *G.4.448 desine uelle*. Classified by LHS 319 with periphrastic substitutes (as common in Petr.) for the inceptive use of the perf..

in corpora...reueri Cf. **720f. ad tarda reueri/ corpora**, confirming strongly the ring-composition observed in the previous n.. Cf. *EV 5**, 510.

752 - 5 An economical narrative transition, from the philosophical explanation of those awaiting rebirth to the actual vision of Rome's future heroes.

752 dixerat Anchises Cf. *dixerat Aeneas (bis)*, n. on 7.212; ignored by Hight.

natumque unaque Sibyllam Cf. **897**; son and seer linked closely, by *una* as well as by repeated *-que* (cf. 1.85).

753 conuentus...in medios Cf. Burger, *TLL* 4.847.61f.; used by Liv.Andr.*trag.18*, Cat.64.32, Lucr.. Standard Latin for 'assembly' *vel sim.*

trahit Cf. 2.321, 457; the verb suggests if not 'fretta' (Scaffai, *EV 5**, 248), then at least some degree of emphasis or urgency. 'Drew' will probably do.

turbamque sonantem Cf. **611, 667**. Note the painstaking examination by Strati, *EV 5**, 317f.; Serv. discusses the epithet (cf. too Serv.Dan. on 10.432), either *perpetuum*, or because this *turba*, even though of heroes yet unborn, is so noisy (cf. **865**). *Propter festinationem* speculates Serv.: surely rather armour ringing, as they march (cf. *G.1.474, Aen. 2.243* (with n.), 9.660, 731f., etc.; cf. Hom. *κἀνάχησε*)? Roiron's discussion in terms of buzzing bees (220) is not much to the point, despite **707-9**, for this crowd

of robust (though unborn) warriors, evidently accoutred, must give out a more vigorous, a louder noise; the thin cries of the ghosts, *Od.*24.5, are strikingly out of place here (*pace* e.g. Forbiger) and the faint noise of the spirits passing through the air (Benoist) hardly any better. An elaborate compounded expression: into the middle of a noisy, crowded gathering. The phrase's re-use at 12.248f. *turbamque sonantem/ agminis aligeri* does not help towards a more precise understanding of the words here, though flocks of birds are surely noisier than squeaking spectres.

754 et tumulum capit For this natural reviewing stand, cf. (756-846), (8), n. on **886 passim... uagantur**. Similar to the less explicit **678 desuper ostentat**; for *t.*, cf. n. on 2.713. Compare 12.562 *tumulumque capit*; the inevitable similarities between sequences of swift, neutral epic narrative.

unde Neat and handy, 2.458, 461 *et saepe*.

omnis...posset/ 755 aduersos legere Posset MPR, Serv.; **possent** Non.; **possit F**, TCD; the c.9 codices divided between pres. and impf. sing.. Both tenses are acceptable (LHS 351) and we follow the better-attested reading; subunc. of purpose. Cf. 1.166 *fronte sub aduersa*, 12.446 *ab aduerso uenientis aggere*, n. on 11.370, **552**, **684**, an easy way to outline spatial relationships. 'Facing'. A.: cf. **631**. Non. offers a splendid survey of the meanings of *legere*, p.332.1ff., at p.333.1ff., citing **755** in the sense of '*rursum uidere*', along with **34 perlegerent**. Von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2. 1123.53, 1128.19f. 'eundo vel vehendo stringere, perlustrare (1127.50) ... translate...spectando' (1128.19). *EV* 3, 473. A striking, uncommon use; cf. **681 lustrabat**, with **678 ostentat**.

longo ordine Formulaic; nn. on **482**, 2.766, 11.79, 143f. with 8.722, 1.395, reversed.

755 et uenientum...uoltus A weightily alliterative introduction to the outline of Roman history that Anch. offers Aen.; like much of the history that a Roman learned from the statues, inscriptions, reliefs, frescoes, *imagines* and processions of the continuously self-advertising city (cf. (756-846), (7)(b), *passim*) it is conveyed *visually*: memorable faces, arms and armour, insignia. From the first, it is what Anch., Aen. and the Sibyl see of Rome's heroes that is dominant. For the orthography **uoltus**, vd. on **848**; the weighty pres.partic. rather to V.'s taste (cf. *Aen.*1.434, after *G.*, 7.16, 11.633, 886 for the gen.; add 10.797 and cf. n. on [*Aen.*]2.571 for 'framing' partic.).

discere Cf. **433 crimina discit**, **488 ueniendi discere causas**.

756 - 846 The 'Parade of Heroes'. Here reduced to PH, for economy.

(1) Structure

Austin, 232 writes: 'this inspired vision...has no really logical connexion with the eschatology that precedes it', and Feeney, 2f. complains energetically of the leap, intellectual and artistic, from a Platonic theory of the after-life to a pragmatic, Roman PH. V. may have managed a little better than some critics allow, for insufficient attention has been paid to a self-referential element in the 'frame' (compare the Trojan ancestors of **648-50** with **756 Dardanium prolem**, **778 Assaraci...sanguinis**, **663** with **852**); in Elysium there is a place for poets (**662**) and though there are no Roman letters admitted in **847ff**, **excurrent alii...**, we shall see at (**756-846**), (3)(c) that V. is writing of a distant Rom. past, but with Saturnian verse (Naevius) and Ennius clearly in view. Cf. too Hine (**847-53**), 181f.. Does that not rather suggest that the poet, even V. himself, can serve the *res publica* and find a place among those who **uitam excoluere per artes**?

An immensely prolonged process of purification is now revealed as about to let loose upon the earth brutal fathers, destructive conquerors, vastly ambitious statesmen, later still no doubt to be punished for their excesses upon earth. But that is not a view of the PH's place on which we are encouraged to dwell by V.'s swift passage from a Greek to a Roman view of the afterlife. It is easier to pass directly to the PH from the view of a place in Elysium won by service (**637-65**) than to integrate closely the philos. account of rebirth, **724-51**, with its very different formal consequence, the PH: see F.Solmsen, *ORVA*, 222, Norden, 314, Pavan, 532f., Williams 1972, 207f., Habinek, 234, von Albrecht (1999), 108f., Feeney, 15f. (further bibl., *ib.*, 20, n.16). Note also O'Hara, *DOP*, 54-60 for the PH and prophecy in *Aen.*

The order of the PH has attracted some attention (cf. Halter, 45, and, with sufficient bibl., Pavan, 535, Basson, 42ff., Grebe, 15ff.); *confusa est ordo* Serv. on **752**, which could easily reflect older criticism. At the particularly significant **836-46**, V. orders elegantly by ear and eye, by theme and whim and not by the tedious imperatives of chronology (vd. Basson, 78, n.168, and, *infra*, **836-46**). The whole PH reveals calculated inconcinnity, which may be summarised:

- (1) **756-9** Introduction; **760-72** Kings of Alba; **773-6** Alban colonies
- (2) **777-80** Romulus; **781-4** growth of Rome, **784-7** simile of Cybele
- (3) **788-90** The Julii and Caesar; **791-800** Augustus, with Hercules, **801-3** and Liber, **804-5**; exhortation, **806-7**
- (4) **808-17** Kings from Numa to Tarquins; **817-23** Brutus
- (5) **824-5** Republican heroes
- (6) **826-35** Caesar and Pompey
- (7) **836-46** Republican heroes

(8) 847-53 excedent alii...**(9) 854-86 The Marcelli**

This arrangement seems to be aimed at preparing the way for three great surprises, the entirely unexpected appearances of (i) Caesar and Augustus, (ii) Caesar and Pompey and (iii), the Marcelli, after **excedent alii**. Note **(5)** and **(7)** closely linked by theme. **(5)** extremely brief, perhaps as a necessary barrier between Brutus and Caesar and Pompey; a section that might possibly have been extended. Comm. will note close thematic links between **(4)**(Brutus) and **(6)**(Caesar and Pompey). Cartault, 478 refers to a 'saut chronologique choquant' (cf. Williams, *TI*, 145 'in defiance of any chronology'), but the reader who remembers that this is PVM, not PW (or even *MRR*) will hardly be distressed. Above all when we consider the range of recurrent motifs (§8) and their binding effect, and the powerful force of genealogical continuity (*ib.*, *ad init.*), our sense of the poetic and intellectual unity of these lines can but grow. The comm. will argue in detail that the PH has reached us virtually in its finished state; **835** probably does not reflect a much wider disarray; the Marcelli were integral to the conception of the PH from its outset (see *Companion*, 148), whereas **886-901** reveal many signs of their unfinished state.

(2) Extraneous elements

It is at many points misleading to think of the PH as being that and nothing but that, both in terms of time and of content; within it, V. leads us both far back into the pre-Roman past (notably, the sack of Troy, **840**) and beyond the authorial present into the Augustan future of Golden Age in Latium and conquest to the ends of the earth (**792ff.**); a case has also been made (Getty, 1950) that the references to Hercules and Liber should be read as pointers to the eventual deification of Aug. himself. Note too **773-6**, the yet-to-be-founded Alban colonies which by V.'s time will have reverted to decay and (**838**) the great cities of Homeric Greece, by the c.2 BC forgotten by history or crushed by Rome. Often 'read' today (but see on **773-6**) as a warning against any confidence in the permanence of Rome's present greatness. Also, and almost more important, the PH contains a repeated element of brief but dazzling imaginative leaps into visions of scenes and worlds far outside its own formal limits: Cybele in her chariot (a simile within Anch.'s speech, **784-7**) and the vision of Liber/Dionysus returning in triumph from India (**804-5**), adding both divine analogy and poetic romance to Aug.'s own conquests. In addition, the unhistorical vision of Julius Caesar (**830ff.**) descending from the Alps upon Italy with quasi-supernatural force (cf. the Centaurs of 7.674-7, with nn., but also the more obvious analogies of Hercules and Hannibal). The reader's inner eye is thus also prepared for the tragic concluding vision of Marcellus' funeral.

(3) Recurrent motifs

(a) Genealogy. The importance of genealogy in general, the strength and traditions of the individual *gentes* (824, 842-3, 845; cf. origins of *cognomina*, Torquatus, Scipiadae, Serranus) and in particular of the passage of the *gens Iulia* from Venus to Aug. are fundamental in the PH: cf. Horsfall (1976), 84, (1982), 12f. (with some detail), taken up, e.g. by Feeney, 5. No further consideration here is required, except to point out that a higher standard of conduct is expected of the Iulii (834-5, in particular **sanguis meus** with comm.; cf. 3.342f. on the expectations which attach to Hector's nephew Ascanius).

(b) Expansion. Roman expansion has long been recognised as another key motif of the PH (see Horsfall (1976), 82-5, (1982), 13, *Companion*, 145). It runs from the Alban colonies (see 760-6) to - with Hercules and Liber in paradigmatic roles - the Augustan conquests and requires no further discussion here; Hercules' dominance over monsters and Liber's over beasts surely prefigure Aug.'s over savage peoples beyond the frontiers (cf. Binder, *AuA.*, 147f.).

(c) A focus of concentration? **Excudent alii...** is of course addressed both to Aen. and to all Romans but a more specific context is suggested by the largely c.3 content of 836-46, by the Ennian citation of 845 and by the Saturnian element in 833, 844 (note also the strong elements of allit. and rhyme in 836-46). The structure of the PH does therefore suggest a particularly c.3 reference for **excudent alii...**, confirmed by the extended tribute to Marcellus, cos. 222, etc. (855-9). The *detail* of 851-3 is specially relevant to the Rome of that period (as I suggested in passing some time ago, *Riv.Fil.*117 (1989), 207): a *res publica* that has fought for survival and is only now passing to conquest outside Italy. Only Numa stands for law and religion, but the extremes of paternal authority (Brutus, Torquatus) go far beyond the notion of written law. As a picture of Augustan Rome, 851-3 presents serious difficulties, as many critics have remarked; if the chronol. focus is at least in part altered, they are a good deal reduced. For further discussion, see 'Poets and poetry in Virgil's Underworld', forthcoming in *Vergilius* 59 (2013).

(d) Links between epochs. The PH bears directly upon Aen.'s present situation (760, 806f.) and recent past (840); it reveals the history of Alba and Rome, which at certain points is to be subjected to continuous judgement and analysis (Brutus, Caesar, notably), and reaches into both present and future; see (2), *ad init.* This spectacle (or panorama, or indeed analysis) is rendered present and explicit continuously and in many ways. Most obv-

iously, by genealogy, into past, present and future, *supra*, (a). Note also vengeance, **840** (where vd. n.); compare Dido and Hannibal, *ultor*, 4.625¹. (e) An individual view of history. Zetzel's attempt (1989, 273) to explain the concentration of historical anomalies in the PH as an attempt to subvert the very notion of historical truth is perhaps rather too modern to be altogether credible. Note, however, Caesar's route in 49 (**830**), the possible confusion of Servius Tullius and Ancus Martius (**815**, **816**), the likely fusion of Mummius and Aemilius Paullus (**838**), and Camillus and 'the recovery of the standards' (**825**). For V. and the great mass of visual detail in the PH, see (b)(i)-(iv), *infra*. The view of Roman history presented by the PH has been analysed repeatedly (cf. my summaries, (1976), (1982), and Zetzel (1997), 197f.) and comm. here tries to reflect progress made; Virgilian 'anomalies' may point not so much to the futility of the very idea of histor. truth as to the clearly contemp. sense (cf. Liv.6.1.1f. with Kraus, Oakley) that the early history of Rome was in many details not set and formalised. (f) For motifs signalled by language (e.g. the expository-didactic manner), cf. (6).

(4) Criticism and ambiguity

Since 1986 (Feeney, *PCPS*), many students of the PH have started from the 'certainty' that V. had introduced into the text both (a) a strong element of $\psi\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, criticism, reproach and (b) a high degree of riddling uncertainty. Some indications of disagreement were offered, *Companion*, 148f., and West offered a plain man's commonsensical alternative, *Tria lustra* (see bibl.), 283-96. But the current orthodoxy often reflects Feeney's conclusions: see e.g. Thomas, *VAR*, 209, O'Hara, *DOP*, 121. The issues are discussed separately: (a) $\psi\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ was according to some ancient analysts a proper element in panegyric, though its presence was warmly disputed in the schools, *DH Ep.Pomp*.1.4. Some element of it was, however, thought to add credibility to $\xi\pi\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\iota$, *Arist.Rhet*.1414b31, citing Gorgias, *Plut.Mor*.810C, 856D, 860D with T.C.Burgess, *Epideictic literature* (Chicago 1902), 118. Indeed, ancient critics already detected an element of criticism among Virgilian *laudes*: Serv. on *G*.2.461, TCD, 1.5.27-9, Norden, 314, Farron (1980), 65, n.2. See too Lausberg 1, 131. Elements of $\psi\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ are indisputable in the PH (cf. Thomas, *VAR*, 209): the warlike Tullus (**814**), the *iactantior* Ancus (**815**), *gaudens popularibus auris* (**816**), Brutus *superbus* (**817**), Torquatus *saeuus* (**824**), Caesar the aggressor (**834f.**). We should perhaps compare (*Companion*, 149) the awkward figures in the Forum of Augustus (Marius, Sulla, Lucullus). Neither 'text' is undeviating panegyric; see Thomas, *VAR*, 210, against West: Feeney

1 I am most grateful to Prof. Bonnie MacLachlan (UWO) for swift illumination on this topic.

exaggerated the critical elements, West the panegyric, while my own position remains that taken in 1995: ‘elements of criticism are present, enough to set heroism and merit in high relief’.

(b) Ambiguity. Feeney introduced a strong element of ‘riddling’ into his reading of the PH: which Cato (841)? There are indeed some undisguised issues of historical identification (789, 839; both genuinely tricky problems). Comm. will not uncover many riddles and in this case I incline to agree largely with West’s ‘commonsensical’ reading: the rhetorical context here is ill-suited to a continuous, even wanton, strategy of impeding, confusing, challenging, delaying the poor reader.

(5) Rhetoric

Norden’s analysis of the formal rhet. elements in PH is of high quality, both in comm. and in *Kl.Schr.*, 422-38, on the panegyric of Aug., 791-807. Here, see in particular (847-53), (4) for detailed discussion of V. and Men.Rhet.’s analysis of the themes of a *laus urbis*. Vd. too the critique of Norden, Highet, 91-6; his view of Men.Rhet.’s purpose is no clearer than Norden’s or Guillemín’s, but his conclusions are (mercifully, sometimes) less ambitious than No.’s. A century after his comm., we are still in Norden’s shadow; points of contact between V. and Men.Rhet. will be noted with care, but I shall be less assiduous in noting all features of rhet. writing and organisation in V. than No. was. Neither Serv. (on 752) nor TCD (1.605.17-25) are particularly illuminating on the PH. Here, only a few observations:

Many definitions suit part at least of the PH: certainly ‘didactic’ links Anch.’s first speech (724-51) and his second, and there is a didactic, expository element in Anch.’s historical instruction (see 756-7, **nunc age** + subjunct., 759 **docebo**) and (I have thought of Horace’s father in *Serm.*1.6) paradeigmatic moral guidance. Cf. Highet, 236, Habinek, 246f.. ‘Hortatory’ is a definition particularly applicable to 806f., 835 and to V.’s general definition of the PH’s role as **incenditque animum famae uenientis amore** (889; cf. 717f.). ‘Admonitory’ will also serve at many points (Highet, 93; cf. 834-5, 851-3, 868-70). No. grandly (and acutely) offers (in Greek letters) ‘paraenetic, protreptic, symbouleutic logos’ as alternative definitions (313); I settled on ‘genealogical protreptic’ in 1976 (84 with n.102); cf. Highet, 92, Williams, *TI*, 149, *Companion*, 144 and Feeney, 1 (my old 1976 definition, unacknowledged). The characterisation suits well enough both V.’s definitions of the PH’s function from 717f. to 889 and his usage in the actual deployment of the theme of kin (717 **meorum**, 756 **Dardanium prolem**, 789 **tuos**, 868 **tuorum**, etc.). For V.’s use of historical *paradeigmata*, cf. (7)(a), *ad fin.*.

(6) Recurrent stylistic features

Some collections of styl. features in the PH exist (Au., 233, Highet, 17, No., 314), and another will not be offered here. More useful to concentrate on (i) styl. indications of some of the many elements present in the PH and (ii) the very marked degree of variation of styl. level in these vv..

(a) **756 nunc age...sequatur** clearly proemiac (vd. Kyriakidis, 101); cf. (5) for the hortatory or protreptic manner. Heavy alliteration in second half of v., recognisably after Saturnian usage: vd. (1), *ad init.*. Note the distinctively Sibylline **memento (851)** and the unmistakably Livian **debellare (853)**. No. draws proper attention to the great number of parallel members in these vv.: **parcere subiectis et debellare superbos**. These vv. have - in general, appropriately enough - a steady, even stately movement (contrast the scampering dactyls at the centre of **845**).

(b) Contrast e.g. the exceptionally bald list of toponyms at **773-5** with **ex-cudent alii...** (where comm. will detect simultaneously the marked use of a plain, standard Latin lexicon and a degree of stylistic elaboration) and with the 'dithyrambic' manner detected by No., 325 on **796ff.** (vd. in particular **septemgemi, aeripedem**) and Guillemin on **791**. Note also variation in the transitions and in the manner in which individuals are introduced; cf. 7.641-817, (iii). Here the continuous movement of the Heroes and the animation of Anch. as exegete permit a particularly high degree of variety. The PH is after all a speech, and unsurprisingly it proves to contain a number of colloquial, spoken elements (**760 uides, 770 si umquam, 779 uiden, ut...stant, 824 quin, 848 credo equidem**), perhaps unexpected in so grand and formal a passage.

(7) **Sources and inspirations (a)**. Literary sources.

(i) Homer. See Knauer, 126 for analysis of the relationship between PH and Od.'s conversation with his *mother*, *Od.*11.152-224. Not so specifically relevant but clearly significant the *teichoskopia*; cf. No., 312, von Albrecht (1999), 108, Grebe, 38-61; details, Knauer, 441. From the walls of Troy, Helen explains to Priam who are the Greek warriors that they can see, *Il.*3.161-242. Wigodsky's scepticism, 9, n.36 not helpful. Hom. here employs the technique of description though dialogue also used by V. here; cf. also *Eur.Ba.*982ff. with Grebe, 77, *Ov.AA* 1.217-22 (and ff.), the young man expounding the details of a triumph to a lately-met girl. A distinctive technique here employed with apparently unrecognised expertise; Aen. does not discuss his shield with Venus and remains *rerum ignarus*. The supposed influence of Lyc. (cf. e.g. Grebe, 81-5) depends on the attribution of *Alex.*1226-80 to Lyc. himself. That is now a very difficult thesis to maintain, or so I recently explained: cf. *ICS* 30 (2005), 35-40. But cf. Grebe, 74-81 for other possible Gk. influences.

(ii) Cicero. Note:

(a) the classic instance of *synkrisis* at *TD* 1.1-5: compare (**847-53**), (4).

(b) the widely acknowledged similarity between *Rep.*6.13 (where Zetzel adduces **718**; vd. also **889**) and V.'s own genealogical protreptic. Cf. *Companion*, 145, Horsfall 1976, 83 (with bibl.), R.Lamacchia *RhM* 107 (1964), 272, Feeney, 2-4.

(iii) Varro. Comparison of *Symm.Ep.*1.4 (on *Varr.Imag.*) *ille pauperem Curium, sed diuitiis imperantem, ille seueros Catones, gentem Fabiam, decora Scipionum, totumque illum triumphalem senatum parca laude perstrinxit* with **841-5** makes it virtually certain that Varro's illustrated *Imagines* was an important visual and written source of the PH: see further *Anc.Soc.*10 (1980), 20-3. Many readers have also noted a strong presence of etyms. in the PH; a survey of the saner candidates, O'Hara, *TN*, 177-82. Varro's interest in the etymologies of Roman names is not in doubt (GRF Varro, frs.323-68) and it would have been easy and handy for V. to draw images, a minimum of biogr. detail, and etymologies from the same author, if not always from the same actual Varronian text.

On a wider front, add

(iv) Consolation-literature. See (**854-86**) for V.'s account of the death of Marcellus and its close contacts with the topics of the *consolatio*. Vd. n. on **872-3** on the importance of elaborate detail of the funeral as a topic of consolation.

(v) Panegyric. See **781-805**, *passim*, in the light of (**847-53**), (**5**), on *Men.Rhet.* and his relationship to V. (also vd. **781** (*laudes urbis*) and (**854-86**), (**1**) on *Men. Rhet.*, the monody and the *epicedion Marcelli*); No.'s account of the points of contact is, surprisingly, not quite full (pp.322ff., 335ff.) and comm., **847-53** reveals some minor omissions. It is not quite clear to us how V. reached so intimate a knowledge of the finer points of the conventions of (Hellenistic ruler-) panegyric; the Theocr.-corpus alone perhaps not quite enough.

(vi) Rhetorical *exempla*. The convergence of PH with the content of Cic.'s ample catalogues of republican *exempla* has long been noted, but the details are not here recorded in the interests of saving space. Far more important, the impeccably Ciceronian, rhetorical way in which V. here uses the 'Heroes' as exemplary in his protreptic discourse; vd. *supra*, (**5**). Above all, note (with Otis, 302, 304) **806-7 et dubitamus adhuc uirtutem extendere factis/ aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra**. Since H.W.Litchfield's indispensable compilation, *HSCP* 25 (1914), 1-71, see H.Roloff, *Maiores bei Cicero* (diss. Göttingen 1938), J.D.Chaplin, *Livy's exemplary history* (Oxford 2000), ch.1, Horsfall, *Culture of the Rom. plebs*, 90, 94f., *id.*, (1976), 84, M.B.Roller, *CPh.* 99 (2004), 1-56 and the recent articles by M.Lowrie, in *Latin elegy and narratology* (ed. G.Lively, P.Salzman-Mitchell, Columbus, OH 2008), 165-179, in *Vom Selbst-Verständnis...* (ed. A.Arweiler, M.Möller, Berlin 2008), 131-54 and in

Classical constructions. Papers...Don Fowler (ed. S.J.Heyworth, etc., Oxford 2007), 91-112.

(vii) *Synkrisis*-literature. See (847-53), (4).

(viii) Hor.C.1.12. Marginally earlier than *Aen.*6 and the striking analogies with PH are well and tersely discussed by NH, 145; contrast the superficial Geiger, 51.

(b). Non-literary analogies:

(i) Statuary. Cf. (1976), 84, with n.96, Degrassi, 98f., O.Vessberg, *Studien z. Kunstgesch.* (Lund 1941), 10ff.; most of the 'Heroes' of the PH were commemorated by statuary somewhere in Rome, in the Forum of Augustus and elsewhere. The range of visual detail in the PH (760, 772, 779, 809, etc.) was studied acutely by L.Delaruelle, *Rev.Arch.* (1913), 153-70; as influences upon V., we cannot at any point distinguish between Varro's book of *Imagines* and actual statuary.

(ii) Forum of Augustus. Cf. Geiger, 61 and Degrassi, 88-103. The latter established firmly and clearly V.'s complete independence from the Forum; *Aen.*6, after all, was written ca.22 and the Forum was apparently completed ca.5. Their convergence seems to reflect a shared dependence on Varro. Cf. *Companion*, 144f., Horsfall (1980); Horsfall (1976), 83 *infra* shows that it was still easy enough to believe that the chronology was in some way in dispute, but it is in truth not.

(iii) *Imagines* and funeral processions. Influence upon the PH has been studied with proper care: cf. Horsfall (1976), 84, H.Flower, *Ancestor masks...* (Oxford 1996), 109-14, P.Burke, *CJ* 74 (1979), 220-8, Feeney, 5, E.Skard, *Symb.Osl.*40 (1965), 60-5. Perhaps it is because two key texts lay down the force and intent of the ancestral mask (in *atrium*, in funeral procession) with such force and clarity that the topic has received such ample and helpful consideration¹: see Plb.6.53, with Walbank's n., and Flower, 36-8; also Sall.*Jug.*4.5f. with Paul's n. and Flower, 46.

(iv) The triumph and other parades. See (8), *infra*. Only 836 offers a brief hint at the Roman triumph, and convincing analogies seem to be lacking.

(8) The Parade as parade

Apparently the **tumulum** of 754 has not hitherto been recognised as one of V.'s 'flags' or 'signposts' that help to set the literary character of a passage for the alert reader (*Alambicco*, ch.7; nn. on 3.209f., 623 and index s.v. signpost; n. on 2.554, for *exitus* and obituary notice; cf. too nn. on 7.545, 553, 3.639f., etc.). Here, a pretty instance of an antiquarian detail serving such a function. **Aduersos legere** (755) reinforces the impression. The

11 What I have called 'genealogical protreptic' (vd. index) is not, though, remorselessly and exclusively Roman in origin; vd. Men.Rhet.p.421.31f.Sp., sons to copy their fathers' virtues (cf. Thuc.2.45.1).

tumulus corresponds to what in the Augustan world was called a *suggestus* (vd. DS s.v.), permanent in a military camp (cf. R.W. Davies, *Service in the Roman army* (Edinburgh 1989), 47-51, *bene*). Cf. (7) for analogies with the Rom. funeral procession (with its *decursio*; vd. DS s.v., §2) and (2), with **854-86**, for the presence of Marcellus' actual funeral within the PH. V. offers the briefest hint at the triumphal procession (**836**; vd. *supra*); readers may also have recalled e.g. the *recognitio* of the *equites equo publico* and the parade aspect of a formal *adlocutio* to the troops (cf. S.MacCormack, *Art and ceremony* (Berkeley 1981), 37 *et passim*); see further G.S.Aldrete, *Gestures and acclamations* (Baltimore 1999), 151f.; compare the *adventus* of 7.812-3 (where vd. comm.) and contrast the essentially religious *pompa* of 2.234-49 (where vd. comm.). Such analogies suit very well the splendours and military flavour of much of the PH, but Rome's future heroes hardly 'march past'; while father and son are busily engaged in curiosity and comment (*infra*), a picture emerges of the PH as a cheerful, bustling, disorderly occasion: note the noise (**753**, **865**), the continuous motion (**753 trahit**, **755**, **815**, **845**, **856**), the great crowd (**753**), of which only a few are actually named, the towering height of the odd individual (**856 supereminet**), the hints of very natural bunching and crowding (**815**, **863f.**), and the reference to the haste of some (**845**), which is not the only touch of gentle humour in the PH (cf. **816** and the allusive goats of **809**). While the heroes press cheerfully past, spirits on the reviewing base are hardly less high, at least until we reach the death of Marcellus. The Sibyl is still present (note **854** plur. **mirantibus**; **886 uagantur** not decisive) with Anch. and Aen.; Aen. records his impressions and interrogates his father (**863-6**), while Anch. answers, dwelling on the dangerous excesses of paternal authority to come (Brutus, Torquatus), and at one point weeps (**867**). Though the passing Heroes do not address Anch., he may speak to them (**832**, **835**, **841**, **844**, **845**; the gods too, **871**). The PH is full of visual detail (7)(b) and appropriately Anch.'s exposition is full of eager deictic gestures (**760**, **771**, **781**, **788**, **789**, **791**, **825**). But Anch.'s exposition is clearly to a double public: so the 'we' of **806 dubitamus** is both Anch. and Aen., and, at the same time, Virg. and his Augustan (and later) readers (so too e.g. at the questions of **818**, **841**, **844** and note the clear enough multiple audience of **773-5**); cf. too n. on **851 Romane**, an element not overtly populist but formally Sibylline.

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756 nunc age Rare; cf. n. on 7.37 (Greek, didactic, with pres. vb. of speaking; cf. Hes.*Op.*202, Romano, 96). Compare also **quae...sequatur, qui...maneant...expediam dictis**, with the proemiac *expediam* of 7.40 (where vd. n.; so too e.g. Wigodsky, 133), which follows *quae...quis...* as well as the indirect interrogations of 7.642-4. Elysium is no place for the Muses, so V. simply follows the *manner* of the formal introduction; a useful list of such expressions typical of the 'discorso parenetico' in Paratore.

Dardanium prolem Cf. 4.236 *prolem Ausoniam*; contrast e.g. *Arcadiae proles, Assaraci proles* (less lofty; n. on 7.723). For the archaic, poetic **p.**, cf. n. on 7.691 *Neptunia proles* and Foucher, *TLL* 10.2.1821.72 and for the Euripidean adj., *EV* 5*, 292, n.on 3.52.

quae.../ 757 gloria Cf. 11.430f. *nec parua sequetur/ gloria delectos Latio et Laurentibus aruis*. The glory of Troy: 2.325f. *ingens/ gloria Teucrorum* (with n.), **6.65**, Knoche, *TLL* 6.2.2072.44, Christ, 147f., *EV* 2, 771, Roloff (*supra*, p.516), 30-2, and vd. too Hellegouarc'h, 369-83. Note that *here* at least glory is not visibly marked as the forerunner of tragedy; so **65**,

767 and often elsewhere (cf. my n. on 11. *cit.*). For the long postponement of the (run-on and heavily emphasized) subj., cf. n. on 2.5 *eruerint Danaï*.

deinde sequatur Cf. 11.430, *supra*, 12.153. *EV* 4, 786f. unhelpful; Hardie, *CI*, 70 suggests both a sequence in future time and a didactic tone, after **724 principio** (*quinquies* in *G.*; 18x in *Lucr.*, so the point may be valid).

757 qui...nepotes Balancing **D. prolem**, as the verbs are likewise closely parallel. For **n.**, cf. n. on 7.99; genealogical protreptic (cf. (756-846), (5), 889) here descends the family tree.

maneant Cf. *Sen.Med.*543, Tietze, *TLL* 8.291.9f.

Itala de gente Regular idiom, 2.78, 5.373, 785, **6.875**, 7.220, 282, 367, 750, 803, 9.284, 10.350, 388, 11.331, 432, with a variety of constructions. Note 3.185 *Itala regna*, 440, 5.82, 7.334 *finis Italos*, **6.762 Italo... sanguine**, 7.85 *Italae gentes*, 643f., 9.132f. *gentes...Italae*, 11.420. The adj. first at *Lucr.*1.119 and *Cat.*1.5; also used by Crinagoras, *GP*, *GP* 1885. It would be no surprise if earlier attestations of this metrically handy form were to emerge.

758 inlustris animas So **680 inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras**, where *Anch.* **lustrabat studio recolens**; here he no longer *does*, but *expounds* to his son, *Moskalew*, 115f.. Cf. 11.24 *egregias animas* (with **n.**). **A.** of a multiplicity of individual souls, here too further characterised, *Negri* 46, 71f., n.97, 280, n.8. For **i.**, cf. *Ehlers*, *TLL* 7.1.396.11f., and 7.79, with note (the orthogr. issue irresolvable). Not a third parallel member, but the whole line a direct obj. of **expediam**, in studied disarray.

nostrumque in nomen Cf. 7.98f., 271f. *qui sanguine nostrum/ nomen in astra ferant*, 12.515 *nomen Echionium*, *Luc.*6.375 *in alterius nomen cum uenerit undae*, *EV* 3, 752 ('stock', *vel sim.*; *bene*, *Serv.*). We are not urged to work out exactly what is meant; a stock both Trojan and Roman appears to be suggested.

ituras Note **680**, *infra*; much less congenial to **V.** than the fut.partic. of *uenio*. A studied Virgilian reversal of *Hom.*'s concentration upon the past in the catal. of heroines, *Knauer*, 206. **V.** seems to rework (perhaps subconsciously) **680 inclusas animas superumque in lumen ituras**.

759 expediam dictis So too at 3.379 with note (likewise oracular). A vb. (didactic, expository in tone) that *Lucr.* particularly liked; cf. 5.113 *multa tibi expediam doctis solacia dictis*. Note also *Aen.*11.315 and in particular 7.40 (*supra*). *Romano*, 96, *Hiltbrunner*, *TLL* 5.2.1613.33f..

et te tua fata docebo Grave and simple language to conclude the poem of this great exposition; see *Aen.*7, p.112 and on vv.122-3 for the archaic *Rom.* view of *Anch.*'s prophetic role, at which there may be a hint here. Cf. *G.* 3.440 *te causas et signa docebo*, *EV* 2, 118, *Pötscher*, 48, *Pomathios*,

334, Bulhart, *TLL* 5.1.1706. 39f. For the common etymologising association of *fata* and *fari*, cf. n. on 3.380, Bailey, 205-6, Boyancé, 48, etc..

760-6 Silvius Aeneas Bibliography: G.D'Anna, *EV* 2, 236, Richard and D'Anna on *OGR* 17.4, Bömer on *Ov.F.4.39*, G.Brugnoli in *Att. Conv. Virg. Brindisi* 1981 (Perugia 1983), 157-90 at 174-8, G.Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim 1964), 156f., Schwegler, 1, 337f., R.Peter, *Ro.* 4.877.39ff., Zwicker, *PW* 5A.130.50ff.. On the problems of inconsistent legends in *V.*, see now Squillante Saccone, *EV* 2, 96, O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 88f., *id.*, *DOP*, 92-4, Horsfall, *ORVA*, 471-2, n. on 7.170-91, p.146, *Alambicco*, 97, *RMM*, 23, *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 9, Clausen, *VA*, 131-4; for older discussions, vd. *supra* and e.g. Gercke, 161, Kroll (**886**), 137, Heinze, 158, n.1. The inconsistencies of detail here present (see further n. on **764**) have been variously explained. In these vv., *V.* presents the kings of Alba as descended from Aeneas and Lavinia, through Aen.Silv. (cf. *OGR* 16.1, *DH* 1.70.1f., *Fest.p.*460.8f.); contrast 1.267ff., descent from Aeneas and Creusa; cf. *Serv.* there *ab hac autem historia ita discedit Vergilius*, with 1.273 *gente sub Hectorea*, 7.98 (Lat. is told of his family's future, mingled with Troj. stock) and *Ov.F.4.35-44* (O'Hara, *Inconsistency*, 88, n.27, Clausen, 131). Once *V.* has decided upon the role of the 'basic equation' (**875f.**), Trojans + Italians = Romans, the purity of the Trojan royal blood line becomes rather an obstacle. The origin of the kings of Alba was a familiar uncertainty (*Liv.*1.3.2; cf. 1.1.11); Cato's position remains altogether unclear, for though *Serv.* here attributes Lavinia's pregnancy by Aen. to Cato, it is certain that at least part, and possibly all of what *Serv.* attributes to Cato here cannot be Cato, for it is in part, *verbatim*, *Livy*: if, behind *Livy*, there is (also) some Cato, we cannot tell: *RMM* 22, n.133, Cato, *Orig.*1, ed. W.A.Schroeder, 133. On this issue, the new comms. by Chassignet (p.60) and Beck/Walter (p.164) are gravely disappointing; cf. rather J.-C.Richard in *Hommages ... Schilling* (ed. H.Zehnacker, R.Hentz, Paris 1983), 403-12 and still Ogilvie on *Liv.*1.3.2. Was this variation in *V.* a learned ref. to variation in *V.*'s sources, as *Serv.* (*l.c.*) and I have suggested, or were there darker forces at work (O'Hara, *citt.*, Williams, *TI*, 144, Farron (**826-35**), 62)? While we know that Aen. will die three years (a traditional figure, *CQ* 24 (1974), 112) after settling in Italy (cf. 1.265f., three years after arrival in Italy, 4.620, where Aen.'s premature death is part of a curse), is Aen. here being deceived, or at least unjustifiably encouraged by Anch.? Clearly, *V.* reproduces the conflicting versions present in the story known to him; so far O'H., *Inconsistency*, 89 and I agree. Does *V.* challenge his (not very, here) learned readers, while Anch. misleads Aen.? Do another three years drive the already middle-aged Aen. (cf. Mark Griffith *CP* 80 (1985), 309-19) into 'elderly'? *L.* can hardly be used, as *Serv.* suggests, to indicate that Aen.'s life has been prolonged by deification; misap-

plied ingenuity; after two great wars and a long sea-voyage, he will hardly be any more in the prime of his manhood, though still an active leader, and, when required, warrior. I have no idea of the 'correct solution', if any; certainly we recognise the issue of erudition and a further element of deceit for the sake of encouragement of Aen. as listener *may* be perceptible.

There has been energetic speculation over V.'s allegedly significant choice of kings; see Brugnoli, *Atti*, which he summarises, *EV* 1, 80, unpersuasively. The order in which the kings advance here seems to be dictated by convenience. Their names are a burden laid by the annalists upon the poet's shoulders; he names five of them, attributes to them an unlikely level of glory and achievements, displaying a minimum of familiarity with the stories bestowed upon them, and passes on. Thankfully, we might suspect, but a more patient reading reveals careful work on the thematic coherence of these vv.: 771 takes up 760 (visual qualities); Alba anticipates Roman qualities of military excellence (760, 769, 771, 772) and gift for conquest/ expansion (773-6); the Alban kings carry on Trojan names (Aeneas, Capys, 768, 769) and maintain the royal Trojan blood-line (763, 765, 767 *Troianae gloria gentis*). That V. had, as a young man, planned a poem on the Kings of Alba is one of the sillier fantasies offered by VSD (*Companion*, 11). It might be that the ps-Hesiodic Agrios (*Theog.*1011-6) influenced the (? post-) Catonian story, T.J.Cornell, *PCPS* 21 (1975), 31, A.Alföldi, *Early Rome...* (Ann Arbor [1964]), 238f., both apparently unaware of the Cato-problem.

760 ille...iuuenis Deictic (see 767). A young warrior (cf. 771, 861); see n. on 7.435 (Turnus).

uides Printed by e.g. Mynors, Goold, Geymonat without question mark; unlike 323, here essentially parenthetic ('as you see'; vd. Au. on 779) rather than the familiar technique of sharing the visual perception, *EV* 5*, 535. Thus the colloqu. form **uiden**, 779 (*OLD* s.v. *uideo*, §10). It is odd that Hofmann-Ricottilli, 363 classifies spoken *uides* as post-Augustan: see LHS, 327. *Vides* may well be less informal than *uiden* (cf. however Petr.37.7, 131.7), but the tone of energetic speech accompanies suitably the effort implicit in **nititur** (likelier, we shall see, to indicate brisk motion rather than repose); neither occasion nor idiom are ponderous. Romano well compares (97), the common *uides* of Lucr. (she notes 15 instances).

pura...hasta Untipped, according to Varro: *id est sine ferro* (Serv. here=*Varr.de uita* fr. 36Fracc., with his discussion, 223f., Walbank on Plb. 6.39.3; on the 22 won by L.Siccus Dentatus, cf. Plin.*Nat.* 7.102, with Schilling's note). Recognisably, a solid antiquarian detail (again, Prop. 4.3.67f. (where vd. Hutchinson); a book in which there is much Virgil), of which V. is sparing. For Serv. here a reward *eius qui tunc primum uicisset proelio* but for Plin. clearly an honour to be awarded *repeatedly*, while

Paul. exc.Fest.p.90.21f. adds *et Romani fortes uiros saepe hasta donarunt*. It looks as though Serv. is not right here. See Cuq, DS 3.1, 41, Fiebiger, PW 7.2508.18ff., Marquardt, *StV*, 23, 328, n.4, 574. Analogies with the Homeric 'sceptre' (for which vd. Seymour, 85) much attracted earlier comms. (La Cerda, Heyne) but in so peculiarly Varronian a context are not very helpful.

qui nititur Cf. 12.386 *alternos longa nitentem cuspide gressus* (with *Il.*19.49 ἔγχει ἐρειδομένῳ), 398 *ingentem nixus in hastam*, *EV* 3, 740. Standard Latin, *OLD* s.v, §1a. Easy to see why the wounded Aen. leans on his spear as he walks; less so to understand just why Aen. Silvius does so here. Au. acutely notes that V. seems almost to be describing a statue; has the Varronian statue then begun to move, in the poet's mind? Delaruelle, 154 thought that some heroes marched, while others stood still; credible as an explanation of Aen. Silvius' leaning on his weapon, while his juniors, or successors, marched on (for the Parade clearly is in motion, **815**, **856**, etc.), but a scene dangerous (even if the odd spear is untipped), confused and unacceptably comical. *Tacet, ut videtur*, Marconi, *EV*, s.v..

761 proxima sorte...lucis loca TCD's *iam proximus est ut in lucem ueniat* gives the general sense quite correctly but does not solve the nice problem of grammar and sense over which most commentators glide with unconvincing paraphrase. The new *TLL* article on *propior*, *proximus* (Ramming) makes it quite clear (10.2.2033.61ff.) that **proxima** cannot be taken simply with **lucis** in the sense of 'closest to'; nor are we free (vd. Henry) to suppose that 'holding the nearest part of life/light' will do as a paraphrase of 'holding a part/place that is nearest to the light', though that is what many commentators offer, uncomfortably and unpersuasively. The correction to **luci** (Heinsius) is only too easy, though entirely unsupported. The alternative (Henry, full of good sense, and Butler) is to take **lucis** with **sorte**, holds the nearest place (sc. to the light), by that sortition which leads, pertains to the light of day. There is no rhythmical awkwardness at all in such an interpretation (*pace* Butler); more important, the notion that places or sequences in the Underworld depended in some way upon sortition is attested elsewhere: cf. *Plat.Rep.* 10.617E (at some length), *Hor.C.2.* 3.25ff., 3.1.15. *Lucr.* 3.778ff. is often cited but is not explicitly relevant. At *Aen.* **6.431** (where vd. n.), V. introduces Roman court procedure into the Underworld (cf. *Prop.*4.11.19f.), so the similarity is only superficial. If it is sortition that determines the order of our deaths (*Plat.*, *Hor.cit.*), then there is no real need to emend the text here, for the extension of sortition to rebirth is obvious and natural. PW s.v. *Losung* and DS s.v. *sors* are apparently both silent on the topic. For **lucis** here as dat. plur. of *lucus*, cf. G.Laudizi, *BSL* 20 (1990), 10-3, unedifyingly. For the light of life, cf. n. on **828 lumina uitae**.

tenet Cf. 2.505, **6.434**, 7.739, etc.; ‘occupies’.

primus Because as Aen.'s son he is naturally the first of these Roman heroes due to be reborn. *Primum ex omnibus qui illic uidebantur* TCD.

ad auras/ 762 aetherias...surget These airs of the upper world are Lucretian, via *G.*: cf. n. on 7.557. The vb. natural thus: 7.771 *ad lumina surgere uitae*, *OLD* s.v., §5b. A wide range of comparable expressions, 7.271f. (with n.).

762 Italo...sanguine Cf. 1.19 *Troiano a sanguine*, 7.318 *sanguine Troiano et Rutulo*, 547 *Ausonio...sanguine*, etc.. *Tacet EV*; cf. further **875f.** for the ‘genealogical equation’. Aen.'s union with Lavinia symbolises all those others entered upon by his followers, and Aen. Silvius stands for all the other offspring of mixed race that we are invited to assume that there must have been.

commixtus Cf. 12.838 *hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget*, 8.510 *mixtus matre Sabella*, Wulff, *TLL* 3.1899.2f., Pfligersdorffer, *ib.*, 8.1096.14f.. *EV* 3, 541 weak.

763 Siluius Cf. **765 siluis**; a clear, perhaps an old instance of a ‘speaking name’; cf. too DH 1.70.2, *Ov.F.*4.41f., *Liv.*1.3.6; the *etymon* presumably regular in the inevitably frequent annalistic refs., *Gell.*2.16.3. Such refs. (next n.) are often signalled by **nomen**. On **760**, *Serv.* attributes to Cato the assertion that all the kings of Alba thereafter were named ‘Silvius’ (so too TCD, without Cato); for this (very probably post-Catonian) passage, see on **760-6**.

Albanum nomen Cf. my n. on 7.412 *et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen*, O'Hara, *TN*, 75f., Bartelink, 70f. with further instances for V.'s use, and that of others from AR on, of *nomen* and equivalents as a means of signalling etym. play in the neighbourhood. Here, indeed, we shall soon see that there are *two* distinct instances of such play in the v.. For **n.** thus in appos., cf. 7.717 (with my n.), 12.514f..

tua postuma proles Perhaps first here of a single offspring; then 7.691, etc., Foucher, *TLL* 10.2.1820.52ff.; the word itself archaic in tone (cf. n. on 7, *cit.*). *Caesellius Vindex* (*vd. infra*) remarks *non eum significat, qui patre mortuo, sed qui postremo loco natus est* (so too Buchwald, *TLL* 10.2.220.77ff., *OLD* s.v., §1a. ‘last-born’); however, it does not appear that this sense appeared elsewhere in current Lat. usage (which does not necessarily exclude it here), and *Caes.Vind.* remarks sadly that no source gives Aen.Silv. as the son of a living but elderly father. No joy either in the occasional sense, found in imperial juridical texts, of ‘born after the will was made’ (*vd. Paratore* here; for details, cf. rather E.Sachers, *PW* 22.957.26ff., Buchwald, *TLL* 10.2219.88ff.). Given the signal and name-play already in this line, it is inevitable that **postuma** alludes to the name Silvius Pos-

tumus, which Silvius Aeneas bore in some texts, Ov.F.4.41f. *Postumus hinc, qui, quod siluis fuit ortus in altis, / Siluius in Latia gente uocatus erat*, Gell.2.16.3.

764 quem tibi longaeuo The second problem raised by this passage; Gell.2.16 records a recent debate between Sulpicius Apollinaris and Caesellius Vindex, of which there are echoes in Serv./TCD; see L.Holford-Strevens *Aulus Gellius*₂ (Oxford 2003), 85, 167, Stirnimann, *TLL* 7.2. 1617.63f., 66ff., G.Brugnoli, *EV* 4, 1070f. and *supra*. The problem posed (Gell., §3) is that of how Aen. Silvius could be the posthumous offspring (which by general consent he was) of a *living*, if elderly, Aeneas. We have seen Caesellius Vindex' answer (s.v. **tua postuma proles**), but Gellius knows (§§6, 7) that it really will not work. C.Sulpicius Apollinaris preferred a sense of 'immortal' (§8), but that is not otherwise attested in Latin until Arnobius, and is a sense that could well derive entirely from the grammarians' exegesis of this passage. Holford-Strevens cites (85, n.11) a number of passages where 'long-lived' is used as meiosis for 'immortal', but that, Gell. well knew, could not be the answer here. The adj. 14x in *Aen.*, invariably in the sense of 'elderly', 'advanced in years', *sim.*; cf. 7.166, 3.169 with nn., Scarcia, *EV* 2, 397. A Virgilian coinage, apparently. Unlike Brugnoli, Stirnimann and I are not attracted by the unlikely senses and associations advanced by the grammarians and glossators; they are not required to solve the problems and challenges V. sets here. For Norden (p.317; cf. Holford-Strevens, 85, n.12), V. wishes to avoid any involvement by Aen. in the feud between Ascanius and Lavinia; strange, for that is just what he does *not* do, given the allusions present in **educet siluis**. The poet sets us no insoluble problem, but challenges our common sense, or wits, with a mild brachylogy: here, Aen. Silvius is clearly a son of Aen.'s, conceived when Aen. was old (**longaeuo**; cf. Odysseus, *Od.*11.136, Knauer, 206), but actually born when Aen. was already dead (**postuma proles**). That seems to be exactly how TCD takes it *sed nascetur postumus adeoque serus, ut ex te iam longaeuo conceptus oriatur*. An anti-Julian jibe at the legitimacy of the Alban line pretty clearly underlies (vd. Ogilvie (760-6)), some of the versions of Aen.Silv.'s birth; cf. S.Treggiari, *Roman marriage* (Oxford 1991), 428-9 for the crucial issue of legitimacy in such cases. But there is no genealogy by which the blood of Priam passes unanswerably through the kings of Alba to emerge in the veins of the Kings of Rome.

serum.../ 765 ...regem Cf. 8.581 *mea sola et sera uoluptas*, with Serv. *quia et unus erat et serius susceptus*, Serv.Dan. *id est a seniore*: vd. P.Radici Colace's useful entry, *EV* 4, 804.

Lauinia coniunx Cf. 7.314 with n.; n. on 7.52 for the mythological figure of L..

765 educet siluis Ael.Don. on Ter.*Ad.*48 remarks that *ueteres* used *educere* (citing this passage) where *we* use *educare* (as No. remarks, a verb often hostile to dactylic prosody). Cf. **779**, 7.763, 8.413, 9.673, Hey, *TLL* 5.2. 120.14f.. For the forests, see on **763 Siluius**.

[**regem**] **regumque parentem** A form of polyptoton studied in (almost excessive) detail by Wills, 33-41; he starts from Hom. (*Il.*1.255) Πριάμος Πριάμοιο τέ παῖδες (cf. 4.47) and proceeds via Attius Labeo (early imperial?) *crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos* (Courtney, p.350) to Hor.*Serm.*2.3.195 *populus Priami Priamusque* (with *Il.*4.165) and *C.*2. 18.37f. *Tantalum atque Tantalil' genus*. When he reaches **765**, he finds a hint of Priam in Silv.Aen., 'the last son of the last Trojan' that is 'confirmed' by Manil.2.2. Certainly Manil. applies this passage to Priam, but V. seems here to display familiarity with a weightily elegant Homeric arrangement of words rather than significant, specific awareness of an individual passage. What of 12.289 *regem regisque insigne gerentem*? Is Aulestes 'Priamoid' too? No more so than Aen.Siluius, I suspect. More to the point, the polyptoton serves usefully to underscore dynastic continuity.

766 unde genus...nostrum V. in such contexts, 1.6, 3.107, 5.123, 568, etc.; **g. n.**: cf. 3.105, 168 (with n.), 184. Norden's case, on the basis of Lucr.1.227 and (parodic) Hor.*Serm.*1.6.12, that **unde genus** here should be recognised as Ennian, is not very strong.

Longa...Alba The site still not satisfactorily identified (Castagnoli, *EV* 1, 77, L.Crescenzi, E.Tortorici in *Enea nel Lazio* (Roma 1981), 18f.); the role of Alba in Rome's legendary history that of bridging the gap that was perceived correctly to exist between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome, Cornell, 70-2 (admirable summary of the issues), J.Poucet, *Les origines de Rome* (Bruxelles 1985), 94-6 (with ample bibliography), *et passim*, G.Brugnoli (**760-6**), Horsfall, *RMM*, 7, 20, T.P.Wiseman, *Myths of Rome* (Exeter 2004), 140, G.D'Anna, *Virgilio* (Roma 1989), *passim*. The intense debate about what Alba's historical role really was does not affect our understanding of this passage; if no trace remains, its 'urban' character may perhaps be doubted, though clearly not its religious importance. Cf. Antoine, 218ff. for the abl. of place. Vd. Norden for the archaic placing of adj. before noun (cf. Cic.*Rep.*2.4; Vollmer, *TLL* s.v., strangely unhelpful).

dominabitur Cf. nn. on 7.70, 3.97 (tragic and Lucretian).

767 proximus Cf. **808 procul**; the grouping of the Parade is agreeably informal, individuals, large knots or groups of associated Romans, families, pairs. Nothing very military or regimented in this noisy, excited assembly. *Standi ordine non nascendi; nam sextus est rex Albanorum* Serv..

ille Procas Presumably deixis of the distant Procas as **760 ille, uides...iuuenis**; see Wagner, *QV* xxi, §1. The father of Numitor and Amul-

ius: see Brugnoli, *EV* 3, 287f., *id.*, *Atti...Brindisi*, 178, comms. on *OGR* 19.1, H. von Geisau *PW* 23.64.52ff.

Troianae...gentis Cf. 10.155 *gens Lydia* of the Etruscans, 2.78 *Argolica de gente*; no necessary indication of *descent* from the Trojan Aen., though some sense of kinship or shared origin is present (G.Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1845.77ff. at 1846.7); note at **757 qui maneat Itala de gente nepotes**. Heyne compares Hom. μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.*9.673).

gloria Used of an individual perhaps first here; Knoche reasonably suggests after Gk. κῦδος, *TLL* 6.2.20801ff. *EV* 2, 771 unilluminating.

768 et Capys The sixth king, in the 'vulgate' list. See D'Anna, *EV* 1, 652f., Scherling, *PW* 10.1923.57ff., Brugnoli, *Atti...Brindisi*, 179. The name is more widely diffused (Anchises' father; the Trojan founder of Capua).

et Numitor See Brugnoli, *EV* 3.796-8, commentaries on *OGR* 19, 21, *DH* 1.71.4f., Aust, *Ro.*3.1.478.42ff., Groag, *PW* 17.1402.28ff.. The last King of Alba, much of whose reign occurs after the birth of Romulus and Remus. The **o** long for two convergent reasons - in arsi, at the caesura (diastole), and because the syllable was originally long and the prosody was retained, at least in anapaestic words, as late as Ennius. Vd. discussion with bibl.. at 2.369 (*pauor* at caes.), Skutsch, Ennius, p.58, Postgate, *Prosod. Lat.*, 29, Holzweissig, 117, Ernout, *Morph.hist.*, 71f., *NW* 1, 263, F.Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2, 43f..

et qui te nomine reddet Reproduce or repeat in name, *OLD* s.v., §7 (first thus here; note 12.348 *nomine auum referens*); *tacet EV* 2, 117f., but note O'Hara, *TN*, 177. With **te**, cf. **763 tua**.

769 Siluius Aeneas See D'Anna, *EV* 2, 236, Brugnoli, *Atti...Brindisi*, 179f.. The son of Siluius Aeneas, **763** (*DH* 1.71.1).

pariter Compare e.g. 11.592 *Tros Italusque...pariter* (30x in *Aen.*), Baer, *TLL* 10.1.281.16f..

pietate uel armis V. quotes the recent **403 Troius Aeneas pietate insignis et armis** (where vd. n.) to lend substance to the descent and to add a little colour to this obscure figure.

770 egregius Cf. **861 egregium forma iuuenem et fulgentibus armis**, with n..

si umquam...acceperit 'acceperit' autem a tutore, qui eius inuasit imperium: quod ei uix anno quinquagesimo tertio restituit Serv.; there is no trace of this tale elsewhere and it could easily be no more than a scholastic fantasy offered by way of explanation of V.'s text. Serv. goes on *et rem plenam historiae per transitum tetigit*, a type of note I discuss, *Alambicco*, 57, n.9; see too C.Lazzarini, *MD* 12 (1984), 119-144. Cf. the 'optative' at **882 si qua fata aspera rumpas. Si umquam**: cf. 2.95, 9.406 (with ref. to past, as *Cat.*76.17f.), Brugnoli, *Atti... Brindisi*, 184, n.32 (inexact, but he

usefully notes **828f.** *si lumina uitae/ attigerint*, without *umquam*) and for the synaloepha of monosyll. **si**, cf. n. on 2.522. For *si umquam* as here with fut. perf., cf. Plaut.*Cist.*499, *Epid.*593, *Rud.* 789, Ter.*Eun.*853, Pomponius, *Atell.*51, Cic.*Fam.*10.31.6, *Att.*4.1.2. At least, then, down to the end of the Aug. period, this appears to be the idiom of spoken Latin.

regnandam...Albam Gerundive of intrans. verb perhaps only here in class. Latin, whereas the ppp of a transitivised vb. is not infrequent, A.Lunelli, *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 59f., 79-81, LHS 31f. (engrossing; summarised by Au. here). Gerundive also common thus to expand the sense after many vbs, KS 1, 731, LHS 372, n. on 2.589; with *accipere*, cf. Pacuv. *trag.*192. Note **793f. regnata per arua/ Saturno quondam.**

771 qui iuuenes See nn. on 7.161, 11.122; young warriors, no longer *pueri* and not yet *uiri*. Cf. Pomathios, 111. For **qui...quantas**, cf. on **692.**

quantas...uiris Cf. *EV* 5*, 569; ‘what strength’. Nothing similar elsewhere in V..

ostentant See n. on 7.656. Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1146.71f. notes opaquely ‘*sunt qui ad solam speciem referant*’ (But can the word be understood otherwise? It is not clear who may do so), comparing 5.521 *ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.*

aspice As so often in *Aen.*, it is the visual element that dominates; we recall **760 uides** and will come shortly to **779 uiden**; cf. Smith, 86f. (‘visual prompts’). Common as imper./exclam. (so here); for the latter, see on **855.** Close to Aratus in manner, rather than Lucr. notes Romano (97f.).

772 atque...gerunt *TLL* 6.2.1932.18f. (Kapp/Meyer), comparing 2.278 (wounds, not clothes or ornament); cf. *EV* 2, 713.

umbrata...tempora Cf. the shadows cast by the wreaths at 8.276; the vb. Lucretian (2.628; Cordier, 156) and in *Aen.*3 (508); for temples and wreaths, cf. 2.133, 3.81, 8.286, etc..

ciuii...quercu The wreath of oak (*corona ciuica*) awarded for saving the life of a fellow citizen, Marquardt, *StV*, 23, 577, Fiebiger, PW 4.1639. 28ff., Walbank on Plb.6.39.6, Bömer on Ov.*F.*1.345 *ad fin.*, Egger, Fournier, DS 1.2, 1535f., W.Smith in Smith, *Dict.Gr.Rom. Antiq.*12, 547f. and Maggiulli, 421, *ead.*, in *Atti conv. virgil. bimill. Georgiche* 1975 (Napoli 1977), 428f. for helpful remarks on oaks, acorns and the saving of life. As was to be expected, displayed on the statues/coin images of those honoured, Fiebiger, 1639.60ff., and, amply, Weinstock, *DI*, 164-7; V. concentrates on the visual detail (*tacet* Delaruelle). Aug.*RG* 34.2, the *c.c.* fixed over the door of his palace. See P.Zanker, *Power of images*, 93; V. shows that Aug. is ‘the heir to the honours of his ancestors’, Con.. The adj. a dactyl. alternative to the intractable (at least, without synaloepha) cretic, *ciui-*

ca; so Serv. and vd. Hey, *TLL* 3.121713ff.; for the general issue of forms of adjs. in dactyl. verse, cf. E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 594-5.

773-6 The Alban colonies ‘The little list anticipates the ethos of the Catalogue in 7.647ff.’ remarks Austin. Perhaps not: there are indeed unadorned ‘name-lines’ in the Catalogue (e.g. 695-7), but the dominant ethos there is of toponymy decorated and elaborated with epithets from Hom. and details from Varro; full discussion, intro. to 7.641-817, and see now also Kyriakidis, *Catalogues of proper names*. Here, the eight entirely unadorned names are ignored both by B.Rehm, in his masterly *Das geogr. Bild des alten Italien* (see *SC*, (7)), and by Della Corte. This is a very different manner of writing, whose principal technical interest lies in the poet’s struggle with the prosody of the place-names. Lists of the Alban colonies were readily available, as still at *DS* 7.5.9 (from the Lat. tr. of the Armenian tr. of Eusebius), *OGR* 17.6, with *DH* 2.53.4 (cf. Schwegler, 1, 345-9): Nomentum, Fidenae, Gabii, Cora, Pometia attested; Bola, Castrum Inui, Collatia not, but *OGR* concludes *ceteraque oppida circumquaque*. V. does not necessarily derive all his names from a substantial list of Alban colonies, though he could easily have done so and there were many other ancient toponyms gathered in largely (never, perhaps, entirely) authentic documents: see e.g. Cato, *Orig.*fr.58P, *DH* 5.61.3. The avoidance of any adornment must be calculated: the bare names are about as graceful as the still massive walls of Cori or (better) Alatri and these ancient toponyms, well enough known to avid readers of the annalists’ accounts of Rome’s early years, do lend a certain grey majesty to V.’s lines. Cf. Thomas, *VAR*, 209, Feeney, 7f.. Some of these places have (cf. full n. on 7.413) by V.’s time become by-words for abandonment and decay; often presented as a romantic, elegiac motif. Here many nowadays wish to hear (even after West’s warning, 286) such anticipations of present decay as a (dominant) counterpoint to V.’s bald listing of the ancient colonies, not so much a hint at a cyclic view of growth and decline (cf. P.Hardie in *Roman poetry and propaganda...*, ed. A.Powell (London 1992), 59-82) as, rather, a warning of the fragility of Rome’s glory, even now in the first decade of Aug.’s principate. Possibly; a case often much overstated. As Feeney notes usefully, *Aen.* and the Aug. reader will view very differently the movements of the historical cycle.

773 hi tibi.../ 774 hi...imponent...arces Cf. *G.*2.156 *tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis*, 3.474f.. Hor. was impressed by V. here; cf. both *C.*4.14.11f. *arces Alpibus impositas tremendis* and *Ep.*2.1.253f. *arces/montibus impositas*, but the similarity not fully noted either by Brink or by Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.652.83f..

Nomentum Cf. n. on 7.712 (prob. near mod. Mentana). The amply expanded sentence links these coming kings of Alba indissolubly to the asyet-obscure towns of Latium they are to found. There is an element of play

(paronomasia) to be sensed between *Nomentum* and **776 nomina**; cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 177. **Tibi**, 'you see', *vel sim.*; perhaps too small a hint to permit us to conclude that they are to be thought of as carrying symbols, models or plans of the towns they are to found.

et Gabios Cf. n. on 7.682; perhaps near the 12th. milestone on the Via Praenestina.

urbemque Fidenam For the (ancient) appos., cf. 7.712 *Nomentum urbem*, LHS 63, KS 1, 480. The name more often plur., and the *i* often long (Hor.*Ep.* 1.11.8, Prop.4.1.36, etc.; for this variation, cf. Leumann, 115 and my discussion, *Aion*. Sez.Ling. 14 (1992), 173f.). Located with some confidence in the area of the present Castel Giubileo, just short of the city-ring-road, its territory spreading down the Via Salaria towards Villa Ada. *EV* 2, 509, E.H.Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom.Geogr* 1, 899f., Hülsen, PW 6.2278.40ff.; in V.'s time one of the proverbially deserted old towns of Latium (Hor., *cit.*).

774 Collatinas...arces Collatia s. of the mod. Lunghezza (unromantically renowned today as the point where the autostrada for L'Aquila begins). M.P.Muzzioli, *EV* 1, 840f., E.H.Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom. Geogr.* 1, 644, Hülsen, PW 4.364.22ff.. Recorded as one of the decayed towns of Latium (Plin.*Nat.* 3.68, Muzzioli, *cit.*). Other lovers of Britten's *Rape of Lucrece* (after Liv.1.57.9) will of course recognise the name. The thunderous periphrasis, entirely out of keeping with the name's modest ancient and Augustan associations, avoids its metrical awkwardness. For the poets' treatment of awkward toponyms, vd. my remarks, *Aion*, *supra*, 173-7.

775 Pometios The plur. employable in dactyl. verse, like the conventional prose *Pometia*. Fully, *Suessa Pometia*, but for all that not clearly identified; somewhere near Satricum and Cora, on the n. edge of the Pomptine marshes. Philipp, PW 7A.586.3ff., M.Cancellieri, *EV* 4, 193 (her contributions of exceptional quality), E.H.Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom. Geogr.* 2, 1043f., Ogilvie on Liv.1.41.7. Perished without trace, Plin.*Nat.* 3.68-70.

Castrumque Inui Conceivably to be identified with a harbour below Ardea (F.Castagnoli, *Topogr.Antica* 2, 872, B.Tilly, *Vergil's Latium* (Oxford 1947), 34); not far from Lavinium, Ov.*Met.* 15.727f., and paired with Ardea in the Varronian Sil.8.359; see Rehm (773-6), 100ff. with my *Aen.* 7, p.417f.. Omitted by Strabo, 5.3.5, *pace* A.G.McKay *Vergil's Italy* (Bath 1970), 158. I. himself a minor divinity associated with Faunus and Pan (Latte, PW, s.v.). *EV* 1, 696 offers confused hariolations; see still E.H. Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom.Geogr* 1, 563.

Bolamque Near Labicum (mod. Montecompatri) in the ancient narratives; possibly mod. Zagarolo (three miles short of Palestrina on the Via Prenestina: so Ogilvie, but rejected by Cancellieri); a Latin settlement, but

one exposed to the Aequi. Cf. Oakley on Liv.6.2.14, Ogilvie on Liv.4.49.3, E.H.Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom.Geogr.* 1, 417-8, Hülsen, PW 3.667. 41ff., M.Cancellieri, *EV* 1, 523f..

Coramque The standard anc. form of the name; mod. Cori, Reisch, *TLL* Onom.2.589.13ff., between Velletri and the Monti Lepini. Still a vigorous town, with substantial remains of its pre-Roman past. See M.Cancellieri, *EV* 1, 886f., E.H.Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom.Geogr.* 1, 667, L.Crescenzi, E.Tortorici in *Enea nel Lazio*, 27-9, Hülsen, PW 4.1216. 20ff..

776 haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae For the repet. with prepos., cf. Wills, 264. Au. comments ‘a curiously flat-toned line, with an almost primitive assonance’, but I have wondered whether we are reading quite the same verse; cf. Wills, *ib.* for *sine n.*, and for the variation of tense, cf. Cat.21.3, Cornelia, *Ep.*1. *Nomen* is a noun V. puts to heavy work (cf. *EV* 3, 752f., Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 22f.); with **nomina** (‘great names’, almost), cf. 7.412, 11.223, 12.225f. (with helping adj); **n.** common in the sense of ‘fame’, 1.609, 2.89, 7.99 (without adj.). Here something more than ‘mere’ (Feeney, 7) denominations, for the passage from places unnamed to names (a sort of metonomasia *ante litteram*) seems hardly deserving of comment. At 12.134f. *qui nunc Albanus habetur; / tum neque nomen erat neque honos aut gloria monti*, Monte Cavo was not merely unnamed but was also not yet a great religious and political centre. So here, the passage from ‘mere’ unnamed places to [great] names. V. speaks in his own *persona*, as Serv. remarks; cf. *EV* 1, 153. **T.**: cf. *EV* 5*, 135 ‘porzione di territorio delimitata’, *OLD* s.v., §7. For the (very rare) synaloepha at 2tr., cf. No., 454. There is both polyptoton with subtle change of meaning (cf. n. on 7.554 and Au.'s own fine n. on 2.505) and assonance in **sine nomine**.

777 quin et Cf. n. on 7.750; here simply connective.

auo comitem Cf. 2.704, 711, **6.158**; so too with *socius*, 5.712. See Antoine, 105.

sese...addet Compare Liv.1.56.7 *comes iis additus* (a few years previous to *Aen.*6), Kempf *TLL* 1.580.68. See Kraggerud, 60f..

Mauortius.../ 778 Romulus Cf. n. on **872 Mauortis ad urbem**; this paternity is attested from Diocles of Peparethus (c.3) on (*FGH* 820T2 with T.J.Cornell, *PCPS* 21 (1975), 9f.); next, Fabius Pictor, *ib.* = *FGH* 809F4a, etc.). Cf. T.P.Wiseman, *Remus* (Cambridge 1995). 57, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.*1.fr. xxix, Schwegler 1, 384f., Poucet (**766**), 240, 275 and G.Binder's fine analysis of divine parentage in myths of exposure, (**760-6**), 80ff.. The form **M.**, *G.*4.462 (surely not a coinage there, given the antecedents of *Mauors*; cf. **872**); and cf. my n. on 3.13. Possibly V. wanted an adj. with the exact weight of Ἀρήϊος.

Assaraci...sanguinis Cf. 1.329 *an nympharum sanguinis una?*, 4.483 *Massylae gentis...sacerdos*, *Buc.*8.45 *nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis*, *Tac.Hist.*4.28 *gens Germanicae originis*. For the gen. (perhaps 'descriptive'), see Sidgwick, index, s.v., Ernout-Thomas, 43, Antoine, 75, etc.. For Assaracus, cf. n. on 650.

quem.../ 779 educet Cf. n. on 765 on the two verbs; clearly V. was not bothered by the quasi-repetition.

Ilia mater M. at v.- end with the name preceding: a handy, common, almost formulaic arrangement: cf. 784, 8.564, 10.76, 172. Compare Rhea (sc. Silvia, the additional 'Alban' name); both the names for the single figure of the twins' mother are of clearly 'Trojan' associations and they therefore date back to a time when Rome was more or less directly the child of Troy and before Rome's found.-legend was lengthened by the addition of the Alban kings, when Rhea Silvia became Numitor's dau.: see Wiseman (778), 56, Schwegler, 1, 426-9, Poucet (766), 51, Schröder, ed. *Cat.Orig.*1, p.79, Bömer on *Ov.F.*2.383, Rosenberg, PW 1A.341.34ff., with further refs.. It is not therefore V. himself, but rather his sources, that give the Trojan flavour to his late Alban narrative.

779 uiden That is, *uidesne*; the final *e* (by apocope) and the *s* (before the *n*) disappear in speech (Leumann, 205, 239), and the other *e* is shortened by 'iambic shortening'. A neat anthology of what happens to the form of words in daily speech. 36x in Plaut., 7x Ter.; note too *Cat.*61, *bis*, 62.8, *Tib.*2.1.25; Hofmann-Ricottilli, 363, Lindsay, *Lat.Lang.*, 163, Sommer, 87, 236, Niedermann, *Phon.hist.*, 45. Its presence here in a peculiarly solemn context is very striking: V. at pains to show father actually talking to son and indeed gesturing to him energetically to look. The effect reinforced by constr. not with subordination but followed by *ut* + indic., as though **uiden** were parenthetic, while *Tib.*, *cit.*, has subjunc.. A good n. by Au..

ut...stant Note 8.233 *stabat acuta silex* and even 2.774 = 3.48 *steruntque comae*, with *EV* 4, 1027. The twin crests stand [sc. stiffly, proudly].

geminae...cristae Compare the triple plume of 7.785 (where vd. detailed n. on Turnus' helmet; there is art. evidence for Rutulians so accoutred), of horsehair or feathers, and distinctively Italic (also Roman, *Plb.*6.23.12, *Sil.*5.134 and cf. *Mart.Cap.*6.568); here in particular see (after Heyne, Henry, Ladewig, *Anhang*) *Val.Max.*1.8.6 *inter cetera huiusce rei manifesta indicia galea quoque duabus distincta pinnis, qua caeleste caput tectum fuerat, argumentum praebuit. itaque Fabricii edicto supplicatio Marti est habita*. *Val.Max.* does not appear to be introducing a Virgilian touch (*pace* Getty, 5, n.15) and the story is constructed to suggest (if not conclusively to prove) to all that the deity involved in the story is Mars; it is therefore really quite likely that Rom. wears a double plume that was

somehow associated with his father. Whether Tu.'s triple plume is in any way relevant here we do not know, though an external *rapprochement* between Tu. and Mars would be no surprise. Tacet Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Tu.* For plumed helmets in general, see Salmon, *Samnium*, 108 and S.Reinach's account (DS 2.2.1437) of the numismatic representations. There may be a comparison to be drawn with Augustus' twin flames, 8.680f., Pomathios, 81, etc.. The standard discussions of Virgilian antiquities, from 1843 to 1996, remain silent, except for Saunders, *Vergil's primitive Italy* (New York 1930), 177. For **g.**, 'to designate well-matched pairs', cf. **788**, **893**, Bell, 60.

780 et pater ipse In a moment, it will become clear that **superum** is gen. plur., dependent (as in many similar expressions) on **pater**; that rules out the old view that **pater** might refer to Romulus' own father, Mars, an interpretation which also left the phr. **superum honore** impenetrably obscure.

suo...honore Au. and No. correctly note how often *ipse* attracts a form of *suus*, or some other pron.; see 4.233, 11.74, 6.185, 7.103, Leo, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.* 2, 92, LHS, 400, etc.. Less clear is exactly what, in concrete terms, is meant; Norden's case for e.g. 'sceptre' (next n.) is not strong; the same holds for Getty's argument for *fulmen* (7f.). How close is the sense of **780** to that of **779**? Does **780** do no more - in an entirely Virgilian way - than expand and explain the sense of the previous line? Is the *honos* indeed simply identical with the *geminæ cristæ*, conferred by Jupiter's will or desire? There seems to be a strong hint here that Rom.'s headgear in some way indicates to Anch. (inevitably, in the context; **signat** is crucial) that he will found Rome under Jup.'s special approval.

superum Was this acc. sing. or gen.plur.? If gen.plur., then to be understood with **pater** or with **honore**? This is the central knot of an apparent problem, which has exercised commentators for a long time. Serv. favours strongly acc. sing., and clearly he is wrong (interesting that he can be, on so simple a point of usage), for the sing. of **s.** is not so used and no sort of parallel has been cited. After **pater ipse** the reader reaches **superum**, which clearly can be attached to the preceding nom. - cf. *diuum pater, quater* in *Aen.* (vd. my n. on 2.648), 10.875 *pater ille deum*, 9.82 *deum...genetrix*, 7.306 *deum...genitor* (with n.), Enn.*Ann.* 203 *diuom pater atque hominum rex* (after Hom.), 591 *diuomque hominumque pater*, Acc. *trag.*209 *caelestum pater*, von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.685.37) - and offers a typically interwoven word-order. Nothing to indicate that this is the wrong arrangement of words; **honos...superum** clearly *could* (also, indeed) refer to e.g. a sceptre (cf. *Ciris* 269 and No.) but here, after the completed and familiar **pater ipse...superum**, that is anything but mandatory. TCD had already reached the view of the line that I propose. Cf. too D.Fowler, *Roman constructions* (Oxford 2000), 228, n.33, Wagner, *QV* xviii.2.

iam signat Cf. *OLD* s.v., §5a, ‘draw special attention to’ (cf. perhaps n. on 7.4; *EV* 4, 846 quite insufficient). **Iam** presumably ‘already, before his birth on earth’.

781 en Cf. 7.452, 545 with nn.; deixis again, continuing the sense of an actual, live explanation from father to son. No. well insists on the links between these vv. and the stock themes of the rhetorical *laus urbis* (see intro. to **847-853**): see e.g. Men.Rhet.353.5ff.Sp. for the role of the *ktistes*, 417.22ff., 445.9ff. for the city wall, Ael.Arist. Eic ‘Ρώμην 25f. for *imperium terris*, *ib.*, 105 for marriage-laws respected, Men.Rhet.p.401.1ff. for marriage as a Good Thing. See (**756-846**), (6).

huius...auspicis The omen of the twelve vultures which appeared to Rom., the foundation omen for the city of Rome: cf. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.* 1fr.xlvii, H.D.Jocelyn, *PCPS* 17 (1971), 44ff., Bömer on Ov.*F.*4.814, Ogilvie on Liv.1.7.1, Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.107.

nate Cf. **689**, **693**, **722** and see n. on **868 gnate**.

illa incluta Roma Wagner, *QV* xxi, §1b (β) takes **illa** tentatively *de futuro*, comparing *Buc.*8.7f., *Aen.* 9.481, 10.862, where vd. Harrison on the probable sequence of three successive words in one line ending in short -a; add 1.664, 678, 2.548, **6.86**, **153**, 10.72, 612, 11.178. Common enough to suggest that V. was hardly bothered at all by the sequence. Compare Enn.*Ann.*155 *augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est*. O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.959.51f. A small but grave bow to the *Annales*.

782 imperium terris Cf. 1.287 *imperium Oceano, famam qui terminat astris* See detailed nn. on 3.97 *cunctis...oris*, 7.100 *omnia sub pedibus*, 225-7, and esp. 258 *totum ...orbem*, Cic.*Sest.*67 (with Kaster's n.), Hor.*C.*2. 1.23 *cuncta terrarum subacta*, Binder, 41, 167, Norden, *Kl.Schr.*, 386, Hardie, *CI*, 197, 297, 364f., Christ, 21. No need to squeeze the texts for any further instances to cite here. No. detected themes from Menandrian ‘praises of a city’ here and at (**847-53**); feeble criticisms, Highet, 91, for there is no difficulty at all in V.'s employment of such a nexus of motifs (vd. further C.J.Classen, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones...* (Hildesheim 1980), *passim*) in two separate passages.

animos...Olympo Hardie, 297 remarks of these words ‘rather vaguely formulated’; a recurrent theme of Rome's power in some way reaching to the stars (cf. on 3.158 *uenturos tollemus in astra nepotes*), comparing **787** and (misunderstood) **795**. Negri Rosio, 134, n.43, 150 (the sense - cf. *ib.*, 135 - of ‘la sede del coraggio, ardire, slancio, baldanza’), Klotz, *TLL* 2.95.65 (mysteriously s.v. ‘divinationis sedes’). Vd. on 3.158: old widespread theme, rather than commonplace of Hellenistic panegyric. Cf. Christ, 53-7, citing numerous passages in which the heavens indeed occur in paneg. contexts, reflecting a desire to use the heavens as a conceptual

frame, serving to enlarge in the reader's imagination the range within which Rome's rule spreads on earth, expanded unsystematically by the addition of a celestial dimension. At the same time, I noted (*l.c.*) that the language of vertical hyperbole (e.g. 'shouts rising to the skies') was widespread and conventional; just as Roman *fama* reaches sea and stars (1.287), her valour here reaches [distant] lands and the heavens. A hint of actual Roman *conquest* of the skies (Hardie) provokes droll and un-ancient fantasies. **O.**: cf. n. on 7.558.

aequabit Vd.11.125 *quibus caelo te laudibus aequem?*, with n., von Mess, *TLL* 1.1018.67f., 1019.50.

783 septemque una V. takes the line from *G.*2.535 (a fine note by Mynors on the significance of the military colour of *arx*). *Juxtapositio oppositorum*, so common in V. with names of peoples, and with pronouns (cf. bks. 2, 3, comms., indices s.v.). Cf. *G.*4.184 *omnibus unus*, 4.212, *Aen.*2.198, 710 *una...ambobus* (with my n.), 5.308, 616, 12.282. One city, one wall, seven hills, but the Capitol viewed as *the* acropolis of Rome; Castagnoli, *EV* 4, 546 = *Topogr. ant.* 1, 87. Rom. and the walls of Rome also at 1.277 (vd. Binder, 154, Hardie, *CI*, 364).

sibi muro circumdabit The vb. standard Latin, *Sall.**Jug.*23.1, *Aen.*1.368, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1128.38. Cf. *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 26, n. on 3.255 for walls and city-foundation; it is the initial ditch, the *sulcus*, rather than the wall, that has such strong ritual importance at Rome, n. on 7.157, and it is the ditch, along with the first beginnings of the wall, that Remus violates, *Ov.F.*4.821f., etc., Wiseman (778), 9-11. For the sanctity of the wall itself (often much exaggerated), cf. Bömer on *Ov.F.*4.809, Jackson Knight, *Vergil's Troy*, 116f., J.G. Frazer, *Sel. letters* ed. R.Ackerman, (Oxford 2005), 416 (to Jackson Knight), n. on 2.234.

arces Compare, of Rome too, 4.234, 10.12, Kempf, *TLL* 2.742.9ff. *Tacet EV*. For *Hor.C.*1.2.3, cf. NH (*arces* just the Capitoline).

784 felix Suggestive both (cf. 230) of good fortune and of fertility (so of Rome herself, 786 **centum complexa nepotes**, West, *ORVA*, 439) Au., Traina, *Poeti latini*, 3, 142, Bellincioni, *EV* 2, 486. No. here well drew attention to Aug.'s policies *de augenda prole* (see *Suet.Aug.*89.2), policies associated with other good rulers from Caesar (*Cic.Marc.*23, Edwards, *infra*, 59f.) to Trajan. An improved birth-rate easily here associated with both Cybele and with Augustus, as the good king. See Woodman on *Vell.*2.103.5, Treggiari, *Roman marriage*, 408, Brunt, *Rom. manpower*, 558-66, NR on *Hor.C.*3, p.98f., Edwards (810), ch.1.

prole uirum Archaic and poetic, *Cic. de orat.*3.153; *trag.inc.*121 (?Enn.), *Lucr.*: cf. *Aen.*4.258 *Cyllenia proles*, 10.429 *Arcadiae proles*, *Liv.* 1.23.1 *prope inter parentes natosque, Troianam utramque prolem.* *G.*3.541

maris immensi prolem slightly different; Foucher, *TLL* 10.2.1822.72 lumps together V.'s varied uses. *EV* 4, 308 unilluminating. Rome is rich in her offspring of warriors (cf. 2.158, 7.295, *et saepe*, Laurenti, *EV* 5*, 551f., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 104).

784-7 A simile singular on account of its presence within a speech and because of the atypical closeness between its theme and the content of the surrounding speech. For Cybele's presence in *Aen.*, cf. my nn. on 2.788, 3.111, 11.768. See D.A. West, *ORVA*, 439, M. Putnam *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 28-30 (largely fanciful), R.M. Wilhelm, *ib.*, 34 (1988), 77-101 (at 92-4), T.P. Wiseman in *Poetry and politics...* (ed. T. Woodman, D. West, Cambridge 1984), 122f. (with *id.*, *Catullus and his world*, 200-6), G. Arrigoni, *EV* 1, 773, R.R. Nauta in *Catullus' poem on Attis* (ed. R.R. Nauta and A. Harder, Leiden 2005), 109-16. In the present solemn, patriotic, Augustan context the degenerate, Oriental associations that once clustered about Cybele's cult (and which V. himself often exploits) would be altogether unwelcome; the goddess' 'other' face (see Wiseman, Nauta), ancient, protective, nourishing, Phrygian (i.e. nearly Trojan) is here dominant (cf. notably 2.788, 3.111ff., 9.77ff., 10.252ff.); her appearance and attributes enhance the relatively youthful Rome with the antiquity and majesty of a deity both beneficent and directly related through Troy to Rome.

qualis Gk. οἴη; with 1.498, compare *Od.* 6.102.

Berecynthia mater Cf. 3.111, with n., for the use of *Mater* as applied to Cybele; Bulhart, *TLL* 8.442.60. The adj. (ethnonymic) also at 9.82, 619; cf. Ihm, *TLL Onom.* 2.1923.12. **B.** a synonym for *Phrygius* (in Aesch., Call., Strab., etc.) and used particularly of Cybele: NH on *Hor.C.* 1.18.13, Ruge, *PW* 3.279.42ff.. The name in actual use (e.g. a Lycaonian inscr., *SEG* 6.394), and not just a matter of poet. erudition, Arrigoni, *EV* 1, 770.

785 inuehitur curru Cf. *Lucr.* 2.624 *magnas inuecta per urbis*, of Cybele; a useful and popular idiom, *G.* 3.358, *Aen.* 1.155, 7.287, 12.77, Stiewe, *TLL* 7.2.131.52ff., Lopez, *EV* 5*, 470. For Cybele's chariot, drawn by lions, cf. detailed n. on 3.113.

Phrygias...per urbes The clausula *sexies* in *Aen.*, but only here with a preceding geogr. adj.; compare Rome's rule over the nations, **782**.

turrita Compare the walled city of Rome (**783**). The adj. used at *Lucr.* 5.1302 (the armoured howdah of the war-elephant; so too *bis* in *Bell.Afr.*); then *Aen.* 3.536, 8.693, *semel*, Prop., Ov. (vd. Tarrant on *Sen.Ag.* 688). The image is again primarily Lucretian, 2.606f. *muralique caput summum cinxere corona, / eximiis munita locis quia sustinet urbes* (also Varronian, *ant.div.fr.* 267Card.). At *Aen.* 10.253 *turrigerae...urbes* are associated with Cybele. Also clearly visibly on the figure (?Oikoumene) crowning Augustus on the Gemma Augustea (vd. the splendid plate, Earl, *Age of Aug.*,

pl.81 and cf. Zanker, *Power of images*, 231, Galinsky, *Aug. culture*, 120f.). For Cybele's mural crown, in both art (from ca. 240 BC; vd. Bremmer, *infra*; for Rom. coins, cf. Wilhelm, 83f., and for the syncretism of Livia and Cybele, *ib.*, 93). and literature, by no means exclusive to her, but entirely appropriate to her civilising aspect, illustrated often by her role as protectress of cities in Asia Minor, and corresponding here to the future walls of Rome (783), cf. Gruppe, 1541, n.5, R.J.Getty, *PCPS* summary 172-4 (1939), 3-5, G.Arrigoni, *Scripta philologa* 3 (1982), 14f. and *EV* 1, 772, J.N.Bremmer in *Catullus' poem...* (*supra*), 37 and Bömer's full n. on *Ov.F.4.219*.

786 laeta Cf. **784 felix prole uirum** (both West and Wilhelm, 92 draw proper attention to the close contacts between simile and context). Of [naturally, happiness, and] procreation (note 1.605, *Lucr.*1.255), rather than, as often, of the fertility of the soil (e.g. 3.95), and, occasionally, of well-fed stock (e.g. *G.*2.520).

deum partu 'Mother of all gods and all men', Burkert, *Greek religion*, 178; often associated closely with Rhea. 'Mother of gods', from *Pind.fr.* 80Sn. on and see Gruppe, 1525, n.4 for numerous lit. and epigr. attestations. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.537.33, 538.26f. hesitates (unnecessarily) over classification s.v. the simple sense of 'in the procreation of divinities'.

centum...nepotes Cf. Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 785 for the arithmetic of mythographic hyperbole in *V.*. One might suspect a disassembled Greek compound epithet, but apparently not so, despite appearances.

complexa Compare (West) **783 septem...circumdabit arces**. Jachmann, *TLL* 3.2082.43; standard Latin 'embrace'. For this vast, hypermaternal embrace, vd. Heuzé, 584f.

787 omnis caelicolas C. Ennian (*Ann.*445); also *Cat.*64.286. See Cordier, 284f., etc., Colonna, *EV* 1, 862 (on *V.*'s compounds in *-cola*). Hom. ὑπέρτατα δώματ' ἔχοντες.

omnis...tenentis For the anaphora (to which No. compares *Call.H.*3.14), cf. **112f.**, **626f.**, 8.706, 10.804f., etc.; here very marked because the first *o.* begins the verse (with a self-contained spondee), and the second follows the caesura; *t.*: cf. **761**.

supera alta Supera M₂ω; super M₁PRabs. So I preferred the *supera* of γ at 7.562; vd. n. there for the identical textual issue. As West remarks, Cybele's grandchildren people the heavens (ὑπέρτατα δώματ' ἔχοντες), while Rome (782) **animos aequabit Olympo**.

788 huc Stylistic variation (**huc...hanc...hic...hic**) in *V.*'s insistent attribution of deixis to Anch. (cf. 4.285, 363). Note Traina's comm. on **788-95** in *Virgilio. L'utopia...* 80f.. Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 174-9 offers some detailed stylistic comm. on **788-800**.

geminas...acies So Hom. τρέπεν ὄσσε φαινώ; the adj. (vd. Prop.2.3.14, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1742.59) hardly necessary (in that, of course, Aen. looks with *both* eyes) except perhaps as suggestive of the Hom. dual. Alternatively (Maurach, 181; cf. the ears of Cat.63.75), 'mere' pleonasm. Au. suggests that **a.** is used with something of the literal sense of 'pupil' (cf. Lucr.3.411, 4.691, etc.), 'look keenly'. That is tolerable Latin (Kempff, *TLL* .1.401.49ff.), and might even be right here, though there is nothing to suggest that **V.** does not have the common 'eye' (Kempff, 401.64ff.) in mind. For **g.** cf. n. on 779.

nunc flecte Aen. cannot afford to let his gaze linger; Anch. leads his audience briskly on. Cf. 4.369 *num lumina flexit?*, *Ov.Met.*7.584, 8.696, *Liv.*5.42.4, Klee, *TLL* 6.1.895.48f.. Hom. ὄσσε κλίνειν (*Il.*3.427).

hanc...gentem/ 789 Romanosque tuos The obvious sense of these words, as far as **tuos**, is 'your *Gens*, the *Iulia*, and your descendants among the Romans'; that is made quite clear by the juxtaposition of Julius Caesar (or, at worst, his great-nephew and heir Augustus) and the descendants of Iulus (the backbone of the Trojan/Augustan myth); cf. 7.85 (*gentes* and their *tellus* co-ordinated), Hahn (1930), 168, n.714 for **V.**'s appositional use of *genus*. Also, not excluded (and perhaps still not fully so after the Julian, limiting 789) is the idea of the *gens Romana* (1.33) and the notion that all Romans are, through Aen.'s future founding of Lavinium, in some sense *tui*, your very own (cf. 12.166 Aen. as *Romanae stirpis origo*).

aspice In the full, non-parenthetic sense; contrast 771.

789 hic There has been less doubt about the identification of this figure than perhaps there should have been. The orthodox view is that it must be Augustus, anticipating the **hic uir, hic est** of 791; naturally so, because **V.** does turn to Caesar, the other Venus-born (cf. 835 **sanguis meus**) alternative, at 834ff.; we shall come shortly to the double mention of Caesar; by no means necessarily a flaw. Not perhaps so simple, as indeed I argued. *Anc.Soc.* (Macquarie) 12 (1982), 14; cf. too Cairns, 61, n.1, 99, n.42, Ladewig, Guillemin, Paratore and for Caesar in **V.**, cf. P.White, *Phoen.* 42 (1988), 334-56. The initial **Caesar** is of course ambiguous; **omnis Iuli progenies** points rather to Julius, for it is through him that Aug.'s descent from Aen. must pass. If both the **Caesar** of 789 and the **Augustus Caesar** of 792 refer to Aug., then the sequence **789 hic...791 hic uir, hic est...** (all of Aug.) has always seemed to me clumsy and awkward. That **V.** returns to Julius at 834 is far from decisive; two references to Julius are not ridiculous and do not compel a farcical subtext of Julius' spirit hastening back for a second advance past the saluting base. Consider rather just how Virgilian we ought now to find coupled references, the first patriotically commemorative and the second anxiously critical, with no resolution between the

two; Anch.'s eager pointing finger here, as he moves from *gens* to Julius to Augustus, is also energetically appealing.

Caesar With the previous n., compare the analogous difficulties of 1.288 *Iulius*, on which see the vigorous debate in *Symb.Osl.* 67 (1992) and 69 (1994) between Egil Kraggerud and James O'Hara.

et omnis.../ 790 progenies On the run-on, lofty noun, vd. n. on 7.97.

Iuli Cf. nn. on 2.682, 7.116, Au. on 2.563 for the essential significance to the *Aen.* of the boy's polyonymy. Cato *Orig.fr.9P* referred to Iulus (Serv., Serv.Dan. on 1.267) and L (?). Caesar discussed the occasion on which *Iulus* was first used (Serv.Dan., *ib.*, Au., *cit.*; *tacent* Chassignet, Beck/Walter). See D'Anna on *OGR* 9.3 and Richard on *ib.*, 9.6, Fraenkel, *Kl.B.* 2, 344f., Norden, *Kl.Schr.*, 391.

790 magnum caeli...sub axem For the *axis*, or vault of heaven, cf. n. on 2.512 *nudoque sub aetheris axe* and see further **797**, *infra*. Note Lucr.4.417, 5.510 *magnus caeli...orbis*, Bannier, *TLL* 3.84.71, 91.5f..

uentura V. very creditably does not overwork the fut. partic. in these lines; vd. **758**.

791 hic...hic est The second **hic** with the vowel short, as rarely in class. verse (4.22, with Pease's n., Lucr.2.387, etc., Tib.1.10.39, Holzweissig, 599f., Leumann, 468, Sommer, 424f., L.Müller, (**55**), 425, Niedermann, *Phon. hist.*, 45 and further refs. in Au. here): it retains the archaic quantity; the normal classical quantity reflects the pronunciation *hicc* (cf. *hoc* (with long *o*), after *hocc*; n. on 2.664). Most interesting the anaphora with (typically Hellenistic) variation of prosody (see n. on 2.663). Vd. Norden here for a few other instances of the first foot made up of three monosyllables; note also *hoc erat, hoc uotis*, 12.259.

uir Endowed with all the qualities of the male (Roman) hero; cf. **856 uictorque uiros supereminet omnis**, Laurenti, *EV* 5*, 551.

tibi quem promitti The pronouns typically juxtaposed; see 3.155, 156, 252 with nn. and above all n. on 7.427 *tibi me* with further bibl.. For **p.** thus with a personal object, Delhey, *TLL* 10.2.1869.55f. compares 4.227f. *non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem/ promisit*.

saepius audis 'Curiously circumstantial, as if Anchises had had many conversations with his son on the subject', Au.. I wonder. V. presents relations between father and son as being not at all conversational (Feeney, *ORVA*, 182) and the reader does not therefore leap to the assumption here that this is what Aen. hears from his father. No reason why Anch. should not refer to what Aen. has [also] heard - one thinks here in particular of Jup. in bk.1 (286-90), though the reference is probably wider-reaching - from oracles, seers, deities etc. (cf. O'Hara, *DOP*, 54-60 for a useful list),

without our having to pause and wonder just how Anch. himself has come by this knowledge.

792 Augustus Caesar So too Liv.4.20.7, 28.12.13 (contrast 1.19.3); at *Aen.*8.678 divided. For the inversion in general, cf. Ogilvie on Liv.4.23.1, NH on Hor.*C.*2.2.3, Shackleton Bailey on Cic.*Att.*2.24.3 (=44.3.27SB) and for Aug.Caes., vd. NH on Hor.*C.*2.9.19. The inverted form, as here, ‘throws the word ‘Augustus’ into sharp relief’, Syme, *RP* 1, 373; cf. too Gardthausen, *Augustus*, 2.2, 298: the *princeps* had only accepted the title ‘Augustus’ in Jan.27 and ‘when the order ‘Augustus Caesar’ occurs in writers ancient and modern it declares an allegiance’, Syme, *Aug.arist.*, 39, n.40. Metrical convenience is not, therefore, quite the end of the matter. Aug.’s position after Romulus is blurred, perhaps deliberately so; Aug.’s interest in Rom. is familiar (Suet.*Aug.*7.2, Syme, *RR*, 305f., 313f., Getty, *cit.*) but here V. could, had he so wished, have made much more of it.

diui genus G. an exalted alternative for the official *diui filius*; for *g.* used of an individual thus, cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1890.69ff. at 71f., from Cat.61.2; in *Aen.*, note 4.12, **6.500, 839**, 7.213 (with note), *EV* 2, 658, etc.. The title possible from early 42, but only attested from 38; Syme, *RP* 1, 365, with n.1. The pyrrhic word before bucol. diaer. (common enough, Winbolt, 45) lends prominence to the filiation.

aurea.../ 793 saecula Compare 1.291 *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis*, 8.324f. *aurea quae perhibent sub illo rege [Saturn] fuere/ saecula; sic placida populos in pace regebat*. The idea of a Golden Age (for bibl., cf. the next note) *returning* upon earth V. had first developed in *Buc.*4 (vv.4-6); the ‘Golden Age themes’ of *Buc.*4 I discuss, after R.G.M.Nisbet, *BICS* 25 (1978), 59-78, = *Coll. pap.*, 47-75, = (K.Volk., ed.) *Oxford readings in classical studies. Vergil’s Eclogues* (Oxford 2008), 48-63, in the recent paper cited *infra*. V. employed sources not yet fully understood, but evidently to some extent Jewish (though, clearly, in Greek), alongside traces in Aratus (*Phaen.*102ff.; vd. Kidd) and Theocr., after Hes.: see Norden, *Geb. des Kindes*, 155f., Watson on Hor.*Epd.*, p.481f., Nisbet, *cit.*, Lightfoot (*infra*), 236, Bremmer (2009), 200 against Clausen, comm., pp.119-30, and J.J.Collins, *Seers, sibyls and sages* (Leiden 1997), 192-7; see too Knauer, 207, n.2. At all events, not a standard theme of Alexandrian panegyric literature.

The problem has been discussed with notable ill-feeling. Unfortunately, no attention has been bestowed upon possible conduits of intellectual contact between Italy and the Levant; this term to be taken as covering both Jews and Gentiles, and residents in both Syria and Palestine. The ability to write in Greek, contact with the Roman world, and some knowledge of Judaism (actual or at least theoretically possible) are all clearly desirable. The presence of Seleucid intellectuals at Rome (cf. Raw-

son, *Intell. life*, 15) is easily established, and we must not rule out e.g. Alexander Polyhistor (of Miletus), the first author writing at Rome to show knowledge of Jewish texts (*FGH* 273F79, p.110.27; *Or.Sib.*3, or something very like it: see D.Potter, *JRA* 3 (1990) 471-83). Levantine intellectuals are present in Rome both as such, and as ambassadors (Posidonius of Apamea, Nicolaus of Damascus, Antiochus of Ascalon) and the long history of Herod the Great's relations with Rome entails extended diplomatic contacts. Herod's sons Alexander and Aristobulus were sent for five years to the household of 'Pollio'; the respectable intellectual Asinius remains a likelier moral tutor than the debauched and gluttonous Vedius, *pace* D.Braund, *CQ* 33 (1983), 240f. and Syme, *RP.* 2, 529, Addendum. We should take into account the presence in central Italy or, more usually, Rome of Sosus of Ascalon, Cordylion of Tarsus, Archias of Antioch, and Antipater and Boethus of Sidon, to name the more distinguished visitors. The epigrammatist Meleager of Gadara shows elementary knowledge of Aramaic (*AP*.7.419), and also of Jewish habits (*ib.*, 5.160); too early to have known Virgil. Philodemus, also of Gadara, taught V., but shows no demonstrable interest in Judaism. It is, though, hard to imagine a Gadarene Greek at this date with no knowledge of the Jewish world.

The new tr. and revision of E.Schürer, *History of the Jewish people...* (F.Millar, etc., Edinburgh 1973-87) is an indispensable guide to this Judaeo-Roman world. For a fuller account of V. and the Jews in these terms, cf. now 'Virgil and the Jews', *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 67-80.

Another strand may be present in the intellectual texture of these vv.: anticipation of the *saeculum* to be celebrated in May-June 17BC: cf. also 69-74, J.Zetzel, *TAPA* 119 (1989), 277-84, Miller, 140 (with further bibl.). Whether passing references to the *saeculum* (contrast 69-74) would be quite so eagerly sought and readily identified six years before the event may, though, be doubted.

condet A rich, complex, evocative choice of verb. Compare (i) founding of a city: 1.5 Aeneas (Lavinium; cf. 7.145, Trojans' first camp), 276 Romulus (Rome), 522 Dido (Carthage; cf. *templum* 1.446f.), 8.48 Ascanius (Alba), 313 Evander (Rome), 357 Janus, Saturn (Rome). Comparable, (ii) 1.33 *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*. But cf. above all cf. (iii) *saeculum condere*, traditionally the *closing* of an old *saeculum* (cf. *Lucr.*3.1090; vd. Thomas, *infra*), but here in V. clearly (cf. *Stat.Silv.* 4.1.37) the *opening* of a new one (Norden, Wissowa; Thomas, predictably, sees a menacing counter-note in V.). Apart from comms., vd. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 26, Thomas, *VAR*, 3ff. and de Rosalia, *EV* 2, 117 on the vb., and for the GA, Binder, 163, *EV* 1, 412-8, 4, 639, B.Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit...* (*Spudasmata* 16, Hildesheim 1967), 135, A.Wallace-Hadrill, *PastPres.* 95 (1982), 22, M.Wifstrand Schiebe, *Das ideale Dasein*

bei Tibull u.d. Goldzeitkonzeption Vergils (Act.Univ.Ups.12, 1981), 42ff., I.S.Ryberg, TAPA 89 (1958), 112ff., H.J.Mette, Herm.88 (1960), 458ff., Norden, Kl.Schr., 384, Geburt des Kindes, 155f., Wissowa, 431, n.3. For Hor.Epd.16, see RFil.119 (1991), 357 and for later golden ages in imperial propaganda, cf. J.H.Oliver, The ruling power... (Trans.Amer.Philos.Soc. 43.4, 1953), 887, n.3.

793 qui rursus The rel. fourth word: cf. nn. on 7.659, 680 and Norden here, Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots* 3, 121ff.; the words before the rel.pron. are thrown into marked relief. Cf. Thomas, *VAR*, 6f. for 'bringing back the GA'. Back to which precise earlier state? The obvious answer must be that supplied by **Saturno quondam**, but on Thomas' reading there might be others.

Latium Less majestic than Rome, older and more modest than Italy; because of Saturn's presence in the next v., V. just might have in mind here the etym. association of **Latium** with Saturn's hiding, *latere*, 8.322-3, O'Hara, *TN*, 207f., *EV* 4, 687. Local abl. rather than dat., though the issue is hardly important (Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 177).

regnata per arua/ 794 Saturno quondam S.'s rule in Latium is attested before V. (i.e., the source of DH 1.34.1, 36.1; cf. my n. on 7.180) and the GA of Latinus' rule (7.46; vd. my n.) is calqued on his ancestor's. We should also recall Kronos' rule over a golden race, Hes.*Erga* 111 (vd. my n. on 7.180). Past part.pass. of an intrans. verb used as though of a trans. verb (cf. Hor.C.2.6.11f. *regnata*), with dat. of agent and distancing advb.; cf. **836 triumphata**, notes on 3.14 *acri quondam regnata Lycurgo*, here (? unconsciously) echoed. A. perhaps faintly suggestive of the agricultural prosperity of the GA; the GA spread *through* the fields once ruled by Sat., though Maurach, *cit.*, 177 senses that the prepos. is a refinement for *in*. The final advb. expressing time not at all rare; perhaps here a hint that the GA returns a very long time after the original age of gold; cf. Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots*, 3, 20-33.

super et Garamantas et Indos As Norden observed (next n.), the names do not allude to past or future conquests, but serve to convey distance and indicate orientation: the Garamantes (cf. *Buc*.8.44 *extremi Garamantes*, *Aen*.4.198) were the principal tribe of mod. Fezzan (S. Libya), against whom L.Cornelius Balbus marched in 21 BC. Au. is quite right to say that this is no sort of dating criterion; rather *late* for bk. 6, one might think, in more general terms. If **G.** (Dessau, PW 7.751.31ff.; much curious detail, P.Smith in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom.Geogr.* 1, 374f.; *EV* s.v. notably weak) suggest the South, then **Indos** clearly point to the East (cf. n. on 7.605 for hist. details and bibl.). For such use of geogr. names as, to some extent, directional indicators in paneg. texts, cf. (e.g) *G*.3.24-32, *Aen*.7.604-6, 8.685-8, 705-6, 722-8, Hor.C.1.35.40 (with notable geogr. polarity, as at

2.11.1, 3.5.3f., 6.14, 8.18f.). The antecedents (cf. n. on 7.604-6) of such polar expressions of 'symbolic geogr.' are ancient; Norden cites Pind.*Pyth.* 6.23 (Nile and Hyperboreans); add *ib.*, 2.41f. (Nile and Phasis), Bacchyl.9.40ff. (Nile and Thermodon), Eur.*Andr.*650f. (Nile and Phasis), Hdt.4.45 (Nile and Phasis/Tanais), and e.g. Ael.Aristides' Εἰς Ῥώμην 28 (Red Sea, Cataracts of Nile, Lake Maeotis). There is no compulsion (*pace* Au.) to find in these Indians a hint at an Augustan intention to march in the steps of Alexander; cf. Horsfall (*infra*), 23-34 at 30.

795 proferet imperium Cf. Liv.1.33.9, *Cons.Liv.*20, Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.1683. 23f., *EV* 2, 497f.; the vb. used thus has a tone of oratory and history (also *RG* 30). The theme of the furthest geog. extent of Rom. rule derives of course from panegs. of Alexander and has been amply discussed: cf. Norden, *Kl.Schr.*, 427f., Christ, 30ff. *et passim* and Horsfall, 'Orazio e la conquista del mondo', in *Orazio. Umanità, politica, cultura* (convegno, Gubbio 1992; pub. Perugia 1995), 23-34.

iacet Cf. *G.2.512 atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem*, Sen.*NQ* 1 pr.9 *inter Aegyptum et Aethiopas arenarum inculta uastitas iaceat*, Ov.*F.4.491*, Plin.*Nat.* 5.140, Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.21.8f., Salemme, *EV* 2, 875.

extra.../ 796 extra The anaphora makes it quite clear that *sidera, anni* and *solis* form part of a single compound thought, majestic, but not specially complex or arcane: Alex.-panegyric included, as Norden remarked (*Kl.Schr.*, 424f.; cf. Christ, 53f.), such astron. definitions of the conqueror's/ruler's realm, citing Aeschin.*Ctes.*165 (beyond the Bear and nearly the whole inhabited world); compare Caesar, seeking another *orbis* to conquer (Woodman on Vell.2.46.1), and Pompey (ruled to limits of sky and sun, Cic.*Cat.*3.26, 4.21, Edward on Sen.*Suas.*1.1, 2) with Crinagoras, GP, *GP* 1931ff. (the *kosmos*, bounded by sunrise and -set, the limits of Tiberius Claudius Nero's victories). See also (Drusus, Tiberius) Hor.*C.4.14.5f.* (with Thomas' comm.). The globe of the earth is divided into five horizontal zones (cf. nn. on 7.225-7), of which the second and fourth are conventionally inhabited; to them correspond five celestial zones and the zodiac, through which the sun passes, is perceived to run at an angle to these zones, between Capricorn in the N. and Cancer in the S. (vd. Mynors' fine n. on *G.1.233*). Whence Housman, of our lines, '*anni solisque uias* is another designation of the zodiac, the road which the sun travels, changing the season as he goes' (ed. Lucan, p.328; see too his *Class.Pap.*, 2, 650-2). Serv.'s n. on **795** shows a correct grasp of V.'s meaning. The further geogr. detail will now prove to make a sort of (confused) sense.

sidera The stars of the zodiac (Serv., rightly; *EV* 4, 841 and Housman, ed. Lucan, *cit.* citing Luc.4.57, Man.4.358, Stat.*Silv.*4.3.156 in addition to

the present passage); if you will, the *paths* of the stars, rather than the stars themselves, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 104, 226.

tellus *OLD* s.v. §5 'a particular tract of land, country', citing 1.34, 2.69, Gallus fr.1Courtney.

796 anni solisque uias See Housman's perspicuous paraphrase, *supra*, s.v. **extra... extra**. Cf. *OLD* s.v. *uia*, §6b for 'course, path (of heavenly bodies...)', citing Lucr.4. 609, Prop.4.1.107, etc.. The finely-judged compound phrase **anni solisque** is quite without parallel. *Vt ostenderet xii signa, in quibus est circulus solis* Serv..

ubi caelifer Atlas The adj. a Virgilian coinage, studiously after the old manner, Cordier, 46. Atlas 'stands at the world's end and supports the sky on his head and hands', West on Hes.*Theog.*517, *baiulus caeli* TCD. For the localisation of Mt. Atlas in N. Morocco (from Hdt. on), cf. Barrington, map 1a, C2, P.Smith in Smith, *Dict.Gr.Rom.Geogr.* 1, 316-9, La Bua, *EV* 1, 390f., Coleman on Stat.*Silv.*4.3.155-7. For A. in Virgilian cosmology, cf. Hardie, *CI*, 373. But at this point the acute (modern, and indeed ancient) reader notes an imprecision for which V. (and not V. alone) is severely rebuked by Housman: he has forgotten both that the zodiac does not coincide with the Tropic of Cancer and that Mt. Atlas lies well to the North of both; unfortunately, later poets too (Lucr.3.253-5 and Stat., *cit.*) would fall into the same confusion. Au. argues warmly, after Serv., who has Luc., *cit.*, in mind, that V. is thinking of the 'Ethiopians' (cf. 4.481, etc.). But such a degree of (relative) geogr. precision is equally absent from the rather similar 7.223-7, as indeed from many of the passages there quoted, and there is no more reason to identify implicit Aethiopes here than there would be to chart precisely Ulysses' course when he decides to 'sail beyond the sunset and the paths/baths of all the Western stars until I die'.

797 axem The first part of the panegyric closes with an ample, complex tribute to an unusually rich range of predecessors. Cf. 4.481f. *ubi maximus Atlas/ axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*, 11.201f. *nox umida donec/ inuertit caelum stellis ardentibus* [or *fulgentibus*] *aptum* (where vd. n.), Moskalew, 88, Sparrow, 100f., Wigodsky, 43, 104, Binder, 60f.. The axis on which the heavens revolve: vd. in particular Varr.*Atac.Chorogr.*fr. 15.1Courtney *uidit et aetherio mundum torquerier axe* (where vd. Courtney; also Hollis, fr.111).The word used also by Lucr. (6.1107), Cic.*Arat.* and in the *philosophica*. See La Bua, *EV* 1, 442f., Vollmer, *TLL* 2.1638.1ff., Maurach, *Ench.*, 176. and for the history of the idea, Kauffmann, PW 2.2631, 15ff. (vd. further *EV, cit.*). At **790, a.** used in a quite different sense; cf. n. on 7.554 *arma* for V.'s frequent use of repet., within a short space, with variation of sense. So at **776** and perhaps here.

umero torquet See Varr. *Atac.*, *supra*; Hollis also draws attention to *Aen.* 9.93 *torquet qui sidera mundi* and (inc.) fr. 257.1 *Iuppiter omnipotens, caeli qui sidera torques* (=fr. inc. 15, p. 460 Courtney). Cf. the plate, *EV* 1, 390. Poet. sing. of parts of the body commoner than might appear from the classic accounts (Wackernagel, Löfstedt); see rather Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 875f. (*bene*), *KS* 1, 70, Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 178. If *coma* and *capillus* (*saepius*), *ungula* (*Enn. Ann.* 242), *pes* (*G.* 1.11), *nare* (*Enn. Ann.* 333, Skutsch on *Ann.* 547), *lumine* (*Aen.* 8.153), *auris* (*Lydia* 27, [Tib.] 3.3.28; however, *in aurem* formulaic) can be used in sing., then perhaps *umero* too.

stellis ardentibus See next note; **a.** too is Ennian (vd. n. on 11.202).

aptum *Macr.* 6.1.9, with reference to 4.482, quotes *Enn. Ann.* 27 *qui caelum uersat stellis fulgentibus aptum*, 145 *caelum prospexit stellis fulgentibus aptum* (where vd. Skutsch) and 348 *hinc nox processit stellis ardentibus apta*. Cf. also *Lucr.* 6.357 *stellis fulgentibus apta* (?). Hom.'s οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα (e.g. *Il.* 15.371) expanded and certainly not cheapened.

798 huius in aduentum Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.751.37f. compares *Bell. Hisp.* 6.3. *cuius in aduentum praesidii causa Caesar cum plura castella occupasset* and cf. too *Hor. Ep.* 1.3.36; anastrophe of the prepos. and the demonstr. pron. thrown forward. Compare 11.347 *cuius ob auspiciu infaustum*, 7.99 *quorumque a stirpe*, 8.547 *quorum de numero*, 9.247.

iam nunc Cf. *G.* 1.42 *uotis iam nunc adsuesce uocari*. *Anch.* fancifully suggests that *even now*, before the Trojans so much as land in Latium, South Russia, warned by oracles, awaits in terror the Roman onslaught. There was a real Scythian embassy to Aug., when he was in Spain ca. 25: see *Hor. CS* 55, *Aug. RG* 31.2, *NH* on *Hor. C.* 1, xxxiv, *Brunt, Rom. imp. themes*, 436, 438, *Syme, RP*, 6, 280, etc., *Horsfall (795)*, 26.

et Caspia regna Cf. (with geogr. names) 1.338 *Punica regna*, 3.115 *Cnosia regna*, 185 *Itala regna*, 8.507 *Tyrrhenaque regna*. Note *Hor. C.* 2.9. 2 *mare Caspium*, with *NH* (Augustan anxiety about Armenia until 20); cf. their n. on 2.9.20 *rigidum Niphaten*. For Alexander (more closely and actually involved), cf. (with 799) *Tarn* 2, 5-15, *Green*, 322f., *Lane Fox*, 275f..

799 responsis...diuum In the Caucasus, in Egypt, and about the Sea of Azov oracles sought by the inhabitants, as we have seen, *already* provoke dismay. **R.** standard usage, 9.134 *responsa deorum*, *G.* 3.491, *OLD* s.v., §2a.

horrent Cf. *Hor. CS* 53f. *iam mari terraque manus potentis/ Medus Albanasque timet securis*, *C.* 1.35.30-2 *et iuuenum recens/ examen Eois timidum/ partibus*, 4.5.25 *quis Parthum pauetat, quis gelidum Scythen...?* *Prop.* 3.11.51 *timidi uaga flumina Nili*, in the context of Cleop., carries a rather different weight. *Norden (Kl. Schr.)*, 433 quotes *Or. Sib.* 5.16 (of Au-

gustus) ὄν Θρήκη πτήξει καὶ Κικελίη καὶ Μέμφις (with 12.20, Antip. Thess., GP, GP 327), which seems to confirm that he is right to read V.'s words here in a Sibylline 'key' (cf. **851 Romane**); we are also perhaps expected to recall that the institution of these oracles was held to be of immense antiquity (Norden, *cit.*). Page acutely suggests that the vb. might also suggest the shivering cold of such areas.

et Maeotia tellus Cf. *Saturnia tellus, Mauortia tellus, Romanaque tellus*, etc.. *Maeotis* already Enn.*var.*21; *Maeotia...unda*, G.3.349. **M.**: the land of the Maeotae, about the *Maeotis palus*, or sea of Azov. Not so much a pointer to some planned Augustan invasion of Russia as a remote north-easterly name of fine literary ancestry (e.g. [Aesch.] *PV* 418, 731, Hdt.4.20ff., Eur.*HF* 409, Theocr., etc.; see Bolton, *Aristeas*, 51f., *EV* 3, 487f., Herrmann, PW 14.590.38ff., E.B.James in Smith, *Dict.Gr.Rom. Geogr.* 2, 244); its possible associations with Alexander much overstated by Au. (but see Hier.*Epist.*77.8, cited by No., comm., p.323); Macedonian contacts with the Scythians were rather (apart from the Danube front in Alexander's youth) in the neighbourhood of Samarkand: see Lane Fox, *A. the Great* (paperback ed.), 301ff., Green, *A. of Macedon.* 355ff., Tarn, *A. the Great* 1, 68f., 2, 326ff., though such details would hardly have troubled the poet. On such remote, literary, learned, even poetical names in Aug. poetry, Syme, *RP* 6, 269ff. remains indispensable.

800 et septemgeminus...Nili Note Cat.11.7f. *siue quae septemgeminus colorat/ aequora Nilus*, with Hyrcanians, Arabs, Sacae and Parthians immediately preceding, which is a warning not to understand these vv. in too exclusively a panegyric and Augustan key. Contrast the majestic and humane Nile of 8.711-3. The adj. probably after Aeschylean ἐπτάρροος, fr.300. 2Radt. The seven mouths of the Nile are conveniently discussed, W.B. Donne in Smith, *Dict.Gk.Rom.Geogr.*, 2, 433. See too Honigmann, PW 17.562.59-563.17.

turbant Intransitivisation, for which cf. nn. on 3.7, 7.27 (and index s.v.), 11.382, Görler, *EV* 2, 272, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 66f.; so *t.* elsewhere too, Lucr.2.126, 5.504, Strati, *EV* 5*, 319 and n. on **857** for the doubtful instances. Vd. L.Feltenius, *Intransitivizations in Latin* (Uppsala 1977), 44, *et passim*.

trepida ostia Egyptian teeth chatter alliteratively: are the Egyptians naturally unwarlike? Or are they afraid of a threat real or perceived (cf. **799**)? Or is there a bit of both? Cf. *EV* 5*, 264 (Crevatin), Bömer on Ov.*Met.*2.254. Florus (2.13.60) calls the Egyptians a *gens imbellis ac perfida*. This is familiar language, Balsdon, *Romans and aliens*, 68, Courtney on Juv.15.126; the epithet is transferred from the inhabitants to the estuary of their river. **O.**: standard Latin for the mouth of a river, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1156.59ff. (Lucr., repub. prose).

801-3 Hercules Exemplary myth. names (often precisely Herc. and Dion.) to suggest, above all, the likely deification of a more recent *laudandus* have a long history: Pind. *Nem.*10.49ff., Aristotle, *PMG* 842.9ff., and for association with Alexander, cf. (e.g.) Norden, *l.c.*, La Penna (*infra*), 282, *DS* 17.85.1f., *Men.Rhet.*p.388.6, *Plut.Mor.*332B (with 326B), Lucian, *Dial.mort.*12.6, *QCurt.*8.10.1 (Herc., Dion., Alex. all get to India). For Cic. and Varro, cf. Pease on *ND* 2.62, Dyck on *Off.*3.25, La Penna, 278. No surprise to find Hor. at ease with the motif just prior to *Aen.*6 (C.3.3.9, with 1.12.21-33, where vd. NH). See Norden, *Kl.Schr.*, 425 (summarised by Au.), Brink, *Hor.Ep.*2, pp.39-42, NR on *Hor.C.3 cit.*, Christ 129f., Lyne, *FV*, 29, Binder, 63, 147, Hardie, *CI*, 257, A. La Penna, *Hommages...Le Bonniec* (*Coll.Lat.* 201, Bruxelles 1988), 275-87 (esp.282). Butler on **803** censures the poet severely for his poor sense of geogr. relevance.

801 nec uero Alcides 'Conveys an unemphatic corrective of some possible inference', Mynors on *G.*4.191. 'Do not think...' (*id.*). We might record the occasional negative form in epic similes, *G.*4.80f., n. on 7.703; cf. also the neg. comparisons, *G.*1.102, *Aen.*7.252 *nec sceptrā mouent Priameia tantum* and indeed **875f.**, *infra*. **A.** on account of Alcaeus father of Amphitryon (*tacent* Au., *EV*); cf. Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*2.4.5, Robert, 2.2, 602, Gantz, 1, 311, etc.. The patronymic slightly more exalted than a mere name, mildly learned and altogether more convenient metrically in dactylic verse: see Kroll, *Studien*, 267f., Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 580.

tantum telluris Drumming dental allit.; cf. *G.*3.343 *tantum campi*, *Aen.*5.616 *tantum...maris*.

obiuit Under the general heading of *sive circulo sive transcursu*, Quadlbauer attractively compares (*TLL* 9.2.47.82) *Cic.Cat.*3.25 *tantum autem urbis quantum flamma obire non potuisset*; a standard sense of the vb.. The seriously pedantic will wish to consult H.Halfmann, *Itinera principum* (Wiesbaden 1986), 15-29, 157-62 for a detailed account of the 'princeps' travels. Cf. NW 3, 440, Holzweissig, 815, Leumann, 600 for the slightly unusual form. **Obibit MPR** and some c.9 mss.; **obiuit** some c.9 mss., psAcro.

802 fixerit...licet 'For all that Hercules...'; **400, 402**, 11.348 (*ubi pessime*, Horsfall) and 387 the only instances of concessive *licet* in *Aen.*: see Ernout-Thomas, 353, LHS, 605. For **f.**, cf. on 11.691.

aeripedem ceruam The labour of the Cerynean hind (Ceryneia in NW Achaea, SE of Aegium), which H. had to pursue (into the furthest North, Pind.*Ol.*3.31) and bring back to Mycenae *alive*: see *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.3 with Frazer's nn., Gantz, 1, 386-9, Robert, 2.2, 448-51, etc.. The epithet has raised complications: see H.Fuzier, *Lat.*58 (1999), 99-108 (confused and imprecise), F.Fortuny, *Emerita* 51 (1983), 315-21. The adj. apparently a

Virgilian coinage (Cordier, 59) after Gk. χαλκόπους, then imitated by Ov., Sil., Serv. 'pro *aëripedem*'; a view widely held among the grammarians, Charisius, *Gramm.Lat.* 1.279.8, Fuzier, 99, with n.4, Fortuny, 315-7. But what neither the grammarians, nor Serv., nor Fuzier and Fortuny, explained was how the five-syll. 'air-footed' (i.e., perhaps, 'fast as the wind'; cf. n. on 7.807) was reduced to four (*tacet*, unsurprisingly, von Mess, *TLL* 1.1047.27ff.). Charisius, *cit.* refers to *episynaloepha*; *synaeresis* too is used and *synizesis* might have been, or even *crasis* (Lindsay). That will not do; Gk. ἄηρ really cannot be reduced to a monosyll. in its Lat. derivatives and *aereus/ aheneus* is not the same case; Fortuny's pleading on the point of prosody is unilluminating and cf. rather Sommer, *Handbuch*, 124, n.1, Niedermann, *Phon.hist.*, 76, Lindsay, *Lat.lang.*, 142f., S.Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 877-883. Fuzier points to a number of references to the speed of the Cerynean hind (QS 6.223-6, DS 4.13.1), but they are not enough to justify rewriting Lat. prosody. 'Hooves of brass' belong in particular to the hooves of the bulls tamed by Jason, Pherec. *FGH* 3F112, AR 3.230, etc., but to transfer the epithet to a different beast is no great leap of the imagination. What remains to be clarified is how the grammarians fell into such confusion over a pair of homographs.

aut Erymanthi/ 803 ...nemora Polysyll. termination of hexam.. with Gk. name, as often, Norden, p.438. For the Erymanthian (in NW Arcadia; prob. = Psophis; *alii alibi*) boar (likewise to be brought back alive to Mycenae), cf. *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.4 with Frazer's nn., Robert, 2.2, 447f., Gantz 1, 389-92. The noun in Acc., Lucr., but also common in prose.

803 pacarit So exactly Cic. in his tr. of Soph.*Trach.*, *carm.*Soph.1.37f. *Lernam.../pacauit* (possibly not an echo; the words are neither close together nor memorable). Fröhlke, *TLL* 10.1.21.60ff.. The vb. also in Cat.68, Lucr, common in Cic., Liv. (in short, standard Lat. usage, prose and verse).

et Lernam See n. on **287 belua Lerna**. H.'s exemplary labours have been neatly reduced to three tidy, parallel phrases of equal length. Distance and wonder will be introduced rather by Dionysus.

tremefecerit arcu For t., cf. on 2.228. H.'s bow has occasionally a role independent of H. himself, in, e.g., the story of Philoct. (vd. Gruppe, index s.v. Bogen, Frazer, *Apld.*, index s.v. Bow of H.), and it was as a Bowman that he was originally armed (Jebb on Soph.*Phil.*727). Necessarily a bow of remarkable power, but apparently not itself of positively supernatural powers.

804-5 Dionysus The god, long reckoned a traveller (Eur.*Ba.*13-6; Tarn (799), 2, 45), followed busily in the footsteps of Alexander; association between them (Lane Fox (799), 340-2, Rice, 84, etc.), possibly after Alexander's death, led to the elaboration of Dion. as conqueror in the E. (cf. AR

2.905-10, DS 4.3.1; cf. QCurt., *cit.*, **801-3**) and to his return to Europe in a wonderfully elaborate and exotic triumphal procession, Callixenus, *FGH* 627F2 (=Athen. 200DE), F.A.Voigt, *Ro.*1.1087. 45-1089.33, Robert, 1, 702-5, Bömer, *PW* 21.1936.5-29, Privitera, *EV* 1, 452, Fraser, *Ptol.Alex.*, 1, 202f., E.E.Rice, *The grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983), 82-99. Dion.'s procession was memorably represented, with a notable display of animals, in PP's (vd. Rice); PP claimed association with Alex. via such representation of Dion.; here Aug. is made to reach back to the implicit Alex. in just the same way, via Dion.. The low parody by Mark Antony (at Alexandria, 34) will hardly have been forgotten: Bömer, *cit.*, 1973. 64ff., Woodman on *Vell.*2.82.4 and see Denniston on *Cic.Phil.*2.58.

804 nec qui Taking up **801 nec uero**; here, though, the name is postponed to a position of exceptional prominence, run-on at the beginning of the next v..

pampineis...habenis Reins of vine-tendrils; perfectly appropriate to Bacchus, and engagingly whimsical, or paradoxical, if the chariot is drawn by the larger beasts of prey. The adj. probably a Virgilian coinage, from *Buc.*7.58 (where vd. Clausen); cf. Cordier, 145, and n. on 7.589 for adjs. in *-eus* in V.. Cf. Somazzi, *TLL* 10.1.182.58f..

uictor Cf. Rice (**804-5**), 86; Dion.'s Indian exploits are after all modelled on Alexander's, and further ennoble Aug.'s, empire-wide. The details are lovingly recorded by Nonnus.

iuga flectit Cf. *G.*2.357 (**f.** of *iuuencos*), *Aen.*1.156, 9.606 (of horses), Baer, *TLL* 7.2.640.63f., Klee, *ib.*, 6.1.896.17f.; **i.** as often, by an easy metonymy, the pair of yoked beasts, rather than the yoke itself, Baer, 640.28ff.. V. writes just later than *Hor.C.*3.3.14 (where vd. NR), the yoked tigers drawing father Bacchus (see **801-3**; cf. too Toynbee, *Animals*, 70, Rice, 86 (he is so represented from c.6BC; cf. NR on *Hor.C.*3, *cit.*), Capponi, *Enc.Oraz.*, 2, 273; cf. *ib.*, 320 (Dionysus), Bömer on *Ov.Met.* 3.668). Note already *Buc.*5.29 *curru subiungere tigris* (where vd. Clausen, on Armenian tigers; for Hyrcanian, vd. Pease on 4.367, in some detail). Dion., naturally, exercises power over the animal kingdom (cf. Gruppe, 1425, n.2); so too, rulers were increasingly thought to, at least in late c.1 AD: see R.R.Nauta, *Poetry for patrons* (Leiden 2002), 406, 410, Hight, *Juv. the satirist*, 256, Coleman on *Stat.Silv.*4.4.3.81, and *ead.*, Mart. *Spect.*, index s.v. emperor, power over nature (to her, my thanks for discussion), all after O.Weinreich *Studien z. Martial* (Stuttgart 1928): vd. 82f. for Alex. and Aug.. The Alexandrian evidence does strongly suggest that the Ptolemies were in some sense felt to share this power of Dion.'s., and the tamed beasts in PP's procession, and likewise Bacchus', are more than a display of zoological collecting mania.

805 Liber The little we know of L.'s origins has been energetically discussed: the temple (on the Aventine; a plebeian cult) to Ceres, Liber and Libera was vowed in 496, after the victory at Lake Regillus and in the face of hunger; the triad partly at least of Greek inspiration. L. not a mere translation of Dion. (sc. Eleutheros) but probably an old Italian deity of vegetation and crops. Here, though, no more than a handy variant name for Bacchus. See Bömer on *Ov.F.3.512*, Cornell, 263, Beard-North-Price, 1, 63, Latte, 161f., *EV* 1, 449, Wissowa, 297-304. With **habenis/ Liber**, Paschalis (239) compares *G.3.194 liber habenis*; a fortuitous and unimpressive coincidence, surely.

agens Cf. **837 ager currum**, 3.512 *Nox Horis acta* (with n.), *Lucr.3.1063*, *Liv. 1.48.7 carpentum egisse* (standard usage). *EV* 1, 55 confused; vd. rather *OLD* s.v., §2a, Hey, *TLL* 1.1367.47f.

celso...de uertice Cf. 5.35 *ex celso...uertice montis*; near-formulaic phrasing.

Nysae Birthplace of Dion.; no agreement at all on the mountain's localisation; vd. Gruppe, index, s.v, *Kl.P.*, s.v. (F.F.Schwarz), Robert, 1, 663, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.* 3.4.3, *PW* 17.1654.52ff. (A.Herrmann, in terms of the geogr. limits within which the vine can be cultivated), *Hesych.v.742*. For Alexander and the story/location of N., cf. Tarn, 2, 45-7, *et passim*. A latent etym., Dio-Nysos (so e.g. *Hom.Hymns* 26.1-5), has long been suspected here, perhaps rightly, Paschalis, 240, O'Hara, *TN*, 178.

tigris So *Hor.C.3.3.13-5 hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae/ uexere tigres indocili iugum/ collo trahentes* (where vd. an ample and interesting n., NR). Remote, colourful, savage and precisely because hard to tame (vd. *Hor.*, *supra*) particularly suited to the shafts of the god's car as symbols of his range and power. Cf. n. on 3.113 for Cybele's analogous lions.

806 et dubitamus Au. (after Page) acutely points to the use of *et* in 'exhortatory protest' or expostulation, citing *G.2.433 et dubitant homines serere atque impendere curam*, *Aen.1.48f.*; cf. Hofmann, *TLL.5.2.891.8*, Wagner, *QV* xxxv, §7 (b), (d), Hand, 2, 492. In fact V. uses a traditional formula: as Mynors on *G.*, *cit.* remarks, see both *Cic.Leg.Man.* 42 and 45 *et quisquam dubitabit...?*, *Agr.1.4*, 2.69, *Dom.85*, *TD* 1.92 *et dubitas...?*, and the proverbial *serere ne dubites* (Tosi, n^o 943). Cf. Bulhart *TLL* 5.1.2083.67f. 'saepe (apud Cic. passim) dubitandi verbo negato sive sensu negativoposito gravissima affirmatio efficitur'. So here, by means of a well-established interrogative form, Serv. suggests that V. puts in a touch of himself (*miscuit personam suam*); *Serv.Dan.* then specifies *ex Romanis et praecipue ex Augusto*. Does 'we' include V. and his readers? Or Anch., Aen. and the Sibyl, or indeed both groups?

adhuc After all that Aen. has already heard of his descendants to come. Cf. 2.142 for *a.* used with similar intensity.

uirtute extendere uires PR, *P.Colt* 2; **uirtutem extendere factis M**, Serv. (paraphrasing 10.468 *famam extendere factis*), Dosith., *Gramm.Lat.* 7.422.17; the c.9 mss. divided. Both readings apparently known to TCD. Diomedes (*Gramm.Lat.* 1.417.14), along with $\eta\gamma$, offers **uirtutem...uires**. As often, serious discussion is limited to James Henry's n. (vd. also Peerlkamp). The vb. (vd. Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1977.21 ff.) is not part of the difficulty: cf. again Hor.C.3.3, at 45f. *horrenda late nomen in ultimas/ extendat oras*; at Liv.7.25.7 *e.* is probably corrupt (vd. Oakley) but note Sen.*Ep.*122.3 *extendamus uitam* (cf. Sil.9.375f.). **Extendere factis** here can easily be explained as echo-corruption from 10.468, and if we were to wish to defend it by claiming that V. also, often enough, *repeats* favoured groups of words (cf. Götte here for the issue), we would be left with the rather harder task of accounting for the origin and ample spread of **uirtute extendere uires**. Is **uirtute extendere uires** then explicable as good sense? Rather more easily than is generally recognised: Henry acutely noted a reiteration of sense between **806** and **807 aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra**: of Aen., as colonist (*Vergilius* 35 (1989), 8-27); compare 3.7 *ubi sistere detur*, 8.10 *Latio consistere Teucros*, with 1.629 (of Dido) and 10.75 (of Tu.). Are the Trojans frightened to *settle* in Ausonia? Not so much the *whole* of Italy as in that part of western central Italy S. of the Appennines where they will in fact settle (not, that is, at Cumae, but rather at or near Lavinium): cf. detailed n. on 7.623. Is Anch. then simply exhorting Aen. to spread (vd. *infra*) by means of *uirtus* the Trojans' *uires*? The paronomasia is not of itself an argument, but is an attractive feature of **uirtute extendere uires** if it is accepted. *Vires* then either in the sense of *potentia*, *imperium*, or simply 'display of *uires*' (cf. *EV* 5*, 569)? Cf. Hor.C.4.5.13ff. *per quas Latinum nomen et Italae/ creuere uires famaue et imperi / porrecta maiestas ad ortus/ solis ab Hesperio cubili*, Aen.7.258 *totum quae uiribus occupet orbem*. There might perhaps be, behind this image of the Trojans spreading, deploying their forces, an implicit metaphor of e.g. the athlete stretching to fullest effort, Ov.*Met.* 12.477 *extentum cursu...latus*. Textual issues such as that raised by the split in the capital mss. here are a serious obstacle to the case for an archetype in the tradition of V. (cf. *RFil.* 140 (2012), 202).

807 aut metus...prohibet Cf. Ter.*Andr.*54, Liv.5.46.3, Kruse *TLL* 10.2.1785.36.

Ausonia...terra For the geography, see n. on previous line. **A.** might be either adj. or noun (both usages attested, *OLD* s.v. *terra*, §7a, *ad fin.*), and indeed both current in V., 2.781, 3.13).

consistere See n. on previous line for the sense of 'settle'.

808-35 Between the panegyric to Aug. and the admonition to Caesar and Pompey stand the Kings (except for Serv. Tullius, though he may perhaps be present by allusion) and a frugal selection of early repub. heroes. Bibliography: Basson, 70-6, von Albrecht (1967, **756-846**), 164f., (1999, *ib*), 111f., Lefèvre, 101-7, Gleis, 171f., Williams (**817**) 212-4, Feeney, 9-13, Pomathios, 81, Horsfall (1982, **789**), 14, West (**756-846**) 288-90, Loretto (**756-846**), 45f., La Penna (**817-23**), 231-40.

808-12 Numa Pompilius Appropriately on a scale between that lavished on Rom. and the selective brevity with which their successors are treated. These are four and a half vv. of notable art; we pass from the aspect of the venerable priest-king, to his legislative role, from his modest origins to his majestic achievement, with dense economy of means. For bibliography, cf. **810f.**

808 quis...ille So **863 quis, pater, ille, uirum qui sic comitatur euntem?** with n.; Au. not only draws attention to *quis...?* as a [very common] formula for introducing new characters in comedy, but points out that the words could be read as the opening of a senarius: a stylistic refinement familiar elsewhere: cf. nn. on 2.101f., 3.129.

procul At *some* (not necessarily much) distance (so e.g. n. on 11.677).

autem Cf. Hand, 1, 579f.; as though Anch.'s general reflections were now checked by the eventual arrival of Numa ('but who is this...?'), no longer young (DH 2.58.2; vd. *infra*).

ramis...oliuae Suggestive of peace, of priesthood, of Sabinum? Of one or of more of these associations? We have no very clear idea (Corbellini, *EV* 3, 776; cf. nn. on 7.751, 711, 11.332) which is most (or least) relevant here; priesthood is not necessarily implied by **sacra ferens**, nor is V. necessarily referring to a wreath (n. on 7.751), for a twig carried in the hand (n. on 7.154) is no less likely. Standard phrasing: **230**, 7.418, 8.116. Visual details cluster about the figure of N., varied and memorable in his roles.

insignis So **855 insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis**, where vd. n..

809 sacra ferens Cf. n. on 3.19; conventional absence of specificity and no reason to try (Au.) to determine just what is meant.

nosco The question **quis...?** of **808** purely formulaic. Anch. does not need to ask the Sibyl and Aen. (who clearly do not know). Apart from forms of *notus*, *octies* in *Aen.*; Kraggerud, *EV* 3, 766. Standard Latin; much to the taste of Lucr. (19x).

crinis One of the preferred poet. words for hair, though by no means exclusively so: Axelson, 51. The letter c present in three successive words, though the precise effect is not easily defined.

incanaque menta The adj. evidently applied to both nouns; *semel* in Plaut., then picked up by V., *G.3.311 incanaque menta*, of billy-goats,

which suggests that readers with good memories would have smiled here; *pace* No., not Catullan. Ignored by Edgeworth, Scarcia (*EV* 1, 900) and Heuzé; cf. rather André, 222f.. ‘Chin’ a sort of metonymy for ‘beard’: ‘tamquam sede barbae’, Klepl, *TLL* 8.784.29, comparing **6.299**; plur. regular of parts of body, n. on 2.475. Though Numa was hardly a greybeard at his accession (DH, *supra*), he was thought to have reigned into his 80s (DH 2.76.5), which explains the epithet. Oddly, absent from *Cic.Sen.*. The beard prominent on a denarius of Cn.Calpurnius Piso, 49BC, *EV* 3, 777, Delaruelle, 161-3; also typical of the (great) men of early Rome (Marquardt-Mau, 598, n.2, etc., Bömer on *Ov.F.2.30*, NH on *Hor.C.1.12.41 incomptis*).

810 regis Romani So recently *Liv.1.15.4*, 22.7, 28.2, 51.1, 54.10, 57.1, 4.61.11, 8.33.8. Self-contained majestic spondaic first foot; the allit. might be heard either as Ennian, or as familiarly Livian.

primam...urbem Cf. 7.61 *primas cum conderet arces* (with my n.), *TLL.10.2. 1349.16f.* (Breimeier): the first foundation specifically under the rule of law, or transferred from Numa himself as the second founder, now under such rule.

qui legibus.../ 811 fundabit ‘Numa quasi denuo condet’, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1. 1561.44f., comparing the parodic *Sen.Apoc.10 legibus urbem fundauit, operibus ornaui*. For this second foundation of Rome under the rule of law, cf. E.Gabba, *JRS* 74 (1984), 81-6, *id.*, *Dionysius...* (Berkeley 1991), 157, J.Poucet, *Rois de Rome*, 340f., Wiseman, *Myths of Rome*, 51. V. has set Aug. between Romulus and Numa (cf. n. on **813**), to prompt the reader to associate him with the virtues of both (cf. *Anc.Soc.* 12 (1982), 13); the role of Aug. himself as lawgiver is familiar, *RG* 8.5, *Suet.Aug.34*, *Hor.C.3.24.35f.*, 4.5.21-4, *Ep.2.1.3*, Binder, 47, 93f., as is the legislative activity of Numa, *Liv.1.19.1 iure eam [sc. urbem] legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat*, *DH* 2.74f., *Cic.Rep.2.26*, etc.; an etym. connexion between Numa and νόμος was widespread (Serv. on **808**, etc., O’Hara, *TN*, 178f.) and might just possibly have been sensed here.

Curibus paruis For the origin of Quirites from Sabine Cures (nr. modern Corese Terra), cf. n. on 7.710. The insistence on modest (and, particularly, Sabine) origins (**paruis**, **paupere**) is typical of V. and indeed of the whole Ciceronian/Augustan myth (perhaps devised originally by the elder Cato, with his self-representation as the prime *exemplum*) of Rome’s moral beginnings: cf. **843 paruoque potentem**, 8.543 *paruosque Penates*, 9.607 *paruoque adsueta iuuentus*, 105 *pauperque senatus*, 360 *pauperis Euandri*, 455 *ex humili tecto*, Horsfall, *ORVA*, 309, NR on *Hor.C.3.2.1-3*, 6.37f., C.Edwards, *Politics of immorality* (Cambridge 1993), 113, R. Vischer, *Das einfache Leben* (Göttingen 1965), 151, Norden, *Kl.Schr.* 373, 385, etc.. Numa *Curibus Sabinis habitabat* (*Liv.1.18.1*) before he was

summoned to rule at Rome; C. had also been the home of Titus Tatius (Plut.*Rom.*19.9, etc., J.Poucet, *Recherches sur la légende sabine...* (Kinshasa 1967), 13). For the recurrent motif of Rome's foreign rulers, cf. *RFil.* 119 (1991), 188-92 (a little added, E.Dench, *Romulus' asylum* (Oxford 2005), 118); bear in mind too the recurrent humble origins of Rome's great men (vd. e.g. **843-4**, Liv.3.26.8), in the wider context of legendary exposure (including, that is, e.g. Romulus and Remus at the riverside) so well analysed by Gerhard Binder (**760-6**).

et paupere terra Suter (*TLL* 10.1.845.75f.) hesitates between (i) s.v. 'agri, terra horti sim., sc. qui pauca ferunt (sive quia infertiles sive quia parvi sunt)' (*ib.*, 69f.) and (ii) s.v. 'vel regio, civitas, saeculum' (844.76f.), as e.g. 8.105 *pauperque senatus*. The 'myth' of poverty (previous n.) suggests we should prefer the sense of a land which yields little *and therefore* confers no riches upon its proprietors; cf. (e.g.) *ORVA*, 310 for the hard men of the hard land of central Italy. Note the ABBA patterning of adjs. and nouns.

812 missus Fleischer, *TLL* 8.1167.26 paraphrases the sense 'proficisci, advenire', comparing *G.2.385 Troia gens missa*, *Aen.*10.779. *EV* 3, 553 unilluminating.

in imperium magnum An expression of V.'s own, used again at 11.47 (where vd. n.), but not later imitated; the climax to V.'s Numa; the adj. massively between 2½caes. and 3½caes.; adj. and noun majestically and nasally juxtaposed. No greater contrast to Numa's modest beginnings imaginable (and the adj. here balances those of **811**), just as Tullus Hostilius' warrior enterprises will form a strong contrast to Numa's achievements.

cui...subibit Tullus and Ancus follow as though from the pages of a book; their presence is hardly living and visual before Aen.'s eyes. In the sense of 'come next, succeed', *OLD* s.v., §8a; *G.3.67* roughly comparable. **Cui P; qui M; quid R**. Not evidence enough for us to argue (vd. Au.) for the original presence of some misunderstood archaism here, though the currency of 'deviant' spellings (cf. Quint.1.7.27) may have bewildered scribes.

deinde An inessential filler, otherwise avoided by V. in such contexts.

813 otia...patriae Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1179.59f. classifies this passage s.v. 'cum vituperatione dictum', alongside e.g. Cat.51.15; note too Liv.1.22.2 *senescere igitur ciuitatem otio ratus* (of Tullus, and little earlier than *Aen.*6). For the plur. (Lucr., Cat.), cf. Maas, *ALL* 12 (1902), 545f.. *Otium* as perilous to the state is a familiar (Sallustian, particularly) concept (cf. Ogilvie on Liv.1.19.4 *ne luxuriarent otio animi*, A.W. Lintott, *Hist.*21 (1972), 626-38), but Numa was famed for his devotion to peace (e.g. Cic.*Rep.*2.25 *hominesque Romanos instituto Romuli bellicis studiis ut uidit incensos*,

existimavit eos paulum ab illa consuetudine esse reuocandos, Liv.1.19.2, Ov.*Met.*15.483f. *gentemque ferocil' adsuetam bello pacis traduxit ad artes*); cf. Cornell, 78, Poucet, *Rois*, 399 *et passim* for priests, warriors and Dumézil. Whatever the significance of the olive Numa bore, it seems far easier to give **otia** here a Ciceronian, not a Sallustian (*Jug.*41.1)/Livian (1.19.4) sense for nothing suggests (*pace* Dionigi, *EV* 3, 906; cf. rather the sensible remarks of Basson, 72) that we should give **o.** here a negative flavour (cf. Earl, *Political thought*, 41f., Paul on *Jug.cit.*). Approval of Tullus just *because* he was, unlike his predecessor, bellicose is hardly likely less than ten years after Actium. The opposition of **o.** and **arma** (814) is common: Baer, 1186.75, citing Sall.*Cat.*36.4, etc..

qui See index to *Aen.*7 s.v. 'anastrophe'; a little extra prominence for **o.**

rumpet Not attested elsewhere with *otia* till late c.1AD, Baer, 1183.83; cf., though, *rumpe moras, silentia rumpere*, Cavazza, *EV* 4, 601.

residesque.../...uiros Lines re-used of Messapus at 7.693f. *iam pridem resides populos desuetaque bello/ agmina in arma uocat*, where vd. nn.; the hyperbaton here more powerful than anything in the later passage (*tacit* Sparrow, 102, Horsfall, Moskalew, Niehl).

mouebit/ 814...in arma Cf. *TLL* 8.1543.55 (Wieland), 7.603 *cum prima mouent in proelia Martem* (with note), Liv.8.2.6 *in arma motos* (vd. Oakley). *EV* 3, 608 (Fo).

814 Tullus Tullus Hostilius, third king of Rome: vd. Basson, 72, *EV* 5*, 311f., Ogilvie, Livy 1-5, p.105f., Cornell, 119f..

et iam Cf. 2.8, 705, etc.; after Numa's long reign (extended enjoyment of blessings of peace/dangerous break in necessary military activity).

desueta triumphis/ 815 agmina Cf. n. on 7.693f.; clearly Tullus favoured a renewal of warfare on all fronts, but it is as easy (and perhaps more 'Virgilian', at least in modern, Harvardian eyes) to view with regret any re-opening of hostilities, after the long quiet of Numa's reign, whatever the triumphs to which renewed war may lead (cf. n. on 11.54). The run-on dactyl suggests that V. is pointing a paradox, **agmina** no longer used to victories and their rewards (and/or implicit tragedies, if you will). **D.** used by Liv.3.38.8 and 8.38.10; one passage, if not both earlier than V.; possibly V.'s debt to Liv.; otherwise, both find the word in annalists/Enn.. First in Titin., *com.*46.

quem...sequitur Cf. 7.793 and 10.180; the vb. inescapable in musters. Here we return, not perhaps before time, to the 'reality' of the parade before Aen., Anch. and the Sibyl.

iuxta The vision of a busy, noisy, informally advancing mass is successfully maintained for much of the parade.

iactantior Cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.2.62.60f.: Serv. comments *amans populi fauorem* in keeping with the **nimum gaudens popularibus auris** of

the next v.; that is (vd. *infra*) the behaviour attributed by DH to Serv.Tullius (4.8.3; cf. Salemme, *EV* 2, 876). Cf. Hor.*Serm.*1.3.49ff.: *ineptus/ et iactantior hic paulo est: concinnus amicis/ postulat ut videatur; at est truculentior atque/ plus aequo liber*, where vd. KH and where PsAc. comments *uult uideri apud amicos concinnus et bonus*. Something like ‘pretentious, ambitious’ then to be preferred here to the ‘boastful, arrogant’ of *OLD* s.v. *iactans*, §a. For the compar. of a ‘participial’ adj., cf. Holzweissig, 553f. but above all NW 2, 214-9 at 217. At this point the more interesting problem begins: Norden noticed that only here was Anc.Marc. thought to be buoyed up by popular support: was this a simple transference (studied or careless) of behaviour attributed to Serv.Tull. (*supra*)? The distinct activities of the kings as sorted in the annalistic tradition are hardly likely to have been transmitted by V. with pedantic respect, and it is not quite clear that we needed a whole clutch of alternative etymological explanations, ingenious though they are (O.Skutsch in *Ennius*, *Entr. Hardt* 17 (1972), 14-6 and E.Badian, *ib.*, 34f.), around the names Publicius, Poplicius (cf. *populus*, and the summary in Au.). Even that is no longer enough (cf. O’Hara, *TN*, 179): Feeney draws attention to *popularis* tendencies among later Marcii (9), while Zetzel (273) lists Ancus Martius’ politics among a number of anomalies accumulated perhaps with the intent of bringing into question the very notion of historical truth. Cf. C.Dognini, *RIL* 130 (1996), 467-73.

Ancus Fourth king of Rome; Ogilvie, *Livy* 1-5, p.125f., Basson, 72f., Poucet, *Recherches*, 125ff., 148ff., Cornell, 120.

816 nunc quoque iam Explicit continuity between character-as-ghost and character-on-earth (cf. V.’s use of *tu quoque*, 7.1 with n. and note the *nunc...iam* of G.2.171).

nimum gaudens N. the language of regretful criticism in *Aen.* (cf. G.2.458, *Aen.*4.657, 5.870); for ψόγος in the Parade, vd. **756-846**, (4). **G.**: *tacet EV*; see Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1705.71.

popularibus auris Even in Elysium; a pleasant touch of innocent humour. A stock phrase, Hey, *TLL* 2.1479.53f., Lefèvre, 102, Feeney, 9f., *Cic.har.resp.*44 *popularis aura prouexit* (Hellegouarc’h, 518, ‘la faveur populaire’), *Liv.*3.33.7 (a little earlier than *Aen.*6) *omnique aurae popularis captator* (with Ogilvie’s n. for later instances in *Liv.*), Hor.*C.*3.2.20 *arbitrio popularis aurae* (earlier than *Aen.*6, but not by long; vd. NR *ad loc.*): ‘political clichés of the late Republic’ (Ogilvie), still very much current.

817 uis... (818)? The rhet. question contributes variation and energy (Mazzoli, *EV* 5*, 616. Cf. perhaps Hofmann-Ricottilli, 363 on *uin*, *uisne*; here, though, not colloqu.) to the exposition. Different reaction to the paired Tarquins and Brutus are to be expected (Au.).

et Tarquinius reges Cf. the plur. thus at Liv.1.55.1. See Cornell, 122-30, Wiseman, *Myths*, 130-8, Poucet, *Rois*, 212-5 *et passim*, Ogilvie, Livy 1-5, 145-6, 194-7. Serv. Tullius is omitted; it is not at all clear why (Mere economy of space, perhaps? Too controversial? His *popularis* role 'transferred' to Ancus?).

817-23 On V.'s Brutus, see Feeney, 10f., West, 289f., Basson, 73f., Kraggerud, 62-7, La Penna (*infra*), 233-5, Thomas, *VAR*, 210-3, Lefèvre, 102f., R.D.Williams in *Cicero and Virgil (756-846)*, 212f.. A first 'moral climax' to the PH, leading the reader on to the next such crisis, Caesar and Pompey, **826-35**. Brutus' is a victory for *libertas* (**821**), however cruel and personally tragic, a victory for the republic and the rule of law. Contrast Caesar, and reflect indeed upon his death at the hands of a descendant of old Brutus, moved by love of *doxa* (App.Civ.2.114; cf. Feeney, 22, n.54) after *his* assault upon republican *libertas*. With Brutus' descent from Brutus, contrast Caesar's from Anch. and Aen.. Old Brutus defended the state against personal ambition; Caesar and Pompey both attacked the state when spurred on by ambition. Anch. explains that old Brutus put his sons to death; Anch.'s descendant Caesar fought his son-in-law, to the death. Old Brutus' conduct, though cruel, was exemplary, whereas Caesar's should have been exemplary on account of his descent from Anch. and Aen. but was not and led to terrible bloodshed. Prof. Clifford Weber kindly helped expand my understanding of these complex, paradoxical verses.

animamque superbam Cf. perhaps Hom.'s ἀγήνορα θυμόν. Unusually ample evidence illustrates ancient readers' perplexity before this classic problem of 'language' vs. 'history': *unus enim de Tarquiniis fuit superbus* Serv. on **817**; *superbiae uitium magis Tarquiniis adplicatur secundum ueterum fabulas, non Bruto* TCD; correctors' hands in **MP** punctuate at **Bruti**. In other words, do we understand **a.s.** with Tarquins or with Brutus? If we bow to the conventions of the history of early Rome, then, naturally, it is the Tarquins (or at least one of them) who have an **a.s.**; if, though, a pause at the end of **817** (with **-que** added to the third word of the next member) is not to be borne, then clear sense has to be made of the tyrannicide's *superbia*. Delayed *-que* does occur in V. (F.Leo, *Ausgew. kl. Schr.* 1, 64, n.3, Norden, 404, n.4), but, except when attached to *iam* or to avoid *-que* after a monosyll. prepos. (cf. n. on 2.227), it is extremely rare: not **254** (vd. No.); *G.3.238 longius ex altoque* may stand as the only comparable instance, and to impose such a rarity on V., as the price of calling the Tarquins conventionally proud, when there will prove to be an enticing alternative, is ill-advised. What, then, is to be made of calling the avenger proud, not the tyrant, in juxtaposition with that very tyrant? Unparalleled, arresting, thought-provoking and peculiarly appropriate in a passage (cf. n. on **815 iactantior**) where V. seems to accumulate historical oddities, for

whatever reason. Au. well remarks that Brutus both ‘gloried in the overthrow of a tyrant’ and displayed a father’s ‘unbending spirit’ in ordering the execution of both sons (La Penna, *infra*, 232 well compares DH 5.8.1, Plut.*Popl.*3.1, Liv.2.5.8 on the ambiguous figure of B.); *superbia*, therefore, of two types (vd. Traina’s subtle discussion). Challenging sense and easy usage are clearly preferable to contorted usage and conventional sense; s. partially critical of B., naturally. No case for corrections or lacunae. Traina, *EV* 4, 1073 (cf. too 5*, 44f.), Negri Rosio, 46f., Basson, 73, Kraggerud, 66f., Lefèvre, 103, E.A.Hahn, *TAPA* 92 (1961), 199 (a hint at an *animosus* Brutus: ingenious, but hardly pertinent here), R.Thomas, *VAR*, 211-3 (Augustan restoration of repub. values and the later, hardly less controversial Brutus as Caesar’s assassin: see too Feeney, 10f.), A. La Penna, *Maia* 55 (2003), 231-5, W.F.J.Knight, *CR* 46 (1932), 55-7, Williams, *TI* 215f..

818 ultoris Bruti Vengeance taken for the rape of Lucretia (see I.Donaldson’s admirable *Rapes of Lucretia*, Oxford 1982) by Sextus Tarquinius. Vd. Cornell, 215-8, Wiseman, *Myths*, 133-8, and for the reception of the story at Rome, Poucet, *Rois*, 274-7, C.Wirszubki, *Libertas* (Cambridge 1960), 126-9, R.MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman order* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 8-20, M.L.Clarke, *The noblest Roman* (London 1981). Vd. also *EV* 5*, 357 (*ulciscor*).

fascisque uidere receptos To see the *fascēs*, symbols of authority (the rods originally instruments of summary punishment, Plut.*QR* 82; cf. Mommsen *StR.* 1₃, 361), carried no longer by a king, but by the consul Brutus. But if they are borne here in the Parade, to be beheld (**uidere**) by Aen., who is actually to be visualised as bearing them? Brutus himself? Or does he already, before rebirth, have his (implicit) lictors? Perhaps a question better neither asked nor answered, though mild disquiet lingers, given that axes, carried with *fascēs*, are mentioned in the next line. For the **f.**, cf. n. on 7.173 (with further bibl.), Oakley on Liv.9.5.13f., Mommsen, *StR.* 1₃, 374, 616, etc.; for *recipere*, cf. 4.656 *poenas inimico a fratre recepi*, 9.458, *EV* 1, 654. And we should compare Brutus at Liv.2.2.6 *non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem reciperatam esse*.

819 consulis imperium Liv.2.7.7 [*fascēs*] *imperii insignia* (with 2.1.8, where vd. Ogilvie’s note), Cic.*Verr.*5.39 and further passages quoted by Oakley, *cit.*; see previous n. for *fascēs* as symbols of consular *imperium*. Note that the first word of this whole development is **consulis**.

hic primus Brutus, thanks to whom *imperium* passed from kings to consuls; vd. further Ogilvie on Liv.2.1.7-2.2.

saeuasque secures Strongly alliterative savage symbols (cf. Cordier, *Allit.*, 84); Lucretian, too (3.996 *qui petere a populo fascēs saeuasque se-*

cures, 5.1234). For *saevus* thus cf. *EV* 4, 644. There is not enough evidence for **securis** here (vd. No.); it seems that V.'s mss. do reflect orthogr. in both **-is** and **-es** in such words. The axe, carried with the rods, conveyed an original power of summary execution (cf. Mommsen, *StR.*1.3, 380, C.Lecrivain, DS 3.2.1239, Greenidge, *Legal procedure*, 337f., Cornell, 165f., Walbank on *Plb.*3.87.7, etc.) later limited by *provocatio*. Their position here is grimly appropriate, given that not only Brutus but Torquatus too will put their sons to death (cf. *Plb.*6.54.5); V. makes sure that the point is not missed by repeating words, and allit., at **824 saeuumque securi**. Note (Lecrivain 1239, Samter, PW 6.2003.9ff.) that this right of summary execution came eventually to be limited in various ways, but the passage from monarchy to republic carried with it no immediate concomitant of a passage to gentler ways. See *Myths, martyrs and modernity. Studies Jan N. Bremmer* (Leiden 2010), 237-47 for some discussion of the monstrous wave of executions under the second triumvirate.

820 accipiet From the *comitia centuriata* (Cornell, 226, etc.), if V. is thinking in such narrowly constitutional terms. This is the conventional language of public life: Hey, *TLL* 1.315.51f., comparing e.g. *Nep.Hann.* 3.3, *Att.*1.1, *Ov.Met.* 15.481, *Liv.*1.3.9, 4.2.4.

natosque pater Juxtaposition at the caesura of nouns here unnaturally opposed; cf. indices to comms. s.v. 'juxtaposition' and Au. quotes 8.383, 10.466 (where vd. Harrison).

noua bella mouentis Cf. *Enn.Ann.*403 (but not a real parallel; vd. Sk.), 12.333, *G.*1.509, *bis*, *Cic.*, *Sall.Cat.*30.3, *Liv.*4.25.7, 8.6.5 *et saep.*, *Hor.C.* 4.1.2, *EV* 3, 608. For **n.** ('unexpected', 'surprising', of sons against their father), cf. 9.693, *EV* 3, 768f.: for the conspiracy against the young republic, in which Brutus' sons took part, vd. *MRR* s.v. 509BC, Cornell, 215f., Ogilvie on *Liv.*2.3-5, Schwegler, 2, 44, Wiseman, *Myths*, 133.

821 ad poenam...uocabit Cf. *Tac.Hist.*1.84; not standard Latin. Livy's account, 2.5.5-8, thoughtful and of high quality, notably the concluding image of the liberator, *inter omne tempus pater uoltusque et os eius spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium*. The words here weighty and alliterative, punishment enclosing freedom. Such an episode inevitably fell into the eager hands of the rhetorical schools: vd. Au., No..

pulchra pro libertate L. the key to Livy's narr. (1.60.3 *liberatam*, 2.1.2 *libertatem*, etc.); cf. 8.648, *EV* 3, 203 (Wiseman), Hellegouarc'h 542-59 at 551. Another, more recent fight for freedom, *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem uindicauit*, is well cited by No. and discussed by Binder, 181f. (note too Gleib, 172, Lefèvre, 103f.). However, the epithet is more elusive: No., *pace EV* 4, 348, does not claim **p.** is used

in the sense of *sancta*. The phrasing is uncommon: cf., apparently, only the sarcastic *Cic.Dom.*108 *ista tua pulchra Libertas deos penatis et familiaris meos lares expulit*; the adj. here and often takes on the lofty ethical tinge that Gk. καλός frequently bears (No. cites *Dem.cor.*, *passim*, for the place of ἐλευθερία within the sphere of τὸ κ.; see now N.Loroux *Invent. of Athens* (Eng.tr.), 215, *et passim*). In Latin, vd. *OLD* s.v., §3a ‘morally beautiful, honourable, noble, etc.’, citing *Enn.Ann.* 563 *cum pulcris animis*, *G.4.218 pulchramque petunt per uulnera mortem*; see too *Aen.*9.401, 11.647, with n. and 2.317 *pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis*, with n.. My own work on the idea of ‘fair death’ in V. and his sources (cf. most recently on 2.317) does rather suggest that No. may well be right to sense a Greek tinge here too; possibly less distinctive than in the case of *pulchra mors*.

822 infelix A familiar (even, sometimes, an overworked) instrument of Virgilian pathos/sympathy, *EV* 2, 487f.; bk.2, index s.v..

utcumque Only here in V., but also *Prop.*2, *Tib.* and *quinquies* in *Hor.C.* (LHS, 635); inevitably commoner in prose but certainly not felt as prosy.

ferent ea facta Under the general heading (*TLL* 6.1.550.16f.) of ‘circumferre, tradere, prodero, memorare, praedicare, iactare’, Hey (550.44f.) compares *Buc.*8.9 and *Aen.*2.158 (where vd. n.). The sense of these (alliterative) words has long been energetically discussed (vd. Norden, Butler, Con., Henry, Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 495). Norden refers to the anc. interpretation of this passage as ‘einig’, but that is not so. TCD paraphrases, giving *ferant* a neutral sense, *qui tractabunt...factum tuum*, while *Macr.*4.6.18 (also cited by Butler) offers no view at all. *Serv.*, on the other hand, writes *etiamsi lauderis a posteris* and *Aug.DCD* 3.16 (in a splendidly intelligent appreciation quoted by No., Au.; cf. S.MacCormack, *Shadows of poetry* (Berkeley 1998), 196f. and see H.Hagendahl, *Aug. and the Lat. classics* 1, 349f. on Aug.’s repeated discussions of the passage, 2, 418f.) *ferant, id est praeferant et extollant*. Usage is not disentangled by Hey, but Heinze on *Lucr.*3.42 shows that the sense of ‘praise’ was current in antiquity, alongside the common (e.g. 7.62, 78) ‘report, relate’. See too Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 495f.. The whole sense of **utcumque...** is limited and weakened if **ferent** is restricted to positive, even laudatory, judgements; Brutus is to be pitied (**infelix**), *however* he be viewed overall. The tremendous *epiphonema* of **823** is likewise far more powerful as a judgement upon Brutus as deeply tragic, *however* people assess him (cf. Kraggerud, 65). The modern punctuation of this passage I do not wish to challenge; it was not reached without a struggle (vd. Norden). Norden offers ample evidence for the popularity of this episode among the declaimers, but does not, fortunately, suggest a declam. source or tone here.

minores Cf. Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.1.559.14f., 1.532, 733, 3.165 (with n.); ‘more recent generations’.

823 uinct For this sort of victory, cf. *Buc.*10.69, *Aen.*11.354 (with dir.obj.). *EV* s.v. unilluminating.

amor patriae Cf. Vollmer, *TLL*.1.1969.52, Tessmer, *ib.*, 10.1.769.66 and my n. on 11.892 for the expression's apparently Ciceronian origins.

laudumque immensa cupido For **i.**, cf. *TLL* 7.1.453.14f. (Labhardt), *EV* 2, 924; for **c.**, cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1422.10 (comparing 5.138 *laudumque arrecta cupido*) and *EV* 1, 961; for **l.**, cf. *EV* 3, 147 (*tacet TLL*). *Tacent Serv.*, TCD. At *DCD* 3.16 (see on *ferent ea facta*), Aug. remarks that V. adds this v. *tamquam ad consolandum infelicem*; later in the same ch., and at *ib.*, 5.18 he returns to the line and in the latter passage comments on the consequences for the Romans of *libertas* and *cupiditas laudis*. Such a profoundly negative view of these three words has had a long run: see e.g. *EV* 1, 961, Feeney, 11, R.D.Williams' n. and *id.*, 1972 (*Studies ...Hunt*), 213 (‘harsh and violent’). La Penna, however, is not convinced (233f.): in defence of higher values as a real justification of Brutus' actions, he remarks acutely that an unresolved tension between **amor patriae** and **l.a.c.** is positively unwelcome; *immensus* is not always used by Virgil in a negative sense of ‘huge, vast, excessively developed’ (he cites e.g. *G.*4.557, *Aen.* 7.377); admirably, he also recalls (237; cf. already Skard, (756-846), 63) *Plb.*6.53 on Roman public ceremonial as an incentive to young men; an inspiration to those who aspire to the εὐκλεία won by brave deeds (6.54.3). Chs. 53-4 dwell movingly and eloquently on *laudumque immensa cupido* as the principal motivation of active Romans. May not V. therefore adduce both love of country *and* (highly laudable) desire for *laudes* (the approval of later generations, saved from the Etruscan threat) as the motives which lead Brutus to the tragic but inevitable punishment of his traitorous sons? His awful dilemma is in no way reduced by this view of the implications of **l.i.c.**. The decisions of Brutus and Torquatus impressed Polyb.; after commenting on the importance of εὐκλεία, he adds ‘facts’ (*ib.*, 8) in confirmation of its impact: some Rom. magistrates have put their own sons to death, παρὰ πᾶν ἔθος ἢ νόμον..., πλείονος ποιούμενοι τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον τῆς κατὰ φύσιν οἰκειότητος towards close kin. The entire issue here present was therefore already formulated by *Plb.*'s sources, and between them and V. we should perhaps now conclude that there was not much change of moral emphasis.

824 quin With imper.: vd. Au.'s good n. on 4.99, after LHS 676; colloqu. (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 192) and apparently brought into high poetry by V..

Decios Drusosque A fine alliterative, generalising pair, who further underscore the importance of the *gens* in Rom. republican history. The

presence of both groups is easily explained and may also shed some unexpected illumination on V.'s literary debts here:

(i) the Decii: three, or, on a more strictly historical view, two members of the *gens* famous for their deaths through the ritual of *devotio* (cf. n. on 11.442, *EV* 2, 37f. and Oakley's full account, n. on Liv.8.8.19-11.1. The second instance occurred at the battle of Sentinum (295; vd. *MRR*, Cornell, 362), against Samnites and Gauls, the first at that same battle of the Vesperis (see 825) at which T.Manlius disobeyed his father's orders. Livy juxtaposes the episodes (whether strictly historical or not), Virgil the motifs, which prompts the suspicion that he had read Livy's recent account.

(ii) the Drusi: V. had already written (*G*.2.169) *Decios Marios magnosque Camillos*. But there is a good deal more than self-quotation here. First, Aug.'s wife Livia was the daughter of M.Livius Drusus Claudianus, adoptive son of the notorious *trib. pleb.* M.Livius Drusus (Münzer, *PW* 13.881.29ff., Syme, *Aug. arist.*, 199); reference to the Drusi a small, not unparalleled, touch of 'court poetry' (so too e.g. the Atii of 5.568 and the Claudii of 7.708f., where vd. n.). The Metaurus a constant in popularised history and the *trib. pleb.* in declamation (No.), but neither association much illuminates V.'s reading and outlook here. The cognomen said to derive from the slaughter of a Gallic chieftain Drausus by a Livius (*Suet. Tib.*3; Münzer, *PW* 13.853.37ff.); the same motif (battle against Gauls) apparent in the legends of the Decii, *supra*, and Torquati, *infra*. On Decii, Drusi, Torquatus, Camillus, vd. Lefèvre, 106f., Basson, 75f., Thomas, *VAR*, 210, von Albrecht (1967), 165, La Penna, 237f., Williams (1972), 213f., Feeney, 11f., West, 290f., Horsfall (1982), 12, 14 and Cavallaro's useful *EV* articles, ss.vv. *Camillo*, *Cosso*, *Deci* (with Bonamente, *ib.*, s.v. *Drusi*).

procul Cf. 808; further away than **iuxta** (815).

saeuumque securi Variation on (and studied echo of) **saeuasque securis** (819); abl. presumably of means ('savaged through/by means of...'). The case of **s.** at 2.616 is not quite clear but I rather prefer to think of Pallas as *Gorgone saeua*, cruel by means of the G..

825 aspice Cf. 771, 788 (as here, in the full, visual sense).

Torquatum For T.Manlius Torquatus Imperiosus, consul for the third time, 340BC, vd. *MRR* and Oakley on Liv.8.7.1-22 (and just as fully on 7.9.6 for single combat in the Rom. tradition), A.Feldherr, *Spectacle and society in Livy's history* (Berkeley 1998), 84f., J.D.Chaplin, *Livy's exemplary history* (Oxford 2000), 108f., 113, and Cornell, 348 (on the issue of hist. fact). At the battle of the Vesperis (vd. Oakley on Liv.8.8.19) against the Samnites, the consul's son Titus disobeyed his father's orders against single combat (8.7.16) and, though victorious, was executed by his father for disobedience (8.7.20f.). Whence the expression *Manliana imperia*

(8.7.22; later proverbial, Otto, 209, Münzer, PW 14.1186.32ff.), *non in praesentia modo horrenda sed exempli etiam tristis in posterum*. For another view of the moral issue, vd. on **823**; Oakley and Broughton list the many discussions in e.g. Cic., *philos.*. The Manlii acquired the *cognomen* Torquatus in 361 when the *trib.mil.* T.Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus stripped the torc of the Gaul he had defeated in single combat (Liv.7.10.11; see Oakley on Liv.7.9.6-10.14); for the motif of single combat, vd. *supra*.

referentem signa Cf. Prop.3.11.67 *ubi signa Camilli* (the book later than the d. of Marcellus, 3.18, and before the Parthian settlement of 20, 3.4; perhaps 22: T.J.Luce, *TAPA* 96 (1965), 228). M.Furius Camillus traditionally recovered the gold of the ransom from the Gauls (Liv.5.50.6), but not a word of *signa*, save in Prop., *cit.* and V. here, except in probably derivative accounts (Serv., TCD, Eutr.1.20.3). Not so much confusion in V. as the likely recasting (cf. *ORVA*, 472f.) of Camillus' successes in the light of an imminent settlement with Parthia and the recovery of Crassus' standards. Vd. further xiv (chronology), on 7.606, and Horsfall (**795**), 33f.; also *EV* 1, 631f., 634 (Cavallaro), *MRR* 1, 95, Cornell, 316-9. Did this representation of C. refer to a familiar iconography (No., after Münzer)? Possibly; one might suspect a visual confusion with the more familiar Romulus bearing the spoils of Acron (vd. Hutchinson on Prop.4.10.5-22, Zanker, *For.Aug.* (Ital.tr.), pl.41; possibly the fresco followed the statue in the For.Aug. Cf. Geiger, 138).

Camillum Vd. previous note; I have wondered whether another association of Camillus might explain his position here (**756-846**, 1982), 12): he was *also* famed for setting up the temple of Concordia in 367 (Wissowa, 328, etc.), which lends ample point to the transition (otherwise not immediately justifiable) from Camillus to Caesar and Pompey. Cf. Hellegouarc'h, 125-7, n. on 7.545 *Discordia* and above all **827 concordes**.

826-35 Julius Caesar and Pompey Anch. offers counsel to his, and Aen.'s, great descendant, on the basis of the poet's knowledge of what will come out of his invasion of Italy in 49. The placing of these ten lines quite out of chronol. sequence is clearly aimed at startling the reader into close attention. The incomplete **835** shows that these vv. were not yet fully integrated into the passage and we may wonder about the transition from V.'s admonition (especially that addressed to Pompey, master of the East, **831**) to the Roman conquest of Greece in the c.2 (**836-40**). Bibliography (see **756-846**): Lefèvre, 107f., Cairns, 95-8, 103, La Penna, 239-43, Glei, 172f., Basson, 76f., von Albrecht (1967), 165-6, (1999), 112, Williams (1972), 214f., P.White, *Phoen.*42 (1988), 349-51 (a sage and cautious discussion of the 'political message'), Pomathios, 143, S.Farron, *Acta class.*23 (1980), 53-68, Cairns, 95-8, Traina, *Poeti latini* 3, 133-7, Feeney, 12, West, 292f., Horsfall (1982), 14 and in particular Barnes (**608-15**), 113-129 (a thought-

ful and almost too detailed account); hard, perhaps, to credit that V. could have written (let alone finished, almost) an entire epic dependent upon such minute considerations as my old and learned friend B. suggests.

826 illae.../ 827 concordēs animae I. presumably deictic. Note the *animae* of **758, 817**, Negri Rosio, 47f. *Concordia* used often of the settlement between Caesar and Pompey (Hellegouarc'h, 126, with n.5; vd. *ib.*, 134 on *discordia*, Woodman on Vell.2.76.3 for Octavian and Antony and above all Weinstock, 260-6) and its absence a key element in V.'s characterisation of the war in Latium as a civil war (n. on 7.545; cf. too Clausen on *Buc.*1.71, Woodman on Vell.2.47.2, 48.5).

autem S.v. 'orationes continuat et sententias conectit', Münscher, *TLL* 2.1588.34f., at 1590.9, *OLD* s.v., § 3a.

paribus...in armis Cf. Bickel, *TLL* 2.592.38, comparing *Rhet.Her.*4.44 *in armis splendor*. The adj. is of marked importance: comms. cite *G.*1.489 *paribus concurrere telis*, *Luc.*1.7, and vd. Baer, *TLL* 10.1.268.9. Contrast above all 8.723 of Antony's contemptible eastern allies, *quam uariae linguis, habitu tam uestis et armis*: foreigners differ in dress, whereas in a civil war the two sides are not to be distinguished: vd. my discussion, *RFil.*117 (1989), 57-61. Barnes points also (116f.) to the parity in dignity of Caes. and Pomp. and to the fact that both Hector and Ajax have *already* proved themselves as warriors (*Il.*7.281).

quas fulgere cernis Aen. sees Caes. and Pompey accoutred indistinguishably; cf. Smith, 87. For **c.**, cf. n. on 11.703. **F.** (and cognates) a stock vb. of weapons (cf. **861**); the prosody (as of 3rd.conj.; short e) convenient and archaic, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1507.65ff. and the ample survey of similar cases, Leumann, 544; for the raw material, NW 3, 263-79 at 268f..

827 nunc et dum Apparently unparalleled; perhaps an elevated epic alternative to the common *nunc dum* of daily speech (*Plaut.Curc.*242, *Most.*20, etc.).

nocte premuntur **MP**₂**γ**, the remaining Carolingian mss., Serv., TCD; **prementur** **PR**, nine Carolingian mss. (listed by Conte). The present supported by the *regit* of *Aen.*4.336, by *Buc.*2.12, 8.19, 32; the fut. by *Buc.*5.76f., 7.63, 10.7. Needless to sort further material; no relevant grammatical 'rule' (see e.g. A.Traina, T.Bertotti, *Sintassi normativa* (Bologna 2003), 421f.). Is it more important to continue the sense of **nunc** or to offer a contrast? With mss. so divided, the support of the indir. trad. may just tip the balance. With **prementur**, cf. *Hor.C.*1.4.16 *iam te premet nox fabulaeque manes* (with NH). This is not the darkness of death (n. on **866**; cf. 10.746); rather, the 'darkness' of the underworld at large: *G.*4.497 *feror ingenti circumdata nocte* (both death and Hades, surely), *Aen.* **6.390, 462 noctemque profundam**, *OLD* s.v., §5b, Catrein 123, 125; *EV* 3, 770ff.

particularly weak. Of course Elysium (**641f.**) had been particularly bright, but that is not true of the Underworld as a whole. Barnes (116) draws attention to the importance of night in the battle between Hector and Ajax (*Il.*7.282, 291-3).

828 heu Cf. n. on 7.293.

quantum.../ 829 quantas Cf. **692f.**, *Buc.*5.16f., *Aen.*11.57f. (with n.), 12.701.

inter se Cf. Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.2141.11; compare *Cic.Inv.*2.69 *inter se bellum gessissent*, *Lucr.*5.1245, *Caes, Gall.*7.39.2, *Sall.or.Lep.*19, etc..

bellum.../ 829 ...ciebunt Common language, Scarsi, *EV* 1, 781, Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.1055.57f., comparing *Lucr.*2.41, 324, *Aen.* 1.541, 5.585, 9.766, 12.158, *Liv.*1.12.2. *Lucr.*, *bis +Aen.+Liv.*1 does rather suggest an Ennian expression.

si.../ 829 attigerint 'Flat and prosy', n. on 7.662. Cf. *EV* 5*, 30, Bickel, *TLL* 2.1145.50.

lumina uitae Cf. *Enn.Ann.*109 *tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras, 137 postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit* (with Sk. there, amply, on the archaic Lat. material; vd. also on 109), *Lucr.* 3.849, 1042 (where vd. Munro); in studied opposition to **827 nocte** (see Lattimore, 161-4, Pease on 4.452). 'To leave the light of the sun' metaph. for 'death' in *Hom.*, *Hes.* (e.g. *Il.*18.11, *Erga* 155; for Plato, vd. Sk. on *Enn.Ann.*109).

829 acies stragemque Coupled only here in class. Latin; for the tragic (*Acc.*399) and Lucretian (1.280, 288) s., cf. n. on 11.384, Cordier, 160. **A.** in the sense of 'battle', Kempf, *TLL* 1.409.50, comparing *Liv.* 9.5.10, 22.7.3 etc. (common, indeed, in *Liv.*). Malavolta, *EV* s.v., notably unhelpful.

830 aggeribus...Alpinis Possibly heard as a reminiscence of old Cato: vd. *Serv.* on 10.13 *Alpes...quae secundum Catonem*[fr.85P] *et Liuium* [21.35.8 after *Plb.*3.54.2, where vd. Walbank's n.] **muri uice tuebantur Italiam.** Beck-Walter and Chassignet on Cato, *Orig.*4.10 also cite *Cic.Pis.*81 (where vd. Nisbet for further refs.). The image turns out to be common enough, but its origins were clearly Catonian and may have been generally perceived as such; perhaps we should even recoil at the idea that Italy's ramparts shall now not protect her but rather unleash war upon her. The adj. form *Alpinus* turns out to have a distinguished poet. history: vd. *Cinna* fr.13, *Valgius* fr.3.2Courtney, *Buc.*10.47. History, and geography, here fix Caesar firmly in the reader's mind as the general from Gaul. For Homeric associations, cf. Barnes, 117.

socer For mythol. refs. (notably Latinus and Aeneas) to the relationship of Caesar and Pompey in *Aen.*, as also for contemporary references,

cf. n. on 7.317; the matrimonial facts are generally familiar and the pursuit of a Catullan allusion (cf. Wigodsky, 126) seems superfluous.

atque arce Monoeci For the gen. (as against adj., or noun in the same case), cf. 7.696 *hi Soractis habent arces* with my n., LHS, 63, KS, 1, 419. For Monoecus/ Monaco, Bunbury, in Smith, *Dict. Gr. Rom. Geogr.*, 2, 369 is typically informative. This is further geogr. of the eye and mind, not of the map. In Nov.50, Caesar moved swiftly from the German frontier to Ravenna, without an army (Rice Holmes, *Rom. repub.* 2, 253, M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (Wiesbaden 1960), 168). The dramatic swoop upon Italy that we are offered here is perhaps coloured by dreams (allusions, they are now called) of Hannibal (cf. Barnes, 124f., citing C. Connors, *Petr. the poet* (Cambridge 1998), 130) and even Hercules (Barnes, 123, Gruppe, *PW Suppl.* 3. 997.2ff., Robert 2.2, 473), whose travels have lately been in V.'s mind (801-3), and it would be ungenerous to protest that the poet should have known better than to try to send Caesar along the still essentially roadless (Gardthausen, *Augustus*, 1.2, 717ff.) and highly defensible coastal route past Monaco (G. Radke, *Viae publicae romanae* (Ital. trad., Bologna 1971), 370). It has been suggested (Basson, 77, von Albrecht (1967), 166) that Caes. and Pomp. are here *also* presented as conquerors of W. and E. (associated, that is, with others in the PH responsible for the extending of the *imperium*): unpersuasively, for they stand here on the brink of destroying that *imperium*, by means of an internal conflict between its forces in E. and W..

831 descendens Cf. 7.675 *descendant*, again an initial molossus; here too a clear sense of menace.

gener See **830 socer**.

aduersis...Eois E. as noun, dwellers in the E. (cf. *OLD* s.v. *Eous*, §2b), perhaps first thus here; a. as adj., 'opposed', Kempf, *TLL* 1.864.68, *OLD* s.v., §1. Both the civil war and Actium (8.686-7) presented as conflicts not of Europe and Asia, but rather of W. and E. (cf. n. on 7.224); the analogy is present but not underlined. Here, comparison with Trojans, Xerxes, Darius, etc. hangs on a single word: a slender detail, but not one in Pompey's favour. Note **aduersis PR**; **auersis M** (**aduersis** Asterius). See G. Ammannati, *MD* 59 (2008), 190.

instructus Very occasionally used as here of the general, not the army or part thereof: cf. *OLD* s.v., §5b, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.1.2016.76ff., Cic. *Phil.* 3.1, 5.6, Liv. 1.51.5, 10.34.5 (where vd. Oakley), possibly to be understood as an unobtrusive hypallage (cf. *SCI* 18 (1999), 47f.).

832 ne...ne.../ 833 neu Cf. *G.* 4.47f., *Aen.* 12.72, Wills, 120, Hand, 4, 175, Traina, *Poeti latini* 3, 133-7.

pueri Cf. Dickey, 353 (and cf. 195): ‘can be addressed to a group of adult men by their leader’, comparing 5.349. Cf. too *EV* 4, 342 and note Idaeus to Hector and Telamonian Ajax, *Il.*7.279 μηκέτι πᾶϊδε φίλω, πολεμίζετε μηδὲ μάχεσθον, with A. Traina's remarks, *Poeti latini*, 3, 133.

tanta animis adsuescite bella Normally you would habituate your spirit to war, as you would habituate your hands to the spade/axe/oar/weapon; cf. *Hor.Serm.* 2.2.108f. *hic qui pluribus assuerit mentem corpusque superbum* and *Aen.*7.806 *femineas adsueta manus*, with R. Thomas, *Vergilius* 38 (1992), 137, E. Courtney, *CJ* 99 (2004), 429f.; at *Hor.Serm.* 1.4.105 *insuevit pater optimus hoc me, hoc* just might be acc., though abl. is again likelier. Here there is a typical inversion (hypallage; cf. Con., Butler, Bell, 322, Horsfall, *SCI* 18 (1999), 48), whereby, arrestingly and paradoxically, the *pueri* are invited to habituate their wars to the spirits, sc. of the Roman people (Barnes, 114 (*bene*); over and above, that is, their own spirits, as commanders who should know better): cf. Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 197, Conte, *Virgilio*, ch.1 (this v. ignored), Görler's various illuminating expositions (*Vergilius* Suppl.2 (1982), 62-5, *EV* 2, 277, *Wü.Jhb.* 8 (1982), 78-81) and my indices, s.v. hypallage. Cf. *TLL* 2.909.25f. and 907.57ff. (von Mess); Arusianus' discussion, *Gramm.Lat.* 7.452.5, is not illuminating. A. classified by Negri Rosio (122) s.v. *a.* as seat of the emotions, and in particular, of emotions of aversion, hostility and discord, along with 10.7 *animis certatis iniquis?*.

833 patriae...in uiscera Cf. *Cic.Cat.*1.31 *in uenis atque in uisceribus rei publicae*. *Liv.*32.21.18, 33.44.8, 34.48.6, *OLD* s.v., §2b (*bene*; the metaphor has a wide range of uses); add *Pis.*28.8 *ex rei publicae uisceribus*, *Phil.*1.36 *et in medullis populi Romani ac uisceribus haerebant*, 14.25 [sc. *Antoni crudelitatem*] *non solum a iugulis nostris sed etiam a membris et uisceribus auertit*. Here the metaphor perhaps not distinctively Ciceronian; rather, familiar from the language of public life.

ualidas...uertite uiris V. employs an exceptional intense accumulation of allit. (Cordier, *Allit.*, 33; cf. *Enn.trag.*254Joc.), distinctively and significantly reminiscent of the Saturnian (n. on 844). Old, majestic and familiar: cf. *Enn.Ann.* 298 *uiru uaria ualidis uiribus luctant*, *Lucr.* 1.287 *ualidis cum uiribus*, 576, 971, 3.451, 494, 5.314, 379, 886, 1098, 1217, 1270, 6.342, *Cic.Arat.*67, 195 and *Aen.*2.50 (with my skimpy n.), 5.500. See Cordier, *cit.*, 85, 87, n.2, Vinchesi, *EV* 5*, 421. Note the *uertere morsus* of 7.112 (where vd. n.), *OLD* s.v. *uerto*, §13a.

834 tuque...tu Intensive interwoven allit. of t and p; familiar pronominal anaphora (Wills 84), suggestive even of *Gebetstil* (Barnes, 125; cf. n. on 7.389); cf. also e.g. 1.78, 7.41. From the joint appeal of 832f., V. passes

here to Anch.'s appeal to Caes. alone and will be careful to explain why Caes. bears the greater responsibility (cf. Barnes, *cit.*).

prior Cf. Caes.*Gall.*4.7.3 *Germanos neque priores populo Romano bellum inferre.*

parce Korteweg, *TLL* 10.1.338.75f., comparing 12.693. Is Serv. right to think of Caesarian *clementia*? The association surfaces in many later discussions, but clemency is displayed normally *after* a war, and here we are concentrated upon a phase even prior to its outset (rightly, Farron, 53f., Barnes, 118f.); at 12.693 (cf. Korteweg, rightly) the sense is clearly that of 'lay aside'. Clemency is both Pompeian (Dowling, 182) and Caesarian, both Caesarian and Augustan: Weinstock, 241-3, M.B.Dowling, *Clemency and cruelty...* (Ann Arbor 2006), 20-6 *et passim* (on the Aug. literary evidence, not a sure hand), D.Konstan, *Pity transformed* (London 2001), 97-9. For Augustan *clementia* (*Mon.Anc.*3.1 *peperci*), vd. Dowling, 59-71 *et passim*, A.Wallace-Hadrill, *Hist.*30 (1981), 298-323, Galinsky, *Aug. culture*, 82-5. It is hard to exclude *clementia* entirely from our thoughts at **parce**, but the situation V. conjures up is not one for the classical exercise of clemency; no powerful and necessary link therefore with **853 parcere subjectis**. With no arms, and no war, there will be no room for the exercise of clemency, either; Domitius' surrender of Corfinium (Rice Holmes, *Rom.rep.* 3, 17-22, Barnes, 119) and Caesar's programmatic generosity fall after the outset of war, and do not involve Pompey.

genus qui ducis Olympo Parallel to **sanguis meus** in the next v.. Cf. 5.801 *unde genus ducis*, *trag.inc.*124 *ducat genus*; unsurprisingly, lofty and archaic phrasing. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2153.40f. and *id., ib.*, 6.1.1886.40f.. **O.**: Venus, naturally.

835 proice tela manu Cf. Montuschi, *TLL* 10.2.1797.7ff. at 11f., Caes.*Gall.*7.40.6 *Haedui manus tendere et deditionem significare et proiectis armis mortem deprecari incipiunt*, *Civ.*3.98.2 *in planitiem descendere atque arma proicere iussit*. Petr.122 v.143 *Gallica proiecit, ciuilia sustulit arma*, *Aen.*9.577, Liv. 22.48.3. Standard Latin (in both Caes. and V.; not, *pace* Paratore, a distinctively Caesarian word) for casting away weapons and the like. The nouns little flat neutral words, the minimum necessary to complete the sense; nothing must distract us from the command, and the majestic apostrophe. The Hom. associations suggested at Barnes, 127 are not immediately and necessarily convincing.

sanguis meus In address (a lofty, poetic tone), cf. Hor.*Ars* 292 *Pompilius sanguis* (where vd. Brink), and Enn.*Ann.*108 *o sanguen dis oriundum*. Cf. Dickey, 295, 357. *EV* quite bloodless. For *meus*, cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.914.75f., Löfstedt, *Synt.* 1₂, 99f., Hor.*CS* 50, *clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis* (vd. Barnes, 129), Aug.*Ep.* fr.xxiiMalc. *ae, mi Gai, meus asellus iucundissimus*, and comic *meus oculus/ocellus*. *Meus* 'to relatives...usually

to express affection' (Dickey, 341; cf. also LHS, 25, J.Svennung, *Anredeformen* (Lund 1958), 269f. for the apposition); Bulhart's instances suggest that a stronger, warmer definition than Dickey's might be appropriate. Caesar, just *because* a descendant of Venus and Anch., of whom a higher standard of behaviour might therefore be expected, is invited to lay down his weapons first. For this lofty view of genealogical protreptic, compare perhaps Apollo's words to Iulus, 9.641-4, with 3.342-3 and cf. *Prudentia* 8 (1976), 84, *Companion*, 145; the Homeric antecedents adduced by Barnes (115, 127) hardly have the weight to make their presence felt alongside the powerful Roman, genealogical, Julian argument. A clear enough case of a hemistich where V. discovered he did not have quite enough material to fill the line (and did not want to weaken the passage by filling out for a line and a bit). Rather than offer some weak padding (no real difficulty here; one might easily improve upon the *esse memento* of Hamburgensis prior - c.13, vd. Ribbeck, *Prol.*, 358f., Götte, 780f., Sparrow, 47), V. had left the passage unfinished. Vd. Günther, 42f. (speculative; see, though, Barnes, 117f.), Sparrow, 44; *tacet* Berres. Mynors overpunctuates (both dash and exclam.).

836-46 Lines aflame with the energy of Rome's expansion in the middle republic (hardly 'late', Basson, 77f.), rich in allit. (triple, in the Saturnian manner, **844**; allit. couples of words, e.g. **843**, **846**) and rhyme, **843**, **844**. V. aims perhaps at the flavour of early hexams. (and closes of course with his most celebrated Ennian borrowing); we shall see that this context is essential for a correct understanding of **excurrent alii...**; cf. Binder on **836**. Chronological sequence disordered almost systematically: note in particular Caesar and Pompey, Cossus and the Fabii (noted particularly in the early republic; Pomathios). Verses also where we see most clearly the impact on V. of Varro's *Imagines*: vd. the paraphrase, *Symm.Ep.*1.4, Horsfall 1980 and (**756-846**), (**7**)(a)(iii). Present are almost too many historical motifs, hard to arrange by priority, tempting to identify to excess: Rome will eventually conquer both Greece (vengeance for Troy) and Carthage (cf. (**756-846**), (**3**)(d), **840**; vd. O'Hara, *DOP*, 101, W.V.Harris, *Restraining rage* (Cambridge, Mass. 2001), 211-3 *et passim*). In the PH, these sets of victories will stand alongside those over the Gauls; note also the third winner (Cossus) of the *spolia opima*. Compare the triumph over the Achaeans; one might wish to compare that over Antony on the Shield; not to mention *Africa terra triumphis/ diues*. V. also bows here to the theme of the great farmer-generals, called to service from the plough, and central to the myths of heroic origins. Lastly we cannot miss the importance of descent, within *gens* or nation, crucial both to the inheritance of virtues and to the imperative of vengeance. Bibliography: Gleii, 158, 173, Pomathios, 140, Basson, 76-83, Williams, 215f., Horsfall (1980), 21 and (1982), 14f., Feeney, 12-

14, von Albrecht (1999), 112f. and (1967), 167-9, La Penna 246f., Loretto 45-6, West, 291.

836 ille.../ 837 uictor Deictic (cf. **760**, **808**) and anonymous (cf. Numa, Caesar and Pompey); scarcely even riddling to the 'educated Roman reader': **837 insignis** may suggest some form of visual clue. The noun common (**804**, **856...**).

triumphata...Corintho Cf. *G.3.33 bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentis*, Hor.C.3.3.43f. *triumphatis.../...Medis* (with NR; thin); the common passivisation of the ppp of an intrans. verb (vd. **793 regnata**, n. on 7.435, full n. on 3.125, LHS, 32, Görler, *EV* 2, 264f., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 65). L.Mummius destroyed Corinth in 146 and triumphed the next year (*MRR*). See Gruen, *Hellenistic world*, 1, 265f., Harris, *War and imperialism*, 243f., Astin, *Scip.Aem.*, 98f., J.L.Ferrary in C.Nicolet, *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen* 2 (Paris 1978), 770.

Capitolia ad alta Reisch, *TLL* Onom.2.164.44. First here, apparently; cf. *ib.*, 159. 67f. for the metr. convenience of the plur. form (with E. Bednara, *TLL* 14 (1906), 542). Cf. M. Beard, *The Roman triumph* (Cambridge, Mass. 2007), 91-105 for Jup.'s temple on the Capitol as the end-point of the triumphal route. The synaloepha at 4tr. singular (cf. 2.550, 7.113, 347, 10.459, etc., No. here and at p.455; *male*, Paratore).

837 aget currum Cf. Varr.*RR* 1.16.6, Hor.C.1.34.8, Hey, *TLL* 1.1373.81 (also *inscrr.*, *ILS* 6085.57; clearly standard Lat. usage), Wulff, *ib.*, 4.1523.78. with *agitare*, cf. *G.1.273*, 3.18, 181, *Aen.2.476*, 11.770; *EV* unilluminating.

caesis...Achiuis For the vb., cf. nn. on 7.574, 2.116. To earlier bibliography, add C.Weber, 'The diction for death in Latin epic', *Agon* 3 (1969), 45-68 (valuable statistics). A.: cf. nn. on 2.462 and 11.266; now, though, it is the Achaeans of the Achaean league who will be slain (Gruen, *cit.*, 2, 522). Mummius will bear the *agnomen* Achaicus.

insignis Cf. **808 ramis insignis oliuae**, **855 insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis** (where vd. n.); if Numa and Marcellus are to be imagined as distinguished visually, then Mummius must be too, evidently enough by some or all the *insignia* of the *triumphator*, Beard, 225-30, W.Ehlers, *PW* 13A.504.62ff..

838 eruet...Argos A favourite, powerful verb, nn. on 11.279, 2.5; of the Greek destruction of Troy, vd. also 2.612, 628. Argos (for the form of the acc.plur., vd. NW 1, 715, Diehl, *TLL* 2.532.15; unlikely that a Roman ever wondered from just what form of the nom. this perfectly correct acc. derived) and (even more so) Mycenae are of no importance by 146 BC: they fall under Rom. rule but are not destroyed by Mummius' army (Strab.8.6.18; vd. on **836**). Here once more (cf. **815**; cf. *Alambicco*, 86f.)

V. toys with historical fact. Cf. n. on 7.413 for the poet. motif of the decay of the once-great cities of Greece and, for Roman vengeance, *EV* 5*356, but specially A.J.Gossage, *GR* 2 (1955), 75ff. *AP* 7.297, closely comparable to V. here in its handling of the vengeance-motif, is attributed by GP, *HE* 2, p.480 to Polystratus, a contemporary of Antipater's; later, cf. Antonius, *AP* 9.102 = GP, *GP*, 3584-7, not forgetting Antip.Thess., *AP* 9.408 = GP, *GP* 711-6 (analogous rather than strictly comparable). In *Aen.*, cf. 1.284f.: the house of Assaracus shall rule over Pthia (home of Achilles), Argos and Mycenae. We have no adequate study of vengeance in *Aen.*; Renger on *Aen.* and Tu. is juridical not poetic. Vd. on 2.95.

ille Comprehensive Trojan vengeance far more important than tedious historical detail. **836 ille** and **838 ille** *could* refer to different individuals (and are usually so taken), but the absence of names makes that distinction unnecessarily difficult; contrast **789**, **792**, despite the apparently comparable repetition of the pronoun an entirely different case, because the names are present. For the present, of course, it has to be Mummius (here, at least) that *also* destroys Argos and Mycenae. In symbolic terms (the Roman legions finally break old Greece), V. is perfectly correct. Vd. further *infra*: this fusion spares V. the insertion of yet another major name, and the absence (hardly accidental) of any hero-names hereabouts makes the fusion easier in the eyes of readers who may not remember precisely the military geography of the areas in question.

Agamemnoniasque Mycenae Cf. nn. on 3.54 and 7.723 for the vast, lofty adjectival form (in Pind., Aesch., Eur.). Note also discussion of V.'s toponymy of the Argolid at 7.372 *Mycenae*; the cities similarly paired at Hor.C.1.7.9. Vengeance shall of course encompass the Greek commander's capital. The conventional reading here (so e.g. Au.) - and one not entirely convincing - is that Argos and Mycenae stand for Greece as a whole and refer here to the third Macedonian war: V. refers rather to two distinct wars, 168 and 146, to the destruction of Macedon (Epirus too, subsequently: Walbank on Plb.30.15) and to the later sack of Corinth. To the Macedonian campaign of 168, the distant Peloponnese is quite irrelevant (C.Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique* 1 (Paris 1978), 164ff.), whereas in 146 Argos and Mycenae, close to Corinth, might have suffered, but in the event did not. Mummius and Aemilius Paullus seem to be fused (*pace* Basson, 79, Horsfall (1982), 14, West, 291); more precisely, Mummius is initially suggested, and into the figure of Mummius Aem.Paull. is subsumed, but nothing quite convinces me that V. also blends Argos and Macedon.

839 ipsumque Aeaciden Finally we reach Perseus, king of Macedon, descendant of Aeacus, through both Achilles (and, far worse, Pyrrhus/Neoptolemus), as also through Pyrrhus, k. of Epirus. For **A.**, used of Pyrrhus at 3.296, vd. n. there. See 3.294-505 (a) and Erskine, *Troy*, 159f.,

Lane Fox, *Alexander* (London 1975), 60-7, and Tarn, *Alexander*, 2, 52f. for the general policies of the Molossian and Macedonian royal houses. Serv. here and Hyg.fr9Fun. think the reference is to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; clearly the language could refer to him (at the cost of confused chronology, for which Hyg. reproves V.), but the allusive context, both historical and geographical, excludes both Epirus and a palpably earlier generation of warfare.

genus Cf. n. on 792.

armipotentis Achilli The gen. A. standard, n. on 3.87. The adj. authentically archaic, n. on 2.425.

840 ultus see on **838 eruet...Argos**.

auos Troiae Less weighty than *Troianos*, which would have been the normal way of putting it: Ihm, *TLL* 2.1611.79ff., citing e.g. Prop.4.11.30 *Numantinos*, Ov.F.4.40 *Teucros*, Sil.3.708 *Sidonios*. Ladewig compares 4.35f. *mariti...Libyae* but there loc. (vd. Au.) is surely likelier than the rather rare gen. 'of origin' (cf. Antoine, 82, KS 1, 414f.).

templa et temerata Mineruae For anastrophe of connective, cf. n. on 7.761. The allit. partic. perhaps an old word, by chance not previously attested (Norden here, my n. on 11.584 *intemerata*); compare Liv.26.13.13 *arae foci deum delubra sepulcra maiorum temerata ac uiolata*. For the common use of plur. of a single temple, cf. on 2.115. The theft of the Palladion (n. on 2.165f.) and the rape of Cassandra by Ajax in Minerva's temple no-one has forgotten; cf. n. on 2.403 (and on 2.502 for ideas about sanctuary). The outrage is multiple, the call for vengeance imperative on many grounds. Compare Hannibal as *ultor* of Dido, 4.625; this is an old pattern of mythol. explanation of hist. events: cf. Hdt.1.2, 4, etc. D. Boedecker in *Brill Comp. Hdt.*, 114f. (with further instances and recent bibl.).

841 quis te...tacitum aut te...relinquat? A complex, allit., structure; no precise analogies. **Tacitum** used in a fully passive sense; exemplary discussion, Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 8: cf. Ter.*Hec*.387f. *uti/ aduorsa eiu' per te tecta tacitaque apud omnis sient*, Cic.*Fam*.3.8.2 *sed prima duo capita epistulae tuae tacita mihi quodam modo relinquenda sunt*, *OLD* s.v., §4a. Unnecessary, though not unvirgilian to suggest hypallage for *tacitus*, *SCI* 18 (1999), 48. **Relinquat** close to some of the familiar formulae of *praeteritio*: cf. *G*.2.102 *transierim*, Liv.6.12.3 *quod cum ab antiquis tacitum praetermissum sit*, Ov.*Ib*.91, *OLD* s.v., §13b. Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 180-4 offers detailed (but not fully persuasive) stylistic remarks on **841-53**.

magne Cato Bulhart *TLL* 8.135.7ff. strangely unhelpful (likewise *EV* 3, 320); **m.** of individuals not uncommon: cf. *G*.4.560 (Augustus; cf. *G*.2.170 *maxime Caesar*, Cat.11.10, Hor.*C*.1.12.50f. with NH); standard-

ised of Pompey, *OLD* s.v., §7a (also Alexander, Antiochus); also Hor.*Serm.*1.10.52 of Homer. But not clearly odd, or distinctive, of Cato. L.J.D.Richardson's arguments for the Ennian origins of these vv. (*CQ* 36 (1942), 40-2) are full of curious erudition but have lost much of their ability to convince, Wigodsky, 72, n.362. The elder or the younger Cato, if the question should ever have been raised (it was, Feeney, 13)? V.'s phrasing covers comfortably either or both (might **Magne** suggest *Maior*?), though the chronology points the mildly attentive reader primarily towards the elder. Compare NH on Hor.*C.*1.12.35 (the younger Cato in another gallery of Rom. heroes, just earlier than *Aen.*6).

Cosse The recurrent motif of *spolia opima* here first present to the attentive reader (cf. n. on **855**): A.Cluentius Cossus (? *trib.mil.*, or *mag.eq.*, or *trib.cons.*) killed the Veientine Lars Tolumnius, perhaps in 426: see *MRR*, 1, pp.59, 65, Cornell, 311, Ogilvie on Liv.4.20.5-11, Prop.4.10.23f., West, 291. As we shall see (p.590), not an antiquarian curiosity but a question of sharp contemporary interest (**856**).

842 quis Repet. of pron. elevates and connects, as often (cf. **quid**, **122f.**), Wills, 86.

Gracchi genus Exceptional allit. of **g** (the only case of such triple allit. of the letter in V.), with further assonance between **genus** and **geminus**. For **genus** thus, in the sense of 'house', cf. *EV* 2, 658, Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1891.10ff., citing 5.45, **6.580**, **648**, etc.. Tib. and C. Gracchus, their great father, cos. 177, 163, censor 169 (one hardly dares add here their illustrious *mother*, daughter of the older Africanus, Feeney, 13), the Tib. Sempronius Gracchus cos. 215, 213, thus introducing obliquely the theme of victory against the Carthaginians as well as against the Gauls. The phrasing generously embraces the entire family (Basson, 80f.; the *gens* generally recognised as a strong motif of the entire Parade, p.512) and we are not in any way invited (*pace* Feeney, 5, etc.) to try to answer the 'riddle' of 'which?'.

aut geminos.../ 843 Scipiadas So 2.415, 500 of the Atridae; here, cf. Sil.13.382, Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1742.35f.. The dense reference is to the Scipiones Africani, Maior and Minor: to suggest (Feeney) that the brothers Scipio, uncle and father to Scip.Afr.Mai., and consuls in 222 and 218 (see Münzer's family tree, PW 4.1430) are (*also*) meant is not helpful; there was nothing seriously thunderbolt-like (despite Cic. *Balb.*34 *duo fulmina nostri imperi...in Hispania*, word-play rather than the rewriting of history), *cognomen* apart, about them (*pace* Serv.; cf. rather Lazenby (**855**), 215-20 for their campaigns in Spain and *ib.*, 53 for the skirmish at the Ticinus), nor, as Feeney allows, were they **cladem Libyae**, in contrast to the 'great' Scipiones, who were *gemini* not as brothers (a word used ingeniously of the 'Spanish' Scipiones by Sil., 15.3, 16.87), but on account of the shared

cognomen. Both pairs of Scipiones perhaps? Such a reference cannot be imposed, or excluded, but it does not much attract me. The threads of the complex allusion have been intensively discussed: see, for a start, O'Hara, *TN*, 180f., Richardson, 40f., Feeney, 13f., West, 291, Cassola, *EV* 4, 729f., Skutsch, *Stud.Enn.*, 145-50, S.Timpanaro, *Nuovi contributi* (Bologna 1994), 186. First, the form *-adae*, both Lucretian (3.1034; vd. Kenney and *EV* 3, 1031) and Virgilian, *G.2.170*. The form 'hybrid' (Kenney), but evidently preferable in dactyl. verse to 'Scipiones' (cf. Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 580 and compare Lucr. *Memmiadae* for *Memmio*: No.'s n. admirable) and surely carrying a definite heroic, epic flavour (cf. the ample material, NW 1, 35, 62, Holzweissig, 981f.). The case for Ennius having used *Scipiadae* is stronger than Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.15* (contrast *id.*, *Stud.Enn.*, 150) allows: see Timpanaro, 186, after No.. Behind the name, other words were heard at Rome (and indeed clearly are here; as so often, one etym. reference is supported by others in the vicinity; so here, cf. **843, cladem Libyae, 844 Serrane, serentem**): compare κρηπτός, 'thunderbolt' (the sense also of Punic 'Barkas', the royal house of Carthage; vd. O'Hara and known to Sil.15.664), here inserted in the typical Virgilian gloss **fulmina**, explanatory of the missing term (O'Hara, 72f.); the 'thunderbolt' explanation is well-known to the poets and the comparison is also Homeric, *Il.13.242* (cf. too Antip.Sid., GP, *HE*, 484): see Lucr.3.1034 *Scipiadās, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror*, Cic.*Balb.34*, Ov.*Am.2.1.20*, Sil.7.106 *fulmina*, C.Thulin, *ALL* 14 (1906), 511f.; behind this notable accumulation of instances, an Ennian origin is likely to lie. Not impeded by the fancied bonds between Jup. and Scip.Afr.Mai., Liv. 26.19. 3ff., Latte, 266. But 'Scipio' was also thought to derive, in Latin, from *s.* in the sense of 'staff' (Gk. κρηπτρον), Macr.*Sat.1.6.26*, Isid.*Etym.18.2.5*, with etym. story of a blind Scipio leaning on his son as though a staff; consequently, it has been suggested that in some of the refs. (particularly Cic.*Balb.*) to Scipiones as *fulmina* what is really meant is a further etym., *fulmenta*, props (so Skutsch, *cit.*, 149, Au. here); discussion of the evidence for this sense goes back a long way (Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1525.29ff.) and we have learned not to dismiss this sort of ambiguity as too 'modern'. Certainly 'prop' or 'stay' is not necessarily implicit (or necessarily excluded) here. And perhaps we are meant to think of the Scipiones with e.g. lightning-devices (or indeed staffs) on their shields. *EV s.v. fulmen* (Zaffagno) notably weak and uninformed.

duo fulmina belli Skutsch draws attention (*cit.*, 148) to the use of κεραινώδης as a *Beiname* for Greek military men: cf. Plut.*Arist.6.2*, DChrys.*orat.64.22*, and add Rubenbauer, 1528.7ff.; so at Rome, cf. M.G. Mosci Sassi, *Sermo castrensis* (Bologna 1983), 53-61, but the Rom. soldier was less respectful, and would have been irreverently entertained by the

ambiguity (if it actually exists) between thunderbolt and walking-stick (cf. McKeown on *Ov.Am.*1.6.16, 2.1.19f.). For the parenthetic apposition (so e.g. *Buc.*1.57, but apparently only here in its full form in *Aen.*) cf. LHS, 409, J.Solodow, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 129ff. and Clausen on *Buc.*, *cit.*.

843 cladem Libyae Quite possibly (O'Hara, 180) a ref. to the *agnomen* Africanus but also far more manageable than *Africae*. See Wulff, *TLL* 3.1243.72, citing Val.Max.3. 2ext.5, 4.4.6.

paruoque potentem Cf. 9.607 *paruoque adsueta iuuentus* (with my remarks, *ORVA*, 309. See *TLL* 10.1.560.32 and 10.2.278.30 (Kuhlmann, *bis*). Old Rom. virtues and philosophical precept point, as has often been noted, in the same direction (see e.g. Edwards (810), 20-4). Note the Horatian *uiuere paruo*, *Serm.*2.2.1, *C.2.*16.13 (with NH), Vischer (811), 151. Successive lines end with partic. in *-entem*: cf. n. on [2.568].

844 Fabricium C.Fabricius Luscinus, cos. 282, 278, prominent in the war against Pyrrhus (king of Epirus, another descendant of Achilles, as Plut. stresses, though the point is not made here; cf. Prop.4.11.39), of lofty virtues, *Sen.Ep.*98.13, H.W. Litchfield, *HSCP* 25 (1914), 6. In the canon of *exempla* already for Cic., *Sest.* 143, *Cael.*39, *Pis.*58, *Off.*3.86 (where vd. Dyck), etc.; also in the canon of public statues, *Plin.Nat.*34.32, and even more significant, among the Rom. heroes for Hor., *C.1.*12.40 (where vd. NH). For Otto, 129 proverbial. Further detail, *EV* 2, 453f.

uel te The solemnity of these ancient heroes enlivened by the variation introduced by apostrophe; cf. n. on 7.734. Au. notes the triple allit. in the second half of the v., suggestive of Saturnian usage: cf. 833, nn. on 7.190, 2.452.

sulco...serentem Cf. *Cat.Agr.*45 *in sulcis seres*, *Colum.*2.10.31, 12.8, *Plin.Nat.*17.126, 18.131, 181. Old farming language. Could V. suggest that F. is actually sowing seed in Elysium, with proper dignity, during the Parade? That surely is what the statues, etc. will somehow have suggested (cf. n. on 7.338 *concute*).

Serrane On M.Atilius Regulus (cos. 257 (triumph after victory over the Carthaginians by sea) and 250) and the tradition of the farmer-soldiers, cf. Bömer on *Ov.F.*1.207, Horsfall, *ORVA*, 310 (comparing Fabricius, Cincinnatus and M.Curius Dentatus), followed ungratefully by M.Dickie, *PLLS* 5 (1985), 190. The *agnomen* Serranus was easily associated with *serere* (O'Hara, *TN*, 181, Klebs, PW 2.2095.6ff.) by e.g. Cic.*Sest.*72 (cf. *Sex.Rosc.*50 with Landgraf's n.), *Serv.* here, *Plin.Nat.*18.20 (with Funaioli on *Varr.fr.*368GRF); the *agnomen* may though have in reality grown not from this etym. but from the Umbrian toponym *Saranum*, Schulze, *Eigenamen*, 370, Klebs, *cit.*. In any case, marked paronomasia.

845 quo fessum rapitis...? E.L.Harrison, *ORVA*, 446f., in a fine note (cf. too West, 291), draws attention to a light touch here: the speeding dactyls here are not a mere metr. contrast to the following line, but are crucial to a welcome touch of humour (see index s.v.; *Aen.* 6 is not short of occasional smiles): the [other] Fabii, as yet unborn, do not delay at all, but rather scamper past in haste, leaving Anch. on the reviewing stand wearied by their rush. For **f.** in **V.**, cf. n. on 7.298; for *rapere*, cf. 7.725, 10.178, Hor.C.3.25.1f. *quo me, Bacche, rapis...?*, *EV* 4, 400f.; ‘to hurry along or away’, perhaps, *OLD*, s.v., §7a. ‘Extatisch formuliert’, Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 182.

Fabii Once more, **V.**'s emphasis on the members of a *gens* dominates; the names listed but a small part of a great, crowded whole.

tu Maximus ille es I. ‘that famous’, Wagner, *QV* xxi, §6, citing e.g. 2.540, **6.27**. The *cognomen* had long been in the *gens*: Münzer, *PW* 6.1815.18ff.; his regular *agnomen* was *Verrucosus*, ‘warty’ (Münzer, 1815.27ff.). **Tun P**; **tu M**, a corrector of **P**, and γ , *Pap.Colt Nessana* 2.2, c.9 mss., TCD. That suggests oversight in **M**, perhaps influenced by the following **m**.

846 unus qui nobis *Enn. Ann* 363 *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* (with Sk.'s very full introduction), Wigodsky, 55, 72, Kraggerud, 68f.. **V.** is compelled by the syntactical context to insert a rel. pron., creating the typically weighty effect of the self-contained first-foot spondee, nn. on 7.406, 3.1. Note the four successive spondees and the final monosyll.

cunctando Further allusion, not to the additional *agnomen* *Cunctator* so much as to the source of his fame, in Ennius' definition. ‘*Cunctator*’ is not found as a formal name (it is not a name at all, at Liv.30.26.9) in texts of the class. period (see first apparently Quintilian, Frontinus, Florus, Ampelius), and its widespread modern use misled e.g. O'Hara, *TN*, 180, Basson, 83. See Schwering, *TLL* Onom.2.745.57ff., Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1392.43ff., Lazenby (**855**), 73, Skutsch, p.531, Münzer, 1829. 51ff..

restituis rem The expression not only Ennian: cf. *Ter. Andr.* 619 *tu rem inpeditam et perditam restituas?* Here **R** and some c.9 mss. have **restitues**, influenced by the prophetic context; favoured by Kraggerud, 67f.), but, as the citation from *Ter.* shows, the pres. conventional, and here pres. suggests that Fabius' role as saviour is already in some way immanent. Cf. Moscadi, *EV* 4, 453, Pomathios, 156. **Res** in the sense of *res publica*: cf. Sk. on *Ann.*, *cit.*, comparing *Plin. Nat.* 22.10 *rem omnem Romanam*, Liv.44.22.10 *rem publicam*, *Plb.* 3.105.8 τὰ ὄλλα. Laurenti, *EV* 4, 447, well compares **857f. rem Romanam.../ sistet eques**. Cf. n. on 7.592 for the final monosyllable.

847-853

(1) Place in the PH. I suggested in 1989 (*CQ* 39, 266-7; cf. *Companion*, 148) that the notion (familiar at least since Serv.Auct. on 1.712) of Virgil's debt to Augustus' *laudatio funebris* on Marcellus (cf. W.Kierdorf, *Laudatio funebris* (*Beitr.klass.Phil.*106, Meisenheim 1980), 66f., etc.) should be explored further; Marcellus died too young to achieve much and his military training - as necessarily described by Aug. - could easily have influenced **851-3**. Hightet, 94f. had reacted to this notion with slender cavils, and now R.Glei remains unconvinced, though quite without any pertinent argument: *Der Vater der Dinge* (Trier 1991), 175, n.280, and in *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan epic and political context* (ed. H.-P.Stahl, London 1998) 130, n.35. But there is every reason for V. to have read with care and respect a recent text of such moment; so too see now Traina on **861** (welcome support) and see further on **855 spoliis...opimis, sub fin., 869** for a couple of actual points of contact between Aug. and V.. On Marcellus' *promise*, cf. **876 spe**. Equal passion has been devoted to:

(2) Relationship to the Marcellus-episode. That is, the compositional status of the *epicedion* to Marcellus, and (by implication) of **847-53**: was V.'s lament integral, or an addition after M.'s death (cf. Goold, 118-21, with his n. on **825**, Scarcia here, Horsfall 1982, 15f., *Companion*, 148, (2011), 68, Feeney, 15, Hightet, 101, n.10, W.P.Basson, *Pivotal catalogues in the Aeneid* (Amsterdam 1979), 85-90)? The strong thematic links between the Marcelli and the rest of the Parade do not need to be re-stated (note *spolia opima*, Latin/Trojan descent, victories in battle (both infantry and cavalry), virtues of both peace and war, saving the Roman state in a crisis, emphasis on the late c.3, the age that Enn.*Ann.* narrated; cf. H.Funke, *AU* 35 (1990), 53-64. That degree of integration seems hardly credible in the case of a hasty addition prompted even in some measure by V.'s alleged instincts as courtier. V.'s progress on *Aen.* (comm. on 3, xxiii-iv) seems naturally to have brought him to the end of bk.6 little before Marc.'s death.

(3) *Priamel* The rhetorical form of these vv. is generally accepted as being a *Priamel*, though we should note the objections advanced by Woldemar Görler, in *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerte a F. Della Corte* 3 (Urbino 1987), 25-46 at 27, n.3 and 40, n.24; though there is (agreed) no syntactical harmony between **alii...** and **tu...**, as there is in the 'perfect' form of the *Priamel*, much in these vv. will emerge as compatible with *Priamel*-usage and both term and usage illuminate much here; cf. Norden, Austin, Lyne, *FV*, 214f., Hine, 174 and the fullest modern study of the form, W.H.Race, *The classical Priamel* (*Mnem.Suppl.* 74, Leiden 1982), 121, Horsfall (2011), 65f..

(4) *Synkrisis* The content of these vv. is a *synkrisis* or *comparatio*, of a familiar type: cf. F.Focke, *Herm.*58 (1923), 327-68, S.Costanza, *Messana*

4 (1955), 127-56, N. Petrochilos, *Roman attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974), 61-5, 93-104, D.C.Feeney, *Caesar's calendar* (Berkeley 2007), 24, W.Kroll, *Studien* (Stuttgart 1964), 14, C.P.Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1972), 105f., Horsfall (2011), 64f.. Nepos, Velleius and Plutarch compared Greek and Roman generals (see Focke, and Woodman on Vell.2.41.1), Quintilian, authors (cf. my remarks, *GR* 40 (1993), 60), Polybius and Menander Rhetor (**5**, *infra*), constitutions (cf. Walbank's indices s.v., and his *Polybius* (Berkeley 1972), 133) and both Cicero (*TD*.1.1f., 1.5 *doctrina Graecia nos et omni litterarum genere superabat, de orat.* 3.137) and Virgil, cultures (cf. Petrochilos, *cit.*, 59f., 61f.). We might be expected to recall **663 uitam excoluere per artes**; cf. Adler, 294f., Williams, *ORVA*, 204f.. References to recent discussions of the relationship between this passage and other references to arts and sciences in *Aen.* will be found below.

(5) Menander Rhetor and panegyric themes. Norden noted most of the analogies between *Aen.*6 and the rhetorical treatises of Menander Rhetor, ca. 150AD; at that date (1903) it was reasonable to believe that V. had himself used a rhetorical treatise similar to Menander's in the composition of these vv.; the scorn of A.-M.Guillemain, in her doctoral thesis (aet.53), *Quelques injustices de la critique allemande...* (Chalon-sur-Saône 1921), 22ff., just after WW1, still makes amusing and instructive reading on this point. But we now have an admirable ed. and tr. of Men.Rhet. (D.A.Russell, N.G.Wilson, Oxford 1981), and understand better his intentions, not to teach the ambitious to write correctly, but to analyse the method and content of earlier epideictic writers: see Russell/ Wilson, xxxi-xxxiv, F.Cairns, *Generic composition...* (Edinburgh 1972), 34-40, and my remarks, *SCI* 11 (1991-2), 126-7 and, *infra*, (2011), 66f.. Men.Rhet. analyses the praises of a city under 'science' (ἐπιστήμας), 'arts' (τέχναι), and 'abilities' (δυνάμεις), such as the science of astronomy, the arts of the sculptor or worker in bronze and the ability of the orator (360.17-361.3Sp.). He also compares (p.369.30; cf. p.364.13Sp.) Greece's devotion to literature and 'the possession of virtues' and Rome's eminence in the law. Note too the analogies between V. and both Ael.Aristides' *Eic 'Ρώμην* (after 144AD), also duly catalogued by Norden, and Melinno's *Hymn to Rome* (*Suppl. Hell.* 541; ca. 150BC). The more striking details will be noted in comm., below; as a whole, they indicate that V. had read with care those panegyric texts that Men.Rhet. would later so usefully analyse.

(6) Death of Turnus. The failures of Roman public *clementia* (cf. **853**, n.) and the supposed failure of *Aen.*'s *pietas* in killing Turnus have been linked in many discussions: cf. n. on **853 parcere subiectis** for bibl.. Is Turnus' death incompatible with the command **parcere subiectis**? Even some fervent critics of *Aen.*'s conduct have viewed as helpful my account of the

issues in bk.12, *Companion*, 192-216 and I do not yet myself dissent from that account¹. Does Tu. deserve compassion? Does V. lead our heads and our hearts in the same direction? Did he feel that Rome's generals had behaved better, or worse, than Aen.? A commentary is not the place to explore such issues, and neither **superbi** nor **subiecti** are categories defined unconditionally in the text (vd. n. on **853 superbos**). Aen. is not happy about the unanswerable necessity to kill Tu.; the best generals (Rome's included) have not gloated over butchery.

(7) Bibliography So lofty a passage has attracted surprisingly little detailed discussion; see, though, D.A.West in *Tria lustra. Essays and notes presented to John Pinsent* (Liverpool 1993), 293, E.Kraggerud, *SO* 66 (1991), 115-7, *Companion*, 147f., *Anc. Soc.* (Macquarie), 12 (1982), 15, *SO* 68 (1993), 38f., G.P. Goold in *Author and audience...* (ed. T.Woodman, J.Powell, Cambridge 1992), 118-21, D.C.Feeney, *PCPS* 32 (1986), 14f., F. Stok, *Percorsi dell' esegesi virgiliana* (Pisa 1988), 7-61, with my rev., *RFil.*117 (1989), 206-8, H.Hine, in *Homo viator. Classical essays for John Bramble* (ed. M.Whitby, etc., Bristol 1987), 173-83, Maurach (**841**), 182-4, A.Traina, *Poeti* 4, 149 (in answer to Lyne, *FV*, 214-6), F.Bömer, *Herm.*80 (1952), 117-23, *Gymn.*64 (1957), 16-21, 66 (1959), 323-8, K.Volk, *MD* 61 (2008), 71-84. And cf. my remarks, *Vergilius* 57 (2011), 63-73.

847 excudent Literally, 'hammer out', *cuendo efficient* Serv. (cf. H.Blümner, *Technologie u. Terminologie* 4 (Leipzig 1887), 242); the weight of the blows perhaps conveyed by initial molossus. V. likes the verb, in a variety of senses (*G.*1.135, 4.57, *Aen.*1.174); Varr. *RR* had used it of incubating hens (3.6.4), and Cic. of laborious literary composition (*Att.*15.27.2; cf. Tac.*Dial.*9.3); Bömer (1952, 119) suspects the influence of Gk. (ἐκ)γλύφω or (ἐκ)κολάπτω. Possibly. He insists (1952, 118, followed by Hine, 180) that this is prosaic, technical language. Strange: note *procedere*, Lucr.2.1115, Hor. *C.*4.15.19, *incudere*, *G.*1.275 and simplex *cuere* Lucr.1.1044, etc.: a poetic popularity in keeping with V.'s four instances of *excudere*; 'prose'/'prosaic' is a category these days defined with a lighter hand (vd. Horsfall, 2011, 70-3). This is simply standard Latin for 'to hammer out', a meaning of course likelier to be present in, as it might be, Vitruvius rather than Catullus (Lyne, *WP*, 10f.); however, after West's *Imagery and poetry* (e.g., 64ff.), the force and potential of exact descriptions of technical actions in high poetry (Lucr., and after him V., notably in *G.*; cf. C. de Meo, *Lingue tecniche* (Bologna 1983), 27ff.) are evident and undeniable. Here, V. refers to the casting of statues (note the faces in **848**); not primarily work for the hammer (small final touches excepted): *excudere* can however

1 See now Richard Tarrant's comm. on *Aen.*12 (Cambridge 2012) for a partly compatible view.

be used of relief metalwork (Quint.2.21. 10, Bömer (1952), 119, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1290.4ff., A.Kuttner, *Dynasty and empire* (Berkeley 1995), 208), and, naturally, of sculpture, Apul.*Flor.*7, Ambr. *Hex.*2.5.21, Bömer, *cit.*. Similarly, at **848**, **ducent** will prove to be a word usually applied to bronze, not marble. This startling stileme, the exchange of ‘normal’ objects between two verbs, certainly arrests the reader’s attention here, though it is less rare than one might expect; from the many discussions, I cite 8.3, 10. 898f., 11.870, 5.507f.. See Görler, *EV* 2, 276, Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*404, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 40, Bömer (1952), 117-23, *ib.*, 93 (1965), 130f., F.Burkhardt, *Gymn.* 78 (1971), 407-21 and compare double enallage, LHS, 160. Attempts to baptise this linguistic flourish seem unpersuasive. The tense is also elusive (true future, or concessive?): vd. Görler (1987), 33, Bömer (1957), 17f. with n.53, Maurach, *ib.*, 59, NH on Hor.*C.*1.7.1 (p.95). The wider context is prophetic (i.e. ‘straight’ future), the structure of the *Priamel* (as does the force of **credo equidem**, Page) implies a concessive force. We recall that workers in bronze and marble are present in Men.*Rhet.*, **847-53**, (5); cf. Ael.*Arist.* Eic ‘Ρώμην 13, 81, 94, Dio Chrys. 31.146ff.. See (2011), 70.

alii Cf. Tib.1.1.1.1 *diuitias alius fuluo sibi congerat auro*, Hor.*C.*1.7.1 *laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mitylenen* (with NH) and, for Greek analogies, Norden’s splendid n. here (with Race, 130, Hine, 174). J.Griffin suggested (*GR* 26 (1979), 65f. = *Latin poets and Rom life*, 169; cf. R. Jenkyns, *JRS* 75 (1985), 69, n.41) that V. cannot bear to name the victorious, successful Greeks (and cf. n. on 2.122 for anonymity as a sign of loathing), but a glance at Norden’s n. would have been enough to show that some form of *alius* was quite normal and expected here (cf. West (1993), 293), while the Romans of the c.3 BC (the narrower context of these words) would hardly have cared very much.

spirantia...aera V. quotes himself (the statues in the allegorical temple by the Mincio), *G.*3.34 *stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa* (where vd. Thomas). Behind V., there is a long tradition of references to living, breathing statues: vd. Norden, Stok, 61, Bömer (1952), 121f., AR 1.763-5, Prop.2.31.8 *uiuuda signa*, 3.9.9 (?; cf. G.Calcagni, *Enc.Or.* 2, 125) *animosa effingere signa*. The partic. to be understood proleptically (so too **uiuos** *infra*); *sequentur alii peritiam fundendi aeris ut uultus fingant sic expressos ut spiritum habere uideantur* (TCD 1.614.7f.; for **uiuos** too thus understood, cf. *ib.*, 12); cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 270, Bell, 255, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 106ff.. For **aera** thus, Bickel, *TLL* 1.1074.12ff. cites *G.*1.480, Hor.*C.*3.30.1.

mollius ‘In arte fingendi i.q. non rigide’ Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1381.32f., comparing Plin.*Nat.*34.55, injudiciously, for Plin.’s clear indication of ef-feminacy is absent here. The sense of ‘flowing, supple, yielding’, of works

of art, is, however common: cf. Bömer (1952), 122, Brink on *Hor.Ars* 33, Buchwald, 1371.84, 1375.9ff., citing *Ov.F.*3.832 (where vd. Bömer) *quique facis docta mollia saxa manu*, *Cic.Brut.* 70 *Calamidis dura illa* [sc. *signa*] *quidem, sed tamen molliora quam Canachi*, *Quint.*12.10.7. This sense of **mollius** contributes notably to the effect of naturalism present in **spirantia** and **uiuos**. Paola Pinotti (*EV* 3, 560) rightly draws attention to the effect of oxymoron between **mollius** and **aera**; less felicitous, R.D.Williams' suggestion that **m.** should be understood with **spirantia**, given that the adverb's effect does appear most naturally spread between verb and partic..

848 credo equidem Note the balancing parenthesis, **852 hae tibi erunt artes** (vd. R.J.Tarrant in *Style and tradition. Studies...Clausen* (Stuttgart 1998), 153f.). The expression (or *equidem credo*) *quater* in *Plaut.*, *Ter.Eun.*739, *Cic.Ep.Brut.*2.4.4, *Fam.* 3.6.4, *Att.*11.6.2: clearly the idiom of spoken Latin; Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 183. **P** here reads **cedo** (**credo P₂γMR ω**), *quod magnopere placet* to Ribbeck (*Proleg.*, 294), perversely enough.

uiuos...uoltus Strongly alliterative; in the manner of (and perhaps influenced by) *Lucr.*3.655 *uoltum uitalem*. Note the contrasting *dispositiones excudent...spirantia ...aera* and **uiuos ducent...uoltus**. **Volt- P** and **vult-MR**; for once, there is a decisive solution to an orthographical problem (Sommer, 67, Niedermann, *Phon.hist.*, 55f., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 439, Horsfall, *SCI* 24 (2005), 226): the *o* was still current orthogr. at the time of *Quint.'s praeceptores* (1.7.26; cf. 1.4.11) and thus was normal for *V.*

ducent de marmore Cf. n. on 7.688 *lupi de pelle galeros*, *Buc.*7.31, *G.*3.13 *templum de marmore*, *Aen.*4.457, **6.69 solido de marmore**, Gude-man, *TLL* 5.1.60.55f.. The vb. quite as singular as **excudent**: cf. 7.634 *aut leuis ocreas lento ducunt argento* (with n.), *Varr.Men.*201, *Lucr.*5.1265, *Tib.*1.3.48, *Hor.Ep.*2.1.240 (with Brink's full n.), Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2148.64ff., and see discussion of **847 excudent**. Some influence of Gk. ἐλαύνειν is quite possible; it, and *ducere*, are verbs regularly used of metalworking (Bömer (1952), 120 for ample detail) and here application to sculpture is a calculated anomaly, even more clearly than **excudent**. For the sculptor in paneg. texts, vd. n. on **excudent ad fin.** Cf. also Hine, 175, 177, Stok, 37-40, for art elsewhere in *Aen.*

849 orabunt causas Cf. Meister, *TLL* 3.694.14ff., Tessmer/Baer *TLL* 9.2.1037. 21f., 26, Bömer 1957, 16. The expression *Ter.Phorm.* 292 (cf. 272) and regular in prose; first here in vv.. Does that make the expression 'prosy' (Bömer)? Not necessarily: the words are standard Latin for 'to plead a case' (i.e. forensic oratory). *Cic.* at first sight is apparently *Dem.*'s inferior, and the very idea of poetic rivalry is not worth mentioning; that

disturbs some readers, but this is hardly the moment for a Quintilianic us-and-them survey. We also discover that these lines draw our attention towards c.3, not c.1 BC (vd. *infra*): Rome far outrules Greece and V.'s readers are welcome to conclude, if they wish (even on the basis of the quality of these vv.), what this is no time to tell them, that Greece no longer far outwrites Rome (vd. Hine, *cit.*); moreover, allusions (756-846 (3)(c); cf. more fully, my paper in *Vergilius* 2013) to the Saturnian (vd. *supra* on triple alliteration) and to Ennius (846) draw the attentive reader (seriously informed expertise hardly required here) towards a c.3 context not only historical, but also literary. For Caesar on Cic.'s role in bringing Rom. oratory to Gk. levels, vd. *Cic.Brut.*254 and for the place of oratorical skills in paneg. texts, cf. *Men. Rhet.p.*361.1Sp., and note *Quint.*10.1.105. Cf. further Hine, 175, 177, 178f., D.C.Feeney, *ORVA*, 183-8, Stok, 30-7, Highet, 277-90 at 284f. on this v. and an apparent hostility to oratory in *Aen.* at large.

melius There is paronomasia with 847 **mollius**; for **m.**, cf. *Quint.*12.10.38 *neque enim...Graeci melius*, *Cic. de orat.*1.253 and above all *Sall.Cat.*52.3 *facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse*.

caelique meatus Cf. Gk. κελεύθου (bis in *Arat.*), *G.2.477 caelique uias*. **M.** is a word of a strongly Lucretian character: *septies* in *DRN* and note particularly 1.128, 5.76, 774 *solis lunaeque meatus*. Norden, after Henry, argues for the passage of the sun through the zodiac; Heyne, more generally, 'siderum cursus' and Butler properly refers to *G.2, cit.*: this is hardly the time for an inessential limiting of the expression's range or (Norden) for another reference (after *Buc., infra.*) to Eudoxus. No more is this the moment for V. to refer, *pace* my friend Andrei Rossius, *Hyperboreus* 7 (2001), 238-41 (with summary in English), to one single Greek astronomer (Aratus), 'as any educated reader would be bound to realise'. The passage is visibly not constructed round a series of unnamed but implicit masters of the arts and sciences. TCD: *alii disputabunt de astrorum motibus et cursibus diuersis et rationibus orientium atque occidentium*, unexceptionably.

850 describent radio V. cites himself again, *Buc.* 3.41 *descripsit totum qui gentibus orbem*, where vd. Clausen's n., and see also Pease on *Cic.ND* 2.48, G.Lafaye, *DS* 4.2, 809. For the vb., cf. Vetter, *TLL*.5.1.657.13ff. at 27f.; this is a *vox propria* of astronomical exposition, *Varr.RR* 2.1.7 *in caelo describendo*, *Cic.Sen.*49 *noctu aliquid describere ingressum*, *ND* 2.87, 104, etc.. V. gladly uses the correct, even the technical term a couple of times; cf. Bömer 1957, 16. The use of a pointer (on the sand, on a table, on a drawing) is typical of accounts, and representations, of astronomers and mathematicians: cf. *Call.Aet.fr.*110.1, *Iamb.fr.*191.57Pf., *Cic.TD* 5.64 (*puluis*

and *radius* the actual symbols of the profession), Mart.Cap.6. 580, Pease, *cit.*. In panegyric, note Men.Rhet. p.360.18Sp..

et surgentia sidera Cf. *G.*1.257 *ortus*, with Cic. *Div.*2.92. For **surgentia**, cf. 1.535 *cum subito adsurgens... nimbosus Orion*, with Germ.*Arat.*217 (so Austin). V. typically uses a paraphrase involving a partic., here to avoid another abstract n. (*ortus*); cf. n. on 2.413 *ereptae uirginis*. Rossius, *cit.* refers to Aratus' study of stars which rise and set in the same night (cf. further Kidd on *Arat.*618). Again, this is unnecessary limitation in untimely pursuit of precise allusion; here, V. writes only of the *risings* of the stars (cf. Hine, 180), long studied (Hes., *G.*) as indications of time and as signs of the likelihood of changing weather; cf. further West on Hes.*Op.*pp. 378-80.

dicent Cf. Salemme, *EV* 2, 46 (probably right to discern both prediction - on which vd. my n. on 3.362 - and definition), Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.979.24ff.. Norden compares Gk. ἀστρολογεῖν, to practise astronomy; we might also recall that at *Buc.*3.41, there is a natural passage from the science of astronomy to predicting the weather for *messor* and *arator* (cf. *G.*1.252-8, etc.; for astronomy elsewhere in *Aen.*, cf. Hine, 175f.). Perhaps some play with **ducent**, two lines previously.

851 tu (with **852 tibi**) Taken by Lyne, *FV*, 214 as referring to Aeneas, but V.'s use of the voc. ethnonym will shortly emerge as pointing to the poet's past, present and future readers, rather than to Anch.'s not-yet-Roman hearer; 'Romans, *as well as* to *Aen.*', Hine 174, not convincingly. The 'hinge' of the *Priamel* at this point, and the poet returns to the (much reinforced) main line of thought, after the digressive **alii...** Cf. the *me* both of Hor.*C.*1.1.29, and of *ib.*, 1.7.10. Bundy's 'pronominal cap'; vd. Race, 14, n.42.

regere imperio Cf. Lucr. 5.1128 *quam regere imperio res uelle et regna tenere*, there a foolish desire, and here quite the reverse, Highet, 238, Wigodsky, 138 and then O.Lyne, *GR* 41 (1994), 193f.; also, as might be expected, solidly prose usage, Cic.*Rep.* 2.15, Liv.1.7.8, etc., Bömer (1957), 17f., O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.575.23f.. An ability already praised by Melinno, *Suppl.Hell.*541.7f.; cf. Christ, 26ff., Ael.Arist. *Εἰς* 'Ρώμην 51, 58.

populos Cf. *G.*4.561f. *uictorque uolentis/ per populos dat iura*, *Aen.* 8.721 *dona recognoscit populorum*. Cic. *Cons.*fr.2.67, Venturini, *EV* 4, 219, Christ, 27, 91, Schröder on Calp.Sic. 4.8; note the *gentibus* of Hor. *C.*2.9.21 (with NH; vd. too e.g. *Aen.*8.722). This is also the language of Greek panegyric (both ἔθνη and γένη used), Melinno, *Suppl. Hell.*541.11f. (cities), Men.Rhet.p.375.19Sp.; note also the nations, γένη, listed on placards in the Roman triumph, Plut.*Pomp.*45.2, App. *Mithr.*576, Ehlers, PW 7A. 503.16ff., M.Beard, *Rom. triumph* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), 12. The

panegyric motif of ‘conquered nations’ has received ample notice: vd. Christ, 26ff., Norden's n. here, Horsfall (1995), 39 (with further bibl.).

Romane Norden drew attention to the words *μεμνησθαι*, ‘Ρωμᾶϊε in a Sibylline oracle perhaps of the c.2 BC, employed to legitimate the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 BC and preserved by Phlegon of Tralles, *FGH* 257F.37, v.3, p.1189.33 (cf. W.Hansen, *Phlegon of Tralles, Book of Marvels* (Exeter 1996), 56 and now Phlegon, ed. Stramaglia, p.84.2) and Zos.2.6.1 (v.3). For issues of dating (late c.2BC) and authenticity (very likely *not* forged), cf. A.Rzach, *PW* 4A.2111.32-2112.34, and G.Radke, *ib.*, 24.1148.1-20 (dating), M.P. Nilsson, *ib.*, 2A.1712.17ss., K.Latte, *Röm. Religionsgeschichte* (München 1960), 298, n.5, E.Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957), 365, NR on *Hor.C.* 3.6.2, Bömer on *Ov.F.4.259*, Beard-North-Price, 1, 205 and my n. on 7.260 (V.'s use of ethnonyms; cf. too Dickey, 206-10). Cf. n. on 3.383 for V.'s skilled use of the idiom of oracles: here, the strongly marked *Sibylline* allusion binds Anchises to the Sibyl and lends oracular authority to Anchises' words. Note *Romane*, in Hor.'s vatic manner, *C.3.6.2*, the oracular tone of *Romane* (foll. by *caueto*) at *Serm.*1.4.85 (vd.KH), and the *Troiugena* of *carm.Marc.* at *Liv.*25.12.5 and vd. the similar case of **51 Tros**. The learned Harry Hine correctly remarks (174) that *Romane* is also Delphic in idiom; that is no surprise, but in the presence of a Sibyl, her very own idiom is clearly welcome and that is what in the first instance we recognise.

memento The Sibylline *μεμνησθαι*, *supra*. Cf. Leumann, 571, 587, Sommer, 587, for this unique imperative from the perf. stem.; absent for *odi*, *coepi*, *noui*, Holzweissig, 825; cf. Lindsay, *Lat.lang.*, 517, Gildersleeve/Lodge, *Lat.gramm.*, 174 for verbs which only have imper. in the *-to* form. Here, then, there is no choice of form available (for *memento*, cf. *Lucr.*2.66, *Cic.Att.*5.9.2, *Buc.*3.7, *G.2.259*, *Aen.*2.549, 7.126). **M.** inevitably acquires something of the solemnity that this ‘future’ imperative seems often to carry in less unusual verbs; cf. NW, 3, 613-23. For the imperative in the second part of a *Priamel*, vd. Race, 15, n.45, citing also *Cat.*11.15, *Hor.Ep.*1.2.67.

852 hae tibi erunt artes Cf. *Cic.Fam.*3.9.4 *haec igitur tibi erunt curae*, *Att.*7.25 *erat enim ars difficilis recte rem publicam regere*, *Mart.*14.21.1; perhaps distinctively colloquial. Cf. Platnauer, *Lat. eleg. verse*, 73, n.3: synaloepha of *mihi*, *tibi*, *sibi* is routine, *Buc.*6.6, 7.41, 8.33, *G.4.509*, [*Aen.*]2.571, *Aen.*7.238, 10.549, etc.. **P** here offers **haec**; **P**₂ and the rest of the direct and indirect trad., **hae**; contrast the transmission more evenly divided at *G.3.305*. Insufficient evidence for the archaism (predictably attractive to Geymonat) here; cf. Leumann, 468f., Holzweissig, 601, Haffter, *TLL* 6.3.2699.62ff., NW 2, 417f.. For *artes* used comparably, Capponi (*EV* 1, 338) cites e.g. *G.* 1.122, 2.174, *Aen.*4.493.

pacique imponere morem **Pacis** is preserved only as part of a paraphrase (not a quotation) in a single ms of Serv.Auct. here (vd. E.Fraenkel, *MH* 19 (1962), 133-4 = *Kl. Beitr.*, 2, 143-4), and in the mss. of V., only in the c.10 *Mentelianus alter* (Götte, 781), in the Carolingian *Bruxellensis Bibl.Reg.*5325-5327 (Conte, xxiii) and in Moreno's o¹ (c.11; see Kraggerud, 458, n.4, M.L.Moreno, *Exemplaria Classica* 9, 2005, 48); note that *Aug.civ.Dei* 5.12 recalls the text with the far easier *mores*. **Pacis** therefore is virtually unsupported (for a couple of Carolingian/ post-Carolingian mss one way or the other hardly affect the issue, when it is but the addition of a final consonant that divides the readings) and disconcertingly easy. Maurach suggests (*Dichtersprache*, 137) that *p.* might be abstr. for concrete 'pacified peoples'; that could be right, but does not help with the larger problems. But there is surprisingly little understanding of the sense of **morem**: contrast 'to add civilisation to peace' (Williams) and Albini, 'a la pace norma dà' (cf. Sabbadini's n.). Discussion was absent until E. Kraggerud, *Gymn.*118 (2011), 457-62 (who now argues with typical energy and ingenuity for the (still, frankly, deplorable) **pacisque**). *Imponere finem, leges, iura, regnum, imperium* are respectable expressions, J.B.Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.657.37-66, *Aetna* 45 *imperium et uicto leges imponere caelo*. *Morem imponere* seems original, challenging and oddly tricky: 1.264 *moresque* [note plur.] *uiris et moenia ponet* is not the same thing (not clarified, Pomathios, 135), no more than VM 2.6.3 *prudētissimi pacis moribus*. Closer perhaps Hor.C.4.5.22 *mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas*. But 'to impose *mos*, good conduct, upon peace' is hardly perspicuous sense and looks overly concentrated in expression. What if we pursued a rendering of 'force of habit' (so Albini, *supra*, E.Henry, 51, 'set the stamp of custom')? The habit, that is, of not continuously resorting to arms; cf. Horsfall 1993, 39 on established pacification (approved, Kraggerud, 460). The precise sense of 'habit' emerges from the context: here, that is, the habit of peaceful subjection without *superbia*. Compare 8.316 *quis neque mos neque cultus erat*, where the specific behaviour comprising *m.* and *c.* will emerge from the following lines; *aliter*, R.D.Williams, *ORVA*, 205 (not argued in detail). For paneg. texts, cf. Men.Rhet.p. 361Sp., *passim*, p.375.6, Ael.Arist. Eic Ῥώμην 71a, and strikingly, 101 καὶ διαίτη καὶ τάξει πάντα ἡμερώσαντες, *Aen.*1.291, Christ, 103ff., Eggerding (next n.) and Norden, pp.335-6, Horsfall (1993). Augustine, we recall, cites the verse as *pacique imponere mores* (*Civ.Dei* 5.2, Hagendahl, *Aug. Lat. class.* 1, 350); the plur. is infinitely easier to explain but is clearly not what V. wrote.

1 Only when my comm. was in proof did I secure a copy of the multi-editor, multi-volume Madrid *Aeneid* of 2009 (ed. Luis Riverio Garcia, etc.).

853 *parcere subiectis* The unadorned idiom of ‘standard’ Latin, Korteweg, *TLL* 10.1.333.71ff., *EV* 4, 1050, *OLD* s.v. *subicio*, §5. The passage from the Panaetian theory (not to mention the fictitious prehistory) and Greek eulogies of the victors’ clemency (Christ, 27, 107, 153, Norden, p.336) to the Augustan practice has been closely studied: E.S.McCartney, *CJ* 23 (1928) 456-7 (on ‘the calculating nature of Roman mercy’), F.Eggerding, *Gymn.* 59 (1952), 31-52, Bömer 1957, 18, H.Haffter, *Röm. Politik und röm. Politiker* (Heidelberg 1967), 52-61, P.A.Brunt, *Roman imperial themes* (Oxford 1990), 316-22, Horsfall (1993), 39, *Companion*, 206, (2011), 69, Thome (next n.), Dyck on *Cic.Leg.3.14 sociis parcunto* (p.464), J.E.G.Zetzel, *CP* 91 (1996), 297-319, Funke, *cit.*, (847-53), (2), and the fine nn. of Austin and Norden here. See e.g. *Plb.18, infra*, *Cic.Off.1.35* (vd. Dyck’s n.), *Liv.30.42.17*, *33.12.7*, *42.8.8*, *Hor.CS 51f. iacentem/ lenis in hostem*, *RG 3.1*, *26.1*, *Suet.Aug.21.2*: an attitude both long established at Rome and markedly Augustan; Nelson’s ‘humanity after victory’ was likewise the expectation of V.’s readers. Note also M.B. Dowling, *Clemency and cruelty...* (Ann Arbor 2006), 97-105, D.Konstan, *Pity transformed* (London 2001), 78f., W.V.Harris, *Restraining rage* (Cambridge, Mass. 2001), 217f., M.R.Wright in *The passions in Roman thought...* ed. S.M.Braund, C.Gill (Cambridge 1997), 182f., and C.Gill, *ib.*, 239f., five accounts of the theory and practice of clemency which add not much to a sharper understanding of V. here.

et debellare superbos An outstanding lexical allusion (vd. (2011), 71), altogether ignored, *EV* 1, 482: the verb is distinctively Livian, 3x in the first pentad, 7x in the second, 49x in remaining books. Here (cf. Christ, 146), unmistakably, all Rome’s enemies are to be defeated like Aurunci, Aequi, Volsci, in archaic, heroic, even specifically Livian mould, with some hint of innocent struggle for survival: Livy will just have finished 1-10 by Marcellus’ death: comm. on bk.3, xxvi. The sound of **superbos** echoes paronomastically **subiectis**, underlining grammatical parallelism and opposition of sense. Those who are not *superbi* will naturally be pardoned once *subiecti*; it is tempting (cf. G.Thome, *Gestalt u. Funktion des Mezentius* (Frankfurt 1979), 297-315 at 307; excellent; so too Traina, *EV* 4, 1074f.) to read the linked halves of the verse as a form of ‘exclusion clause’ (Lyne’s term, *CQ* 33 (1983), 192; cf. *RG 3.2 quibus tuto ignosci potuit*, *Companion*, 207). Rome’s capacities in war and peace often thus balanced (La Cerda): cf. *Hor.CS 51f.*, *Prop.2.16.41f.*, *Sulpicia 21*. For *s.* used of Rome’s enemies, cf. *Plb.18.37.7* with Walbank’s note, *Hor.C.4.14.10 implacidum genus*, 41 *non ante domabilis*, *Vell.Pat.2.90.1 feris incultisque nationibus*; for Turnus in this context, cf. (847-53), (6). For the motif, cf. *Hor.C.4.14.29ff.*, *CS 55*, *Aug.RG 26.1*, *Vell.2.90.4* (with Woodman’s n.), Horsfall (1993), 39.

854-86 *Epicedion* Marcelli.

(1) Monody and *epicedion*; Virgil and the rhetoricians. See (847-53), (5); here, no need to restate the role of Men.Rhet. as the principal surviving analyst of poetical material; either V. had in his student days read similar analyses or (a far pleasanter path towards the same goal) he had, one way or another, learned to read the texts later studied by Men.Rhet. in much the way that Men.Rhet. later codified. The similarities, as studied by Norden, 342f., are remarkable, but their effect is even greater if the reader turns to Men.Rhet. on the monody, 434.10-437.4Sp., and sees there the topics of the lament on Marc. laid out in detail. Cf. Guillemin, 22-34, De Ruyt (1933), Highet, 94-6, and Norden's splendid discussion, 341-5. For analysis of the (poetic) *epicedion*, cf. Cairns, *Gen. comp.*, 90f., Vollmer on Stat. *Silv.*2.1, NH 1, p.280 on Hor.*C.*1.24 (with Romano's comm., 1.2, 576), W. Kierdorf, *Laudatio funebris* (Meisenheim 1980), 56 *et passim*. On the (closely related) monody, vd. Cairns, *Gen. comp.*, 34-9, Richardson on *Il.* 24.725ff., *Cons.Liv.* ed. Schoonhoven, p.4ff., Highet, 96, T.C.Burgess, *Epideictic literature* (Chicago 1902), 112, 170. Above all, vd. A.Hardie, *Stattus and the Silvae* (Liverpool 1983), 103-10 and for the Senecan *consolatio* in particular, vd. R.Kassel *Unters. z. gr. u. röm. Konsolationlit.* (München 1958). These categories draw upon elements of both panegyric and consolation, as emerges clearly from these vv.; *infra*, the links between V.'s themes and Men.Rhet.'s are restated briefly after Norden, with some added material, which it would be only too easy to expand.

(2) Literary antecedents. In comm., many analogies with funerary epigram (Greek and Latin, literary and epigraphic) will be noted. Men.Rhet. considered (p.434.11Sp.) that the monody began with Homer and in a sense the entire corpus of Homeric, elegiac and tragic laments lies behind V. here. Not to mention e.g. Bion. Von Albrecht (1999), 115 argues for the influence of the Hom. *teichoscopia*, *Il.*3.161-242: the use of interrogation to elicit information, the towering height (old Marcellus, 856; cf. *Il.*3.227), beauty (*Il.*3.169, *Aen.*6.861, the young Marc.) and, above all, ability to hold off the foe (*Il.*3.229 ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, *Aen.*6.857 *sistet eques*, the old Marc.) are interesting analogies, rather than binding verbal parallels, which seem also to be absent in Knauer's lists (but vd. 116, n.1, 126).

(3) Past and future deaths. "Marcellus thus prefigures the similar heroes of the last six books: Pallas, Lausus, Euryalus, Camilla"; so Otis, 303, continuing, admirably, "The ordeal of empire is based on sacrifice, especially sacrifice of the young". One could extend the list (Nisus and even, for some, Turnus), backwards too, through *Aen.* (Icarus, Palinurus have been suggested; cf. Dupont/Néraudau 1970, 274). See further Tracy 1975, Reed (2001), 163, Reed, 16-43, Hardie ed. *Aen.*9, 25, etc..

(4) The historical context; Virgil and the ‘open-ended’ future. Discussion of the apparent historical context of these vv. has not borne in mind the weaknesses of the evidence: (i) a reading to Augustus and the imperial family is a common detail in the biogr. tradition about poets (*Companion*, 19, n.122) but not for that reason alone to be impugned. Octavia's fainting is presented as a *fertur*-tradition (VSD 32; *Companion*, 3) and there is good, textual reason (see n. on **864 magna...stirpe nepotum**) to suspect the accuracy of the whole passage in VSD. Note also Serv. on **862** (Octavia's excessive weeping); here, clearly not an independent or reliable source. As for the issue of which books were said to have been read, vd. *Aen.*3, p.xxiv. More important, perhaps, is the problem of trying to understand the passage in the context of the crises of 23 BC: see Pepe (1955), Glei (1998), Grimal (1954), Dupont/Néraudau (1970). Is Anch. possibly to be understood as prefiguring Aug. himself, delivering the *laud. fun.* on Marcellus (West, 296)? There is not so much as the trace of an allusion to contemporary issues in the text, though that might not exclude some more devious form of reference: not one word about the succession, about what will happen to the line of Aeneas and the Iulii after Marc.'s death, not a whisper about Tiberius and Drusus. Are we really to suppose that ‘the show will *not* go on’? That has been suggested, not convincingly (O'Hara, *DOP*, 169; cf. Glei (1998), 126). There is an opaque, alternative, open-ended, impalpable sort of answer; V.'s view of the future (after Aeneas, after the present, too) is perforce not precise (cf. W.Suerbaum, *Gymn.*100 (1993), 433-6, Williams, *TI*, index s.v. ‘future’). On the one hand, a strong sense (**757, 789f.**) that Roman history is founded upon the continuity of the *gens*, implying some degree of hope (correctly enough) that that continuity will not now fail; on the other, the certainty that continued survival depends upon repeated sacrifices, Julian and national (cf. *Companion*, 148). To appease the spiteful gods? Or because that is how history works? We have of course no idea, but V. is writing deep in the shadow of one of the latest, greatest sacrifices; we should not forget the exemplary role of Marcellus and Octavia as early as *Cons.Liv.* (67, 442); in death he serves Rome.

See F.Brenk, *AJP* 107 (1986), 218-28, *id.*, *CQ* 40 (1990), 218-23, Cartault, 1, 485-7, F. De Ruyt, *LEC* 2 (1933), 138-44, Di Cesare, 119-21, F.Dupont, J.-P. Néraudau, *REL* 48 (1970), 259-76, Feeney (**847-53**), 15, Glei, 175f., *id.*, in *Vergil's Aeneid* ed. H.-P.Stahl (London 1998), 119-34, Goold (**847-53**), 118-23, P.Grimal, *REA* 56 (1954), 40-60, Highet, 94-6, Johnson, 106f., O'Hara, *DOP*, 167-70, Otis, 303f., L.Pepe, *GIF* 8 (1955), 359-71, J. Reed, *Syll.Class.*12 (2001), 146-68, S.V. Tracy, *CJ* 70 (1975), 37-42, von Albrecht (**756-886**, 1999), 114-6, West (**847-53**), 294-6. For Julio-Claudian

funerals, cf. J.Arce *Funus imperatorum*₂ (Madrid 1990) and for further bibl. on the Rom. funeral, cf. my n. on 11.29-99.

854 sic pater Anchises Cf. 3.716 *sic pater Aeneas* (at the end of Aen.'s narrative, bks.2-3).

atque haec...addit Cf. 11.107 (where vd. n.), 12.358, and *ter* with *addidit*. Marked authorial underlining of Marcellus' entry; both explicit pause and strong continuity by means of repeated elements. Cf. (847-53), (2).

mirantibus Employed only here; the reader is reminded of the presence of both Aen. and, still, of the Sibyl (cf. 897) and will shortly share in their wonder (Bulhart, *TLL* 8.1068.48f.).

855-9: 854 is a clear, marked caesura: not 'proof' of the Marcelli as a courtly addition (847-53), (2); quite as likely to mark a change in tone and level, a moment of silence between the drums and trumpets of 851-3 and the long violin solo that follows, and likewise between Rome's future glories and the human price they entail. Cf. Highet, 101, n.10.

855 aspice More of a particle than an imperative, as in Gk.; consequently, sing. unsurprising: Hofmann-Ricottilli, 160, 362, Schwyzer 2, 554, KS 1, 59f.. Cf. next n. on mood.

ut...856 ingreditur Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1573.53f. compares *G.3.76 altius ingreditur* (where Serv. *cum exultatione quadam incedit*). It is probable that, like *incedere* (cf. my remarks, *Glotta* 49 (1971), 145-7), *ingredior* does not carry any inherent sense of 'make a grand entry'; majesty can be assigned by various means. So now Au., rightly. For the indic., compare 779 **uiden ut...stant**; after *ut*, this is the common usage of spoken Latin: Clausen on *Buc.4.50*, Ernout-Thomas, 242f. LHS, 547f., KS 2, 291-4, Bennett, 1, 120-3. Here too **aspice** may be felt as interjection rather than verb, as sing. suggests (vd. previous n.); in that case, **ut...ingreditur** is essentially an exclamation, in parataxis for those who insist that **aspice** is a real verb.

insignis Cf. 808 **ramis insignis oliuae**, 167, 403, 4.134, 5.310, 7.745 *insignem fama et felicibus armis*, 11.291, *EV* 2, 990, Alt, *TLL* 7.1.1903.73f.. The adj. used by Lucr., Hor.*C.*, Liv.1.

spoliis...opimis The honour of offering to Jupiter Feretrius the spoils won *in person* from an enemy commander was the greatest honour that might be bestowed upon a Roman general: cf. Harrison *CQ* 39 (1989), 412f., Putnam *CQ* 35 (1985), 238-40, my n. on *Nep.Att.* 20.3, R.Syme, *RP* 1, 417-21, *Aug.arist.*, 274, Weinstock, *DJ*, 230, 233. The distinction was so great that active antiquarian discussion about eligibility continued (Liv. 4.20.5ff., Varr. *ap.Fest.p.* 204.4L), and there was sharp political interest in 29BC over the (rejected) possibility of a fourth award. It is likely that *spo-*

lia opi]ma is to be restored in the *elogium* of M. Claudius Marcellus in the Forum of Augustus (Geiger, 146f.); there was also a statue (? possibly among the Iulii) of the Marcellus of this *epicedion* in the For. Aug. (Geiger, 134). The old Marcellus is *recognisable* by the *spol. op.*, as was (and still is) Romulus at Pompeii (for the painting of Rom. *tropaiophoros* at Pompeii, see **825**) and as Rom. was also in at least one of his statues in the For. Aug. (Geiger, 138, 194, n.60). Note that the Marcelli are linked not only in the For. Aug., but also in Aug.'s own funeral laudation, fr.20 Kierdorf and Aug. *orat. frag. xi-xiv* Malc.. The speech very possibly, but not provably V.'s inspiration here too; we cannot prove, though we may strongly suspect that Aug.'s own words are another tie that binds **847-53** to what follows.

Marcellus M. Claudius M., Cos.222, 215, 214, 210, 208, F. Münzer, PW 3.2738.6-2755.36, Smith, *Dict. biogr. myth.*, 2, 927-31. Winner of the *spol. op.* against Virdomarus, leader of the Insubrian Gauls (222; triumph), and conqueror of Syracuse (211; two ovations). See Cic. *TD.4.49* (M.'s courage) and Plut. *Marc.* 9.7, for the verdicts of Posidonius (=fr.259Kidd) and Hannibal himself on Marc. as commander. Vd. also J.F. Lazenby, *Hannibal's war* (Warminster 1978), 90 *et passim*, and for oral and written traditions about him, H. Flower in *Formen röm. Geschichtsschreibung...* (ed. U. Eigler, etc., Darmstadt 2003), 39-52.

856 uictorque Cf. *G.3.9 uictorque uirum uolitare per ora*, after Enn. *var.18 uolito uiuo' per ora uirum* (though *ui-...ui-* is a widespread allit. pattern in V. and not necessarily archaic in character). For the noun, vd. *EV 5**, 546; 59x in *Aen.* As a great victor in two wars, as winner of the *spol. op.*, as conqueror not only of Syracuse but of Mediolanum, he clearly held preeminent rank even in an assembly of victorious heroes.

uiros...omnis Uniquely here in V.; cf. Laurenti, *EV 5**, 551. A vague, grand alternative to mere *alios* or *omnis*.

supereminet Towered, literally (as well as historically, or so we supply, instinctively); Heuzé, 305, n.383. The vb. *ter* in V.; probably a Virgilian invention, like several other *super-* compounds, Cordier, 146, and itself of dimensions appropriate to its sense.

857 hic; deictic, leading the eye slowly and inevitably towards the young Marcellus, **860 una namque ire uidebat**.

rem Romanam Cf. **846 restituis rem**; a favourite form of expression (appropriately Ennian and historiographical in tone); cf. nn. on 3.1 *res Asiae* and 54 *res Agamemnonias*, *G.2.* 498, *Aen.10.88* and Laurenti's useful collection of material, *EV 4*, 447. Poetic alternatives, in some sense, to *res publica*.

magno turbante tumultu Cf. 9.397 *subito turbante tumultu; turbare* is indeed occasionally intransitivised as readers will just have noted (**800** where vd. n.) but what happens at 9.397 proves nothing here and it would be very difficult for the reader to take - easily and naturally - **rem** as obj. of **sistet** but not of **turbante**; the state is swayed by invaders, but stayed by Marcellus, and the shared object adds to the force of the expression. For **tumultus** 'in the special sense of a Gallic rising' (Au., citing Cic.*Phil.*8.3 *tumultum Gallicum*), cf. Oakley on Liv.7.9.6, with ample material: the use of **t.** and of **eques** does focus the reader's attention more upon Marcellus' early glories.

858 sistet It is surprising that Goold (so already (1992), 119, without explanation) follows Hirtzel's punctuation of a comma here, rather than (Mynors, Geymonat; vd. Austin, Norden, and indeed TCD) after **eques**: Norden 339, 388f. remarks that V. is less free than Lucr. with pause at 1tr., though cf. too Norden, 389, Winbolt, 10-2 for his use of that pause; the disposition of caesurae in the line is also more regular and powerful with pause at **eques** and that punctuation is in fact marked, **F₁M₂P₂**. At **sistet**, the reader does not quite know whether or not to pause, whereas after **eques** there is nothing at all to prevent a reader from adding the noun to what precedes (for Clastidium was notoriously a *cavalry* encounter, Liv.23.16.12, Plut. *Marc.*11.5, Sil.12.178, etc.; Butler misleading), irrespective of any wish to secure the commoner pause. Au. remarks that with pause after **eques**, the following verb, in initial position, is an arrangement V. enjoys (cf. **155, 622**); a welcome observation, but far from probative; see also G.B. Townend, *PVS* 9 (1969-70), 79. The vb. (*confirmabit, corroborabit* Serv.) to V.'s taste, though never quite in this sense ('stay', steady'; cf. OLD s.v., §5a, Bartalucci, *EV*, 4, 1028); note of flowing water, 4.489 (magically) and also Aug. himself, *Edicta*, fr.xMalc. (p.65) *ita mihi saluam ac sospitem rem p. sistere in sua sede liceat*.

eques M. is hardly to be thought as already leading his steed, but **e.** does rather suggest that we are meant to think of some sort of visual symbol (as *passim* in the Parade; cf. p.517), presumably some distinctive part of the uniform of a senior Roman cavalry commander.

sternet A favourite vb. with V. (but not with *EV*); cf. n. on 7.426 for this important synonym for 'kill' or 'defeat'.

Poenos Gallumque Cf. **855** for Marcellus' career against both enemies. V. here links plur. with collective sing. ethnonym (for which see n. on 11.287 *Dardanus*). Note 10.429 *sternitur Arcadiae proles, sternuntur Etrusci*; the variation apparently elegant, and avoiding *-os -os*, rather than significant.

rebellem Apparently a coinage, Cordier, 145, R.Guerrini, *EV* 4, 408 (*bene*), but the adj. to be understood, notwithstanding the change of num-

ber, with both nouns: the sense is somewhere between ‘after earlier campaigns’ sc. under Viridomarus (as *Plut.Marc.6.2* might suggest), and ‘once more at war against Rome’, sc. after earlier Insubrian *tumultus* (as was the case), while the Carthaginians had after all recently fought a major war against Rome. 12.185 hardly helps here.

859 *tertiaque arma* After Romulus and (841) Cossus; cf. 3.37 *tertia... hastilia* (with n.), 5.266 *tertia dona*.

patri...Quirino A classic problem: *uarie de hoc loco tractant commentatores* Serv.. **Q.**, by V.'s date, was a regular name of the divinised Romulus: 1.292 *Remo cum fratre Quirinus*; cf. too *EV* 4, 381f. (with much further bibl.), Bömer on *Ov.F.2.475*, Wissowa, 155f., Latte, 113f., and Skutsch, *Enn.*, 246, *Stud.Enn.*, 130-7, who argues that this identification is not (yet) in *Enn.*; for a c.1 date for it, vd. now Dyck on *Cic.Leg.1.3, Off.3.41*. But the antiquarian tradition (855) clearly took the view that the *spol.op.* were properly dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius (Varr., *l.c.*, 855 (the name of the dedicatee is a supplement in *Fest.*, but hardly in doubt), *Liv.* 4.20.5, *Plut. Rom.* 16.6, *Marc.* 6.12, etc.; for the shrinking inscr. under the statue of Rom. in the For. Aug., see Geiger, 137f.. Was V. alluding to an alternative account? Could such a variation have been significant? Might he have been thinking of the statue of Romulus inside the temple of *Jup.Feretrius*? Cf. Harrison 1989, 413. Does V. mean to suggest that Romulus' role in the story of the *spol.op.* was such that by the time of Marcellus he had even become their dedicatee (Putnam, *CQ* 35 (1985), 240)? In the temple of *Jup.Feretr.* there was a statue of Romulus (against Platner-Ashby, 294, Harrison rightly cites *Liv.* 4.20.11), the first winner of the *spol.op.* and the temple's founder; Au. therefore argues, attractively but not quite persuasively, that ‘to Rom.’ here at least indicates almost the same thing as ‘to *Jup.*’. The recent suggestions here reported have at least the merit of simplicity in comparison with those mentioned by Serv. and discussed in Butler and Au. here and in *EV, cit.*; the ‘grades’ of *spolia* (offered to *Jup.Feretr.*, to Mars, and to Quirinus, in descending order) are not a Servian fantasy (cf. *Plut.Marc.* 8.9.) but do convey just that sort of antiquarian complication and obscurity that V. seems (unlike many of his exegetes) to prefer to avoid. A possibility of contamination between three dedicatees and three winners does seem to exist: that the historical order was then embroidered into an order of quality or seniority seems not unlikely.

suspendet Of dedications, cf. also *G.2.389 oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu*, *Aen.* 9.408, 11.11 (with n.), 12.769 (with 7.184 *captiui pendent*).

capta Note, with equal economy of means, 4.326 *captam ducat*.

860 atque hic Aeneas Cf. 7.29, in an entirely different context. Here without analogies as a speech-opening; at **162**, Au. discusses V.'s use of **a.** in dramatic openings.

una...ire uidebat It is through Aen.'s own, perplexed eyes that we first see Marcellus, introduced as an afterthought to his illustrious forbear. *Vna* with *ruere*, 8.689; *OLD* s.v., §1a.

namque Explanatory parenthesis (*EV* 3, 973): TCD writes of the dialogue *non tantum taedium non habent sed et iucundae sunt, quod genus in dialogis praestat*. For the (Hellenistic) anastrophe of the particle, cf. n. on 7.122.

861 egregium...iuuenem Cf. **769f.**, 10.435 *egregii forma* (Pallas and Lausus), 12.275 (**861** repeated; cf. Moskalew, 101), Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.289. 57f. and n. on 7.258 for this old and much-favoured adj.. At 12, *cit.*, TCD puts it well: *addidit ad occisi meritum, quod egregius fuit, hoc est quod procerus et pulcher et speciose armatus*. Note too 7.473 (Tu.) *decus egregium formae* (with n.). V. slips into the familiar mode of adding biographical details to lend interest to the deceased (cf. e.g. 2.339-46, n. on 7.532); here, though, the deceased is not only not yet born but an historical figure of exceptional, recent importance, and he is presented in a deeply familiar manner. For the youth of V.'s victims, cf. next note, Moskalew, 101f., Heuzé, 290-5; at 7.761 I remarked on 'the curiously insistent pulchritude of the Virgilian hero': objectively, there is much blood of beautiful boys explicitly shed in this poem, from which *EV* 3, 74f. averts its gaze. Amply, J.D.Reed, *Virgil's gaze* (Princeton 2007). *Periit octauo decimo* [sc. anno], Serv., here, not quite correctly (nineteenth, probably).

forma An element noted by Men.Rhet. (p.420.13Sp.), after (see No.) Pindar. Compare (Heuzé, 290-5) Pallas (11.70 etc.), Lausus (7.649), Euryalus (9.433), Tu. himself (7.473, etc.), Virbius (7.761); see D.Fowler in *Homo viator...* ed.M.Whitby, *et al.* (Bristol 1987), 185-98 for an eloquent account of the links between death and (heterosexual) love in *Aen.* For the abl. of respect, cf. LHS, 134.

et fulgentibus armis Cf. 2.749 (where cf. Au.'s and my nn.), 11.188, **6.826 fulgere...in armis**. As Au., *cit.*, remarks, the epithet is conventional but not otiose (cf. also **217**, 10.550, and *supra*), here suggesting both affinity with his glorious ancestor and thwarted martial prowess to come. Arms and looks linked by allit.. Carminius (closer to c.2 than c.4; *EV* 1, 671, Kaster, 389), *ap.* Serv. here remarked well *pulchritudo, aetas, uirtus*.

862 sed We pass from the typical appearance of such victims to the explicit visual indications of Marcellus' tragic end.

frons laeta parum 'L'aspetto', Traina (comm., p.81); the expression as revealing the inner person, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1356.62f., comparing 11.238;

so already TCD (1.615.20f.) *fronte tamen parum laeta, hoc est tristi et proiecto uultu ad terram*. The original, specific forehead widely held to be peculiarly expressive of the feelings: Vd. my n. on 11, *cit.*, and Pease on 4.477 *spem fronte serenat* for the brow as expressive of the feelings in the Lat. *de physiognomonica liber*; add the many refs. to ὄφρυς and μέτωπον in [Arist.] *physiognomonica*, with LSJ s.v. ὄφρυς ('in various phrases expressing emotions'). Vd. also *EV* 1, 900. Usage does not suggest that *V.* refers here to Marcellus' forehead in particular; Robbert, 1355.83ff.. **Uoltu** (cf. **848** for the orthography; here **uoltu P**, **uultu FMR**) directs us to the (expression of) the face as a whole. Could **u.** be general and **f.** specific? Or are both nouns general in sense? I do not think we know for certain; there is evidence for their use elsewhere too as near-synonyms in a compound expression: vd. e.g. Cic. *Att.* 14.13B.1, *sed etiam ex uultu et oculis et fronte, ut aiunt, meum erga te amorem perspicere potuisses*. [QCic.] *Pet. Cons.* 42 and 44 *frons* and *uultus* coupled, with Otto, 147, Robbert, 1356.46ff. (the coupling in fact frequent; here, though, divided between cases), with Otto, 147 for *u.* and *f.* quite distinct. **Parum** thus in litotes only here in *V.*; for litotes in general, cf. n. on 2.78. For **p.** used thus, cf. Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.1.573.10ff.; *parum semel* in Pac., *quinquies* Lucr., *quater* Cat.. Not in short much favoured in poetry before *V.*, partly no doubt on account of its iambic shape when other less awkward negatives were available. Pease on 4, *cit.* illustrates the long *Nachleben* of *laeta parum*. Vell. 2.93.1 describes Marcellus as *laetus animi et ingenii*; for the adj. used of facial expressions, cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.886.51-62 (Cic. *TD* 1.100, Publil. G10, Ov. *Met.* 9.242).

deiecto lumina uoltu The eyes (*l.* thus common in Lucr.; also Cat.) expressive of the soul (cf. n. on 7.448f.) and also to be understood as **laeta parum**. For *deicere* thus, cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.396.39ff. at 55, 3.320 *deiecit uoltum*, 11.480 *oculos deiecta decoros* with full n., 12.220 *demisso lumine*. The downward gaze (face, that is, as well as, inevitably, eyes) often expressive of modesty, but Licinia Ricottilli surveys splendidly the wide range of emotions conveyed, including grief, *MD* 288 (1992), 28-31; cf. too Sittl, 155, Lobe, 61. Neumann, 136-40, Heuzé, 499, n.38.

863-6 A question from son to father (cf. Hight, 34): it is thus Aen. who is the first to note the tragedy inherent in Marcellus, while on a more practical level, the question permits the better-informed Anch. to explain the circumstances.

863 quis...ille...qui A smooth, discreet elaboration of pronouns (cf. **808**, Ov. *Am.* 3.12.1), here more noticeable on account of the 'missing' *est*.

pater Cf. Lobrano, *EV* 3, 1021, **719** (again used by Aen. of Anch.); both respectful and familial. Vd. too Dickey, 270, D.C.Feeney, *ORVA*, 182.

uirum...euntem V. almost a synonym for *heroa*, of any previously named antecedent of some note; cf. n. on 7.296. The partic. blandly elevated, ‘as he goes, moves’: cf. 2.111, 3.130, 5.241, n. on 7.676; cf. *uenientibus* 2.59 (with n.).

sic comitatur The vb. both active and deponent (Flobert, 107), transitive and intransitive; here cf. 7.681 (with n.); **sic** not to be ignored, for it suggests how Aen. is already, though in ignorance, struck by how attentively Marcellus accompanies his illustrious forbear. A hint of the *comites* of the Roman aristocrat (n. on 2.40).

864 filius One of those moments where the reader is struck by the splendidly terse economy of means sometimes available in Latin.

anne Cf. Au. on **719** (alternative to **an**; in poetry, strictly before a vowel, Vollmer, *TLL* 2.1.10ff.); cf. LHS, 465 on double questions, when the first member contains no specific interrogative.

aliquis...de Cf. 3.623 *duo de numero...nostro*, Cic.*TD* 1.97 *sit alterum de duobus*, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.58.74ff..

magna...stirpe nepotum Cf. *G.4.322 praeclara stirpe deorum*, *Aen.5.297 egregia Priami de stirpe Diores*, 7.99 *quorumque a stirpe nepotes* (and indeed *Buc.4.49 magnum Iouis incrementum*). See n. on 7.579 for the metaphor from arboriculture, and for **n.**, *EV* 3, 705. Ancestor and descendant walk close together; there just might be some family similarity of appearance or equipment implied as well. C.Claudius Marcellus (?b.42; Woodman on *Vell.2.93.1*), son of Aug.'s sister Octavia by the consul of 50BC, married to Aug.'s daughter Julia; served with Aug. in Cantabria (Crinagoras, GP, *GP* 1819ff.); a possible heir to the principate. *Sane, ut aiunt[!], ingenuarum uirtutum laetusque animi et ingenii fortunaeque, in quam alebatur, capax*, *Vell. 2.93.1*; extremely popular with the *plebs*, Tac. *Ann.2.41 ad fin.*. A source of hope, Hor.*C.1.12.45f. crescit occulto uelut arbor aeuo/ fama Marcelli*. His death also commemorated, Prop.3.18; Marc. was buried in Aug.'s own mausoleum, then under construction (DC 53.30.5); for his funeral inscription, vd. D.R.Dudley, *Urbs Roma* (London 1967), pl.65 = von Hesberg (**874**), 249-50. At *PVS* 24 (2001), 135-7 (and cf. *Companion*, 19), I advanced grounds for suspecting the historicity of the story that Octavia fainted (VSD 32; cf. S.Farron, *Vergil's Aeneid...* (*Mnem. Suppl.*122, 1993) 40, for the type of reaction) when V. read these vv.; it is indeed possible that Sen. (*Marc.6.2*), not VSD, got the facts wrong, but prolonged acquaintance with VSD leaves me deeply doubtful of its accuracy, *ab ovo usque ad mala*, and altogether unwilling to challenge Sen. on its behalf.

865 qui strepitus...comitum **Qui FP; quis MR**; the c.9 mss. divided. V. here prefers the exclamatory *qui* (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 188) and avoids the sequence *quis s-* on grounds of euphony, though his grammatical choice is normally for *quis* in such cases (cf. Wagner, *QV* xxii, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, xi, Norden on **560f.**, Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 2, 86f.; Au. atypically elliptical and *EV* 4, 315 no help). Another hint (cf. **753**) that the Parade was a cheerful, noisy affair: the young hero might be thought of as surrounded by epic *hetairoi* (cf. n. on 3.613, *Eur.Phoen.*148f.), or by a Roman commander's staff (cf. 8.515 for epic *contubernium*), or by the *comites* who would at Rome naturally accompany a senior magistrate (cf. n. **863 comitatur**), as he was destined to be; they must also in some sense prefigure (Paratore) the crowds who will attend his funeral, as will shortly become much clearer (**873-4**). The young hero's companions, whoever we may think they actually are, are noisily unaware of the tragedy that hovers about the young heir/prince/hero. See M.Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 4, 1034, citing *Ter.Hec.35 comitum* ['retainers', Carney] *conuentus, strepitus, clamor mulierum*. For **qui...quantum**, cf. on **692**.

circa For *circum*; cf. on 7.535 (again a question of euphony; here to avoid *-um -um*).

quantum instar Not so clearly as at 2.15, 3.637, 7.707 (where vd. nn., with further bibl.) does **i.** here carry the sense of 'match' or 'rival' (a sense Nettleship, *Contr.Lat. Lex.*, 489 connects with *instare* in the sense of 'place in the balance'; cf. E.Wölfflin, *ALL* 2 (1885), 596f.). See too Wölfflin, *cit.*, 585 (a sense is required here that is in keeping with V.'s use elsewhere), Alt/Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1969.5ff.: the answer seems to reside in **quantum**, which I take to be a mild brachylogy (cf. for instance, nn. on 2.17, 65, 140, 171, and (with bibl.) 7.595) for 'quot/ quantum comitum [the reference appears to be to them rather than to a looser 'uirorum', referring to the great heroes of the Parade] instar' (cf. LHS, 826, on the *comparatio compendiaria*). Marcellus is presented as potentially worth a dozen of these old Romans (*instar* therefore not far different from *magnique ipse agminis instar*, 7.707, where vd. n.), but the actual expression is nowhere near as explicit as my irreverent paraphrase. Vd. E.Kraggerud, *Symb.Osl.*71 (1996), 109-12. *Tacet EV*.

in ipso *I.* used when the narrative returns to a central figure who has momentarily passed from our attention, cf. n. on 11.484, Wagner, *QV* xviii, §2e.

866 sed nox atra Not only the gloomy brow and the downcast gaze, but the very mark of death already upon him, for all the cheerful encouragement from his comrades (**865**). Cf. n. on the (probably Horatian in inspiration) 2.360 *nox atra caua circumuolat umbra* (cf. Reed (2001), 147f.); Sparrow ignores, while Moskalew, 102 suggests that there is also a sense

of impending doom around Aeneas' small band of helpers there, but at 2.360 a literal sense for *nox atra* is much likelier; no help, *EV* 3, 770f.. V. probably re-uses with changed sense. So Au.; vd. next n..

caput In bk.2, the vb. intrans., as in Hor.*Serm.*2.1.58; here **c.** a notably deft alternative to the unacceptable *eum*. Not only is M.'s gaze downcast but a particular dense symbolic darkness (cf. *Il.*16.567, *OLD* s.v. *nox*, §4b; note too the darkness which falls upon the eyes at death, *Il.*5.659, 14.438f., Aesch.*Pers.*667-70, *Eum.*379, *AP.*7.251.2, Nic.*Ther.*732, QS 8.203) clings to him (cf. 827 for the general 'night' present in the Underworld). Cf. Latimore, 161-4, Cumont, *LP*, 48, A.M. Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 381, *bene*.

tristi circumuolat umbra For the vb. cf. n. on 2, *cit.*; compare *Od.*20.351f., where Theoclymenus prophesies 'what evil do you suffer? *νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων/ εἰλύεται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα*, Antip. Sidon., GP, *HE* 563 (with n.), Negri Rosio, *cit.* (who also cites Lucr.3.959 *mors ad caput adstitit*, where vd. Heinze); cf. too n. on 2.*cit.* for the wings of Night. For **u.** thus as 'simbolo della morte' Negri Rosio (*supra*) compares 10.541 *ingentque umbra tegit*.

867 tum pater Anchises Cf. 713 and 3.525, where vd. n., Moskalew, 64, 82.

lacrimis...obortis Cf. 3.492 (vd. n.), 4.30, 11.41 (vd. n.).

ingressus Very rare as part of the *incipit* of a speech in V.; cf. 4.107, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1572.84ff..

868 o gnate For V.'s 'use of the emotive *o*', cf. on 7.360. **Gnate M; nate FPR.** For V., cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 420, *Aen.*10.525, 532. 'The archaic and poetic form', Harrison on 10.469f., with Norden on 6.116, Wagner, *QV* xxxviii, Leumann, 188. Not only, though: the parallel forms are an orthographic problem elsewhere too, as in the transmission of Plaut. (Sommer, 234f.) and the forms *gnatus/natus* may have distinct origins, WH 1, 598 (contrast EM, 429f.). As Wagner remarks, the only point at which V. prefixes 'o' to (g)*natus*.

ingentem luctum Cf. 11.62f., 231 (where vd. n.) *ingenti luctu*; verbal echoes of the d. of Marcellus in that of Pallas are to be expected, though they may be no more than the natural result of the poet's awareness of the close similarity between the two deaths.

ne quaere Cf. 614, 8.532, *EV* 4, 364 'semper in momenti solenni'. Cf. n. on 3.160 for the rather archaic form of prohibition.

tuorum M.'s unborn kin; all his ancestors as yet unborn are already affected by his doom. Cf. 681, 2.283f. *multa tuorum/ funera* (with n. on the emotive use of pronom. adjs.), 431 *flamma extrema meorum*.

869 ostendent terris hunc tantum The point made again, strikingly (Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1121.71-3, Lenaz, *EV* 3, 902) *CIL* 13.1910 *quem osten-*

sum, non datum iniquitas fati...rapui (with [Aus.] *de ros.nasc.42 ostentata oculis ilico dona rapis*), Tac.*Agr.*13 *monstratus fatis Vespasianus*. Lenaz, perhaps rightly, describes the initial molossus as ‘un singhiozzo’. **T.** plur. in contrast to sky and sea, *Buc.*4.51, *Aen.*5.803, to sky, *G.*2.345, *Aen.*6.18, 782, to sea, 6.312, 7.214, of movement from earth to underworld (cf. *G.*4.52), 4.654; a list easily extended. Plur. of majesty, or as often in nouns indicating place (cf. *orae, limina*; vd. bibl. at 2.115)? *EV* 5*, 135-8 not illuminating. The advb. in final position; both **ostendent** and **tantum** acquire unusual force, Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots*, 3, 27. Self-contained fourth-foot spondee (cf. 7.291), so the line is not only spondaic in the first four feet, but ends with three successive coincidences of word- and metrical accent; the dull beat of impending death and tragedy.

fata That Marc. is never allowed a proper stay on earth is typical of the fates' hostile, grudging attitude (cf. n. on 11.43 *inuidit fortuna mihi* (with bibl., Boyancé, 55, Bailey, 217), Lattimore, 155, Pötscher, 48); the proper point of departure for an *epicedion*, Men.Rhet.p.435.9Sp., is complaints against the gods and fate (Norden; cf. *Cons.Liv.*21ff.). Divine *phthonos* has a long literary history: to n. on 11.*cit.*, add Broadhead on Aesch.*Pers.*362, Asheri/Medaglia on Hdt.3.40, Asheri, ed. Hdt.1, xlvi^f, and n. on 1.32.5, Ogilvie on Liv.5.21.15. Aug. himself, in his *laud.fun.*, said that Marc. had been *immaturae morti deuotum* (*orat.fr.xiMalc.*= Serv. *ad Aen.*1.712); a motif dear to V. himself, 307; cf. De Ruyt (1933), 138f..

neque ultra/ 870 esse sinent neque FPΩγ, TCD; **nec MRbcγ₁**; it is hard to justify a single *nec* before a vowel (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 435f., Sommer, 292, Niedermann, *Phon.hist.*, 151, NW 2, 955) and I am not sure why Mynors prints such an oddity here. Cf. Hor.*C.*2.16.25f. *laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est/ oderit curare*. Norden, 342 suggests that the gods' motive is that they wish him back with them (comparing Men.Rhet.p. 421.16Sp.: no need for mourning; πολιτεύεται γὰρ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν) and there is therefore, at least at one level, no cause for grief (cf. 719, Hor.*C.*1.2.45 *serus in caelum redeas*, with NH, *cons.Liv.*214, Cumont, *AL*, 113, *LP*, 183f.). Note 1.18 *si qua fata sinant*, 2.779, 4.651 *dum fata deusque sinebant*, *EV* 4, 884.

nimum uobis.../ 871 uisa potens Supply **esset**. Williams (compare, not very different, Con.) suggests instead that we understand *fore* here, with **fuissent** to follow in OO after **uisa**, for OR *fuierint*: that would be tolerable grammar (cf. Leo, ed. Sen., 1, 188, KS, 1, 14f., LHS, 422) but hardly what the reader would first think of supplying. With **si** to follow, a condition is what we naturally expect from here on. The adverb five words before the adj. it qualifies; the pronoun five words before the voc. which explains it, a grand, complex, interlocking structure. **N.** 14x in V., *nimis semel* in V., *nimis* 10, *nimum* 3 Lucr.; both *bis* in Cat., dactylic poems;

nimis 10, *nimum* 97 Ov.. The conclusion (*EV* 1, 438, 3, 730) that the anapaestic word is easier for dactylic poets than the iambic would seem obvious, but for Lucr.'s usage. For **p.**, cf. *EV* 4, 235f., Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.2.277.81, citing Cic.*Phil.*2.108, Ov.*Am.*1.1.13 for *nimis potens*. Roman *potentia*: cf. 8.99, 12.827, Hor.*Ep.*2.1.61, Ov.*F.*4.255, *Bell.Aegypt.* col.2. 10, Christ, 84, etc.. We are still firmly in the sphere of divine envy; vd. n. on **fata**, *supra* for divine hostility in the face of the sort of success Rome might obtain, could she draw longer upon Marcellus' talents.

Romana propago **P.** solidly Lucretian, in tone 1.42, 4.997, 5.1027 (but also Porc.Lic., Varr.Atac.). Cf. *Aen.*12.827 *sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago*, Burch, *TLL* 10.2.1943.24f.. Originally agricultural: 'the layer or set by which a plant is propagated', *OLD* s.v., §1a: from Cato on; cf. *G.*2.26 (where vd. Mynors for the detail), 63. A weightier synonym for *proles*, *gens*, and the equally agricultural *stirps* (864). The initial syll. is naturally long (cf. Lucr. 1.195, *G.*2.26) but had been shortened for convenience in dactyl. verse, at v.-end, Lucr.1.20, etc., Leumann, 560.

871 superi Cf. n. on 7.312.

propria haec si dona fuissent *propria: perpetua ut 'propriamque dicabo'* (1.73) Serv. (restating *stabili*, as Au. remarks here), Hor.*Serm.* 2.6.4f. *nil amplius oro/ Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis*; see Heinze's fine n. on Lucr.3.971 and nn. on *Aen.*7.331 *hunc mihi da proprium...laborem*, 11.359 *ius proprium regi patriaeque remittat* (with 3.85), *EV* 4, 323, Hajdú, *TLL* 10.2.2108.27f.. Fordyce and I, on 7.331, wondered whether **p.** was idiomatic, or colloquial: certainly it is found in Afran. (358 *di tibi dent propria, quaecumque exoptes bona*), Hor.*Serm.*, Lucil., *Bell. Afr.*; equally, though, in high poetry (11x in V.) and I prefer to claim it as standard Latin, appropriate at any stylistic level. Gifts from the gods to Rome, for the latter to enjoy for a reasonable length of time (cf. Citroni, *EV* 2, 132). *Hoc est, si hunc diuturnum concederetis* TCD; for 'a gift of the gods', cf. *G.*4.519f. (Eurydice granted to Orpheus only to be torn away, *irrita Ditis/ dona querens*, *Aen.*2.269, with n., 11.359 (the first and third of these passages also refer to individuals), Ov.*Met.*10.52 *irrita dona* with Bömer's n., Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.2020.26. Cf. G.Brugnoli, *GIF* 40 (1988), 229f..

872 quantos.../ 873 ...aget gemitus Cf. Hey, *TLL* 1.1372.58ff. (with I.Kapp, *ib.*, 6.1.1750.51), comparing e.g. Tib.1.8.57f. *ut lenis agatur/ spiritus*, Luc.7.482 *Pindus aget fremitus; animam agere* much commoner (Cat.63.31, etc.). *EV* 1, 55-7 unhelpful. **G.** standard on such occasions, 4.667, 687, **6.220**, 10.505, etc., n. on 11.37. *Quantus* applied to *gemitus* also at Lucr.5.1196 (exclamatory, likewise), Cic.*Clu.*192 (Kapp, 1753. 51f.). The scale and majesty of the funeral an important element in the

epicedion: Men.Rhet. p.436.11Sp., *cons.Liv.*199ff., *Stat.Silv.* 5.1.208ff., and, on a quite different level, (e.g.) *CLE* 69.4.

ille.../ 873 campus C. often used absolutely for *campus Martius* (cf. F.Castagnoli, *EV* 1, 645): cf. NH on Hor.C.1.9.18, Hey, *TLL* 3.216.52ff. (78ff. for ‘absolute’ use) at 217.9f., Platner-Ashby, 92, Richardson (**874**), 66. The right to burial in the Campus, which lay outside the *pomoerium*, but was not generally employed for burial (presumably on account of the regular flooding), was occasionally granted by the senate, even before Caesar: cf. Marquardt-Mau, 360, n.12, Weinstock, 349f., Dyck on Cic.*Leg.* 2.58, Arce (**854-86**), 22. Is it the field of Mars itself that will groan (cf. 7.758 for the ‘pathetic fallacy’ in *Aen.*; vd. *infra* for the Tiber as witness), or the people thronging it, or indeed both?

uirum Ciuium here, rather than the common equivalence *uir-heros* (as at **856**).

magnam...ad urbem For the city as *magna, maxima, maxima rerum*, vd. Lugli, *Font.topogr.* 1,109f., Christ, 84, *Aen.*12.168, 5.600, 7.602 (with n.).

Mauortis Allit. of **ma- ma-** perhaps suggestive of majesty rather than lamentation. Con.’s bizarre notion that **Mauortis** might also be ‘heard’ in some way with **campus** did not find favour with more recent edd.; rightly so, for it entails an unnatural perversion of word-order. For Rome as the city of Mars, cf. 1.276f. *Mauortia.../ moenia*, Alpheus, *AP.*9.90.3f. = GP, *GP* 3520f.. The founder’s father, the cult of Mars and the city’s prowess at arms might all be relevant here. For the old poet. form **M.**, cf. n. on 11.389.

873 uel quae...uidebis/ 874 funera Rome’s own historic river (vd. n. on 7.30), flowing past the campus (and often flooding it) shall act, on behalf of all nature, as witness to the city’s grief. Cf. *G.*1.490 (*Philippi*), *Aen.*11.797 (*patria*), 12.542 *Laurentes uiderunt...campi*, 645 *haec terra uidebit*. Note Maselli’s useful discussion, *EV* 5*, 535. For the (elevated, convenient, ancient) plur. **funera**, cf. n. on 11.422, *Enn.var.*17, *Cat.*64.83, [Liv.Andr.]fr.38Blänsdorf, fr.3Courtney, P.Maas, *ALL* 12 (1902), 535, E.Bednara, *ib.*,14 (1906), 557.

Tiberine For this form of the river’s name, cf. n. on 7.30, adding F.Cairns (who neglects the Sibylline usage) in *The significance of proper names...* (ed. J.Booth, R.Maltby, Swansea 2006), 67, 71; it is regular in cult, and when V. writes *ex sua persona*. Vd. also *EV* 5*, 156f., and for pathetic apostrophe in V., nn. on 7.1f., 11.42.

874 cum...praeterlabere For the vb., cf. *G.*2.157 *fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros*, and n. on 3.478; found once in Cic., but not to be thought of as prosaic in V.; an easily-conceived compound and evidently

useful. A long, massive word, well suited to the movement of a big river, flowing by at a funeral pace.

tumululum...recentem For **t.** as mound/tomb in *V.*, cf. nn. on 2.713, 7.6, 11.6; of Sulla's tomb in the Camp.Mart., Luc.2.222. Work on the Mausoleum of Augustus was begun in 28 and according to Dio (53.30.5) was not complete by the time of Marc.'s death (cf. Platner-Ashby, s.v., Arce (854-86), 59-63, Zanker, *Power of images*, 72-7, von Hesberg in *Kaiser Augustus* (Berlin 1988), 245-51), Richardson, *New topogr. dict. anc. Rome*, 247-9. Compare 6.450, 8.195f., 9.455, 11.233 *tumulique ante ora recentes*: fresh construction, freshly-turned soil or recently spilt blood (all three interacting, indeed) lends a sharp edge to grief or horror. *Au.* comments well and amply on the gloomy effect in these vv. of the many endings in **-um**.

875 nec puer...quisquam P. used of Troilus, Almo, Nisus, Euyalus, Pallas; a key term in *V.*'s tragic trinity of youth, beauty and death: cf. *EV* 4, 341f., n. on 7.575, and full n. on 11.42 (*pathos ab aetate*, etc.). **Q:** *EV* 4, 317, *G.2.315 nec... quisquam... auctor*, etc.. See Machtelt Bolkestein, *Homm....Veremans (Coll.Lat. 193, Bruxelles 1986)*, 11-20; *tantum in ea, praematura morte erepta, nuper amisimus*.

Iliaca...de gente For the adj. (Callim., Cat.), cf. on 11.255, *EV* 5*, 292f., and for the phrasing, cf. **757 Itala de gente**, 2.78 *Argolica de gente*, 5.373 *Bebrycia...de gente*, 7.750, 803.

Latinos/ 876 ...auos In terms of the *Aen.*, Marcellus' many ancestors of Latin origin, that stock symbolised by Aeneas' union with Lavinia. **Auos:** cf. n. on 7.56. The *Aen.*'s basic genealogical equation, Trojans+Latinos=Romans, here (875-7) present in its entirety (cf. 12.834-40), probably deserves more attention than it has received: vd. *RFil.*119 (1991), 188-92, *GR* 38 (1991), 204, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 19f., Buchheit, 141f., W.Suerbaum, *Poetica* 1 (1967), 185-90. See **840 ultus auos Troiae**.

876 in tantum Cf. *Bell.Alex.1.2 in tantum munitiones proferuntur*, Liv.27.28.10 *partim funibus subducunt, in tantum altitudinis ut...*, Prop.3.5.11 *nunc maris in tantum...iactamur*. Cf. Bolkestein, 17 on *ad spem erigere*.

spe tollet S. *could* be gen.; so e.g. Williams (cf. Mynors on *G.1.208 die*; contrast *Aen.9.156 diei*, while 1.636 may not be relevant at all (vd. *Au.*); see Görler, *EV* 2, 264, NW 1, 573f.). Only if *spe* (gen.) is the sole way of understanding these words, should we actually *prefer* such a solution, as Traina appears to. *Tollere* is notably flexible in *V.* (*EV* 5*, 206f.); for this sense of 'exalt', cf. 9.127, 637, 10.250, 502. For *tollere in*, used not quite as here, but literally, cf. 1.692f., 2.635f., 3.158, 564, 5.375, etc. (very common; cf. Bolkestein, 15). 'He will so much uplift his ancestors by means of his promise' (Henry, *Au.*); he dies before he can achieve, but promises so much; a sense confirmed by *V.*'s repetition of it, in other

words, from **Romula** to **alumno**. *Et rhetorice spem laudat in puero, quia facta non inuenit* Serv.; cf. Cic.*Rep.frag.inc.5* Ziegler *non enim res laudanda sed spes est*, Men.*Rhet.p.420.2*, 435.2ff.Sp., *CLE* 422.8, Leo on *Culex* 1 (p.23), Norden, 343, *CQ* (1989), 266), far surpassing even his forbears, a *Leitmotiv* of the Scipionic elogia and a theme strongly present in the PH (**765f.**, **776**, **792f.**, **801**, **804**, **840**, etc., *Prudentia* 8 (1976), 84f., and vd. now Traina here) that his *spes*, promise, uplifts them; 12.168 *magnae spes altera Romae* not quite the same, but compare Tac.*Ann.2.71 spes meae* (with *EV* 4, 995, *OLD* s.v., §3a). Interesting that V. prefers to a reference to Marc.'s actual military service in Spain (vd. **864**), an elaboration, as Men.*Rhet.* enjoined, of the future achievements that Marc.'s promise foreshadowed.

nec Romula.../ 877 ...tellus Cf. **23 Cnosia tellus**, **799 Maeotia tellus**, 1.34 *Siculae telluris*, 3.477 *Ausoniae tellus*, 4.275 *Romanaque tellus*, nn. on 3.673f. *tellus/ Italiae* and 7.120. Not to mention *Oenotria tellus*, *Volcania t.* and the like. *EV* s.v. otherwise engaged. Cf. Hor.*C.4.5.1 Romulae custos gentis*, *CS* 47, Prop.3.11.52, 4.4.26, Ov.*F.* 2.412; the adj., used as both 'Romulean' and 'Roman', infrequent and poetic (cf. LHS 427), alongside commoner *Romuleus*, *Romanus*.

quondam With reference to the future. Uncommon: cf. n. on 3.704 and note also the analogous future use of *olim* (n. on 3.502).

877 ullo...alumno Cf. Prop.4.3.67 *Parthae telluris a.*, von Mess, *TLL* 1.1796.54f., *EV* 1, 116f., n. on 11.33. A. in Pacuv. (*trag.* 313), Cic.*Arat.* fr.4.1, *CLE* 12.3. One who is actually nursed or nourished; it may be that this root sense is still a little heard.

se tantum...iactabit Cf. *Buc.*6.73, *G.*1.103, *Aen.*12.323 and partic., *Aen.***6.815**, *EV* 2, 875f., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.61.23f.. Thus already Varr. *Men.*444; with other constrs., common enough: Lucil.748, Cic., Prop. 2.24b.21. Clearly here laudable pride, not empty boasting. Men.*Rhet.* noted the place of *synkriseis* with other leading figures in the *epicedion* (p.420.31ff.Sp.).

878 heu...heu So too repeated, *Buc.*9.17 (six words apart); a word 'predominantly of the high style', Watson on Hor.*Epd.*11.21. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.3.2674.47f., *EV* 2, 994f. and Hofmann-Ricottilli, 113f..

pietas For all his sense of the conduct due towards gods and men, he dies, young (vd. full n. on 2.429); Silvius Aeneas' virtues are comparable, but exclude the **fides** here present (**769f.**; cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 95: a fine account, upon which I have never tried to improve). Cf. Men.*Rhet.* p.420.13ff.Sp. for the place of virtues in the *epicedion*; note also *Cons.Liv.* 83f., [*Laud.Tur.*]1.30ff., Stat.*Silv.*5.1.76ff..

prisca fides Cf. 9.79, a quite different context and sense. Cf. Parker, *TLL* 10.2. 1374. 58f. (quoting Cic.*har.resp.* 27, Liv. 22.60.5, for *p.* applied to old Roman qualities; so too Hor.*CS* 57f. of *Pudor*), *EV* 4, 281 (Evrard: denotes antiquity with a tone of regard). Cf. *EV* 2, 510; what Fraenkel defines as ‘*ea qualitas hominum vel rerum, qua iis confidere licet*’, *TLL* 6. 1.675.10f.. Compare Ilioneus of Aeneas *dextramque potentem/ siue fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis* 7.234f. (where *vd. n.*); compare too the polarity at 1.544f. (Aeneas) *quo iustior alter/ nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis*.

inuictaque bello/ 879 dextera Cf. **394 inuicti uiribus**, Cic.*Verr.* 2.5. 153 *cui cui supplicanti non illa dextera inuicta* [of Pompey] *fidem porrexit...?*, *cons.* Liv. 382 (Aug.’s hand), Imhof, *TLL* 7.2.188.33f.. So already *Acc.trag.* 559 *arma ignauo inuicta es* [Vulcan] *fabricatus manu.* *EV* 5*, 547. The adj. Ennian (cf. *n.* on 11.306). At 11.338f. *frigida bello/ dextera* the same phrasing put to a very different use. Note too 10.609 *uiuida bello/ dextera*, B.A.Müller, *TLL* 2.1842.28f., Rubenbauer, *ib.*, 5.1. 926.13f., *EV* 2, 38f..

non illi.../ 880 obuius armato Cf. Wagner, *QV* xxi, §5 for the common use of *ille* to refer neatly back to the subject. **O.**: cf. 10.552 *obuius ardenti sese obtulit*, Hermans/ Ehlers, *TLL* 9.2.320.79. Both *nom.* and *acc.* (intractable in dactyl. *vv.*) are found: with *nom.*, as here, cf. 1.314; with *acc.* *vd.* Liv. 1.16.6 *Romulus...se mihi obuium dedit*; *TLL*, *cit.*, 74ff. very helpful. **A.** is used elegantly: from the polarity *pietas* and *fides* <> *dextera*, we pass to the second item, prowess at arms and from that pass to the polarity infantry >< cavalry. Instead of another pronoun, so soon after **illi**, **V.** uses an *adj.*, clearly referring to Marc. and specifying prowess at arms.

se quisquam...tulisset Cf. 12.323 *nec sese Aeneae iactauit uulnere quisquam*. For the entirely flat neutral *se ferre*, see *n.* on 2.455f.. The *plpf.* as though Marcellus were *already*, in Anchises’ view, dead.

impune Cf. 3.628 *haud impune quidem* (with *n.*), **6.239**, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.720.55f..

880 seu cum.../ 881 seu A discreet variation of construction: not at all ‘either when... or’, but ‘either when...or if’. For the (common enough, at least in poetry) resolution of *seu* into *uel si*, Au. cites Housman, *Coll.pap.*, 2, 853; cf. too *KS* 2, 437 and Hor. *C.1.* 6.19, with **NH**.

pedes iret in hostem Cf. 7.624 *pars pedes ire parat campis*, with *n.*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.637.39f. and note also 9.424 *ibat in Euryalum*, 12.377f. *in hostem/ ibat*, 11.389 *imus in aduersos?*, 9.422, Rubenbauer, *cit.*, 634.43f. For the polarity, compare *Od.* 9.49f. ἐπιπτάμενοι μὲν ἄφ’ ἵππων/ ἀνδράσι μάρνασθαι καὶ ὄθι χρῆ πέζον ἔοντα, *Pind.P.2.* 2, 64ff., *Ov.F.4.* 882 *equo magnus...pede maior*. For the elegant inconcinnity **pedes...foderet**, cf. Leo, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.*, 2, 196.

881 spumantis equi Giovanni Franco (*EV* 4, 1004) does well to remark that not all V.'s foam should be understood as foam (as clearly enough it does at e.g. 4.135, 5.817, 12.372); rather, 'foaming', as applied to a horse, seems to have calmed down into 'spirited' *vel sim.*; cf. 11.770 (vd. n.), 12.651. Perhaps also the boar of 1.324, 4.158. We are of course also reminded of old Marcellus, the cavalry commander, **858**.

foderet calcaribus armos This use of 'dig' is an old metaphor, found in both Plaut. and Ter. (Plaut.*Aul.*418, etc., Ter.*Hec.*467, Gudeman, *TLL* 6.1.993.67ff.; of attacking elephants, Liv.21.55.11); it could have been cited in Lyne's discussion of 'perversion of agriculture imagery' (*FV*, 135-43, about which, long ago, Traina, *RFil.* 120 (1992), 494f. and I, *AR* (1993), 207 expressed dissatisfaction). But 'dig' had a wide and varied metaphorical range; it was also applied, unsurprisingly, *sensu erot.*, Adams, *LSV*, 151f.; also of *dolor* (Cic.*TD* 2.33), of picking teeth (Petr.33), of wounding the privates of elephants (QCurt.5.4.32). By V.'s time, 'dig' has spread to cover 'poke, prod' and I have no clear sense of a living metaphor. *EV* 2, 353 quite insufficient. There also remains an old problem: Serv. writes *species pro genere: equi 'armos' pro equo posuit; non enim possunt armi calcaribus fodi*. Cf. Mazzini, *EV* 1, 326 and Henry, at his best. Synecdoche (part for whole)? Better, according to the equestrian Hibernian Virgilian, to suppose that *armus* is used for more than the shoulder proper; that is, rather, for the forequarter as a whole. So Hor.*Serm.*1.6.106 *mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret, atque eques armos*, Coripp. *Johann.*5.115. Bögel, *TLL* 2.622.47-50 remarks that *a.* covers anything from the foreleg to the back (*usque ad dorsum... crura ipsa anteriora*). A topic of which I claim no expert understanding, but in confirmation of the information supplied by Prof. Jocelyn Toynbee to Au., I observe that the cavalymen portrayed on Trajan's Column sit well forward, with their knees by the tops of their mounts' forelegs, and their heels directly below their saddles.

882 heu Cf. n. on **878**. The lament, or *threnos* proper, Men.Rhet. p.421.10ff.Sp.; much expanded in Stat.*Silv.*5.3, 5.

miserande puer Cf. 10.825 (Lausus), 11.42 (Pallas; vd. full n.; add Moskalew, 180); it is entirely to be expected that V. uses the same language of all these three handsome, tragic boys.

si qua The next line and a half are an old problem, now near solution: cf. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 199-205, Goold (1992), 121, Cavazza, *EV* 4, 601, *Companion*, 148; Traina (1997) cites no-one, but supplies an account close to Goold's. Shackleton Bailey offers an amusing account of earlier studies, now hardly deserving of resuscitation. **Si qua:** cf. *Buc.*6.57, *Aen.*1.18, 9.512, 10.458; contrast *si qua* (nom.), as at 7.4 *si qua est ea gloria*.

fata aspera rumpas The phrasing Lucretian (2.254) *quod fati foedera rumpat; fata rumpere* thus close (Cavazza) to standard *rumpere foedus, legem*; cf. Liv.1.42.2 *nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem*. *Fata aspera* apparently first here, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.367. 84f.. What remains unresolved is the exact definition of the subjunctive. Clearly enough, an exclamation mark at v.-end. But is the vb. conditional, followed by unexpressed apodosis (Sh.B.) or optative, of an unfulfilled wish (Goold)? Probably the latter: Goold remarks that Sh.B.'s instances of condition + aposiopesis (1.135, 2.100, 5.195) are all marked by *sed*, absent here, while optative *si* thus is clearly Virgilian, **187f. si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus/ ostendat nemore in tanto!**, 8.560 *o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos*. See KS 1, 184, LHS 331, Handford, 90f., Woodcock, 87f., Görler, *EV* 2, 273 (perhaps with a flavour of spoken usage; cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 170f.). If there should by any chance be some way of thwarting the cruelty of destiny (hopeless wish), you will be Marc. (dream, prayer, delusion).

883 tu Marcellus eris At last, his identity is explicitly revealed (Goold (1992), 121; cf. Shackleton Bailey (1986), 202): a heartbreaking climax, though we need to remember that the contemporary reader will already have reached this identification, quite without difficulty, at **861**, but is only now, along with Aeneas, informed explicitly, by the poet, through Anch., of the tragic truth.

manibus...plenis Cf. 10.619f. *larga...manu*. An old stock phrase, Cic.*Att.*2.25.1, Ov.*F.*4.726 *saepe tuli plena, februa tosta, manu*, Suet.*Cal.*42, Petr.43.4, *quinquies* in the younger Seneca, for whom it has become a stock expression, 'generously', etc.; Bulhart, *TLL* 8.365.33ff., Reineke, *ib.*, 10.1.2408.49 with Otto, 212, §17. These generous hands to be understood with **date**, clearly; that they explain **spargam** (Maggiulli, 343) is not a view compatible with V.'s word-order. The family takes due care of the funeral, Men.*Rhet.*p.421.32-422.2Sp.; cf. (e.g.) Stat.*Silv.*5.1.222ff..

date *Adfectum dolentis expressit dicendo 'date', cum non essent praesto qui darent, et quod ait 'manibus plenis', hoc quoque plena officia significat*. That is, V. imagines Anch. speaking already as though to those present at the actual funeral in the Camp. Mart. (while TCD is troubled because there are no obvious givers of lilies with Aen.); 'offer' to the corpse, not (*pace* Williams) 'give' to Anch., as the parallel material makes clear. An acute note in MacLennan; this is fusion of present and future, not confusion. Familiar language and ritual, predictably close to funerary epigram, both literary and epigraphic, both Greek and Latin: cf. GP, *HE*, 1623 (Dioscorides), 1890 (Hedylus), *GVI* 1409Peek, *Buc.*5.40 (with Clausen's n.), Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.82 (with Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1662.64ff.), *CLE* 578.2, 1185.3f., 1279.11, Brenk (1990), 218f., Lattimore, 135-141, Edgeworth, 179f., Smith on Tib.2.4.48, Blümner, *Privataltertümer*, 485, Wissowa in Mar-

quardt, *StV*. 3₃, 311f.. Austin rightly rejects both the old understanding (widespread but not universal) of these words as *date*, *spargam*, with *purpureos...flores* in apposition to *lilia* (the kernel of the difficulty; vd. next n.), and the apparent analogy of 4.683f. *date*, *uulnera lymphis/ abluam* (where *uulnera* cannot be obj. of both vbs.); it is a pity that Traina and Brenk (1986), 224, n.13) still hanker indecisively after parataxis (in itself, dear to V.; Görler, *EV* 2, 275); language, grammar and ideas should be simpler here, just as they are in fun. epigram. See *infra* for the almost decisive botanical aspects of the problem. Strong punctuation, therefore, after **plenis**, clearly.

lilia Funerary: cf. Nic. *frag.* 74.70, *AP.* 7.485.1, *CLE* 467.6, 578.2, Buchwald, *TLL* 7.2.1398. 47ff., F.Castagnoli, *EV* 1, 645, Maggiulli, 195, 341-3, Edgeworth, 27, 136, 152, 226, Brenk (1984), 224-6, (1990), 218-23 and F.Faessler, *MH* 44 (1987), 55-60. Typically white, **708f.**, Theocr. 11.56, Nic. *frag.* 74.25f., *G.* 4.130f., [Tib.] 3.4.33f., Prop. 2.3.10, 4.4.25, Ov. *Met.* 5.392, *F.* 4.442, etc., Richardson on *HHDem.* 427, Olck, *PW* 7.793. 64ff.. Above all, V. had himself written (*Buc.* 2.45f.) *huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis/ ecce ferunt nymphae calathis*. Why, then, should the reader think of identification with *purpureos... flores*? Naturally, because of familiarity with the red *lilium Chalcedonicum*, Theophr. *HP* 6.6.3, Plin. *Nat.* 21.24, Maggiulli, 343, Olck, *ib.*, 32ff.; cf. too Plin. *Nat.* 21. 25, the narcissus a purple lily (Edgeworth, 226) as well as the reddish, wild Martagon lily (Maggiulli, 341). But normal, literary lilies are white (*supra*) and that tells strongly against any identification with the 'purple' flowers in the next line; a botanical challenge (no sort of favourite with V.) is not wanted here. For details of the non-white lilies here mentioned, see *The Royal Horticultural Society Encyclopedia of Plants and Flowers*₃ (London 1999), 609.

884 purpureos...flores A conventionally funerary colour, perhaps because that of blood, Stes. *Ger. frag.* S15, col. 2.12, Pind. *frag.* 129.3Sn., Bion, *Epit. Adon.* 79, *Aen.* 5.79, 9.435 (with Hardie's n.), *CLE* 610.11. Discussed in tumultuous detail by Brenk (1990); cf. too Edgeworth, 27, André, 90-102, *EV* 4, 356f., Delvigo, *Servio*, 100f.. Roses are not here specified, and there seems to be no precise, detectable allusion, but rather a strongly epitaphic tone. After E.A.Schmidt's admirable analysis of **176-82**, we should not imagine that the Romans just cast lilies, while Anch. is restricted to 'red (?) flowers' (cf. *HHDem.* 427, *Aen.* 5.78f., *CLE* 467.5f., 578.3, Brenk (1990), 219 (with further bibl.), Edgeworth, 26f. for the 'matching' of red and white); roles and colours are to be thought of as blended. Vd. n. on 7.589 for adjs. in *-eus*.

spargam Fut., or hortatory subjunc.? Were the context symposiac, we might expect a merry variety of syntax in the preparatory instructions

(Hor.C.1.38 with NH, p.421f.); here, we might prefer a more orderly arrangement (imper.; subjunc.: **accumulem** appears decisive, for it can only be subjunc., and in that case, it is hard to argue that any of the ‘ambiguous’ verbs should be taken as fut.); I cannot see why Williams calls this ‘an unnatural construction’ for the vb.. Both Anch. and the unborn crowd present at the funeral take active part; a splendid fusion of roles and generations. Cf. *Buc.5.40 spargite humum foliis* (‘flowers’), 9.19f. *quis humum florentibus herbis/ spargeret...?* *EV* 4, 975. For the ritual scattering of flowers vd. n. on **883 date**. The same verb, naturally, used of scattering flowers at the symposium, Hor.C.3.19.22.

animamque nepotis Cf. **264**, Negri, 45. **N.**, as reviewed by Anch., **682**; cf. too **757 qui maneat Itala de gente nepotes**, **786**, Pomathios, 239.

885 his...donis Standard Virgilian Latin for ‘offerings’, *EV* 2, 131, citing e.g. 5.101, 11.50, etc.. Cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.2017.79f.

saltem Because destiny cannot be changed, Anch. will *at least* heap the spirit of Marc. with flowers; cf. 1.557, 4.327, **6.371**.

accumulem Cf. *Aen.5.531f. Acesten/ muneribus cumulat magnis*, 11.50 *cumulatque altaria donis* (with Rubenbauer, *cit.*, 80); the compound here used very much after the manner of the simplex, perhaps, suggests Au., to avoid *-em, -em*, perhaps to introduce (‘sobbing’) synaloepha. Lucr. 3.71 *caedem caede accumulantes* is different, because obj. is not personal; likewise *CLE* 958.2 (epitaph of Scipio Hispanus, praetor 139BC) *uirtutes generis mieis moribus accumulauit*. Val.Fl.4.339f. *tunc liba dapesque/ frondibus accumulans* is also different, because *frondibus* is dat. (so too *Ov.F.2.122 maximus hic fastis accumulatur honor*). Note that the gifts heaped upon the soul of Marc. are in abl., not acc.; this is hypallage of a familiar type, *EV* 1, 957, and, above all, W.Görler, *Würz.Jhb.* 8 (1982), 73.

et fungar *Fungi munere/ munus* standard Lat. idiom for ‘to perform a duty’: cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1587.37ff. (this v. at 47), common from Plaut.*Amph.* 827 on.

inani/ 886 munere *Secundum Epicureos non profuturo* Serv. (cf. n. on **568 furto laetatus inani**); see n. on **213 cineri ingrato**, NH on Hor.C.2.20.21 *inani funere*, Bömer on *Ov.Met.2.340f. inania mortis/ muneris*, as well as n. on 11.52 *uano...honore*, Lattimore, 219f. on the uselessness of mourning, *EV* 2, 931f. (Scarcia) and O.Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.825.3f.. Tears similarly unavailing, 4.449, 10.465, *Ciris* 401. Aen.’s grief, Anch.’s, V.’s, Rome’s are all, in the end, to no effect: they cannot bend fate, and they cannot reach Marc.. The noun is common, standard usage for ‘offerings to the dead’: Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1666.79: Cat.101.3, 8, *G.4.520*, etc., *EV* 3, 620 (Citroni). A *munus* is paradoxical if *inane*; the effect intensified by the enjambement. Hands were *full* of flowers, but flowers are *empty* of effect. **Munere** is placed in exceptional relief by its isolated, run-on position as

initial dactyl; cf. Norden, 389, Winbolt, 13ff., G.Highet, *HSCP* 78 (1974), 197f. and further bibl. on the very different 7.387.

886-901 Conclusion Perhaps because of their place, directly after the *epicedion* of Marc., and because they contain the Gates of Dreams, these vv. seem to have been treated as in some way sacrosanct. Certainly, Aen.'s journey from Elysium to Caieta was of no great moment and required a light, swift touch, apart from the actual passage through the Gates. But there are a lot of problems here, which point to the hasty and distracted composition of a transition which would one day require proper attention as the fitting closure to a great compositional sequence. Let me summarise: (1) Inconsistencies, not significant on their own; cf., though, **886** (just where *are* Aen., the Sibyl and Anch.?) and **890** (who should have supplied this information?).

(2) It is not quite clear what is meant by **897f. his...dictis** (where *vd. n.*). Nor is the ekphrasis of the Gates properly 'closed' (**898**; *vd. n.*).

(3) **892** borrowed from 3.459 (with change of speaker; cf. Miller, 144) and **901**, if V.'s, borrowed from 3.277; a frequent symptom of a passage not fully polished.

(4) At **896** (*vd. n.*), the pedantic have noted that a word is omitted and that there is therefore an inconcinnity of grammar.

(5) See further, **901**. The problem of **900** is (merely) textual.

That is no small accumulation of little flaws within sixteen lines; they are not necessarily relevant to the question of whether the *epicedion* of Marc. is integral, or added, but they do very strongly suggest a seriously unrevised passage.

886 sic...passim...uagantur Sic: Serv. expands *ista noscentes*, while some edd. have thought of what has been *said*. Hardly. Aen. and the Sibyl listen; Anch. expounds and *thus* do they complete their journey. V.: *EV* 5*, 417 (V. glad to use a bland and unevocative word for a moment). P.: cf. **652**. See Cartault, 487, n.3 (p. 529), Norden; only Cartault really faces the formal problem here, of a familiar type (cf. 1.419, 438. W.Kroll, *Jhb.klass. Phil.*, Suppl.27 (1902), 139). At **754** Anch. took Aen. and the Sibyl up to a mound, **tumulum capit unde omnis...posset/ aduersos legere**. The unity of the Parade is not impaired by any untimely strolls through Elysium and only here do we suddenly find Aen. and companions no longer on their natural reviewing stand. Is the 'answer' here anything to do with that to be sought in the next v.? Does V. need to put some sense of distance between the heroes in Elysium and the Gates of Dreams? **890-1** will be found to contain a similar 'inconsistency'; are we to conclude that the whole passage is seriously unrevised? Would such a conclusion bear on the status of Marc. within the whole Parade (cf. **(847-53)**, (2)? From **sic tota** we do

pretty clearly enter upon an unrevised passage and **888** ends **per singula duxit**, a discreet debt to **565 perque omnia duxit**, but that does not impugn the finish of what *precedes* and is no indication that the *epicedion* is a late addition.

tota regione Not common in V. in the sense of 'region' (4.42, 9.390); Munzi, *EV* 4, 422. The abl. 'of extension', which is often found with noun+adj, (*aequore toto, toto ... caelo*, etc.; Malosti, 60ff.).

887 aëris in campis latis Little or nothing in common with the **largior aether** of **640**, and probably nothing to do, either, with 'mist'; that is good Latin (Lunelli, *bis*) but not easily understood eschatologically. The Underworld of *Aen.6* is an anthology, or scrapbook, of seven centuries of speculation; the *aer* here exceptionally well suited to a position outside the Underworld proper, just before the Gates, and not yet under the familiar skies of Italy. V. is in all probability writing in terms of 'astral immortality' (Burkert, *LS.*, 360-8), a complicated nexus of beliefs, attested from the c.5BC and no longer to be assumed as Pythagorean (vd. Burkert, Bremmer), but as belonging rather to the Platonic tradition and familiar to Virgil above all from *Cic Somn Scip.* (Lamacchia, Zetzel, ed. *Cic.Rep.*, index, s.v. soul). With improved understanding of astronomy, the Greeks - not only philosophers, but writers of epitaphs (Lattimore) - increasingly relocated the soul after death in the heavens (vd. Serv. here), beneath the Moon (so, in the school of Plato, Bremmer, after Burkert, 364, n.75, 367, n.93), *en route* to yet higher things, towards the Sun, or definitively among the stars (see in particular Heracl.Pont. *frag.93, 94* Wehrli), notably in the Milky Way. Serv. here (V. follows those who believe that *Elysium lunarem esse circum*; cf. PsProb. on *Buc.6.31*, p.333.17 Hagen) and *Macr.Comm. Somn.1.9.8* belong firmly to the 'ascent' generation and did not fail to appreciate V.'s 'correct' understanding (vd. Wlosok). See Bremmer (2009), 204f., *id.*, (2002), 7, 93 with n.40, Cumont, *LP*, 171-88 at 175-8, *SF*, 183-5, Setaioli, *EV* 2, 961f., Lattimore, 31-43, R.Lamacchia, *Rh.M.* 107 (1964), 261-78, Burkert, *LS.*, 358, 366-8, Thornton, 66f. (with Wlosok, *RHRD*, 359f.), W.Stettner, *Die Seelenwanderung...* (diss. Tübingen 1930), 57f., A.Lunelli, *EV* 1, 40, *id.*, *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 57, n.108, Wlosok, *RHRD*, 386, R.Lamberton, *Homer the theologian* (Berkeley 1986), 73f.. For *campis latis*, cf. 11.465 (inverted), with my note: standard Latin; celestial *campi*, *Ov.Met.6.694*, etc., Hey, *TLL* 3.221.8-16. The metaphor comfortably enough transferred.

atque omnia lustrant Clavadetscher, *TLL* 7.2.1876.47f. compares the use of *l.* at 1.577, **6.681**: V., as at **681, 682** (the Roman, contemporary allusion occurs at beginning and end), hints at censorial *lustratio*, Nadeau (**682**), 45. Add my n. on 2.564 and cf. *EV* 3, 288.

888 quae...per singula The rather complex word-order seems not to have attracted due attention; the rel.pron., connecting to what precedes, is thrust forward with anastrophe of the preposition and ahead of the conjunction; the preposition stands directly before the distributive **singula** in a perspicuous sequence; *per singula* 8.618, Prop.4.8.87, *semel* Germanicus, Lucan, Sen.*Ep.*; more favoured by Manilius and Quint.; not yet at all a stock phrase, though clearly useful, and indeed apparently first here.

postquam Anchises natum...duxit For *ducere per* thus, cf. 4.74 *Aenean secum per moenia duxit*, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2145.6f. N.: cf. **752, 897** and for the rather repetitive phrasing, see n. on **886 sic...passim...uagantur**.

889 incenditque animum Cf. 12.238 *incensa est iuuenum sententia*, 4.197 *incenditque animum dictis*, Negri Rosio 324f., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.868.68; compare in particular Cic.*Sull.*40 *uos profecto animum meum tum conseruandae patriae cupiditate incendistis*. This v. essential to our correct understanding of the rhet. function of the Parade as genealogical protreptic: *Companion*, 144, Horsfall (1976), 84, (1982), 16, Hight, 92.

famae uenientis amore Cf. 2.343 *insano Cassandrae incensus amore*, 3.298 *miroque incensum pectus amore*, an intense but conventional flame: cf. Fedeli, *EV* 1, 144 and nn. on 7.496 *eximiae laudis succensus amore* and **6.823 laudumque immensa cupido**. *Venturus* is a common means of referring to future events, 3.158, 458, *EV*, 5*, 488; only here, though, does V. refer thus to a future state or condition that even now is on its way (cf. LHS, 387 for the pres. partic. used of fut. time); by the sight of his *nepotes*, Aen. will be fired with an emotional, personal, intense commitment to the *fama* that they, and through them, Rome will attain, very close in sense and context to the *gloria* of **756-7**: cf. 8.731 *attollens umero famaque et fata nepotum*, 1.287, 7.79, Hor.*C.*4.15.14; *EV* 2, 461f. unilluminating; cf. rather Christ, 147f..

890 exim Cf. n. on 7.341 for this lofty, archaic transition. **Exim F**; **exin MPR**: the rare **-m** probably to be preferred, though not required before consonant; to earlier bibl., add Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1506.54ff..

bella...memorat Cf. 1.8 *Musa, mihi causas memora*, O.Prinz, *TLL* 8.688.61. A small bone of contention much worried by an earlier generation of discrepancy-hunters: Günther, 38, Heinze, 360, n.1, 440, M.M. Crump, *Growth of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1920), 22, 50, G.D'Anna, *Il problema della composizione...* (Roma 1957), 81-4, A.Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis*, 179f., Cartault, 1, 487, Duckworth, 104, 114, Sabbadini (ed. *Aen.*1-3, Torino 1922), xxiv, No., p.347, and the nn. of Butler and Paratore. At 3.458-60 Helenus prophesies of the Sibyl (cf. 5.735ff.): *illa tibi Italiae populos uenturaque bella/ et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem/ expediet* (cf. further the **bella, horrida bella** foreseen by the Sibyl at

6.86). The affinity of the passages is underscored by the repetition of 3.459 at **6.892**. But here not only is it Anch. (cf. **759 et te tua fata docebo**), and not the Sibyl, who tells of the wars in Italy (cf. further, 1.263f.), but no account of how they are to be faced is offered. It does seem that bk.3 is a good deal earlier than bk.6: cf. comm. on 3, xx-xl. What is to be concluded depends on whether the reader *wants* to think (s)he knows the stages through which the plot of the *Aen.* passed; readers happy to recognise simply that problems exist in the surviving text will only find it necessary to conclude that the role once assigned to the Sibyl had by the end of bk.6 also been in part assigned to Anch.; either the poet had forgotten, or he did not care, or perhaps he ‘was going to sort it out’ during the ‘final revision’. No view is offered here; the question itself seems to imply a misconceived approach. Not, therefore, comparable to the subtle, originally Homeric, shift in the source of information in *G.4* (392f., 396f.; O’Hara draws my attention to M.Gale, *TAPA* 133 (2003), 335, with n.36).

uiro Cf. **863**; here again a lofty substitute for the unacceptable *ei*.

quae deinde gerenda Cf. n. on 7.444 for this common phrasing.

891 Laurentisque...populos For the flexible plur. of **p.**, cf. n. on 7.725, and for the problematic **L.**, *EV* 3, 141-4. That discussion represented a careful analysis of the evidence; it is (at least) disappointing to find in C.Mastroiacovo, ‘Servio e il problema di Laurentum[*sic*]’, in *Hinc Italiae gentes* (ed. C.Santini, F.Stok, Pisa 2004), 75-110 no recognition that the status of the evidence had now been analysed in some detail and could hardly be treated any longer as being, all of it, from the elder Cato to Serv. Dan., at the same level of merit or reliability over the passage of seven centuries; indeed, I am not sure that M. engages with my (Italian, after all) discussion at any point. Exactly the same applies to M.L.Scevola, *Laurentum* (Como 1999); the author appears to have preferred not to engage with views not her own. No town of ‘Laurentum’ ever existed and its recent proponents do themselves much discredit by their unblushing evasion of the notably complex scholarly issues. Here *V.* probably employs a solemn, elevated plur. to refer to one single *populus*, the Laurentes, used as focal point, or symbol, of the area’s native population, *EV* 3, 141f..

docet Of particularly authoritative exposition, *G.3.440*, *Aen.4.116*, **6.759**, 8.50, 11.315, etc..

urbemque Latini Nameless and never exactly localised; cf. further full n. on 7.162. Lat. is normally presented as king of the Laurentes (the evidence gathered, *EV* 3, 142), so that the two members contain but a single, composite idea; not exactly hendiadys.

892 et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem See 3.459 (*supra*), with comm.; identical, but for change of person.

893-6 The Gates of Dreams

No decisive solution to the problems of the Gates is offered here but some relatively impartial familiarity with the scholarship encourages me to propose a few suggestions about directions in which there seem to be faint glimpses of light in the gloom:

(1) There is ample evidence for the unfinished and disordered state of *Aen.*6 after the end of the *epicedion*: see **886-901**; it is an irresistible challenge to the ingenious (see Cockburn, with O'Hara's reply, (1996), Kraggerud, Jönsson/Reos with Thomas, *VAR*, 196f., Geymonat's app.crit. on **897**) to try to out-guess Varius' attempt to bring order out of V.'s papers (if that is what has happened), but the results hitherto have not been inspiring, or even helpful, and this comm. tries to understand the transmitted text, in terms of what V. may reasonably have been thought to be reading; incompleteness such as that here does not call for radical solutions.

(2) The place of the Gates in the narrative; that leads directly to three principal lines of discussion:

(a) A means of telling the time, in that true dreams were believed only to appear after midnight. Sufficient evidence to establish that this belief existed was produced by Everett in 1900, but it may be doubted that V. was quite that interested - directly after the commemoration of Marcellus - in the *timetable* of *Aen.*'s *Katabasis*. See Christmann, 256f., Otis (1959), 174, Rolland, 209, Kopff, 246, H.Kenner, PW 18.1.451.61ff., Brignoli, 64f., Perotti, 192, Reed, 311, Bray, 58f., West, *Bough*, 9. Note also Serv. on **284**: *qui de somniis scripserunt dicunt, quo tempore folia de arboribus cadunt, uana esse somnia*. Perhaps therefore some (?late antique) scholars thought that autumn dreams were falsidical; alternatively, a scholiast hastily combined the simile of the leaves and the (?)metaphor of the Gates to produce a fragile construct of transient appeal. The rare words veridical and falsidical are used to avoid confusion (as in the case of 'true' and 'false') between categories.

(b) After the PH and commemoration of Marcellus, a rapid ending is essential; the narrative has now to recommence above ground, as swiftly as was compatible with credibility and decorum. That is successfully achieved. Cf. Bray, 56. For other accounts of the *anabasis ex inferis*, vd. Norden, 47. Perhaps the reader is also expected to bear in mind (*SC*) that upper and lower worlds are of course well known to be connected at Cumae and elsewhere in the neighbourhood (Ephorus, *FGH*70F134a = Strab. 5.4.5, Ganschietz, PW 10.2384.41-4 (with 11-16, etc.); thereabouts, *Aen.* and the Sibyl would naturally be able to pass both downwards and up, by separate routes, indeed.

(c) It was notably E.L.Highbarger (1940), 70-97 (with pl.V) who argued for *Aen.*'s route through the Underworld as having been circular, as the

repeated **bis** of **134** might suggest that V. had himself at one point thought: at **283-5** Aen. passed the great elm **quam sedem somnia uulgo/ uana tenere ferunt**; compare **896 falsa** and **insomnia**, with **894 fertur**. Was it not therefore to this same point (ring-composition of a kind) that Aen. and the Sibyl returned to leave the Underworld? Note Serv. on **282**: *et intellegimus hanc esse eburneam portam per quam exiturus Aeneas est*. A circular route uncongenial, intolerable, even, to readers who find (as I do) a strong element of linear progress in Aen.'s journey, from darkness to light, from Troy to the Campus Martius, from Priam to Marcellus, from Plato to *mos maiorum*. See Steiner, 90, Christmann, 257, Otis (1959), 174, Mayer, 59, Rolland, 208, West, *Bough*, 8.

(3) Homer and the Homer scholia. In *Od.* we should note 4.809 Penelope, sleeping ἐν ὄνειρείῃσι πύλῃσι (vd. West's n.), 24.12 Hermes leads the spirits of the suitors παρ' Ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὄνειρων (vd. Page, *Hom. Od.*, 132, n.19) and above all 19.560-9 (with Russo's ample n., after A.Amory, *YCS* 20 (1966), 1-57): Penelope tells Od. that ὄνειροι are ἀμήχανοι ἀκριτόμυθοι; not all are fulfilled, for they pass through two gates, (i) of sawn ivory, whose dreams οἱ ῥ' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράντα φέροντες and (ii) of polished horn, whose dreams οἱ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραινουσι, not the source of Pen.'s own dream, whose truth she has misperceived. The roles of the two gates are determined by etymology: with κέρασ, horn, cf. κραινέιν, to fulfil, and with ἔλεφας, ivory, cf. ἐλεφαίρειν, to deceive; vd. Pfeiffer, *Hist.class.schol.*, 3f., O'Hara, *TN*, 7-11 at 11 for the role of such etyms. in Hom.. Ample ancient comment, as was to be expected: schol. 4.809 'through which the dreams pass'; schol. *Od.*19.562, horn more translucent than ivory and ivory therefore more suited to deceit; alternatively, the eye's membrane horn-like (cf. *Od.*19.211), while ivory is suggestive of teeth and the mouth, whence of words, less trustworthy than what you see; cf. Serv. on **893**. The etymologies and the assignment of materials are also expounded by Eustathius. Hom. had written about *dreams*, while the 'dreams' sense of **893 somni** is likely but not beyond dispute: it is not therefore quite clear whether V. has altered his original.

(4) The poetic significance of gates. Figurative or symbolic gates are widespread, and it may help to offer a provisional list; V. is unlikely to depend upon Hom. alone and this intro. is aimed at suggesting other influences. Compare here the gates of (a) the sun (*Od.*24.12, *supra*; Buffière, 447-9; cf. the paths of night and day, Hes.*Theog.* 741, Parmen.18B1, v.11DK), (b) Death (Lucr.3.67, *Psal.*9.13, 107.18), (c) Hades (*Il.*9.312, *Theog.*427, 709, 'Pythag.' 45C3DK, Tib.1.3.71, Prop.4.11.8, Ov.*Met.*4.439, 10.13, *Ev.Matt.*16.18; Clark, *Catabasis*, index s.v. 'gate'), (d) the cave of the Nymphs (*Od.*13.109-12, Kraggerud, 133f., Knauer, 82; a great mass

of ancient exegesis, R.Lamberton, *New comp. Hom.*, 53f., *id.*, (887), 318-24, *id.*, Porphyry, *On the cave of the nymphs* (Barrytown 1983), p.36f., Buffière, 419-37), (e) the heavens, or Paradise (Plat.*Rep.*614D, *Enn.epigr.* 4V *caeli maxima porta*, - vd. (8) *infra* - etc., Burkert, *LS*, 367f.) and vd. also Highbarger's index; for ancient comments on V.'s gates, see (7) and for some further speculations, (8). The bowl (in which dreams were mixed) of *Orph.fr* 412Bernabé, *PEG* 2.1 (=Plut.*Mor.*566A) was adduced by Norden (p.47) and still surfaces occasionally in the literature (e.g. Mellinghoff-B., 211, West, *Orphic poems*, 12); remote from V. (a different central *image*, after all) and no proof of an Orphic origin here in V.. Some other attestations of the Gates of Dreams, comparable to V.'s, are included here: Hor.*C.*3.27.41 *uana[imago] quae porta fugiens eburnal somnium ducit* (closely contemporary; the issue of priority not at all clear), Prop.4. 7.87 *piis uenientia somnia portis*, Stat.*Silv.*5.3.288 (vd. Rolland, 212), Tert.*An.* 46.2 (vd. Waszink); in Gk. texts, cf. Plat.*Charm.*173A, *AP* 7.42.1f. (Diodorus), Philostr. *Imag.*1.27, Colluthus 320; vd. Christmann, 258, Mellinghoff-B., 209f..

(5) The associations of horn and ivory. The translucence of horn specified in discussion of *Od.*19.560-9, *Eust.Od.*2.218.43Stallbaum and cf. *Macr.Comm.Somn.* 1.3.20; this characteristic basic to the regular use of horn in the manufacture of lanterns, Marquardt-Mau, 712, n.7, Blümner, *Technologie*, 2, 359, n.8. Horn otherwise employed for bows, lyres and tableware (Blümner, *ib.*, 358-60, E.Pottier, *DS* 1.2. 1510ff.); not a precious or honoured material, except for conveying the truth. Ivory, on the other hand, is consistently associated with gods and kings (Blümner, *PW* 5.2356.45ff., A.Jacob, *DS* 2.1.444ff., Blümner, *Technologie*, 2, 364ff.), as also with deceitful dreams; the paradoxical association of the precious, esteemed material with the misleading dream is apparently nowhere satisfactorily explained (Perotti, 189). The linked contrasts of high value material with modest, and of opacity with translucence lead to no helpful answer.

(6) 'True' and 'false'. Numerous surveys of earlier discussions (many altogether too sophisticated, too 'modern', to apply quite credibly to the historical understanding of V.) of truth, falsehood, and V.'s Gates are available; another will not be offered here, but rather some attempt to disentangle the verbal issues of real<>bogus and falsidical<>veridical. Or rather, we had best accept that *falsus* can be used as both 'bogus' (3.302, etc., Kopff, 249) and 'falsidical' (1.407f. *falsis/ ludis imaginibus*, Kopff, 249f.: Venus is a 'fake' huntress and misleads her son), and likewise, *uerus* for the opposites ('real': 1.405 *uera incessu patuit dea*: 'veridical', 3.310, 551, *EV* 5*, 513, *OLD* §6c). Cf. Kraggerud, 132f., *Companion*, 147, Williams, *TI*, 48. For the distinction in Hom. (unfulfilled<>true), vd. (3).

TCD offers a sane, lucid definition of what is meant by a real dream ('what we think we see when we are asleep...').

(7) Aeneas and the world of dreams.

(a) The Aen. of *Aen.6* is bulky, human and living, enough so indeed to occasion some modest drollery: vd. **413f.** (with **292ff.**): see *Companion*, 146f., Otis (1959), 175f., Tarrant, 51ff.. He returns to a world of similar, comfortably large heroes, real at least in epic terms, if not (Tarrant) in philosophical. He emerges as a bogus spirit who has been exposed to a veridical vision. That (cf. (6)) raises insoluble problems with regard to his qualifications for passing through one gate, or indeed the other.

(b) Non-recollection. Aen. also has a short memory: he is presented as displaying no knowledge, in the narrative, of what he saw in the Underworld; O'Hara refers to 12.111 *fata docens*, not conclusive (as against other revelations that have been made to him). In isolation, that might count for little, but that is also exactly his situation on taking up Vulcan's shield, 8.730 *rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet* and if we look at dreams in *Aen.*, some are evidently recollected upon waking, but not (2.268, where vd. n., 4.465-8, 7.445-67) others. Non-recollection may be a matter of narrative, or psychological, credibility; it may also be used to set up dramatic irony (we know, but Aen. does not) and it may also reflect Lucretian discussion of why we misperceive certain figures that we see in our dreams (4.765-7, Steiner, 31, Adler, 263-9), and do not recall essential details upon waking, for the memory has been asleep. Cf. Möllendorff, 51, 63, Kilpatrick, 67, Verstraete, 9, Michels (1981), 140f.. V.'s educated readers may have wished to take comfort in the employment of the gate of ivory to distance the myths related by V. from their sophisticated outlook (see (9)), or as learned doubt expressed towards the account given of the souls of the dead (West, 14), but Caesar, Pompey and Marcellus are no myths and V. offers his readers (interpreted) familiar historical (and legendary) facts. Cf. Bray, 60-3.

(c) Is the *Katabasis* actually a dream-journey? Yes, indeed, *because* Aen. emerges from the gate of ivory, for some; a case argued vigorously, Michels (1981), 140-4, Otis (1959), 176, Verstraete, 7f., Reed, 312f.; *contra*, e.g. Tarrant, 53, Bray, 62ff. and for further refs., vd. Clark, 223f., Möllendorff, 51, n.20. We of course accept that there is something nightmarish about the beginning of the *Katabasis*, **255-94**. The character of Aen.'s experience, as we have just seen (6), has been claimed eagerly by some readers (e.g. O'Hara, *DOP*, 170-2, *Inconsistency*, 95) as an indication that we are expected to view the details of what Aen. has seen and heard as a (more or less) false dream-experience, wholly or partly oneiric (partly oneiric, indeed, after his difficulties in Charon's barque); energetically proposed as early as F.Granger, *CR* 14 (1900), 25, R.S.Conway in *Essays...Ridgeway*

(Cambridge 1913), 22f.. Compare the apparent dream-*Katabasis* at the beginning of Enn.'s *Epicharmus, Varia*, fr.45V, Ganschietz, PW 10.2416. 39ff., A.Dieterich, *Nekyia* (Leipzig 1893), 132f.; Plut.*Mor.*590A^{ff.} (revelation of universe at cave of Trophonius: Norden, 47, Wlosok, *RHRD*, 360), not to mention the myth of Er, Pl.*Rep.* 614B^{ff.}; Ganschietz, *cit.*, 2413. 40ff. etc.) and the celestial dream-journey, [Sen.]*HO* 1427ff., with Walde, 386f.. Dream-like qualities are present in the text, but if what Aen. has experienced, however unremembered, is basically a veridical revelation, then it is best not understood (almost inevitably with impugned veridicity) as a *dream*. We readers after all remember what Aen. has been shown (by the Sibyl and Anch., under Virgil's own guidance) when he returns to the world above and interpret (a form of tragic irony) what then happens to him on the basis of a crucial knowledge that he does *not* share.

(8) The geography of the Gates. A little familiarity with later Greek literary gates leads the reader of *Aen.*6 only too easily into strange wisdom partly, but not entirely, unknown to V.. But one line of thought that has struck several Virgilians deserves fuller consideration: see (4)(d) for the Hom. entrances to the cave of the nymphs; schol. B on *Od.*13.103 the cave an allegory of the cosmos; one entrance for bodies, one for souls. The same gates interpreted astrologically with ref. to Plato's myth of Er by Numenius (Lamberton (887), 66-76). Not quite all of this material is to be dismissed as late antique and therefore irrelevant because post-*Aen.*, for Heracl.Pont. (clearly enough read by V.; n. on 887) has already, as the tradition of V.'s interpreters knew, set his cosmic gates (which are Platonic, (4)(e)) firmly in the zodiac (Serv. *ad G.*1.34 = fr.94Wehrli). Nor should we forget Cic.'s citation (*Rep.*fr.inc.lib.6Ziegler) of Ennius' epigram 21-4V (=44Courtney), vv.3-4 *si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam/ mi soli* [Scip.Afr.Mai.] *caeli maxima porta patet* (no mere metaphor, but bound integrally to the upward *motion* of the soul): V.'s Gates are not simply Homeric and oneiric; like the *aëris in campis latis* of 887, they belong *also* to the new, increasingly heavenly phase of the afterlife's localisation even if they do not *yet* offer passage to all souls. See Buffière, 442-5, 456-8, Burkert, *LS*, 367, n.91, Brenk, 282f., Clark, 180-3, Cumont, *SF*, 40f., Pollmann, 235, n.12.

(9) Ancient discussion of V.'s Gates. Serv. on 893 remarks *poetice apertus est sensus: uult autem intellegi falsa esse omnia quae dixit*: see (6), (7) and vd. Pascoli, Brignoli, 63, Dominik, 129f., Mellinshoff-B., 214, Perotti, 191, 197, Öberg, 108f.. TCD unilluminating. On Macr.*Comm. Somn.* 1.3.6, 17-20 (cf. 2.10.11). In 1.3, after Porphyry *quaest.Hom.*, on the obscuring of human understanding; see R.Beutler, PW 22.299.38ff., Lamberton (887), 271, Kilpatrick, 67-9); no reason, alas, to suppose that any of

this application of allegorised myth to levels of understanding, though helpful, even enticing, was yet clearly and demonstrably known to V..

(10) Conclusion. The careful, dispassionate reader of these vv. feels repeatedly challenged, even thwarted: Gates of Sleep, or more probably of Dreams; *umbrae* not logically opposed to *insomnia*; both *ueris* and *falsa* ambiguous; Aen. and the Sibyl neither ghosts nor dreams so neither gate is strictly appropriate to them (and one might ask how Theseus had emerged); what Aen. has seen and heard is successively mythological, philosophical and historical, so to interpret the gate of false dreams as a critique of the entire, undifferentiated content of *Aen.*6 is an extraordinarily crude reading. Are we expected to limit our disbelief (if that is what the choice of gate tells us) to the mythological content? Should the honest reader conclude that (s)he is not expected to reach a neat answer? Is the mystery of the Gates perhaps so impenetrable because that was just the degree of honest perplexity into which V. has wittingly lead the careful reader? Certainly, I have no neat, general answer to offer.

Bibliography [on so major a problem, I do not aim at completeness, but on the better recent discussions, I hope to be relatively thorough]: Bell, 415-7, J.J.Bray (1912-95; poet, humanist and Chief Justice of South Australia; a very good and pellucid paper), in *For service to classical studies. Essays...F.Letters* (Melbourne 1966), 55-69, F.E.Brenk, in *Stud.Lat.lit.* 6 (*Coll.Lat.*217, 1992), 277-94, F.M.Brignoli, *GIF* 7 (1954), 61-7, E.Christmann in *Studien z. ant. Epos* (ed. H.Görgemanns, E.A.Schmidt, Meisenheim 1976), 251-79, Clark, *Catabasis*, G.Cockburn, *Phoen.* 46 (1992), 362-4, W.J. Dominik, *Maia* 48 (1996), 129-38, W.Everett, *CR* 14 (1900), 153f., L.Fratantuono, *Lat.*66 (2007), 628-35, R.J.Getty, *AJP* 54 (1933), 1-28, Goold (1992), 122f., F.Granger, *CR* 14 (1900), 24-6, H.C.Gotoff, *CP* 80 (1985), 35-40, Gruppe, 2, 934f., T.J. Haarhoff *GR* 17 (1948), 88-90, Heyne, exc.xv to bk.6, E.L.Highbarger, *The gates of dreams* (Baltimore 1940), M.E.Hirst, *CR* 26 (1912), 82f., Horsfall, *Alambicco*, 103, 118f., *id.*, *Companion*, 146f., A.Jönsson/B.-A.Roos, *Eranos* 94 (1996), 21-8, A.H.M.Kessels, *Mnem.*4.22 (1969), 389-424, R.Kilpatrick, *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 63-70, E.C. Kopff, N.M.Kopff, *Philol.*120 (1976), 246-50, E.Kraggerud, *Symb.Osl.*77 (2002), 128-44, J.-Y.Maleuvre, *REA* 98 (1996), 91-107, R.G.Mayer, *PVS* 21 (1993), 53-63, Mellinshoff-Bourgerie, 205-21, A.K.Michels, *AJP* 65 (1944), 135-48, *ead.* *CQ* 31 (1981), 140-6, P. von Möllendorff, *Zwischen Tradition u. Innovation* (München, etc. 2000), 43-66, U.Molyviati-Toptsis, *AJP* 116 (1995), 639-52, Y.Nadeau, *Lat.*59 (2000), 303-6, W.R.Nethercut, *Vergilius* 19 (1973), 28-32, Norden, 47f., J.Öberg, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 108-9, J.O'Hara, *Phoen.*50 (1996), 331-4, *id.*, *DOP*, 170-2, *id.*, *TN*, 182, *Inconsistency*, 95, Onians, 241-3, J. van Ooteghem, *LEC* 16 (1948), 386-90, B.Otis *TAPA* 90 (1959), 173-9, Perret, pp.182-4, P.A.Perotti, *Vichiana* 4.6 (2004), 187-201, A.Perutelli, *EV* 4, 937-40, K.Pollmann, *Philol.*137 (1993), 232-51, N.Reed, *CQ* 23 (1973), 311-5, L.F.Rolland, *REL* 25 (1957), 204-23, P.H.Schrijvers, *Mnem.*33 (1980), 128-51, A.Setaioli, *EV* 2, 962, Steiner, (724-

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893 sunt geminae...portae Cf. 7.607 *sunt geminae Belli portae*, with notes on the formal, ekphrastic manner, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1744.44. **G.** not a neutral synonym for ‘two’, but suggestive of an actual pair (cf. Kilpatrick, 66); whereas in bk.7 the reference appears to be to a single arch with twin leaves, the suggestion here is of a pair of arches, juxtaposed. Neither in Hom., nor here, is it quite clear what is envisaged: two arches revetted with plaques of horn or ivory, or a great pair of horns adjoining a yet greater pair of tusks, or blocks of both materials used as bricks: we are not, though, exactly invited to ask, let alone answer, such questions.

somni Rather than **Somni**, I suspect. *Od.* 19.893 δοιαὶ γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰς ὄνειρων refers clearly to dreams, not sleep; so too 4.809 ἐν ὄνειρείῃσι πύλῃσιν, and 24.12 παρ’ Ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὄνειρων. Parodied by Lucian, *VH* 2.33 (*four gates*, not ‘two as in Hom.’). We cannot exclude a Virgilian variation on Hom., with personification of ‘sleep’, but sleep here is an unwelcome, unnecessary complication of the line’s focus. **Somni** for the impossible *somni* is regular poetic usage: cf. *Buc.* 1.32 *peculi*, 68 *tuguri*, *G.* 4.564 *oti*, *Aen.* 1.247 *Patavi*, 258, 270, **6.84**, *Lauini*, NW 1, 136, 138, Holzweissig, 451f., Sommer, 339f., P.Maas, *ALL* 12 (1902), 510 for -i in place of -ii. Cf. Williams, 48, Perotti, 187f., Brenk, 284, Perutelli, 937, 939, Pollmann, 236, n.13, Jönsson/ Roos, 24, Kraggerud, 136, Reed, 313 (the polemic unhelpful). Perhaps sing., then, for plur., to avoid the otherwise quite impossible *somniorum*, E.Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 565; but ‘dreams’ here are not binding.

quarum altera...// 895 altera Cf. 5.298f., 11.670f..

fertur/ 894 cornea With **fertur**, the poet reminds his readers that he is following a familiar and identifiable source, in this case Homer, just as at 7.765 *namque ferunt fama*, the educated reader recognises the footnote ‘see Callimachus’, or at 10.189 *namque ferunt*, ‘Phanocles, of course’. For such references in context, cf. *Alambicco*, 118f. (*PLLS* 6 (1990), 50 is not to be preferred), and for the use of ‘horn’, vd. intro., (5). Mayer, 59 is merely naive to claim (after Heinze) that *fertur* is V.’s way of signalling a fiction; that is but one of the many ways in which V. employs *dicitur*, *ferunt*, and the like. After my detailed study of the evidence, some sort of nuanced account was now required, little though M. may like the toil involved or

the conclusions reached; *id.*, 63, n.11 offers cavils, not arguments of substance.

qua Not advb. but rel. taking up **porta...altera**.

ueris...umbris Vd. intro., (6). Kraggerud, 130, after Fletcher, reminds us that V. refers to ghosts, not dreams. ‘Gli spiriti che appaiono sulla terra’, comparing 4.386, 571, A.M.Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 380 (excellent). Add Rosio, 51-64 at 51, with n.45, *Aen.*2.772). Not therefore a synonym of **896 insomnia** (though not unrelated; Bray well cites 10.641f. *morte obita qualis fama est uolitare figuras/ aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus*); the contrast of **ueris...falsa** is, however, evident.

facilis...exitus Standard phrasing, Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.56.37, *Cic.Att.*9.3.1 *non esse facilis nobis ex Italia exitus*, *Caes.Civ.*3.22.4 *celerem et facilem exitum*, etc.. We might wish to compare **146 namque ipse uolens facilisque sequetur**, of the Golden Bough; certainly there is some sort of ring-composition with **282-4** (the elm-tree where Dreams nest; see intro., (4), but it is also difficult to read the book without a sense of some link between GB and Gates. The GB *Aen.* (636) has duly laid down and it no longer protects him; ingress and progress depended on the GB, egress upon the Gates. One is magical, perplexing, even totemic, the other Homeric (though not clearly understood either there or here); both mark stages in the journey, mysterious and but dimly understood.

datur In the sense of ‘permit, concede, grant’; cf. 3.337, **6.431**, **477**, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1678.72, *EV* 2, 115f..

895 candenti...elephanto Cf. 3.464 *auro grauia ac secto elephanto* with n. and for the Grecising (*Od.*19.563; Gates of Dreams), polysyll. ending, Norden, 438, Winbolt, 135f.. The form *elephantus*, as against *elephas* (*Lucr.*6.1114), solidly Ennian (*Ann.*236, 611); the whole beast used for the material of the tusk, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.358.39ff. (from *G.*3.26; for Virgilian *totum pro parte*, cf. n. on 3.27). The adj. from *Cat.* and *Lucr.*, Goetz, *TLL* 3.234.46f., Edgeworth, 112f., 125. These two words can be taken with both **nitens** and **perfecta**, and probably should be, with faint variation in their grammatical character (i.e. a very mild zeugma). For the associations of ivory, vd. intro., (5).

perfecta Cf. 5.267, 9.263, *Sil.*12.403, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1367.21f..

nitens Of pastures, helmets, bulls, crops, etc., *EV* 3, 738. The adj. does not visibly hint at the etymological link between ἐλέφας and ἐλεφαίρονται (‘they deceive’), present in *Hom.*, *cit.* (563, with schol., intro., (3), *Eust.*2.218.36ff. Stallbaum), though one might wish that it did (cf., soberly, O’Hara, *TN*, 182). Adj. and partic. juxtaposed in asyndeton: *Con.* cites 3.70 *lenis crepitans*, *G.*4.370 *saxosusque sonans*; the instances quoted on 7.625 (*arduus...puluerulentus*) are not exactly comparable, but see my n., and Williams’ (ed. mai.), on 3.70.

896 sed falsa...insomnia For the adj., see intro., (6). The sense of the noun (first in *Aen.*; *insomnium quod uidemus in somnis* Serv. on 5.840) has been violently disputed: vd. Getty, Ussani, *supra*, at length, Hugenschmidt/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1938.18f., *EV* 4, 939f. At 4.9 used (vd. Au. here, Pease there; AR 3.636 ὄνειροι used by V. at 4.9) possibly (cf. 4.83 *illum absentem auditque uidetque*) of Dido's waking visions of Aen.. There and here pretty clearly a neut.plur. noun, apparently calqued upon Gk. ἐνύπνιον, here rather likelier to convey simply 'dream' (Perotti, 188-90, 198-200, Reed, 313f. and Highet, 110, Ussani, 138f., 153, Michels 1981, 144, n.12, against Getty, 12f., 27). There seems to be no evident, logical contrast with **894 umbris**; Jackson Knight indeed remarks (and he is not wrong), *Cumaean Gates*, 172, n.2, that V. does not explicitly send the false dreams *through* the ivory gate. The word-order lends strong prominence to **falsa**.

ad caelum mittunt Very much the **caelum** of 719: **anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est/ sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reuerti/corpora**. Cf. 543, 744 for *mittere* thus. Taken up by 898 **emittit** (q.v.). Au. rightly notes the absence of another rel. of place (**qua** again, rather than Au.'s **hac**; cf., correctly, Hahn (1930), 66f.), which impairs the parallelism with 894; **sed** instead introduces a contrast between the Gate's gleaming beauty and its output of **falsa...insomnia**, along with a clear and perceptible awkwardness in the change of construction, which becomes positively ugly with the old strong punctuation at **mittunt**. Emendation, however, is most probably undesirable in an evidently unfinished passage. We might compare Tib.2.6.37, were it at all sure that he had written *mittant insomnia Manes*; Fleischer, *TLL* 8.1181.34; the standard expression, Cic.*Div.*2.127, Ov.*Met.*11.587, etc..

Manes Studied imprecision. Cf. nn. on 743, 3.63 ('the divine spirits of the deceased'). Here apparently in the sense of the *collective* spirits of the dead, or possibly of their realm, G.4.489, *Aen.*8.246 *trepident immisso lumine Manes* (with Bailey, 257), Bömer, *TLL* 8.296.41 (comparing Hor. *Epd.*5.94), Durry and Wistrand on [*Laud.Tur.*] 2.69, Austin on 743 and above all, Negri, 25-8, 86, 108; Bailey, 259f., *EV* s.v. unhelpful. The Latin terminology is coming under the strong influence of Gk. 'δαίμονες' and we should clearly conclude that V. is familiar with Greek conceptions (attributed to Pythag., but also present in c.1 philos. writing) of dreams as sent by the Dead: Diog.Laert. 8 (*vit.Pyth.*)32 (=Alex.Pol. *FGH* 273F93) with Cic.*Div.*1.64 (where vd. Pease)=Posid.fr..108EK, with their ample n., 2, 430f.), Tib.2.6.37 *supra*.

ad caelum mittunt, Plut.*Mor.*566B (vd. intro., (4)). See Gruppe, 2, 934f., Dodds, 111 with n.53, Negri, 108, n.121, E.A.Hahn *TAPA* 92 (1961), 207-9.

897 his ibi tum.../ 898 ...dictis Ibi: FP (hibi P; corr. P₁; see Götte, 833) R ∞ ; ubi Mbct, ‘Probus’, *Gramm.Lat.4.248.5*, TCD. **Vbi after 5.816, 7.373; **ibi** indispensable as ekphrasis returns to narrative. The *illic* of 1.206, 2.783 less striking; cf. too *huc* 2.18, *hic* 3.537, *hanc super* 11.526) and above all 7.92 *hic et tum*; 9.526 *quas ibi tum strages...* is a fortuitous similarity. In this familiar context of the end of an ekphrasis (cf. Kraggerud, 140), **ubi** is altogether unwanted; No. should not have cited 7.611, *has, ubi*, for there *ubi* is temporal and not part of the double ekphrastic structure. V. returns to the end of Aen.’s adventure, but we might wonder (cf. Kraggerud, 138) exactly what is meant by *haec dicta* (**896, 897**), five lines after the end of OO. That apparently only here do *haec dicta* close OO is hardly disquieting. Might V. be indicating in provisional form Anch.’s explanation of the Gates? Might at least part of **897-8** have belonged originally somewhere else? Cf. Jönsson/Reos, 24-6, Kraggerud, 137f., arguing for transposition, but they are apparently unaware of the general, variously problematic, state of **886-901**; our techniques have also, I hope, changed (for the better, even) since the days of Ribbeck and Nauck.**

natum...unaque Sibyllam Both are human, and alive, both belong in the upper world, despite their *Katabasis*. The Sibyl presumably returns to her temple; we do not hear of her further, nor do we need to.

Anchises His farewells to son (with whom he has been since **679**) and priestess are not specified; the former possibly a detail to be invoked in analysis of the chill relations between father and son, Feeney, *ORVA*, 182. But explicit tender farewells here would be intolerably retardatory.

898 prosequitur Cf. *TLL* 10.2.2187.30ff. (Ottink), comparing 9.310, Val.Max.1.1 ext.3 *tot sacrilegia sua...iocosis dictis prosequi uoluptatis loco duxit*; the vb. standard Latin and common. Compare above all **476 prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem**, 9.308ff. *quos omnis euntis/ primorum manus.../ prosequitur uotis*. Here clearly Anch. addresses the departing Sibyl and Aen.; **emittit** presupposes that he knows the route they are to take and implies that he has instructed them accordingly.

portaque...eburna Cf. intro., (5), (6). The adj. Lucretian (2.538); also *G.3.7, Aen.6.647, Hor.C.2, 3*.

emittit Cf. *TLL* 5.2.501.13f. (Rehm), *Ov.Met.15.220*, etc.. **898** evidently takes up **895-6** (note in particular **896 mittunt**; Kopff, 249); we are well used to the formal closures of ecphraseis (n. on **897-8 his ibi tum...dictis**) and the substitution of such a closure here by a ‘mere’ echo (cf. 7.607, 617 *portae...portas*; 8.625, 729) might be taken as a further indication of lack of finish. See intro., (5), (6) for the passage of Aen. and the Sibyl through the Gate of the *falsa insomnia*.

899 ille uiam secat The metaphor Euripidean (*Phoen.*1), not rare in Gk. prose/verse, *LSJ* s.v. τέμνω §vi.2.b, Taillardat, 431, n.4. In Latin, Lucr. 5.272, *G.*1.238, *Aen.*12.368, Coraluppi, *EV* 4, 745, *OLD* s.v., §6a. The details of *Aen.*'s ascent are entirely suppressed; there is some attempt to reconstruct them in *Au.*, but *V.* offers no encouragement to such a course. **Ille** in adversative asyndeton (*Au.*; cf. my n. on 2.374).

ad nauis He returns to the world he left after the burial of Misenus, **212 in litore, 233f.** *V.*'s movement is exceptionally fast here. Not only from the Underworld to the harbour of Cumae, but from Cumae across the bay to Caieta, a distance of just over 35 miles.

sociosque reuisit For *Aen.*'s *socii*, cf. n. on 3.12. **R.** appeals to *V.* when he is writing brisk narrative of repeated events, 4.396 *iussa tamen diuum exsequitur classemque reuisit*, 8.546 *post hinc ad nauis graditur sociosque reuisit*; cf. also e.g. **330, 750**.

900 tum Cf. 3.266, 289, etc.; the baldest indication of sequence in narrative.

se...fert Cf. n. on 11.779, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.560.78; from *Enn. Ann.* on, Hey, 560.64ff.: standard Latin, but apparently not regularly poetic before *V.*.

ad Caietae...portum For the site and its associations, cf. full nn. on 7.1-4 and 7.2. The name recurs at 7.2; it might be significant that this is also the penult. line of bk.6 (Paratore), but such formal elegances are suspect in a generally unfinished passage. Aeneas' nurse Caieta will give her name to the place (7.3-4); here the place already bears the name that it will hold in Roman times, by *V.*'s frequent usage (*EV* 1, 153). The name (or the name's *etymon*) in gen., rather than in appos., as often, n. on 3.707, Antoine, 78.

recto...limite Limite c.9 mss.; **litore** **FMPR**γω, Serv. (on 3.16, 8.57), TCD. A moment of glory (though not undisputed) for the Carolingian mss.. The issue is not clearly understood, for it is normally expressed as depending on the acceptability or otherwise of **litore** in the same *sedes* in successive vv.: such repetition is in fact (just) tolerated in *Aen.* at v.-end: cf. n. on 7.554, Wills, 418-23; for such close repetition elsewhere, and in particular in fifth foot, cf. *id.*, 473f., Austin on 2.505, *Buc.*6.5-6 (fifth foot) 8.45, 47, *Aen.*2.72, 74. But there is no call to pursue further instances. Nor is Peerlkamp's good point about the presence of a preceding monosyll. in both vv. decisive. **Recto litore** yields (just) possible sense: Serv. on 3.16 comments on the present passage *significat eum ita nauigasse ut non lineret litus*: 'rectum litus' does not seem to be regular usage, but cf. Fordyce on 8.57 *recto flumine* (possibly not the same sense), *Caes. Gall* 6.25.1 *rectaque fluminis Danubii regione* ('course'), *OLD* s.v. §2c. 'Straight up the coast' might therefore be justified here, but gives a singularly dull, bland sense. A glance at the map is illuminating: from Cumae to the mouth

of the Volturno, the coast forms the shallowest of bays; from the Volturno to Gaeta, the bay is much more marked, especially at the northern end; two thousand years of silt brought down by the river may well have turned a single bay in V.'s time into (just) two today. Aen. and companions therefore set a course straight across the bay(s) in a timely acceleration of the narrative; cf. n. on 3.551 *sinus* (where the Trojans see a gulf but apparently do not enter it). That yields easy Latin: both *EV* 3, 226 and *TLL* s.v. *limes* predictably ignore the apparently under-supported *l.* here, but *limes* is clearly used of a course through water, *TLL* 7.2.1411.1ff. (Balzert), *Ov.Her.* 18.133, *Trist.* 1.10.16; for *rectus* used to qualify *l.*, vd. *Ov.Met.* 7.782, *Luc.* 9. 712, Balzert, 1410.68ff.. The less obvious word yields far better sense and should clearly be printed.

901 ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes Cf. nn. on 3.277, where this verse occurs (and I wonder whether **litore** might not be understood as an abl. 'of extension', 'along the shore'); if we read **limite** in **900**, then the presence of **901** here (in **FMPR**) may be thought to become easier. However, Bentley (followed by Ribbeck, Peerlkamp), proposed its expulsion. Ignored by Serv., but included by TCD. E.Courtney, *BICS* 28 (1981), 17 remarks bafflingly: 'thoroughly unsuitable in sense to the context'. It would be, were the Trojans still at Cumae, but they have now sailed across the bay to Gaeta and there do in fact need to anchor anew (a detail perhaps too easily overlooked). The sense, therefore, will do very well, and the ms authority is excellent. The entire passage seems unfinished and disordered (**886-901**): V. could easily have closed the book for the moment with a borrowed verse; equally, scribes or ancient editors might have welcomed the chance to fill out a sketchy ending with an easy borrowing. The (rather too) complex discussion of refined allusions offered by J.Wills, *MD* 38 (1997), 185-202 (with metapoetic refinements added, Nickbaht, *infra*) does not face the issue of authenticity clearly enough (185, n.1; likewise M.A. Nickbaht, *Philol.* 150 (2006), 95-101) and a structure so evidently cobbled together as the present one is no firm basis for a structure of allusion quite so complex as that which W. proposes. The repetitive mechanics of an epic voyage, so prominent in bk.3, have not ever seemed to attract the furthest refinements of V.'s art. Od. orders the stern-cables to be loosed at the end of his visit to Hades, *Od.* 11.637, Knauer, 126. I leave **901** in the text, but with no solid conviction that this is necessarily the right choice.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Plena deo

The words *plena deo* are attributed to Virgil by Sen.Rhet.¹. Are these words Virgilian? If so, had they once belonged to a description of the Sibyl? Just what is their likely history and status? The question has generated a substantial bibliography², but some further light may be shed by the application of computer searches: in the general context of ‘divine possession’³, ‘pregnant’ is one of the commoner metaphors used⁴, but it emerges that *before* V. ‘full of the god’ was used in a very different sense. The expression will later enjoy all the success to be expected of a striking phrase that was at least thought by the majority to be Virgilian⁵, but it seems not to have been noted that the phrase had also been employed by Cic.*Leg.*2.26⁶ in a paraphrase of Thales, and behind ‘the priestess full of the god’ and similar expressions⁷, there seems to be (at least as a verbal

¹ *Suas.*3.5 *aiebat* [sc. Arellius Fuscus] *se imitatum esse Vergilianum illud ‘plena deo’*; the phrase then repeated five times over the next three paragraphs.

² F.Della Corte, *Maia* 23 (1971), 102-6, E.K.Borthwick, *Mnem* 4.25 (1972), 408-12, E.Berti, *Scholasticorum studia* (Pisa 2007), 282-90, W.M. Edward, comm. on Sen.*Suas.*, pp.121-2, M.Winterbottom n. on *Suas.*3.5, J.Fairweather, *Seneca the elder* (Cambridge 1981), 313, 374, n.19. Teresa Piscitelli Carpino, *EV* 4, 766, S.F.Bonner, *Roman declamation* (Liverpool 1969), 140, Norden, p.145f., Bömer on *Ov.F.* 6.538, NH on *Hor.C.*2.19.6, NR on *ib.*, 3.25.1f.

³ Here vd. Burkert, *Greek religion* (Eng.tr., Oxford 1985), 109 with n.1, F.Pfister, *PW Suppl.*7.102.12ff., Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1953, etc), 70 with n.41.

⁴ N. on 77 **patiens**, comm. on *Aen.*3, p.478, S.I.Johnston, *Ancient Greek divination* (Chichester 2008), 40ff..

⁵ *Ov.F.*1.474, 6.538, *Medea* fr.2 (Ribbeck, *TRF*, p.230), *Luc.*6.708f., 8.800, 9.564, *Val.Fl.*2.441, *Sil.*3.673, 5.80. This popularity illustrates not authenticity as a fact, but more probably the special circumstances of the attribution. See 625-7 (in particular, H.D.Jocelyn, there cited) for the parallel issue of lines attributed to *Lucr.* but not present in the ms. text.

⁶ *omnia quae cernerent deorum esse plena*; Dyck cites (incorrectly) Thales fr.1A23DK; add *id.*, 1A3 (p.6.23), 1A1 (p.2.20=Diog.Laert.1.26, *ad fin.*); Heraclitus, 12A1DK (p.68.29=Diog. Laert.9.7).

⁷ ἐγκύμων or more loosely ἔνθεος; cf. Dodds, Burkert, Pfister, n.(3), *supra*.

ancestor) the Presocratic ‘all things full of the divine’¹, a form of expression found also in Plato and Aristotle (cf. the testimonia for Thales fr.1A22DK) and then, suitably adjusted, in the NT and Philo².

This plethora of information does not clarify the issue of authorship: we should recall that the expression *plena deo* recurs three times in Serv. (on 3.443, **6.50**, 262), while in Sen.Rhet. it is Arellius Fuscus, a teacher of Ovid, who first ‘floats’ the ‘Virgilian’ *plena deo*, as a variation (‘*imitatus*’) on traditional accounts of the heart of the Homeric seer Calchas, whom the god chose *quod tanto numine impleat*. There is a good deal of ‘Virgil’ cited in the VSD, both anecdotal (§22, the she-bear) and literary³. The weight of argument that can be advanced against such familiar, even shop-soiled, items is perhaps the strongest part of the case against the authenticity of *p.d.*. Edward’s argument (p.627, n.1) for *plena deo* as an insertion in place of a couple of words in our actual text has convinced few. On the basis of their metrical and grammatical form, I have suspected that *plena deo* might belong somewhere in the debate about incomplete verses; thus, at 3.340, it was suggested that *quem tibi iam Troia* just might be authentically Virgilian, but at the same time a textual stray, today found at the wrong place in the mss. (where indeed it makes no clear sense, as was realised in antiquity). So *plena deo* might perhaps have been the first two words (all indeed that there was) of an incomplete verse, probably about the Sibyl, and possibly a candidate for insertion after **6.77**. Unlike 3.340, *plena deo* was struck from the text, but survived (arguably) at least in the oral tradition. Certainly, the fortune of *plena deo* in the rhetorical schools and in Silver epic is very impressive, but may only be, like its repeated presence in Serv., the result of anecdotal popularity preserved in the schoolroom did-

¹ For Thales, vd. n.6; Heraclitus, 12A1DK (p.68.29=Diog.Laert.9.7.).

² *Ev.Luc.*1.67; Philo, *TLG* search s.v. πλήρης θεοῦ and similar. Behind this accumulation of new material, there lies of course a series of extensive electronic searches in both languages.

³ The Ballista-epigram (§17), much of the *Appendix (ib.)*, the extempore completion of **6.164**, **165** (§34), the funerary epigram (§36), the *ille ego* verses (§ 42), not to mention the will (§40f.). This is a deplorable congeries of tinsel fantasies; vd. ch.1 of *Companion*, *Aen.*2, p.559f., *ICS* 31 (2006), 5, I.Peirano (**289 a-d**), 249ff.. Only the will is a case apart, presumably resting upon an actual document. Compare, for Homer, the material collected (e.g.) by M.L.West, *Greek epic fragments* (Loeb ed.). 286ff..

actic traditions of rhetors¹ and grammarians². The careful reader will have noted that on the question of authenticity no clear position is here taken.³

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- 1 Berti, *cit.*, ingeniously suggests that *p.d.* was used in the rhet. schools as an exclamation of approval, but that hardly takes full account of the antecedents and echoes of the phrase; explanation should account for the full pattern of attestations.
 - 2 Cf. too my remarks, *Vergilius* 41(1995), 57-9.
 - 3 I am most grateful to Maria Luisa Delvigo, Irene Peirano and Aldo Lunelli for sending me material and to the first-named for valuable discussion, not for the first time. It gave me great pleasure to write this note in the week of that happy day on which Giovanni Franco turned 90 and Antonia Wlosok 80: both dear friends and sound Virgilians. vd. now, alas, 180, n.1

Appendix 2

Fifty years at the Sibyl's heels

Actually, more than fifty, for it was in early 1960 that I began to grapple with *Aeneid* 6: some American and Commonwealth readers of these pages may have heard of elegant facilities provided for their officers in wartime London at the Churchill Club, lodged in a seventeenth century mansion, Ashburnham House¹, in Little Dean's Yard, beside Westminster Abbey. In one of the bleak attic rooms, rebuilt in 1882, I was hauled through *Aeneid* 6 with the help of - could it have been Maidment and Mills? Or Gould and Whiteley? Brownish-orange, I seem faintly to recall, and detestable. The master of Greek Shell A was a kindly, conscientious man, with a genius for teaching the mysteries of unseen translation, but not a trace of his exposition of *Aeneid* 6 remains in the memory. Two years later, I had descended the stairs and risen to the Classical Remove, where David Miller, of whom I wrote with gratitude in the preface to my *Nepos* (Oxford 1989), prepared us for A(dvanced) Level Latin, which included *Aeneid* 6. We stuck firmly to Page; the exegesis was of Page's epoch too, and quite rightly so, for I still have the exam paper (Mon. 9 July 1962) and it would not have helped to show familiarity with even, let us say, Eliot's *What is a classic?*. Glover, even Sellar, might have appeared audacious in such a context. But David was fully up to the task and we were taken briskly and sanely through our lines. I owned a copy of Sidgwick's commentary on Virgil (Cambridge 1923) but had not then realised that its great merit was a vast index of grammar, syntax, usage, and the like. I suppose that there may have been a copy or two of Butler, even of Fletcher somewhere within reach. None of us, I think, quite realised that Virgil's Latin had all the dangers and excitements of an uncharted reef; such perils were not for our eyes, were indeed barely understood², and thirty years would pass until I worked out, with much help from Woldemar Görler, and began to explain in ch.5 of *Companion to the study of Virgil* (Leiden 1995), that it was in large measure Virgil who grandly dismantled all the orthodoxies of gram-

1 John Field, *The King's Nurseries* (London 1987), 95, A.L.N.Russell, *The story of Ashburnham House*₃ (London 1949), 10, L.E.Tanner, *Westminster School; its buildings and their associations* (London 1923), 19.

2 Except by A.J.Bell, and he was viewed (not unjustly) as eccentric.

mar and prosody, if he felt like it. Perhaps still longer would pass before I began to approach the greatness of *Aeneid* 6 as poetry. In those A Level days, poetry was the business of the English teacher(s); it was nothing at all to do with Greek and Latin. What was more, learning to write Latin hexameters had nothing whatever to do with reading Virgil; I had to work out for myself that more reading leads to better compositions; certainly more composition leads to greatly improved understanding of Virgil.

It was a pleasant surprise to discover a new school commentary on *Aeneid* 6 by Keith Maclennan (Bristol 2006), because Keith had been at my school six years before me, and like me, as a Queen's Scholar. Same premises and largely the same teachers too. Keith, whom I have known almost as long as I have *Aeneid* 6, has an admirable notion of what a school commentary should offer (xxvii); much though we sometimes differ, he never sidles away from a difficulty, as so many commentators do and I wish we had had his book in 1961. With experience, I find that perhaps only Mme.A.Guillemain's school commentary (Paris 1936) does some of the job better at that level.

Between my first and second years at Cambridge I spent a couple of weeks on an archaeological summer school based at Resina (Ercolano); the standard of instruction was sometimes rather high (I remember e.g. E.Lepore's lectures) and we were taken round Cumae with care, but in 2011 I was quite unable to co-ordinate my recollections with the map; entirely the fault of two distractingly graceful and charming Norwegian fellow-students on that earlier visit, I concluded.

In the second year at Cambridge, we were expected to read Homer and Virgil *in toto* in preparation for a simple translation paper in Part I of the Classical Tripos. I did, several times, Homer, in particular, which was excellent preparation for later detailed work on Virgil: you find in the lexicon of the *Aeneid* a certain amount of Homer simply rendered into Latin. I refer to borrowing not of a line or a context, but of a form of speech, a mode of expression, which came quite naturally to Virgil, as one of Homer's most careful readers in antiquity¹.

This was in 1965-6: Otis' *Virgil* appeared in 1964², like Knauer's *Die Aeneis und Homer*, and Seligson's translation of Pöschl in 1962³; Putnam's *Poetry of the Aeneid* was about to come out (1965), with Klingner's *Virgil*

1 See *Aen.3*, p.xvi, *Aen.2*, index s.v. Homeric expressions and n. on 781f. *arua/ inter opima uirum*.

2 Otis appeared in person at Peterhouse one evening (1965, perhaps); he did not much welcome, it appeared, the conventions of port and polite, general conversation and offered us a short lecture.

3 You honestly do learn much more from reading the 3rd. ed. of *Die Dichtkunst Virgils* (1977; ed. 1 was 1950) in the German.

in 1967 and Quinn's stimulating but very careless, unsympathetic and dismissive *Virgil's Aeneid* in 1968. Exciting times, in short, but I do not think that any of those books, whether recent or imminent, was mentioned (or, for that matter, banned) by our supervisors (i.e., tutors) or lecturers. Certainly, no-one told me that the time had come to give up G.Autenrieth, *A Homeric dictionary* (Eng.tr., e.g. London, 1896: there are many edd. and reprints) for R.J.Cunliffe, *Lexicon of the Homeric dialect* (Glasgow 1924); Jenny Strauss Clay, kindly and with mild surprise, pointed that out in the American Academy (Rome), thirty years later.

In 1967, for Part II of the Tripos (i.e. final exams), Sophocles and Virgil *Aeneid* were the chosen authors. For Virgil, the lectures were given by Harry Sandbach¹, a notoriously dry expert on Plutarch and Menander, or so we were warned. Actually, he fed us Heinze, which was an excellent idea, but for bk.6 (which Heinze avoids anyway, as being Norden's territory), he drew amply on his excellent knowledge of Hellenistic philosophy, to splendid effect. We were indeed offered *Principio caelum...*, all twenty-eight lines of it, for translation and comment in Part II. Better still, in the weeks before the exam we had a weekly seminar; one of us duly prepared and expounded a Virgilian problem, while the rest of us tried to shoot him (him, for I recall no female volunteers) down in flames, and FHS, a 'small, kindly man' (Scholfield, cit., n.5) sat there, to remedy gross error, and help us gently towards a sane answer. That seems all boringly normal now; 45 years ago, it certainly was not. FHS was a practising Socialist of the old school, generous and open-minded towards his pupils, and those hours of discussion were a pleasant and precious introduction to the difficulties of the *Aeneid*. Ted Kenney, my college supervisor, was visibly not much amused at having to teach Virgil, and not his beloved Ovid, to an undergraduate who seemed to want to stay in the business, but it was he who wisely sent me off to read Livingston Lowes on Coleridge's reading: his *Road to Xanadu* is a marvellous book and was a decisive influence on my approach to *Aen.*; vd. *infra*, p.639.

Patrick Wilkinson² did not lecture on Virgil during my time in Cambridge, alas, so I never heard him expound the *Aeneid* or indeed the *Georgics*, which he later did so splendidly in print³, but he was a powerful force

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- 1 M.Scholfield's entry in R.B.Todd (ed.), *Dictionary of British Classicists*, 3 (Bristol 2004), 851-3 is notably informed and sympathetic. By pure chance, I met in Stockholm a few years ago a daughter of FHS, who sharpened, delightfully, the edges of my picture.
 - 2 See Kenney's charming entry in Todd (as in n.1), 3, 1061-3. See also LPW's own *Facets of a life* (s.l., 1986), for which I am most grateful to Prof.A.J.Woodman.
 - 3 *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969) and an admirable Penguin Classics translation.

for the good, huge, generous, expansive, with a booming voice and a warming smile, funny, generous and irreverent, perhaps more concerned to inspire than to instruct.

The next term, after Part II, I moved from Cambridge to Oxford¹; in intellectual terms, in those days, more radical even than moving from Mecca to Canterbury, or *vice versa*. The *Aeneid* was clearly not a favourite topic: Sir Roger Mynors² sometimes lectured on *Geo.*, and Colin Hardie on *Buc.*; more will be said of both. There was no public exposition of *Aen.* at a serious level, and teaching for graduate students depended on (fortnightly, near enough) encounters between graduate and supervisor; apart of course from the seminars offered by Fraenkel and (in some ways, even better on matters of detail and technique) Lloyd-Jones, on which this is not the place to write. In the preface to my commentary on *Aen.7* (Brill, Leiden, 2000), I wrote a little, pretty discreetly, about my supervisors; progress towards technical improvement, understanding of what I was doing, and actual love for my work, were achieved slowly and with difficulty. Only two of those supervisors were specialist Virgilians. For a term in 1969, Nico Knauer fled revolutionary Berlin for reactionary Christ Church; I attended his seminars on the alleged second ed. of *G.4*³ and went to regular supervisions. He was wonderfully open, stimulating, generous, kindly, learned. Forty-five years on, we remain friends. Once I was at dinner in Corpus Christi College with Mynors, Knauer, Nisbet and Fraenkel. After the meal, the five of us withdrew to attack the port (and Fraenkel, his foul cigars). No-one else was present, and I was expected not to sit in the corner like some respectful rodent, but to eschew the holes in the skirting board and take an active part in keeping the conversation going.

That was a good evening, but, unsurprisingly, there was little enough like it. Mynors published his Oxford text of Virgil in 1969 and my own work on *Aen. 7* had naturally begun under his supervision. Those were not easy or happy months, as I suggested in that preface of 2000. I had no specially textual interests and was, I am quite certain, gauche, pig-headed and pedantic. The ample understanding of Virgil's Latin so finely displayed in Mynors' own commentary I apparently did not deserve to share. No technical help was offered and he discreetly ensured (or so it was later, authoritatively, explained to me) that the first little promotions of a classical career did not come my way. Mynors had himself proposed *Aen.7* to me at the

1 See the first paragraph of the Preface to my *Aen.7*.

2 I commend R.G.M.Nisbet's preface to Mynors on *G.* (Oxford 1990) and W.V. Clausen, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 3-7.

3 His remarks, *ANRW* 2.31.2 (Berlin 1981), 910-4, do not give a fair idea of those formidable displays of erudition; his other hearer fully shared my admiration for the seminars.

outset¹, and his suggestion that I offer in my thesis only 'Notes on selected passages' was a good one², but we never did discuss the fascinating, more general issue of how one might go about writing a Virgil commentary, which in the event I did not address until the summer of 1994. Even *Aen.7* needed the help of some generous academic Sibyl at an early stage; not a role, evidently, in which Mynors saw himself. Only in 1970, in his address at the memorial service for Eduard Fraenkel³ did the intensity of Mynors' antisemitism surface for a moment on a public occasion. Much worse was to follow⁴, but that was in private conversation, and there were no witnesses to confirm the accuracy of my appalling recollections.

These were exciting years in Virgilian studies, as I have remarked, but I do not think that I, or any of my supervisors mentioned Otis, Putnam, Klingner, Pöschl, or Quinn during the Oxford years. I know that we have not really come to *Aen.6*, as yet, but we will. The first step towards my big *Aen.6* I owe, as I owe so much else, to that most learned and lovable man, Otto Skutsch⁵; he laid down that my first lectures at University College London were to be on Cicero, *de re publica*, because that is where Max Pohlenz had told him to begin at Göttingen ca. 1934. Not much fun for me, but, forty years later, it was extremely useful to know my way round the *Somnium Scipionis*, a text almost as important to *Aen.6*⁶ as was *Od.11*. From 1972 to 1986, near enough, I taught a yearly class of University College London students⁷ who had chosen the Virgil special subject. The syl-

1 Vd. n.8.

2 And I record with real gratitude his long, testy letter to me about the textual problems in *Aen.7* and my discussion of them in the thesis; see further the first page of my preface to *Aen.7*. My review of Mynors, *G.*, *AR* 1993, 120-3, is, as it should be, admiring.

3 See my notice in *Classical scholarship; a biographical encyclopedia* edd. W.W.Briggs, W.M.Calder III (New York 1990), 61-7; an editor, without consultation, altered my final draft before publication and the published text is in several details not my own. When I took a couple of problems from *Aen.7* to him, by appointment, Fraenkel was irreproachably kind and generous.

4 Sir Roger did not know, and if he had known, might not have cared that I come, in no small part, and on both father's and mother's sides of the family, of the largely emancipated and endlessly stimulating Jewish intellectual tradition of Germany and western Russia; no details here, but I owe it to those learned and distinguished forbears to place clearly on record Mynors' abominable failing.

5 I wrote about him with awe and affection in Italian, *AR* 1991, 103-7 (the vols. are not numbered); see George Goold's admirable, and loving, pages, *Proc.Brit.Acad.* 87 (1995), 473-89.

6 See e.g. R.Lamacchia, *RhM* 107 (1964), 261-78.

7 Though by far the ablest of them all was Sheila Mackie, a Birkbeck College mature student who slipped on board; by then, I did not care whether my professor and department approved or not.

labus included bk.6, unsurprisingly. But whatever did I say? And did my views change over the years? Was my exegesis much the same in 1990, or thereabouts, when I gave some *Aen.*6 seminars in Venice as it had been in London nearly twenty years before?

Certainly, there are Virgilian topics on which my views have indeed changed over the decades. Before my expression of extreme scepticism in ch. 1 of *Companion*, I think I believed in the 'biographical tradition' about the poet much as other people did. Fortunately, I then gave some postdoctoral seminars¹ in Messina (Spring 1990, I think) on biography from Homer to the Renaissance and tackled both literary biography and the growth of scepticism about the early saints' lives in c.17 Europe². Not a word of the life of Virgil was seriously questioned until E.Diehl's little ed. of the *Vitae Vergilianae* in the *Kleine Texte* series (vol.72, Bonn 1911), and even then progress toward dismantling the whole edifice of trivial romantic fictions took a long time. There was also a brief period in the mid-70s when many Virgilians were carried away by the excesses of a rather crude typological approach³. I was not immune, but recovered quickly enough. More important, the great battle over the end of *Aen.*12 I observed from close quarters: the leading exponent of the anti-Augustan, anti-Aeneas interpretation was, notoriously, Michael Putnam⁴, supported with polemical vigour by Werner Suerbaum in Germany. The embattled minority, not convinced that the end of bk.12 was simply an outrage against all humanity and decency, included G.K.Galinsky, H.-P.Stahl, G.Binder and my dear friend Antonie Wlosok. Michael Putnam's view⁵ has by now become the orthodoxy in the USA. My chapter in *Companion* (192-216) offers a largely contrary position; I seem to remember suggesting that the poet pulls head and heart in opposing directions. But I can also remember having on occasion expressed during the 1970s and 80s a pretty crude 'Augustan' position, alongside some hasty and injudicious formulations of the issues in various polemical reviews. I suppose we all did sound off a bit then; these days, most of my learned friends belong by and large to the school of Putnam; not so, Hans-Peter Stahl, as I should make

1 A very happy occasion; my thanks in particular to Profs. Vincenzo Fera and (the late) Tino (Salvatore) Costanza.

2 See *Companion* (*supra*), 2; I also owe a great debt to Mary Lefkowitz' *Lives of the Greek poets* (London 1981).

3 Gransden's commentary to *Aen.*8 (Cambridge 1976) may serve as a memorial to those years.

4 I admire his work on points of detail and on ekphrasis in *Aen.*6 and recall with much pleasure a lot of talk during his years in Rome. I record with strong approval his ability to blend generous goodwill with total dissent.

5 Whose origins go back a long way; *Companion*, 192, n.8 offers details.

quite clear. On the other hand, symbolism and imagery laid gentle hold on me and, long after Pöschl and his followers took themselves off in other directions, I continued untroubled to work on the origins of Virgilian images and to chart cases of the decay of over-popular images into mere dry, dead, conventional expressions¹. Since writing *Companion*, however, I may not have changed my mind in any significant way about anything much more dramatic than the *genetivus inhaerentiae*.

Of course, the other side of several decades writing about the *Aeneid* and teaching it, has been to do with people. I was recently able to go to Cumae and give to the archaeological director of the site, Dr. Paolo Caputo, a set of R.F.Paget's measured drawings of the tunnels he had discovered inland of Baiae, because Colin Hardie had given them to me, and that was because, some time after he had been one of the examiners of my thesis², we became rather good friends³. He would have been dismayed by my long and complicated discussion of the Sibyl(s) and their cave(s), in the forthcoming commentary and the discussion would no doubt have continued for years. The topography of Cumae was one of his great passions⁴ and I fear he would have been disappointed by my chilly scepticism. He was an extraordinarily sweet, gentle and learned man, other-worldly, shy and the soul of kindness; I disagree with almost everything that he wrote about Cumae but readers of my commentary to bk.6 will not find one hard word about him. To Otto Skutsch I owed the *prima elementa* of my friendship with Wendell Clausen⁵. Wendell took friendship seriously, approved strongly of rigorous discretion in others, even forgave me my cool reaction in *Companion* to his *Eclogues* (Oxford 1994) and read an early draft of my *Aeneid 7* with generous precision. We did not discuss the end of *Aen.12*; there was no fun to be had from a battle that would inevitably have been ensanguined, unsatisfactory and drawn. We agreed profoundly about serious matters, like honesty, courtesy and commitment to scholarship.

The Lee and Grant, the Fairfax and Rupert, of Virgilian commentary in my London days were of course Roland Austin and Deryck Williams. Of the former, I wrote in my *Aen.2* (pp. xxv-xxvi): his *Aen.2* was extremely

1 Cf. pp.xvii-xviii of my *Aen.2* commentary (Leiden 2008).

2 Robert Ogilvie was the other; they were related by marriage; Oxford classics then was deeply incestuous and a business for Scotsmen.

3 See *Vergilius* 45 (1999), 175f..

4 His article on the Great Antrum at Baiae, *PBSR* 37 (1969), 14-33 he referred to with a small self-deprecating smile as 'The Great Tantrum'; long heated discussions and many changings of minds lay behind it.

5 See *Nota Bene* (the magazine of the Harvard classics department) 12.2.2007 for several pages of commemoration of Wendell and Margaret Clausen, notably by Richard Thomas and Richard Tarrant.

exciting when I was at Cambridge; he was wonderfully congenial company and it is a tragedy that his *Aen.*6 reflects, *passim*, composition by a scholar of failing health and energies¹. My friend John Henderson writes (n.18, 77; cf. 153) about Mynors, Austin and Fordyce ‘for product, none of them could touch Williams’. I have told him to his face that that will not stand. Indeed it will most definitely not: after forty-five years of detailed work on Virgil, I must state clearly that Austin at his best was an admirable Virgil commentator, deeply expert in matters of metre, language, syntax and technique, while Williams, for all his virtues², was not himself scholar enough to tackle the complexities of a scholar-poet at Virgil's level³. He did not have sufficient mastery of all the religion, philosophy, topography, history, etc., etc. that you need to be able to offer much of a contribution to our understanding of that book. There is a general agreement that Williams was a very nice man and lectured excellently to undergraduate audiences on his (and my) preferred poet. Rarely do we agree on anything important, but then I am trying to write in the whole perspective of studies on the *Aeneid* from la Cerda on, to which the needs of undergraduates, of whatever generation, must inevitably take second place.

Since writing *Companion*, I have spent seventeen years concentrated largely on Virgil commentary⁴. The writing of commentaries is a natural retreat for intellectual conservatives: those who cannot get their brains round modern theoretical approaches are left pretty much free to devote themselves to their favourite uses of the genitive, and, to be fair, of other cases too. Actually, I am *not* the most conservative writer of commentaries on Latin texts in action over the last fifteen years and careful readers of my prefaces will notice a recurrent element, the list of younger Virgilians who from friendship, pity, curiosity or missionary zeal have undertaken to try to make me understand some aspects of the progress achieved in our critical understanding of Latin texts. James O'Hara was there at the start and now even tells me, sometimes, that I have learned what he has tried to teach me. I am not going to work down the list, with appropriate expressions of gratitude, but if readers of the commentaries find traces of reception-criticism, metapoetical speculation and structuralist approaches (it is possible; they

1 See S.Döpp in Todd, 1, 35f.; vastly more interesting, the long treatment in John Henderson's *Oxford reds* (London 2006), chs. 1, 2. For those interested in the state of Virgilian studies in the UK before Austin, Henderson's researches in the OUP files reveal the depths of a staggering stagnation (I recommend p.46).

2 Henderson (n.3), 152f., R.Rees in Todd, 3, 1063-4.

3 Cf. my review of his commentary on *Aen.*7-12, *JRS* 64 (1974), 274-6.

4 But note *Culture of the Roman plebs*, London 2003, perched solitary between *Aen.*11 and *Aen.*3.

are there)¹, then I owe their presence to the kindness of these friends. Of theory I have no love, of new terminology, a positive dislike and of new techniques which seem to enable any young Virgilian to publish bold, bright pages which prove beyond doubt Virgil's debt to, let us say, Petronius (I jest) at some unlikely point, I cannot speak enough ill.

I am an old dog; I am delighted, every now and then, to find that I have come up with a new trick. And what is my critical position? If the shades of Oliver Lyne and Don Fowler were to drink blood at the trench, and ask me², I should refer them to the *Premessa* (p.12) of my *L'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991), where I write of my debt to J.Livingston Lowes' *The road to Xanadu*, a minute analysis of Coleridge's sources in *Xanadu* and *Ancient Mariner*, with the loans register of the Bristol public library to hand. So, no more than a respectable updating of la Cerda? Well, no, or at least, not systematically. The commentary works more with facts than with theories, or should do. Livingston Lowes' subtitle is 'A study in the ways of the imagination': just so; that is a proper and elevating goal and does not call for a vast expenditure of time in order to master a new critical theory and its brutish jargon. Readers of my commentaries will notice that I cite some younger Virgilians and not others: I like a page largely jargon-free, I admire accuracy, and good English prose, and I love a fat, well-constructed footnote. Younger Virgilians not much cited in my notes, or not with much approval, might now begin to grasp the reason(s) why.

But it is not just critical approaches to Virgil that have changed. Let us take intellectual progress and, let us hope, some ripening of critical awareness since those days in the attics of the Churchill Club for granted. It is the huge progress in other directions that has really changed the landscape; such progress is crucial to work on *Aeneid* 6, and I settled on a dozen headings under which it has changed the way I work and think:

Let me start with (i) Homer. I do not just mean *Die Aeneis und Homer*, though that book did change forever the way in which we read Virgil (and of few books can that be said³). More to the point, the six volumes of the Cambridge *Iliad* (general editor, G.S.Kirk; Cambridge 1993)⁴ and the three of the Milan/Oxford *Odyssey* (A.Heubeck and others, Oxford 1988-92)⁵.

1 See *Vergilius* 59 (2013) on Poets and Poetry in *Aen.6*; part of an article in metapoetic key.

2 See Lyne, *MD* 43 (1999), 11.

3 Heyne's commentary, Norden's *Aen.6*, Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*; after that, obvious candidates for inclusion, at least in the era post-la Cerda, are in short supply.

4 Regular users will note wide variation in the quality and utility of the six volumes.

5 I also note with particular gratitude Irene de Jong's *Narratological commentary on the Odyssey* (Cambridge 2001).

(ii) H.Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (seven vols.; Berlin 1969-1988). As a result, substantial progress in our understanding of the scholiasts' methods and language and of their impact upon Virgil¹.

(iii) The improvement in the texts now available for some of Virgil's principal sources makes work on Virgil himself wonderfully, miraculously easier. Naturally, I have in mind the areas that strike me particularly, after working through *Aeneid* 6. I shall try to stick to a chronological sequence, starting from Hesiod, for which there are now available West's splendid commentaries on *Theogony* (Oxford 1966) and *Works and Days* (1978), not to mention *Fragmenta Hesioidea* (with R.Merkelbach; 1967).

(iv) For the fragments of the Epic Cycle we now have West's Loeb (*Greek epic fragments*, 2003), Bernabé's Teubner (*Poetae epici Graeci*, 1987) and M.Davies' *Epicorum graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988). No recommendations; you really need all three. In passing, for Pindar, *Odes*, and even more for the fragments, you really should be using Snell's Teubner; Bowra's old OCT will no longer do. Not to be forgotten, not for a moment, the six ponderous volumes (Göttingen 1986-2004) of *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. To start to use them on a regular basis reminds me of using good Zeiss binoculars for the first time; light and precision are shed into every corner by a scholarly project of miraculously high quality.

(v) For the content of *Aen.*6, the greatest contribution to our improved understanding comes surely from the three fat volumes of Bernabé, *Poeti epici Graeci* part 2 (Munich and Leipzig 2004, 2005, 2007) containing the Orphic testimonia and fragments, a dense commentary, and an index. Not of course just the Bologna papyrus, often though one consults fr.717.

(vi) A.A.Long and D.Sedley, *The Hellenistic philosophers* (Cambridge 1987) is now available in a cheap French translation (*Les philosophes hellénistiques*, 3 vols., Paris 1991), with a remarkable index. Invaluable for readers groping their way round the large and unfamiliar corpus of Stoic and Epicurean fragments. Perhaps even more significant is:

(vii) Posidonius. *The fragments* (4 vols, Cambridge 1972-99), with commentary by I.G.Kidd (and L.Edelstein for vol.1). After K.Reinhardt's *Poseidonios* of 1922, not much was left of Norden's old claims for P. as the principal source of Virgil's eschatological thinking; now we have a splendid text, translation and commentary for the approved, authentic fragments. I do not mention in any detail the vast progress achieved in editions of Callimachus, Aratus and the Greek Anthology and only bow at a distance towards Page's majestic *Further Greek epigrams* (1981).

1 See Roos Meijering, *Literary and rhetorical theories in Greek scholia* (Groningen 1987), René Nünlist, *The ancient critic at work* (Cambridge 2009) and Tilman Schmit-Neuerburg, *Virgils Aeneis und die antike Homerexegese* (Berlin 1999)

(viii) When we change language and reach Ennius, progress is no less great, with Jocelyn (Cambridge 1967) for the tragedies and Skutsch (Oxford 1985) for the *Annals*. Readers who sense that they are being bored or bullied by Norden's insistent pursuit of Ennian language in *Aen.*6 may turn to Skutsch, and to Michael Wigodsky's *Vergil and early Latin poetry*¹. There has been fine solid progress in commentary on Augustan texts close to Virgil; I refer in particular to Oakley's vols. on Livy 6-10, to Watson on Hor.'s *Epodes*, to Nisbet-Hubbard for Horace's *Odes* 1-2, and, rather less enthusiastically, to Nisbet-Rudd for *Odes* 3.

(ix) When I found that I had to clarify my mind about Virgil's contacts (or lack of contacts) with Jewish texts at various points in *Aen.*6², for which Norden claimed much, and J.N.Bremmer now claims more³, I discovered that recent, authoritative collections of material were available here too: the two volumes of Old Testament *Pseudepigrapha* edited by J.H.Charlesworth (1983, 1985), the two volumes of Menahem Stern's *Greek and Latin authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem 1974, 1980) and the four resplendent volumes of the English revision (by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Martin Goodman) of E.Schürer, *History of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh 1973-7). It was not just a question of buying these admirable scholarly instruments and digesting the necessary parts and I am deeply grateful for expert advice from Fergus Millar, Tessa Rajak and Hannah Cotton.

(x) A century, now, after Carl Robert's splendid revision of Preller's *Griechische Mythologie* (Berlin 1894-1926), Martin West's *Theogony* is wonderfully useful for the generations of myth before Zeus and for the darker corners of the Underworld. I also note with growing admiration and gratitude the two volumes of T.N.Gantz' *Early Greek myths* (Baltimore 1993).

(xi) Relatively swift progress in writing as large a commentary as mine is on a book as difficult as *Aeneid* 6 would have been inconceivable without electronic aids. As I have tried to trot briskly through the Underworld at the heels of Aeneas and the Sibyl (a wonderful semi-comic creation and clearly not a slow walker), it has been an inexpressibly great help to have at my disposal (a) *TLG* and *PHI*, (b) the electronic version of *TLL*, in which you become increasingly aware of a certain number of errors (not absent from *PHI*) and (c) *JSTOR* and related resources. I am still reeling in disbelief at how easy it was to call up, for the Sibyl(s) and her/their cave(s), articles from *Bibl.Ec.Franç.Ath.Rome* and from *Meded.Nederl.*

1 *Hermes Einzelschr.* 24 (1972).

2 See *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 67-80

3 In particular, *Kernos* 22 (2009), 193-208.

Hist.Inst. Rome, just by pressing a few keys, in my study, thirty-some miles into the glens NW of Inverness.

(xii) My position with regard to the long and heated debate, often in the pages of *Vergilius*, about the Sibyl(s) and her/their cave(s) will be found to be one of extreme scepticism. I wrote in 1985 about the conceptual problems in Latin writing about real, known places and have returned to the topic since¹. In Virgil's time, the Sibyl had fallen silent long ago, though guides at the site may have claimed to be able to show you, for a fee, where she had once raved. That was merely the timeless overconfidence of the professional *cicerone*. As for the gallery touted repeatedly by Amedeo Maiuri as the Sibyl's grotto, he needed funds for his forthcoming excavations and I advance serious grounds for denying the identification (vd. *SC*). If Virgil wrote of the Sibyl's frenzy in familiar conventional terms² (I repeat, there was no longer a Sibyl whom V. could go and observe, wax tablet in hand), then there is nothing shocking in suggesting that her cave and its surroundings are a mere accumulation of conventional details, along the simple lines so brilliantly sketched by Bernhard Rehm in 1932³. *Aeneid* 6 is not an eschatological programme, but a poetic construct, set not in some real Cumae, the beloved goal of the poet's Sunday excursions, but in the gloomy, scream-filled caverns of Virgil's imagination. Measured archaeological drawings are perfectly irrelevant and it is a major step forward to be freed of their bondage, thanks to Rehm's work and to the passage of seventy years since Maiuri's apparently irresistible publication of his discovery.

(xiii) Lastly, formidable progress has been made since 1960 in our understanding of Greek religion, above all by Walter Burkert, by his pupils (e.g. F.Graf⁴) and followers (e.g. J.N.Bremmer). Orphics, Pythagoreans, possession, prophetesses and conceptions of Hell are all emerging into an increasingly sharp focus, though the urge to speculate has hardly been quenched and some pretty surprising hypotheses are offered (see 641, n.2 for a reply at least on Virgil and the Jews). But it has become possible to write of Eleusinian initiation, of Orphic texts, of beliefs provably Pythagorean more confidently and

1 *GR* 32 (1985), 197-208, n. on 7.641-817.

2 That may seem surprising, but is an established fact, n. on 3.441-60, and Appendix 1; see now, in greater detail, *SC*, *supra*..

3 *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, *Phil.Supplbd.*24.2 (1932). See also A.G.Blomk, *Vergilius en het Landschap* (diss. Leiden 1947), H.-J.Schweizer, *Vergil und Italien* (Aarau 1967; intelligent), H.-D.Reeker, *Die Landschaft in der Aeneis (Spudasmata 27*, Hildesheim 1971), P.G. Van Wees, *Poëtische geografie in Vergilius' Aeneis* (diss. Utrecht, Tilburg 1970).

4 *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung*, *RVV* 33, Berlin 1974) has some pages important for readers of *Aen.*6.

precisely than in the days of Dodds' wonderful *Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1963), though I am amused to notice that about prophetic inspiration Dodds already grasps the essential (ch.3) and S.I.Johnston, *Ancient Greek divination* (Malden 2008), 44-7 is left to contribute the genuinely fascinating geological fact of (? intoxicating) gas at Delphi.

Readers of these pages who think of themselves as Latinists should swiftly depart and read the last paragraph of Eduard Fraenkel's review of the Harvard Servius¹. I was fortunate to begin Pindar in early days at Westminster (summer 1961) and to have time at Cambridge to read, and re-read repeatedly, Homer. Later, I discovered that you had to struggle to understand Lycophron in order to cope with Virgil², and I have not forgotten that I owe warm, public thanks to John Easterling (Trinity, Cambridge) for his delightful classes in the year 1965-6, which leave me happy to read at least the easier parts of Plato with modest confidence; *Gorgias*, *Phaedo* and *Republic* are of course crucial for the *Aeneid*, and Dodds' luminous *Gorgias* has been much in my hands. You can only begin to become a competent Virgilian by reading more Greek; one of the great benefits of working on *Aen.6* is the need for immersion in the Myth of Er. And of course, German. Norden's *Aeneid 6* is mercifully easy, most of the time, and for the wider question of my relationship with that wonderful book, I refer to pp.646-54.

There is indeed a simple conclusion to be drawn from my list of improvements achieved: with the tools available, it *ought* now to be easier that it was, a good deal easier, indeed, to achieve real progress in our understanding of *Aeneid 6*. I have tried to explain not how and why I have become a commentator on that book³, but how the presumption that I might actually be able to add something to our understanding of that formidably difficult text, even after Eduard Norden had so majestically reaped his harvest, has come, after fifty years of acquaintance with *Aeneid 6*, to seem no longer merely ludicrous, but rather a legitimate goal, an ambition, though not one that reflects a general confidence in the progress of Virgilian studies at large over the same period. The curious may be interested to learn that I plan, d.b.v., and after a short pause, to go on to a commentary on *Aen.1*.⁴

1 *Kleine Beiträge* 2 (Roma 1964), 390 = *JRS* 39 (1949), 154.

2 Lots of fun, too: see *Ill.Class.Stud.* 30(2005), 35-40.

3 Some part of the answer should emerge from a glance over the prefaces to my commentaries.

4 These pages were written with the intention that they should appear in an American collection of essays on *Aen.6*; *dis aliter visum*. They may help readers understand something of why my comm. above is as it is, and this note also enables me to thank Prof. S.Spence (University of Georgia) once more for her ample, productive and delightful cooperation during her years as editor of *Vergilius*.

Appendix 3

In the shadow of Eduard Norden

It is surely surprising (to say the least) that in the preface and introduction to his edition of *Eur.Her.*, G.W.Bond says nothing at all of his experience of working in the shadow of Wilamowitz' edition of that play. It would have been fascinating to know, ninety years on, just how that magisterial book had aged. Fifty years after Eduard Norden's death, there was an appropriate flurry of interest in his life and work¹, but, apart from a few remarks by Mensching (1992), 18-20, not a word about his *Aeneis Buch VI*². Had I been asked to write something myself, I can only hope that I should have said that I was not ready to do so. My name was in fact suggested for one of the conferences, and was, rightly enough, rejected, perhaps even for the right reason. Was there really, though, no European Virgilian able and willing to undertake the task? If in truth not, that says something about the state of Virgilian studies. Twenty years on, with some experience of commentary-writing, and a certain familiarity with *Aen.6*, I thought it was proper and timely to say something, though not very systematically, about Norden and his second great book³.

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- 1 Short refs. in this appendix will be found resolved in nn. 1 and 3: *Eduard Norden...*, ed. B.Kytzler, K.Rudolph, J.Rüpke (*Palingenesia* 49, Stuttgart 1994) [hereafter, *EN*], W.A.Schröder, *Der Altertumswissenschaftler Eduard Norden (Spudasmata* 73, Hildesheim 1991), J.Rüpke, *Röm. Religion bei E.N.* (Marburg 1993). Note also E.Mensching, *Nugae zur Philologie-Geschichte* 2 (Berlin 1989), 5-16, *id.*, *Nugae* 5 (Berlin 1992) and (largely) *id.*, *Nugae* 6 (Berlin 1993). Notably, see *Sed serviendum officio...*[the EN-Wilamowitz correspondence] (ed. W.M.Calder, B.Huss, Hildesheim 1997).
 - 2 Note, though, G.Fischer Saglia, *EN*, 69-80, on No. as translator.
 - 3 I have read a good deal of what has been written about EN, but by no means everything (cf. the *Literaturverzeichnis* in Rüpke/*EN*/ Schröder). J.N.Bremmer has recently published in three places a Norden-bibliography - (2009), 184, n.7, (2010), 313, n.31, (2011), 14, n.5 - perhaps inevitably omissive and not quite satisfactory. Let me add B.Kytzler, in *Classical Scholarship. A biographical encyclopedia* (ed. W.W. Briggs, W.M.Calder III, New York 1990), 341-5, *id.*, in *Varros Imagines* (Berlin 1990), I-V, *id.*, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 19 (1998), 341, *id.*, in *Berliner Lebensbilder. Geisteswissenschaftler* (ed.M.Erbe, Berlin 1989), 327-42, W.Abel, *Gymn.*91 (1984), 449-484, F.W.Lenz, *Op.Sel.* (Amsterdam 1972), 214-26,

There are some unexpected obstacles to reaching a fair and generous assessment of EN's commentary:

The chronology of Norden's output explains a great deal, and it is because of chronology that we do not have any significant insights¹ that bear on the years between the publication of *Antike Kunstprosa* (1898) and that of *Aen.6* (ed.1, 1903). The Norden of whom Abel, Lenz, Skutsch and Solmsen wrote is an older, slower, grander and less exciting Norden, bowed down by fame, by office (Rector of Berlin University, Oct. 1927 - Oct. 1928), and by health problems². The Virgilian years were announced by the two parts of *Vergilstudien*³; there followed a note on V.'s *Nekyia* in the following year's *Hermes* and then the admirable *Ein Panegyrikus auf Augustus in Vergils Aeneis*⁴ and the *Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit*⁵, still unsurpassed as an introduction to the *Aeneid's* cultural setting. Two years later, the commentary appeared; EN was thirty-five and deep in the horrible, tiny print⁶, you discover the pride and passion of a formidable

A.Momigliano, *ap.* R. Di Donato in *Aspetti dell' opera di Felix Jacoby* (ed. C.Ampolo, Pisa 2006), 36 [but M. is quite wrong to say that EN's doctor father was a rabbi, *ib.*, 34; strangely, the error is not corrected in the footnotes], O.Skutsch, *HSCP* 94 (1992), 394-6, *id.*, *AuA* 29 (1983), 90-4, L.Canfora, *Le vie del classicismo* (Bari 1989), 37ff., P.Treves, *EV* 3, 762f., W.Ludwig, *Ber. z. Wissenschaftsgesch.* 7 (1984), 164, F.Solmsen, *GRBS* 20 (1979), 89-122 (on Wilamowitz) and 30 (1989), 117-40, notably, 133. I am of course much affected also by what my teacher Eduard Fraenkel and my colleague (for the academic year 1971-2) and dear friend (for twenty years) Otto Skutsch said about EN. See too *CR* 45 (1995), 209, when it was necessary to establish that negative views of EN were expressed in his lifetime. Some further bibliography will emerge *infra*.

- 1 Cf. Schröder, 17-20, Marie Norden, *ap.* Mensching, *Nugae* 6 20-8, Solmsen (1989), 133, who remarks: "I believe his great period as a teacher was during his Breslau years (1898-1906). Later he worked in the shadow of Wilamowitz and Diels." Kytzler provides a list of EN's doctoral students in the *Kl.Schr.* (Berlin 1966), 689f., summarised in Kytzler (1990), 344). According to Solmsen, the best students went to Greek, because of Wilamowitz (1989), 133. Or because they had been taught to think that Greek was in some way superior. In any case, the list of pupils hardly inspires immediate respect and admiration. Of EN's relations with his students quite sharply differing accounts have been offered: see Schröder, Skutsch (1992), 394f. (vd. Calder/Huss, xii), Abel, 451f., Lenz, and *passim*, Solmsen (1989), 133, a remarkable contrast with his view of Fraenkel, *ib.*, 125.
- 2 Vd. e.g. Schröder, 24. Solmsen (1979), 95, Calder in *EN*, 185f..
- 3 *Hermes* 28 (1893), 360-406, 501-21.
- 4 *RhM* 54 (1899), 466-82.
- 5 *NJhb.* 7 (1901), 249-82, 313-34; like *Panegyrikus*, reprinted in the *Kl.Schr.*.
- 6 Visually, Kroll's Catullus is perhaps even nastier.

young scholar in his prime¹. The next two editions contained substantial alterations; it is deplorable to find some Virgilians still citing ed.2 of 1916 and not ed.3 (1927) and reprints thereof. The most significant alteration is that in EN's position on Posidonius in the light of Karl Reinhardt's book (ed.3/4, p. 396). I know of no source of light to be shed upon the mystery of how EN so swiftly organised so vast and varied a body of scholarly material, how he gathered and sorted information, how, in short, he wrote as he did; I should love to know more and greatly regret that I do not.

“His [EN's] presentation lacked the stimulus familiar from Jaeger's, Regenbogen's and I suppose² Fraenkel's courses, of watching [and there now follows an important, a splendid, formulation from Solmsen] a great scholar seeking his way to the mind of an important author.”³ Rüpke reveals (n.1, 1993, 89) that EN lectured twice at Breslau on the *Aen.*, while writing the commentary, but we might wonder whether his students poured forth enchanted and excited from the *aula*.⁴ Solmsen, Lenz and Abel offer ample comment on the later Norden as speaker and some faint indications of change, but, if EN spoke at Breslau much as he did thirty years later, those students will surely have emerged awed, wiser and probably silent. Fraenkel showed his pupils the way to an answer and enabled them to share in it, while Norden seems to have expounded problems, workings, and solutions; *quae erant demonstranda*, infinitely impressive and informative, but perhaps not very intellectually energising. You could tell Fraenkel he was wrong, and survive, and once or twice, I did, nervously, just that; open disagreement with the mature Norden seems hardly to have been conceivable.

Of the later EN, I say very little here; it is hardly germane to *Aen.6* and received proper attention in the studies of 1991-4. The level of mastery and excitement that informs *Aen.6* is amply maintained in *Agnostos Theos*, of 1913; that book is still hugely influential (as in the two volumes of Nisbet-Hubbard and in my own work), and rightly so. Two years later, *Ennius und Vergilius*; the great reconstruction of Ennius did not, in the context of *Aen.7*, persuade me (n. on 7.540-640, (3)), and I am not alone in finding some of the methods used for claiming an Ennian origin for so many expressions in Virgil hazardous and unconvincing. Cf. further Wigodsky,

1 Cf. Schröder, 190 for a list of reviews; see, though, above all Wilamowitz, letter 10 (Calder/Huss), two pages of immediate and enthusiastic reaction; some comment by Calder in *EN*, 177-80.

2 Rightly, to judge from my experience of EF's last years.

3 F.Solmsen (1989), 133.

4 Even British undergraduates once did; certainly from the lectures of Moses Finley and Denys Page.

ch.9; this is not the place, nor am I the critic, to offer yet another survey of EN's later production.¹

Of EN as victim of historical events, no matter for surprise in a German of his race and generation, others have written in appropriate detail (vd. the notes to this paragraph), and I need only offer a brief summary. Five years before the outbreak of war, he was awarded the Order of the Red Eagle (fourth class)²; he would become Rector of Berlin University (*supra*, 648) and both memberships of foreign academics and honorary degrees would be heaped upon him.³ In a different world, however: as his contribution to war work, EN had taught part-time in a Berlin Gymnasium, without much enthusiasm⁴ and served as Dean of the Faculty⁵. Defeat, crowned with civil disorder, affected him profoundly⁶; I have, though, found no real evidence⁷ for sympathy (let alone active sympathy) with the various right-wing, nationalist movements of the period, such as Hugenberg's DNVP.⁸ Even a year, though, after the *Machtergreifung*, he could write to E.Köstermann: "den Steuermann Hitler liebe ich, trotz allem, wie Sie".⁹ Inevitably, he took the oath of loyalty in 1934,¹⁰ and there was more

1 *Die germanische Urgeschichte* (1920) and *Alt-Germanien* (1934) I have never worked through; Norden gave a copy of the latter book to Fraenkel in 1934, and that copy is on my desk, almost unannotated and bearing few signs of having been read with interest and attention. For recent reactions to *Die Geburt des Kindes* (1924), cf. Clausen, *Eclogues*, 128f., G.Casadio, in *EN*, 153-60, Schröder, 29f.. *Aus altröm. Priesterbüchern* (Lund 1939) has a complicated history (Schröder 69-86, questioning some of Rüpke's suggestions, in *EN*, 144-8 and in his book of 1993, 11-28). See too Casadio (*cit.*), 161-7. Maybe we are overly glad that EN had set aside the old Germans, but the volume of interest now registered in EN's last book is a great pleasure to behold, and no surprise.

2 Schröder, 24.

3 Mensching, *Nugae* 5, 100ff..

4 Marie Norden, in Mensching, *Nugae* 6, 37.

5 Abel, 457, 462, Schröder, 24, Marie Norden in Mensching, *Nugae* 6, 31.

6 Abel, 458f., citing a card printed by Calder/Huss as n°207C.

7 But see a letter from Solmsen to Mensching, *Nugae* 5, 109 and cf. Solmsen (1979), 116f. with L.Lehnus, *Incontri con la filologia del passato* (Bari 2012), 103. Correspondence with Luigi Lehnus on the history of scholarship is a particular delight (and unfailingly a great help).

8 Cf. M.Chambers in *Aspetti*, 18f.; forty years on, it was a bizarre experience to listen to the DNVP creed restated with conviction over tea in a comfortable, Jewish household in suburban London.

9 Schröder, 33, Mensching, *Nugae* 5, 121f.; Calder in Calder/Huss, xvi^f. misstates the source altogether.

10 Schröder, 158.

to follow.¹ Nothing in the end saved EN from the need to flee; too old, too timid, perhaps, too important, even, to have left, with all his books, as Fraenkel did, and as he himself surely could have, in 1933 or 1934. At 17, he had been baptised,² but not even that could save him now, any more than his Frisian *Abstammung*, proclaimed in the preface to *Alt-Germanien*³. Before we pass specifically to the commentary, there is a little more to be said.

First, on EN and Cumae: about 1 Sept. 1927 Wilamowitz sent him a postcard:

“Ich bin gestern in Cumae gewesen, Apollontempel, Sibyllengrotte. Der Editor von Vergil VI muss sie aus dem Augenschein kennen, sie ist ausgebaut, während Vergil in Neapel wohnte”.⁴ Maiuri's misleading discovery lay five years in the future, after he had shown Wilamowitz round (see n.1), and Norden must have winced at that underlining of Wilamowitz', for in fact he never went to Cumae. After my first visit in 1965 (p.632), I retained at least some mental image of the spot, but I needed to return not so much in order to clarify archaeological details, entirely irrelevant to Virgil's text (see *SC*, pp.71-84), but rather so as to try to understand rather more clearly the frantic debate in recent years about the site and *Aen.*6. I have some sympathy with EN's decision not to go there; Cumae is fascinating, but a distraction.

Norden wrote excellently about the metaphor of **49 tument** and about ‘horse and rider’ in his n. on 6.77-80, but did not slow his pace to consider other aspects of the problem: it is certainly relevant to our understanding of the book to see clearly that the Sibyl no longer operated in Virgil's time and that Virgil's account of her madness derives demonstrably from books. Aeneas' complicated clamberings up, down and round the acropolis of Cumae (*SC*, (9)) become slightly ludicrous once you consider them with care, and with a map in hand. But Cumae is primarily in the poet's head, not before his eyes, though I shall doubtless be vilified for saying so. Writing in the years before Rehm's admirable dissertation of 1932, EN had no good reason to suppose that the main structural elements in the description of Cumae (lakes, caves, gases, forests) were altogether conventional and proved nothing: *SC*, (7); clearly Wilamowitz would have been appalled by my scepticism, and Norden, perhaps, not much surprised. *Realien*, or rath-

1 Calder, *QSt.* 17 (1983),111, promptly reprinted, *Studies in the mod. history of class. scholarship* (Napoli 1984), 71, with proper comment on Calder's detestable tone and on the historical circumstances from W.Abels, *Gymn.*92 (1985), 530-2.

2 J.E.Bauer in *EN*, 207, Schröder, 11, etc..

3 Cf. Kytzler (1989), 327, etc..

4 N°256 in Calder/Huss; cf. Wilamowitz, *My recollections* (Eng.tr., London 1930), 190.

er, the real world in general, were not of much interest to Berlin's classical élite: clothing, ritual vessels, the geology of partially underground rivers and the like were not thought fit matter for serious scholars, who in the end, I believe, lost thereby.

EN did visit Greece once¹; Rome, likewise (Schröder, *ib.*). Also the *limes*, at least twice, with Jacoby in a Mercedes loaned by the firm (*Alt-Germanien*, x) and once, ten years earlier, in the company of Wilamowitz, Eduard Meyer, and others.² Unlike Fraenkel, EN did not find modern Italy relevant to classical Latin.

A few words are also called for on EN's pressing and arguably misleading, belief in the importance of Jewish texts for the understanding of *Aen.*6. Norden, after Radermacher and as still championed, incautiously even, by Bremmer,³ argued for a definite, perceptible Jewish element in V.'s sources. The arguments advanced do not impress me and some of them do their proponents little credit. EN's excitement of course derives from the rediscovery of a major text, *1Enoch* (*bene*, Bremmer (2011), 20) rather than from any sense that his own ancestral culture might bear on the work he was so splendidly illuminating.⁴

Thirdly, both Skutsch and Solmsen⁵ briefly compared Kroll and Norden, and it may be useful to return to that comparison with the eyes of a modern user of both: Solmsen writes: "I consider the case of Wilhelm Kroll as curious and in fact unique. In the esteem of the Anglo-Saxon world no German classicist of his generation compared with him, probably not even Norden." Not, perhaps, 'classicist', so much as 'Latinist', given the context. The question bears directly on our assessment of EN, who was (1868-1941) an almost exact contemporary of Kroll⁶ (1869-1939). Let us leave all the rest of Kroll's vast and varied output (cf. Skutsch (n.3, 1992), 390; 'he was a wonderful scholar') out of it and focus for a moment on his *Studien* and on the Catullus. Solmsen writes, going straight to the point: "his strength was common sense." The *Studien* have been hugely important

1 Famously, he was playing *Skat* with Jacoby and Dörpfeld at Olympia when the *Ruf* to Berlin reached him: Schröder, 19f., Abel, 450, n.6, *ad fin.*, Skutsch (1992), 396.

2 *Germ. Urgesch.*, vii, as my friend Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg reminds me.

3 For this topic, see n. on 320, *supra*, p.641, and introduction, xxiii; more fully, *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 67-80.

4 For his limited knowledge of Hebrew, see Bauer in *EN*, 211.

5 Skutsch (1992), 394 and Solmsen (1989), 138.

6 See Mensching, *Nugae* 10 (Berlin 2000), 57-63, H.Drexler, *Gnom.*15 (1939), 590-2; the notice by H.Lietzmann inserted in *PW* 18A (1939) has too often been removed by the binders; I do not think that I have ever seen it, and it does not survive in the sets of *PW* accessible at Padova, or in my own.

for how the non-German world approaches Latin poetry¹: the exposition is limpid, accessible, informed, precise and stimulating even at quite an early stage. I recall using the Catullus when teaching ca. 1980, in preference to anything available in English, with awe, delight, and gratitude. It is sad to discover that even fifty years after Kroll's death a most distinguished German observer (Solmsen) fails to recognise that K. was an admirable scholar, not a genius, not an immortal, but altogether undervalued by the Wilhelmine system, at least beyond the Breslau chair. If you are *teaching Aen.6*, certainly you consult EN with care and gratitude, remembering all the time that he is omissive and selective, particularly in matters of grammar, syntax and language. German schools had Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke² (more detailed, less alive and alert than Page); EN did not write for schools, hardly even for undergraduates. His *Aen.6* is a monument, not an instrument, while Kroll's Catullus, like Heinze's equally excellent *Lucr.3*, was (and remains) a model of what an undergraduate commentary should be. EN wrote for the scholarly élite of his day, very properly; a magnificent achievement, at the very highest level, a model of the application of insight and erudition to Latin poetry, though we should not forget that EN could *also* write accessibly for a much more modest public as in the case of the various versions of a short history of Latin literature. Comparison with that other masterpiece of Virgilian studies to appear in 1903, Heinze's *Virgils epische Technik* is hardly in order, for the two books have entirely differing goals. We are most fortunate to have both, though Heinze deliberately leaves *Aen.6* out of consideration, in the light of EN's work³.

The margins and endpapers of my very battered copy of EN's *Aen.6* bear a fair amount of comment and discussion; in the commentary, there are rather over five hundred references to EN, which I am not about to sort and catalogue in minute detail.

It seemed preferable to offer a couple of lists, assembled to give an impression of the book's virtues and vices⁴, though I found that I took little or no pleasure in assembling the latter:

-
- 1 See e.g. *Studien*, 274ff. on the epithet, an admirable introduction to the degrees of learning required in the reader. *Kreuzung der Gattungen* was first discussed in detail by K.; for poetic language, the poetry book, geography in the poets, the poets' unwillingness to observe the world as it is, start from Kroll's *Studien*.
 - 2 See the latter's tribute to EN's *Aen.6*, *Aen.7-12*, ed.9, 1904, p.iii.
 - 3 See *Kl.Schr.*669-73 for EN's memoir of RH. Cf. Calder, *EN*, 177; they were old friends, Schröder, 13.
 - 4 I have not worked through the list of reviews (Schröder, 190); Mme Guillemin's *Quelques injustices* is, for its date (1920), interesting, amusing, passably respectful, and alert.

Let us consider some of the principal virtues of EN's *Aen.6*:

(i) He had read vastly for the *Kunstprosa*; either his memory was extraordinary, or he took exhaustive, beautifully organised, notes, or both. No suggestion of teams of his older students doing the slave-work. With today's electronic tools you can fill in some of the gaps and make up for your own relative ignorance (though I sometimes wondered at what little use EN made of e.g. the *Axiochus*): the hunt for analogies for *plena deo* (Appx.1) was at least challenging, because several Greek versions had to be excogitated, but when there are no 'search terms' to hand, the hunt remains as difficult as it was in 1903 and Norden's formidable mental resources shine forth as brightly as ever: see for example **156-263** (challenge to gods), **443 explebo numerum**, **608** (strife between brothers), **664** (gratitude), **821** (*pulchra mors*), **847 exudent alii** (the Priamel-form), **853 parcere subiectis**.

(ii) We should also be very clear that EN understood that *Aen.6* was poetry. I do not mean his meticulous appendices on word-order, on caesurae, on metre and prosody and the like, still often altogether indispensable, nor do I mean the frequent unmatched observations on rhetorical structure (see e.g. on **215ff.**), or rhetorical figures (**164**), but rather the advanced sensibility which he applies to the poetic language of **205** (what we now call synaesthesia), **255 limina solis**, **273** jaws of Orcus, **363 spes surgentis Iuli**, **707-9** (the bees) and perhaps best of all the metaphor of **442 peredit**.

(iii) EN's knowledge of ancient eschatological (and indeed epitaphic) texts was extraordinary: note e.g. verbal repetition in ritual appeals (**46**); what was identified as his mastery of the 'philology of religion', the light shed on the *katabaseis* of Orpheus and Heracles, behind Aeneas' (**120**), **221 uelamina nota**, **260** (the dead fear metal), **619** (warnings uttered to new arrivals in the Underworld), **620** (the emphasis on justice in Orphic texts), the splendid introduction to Elysium (**637-51**), **669ff.** (Conversation with Musaeus and questions put to Underworld residents), and perhaps my favourite, on a small point, visitors able to return to the upper world (**131**) illustrated by Homer and *Ar.Ran.*.

(iv) EN attacked questions of the sources V. used like the British cavalry of the Napoleonic period: both irresistible, but prone to a shared, faulty awareness of when it was time to rein in; vd. *infra* for details. But on smaller, more precise points, EN's erudition shed remarkable light on V.'s reading, as at **794f.**, **795f.** on panegyric conventions, on the use of mythological manuals (pp. 259, 260, 261f.), on the origin of the groups of mythological figures leading up to Dido (pp.246-9).

(v) The brusque and lordly manner of EN's exegesis presupposes relatively intelligent and informed readers; the sparse bibliographical detail is less difficult to decipher than Wilamowitz' and only becomes actually dif-

ficult when error intervenes (vd. *infra*). Students of today, swamped or stifled by superfluous bibliographical particulars, would profit by a week's close attention paid to EN's terse and bracing style of citation.

For the reactions of the aged Mommsen to *Aen.*6, vd. Schröder, 19, n.39, Kytzler (1990), 343, Calder in Calder/Huss, xiv.

Let us pass briefly to some defects, not in any carping spirit, but to suggest that even EN was not actually perfect and that there are identifiable faults, though neither frequent nor grave, in a most remarkable book:

(i) Typographical errors and wrong references do occur.¹

(ii) At times EN's treatment is omissive and unsystematic.²

(iii) Until you realise that he does it often, EN's use of (his own) Greek can be seriously confusing.

(iv) The index has a wide range,³ but is neither comprehensive, nor outstandingly helpful.

(v) EN shares his generation's faulty view of the intentions of Menander Rhetor.⁴

(vi) EN does not have an informed and helpful perception of V.'s approach to the topography of Cumae.⁵

(vii) You discover that a lot of progress has been made in our understanding of poetic Latin since 1903.⁶

(viii) EN, like Roland Austin has faith in his ear and heard more sound-effects than I would ever dare suspect.⁷

(ix) The commentary is sometimes unexpectedly thin, as on metal towers, piacular sacrifices, buried treasure, the removal of Cerberus, the doctrine of the spheres, and Charon's barque.⁸ The doves that lead *Aen.* to the Golden Bough do so precisely after the manner of the animals or birds in many foundation legends; they are not, *pace* EN, augural.⁹

1 Only at 547 have I been unable to work out, even with Giulia Ammannati's generous assistance, what it is that EN meant; it would be out of keeping with the spirit of this appendix to list the (quite numerous) trivial errors that I have found, and in the margins of my copy they may remain.

2 You discover that e.g. 754 **tumulum** is important, but that only comes to the surface when you decide that every word in the book *may* be significant.

3 Kytzler (1990), 342 is rather too generous.

4 I.e. that it is a work of instruction, not (so Russell/Wilson, introduction) of analysis

5 Vd. the arguments offered in *SC*, *supra*.

6 See already ch. 11 of Kroll's *Studien*, three years earlier than ed.3 of *Aen.*6.

7 Cf. EN's n. on 652 and his pp. 413-7.

8 See 544, 630 (Metal), 243-6 (piacular offerings), 610 (treasure), 120, (2)(c)(Cerberus), 439 (spheres), 410ff. (Charon's barque).

9 See 136-48, (4).

(x) Others have made fun of EN's hunt for V.'s sources.¹ Since 1903, our range of Orphic texts has expanded vastly, and scholars have become far more cautious in their hunt for 'Orphic' origins.² Karl Reinhardt transformed the scholarly view of Posidonius and Edelstein-Kidd have provided us with the necessary collection of the fragments.³ I have suggested that EN's hunt for Ennius in *Aen.*6 is often pushed too far.⁴ Likewise, the pursuit of Varro,⁵ and the hunt (the *unhappy* hunt, I would say), for Jewish influence in V.'s Underworld (see 650, n.3).

(xi) Very limited interest in textual problems.

But I had rather be misled, frustrated, exasperated, even by Norden (as one is from time to time) than emerge amply and tediously informed by any other scholar I have read since I began specialised work on the *Aeneid* in 1966. Even when EN is wrong (and sometimes, to speak plainly, he is), it is an education to work out exactly why; at least, when we differ, it is *about* something, real and substantive⁶, though it may be at the same time a relatively small detail. The virtues of the book are those of youth: huge mental energy, a vast range, unlimited curiosity and a wonderful memory, functioning at full power. Likewise, inevitably, a certain lack, at times, of caution, patience, discipline, system. But genius does amply make up for a bit of impatience. EN has been a wonderful companion and/or adversary over my *Aen.*6 years, alike in dissent and in accord. Though nothing suggests that he was a scholar who actually appreciated extended, detailed disagreement, it has been, much of the time, for him that I was writing; should we yet, by some quirk of eschatology, meet and be able in some way to converse, preferably uninterrupted by Deiphobe, that could well prove an exciting moment; both of us clearly, though, do much prefer being *right*, so the encounter could prove a little heated, until, of course, EN realises that my commentary is intended as a respectful tribute to his.

1 Calder/Huss, xiv, Butler, p.156., W.M.Calder, *Vergilius* 34 (1988), 113.

2 For a summary, see xxii; see too appx.1, p.640. See for example the mixture of arguments applied to the reconstruction of the *katabaseis* of Heracles and Orpheus, **120**, both brilliant and less so.

3 See appx.2, p.640.

4 See above pp. xvi, 641. Vd. e.g. EN, p.373 on **185**, EN on **766 unde genius**.

5 See the few refs. in my index and *SC*(5), there is too much Varro in EN's index s.v, p.470, certainly in comparison with his slender presence in my own (see e.g. EN, p.179: Daedalus, Misenus and Palinurus from Va., or, much better, from texts perhaps used by Va.).

6 I have in mind his comments about Butler's criticisms, ed.3/4, p.ix; see further D.P.Fowler, in (ed.G.W.Most), *Commentaries-Kommentare* (Göttingen 1999), 441f.; I am most grateful to whoever it was that sent me the two pages of Fowler (could it have been Chris Kraus?). EN offers an admirable general rule: for a criticism to be taken seriously, let it be courteous, and of substance.

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