

VERGIL  
AENEID  
BOOKS 1-6

RANDALL T. GANIBAN, GENERAL EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOSEPH FARRELL

PATRICIA A. JOHNSTON

JAMES J. O'HARA

CHRISTINE G. PERKELL



**VERGIL**

**Aeneid**  
**Books 1–6**

# The Focus Vergil Aeneid Commentaries

## For intermediate students

*Aeneid 1* • Randall T. Ganiban, general editor • Available now

*Aeneid 2* • Randall T. Ganiban, editor • Available now

*Aeneid 3* • Christine G. Perkell, editor • Available now

*Aeneid 4* • James J. O'Hara, editor • Available now

*Aeneid 5* • Joseph Farrell, editor • Available 2013

*Aeneid 6* • Patricia A. Johnston, editor • Available now

## For advanced students

*Aeneid 1–6* • Randall Ganiban, Christine Perkell, James O'Hara,  
Joseph Farrell, Patricia A. Johnston, editors

*Aeneid 7–12* • Available 2014 (Available only as a single volume)

Contributors:

Randall Ganiban, co-general editor • *Aeneid 7*

James O'Hara, co-general editor • *Aeneid 8*

Joseph Farrell, editor • *Aeneid 9*

Andreola Rossi, editor • *Aeneid 10*

Charles McNelis, editor • *Aeneid 11*

Christine Perkell, editor • *Aeneid 12*

VERGIL

Aeneid  
Books 1–6

Randall T. Ganiban  
*Middlebury College*

Joseph Farrell  
*University of Pennsylvania*

Patricia A. Johnston  
*Brandeis University*

James J. O'Hara  
*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Christine G. Perkell  
*Emory College*

*Focus* Publishing  
An Imprint of Hackett Publishing Company  
Indianapolis / Cambridge

**Vergil, Aeneid Books 1–6**

© 2012 Randall Ganiban, Joseph Farrell, Patricia A. Johnston, James O’Hara,  
Christine Perkell

Previously published by Focus Publishing/R. Pullins Company

*Focus* Publishing: An Imprint of Hackett Publishing Company

PO Box 44937

Indianapolis, Indiana 46244-0937

[www.hackettpublishing.com](http://www.hackettpublishing.com)

Interior illustration by Sam Kimball.

ISBN 978-1-58510-638-7

Also available in paperback (ISBN 978-1-58510-214-3).

All rights reserved.

Last updated December 2012

# Table of Contents

Preface	vii
Contributors' Information	ix
General Introduction	1
Map	28
Latin Text	29
Abbreviations	161
Commentary	
<i>Aeneid 1</i> by Randall T. Ganiban	167
<i>Aeneid 2</i> by Randall T. Ganiban	221
<i>Aeneid 3</i> by Christine G. Perkell	271
<i>Aeneid 4</i> by James O'Hara	323
<i>Aeneid 5</i> by Joseph Farrell	367
<i>Aeneid 6</i> by Patricia A. Johnston	413
Appendix: Vergil's Meter	463
Glossary	469
Works Cited	485
Index	509





## Preface

This book is the first of a two-volume edition of Vergil's *Aeneid* that has been tailored especially for use in advanced (i.e. third year and beyond) Latin courses in U.S. colleges and universities. It has been written with the belief that contemporary students at this level need a new kind of commentary. Since so many students now begin Latin in college, they approach Vergil with an interest in interpretation, developed through years of high school and college literature coursework, that easily exceeds their ability in translation. A commentary ideally suited to them will, therefore, not only provide good assistance with the complexities of Vergil's Latin, but will also elucidate the stylistic and interpretive issues that enhance and sustain readers' appreciation of the *Aeneid*. The present commentary aims to fulfill these needs by combining grammatical and syntactic aid in translation along with discussion of interpretive and stylistic issues that reflect the contemporary and lively critical study of the epic. It is therefore an edition not so much for advanced readers of Vergil (the Oxford, Cambridge, and Brill editions will provide fuller and more scholarly discussions) as it is for advanced college Latin classes—that is, for fifth-semester Latin students and beyond.

This volume is a collaborative effort that takes as its starting point the still valuable school edition of *Aeneid* 1-6 by T. E. Page (1894). Page's notes have been pared down, revised, updated, or omitted, while interpretive material and a wide variety of other information have also been included — all according to the judgment and preferences of each editor. In addition, the book commentaries include a general introduction, shorter introductions to the major sections of the given book, and brief introductions to smaller passages (where needed); major bibliography has been added throughout. A general introduction to the entire volume sets forth the literary, cultural, political and historical background necessary to interpret and understand Vergil (with relevant bibliography for further study). The appendix on meter explains Vergil's creative mastery of the dactylic hexameter, and the

glossary on rhetorical, syntactic and grammatical terms will aid students in identifying and discussing the characteristic elements of Vergil's style.

This commentary is part of a larger project being produced by Focus Publishing that also includes editions of individual books of the *Aeneid* that suit the needs of intermediate Latin students (i.e. third semester and beyond). The commentaries in this present edition represent, in effect, somewhat shorter versions of those in the intermediate editions — with fewer of the more basic comments on grammar, syntax, and translation, and without a general vocabulary for each book.

There are numerous people and institutions to thank for their help in the creation of this volume. The contributors and I have recorded our acknowledgments with regard to the line-by-line commentaries in our respective editions of the individual books of *Aeneid* 1-6, and we reiterate here the gratitude expressed there. With respect to this present volume, I would like to thank both Middlebury College, which provided me with the leave funding for 2011-2012 that enabled me to complete the general editing of the text, and the Department of the Classics at Harvard, which generously welcomed me as a visiting scholar that same academic year. I am grateful for the help of my student research assistants at Middlebury, especially Carrie Bryant. I am also indebted to my graduate school advisor, Elaine Fantham, and my colleagues in the Department of Classics at Middlebury: Jane Chaplin, Pavlos Sfyroeras, Chris Star, Ian Sutherland, and Marc Witkin. It has been a privilege to work with Joe Farrell, Pat Johnston, Jim O'Hara, and Christine Perkell. I have learned much from them, and I am grateful for their outstanding contributions as well as their generous counsel. I would like to give special thanks to Jim O'Hara, not only for his invaluable help with the present volume but also for his agreement to be co-general editor of the *Aeneid* 7-12 volume with me. As always, I am deeply indebted to my mother, siblings, and, above all, to Elizabeth Ennen and Claire Ennen Ganiban, who have put up with the ups and downs of this project with good humor and caring support.

Finally, I would like to thank the people at Focus Publishing. It was Ron Pullins' idea to create new *Aeneid* commentaries by using Page's editions, and he was kind enough to give me the opportunity to oversee this volume and the overall series. Throughout the process he has been generous, supportive, and patient, as have the wonderful production staff, Allen Cooper, Ann Droppers, Jenny Putnam, and Cindy Zawalich, who have guided the manuscript through the many twists and turns of production.

Randall Ganiban  
General Editor

## Contributors' Information

**Joseph Farrell** is Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. He writes frequently on Vergil, on Latin poetry in general, and on various topics relating to Roman literary culture. He is the author of *Vergil, Aeneid 5* (Focus Publishing forthcoming), *Latin Language and Latin Culture from Ancient to Modern Times* (Cambridge 2001), and *Vergil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic* (Oxford 1991), and co-editor of *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and its Tradition*, with Michael C. J. Putnam (Blackwell 2010), and of *Augustan Poetry and the Roman Republic*, with Damien P. Nelis (Oxford 2013).

**Randall Ganiban** (General Editor) is Professor of Classics at Middlebury College in Vermont. He has a BA from Yale University and a Ph.D. from Princeton University, and specializes in Classical epic and Roman literature. He is the author of *Vergil, Aeneid 1* (Focus Publishing 2009), *Vergil, Aeneid 2* (Focus Publishing 2008), and *Statius and Virgil: The Thebaid and the Reinterpretation of the Aeneid* (Cambridge 2007). He is co-general editor with James O'Hara of *Vergil, Aeneid, Books 7-12* (Focus Publishing forthcoming).

**Patricia A. Johnston** is Professor of Classics at Brandeis University. She is past president of the Vergilian Society and former editor of *Vergilius*. Her books include *The Aeneid of Vergil* (tr.) (Norman, OK 2012), *Vergil, Aeneid 6* (Focus Publishing 2012), *Traditio: An Introduction to the Latin Language and its Influence* (Focus Publishing 1997), and *Vergil's Agricultural Golden Age: A Study of the Georgics* (Leiden 1980). Other co-edited books include *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia* (Austin 2009), *Cultural Responses to the Volcanic Landscape* (Archaeological Institute of America 2005), and *Vergil, Philodemus and the Augustans* (Austin 2004).

**James O'Hara** is the George L. Paddison Professor of Latin at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is the author of *Vergil, Aeneid 4* (Focus Publishing 2011), *Inconsistency in Roman Epic: Studies in Catullus, Lucretius, Ovid and Lucan* (Cambridge 2007), *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor 1996), and *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton 1990).

He is co-general editor with Randall Ganiban of *Vergil, Aeneid Books 7-12* (Focus Publishing forthcoming).

**Christine Perkell** is Professor of Classics at Emory University. She has a BA from Wellesley College and a PhD in Classical Philology from Harvard University. Her publications include *The Poet's Truth: A Study of the Poet in Vergil's Georgics* (Berkeley 1989), *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide* (Norman, OK 1999), and *Vergil, Aeneid 3* (Focus Publishing 2010), as well as articles on various aspects of Vergil's poetics and of lamentation in epic poetry.

## General Introduction

*Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai!  
nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.*<sup>1</sup>

Vergil's epic tells the story of the great Trojan hero Aeneas. He fought the Greeks at Troy and saw his glorious city destroyed. With the guidance of the gods and fate, however, he led his people across the Mediterranean to Italy, where, after yet another war, he founded Lavinium, the city destined for his people. While Aeneas' story takes place in the distant, mythological past, it had special relevance for Vergil's contemporaries: not only did the Romans draw their descent from the Trojans, but the family of the emperor Augustus claimed Aeneas as their ancestor. Vergil brilliantly integrates these historical connections into his mythological epic, particularly through the masterful use of prophetic passages,<sup>2</sup> and thus enables the *Aeneid* not only to narrate Aeneas' heroic story but also to anticipate and reflect upon Rome's founding, its Trojan and Italian traditions, and the growth of its empire culminating in Augustus' reign. By weaving together the past and present, myth and history, religion and politics, the Greek literary tradition and the Roman, Vergil explores abiding questions about the nature of heroism, the morality of war, the power of the gods, and the value of empire. At the same time, he examines what it means to be Roman, and, with the *Aeneid*, Roman literature could be said to have equaled – if not surpassed – that of Greece.

---

1 Propertius 2.34.65-6. Propertius' second book of elegies was published in the mid-20s BCE, making this couplet contemporaneous with the composition of the *Aeneid*. Though on the surface it seems praiseworthy, some have read it as suggesting insincerity or criticism. See O'Rourke (2011).

2 See "Major themes" below.

## Vergil's lifetime and poetry

Publius Vergilius Maro (i.e. Vergil)<sup>1</sup> was born on October 15, 70 BCE near the town of Mantua (modern Mantova) in what was then still Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>2</sup> Little else about his life can be stated with certainty, because our main source, the ancient biography by the grammarian Donatus (fourth century CE),<sup>3</sup> is of questionable value.<sup>4</sup> The historical and political background to Vergil's life, by contrast, is amply documented and provides a useful framework for understanding his career. Indeed, his poetic development displays an increasing engagement with the politics of contemporary Rome, an engagement that culminates in the *Aeneid*.

Vergil lived and wrote in a time of political strife and uncertainty. In his early twenties the Roman Republic was torn apart by the civil wars of 49-45 BCE, when Julius Caesar fought and defeated Pompey and his supporters. Caesar was declared *dictator perpetuo* ("Dictator for Life") early in 44 BCE but was assassinated on the Ides of March of that same year by a group of senators led by Brutus<sup>5</sup> and Cassius. They sought to restore the Republic, which, they believed, was being destroyed by Caesar's domination and intimations of kingship.<sup>6</sup>

The assassination initiated a new round of civil strife that profoundly shaped the course of Roman history. In his will, Caesar adopted and named as his primary heir his great-nephew Octavian (63 BCE-14 CE), the man who would later be called "Augustus."<sup>7</sup> Only eighteen years old, Octavian

---

1 The spelling "Virgil" (*Virgilius*) is also used by convention. It developed early and has been explained by its similarity to two words: *virgo* ("maiden") and *virga* ("wand"). For discussion of the origins and potential meanings of these connections, see Jackson Knight (1944) 36-7 and Putnam (1993) 127-8 with notes.

2 Cisalpine Gaul, the northern part of what we now think of as Italy, was incorporated into Roman Italy in 42 BCE. Mantua is located ca. 520 kilometers north of Rome.

3 This biography drew heavily from the *De poetis* of Suetonius (born ca. 70 CE).

4 Horsfall (1995: 1-25; 2006: xxii-xxiv) argues that nearly every detail is unreliable. On ancient biographies of Vergil, see Stok (2010).

5 Kingship was hateful to the Romans ever since Brutus' own ancestor, Lucius Junius Brutus, led the expulsion of Rome's last king, Tarquin the Proud, in ca. 509 BCE, an act that ended the regal period of Rome and initiated the Republic (cf. *Aeneid* 6.817-18). In killing Caesar, Brutus claimed that he was following the example of his great ancestor – an important concept for the Romans.

6 For the reasons behind Caesar's assassination and the fall of the Republic, see the brief accounts in Scullard (1982) 126-53 and Shotter (2005) 4-19.

7 See below.

boldly accepted and used this inheritance. Through a combination of shrewd calculation and luck, he managed to attain the consulship in 43 BCE, though he was merely nineteen years of age.<sup>8</sup> He then joined forces with two of Caesar's lieutenants, Marc Antony (initially Octavian's rival) and Lepidus. Together they demanded recognition as a Board of Three (*triumviri* or "triumvirs") to reconstitute the state as they saw fit, and were granted extraordinary powers to do so by the Roman senate and people. In 42 BCE they avenged Caesar's murder by defeating the forces of the assassins led by Brutus and Cassius at the battle of Philippi in Macedonia, but their alliance gradually deteriorated as a result of further civil strife and their own unresolved rivalry for primacy.

Vergil composed the *Eclogues*, his first major work,<sup>9</sup> during this tumultuous period. Published ca. 39 (or ca. 35) BCE,<sup>10</sup> the *Eclogues* comprise a sophisticated collection of ten pastoral poems that treat the experiences of shepherds.<sup>11</sup> The poems were modeled on the *Idylls* of Theocritus, a Hellenistic Greek poet of the third century BCE.<sup>12</sup> But whereas Theocritus' poetry created a world that was largely timeless, Vergil sets his pastoral world against the backdrop of contemporary Rome and the disruption caused by the civil wars. *Eclogues* 1 and 9, for example, deal with the differing fortunes of shepherds during a time of land confiscations that resonate with historical events in 41-40 BCE.<sup>13</sup> *Eclogue* 4 describes the birth of a child during the consulship of Asinius Pollio (40 BCE) who will bring a new golden age to

---

8 By the *lex Villia annalis* of 180 BCE, a consul had to be at least forty-two years of age.

9 Other early works have been attributed to Vergil: *Aetna*, *Catalepton*, *Ciris*, *Copa*, *Culex*, *Dirae*, *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, *Moretum*, and *Priapea*. They are collected in what is called the *Appendix Vergiliana* and are generally believed to be spurious.

10 The traditional dating is ca. 39 BCE, but it has been called into question through re-evaluation of *Eclogue* 8, which may very well refer to events in 35 BCE. See, e.g., Clausen (1994) 232-7.

11 Coleman (1977) and Clausen (1994) are excellent commentaries on the *Eclogues*. For a discussion of the pastoral genre at Rome, see Heyworth (2005). For general interpretation of the *Eclogues*, see Hardie (1998) 5-27 (with extensive bibliography in the notes), Volk (2008a), and R. A. Smith (2011) 40-74.

12 For discussion of the influence of Hellenistic poetry on Vergil, see "Vergil and his predecessors" below.

13 After Philippi, Octavian had the difficult job of finding land with which to reward veterans, and often did so by taking it away from its current occupants.

Rome.<sup>14</sup> By interjecting the contemporary world into his poetic landscape,<sup>15</sup> Vergil allows readers to sense how political developments both threaten and give promise to the very possibility of pastoral existence.

The *Eclogues* established Vergil as a new and important poetic voice, and led him to the cultural circle of the great literary patron Maecenas, an influential supporter and confidant of Octavian. Their association grew throughout the 30s.<sup>16</sup> The political situation, however, remained precarious. Lepidus was ousted from the triumvirate in 36 BCE because of his treacherous behavior. Tensions between Octavian and Antony that were simmering over Antony's collaboration and affair with the Egyptian queen Cleopatra eventually exploded.<sup>17</sup> In 32 BCE, Octavian had Antony's powers revoked, and war was declared against Cleopatra (thus in effect against Antony as well). During a naval confrontation off Actium on the coast of western Greece in September of 31 BCE, Octavian's fleet decisively routed the forces of Marc Antony and Cleopatra, who fled together to Egypt and committed suicide in the following year to avoid capture.<sup>18</sup> This momentous

- 
- 14 This is sometimes called the "Messianic Eclogue" because later ages read it as foreseeing the birth of Christ, which occurred nearly four decades later. The identity of the child is debated, but the poem may celebrate the marriage between Marc Antony and Octavian's sister Octavia that resulted from the treaty of Brundisium in 40 BCE; this union helped stave off the immediate outbreak of war between the two triumvirs. For more on this poem, see Van Sickle (1992) and Petrini (1997) 111-21, as well as the commentaries by Coleman (1977) and Clausen (1994).
- 15 In addition to the contemporary themes that Vergil treats, he also mentions or dedicates individual poems to a number of his contemporaries, including Asinius Pollio, Alfenus Varus, Cornelius Gallus, and probably Octavian, who is likely the *iuvenis* ("young man") mentioned at 1.42 and perhaps also the patron addressed at 8.6-13.
- 16 For the relationship between Augustus and the poets, see White (2005). White (1993) is a book-length study of this topic. For an overview of literature of the Augustan period from 40 BCE-14 CE, see Farrell (2005); for the literary culture of the period, see Fantham (1996) 55-101.
- 17 In addition to the political conflicts, there were also familial tensions: Antony conducted a decade-long affair with Cleopatra, even though he was married to Octavia, Octavian's (Augustus') sister (see n. 16 above). Antony divorced Octavia in 32 BCE.
- 18 For the history of the triumviral period, see the brief accounts in Scullard (1982) 154-71 and Shotter (2005) 20-7; for more detailed treatments, see Syme (1939) 187-312, Pelling (1996), and Osgood (2006). For discussion of the contemporary artistic representations of Actium, see Gurval (1995) and Miller (2009) 54-94.



victory solidified Octavian's claim of being the protector of traditional Roman values against the detrimental influence of Antony, Cleopatra, and the East.<sup>19</sup>

Vergil began his next work, the *Georgics*, sometime in the 30s, completed it ca. 29 BCE in the aftermath of Actium, and dedicated it to Maecenas. Like the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics* was heavily influenced by Greek models—particularly the work of Hesiod (eighth century BCE) and of Hellenistic poets such as Callimachus, Aratus, and Nicander (third-second centuries BCE). On the surface, the *Georgics* purports to be a poetic farming guide.<sup>20</sup> Each of its four books examines a different aspect or sphere of agricultural life: crops and weather signs (book 1), trees and vines (book 2), livestock (book 3), and bees (book 4). Its actual scope, however, is more ambitious. The poem explores the nature of humankind's struggle with the beauty and difficulties of the agricultural world, but it does so within the context of contemporary war-torn Italy. It bears witness to the strife following Caesar's assassination, setting the chaos and disorder inherent in nature against the upheaval caused by civil war (1.461-514). Moreover, Octavian's success and victories are commemorated both in the introduction (1.24-42) and conclusion (4.559-62) of the poem, as well as in the beginning of the third book (3.1-39). Thus once again, the political world is juxtaposed against Vergil's poetic landscape, but the relationship between the two is not fully addressed.<sup>21</sup>

Octavian's victory represented a turning point in Roman history. Over the next decade, he centralized political and military control in his hands. He claimed to have returned the state (*res publica*) to the senate and Roman

---

19 This ideological interpretation is suggested in Vergil's depiction of the battle on Aeneas' shield (8.671-713).

20 Insightful commentaries on the *Georgics* include Thomas (1988a) and Mynors (1990). For interpretation, see the introduction to the *Georgics* in Hardie (1998) 28-52 with extensive bibliography in the notes, Volk (2008b), R. A. Smith (2011) 75-103. Individual studies include Wilkinson (1969), Putnam (1979), Johnston (1980), Ross (1987), Perkell (1989), Nappa (2005), Kronenberg (2009) 132-84, and Thibodeau (2011). For allusion in the *Georgics*, see Thomas (1986), Farrell (1991), and Gale (2000).

21 The overall meaning of the *Georgics* is contested. Interpretation of the *Georgics*, like that of the *Aeneid* (see below), has optimistic and pessimistic poles. Otis (1964) is an example of the former; Ross (1987) the latter. Other scholars, such as Perkell (1989), fall in between by discerning inherent ambivalence. For discussion of these interpretive trends, see Hardie (1998) 50-2.

people in 27 BCE.<sup>22</sup> His powers were redefined, and he was granted the name “Augustus” (“Revered One”) by the senate. It is true that he maintained many traditional Republican institutions, but in reality he was transforming the state into a monarchy. So effective was his stabilization and control of Rome after decades of civil war that he reigned as *Princeps* (“First Citizen”) from 27 BCE to 14 CE, and founded a political framework (the Principate) that served the Roman state for centuries.<sup>23</sup>

Vergil wrote his final poem, the *Aeneid*,<sup>24</sup> largely in the 20s BCE, during the first years of Augustus’ reign, when the Roman people presumably hoped that the civil wars were behind them, yet feared that the Augustan peace would not last. The story of the Trojan warrior Aeneas is firmly rooted in the mythological age of Homer; but as in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, Vergil interjects historical Rome into his poetic world, though the thematic connections between the two are now developed more explicitly: Aeneas’ actions are shown to be necessary for and to lead ultimately to the foundation of Rome and the reign of Augustus.<sup>25</sup> (See below for further discussion.)

Vergil was still finishing the *Aeneid* when he was stricken by a fatal illness in 19 BCE. The ancient biographical tradition claims that he traveled to Greece, intending to spend three years editing his epic there and in Asia, but that early on he encountered Augustus (who was returning to Rome from the East), and decided to accompany him. Vergil, however, fell ill during the

---

22 Augustus, *Res Gestae* 34.

23 For general political and historical narratives of Augustus’ reign, see the relatively brief account in Shotton (2005); longer, more detailed treatments can be found in A. H. M. Jones (1970), Crook (1996), and Southern (1998). A classic and influential book by Syme (1939) paints Augustus in extremely dark colors. For broader considerations of the Augustan age, see the short but interesting volume by Wallace-Hadrill (1993) and the more comprehensive treatments by Galinsky (1996, 2005). For the interaction of art and ideology in the Augustan Age, see Zanker (1988).

24 For general interpretation of the *Aeneid*, see the recent overviews provided by Horsfall (1995), Hardie (1998) 53-101, Perkell (1999), Anderson (2005), Johnson (2005), Fratantuono (2007), Ross (2007), and R. A. Smith (2011) 104-49. For interpretive trends, see “Contemporary interpretation” below. For the literary and cultural backgrounds to the *Aeneid*, see Martindale (1997), Farrell (2005), and Galinsky (1996, 2005). For collections of essays, see McAuslan and Walcott (1990), S. J. Harrison (1990), Martindale (1997), Hardie (1999), Perkell (1999), S. Quinn (2000), and Anderson and Quattarone (2002).

25 See, e.g., Hardie (1994) 11-12 and Reed (2010) on the *Aeneid* as a Hellenistic foundation or *ktistic* epic.

journey and died in Brundisium (in southern Italy) in September of 19 BCE. The *Aeneid* was largely complete but had not yet received its final revision. We are told that Vergil asked that it be burned, but that Augustus ultimately had it published. While such details regarding Vergil's death are doubted, the poem clearly needed final editing.<sup>26</sup> However, its present shape, including its sudden ending, is generally accepted to be as Vergil had planned.<sup>27</sup>

### Vergil and his predecessors

By writing an epic about the Trojan War, Vergil was rivaling Homer, the greatest of all the Greek poets. The *Aeneid* was therefore a bold undertaking. Its success makes it arguably the quintessential Roman work because it accomplishes what Latin poetry had long striven to do: to appropriate the Greek tradition and transform it into something that was both equally impressive and distinctly "Roman."

Homer's *Iliad* tells the story of the Trojan War by focusing on Achilles' strife with the Greek leader Agamemnon and consequent rage, while the *Odyssey* treats the war's aftermath by relating Odysseus' struggle to return home. These were the earliest and most revered works of Greek literature,<sup>28</sup> and they exerted a defining influence on both the overall framework of the *Aeneid* and the close details of its poetry. In general terms, *Aeneid* 1-6, like the *Odyssey*, describes a hero's return (to a new) home after the Trojan War, while *Aeneid* 7-12, like the *Iliad*, tells the story of a war. But throughout the *Aeneid*, Vergil reworks ideas, language, characters, and scenes from both

---

26 For more on the problematic nature of the biographical tradition of Vergil, see n. 6 (above) and O'Hara (2010). We can be sure that the poem had not received its final revision for a number of reasons, including the presence of roughly fifty-eight incomplete or "half" lines (see commentary note on 1.534).

27 See the excellent discussion in O'Hara (2010).

28 These poems were culminations of a centuries-old oral tradition and were written down probably in the eighth century BCE.

poems.<sup>29</sup> Some ancient critics faulted Vergil for his use of Homer, calling his appropriations “thefts.” Vergil, however, is said to have responded that it is “easier to steal his club from Hercules than a line from Homer.”<sup>30</sup> Indeed, Vergil does much more than simply quote material from Homer. His creative use and transformation of Homer are central not only to his artistry but also to the meaning of the *Aeneid*. Interpretation must therefore always take into consideration the verbal, thematic, and structural points of contact between the *Aeneid* and Homeric epic, for the resulting similarities and differences can affect our analysis of the epic (see especially the introductions to books 1, 3, and 5 in the commentary). Such investigation of the relationship between texts – that is, the study of allusion or intertextuality — is fundamental to an understanding of the *Aeneid*, for Vergil engages not just Homer but much of the Classical tradition.<sup>31</sup>

---

29 Thus, the schema positing “Odyssean” and “Iliadic” halves is problematic. See, e.g., Farrell (1997) 229-30. Other structural units have been suggested. For example, some argue that the artistic nature of the *Aeneid*’s composition becomes clearer if we consider the epic in consecutive book pairs (1-2, 3-4, etc.) or pairs of corresponding books from the epic’s two halves (1 and 7, 2 and 8, etc.), or by dividing the poem into three sections of four books each (1-4, 5-8, 9-12). See Duckworth (1954) and E. L. Harrison (1980). While perhaps none is completely satisfying, such schemata show the complexity of the *Aeneid*’s composition, revealing the differing vistas that open up as books are considered in various combinations.

30 ...*facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homeri versum subripere* (Donatus/Suetonius, *Life of Vergil* 46).

31 See “Contemporary interpretation” below for further discussion of Vergilian allusion/intertextuality. Though the terms “allusion” and “intertextuality” are often used almost interchangeably, allusion, traditionally, has implied authorial intent (i.e. the author *intended* a reference to an earlier work), whereas intertextuality relies not on presumed authorial intent (which in most cases is virtually impossible to know with any certainty) but on how a reader perceives one text reacting to or engaging another text. Ancient authors spoke of the relationship between texts in terms of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*. See, e.g., Quintilian’s discussion at *Institutio Oratoria* 10.2. For a full and insightful introduction to the interpretive possibilities that the study of allusion/intertextuality in Vergil can offer readers, see Farrell (1997). For a general introduction to the concepts, see G. Allen (2000). For the study of allusion/intertextuality in Latin literature, see Conte (1986), Farrell (1991) 1-25, Hardie (1993), Fowler (1997c), Hinds (1998), and Edmunds (2001). For Vergil’s use of Homer, see Knauer (1964a and b), Barchiesi (1984, in Italian), Gransden (1984), Cairns (1989) 177-248, Hexter (2010), Nelis (2010), and Dekel (2012). Knauer (1964a), written in German, is a standard work on this topic; those without German can still benefit from its detailed citations and lists of parallels. For Vergil’s use of Apollonius, see Nelis (2001).

In addition to Homer, Vergil was influenced by many other Greek sources and models, particularly from the Hellenistic tradition of poetry that originated in Alexandria, Egypt in the third century BCE. Scholar-poets such as Apollonius, Callimachus, and Theocritus reacted against the earlier literary tradition (particularly epic, which by their time had become largely derivative), and developed a poetic aesthetic that valued sophistication in meter and word order, small-scale treatments over large, unusual and *recherché* topics over the traditional. Hellenistic poetry was introduced into the mainstream of Latin poetry a generation before Vergil by the so-called “neoterics” or “new poets,” of whom Catullus (c. 84-c. 54 BCE) was the most influential for Vergil and for the later literary tradition.<sup>32</sup>

Vergil’s earlier works, the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, had been modeled to a significant extent on Hellenistic poems,<sup>33</sup> so it was perhaps a surprise that Vergil would then have turned to a large-scale epic concerning the Trojan War.<sup>34</sup> However, one of his great feats was the incorporation of the Hellenistic and neoteric sensibilities into the *Aeneid*. Two models were particularly important in this regard: the *Argonautica* by Apollonius of Rhodes, an epic retelling the hero Jason’s quest for the Golden Fleece, and Catullus 64, a poem on the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.<sup>35</sup> Both works brought the great and elevated heroes of the past down to a more human level, thereby offering new insights into their strengths, passions and flaws, and both greatly influenced Vergil’s presentation of Aeneas.

---

32 Clausen (1964a, 1987, 2002), George (1974), Briggs (1981), Thomas (1988a, 1999), and Hunter (2006) display these influences, while O’Hara (1996) provides a thorough examination of wordplay (important to the Alexandrian poets) in Vergil.

33 The *Eclogues* were modeled on Theocritus’ *Idylls* (see above); the *Georgics* had numerous models, though the Hellenistic poets Callimachus, Nicander, and Aratus were particularly important influences.

34 For example, at *Eclogue* 6.3-5, Vergil explains in highly programmatic language his decision to compose poetry in the refined Callimachean or Hellenistic manner rather than traditional epic. See Clausen (1994) 174-5.

35 On the influence of Apollonius on Vergil, see the important book by Nelis (2001); on the influence of Catullus on Vergil, see Petrini (1997) and Nappa (2011).

Of Vergil's predecessors in Latin epic, the most important was Ennius (239-169 BCE), often called the father of Roman poetry.<sup>36</sup> His *Annales*, which survives only in fragments, was an historical epic about Rome that traced the city's origins back to Aeneas and Troy. It remained the most influential Latin poem until the *Aeneid* was composed, and provided a model not only for Vergil's poetic language and themes, but also for his integration of Homer and Roman history. In addition, the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius (ca. 94-55/51 BCE), a hexameter poem on Epicurean philosophy, profoundly influenced Vergil with its forceful language, poetic style, and philosophical ideas.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, Vergil drew much from Greek and Roman<sup>38</sup> tragedy. Many episodes in the *Aeneid* share tragedy's well-known dramatic patterns (such as reversal of fortune), and explore the suffering that befalls mortals often as a result of the immense and incomprehensible power of the gods and fate.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the conflict of viewpoints so important to the *Aeneid* may also reflect tragic practice.<sup>40</sup> As a prominent critic has written, "The influence of

---

36 Ennius introduced the dactylic hexameter as the meter of Latin epic. Two earlier epic writers were Livius Andronicus who composed a translation of Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin, and Naevius who composed the *Bellum Punicum*, an epic on the First Punic War. Both Naevius and Livius wrote their epics in a meter called Saturnian that is not now fully understood. For the influence of the early Latin poets on the *Aeneid*, particularly Ennius, see Wigodsky (1972), Casali (2007), Gildenhard (2007), and Elliot (2008). For Latin epic in the Republic, see Goldberg (1995).

37 See Hardie (1986) 157-240, Dyson (1996a), Adler (2003), and Hardie (2009).

38 The earliest epic writers (Livius, Naevius and Ennius; see above) also wrote tragedy, and so it is not surprising that epic and tragedy would influence one another. Latin tragic writing continued into the first century through the work of, e.g., Pacuvius (220—ca. 130 BCE) and Accius (170—ca. 86 BCE). Their tragedies, which included Homeric and Trojan War themes, were important for Vergil. However, since only meager fragments of them have survived, their precise influence is difficult to gauge.

39 Cf., e.g., Heinze (1915: 318-30; transl. 1993: 251-8). Wlosok (1999) offers a reading of the Dido episode as tragedy, and Pavlock (1985) examines Euripidean influence in the Nisus and Euryalus episode. Hardie (1991, 1997a), Panoussi (2002, 2009), and Galinsky (2003) examine the influence of tragedy, particularly in light of French theories of Greek tragedy (e.g. Vernant and Vidal-Naquet (1988)), and draw important parallels between the political and cultural milieus of fifth-century Athens and Augustan Rome. Panoussi (2009) is the first book-length study on the *Aeneid* and Greek tragedy.

40 On tragedy and conflicting viewpoints, see Galinsky (2003), Conte (2007: 23-57, 150-69), as well as the discussion below.

tragedy on the *Aeneid* is pervasive, and arguably the single most important factor in Virgil's successful revitalization of the genre of epic.<sup>41</sup>

The *Aeneid* is thus indebted to these and many other sources, the investigation of which enriches our appreciation of Vergil's artistry and our interpretation of his epic. Still, no source study can fully account for the creative, aesthetic, and moral achievement of the *Aeneid*, a work the poet T. S. Eliot called "the classic of all Europe."<sup>42</sup>

### The Tradition of Aeneas

Long before Vergil wrote his epic, the warrior Aeneas, son of the goddess Venus, was a prominent figure in Classical literature and art. In Homer's *Iliad* he is an important Trojan leader, who is saved on the battlefield by the gods twice (5.311-18 and 20.318-39) and is prophesied by Poseidon to be the ruler of the Trojans after their city falls, though the god makes no mention of Italy (20.300-8).<sup>43</sup> Later Greek artistic and literary sources of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE depict him carrying his father out of Troy.<sup>44</sup>

Aeneas' significance increased in the third and second centuries BCE. As Rome expanded, coming into greater contact with the Greek world and the Mediterranean more generally, the claim that Aeneas was Rome's forefather became particularly useful for the state's identity and cultural heritage, for it offered a more sophisticated past for the city than many of the rustic stories of the city's origins in Romulus and Remus could provide. Early Roman authors such as the poets Naevius (ca. 264?-ca. 201? BCE) and Ennius (see above), and the statesman-historian Cato the Elder (234-249 BCE) explored connections between Aeneas and Rome, and thereby established the melding of historical and mythological material that would come to define much of Roman epic.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, Lucretius, writing in the generation before Vergil, could even initiate his epic by invoking Venus as

---

41 Hardie (1998) 62. See also Hardie (1997a).

42 Eliot (1957) 70; see also Martindale (1997) 1-18.

43 This prophecy was a significant component of the myth, and is echoed in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (lines 196-7) from the seventh century BCE.

44 In these representations he is sometimes accompanied by Creusa and/or Ascanius. The interpretation of these depictions is debated. Some scholars view them as showing Aeneas as a figure of *pietas*; others as a founder of cities. See, e.g., Gantz (1993) 713-17 for details on these sources.

45 For example, the ancient commentator Servius *auctus* (*ad* 1.273) tells us that both Ennius and Naevius made Aeneas Romulus' grandfather.

*Aeneidum genetrix*, “the mother of Aeneas’ descendants,” i.e. the Romans (*De Rerum Natura* 1.1).

Continuous, detailed historical accounts of Aeneas and early Rome survive only from the Augustan Age, but they offer information and story variants that were available in Vergil’s lifetime.<sup>46</sup> Our most important sources involving Aeneas’ journey to Italy (i.e. the content of *Aeneid* 1-6) come from Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *Roman Antiquities* 1.45-64 and Livy 1.1-3. The differences between these works and the *Aeneid*’s account suggestively point to Vergil’s creativity in adapting the tradition. For example, neither historian mentions Aeneas’ shipwreck at Carthage or his affair with Dido, events that lie at the heart of *Aeneid* 1-4. The early epic *Bellum Punicum* by the Latin poet Naevius seems to have included a stop by Aeneas in Carthage, though perhaps not an affair between Aeneas and Dido.<sup>47</sup> Vergil has thus elaborated on the received tradition by (probably) creating the affair and giving it a central place in his poem.<sup>48</sup> He further structures his episode at Carthage in books 1-4 by modeling it on *Odyssey* 5-12, where Odysseus is shipwrecked at Phaeacia because of the wrath of a divinity (Poseidon), is well received, and tells the tale of his wanderings after the sack of Troy (books 9-12).

In addition, neither Livy nor Dionysius mentions Anchises’ death on the way to Italy, an event portrayed in *Aeneid* 3.<sup>49</sup> This seems to have been Vergil’s invention, and it has important ramifications for Aeneas’ affair with Dido, which begins after he loses his father’s guidance, and for the structure of books 5 and 6: it allows Vergil in book 5 to offer funeral games commemorating his father’s death, games that are significantly based on those for Achilles’ comrade Patroclus in *Iliad* 23; it also becomes the

---

46 For more detailed discussion, see Horsfall (1986, 1987), Gruen (1992) 6-51, and Casali (2010a).

47 At least the meager fragments of Naevius’ epic do not provide evidence for an affair. See the introduction to the commentary on book 4 and Pease (1935) 18-21. For the dating of the foundation of Carthage in relation to Rome, see Feeney (2007).

48 An older version of Dido’s death, in fact, does not even involve Aeneas: she committed suicide on a pyre, not because of her impossible passion for Aeneas, but so that she would not have to marry a neighboring chieftan and thus violate her vow to her deceased husband Sychaeus (see notes on 1.494-642 and 4.198). Another variant is found in Varro (see notes on 1.494-642 and 4.422), who tells us that Anna (Dido’s sister) had fallen in love with Aeneas and killed herself as a result.

49 Indeed Anchises is not even mentioned in Livy’s account, and Dionysius suggests that Anchises dies in Italy (1.64). Strabo 5.3.2 also records that Anchises arrives in Italy with Aeneas.



motivation for Aeneas to travel to the underworld (a journey modeled on Odysseus' katabasis in *Odyssey* 11), for he does so to receive a prophecy from the shade of his father, a detail that enhances his status as a figure of *pietas*.

Finally, interwoven into these earlier accounts is the connection between Aeneas and the Julian *gens*, which claimed its descent from Iulus, another name for Aeneas' son Ascanius (see 1.267-8 n.). Julius Caesar sought to enhance his prestige by emphasizing his family's claim of descent from Iulus, Aeneas, and Venus. Like his adoptive father Caesar, Augustus subsequently promoted these family connections as well.<sup>50</sup> Vergil's integration of the historical and mythological traditions makes these contemporary associations central to the epic.

### Major themes

Vergil's engagement with this wide range of traditions and ideas makes any summarizing of the *Aeneid* and its "meaning" difficult. However, several themes stand out that will serve as focal points for any reader.

*The gods, fate, and Augustan Rome.* While the events of the *Aeneid* take place in the mythological world of the Trojan War era, their significance is monumentally larger. Vergil's epic points to the historical ramifications of Aeneas' actions, making the poem also about what Aeneas' travails ultimately make possible – the rise and growth of Rome, leading to the reign of Augustus. The *Aeneid* thus transforms Troy's destruction into a preliminary, though painful step, mandated by fate, to world domination.

The Roman and specifically Augustan backdrop to the epic appears in various ways but especially through the use of prophecy. Most important is Jupiter's speech near the opening of book 1 (lines 254-96). There he reveals the necessities of fate: Aeneas will establish a city in Italy; his descendants will flourish in Italy and later found Rome, which will achieve boundless *imperium* and prosperity under Augustus. Jupiter thereby establishes a connection between Aeneas' Trojan world and Vergil's own day that informs the entire poem. This historical framework is reiterated and expanded, among other places, in Anchises' revelation to Aeneas in the underworld

---

50 Caesar, for example, placed a temple to *Venus Genetrix* in his Forum, while several important Augustan monuments such as the Forum of Augustus prominently display Augustus' connection to both Aeneas and Venus. See, e.g., Zanker (1988) 193-210 and Galinsky (1996) 141-224.

(6.756-853) and in the famous description of Aeneas' shield (8.626-728).<sup>51</sup> The plan of fate, promoted by Jupiter,<sup>52</sup> functions as an overarching plot that presents Augustus' reign as the culmination of world history.<sup>53</sup>

Fate and Jupiter's authority, however, are continually challenged by the goddess Juno. She is in part motivated by her long-standing hatred of Troy (1.23-8), though perhaps more significant for books 1-6 is her understanding of what is in store for her favorite city, Carthage. She knows (or at least has heard, 1.19-22) that Aeneas' descendants, the Romans, will ultimately destroy Carthage. She therefore takes action to keep Aeneas from Italy so as to hinder the progress of fate.<sup>54</sup> Juno's mythological hatred of the Trojans thus interacts with and is increased by the necessities of history,<sup>55</sup> and the pursuit of her interests makes her in many ways the poem's dominant divinity. Defined by her *ira* and *furor*, the intensity of which seems inexplicable to the poet despite the stated causes (*tantaene animis caelistibus irae?* 1.11), she motivates and guides the major events of both halves of the epic – the shipwreck and affair at Carthage in books 1-4, and the Italian war in books 7-12. The narrative of the *Aeneid*, the tale of Aeneas' struggles, can happen only because of her.

Since Juno resists fate and Jupiter's will, relying on the Fury Allecto and the infernal realm in book 7 to do so, a cosmic tension between heaven and hell is hinted at. Such an opposition, however, is not consistently presented throughout the epic. Indeed, to some readers, such a distinction is weakened near the epic's close, when Jupiter reconciles with Juno and employs a violent Fury to stop Juturna's aid to her brother Turnus (12.843-54).

*Pius Aeneas and epic heroism.* The plan of fate and the gods' machinations are largely unknown to mortal characters, but they place great pressure on Aeneas. At important moments, he is given special access to the

---

51 All three passages transform their Homeric models (*Od.* 1, *Od.* 11, and *Il.* 18) by incorporating a worldview that looks past the immediate concerns of the Homeric world to embrace a more historical and universal understanding of events.

52 Jupiter's presentation of and relationship to fate as well as his character more generally are complicated, and have led some readers to see him as a troubling figure. See below.

53 See, e.g., Kennedy (1997).

54 It should be noted, however, that concern for Carthage does not always seem her primary motive in the second half of the epic.

55 Note too that Dido curses Aeneas in book 4, thereby giving a mythological motivation for the historical war between Rome and Carthage.

divine dimension (see, e.g., 2.594-620, 776-89; 3.374-462; 6.756-853; 8.626-728). But to fulfill the mandates of fate, Aeneas endures many misfortunes throughout the twelve books of the epic. He loses his city, his king, and his wife (book 2), his father (book 3), his lover Dido (book 4). He becomes a refugee settler (book 7), and must fight another war (books 7-12).

Aeneas is placed in such a difficult position because of his fate, which he pursues with his defining and exemplary quality of *pietas* — his duty toward his family, state and gods. Yet he is still tormented by the queen of the gods. She is angry particularly because fate calls for Rome's destruction of Carthage, even though it will take place centuries after Aeneas is gone. He thus struggles both for and against divine forces, as he helps bring about fated events that he himself will not experience (e.g. Rome or Carthage's destruction) but for which he is in some sense punished by Juno.

His challenge is encapsulated in his reaction to the shield he receives from his mother in book 8. After Vergil explains the historical events depicted on it to the reader, Aeneas, who is given no such understanding, gazes at the images with incomprehension (*rerum...ignarus*, 8.730). Nonetheless he lifts the shield onto his shoulder, and proceeds to fight the war in Italy that Juno has incited against him. Aeneas' travails are continually set against the greatness destined for his descendants that he gradually (but perhaps never fully) comes to understand.

Aeneas' predicament also results in part from the type of heroism he is encouraged to embody. Whereas the Homeric poems celebrate warriors who are consumed by their own honor and desire for immortal glory, the *Aeneid* constructs a heroism that looks more to the good of the community and is grounded in the ideal of *pietas*, the defining virtue of the future Romans and especially of Augustus. This contrast in heroic attitude is captured in book 2, where Aeneas struggles with the more traditional impulse to die trying to protect his city (*pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis*, 2.317), despite the fact that he is told that he will save his people by fleeing and leading them to another land.

Aeneas is thus caught between two worlds, one mythological and Greek, the other historical and Roman. Perhaps nowhere does the resulting strain appear more forcefully than at the close of the poem, where Aeneas himself is overcome by fury and suddenly kills Turnus. The model of Homer's Achilles and his visceral need for revenge figure prominently in Aeneas' frenzied violence, but the poem's earlier presentation of Roman and Augustan ideals (e.g. clemency as in 6.853) might have prepared us to

expect something more rational and humane. The values by which we are to evaluate Aeneas' final action in the poem are contested by readers, making the ending perhaps the most provocative in all of Classical literature.<sup>56</sup>

*Fate and human experience.* Despite Aeneas' suffering, he is relatively fortunate because fate and the king of the gods are on his side. Not so lucky are numerous other characters such as Laocoon, Dido, Pallas, Nisus, Euryalus, Camilla, Juturna, and Turnus who are harmed by Aeneas, his fate, or both, and whose downfalls are described in careful and resonant terms. Dido and Turnus are crucial in this regard. As noted above, Vergil has creatively redefined their traditional stories to make them building blocks of the two halves of his epic,<sup>57</sup> and they in turn render Aeneas' actions far more difficult to evaluate. Both Dido and Turnus are infected by *furor* and obstruct Aeneas' fate; as a result they die. Yet they are driven to a great extent by the will of the gods to act – and suffer – as they do. They are thus caught in the currents of a larger divine struggle over which they have limited control, and their stories consequently take on a tragic quality. And just as tragedy involves “the illumination of a given issue or situation from a variety of perspectives and points of view, which may often conflict with one another,”<sup>58</sup> so these Vergilian figures pose provocative questions about the moral and ethical nature of Aeneas, Jupiter, fate, and the Augustan age. Because Vergil makes us sympathize with Dido and Turnus before they meet their deaths, which are in some sense entailed by Aeneas' mission, they are among the most memorable characters in the *Aeneid*.

### Contemporary interpretation

Thus at the heart of the *Aeneid* lie significant tensions—narrative, thematic, cultural, and intertextual. How and even whether they are resolved are questions that have defined the evolution of contemporary Vergilian criticism. The dominant line of interpretation since antiquity has viewed the *Aeneid* as essentially resolving such conflicts, and as praising Aeneas

---

56 For the complex interpretive issues involved in the final scene, see especially Galinsky (1988), Horsfall (1995) 192-216, and Putnam (1995) 172-200; see also “Contemporary interpretation” below.

57 While Naevius had already connected Dido's story to Aeneas' (see above), Vergil seems to have invented Dido's affair with Aeneas as a reason for her suicide and made it central to the first half of the epic.

58 Galinsky (2003) 277.

and Augustus.<sup>59</sup> In the early twentieth century, this type of reading was re-formulated in the foundational work of the German scholars R. Heinze and E. Norden, and was developed by many others, including V. Pöschl in his influential study of Vergilian imagery and symbolism.<sup>60</sup> Since such interpretations see a positive imperial ideology in the epic, they are often referred to as “Augustan” or “optimistic.” By the 1960s, however, another powerful line of interpretation gained strength, one that focused on the experiences of individuals who suffer (i.e. a “private voice” within the epic) as a result of the inexorable necessity of fate and Roman domination (i.e. a “public voice”).<sup>61</sup> Because such readings challenge the moral and spiritual value of fate and perceive a much darker poetic world, they have been described as “pessimistic.”<sup>62</sup>

These opposing stances have been refined since, and the divide between “optimistic” and “pessimistic” (or now more frequently “Augustan”

- 
- 59 Cf. the claims of Servius and Tiberius Claudius Donatus, both living ca. 400 CE, in their prefaces to *Aeneid* 1: *intentio Vergilii haec est, Homerum imitari et Augustum laudare a parentibus* (Servius, on which see Kaster (2012)); *talem enim monstrare Aenean debuit, ut dignus Caesari, in cuius honorem haec scribebantur, parens et auctor generis praeberetur* (Donatus).
- 60 Heinze (1903, with revised editions 1908, 1915, trans. 1993), Norden (1901, trans. 1999; 1903, with revised editions 1916, 1927), and Pöschl (1950, trans. 1962). Cf. also Otis (1964). For German interpretation of the *Aeneid* from 1900-1938, see Schmidt (2008); for differences between German and American interpretations, see Schmidt (2001).
- 61 Central to these interpretations are the works of American classicists such as Parry (1963), who advanced the “two voices” interpretation (“a public voice of triumph, and a private voice of regret,” 79), Clausen (1964b) and Putnam (1965). Johnson (1976, 2005) seeks a middle ground between optimists and pessimists (whom he dubbed “the Harvard School” of interpretation), though he is ultimately much closer to (and usually included among) the latter: he presents a dark vision of the *Aeneid* but maintains that the *Aeneid* offers an “uncommitted meditation on man’s nature and on the possibilities and impossibilities of his fate,” founded on “the free and open dialectic of Vergil’s polysematic fictions” (1976: 22). Thomas (2001) argues that readings questioning the Augustan interpretation have been available since the Augustan age itself but have been largely suppressed.
- 62 Putnam’s work has been particularly influential. Of the ending of the poem he writes: “By giving himself over with such suddenness to the private wrath which the sight of the belt of Pallas arouses, Aeneas becomes himself *impius Furor*, as rage wins the day over moderation, disintegration defeats order, and the achievements of history through heroism fall victim to the human frailty of one man” (1965: 193-4). See also Putnam (2011) on the conclusion of the epic.

and “ambivalent”) readings has narrowed with fewer critics holding the full-blown views that characterized earlier stages of the debate.<sup>63</sup> But the moral and political aspects of the poem are still disputed – and surely will continue to be, though in less schematic terms. Vergilian interpretation has benefited as a result. We see more clearly than ever that there are inherent thematic and political tensions in the poem, tensions that have prompted readers to reconsider older questions and to embark upon new areas of exploration.

*Gods.* Because of the central roles that Jupiter and Juno play in the fundamental conflicts of the poem, the divine level has become an even richer (and more contested) subject of investigation. While the positive, Augustan reading of Jupiter’s reign and of fate has been developed further by studies that, e.g., explore Vergil’s use of cosmological imagery and of the philosophical tradition in treating kingship (the gods’ as well as Aeneas’),<sup>64</sup> the ambivalent perspective has been forcefully presented in studies showing that the differences between Jupiter and Juno and between heaven and hell are actually blurred, revealing the king of the gods to be disturbingly violent and deceptive.<sup>65</sup> The general nature of the gods in the *Aeneid* has also been explored more fully, though with equally divergent results, so that some scholars read them, e.g., as abstractions or tropes for human behavior (thereby weakening their role as actual agents of fate), while others interpret them instead as something more than simply allegories for human action.<sup>66</sup>

*Narrative perspective.* Since the divine level allows for such contrasting interpretations, it should perhaps not be surprising that the *Aeneid* is populated with characters who view, experience, and react to the progress and consequences of fate differently. To help us understand better

---

63 For example, Lyne (1987, 1989) influentially argues for a broader interplay of perspectives, which he refers to as “further voices,” while Hardie (1986) and Cairns (1989) offer more nuanced Augustan views (see below). For a general treatment of the optimism/pessimism debate, see Kennedy (1992). For a critique of the optimistic stance and its rejection of “pessimism,” see Thomas (2001).

64 See, respectively, Hardie (1986) and Cairns (1989), e.g., 1-28. For Augustus and Vergil’s ideological use of the god Apollo, see Miller (2009) *passim*, but especially 54-94 on the battle of Actium and 95-184 on Vergil, Apollo, and the legend of Aeneas.

65 Cf. Hardie (1991: 39-42, 1993), Feeney (1991) 151-2, Hershkowitz (1998) 112-24, and Hejduk (2009). O’Hara (1990) has examined how the seemingly optimistic prophecies in the *Aeneid* (especially Jupiter’s in book 1) mask their troubling content or inconsistencies, ultimately raising doubt about the gods’ trustworthiness.

66 See, respectively, G. W. Williams (1983) and Feeney (1991: esp. 130-7 and 151-5) in particular.

the conflicting voices of the epic, scholars have given increased attention to narrative perspective and to the narratological concept of “focalization” (i.e. the perspective from which words, details and actions are to be understood).<sup>67</sup> Such research has brought out how conflicts of interpretation can result not simply from the reader’s individual experience of the poem but from ambiguities and possibilities inherent in the nature of Vergil’s poetic and narrative style. For example, after Dido and Aeneas have their famous tryst in the cave at Carthage, we are told that Dido calls their relationship a “marriage” (*coniubium vocat*), but in the remainder of the line we find the comment *hoc praetexit nomine culpam* (4.172), suggesting that Dido is, in some sense, at fault. But through whose perspective or focalization is it that Dido is at fault? Dido’s own or that of the (authoritative) narrator Vergil? The language makes either understanding possible, but what and how we, as readers, decide this question will have significant interpretive consequences for our understanding of the affair (cf. 4.172 n.).

*Gender.* The study of gender in the epic, often aligned with the issue of perspective, has also gained in importance. Since so many of the characters and forces that resist fate or suffer because of it are female (e.g. Creusa, Dido, Allecto, Amata, Iris, Juno, and Juturna), while figures of order and control are so often male, the *Aeneid*’s political (and other) tensions have been fruitfully examined from the perspective of gender and gender theory.<sup>68</sup>

---

67 Again, Lyne (1987, 1989); Fowler (1997a) introduces a broad range of concepts from narratology useful for the study of the *Aeneid*; see also Fowler (1990, 2001a). The narratological approach has been developed, at least in part, by others, such as Laird (1997, 1999) 153-208 on Vergilian characterization, Rossi (2004) on battle narratives, Behr (2005) on apostrophe in the epic. Reed (2007) employs focalization in an especially sophisticated and wide-ranging manner. For narratology in the field of Classics more generally, see, e.g., J. Grethlein and A. Rengakos (2009), with further bibliography. O’Hara (1990; 2007: 77-103) examines Vergil’s use of inconsistencies, which can generate competing perspectives and thus also ambiguity.

68 General examinations of women and gender in the *Aeneid* are offered by Sullivan (1992), Oliensis (1997), Nugent (1999), James (2002), and Keith (2000, 2006). Nugent (1992) examines the “women’s voice” in book 5; discussions of important female characters can be found in, e.g., Perkell (1981) on Creusa and Dido, Hexter (1992) and Spence (1999) on Dido, and Fantham (1998) on Amata; Quartarone (2002) offers an ecofeminist reading of *pietas* and *furor*. Syed (2005) and Reed (2007) examine the *Aeneid* from the perspective of gender and ethnicity, focusing especially on the figure of the Carthaginian queen Dido. In the area of sexuality, Fowler (1987) and Mitchell (1991) have studied the sexual dimension of violence involving the slaughter of virgins in the epic, while Gillis (1983) provides a broad, book-length psychoanalytic interpretation of the poem, concentrating on the epic’s erotic imagery, and Oliensis (2001; 2007: 61-77) explores Freudian analysis of the *Aeneid*.

*Ecphrasis.* Concern with perspective is also reflected in the study of Vergilian ecphrasis -- i.e. detailed poetic descriptions (especially of works of art) that interrupt the forward movement of the narrative. The *Aeneid* contains several significant instances, most importantly the murals at Carthage (see 1.418-93 n.) and the shield of Aeneas (8.617-731), both having Aeneas literally as their primary viewer.<sup>69</sup> But through or from whose perspective are the details of these works actually described by the poet? For example, in the ecphrasis of Aeneas' shield, the hero simply cannot know the meaning of the historical events that are prophetically detailed, since they take place centuries later. Thus, in this case, as in others, how is the ecphrasis understood differently by characters within the text, the narrator Vergil, and even the reader? What is the significance of such differences? And more generally, is the ecphrasis mere decoration or does it in some way comment upon themes and ideas in the immediately surrounding narrative or in the *Aeneid* as a whole? Examination of such questions has brought out the complex and sometimes ironic interaction between the *Aeneid*'s ecphrastic passages and the larger epic narrative.<sup>70</sup>

*Philosophy, ritual, and the end of the Aeneid.* Aeneas' sudden slaying of Turnus at the epic's close, so important for "pessimistic" readings of the epic,<sup>71</sup> has also encouraged readers to explore the final scene's potential ritual and philosophical elements. Some scholars have turned to various conceptions of sacrifice (both ancient and modern) to understand and interpret Turnus' death, which is described metaphorically by Aeneas as a

---

69 Cf. also, e.g., the prize cloak in book 5 (see 250-7 n.), the doors at the temple of the Apollo at Cumae in book 6 (see 14-41 n.), and Pallas' sword-belt in book 10.

70 Lowrie (1999) offers a survey of the issues involved in scholarship on ecphrases, in her review of Putnam (1998), a book length study of the *Aeneid*'s ecphrases. See also Thomas (1983), Fowler (1991), Barchiesi (1997), Bartsch (1998), S. J. Harrison (1998, 2001), and Leach (1999). Also useful for construing ecphrasis is Laird (1993) on Catullus 64. The concern with art, viewpoint, and interpretation is explored from a phenomenological position by R. A. Smith (2005), while more general examinations of iconography in the Augustan age can be found in Zanker (1988) and Galinsky (1996) 141-224.

71 See above and n. 63 and 64.



ritual killing (*immolat*, 12.949).<sup>72</sup> Others have viewed the duel through the lenses of Peripatetic, Epicurean, and Stoic philosophy in order to support or question the ethical and moral quality of Aeneas' final action as well of his conduct throughout the epic (especially in books 2, 10, and 12),<sup>73</sup> where he can sometimes be seen overcome by fury/*furor* (see, e.g., 2.314 n.). Such interpretation, particularly with its concern for the representation of wrath and madness, has been important for the study of the epic more generally and, in turn, has helped motivate the growing interest in the study of passions in Latin literature.<sup>74</sup>

*Intertextuality.* Vergil's interaction with Homer, tragedy, and much of the classical tradition, as discussed above, is a central component of his artistry. Our understanding of Vergilian intertextuality has increased significantly over the past several decades. Scholars have shown with increasing insight that Vergil's sophisticated approach draws him especially close to the Hellenistic poets and their Roman literary descendants, the "new poets," and have also revealed the complex nature of the *Aeneid's* engagement with the early Latin poets, the historiographical tradition, and

---

72 Girard's concept of the "sacrificial crisis" has been particularly influential. Bandera (1981) and Hardie (1993) 19-56 both draw on Girard (1977), though to different degrees. R. M. Smith (1999) analyzes Girard's theory within the context of the Trojan horse episode in book 2. Dyson (2001) examines the influence of the cult of the *Rex Nemorensis* (a priest of *Diana Nemorensis*) for understanding Aeneas' slaying of Turnus, while Panoussi (2010) explores the interaction between Aeneas' sacral and political authority.

73 In general the Stoic viewpoint is now often used to portray Aeneas' slaying of Turnus as problematic, though earlier scholars such as Heinze (1993) 240-2 and Bowra (1933-34) had had looked more positively at Aeneas' Stoic characteristics; Peripatetic and Epicurean interpretations evaluate Aeneas' slaying of Turnus more positively. On the Stoic perspective, see Putnam (1995) 172-200 and Gill (1997). On the Peripatetic perspective, see Galinsky (1988, 1994) and Wright (1997). On the Epicurean perspective, see Galinsky (1988, 1994), Eler (1992), and Fowler (1997b) 30-5. For the overall influence on Vergil of Lucretius' epicurean epic, see "Vergil and his predecessors" above; of the Epicurean Philodemus, see Armstrong, Fish, Johnston, and Skinner (2004). For a more general analysis of the influence of all three philosophical schools on anger in the *Aeneid*, see Gill (2003).

74 See especially Braund and Gill (1997), Hershkowitz (1998) specifically on madness in epic, Harris (2001), and Braund and Most (2003).

Lucretius.<sup>75</sup> Far from being an arid game of identifying Vergil's sources, such study poses fascinating questions for readers. When the *Aeneid* contains an allusion to another work (and thus not only to individual words but also to their meaning in context), how does the connection affect our understanding of the Vergilian passage? For example, when Aeneas encounters Dido in the underworld, he says somewhat defensively or apologetically: *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi* (6.460). This line is modeled on Catullus 66.39 *invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi*, words indignantly spoken by a lock of hair cut from the head of its mistress, the Ptolemaic queen Berenice! What could possibly be meant with such an allusion? How does it influence our interpretation of Aeneas' seemingly serious and heart-felt words?<sup>76</sup> The study of intertextuality thus challenges us to think more complexly about the meaning and artistry of the *Aeneid*.

*Reception.* Finally, Vergil's influence on and reception by later poets represent other exciting areas of study.<sup>77</sup> Scholars have explored how post-Vergilian Latin epics themselves may be seen to offer interpretations of the *Aeneid*,<sup>78</sup> and how, in later centuries, the Western literary tradition more

- 
- 75 For more on allusion/intertextuality and the influence particularly of Homer, tragedy, Hellenistic poetry, early Latin poetry, and Lucretius, see "Vergil and his predecessors" above, with bibliography in footnotes. On the historiographical tradition, see Rossi (2004), Leigh (2007), and Marincola (2010). The study of intratextual references that Vergil makes to earlier parts of his epic is also producing interesting results. See, e.g., Fowler (2001b), Laird (2001), and Oliensis (2004).
- 76 To make matters even more interesting, Catullus 66 is a reworking of a poem by Callimachus. For interpretation of this Vergilian allusion, see Clausen (1970), who suggests that it draws the Vergilian passage into a web of associations between abandonment and the shore (*litus*) important in Catullus' late poems; Johnston (1987), who feels that Dido's story must consequently be read against Berenice's, and Pellicia (2010-11), who argues at length that the scene must be construed within the tradition of unwilling departure scenes, particularly that involving Protesilaus and Laodamia, as recounted in Euripides. For other interpretations, see R. D. Griffith (1995), Wills (1998), and Hardie (2008) 34, 37-8.
- 77 For reception studies and Classics generally, see Hardwick (2003), Martindale and Thomas (2006), Hardwick and Stray (2008), and Brockliss, Chaudhuri, Luchkov, and Wasdin (2012).
- 78 See, e.g., Martindale (1993a, 1997), Feeney (1991), Hardie (1993), Hershkowitz (1998), Ganiban (2007), and Casali (2010b). Hardie's book has been especially influential for showing how the unresolved tensions between Juno and Jupiter, the infernal and heavenly realms became creative fodder for later epic writers, who so often exploit the creative energy generated by the violent and destabilized cosmos of the *Aeneid*.

generally has engaged Vergil's monumental poem.<sup>79</sup> By studying how later authors have received, reinterpreted, and reworked Vergil, we can learn much that might deepen own readings of his epic.

From this necessarily brief and selective survey,<sup>80</sup> we can see that our reading of the *Aeneid* has become much richer as a result of our enhanced awareness of its dissonances and thus of its interpretive possibilities. On one level, the epic does indeed articulate Roman and Augustan ideals, but on others it continually and self-consciously reflects on those values. Contemporary scholarship continues to grapple with the significance of the contradictions that result – and indeed with the question of whether they can or even should be resolved.<sup>81</sup> The evolution of Vergilian studies makes clear that the *Aeneid* is a brilliantly resonant and suggestive poem, allowing successive readers and generations to develop new approaches and thus to glimpse new meanings.<sup>82</sup>

### **The textual tradition of the *Aeneid***

The textual transmission of Vergil's poetry holds a unique position in Latin literature. Acknowledged as a masterpiece even as it was being written, the *Aeneid* quickly became a national poem and a staple of both the educational system and scholarly tradition. Consequently, the *Aeneid* was copied repeatedly, thus ensuring a relatively stable text for posterity. The foundation upon which our modern texts of Vergil are based is therefore strong. Of particular importance are seven manuscripts surviving from late

---

79 E.g. T. Ziolkowski (1993), Thomas (2001), Most and Spence (2004), Kallendorf (2006, 2007a and b), S. Harrison (2008), J. Ziolkowski and Putnam (2008), and Farrell and Putnam (2010). See also Quint (1993), who argues that the *Aeneid* establishes a pattern for Western epic, one that equates conclusion with political ideology and success, as opposed to its opposite that leads to loss and inconclusiveness, and is represented by the literary form of "romance."

80 For other accounts of contemporary trends in the interpretation of the *Aeneid*, see S. J. Harrison (1990) 1-20, Perkell (1999) 14-26, Farrell (2001), Schmidt (2001, 2008), Hooley (2002) 22-31, and Perkell (forthcoming).

81 See Johnson (1976), Perkell (1994), Conte (2007) 150-69, O'Hara (2007) 77-103, and Tarrant (2012) 16-30 for interpretations stressing the *Aeneid's* inherent ambiguity or ambivalence. Martindale (1993b) offers a critique of ambiguous readings but one that reflects only the early stages of the debate.

82 See Farrell and Putnam (2010) for potential new directions in Vergilian research.

antiquity that preserve the *Aeneid* in various states of fullness.<sup>83</sup> Three from the fifth and sixth centuries are complete or nearly so and are essential:

- M Codex Mediceus, containing all of the *Aeneid*, fifth century<sup>84</sup>
- P Codex Palatinus, containing most of the *Aeneid*, fifth-sixth century<sup>85</sup>
- R Codex Romanus, containing most of the *Aeneid*, fifth-sixth century<sup>86</sup>

Four other ancient, though considerably more fragmentary manuscripts are also important:

- A Codex Augusteus, fifth-sixth century<sup>87</sup>
- F Codex Vaticanus (“*schedae Vaticanae*”), fourth-fifth century<sup>88</sup>
- G Codex Sangallensis, fifth-sixth century<sup>89</sup>
- V Codex Veronensis, fifth century<sup>90</sup>

In addition, our Latin text of Vergil is greatly indebted to several ancient works written ca. 400 CE: the commentaries of Donatus and especially of Servius, as well as the discussions of Vergil in Macrobius’ *Saturnalia*. With such an abundance of high quality manuscripts and testimonia from late antiquity, the medieval manuscript tradition of Vergil, though full,<sup>91</sup> is not often necessary for establishing the Latin text.

---

83 For a good introduction to the codices and issues involved in textual criticism, see R.A. Smith (2011) 1-4, 150-67. See also Geymonat (1995).

84 Florentinus Laurentianus xxxix 1 (“Mediceus”).

85 Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 1631 (“Palatinus”); lacks: 1.1-276; 4.116-61; 7.277-644; 10.460-508; 11.645-90, 737-82; 12.47-92.

86 Vaticanus lat. 3867 (“Romanus”); lacks: 2.73-3.684; 4.217-5.36; 11.757-92; 12.651-86, 759-830, 939-52

87 Vaticanus lat. 3256 and Berolinensis lat. fol. 416 (“Augusteus”); contains only 4.302-5.

88 Vaticanus lat. 3225; contains: 1.185-268, 419-521, 586-611, 654-80; 2.170-98, 254-309, 437-68, 673-99; 3.1-54, 79-216, 300-41, 660-89; 4.1-92, 234-57, 286-310, 443-521, 555-83, 651-88; 5.109-58, 784-814; 6.26-50, 219-72, 393-423, 491-559, 589-755, 858-72, 879-901; 7.5-58, 179-329, 429-69, 486-509, 594-646; 8.71-98; 9.32-68, 118-64, 207-34, 509-35; 11.858-95.

89 Sangallensis 1394; contains: 1.381-418, 685-722; 3.191-227, 457-531; 4.1-37; 6.655-9, 674-84, 688-724.

90 Veronsensis xl (38); contains: 1.1-26, 235-60; 2.80-105, 158-83, 288-313, 470-96, 623-726; 3.561-716; 4.144-95; 5.73-96, 241-92, 488-99; 7.248-73, 326-51, 404-29, 482-507, 586-611, 664-89; 8.14-39, 93-118; 9.354-405; 10.1-26, 53-78, 183-208, 235-61, 549-74, 732-58; 12.456-508, 667-718.

91 See the introduction to Mynors (1969).

### The Latin text

The Latin of the *Aeneid* presented in this volume is based on the edition of F. Hirtzel (Oxford, 1900).<sup>92</sup> Though Hirtzel's text is generally followed, alternate readings have been preferred in some places. For ease of reference, the differences between our text and those of Hirtzel and Mynors are listed below:

<u>Line</u>	<u>Focus</u>	<u>Hirtzel</u>	<u>Mynors</u>
1.1a-d	<i>om.</i>	<i>habet</i>	<i>om.</i>
1.2	Laviniaque	Laviniaque	Laviniaque
1.175	succepitque	suscepitque	succepitque
1.224	despiciens	dispiciens	despiciens
1.343	agri	agri	auri
1.429	alta	alta	apta
1.455	inter	intra	inter
1.599	exhaustos	exhaustis	exhaustos
1.604	iustitiae	iustitia	iustitiae
1.708	pictis	pictis.	pictis
2.69	nunc tellus	me tellus	nunc tellus
2.349	audentem	audendi	audentem
2.392	Androgei	Androgeo	Androgei
2.433	vices Danaum	vices, Danaum	vices, Danaum
2.503	ampla	ampla	tanta
2.567-88	<i>secludit</i>	<i>habet</i>	<i>secludit</i>
2.569	clara	clara	claram
2.572	Danaum poenam	poenas Danaum	Danaum poenam
2.584	nec habet	nec habet	habet haec
2.587	flammae	flammae	+famam
2.616	nimbo	limbo	nimbo
2.691	augurium	augurium	auxilium
2.727	ex agmine	ex agmine	examine
2.739	lassa	lassa	lapsa
2.771	furenti	ruenti	ruenti
2.778	hinc comitem	hinc comitem	comitem hinc
	asportare	asportare	portare
3.125-6	Naxum Olearum Parum	Naxum Olearum Parum	Naxon Olearon Paron

92 Permission to reprint the more recent and widely used text by Mynors was not granted by its publisher.

3.127	consita	consita	concita
3.360	tripodas, Clarii	tripodas, Clarii	tripodas Clarii et
3.362	omnem	omnis	omnis
3.464	ac secto	sectoque	ac secto
3.503	Hesperia	Hesperiam	Hesperiam
3.673	contremuere	contremuere	intremuere
3.684	Scyllamque	Scyllam atque	Scyllamque
3.684	Charybdinque	Charybdim	Charybdinque
3.685	inter, utrimque	(inter utramque	inter, utrimque
3.685	parvo,	parvo)	parvo,
3.686	teneam	teneant	teneam
3.686	cursus;	cursus;	cursus:
4.25	abigat	abigat	adigat
4.269	et	ac	et
4.427	cinerem	cineres	cinerem
4.540	ratibusve	ratibusque	ratibusve
4.559	iuventa	iuventae	iuventa
4.593	diripientque	deripientque	diripientque
4.646	rogos	gradus	rogos
4.683	date vulnera	date, vulnera	date, vulnera
5.29	demittere	demittere	dimittere
5.112	talenta	talentum	talenta
5.162	gressum	gressum	cursum
5.317	signant,	signant.	signant,
5.347	reddantur	reddentur	reddentur
5.505	micuitque	timuitque	micuitque
5.512	alta	alta	atra
5.520	contendit	contorsit	contendit
5.551	discedere	discedere	decedere
5.649	qui	quis	qui
5.777-8	777 <i>post</i> 778	778 <i>post</i> 777	777 <i>post</i> 778
5.825	tenent	tenent	tenet
5.851	caeli	caelo	caeli
6.141	quis	qui	quis
6.177	sepulcro	sepulcro	sepulcri
6.193	agnoscit	agnoscit	agnovit
6.203	geminæ	geminæ	gemina
6.249	succipiunt	suscipiunt	succipiunt

---

6.255	lumina	lumina	limina
6.433	conciliumque	conciliumque	consiliumque
6.475	concussus	concussus	percussus
6.495	vidit,	vidit,	videt et
6.505	Rhoeteo litore	Rhoeteo litore	Rhoeteo in litore
6.524	emovet	amovet	emovet
6.561	clangor ad auris	clangor ad auris	plangor ad auras
6.586	flammas	flammam	flammas
6.602	quos	quo <i>post lacunam</i>	quos
6.609	aut	aut	et
6.658	lauri	lauri	lauris
6.664	aliquos	alios	aliquos
6.724	terram	terram	terras
6.731	corpora noxia	corpora noxia	noxia corpora
6.827	premuntur	premuntur	prementur
6.852	pacique	pacisque	pacique
6.900	litore	litore	limite





VERGILI MARONIS

# AENEIDOS

## Liber Primus

ARMA virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit litora—multum ille et terris iactatus et alto vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram, multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem inferretque deos Latio—genus unde Latinum Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.	1     5
Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?	10
Vrbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni) Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli; quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam posthabita coluisse Samo: hic illius arma, hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse, si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque. progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci audierat Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;	15       20
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas. id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli, prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis (necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum iudicium Paridis spretaque iniuria formae et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores) — his accensa super iactatos aequore toto Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,	25        30

arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos  
errabant acti fatis maria omnia circum.  
tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum  
vela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant, 35  
cum Iuno aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus  
haec secum: “mene incepto desistere victam  
nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem?  
quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem  
Argivum atque ipsos potuit sommergere ponto 40  
unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?  
ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem  
disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis,  
illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammam  
turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto; 45  
ast ego, quae divum incedo regina Iovisque  
et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos  
bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat  
praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?”

Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans 50  
nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,  
Aeoliam venit. hic vasto rex Aeolus antro  
luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras  
imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.  
illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis 55  
circum claustra fremunt; celsa sedet Aeolus arce  
sceptra tenens mollitque animos et temperat iras;  
ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum  
quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.  
sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris 60  
hoc metuens molemque et montis insuper altos  
imposuit, regemque dedit qui foedere certo  
et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas.  
ad quem tum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est:

“Aeole, namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex 65  
et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento,  
gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor  
Ilium in Italiam portans victosque penatis:

incute vim ventis summersasque obrue puppis,  
aut age diversos et disice corpora ponto. 70

sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae,  
quarum quae forma pulcherrima, Deiopea,  
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo,  
omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos  
exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.” 75

Aeolus haec contra: “tuus, o regina, quid optes  
explorare labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est.  
tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu scepra Iovemque  
concilias, tu das epulis accumbere divum  
nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem.” 80

Haec ubi dicta, cavum conversa cusptide montem  
impulit in latus: ac venti velut agmine facto,  
qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.  
incubuere mari totumque a sedibus imis

una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis 85  
Africus et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus:  
insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum.

eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque  
Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.  
intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether 90  
praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.

extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra;  
ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas  
taliam voce refert: “o terque quaterque beati,

quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis 95  
contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis  
Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis

non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,  
saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens  
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis 100  
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!”

Talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella  
velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit.  
franguntur remi, tum prora avertit et undis  
dat latus, insequitur cumulo praeeruptus aquae mons. 105  
hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens

terram inter fluctus aperit, furit aestus harenis.  
 tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet  
 (saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras,  
 dorsum immane mari summo), tris Eurus ab alto 110  
 in brevia et syrtis urget, miserabile visu,  
 inliditque vadis atque aggere cingit harenae.  
 unam, quae Lycios fidumque vehebat Oronten,  
 ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus  
 in puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister 115  
 volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem  
 torquet agens circum et rapidus vorat aequore vertex.  
 apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,  
 arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas.  
 iam validam Ilionei navem, iam fortis Achatae, 120  
 et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes,  
 vicit hiems; laxis laterum compagibus omnes  
 accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt.  
 Interea magno misceri murmure pontum  
 emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis 125  
 stagna refusa vadis, graviter commotus; et alto  
 prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda.  
 disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem,  
 fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina.  
 nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae. 130  
 Eurum ad se Zephyrumque vocat, dehinc talia fatur:  
 “Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?  
 iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti,  
 miscere et tantas audetis tollere moles?  
 quos ego—! sed motos praestat componere fluctus. 135  
 post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis.  
 maturate fugam regique haec dicite vestro:  
 non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem,  
 sed mihi sorte datum. tenet ille immania saxa,  
 vestras, Eure, domos; illa se iactet in aula 140  
 Aeolus et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.”  
 Sic ait et dicto citius tumida aequora placat  
 collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit.  
 Cymothoe simul et Triton adnexus acuto

detrudunt navis scopulo; levat ipse tridenti 145  
 et vastas aperit syrtris et temperat aequor  
 atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas.  
 ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est  
 seditio saevitque animis ignobile vulgus;  
 iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat; 150  
 tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem  
 conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant;  
 ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet:  
 sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam  
 prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto 155  
 flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo.

Defessi Aeneadae quae proxima litora cursu  
 contendunt petere, et Libyae vertuntur ad oras.  
 est in secessu longo locus: insula portum  
 efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto 160  
 frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.  
 hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur  
 in caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late  
 aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scaena coruscis  
 desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra; 165  
 fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,  
 intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,  
 nympharum domus. hic fessas non vincula navis  
 ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.  
 huc septem Aeneas collectis navibus omni 170  
 ex numero subit; ac magno telluris amore  
 egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena  
 et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt.  
 ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates  
 suscepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum 175  
 nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.  
 tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma  
 expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas  
 et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.

Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit, et omnem 180  
 prospectum late pelago petit, Anthea si quem  
 iactatum vento videat Phrygiasque biremis

aut Capyn aut celsis in puppibus arma Caici. navem in conspectu nullam, tris litore cervos prospicit errantis; hos tota armenta sequuntur	185
a tergo et longum per vallis pascitur agmen. constitit hic arcumque manu celerisque sagittas corripuit, fidus quae tela gerebat Achates, ductoresque ipsos primum capita alta ferentis cornibus arboreis sternit, tum vulgus et omnem	190
miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam; nec prius absistit quam septem ingentia victor corpora fundat humi et numerum cum navibus aequet. hinc portum petit et socios partitur in omnis. vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes	195
litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros dividit, et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet: “O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum), o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem. vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis	200
accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopia saxa expertis: revocate animos maestumque timorem mittite; forsitan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit. per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas	205
ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae. durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.” Talia voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem. illi se praedae accingunt dapibusque futuris:	210
tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant; pars in frustra secant veribusque tremantia figunt, litore aëna locant alii flammisque ministrant. tum victu revocant viris, fusisque per herbam implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae.	215
postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae, amissos longo socios sermone requirunt, spemque metumque inter dubii, seu vivere credant sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos. praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,	220

nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum  
fata Lyci fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.

Et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo  
despiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis  
litoraque et latos populos, sic vertice caeli 225  
constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis.

atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas  
tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis  
adloquitur Venus: “o qui res hominumque deumque 230  
aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres,

quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,  
quid Troes potuere, quibus tot funera passis  
cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis?  
certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis, 235

hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,  
qui mare, qui terras omnis ditione tenerent,  
pollicitus. quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?  
hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas

solabar fatis contraria fata rependens;  
nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos 240  
insequitur. quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?  
Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis

Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus  
regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi, 245  
unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis  
it mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti.

hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit  
Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit  
Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit:  
nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnuis arcem, 250

navibus (infandum!) amissis unius ob iram  
prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.  
hic pietatis honos? sic nos in sceptris reponis?”

Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum  
vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat, 255  
oscula libavit natae, dehinc talia fatur:

“parce metu, Cytherea, manent immota tuorum  
fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini

moenia sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli  
 magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit. 260  
 hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,  
 longius, et volvens fatorum arcana movebo)  
 bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis  
 contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,  
 tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas, 265  
 ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.  
 at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo  
 additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),  
 triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis  
 imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini 270  
 transferet, et Longam multa vi muniet Albam.  
 hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos  
 gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos  
 Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.  
 inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus 275  
 Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet  
 moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.  
 his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:  
 imperium sine fine dedi. quin aspera Iuno,  
 quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat, 280  
 consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit  
 Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam.  
 sic placitum. veniet lustris labentibus aetas  
 cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae  
 servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis. 285  
 nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,  
 imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,  
 Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.  
 hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum 290  
 accipies segura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.  
 aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;  
 cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus  
 iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis  
 claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus  
 saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis 295  
 post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.”



Haec ait et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,  
 ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces  
 hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido  
 finibus arceret. volat ille per aëra magnum 300  
 remigio alarum ac Libyae citus astitit oris.  
 et iam iussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni  
 corda volente deo; in primis regina quietum  
 accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam.

At pius Aeneas per noctem plurima volvens, 305  
 ut primum lux alma data est, exire locosque  
 explorare novos, quas vento accesserit oras,  
 qui teneant (nam inculta videt), hominesne feraene,  
 quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre.  
 classem in convexo nemorum sub rupe cavata 310  
 arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris  
 occulit; ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate  
 bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.  
 cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva  
 virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma 315  
 Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat  
 Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevvertitur Hebrum.  
 namque umeris de moreabilem suspenderit arcum  
 venatrix dederatque comam diffundere ventis,  
 nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis. 320  
 ac prior 'heus,' inquit, 'iuvenes, monstrate, mearum  
 vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum  
 succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,  
 aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.'

Sic Venus; et Veneris contra sic filius orsus: 325  
 "nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,  
 o quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi vultus  
 mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; o, dea certe  
 (an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?),  
 sis felix nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem 330  
 et quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris  
 iactemur doceas; ignari hominumque locorumque  
 erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti:  
 multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra."

Tum Venus: "haud equidem tali me dignor honore; 335  
 virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram,  
 purpureoque alte suras vincire coturno.  
 Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem;  
 sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.  
 imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta, 340  
 germanum fugiens. longa est iniuria, longae  
 ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.  
 huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus agri  
 Phoenicum, et magno miserae dilectus amore,  
 cui pater intactam dederat primisque iugarat 345  
 ominibus. sed regna Tyri germanus habebat  
 Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnis.  
 quos inter medius venit furor. ille Sychaeum  
 impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore  
 clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum 350  
 germanae; factumque diu celavit et aegram  
 multa malus simulans vana spe lusit amantem.  
 ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago  
 coniugis ora modis attollens pallida miris;  
 crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro 355  
 nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne rexit.  
 tum celerare fugam patriaue excedere suadet  
 auxiliumque viae veteres tellure recludit  
 thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri.  
 his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat. 360  
 conveniunt quibus aut odium crudele tyranni  
 aut metus acer erat; navis, quae forte paratae,  
 corripunt onerantque auro. portantur avari  
 Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti.  
 devenere locos ubi nunc ingentia cernes 365  
 moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,  
 mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,  
 taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.  
 sed vos qui tandem? quibus aut venistis ab oris?  
 quove tenetis iter?" quaerenti talibus ille 370  
 suspirans imoque trahens a pectore vocem:  
 "O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam

et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum,  
 ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo. 375  
 nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per auris  
 Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos  
 forte sua Libycis tempestas appulit oris.  
 sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste penatis  
 classe veho mecum, fama super aethera notus.  
 Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo. 380  
 bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,  
 matre dea monstrante viam data fata secutus;  
 vix septem convulsae undis Euroque supersunt.  
 ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,  
 Europa atque Asia pulsus.” nec plura querentem 385  
 passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est:  
 “Quisquis es, haud, credo, invisus caelestibus auras  
 vitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adveneris urbem.  
 perge modo atque hinc te reginae ad limina perfer.  
 namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam 390  
 nuntio et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam,  
 ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.  
 aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos,  
 aethera quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto  
 turbabat caelo; nunc terras ordine longo 395  
 aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur:  
 ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis  
 et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere,  
 haud aliter puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum  
 aut portum tenet aut pleno subit ostia velo. 400  
 perge modo et, qua te ducit via, derige gressum.”  
 Dixit et avertens rosea cervice refulsit,  
 ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem  
 spiravere; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos;  
 et vera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem 405  
 agnovit tali fugientem est voce secutus:  
 “quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis  
 ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram  
 non datur ac veras audire et reddere voces?”  
 talibus incusat gressumque ad moenia tendit. 410

at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit,  
 et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,  
 cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset  
 molirive moram aut veniendi poscere causas.  
 ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit 415  
 laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo  
 ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.

Corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat.  
 iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi  
 imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces. 420

miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,  
 miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.  
 instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros  
 molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,  
 pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco; 425

iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.  
 hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatri  
 fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas  
 rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.

qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura  
 exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos  
 educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella  
 stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,

aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto  
 ignavum fucos pecus a praesepebus arcent; 435  
 fervet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.

“o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!”

Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.  
 infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)  
 per medios, miscetque viris neque cernitur ulli. 440

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,  
 quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni  
 effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno  
 monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello  
 egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem. 445

hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido  
 condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae,  
 aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque

aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis.  
hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem 450  
leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem  
ausus et adflctis melius confidere rebus.  
namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo  
reginam opperiens, dum quae fortuna sit urbi  
artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem 455  
miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas  
bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem,  
Atridas Priamumque et saevum ambobus Achillem.  
constitit et lacrimans “quis iam locus” inquit “Achate,  
quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? 460  
en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi;  
sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.  
solve metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.”  
sic ait atque animum pictura pascit inani  
multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine vultum. 465  
namque videbat uti bellantes Pergama circum  
hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus,  
hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.  
nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis  
agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno 470  
Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus,  
ardentisque avertit equos in castra prius quam  
pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.  
parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,  
infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli, 475  
fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,  
lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur  
per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.  
interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant  
crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant 480  
suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;  
diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat.  
ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros  
exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.  
tum vero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo, 485  
ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici

tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.  
 se quoque principibus permixtum agnovit Achivis,  
 Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.  
 ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis 490  
 Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,  
 aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae  
 bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.  
 Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,  
 dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno, 495  
 regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,  
 incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.  
 qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi  
 exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae  
 hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram 500  
 fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis  
 (Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus):  
 talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat  
 per medios instans operi regnisque futuris.  
 tum foribus divae, media testudine templi, 505  
 saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.  
 iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem  
 partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat:  
 cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno  
 Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum 510  
 Teucrorumque alios, ater quos aequore turbo  
 dispulerat penitusque alias avexerat oras.  
 obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates  
 laetitiaque metuque; avidi coniungere dextras  
 ardebant; sed res animos incognita turbat. 515  
 dissimulant et nube cava speculantur amicti  
 quae fortuna viris, classem quo litore linquant,  
 quid veniant; cunctis nam lecti navibus ibant  
 orantes veniam et templum clamore petebant.  
 Postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi, 520  
 maximus Ilioneus placido sic pectore coepit:  
 “o regina, novam cui condere Iuppiter urbem  
 iustitiaque dedit gentis frenare superbas,  
 Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti,

oramus: prohibe infandos a navibus ignis, 525  
 parce pio generi et propius res aspice nostras.  
 non nos aut ferro Libycos populare penatis  
 venimus, aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas;  
 non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis.  
 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt, 530  
 terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glabrae;  
 Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores  
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.  
 hic cursus fuit,  
 cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion 535  
 in vada caeca tulit penitusque procacibus Austris  
 perque undas superante salo perque invia saxa  
 dispulit; huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris.  
 quod genus hoc hominum? quaeve hunc tam barbara morem  
 permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae; 540  
 bella cient primaque vetant consistere terra.  
 si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,  
 at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi.  
 rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter  
 nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis. 545  
 quem si fata virum servant, si vescitur aura  
 aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris,  
 non metus, officio nec te certasse priorem  
 paeniteat: sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes  
 armaque, Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes. 550  
 quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem  
 et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos,  
 si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto  
 tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus;  
 sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum, 555  
 pontus habet Libyae nec spes iam restat Iuli,  
 at freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas,  
 unde huc advecti, regemque petamus Acesten.”  
 talibus Ilioneus; cuncti simul ore fremebant  
 Dardanidae. 560  
 Tum breviter Dido vultum demissa profatur:  
 “solvite corde metum, Teucrici, secludite curas.

res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt  
 moliri et late finis custode tueri.  
 quis genus Aeneadam, quis Troiae nesciat urbem, 565  
 virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli?  
 non obtunsa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,  
 nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe.  
 seu vos Hesperiam magnam Saturniaque arva  
 sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten, 570  
 auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.  
 vultis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis?  
 urbem quam statuo, vestra est; subducite navis;  
 Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.  
 atque utinam rex ipse noto compulsus eodem 575  
 adforet Aeneas! equidem per litora certos  
 dimittam et Libyae lustrare extrema iubebo,  
 si quibus eiectus silvis aut urbibus errat.”  
 His animum arrecti dictis et fortis Achates  
 et pater Aeneas iamdudum erumpere nubem 580  
 ardebant. prior Aeneas compellat Achates:  
 “nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?  
 omnia tuta vides, classem sociosque receptos.  
 unus abest, medio in fluctu quem vidimus ipsi  
 summersum; dictis respondent cetera matris.” 585  
 vix ea fatus erat cum circumfusa repente  
 scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.  
 restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit  
 os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram  
 caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae 590  
 purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores:  
 quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo  
 argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro.  
 tum sic reginam adloquitur cunctisque repente  
 improvisus ait: “coram, quem quaeritis, adsum, 595  
 Troius Aeneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.  
 o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,  
 quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque  
 omnibus exhaustos iam casibus, omnium egenos,  
 urbe, domo socias, grates persolvere dignas 600



non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est  
 gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.  
 di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid  
 usquam iustitiae est et mens sibi conscia recti,  
 praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt 605  
 saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?  
 in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae  
 lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,  
 semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,  
 quae me cumque vocant terrae.” sic fatus amicum 610  
 Ilionea petit dextra laevaue Serestum,  
 post alios, fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.

Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido,  
 casu deinde viri tanto, et sic ore locuta est:  
 “quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus 615  
 insequitur? quae vis immanibus applicat oris?  
 tune ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae  
 alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?  
 atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire 620  
 finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem  
 auxilio Beli; genitor tum Belus opimam  
 vastabat Cyprum et victor dicione tenebat.  
 tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis  
 Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi.  
 ipse hostis Teucros insigni laude ferebat 625  
 seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe volebat.  
 quare agite, o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris.  
 me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores  
 iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra.  
 non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.” 630  
 sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit  
 tecta, simul divum templis indicit honorem.  
 nec minus interea sociis ad litora mittit  
 viginti tauros, magnorum horrentia centum  
 terga suum, pinguis centum cum matribus agnos, 635  
 munera laetitiamque dii.  
 at domus interior regali splendida luxu  
 instruitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis:

arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo,  
 ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro 640  
 fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum  
 per tot ducta viros antiqua ab origine gentis.

Aeneas (neque enim patrius consistere mentem  
 passus amor) rapidum ad navis praemittit Achaten,  
 Ascanio ferat haec ipsumque ad moenia ducat; 645  
 omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.

munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis  
 ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem  
 et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho,  
 ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis, 650

Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,  
 extulerat, matris Ladae mirabile donum;  
 praeterea sceptrum, Ilione quod gesserat olim,  
 maxima natarum Priami, colloque monile  
 bacatum, et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam. 655  
 haec celerans iter ad navis tendebat Achates.

At Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat  
 consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido  
 pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem 660  
 incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.

quippe domum timet ambiguum Tyriosque bilinguis,  
 urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat.

ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem:  
 “nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia, solus,  
 nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoëa temnis, 665  
 ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.

frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum  
 litora iactetur odiis Iunonis acerbae,  
 nota tibi, et nostro doluisti saepe dolore.

nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur 670  
 vocibus, et vereor quo se Iunonia vertant  
 hospitia: haud tanto cessabit cardine rerum.

quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma  
 reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,  
 sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore. 675

qua facere id possis nostram nunc accipe mentem:

regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem  
 Sidoniam puer ire parat, mea maxima cura,  
 dona ferens pelago et flammis restantia Troiae;  
 hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera 680  
 aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam,  
 ne qua scire dolos mediusve occurrere possit.  
 tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam  
 falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue vultus,  
 ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido 685  
 regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,  
 cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,  
 occultum inspiret ignem fallasque veneno.”  
 paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas  
 exiit et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli. 690  
 at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem  
 inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos  
 Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum  
 floribus et dulci aspirans complectitur umbra.  
 Iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido 695  
 regia portabat Tyriis duce laetus Achate.  
 cum venit, aulaeis iam se regina superbis  
 aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit,  
 iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuventus  
 conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro. 700  
 dant manibus famuli lymphas Cereremque canistris  
 expediunt tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis.  
 quinquaginta intus famulae, quibus ordine longam  
 cura penum struere et flammis adolere penatis;  
 centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri, 705  
 qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.  
 nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes  
 convenere, toris iussi discumbere pictis  
 mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum,  
 flagrantisque dei vultus simulataque verba, 710  
 pallamque et pictum croceo velamen acantho.  
 praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,  
 expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo  
 Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur.

ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit 715  
 et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem,  
 reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto  
 haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido  
 insidat quantus miserae deus. at memor ille  
 matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum 720  
 incipit et vivo temptat praevertere amore  
 iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda.  
 Postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae,  
 crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.  
 fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant 725  
 atria; dependent lychni laquearibus aureis  
 incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.  
 hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit  
 implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes  
 a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis: 730  
 “Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur,  
 hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis  
 esse velis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.  
 adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator et bona Iuno;  
 et vos, o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes.” 735  
 dixit et in mensam laticum libavit honorem  
 primaque, libato, summo tenuis attigit ore;  
 tum Bitiae dedit increpitans; ille impiger hausit  
 spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro;  
 post alii proceres. cithara crinitus Iopas 740  
 personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.  
 hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,  
 unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,  
 Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones;  
 quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles 745  
 hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.  
 ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur.  
 nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat  
 infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem,  
 multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa; 750  
 nunc quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis,  
 nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.

“immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis  
insidias” inquit “Danaum casusque tuorum  
erroresque tuos; nam te iam septima portat  
omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.”

755



## Liber Secundus

CONTICVERE omnes intentique ora tenebant.  
inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto:  
“infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,  
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum  
eruerint Danaï, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi 5  
et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando  
Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Vlixi  
temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo  
praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.  
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros 10  
et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem,  
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,  
incipiam.

Fracti bello fatisque repulsi  
ductores Danaum tot iam labentibus annis  
instar montis equum divina Palladis arte 15  
aedificant, sectaque intexunt abiete costas;  
votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur.  
huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim  
includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas  
ingentis utrumque armato milite complent. 20

Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama  
insula, dives opum Priami dum regna manebant,  
nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis:  
huc se provecti deserto in litore condunt.  
nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenas. 25  
ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucra luctu:  
panduntur portae, iuvat ire et Dorica castra  
desertosque videre locos litusque relictum:  
hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles;  
classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant. 30  
pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae

et molem mirantur equi; primusque Thymoetes  
 duci intra muros hortatur et arce locari,  
 sive dolo seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant.

at Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti, 35  
 aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona  
 praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis,  
 aut terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras.  
 scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

Primus ibi ante omnis magna comitante caterva 40  
 Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce,  
 et procul 'o miseri, quae tanta insania, cives?  
 creditis avectos hostis? aut ulla putatis  
 dona carere dolis Danaum? sic notus Vlixes?  
 aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi, 45  
 aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,  
 inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi,  
 aut aliquis latet error; equo ne credite, Teucri.  
 quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.'  
 sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam 50  
 in latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum  
 contorsit. stetit illa tremens, utroque recusso  
 insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae.  
 et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,  
 impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras, 55  
 Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres.

Ecce, manus iuvenem interea post terga revinctum  
 pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant  
 Dardanidae, qui se ignotum venientibus ultro,  
 hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis, 60  
 obtulerat, fidens animi atque in utrumque paratus,  
 seu versare dolos seu certae occumbere morti.  
 undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus  
 circumfusa ruit certantque inludere capto.  
 accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno 65  
 disce omnis.

namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus, inermis,  
 constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit:  
 'heu, quae nunc tellus' inquit 'quae me aequora possunt



accipere? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat, 70  
 cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi  
 Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?  
 quo gemitu conversi animi compressus et omnis  
 impetus. hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus,  
 quidve ferat; memoret quae sit fiducia capto. 75  
 [ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur:]  
 ‘Cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor  
 vera,’ inquit; ‘neque me Argolica de gente negabo;  
 hoc primum; nec, si miserum fortuna Sinonem  
 finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget. 80  
 fando aliquod si forte tuas pervenit ad auris  
 Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama  
 gloria, quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi  
 insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,  
 demisere neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent: 85  
 illi me comitem et consanguinitate propinquum  
 pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis.  
 dum stabat regno incolumis regumque vigebat  
 conciliis, et nos aliquod nomenque decusque  
 gessimus. invidia postquam pellacis Vlixii 90  
 (haud ignota loquor) superis concessit ab oris,  
 adflictus vitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam  
 et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici.  
 nec tacui demens et me, fors si qua tulisset,  
 si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos, 95  
 promisi ultorem et verbis odia aspera movi.  
 hinc mihi prima mali labes, hinc semper Vlixes  
 criminibus terrere novis, hinc spargere voces  
 in vulgum ambiguas et quaerere conscius arma.  
 nec requievit enim, donec Calchante ministro— 100  
 sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolve,  
 quidve moror? si omnis uno ordine habetis Achivos,  
 idque audire sat est, iamdudum sumite poenas:  
 hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridae.’  
 Tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas, 105  
 ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae.  
 prosequitur pavitans et ficto pectore fatur:

‘Saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relicta  
 moliri et longo fessi discedere bello;  
 fecissentque utinam ! saepe illos aspera ponti 110  
 interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis.  
 praecipue cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis  
 staret equus, toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.  
 suspensi Eurypyllum scitatum oracula Phoebi  
 mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat: 115  
 “sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,  
 cum primum Iliacas, Danai, venistis ad oras:  
 sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum  
 Argolica.” vulgi quae vox ut venit ad auris,  
 obstipuerere animi gelidusque per ima cucurrit 120  
 ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo.  
 hic Ithacus vatem magno Calchanta tumultu  
 protrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina divum  
 flagitat. et mihi iam multi crudele canebant  
 artificis scelus, et taciti ventura videbant. 125  
 bis quinos silet ille dies tectusque recusat  
 prodere voce sua quemquam aut opponere morti.  
 vix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus,  
 composito rumpit vocem et me destinat arae.  
 adsensere omnes et, quae sibi quisque timebat, 130  
 unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.  
 iamque dies infanda aderat; mihi sacra parari  
 et salsae fruges et circum tempora vittae.  
 eripui, fateor, leto me et vincula rupi,  
 limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva 135  
 delitui dum vela darent, si forte dedissent.  
 nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla videndi,  
 nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem,  
 quos illi fors et poenas ob nostra reposcent  
 effugia, et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt. 140  
 quod te per superos et conscia numina veri,  
 per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam  
 intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum  
 tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.’  
 His lacrimis vitam damus et miserescimus ultro. 145

ipse viro primus manicas atque arta levari  
 vincla iubet Priamus dictisque ita fatur amicis:  
 'quisquis es (amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios)  
 noster eris; mihique haec edissere vera roganti:  
 quo molem hanc immanis equi statuere? quis auctor? 150  
 quidve petunt? quae religio? aut quae machina belli?'  
 dixerat. ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasga  
 sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas:  
 'vos aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum  
 testor numen,' ait, 'vos arae ensesque nefandi, 155  
 quos fugi, vittaеque deum, quas hostia gessi:  
 fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura,  
 fas odisse viros atque omnia ferre sub auras,  
 si qua tegunt; teneor patriae nec legibus ullis.  
 tu modo promissis maneat servataque serves 160  
 Troia fidem, si vera feram, si magna rependam.  
 omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli  
 Palladis auxiliis semper stetit. impius ex quo  
 Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Vlives  
 fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo 165  
 Palladium caesis summae custodibus arcis  
 corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis  
 virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas:  
 ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri  
 spes Danaum, fractae vires, aversa deae mens. 170  
 nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris.  
 vix positum castris simulacrum: arsere coruscae  
 luminibus flammae arrectis, salsusque per artus  
 sudor iit, terque ipsa solo (mirabile dictu)  
 emicuit parmamque ferens hastamque trementem. 175  
 extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas,  
 nec posse Argolicis excindi Pergama telis  
 omina ni repetant Argis numenque reducant  
 quod pelago et curvis secum avexere carinis.  
 et nunc quod patrias vento petiere Mycenae, 180  
 arma deosque parant comites pelagoque remenso  
 improvisi aderunt. ita digerit omina Calchas.  
 hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso

effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret.	
hanc tamen immensam Calchas attollere molem	185
roboribus textis caeloque educere iussit,	
ne recipi portis aut duci in moenia posset,	
neu populum antiqua sub religione tueri.	
nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae,	
tum magnum exitium (quod di prius omen in ipsum	190
convertant!) Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum;	
sin manibus vestris vestram ascendisset in urbem,	
ultra Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello	
venturam et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.’	
Talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis	195
credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis	
quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles,	
non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.	
Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum	
obicitur magis atque improvida pectora turbat.	200
Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,	
sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.	
ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta	
(horresco referens) immensis orbibus angues	
incumbunt pelago pariterque ad litora tendunt;	205
pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta iubaeque	
sanguineae superant undas; pars cetera pontum	
pone legit sinuatque immensa volumine terga.	
fit sonitus spumante salo; iamque arva tenebant	
ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni	210
sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.	
diffugimus visu exsanguis. illi agmine certo	
Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum	
corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque	
implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus;	215
post ipsum auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem	
corripiunt spirisque ligant ingentibus; et iam	
bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum	
terga dati superant capite et cervicibus altis.	
ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos	220
perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno,	

clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit:  
 qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram  
 taurus et incertam excussit cervice securim. 225  
 at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones  
 effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,  
 sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur.  
 tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis  
 insinuat pavor, et scelus expendisse merentem  
 Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspidem robur 230  
 laeserit et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam.  
 ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae  
 numina conclamant.  
 dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.  
 accingunt omnes operi pedibusque rotarum 235  
 subiciunt lapsus, et stuppea vincula collo  
 intendunt: scandit fatalis machina muros  
 feta armis. pueri circum innuptaeque puellae  
 sacra canunt funemque manu contingere gaudent:  
 illa subit mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi. 240  
 o patria, o divum domus Ilium et incluta bello  
 moenia Dardanidum! quater ipso in limine portae  
 substitit atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere;  
 instamus tamen immemores caecique furore 245  
 et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.  
 tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris  
 ora dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris.  
 nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset  
 ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem. 250  
 Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox  
 involvens umbra magna terramque polumque  
 Myrmidonumque dolos; fusi per moenia Teucris  
 conticuere; sopor fessos complectitur artus.  
 et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat 255  
 a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae  
 litora nota petens, flammam cum regia puppis  
 extulerat, fatisque deum defensum iniquis  
 inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim  
 laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras

reddit equus, laetique cavo se robore promunt 260  
 Thessandrus Sthenelusque duces et dirus Vlixes,  
 demissum lapsi per funem, Acamasque Thoasque  
 Pelidesque Neoptolemus primusque Machaon  
 et Menelaus et ipse doli fabricator Epeos.  
 invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam; 265  
 caeduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnis  
 accipiunt socios atque agmina conscia iungunt.  
 Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris  
 incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.  
 in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector 270  
 visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus,  
 raptatus bigis ut quondam, aterque cruento  
 pulvere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.  
 ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo  
 Hectore qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli, 275  
 vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis;  
 squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis  
 vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros  
 accepit patrios. ultro flens ipse videbar  
 compellare virum et maestas expromere voces: 280  
 ‘o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,  
 quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris  
 exspectate venis? ut te post multa tuorum  
 funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores  
 defessi aspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos 285  
 foedavit vultus? aut cur haec vulnera cerno?’  
 ille nihil, nec me quaerentem vana moratur,  
 sed graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens,  
 ‘heu fuge, nate dea, teque his’ ait ‘eripe flammis.  
 hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia. 290  
 sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra  
 defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.  
 sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis;  
 hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere  
 magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto.’ 295  
 sic ait et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem  
 aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.

Diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,  
 et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis  
 Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta recessit, 300  
 clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.  
 excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti  
 ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto:  
 in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris  
 incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens 305  
 sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores  
 praecipitisque trahit silvas: stupet inscius alto  
 accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.  
 tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt  
 insidiae. iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam 310  
 Volcano superante domus, iam proximus ardet  
 Vcalegon; Sigea igni freta lata relucent.  
 exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.  
 arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,  
 sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem 315  
 cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem  
 praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

Ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achivum,  
 Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos, 320  
 sacra manu victosque deos parvumque nepotem  
 ipse trahit cursuque amens ad limina tendit.  
 'quo res summa loco, Panthu? quam prendimus arcem?'  
 vix ea fatus eram gemitu cum talia reddit:  
 'venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus  
 Dardaniae. fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens 325  
 gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos  
 transtulit; incensa Danai dominantur in urbe.  
 arduus armatos mediis in moenibus astans  
 fundit equus victorque Sinon incendia miscet  
 insultans. portis alii bipatentibus adsunt, 330  
 milia quot magnis umquam venere Mycenis;  
 obsedere alii telis angusta viarum  
 oppositis; stat ferri acies mucrone corusco  
 stricta, parata neci; vix primi proelia temptant  
 portarum vigiles et caeco Marte resistunt.' 335

talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divum  
 in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys  
 quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor.  
 addunt se socios Rhipeus et maximus armis  
 Epytus, oblatis per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque 340  
 et lateri adglomerant nostro, iuvenisque Coroebus  
 Mygdonides — illis ad Troiam forte diebus  
 venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore  
 et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,  
 infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis 345  
 audierit!  
 quos ubi confertos audere in proelia vidi,  
 incipio super his: ‘iuvenes, fortissima frustra  
 pectora, si vobis audentem extrema cupido  
 certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis; 350  
 excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis  
 di quibus imperium hoc steterat; succurritis urbi  
 incensae: moriamur et in media arma ruamus.  
 una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.’  
 sic animis iuvenum furor additus. inde, lupi ceu 355  
 raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris  
 exegit caecos rabies catulique relictis  
 faucibus exspectant siccis, per tela, per hostis  
 vadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus  
 urbis iter; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra. 360  
 quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando  
 explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?  
 urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos;  
 plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim  
 corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum 365  
 limina. nec soli poenas dant sanguine Teucris;  
 quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus  
 victoresque cadunt Danaei. crudelis ubique  
 luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.  
 Primus se Danaum magna comitante caterva 370  
 Androgeos offert nobis, socia agmina credens  
 inscius, atque ultro verbis compellat amicis:  
 ‘festinate, viri! nam quae tam sera moratur



segnities? alii rapiunt incensa feruntque  
 Pergama: vos celsis nunc primum a navibus itis? 375  
 dixit, et extemplo (neque enim responsa dabantur  
 fida satis) sensit medios delapsus in hostis.  
 obstipuit retroque pedem cum voce repressit.  
 improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem  
 pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit 380  
 attollentem iras et caerulea colla tumentem,  
 haud secus Androgeos visu tremefactus abibat.  
 inruimus densis et circumfundimur armis,  
 ignarosque loci passim et formidine captos  
 sternimus. aspirat primo Fortuna labori. 385  
 atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus  
 'o socii, qua prima' inquit 'fortuna salutis  
 monstrat iter, quaque ostendit se dextra, sequamur:  
 mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis  
 aptemus. dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? 390  
 arma dabunt ipsi.' sic fatus deinde comantem  
 Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum  
 induitur laterique Argivum accommodat ense.  
 hoc Rhipeus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus  
 laeta facit: spoliis se quisque recentibus armat. 395  
 vadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro  
 multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem  
 conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco.  
 diffugiunt alii ad navis et litora cursu  
 fida petunt; pars ingentem formidine turpi 400  
 scandunt rursus equum et nota conduntur in alvo.  
 Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis!  
 ecce trahebatur passis Priameia virgo  
 crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae  
 ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, 405  
 lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.  
 non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus  
 et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen.  
 consequimur cuncti et densis incurrimus armis.  
 hic primum ex alto delubri culmine telis 410  
 nostrorum obruimur oriturque miserrima caedes

armorum facie et Graiarum errore iubarum.  
 tum Danaï gemitu atque ereptae virginis ira  
 undique collecti invadunt, acerrimus Ajax  
 et gemini Atridae Dolopumque exercitus omnis; 415  
 adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti  
 confligunt, Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois  
 Euris equis; stridunt silvae saevitque tridenti  
 spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo.  
 illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram 420  
 fudimus insidiis totaque agitavimus urbe,  
 apparent; primi clipeos mentitaque tela  
 agnoscunt atque ora sono discordia signant.  
 ilicet obruimur numero; primusque Coroebus  
 Penelei dextra divae armipotentis ad aram 425  
 procumbit; cadit et Rhipeus, iustissimus unus  
 qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi  
 (dis aliter visum); pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque  
 confixi a sociis; nec te tua plurima, Panthu,  
 labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit. 430  
 Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum,  
 testor, in casu vestro nec tela nec ulla  
 vitavisse vices Danaum et, si fata fuissent  
 ut caderem, meruisse manu. divellimur inde,  
 Iphitus et Pelias mecum (quorum Iphitus aevo 435  
 iam gravior, Pelias et vulnere tardus Vlīxi),  
 protinus ad sedes Priami clamore vocati.  
 hic vero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nusquam  
 bella forent, nulli tota morerentur in urbe,  
 sic Martem indomitum Danaosque ad tecta ruentis 440  
 cernimus obsessumque acta testudine limen.  
 haerent parietibus scalae postisque sub ipsos  
 nituntur gradibus clipeosque ad tela sinistris  
 protecti obiciunt, prensant fastigia dextris.  
 Dardanidae contra turris ac tota domorum 445  
 culmina convellunt; his se, quando ultima cernunt,  
 extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis;  
 auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum,  
 devolvunt; alii strictis mucronibus imas

obsedere fores, has servant agmine denso. 450  
 instaurati animi regis succurrere tectis  
 auxilioque levare viros vimque addere victis.

Limen erat caecaeque fores et pervius usus  
 tectorum inter se Priami, postesque relict  
 a tergo, infelix qua se, dum regna manebant, 455  
 saepius Andromache ferre incommitata solebat  
 ad soceros et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat.  
 evado ad summi fastigia culminis, unde  
 tela manu miseri iactabant inrita Teucri.  
 turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra 460  
 eductam tectis, unde omnis Troia videri  
 et Danaum solitae naves et Achaica castra,  
 adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantis  
 iuncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis  
 sedibus impulimusque; ea lapsa repente ruinam 465  
 cum sonitu trahit et Danaum super agmina late  
 incidit. ast alii subeunt, nec saxa nec ullum  
 telorum interea cessat genus.

Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus  
 exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna; 470  
 qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,  
 frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,  
 nunc, positus novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa,  
 lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga  
 arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis. 475  
 una ingens Periphas et equorum agitator Achillis,  
 armiger Automedon, una omnis Scyria pubes  
 succedunt tecto et flammas ad culmina iactant.  
 ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni  
 limina perrumpit postisque a cardine vellit 480  
 aeratos; iamque excisa trabe firma cavavit  
 robora et ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram.  
 apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt;  
 apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum,  
 armatosque vident stantis in limine primo. 485  
 at domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu  
 miscetur, penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes

femineis ululant; ferit aurea sidera clamor.  
 tum pavidae tectis matres ingentibus errant  
 amplexaeque tenent postis atque oscula figunt. 490  
 instat vi patria Pyrrhus; nec claustra nec ipsi  
 custodes sufferre valent; labat ariete crebro  
 ianua, et emoti procumbunt cardine postes.  
 fit via vi; rumpunt aditus primosque trucidant  
 immissi Danaï et late loca milite complent. 495  
 non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis  
 exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,  
 fertur in arva furens cumulo camposque per omnis  
 cum stabulis armenta trahit. vidi ipse furem  
 caede Neoptolemum geminosque in limine Atridas, 500  
 vidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras  
 sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis.  
 quinquaginta illi thalami, spes ampla nepotum,  
 barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi  
 procubuere; tenent Danaï qua deficit ignis. 505  
 Forsitan et Priami fuerint quae fata requiras.  
 urbis uti captae casum convulsaque vidit  
 limina tectorum et medium in penetralibus hostem,  
 arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo  
 circumdat nequiquam umeris et inutile ferrum 510  
 cingitur, ac densos fertur moriturus in hostis.  
 aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe  
 ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterrima laurus  
 incumbens arae atque umbra complexa penatis.  
 hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum, 515  
 praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae,  
 condensae et divum amplexae simulacra sedebant.  
 ipsam autem sumptis Priamum iuvenalibus armis  
 ut vidit, 'quae mens tam dira, miserrime coniunx,  
 impulit his cingi telis? aut quo ruis?' inquit. 520  
 'non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis  
 tempus eget; non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector.  
 huc tandem concede; haec ara tuebitur omnis,  
 aut moriere simul.' sic ore effata recepit  
 ad sese et sacra longaevum in sede locavit. 525

Ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites,  
 unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostis  
 porticibus longis fugit et vacua atria lustrat  
 saucius. illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus  
 insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta. 530  
 ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum,  
 concidit ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit.  
 hic Priamus, quamquam in media iam morte tenetur,  
 non tamen abstinuit nec voci iraeque pepercit:  
 ‘at tibi pro scelere,’ exclamat, ‘pro talibus ausis 535  
 di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet,  
 persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant  
 debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum  
 fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus.  
 at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles 540  
 talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque  
 supplicis erubuit corpusque exsanguie sepulcro  
 reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit.’  
 sic fatus senior telumque imbelle sine ictu  
 coniecit, rauco quod protinus aere repulsum, 545  
 et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pendit.  
 cui Pyrrhus: ‘referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis  
 Pelidae genitori. illi mea tristia facta  
 degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento.  
 nunc morere.’ hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem 550  
 traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,  
 implicuitque comam laeva, dextraque coruscum  
 extulit ac lateri capulo tenuis abdidit ensem.  
 haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum  
 sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem 555  
 Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum  
 regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,  
 avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.  
 At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.  
 obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago, 560  
 ut regem aequaeuum crudeli vulnere vidi  
 vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa  
 et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli.

respicio et quae sit me circum copia lustro.	
deseruere omnes defessi, et corpora saltu	565
ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere.	
[Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae	
servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem	
Tyndarida aspicio; dant clara incendia lucem	
erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.	570
illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros	
et Danaum poenam et deserti coniugis iras	
praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,	
abdiderat sese atque aris invisā sedebat.	
exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem	575
ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.	
‘scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenās	
aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho,	
coniugiumque domumque patris natosque videbit	
Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?	580
occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?	
Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?	
non ita. namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen	
feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem,	
extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis	585
laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit	
ultricis flammae et cineres satiasset meorum.’	
talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar,]	
cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam	
obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit	590
alma parens, confessa deam qualisque videri	
caelicolis et quanta solet, dextraque prehensum	
continuit roseoque haec insuper addidit ore:	
‘nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?	
quid furis aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?	595
non prius aspicias ubi fessum aetate parentem	
liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa	
Ascaniusque puer? quos omnis undique Graiae	
circum errant acies et, ni mea cura resistat,	
iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis.	600
non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisā Lacaenae	

culpatusve Paris, divum inclementia, divum,  
 has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.  
 aspice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti  
 mortalis hebetat visus tibi et umida circum 605  
 caligat, nubem eripiam; tu ne qua parentis  
 iussa time neu praeceptis parere recusa):  
 hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis  
 saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,  
 Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti 610  
 fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem  
 eruit. hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas  
 prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen  
 ferro accincta vocat.  
 iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas 615  
 insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.  
 ipse pater Danais animos virisque secundas  
 sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitatur arma.  
 eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori.  
 nusquam abero et tutum patrio te limine sistam.’ 620  
 dixerat et spissis noctis se condidit umbris.  
 apparent dirae facies inimicae Troiae  
 numina magna deum.

Tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignis  
 Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia; 625  
 ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum  
 cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant  
 eruere agricolae certatim; illa usque minatur  
 et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,  
 vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum 630  
 congemuit traxitque iugis avulsa ruinam.  
 descendo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis  
 expedior: dant tela locum flammaeque recedunt.

Atque ubi iam patriae perventum ad limina sedis  
 antiquasque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos 635  
 optabam primum montis primumque petebam,  
 abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia  
 exsiliumque pati. ‘vos o, quibus integer aevi  
 sanguis,’ ait, ‘solidaeque suo stant robore vires,

vos agitate fugam. 640  
 me si caelicolae voluissent ducere vitam,  
 has mihi servassent sedes. satis una superque  
 vidimus excidia et captae superavimus urbi.  
 sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus.  
 ipse manu mortem inveniam; miserebitur hostis 645  
 exuviasque petet. facilis iactura sepulcri.  
 iam pridem invisus divis et inutilis annos  
 demoror, ex quo me divum pater atque hominum rex  
 fulminis adflavit ventis et contigit igni.  
     Talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat. 650  
 nos contra effusi lacrimis coniunxque Creusa  
 Ascaniusque omnisque domus, ne vertere secum  
 cuncta pater fatoque urgenti incumbere vellet.  
 abnegat inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem.  
 rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto. 655  
 nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?  
 ‘mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto  
 sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?  
 si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui,  
 et sedet hoc animo perituraeque addere Troiae 660  
 teque tuosque iuvat: patet isti ianua leto,  
 iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,  
 natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obruncat ad aras.  
 hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis  
 eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque 665  
 Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam  
 alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?  
 arma, viri, ferte arma; vocat lux ultima victos.  
 reddite me Danais; sinite instaurata revisam  
 proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.’ 670  
     Hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram  
 insertabam aptans meque extra tecta ferebam.  
 ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx  
 haerebat, parvumque patri tendebat Iulum:  
 ‘si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum; 675  
 sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,  
 hanc primum tutare domum. cui parvus Iulus,



cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquitur?  
 Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat,  
 cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum. 680  
 namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum  
 ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli  
 fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis  
 lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci.  
 nos pavidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem 685  
 excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis.  
 at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus  
 extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit:  
 'Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,  
 aspice nos, hoc tantum, et si pietate meremur, 690  
 da deinde augurium, pater, atque haec omina firma.'

Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore  
 intonuit laevum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras  
 stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.  
 illam summa super labentem culmina tecti 695  
 cernimus Idaea claram se condere silva  
 signantemque vias; tum longo limite sulcus  
 dat lucem et late circum loca sulphure fumant.  
 hic vero victus genitor se tollit ad auras 700  
 adfaturque deos et sanctum sidus adorat.  
 'iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et qua ducitis adsum,  
 di patrii; servate domum, servate nepotem.  
 vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numine Troia est.  
 cedo equidem nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso.' 705  
 dixerat ille, et iam per moenia clarior ignis  
 auditur, propiusque aestus incendia volvunt.  
 'ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae;  
 ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit;  
 quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periculum,  
 una salus ambobus erit. mihi parvus Iulus 710  
 sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx.  
 vos, famuli, quae dicam animis advertite vestris.  
 est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum  
 desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus  
 religione patrum multos servata per annos. 715

hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam.  
 tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis;  
 me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti  
 attractare nefas, donec me flumine vivo  
 abluero.' 720

haec fatus latosumeros subiectaque colla  
 veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,  
 succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus  
 implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis;  
 pone subit coniunx. ferimur per opaca locorum, 725  
 et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant  
 tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai,  
 nunc omnes terrent aerae, sonus excitat omnibus  
 suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.  
 iamque propinquabam portis omnemque videbar 730  
 evasisse viam, subito cum creber ad auribus  
 visus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram  
 prospiciens 'nate' exclamat 'fuge, nate; propinquant.  
 ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.'  
 hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum 735  
 confusam eripuit mentem. namque avia cursu  
 dum sequor et nota excedo regione viarum,  
 heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa  
 substitit, erravitne via seu lassa resedit,  
 incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris. 740  
 nec prius amissam respexi animumve reflexi  
 quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam  
 venimus: hic demum collectis omnibus una  
 defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit.  
 quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque, 745  
 aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?  
 Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque penatis  
 commendo sociis et curva valle recondo;  
 ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis.  
 stat casus renovare omnis omnemque reverti 750  
 per Troiam et rursus caput obiectare periculis.  
 principio muros obscuraque limina portae,  
 qua gressum extuleram, repeto et vestigia retro

observata sequor per noctem et lumine lustro:  
 horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent. 755  
 inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset,  
 me refero: intruerant Danai et tectum omne tenebant.  
 ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento  
 volvitur; exsuperant flammae, furit aestus ad auras.  
 procedo et Priami sedes arcemque reviso: 760  
 et iam porticibus vacuis Iunonis asylo  
 custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Vlixes  
 praedam adservabant. huc undique Troia gaza  
 incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum  
 crateresque auro solidi, captivaeque vestis 765  
 congeritur. pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres  
 stant circum.  
 ausus quin etiam voces iactare per umbram  
 implevi clamore vias, maestusque Creusam  
 nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi. 770  
 quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine furenti  
 infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae  
 visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.  
 obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.  
 tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis: 775  
 'quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,  
 o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divum  
 eveniunt; nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam  
 fas, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.  
 longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum, 780  
 et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva  
 inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris:  
 illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx  
 parta tibi; lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae.  
 non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas 785  
 aspiciam aut Graeis servitum matribus ibo,  
 Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus;  
 sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.  
 iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem.'  
 haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem 790  
 dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.

ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;  
 ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,  
 par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.  
 sic demum socios consumpta nocte reviso. 795

Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum  
 inveno admirans numerum, matresque virosque,  
 collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile vulgus.  
 undique convenere animis opibusque parati  
 in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras. 800  
 iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae  
 ducebatque diem, Danaique obsessa tenebant  
 limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur.  
 cessi et sublato montis genitore petivi.”

## Liber Tertius

“POSTQVAM res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem  
immeritam visum superis, ceciditque superbum  
Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia,  
diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras  
auguriis agimur divum, classemque sub ipsa 5  
Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae,  
incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur,  
contrahimusque viros. vix prima inceperat aestas  
et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat,  
litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo 10  
et campos ubi Troia fuit. feror exsul in altum  
cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis.  
Terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis  
(Thraces arant) acri quondam regnata Lycurgo  
hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique penates 15  
dum fortuna fuit. feror huc et litore curvo  
moenia prima loco fatis ingressus iniquis  
Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo.  
Sacra Dionaeae matri divisque ferebam  
auspicibus coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem 20  
caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum.  
forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo  
virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.  
accessi viridemque ab humo convellere silvam  
conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras, 25  
horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum.  
nam quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos  
vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae  
et terram tabo maculant. mihi frigidus horror  
membra quatit gelidusque coit formidine sanguis. 30  
rursus et alterius lentum convellere vimen  
insequor et causas penitus temptare latentis:

ater et alterius sequitur de cortice sanguis. multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestis Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis, rite secundarent visus omenque levarent.	35
tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu adgredior genibusque adversae obluctor harenae (eloquar an sileam?) gemitus lacrimabilis imo auditur tumulo et vox reddita fertur ad auris: 'quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? iam parce sepulto, parce pias scelerare manus. non me tibi Troia externum tulit aut cruor hic de stipite manat. heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum: nam Polydorus ego. hic confixum ferrea texit telorum seges et iaculis increvit acutis.'	40
tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus obstupui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit. Hunc Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione videret. ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum et Fortuna recessit, res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus fas omne abrumpit: Polydorum obruncat, et auro vi potitur. quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames! postquam pavor ossa reliquit, delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentem monstra deum refero, et quae sit sententia posco. omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra, linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus Austros. ergo instauramus Polydoro funus: et ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant manibus arae, caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso, et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae;	45
inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulcro condimus et magna supremum voce ciemus. Inde ubi prima fides pelago, placataque venti dant maria et lenis crepitans vocat Auster in altum,	50
	55
	60
	65
	70

deducunt socii navis et litora complent.  
 provehimur portu terraeque urbesque recedunt.  
 sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus  
 Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo,  
 quam pius arquitenens oras et litora circum 75  
 errantem Mycono e celsa Gyaroque revinxit,  
 immotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos.  
 huc feror: haec fessos tuto placidissima portu  
 accipit. egressi veneramur Apollinis urbem.  
 rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos, 80  
 vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro  
 occurrit; veterem Anchisen agnovit amicum.  
 iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus.  
 Templata dei saxo venerabar structa vetusto:  
 ‘da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis 85  
 et genus et mansuram urbem; serva altera Troiae  
 Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.  
 quem sequimur? quove ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes?  
 da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris.’  
 Vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente, 90  
 liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri  
 mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.  
 summissi petimus terram et vox fertur ad auris:  
 ‘Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum  
 prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto 95  
 accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.  
 hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris  
 et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.’  
 haec Phoebus; mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu  
 laetitia, et cuncti quae sint ea moenia quaerunt, 100  
 quo Phoebus vocet errantis iubeatque reverti.  
 tum genitor veterum volvens monimenta virorum  
 ‘audite, o proceres,’ ait ‘et spes discite vestras.  
 Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto,  
 mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae. 105  
 centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna,  
 maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,  
 Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus in oras,

optavitque locum regno. nondum Ilium et arces Pergameae steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.	110
hinc mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera Idaeumque nemus, hinc fida silentia sacris, et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones. ergo agite et divum ducunt qua iussa sequamur: placemus ventos et Gnosia regna petamus.	115
nec longo distant cursu: modo Iuppiter adsit, tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris. sic fatus meritos aris mactavit honores, taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo, nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.	120
Fama volat pulsum regnis cecidisse paternis Idomenea ducem, desertaque litora Cretae, hoste vacare domum sedesque astare relictas. linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque volamus bacchatamque iugis Naxum viridemque Donusam,	125
Olearum niveamque Parum sparsasque per aequor Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta consita terris. nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor: hortantur socii "Cretam proavosque petamus." prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis,	130
et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris. ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.	
Iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes;	135
conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus; iura domosque dabam: subito cum tabida membris corrupto caeli tractu miserandaque venit arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus. linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant	140
corpora; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros, arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat. rursus ad oraclum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso hortatur pater ire mari veniamque precari, quam fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum	145
temptare auxilium iubeat, quo vertere cursus.	



Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat:  
 effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique penates,  
 quos mecum a Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis  
 extuleram, visi ante oculos astare iacentis 150  
 in somnis multo manifesti lumine, qua se  
 plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras;  
 tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:  
 ‘quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,  
 hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit. 155  
 nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti,  
 nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor,  
 idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes  
 imperiumque urbi dabimus. tu moenia magnis  
 magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem. 160  
 mutandae sedes. non haec tibi litora suasit  
 Delius aut Cretae iussit considerare Apollo.  
 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,  
 terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glæbae;  
 Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores 165  
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem:  
 hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus  
 Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.  
 surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti  
 haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat 170  
 Ausonias: Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva.’  
 talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum  
 (nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere vultus  
 velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar;  
 tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor) 175  
 corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas  
 ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo  
 intemerata focis. perfecto laetus honore  
 Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando.  
 agnovit prolem ambiguum geminosque parentis, 180  
 seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum.  
 tum memorat: ‘nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,  
 sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat.  
 nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro

et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare.	185
sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos litora Teucros crederet? aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret? cedamus Phoebo et moniti meliora sequamur? sic ait, et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes.	
hanc quoque deserimus sedem paucisque relictis vela damus vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor.	190
Postquam altum tenuere rates nec iam amplius ullae apparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus, tum mihi caeruleus supra caput astitit imber noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.	195
continuo venti volvunt mare magnaue surgunt aequora, dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto; involvere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum abstulit, ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes. excutimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis.	200
ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in unda. tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.	
quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem visa, aperire procul montis ac volvere fumum. vela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mora, nautae adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt. servatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum excipiunt. Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae	205
insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno Harpyiaequae colunt aliae, Phineia postquam clausa domus mensasque metu liquere priores. tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.	210
virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris proluvies uncaeque manus et pallida semper ora fame.	215
huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce laeta boum passim campis armenta videmus caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.	220
inruimus ferro et divos ipsumque vocamus	

in partem praedamque Iovem; tum litore curvo  
 exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis. 225  
 at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt  
 Harpyiae et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,  
 diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant  
 immundo; tum vox taetrum dira inter odorem.  
 rursum in secessu longo sub rupe cavata  
 [arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris] 230  
 instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem;  
 rursum ex diverso caeli caecisque latebris  
 turba sonans praedam pedibus circumvolat uncis,  
 polluit ore dapes. sociis tunc arma capessant  
 edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum. 235  
 haud secus ac iussi faciunt tectosque per herbam  
 disponunt ensis et scuta latentia condunt.  
 ergo ubi delapsae sonitum per curva dedere  
 litora, dat signum specula Misenus ab alta  
 aere cavo. invadunt socii et nova proelia temptant, 240  
 obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucris.  
 sed neque vim plumis ullam nec vulnera tergo  
 accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae  
 semesam praedam et vestigia foeda relinquunt.  
 una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno, 245  
 infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem:  
 'bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvenis,  
 Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis  
 et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?  
 accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta, 250  
 quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo  
 praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.  
 Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis:  
 ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit. 255  
 sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem  
 quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis  
 ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.'  
 dixit, et in silvam pennis ablata refugit.  
 at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis  
 deriguit: cecidere animi, nec iam amplius armis, 260

sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem, sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaque volucres. et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis numina magna vocat meritosque indicit honores:	
‘di, prohibete minas; di, talem avertite casum et placidi servate pios.’ tum litore funem deripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentis. tendunt vela Noti: fugimus spumantibus undis qua cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat.	265
iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis. effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna, et terram altricem saevi execramur Vlxi. mox et Leucatae nimbo cacumina montis et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.	270 275
hunc petimus fessi et parvae succedimus urbi; ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes. Ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti lustramurque Iovi votisque incendimus aras, Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.	280
exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras nudati socii: iuvat evasisse tot urbes Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis. interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas:	285
aere cavo clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis, postibus adversis figo et rem carmine signo: AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIIS VICTORIBVS ARMA. linquere tum portus iubeo et considerare transtris. certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.	290
protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces litoraque Epiri legimus portuque subimus Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem. Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris, Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbis coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum, et patrio Andromachen iterum cecidisse marito. obstupui miroque incensum pectus amore	295

compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos. 300  
 progredior portu classis et litora linquens,  
 sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona  
 ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam  
 libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat  
 Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem  
 et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras. 305  
 ut me conspexit venientem et Troia circum  
 arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstribus  
 deriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit;  
 labitur et longo vix tandem tempore fatur:  
 ‘verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers, 310  
 nate dea? vivisne? aut, si lux alma recessit,  
 Hector ubi est?’ dixit, lacrimasque effudit et omnem  
 implevit clamore locum. vix pauca furenti  
 subicio et raris turbatus vocibus hisco:  
 ‘vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco; 315  
 ne dubita, nam vera vides.  
 heu! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto  
 excipit, aut quae digna satis fortuna revisit,  
 Hectoris Andromache? Pyrrhin conubia servas?’  
 deiecit vultum et demissa voce locuta est: 320  
 ‘o felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,  
 hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis  
 iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos  
 nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile!  
 nos patria incensa diversa per aequora vectae 325  
 stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum  
 servitio enixae tulimus; qui deinde secutus  
 Ledaeam Hermionen Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos  
 me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam.  
 ast illum ereptae magno flammatus amore 330  
 coniugis et scelerum Furiis agitato Orestes  
 excipit incautum patriasque obruncat ad aras.  
 morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit  
 pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos  
 Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit, 335  
 Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem.

sed tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere?  
 aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris?  
 quid puer Ascanius? superatne et vescitur aura?  
 quem tibi iam Troia— 340  
 ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?  
 ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis  
 et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?  
 talia fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat  
 incassum fletus, cum sese a moenibus heros 345  
 Priamides multis Helenus comitantibus adfert,  
 agnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit,  
 et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fundit.  
 procedo et parvam Troiam simulataque magnis  
 Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum 350  
 agnosco, Scaeaque amplector limina portae.  
 nec non et Teucri socia simul urbe fruuntur.  
 illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis:  
 aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi  
 impositis auro dapibus, paterasque tenebant. 355

Iamque dies alterque dies processit, et aurae  
 vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus austro:  
 his vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso:  
 ‘Troiugena, interpretis divum, qui numina Phoebi,  
 qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis 360  
 et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae,  
 fare age (namque omnem cursum mihi prospera dixit  
 religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi  
 Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas;  
 sola novum dictuque nefas Harpyia Celaeno 365  
 prodigium canit et tristis denuntiat iras  
 obscenamque famem) quae prima pericula vito?  
 quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?  
 hic Helenus caesis primum de more iuvenicis  
 exorat pacem divum vittasque resolvit 370  
 sacrati capitis, meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,  
 ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit,  
 atque haec deinde canit divino ex ore sacerdos:  
 ‘Nate dea (nam te maioribus ire per altum

auspiciis manifesta fides, sic fata deum rex 375  
sortitur volvitque vices, is vertitur ordo),  
pauca tibi e multis, quo tutior hospita lustres  
aequora et Ausonio possis considerare portu,  
expediam dictis: prohibent nam cetera Parcae  
scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno. 380  
principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam  
vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,  
longa procul longis via dividit invia terris.  
ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda  
et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor 385  
infernique lacus Aeaeaeque insula Circae,  
quam tuta possis urbem componere terra.  
signa tibi dicam, tu condita mente teneto:  
cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam  
litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus 390  
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,  
alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,  
is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.  
nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros:  
fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo. 395  
has autem terras Italiq̄ue hanc litoris oram,  
proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu,  
effuge; cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graiis.  
hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri,  
et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos 400  
Lyctius Idomeneus; hic illa ducis Meliboei  
parva Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro.  
quin ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes  
et positis aris iam vota in litore solves, 405  
purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,  
ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum  
hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.  
hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto;  
hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.  
ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae 410  
ventus, et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,  
laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur

aequora circuitu; dextrum fuge litus et undas.  
 haec loca vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina  
 (tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas) 415  
 dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus  
 una foret: venit medio vi pontus et undis  
 Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaeque et urbes  
 litore diductas angusto interluit aestu.  
 dextrum Scylla latus, laevum implacata Charybdis 420  
 obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos  
 sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras  
 erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda.  
 at Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris  
 ora exsertantem et navis in saxa trahentem. 425  
 prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo  
 pube tenus, postrema immani corpore pistrix  
 delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.  
 praestat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni  
 cessantem, longos et circumflectere cursus, 430  
 quam semel informem vasto vidisse sub antro  
 Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa.  
 praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,  
 si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo,  
 unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum 435  
 praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo,  
 Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora,  
 Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem  
 supplicibus supera donis: sic denique victor  
 Trinacria fines Italos mittere relicta. 440  
 huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem  
 divinosque lacus et Averna sonantia silvis,  
 insanam vatem aspicias, quae rupe sub ima  
 fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.  
 quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo 445  
 digerit in numerum atque antro seclusa relinquit:  
 illa manent immota locis neque ab ordine cedunt.  
 verum eadem, verso tenuis cum cardine ventus  
 impulit et teneras turbavit ianua frondes,  
 numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo 450



nec revocare situs aut iungere carmina curat.  
 inconsulti abeunt sedemque odere Sibyllae.  
 hic tibi ne qua morae fuerint dispendia tanti,  
 quamvis increpitent socii et vi cursus in altum  
 vela vocet, possisque sinus implere secundos, 455  
 quin adeas vatem precibusque oracula poscas,  
 ipsa canat vocemque volens atque ora resolvat.  
 illa tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella  
 et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem  
 expediet, cursusque dabit venerata secundos. 460  
 haec sunt quae nostra liceat te voce moneri.  
 vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam.’

Quae postquam vates sic ore effatus amico est,  
 dona dehinc auro gravia ac secto elephanto  
 imperat ad navis ferri, stipatque carinis 465  
 ingens argentum Dodonaeosque lebetas,  
 loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem,  
 et conum insignis galeae cristasque comantis,  
 arma Neoptolemi. sunt et sua dona parenti.  
 addit equos, additque duces, 470  
 remigium supplet, socios simul instruit armis.

Interea classem velis aptare iubebat  
 Anchises, fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti.  
 quem Phoebi interpres multo compellat honore:  
 ‘coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo, 475  
 cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis,  
 ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus: hanc arripe velis.  
 et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare necesse est:  
 Ausoniae pars illa procul quam pandit Apollo.  
 vade,’ ait ‘o felix nati pietate. quid ultra 480  
 provehor et fando surgentis demoror Austros?’  
 nec minus Andromache digressu maesta supremo  
 fert picturatas auri subtemine vestis  
 et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem (nec cedit honore)  
 textilibusque onerat donis, ac talia fatur 485  
 ‘accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monimenta mearum  
 sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem,  
 coniugis Hectoreae. cape dona extrema tuorum,

o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago. sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat; et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo.’	490
hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis: ‘vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur. vobis parta quies: nullum maris aequor arandum, arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro quaerenda. effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis quam vestrae fecere manus, melioribus, opto, auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obvia Grais. si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam, cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos, Epiro Hesperia (quibus idem Dardanus auctor atque idem casus), unam faciemus utramque Troiam animis: maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.’	495 500 505
Provehimur pelago vicina Ceraunia iuxta, unde iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis. sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci. sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam sortiti remos passimque in litore sicco corpora curamus: fessos sopor inrigat artus. necdum orbem medium nox Horis acta subibat: haud segnibus strato surgit Palinurus et omnis explorat ventos atque auribus aëra captat; sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo, Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona. postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno, dat clarum e puppi signum: nos castra movemus temptamusque viam et velorum pandimus alas.	510 515 520
Iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis cum procul obscuros collis humilemque videmus Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates, Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant. tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona induit implevitque mero, divosque vocavit	525

stans celsa in puppi:  
 ‘di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes,  
 ferte viam vento facilem et spirate secundi.’  
 crebrescunt optatae aurae portusque patescit 530  
 iam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae.  
 vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent.  
 portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum,  
 obiectae salsa spumant aspergine cautes,  
 ipse latet: gemino dimittunt bracchia muro 535  
 turriti scopuli refugitque ab litore templum.  
 quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi  
 tondentis campum late, candore nivali.  
 et pater Anchises ‘bellum, o terra hospita, portas:  
 bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur. 540  
 sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti  
 quadripedes et frena iugo concordia ferre:  
 spes et pacis’ ait. tum numina sancta precamur  
 Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis,  
 et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu, 545  
 praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite  
 Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores.  
 Haud mora, continuo perfectis ordine votis  
 cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum  
 Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva. 550  
 hinc sinus Herculei (si vera est fama) Tarenti  
 cernitur, attollit se diva Lacinia contra,  
 Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.  
 tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna,  
 et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa 555  
 audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces,  
 exsultantque vada atque aestu miscentur harenae.  
 et pater Anchises ‘nimirum hic illa Charybdis:  
 hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat.  
 eripite, o socii, pariterque insurgite remis.’ 560  
 haud minus ac iussi faciunt, primusque rudentem  
 contorsit laevas proram Palinurus ad undas;  
 laevam cuncta cohors remis ventisque petivit.  
 tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem

subducta ad manis imos desedimus unda.	565
ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere, ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra. interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit, ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.	
Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens	570
ipse: sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis, interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla, attollitque globos flammaram et sidera lambit, interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis	575
erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras cum gemitu glomerat fundoque exaestuat imo. fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis,	580
et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo. noctem illam tecti silvis immania monstra perferimus, nec quae sonitum det causa videmus. nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra	585
siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo, et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat.	
Postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram, cum subito e silvis macie confecta suprema	590
ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu procedit supplexque manus ad litora tendit. respicimus. dira inluyies immissaque barba, consertum tegimen spinis: at cetera Graius, et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis.	595
isque ubi Dardanios habitus et Troia vidit arma procul, paulum aspectu conterritus haesit continuitque gradum; mox sese ad litora praeceps cum fletu precibusque tulit: 'per sidera testor, per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen,	600
tollite me, Teucris; quascumque abducite terras: hoc sat erit. scio me Danais e classibus unum	

et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse penatis.  
 pro quo, si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri,  
 spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto;      605  
 si pereo, hominum manibus periisse iuvabit.  
 dixerat et genua amplexus genibusque volutans  
 haerebat. qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus,  
 hortamur, quae deinde agitet fortuna fateri.  
 ipse pater dextram Anchises haud multa moratus      610  
 dat iuveni atque animum praesenti pignore firmat.  
 ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur:  
 'sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Vlixii,  
 nomine Achaemenides, Troiam genitore Adamasto  
 paupere (mansissetque utinam fortuna!) profectus.      615  
 hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina linquunt,  
 immemores socii vasto Cyclopi in antro  
 deseruere. domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,  
 intus opaca, ingens. ipse arduus, altaque pulsat  
 sidera (di talem terris avertite pestem!)      620  
 nec visu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli;  
 visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro.  
 vidi egomet duo de numero cum corpora nostro  
 prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro  
 frangeret ad saxum, sanieque aspersa natarent      625  
 limina; vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo  
 manderet et tepidi tremarent sub dentibus artus —  
 haud impune quidem, nec talia passus Vlixes  
 oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto.  
 nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus      630  
 cervicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum  
 immensus saniem eructans et frusta cruento  
 per somnum commixta mero, nos magna precati  
 numina sortitique vices una undique circum  
 fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto      635  
 ingens quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,  
 Argolici clipei aut Phoebae lampadis instar,  
 et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras.  
 sed fugite, o miseri, fugite atque ab litore funem  
 rumpite.      640

nam qualis quantusque cavo Polyphemus in antro  
 lanigeras claudit pecudes atque ubera pressat,  
 centum alii curva haec habitant ad litora vulgo  
 infandi Cyclopes et altis montibus errant.  
 tertia iam Lunae se cornua lumine complent 645  
 cum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum  
 lustra domosque traho, vastosque ab rupe Cyclopas  
 prospicio sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco.  
 victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna,  
 dant rami, et vulsis pascunt radicibus herbae. 650  
 omnia conlustrans hanc primum ad litora classem  
 conspexi venientem. huic me, quaecumque fuisset,  
 addixi: satis est gentem effugisse nefandam.  
 vos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto.<sup>7</sup>  
 Vix ea fatus erat summo cum monte videmus 655  
 ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem  
 pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem,  
 monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.  
 trunca manum pinus regit et vestigia firmat;  
 lanigeras comitantur oves; ea sola voluptas 660  
 solamenque mali.  
 postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora venit,  
 luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem  
 dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per aequor  
 iam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit. 665  
 nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare recepto  
 supplice sic merito tacitique incidere funem,  
 vertimus et proni certantibus aequora remis.  
 sensit, et ad sonitum vocis vestigia torsit.  
 verum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas 670  
 nec potis Ionios fluctus aequare sequendo,  
 clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes  
 contremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus  
 Italiae curvisque immugiit Aetna cavernis.  
 at genus e silvis Cyclopon et montibus altis 675  
 excitum ruit ad portus et litora complent.  
 cernimus astantis nequiquam lumine torvo  
 Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentis,

concilium horrendum: quales cum vertice celso  
 aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi 680  
 constiterunt, silva alta Iovis lucusve Dianae.  
 praecipitis metus acer agit quocumque rudentis  
 excutere et ventis intendere vela secundis.  
 contra iussa monent Heleni, Scyllamque Charybdinque  
 inter, utrimque viam leti discrimine parvo, 685  
 ni teneam cursus; certum est dare lintea retro.  
 ecce autem Boreas angusta ab sede Pelori  
 missus adest: vivo praetervehor ostia saxo  
 Pantagiae Megarosque sinus Thapsumque iacentem.  
 talia monstrabat relegens errata retrorsus 690  
 litora Achaemenides, comes infelicis Vlixi.  
 Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra  
 Plemyrion undosum, nomen dixere priores  
 Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem  
 occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc 695  
 ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.  
 iussi numina magna loci veneramur, et inde  
 exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori.  
 hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni  
 radimus, et fatis numquam concessa moveri 700  
 apparet Camerina procul campique Geloi,  
 immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.  
 arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe  
 moenia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum;  
 teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa Selinus, 705  
 et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis.  
 hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora  
 accipit. hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actus  
 heu, genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,  
 amitto Anchisen. hic me, pater optime, fessum 710  
 deseris, heu, tantis nequiquam erepte periclis!  
 nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,  
 hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno.  
 hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.  
 hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris.” 715  
 Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus

fata renarrabat divum cursusque docebat.  
conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit.



## Liber Quartus

AT regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura  
vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.  
multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat  
gentis honos: haerent infixi pectore vultus  
verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem. 5  
postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras  
umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,  
cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem:  
“Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!  
quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes, 10  
quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!  
credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum.  
degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille  
iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!  
si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet 15  
ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali,  
postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit,  
si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,  
huic uni forsant potui succumbere culpae.  
Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei 20  
coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penatis  
solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem  
impulit. agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.  
sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat  
vel pater omnipotens abigat me fulmine ad umbras, 25  
pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,  
ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.  
ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores  
abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.”  
sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis. 30  
Anna refert: “o luce magis dilecta sorori,  
solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa

nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris? id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?	
esto: aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti, non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas, ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?	35
nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis? hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello, et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis; hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes Barcaei. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam germanique minas?	40
dis equidem auspiciis reor et Iunone secunda hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas. quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!	45
tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis indulge hospitio, causasque innecte morandi, dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion, quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.”	50
His dictis impenso animum flammavit amore spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.	55
principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo, Iunoni ante omnes, cui vincla iugalia curae. ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit, aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiat ad aras, instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.	60
heu, vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem, quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus. uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta, quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit	65
	70

pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum  
 nescius: illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat  
 Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.  
 nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit  
 Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam, 75  
 incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit;  
 nunc eadem labente die convivia quaerit,  
 Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores  
 exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.  
 post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim 80  
 luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,  
 sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis  
 incubat. illum absens absentem auditque videtque,  
 aut gremio Ascanium genitoris imagine capta  
 detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem. 85  
 non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus  
 exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello  
 tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta, minaeque  
 murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.  
 Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri 90  
 cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori,  
 talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:  
 “egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis  
 tuque puerque tuus (magnum et memorabile numen),  
 una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est. 95  
 nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra  
 suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.  
 sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto?  
 quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos  
 exercemus? habes tota quod mente petisti: 100  
 ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.  
 communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus  
 auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito  
 dotalesque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.”  
 Olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam, 105  
 quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras)  
 sic contra est ingressa Venus: “quis talia demens  
 abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello?

si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur.  
 sed fati incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam 110  
 esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis,  
 miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi.  
 tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando.  
 perge, sequar." tum sic excepit regia Iuno:  
 "mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat 115  
 confieri possit, paucis (adverte) docebo.  
 venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido  
 in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus  
 extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.  
 his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimum, 120  
 dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,  
 desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.  
 diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca:  
 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem  
 devenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas, 125  
 conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo.  
 hic hymenaeus erit." non adversata petenti  
 adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.  
 Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.  
 it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus, 130  
 retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,  
 Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.  
 reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi  
 Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro  
 stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit. 135  
 tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva  
 Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;  
 cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,  
 aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.  
 nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus 140  
 incedunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis  
 infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.  
 qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta  
 deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo  
 instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum 145  
 Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi:

ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem  
fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,  
tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat  
Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore. 150

postquam altos ventum in montis atque invia lustra,  
ecce ferae saxi deiectae vertice caprae  
decurrere iugis; alia de parte patentis  
transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi  
pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt. 155  
at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri  
gaudet equo iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,  
spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis  
optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.

Interea magno misceri murmure caelum 160  
incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus,  
et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus  
Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros  
tectata metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.  
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem 165  
deveniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno  
dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether  
conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.  
ille dies primus leti primusque malorum  
causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur 170  
nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:  
coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,  
Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:  
mobilitate viget virisque adquirit eundo, 175  
parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras  
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.  
illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum  
extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem  
progenuit pedibus celerem et perniciousis alis, 180  
monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,  
tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),  
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.  
nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram

stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;	185
luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes, tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri. haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:	190
venisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum, cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido; nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos. haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.	195
protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras. Hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis, centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem,	200
excubias divum aeternas, pecudumque cruore pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis. isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro dicitur ante aras media inter numina divum multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis:	205
“Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem, aspicis haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent? femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit. et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu,	210
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem subnexus, raptu potitur: nos munera templis quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem.”	215
Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis. tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:	220

“vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pinnis,  
 Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc  
 exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes, 225  
 adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.  
 non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem  
 promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;  
 sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem  
 Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri 230  
 proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.  
 si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum  
 nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,  
 Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?  
 quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur 235  
 nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?  
 naviget! haec summa est; hic nostri nuntius esto.”  
 Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat  
 imperio: et primum pedibus talaria nectit  
 aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra 240  
 seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.  
 tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco  
 pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,  
 dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.  
 illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat 245  
 nubila. iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit  
 Atlantis duri caelum qui vertice fulcit,  
 Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris  
 piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri,  
 nix umeros infusa tegit, tum flumina mento 250  
 praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.  
 hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis  
 constitit: hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas  
 misit avi similis, quae circum litora, circum  
 piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta. 255  
 haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat  
 litus harenosum ad Libyae, ventosque secabat  
 materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.  
 ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,  
 Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem 260

conspicit. atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva  
 ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena  
 demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido  
 fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro.  
 continuo invadit: “tu nunc Karthaginis altae 265  
 fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem  
 exstruis? heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!  
 ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo  
 regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet;  
 ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras: 270  
 quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?  
 si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,  
 [nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,]  
 Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli  
 respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus 275  
 debetur.” tali Cyllenius ore locutus  
 mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit  
 et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.  
 At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,  
 arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit. 280  
 ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,  
 attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.  
 heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem  
 audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?  
 atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc 285  
 in partis que rapit varias perque omnia versat.  
 haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:  
 Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,  
 classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,  
 arma parent et quae rebus sit causa novandis 290  
 dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido  
 nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,  
 temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi  
 tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes  
 imperio laeti parent ac iussa facessunt. 295  
 At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)  
 praesensit, motusque excepit prima futuros  
 omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti



detulit armari classem cursumque parari.  
 saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem 300  
 bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris  
 Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho  
 orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.  
 tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:  
 “dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum 305  
 posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?  
 nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam  
 nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?  
 quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem  
 et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum, 310  
 crudelis? quid, si non arva aliena domosque  
 ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,  
 Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?  
 mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te  
 (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui)? 315  
 per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,  
 si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam  
 dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,  
 oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.  
 te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni 320  
 odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem  
 extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,  
 fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes  
 (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat)?  
 quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater 325  
 destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?  
 saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset  
 ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula  
 luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,  
 non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.” 330

Dixerat. ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat  
 lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.  
 tandem pauca refert: “ego te, quae plurima fando  
 enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo  
 promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae, 335  
 dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto  
 speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam  
 praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.  
 me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam 340  
 auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,  
 urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum  
 reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,  
 et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.  
 sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo, 345  
 Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;  
 hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces  
 Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,  
 quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra  
 invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna. 350  
 me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris  
 nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,  
 admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;  
 me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,  
 quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis. 355  
 nunc etiam interpres divum Iove missus ab ipso  
 (testor utrumque caput) celeris mandata per auras  
 detulit: ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi  
 intransentem muros vocemque his auribus hausi.  
 desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis; 360  
 Italiam non sponte sequor.”

Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur  
 huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat  
 luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur:  
 “nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor, 365  
 perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens  
 Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.  
 nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?  
 num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?  
 num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est? 370  
 quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno  
 nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.  
 nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem  
 excepi et regni demens in parte locavi.

amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi 375  
 (heu furiis incensa feror!): nunc augur Apollo,  
 nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso  
 interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras.  
 scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos  
 sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello: 380  
 i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.  
 spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,  
 supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido  
 saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens;  
 et cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, 385  
 omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas.  
 audiam et haec manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.”  
 his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras  
 aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,  
 linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem 390  
 dicere. suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra  
 marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.  
 At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem  
 solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,  
 multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore 395  
 iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.  
 tum vero Teucrici incumbunt et litore celsas  
 deducunt toto navis. natat uncta carina,  
 frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis  
 infabricata fugae studio. 400  
 migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis.  
 ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum  
 cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,  
 it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas  
 convectant calle angusto: pars grandia trudunt 405  
 obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt  
 castigantque moras, opere omnis semita fervet.  
 quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,  
 quosve dabis gemitus, cum litora fervere late  
 prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres 410  
 misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!  
 improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!

ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando  
 cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,  
 ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat. 415  
 “Anna, vides toto properari litore circum:  
 undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,  
 puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.  
 hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,  
 et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum 420  
 exsequere, Anna, mihi; solam nam perfidus ille  
 te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;  
 sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras.  
 i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum:  
 non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem 425  
 Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,  
 nec patris Anchisae cinerem manisve revelli:  
 cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?  
 quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:  
 exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis. 430  
 non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,  
 nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat:  
 tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,  
 dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.  
 extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis), 435  
 quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam.”  
 Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus  
 fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur  
 fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;  
 fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris. 440  
 ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum  
 Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc  
 eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae  
 consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;  
 ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras 445  
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:  
 haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros  
 tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;  
 mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.  
 Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido 450

mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.  
 quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,  
 vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris  
 (horrendum dictu), latices nigrescere sacros  
 fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem. 455  
 hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.  
 praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum  
 coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,  
 velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:  
 hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis 460  
 visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret,  
 solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo  
 saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces;  
 multaue praeterea vatum praedicta priorum  
 terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furentem 465  
 in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui  
 sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur  
 ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,  
 Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus  
 et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas, 470  
 aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes,  
 armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris  
 cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.  
 Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore  
 decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque 475  
 exigit, et maestam dictis adgressa sororem  
 consilium vultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:  
 “inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori)  
 quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem.  
 Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem 480  
 ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas  
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum:  
 hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,  
 Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi  
 quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos, 485  
 spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.  
 haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes  
 quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,

sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro, nocturnosque movet manis: mugire videbis sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.	490
testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artis. tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras erige, et arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit	495
impious exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem, quo perii, superimponas: abolere nefandi cuncta viri monimenta iuvat monstratque sacerdos.” haec effata silet, pallor simul occupat ora. non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris	500
germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores concipit aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei. ergo iussa parat.	
At regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,	505
intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum effigiemque toro locat haud ignara futuri. stant arae circum et crines effusa sacerdos	510
ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae. sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni, falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;	515
quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus et matri praereptus amor. ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta, testatur moritura deos et conscia fati	520
sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.	
Nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu, cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,	525
quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis	

rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.  
 [lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum.]  
 at non infelix animi Phoenissa neque umquam  
 solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem 530  
 accipit: ingeminant curae rursusque resurgens  
 saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.  
 sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat:  
 “en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores  
 experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex, 535  
 quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?  
 Iliacas igitur classis atque ultima Teucrum  
 iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos  
 et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?  
 quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusve superbis 540  
 invisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, necdum  
 Laomedontean sentis periuria gentis?  
 quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis?  
 an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum  
 inferar et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli, 545  
 rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo?  
 quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.  
 tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem  
 his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.  
 non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam 550  
 degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas;  
 non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.”  
 Tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus:  
 Aeneas celsa in puppi iam certus eundi  
 carpebat somnos rebus iam rite paratis. 555  
 huic se forma dei vultu redeuntis eodem  
 obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,  
 omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque  
 et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventa:  
 “nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos, 560  
 nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,  
 demens, nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos?  
 illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat  
 certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.

non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas? 565  
 iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis  
 conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,  
 si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.  
 heia age, rumpe moras. varium et mutabile semper  
 femina.” sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae. 570

Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris  
 corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat  
 praecipitis: “vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;  
 solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto  
 festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis 575  
 ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,  
 quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.  
 adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo  
 dextra feras.” dixit vaginaque eripit ensem  
 fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro. 580  
 idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque;  
 litora deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor,  
 adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.

Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras  
 Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile. 585  
 regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem  
 vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,  
 litoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,  
 terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum  
 flaventisque abscissa comas “pro Iuppiter! ibit 590  
 hic,” ait “et nostris inluserit advena regnis?  
 non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,  
 diripientque rates alii navalibus? ite,  
 ferte citi flammis, date tela, impellite remos!  
 quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat? 595  
 infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?  
 tum decuit, cum sceptrum dabas. en dextra fidesque,  
 quem secum patrios aiunt portare penatis,  
 quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!  
 non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis 600  
 spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro  
 Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?



verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna - fuisset:  
 quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem  
 implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque 605  
 cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.  
 Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,  
 tuque harum interpretis curarum et conscia Iuno,  
 nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes  
 et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae, 610  
 accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen  
 et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus  
 infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,  
 et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:  
 at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis, 615  
 finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli  
 auxilium impleret videatque indigna suorum  
 funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae  
 tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,  
 sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena. 620  
 haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.  
 tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum  
 exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro  
 munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.  
 exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor 625  
 qui face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos,  
 nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.  
 litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas  
 imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.”  
 Haec ait, et partis animum versabat in omnis, 630  
 invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.  
 tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei,  
 namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat:  
 “Annam, cara mihi nutrix, huc siste sororem:  
 dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympa, 635  
 et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.  
 sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.  
 sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,  
 perficere est animus finemque imponere curis  
 Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae.” 640

sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili.  
 at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido  
 sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque trementis  
 interfusa genas et pallida morte futura,  
 interiora domus inrumpit limina et altos 645  
 conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit  
 Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.  
 hic, postquam Iliacas vestis notumque cubile  
 conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata  
 incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba: 650  
 “dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,  
 accipite hanc animam meque his exsolve curis.  
 vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi,  
 et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.  
 urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi, 655  
 ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,  
 felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum  
 numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.”  
 dixit, et os impressa toro “moriemur inultae,  
 sed moriamur,” ait. “sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras. 660  
 hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto  
 Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.”  
 dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro  
 conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore  
 spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta 665  
 atria: concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.  
 lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu  
 tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,  
 non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis  
 Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes 670  
 culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.  
 audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu  
 unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnīs  
 per medios ruit, ac morientem nomine clamat:  
 “hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas? 675  
 hoc rogos iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?  
 quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem  
 sprevisi moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses:

idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.  
his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi 680  
voce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem?  
extinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque  
Sidonios urbemque tuam. date vulnera lymphis  
abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,  
ore legam.” sic fata gradus evaserat altos, 685  
semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat  
cum gemitu atque atos siccabat veste cruores.  
illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus  
deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.  
ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit, 690  
ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto  
quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.  
Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem  
difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo  
quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus. 695  
nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,  
sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,  
nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem  
abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.  
ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pennis 700  
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores  
devolat et supra caput astitit. “hunc ego Diti  
sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo.”  
sic ait et dextra crinem secat: omnis et una  
dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit. 705



## Liber Quintus

INTEREA medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat  
certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat  
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae  
conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem  
causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores 5  
polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,  
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.  
ut pelagus tenere rates nec iam amplius ulla  
occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,  
olli caeruleus supra caput astitit imber 10  
noctem hiememque ferens et inhorruit unda tenebris.  
ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta:  
“heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?  
quidve, pater Neptune, paras?” sic deinde locutus 15  
colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis,  
obliquatque sinus in ventum ac talia fatur:  
“magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor  
spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.  
mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro 20  
consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aër.  
nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum  
sufficimus. superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,  
quoque vocat vertamus iter. nec litora longe  
fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,  
si modo rite memor servata remetior astra.” 25  
tum pius Aeneas: “equidem sic poscere ventos  
iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.  
flecte viam velis. an sit mihi gratior ulla,  
quove magis fessas optem demittere navis,  
quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten 30  
et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?”  
haec ubi dicta, petunt portus et vela secundi

intendunt Zephyri; fertur cita gurgite classis, et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae.	
At procul ex celso miratus vertice montis	35
adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes, horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae, Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater quem genuit. veterum non immemor ille parentum	
gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti	40
excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.	
Postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni advocat Aeneas tumulique ex aggere fatur:	
“Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum,	45
annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis, ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis condidimus terra maestasque sacravimus aras. iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,	
semper honoratum (sic di voluistis) habebō.	50
hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul, Argolicove mari depensus et urbe Mycenae, annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas exsequeretur strueremque suis altaria donis.	
nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis	55
haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divum adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos. ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem: poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.	60
bina boum vobis Troia generatus Acestes dat numero capita in navis; adhibete penatis et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes. praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus alnum	
Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,	65
prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis; quique pedum cursu valet, et qui viribus audax aut iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis, seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu, cuncti adsint meritaque exspectent praemia palmae.	70

ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis.”

Sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto.

hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes,  
hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.

ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat 75

ad tumulum magna medius comitante caterva.

hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho  
fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,  
purpureosque iacit flores ac talia fatur:

“salve, sancte parens, iterum salvete, recepti 80

nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.

non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva

nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim.”

dixerat haec, adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis

septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit 85

amplexus placide tumulum lapsusque per aras,

caeruleae cui terga notae maculosus et auro

squamam incendebat fulgor, ceu nubibus arcus

mille iacit varios adverso sole colores.

obstipuit visu Aeneas. ille agmine longo 90

tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens

libavitque dapes rursusque innoxius imo

successit tumulo et depasta altaria liquit.

hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,

incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis 95

esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis

totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuencos,

vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat

Anchisae magni manisque Acheronte remissos.

nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti 100

dona ferunt, onerant aras mactantque iuencos;

ordine aëna locant alii fusique per herbam

subiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.

Exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena

Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant, 105

famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae

excierat: laeto complerant litora coetu

visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.

munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur  
 in medio, sacri tripodes viridesque coronae 110  
 et palmae pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro  
 perfusae vestes, argenti aurique talenta;  
 et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.

Prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis  
 quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae. 115  
 velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim,  
 mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,  
 ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,  
 urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu  
 impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi; 120  
 Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,  
 Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus  
 caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.

Est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra  
 litora, quod tumidis summersum tunditur olim 125  
 fluctibus hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cauri;  
 tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda  
 campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.  
 hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam  
 constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti 130  
 scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.  
 tum loca sorte legunt ipsique in puppibus auro  
 ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori;  
 cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus  
 nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit. 135  
 considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis;  
 intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit  
 corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.  
 inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes, 140  
 haud mora, prosiluere suis; ferit aethera clamor  
 nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis.  
 infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit  
 convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.  
 non tam praecipites biugo certamine campum  
 corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus, 145  
 nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora



concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent.  
 tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum  
 consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant  
 litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant. 150

Effugit ante alios primisque elabitur undis  
 turbam inter fremitumque Gyas; quem deinde Cloanthus  
 consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus  
 tarda tenet. post hos aequo discrimine Pristis  
 Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem; 155

et nunc Pristis habet, nunc victam praeterit ingens  
 Centaurus, nunc una ambae iunctisque feruntur  
 frontibus et longa sulcant vada salsa carina.  
 iamque propinquabant scopulo metamque tenebant  
 cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite victor 160  
 rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten:

“quo tantum mihi dexter abis? huc derige gressum;  
 litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes;  
 altum alii teneant.” dixit; sed caeca Menoetes  
 saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas. 165

“quo diversus abis?” iterum “pete saxa, Menoete!”  
 cum clamore Gyas revocabat, et ecce Cloanthum  
 respicit instantem tergo et propiora tenentem.  
 ille inter navemque Gyaee scopulosque sonantis  
 radit iter laevum interior subitoque priorem 170  
 praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.

tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens  
 nec lacrimis caruere genae, segnemque Menoeten  
 oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis  
 in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta; 175

ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister  
 hortaturque viros clavumque ad litora torquet.  
 at gravis ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est  
 iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes  
 summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit. 180

illum et labentem Teucris et risere natantem  
 et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.

Hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,  
 Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.

Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat, 185  
 nec tota tamen ille prior praeunte carina;  
 parte prior, partim rostro premit aemula Pristis.  
 at media socios incedens nave per ipsos  
 hortatur Mnestheus: "nunc, nunc insurgite remis,  
 Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema 190  
 delegi comites; nunc illas promite viris,  
 nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi  
 Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.  
 non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque vincere certo  
 (quamquam o!—sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti), 195  
 extremos pudeat rediisse: hoc vincite, cives,  
 et prohibete nefas." olli certamine summo  
 procumbunt: vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis  
 subtrahiturque solum, tum creber anhelitus artus  
 aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis. 200  
 attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem.  
 namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget  
 interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,  
 infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.  
 concussae cautes et acuto in murice remi 205  
 obnixa crepuere inlisaque prora pependit.  
 consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur  
 ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos  
 expediunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.  
 at laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso 210  
 agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis  
 prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto.  
 qualis spelunca subito commota columba,  
 cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,  
 fertur in arva volans plausumque exterrita pennis 215  
 dat tecto ingentem, mox aëre lapsa quieto  
 radit iter liquidum celeris neque commovet alas:  
 sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis  
 aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse volantem.  
 et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto 220  
 Sergestum brevibusque vadis frustra vocantem  
 auxilia et fractis discentem currere remis.

inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram  
 consequitur; cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.

Solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus: 225  
 quem petit et summis adnixus viribus urget.  
 tum vero ingeminat clamor cunctique sequentem  
 instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.  
 hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem  
 ni teneant, vitamque volunt pro laude pacisci; 230  
 hos successus alit: possunt, quia posse videntur.  
 et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,  
 ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus  
 fudissetque preces divosque in vota vocasset:  
 “di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro, 235  
 vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum  
 constituam ante aras voti reus, extaque salsos  
 proiciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam.”  
 dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis  
 Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque virgo, 240  
 et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem  
 impulit: illa noto citius volucrique sagitta  
 ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto.

Tum satus Anchisa cunctis ex more vocatis  
 victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum 245  
 declarat viridique advelat tempora lauro,  
 muneraque in navis ternos optare iuencos  
 vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.  
 ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:  
 victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum 250  
 purpura Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,  
 intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida  
 velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat  
 acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida  
 sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis: 255  
 longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt  
 custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.  
 at qui deinde locum tenuit virtute secundum,  
 levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem  
 loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse 260

victor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto,  
 donat habere, viro decus et tutamen in armis.  
 vix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant  
 multiplicem conixi umeris; indutus at olim  
 Demoleos cursu palantis Troas agebat. 265  
 tertia dona facit geminos ex aere lebetas  
 cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.  
 iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi  
 puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis,  
 cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revulsus 270  
 amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno  
 inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.  
 qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,  
 aerea quem obliquum rota transiit aut gravis ictu  
 seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator; 275  
 nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus  
 parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla  
 arduus attollens; pars vulnere clauda retentat  
 nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem:  
 tali remigio navis se tarda movebat; 280  
 vela facit tamen et velis subit ostia plenis.  
 Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat  
 servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.  
 olli serva datur operum haud ignara Minervae,  
 Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati. 285  
 Hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit  
 gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curvis  
 cingebant silvae, mediaque in valle theatri  
 circus erat; quo se multis cum milibus heros  
 consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit. 290  
 hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu,  
 invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.  
 undique conveniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani,  
 Nisus et Euryalus primi,  
 Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa, 295  
 Nisus amore pio pueri; quos deinde secutus  
 regius egregia Priami de stirpe Diores;  
 hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,

alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis:  
 tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque, 300  
 adsueta silvis, comites senioris Acestae;  
 multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.  
 Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus:  
 “accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.  
 nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit. 305  
 Gnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro  
 spicula caelataque argento ferre bipennem;  
 omnibus hic erit unus honos. tres praemia primi  
 accipient flavaque caput nectentur oliva.  
 primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto; 310  
 alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis  
 Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro  
 balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;  
 tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito.”  
 Haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt signoque repente 315  
 corripunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt,  
 effusi nimbo similes. simul ultima signant,  
 primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus  
 emicat et ventis et fulminis ocior alis;  
 proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo, 320  
 insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto  
 tertius Euryalus;  
 Euryalumque Helymus sequitur; quo deinde sub ipso  
 ecce volat calcemque terit iam calce Diores  
 incumbens umero, spatia et si plura supersint 325  
 transeat elapsus prior ambiguumque relinquat.  
 iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam  
 finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus  
 labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvenis  
 fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas. 330  
 hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso  
 haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso  
 concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore.  
 non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:  
 nam sese opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens, 335  
 ille autem spissa iacuit revolutus harena:

emicat Euryalus et munere victor amici  
 prima tenet, plausuque volat fremituque secundo.  
 post Helymus subit et nunc tertia palma Dioces.  
 hic totum caveae consessum ingentis et ora 340  
 prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus implet,  
 ereptumque dolo reddi sibi poscit honorem.  
 tutatur favor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae,  
 gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.  
 adiuvat et magna proclamat voce Dioces, 345  
 qui subiit palmae frustra ad praemia venit  
 ultima, si primi Salio reddantur honores.  
 tum pater Aeneas “vestra” inquit “munera vobis  
 certa manent, pueri et palmam movet ordine nemo;  
 me liceat casus miserari insontis amici.” 350  
 sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis  
 dat Salio villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.  
 hic Nisus “si tanta” inquit “sunt praemia victis,  
 et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso  
 digna dabis, primam merui qui laude coronam 355  
 ni me, quae Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset?”  
 et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo  
 turpia membra fimo. risit pater optimus olli  
 et clipeum efferri iussit, Didymaonis artis,  
 Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum. 360  
 hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.  
 Post, ubi confecti cursus et dona peregit:  
 “nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,  
 adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis.”  
 sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem, 365  
 victori velatum auro vittisque iuvenum,  
 ensem atque insignem galeam solacia victo.  
 nec mora; continuo vastis cum viribus effert  
 ora Dares magnoque virum se murmure tollit,  
 solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra, 370  
 idemque ad tumulum quo maximus occubat Hector  
 victorem Buten immani corpore, qui se  
 Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat,  
 perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena.

talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit, 375  
 ostenditque umeros latos alternaque iactat  
 bracchia protendens et verberat ictibus auras.  
 quaeritur huic alius; nec quisquam ex agmine tanto  
 audet adire virum manibusque inducere caestus.  
 ergo alacris cunctosque putans excedere palma 380  
 Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus  
 tum laeva taurum cornu tenet atque ita fatur:  
 “nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,  
 quae finis standi? quo me decet usque teneri?  
 ducere dona iube.” cuncti simul ore fremebant 385  
 Dardanidae reddique viro promissa iubebant.  
 Hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,  
 proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae:  
 “Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,  
 tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli 390  
 dona sines? ubi nunc nobis deus ille (magister  
 nequiquam memoratus) Eryx? ubi fama per omnem  
 Trinacriam et spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis?”  
 ille sub haec: “non laudis amor nec gloria cessit  
 pulsa metu; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta 395  
 sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.  
 si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste  
 exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,  
 haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco  
 venissem, nec dona moror.” sic deinde locutus 400  
 in medium geminos immani pondere caestus  
 proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus  
 ferre manum duroque intendere bracchia tergo.  
 obstipuerunt animi: tantorum ingentia septem  
 terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigeabant. 405  
 ante omnis stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat,  
 magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa  
 huc illuc vinclorum immensa volumina versat.  
 tum senior talis referebat pectore voces:  
 “quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma 410  
 vidisset tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam?  
 haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma gerebat

(sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque infecta cerebro),  
 his magnum Alciden contra stetit, his ego suetus,  
 dum melior viris sanguis dabat, aemula necdum 415  
 temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.  
 sed si nostra Dares haec Troïus arma recusat  
 idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,  
 aequemus pugnas. Erycis tibi terga remitto  
 (solve metus), et tu Troianos exue caestus.” 420  
 haec fatus duplicem ex umeris reiecit amictum  
 et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque  
 exiit atque ingens media consistit harena.  
 tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos  
 et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis. 425  
 constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque  
 brachiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.  
 abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu  
 immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacessunt,  
 ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa, 430  
 hic membris et mole valens; sed tarda trementi  
 genua labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.  
 multa viri nequiquam inter se vulnera iactant,  
 multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos  
 dant sonitus, erratque auris et tempora circum 435  
 crebra manus, duro crepitant sub vulnere malae.  
 stat gravis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem  
 corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.  
 ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem  
 aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis, 440  
 nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat  
 arte locum et variis adsultibus inritus urget.  
 ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte  
 extulit: ille ictum venientem a vertice velox  
 praevidebat celerique elapsus corpore cessit; 445  
 Entellus viris in ventum effudit et ultro  
 ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto  
 concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho  
 aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.  
 consurgunt studiis Teucris et Trinacria pubes; 450



it clamor caelo primusque accurrit Acestes  
 aequaevumque ab humo miserans attollit amicum.  
 at non tardatus casu neque territus heros  
 acrior ad pugnam redit ac vim suscitatur ira;  
 tum pudor incendit viris et conscia virtus, 455  
 praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto  
 nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra.  
 nec mora nec requies: quam multa grandine nimbi  
 culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros  
 creber utraque manu pulsatur versatur Daretas. 460  
 Tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras  
 et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,  
 sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Daretas  
 eripuit mulcens dictis ac talia fatur:  
 “infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?  
 non viris alias conversa quae numina sentis?  
 cede deo.” dixitque et proelia voce diremit. 465  
 ast illum fidi aequales genua aegra trahentem  
 iactantemque utroque caput crassumque cruorem  
 ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes 470  
 ducunt ad navis; galeamque ensemque vocati  
 accipiunt, palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.  
 hic victor superans animis tauroque superbus  
 “nate dea, vosque haec” inquit “cognoscite, Teucris,  
 et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires 475  
 et qua servetis revocatum a morte Daretas.”  
 dixit, et adversi contra stetit ora iuveni  
 qui donum astabat pugnae, duosque reducta  
 libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus  
 arduus, effractoque inlinit in ossa cerebro: 480  
 sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.  
 ille super talis effundit pectore voces:  
 “hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis  
 persolvo; hic victor caestus artemque repono.”  
 Protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta 485  
 invitat qui forte velint et praemia dicit,  
 ingentique manu malum de nave Seresti  
 erigit et volucrem traiecto in fune columbam,

quo tendant ferrum, malo suspendit ab alto.	
convenere viri deiectamque aerea sortem	490
accepit galea; et primus clamore secundo	
Hyrtaeidae ante omnis exit locus Hippocoontis;	
quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine victor	
consequitur, viridi Mnestheus evinctus oliva.	
tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater,	495
Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus	
in medios telum torsisti primus Achivos.	
extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,	
ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem.	
tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus	500
pro se quisque viri et depromunt tela pharetris,	
primaque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta	
Hyrtaeidae iuvenis volucris diverberat auras,	
et venit adversique infigitur arbore mali.	
intremuit malus micuitque exterrita pennis	505
ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.	
post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu	
alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.	
ast ipsam miserandus avem contingere ferro	
non valuit; nodos et vincula linea rupit	510
quis innexa pedem malo pendeat ab alto;	
illa Notos atque alta volans in nubila fugit.	
tum rapidus, iam dudum arcu contenta parato	
tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,	
iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus et alis	515
plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.	
decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris	
aetheriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam.	
Amissa solus palma superabat Acestes,	520
qui tamen aërias telum contendit in auras	
ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.	
hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum	
augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens	
seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.	
namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo	525
signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit	

consumpta in ventos: caelo ceu saepe refixa  
 transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.  
 attonitis haesere animis superosque precati  
 Trinacrii Teucrique viri, nec maximus omen 530  
 abnuat Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten  
 muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur:  
 “sume, pater; nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi  
 talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores.  
 ipsius Anchisae longaevi hoc munus habebis, 535  
 cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim  
 Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus  
 ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.”  
 sic fatus cingit viridanti tempora lauro  
 et primum ante omnis victorem appellat Acesten. 540  
 nec bonus Eurytion praelato invidit honori,  
 quamvis solus avem caelo deiecit ab alto.  
 proximus ingreditur donis qui vincula rupit,  
 extremus volucris qui fixit harundine malum.

At pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso 545  
 custodem ad sese comitemque impubis Iuli  
 Epytiden vocat, et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:  
 “vade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum  
 agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum,  
 ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat in armis 550  
 dic” ait. ipse omnem longo discedere circo  
 infusum populum et campos iubet esse patentis.  
 incedunt pueri pariterque ante ora parentum  
 frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntis  
 Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaeque iuventus. 555  
 omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;  
 cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,  
 pars levis umero pharetras; it pectore summo  
 flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.

tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur 560  
 ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti  
 agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.  
 una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem  
 nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite,

progenies, auctura Italos; quem Thracius albis portat equus bicolor maculis, vestigia primi alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam. alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini, parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.	565
extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido esse sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris. cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Acestae fertur equis.	570
excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes Dardanidae, veterumque agnoscunt ora parentum. postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.	575
olli discurrere pares atque agmina terni diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati convertere vias infestaque tela tulere. inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus adversi spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbis impediunt pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;	580
et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur. ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi	585
frangeret indeprentus et inremeabilis error: haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu impediunt texuntque fugas et proelia ludo, delphinum similes qui per maria umida nando Carpathium Libycumque secant [luduntque per undas].	590
hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam, rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos, quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troia pubes; Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro	595
accepit Roma et patrium servavit honorem; Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.	600

hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.  
 Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.  
 dum variis tumultu referunt sollemnia ludis, 605  
 Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno  
 Iliacam ad classem ventosque aspirat eunti,  
 multa movens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.  
 illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum  
 nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo. 610  
 conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat  
 desertosque videt portus classemque relictam.  
 at procul in sola secretae Troades acta  
 amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum  
 pontum aspectabant flentes. heu tot vada fessis 615  
 et tantum superesse maris, vox omnibus una.  
 urbem orant, taedet pelagi perferre laborem.  
 ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi  
 conicit et faciemque deae vestemque reponit;  
 fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli, 620  
 cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent,  
 ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert.  
 "o miserae, quas non manus" inquit "Achaica bello  
 traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens  
 infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat? 625  
 septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,  
 cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa  
 sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum  
 Italiam sequimur fugientem et volvitur undis.  
 hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes: 630  
 quis prohibet muros iacere et dare civibus urbem?  
 o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste penates,  
 nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia? nusquam  
 Hectoreos amnis, Xanthum et Simoenta, videbo?  
 quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppis. 635  
 nam mihi Cassandreae per somnum vatis imago  
 ardentis dare visa faces: "hic quaerite Troiam;  
 hic domus est" inquit "vobis." iam tempus agi res,  
 nec tantis mora prodigiis. en quattuor arae  
 Neptuno; deus ipse faces animumque ministrat." 640

haec memorans prima infensum vi corripit ignem  
 sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat  
 et iacit. arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda  
 Iliadum. hic una e multis, quae maxima natu,  
 Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix: 645  
 “non Beroe vobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres,  
 est Dorycli coniunx; divini signa decoris  
 ardentisque notate oculos; qui spiritus illi,  
 qui vultus vocisque sonus vel gressus eunti.  
 ipsa egomet dudum Beroen digressa reliqui 650  
 aegram, indignantem tali quod sola careret  
 munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.”  
 haec effata.  
 at matres primo ancipites oculisque malignis  
 ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem 655  
 praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna:  
 cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis  
 ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.  
 tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore  
 conclamant, rapiuntque focus penetralibus ignem 660  
 (pars spoliant aras), frondem ac virgulta facesque  
 coniciunt. furit immissis Volcanus habenis  
 transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppis.  
 Nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri  
 incensas perfert navis Eumelus, et ipsi 665  
 respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.  
 primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris  
 ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit  
 castra, nec exanimis possunt retinere magistri.  
 “quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis” inquit, 670  
 “heu, miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra  
 Argivum, vestras spes uritis. en, ego vester  
 Ascanius!” — galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,  
 qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.  
 accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum. 675  
 ast illae diversa metu per litora passim  
 diffugiunt, silvasque et sicubi concava furtim  
 saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque

mutatae agnoscunt excussaque pectore Iuno est.  
 Sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia viris 680  
 indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit  
 stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas  
 est vapor et toto descendit corpore pestis,  
 nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.  
 tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem 685  
 auxilioque vocare deos et tendere palmas:  
 “Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum  
 Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores  
 respicit humanos, da flammam evadere classi  
 nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto. 690  
 vel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,  
 si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra.”  
 vix haec ediderat cum effusis imbris atra  
 tempestas sine more furit tonitruque tremescunt  
 ardua terrarum et campi; ruit aethere toto 695  
 turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris,  
 implenturque super puppes, semusta madescunt  
 robora, restinctus donec vapor omnis et omnes  
 quattuor amissis servatae a peste carinae.

At pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo 700  
 nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas  
 mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis  
 oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.  
 tum senior Nautae, unum Tritonia Pallas  
 quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte 705  
 (haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira  
 magna deum vel quae fatorum posceret ordo)—  
 isque his Aenean solatus vocibus inquit:  
 “nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;  
 quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est. 710  
 est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes:  
 hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem;  
 huic trade amissis superant qui navibus et quos  
 pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est;  
 longaeuosque senes ac fessas aequore matres 715  
 et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est

delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi;  
urbem appellabunt permisso nomine Acestam.”

Talibus incensus dictis senioris amici  
tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnis. 720

et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat:  
visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis  
Anchisae subito talis effundere voces:  
“nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,  
care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fatis, 725

imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem  
depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.  
consiliis pare quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes  
dat senior; lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,  
defer in Italiam. gens dura atque aspera cultu 730

debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante  
infernias accede domos et Averno per alta  
congressus pete, nate, meos. non me impia namque  
Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum  
concilia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla 735

nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.  
tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.  
iamque vale; torquet medios Nox umida cursus  
et me saevus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.”  
dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras. 740

Aeneas “quo deinde ruis ? quo proripis ?” inquit,  
“quem fugis ? aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet ?”  
haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitavit ignis,  
Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae  
farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra. 745

Extemplo socios primumque accersit Acesten  
et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis  
edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet.  
haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes.  
transcribunt urbi matres populumque volentem 750

deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentis.  
ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt  
robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque,  
exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.



interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro 755  
 sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam  
 esse iubet. gaudet regno Troianus Acestes  
 indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis.  
 tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes  
 fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos 760  
 ac lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.

Iamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris  
 factus honos: placidi straverunt aequora venti  
 creber et aspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum.  
 exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus; 765  
 complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur.  
 ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam  
 visa maris facies et non tolerabile numen,  
 ire volunt omnemque fugae perferre laborem.  
 quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis 770  
 et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.  
 tris Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam  
 caedere deinde iubet solvique ex ordine funem.  
 ipse caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae  
 stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos 775  
 proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit.  
 certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt; 778  
 prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis. 777

At Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis  
 adloquitur talisque effundit pectore questus: 780  
 “Iunonis gravis ira neque exsaturabile pectus  
 cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis;  
 quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla,  
 nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.  
 non media de gente Phrygum exedissee nefandis 785  
 urbem odiis satis est nec poenam traxe per omnem  
 reliquias Troiae: cineres atque ossa peremptae  
 insequitur. causas tanti sciat illa furoris.  
 ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis  
 quam molem subito excierit: maria omnia caelo 790  
 miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,  
 in regnis hoc ausa tuis.

per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis exussit foede puppis et classe subegit amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae.	795
quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim, si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae.” tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti: “fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis, unde genus ducis. merui quoque; saepe furores compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque. nec minor in terris, Xanthum Simoentaque testor, Aeneae mihi cura tui. cum Troia Achilles exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris, milia multa daret leto, gemerentque repleti amnes nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis nube cava rapui, cuperem cum vertere ab imo structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae. nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle timores. tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni. unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres; unum pro multis dabitur caput.”	800
his ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis, iungit equos auro genitor, spumantiaque addit frena feris manibusque omnis effundit habenas. caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru; subsidunt undae tumidumque sub axe tonanti sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi. tum variae comitum facies, immania cete, et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis; laeva tenent Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo, Nisaeae Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque.	815
His patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim gaudia pertemptant mentem; iubet ocus omnis attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis. una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,	820
	825
	830

nunc dextros solvere sinus; una ardua torquent  
 cornua detorquentque; ferunt sua flamina classem.  
 princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat  
 agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.

iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam 835  
 contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete  
 sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae:  
 cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris  
 aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,

te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans 840  
 insonti; puppique deus consedit in alta  
 Phorbanti similis funditque has ore loquelas:  
 “Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem,  
 aequatae spirant aerae, datur hora quieti.  
 pone caput fessosque oculos furare labori. 845  
 ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.”  
 cui vix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur:  
 “mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos  
 ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?  
 Aenean credam (quid enim?) fallacibus auris 850  
 et caeli, totiens deceptus fraude sereni?”  
 talia dicta dabat, clavumque adfixus et haerens  
 nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat.  
 ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem

vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat 855  
 tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.  
 vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus,  
 et superincumbens cum puppis parte revulsa  
 cumque gubernaculo liquidas proiecit in undas  
 praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem; 860  
 ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras.  
 currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis  
 promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.  
 iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat,

difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos 865  
 (tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant),  
 cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro  
 sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis

multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:

“o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,

nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.”

870

## Liber Sextus

SIC fatur lacrimans, classique immittit habenas  
et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris.  
obvertunt pelago proras; tum dente tenaci  
ancora fundabat navis et litora curvae  
praetexunt puppes. iuvenum manus emicat ardens 5  
litus in Hesperium; quaerit pars semina flammae  
abstrusa in venis silicis, pars densa ferarum  
tecta rapit silvas inventaque flumina monstrat.  
at pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo  
praesidet horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae, 10  
antrum immane, petit, magnam cui mentem animumque  
Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura.  
iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta.  
Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna  
praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo 15  
insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos,  
Chalcidicaque levis tandem super astitit arce.  
redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacra vit  
remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.  
in foribus letum Androgeo; tum pendere poenas 20  
Cecropidae iussi (miserum!) septena quotannis  
corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.  
contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus:  
hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto  
Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis 25  
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monimenta nefandae;  
hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;  
magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem  
Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,  
caeca regens filo vestigia. tu quoque magnam 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 Triviaeque sacerdos,	35
Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi: “non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit; nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuencos praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentis.”	
talibus adfata Aenean (nec sacra morantur iussa viri) Teucros vocat alta in templa sacerdos.	40
Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum, quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum, unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae.	
ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo “poscere fata tempus” ait; “deus ecce deus!” cui talia fanti ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus, non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum, et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque videri nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando	45
iam propiore dei. “cessas in vota 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:	55
“Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores, Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras tot maria intravi duce te penitusque repostas Massylum gentis praetentaque Syrtibus arva:	60
iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras, hac Troiana tenuis fuerit fortuna secuta. vos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti, dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens gloria Dardaniae. tuque, o sanctissima vates,	65
praescia venturi, da (non indebita posco regna meis fati) Latio considerare Teucros errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae. tum Phoebos et Triviae solido de marmore templum instituaui festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.	70

te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris:  
 hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata  
 dicta meae genti ponam, lectosque sacrabo,  
 alma, viros. foliis tantum ne carmina manda,  
 ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis: 75  
 ipsa canas oro.” finem dedit ore loquendi.

At Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro  
 bacchatur vates, 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 vatisque ferunt responsa per auras:  
 “o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis  
 (sed terrae graviora manent), in regna Lavini  
 Dardanidae venient (mitte hanc de pectore curam), 85  
 sed non et venisse volent. 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 90  
 usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis  
 quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!  
 causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris  
 externique iterum thalami.  
 tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito 95  
 qua tua te fortuna sinet. via prima salutis,  
 quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.”

Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla  
 horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit,  
 obscuris vera involvens: ea frena furenti 100  
 concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo.  
 ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt,  
 incipit Aeneas heros: “non ulla laborum,  
 o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave 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.  
 illum ego per flammam et mille sequentia tela 110  
 eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi;  
 ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum  
 atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat,  
 invalidus, viris ultra sortemque senectae.  
 quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem, 115  
 idem orans mandata dabat. nati que patrisque,  
 alma, precor, miserere (potes namque omnia, nec te  
 nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis),  
 si potuit manis accersere coniugis Orpheus  
 Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris, 120  
 si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit  
 itque reditque viam totiens. quid Thesea, magnum  
 quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Iove summo.”  
 Talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat,  
 cum sic orsa loqui vates: “sate sanguine divum, 125  
 Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Averno:  
 noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;  
 sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,  
 hoc opus, hic labor est. pauci, quos aequus amavit  
 Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus, 130  
 dis geniti potuere. tenent media omnia silvae,  
 Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.  
 quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est  
 bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre  
 Tartara, et insano iuvat indulgere labori, 135  
 accipe quae peragenda prius. latet arbore opaca  
 aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus,  
 Iunoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis  
 lucus et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbrae.  
 sed non ante datur telluris operta subire 140  
 auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fetus.  
 hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus  
 instituit. primo avulso non deficit alter  
 aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.  
 ergo alte vestiga oculis et rite repertum 145  
 carpe manu; namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,



si te fata vocant; aliter non viribus ullis  
 vincere nec duro poteris convellere ferro.  
 praeterea iacet exanimum tibi corpus amici  
 (heu nescis) totamque incestat funere classem, 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 invia vivis  
 aspicias." dixit, pressoque obmutuit ore. 155

Aeneas maesto defixus lumina vultu  
 ingreditur linquens antrum, caecosque volutat  
 eventus animo secum. cui fidus Achates  
 it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit.  
 multa inter sese vario sermone serebant, 160  
 quem socium exanimum vates, quod corpus humandum  
 diceret. atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,  
 ut venire, vident indigna morte peremptum,  
 Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter  
 aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu. 165  
 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum  
 et lituo pugnans insignis obibat et hasta.  
 postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles,  
 Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros  
 addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus. 170  
 sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha,  
 demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,  
 aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,  
 inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda.  
 ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant, 175  
 praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae,  
 haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulcro  
 congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.  
 itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum;  
 procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilix 180  
 fraxinaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur  
 scinditur, advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos.  
 Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus  
 hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.

atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat aspectans silvam immensam, et sic forte precatur: “si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est.”	185
vix ea fatus erat geminae cum forte columbae ipsa sub ora viri caelo venire volantes, et viridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros maternas agnoscit avis laetusque precatur: “este duces, o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras derigite in lucos ubi pinguem dives opacat ramus humum. tuque, o, dubiis ne defice rebus, diva parens.” sic effatus vestigia pressit observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant. pascentes illae tantum prodire volando quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum.	190
inde ubi venire ad fauces grave olentis Averni, tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aëra lapsae sedibus optatis geminae super arbore sidunt, discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit. quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos, et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos, talis erat species auri frondentis opaca ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento.	195
corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.	200
Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucri flebant et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant. principio pinguem taedis et robore secto ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris intexunt latera et feralis ante cupressos constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis. pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt. fit gemitus. tum membra toro defleta reponunt purpureasque super vestis, velamina nota, coniciunt. pars ingenti subiere feretro,	205
	210
	215
	220

triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum  
 aversi tenere facem. congesta cremantur  
 turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo. 225  
 postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit,  
 reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,  
 ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aëno.  
 idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda  
 spargens rore levi et ramo felicitis olivae, 230  
 lustravitque viros dixitque novissima verba.  
 at pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum  
 imponit suaque arma viro 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 vastoque immanis hiatu,  
 scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,  
 quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes  
 tendere iter pennis: talis sese halitus atris 240  
 faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:  
 [unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornon.]  
 quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuencos  
 constituit frontique invergit vina sacerdos,  
 et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas 245  
 ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima,  
 voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem.  
 supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem  
 succipiunt pateris. ipse atri velleris agnam  
 Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaëque sorori 250  
 ense ferit, sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.  
 tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras  
 et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,  
 pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.  
 ecce autem primi sub lumina solis et ortus 255  
 sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri  
 silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram  
 adventante dea. “procul, o procul este, profani,”  
 conclamat vates, “totoque absistite luco;  
 tuque invade viam vaginaque eripe ferrum: 260

nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.”  
 tantum effata furens antro se immisit aperto;  
 ille ducem haud timidus vadentem passibus aequat.

Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes  
 et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late, 265  
 sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro  
 pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram  
 perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna:  
 quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna 270  
 est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra

Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.  
 vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus Orci  
 Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae;

pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus, 275  
 et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,  
 terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque;  
 tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis  
 Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,  
 ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens 280  
 vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit  
 ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo  
 vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.

multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum, 285  
 Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque bifformes  
 et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernaee  
 horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,

Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricorporis umbrae.  
 corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum 290  
 Aeneas strictamque aciem venientibus offert,  
 et ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore vitas

admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,  
 inruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.

Hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas. 295  
 turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges  
 aestuat atque omnem Coccyto eructat harenam.  
 portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat

terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento  
 canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma, 300  
 sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.  
 ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat  
 et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,  
 iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.  
 huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat, 305  
 matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita  
 magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,  
 impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:  
 quam multa in silvis autumnii frigore primo  
 lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto 310  
 quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus  
 trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.  
 stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum,  
 tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.  
 navita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos, 315  
 ast alios longe summos arcet harena.  
 Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu  
 “dic” ait, “o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem?  
 quidve petunt animae? vel quo discrimine ripas  
 hae linquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?” 320  
 olli sic breviter fata est longaeva sacerdos:  
 “Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles,  
 Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem,  
 di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.  
 haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est; 325  
 portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.  
 nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta  
 transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.  
 centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum;  
 tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.” 330  
 constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit  
 multa putans sortemque animo miseratus iniquam.  
 cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis  
 Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,  
 quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos 335  
 obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.

Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,  
 qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat,  
 exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis.  
 hunc ubi vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra, 340  
 sic prior adloquitur: "quis te, Palinure, deorum  
 eripuit nobis medioque sub aequore mersit?  
 dic age. namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,  
 hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,  
 qui fore te ponto incolumem finisque canebat 345  
 venturum Ausonios. en haec promissa fides est?"  
 ille autem: "neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit,  
 dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit.  
 namque gubernaculum multa vi forte revulsum,  
 cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam, 350  
 praecipitans traxi mecum. maria aspera iuro  
 non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem,  
 quam tua ne spoliata armis, excussa magistro,  
 deficeret tantis navis surgentibus undis.  
 tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes 355  
 vexit me violentus aqua; vix lumine quarto  
 prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda.  
 paulatim adnabam terrae; iam tuta tenebam,  
 ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum  
 prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis 360  
 ferro invasisset praedamque ignara putasset.  
 nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti.  
 quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras,  
 per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,  
 eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram 365  
 inice, namque potes, portusque require Velinos;  
 aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix  
 ostendit (neque enim, credo, sine numine divum  
 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 vates:  
 "unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?  
 tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum

Eumenidum aspicias, ripamve iniussus adibis? 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 sollemnia mittent, 380  
 aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.”  
 his dictis curae emotae pulsusque parumper  
 corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terra.  
 Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant.  
 navita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda 385  
 per tacitum nemus ire pedemque advertere ripae,  
 sic prior adgreditur dictis atque increpat ultro:  
 “quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,  
 fare age quid venias iam istinc, et comprime gressum.  
 umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae: 390  
 corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.  
 nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem  
 accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque,  
 dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.  
 Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit 395  
 ipsius a solio regis traxitque trementem;  
 hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti.”  
 quae contra breviter fata est Amphraysia vates:  
 “nullae hic insidiae tales (absiste moveri),  
 nec vim tela ferunt; licet ingens ianitor antro 400  
 aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras,  
 casta licet patruī servet Proserpina limen.  
 Troiūs Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,  
 ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.  
 si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago, 405  
 at ramum hunc” (aperit ramum qui veste latebat)  
 “agnoscas.” tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.  
 nec plura his. ille admirans venerabile donum  
 fatalis virgae longo post tempore visum  
 caeruleam advertit puppim ripaeque propinquat. 410  
 inde alias animas, quae per iuga longa sedebant,  
 deturbat laxatque foros; simul accipit alveo

ingentem Aenean. gemuit sub pondere cumba sutilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem. tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.	415
Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci personat adverso recubans immanis in antro. cui vates horrere videns iam colla colubris melle soporata et medicatis frugibus offam obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resolvit fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro. occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.	425
Continuo auditae voces vagitus et ingens infantumque animae flentes, in limine primo quos dulcis vitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo. hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis. nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes: quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit. proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi proiecere animas. quam vellent aethere in alto nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores! fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae alligat et novies Styx interfusa coerces. 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 silva tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt. his Phaedram Procrimque locis maestamque Eriphylen crudelis nati monstrantem vulnera cernit, Evadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia it comes et iuvenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram. inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido	430
	435
	440
	445
	450



errabat silva in magna; quam Troius heros  
 ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras  
 obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense  
 aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,  
 demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est 455  
 “infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo  
 venerat extinctam ferroque extrema secutam?  
 funeris heu tibi causa fui? per sidera iuro,  
 per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,  
 invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. 460  
 sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,  
 per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,  
 imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi  
 hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.  
 siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro. 465  
 quem fugis? extremum fato quod te adloquor hoc est.”  
 talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem  
 lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat.  
 illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat  
 nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur 470  
 quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.  
 tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit  
 in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi  
 respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.  
 nec minus Aeneas casu concussus iniquo 475  
 prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem.  
 Inde datum molitur iter. iamque arva tenebant  
 ultima, quae bello clari secreta frequentant.  
 hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclutus armis  
 Parthenopaeus et Adrasti pallentis imago, 480  
 hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci  
 Dardanidae, quos ille omnis longo ordine cernens  
 ingemuit, Glaucumque Medontaque Thersilochumque,  
 tris Antenoridas Cererique sacrum Polyboeten,  
 Idaeumque etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem. 485  
 circumstant animae dextra laevaue frequentes:  
 nec vidisse semel satis est; iuvat usque morari  
 et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas.

at Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaequae phalanges  
 ut videre virum fulgentiaque arma per umbras, 490  
 ingenti trepidare metu; pars vertere terga,  
 ceu quondam petiere rates, pars tollere vocem  
 exiguam: inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis.  
 Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto  
 Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora, 495  
 ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis  
 auribus et truncas inhonesto vulnere naris.  
 vix adeo agnovit pavitantem et dira tegentem  
 supplicia, et notis compellat vocibus ultro:  
 “Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri, 500  
 quis tam crudelis optavit sumere poenas?  
 cui tantum de te licuit? mihi fama suprema  
 nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum  
 procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum.  
 tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem 505  
 constitui et magna manis ter voce vocavi.  
 nomen et arma locum servant; te, amice, nequivi  
 conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra.”  
 ad quae Priamides: “nihil o tibi, amice, relictum;  
 omnia Deiphobo solvisti et funeris umbris. 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.  
 cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit 515  
 Pergama et armatum peditem gravis attulit alvo,  
 illa chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum  
 ducebat Phrygias; flammam media ipsa tenebat  
 ingentem et summa Danaos ex arce vocabat.  
 tum me confectum curis somnoque gravatum 520  
 infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem  
 dulcis et alta quies placidaequae simillima morti.  
 egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis  
 emovet et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem;  
 intra tecta vocat Menelaum et limina pandit, 525  
 scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,

et famam exstingui veterum sic posse malorum.  
 quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo, comes additus una  
 hortator scelerum Aeolides. di, talia Graiis  
 instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco. 530  
 sed te qui vivum casus, age fare vicissim,  
 attulerint. pelagine venis erroribus actus  
 an monitu divum? an quae te fortuna fatigat,  
 ut tristis sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?"  
 Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis 535  
 iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem;  
 et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus,  
 sed comes admonuit breviterque adfata Sibylla est:  
 "nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas.  
 hic locus est partis ubi se via findit in ambas: 540  
 dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,  
 hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum  
 exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit."  
 Deiphobus contra: "ne saevi, magna sacerdos;  
 discedam, explebo numerum reddarque tenebris. 545  
 i decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere fatis."  
 tantum effatus, et in verbo vestigia torsit.  
 Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra  
 moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro,  
 quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis, 550  
 Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.  
 porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnae,  
 vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi excindere bello  
 caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,  
 Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta 555  
 vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.  
 hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare  
 verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.  
 constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit.  
 "quae scelerum facies? o virgo, effare; quibusve 560  
 urgentur poenis? quis tantus clangor ad auris?"  
 tum vates sic orsa loqui: "dux inclute Teucrum,  
 nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen;  
 sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernus,

ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit. 565  
 Gnosius 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 570  
 Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra  
 intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum.  
 tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae  
 panduntur portae. cernis custodia qualis  
 vestibulo sedeat, facies quae limina servet? 575  
 quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra  
 saevior 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, 580  
 fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo.  
 hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi  
 corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum  
 adgressi superisque Iovem detrudere regnis.  
 vidi et crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas, 585  
 dum flammis Iovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.  
 quattuor hic invectus equis et lampada quassans  
 per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem  
 ibat ovans, divumque sibi poscebat honorem,  
 demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen 590  
 aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.  
 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, 595  
 cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus  
 porrigitur, rostroque immanis vultur obunco  
 immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis  
 viscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto  
 pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis. 600  
 quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque?  
 quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique

imminet adsimilis; lucent genialibus altis  
 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.  
 hic, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,  
 pulsatusve parens aut fraus innexa clienti,  
 aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis 610  
 nec partem posuere suis (quae maxima turba est),  
 quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti  
 impia nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras,  
 inclusi poenam expectant. ne quare doceri  
 quam poenam, aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit. 615  
 saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum  
 districti pendent; sedet aeternumque sedebit  
 infelix Theseus, Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis  
 admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras:  
 “discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos.” 620  
 vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem  
 imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit;  
 hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos:  
 ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti.  
 non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum, 625  
 ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas,  
 omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.”  
 Haec ubi dicta dedit Phoebi longaeva sacerdos,  
 “sed iam age, carpe viam et susceptum perfice munus;  
 acceleremus” ait; “Cyclopum educta caminis 630  
 moenia conspicio atque adverso fornice portas,  
 haec ubi nos praecepta iubent deponere dona.”  
 dixerat et pariter gressi per opaca viarum  
 corripiunt spatium medium foribusque propinquant.  
 occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti 635  
 spargit aqua ramumque adverso in limine figit.  
 His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,  
 devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta  
 fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.  
 largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit 640

purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.  
 pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,  
 contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena;  
 pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.  
 nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos 645  
 obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,  
 iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.  
 hic genus antiquum Teucri, pulcherrima proles,  
 magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis,  
 Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor. 650  
 arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis.  
 stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti  
 per campum pascuntur equi. quae gratia currum  
 armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis  
 pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos. 655  
 conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laevaue per herbam  
 vescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis  
 inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne  
 plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.  
 hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi, 660  
 quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,  
 quique pii vates et Phoebos digna locuti,  
 inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis,  
 quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo:  
 omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta. 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 vates,  
 quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? illius ergo 670  
 venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis.”  
 atque huic responsum paucis ita reddidit heros:  
 “nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis,  
 riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis  
 incolimus. sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas, 675  
 hoc superate iugum, et facili iam tramite sistam.”  
 dixit, et ante tulit gressum camposque nitentis  
 desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina linquunt.

At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti  
 inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras 680  
 lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum  
 forte recensebat numerum, carosque nepotes  
 fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.  
 isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit  
 Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit, 685  
 effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore:  
 “venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti  
 vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri,  
 nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?  
 sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum 690  
 tempora dinumerans, nec me mea cura fefellit.  
 quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum  
 accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!  
 quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!”  
 ille autem: “tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago 695  
 saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit;  
 stant sale Tyrrheno classes. da iungere dextram,  
 da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro.”  
 sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat.  
 ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum; 700  
 ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,  
 par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.  
 Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta  
 seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae,  
 Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem. 705  
 hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant,  
 ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena  
 floribus insidunt variis et candida circum  
 lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.  
 horrescit visu subito causasque requirit 710  
 inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,  
 quive viri tanto compleverint agmine ripas.  
 tum pater Anchises: “animae, quibus altera fato  
 corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam  
 securos latices et longa obliviam potant. 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 reverti 720  
 corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?”  
 “dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo”  
 suscipit Anchises atque ordine singula pandit.  
 “Principio caelum ac terram 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 vitaeque volantum  
 et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.  
 igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo 730  
 seminibus, quantum non corpora noxia tardant  
 terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.  
 hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras  
 dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.  
 quin et supremo cum lumine vita 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 veterumque malorum  
 supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanes 740  
 suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto  
 infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni —  
 quisque suos patimur manis; exinde per amplum  
 mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus —  
 donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe 745  
 concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit  
 aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.  
 has omnis, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,  
 Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,  
 scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant 750  
 rursus, et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.”  
 Dixerat Anchises natumque unaque Sibyllam  
 conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem,  
 et tumulum capit unde omnis longo ordine posset



adversos legere et venientum discere vultus. 755  
 “Nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur  
 gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,  
 inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,  
 expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo.  
 ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta, 760  
 proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras  
 aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget,  
 Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,  
 quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx  
 educet silvis regem regumque parentem, 765  
 unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.  
 proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,  
 et Capys et Numitor et qui te nomine reddet  
 Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis  
 egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam. 770  
 qui iuvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, viris  
 atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu!  
 hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,  
 hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,  
 Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque. 775  
 haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.  
 quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet  
 Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater  
 educet. viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae  
 et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore? 780  
 en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma  
 imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,  
 septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,  
 felix prole virum: qualis Berecyntia mater  
 invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes 785  
 laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,  
 omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis.  
 huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem  
 Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli  
 progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem. 790  
 hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,  
 Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet

saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva  
 Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos  
 proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus, 795  
 extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas  
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.  
 huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna  
 responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,  
 et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili. 800  
 nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,  
 fixerit aripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi  
 pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu;  
 nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis  
 Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris. 805  
 et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,  
 aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?  
 quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae  
 sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanaque menta  
 regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem 810  
 fundabit Curibus parvis et paupere terra,  
 missus in imperium magnum. cui deinde subibit  
 otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit  
 Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis  
 agmina. quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus 815  
 nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.  
 vis et Tarquinius reges animamque superbam  
 ultoris Bruti, fascisque videre receptos?  
 consulis imperium hic primus saevasque securis  
 accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventis 820  
 ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit.  
 infelix! utcumque ferent ea facta minores:  
 vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.  
 quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi  
 aspice Torquatam et referentem signa Camillum. 825  
 illae autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,  
 concordēs animae nunc et dum nocte premuntur,  
 heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae  
 attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt,  
 aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci 830

descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois!  
 ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella  
 neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris;  
 tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo,  
 proice tela manu, sanguis meus! — 835  
 ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho  
 victor aget currum caesis insignis Achivis.  
 eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae  
 ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,  
 ultus avos Troiae templa et temerata Minervae. 840  
 quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat?  
 quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,  
 Scipiadas, cladem Libya, parvoque potentem  
 Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?  
 quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es, 845  
 unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.  
 excudent alii spirantia mollius aera  
 (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus,  
 orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus  
 describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: 850  
 tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
 (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,  
 parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.”  
 Sic pater Anchises atque haec mirantibus addit:  
 “aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis 855  
 ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.  
 hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu  
 sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,  
 tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.”  
 atque hic Aeneas (una namque ire videbat 860  
 egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,  
 sed frons laeta parum et deiecto lumina vultu)  
 “quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?  
 filius, ane aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?  
 qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso! 865  
 sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.”  
 tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis:  
 “o nate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum;

ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago	870
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent. quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!	
nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos	875
in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.	
heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset	880
obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.	
heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas, tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis, purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis	885
his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani munere.” sic tota passim regione vagantur aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant.	
quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit incenditque animum famae venientis amore, exim bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,	890
Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini, et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.	
Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris, altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,	895
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes. his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna, ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit.	
Tum se ad Caietae recto fert litore portum.	900
ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.	

## Abbreviations

### I. Modern commentaries, Editions, and Reference Works

(Please note: for authors of multiple editions, the volume pertaining to the passage under discussion in the commentary will be meant by the name citation, unless otherwise specified.)

- AG A. Mahoney, *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar* (Newburyport, MA 2001).
- Austin R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Oxford 1955).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus* (Oxford 1964).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Oxford 1971).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus* (Oxford 1977).
- Clausen W. Clausen, *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues* (Oxford 1994).
- Conington J. Conington and H. Nettleship, *The Works of Virgil*. Three volumes (London 1858-83).
- Conte G. B. Conte, *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis* (Berlin 2009).
- Conway R. S. Conway, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Cambridge 1935).
- Geymonat M. Geymonat, *P. Vergili Maronis opera*. Revised edition (Rome 2008).
- Goold G. P. Goold, *Virgil*. Two volumes (Cambridge, MA 1999).
- Hirtzel F. A. Hirtzel, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1900).
- Horsfall N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 7: A Commentary* (Leiden 2000).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Virgil, Aeneid 11: A Commentary* (Leiden 2003).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Virgil, Aeneid 3: A Commentary* (Leiden 2006).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Virgil, Aeneid 2: A Commentary* (Leiden 2008).
- Jocelyn H. D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius: The Fragments* (Cambridge 1969).
- LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie with supplement (Oxford 1968).
- Mynors R. A. B. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1969).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Virgil: Georgics* (Oxford 1990).
- Nisbet-Hubbard R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1* (Oxford 1970).
- Norden E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI*. Third edition (Leipzig 1926).
- OCD Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition (Oxford 1996).
- OLD P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, revised with corrections (Oxford 1996).
- Page T. E. Page, *Virgil: Aeneid*. Two volumes (London 1894, 1900).
- Pease A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge 1935).
- Skutsch O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford 1985).
- Thomas R. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics*. Two volumes (Cambridge 1988).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Horace: Odes, Book IV and Carmen Saeculare* (Cambridge 2011).
- Warmington E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*. Revised edition. Four volumes (Cambridge, MA 1935-40).
- Williams "Williams" will refer to Williams (1972-73) in the commentaries on books 1, 2, 4, and 6, but to Williams (1962) and Williams (1960) in the commentaries on books 3 and 5 respectively.

- R. D. Williams (ed.) (1960) *Virgil: Aeneid I* (Oxford 1960).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Virgil: Aeneid III* (Oxford 1962).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Virgil: Aeneid*. Two volumes (London 1972-73).

## II. Ancient Authors and Works

- Aesch. Aeschylus (ca. 525/4-ca. 456/5 BCE), tragedian (Greek)  
*Agam.* *Agamemnon*  
*Cho.* *Choephoroe*  
*Eum.* *Eumenides*  
*PV* *Prometheus Vincitus (Prometheus Bound)*
- Apollod. Apollodorus of Athens (ca. 180-post 120 BCE), historian and scholar (Greek)  
*Bibl.* *Bibliotheca (Library)*  
*NB:* this work is traditionally attributed to Apollodorus of Athens but was actually written in the first or second century CE.
- Ap. Rhod. Apollonius Rhodius (third century BCE), poet (Greek)  
*Arg.* *Argonautica*
- App. Appian (ca. 95-ca.165 CE), historian (Greek)  
*Hist. Rom.* *Historia Romana*
- Apul. Apuleius (ca. 125-post 170 CE), writer and orator (Latin)  
*Met.* *Metamorphoses (Golden Ass)*
- Aristoph. Aristophanes (ca. 450-ca. 385 BCE), comic poet (Greek)  
*Ran.* *Ranae (Frogs)*
- Arist. Aristotle (384-322 BCE), philosopher (Greek)  
*Nic. Eth.* *Ethica Nicomachea (Nicomachean Ethics)*
- August. Saint Augustine (354-430 CE), philosopher and theologian (Latin)  
*Civ. Dei* *De Civitate Dei (The City of God)*
- Caes. Caesar (100-44 BCE), politician and writer (Latin)  
*B. Civ.* *Bellum Civile*  
*B. Gal.* *Bello Gallicum*
- Callim. Callimachus (third century BCE), Alexandrian poet and scholar (Greek)  
*Aet.* *Aetia (Causes)*  
*Hymn Ap.* *Hymn to Apollo*
- Cass. Dio Cassius Dio (ca. 164-post 229 CE), senator and historian (Greek)  
*Hist. Rom.* *Historia Romana*
- Cat. Catullus (ca. 84-ca. 54 BCE), poet (Latin)
- Cic. Cicero (106-43 BCE), orator, politician, philosopher, writer (Latin)  
*Balb.* *Pro Balbo*  
*Brut.* *Brutus*  
*Rosc. Am.* *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*  
*Cat.* *In Catilinam*  
*Div.* *De Divinatione*  
*Fam.* *Epistulae ad Familiares (Letters to Friends)*  
*Inv. Rhet.* *De Inventione Rhetorica or (On Rhetorical Invention)*

	<i>Nat. D.</i>	<i>De Natura Deorum (On the Nature of the Gods)</i>
	<i>Off.</i>	<i>De Officiis (On Duties)</i>
	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Orationes Philippicae (Philippics)</i>
	<i>Pis.</i>	<i>In Pisonem</i>
	<i>Rab. Post.</i>	<i>Pro Rabirio Postumus</i>
	<i>Red. Sen.</i>	<i>Post Reditum in Senatu</i>
	<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae Disputationes (Tusculan Disputations)</i>
	<i>Verr.</i>	<i>In Verrem</i>
Dion. Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ca. 60-post 7 BCE), literary critic and historian (Greek)	
	<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
Donat.	Aelius Donatus (fourth century CE), grammarian (Latin)	
	<i>Vit. Verg.</i>	<i>Vita Vergili</i>
Enn.	Ennius (239-169 BCE), poet (Latin)	
	<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
	<i>Scen.</i>	<i>Scenica (Tragedies)</i>
Eratosth.	Eratosthenes (ca. 285-194 BCE), Alexandrian librarian, poet, geographer, literary critic (Greek)	
	[ <i>Cat.</i> ]	[ <i>Catasterismi</i> ] (inaccurately attributed to Eratosthenes)
Eur.	Euripides (ca. 485-406 BCE), tragic poet (Greek)	
	<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>
	<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andromache</i>
	<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>
	<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>
	<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>
	<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades (Trojan Women)</i>
Flor.	L. Annii Florus (second century CE), Roman historian (Latin)	
	<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC</i>
Gell.	Aulus Gellius (ca. 125-post 180 CE), antiquarian, miscellanist (Latin)	
	<i>NA</i>	<i>Noctes Atticae (Attic Nights)</i>
Herod.	Herodotus (ca. 485-ca. 425 BCE), historian (Greek)	
Hes.	Hesiod (ca. 700 BCE), poet (Greek)	
	<i>O.D.</i>	<i>Opera et Dies (Works and Days)</i>
	<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia (Theogony)</i>
	[ <i>Sc.</i> ]	[ <i>Scutum</i> ] (inaccurately attributed to Hesiod)
Hom.	Homer, epic poet (Greek), though the existence of an actual poet named "Homer" has been questioned. The <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i> are oral epics traditionally thought to have been written down ca. 750 and ca. 725 BCE, respectively.	
	<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
	<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
Hor.	Horace (65-8 BCE), lyric poet (Latin)	
	<i>Ars Poet.</i>	<i>Ars Poetica</i>
	<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina (Odes)</i>
	<i>Carm. Saec.</i>	<i>Carmen Saeculare (Secular Hymn)</i>

	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
	<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodi (Epodes)</i>
	<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones (Satires)</i>
Hyg.	Hyginus (prob. second century CE), mythographer (Latin)	
	<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>
Isid.	Isidorus Hispalensis (ca. 600-636 CE), historiographer and theologian (Latin)	
	<i>Orig.</i>	<i>Origines</i>
Juv.	Juvenal (d. after 127 CE), satiric poet (Latin)	
Liv.	Livy (ca. 59 BCE-ca. 17 CE), historian (Latin)	
Lucian	Lucian (ca. 120-post 180 CE), rhetorician, satirist, writer (Greek)	
	<i>Ver. Hist.</i>	<i>Verae Historiae</i>
Luc.	Lucan (39-65 CE), poet (Latin)	
	<i>D.B.C.</i>	<i>De Bello Civili</i>
Lucr.	Lucretius (ca. 94-ca. 55/51 BCE), poet (Latin)	
	<i>D.R.N.</i>	<i>De Rerum Natura (On the Nature of Things)</i>
Lycoph.	Lycophron, poet (Greek)	
	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexandra</i>
	NB: this work is traditionally attributed to Lycophron (third century BCE) but was probably written in the second century BCE; thus the author is more properly referred to as Ps.-Lycophron.	
Macrob.	Macrobius (fl. 430 CE), grammarian and philosopher (Latin)	
	<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>
Ov.	Ovid (43 BCE-ca. 17 CE), poet (Latin)	
	<i>Ars Am.</i>	<i>Ars Amatoria (Art of Love)</i>
	<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
	<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>
	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
	<i>Pont.</i>	<i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i>
	<i>Tr.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>
Parth.	Parthenius (first century BCE), poet and scholar (Greek)	
	<i>Amat. Narr.</i>	<i>Narrationum Amatoriarum Libellus (Gr. Erotika Pathemata)</i>
Pers.	Persius (34-62 CE), satirist (Latin)	
Pind.	Pindar (ca. 518-ca. 438 BCE), lyric poet (Greek)	
	<i>Nem.</i>	<i>Nemean Odes</i>
	<i>Ol.</i>	<i>Olympian Odes</i>
	<i>Paeon.</i>	<i>Paeanes</i>
	<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythian Odes</i>
Pl.	Plato (ca. 429-347 BCE), philosopher (Greek)	
	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
	<i>Charm.</i>	<i>Charmides</i>
	<i>Crat.</i>	<i>Cratylus</i>
	<i>Gorg.</i>	<i>Gorgias</i>
	<i>Phd.</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>
	<i>Phdr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Respublica (Republic)</i>



---

Plaut.	Plautus (ca. 254-184 BCE), comic poet (Latin) <i>Most.</i> <i>Mostellaria (Haunted House)</i>
Plin.	Pliny the Elder (23/4-79 CE), officer, encyclopedist, naturalist, historian (Latin) <i>Nat. Hist.</i> <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Plin.	Pliny the Younger (ca. 61-ca. 112 CE), epistolographer, orator (Latin) <i>Ep.</i> <i>Epistulae</i> <i>Pan.</i> <i>Panegyricus</i>
Plut.	Plutarch (ca. 45-post 120 CE), philosopher and biographer (Greek) <i>Cato Min.</i> <i>Cato Minor</i>
Prop.	Propertius (ca. 50-post 15 BCE), elegiac poet (Latin)
Quint.	Quintilian (ca. 35-ca. 90s CE), rhetorician (Latin) <i>Inst.</i> <i>Institutio Oratoria</i>
Sall.	Sallust (86-ca. 34 BCE), historian (Latin) <i>Iug.</i> <i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i>
Sen.	Seneca the Younger (ca. 4 BCE-65 CE), tragedian, epistolographer, philosopher, politician (Latin) <i>Ben.</i> <i>De Beneficiis</i> <i>Ep.</i> <i>Epistulae</i> <i>Herc. Furens</i> <i>Hercules Furens</i>
Serv.	Servius (ca. 400 CE), grammarian and commentator on Vergil (Latin)
Serv. auct.	Servius <i>auctus</i> , an “expanded” (hence <i>auctus</i> ) version of Servius’ commentary on Vergil, probably dating to the seventh-eighth century CE. The work is also referred to as Servius Danielis ( <i>DServius</i> , <i>DS</i> ) because of the publication of this enlarged commentary by Pierre Danielis in 1600.
Sil. Ital.	Silius Italicus (ca. 26-102 CE), epic poet (Latin) <i>Pun.</i> <i>Punica</i>
Soph.	Sophocles (ca. 496-406/405 BCE), tragic poet (Greek) <i>Aj.</i> <i>Ajax</i> <i>Phil.</i> <i>Philoctetes</i>
Stat.	Statius (ca. 50-ca. 96 CE), poet (Latin) <i>Theb.</i> <i>Thebais (Thebaid)</i>
Strabo	Strabo (ca. 64 BCE-post 23 CE), geographer (Greek) <i>Geo.</i> <i>Geographia</i>
Suet.	Suetonius (ca. 70-post 130 CE), biographer (Latin) <i>Iul.</i> <i>Divius Iulius</i> <i>Aug.</i> <i>Divus Augustus</i> <i>Nero</i> <i>Nero</i>
Tac.	Tacitus (ca. 56-post 117 CE) (Latin) <i>Ann.</i> <i>Annales</i> <i>Hist.</i> <i>Historiae</i>
Ter.	Terence (ca. 195/185-159 BCE), comic poet (Latin) <i>Eun.</i> <i>Eunuchus</i>

Theoc.	Theocritus (third century BCE), bucolic poet (Greek) <i>Id.</i> <i>Idylls</i>
Tib.	Tibullus (ca. 55-19 BCE), elegiac poet (Latin)
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus (early first century CE), moralist and historian (Latin) <i>Facta et Dicta Memorabilia</i> ( <i>Memorable Deeds and Sayings</i> )
Varro	Varro (116-27 BCE), scholar, antiquarian (Latin) <i>L.L.</i> <i>De Lingua Latina</i> ( <i>On the Latin Language</i> ) <i>R.R.</i> <i>De Re Rustica</i> ( <i>On Agriculture</i> )
Verg.	Vergil (70-19 BCE) (Latin) <i>Aen.</i> <i>Aeneid</i> <i>Ecl.</i> <i>Eclogues</i> <i>Geo.</i> <i>Georgics</i>

# Commentary

*Please note:* in the individual book commentaries that follow, when reference is made to a line in the *same* book, the number of the line only is given (e.g. “cf. 229”); when the reference is to *another* book of the *Aeneid*, the number of the book is added (e.g. “cf. 4.229”). An asterisk (\*) indicates terms listed in the Glossary.

## *Aeneid* 1

### Introduction

Book 1 plunges us into Aeneas’ story *in medias res*. The goddess Juno sees Aeneas approaching Italy in fulfillment of his fate. In a fit of rage, she sends a storm that shipwrecks him and his people at Carthage. These events are modeled on *Odyssey* 5, where the sea god Poseidon observes Odysseus continuing his voyage homeward. In an outburst of anger he sends a storm that shipwrecks Odysseus among the Phaeacians. Such thematic and structural similarities with Homer occur throughout book 1 (and the *Aeneid* more generally). But in transforming Homer, Vergil also produces significant contrasts that set in relief ideas that will distinguish his epic. Indeed in creatively engaging Homer, *Aeneid* 1 masterfully introduces major themes of the entire poem.

Book 1 makes clear that Aeneas will be a different type of hero. In *Odyssey* 5, Odysseus has already lost all of his companions on their journey from Troy, as he struggles to return home and reestablish his honor. Aeneas, however, is concerned less for himself than for his family and people: he strives to find a new country for them. Thus whereas Odysseus’ heroism is defined by his resourcefulness and is rooted in personal glory, Aeneas’ defining characteristic is his *pietas*, his devotion and duty toward his family, people, and gods (cf. 10 n., 378, and 544-5).

These differences are connected to the divine dimension of the poems. While Zeus’ plan in the *Odyssey* primarily focuses on ensuring Odysseus’ return to Ithaca (cf. *Od.* 1.76-9, 5.21-42), Vergil’s Jupiter situates Aeneas and his sufferings within a much larger context, one that promotes an overarching fate that looks to the foundation of Rome and Augustus’ reign (1.254-96). Vergil’s addition of this historical dimension fundamentally transforms his Homeric models and opens a new plain on which Aeneas’ story can have meaning. Vergil thus enables his story about the Trojan warrior Aeneas to be also (and in some sense ultimately) about Rome.

In doing so, Vergil expands and transforms the Homeric role of divine wrath. Odysseus suffers because of Poseidon’s personal anger that his son, the Cyclops Polyphemus, had been blinded by the Greek hero (cf. *Od.* 1.68-79; 5.286-90). Juno’s wrath in the *Aeneid* has a personal dimension too (cf. 1.23-8), but it is also involved in the grand movement of history. Fate requires that Rome will destroy her favorite city Carthage centuries later (1.12-22). As a result, Juno becomes a figure of *furor* and *ira* who sends countless pains upon Aeneas (cf. the storm at 34-222), but her actions also have divine consequences because they hinder Jupiter’s will and

the necessities of fate. Vergil's Juno poses a challenge to cosmic order in ways that Homer's Poseidon never does.

The opening sequence of book 1 enacts these concerns in brilliantly symbolic terms. Juno, in all her wrath, co-opts the aid of the wind god Aeolus not only to obstruct Aeneas' progress to Italy but also to challenge Jupiter's authority and Fate's plan. The storm must be quelled by Neptune, a figure of *pietas* and order, and the conflict between *furor* and *pietas* becomes a thematic building block of the epic (see 34-222 n.). In the process, we are also shown that Aeneas' story has a significant divine and historical component, one that is made especially clear in Jupiter's prophecy (1.254-96).

While the first half of book 1 primarily examines the divine realm and the struggles it entails for Aeneas, the second half explores more fully the human dimension of Aeneas' fate through his incipient relationship with the Carthaginian queen Dido. She has much in common with Aeneas (cf. 305-417 n.) but suffers from one devastating difference: the gods and fate are ultimately not concerned with her well-being (cf. 643-756 n.). In Dido, divine will (e.g. that of Jupiter, Venus, Cupid, and later Juno) will mix with the violence of human passion to pose a difficult personal test of character and resolve for Aeneas.

In short, book 1 explores what it takes to act heroically in a world in which the values and ideals of the Homeric poems are transformed into something decidedly Roman. A new type of heroism is necessary for a warrior who must assume the burden of a fate that far transcends his personal desires and individual glory. It will be Aeneas' challenge throughout the epic to figure out how to play this role.

For general interpretation, see Pöschl (1962) 13-24, Otis (1964), Quinn (1968) 99-112, Anderson (2005), Segal (1981a), Perkell (1999) 29-49, and Fratantuono (2007) 1-36. For Homeric influence, see Knauer (1964a, 1964b), Otis (1964) 215-41, Johnson (1976), Lyne (1987) 100-7, and Cairns (1989) 177-214. For the influence of Homer and Apollonius, see Nelis (2001) 67-112, 117-20. For the gods, see especially Feeney (1991) 129-42. For differing conceptions of heroism, see Johnson (1999) 50-4 and Adler (2003) 252-79.

### Preliminary lines

The ancient commentators Donatus and Servius (ca. 400 CE) claim that the *Aeneid* originally began not with the famous *arma virumque cano* but with the following autobiographical passage, which Varius, Vergil's literary executor, deleted:

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena  
carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi  
ut quamvis avido parent arva colono,  
gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis

These lines connect the *Aeneid* (at *nunc horrentia Martis*) to the poet's two earlier works, the *Eclogues* (*Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena | carmen*) and the *Georgics* (*et egressus silvis vicina coegi | ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono, | gratum opus agricolis*). Most editors of the *Aeneid*, however, rightly reject this passage for a number of reasons. First, there is no clear evidence about it before the fourth century CE, and it is not included in any of the earliest and most important manuscripts of Vergil but is attested only beginning in the ninth century CE. Second, a number of Vergil's poetic successors quote *arma virumque* as the first words of the *Aeneid* (see Ovid, *Tristia* 2.533, Seneca, *Epistulae* 113.25, Persius 1.96 and Martial 8.56.19); these words also appear in graffiti from Pompeii. Third, the opening *arma virumque* points to

the first lines of Homer's *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (see 1 n.), the most important poetic models of the *Aeneid*. Finally, it would be highly unusual to begin a Classical epic by intermingling biographical information with the introduction of the epic's hero. These are just some of the arguments. On the spuriousness of these lines, see, e.g., Austin *ad loc.* and Cairns (2003). Hansen (1972) argues for their authenticity.

1-11. *Vergil introduces the subject of his poem and invokes the Muse.*

The opening immediately engages the Homeric poems and is particularly modeled on *Odyssey* 1.1-7. For further discussion of the parallels, see Fredricksmeier (1984), Hardie (1986), Cairns (1989: 190-4; 2003), and Braund (2004).

1. **ARMA virumque:** *arma* points to the *Iliad*, a poem about the Trojan War; *virum* to the *Odyssey*, which begins with Gr. *andra*, "man." (For Vergil's interaction with Homer, see "Vergil and his predecessors" in the General Introduction) **Troiae:** note the emphatic initial placement created by postponing the relative pronoun *qui*. The relative clause from lines 1-7 contains a summary of Aeneas' story, one that is bounded by the words *Troiae* and *Romae*, which introduce a thematic connection central to the epic. See Braund (2004) 137-8. **primus:** "first." The Trojan Antenor had actually settled earlier in Patavium (modern Padua; cf. 242-9). Vergil makes no mention of Antenor in the prologue, presumably since he is not connected to the *Aeneid*'s presentation of Rome's foundation, and since Patavium in Cisalpine Gaul was incorporated into Italy only in 42 BCE (cf. Servius). Aeneas is Rome's forefather, and the epic tells his story.
2. **Italiam:** emphatically placed; accusative of motion toward without preposition. **fato:** to be construed both with *profugus* and *venit* ("came by fate an exile to Italy"), though with *venit* it makes the larger point for the epic — it was Aeneas' fate to reach Italy. **Laviniaque:** Aeneas will found the city Lavinium. *Laviniaque* is an adjectival form of the city's name and must be scanned as four syllables by construing the second *i* as a consonant. The adjectival form *Laviniaque* is also found in the manuscripts (e.g. R, see "The Textual tradition of the *Aeneid*" in the General Introduction) but is probably a "correction" for the more difficult *Laviniaque*, attested, e.g., in manuscripts M and V. This reasoning is based on the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, "the more difficult reading is the stronger one," i.e. an original but difficult reading, because it is challenging to construe, is more likely to be "corrected" by later scribes to an easier one, whereas the opposite (the change from a perhaps easier or more natural to a more difficult reading) would be less likely.
3. **multum ille...multa quoque (5):** "much buffeted on land and by sea...much too having suffered in war ..." This pleonastic\* use of *ille* (i.e. *ille* is syntactically unnecessary here) is an archaism\* (Servius) and draws marked attention to the storm-tossed and war-worn hero (cf. *ille* at 5.186). The passage echoes *Odyssey* 1.1-3: "the man, who was driven far off course after he sacked the holy city of Troy...and in his heart endured many pains at sea."
4. **superum:** Virgil commonly uses the archaic\* genitive plural in *-um* (sometimes written *om* when *v* precedes) with proper names (e.g. *Teucrum*, *Danaum*, *Argivum*, *Graiuenum*, *Achivum*, *Dardanidum*, *Graium*, *Pelagum*), or names describing a class of persons (e.g. *divum*, *socium*, *deum*, *virum*, *superum*, *caelicolum*). Cicero discusses such genitives at *Orator* 155-6. **Iunonis ob iram:** introduces the theme of Juno's wrath, cf. 12-33 n. and 27 n. The motif of divine wrath also opens the *Iliad* ("Sing, Muse, of the wrath of Achilles...") and occurs at Hom. *Od.* 1.20-1 (Poseidon "raged unceasingly at godlike Odysseus until he reached his homeland.")

5. **multa quoque...**: cf. 3 n. **dum conderet urbem**: *dum* with the subjunctive here expresses the aim and object of all Aeneas' wanderings and sufferings. For the city, cf. 2 n.
6. **inferretque deos Latio**: *Latio* is dative after the compound verb *inferret*. Aeneas famously conveyed the *penates* (household gods) out of burning Troy, as described at the end of book 2. This deed is emblematic of Aeneas' *pietas* and of the religious and cultural connection between Troy and Rome. **unde**: "whence," referring back to Aeneas and his struggles just described.
7. **Albanique patres**: Ascanius will assume power after Aeneas' death and will eventually found Alba Longa. See 267-74 with notes. **Romae**: note that Rome is the climax of the long sentence from 1-7, mirroring the fact that the city is also the result, though distant, of Aeneas' struggles (cf. 1 n.).
- 8-11. The invocation of the Muse is traditional. Vergil, however, adapts the tradition. He "asks the Muse not for the story (as Homer does) but for the reasons behind the story" (Williams). Vergil thus raises a question that will plague Aeneas throughout the epic: Why should a pious man suffer Juno's anger so relentlessly? In an important sense, the epic explores the answer to this question by examining the nature both of divine wrath and of the quintessential Roman virtue *pietas*.
8. **quo numine laeso**: probably not "what god having been insulted?" for it is clear that Juno alone is referred to (cf. 9 *quidve dolens regina deum*). *Numen* must mean "her own divine power." Thus: "because of what insult to her divine majesty?" (lit. "what divine majesty of hers having been insulted?").
9. **volvere casus**: "to endure continuously so many misfortunes." The idea expressed in *volvere* is that of a cycle of disasters that have to be passed through. The metaphor\* is probably derived from the movements of the heavenly bodies and the seasons, cf. 234 *volventibus annis*, 269 *volvendis mensibus*. **volvere...adire (10)**: we might have expected a substantive clause after *impulerit* (12) (cf. Cic. *Sen. 77 nec me solum ratio impulit ut ita crederem*), not an accusative and infinitive construction, which seems a Vergilian innovation, occurring also at 2.520. In general, the infinitive is so convenient a form, and the final dactyl (e.g. *vōlvērē*) or trochee (e.g. *adīrē*) which it affords so metrically useful that Vergil, like other poets, employs it to extend, complete, or explain the meaning of a verb in ways that are infrequently found (if at all) in earlier prose. Cf. also 357 *suadet celerare*, 514-15 *coniungere...ardebant*; 2.20 *tendit divellere*, 3.31 *convellere insequor*; 5.14 *vincere certo*; 6.96 *tendere adegit*.
10. **insignem pietate virum**: throughout the epic, Vergil defines Aeneas by his *pietas* (cf. *pius Aeneas* 378), though this virtue is never explicitly defined. It involves duty and affection for one's family (*parentes, propinqui*), country (*patria*), and gods (especially those of one's home or country). It is a defining component of both moral leadership (151 *pietate gravem ac meritis...virum*) and heroism (544-5 *Aeneas...quo iustior alter | nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis*). Aeneas is especially "pious" from his care of the Penates, and for having carried his father from the flames of Troy (cf. 6 n.).
11. **impulerit**: "drove to endure" (*volvere* 9) and "to face" (*adire* 10). For the infinitives following *impulerit*, cf. 9 n. **tantaene animis caelestibus irae?**: such questioning of the gods' behavior by the poet contrasts with the openings of the Homeric poems. It is therefore startling but gets to the heart of Aeneas' difficult situation; cf. 8-11 n.

## 12-33: Juno's hatred of the Trojans

The poet had asked in 8-11 why Juno so hates Aeneas. In this section we are given the reasons: her long-standing enmity with Troy and, especially, Rome's fated destruction of Carthage, her favorite city, in the Punic Wars nearly a millennium later (cf. 20 n.). In an important sense, Aeneas suffers not because of his own actions against Juno (which the goddess does not specify), but because fate has given him a role in events that the goddess will vigorously resist (cf. 32 n.): he is to lead the Trojans from their fallen city to Italy, where their descendants will eventually found Rome, Carthage's future conqueror. For more on the nature of Juno's fury, see Johnston (2002) and Syed (2005) 107-13.

12. **antiqua**: "ancient" (i.e. from the perspective of Vergil's own day), but the adjective also conveys nobility (Servius). There may also be a wordplay or paronomasia\* here, since the city's name *Karthago* (13) means *nova civitas* in Punic (Servius *ad* 366). For more on the possible wordplay and discussion of the theme of the ancient city in the epic, see Reed (2007) 129-47. **Tyrii**: "Tyrians." Carthage was founded by Dido and her followers, who had to flee their city, Tyre. See 340-68 for this story. In the narrative time of the *Aeneid*, Carthage is just being built (cf. 419-40).
13. **Karthago**: a city in Northern Africa (in modern Tunisia). **Italiam contra...**: here the preposition follows its object, a stylistic feature called anastrophe\* that Vergil employs frequently (e.g. 32, 218). *Contra* ("opposite") takes *Italiam* and *Tiberinaeque...ostia* as objects, and should be understood in geographical and historical terms. Cf. 20 n. and 4.628-9.
14. **dives opum**: the genitive *opum* follows adjectives that indicate *want* or *fulness*, cf. 343, 441. *Dives opum* and *studiisque asperrima belli* anticipate the greatness of Carthage, when the city will fight Rome in the Punic Wars.
15. **fertur**: "is said to...", suggesting that Vergil is relating traditional information. Cf. also 530 *dicunt* and 4.179 *ut perhibent*. **magis omnibus unam**: "alone more than all (other) lands" (i.e. far more than all other lands). Note that *unam* is juxtaposed against and thus increases the force of *magis omnibus*, which is virtually a superlative (cf. also 2.426 n.).
16. **posthabita...Samo**: ablative absolute. *Samos* (feminine), an island off the coast of Asia Minor, was home to one of the most famous buildings of the ancient world, the *Heraeum* or "temple of Hera" (= Juno). Cf. *Herod.* 3.60. **Samo: hic**: note the hiatus\*, the "gap" (lit. "yawning") created when two syllables, which would normally be elided, are not, usually when the preceding syllable receives special emphasis, as here the final syllable of *Samo* coincides with the metrical ictus. (In this case, however, it is also possible that the *h* in *hic* was regarded as partly consonantal, cf. 5.735 *colo. huc*). Elsewhere in the first six books of the *Aeneid* instances of hiatus\* usually occur in lines containing proper names, cf. 617 n., or for a special effect as in 4.667 *femineo ululatu*. (In 4.235 *spe inimica* is exceptional; see Austin *ad loc.*). **hic**: i.e. at Carthage. **arma**: Juno was traditionally depicted with a sword and shield, emblems suggesting her warlike nature.
17. **currus**: Juno's chariot is described at *Hom. Il.* 5.720-32. **hoc regnum...**: "that this (*hoc* = Carthage) be an empire (*regnum*) to nations (i.e. hold sway over them) even then she makes her object and her care." *Hoc...esse* are part of an accusative and infinitive construction governed by the sense of "wish" or "desire" contained strongly in *tendit* and less strongly in *fovet* (18 n.).
18. **si qua fata sinant**: *qua* is the indefinite adverb; *si qua* with the subjunctive expresses great doubt and almost despair of the result; cf. 6.882. **iam tum**: "already then," emphasizing

- the deep-rooted nature of Juno's love for Carthage. **tenditque fovetque**: the *-que...-que* correlation is a feature of elevated epic poetry that looks back to Homer's Gr. *-te...-te*, e.g. *Il.* 1.544. **fovet**: describes the "cherishing" care which a parent bestows on a child.
19. **sed enim**: "but indeed," an archaic combination of which Vergil was very fond (Quint. 9.3.14); cf. 2.164; 5.395; 6.28. The sense is: "but (in spite of her efforts she had her fears...) for she had heard...." **duci**: infinitive, "was springing" (lit. "was being drawn out"). Cf. 5.568.
20. **olim**: "some day," construe with *verteret*. **quae verteret**: "to overthrow"; relative clause of purpose (cf. AG §537). The rivalry between Rome and Carthage led to the three Punic Wars (264-241, 218-201, 149-146 BCE) and ended in the total destruction of Carthage (including Juno's temple) by the Roman general Scipio in 146 BCE.
21. **hinc**: i.e. from the race of Troy. **populum late regem**: the adverb *late* qualifies the noun *regem*, which is adjectival in force, i.e. "ruling." Cf. 181 *prospectum late*, and Hor. *Carm.* 3.17.9 *late tyrannus*. **superbum**: modifies *populum* and conveys Juno's hatred of Rome. Note that in the underworld Anchises says that the Romans will *debellare superbos* (6.853).
22. **excidio Libyae**: i.e. be the ruin for Libya; double dative construction (AG §382). **volvere**: cf. 9 n.
23. **veterisque...belli**: i.e. the Trojan War. **Saturnia**: Juno was the daughter of Saturn and is thus often called *Saturnia*. See also 47 n.
24. **prima**: the "old war" (*veteris...belli* 23), which she had "first" waged with the Greeks against Troy, is contrasted with the fresh attacks on the Trojans which her zeal for Carthage inspired. But *prima* can also mean "foremost" (i.e. among those attacking Troy); cf. Juno at the sacking of Troy (2.612-13): *hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima porta | prima tenet*. **pro caris... Argis**: *Argis* ("Argos") is ablative masculine plural, though in Greek the city's name is neuter singular; here the word stands for "Greece" (or the "Greeks") more generally. Juno had a special connection to the Argives. Her most famous temple was at Argos, and in Homer she is given the epithet "Argive" (e.g. *Iliad* 4.8, 5.908). She is returning from Argos at 7.286 when she notices the Trojans in Latium.
25. **necdum etiam...**: this parenthetic comment, which runs through line 28, explains the causes of Juno's hatred of Troy that precede even the Trojan war. At 29, the original flow of thought is resumed, and we are told of her present tormenting of the Trojans. **saevique dolores**: this phrase, describing Juno's pain that sets the epic in motion, is echoed by the *saevi monumenta doloris* (i.e. Pallas' sword-belt, 12.945) that incites Aeneas to kill Turnus at the end of the epic. Cf. de Grummond (1981).
26. **manet**: emphatic by position. **repostum**: by syncope (the omission of a letter or syllable from the interior of a word) for *repositum*, which metrically cannot be used in a hexameter.
27. **iudicium Paridis**: elaborated in the remainder of the line. **spretaque...formae**: appositional genitive (AG §343d) following *iniuria*, "the insult of her scorned beauty" (i.e. the insult involved in the scorning of her beauty). The shepherd Paris was asked by Juno, Minerva, and Venus to judge who was the most beautiful goddess. He decided in favor of Venus. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.27-30.
28. **genus invisum**: the Trojan race was "hateful" to Juno, because Dardanus, its ancestor, was the son of her husband Jupiter by Electra. (For more on Dardanus, see 3.84-120 n.) **Ganymedis**: genitive. While hunting on Mt. Ida, Ganymede, son of Tros, was carried off by an eagle to become the cup-bearer of Jove; a homoerotic aspect to their relationship developed as part of the tradition. This story is embroidered on the cloak described at 5.252-7.



29. **his:** “by these things” (i.e. the things mentioned in lines 25-8). **super:** adverb, “in addition” (to the things mentioned in 23-4); construe with *accensa*.
30. **reliquias Danaum...:** lit. “the leavings of the Greeks” (i.e. those not killed by the Greeks), in apposition to *Troas*. The first syllable of *reliquias* is lengthened by metrical necessity (it is sometimes written *relliquias*). **Danaum:** *Dana(or)um*; cf. 4 n. **Achilli:** Vergil forms the genitive of Greek nouns variously. Those ending in *-eus* have their Latin genitive in *-eos* (as in Greek), *-ei* (e.g. *Oilei* in 41), or *-i* (as *Achilli* here); those ending in *-es* have their Latin genitive in *-is*, *-i* (e.g. *Oronti* in 220), or *-ae* (as *Achatae* in 120; cf. AG §44).
32. **errabant:** the Trojans suddenly become subject, as we are told of their wanderings as a result of Juno’s hatred. **acti fati:** probably with two meanings — fate requires that the Trojans travel across the Mediterranean to Italy, while Juno’s unhappiness with this fate results in innumerable hardships for them. Cf. 2 *fato profugus*.
33. **tantae molis erat...:** *tantae molis* is genitive of description, “it was (of) such a great task...” Vergil thus concludes this section on the causes of Juno’s anger with memorable grandeur and thematic resonance for the poem. **condere:** note that this verb, describing the founding of Rome, will also be used innovatively to describe Aeneas’ slaying of Turnus (*condit* 12.950). James (1995) sees the connection between these two passages (and others that use *condere* in depicting the deaths of Italian warriors) as pointing to “the violence and fury beneath the founding of Rome” (624).

#### 34-222: Juno’s shipwreck of the Trojans

In 12-33, we learned the causes of Juno’s hatred of Aeneas; now we see that hatred in action. She persuades Aeolus (king of the winds) to send a terrible storm against Aeneas. Though Neptune ultimately quells it, the storm shipwrecks the Trojans at Carthage. Juno here acts as a figure of *furor*, who opposes Aeneas, the epic’s figure of *pietas*, and thus dramatizes one of the recurring motifs of the epic. Throughout the *Aeneid*, we will see figures of *pietas* attempting to control *furor*, both their own and that of other characters. This particular manifestation of the theme has important divine and cosmic implications. By resisting fate (39) and by persuading Aelous to create a storm in violation of his duty to Jupiter (see 50-64 n.), Juno poses a significant threat to the stability of the cosmos and Jupiter’s control of it.

The opposition between *furor* and *pietas* is central to the epic. In optimistic or Augustan interpretations, *pietas* prevails (e.g. Pöschl (1962) and Otis (1964); cf. “Contemporary interpretation” in the General Introduction). The opposition, however, becomes increasingly complex as the poem proceeds, since characters of *pietas* also act with *furor*. Most famously, Aeneas is *furiis accensus* (12.946) when he slays Turnus (see especially the discussions in Putnam (1965, 1995)).

This passage is closely modeled on *Odyssey* 5.282-493, where the god Poseidon (= Neptune) sees his enemy Odysseus sailing home peacefully from Calypso’s island and is angered. He sends a storm that will ultimately be stopped by Athena but will leave Odysseus shipwrecked at Phaeacia. The contrasts between the two heroes are especially important because they establish a basic distinction that will run throughout the *Aeneid*: Odysseus is most concerned with his personal glory, while Aeneas will come to reject this heroic (and Homeric) outlook and instead base his actions in the overall good of his community. Moreover, the contrasting actions of the sea god in these epics also signal the changed world of Vergil’s poem: while Poseidon/Neptune had been the god of wrath who sends a storm in the *Odyssey*, in the *Aeneid*’s corresponding scene he functions as a force of calm and order.

For a general interpretation of the scene, see Pöschl (1962) 13-24, Otis (1964) 227-34, R. D. Williams (1965-66), Anderson (2005) 24-6, McKay (1989), Perkell (1999) 33-42, and R. A. Smith (2005) 12-20. On Juno and the gods, see Feeney (1991) 129-37. On Aeolus, see Phillips (1980). On the literary background, see Knauer (1964a); Hardie (1986) 90-7, 103-10, 180-3, and 237-40; Nelis (2001) 67-73.

34-49. Juno is outraged as she sees the Trojans set sail from Sicily for Italy and chastises herself for not doing more to stop them.

34. **Vix e conspectu...**: Vergil, like Homer, plunges at once “into the heart of his subject” (cf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 148 *in medias res*). The events described here pick up from the end of book 3, where Aeneas concludes his two-book flashback narrative.

35. **laeti**: “happily,” as often the adjective can be translated adverbially. **aere**: metonymy\* for “fleet”; the ships’ prows were apparently (and seemingly anachronistically) covered with bronze. **ruebant**: “were driving before them.”

36. **aeternum...vulnus**: cf. 19-28. Note the heavy metrical quality of this effective line.

37. **haec secum**: “she (says) these things to herself.” The verb of “saying” is often omitted when the sense is clear, cf. 76, 335, 370, 559. **mene...**: “am I, defeated, then to desist from my purpose?” This use of an accusative (*mene*) and infinitive (*desistere, posse*) interrogatively without a principal verb expresses strong indignation (cf. 97). The elision of *mene* and the initial vowel of *incepto* may produce a word play on the Greek word *menin*/μήνιν (“wrath”), the first word of the *Iliad* describing Achilles’ wrath (Levitan (1993)).

38. **Teucrorum**: the Trojans were called *Teucri* after Teucer, an early king of Troy (by some accounts the first).

39-40. **quippe**: gives a reason with considerable emphasis, which must be judged from the context. Here it expresses indignant scorn—“*Because*—a fine reason indeed!— I am forbidden by the fates.” Cf. 59 and 661; 4.217. Juno’s subsequent actions will show that, while fate might mandate a certain outcome, she has the ability to influence the path to it, an idea echoed in her words at 7.310-16, as she decides to incite the war that will occupy the second half of the epic. **Pallasne...**: emphatically placed, suggesting Juno’s rivalry with her. **exurere...submergere**: notice how skillfully the double horror of destruction by fire and water is suggested. **Argivum**: genitive plural, cf. 4 n. **ipsos**: “(the Argives) themselves,” i.e. the men in contrast to their fleet.

41. **unius ob noxam...**: the second half of the line, introduced with *et*, explains and makes clear the first, “for one man’s guilt and the frenzy of Ajax” (i.e. “for one man’s guilt, namely the frenzy of Ajax”). Cf. 27, 54. The phrase has a pointed parallel in Venus’ complaint about Juno: *unius ob iram* (251).

On the night of Troy’s sack, Ajax son of Oileus (so called to distinguish him from the greater Ajax son of Telamon, the subject of Sophocles’ *Ajax*) dragged the Trojan priestess Cassandra from Pallas’ temple, where she had taken refuge, and raped her. For this, he was punished by the goddess. See 2.403-6, and Euripides, *Troades* 69-97. For the genitive *Oilei* or *Oilei*, cf. 30 n.

42. **ipsa**: emphatic, “herself,” “with her own hands.” Juno accentuates Pallas’ power to contrast with her own seeming weakness. **Iovis...ignem**: i.e. lightning, which set fire to the ships. **iaculata**: supply *est*. The omission of *esse*-forms from compound passives and deponents in the third person is common. Such omissions also occur in the first and second person, though much less frequently, and usually when a deponent verb is involved.

43. **disieciturque...evertitque**: the *-que...-que* (cf. 18 n.) construction binds the two verbs more closely than *et*, thus heightening Juno's indignation. In Euripides (see 41 n.), the storm was created by Zeus (Jupiter) and Poseidon (Neptune), though Pallas is granted the use of Jupiter's lightning bolt. Virgil differs: by attributing the storm itself to Pallas (e.g. *evertitque aequora ventis*) without mention of the other gods, his version increases the goddess' power and ability to fulfill her wrath.
44. **illum**: "but him." The emphatic placement of this strong pronoun contrasts with the preceding line so forcibly that no adversative particle is needed—"she both scattered the ships and upheaved the sea with storm; *him* she seized..." cf. 184 n. **transfixo pectore**: pierced, that is, with a thunderbolt (42). A different version of Ajax's death (at the hands of Poseidon/Neptune) is given at Hom. *Od.* 4.499-511.
46. **ast ego**: contrasted with *ipsa* (42). *Ast* ("but") is an archaism for *at*. **divum**: cf. 4 n. **incedo**: "stride"; the verb suggests Juno's stateliness as she walks among the gods (*cum aliqua dignitate ambulare*, Servius). Cf. 405, 497; 5.68, 553.
47. **soror**: Juno and Jupiter were children of Saturn, as was Neptune (Juno's *fratrem* 130). Cf. 23 n. **una cum gente tot annos**: refers to her part in the ten-year war against the Trojans.
48. **et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat...?**: Quintilian 9.2.10 cites this as an example of a rhetorical question\*. The *et* conveys Juno's indignation.
49. **praeterea**: usually means "besides," but here it clearly means "after this," i.e. after I have appeared so helpless; cf. *Geo.* 4.502 *neque...praeterea vidit*, "nor saw after that." **imponet**: the manuscripts are divided among this reading, *imponit*, and *imponat*. The future *imponet*, however, seems preferable, as it best heightens Juno's indignation.
- 50-64. *Juno asks king Aeolus to create a terrible storm by releasing the violent winds he rules.*
- Aeolus and his violent winds appear in *Odyssey* 10.1-79, an episode that displays the distrust between Odysseus and his comrades. In the *Aeneid*, Aeolus plays a more central role, not simply because he essentially aids Juno in motivating books 1-6 (see "Major themes" in the General Introduction). Aeolus is a ruler who misuses his power (*imperium*) not to control passion (57) but to excite it. By rousing the winds, he violates Jupiter's will (60-3). In addition, Vergil conveys the cosmic ramifications of Aeolus' actions by incorporating images and metaphors concerning the Titans and Giants who had fought against the gods (see Hardie (1986) 90-7). Aeolus is thus perfectly allied with Juno, the epic's representative of *furor* and of resistance to Jupiter and fate.
50. **volutans**: describes "constant turning over" in the mind, cf. 305 *volvens*.
51. **fuventibus Austris**: the *Austri* are the south winds but here loosely describe any violent winds (cf. *Zephyri*, often used as "gentle breezes"); for *furor*, cf. 50-64 n.
52. **Aeoliam**: in Homer, Aeolus (*Od.* 10) dwells on a floating island; Vergil (8.416-17) identifies Aeolia with Lipara, one of the volcanic islands off the northern coast of Sicily.
53. Observe the accommodation of sound to sense in this rare four-word line (cf. 80; 3.328; 4.542), arranged in chiasmatic\* order.
54. **imperio**: a central concern of book 1. Cf. 138, 230, 270, 279, 287, and 340. See notes on 50-64 and 287.
55. **illi**: i.e. the winds.
57. **mollit...temperat**: on the ruler's calming of violence, cf. 148-53, 291-6 with notes. **animos**: "emotions," "spirits," "passions," perhaps with some play on the Greek word for wind,

- ἄνεμος, connected etymologically with *animus*” (Williams). See also O’Hara (1996) 116.
- 58-9. **ni faciat,...ferant**: present contrary-to-fact condition. In prose we would expect the imperfect subjunctive but here the present subjunctive is used for vividness or perhaps for its archaic quality (AG §517e). **maria ac terras caelumque profundum**: note the effective use of this tricolon\* to describe the different parts of the cosmos. **quippe**: see 39-40 n. **ferant rapidi...verrant**: “an elaboration of the use of *rapere* with *ferre* to mean ‘plunder’” (Austin).
60. **omnipotens**: a grand epithet for Jupiter that goes back to the early Latin poet Ennius (and in Greek back to Homer). It occurs nine times in the *Aeneid*.
61. **metuens**: cf. Juno in 23. **molem...et montis**: “massive mountains.” A good instance of hendiadys\*.
- 62-3. **regem**: i.e. Aeolus. **qui...sciret**: relative clause of characteristic (AG §535) or of purpose (AG §537), cf. 20, 236, 287. **foedere certo**: the *foedus* represents the “terms” by which Jupiter gave Aeolus rule over the winds. By aiding Juno, Aeolus will violate this *foedus*. **premere**: cf. 11.600 *pressis habenis*. **iussus**: i.e. by Jupiter.
- 65-75. Juno asks Aeolus to destroy the Trojan fleet and offers him the nymph Deiopea as wife in return.
65. **Aeole, namque...:** the clause introduced by *namque* explains why Juno appeals to Aeolus (cf. 731 *Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur...*). **divum...rex**: an Ennian phrase (*Ann.* fr. 203 in Skutsch, fr. 207 in Warmington) with Homeric echoes (cf. *Il.* 1.544) conveying archaic dignity, cf. also 3.12 and 3.375 with notes.
66. **et mulcere dedit...:** the infinitives *mulcere* and *tollere* express purpose and function as objects of *dedit* (cf. AG §460a). The infinitive after *do* is extremely common in Vergil: 1) sometimes it is equivalent to a verbal noun used as the direct object of the verb, as here *mulcere dedit*, “gave the calming” (i.e. 5.522 *condere dedit*, “granted the founding”); 2) sometimes it seems epexegetic, i.e. to give further “explanation,” as in *dat ferre talentum*, “he gives them a talent to take away,” cf. 319 n. **vento**: is emphatic and should be construed with both infinitives. For this line, cf. Aeolus at Homer, *Odyssey* 10.22, where Zeus gave Aeolus the power “both to stop and to rouse” the winds (ἤμὲν παύμεναι ἢδ’ ὀρνύμεν).
67. **Tyrrhenum...aequor**: accusative of extent of space (Williams) with an intransitive verb (*navigat*), a poetic construction. This sea is located between the western coast of Italy, Sicily and Sardinia.
68. **victos...penatis**: the state gods (cf. 703-4 n.) that Aeneas carried out of Troy on the night of its fall (cf. 2.320-1 n. and 2.747).
69. **incute...:** an unusual variation on the use of *incutere* in the common phrase *incutere timorem alicui* “to strike terror into any one.” Ennius has *dictis Romanis incutit iram* (*Ann.* fr. 533 in Skutsch, fr. 460 in Warmington).
70. **age diversos**: “drive scattered,” i.e. “so that they become scattered.” For this prolepsis\*, in which the adjective expresses by anticipation that which is the effect of the verb, cf. 259 *sublimem feres* (“carry on high”), 659-60 *furentem incendat* (“kindle to frenzy”)
71. **bis septem...Nymphae**: Juno’s offer to Aeolus recalls Hera’s promise of the Grace Pasithea to the god Sleep at Hom. *Il.* 14.267-9.
72. **forma**: ablative of specification. **Deiopea**: what should be the accusative after *iungam* is placed in the relative clause and attracted to the nominative case of the relative pronoun *quae*.

73. **conubio**: the Roman legal term for marriage. The quantity of the *u* is short here (as in *coniubiis* at 3.136 and *coniubio* at 4.126), though it is long in *coniubia* at 3.319; 4.213, 316, 535. In the latter instances, the *u* falls on the metrical ictus\*, which may explain its long quantity. **propriamque dicabo**: *proprius* expresses abiding possession, while *dico* (“proclaim,” “consecrate”) is a ritual word. Juno specially presided over marriage under the title of *Iuno Pronuba* (cf. 4.166). She repeats this line at 4.126, when she conspires with Venus to have Aeneas and Dido meet in a cave.
74. **omnis...annos**: accusative of duration; note the artful enclosing structure of these words.
75. **pulchra...prole**: ablative of means or of description (AG §409, 415).
- 76-80. *Aeolus replies that he will obey Juno’s commands, for he owes his kingdom to her.*
76. **tuus...**: note the emphatic and contrastive placement of *tuus* and *mihī* (77); cf. 184 n.
77. **fas est**: ironic\*, since Aeolus is supposed to follow the will of Jupiter (cf. 60-3), which Juno’s actions seemingly undermine. Aeolus acts more subserviently than had Homer’s Sleep in a similar circumstance (cf. 71 n.).
78. **quodcumque hoc regni**: a self-deprecating phrase (“this realm such as it is”), as Aeolus emphasizes his debt to Juno. Note the triple anaphora\* of *tu* with tricolon crescendo\* in 78-80.
79. **conciliat**: with the objects *quodcumque hoc regni* and *sceptra*, this verb means “secure for”; with *Iovem*, it means “make favorable” or “friendly.” Juno’s role in the acquisition of Aeolus’ power over the winds is unknown before Vergil; Servius suggests it is because she is queen of the air (Gr. *aer*, cf. 5.19-20 n.). **das**: cf. 66 n.
80. **nimborum...potentem**: supply *me* with *potentem*. Another rare four-word line (cf. 53); it caps a tricolon crescendo\* in which Aeolus flatteringly emphasizes his indebtedness to Juno’s power.
- 81-101. *Aeolus lets loose the winds to raise a storm against Aeneas, who now wishes he had died at Troy.*
81. **cavum conversa cuspidē**: notice the alliteration\*, which, together with the double dactyl (*impūlit in lātus*) followed by a pause in the next line, conveys the sound of the blow on the hollow mountain side. *Conversa* indicates the butt end of the *cuspidē*.
82. **latus**: the gates or barriers (*claustra* 56) of the prison (cf. *carcere* 141) are apparently in the side of the mountain. **agmine facto**: the winds are like an army in formation. Lines 80-2 resonate with 2.50-2, where Laocoon throws a spear at the side of the wooden horse in which Greek warriors are hiding.
84. **incubere**: the perfect of instantaneous action; “straightway they settle on the sea,” cf. 90 *intonuere*. **totumque**: cf. 85 n. Note the placement of verbs at the beginning of lines/clauses here and at 87, 88, and 90.
85. **una...**: see Hom. *Od.* 5.295-6. Poets continually describe a storm as the fierce clashing of winds, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.10. **ruunt**: transitive with *totum (mare)* as object (84).
87. **clamorque virum stridorque rudentum**: note the parallel phrases that describe the storm’s physical effect on the ship’s cables and its emotional effect on the men. *Virum* is genitive plural (cf. 4 n.).
88. **eripiunt...**: cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.293-4.
90. **intonuere**: cf. 84 n. **poli**: the plural occurs only here in Vergil and may be meaningful — it

- thunders from pole to pole. **aether**: the fine fiery element which surrounds the universe is naturally spoken of as the home of the lightning. (For its contrast with *aer*, cf. 411 n.)
91. **praesentem**: “imminent.” **intentant omnia mortem**: cf. the phrase *intentant omnia letum*, which Ariadne uses at Catullus 64.187 to describe her hopeless situation after Theseus has left her.
92. **solvuntur**: “are paralyzed,” “numbed.” The line echoes Hom. *Od.* 5.297 (cf. 94-101 n.). **frigore**: = *timore*.
93. **duplicis...palmas**: *duplicis* (here, as often, “both”) is a more elevated word than *ambas* (cf. Lucr. 6.1145 *duplices oculi*).
- 94-101. Aeneas’ words echo *Odyssey* 5.306-7, where Odysseus is overwhelmed by a storm sent by Poseidon. But while Odysseus says his comrades were lucky to have died at Troy because they had proper burial and received glory (Gr. *kleos*), Aeneas envies those who died at Troy in the presence of their fathers (*ante ora patrum* 95) but says nothing about burial and glory. “Where Odysseus is pragmatic and goal-oriented, Aeneas is sentimental and despairing” (Perkell (1999) 40).
- 95-6. **quis**: = *quibus*, dative with the impersonal verb *contigit* (“it befell”). **oppetere**: sc. *mortem* = “meet death,” “die.”
- 97-8. **Tydidē**: vocative patronymic. Diomedes was the son of Tydeus and would have killed Aeneas at Troy, if not for the intervention of Aphrodite/Venus (Hom. *Il.* 5.297-317). **mene... non potuisse?**: for this construction, cf. 37 n. **occumbere**: just as *oppetere* (96) and *obire* are often used absolutely to mean “meet (death),” “die,” so *occumbere* can mean “fall” (before the attack of death). For the full phrase cf. 2.62 *certae occumbere morti*.
99. **ubi...:** note the tricolon crescendo\* in 99-101. **Aecidae**: patronymic, “(grand)son of Aeacus” (i.e. Achilles), in the genitive. **telo iacet**: “lies (killed) by the spear.” Both *iacet* and *volvit* (101) are graphic presents (cf. *redit* 2.275).
100. **Sarpedon**: the great Trojan warrior, son of Jupiter. His death at the hands of Patroclus evokes the god’s great sorrow at Hom. *Il.* 16.431-507. (Cf. also Jupiter at *Aen.* 10.467-72.) **Simois**: a Trojan river. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 12.22-3: “Simois, where much ox-hide armour and helmets were tumbled | in the river mud, and many of the race of the half-god mortals” (Lattimore).
- 102-23. *The storm rages, and Aeneas sees eleven of his twenty ships sink.*
- 102-3. **Talia iactanti**: dative of reference or ethical dative (AG §380), “to him,” as he was “hurling such (despairing words).” For *iactare* of passionate speech, cf. 2.588, 768. **stridens**: describes the whistling of the gust of wind as it strikes the sail “full in front” (*adversa*). **Aquilone**: an ablative explaining the origin of the *procella*. **ad sidera**: note the hyperbole\* in the description of the storm from here to 107.
104. **prora avertit**: *averto* is used intransitively, “swings around.” Some reliable manuscripts give *proram*: “then it (*procella*) swings the prow around.” However, the return to the nominative *procella* (102) as subject, after the intervening *franguntur remi*, is too jarring. *Prora* is therefore the better reading.
105. **cumulo**: the ablative used almost adverbially, “in a heap,” also at 2.498; cf. 157 *cursum*, “with a run,” “hurriedly”; 2.225 *lapsu*, 323 *gemitu*, “with a groan,” “groaning.” **aquae mons**: coincidence of verse and word accent that normally ends Vergil’s hexameter is violated here because of the final monosyllable *mons*; the violence of the storm may thus be suggested.

- Lines ending in a monosyllable occur infrequently in Vergil, though they are more common in Ennius and early Latin poetry. Such monosyllabic endings prevent the word accent\* from coinciding with the verse accent (ictus\*) in the sixth foot, since the preceding word (here *áquae*) will normally be of two or more syllables and will not have an accent on the ultima (and thus coincide with the ictus of the sixth foot). Therefore a clash of word accent and ictus results, one that can be interpreted as archaic\* in tone and contributing resonant effects within the context of an individual line. Greater emphasis is thus added to such final monosyllabic words. Cf. 2.170, 217, 355; 3.12, 375, 390; 4.132, 314; 5.481, 710.
- 106-7. **hi...his**: the use of the same word in different cases is called polyptoton\*, which is here combined with asyndeton\*. **unda...aperit**: note the hyperbole\*; see 102-3 n. **aestus**: “surging water.”
108. **tris...abreptas**: sc. *navis*; *tris* = *tres*.
109. (**saxa vocant...Aras...**): a parenthesis that interrupts the description of the storm’s violence and resembles a learned footnote. It is introduced by epanalepsis\*, the repetition of a word (i.e. *saxa* 108), strictly unnecessary, from the preceding clause. **mediis quae in fluctibus**: understand *sunt* or *latent*. **Aras**: predicate accusative, providing the name of the *saxa*. Varro and Pliny mention a reef bearing this name between Sicily and Sardinia, though it is unclear whether this particular reef is meant here. Cf. O’Hara (1996) 115-16.
110. **dorsum immane...**: “an ugly ridge” (i.e. in fine weather); in a storm (as here) it is hidden (thus *saxa latentia*, 108). *Immane* describes both size and dangerous character. **tris**: again, supply *navis* (cf. 108 n.).
111. **in brevia et syrtis**: the substantive *brevia* (“shallows”) is first used by Vergil; *syrtis* = “sandbanks.” The neuter of many adjectives is thus used substantivally. Cf. 219 *extrema*, 281 *in melius* “for the better,” and AG §289. Some, however, read *Syrtis*, referring to sandbanks on this part of the African coast, especially the *Syrtis Major* and *Minor*; the phrase could then be a hendiadys\*, “the shallows of the Syrtes.” **miserabile visu**: *visu* is a supine, typically used in this formulaic ablative of respect construction (cf. *horribile dictu*). Cf. AG §510.
112. **vadis**: dative after the compound verb *inludit*.
113. **unam**: with *in puppim* (115), which is set against the massive wave in 114. **Lycios**: Lycia was in the south of Asia Minor; its people fought for Troy. **Oronten**: Greek accusative form of *Orontes*, the name of the ship’s captain; he will appear in the underworld at 6.334.
114. **ipsius**: i.e. of Aeneas. **ingens a vertice pontus**: cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 313. The phrase *a vertice* (“from the height”) expresses the fall of something sheer downwards with nothing to check or impede its movement (cf. also 5.444; *Geo.* 2.310).
115. **in puppim ferit**: note the emphatic enjambment\*, the violent pause after *ferit*, and the two dactyls *volvitur in caput* (116) followed by a similar pause. These features combine to express the shock of the falling wave.
- 116-17. **in caput**: “headlong” (lit. “on his head”). **ast illam...**: i.e. *puppim* (115); for *ast*, cf. 46 n. **ibidem...agens circum**: expands the idea in *torquet*, “spins the ship (*torquet*), turning it round and round” (lit. “round in the same spot”). **rapidus vorat aequare vertex**: this dactylic phrase with its soundplays perhaps represents the fierce whirl of the eddy. For *rapidus*, cf. 58-9 n.
- 118-19. **rari**: “scattered,” in artistic contrast to *vasto*. Note the spondaic\* character of this line. **arma virum**: recalls the epic’s opening, though here *virum* is genitive and the words (and

- line) convey the Trojans' near-annihilation instead of heralding their ultimate triumph (cf. 1-7). **Troia**: here a dactyl\*. **gaza**: a Persian word (Servius *ad* 1.119), pointing to the Eastern heritage and richness of Troy. It occurs also at 2.763 and 5.40 (see n.). Hardie (2009) 160-2 examines the Lucretian influence detectable in these lines as well as in the overall description of the storm.
120. **iam...iam...et qua...et qua (121)**: the repetitions convey the emotion excited by each fresh disaster; cf. 220-2 with note. **Ilionei...Achatae**: genitives; see 30 n. Ilioneus and Achates will play important roles later in book 1: Achates will accompany Aeneas to Carthage (see, e.g., 579-85), while Ilioneus will represent the Trojans to Dido at 520-60, and to Latinus at 7.212-48.
121. **et qua vectus...** = *et (eam navem) qua vectus...* Note how Vergil has varied the phrasing from 120. **Abas...Aletes**: Aletes will play a prominent role in the Trojan council's decision to send Nisus and Euryalus on their night mission (9.224-313); Abas is not mentioned again.
122. **laxis...compagibus**: ablative absolute, "with their (i.e. the ships') joints loosened." **omnes**: i.e. the ships.
123. **rimisque fatiscunt**: "and open at their seams," as a result of the battering of the ships' wood.
- 124-31. *Neptune observes the storm and gathers the wind gods to stop it.*
124. **magno misceri murmure**: a favorite alliteration\* in describing any uproar (cf. 55). The line is very close to 4.160 (of the storm devised by Juno to drive Dido and Aeneas into a cave, where they consummate their affair).
126. **stagna**: the waters at the bottom of the sea, which are ordinarily undisturbed. **graviter commotus**: "grievously troubled"; the phrase describes the anger of the sea-god but also suggests the disturbance of the sea (which Neptune personified). **alto**: = *in altum*; a poetic use of the dative that expresses direction or place to which (AG §428h; Austin *ad* 2.186). Vergil often uses the dative in this way, cf. 2.186 *caelo (= in caelum) educere*; 4.392 *referunt thalamo (= in thalamum)*; 6.126 *descensus Averno (= in Avernum)*.
127. **placidum**: contrasts with the angry storm and the raging goddess Juno, while also expressing Neptune's dignified self-control in spite of his anger (cf. 126 *graviter commotus*).
128. **toto...aequore**: ablative of place where.
129. **Troas**: Greek accusative, with *oppressos*. **caelique ruina**: "the downfall of the sky" (hyperbole\*). Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.11-12 *tremendo | Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu*.
130. **nec latuere...**: litotes\*. *Latuere* is here transitive, "escape the notice of." **fratrem**: "her brother" (i.e. Neptune), cf. 47 n.
131. **dehinc**: scans as a long syllable by synizesis\* (AG §642).
- 132-41. *Neptune insultingly upbraids the wind gods.*
132. **generis...fiducia vestri**: "trust in your birth," spoken contemptuously, since the winds were minor deities, the offspring of the Titan Astraeus and Aurora.
133. **iam**: emphatic; disorderly before, the winds now encroach on Neptune's authority over his realm. **numine**: here "approval" or "authorization." Cf. also 62-3 (with notes).
135. **quos ego—! sed...**: a famous instance of aposiopesis\* (the abrupt stopping of a sentence or thought for rhetorical effect), here conveying Neptune's anger. **praestat componere**: "it is better to put in order." Once again, note Neptune's connection with creating calm and order.



136. **post:** “in the future” (adverb), i.e. if the same thing occurs again. **non simili poena:** “not by a similar (i.e. ‘by a very different’ or ‘heavier’) punishment.” A good instance of *litotes*\*. **commissa:** neuter plural, “offences” (*OLD* s.v. *commisum* 2).
137. **maturate:** transitive imperative. **regi...vestro:** Aeolus.
- 138-9. **illi...ille:** i.e. Aeolus. The repetition of *ille* (cf. also 140 *illa*) and the adjective *immania* help convey the disdain Neptune feels for Aeolus. *Illi* is dative (indirect object after *datum*) and emphatically placed both in its own line and when contrasted with *mibi*. **tridentem:** accusative (along with *imperium*) in indirect discourse after *dicite* (137). The trident symbolized Neptune’s *imperium* over the sea. **sorte:** Saturn’s three sons—Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto—were said to have divided his empire “by lot,” receiving respectively the heavens, sea, and underworld. **datum:** supply *esse*. **immania saxa:** a derogatory description of Aeolus’ realm, since *immania* here (perhaps “savagery”) denotes roughness as well as size (cf. 110 n.).
140. **vestras, Eure, domos:** Neptune in addressing Eurys is really addressing all the winds; thus *vestras* (cf. 375). **illa:** again (cf. 138-9 n.) the demonstrative indicates scorn.
141. **Aeolus:** only now does Neptune utter this name. **clauso:** emphatic; Aeolus may give whatever orders he likes to the winds provided he keeps them imprisoned. **carcere:** the *immania saxa* of 139.
- 142-56. Neptune immediately calms the water and rescues the ships.
- 142-3. **dicto citius:** “more swiftly than his word.” **placat:** again note Neptune’s calming function (cf. 127 *placidum*; 135 *componere*). Note how quickly Neptune undoes the specific violence committed by the winds at 84-9.
- 144-5. **Cymothoe:** a Nereid. **Triton:** sea god who attends Neptune. **acuto...scopulo:** ablative of separation with *detrudunt*. **navis:** presumably the three ships mentioned at 108. **ipse:** “Neptune himself.” In contrast to his underlings Cymothoe and Triton, Neptune just has to raise his trident to achieve his will.
146. **aperit syrtis:** “opens” or “makes a way through the sandbanks,” in which some of the ships were embedded, cf. 112. **temperat aequor:** repeats the idea in *tumida aequora placat* (142) but creates a tricolon\* (with *levat* and *aperit*) of Neptune’s quick actions in calming the storm, capped by the majestic description of him gliding over the now tamed water (147).
147. **rotis:** synecdoche\* for “chariot.” **summas...undas:** cf. 127.
- 148-53. Perhaps the most famous simile of the *Aeneid*, one that programmatically presents the defeat of *furor* by a politician characterized by *pietas* (cf. 34-222 n.). It startlingly uses a human event (a man’s quelling of civil unrest) to describe both the natural world (the calming of the sea), though Homeric similes usually do the reverse, and the action of a god. The guiding words *veluti* and *sic, cum* and *tum* should be carefully noticed.
- The civil strife in the simile naturally resonates with the discord that preceded Augustus’ rise to power and reign, though references to Hesiod, *Works and Days* 81-93 and an actual event involving Cato the Younger in 54 BCE (cf. Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 44) have also been suggested as influences. See Conway (1935) *ad loc.* and S. J. Harrison (1988).
148. **magno in populo:** surely the Roman nation is implied; note the emphatic placement at the simile’s opening. **cum saepe:** “when often” means “when, as often happens”; cf. 5.273 *qualis saepe*.
149. **ignobile vulgus:** set in contrast to the *pietate gravem...virum* (151).
150. **furor:** the *furor* of the masses recalls the fury of the stormy sea (*furit aestus* 107) and thus

- also the fury of Juno. The comparison of Neptune to a man of *pietas* who quells *furor* also connects Neptune to Augustus, who will be described as subduing *Furor impius* (294).
151. **tum...si forte...**: “then, if by chance...” **pietate gravem**: cf. Aeneas who is *insignem pietate* (10). *Gravem* (cf. *gravitas*) expresses the possession of the qualities that made a Roman great. **meritis**: actual good deeds, as opposed to character defined by *pietas*. This *virum* represents the idealized Roman leader.
152. **conspexere, silent**: note the effective placement of these verbs conveying the immediate reaction of the mob to this calming figure of *pietas*. **arrectisque auribus astant**: cf. 2.303. *Arrectis auribus* means “with ears pricked up.” The participle *arrectus* (“set upright,” “roused”) is often used in expressions in Vergil that describe intense reactions, often to fear-inspiring events. Cf. 2.173 *luminibus...arrectis*; 4.280 and 12.868 *arrectaeque horrore comae*.
153. **ille regit**: *ille* is emphatic (cf. 44 n.) and directs our attention from the crowd’s reaction upon seeing the *pietate gravem...virum* (151) to the man himself; the phrase *ille regit*, coming at the start of the sentence, emphasizes his control in contrast to the mob’s fury. **pectora mulcet**: the simile ends by recalling *aequora placat* (142), i.e. Neptune’s calming the sea.
155. **genitor**: also used of Neptune at 5.817; cf. 5.14 *pater Neptune*. **caeloque invectus aperto**: *invectus* does not govern *caelo* but means “borne upon (a chariot)” or “driving.” Since Neptune was driving not “in” or “through” the sky, but along the top of the waves (147), *caelo aperto* should be construed as an ablative of attendant circumstance.
156. **flectit equos...**: the opposite of *Geo.* 1.514, describing the violence of civil war — *fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas*. **curruque...dat lora secundo**: *curru* is the contracted form of the dative, regular in Vergil, cf. 156 *curru*, 257 *metu*; 3.292 *portu*, 692 *sinu*. *Secundus*, from *sequor*, here almost means *qui obsequitur*.
- 157-79. *Aeneas with seven ships finds and lands in a natural harbor. They prepare a meal.*
- The beauty and calm of the natural harbor in which the Trojans find refuge contrasts with the confusion and fury of the storm that shipwrecked them. Vergil’s description of the harbor echoes Homer’s *Odyssey* 9.116, 136-41; 10.87-96; and 13.96-106. See Nelis (2001) 73-5 for the background of this passage in Homer and in Apollonius. For more on Vergil’s visual artistry here, see Leach (1988) 27-42.
157. **Aeneadae**: patronymics\* were often used to refer a race’s origin to some distinguished chief or prince from whom it was supposed to be descended (cf. *Dardanidae*, “Trojans”; Lucr. 1.1 *Aeneadae*, “Romans”), but the actual living leader or king also came to be regarded as the “father” of his followers who are spoken of as his “children.” **litora**: placed in the relative clause (for which supply *sunt*), cf. 72 n. **cursu**: “hurriedly,” cf. 105 n.
159. **est in secessu longo...**: begins the ecphrasis\* (cf. 418-93 n.) of the harbor, on which cf. 157-79 n.
- 160-1. **obiectu laterum...**: “with the barrier of its sides, by which every wave from the sea is broken...” The island forms a natural breakwater “by throwing its sides across” the mouth of the bay, and thus creates a harbor (*portum efficit*). **inque sinus...reductos**: *sinus* can be taken either as 1) “curves of the shore,” “bays”; or 2) “ripples” of the water (cf. 11.626; *Geo.* 3.238). In either case, the *sinus* are “receding” (*reductos*). The same phrase is used at *Geo.* 4.420.
- 162-3. **rupes...scopuli**: the *rupes* are the long ridges of rock which form the sides of the harbor; the *gemini scopuli* are the two tower-like crags in which these ridges terminate. **minantur**: here “tower threateningly.”

- 164-5. **tuta**: here perhaps “sheltered.” **tum silvis scaena...**: *tum* introduces a fresh feature in the view; “there is also a background of bristling trees above (*desuper*), and a grove overhangs, black with dreadful shade.” For *scaena* as “background,” cf. *Geo.* 3.24. Originally rustic plays seem to have been acted in some convenient spot where trees, shrubs or boughs formed a natural background, a custom to which Vergil may refer here (cf. Servius). **coruscis**: refers to the movement of the tree tops which are “glistening” as they wave back and forth. **horrenti... umbra**: “dreadful shade,” perhaps better than “bristling shade,” which would repeat the idea in *coruscis*.
166. **fronte sub adversa**: i.e. under the front of the crags facing the Trojans. *Adversa* thus suggests the perspective of the Trojans as they approach. **scopulis pendentibus**: ablative of material, explaining how and of what the *antrum* is made.
167. **vivo**: “natural”; the rock forms seats without being artificially cut. *Vivo...saxo* is ablative of material.
- 168-9. **nympharum domus**: the Nymphs were often associated with grottoes and most frequently with springs of fresh water. **hic fessas...**: the passage recalls Hom. *Od.* 9.136. Vergil’s use of *ancora*, however, is an anachronism (cf. also *biremis* in 182), since anchors as such were unknown in Homeric times.
170. **huc**: returns us to the Trojans’ situation. **septem**: Aeneas had twenty ships when he left Troy, cf. 381 n.
171. **subit**: “seeks shelter.” **telluris amore**: “longing for the land.”
172. A golden line\*.
173. **tabentis**: “dripping.”
174. **Achates**: there may be paronomasia\* here, for in Greek, *achates* is a kind of stone (agate). See Servius and O’Hara (1996). For further etymological wordplay\* with the name, and for an interpretation of Achates as Aeneas’ “alter ego” in the epic, see Casali (2008).
175. **sucepit...ignem foliis**: “received fire in leaves.” *Sucepit* is originally a ritualistic word that resonates well with the careful description of the fire’s lighting.
176. **nutrimenta**: “fuel,” i.e. the branches, etc. used to feed the fire. **rapuitque in fomite flammam**: “and quickly caught the flame on tinder.” Servius says that *fomes* means “chips” (*assulae*) and derives it from *foveo*—*quod ignem fovent*.
177. **Cererem**: “grain” by metonymy\*. **Cerealia...arma**: “the implements of Ceres,” a dignified phrase for the tools used in preparing grain for food.
178. **rerum**: genitive of specification governed by *fessi* (AG §349d).
179. **et torrere...**: for making grain into meal (*farina*), it was usually roasted or dried (*torrere*) and then pounded in a mortar with a pestle, for which Vergil uses the phrase *frangere saxo*.
- 180-207. *Aeneas reconnoiters, kills seven deer, divides them among his people, and offers words of encouragement.*
- 180-94. Aeneas’ hunting of the deer recalls Odysseus’ actions on Circe’s island, where the latter climbs a cliff and kills a stag for his men (*Odyssey* 10.144-84). See Johnson (1976) 32-6, who analyzes the characteristic differences between the Homeric passage, which is based more in realism and the needs of the plot, and the Vergilian, which is impressionistic and more prone to describe the emotions. See also Staley (1990) and Ross (2007) 8-9.
- 180-1. **scopulum...prospectum**: *prospectus* (“prospect,” “view”) is a verbal noun qualified by

- the adverb *late* (cf. 21 n.). There may be a word play here since in Greek a *scopolos* originally meant “a look-out place,” cf. O’Hara (1996) 119. **pelago:** = *in pelagum* (cf. 126 n.).
- 181-2. **Anthea si quem...videat:** “in hopes (lit. “if”) he may see an (*quem*) Antheus...or Capys...or Caicus.” Antheus will appear at 1.510 and 12.443. *Anthea* is a Greek accusative form. **biremis:** ships with two banks of rowers, anachronistic in the Trojan war era (cf. 168-9 n.).
183. **celsis in puppibus arma:** as captain, Caicus hung his weaponry (presumably his shield) on the ship for display. Cf. 3.527 *celsa in puppi* (with n.).
184. **navem...nullam, tris...cervos:** the two clauses contrast by their asyndetic\* placement: “no ship but three stags” Cf. 76-7, 209, 467-8.
185. **tota armenta:** probably plural for singular, “an entire herd,” as implied by *longum agmen* (186).
188. **fidus:** Achates’ defining epithet throughout the poem.
190. **cornibus aboreis:** can be construed closely with either *alta* or *capita*. **tum vulgus et...:** note the contrast between *vulgus* and *ductores* (189).
193. **fundat...aequet:** subjunctives after *priusquam* (“before”) indicating purpose or anticipation (cf. AG §551b). **humi:** “to the ground,” locative used adverbially. This is the reading in Servius as well as some of the later (ninth century) manuscripts. It is used with *fundere* three times in the *Aeneid* (5.78, 6.423, 11.665), and preferred here, as in Hirtzel, Mynors, Goold, and others. The oldest manuscripts, however, read *humo*. **numerum cum navibus:** Aeneas entered the harbor with seven ships (170).
194. **partitur:** supply *cervos* as object.
195. **vina:** object of *dividit* (197). **quae...cadis onerarat:** i.e. had put the wine (*quae*) in jars so that it forms their *onus* or burden. The more usual construction is *onerare cados vino*, cf. 362-3 *navis...onerantque auro*. **deinde:** must modify *dividit* in 197, not *onerarat*. Vergil often places *deinde* unusually. **Acestes:** a Trojan, now king of a city in Sicily, where the Trojans land in book 3 (and later in book 5). Aeneas had just left Sicily when Juno sent her storm (34).
196. **Trinacrio:** “Sicilian,” *Trinacria* being a Greek name for Sicily because it had three corners (i.e. was triangular). **heros:** in apposition to Acestes, cf. 412 n. Giving generous gifts to departing guests (*abeuntibus*) was a standard practice in the heroic age.
197. **mulcet:** used of the figure in the political simile at 153. The idea in this verb may also echo Odysseus’ “honeyed words” to his crew at Hom. *Od.* 10.173.
- 198-207. This is Aeneas’ second speech in the poem. Like the first (cf. 94-101 n.), it has an important Homeric model—Odysseus’ outburst to his men as they are about to confront the twin threats of Scylla and Charybdis at *Od.* 12.208-12. The contrast between the two passages, however, is particularly revealing. While Odysseus displays supreme confidence in his resourceful leadership, Aeneas (when confronted by danger) feels but masks his despair; to cheer his men he relies for hope not on his ability as a leader but on their past experiences and the promises of fate.
198. **neque enim...:** *enim* (“since”) helps explain *dabit...finem* (199); *neque* here is equivalent to *non*; the adverb *ante* probably should be taken with *sumus* instead of *malorum*. This parenthetical comment explains the claim *dabit...finem* made in the next line. For the sense, cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.208-12.

200. **vos et...vos et (201)**: notice the strong anaphora\*. **penitus...sonantis**: “deep-echoing,” i.e. from their caverns (referring to the rage of Scylla’s hounds, *Scyllaeam rabiem*). The Trojan seer Helenus had warned Aeneas to avoid the twin threats of Scylla and Charybdis (a whirlpool) at 3.420-32, threats Homer’s Odysseus had learned about and encountered at *Od.* 12.73-126, 222-59, 426-46. The Greek hero ultimately loses all of his comrades.
201. **accestis**: by syncope\* (cf. 26 n.) for *accessistis*. **Cyclopia saxa**: a reference to the Trojans’ encounter with the Cyclops in 3.655-81, a “rewriting” of Odysseus’ encounter that is narrated by him at Hom. *Od.* 9.106-542 and that is described in the *Aeneid* by the Greek suppliant Achaemenides at 3.613-54.
202. **expertis**: supply *estis*, a rare omission, cf. 42 n.
203. **forsan et haec...**: “perhaps even these things it will one day be a joy to recall.” This famous thought echoes Hom. *Od.* 12.212: “perhaps even these things I think we will remember” (i.e. with satisfaction).
204. **per tot discrimina rerum**: “through so many crises” (lit. “dangerous situations of our affairs”). *Tot* is often used in reference to any number that is well known. Cf. 10, 232, 240, 642. Note the anaphora\* of *per* with asyndeton\*.
205. **tendimus**: this verb can mean not only “stretch” (cf. 2.29) but also “aim” (e.g. a weapon or a glance). Here the latter meaning is used in an intransitive sense, “aim for” or “head toward,” cf. 2.205 *ad litora tendunt*. **Latium**: this region of Italy had not specifically been revealed to Aeneas in the flashback narratives of books 2 and 3. *Latium* is mentioned in the prologue (6).
206. **fas**: sc. *est*, “it is granted” (i.e. by fate and the gods). Cf. 2.157. *Fas* denotes divine law, as opposed to *ius*, human law.
- 208-22. *Concealing his own fears, Aeneas encourages his followers. They feast and discuss the fate of their comrades.*
209. **spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem**: notice the strong adversative asyndeton\* between the clauses (cf. 184 n.) and the elaborately inverted word order. For Aeneas’ taciturnity, see Feeney (1983).
210. **praedae**: dative of purpose; i.e. the *septem cervos* that Aeneas slays.
212. **pars...secant**: *pars* takes a plural verb because it here means “some” (cf. 4.405), in contrast to *alii* (213). **frusta**: “scraps of food” or “morsels.”
213. **aëna**: bronze cauldrons are used presumably for boiling meat, though meat does not seem to have been eaten this way in the Homeric age.
214. **fusi**: “lying at ease,” cf. 2.252. *Fusus* describes the attitude of one who lies down, without any care or fear of being disturbed.
215. **implentur**: a good instance of the close connection between the middle and passive forms of verbs, for this word is either “they fill themselves” or “they are filled,” cf. 713 *expleri mentem*. **Bacchi**: “wine” (by metonymy\*), just as *Cererem* means “grain” at 177. Like *ferinae*, *Bacchi* is a genitive after a word implying “want” or “fullness” (cf. AG §349, 356), though this construction with *implere* seems a Vergilian innovation.
216. **mensae**: here “food.” They clearly had no “tables,” but, since ancient tables were small so that the food was often brought in on the tables and the tables taken away with the food, *mensae* could be used for the food itself, cf. *mensa secunda*, the common phrase meaning “dessert.”

217. **requirunt**: from the sense of “seek to recover” *requiro* acquires the sense of “feel the want of”; here it means “regretfully recall.” The discussion of lost comrades recalls the Homeric scene at *Od.* 12.309.
- 218-19. **spemque metumque inter**: *inter* follows its objects (anastrophe\*). **seu vivere credant...**: indirect question construction following *dubii*. **extrema pati**: a circumlocution to describe the possibility that their comrades have died, but note the effect of the present infinitive (*pati*) instead of the perfect. **vocatos**: there may be a special reference to the practice of calling on the dead three times at funerals.
- 220-2. **pius Aeneas**: the epithet underscores his defining concern for his people. See 10 n. and the Introduction to this book above. **nunc...nunc...fortemque...fortemque**: pathetic repetition, cf. 120 n. **Oronti**: genitive (cf. 30 n.). Orontes died at 113. **secum**: i.e. “in his heart.” He does not express his grief in words, cf. 208-9. **fata Lyci...**: Lycus and Amycus survive the storm but both fall victim to Turnus in book 9 (lines 545-62 and 771-3 respectively). Gyas and Cloanthus also survive and take part in the boat race at 5.114-267.

### 223-304: Venus and Jupiter

Having just witnessed Aeneas’ shipwreck, Venus complains to Jupiter about Aeneas’ continued suffering. Jupiter comforts her by revealing the mandates of Fate: not only will Aeneas succeed in his journey to his new land, but his descendants will ultimately found Rome, a city that will experience boundless empire (*imperium sine fine* 279) and will reach its height of greatness under Augustus.

This divine exchange has important Homeric models in *Iliad* 1.493-530 (Thetis complains to Zeus about the suffering of her son Achilles) and *Odyssey* 5.1-58 (Athena complains to Zeus about Odysseus’ confinement on Calypso’s island). The latter, however, is especially relevant here, because *Odyssey* 5 is so central to the storm passage that had opened the *Aeneid* (cf. 34-222 n.). Once again, however, the contrast between the two epics and their heroes is instructive. While the Homeric passage focuses on the personal aspect of Odysseus’ suffering, the Vergilian passage places Aeneas and his travails in a broader context that is historical and nationalistic. As a result, the distant mythological world of Aeneas is firmly connected to the historical world of Vergil’s Rome, offering a conception of history that presents Augustus as the telos or goal of long historical processes, sanctioned by fate and the king of the gods.

The scene also brings to a culmination a complex of ideas about moral leadership woven throughout the opening scenes of the epic. We have witnessed figures of *ira* and *furor* (such as Juno, Aeolus, the maddened rabble in the poem’s first simile) who are subdued by figures associated with control and especially *pietas* (Neptune, the political figure in the first simile). Jupiter’s speech adds Augustus and his subjugation of *Furor impius* (294) to this collocation of ideas. The passage’s significance for our interpretation of Aeneas is great, for it poses the following question: will Aeneas succeed in overcoming (Juno’s) *furor* and establishing political control as had these “models”? His perceived success or failure in this has generated a wide variety of interpretation of Aeneas and of the poem’s politics (i.e. Augustan, anti-Augustan, or somewhere in between). For the intertextual background, see Nelis (2001) 73-6. For interpretation, see Otis (1964), G. W. Williams (1983) 138-42, O’Hara (1990) 128-63, Feeney (1991) 137-42, Ross (2007) 22, 107-9, and Hejduk (2009).

223-53. *Venus asks Jupiter why Aeneas and the Trojans are being kept from Italy.*

223-6. Vergil shifts focus to the divine realm (e.g. *aethere summo* 223), by describing Jupiter’s physical perspective on Aeneas and mortal suffering. The stage is thus set for the god’s meeting with Venus.

223. **iam finis erat**: signals a transition to a new scene, though the phrasing does not make clear what specifically has just ended—the storm, the mourning of the lost comrades, or something else?
224. **despiciens**: “looking down upon,” the reading of the manuscripts; however, some editors (including Hirtzel) prefer *dispiciens* (noted in Servius and meaning “gazing,” “examining”) presumably because *despiciens* can sometimes have a negative sense, i.e. “contemn” (see Austin). **mare velivolum**: “the sea studded with sails” (lit. “the sea of speeding sails”). The adjective, which goes back to Ennius (*Annales*, fr. 380 in Skutsch, fr. 376 in Warmington), pictorially represents the sea as it appeared to Jupiter looking down from heaven, cf. *iacentis* “outstretched” (i.e. beneath his view).
225. **latus**: “wide-extended,” i.e. occupying wide territories. **sic**: summing up *aethere...populus*; “thus (i.e. gazing down...), Jupiter stood (*constitit*).” **vertice caeli**: at Hom. *Il.* 5.756, Jupiter sits “on the highest peak of many-ridged Olympus.”
227. **atque**: a strong connective particle that introduces an event that is closely associated (here in time) with the preceding sentence (cf. 4.261 and 6.162); *et ecce* (5.167-8 *revocabat*, *et ecce...respiciit*) and *-que et* (5.467 *dixitque et...diremit*) have a similar force. **illum...:** Jupiter. **talis...curas**: apparently the concerns aroused by his observation of the world below.
228. **tristior**: “rather sad” or perhaps “sadder than usual” (Venus was usually described as happy, as in her Homeric epithet “laughter loving,” Gr. *philommeides*). **oculos...nitentis**: object of *suffusa*. Vergil sometimes uses a passive participle with an accusative object, creating something like a Greek middle form. Here, “having suffused her shining eyes with tears.” Cf. also 481 *tunsae pectora* (“having beat their chests”; 561 *vultum demissa* (“having cast down her face”).
230. **aeternis regis imperiis**: the theme of *imperium* will be important in Jupiter’s speech (cf. 279).
- 231-3. **quid meus Aeneas...:** supply *potuit* from *potuere* (232); *meus* reveals Venus’ loving concern for her son. **tantum**: modifies *quid* and should strictly be followed by the relative clause of result with subjunctive (*quibus claudatur = ut eis claudatur*, “so great that all the world is barred to them”) but the indicative (*clauditur*) is more vivid and definite. The repetition of *quid* helps convey Venus’ frustration. **ob Italiam**: an unusual phrase that must mean “because of (their fate in) Italy.”
234. **hinc**: “from them,” i.e. from Aeneas and the Trojans, emphasized by *revocato a sanguine Teucris* in 235. **Romanos**: accusative in indirect statement after *pollicitus (es)* in 237; supply *fore* from 235.
235. **hinc**: the repetition of *hinc* from 234 emphasizes the promises Jupiter had made to Venus, which now seem broken. **revocato**: “restored.” **Teucris**: cf. 38 n.
236. **qui...tenerent**: relative clause of purpose (cf. 62-3 n.). For *dicione tenerent*, cf. 622; 7.737 *dicione premebat*. The repetition of *qui* helps convey the encompassing nature of Roman dominion that Jupiter had promised. **omnis**: many manuscripts read *omni* and take it with *dicione*. The authority of *omnis*, however, is somewhat stronger and better fits the sense of the passage, since with *terras* it suggests the geographical range of Rome’s power.
237. **pollicitus**: supply *es*, and see 42 n. **quae te...sententia vertit?**: perhaps an inversion for *cur sententiam vertisti?*
- 238-9. **hoc**: i.e. your promise; ablative of means. **occasum...solabar**: “I found solace for the fall of Troy” (lit. “I solaced the fall of Troy”), a somewhat uncommon instance of *solor*, taking

- as its object not the person solaced but the thing that provides the need for solace. **fatis... rependens**: “with fates (i.e. happier fates) compensating opposite (i.e. unhappy) fates.” For *rependo*, cf. *Ov. Her.* 15.32 *ingenio formae damna rependo meae*.
240. **eadem fortuna**: the proverbial evil fortune of Troy (cf. 6.62 *Troiana... fortuna*).
241. **quem das finem...laborum**: this question attributes to Jupiter the ultimate control of Aeneas’ destiny, while simultaneously emphasizing Venus’ suspicion that Jupiter has changed his mind and broken his promise (237).
- 242-4. **mediis...penetrare...intima...superare**: these words and the description of the Timavus (244-6) emphasize the difficulties Antenor was able to overcome and in spite of which (*tamen* 247) he was successful. Antenor was a prominent Trojan warrior who, after the war, founded the city *Patavium* (247) in the region of Venice. See Livy 1.1 for the story. For the tradition of Antenor as a Trojan turncoat, see Austin *ad loc.* **Illyricos...sinus**: “Illyrian gulfs” means the Adriatic gulf along the shores of Illyria. Having passed them, Antenor would come to the “inmost (i.e. lying farthest up the gulf) realms of the Liburni (i.e. a people of Illyria).” **fontem...Timavi**: the Timavus river (modern Timavo) flows from the Alps into the Gulf of Trieste, and has part of its course underground (cf. *montis* 245). **superare**: “sail by,” a nautical idiom (Servius).
- 245-6. **unde...:** “from which (i.e. from the *fons*, cf. 242-4 n.) through nine mouths the flood comes bursting and buries the fields beneath a sounding sea.” The *ora* are the “springs” from which the river emerges; the *arva* are the marshy meadows on either side of the river. **vasto cum murmure montis**: note the alliterative\* imitation. **mare...pelago**: Venus exaggerates the power of the river Timavus, which Antenor still sails by (cf. *superare* 244), to contrast it with Aeneas’ seemingly insurmountable troubles.
247. **hic**: referring to the general area just described. However, *Patavium* (modern Padua), the city founded by Antenor (*ille*), is actually more to the southwest of this area. **urbem Patavi**: “the city of Patavium.” *Patavi* is a genitive of apposition (AG §343d), though Latin more usually will keep *urbs* and the city’s name in the same case, e.g. *urbs Patavium* or *urbs Roma*.
- 248-9. **genti nomen dedit**: Livy (1.1.3) says that the place where they first landed was called *Troia*, though the colonists were called *Veneti*. Cf. 242-4 n. **armaque fixit | Troia**: “hung up the arms of Troy,” i.e. in the temples as a sign of peace. It was customary for a person, when retiring from any profession, to dedicate one’s instruments to the appropriate god. Cf. 6.18; *Hor. Carm.* 3.26.3, where the poet Horace dedicates his lyre. **placida...quiescit**: probably refers not to Antenor’s death, but to the fact that he (in contrast to Aeneas) has finished his wanderings and founded a city. For *compono* and *placida pace* of living persons, see 8.321-5. **compositus**: syncopated\* form of *compositus* (cf. 26 n.).
250. **nos**: strongly contrasts with Antenor (242)—“Antenor could...(but) we cannot”; cf. 184 n. Venus identifies herself with Aeneas and his fortunes. **caeli...arcem**: Aeneas was said not to have died but to have been taken up to heaven, where he became one of the *Di Indigetes* “native gods”—benefactors of the human race like Hercules and Romulus who were deified for their good deeds. **adnuis**: with special reference to the famous “nod” of Jupiter by which he expresses his will (as he does at *Hom. Il.* 1.528-30).
251. **unius ob iram**: *unius* = Juno. Note how Venus does not name Juno.
253. **hic pietatis honos?**: this question (like the next) contains a rebuke of Jupiter. **sceptra**: by metonymy\* means “empire.”



254-96. *Jupiter reassures his daughter Venus and reveals the fates of Aeneas, his descendants, and the glory of Rome, culminating in the reign of Augustus.*

254. **Olli:** an archaic\* form of the dative of *ille*, sometimes used by Vergil (cf. 4.105, 5.10) for special effect. **hominum sator atque deorum:** a grand phrase, echoing both Homer and Ennius.

256. **oscula...:** “lightly touched (i.e. kissed) his daughter’s lips.” The usual meaning of *oscula* is “kisses,” though “lips” is its primary meaning, as it is the diminutive of *os*. Vergil seldom uses such diminutives.

257. **parce metu:** lit. “spare your fear,” i.e. “cease fearing”; *metu* is dative, cf. 156 n. **Cytherea:** i.e. Venus. Cythera is an island off the southern coast of the Peloponnese (i.e. Laconia), and is sacred to Venus because, according to myth, she was born from the sea near it.

258. **Lāvini:** cf. 2 n. Roman poets exercise latitude with regard to the quantities of proper names. Cf. 343 *Syphaeus*, 348 *Syphaeum*.

259. **sublimem:** proleptic, cf. 70 n.

260. **neque me sententia vertit:** responds to the phrasing of Venus’ question at 237.

261. **fabor:** Jupiter plays with the etymology of *fata* (cf. 258, 262) from *fabor* (“speak,” cf. also 256).

262. **et volvens...:** “and unrolling (them) will bring to light the secret records of fate.” *Volvens* = *evolvens*. Ancient books were wrapped around rollers and had to be unrolled to be read; thus *evolvere librum* means “read a book,” and *volumen* “a roll” or “book.”

264. **moresque...et moenia ponet:** *mores* includes laws, customs, and institutions; it contrasts with *moenia*, the outward defences of a community. *Mores ponere* is formed on the analogy of *leges ponere* “to set up laws,” which were actually “set up” on tablets of wood or brass.

265-6. **viderit...transierint:** future perfects in the *dum* (“until”) clause (AG §553). **terna...hiberna:** *hiberna* (neuter plural) literally means “winter encampments” but here is probably equivalent to *hiemes* (“winters”). With *terna*, it describes the passing of “three winters” and parallels *tertia...aetas* (“third summer”). **Rutulis...subactis:** probably ablative absolute, but it could also be dative of reference. In these lines we learn that Aeneas will die the third year after the defeat of Turnus (i.e. the end of the *Aeneid*), and then become a god. Cf. 250 n. and 259-60. However, Anchises will later predict that Aeneas at an advanced age (*longaevum serum* 6.764) will have a son by Silvia. See O’Hara (1990) 91-102.

267-8. **cui nunc cognomen Iulo:** *Iulo* is dative by attraction to *cui*, a traditional construction. A *cognomen* is strictly the name added to the *nomen* (i.e. name of the *gens*) to identify the family (e.g. *Cicero*, *Scipio*). **Ilus:** a king of Ilium. **res...Ilia:** “Ilium’s state,” cf. *respublica*. In these lines, Jupiter explains the origin of Ascanius’ other name, making the transition to *Iulius* (288) easy. He thus creates an ancient connection between Ascanius/Iulus (Aeneas and Venus) and the Julian family. Iulus, as an alternate name for Ascanius, was probably invented in the late Republic to associate Ascanius with the Julian *gens* (i.e. the family of Julius Caesar and thus also Augustus; see “Vergil’s lifetime and poetry” in the General Introduction), though there is some controversy over the dating of the name (cf. Austin *ad* 2.563).

269. **triginta...:** Aeneas will rule for three years (265-6), Ascanius for thirty, and their descendants for three hundred (272). **volvendis:** “rolling”; though Latin lacks a present participle passive, it sometimes uses the gerundive as such. Cf. 9.7 *volvenda dies* and Enn. *Ann.* fr. 545 in Skutsch, fr. 421 in Warmington *clamor ad caelum volvendus*.

271. **Longam...Albam:** Alba Longa in Latium. Livy 1.3: *Ascanius...aliam (urbem) sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata.*
272. **iam:** “then,” marking a fresh stage in the history. **totos:** “whole” or “complete,” cf. 269 *magno*; the fullness of the time is emphasized. **regnabitur:** an intransitive verb used impersonally; cf. *discumbitur* 700 and AG §208.
273. **gente sub Hectorea:** though Hector died at Troy, note that he lives on through his Trojan descendants and their successes.
274. **Marte gravis:** “pregnant by Mars.” **partu dabit:** = *pariet*. **Ilia:** usually called Rhea Silvia, she was daughter of King Amulius, a vestal virgin (*sacerdos* 273), and mother of Romulus and Remus. Her story is told at Livy 1.3-4.
275. **lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine:** the wolf-skin, seemingly part of Romulus’ traditional attire (cf. Prop. 4.10.20), refers to the she-wolf who found and suckled the abandoned babies Romulus and Remus. The image of the wolf nursing these twins was a famous one. Cf. 8.630-4 (on Aeneas’ shield) and Livy 1.4.
276. **Mavortia:** an archaic adjectival form of Romulus, who was the son of *Mars* (older spelling *Mavors*), though this adjective must also suggest the importance of the war god for the Roman state.
278. **hec metas...:** *metas* describes limits in extent, *tempora* in duration. *Rerum* is a very general word that means “fortunes”; here “great fortunes,” but in 178, 462 the reverse.
279. **imperium sine fine dedi:** see 223-304 n. **quin:** “moreover.”
280. **metu:** the force of this word is unclear — Juno’s own fear, or the fear she instills in others? The former is probably better (“in her fears”; cf. 23). **fatigat:** “harasses.”
281. **in melius referet:** “will change for the better.” For *melius*, cf. 111 n.
282. **gentemque togatam:** the *toga* was the traditional dress of Romans when engaged in civic (as opposed to martial) duties.
283. **sic placitum:** “such is my pleasure” or “will” (lit. “so it has pleased me”), a formal phrase expressing divine resolution. **lustris labentibus:** “as the sacred seasons glide along.” The *lustrum* is a religious period, so the use of *lustris* here gives the phrase a solemn sound.
- 284-5. **Assaraci:** Anchises’ grandfather. **Phthiam...:** Achilles came from Phthia, Agamemnon from Mycenae, Diomedes from Argos. These cities of the Trojan War era are used in the description of Rome’s domination of Greece, which culminates in the taking of Corinth by Mummius (146 BCE). Rome will thus avenge the Greeks’ destruction of Troy.
- 286-96. The end of Jupiter’s speech brings the revelation of fate down to Vergil’s day. Lines 292-6 are generally taken as referring to Augustus (see notes below), who thus represents the goal of fate toward which Aeneas strives. The identity of the person mentioned at 286-91, however, is contested. He is called *Caesar...Iulius* (286-8), but whether the Dictator or Augustus is meant is unclear (see 286 n.). Strong arguments are put forth for both identifications, but neither side can claim absolute certainty. Given this ambiguity, it might therefore be more profitable to contemplate the question of O’Hara (1990) 160: “Why has Vergil not been clear on such an important point?” What does the (potentially deliberate) ambiguity contribute to the meaning of the passage?

For the arguments concerning the identity of this figure, see Austin on 286 ff. (leans toward the Dictator), G. W. Williams (1983: 140-2, Augustus), and O’Hara (1990: 155-63; 1994, ambiguity), Kraggerud (1994, Augustus), Dobbin (1995, Dictator), Harrison (1996, Augustus), and Ross (2007: 107-8, Dictator).

286. **Caesar...Iulius (288)**: either the Dictator or the emperor Augustus (see 286-96 n.). The emperor, whose original name was *C. Octavius*, became *C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus* upon his testamentary adoption by the dictator Julius Caesar in 44 BCE. He was later granted the name *Augustus* ("Revered One") by the Senate in 27 BCE (see "Vergil's lifetime and poetry" in the General Introduction). As a result, Augustus could be the man here referred to as *Iulius Caesar*, and he certainly is the passage's focus by line 292 (cf. notes below). However, *Iulius Caesar* would perhaps more naturally indicate the Dictator, and the details in 286-91 have also been so interpreted.
287. **imperium...**: relative clause of purpose. *Imperium* is the act or office of commanding, not the country or "empire" over which the command is exercised, though it often approximates this sense, as here (cf. 340 n.). Jupiter thus foretells that *Iulius Caesar* (cf. 286 n.) will reign over the entire earth and his glory will reach the heavens. Cf. 6.782. **Oceanus**: in Homer, *Oceanus* is the stream that flows round the whole earth.
288. **Iulius...Iulo**: the name *Iulius* is emphatically placed and emphasizes the connection between Aeneas' son *Iulus* (cf. 267) and the Caesar here indicated. **Iulo**: note that *I* is probably to be construed as a vowel (thus avoiding a fifth foot spondee, rare in Vergil), though in *Iulius* at the line's beginning the *I*- is clearly consonantal. See Cowan (2009), who also argues that Vergil's etymological wordplay with *Iulus*, which is connected to both *Ilium* (267-8) and *Iulius* (here), has political significance.
289. **olim**: "one day," "in days to come." It becomes standard for poets to allude to the day when the emperor will enter heaven as indefinitely distant, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45 *serus in caelum redeas*. *Olim* bears various senses according to the connection in which it is used: 1) "at some time past," 2) "at some time future," as here, and 3) "at some time or other," "from time to time." **spoliis Orientis onustum**: this phrase could refer to the Dictator because of his successes in Alexandria in 48 BCE and in Pontus the following year; however, it perhaps more convincingly refers to Augustus (cf. *Geo.* 2.171 *extremis Asiae iam victor ab oris*). After the battle of Actium (31 BCE) Octavian reduced Egypt, and eventually celebrated a triple triumph at Rome in 29 BCE (described on Aeneas' shield, 8.714-28). At that time he dedicated a temple to Julius Caesar (*Divus Iulius*, cf. Ovid, *Ponto* 2.2.85), and began to accept divine honors in Asia (Purcell (2005) 102). The temple of Janus was also closed as a sign of universal peace (cf. 293-6).
290. This line describes an anticipated apotheosis, but whose is debated: Caesar's, who was in fact declared a god in 42 BCE? Augustus', who had limited worship as a god during Vergil's lifetime (cf. 289 n.)? Or perhaps Augustus' expected deification? **hic quoque**: "he also," i.e. as well as Aeneas (cf. 250 n.); *hic* refers back to *hunc* (289).
291. **aspera...**: i.e. the golden age shall return; cf. 6.792-3. This is a variation on a golden line\* (the adverb *tum* is added, carefully coordinated with *olim* in 289), which Vergil at times uses to mark the commencement or close of highly rhetorical passages (e.g. *Geo.* 1.468 *impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem*). This line cannot apply to the Dictator easily, since his assassination plunged Rome into more civil war. It could, however, refer to the relative peace under Octavian/Augustus after he had ended the civil wars or to the hope for the peace he would ultimately bring about.
292. **Fides**: this (personified) virtue is assumed to be characteristic of early Rome and is therefore called *cana* ("grey-haired"). **Vesta**: the goddess of the hearth is introduced perhaps to represent the nation as one family. **Remo cum fratre Quirinus**: cf. *Geo.* 2.533. After his apotheosis, Romulus was assimilated to the god *Quirinus* and is so named here. The phrase

symbolizes the brotherly love that had followed the civil wars. Yet the two brothers did not rule with such piety, and the murder of Remus by Romulus was often figured as a type of civil discord (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 7.19). We must therefore ask why Jupiter is made to include a detail that was not in some sense true.

293. **ferro et compagibus artis**: by hendiadys\*, “close-fastened bars of iron.” The temple of Janus was closed when there was peace throughout the Roman state: tradition (Livy 1.19) relates that it was only so closed three times—by Numa (Rome’s second king), by T. Manlius after the First Punic War, and by Augustus 29 BCE (cf. 289 n.). The gates are described in 7.607-14 as they are opened at the start of the Italian war. There may be a recall here of Ennius, who imagines the goddess Discord confined as a prisoner within the temple: *postquam Discordia taetra | belli ferratos postes portasque refregit* (*Annales* fr. 225-6 in Skutsch, fr. 258-9 in Warmington).

294-6. **Furor impius**: the adjective *impius* describes something monstrous, and is especially used by the Roman poets when speaking of civil war, because it is a violation of the laws of nature. *Furor impius* represents an emphatic counterpart to the ideals seemingly embodied in Augustus’ reign. Cf. 223-304 n. We are told that Augustus placed a painting of *Bellum* and *Furor* in the Augustan Forum. See Pliny, *Natural History* 35.27 and Servius *auctus* (i.e. the Servian commentary as expanded probably in the seventh/eighth century CE) on this line. **impius intus | saeva sedens super**: note the emphatic alliteration.\*

297-304. *Jupiter sends Mercury to induce the Carthaginians to welcome Aeneas.*

297. **Maia genitum**: Mercury, the messenger of the gods, was the son of *Maia* (here ablative of origin).

298. **novae...Karthaginis**: there may be a wordplay (paronomasia\*) here, since the city’s name *Karthago* means *nova civitas* in Punic (see 12 n.).

299-300. **hospitio Teucris**: double dative construction, cf. 22 n. **ne...arceret**: note the switch from present (*pateant* 298) to imperfect subjunctive (here *arcerent*) in this purpose clause. The main verb *dimittit* is an historic present and thus can take either a primary or secondary sequence subjunctive in dependent clauses. **fati nescia**: the phrase is effective as long as these words are left vague, since Dido would surely have driven Aeneas away, if she had actually known about fate. See Farron (1989) on the thematic development of this phrase.

301. **remigio alarum**: lit. “with rowing of wings.” This nautical metaphor for flying goes back to Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 52, and is used of Daedalus at 6.19.

302. **facit, ponuntque...**: parataxis\* showing that the effect follows the cause at once.

303-4. **quietum...animum mentemque benignam**: “a gentle spirit and kind intent.” *Animus* is often the seat of the emotions, *mens* of the intellect, but the distinction cannot always be strictly maintained.

### 305–417: Aeneas meets his mother Venus

Aeneas (with his comrade Achates) encounters his mother Venus, who is disguised as a huntress. She says that they have landed in Carthage and explains the story of Dido, the city’s queen. Like the preceding episodes, this one continues to transform Odysseus’ experiences in *Odyssey* 5-7. Aeneas’ encounter can be read against Odysseus’ entreaty of Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6.145-97 after the hero’s shipwreck caused by Poseidon’s storm, and Athena’s disguised encounter with Odysseus in *Odyssey* 7.14-77, as he is about to enter the palace of Nausicaa’s father, King Alcinous. But again there are important differences. For example,

while Odysseus acts with great poise in his encounters, Aeneas seems thoroughly exhausted by his troubles and even complains to Venus about his suffering. Aeneas' human frailties are more numerous than Odysseus' and will be tested throughout the epic. In addition, some scholars have seen the influence of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, where Aphrodite appears in disguise as a beautiful mortal woman to Anchises and seduces him, from which encounter Aeneas is born. The extent to which a sexually charged (and perhaps even incestuous) element should be felt in the Vergilian passage as a result is debated (see Reckford, Casali, and Oliensis, Hardie cited below). Apart from these intertextual concerns, this scene serves an important function for the plot: it introduces the story of Dido, and we quickly see that her life parallels Aeneas' in many ways: e.g. both are exiles, who have lost their spouses, and travel west to found a new city (cf. 561-78 n.). Dido's Carthage thus stands as an example of what Aeneas might attain. On this scene, see E. L. Harrison (1972-73, 1992), Greenwood (1989), O'Hara (1990) 9-14, Reckford (1995-96), Nelis (2001) 75-9, Khan (2003), Hardie (2006) 26, Casali (2008), and Oliensis (2009) 61-3, 67-8.

305-24. *Aeneas and Achates explore the country and meet Venus, disguised as a huntress looking for her sisters.*

305. **At pius Aeneas:** *At* returns us from the divine realm (cf. 223-6 n.) to the human, where we immediately see Aeneas' *pietas* in action, as he takes care of his people. The phrase *at pius Aeneas* recurs at crucial junctures in the narrative (cf. 4.393; 6.9, 232; 7.5; 12.311). **volvens:** here "pondering."

306. **exire...:** object infinitive dependent on *constituit* 309—as are *explorare* 307, *quaerere... referre* 309.

307. **accesserit...teneant (308):** subjunctives in indirect questions governed by *quaerere* (309).

308. **inculta:** i.e. "desert wastes." **vidēt:** the final syllable is long. Like other poets, Vergil sometimes lengthens the final short syllable of a word when it occurs in arsis (i.e. receives the *ictus*, the metrical stress that falls on the first long syllable of each hexameter foot), and is followed by a strong caesura (cf. 651 *peterēt*; 4.64 *pectoribus*; 5.853 *amittebat*; cf. also 667-8 n. and Austin on 1.308).

309. **exacta:** here "the results of his enquiries."

310. **in convexo nemorum:** "beneath overarching woods," lit. "in an arch of groves." Vergil suggests a stream over which the trees form an arch or vault. *Convexo* is a noun formed from the neuter of the adjective *convexus*. Cf. 111 n.

312. **comitatus Achate:** the use of the ablative without *ab* after *comitatus* is common.

313. **bina:** poetic for "two," cf. 381 *bis denis*, 393 *bis senos*. **lato...ferro:** ablative of quality or description (AG §415). **crispans:** here, "holding" or "balancing." This line is repeated at 12.165.

314. **mater sese tulit obviam:** "his mother went to meet," lit. "brought herself" or "advanced opposite."

315. **gerens:** here "displaying," or perhaps "having"; this word is used in Latin not only of things that can be carried or put on such as *arma*, but also of the eyes, face, forehead, etc. (cf. 2.278 *vulneraque illa gerens*).

316-17. **equos...fatigat:** i.e. tires horses out by the speed of her running. **Threissa...Harpalyce:** this is the earliest mention of Harpalyce, a Thracian (*Threissa*) princess who was forced to live in the woods after her father was driven from power (Servius). She functions as a kind of prototype for Camilla in book 11. **volucremque...praevertitur Hebrum:** "and outstrips the

- swift Hebrus...” The river *Hebrus* in Thrace, however, was not renowned to be a rapid river, according to Servius *auctus*.
318. **de more:** i.e. she is dressed as a *venatrix* (cf. 319). **habilem:** “handy,” i.e. easy both to wear and to use.
319. **dederatque comam diffundere ventis:** “and had given her hair to the winds to scatter.” The infinitive seems epexegetic, further “explaining” the phrase *dederat ventis*—Vergil uses this type of infinitive with *do, dono* often, cf. 66 n. and 5.262 *donat habere viro*.
320. **nuda genu...:** *genu* is accusative of respect. **sinus:** probably accusative object of *collecta*, taken in a middle sense (228 n.). Throughout this description, one should probably think of Diana the huntress (cf. 323, 337 n.).
- 321-2. **prior:** Venus speaks “first.” **monstrate...vidistis si quam:** “point her out if you have seen any...,” not “tell me whether you have seen,” which would require *si videritis*.
324. **aut:** joins *errantem* (322) and *prementem*, the primary actions involved in hunting.
- 325-334. *Aeneas prays to the huntress (his disguised mother) for help.*
- Aeneas’ response to Venus echoes Odysseus’ words to Nausicaa (Hom. *Od.* 6.149-85).
325. **Sic...:** note the responson between (disguised) mother and son, achieved with *contra* and by the repetition both of *sic* and of the name *Venus*. **orsus:** from *ordior* (“begin”), not *ortior* (“rise”); for the omission of *est*, cf. 42 n.
326. **mihi:** the dative of the agent is used here after the perfect passives *audita (est)* and *visa (est)*, though it is more common after the passive periphrastic. Note that Aeneas’ initial response (*audita...visa*) answers Venus’ specific questions involving what Aeneas and Achates have seen (*vidistis* 322) and heard (*clamore* 324).
- 327-8. **o quam te memorem, virgo:** “Oh, how am I to address you, maiden?” The potential subjunctive conveys Aeneas’ hesitation or uncertainty. With the words *o, dea certe* (328) Aeneas resumes his address, employing the general term “goddess”; then in line 329 he hesitantly asks if she is Diana or a nymph. **namque...mortalis:** supply *est*. **hominem sonat:** *hominem* is a cognate accusative (cf. AG §390) but can be translated as an adverb. Cf. 6.50 *mortale sonans* (with n).
329. **an Pheobi soror?:** i.e. Diana. Odysseus asks the same question of Nausicaa, who is compared to Artemis (Hom. *Od.* 6.151).
330. **sis felix:** *sis* (like *leves*) is an optative subjunctive; *felix* means “propitious” or “gracious.” Cf. *Ecl.* 5.65 *sis bonus o felixque tuis*. **quaecumque:** an ellipsis\* for “whoever you are”; supply *es*.
331. **quo sub caelo tandem:** *tandem* is commonly used in questions to add emphasis, cf. *quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?* (Cic. *Cat.* 1.1).
332. **iacemur:** subjunctive in indirect question. **locorumque:** creates a hypermetric line\*, with the final *-que* elided before the initial vowel of *erramus* at the beginning of the next line. Cf. 1.448; 2.745; 4.558, 629; 5.753. In 5.422 such a line suggests size, in 6.602 an overhanging rock.
333. **vastis et fluctibus:** the postponement of *et* is a stylistic device providing metrical flexibility that the neoteric poets of the mid-first century BCE (e.g. Catullus) took over from the Hellenistic poets (e.g. Callimachus and Theocritus, third century BCE).
334. **multa...:** for this line, understand a protasis such as “if you grant our request.”
- 335-71. *Venus tells the story of Dido, her flight from Tyre, and her founding of Carthage.*

336. **virginibus Tyriis**: emphatic by position.
337. **purpureoque...coturno**: “purple boots bound high upon the leg” are clearly the regular mark of Diana (Vergil describes her statue as *puniceo...suras evincta coturno* at *Ecl.* 7.32). Venus is thus explaining Aeneas’ mistake in suggesting that she was Diana (*Phoebe soror*) at 329. Because purple dye came chiefly from Tyre, it is natural that a Tyrian-looking huntress would wear purple boots. With *Punica* in 338, there may be an etymological\* play on *puniceus*, which can mean both “Punic” and “purple” (O’Hara (1996) 124-5).
338. **Punica**: cf. 337 n. **regna**: plural for singular, common in Vergil and poetry more generally. **Agenoris urbem**: Agenor was a Phoenician king and forefather of Dido. *Agenoris urbem* is an erudite (and periphrastic\*) way of saying “Carthage.”
339. **fines Libyci**: supply *sunt*. *Fines* (lit. “neighboring lands”) here means “neighbors.” **genus intractabile bello**: in loose apposition to *fines Libyci*. Cf. 4.40 *Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello*.
340. **imperium...regit**: “holds sway.” *Imperium* (cf. 287 n.) is here cognate accusative after *regit* (cf. 327-8 n.). **Dido**: her name, according to Servius *auctus* (*ad loc.*), was initially *Elissa*, but after she committed suicide instead of marrying an African prince in violation of her love for her deceased husband (cf. 494-642 n.), she was called *Dido*, which is Phoenician for *virago*, “heroic woman” (cf. Hexter (1992) 348-50). The name *Dido* is preferred in Vergil, though *Elissa* appears at 4.335, 610; 5.3.
341. **germanum**: Dido’s brother Pygmalion, whose crimes are described at 346-56. The succinct participial phrase *germanum fugiens* is emphatically placed and punctuated by a caesura. **iniuria**: here a “tale of injustice.”
342. **ambages**: “complicated story.” *Ambages* is used literally (i.e. “roundabout path”) at 6.29 for the “windings” of a labyrinth, but its metaphorical\* sense is common. Cf. *Geo.* 2.46 *per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo*, and such phrases as *mitte ambages* (i.e. “come to the point”), *positis ambagibus*. **fastigia**: here “main points” (i.e. high points; *OLD* s.v. *fastigium* 5b), an unusual usage of this word.
343. **Syphaeus**: the first syllable is long here, but short at 348 (cf. 258 n.). **ditissimus agri**: cf. 14 n. Some editors, including Austin and Mynors, accept the emendation *auri* for *agri*, attested in the manuscripts, on the ground that Tyre was a purely commercial city, entirely unconcerned in agriculture and dependent on imported corn for food.
344. **miserac**: dative of agent after *dilectus* (cf. 326 n.).
345. **intactam**: i.e. a virgin.
346. **omnibus**: refers to taking the auspices, without which the Romans never entered on any solemn or important business. It was especially necessary that marriage should be celebrated at certain lucky seasons and on lucky days.
347. **Pygmalion**: this Pygmalion is not to be confused with the artist who falls in love with his own sculpture (cf. *Ov. Met.* 10). **scelere ante...**: the comparative *immanior* with *ante alios omnis* expresses an intense degree of cruelty (cf. 4.141 *ante alios pulcherrimus omnis*). For other strengthenings of superlatives, cf. 2.426 n.
348. **quos inter**: the preposition follows its object (*quos*, i.e. Pygmalion and Scyphaeus), an example of anastrophe\*. Note the destructive role of *furor* here. Cf. 34-222 n.
349. **impius ante aras...**: Pygmalion’s greed made him blind to the monstrous nature of his crime, the treacherous murder (cf. *clam, incautum*) of a relative at the altar (*aras*) of the household gods (4.20-1).

350. **securus amorum...**: *securus* (“without care”) is formed from *sine* + *cura* and followed by an objective genitive; *amorum* is plural for singular, “without care for (his sister’s) love.”
- 351-2. **aegram...amantem**: i.e. Dido. **multa...simulans**: “by many pretences” (lit. “making up many things”).
353. **in somnis**: though *somnus* generally means “sleep,” it can be used in such constructions as *per somnum* and *in somnis* to mean “in (one’s) dreams.” Cf. 2.270-1 *in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector | visus adesse*. **inhumati**: emphasizes the cruelty of Pygmalion’s slaying of Sychaeus. We learn in 6.327-30 that unburied souls must wander for one hundred years before Charon can transport them across the river Acheron into the underworld.
354. **ora modis attollens pallida miris**: the phrase is from Lucretius 1.123 *simulacra modis pallentia miris*, which Vergil uses verbatim at *Georgics* 1.477. Sychaeus’ apparition will be echoed by Hector’s at 2.270-95.
355. **crudelis aras**: *aras* is plural for singular (as is *pectora*); *crudelis*, while grammatically modifying *aras*, really describes Pygmalion’s crime (i.e. an example of transferred epithet\*/enallage\*).
356. **nudavit**: “laid bare”; take metaphorically\* with *aras*, literally with *pectora*. An example of zeugma.\* **caecum**: “dark” and so “secret,” “hidden.”
357. **suadet**: sc. *Didonem*.
358. **auxiliumque viae**: describes the *veteres...thesauros*.
360. **his**: i.e. by the vision and revelations.
361. **quibus**: its antecedent is the implied subject of *conveniunt* (i.e. those who decide to flee with Dido). **odium crudele tyranni**: in part an instance of transferred epithet\*/enallage\* (cf. 355 n.); it means “hatred of the cruel tyrant,” but cruel tyranny also creates “cruel hatred of the tyrant”; so we speak not only of “cruel wrong” but also of “cruel suffering.”
364. **Pygmalionis opes**: i.e. the buried treasure, which Pygmalion had murdered Sychaeus to gain, but which he loses nonetheless. **dux femina facti**: courage (cf. also 340 n.) and leadership are important elements of Dido’s characterization in book 1.
- 365-6 . **cernes**: Venus points out Carthage in the distance. **moenia...arcem**: Dido’s tale has already displayed numerous parallels with Aeneas’ story. In this line, Venus emphasizes Dido’s success in founding her city, the very thing that Aeneas strives to accomplish. **novae Karthaginis**: on the paronomasia\*, cf. 298 n.
367. **facti de nomine Byrsam**: “(called) Byrsa from the name of the deed.” They purchased as much ground as an oxhide (*byrsa*) would enclose, whereupon they cut the hide into narrow strips and spread them to cover a wide area. This story probably arose from a false etymology: the Phoenicians called the citadel of Carthage *Bosra*, which the Greeks associated with *byrsa*, their own word for “oxhide.”
368. **quantum**: = *tantum quantum*, “as much as...” **possent**: subjunctive because the line seemingly reports the terms of the agreement.
369. **vos qui**: = *qui vos estis?* **quibus aut venistis**: the disjunctive *aut* is delayed in Hellenistic fashion, cf. 333 n.
370. **talibus...**: supply *verbis*. This phrase can refer either back to Venus’ speech or forward to Aeneas’ response.
- 372-86. *Aeneas identifies himself and begins lamenting his suffering but is interrupted by the huntress.*



373. **annalis**: “record,” “history”; originally “the yearly register” of events kept by the *pontifices* but later used to mean an “historical work” (cf. the *Annals* of Tacitus). Note the stress that Aeneas lays on his tribulations.
374. **ante**: adverbial (i.e. before the tale is ended). **clauso...Olympo**: the sky (here the sense of *Olympo*) is “closed” at night as a house is closed, and similarly it is “opened” in the morning, cf. 10.1 *Panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi*. **componet**: makes the sentence begun at 372 a mixed condition. This reading has better manuscript authority than *componat*.
375. **Troia antiqua**: ablative of place from which, dependent on *appulit* (377), which in turn governs the accusative *nos*. **si...forte**: “if by chance”; Aeneas modestly brings up his heroic past (cf. Sinon’s similar language at 2.81-2). **vestras**: i.e. of you and your countrymen, cf. 140 n.
376. **per aequora vectos**: this phrase also appears at 6.335, 692; 7.228; and *Geo.* 1.206; it echoes Catullus’ difficult journey to bury his brother: *multa per aequora vectus* (101.1).
377. **forte sua**: “by its own chance” or “whim,” an unusual phrase, but with it Aeneas seemingly emphasizes that he and his people did not choose to land where they did and are not enemies.
378. **sum pius...**: Aeneas finally answers Venus’ question *sed vos qui tandem?* (369), and identifies himself with his defining virtue, *pietas*. The line and scene echo Hom. *Od.* 9.19-20 where Odysseus says to Alcinoüs: “I am Odysseus, great Laertes’ son, | Known for my cunning throughout the world, | And my fame reaches even to heaven” (Lombardo).
380. **Italiam...**: Aeneas can make these claims because Dardanus, the son of Jupiter (28 n.) and ancestor of the Trojans, was said originally to have come from Italy (3.167).
381. **bis denis**: emphatically contrasted with *vix septem* (383), cf. 184 n. **denis**: “ten.” Aeneas had twenty ships before Juno’s storm. He landed at Carthage with seven (170, 383), and had himself witnessed the sinking of Orontes’ ship (cf. 112-17 and 584-5). As a result there are still twelve ships unaccounted for. **conscendi...aequor**: “I climbed the Phrygian sea,” i.e. I put out to sea from Troy. This phrase is an unusual development of *conscendi navem*, “board a ship” or “embark.”
382. **matre dea monstrante**: emphasizes both his divine parentage and his *pietas*, though it is Apollo and his priests (not Venus) who provide much of the guidance during his travels from Troy to Carthage. **data fata secutus**: *fata* here probably means “oracles,” referring especially to that given by Apollo at Delos (cf. 3.94-8).
383. **vix septem**: not “scarcely seven” but “scarcely (i.e. with difficulty) do seven shattered by waves and (the East) wind survive.” Cf. 381 n.
384. **ignotus, egens**: asyndeton\*, again emphasizing Aeneas’ sufferings, though *ignotus* seemingly contradicts Aeneas’ claim that he is *fama super aethera notus* (379). **Libyae deserta**: in bitter contrast to *Europa atque Asia* (385).
385. **querentem**: “the word *querentem* summarises the content of his speech. He is far from being the perfect Stoic” (Williams).
- 387-401. *The huntress (Venus) directs them to Carthage and reveals that their comrades are safe.*
- 387-8. **Quisquis es**: Venus pretends she has not recognized Aeneas’ name (378). **auras | vitalis carpis**: cf. Lucr. 3.405 *vivit et aetherias vitalis suscipit auras*. **qui adveneris**: causal relative clause.
391. **tutum**: “a safe (place),” “safety” (cf. 111 n.). **versis Aquilonibus**: “when the north winds had (been) turned” or “changed.”

392. **ni frustra...**: note Venus' playful irony. *Vani* should be translated not as a noun ("false parents") but as an adverb ("falsely").
- 393-400. Venus points to and describes an omen of twelve swans, which, though chased by an eagle, escape and reach land (393-6). She interprets it to mean that Aeneas' twelve ships, though beset by the terrible storm (= eagle), have finally reached safe harbor (397-400). O'Hara (1990) 9-14 notes the omen's deceptive quality because it omits reference to a thirteenth ship, that of Orontes, which had sunk (cf. 381 n.). Vergil uses another swan omen at 12.244-56.
393. **bis senos...cycnos**: see 393-400 n. Swans were sacred to Venus. **agmine**: emphatic, their "orderly array" is opposed to the "rout" described in *turbabat*.
394. **aetheria...plaga**: this ablative phrase describes the supreme height (*aetheria*) and unbounded range (*plaga*) of the domain from which the eagle (*Iovis ales*) swoops down.
- 396-400. **aut capere...**: this line should be taken closely with Venus' interpretation of the swans at 400. Venus makes this clear not only with *haud aliter* (399) but also with the parallel *aut... aut* constructions in 396 and 400. As a result, *terras...capere* (395-6) is parallel to *portum tenet* (400), *captas...despectare* (396) to *pleno subit ostia velo* (400). And just as *portum tenet* describes those ships which have reached their goal and are no longer sailing, as opposed to those which are only near their goal and still have their sails spread, so *terras capere* must describe those swans which are on the ground and are no longer flying, and *captas despectare* those swans which are still only near the ground and have their wings still spread. Therefore it is probably best to construe *terras capere* as "occupy the ground," and *captas despectare* as "gaze down on the ground already occupied (by the others)." Still it is a difficult passage, and Hardie (1987) argues for Housman's emendation of *stellas* for *terras* (395), at least in part, to make better sense of *capere* and *captas*, since the swans are not on the ground but still in the air in 398. Cf. the discussions in Austin *ad loc.* and Khan (2003) 267-71, who read *capere* in 396 as meaning that the swans have not yet reached land but are only approaching. By this reading, *capere* corresponds to *pleno subit ostia velo* in 400, and the *aut... aut* constructions in 396 and 400 are not parallel but chiasmatically\* related.
397. **stridentibus alis**: "with rustling wings."
398. **et coetu cinxere...**: the force of this line is marked by the change of tense from *ludunt* (397) to *cinxere* and *dedere*; the action here described precedes that of the previous line. Thus the swans, as they descend, "play with noisy wings" after they have first circled round the sky in triumph with songs of joy.
400. **portum tenet...**: cf. 396-400 n.
- 402-17. *Venus reveals her identity and disappears, but first hides Aeneas and Achates in a cloud.*
402. **avertens...**: intransitive, cf. 104 n. **refulsit**: the compound verb expresses that something stands out brightly against a dark background or in comparison with something previously obscure, cf. 588; 2.590; 6.204.
403. **ambrosiae...comae**: *ambrosia* is either 1) the food of the gods or 2) an unguent of the gods. Here clearly the adjective is connected with its second meaning, cf. *Geo.* 4.415 *ambrosiae odorem*. Fragrance was regularly associated with the presence of a deity (cf. Aesch. *PV* 115, Eur. *Hipp.* 1391); Zeus' locks are also called ambrosial at Hom. *Il.* 1.529.
405. **et vera...**: "and by her gait she was revealed a true goddess"; for *incessu* cf. 46 n. **dea. ille**: Vergil has hiatus (cf. 16 n.) after a short vowel only here and *Ecl.* 2.53 *pruna honos*. In both cases there is a strong pause, which here helps intensify Aeneas' astonishment.

407. **crudelis tu quoque:** i.e. you as well as everyone/everything else.
409. Reed (2007) 187 n. 20 sees an allusion in this line to the abandoned Ariadne's lament at Catullus 64.166: *nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces*.
411. **obscuro...aëre:** the Homeric model here is *Od.* 7.14-17, where Athena pours a thick mist around Odysseus to make him invisible (cf. also *Il.* 3.380-1, where Venus rescues Paris by hiding him in a "thick mist"). The Greek word *aer*, the lower denser air, as opposed to the bright upper air (in Latin *aether*), can have the meaning "mist," "cloud"; Latin *aer* does not naturally have such a meaning, though the epithet *obscuro* suggests it. Later the encircling cloud is called *nebula* (439) and *nubes* (516, 580, 587). For the allegorical connection between *aer* and Hera, see 5.19-20 n.
412. **circum...fudit:** *tmesis\** (Gr. "cutting"), the separation of elements of a compound word by interjecting a word or phrase in between. **dea:** is in apposition to *Venus*, but really, as its position shows, goes with *circumfudit*, and indicates that the "enfolding" was an act of divine power.
414. **moliri...moram:** "contrive delay."
- 415-17. Vergil amplifies the description in Hom. *Od.* 8.362-3: "And Aphrodite, who loves laughter and smiles, [went] | To Paphos on Cyprus, and her precinct there | With its smoking altar" (Lombardo).
415. **Paphum:** Paphos in Cyprus was one of the central places for Venus' worship. **sublimis:** can be translated adverbially, "through the sky."
416. **Sabaeo:** "Sabaeen," "of the Sabaeans," a people in SW Arabia famous for their frankincense (*tus*).

#### 418-93: Aeneas at Juno's temple in Carthage

Following Venus' advice (cf. 389), Aeneas and Achates, still hidden in a mist (cf. 411-12) proceed to Carthage. The sight of this growing and bustling city elicits envy from Aeneas: *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!* (437). The two Trojans then find a grove in which a temple is under construction, decorated with murals portraying events from the Trojan war. Vergil pauses to describe the artwork, eight murals that might be divided into pairs: the victories of the Trojans under Hector (466-7) and of the Greeks under Achilles (468); the deaths of Rhesus (469-73) and Troilus (474-8); the Trojan women supplicating Pallas (479-82) and Priam supplicating Achilles (483-7); the fighting of Memnon (488-9) and of Penthesilea (490-3). Aeneas' "tour" of Carthage and the murals have important models in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus, also hidden in a mist created by a goddess (Athena), admires Phaeacia and the royal palace (Book 7) and hears tales about Troy (Book 8). See, e.g., Knauer (1964a) and Clay (1988), who also discerns the influence of the Cyclops episode of *Odyssey* 9.

A detailed and vivid description of an object, person, or event is called an *ecphrasis\** (pl. *ecphrases*), though, in a more restricted sense, the term *ecphrasis* is applied to a detailed description specifically of a work of art, as here. This scene presents the first of three particularly important *ecphrases* of art in the *Aeneid* — the other two being the doors on Apollo's temple at Cumae (6.20-33) and Aeneas' shield (8.626-728). The murals at Carthage are generally taken to reflect on the character of Aeneas and on the larger themes of the poem, but their meaning is contested. Their description, though in the poet's voice, privileges Aeneas' perspective (cf. 456 n.), and we are also given Aeneas' verbal reaction to them (459-63). To him, the paintings suggest both that the greatness of the Trojans,

though defeated, is celebrated everywhere, and that their suffering elicits compassion — even among the Carthaginians (cf. also 450-2). Yet, some readers have found this understanding somehow inadequate. Despite Aeneas' words, the pictures (also) show — and thus in some way celebrate — the Greeks' victory over the Trojans, and they do so at the temple of the goddess Juno, Aeneas' greatest enemy (e.g. Horsfall (1973-74)). He does not seem aware of these facts or possibilities, and thus we are left with important interpretive questions: is Aeneas misinterpreting the murals? Is there one way to interpret the murals, and does it have to be Aeneas'? What do Aeneas' reactions tell us about him? Finally, how do these representations shed light on the concerns of the narrative frame (and epic more generally) in which they are enclosed?

For more on Vergilian ecphrasis and Dido's murals, see R. D. Williams (1960), Horsfall (1973-74: 78-9=1990: 136-8), Johnson (1976) 99-105, Thomas (1983), Clay (1988), Leach (1988) 309-19, Fowler (1991), Lowenstam (1993), Barchiesi (1997, 1999), Bartsch (1998), Putnam (1998), Lowrie (1999), Nelis (2001) 79-82, and Beck (2007).

418-40. *Achates and Aeneas climb a hill and enviously watch Carthage being built.*

For this scene, cf. Hom. *Od.* 7.37-45, where Athena leads Odysseus through Phaeacia to King Alcinous' palace.

418. **Corripuere viam**: when people walk or run energetically they seem to “seize” or “devour” the way; thus often in poetry *carpere viam* (6.629), *iter, fugam*, or more strongly *corripere viam*, as here. Cf. 5.316 *corripiunt spatia*.

419. **plurimus**: here perhaps “with its great size.”

421-2. **miratur...miratur**: anaphora\*, initial placement, asyndeton\*, and spondaic rhythm all contribute to the greatness of Aeneas' wonder. **magalia**: “huts”; in *Geo.* 3.340 Vergil uses *mapalia* for an “encampment” of nomad Libyans; *magalia* is a Phoenician word (Servius). **miratur portas...**: for the phrase, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.11-12, where Maecenas, from his palace on the Esquiline, loved to *mirari beatae | fumum et opes strepitumque Romae*. **strata viarum**: roughly means *stratas vias* (“paved roads”) but with more stress on the adjective which functions something like a substantive (“the paving of the roads”). The phrase is used at Lucretius 1.315, 4.415

423-5 **ducere...**: the five infinitives in 423-5 should probably be taken as historical, though some construe them as governed by *instant*. **ducere muros**: “draw out a line of wall,” describing the building of a wall with respect to its length, not height. **moliri...subvolvere**: *moliri* means “build”; *subvolvere saxa*, “roll up the stones” (i.e. to where they would be used in construction). **tecto**: “house” or “building” (dative). **concludere sulco**: Vergil may allude here to the regular practice in founding a city of marking out its walls with “a furrow” (*sulcus*).

426. **legunt**: zeugma\*; the verb means “choose” with *magistratus* and *senatum*, but with *iura* it means “make” or “adopt.” There was an actual senate at Carthage called the *Gerousia* from about 400 BCE. However, the words *magistratus* and *senatum* describe the city in particularly Roman terms This line has strong manuscript authority but because it disrupts the balance of the clauses *pars...pars* (423, 425) followed by *hic...alii...*, *hic...alii* (427-8), some editors omit it or place it elsewhere (Goold, e.g., places it after 368).

427. **hic portus...**: the harbor of Carthage, called Cothon, was in fact artificial.

429. **excidunt**: “quarry.” **alta**: the reading of the manuscripts, but because the word appears in

- 427, in the same metrical position, the emendation *apta* has been made and accepted by some editors (e.g. Mynors), so as to avoid such a close repetition.
- 430-6. This simile comparing the bustling Carthaginians building their city to bees is indebted to *Geo.* 4.162-9, where industrious bees are described in terms of human society.
432. **liquentia**: from *liquor* (deponent), but elsewhere Vergil has *liquens* from *liqueo*. The quantity of the *i* seems to have been uncertain (cf. Lucretius 4.1259 *liquidis et liquida*) but ultimately became short in all words except the verb *liquor*.
435. **ignavum fucos pecus...**: *ignavum...pecus* stands in apposition to *fucos*; for the stylized word order, cf. *Ecl.* 3.3 *infelix o semper oves pecus* and *Geo.* 4.246 *aut dirum tineae genus*.
437. **o fortunati...**: expresses Aeneas' own longing to found the city fate has ordained for him, the central theme of the *Aeneid* (cf. 5-6).
438. **suspicit**: "looks up to," intimating that Aeneas has descended from the hill (cf. 419-20) and has now come close up to the city.
440. **miscet**: supply *se* from the preceding line. **neque cernitur ulli**: for the dative of agent, cf. 326 n.
- 441-93. *At a magnificent temple of Juno, they find paintings of scenes from the Trojan war.*
- For this passage, cf. Hom. *Od.* 7.81-132
441. **umbrae**: for this genitive, cf. 14 n.
442. **quo**: with *loco* (443), "in which place." **iactati undis et turbine Poeni**: note again the parallels between the Carthaginians and the Trojans (cf. 3).
- 443-4. **effodere loco signum...caput acris equi**: a priest of Juno told Dido where to build her city. While the foundations were being laid, a horse head was uncovered, and it was taken as a sign of the future power of Carthage, since the horse was a sign of war (Servius).
- 444-5. **sic nam fore...**: indirect discourse, dependent on the sense of "telling" contained in *monstrarat* — "for (she had told them) that so (i.e. if they found the sign, and in agreement with its significance) the race would be..." **facilem victu**: "ready of livelihood" (Austin).
446. **Sidonia**: Sidon, like Tyre, was a town on the coast of Phoenicia. Dido is called both "Sidonian" and "Tyrian."
- 448-9. **cui**: dative of reference; antecedent is *templum* (446). **limina...foribus**: *limina* probably indicates the whole doorway or entrance; *fores*, the actual doors. **nexaeque | aere trabes**: the great cross-beams or girders above that support the roof are *nexae aere* not because the rivets were of bronze but because they were "joined with bronze," i.e. consisting of plates of bronze riveted together. *Trabes* as cross-beams can also be found at Horace, *Odes* 2.18.3. Note the hypermetric\* elision of the *-que* in *nexaeque* (cf. 332 n.).
450. **nova res oblata**: "a strange thing encountered (by him)" **timorem**: despite Venus' protection, Aeneas still feared danger.
452. **adflictis...rebus**: i.e. put more trust in his fortunes, though bad up until now.
453. **namque...dum**: note the delay of *dum*; cf. 333 n.
- 454-5. **dum quae fortuna...**: "...while he admires (*miratur* 456) the city's fortune, the work (*manus*) of various artists intermingled (*inter se*) and the work of their labors..." For this use of *inter se*, cf. 2.454. **manus**: by metonymy\* "work created by the hands"; cf. 5.359 *artes*, "works of art"; 6.683 *manus*, "exploits." **inter**: some editors (e.g. Hirtzel), however, read *intra*, which is found in a ninth century manuscript.

456. **miratur**: cf. 421-2 n. **videt**: since Aeneas is subject, the description of the murals is introduced as representing his experience of them (459 n.); cf. also *miratur* 456, *videbat* 466, *conspexit* 487. **ex ordine**: the battles are depicted one after the other (though not quite in chronological order).
458. **Atridas**: the “sons of Atreus,” Agamemnon and Menelaus, the leaders of the Greeks. **ambobus**: i.e. the *Atridae* and Priam. Achilles was naturally “wrathful” against Priam; he was angry at the sons of Atreus because Agamemnon took the captive Briseis from him, setting in motion the events that make up the theme of the *Iliad*, the wrath of Achilles.
459. **lacrimans**: note the emphasis on Aeneas’ emotional response to the paintings here, at 465, 470, 485, and see 456 n. In the classical world, tears were consistent with heroic character: e.g. Hector’s shade cries at 2.271, Aeneas at 2.279, the Trojan seer Helenus at 3.348. Homer’s Odysseus also famously cries when he hears Demodocus’ songs about Troy in *Odyssey* 8. Johnson (1976), however, suggests that Aeneas’ crying is characteristically different: Odysseus’ tears ultimately contribute to the plot for they are involved in the uncovering of his identity among the Phaeacians, while Aeneas’ tears are present primarily to convey his emotions.
461. **sunt hic...**: “here too honor has its fitting rewards” (lit. “even here there are to honor its own rewards”). For this use of *suus*, cf. 3.469 *sunt et sua dona parenti*.
462. **sunt...** *rerum* is the genitive of that which causes the tears. **mortalia**: expresses generally the troubles to which mortals are subject, and the recollection of them touches other mortals, because they know they are also vulnerable.
463. **feret haec...**: Aeneas suggests that the Carthaginians will show compassion to them.
464. **pictura pascit inani**: perhaps an oxymoron\*. Food is substantial; here Aeneas “feeds” his heart on that which is unsubstantial, unreal. In addition, as Lowenstam (1993) 49 notes, “The irony is that the scenes comforting him prefigure similar tribulations that he must soon undergo.” Note that *inani* occurs in the same metrical position here as in the pathetic description of Troilus (476).
465. **largoque...flumine**: note the hyperbole\*, emphasizing Aeneas’ emotional response.
466. **namque videbat**: cf. 418-93 n. **uti**: an archaic form of *ut* (“how”) that provided a convenient metrical alternative and was used for its archaic\* tone. **Pergama circum**: *circum* follows its object, an example of anastrophe\*. *Pergama* was the citadel of Troy but was often used as a synonym for Troy.
467. **fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus**: this and the next line are excellent illustrations of the co-ordination of contrasted clauses in Latin, cf. 184 n. *Fugerent, premeret* and *instaret* (468) are subjunctives in indirect question.
469. **nec procul hinc**: indicates the movement to describe another picture. **Rhesi**: Rhesus was a Thracian prince who came to assist the Trojans. An oracle had declared that Troy would never be taken if his famous snow-white horses were to taste the grass or water of Troy. As a result, Ulysses and Diomedes (*Tydidēs* 471) killed him and carried off his horses just after he had arrived among the Trojans. For his story, see Hom. *Il.* 10.332-502 and the tragedy *Rhesus* (transmitted under Euripides’ name, though his authorship is greatly doubted).
470. **agnoscit lacrimans**: again note the emphasis on Aeneas as viewer, cf. 459 n. **primo... prodita somno**: the phrase modifies *tentoria*. Rhesus and his men go to sleep their first night (i.e. the force of *primo*) in Troy without taking any precautions, though the phrase may

also suggest the idea that the earliest sleep is the deepest (cf. 2.268). In either case, they are “betrayed by sleep” because it leaves them open for attack.

471. **Tydides**: Tydeus’ son, i.e. Diomedes; cf. 469 n.

472-3. **castra**: i.e. the Greeks’ *castra*. **prius quam...gustassent**: the subjunctive expresses Diomedes’ purpose in driving the horses away, cf. 193 n. and 469 n. **Xanthum**: a Trojan river.

474-8. Troilus’ death. An oracle said that Troy would not be sacked if Troilus (a son of Priam) should reach the age of twenty. Troilus’ story, like Rhesus’ (469-73), involves an oracle that, if fulfilled, would have made Troy invincible. In this passage Vergil emphasizes Troilus’ youth, his mismatch with Achilles, and the pathos of his death. (The Shakespearean tale of Troilus and Cressida is medieval in origin.)

474. **parte alia**: a formulaic phrase in ecphrases\* that indicates the movement to another section of the artwork being described. Cf. 469 *nec procul hinc*. **amissis...armis**: note the extreme vulnerability of Troilus’ situation.

475. **puer**: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.15-16 *impubem...Troilon*. **impar congressus Achilli**: “ill-matched to (fight) Achilles” (lit. “having met Achilles unequally”). The theme of young warriors who die in ill-suited combat is prominent in the second half of the epic—e.g. Euryalus, Pallas, Lausus.

476. **fertur equis...:** cf. *Geo.* 1.514 *fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas*. **curruque haeret...inani**: “clings to the empty car.” *Curru inani* is dative with *haeret*, cf. 156 n.

478. **versa...hasta**: “by his (i.e. Troilus’) inverted spear.” **pulvis**: the *-is* is probably lengthened because it falls on the metrical ictus (cf. 308 n.), though some argue that the final syllable of this word may have at one time been long. Cf. *Enn. Ann.* fr. 264 in Skutsch, fr. 279 in Warmington *iamque fere pulvis ad caelum*.

479-82. This scene recalls the Trojan women’s offering of a robe (see 480 n.) to Pallas in Hom. *Il.* 6.297-311.

479. **interea**: Aeneas now focuses on the next painting. **non aequae**: i.e. “angry” (litotes\*).

480. **passis**: from *pandere*, “spread out” (not *patior*). **peplum**: the Gr. *peplos* was the special robe of Pallas.

481. **tunsaе pectora**: *tunsaе* should be construed as a middle participle (cf. 228 n.).

482. **diva solo...:** Pallas’ reaction is similar to that at Hom. *Il.* 6.311, where “Athena rejected their prayer.” *Solo* is ablative, “on the ground.”

483-7. Achilles’ slaying of Hector and ransoming of the body to Priam look back to *Iliad* 22 and 24 respectively. Note that no words signal the movement to this new picture.

483-4. **raptaverat...vendebat**: the painter has seemingly conveyed the dragging of the body (pluperfect, *raptaverat*) in his portrayal of the corpse’s ransoming (imperfect, *vendebat*). In Homer (*Iliad* 24.16) Hector is dragged around Patroclus’ tomb, not the Trojan walls (cf. 2.273 n.), and Apollo guards the body from disfigurement. With *vendebat*, “Vergil’s tableau puts its emphasis on the crudely disembedded exchange of body for gold” (Syed (2005) 204); however, see the important article on Vergilian ecphrasis by Fowler (1991) 31-3, which shows the difficulty of determining “whose points of view the pictures and the descriptions represent.” **Hectora**: a Greek accusative.

485. **ingentem gemitum**: see 459 n.

489. **Eoasque...:** Memnon was the son of Aurora; his troops are thus *Eoas acies* (“Dawn’s troops”; the Greek word for dawn is *Eos*). He brought the Aethiopians to assist Troy but was killed by Achilles. His exploits and those of the Amazons form part of the later legends which clustered around the *Iliad* and were treated by the “Cyclic poets,” and seem to have been prominent in the lost epic *Aethiopsis* by Arctinus.
- 490-3. Penthesilea, like Memnon, helped the Trojans but was killed by Achilles (cf. 489 n.). She was queen of the Amazons. The warrior Camilla is compared to her at 11.662.
490. **lunatis agmina peltis:** “troops with crescent shields.” The ablative seems a poetic extension of the use of the ablative of quality.
491. **furens...ardet:** Penthesilea’s valor is emphasized. Cf. 493.
492. **aurea...:** the girdle is fit slanting across her breast. *Cingula* is plural for singular; *exsertae* (“uncovered”) *mamae* is dative after *subnectens*.

#### 494–642: Dido and the Trojans

Up until this point, Aeneas has heard about Dido’s tragic past from Venus and observed the building of her city. Now the queen herself enters: she is regal and impressive as she engages in the business of state (cf. 496-508). Though Aeneas is transfixed by Dido’s grandeur and success, Dido’s impressive introduction will contrast with her tragic fall by the end of book 4. Ultimately, her career will be the antithesis of Aeneas’, largely because Jupiter, history, and fate are not on her side or that of her favorite city Carthage.

The presence of Dido in Aeneas’ story is anachronistic, since Carthage itself was founded nearly four hundred years after the Trojan war. It was a feature, however, that may have entered the tradition as early as Naevius’ *Bellum Punicum* (late third century BCE). There, we are told that Aeneas goes to Carthage, but the loss of nearly all of the epic leaves Dido’s role unclear. An older version of Dido’s death, in fact, does not even involve Aeneas: she committed suicide on a pyre, not because of her impossible passion for Aeneas, but so that she would not have to marry a neighboring chieftan and thus violate her vow to her deceased husband Sychaeus (cf. 4.198 n.). Yet another strand of the tradition, reported by Varro, says that Anna (Dido’s sister) fell in love with Aeneas and killed herself as a result (cf. 4.422 n.).

The exact development of the Dido-Aeneas affair leading up to the *Aeneid* thus remains unclear, but it seems that Vergil has exercised great originality in his adaptation of it. Vergil’s Dido is a complex intertextual figure. Again, the Phaeacian books of the *Odyssey* are at play, but with many twists. Dido enters the scene much like Nausicaa at 6.102-9, and offers help to Aeneas, much as Nausicaa had to Odysseus. But throughout the Carthaginian books, Dido also takes on characteristics of Alcinous and Arete, Nausicaa’s parents, and includes echoes of Apollonius’ Medea, herself modeled on Homer’s Nausicaa. More generally, the entreaties to Dido, the entrance of Aeneas, and his interaction with Dido echo *Odyssey* 7.133-347, where Odysseus entreats King Alcinous and Queen Arete.

Vergil thus elevates the Dido legend to a central place in his epic, making the Carthaginian affair a major challenge for Aeneas, testing his resolve to follow fate and thus his ability to control his passions. At the same time, Dido’s story will raise important and difficult questions about the nature and morality of the gods, who incite a woman to violate solemn vows to her deceased husband, only to bring about her death as a result.

For discussion of the many models for Dido, see Pease (1935) 11-30, Hexter (1992), Gordon (1998) 198-200, Nelis (2001) 82-93, and the Introduction to the *Aeneid* 4 commentary.



Cairns (1989) 29-57 uses ancient conceptions of the monarch to show that both Dido and Aeneas are presented as essentially good monarchs in Book 1, though Dido's virtues will deteriorate in Book 4.

494-519. *Dido advances to the temple with her retinue, when Aeneas, still hidden in mist, sees a group of his lost comrades approach the queen.*

494. **Dardanio Aeneae:** dative of agent after *videntur*, cf. 326 n., 440. For Dardanus, cf. notes on 28 and 380.

495. Note that the asyndeton\* of *dum* clauses and the tricolon\* of verbs (*videntur, stupet, haeret defixus*) convey Aeneas' passive gazing in contrast to Dido's regal and active introduction at 496-508.

496. **regina ad templum...**: the spondaic\* nature of this line adds grandeur to Dido's entrance and beauty.

497. **incessit:** cf. 46 n. **magna iuvenum stipante caterva:** the retinue indicates her importance. She is described similarly at 4.136 (cf. also Laocoon at 2.40).

498-502. This simile is adapted from Hom. *Od.* 6.102-8, where it is applied to Nausicaa among her attendants: "...as lithe as Artemis with her arrows striding down | from a high peak—Taygetus' towering ridge or Erymanthus—| thrilled to race with the wild boar or bounding deer | and nymphs of the hills race with her | daughters of Zeus whose shield is storm and thunder, | ranging the hills in sport, and Leto's heart exults | as head and shoulders over the rest her daughter rises, | unmistakable—she outshines them all, though all are lovely" (Fagles). (Apollonius had also adapted this same Homeric simile in his description of Medea at *Arg.* 3.876-884.)

In his transformation of the Homeric simile, Vergil focuses on Diana's happiness and grandeur (not her beauty and playfulness, as in Homer). In addition, the Diana as huntress simile connects Dido and the huntress Penthesilea just portrayed (cf. 490-3 n.), and forms a companion with the simile comparing Aeneas to Diana's brother Apollo at 4.143-9. (Cf. also Venus as Diana at 329.) It is an interesting example of how Vergil transforms his "sources" to achieve multiple effects. (It should be noted, however, that the Roman grammarian Probus found Vergil's version inappropriate to the context and lacking in Homer's details, cf. Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 9.9.12-17.)

498. **Eurotae:** a river in Sparta, known for its temple of Diana. **Cynthi:** Cynthus was the hill in Delos, where the twins Diana and Apollo were born.

500. **Oreades:** mountain-nymphs, a Greek nominative plural with short -es.

502. **Latonae...**: describes the joy of Latona as she contemplates her daughter Diana (cf. 498-502 n.). **pertemptant:** describes intense emotion.

504. **instans...**: "urging on the labor of her rising empire"; *operi regnisque futuris* can be construed as an example of hendiadys\*. Dido engages in the very activities of city-building that Aeneas aspires to.

505. **foribus...**: the *fores* are the doors of the shrine at the back of the main hall, which has an arched or vaulted roof (*testudine*). Note that at Rome it was common for the senate to convene in the hall of a temple, and Dido's activities here may resonate with this practice.

507-8. **iura...leges:** *ius* is often used for the whole body of the law, whereas *lex* is a single definite law, but here there is no distinction (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 1.16.41 *qui leges iuraque servat*). **partibus...iustis:** "with just division" or "apportionment"; *aequabat* and *iustis* emphasize

- the queen's judicious character. **trahebat**: usually a name or lot is drawn; here it is a job (*laborem*).
510. **Anthea Sergestumque...Cloanthum**: Aeneas had displayed special concern about the whereabouts of Antheus and Cloanthus at 181 and 222 (see notes). This is Sergestus' first mention; he (along with Cloanthus) will take part in the boat race at 5.114-267.
512. **penitusque...**: here "far off," cf. 536; 6.59 *penitusque repostas* | *Massylum gentis*.
513. **obstipuit**: gaping seems to be Aeneas' (*ipse*) dominant reaction at Carthage thus far; cf. 495 n.
514. **coniungere**: for the infinitive after *ardebant*, cf. 9 n.
515. **res...incognita**: "the uncertain circumstance," i.e. Aeneas and Achates do not know how their comrades survived the storm and made it to Dido's court.
516. **dissimulant**: "they conceal (their eagerness)" (cf. 208-9). **nube cava**: they are still concealed by Venus' *obscuro aëre* (411).
519. **veniam**: "kindness," "indulgence."
- 520-60. *Ilioneus asks Dido for help to repair their ships either for their further voyage to Italy or for settling in Sicily.*
- Ilioneus carefully states that the shipwrecked Trojans pose no threat to Dido's new city, and makes clear their admiration for their leader Aeneas. His speech is filled with tricolons (cf. 540-1, 544-5, 546-7, 549-50, 551-2, 555-6, 557-8), which add to its solemnity and thus also to the weight of his stated opinion of Aeneas.
520. **introgressi...data**: *sunt* and *est* are omitted.
521. **maximus**: sc. *natu*, "eldest"; cf. 654. So *minores* (532) means "a younger generation," "descendants," and commonly *maiores* is used for "ancestors." Ilioneus plays a similar function in book 7, when he addresses King Latinus (7.213-48).
- 522-3. **condere...dedit**: "permitted (you) to found," cf. 66 n. For the potential wordplay in *novam...urbem*, cf. 298 n. **iustitia**: Ilioneus accords Dido great respect (e.g. *o regina*), and here focuses on the justice of her rule, evident in the scene at 507-8. **gentis frenare superbas**: the *gentis* are the neighboring Libyan tribes. Dido seems to be a civilizing force, in contrast to the *furor* and danger to the Trojans (and Rome) she will soon become. Cf. Anchises' famous words about Roman ideals to Aeneas in the underworld: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (6.853) (see also 526 n.).
524. **maria...vecti**: an extension of the use of the cognate accusative (cf. 327-8 n., 340); cf. *ire iter*, *ire viam* ("to go a road"), *vehi maria* ("carried over the seas"), and *currimus aequor* (3.191).
526. **parce pio generi**: Ilioneus emphasizes the Trojans' quintessential virtue *pietas*. At the same time, Dido's ensuing willingness to "spare" the Trojans may again look forward to Anchises' words at 6.853 (see 522-3 n.).
- 527-8. **non...populare...venimus**: the infinitive after verbs of motion to express purpose is an archaic\* construction, found especially in the early comic poets (e.g. Plautus), but one that Lucretius and the Augustan poets took up. Cf. 3.4-5 *quarere...agimur* ("are driven to seek"). **penatis**: here "hearths" or "homes."
529. **animo...victis**: datives of possessor.
- 530-3. This passage is repeated at 3.163-6.

530. **Hesperiam...dicunt**: explanatory parenthesis, cf. 12. The word *Hesperia* (lit. “Western land”) is of Greek formation (Gr. *hesperia ge*) that Roman poets often use to indicate Italy (cf. 3.185; Enn. *Ann. fr.* 20 in Skutsch, fr. 24 in Warmington *est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant*).
531. **terra...:** this description of Italy echoes that of Carthage at 12-14, further suggesting a similarity between Aeneas’ fated land, and Dido’s burgeoning city. For *antiqua*, cf. 12 n.
- 532-3. **fama:** sc. *est*; it is said.” **ducis de nomine:** Italus is said to have been king or chief (cf. *ducis*) of the Oenotrians, a people of southern Italy.
534. **hic cursus fuit:** a line left unfinished at the time of Vergil’s death. Donatus, in his *Life of Vergil*, says that on his deathbed Vergil asked that the *Aeneid* be burnt, but he ultimately left it in the hands of Varius and Tucca to edit *ea conditione, ne quid adderent quod a se editum non esset, et versus etiam imperfectos, si qui erant, relinquerent*. There are roughly 58 such verses in the entire *Aeneid* (the number is disputed because some original “half lines” may have been completed by scribes). There are two other incomplete verses in book 1 (560, 636). For more on half lines, see O’Hara (2010).
535. **adsurgens...nimbosus Orion:** *adsurgens* is confusing here, since stormy weather is usually associated not with the rising of Orion in the summer (when this episode seems to take place, cf. 756) but with its setting in November. It would seem as if Orion is simply to be associated with storms.
536. **tulit:** supply *nos*. **penitus:** cf. 512 n.
537. **perque...perque:** rhetorical repetition that emphasizes strongly the dangers they had passed through.
538. **dispulit:** supply *nos*.
- 539-40. **quaeve...patria:** this question plays against Ilioneus’ praise of Carthage as a civilizing force (523).
541. **prima...terra:** “on the very border of the land.”
543. **at sperate...:** i.e. yet expect (*sperate*) that the gods will reward you according to your deeds. For *at* introducing the apodosis after *si, sin, quamvis* and meaning “yet” or “nevertheless,” cf. 557; 4.615; 6.406. *Fandi* and *nefandi* are used here as the genitives of *fas* and *nefas*, which are indeclinable.
544. **quo:** ablative of comparison. Note the emphasis on Aeneas’ *pietas, iustitia* and *virtus*. Cf. 603-5 and 507-8 n. on Dido.
546. **vescitur aura:** cf. 3.339 and Lucretius 5.587 *vesci vitalibus auris*.
- 548-50. **non metus:** sc. *nobis est*. **officio...paeniteat:** “nor would you regret to compete in kindness first.” *Paeniteat* is potential subjunctive. **Acestes:** cf. 195 n. The idea here is: if Aeneas is dead, they still have friends in Sicily who can protect them and pay Dido back for her help.
551. Ilioneus finally asks Dido for help. **subducere:** “draw in to shore,” “beach.”
552. **silvis aptare trabes:** “to shape planks in the forests,” i.e. for repairing their ships. **stringere remos:** *remos* should be taken proleptically\*, “strip (trees for) oars.”
- 553-4. **si datur...:** construe the purpose clause (*ut...petamus*) before the *si datur* clause. **tendere:** cf. 205 n. **Italiam:** cf. 2 n.
555. **sin absumpta salus...:** supply *est*; *sin* provides a protasis alternative to 553. Ilioneus here

- voices his preferred course of action, if the first (i.e. reaching Italy with Aeneas and his other comrades, 553-4) is now lost.
556. **pontus habet**: death at sea (i.e. without burial) was particularly horrible for the Romans. **spes...Iuli**: “hope for Iulus”; *Iuli* is objective genitive. Iulus represents their hope for the future.
557. **at** : “yet,” “at any rate.” For this usage of *at*, cf. 543 n. **sedesque paratas**: i.e. the city Acestes has already founded (cf. 195 n.)
559. **frebant**: “shouted (in agreement).”
560. An unfinished line, cf. 534 n.
- 561-78. *Dido offers her help, as well as a portion of her kingdom to the Trojans.*
- Dido’s first speech shows that she is not only an admirable ruler but also a magnanimous one, who goes so far as to invite the Trojans to settle in Carthage (572-3). The irony, of course, is that, despite her kindness, Aeneas will bring about her undoing. See Reed (2007) 89-95 for the complex ways that Dido aligns herself here with Aeneas.
561. **vultum demissa**: construe *demissa* as a middle, cf. 228 n.
563. **res dura**: “hard fortune”; Dido was surrounded by hostile peoples (cf. 4.40-3).
564. **moliri**: *molior*, from *moles*, always denotes doing something with difficulty (cf. 33 n., 414, 424) or, as here, something burdensome or repugnant to the feelings. **custode**: the singular used collectively means “guards,” as *miles* is constantly used as “troops.” Note the spondaic nature of this line, as Dido explains her people’s initial treatment of the Trojans, about which Ilioneus had indignantly complained (539-41).
565. **Aeneadum**: cf. 157 n. **nesciat**: potential subjunctive. Dido thus acknowledges the preeminence of Aeneas among the Trojans (cf. 544-5).
567. **obtusa**: “dulled,” “unfeeling.”
568. **hec tam...**: the meaning is “we are not so uncivilized,” but expressed first in emotional or intellectual (567) and then in geographical terms (568).
569. **Hesperiam**: cf. 530 n. **Saturnia...arva**: an expansion of *Hesperiam*; cf. also *Ecl.* 4.6 *Saturnia regna*. After he had been expelled from heaven by his son Jupiter, Saturn sought refuge in Italy, where he brought about a golden age. Vergil briefly tells this story at 8.319-25.
570. **Erycis**: Eryx was a Sicilian mountain named after another son of Venus. He challenged Hercules to wrestle, was defeated, and was buried there. Thus lines 569-70 refer to the two places (Italy and Sicily) that Ilioneus had explained the Trojans were interested in reaching (551-8). Dido will help them reach either destination.
571. Dido thus fulfils Jupiter’s plan (cf. 298-304).
572. **vultis et...**: settling in Carthage was not an option Ilioneus had suggested.
573. **urbem quam statuo, vestra est**: note the attraction of the antecedent *urbem* to the case of the relative pronoun *quam* (see AG §306a). The line also contains irony\* because of Rome’s future destruction of Carthage (Reed (2007) 81).
574. **mihi**: dative of agent. **agetur**: “will be treated,” a rare usage of *ago*. The equality with which Dido will regard the two peoples is perhaps further suggested by the consonance\* in *Tros* and *Tyrius*, as well as by her use of the enclitic *-que* and of the singular verb *agetur* for the compound subject *Tros Tyriusque*.
- 575-6. **utinam...adforet**: an unfulfillable wish. **noto...eodem**: “by the same wind,” i.e. as that which brought you here. **certos**: “dependable men.”

579-612. While Dido speaks, Achates and Aeneas burst forth from the cloud in which Venus had enclosed them. Aeneas thanks Dido for her aid.

Aeneas's speech displays a confidence and control that his lament at the sight of the storm (94-101) and his earlier speech to Venus (372-85) had lacked. He lives up to Ilioneus' estimation of him (544-9).

579. **animum arrecti**: *animum* is accusative of respect.

580. **erumpere nubem**: *erumpere* here is transitive, "burst forth from." Many intransitive verbs thus acquire a secondary meaning and become transitive, cf. 2.31 *stupet*, "is amazed at" and 5.438 *tela exit*, "avoids the blows."

581. **prior Aenean compellat Achates**: Achates urges on Aeneas, not the reverse, as might have been expected.

582. **nate dea**: note the respect with which Achates addresses Aeneas, cf. 585 n.

584. **unus abest...**: i.e. Orontes, whose death was witnessed at 113-17.

585. **dictis respondent cetera matris**: cf. 390-1, 399-400, though Venus did not mention the death of Orontes (584 n.). Just as Achates' address started with reference to Aeneas goddess mother (*nate dea* 582), so it ends (*matris*).

587. **se**: construe with both *scindit* and *purgat* ("parts and disperses itself"). **aethera**: as opposed to *aer*, cf. 411 n.

588. **restitit...refulsit**: for the force of the compounds, cf. 402 n. As the cloud rolled back the figure of Aeneas "stood clear against it," i.e. he "stood out" impressively.

589-93. This passage echoes Hom. *Od.* 6.229-38 (cf. also *Od.* 23.156-65), where Athena enhances Odysseus' stature and appearance.

589-90. **os umerosque**: both accusative of respect; cf. *genu in nuda genu* (320). **namque ipsa...**: the subject is *ipsa genetrix* (i.e. Venus).

591. **purpureum**: here probably "radiant," rather than referring to color (cf. 337 n.). Ancient purple had two characteristics: its rich color (purple, crimson) as in 5.79 *purpureos flores*, and its peculiar sheen or radiance as here, in *Ecl.* 9.40 *hic ver purpureum* (a description of spring), and in 6.641. **adflarat**: "breathed upon," "bestowed"; it is a syncopated\* pluperfect, governing three accusative phrases.

592. **quale...**: "such grace (*decus*) as..." This simile is based on Hom. *Od.* 6.232-5 (roughly = *Ody.* 23.159-63). **manus**: i.e. a craftsman's hands.

593. **Pariusve lapis**: i.e. Parian marble, known especially for its beautiful whiteness.

594. **cunctis**: governed by *improvisis* in 595. His sudden appearance was "unexpected by all."

595. **coram, quem quaeritis, adsum**: note that Dido had just wished *utinam rex ipse...adforet Aeneas* (575-6).

596. **Troius Aeneas**: emphatic enjambment\*; note that *Troius* is trisyllabic.

598-600. **nos...socias**: "make us partners in," "give us a share of." **reliquias Danaum**: cf. 30 n. **exhaustos**: some manuscripts read *exhaustis*, but *exhaustos* is much better attested and nicely plays off *egenos* at the line end. **omnium**: the harsh elision involving *omnium* (Vergil's only use of this form) is made easier by the emphasis that repetition (*omnibus...omnium*) throws very strongly on the first syllable. **urbe, domo**: note the asyndeton\*.

601-2. **non opis est nostrae...**: "is not in (lit. "of") our power nor (in the power of) whatever anywhere exists of the Trojan race..." *Opis* is a predicate genitive (cf. AG §343c); the clause

- quidquid ubique est...* stands in for a second predicate genitive. **gentis Dardaniae**: cf. 28 n.; partitive genitive after *quidquid*. Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5.1 *o deorum quidquid in caelo regit. sparsa*: sc. *est*.
603. **di tibi...**: i.e. Aeneas cannot repay Dido, but he can pray that she may receive the favor of heaven. **pious**: because of the kindness she has just shown, Aeneas implicitly attributes to Dido the very quality (*pietas*) by which he defined himself at 378.
604. **iustitiae**: this is the better attested reading, though some (e.g. Hirtzel) prefer *iustitia* (“if justice is anything”). Construe *iustitiae* as partitive genitive after the indefinite pronoun *quid* (603).
605. **te...tulerunt**: “gave you birth.”
606. **qui tanti...parentes**: “what glorious (lit. so great) parents.” In his address to Nausicaa at Hom. *Od.* 6.154-7, Odysseus expresses these ideas still more elaborately.
- 607-8. Note that Aeneas brings his speech to an elaborate close with two tricolon\* structures (*dum...dum...dum; honos nomenque...laudes* 609). For the prevalence of tricola in Ilioneus’ speech, cf. 520-60 n. **convexa**: “slopes.” **polus dum sidera pascet**: reminiscent of Lucr. 1.231 *unde aether sidera pascit?*, where the *aether* which surrounds the universe and keeps the stars alive and burning is said to “feed” them (for *aether*, cf. 90 n.; 5.517-18 n.; 6.724–751 n.).
609. Vergil had used this same line at *Ecl.* 5.78 to describe the fame of Daphnis. Aeneas, of course, turns out to be wrong: his affair with Dido will in fact destroy her fame.
610. **quae...cumque**: tmesis.\*
611. **Ilonēa**: Greek accusative form.
612. **post**: adverb.
- 613-30. *In amazement Dido welcomes Aeneas and compares herself to him in misfortune.*
- 613-14. Dido is struck with amazement (*obstupuit*, cf. 513 n.), first (*primo*) at the appearance of Aeneas (cf. 589-91) and then (*deinde*) at the thought of his misfortunes.
616. **immanibus**: “cruel,” referring to the dangerous nature of the coast and the savage character of the inhabitants. **applicat**: sc. *te* (i.e. Aeneas), “brings” or “drives you to.”
617. **tunc ille Aeneas...?**: this question further conveys Dido’s surprise (perhaps enhanced by the double elision\*) at Aeneas’ sudden and unexpected appearance. **Dardanio Anchisae**: also at 9.647. Note the hiatus\* and spondee\* in the fifth foot; this combination happens rarely in the *Aeneid*, and only with noun-epithet pairings (cf. also 3.74 *Neptuno Aegaeo*, 7.631 *turrigerae Antemnae*, 11.31 *Parrhasio Evandro*).
618. **alma Venus**: *alma* is the regular and recurring epithet of Venus (cf. Lucr. 1.2) as the giver of life, but it is of course especially applicable here in her relation to Aeneas. **Simoentis**: cf. 100 n.
619. **Teucrum**: Ajax, the brother of Teucer, slew himself in anger at being refused the arms of Achilles by the Greek leaders. When Teucer returned home to his father Telamon in Salamis and was driven away (hence *expulsum* 620) by him for not having avenged his brother, he founded a second Salamis in Cyprus. (This Teucer is not the Teucer mentioned in 235; see also 625-6 n.). **Sidona**: cf. 446 n.; it is a Greek accusative form, and here indicates motion toward (cf. AG §427).
621. **Beli**: Dido’s father; the name is probably a Greek form of the Phoenician word Baal that seems to mean “ruler” (cf. 728-30 n.; Reed (2007) 78).

624. **regesque Pelasgi**: i.e. Agamemnon and Menelaus. The *Pelasgi* (from the North Aegean) were thought to be among the oldest inhabitants of Greece; their name was often used as a synonym for “Greeks.”
- 625-6. **ipse hostis**: has the sense “even though he was an enemy” and refers to the Greek Teucer (619 n.). **Teucros**: The Trojan Teucer from whom the Trojans were called *Teucroi* (38 n. and 235). This Teucer is to be distinguished from the Greek Teucer, but because the latter was the son of Telamon by Hesione (a daughter of Laomedon, king of Troy), his name would thus imply that he was really of Trojan origin. **volebat**: “claimed” (cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.78 *se populares volunt*).
627. **agite**: “come now”; the imperative of *ago* is often found with this meaning, especially in comedy.
- 628-9. **similis fortuna**: Dido explicitly draws the parallel between herself and Aeneas, a similarity that had been suggested earlier. **iactatam**: cf. *iactatus* used of Aeneas (3).
630. **non ignara mali**: litotes. **disco**: “I learn” or “am learning”; the present is more modest than the perfect.
- 631-42. *Dido prepares a public sacrifice and sends provisions to Aeneas’ ships.*
632. **indicit honorem**: “proclaim a sacrifice” (cf. 3.264). *Indicit* is a technical word for the “proclamation” by the pontifices of a special festival or one for which the exact date was not fixed.
633. **sociis**: i.e. Aeneas’ comrades.
- 634-5. **viginti...centum...centum**: note the emphasis on the number (and thus munificence) involved in Dido’s action; the numbers themselves are exaggerated and conventional. **suum**: genitive plural from *sus*.
636. **munera laetitiamque dii**: a half line (cf. 534 n.), “(she sends) gifts and the joy of the day.” The reading *dii* is disputed. The manuscripts have *dei*, however Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights* 9.15.8) explains that *dii* here is an archaic genitive of *dies*.
637. **at domus interior**: used later in the description of Priam’s palace at 2.486, just before it is sacked. Dido’s palace is also luxurious and about to suffer a great catastrophe.
638. **instruitur**: “is adorned,” “prepared.”
639. **arte...**: sc. *sunt*; *laboratae* here means “embroidered.” The *vestes* are *vestes stragulae* used for covering the couches on which they reclined. The Phoenicians were not only celebrated for their purple-dyeing (cf. 337 n.) but also for their skill in embroidery.
640. **argentum**: “silver plate.” **caelataque in auro...**: drinking-vessels of gold and silver carved in relief, often with figures representing historical or legendary events, were much valued at Rome and are continually referred to.
641. **fortia facta patrum**: Dido’s noble ancestry is emphasized. Her apparent reverence for her ancestors seems very Roman.

### 643-756: Venus, Cupid, and the Banquet

Venus intervenes to ensure Aeneas’ safe reception at Carthage, even though Jupiter has already taken steps to achieve this (cf. 297-304). She elicits the help of Cupid, another son, to assume the appearance of Ascanius (her grandson) and to infect Dido with an irresistible passion for the Trojan hero. Her motivation to promote this passion is somewhat unclear and ultimately problematic, because of the troubles it will cause Aeneas and the tragic end it

helps bring about for Dido.

The scene resonates particularly with the opening of book 3 of Apollonius' *Argonautica*. There Aphrodite, at the urging of Hera and Athena, has Eros inflame Medea with love for Jason. Vergil has transformed this model to create a scene that makes clear the impossibility of Dido's situation. She is devoted to her deceased husband Sychaeus and determined never to marry again, but Venus and Cupid drive her mad with passion for Aeneas, a love that can only be temporary since Aeneas must eventually leave her because of fate. Dido's downfall is virtually unavoidable. Venus' lack of concern about Dido here resonates with Aphrodite's indifference about Medea in Apollonius.

This scene marks a shift in focus in the narrative, whereby Dido's perspective will become the dominant one through which we will view her affair with Aeneas. See, e.g., Otis (1964) 61-96 (his important discussion of Vergil's "subjective style" in the Dido episode). For the Apollonian background, see Nelis (2001) 93-6. For the contrasting and characteristic ways that Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil deal with the onset of love, see Johnson (1976) 36-45. For further interpretation, see Frangoulidis (1992), Reckford (1995-96) 22-9, and Khan (2002).

643-56. *Aeneas sends Achates to the ships for Ascanius, telling him to bring gifts for Dido.*

643-4. **patrius...amor:** i.e. "a father's love" for his son. Aeneas' thoughts turn to Ascanius; cf. 646 n. **consistere:** "to rest."

645. **ferat...ducat:** subjunctives in indirect command, after the idea of "bidding" contained in the preceding line. **ipsum:** Ascanius.

646. **cari:** "loving," not "dear," since here the adjective describes the subject not the object (Ascanius) of the emotion. **stat:** conveys more forcefully than *est* the bond between father and son that is such an important part of Aeneas' *pietas*.

647. **Iliacis...ruinis:** ablative of separation. Note the interlocking adjective/noun phrases (or sychysis\*).

648. **iubet:** understand *eum* (Achates). **signis auroque:** hendiadys\*, "with figures made of gold," i.e. in gold thread. The *palla* was a cloak worn by Roman women; the elaborate golden decorations make it *rigentem*.

649. **croceo...acantho:** the edge of the veil was decorated with a "yellow acanthus" leaf design, a popular motif. **velamen:** "veil." Again, note the interlocking word order\* (cf. 647 n.).

650. **ornatus:** accusative plural, in apposition to *pallam* (648) and *velamen* (649). **Argivae Helenae:** the epithet *Argivae* (= "Greek") is Homeric (*Il.* 2.161). Helen's husband Menelaus was king of Sparta, from where Paris carried her to Troy. **Mycenis:** ablative governed by *extulerat* (652); the word functions as a metonymy\* for Greece, since Helen was from Sparta, not Mycenae (where her brother-in-law Agamemnon ruled).

651. **Pergama:** cf. 466 n. **peteret:** the final syllable of *peterēt* is short by nature but lengthened in arsis\*. **inconcessosque hymenaeos:** i.e. Paris' abduction of Helen. Note the uncommon quadrisyllabic line ending in *hymenaeos*.

652. **matris Ladae:** Helen was conceived through the rape of the mortal Leda by Jupiter, who had taken on the form of a swan.

653. **Ilione:** a daughter of Priam who married Polymestor, the Thracian king, who in turn killed Ilione's brother Polydorus, as explained at 3.49-56.

654-5. **collo...monile:** "a circler for the neck," i.e. a "necklace." **bacatum:** the necklace has



- jewels shaped like berries (*bacae*), which are probably pearls (a “beaded” or “pearl necklace”). **duplicem...** the crown seemingly had two circlets, one of gold, the other of jewels, though *gemmis auroque* could also be a hendiadys\* for “jewels set in gold” (Austin).
656. **haec celerans**: “rushing (to carry out) these orders.”
- 657-94. *Venus asks Cupid to take on the appearance of Ascanius and infect Dido with a passion for Aeneas. The real Ascanius is taken away to Idalia.*
657. **At Cytherea**: *At* indicates a change of scene, here bringing us to the divine realm. *Cytherea* is Venus, cf. 257 n. At last sighting, Venus had left Aeneas and gone to Paphos (415-17). **novas...nova**: polyptoton\*, emphasizing Venus’ originality in her plotting. **versat**: “keeps turning over (in her mind),” “ponders”; cf. 2.62 (of Sinon) *versare dolos* (“perform deceptions”), precisely what Venus is about to do (cf. 673 n.).
658. **ut**: “how.” **faciem...et ora**: objects of the middle participle *mutatus* (cf. 228 n.). *Facies* here probably means “shape”; *ora*, “face.”
- 659-60. **furentem | incendat**: construe *furentem* as proleptic\*, cf. 70 n. Note the metaphors of madness (*furentem*), fire (*incendat, ignem*; 688), and poison (*veneno* 688). Venus here acts as a force of *furor*. **ossibus...**: the bones (and especially the marrow of the bones) were considered the seat of feeling, and love is a fire that feeds on them, cf. 4.66 *est mollis flamma medullas*; 4.101.
661. **quippe**: cf. 39-40 n. **timet**: the subject is Venus. **ambigam**: “unreliable’ or untrustworthy,” i.e. seemed friendly but potentially the opposite, cf. 671-2. **bilinguis**: though more usually referring to the forked tongue of a serpent, *bilinguis* could also mean “double-tongued” (i.e. saying one thing and meaning another). To the Romans, the Carthaginians were stereotypically treacherous because of the Punic wars (cf. Livy 21.4.9 *perfidia plus quam Punica*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.49 *perfidus Hannibal*).
662. **urit atrox Iuno**: “ruthless Juno burns (i.e. vexes) her.” **sub noctem**: “just before night.” **cura**: Venus’ concern for her son.
663. **aligerum**: an elevated compound adjective first appearing in the *Aeneid*.
665. **tela Typhoëa**: “the bolts that killed Typhoeus,” one of the Giants who had tried to overthrow Jupiter and Olympus. In ancient works of art, Love was frequently represented breaking a thunderbolt.
666. **ad te confugio et supplex...**: Venus flatteringly plays on the idea that all the gods (cf. Jupiter in 665) are subordinate to Cupid’s powers.
- 667-8. **frater ut...**: indirect question governed by the impersonal construction *nota (sunt)* in 669 (see note). **iactetur**: the *u* is lengthened in *arsis*\*, cf. 308 n. Other instances of such lengthening of *-ur* in verbs before a vowel where the ictus is on the lengthened syllable are 2.411 *obruimur*; 4.222 *adloquitur*; 5.284 *datur*. Many manuscripts read *iacteturque*; the *-que* would lengthen the *-ur* but would be difficult to construe. **odiis**: perhaps not simply singular for plural, but a plural indicating the repeated troubles caused Aeneas by Juno’s hate.
669. **nota**: see 667-8 n. The plural for the singular in such phrases (where we use the idiom “it is well known that...,” “it is impossible to...,” etc.) is fairly common in Greek but rare in Latin. **dolui...dolare**: the repetition emphasizes the idea of sympathy.
- 670-1. **blandisque moratur | vocibus**: perhaps referring to Dido’s offer of part of her realm to the Trojans (572-4). This would seem an exaggeration (Aeneas has just arrived), but the phrase rhetorically heightens Venus’ sense of urgency.

- 671-2. **Iunonia...hospitia:** “Juno’s welcome.” Carthage was Juno’s favorite city (15-16), and Venus assumes she is behind Dido’s actions. Ironically Jupiter has made Dido kindly receive the Trojans (297-304) in response to Venus’ own complaints. **haud...rerum:** “she (Juno) will not rest at such a turning-point of fortune.” The metaphor\* in *cardo* is that of a hinge that could either open or close a door.
673. **capere...cingere flamma:** metaphors\* from attacking a town; *flamma* is ablative of means. **dolis:** note how Venus describes her plan. Interestingly, in book 2 *dolus* is used by the narrator Aeneas as a problematic aspect of Ulysses, Sinon, and the Greeks more generally (cf. 2.44, 62, 152, 196, 252, 264). Readers may thus view Venus’ emphasis on her trickery (cf. also *dolos* in 682, and *dolo* in 684) with some ambivalence, particularly given the tragic end Dido will experience. Cf. also 657 n.
674. **quo...numine:** “some divine power,” suggesting that Dido could turn unfriendly to Aeneas if some god (presumably Juno) were to interfere; the phrase is ablative of means or cause.
675. **mecum teneatur:** “‘be kept on my side,’ continuing the military metaphor of 673” (Williams).
676. **mentem:** “plan.”
677. **accitu:** “at the summons”; similar ablatives of verbal nouns used adverbially are *iussu*, *iniussu*, *permissu*, and *rogatu*.
678. **Sidoniam:** cf. 446 n. The *o* is short here, though elsewhere it is long, as in 446.
679. **dona ferens:** in book 2 the priest Laocoon, in considering what to do about the “Trojan” horse, will famously express his distrust of the Greeks with a similar phrase: *timeo Danaos et dona ferentis* (2.49). Venus’ act of deception (her use of Ascanius/Cupid) will have disastrous consequences for Dido, as the trick of the wooden horse does for the Trojans. Cf. 673 n. **pelago et flammis:** construe as ablatives of separation after *restantia*.
680. **sopitum somno:** *sopio* of course conveys the same idea as *somnus*, but the combination of *somnus* with *sopor* and *sopio* is common, the alliteration\* conveying the idea of rest. **super alta Cythera:** “on Cythera’s heights,” neuter plural (though *Cythera* also appears in the feminine singular). For Cythera, see 257 n.
681. **Idalium:** a grove and city in Cyprus sacred to Venus.
682. **ne qua:** “lest he in any way.” **mediusve occurrere:** *occurrere* has the sense here of “happen upon” or “get involved accidentally”; *medius* means “in the way,” “in between.”
683. **tu:** contrasts with *ego* (680). **noctem...unam:** accusative of duration. With numerals *quam* is often omitted after comparatives, especially *plus* and *amplius* (e.g. *Geo.* 4.207 *neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas*).
684. **falle:** “imitate,” “impersonate,” a remarkable use of this verb, which more usually would mean “deceive,” “escape (the notice of).” **pueri puer:** this juxtaposition (expressed with polyptoton\*) rhetorically conveys the similarity of appearance Cupid will assume.
685. **laetissima:** note Venus’ malevolent irony\*. Dido is imagined rejoicing at the very moment that Cupid infects her with a destructive passion for Aeneas.
686. **regalis inter mensas:** “amid the royal tables (i.e. feast).” **laticemque Lyaeum:** *Lyaeus* is the Latin translation for the Greek cult name used of Bacchus that means “liberator.” Thus *laticum Lyaeum* is an elevated phrase that means “Bacchus’ water” (i.e. wine). Poets for convenience often use proper names as adjectives (cf. 4.552 *cineri Sychaeo*).
687. **dabit amplexus...oscula dulcia figet:** note the chiasitic\* construction (*amplexus* is

- accusative plural), as well as the repetition of *cum* (685). Again, note how Venus emphasizes the irony\* of Dido's anticipated reaction to Ascanius/Cupid (cf. 685 n.).
688. **fallasque veneno**: for other destructive metaphors\* for passion, cf. 659-60 n. *Inspires* and *fallas* are subjunctives in a purpose clause (*ut* 685).
690. **gaudens**: expresses Cupid's boyish delight in the part he is playing, unconcerned with the pain that could (and will) result. **incedit**: cf. 46 n.
692. **inrigat**: the advance of sleep over the limbs is compared to the rapid and peaceful movement of water through irrigation channels on to thirsty lands. *Inrigare* can be used either of making the stream flow (as here) or of the stream itself ("flow over," "water"; e.g. 3.511 *fessos sopor inrigat artus*). **fortum gremio**: "nestled in her bosom."
693. **Idaliae**: cf. 681 n. **amaracus**: "marjoram." This plant has associations with marriage and love as we can see from Catullus 61.6-7 (a marriage hymn): *cinge tempora floribus | suave olentis amaraci*.
694. **dulci aspirans...umbra**: "with fragrance-breathing shade" (lit. "breathing on him with fragrant shade").
- 695-722. *Cupid (disguised as Ascanius) arrives with gifts. He makes Dido fall in love with Aeneas (and thus ultimately forget her vow to her deceased husband Sychaeus)*.
695. **dicto parens**: *dicto* refers to Venus' request; for *parens*, cf. 689. Despite Venus' flattery about his independence and power, Cupid acts rather quickly to do his mother's bidding.
697. **cum venit**: Cupid is subject. **aulaeis...superbis**: ablative of attendant circumstances. *Aulaeae* are "tapestries" hung between the columns in a hall (cf. Gr. *aule*), especially at feasts, Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.15 *cenae sine aulaeis et ostro*.
698. **aurea**: a dissyllable by synzesis\* (Gr. "a sinking together"; the running together of two vowels, but without full contraction), cf. 726; 5.352 *aureis*; 6.280 *ferrei*, 412 *alveo*, 678 *debinc*; 7.609 *aerei*. **sponda**: "couch."
699. **pater Aeneas**: cf. 2.2. Aeneas' position as leader of his people (*Troiana iuventus*) is characterized as that of father to child.
700. **strato...ostro**: "on purple coverlets," lit. "on purple spread out (on couches)"; cf. 639 n. **discumbitur**: "they recline" (lit. "it is reclined by them"). For this impersonal use, cf. 272 n. *Discumbo* is a regular word for lying down at meals and can be used of a single person, cf. *Juv.* 5.12 *tu discumbere iussus*, "invited to recline" (i.e. to dine).
701. **dant...:** for this description of a feast cf. Hom. *Od.* 1.136-49, especially 136-7, 147. **lymphas**: "water," a largely poetic word. **Cererem**: metonymy\* for "bread."
702. **tonsis...mantelia villis**: "napkins of smooth texture" (lit. "napkins with close-shorn nap" or "surface"); the phrase *tonsis...villis* is ablative of description or quality (AG §415).
- 703-4. **quinquagina intus famulae**: sc. *sunt*; they are presumably in the kitchen (thus *intus* "within"), as opposed to the attendants in the hall, mentioned in 705-6. **quibus**: dative. **longam...penum**: *penum* here is feminine and means "larder," the phrase meaning something like "long (succession of) food." **cura...struere...adolere**: for the use of the infinitive with *cura*, cf. 9 n; 2.10 n. *Struere* describes the arrangement of each course on the *ferculum* or tray on which it was served. **flammis adolere penatis**: *adolere* ("to burn in sacrifice") is particularly connected to ritual, though here it means "to increase" or "make grow." The *penates* were the gods of the larder (*penus*); images or paintings of them were placed over the kitchen hearth, so that to keep a good fire on it is "to magnify the Penates

with fire” (*flammis adolere penatis*).

705-6. **centum...qui**: note both how this construction (number followed by relative clause) mirrors *quingaginta...quibus* in 703-4, and how each relative clause contains two verbs to describe the servants’ tasks (704 *struere...adolere*; 706 *onerent...ponant*). The symmetry perhaps conveys the orderliness of Dido’s palace and rule, in contrast to the fury that will overwhelm the queen by book 4. **onerent...ponant**: subjunctives in a relative clause of purpose.

707.  **nec non et**: an unusual connecting phrase that means “likewise” or “furthermore.” **laeta**: “festal.”

708. **toris...pictis**: i.e. couches adorned with embroidered coverlets. Cf. 4.206-7. Hirtzel punctuates with a period after *pictis*, which consequently (and unnecessarily) limits *iussi* to describing just the Tyrians (and not the Trojans as well); Mynors and Conte omit the period.

710. **flagrantis**: describes Cupid’s appearance (*vultus*) but also suggests the burning passion with which he will infect Dido.

711. **pallam...velamen**: at 648-9 Aeneas told Achates to bring these items.

712. **praecipue infelix**: proleptic\*. **devota**: “doomed.” The religious connotations are especially resonant, given the machinations of Venus and Cupid.

713. **expleri mentem**: construe *expleri* as a middle (cf. 228 n.) taking *mentem* as its object. **ardescit**: note the repeated use of fire imagery to describe passion. Cf. 659-60 n.

715. **ille**: i.e. Cupid/Ascanius. **pendit**: used strictly with *collo* (“hung upon the neck”) and loosely with *complexu* (“in the arms” of Aeneas).

716. **falsi**: “deceived,” because the boy is really Cupid, not Ascanius.

718. **inscia Dido**: cf. 299 *fati nescia Dido*.

719. **insidat**: subjunctive in indirect question after *inscia* (718). **miseræ deus**: the delay and juxtaposition of these words help suggest the impossibility of Dido’s situation; *miseræ* is proleptic\*.

720. **matris Acidaliae**: i.e. Venus; genitive after *memor* (719). The *fons Acidalius* was a fount sacred to Venus. **abolere Sychaeum**: “to do away with (the memory of) Sychaeus.” *Abolere* is a powerful verb.

721. **vivo...amore**: important, because Dido has not experienced love since Sychaeus’ death. **praevertere**: “give precedence to,” “preoccupy.”

723-56. *After the feast, the bard Iopas sings a song, and then Dido asks Aeneas to tell the story of his misfortunes and wanderings.*

The bard Iopas proceeds to perform a song, much like the Homeric bard Demodocus, who sings three songs in the course of *Odyssey* 8. Unlike Demodocus, however, whose performances deal with the gods and heroic themes (though his second song was interpreted by some in antiquity as an allegory about natural philosophy, as Farrell (1991) 260 shows), Iopas, who performs just one song, treats philosophical ideas. He sings about astrology and cosmogony, topics that on the surface contrast greatly with what has preceded and what will follow. The meaning of Iopas’ song is therefore debated. On the one hand, it seems to set Dido’s passion for Aeneas within a cosmic context. On the other, it does not introduce any agency by the gods to bring about the events described – an absence made even more striking by the fact that Juno and Aeolus had created the storm with which the epic opened, and that

Venus has orchestrated Dido's love for Aeneas.

Iopas' song has a number of other models. It has close connections with what Apollonius' Orpheus sings (reported in indirect speech, like Iopas' performance) at *Argonautica* 1.496-511, which as Nelis (2001) has shown is deeply influenced by the ideas of the early Greek philosopher Empedocles on the structuring forces of Love and Strife in the cosmos. Iopas' song also echoes *Georgics* 2.475-82 (cf. 745-6 n.), where Vergil describes the study of nature as the loftiest theme with which the Muses can deal, a passage in which many see an admiration for Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*. Indeed some readers have interpreted Iopas as an Epicurean figure, who looks to science rather than *religio* to understand the world. There may also be a recall here of *Eclogues* 6.31-40, where a song by Silenus is recounted. On Iopas' song, see Segal (1971, 1981b), Kinsey (1979a), Hardie (1986) 52-66, Brown (1990), Farrell (1991) 258-62, Hannah (1993), Putnam (1998) 271-3, Nelis (2001) 96-112, and Adler (2003) 9-16.

723. **Postquam prima...epulis**: supply *est*; *epulis* is dative of reference. **remotae**: sc. *sunt*. For the entire line, cf. 216.

724. **crateras**: Greek accusative plural. **vina coronant**: cf. 3.525-6 *magnum cratera corona | induit*, where "crown the wine" means literally surrounding the bowl with an actual garland of flowers, although the Homeric phrase on which it is based (e.g. *Iliad* 1.470 "to wreath the bowls with wine") actually means "to fill them brimming high with wine."

725. **fit strepitus...**: after they have feasted and the wine is brought in, they begin to talk (thus *strepitus*). Many manuscripts have *it* instead of *fit*.

726-7. **lychni...incensi**: "burning lamps"; *lychni* is a Greek word. **laquearibus**: "coffered ceilings," ablative. **aureis**: scanned as a disyllable by synizesis\* (cf. 698 n.). **funalia**: "torches," made of rope covered in fat or wax.

728-30. **gravem gemmis auroque...pateram**: i.e. a jeweled cup. Such cups were highly valued at Rome, but were introduced from the East, cf. Cic. *Verr.* 4.27.62 *pocula ex auro, quae, ut mos est regius, et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis*. **quam Belus et omnes | a Belo soliti**: understand *implere* dependent on *soliti* (*sunt*); *omnes a Belo* probably means "all after Belus" (i.e. his descendants). This Belus is thus not the one mentioned at 621 (Dido's father) but an early king, presumably the founder of the Tyrian dynasty. The clause thus describes the cup (*pateram*) as valuable not merely intrinsically but also for its history.

731. **Iuppiter, hospitibus...**: Dido appeals to Jupiter *Hospitalis*. For *nam*, cf. 65 n.

732. **hunc laetum...diem**: this day will ultimately be extremely problematic for both the Carthaginians and Trojans. For *laeta*, cf. 685 n.

733. **nostrosque...minores**: continues the indirect statement after *velit* with the same level of irony\*. **huius**: sc. *diei* (from 732 *diem*).

734. **bona Iuno**: note the irony\* (cf. 732 n.).

735. **coetum**: "gathering," though perhaps "union" is also suggested (i.e. looking forward to that of Aeneas and Dido, or of the Trojans and Carthaginians) (cf. Reed (2007) 92). **faventes**: "being well-disposed" or "showing favor" (presumably to the Trojans).

736. **laticum**: genitive plural dependent on *honorem*. Here it means "wine" (cf. 686).

737. **prima**: construe adverbially. **libato**: the word alone constitutes an ablative absolute, "the libation having been made," cf. *auspicato*, *cognito*, and *permissio*. **summo tenus...ore**: "up to the edge of her mouth."

738. **increpitans**: perhaps "prodding him" (i.e. Bitias); this verb usually involves censure

- (“scold”), but here it seems more playful. Perhaps Dido is urging Bitias to drink more quickly or enthusiastically, which he seemingly goes on to do.
739. **et pleno...auro:** “from the full gold (i.e. cup).” **se proluit:** “gulped,” “swilled” (lit. “drenched oneself”). This phrase amplifies *hausit* (738), creating an emphatic and humorous contrast with Dido’s sip.
740. **crinitus:** long hair is a sign of a bard; so too Apollo, their patron, has “flowing locks” (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.61 *qui rore puro Castaliae lavit | crinis solutos*; Phemius at Hom. *Od.* 1.325; Demodocus at *Od.* 8.499).
741. **personat:** “makes the hall ring.” **Atlas:** there seems to have been a story that Atlas invented astronomy, as Pliny the Elder notes (*Nat. Hist.* 7.203). Vergil here clearly introduces him as locally connected with Africa.
742. **hic...:** Homeric bards sing of heroic deeds, but Vergil makes Iopas a philosopher who had probed the secrets of nature. **errantem lunam:** referring to the moon’s revolutions, cf. *Geo.* 1.337 *quos ignis caelo Cyllenius erret in orbis*. **solisque labores:** “solar eclipses” (cf. *Geo.* 2.478 *lunaeque labores*); the strict word for an eclipse, *defectus* (“a failing” or “fading”), is replaced by the poetic word “suffering,” “trouble.”
743. **unde...:** this theme of creation forms part of the song of Silenus at *Ecl.* 6.31-40.
744. **Arcturum...Triones:** this line also appears at 3.516 (see n.).
- 745-6. Repeated from *Geo.* 2.481-2. There is an artistic contrast between *properent* and *tardis*: the winter suns hurry to plunge into the Ocean, while the nights are so slow that something seems to impede their progress. **quid:** “why?”
747. **ingeminant plausu:** “redouble with applause,” cf. 9.811 *ingeminant hastis*. The phrase is a variation on the ordinary *ingeminant plausum*, which some manuscripts give.
748. **nec non et:** an unusual connecting phrase that means “likewise.”
749. **infelix Dido:** cf. 712. **longumque...:** i.e. as she listened to Aeneas. *Longus* is a strong adjective and might be translated as “everlasting” or “undying,” cf. 6.715 *longa oblivia*.
- 750-2. **multa super...super...multa:** observe the emphatic (and chiasitic\*) repetition marking her growing excitement; so too *nunc quibus...nunc quales...nunc quantus*. **super:** “about,” “concerning” with ablative.
751. **Aurorae...filius:** Memnon, cf. 489 n. His weaponry was made by Vulcan, cf. 8.384. **venisset:** subjunctive in indirect question.
752. **Diomedis equi:** perhaps referring to the horses taken from Rhesus (cf. 469 n.), not to those Diomedes took from Aeneas (Hom. *Il.* 5.323). **Achilles:** for Achilles at Troy as depicted in Dido’s murals, cf. 468, 475, 483-7, 489 n. Aeneas also fought Achilles at Troy. Dido asks indiscriminately about everything at Troy.
753. **immo age...:** “no rather, come tell us...,” i.e. in preference to answering separate questions, relate the whole story at length. Aeneas does so in the next two books, which contain the tale of the sack of Troy (book 2) and of his subsequent wanderings (book 3).
754. **insidias...Danaum:** i.e. the ruse of the Trojan horse. Cf. 2.65.
- 755-6. **nam te iam septima...aestas:** *septima* is problematic, because in Book 5 (roughly a year later in narrative time) Iris (in the guise of Beroe) says that it is then the seventh summer since the fall of Troy (5.626 *septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas*, see n.). Unless this is simply a mistake that presumably would have been corrected upon revision, there is

---

no generally accepted explanation for the inconsistency. Dyson (1996b) has argued that the line alludes to *Georgics* 4.203-9, a discussion of bees and their devotion to their community, where *septima aestas* (207) denotes the seventh year when a bee reaches the full span of life and dies, though the hive continues. On this reading, the temporal inconsistency between 1.755-6 and 5.626 “intentionally marks the phrase *septima aestas* in order to highlight the theme of sacrificial death.”





# Aeneid 2

## Introduction

In book 2, Aeneas tells his wrenching tale of Troy's fall. It is one of the most famous of all the books of the *Aeneid*, and deservedly so. Amid the intense drama of the ruin of his city, the slaughter of his king Priam, and the loss of his wife Creusa, we see Aeneas facing death in battle, struggling to make sense of fate and the value of *pietas*, even as the gods allow the destruction of his world.

Chronologically, Aeneas' tale here and its continuation in book 3 represent a flashback that describes the events leading to the Trojan shipwreck off Carthage with which the epic began. Book 2 opens with the Greek camps deserted and the Trojans cautiously believing that the war is over; it ends with Troy's utter destruction and Aeneas' flight from it. In between we hear Aeneas' account of the city's capture, a tale imbued with tragic motifs of reversed fortune, disastrous misinterpretation, and human suffering at the hands of the gods and fate. The book can be divided into three large sections: the ruse of the wooden (i.e. "Trojan") horse (1-267), the sack of Troy (268-558), and Aeneas' flight from the city with his family and people (559-804).

Though Aeneas' narration bears the influence of earlier tragic and epic accounts of Troy's fall (see 1-267 n.), Homer's *Odyssey* remains a defining model, as it had been in the previous book. Just as *Aeneid* 1, which described the shipwreck of Aeneas at Carthage, was modeled on *Odyssey* 5-8, in which Odysseus is shipwrecked at Scheria, so Aeneas' inset narrative to the Carthaginians in *Aeneid* 2-3 recalls *Odyssey* 9-12, in which the Greek hero relates his wanderings after the Trojan war to king Alcinous and his palace court. Odysseus and Aeneas are thus both internal narrators, who have survived Troy, nearly died at sea, and now seek assistance from those people to whom they direct their tales.

It is therefore important here, as elsewhere, to consider the *Aeneid's* intertextual engagement with Homeric epic as a creative medium through which Virgil defines his characters and their struggles. For example, Aeneas in book 2 turns the Homeric Odysseus into a symbol of treachery (see e.g. 90 n.). At the same time, he recasts the Trojans' loss of their city as an opportunity for them to strive for a still greater achievement, the eventual foundation of Rome. Such reinterpretations of Homer, in turn, set in relief several issues and themes important for our understanding of book 2 and of Vergil's epic more generally.

First, the derogatory depiction of Ulysses (i.e. Odysseus) is central to the portrayal of the Greeks as a whole, for throughout book 2 they will act with characteristic treachery and impiety (cf. Sinon and Pyrrhus). Aeneas and the Trojans, however, will suffer because of their lack of deception, their guilelessness, as they painfully come to accept their fate and the will of their gods. Aeneas, in fact, will embody the ideal of *pietas* (duty and respect for one's family, state, and the gods), and this virtue will also be the defining trait of the future Romans.

Second, we witness in Aeneas' actions a gradual transformation of Homeric heroism (one

that privileges the individual's glory) into a heroism based in *pietas* (one that is concerned with the good of the community). By leading his people from their fallen city to pursue the land fate has promised them, Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2-3 differs significantly from his Homeric counterpart in Odysseus, who gradually loses all his companions in the course of his inset narrative.

Finally, these differing modes of heroism are implicated in the conflict between *pietas* and *furor* that operates throughout book 2. Aeneas will ultimately act to save his family and people (i.e. *pietas*-based heroism), but along the way he will be distracted by *furor* and *ira* to attempt acts for his own glory (i.e. Homeric heroism). It will be Aeneas' challenge to control his passions so that he may fulfill the mandates of the gods and fate.

Central to this transformation in Aeneas' heroism are actions on the divine level. The plan of fate and the gods' machinations are largely unknown to mortal characters, but they place significant pressure on Aeneas. At important moments in book 2 (289-95, 594-620, 776-89), he is given special access to the divine dimension behind Troy's fall. But for the mandates of fate to be fulfilled, Aeneas endures many misfortunes — in book two and throughout the entire epic. He loses his city, his king, and his wife (book 2), his father (book 3), his lover Dido (book 4). He becomes a refugee settler (book 7), and must fight another war (books 7-12). One of Aeneas' defining struggles is to come to understand and to accept fate, the role of the gods (sometimes incomprehensibly violent) in overseeing it, and the requirements placed upon him as a result.

Because book 2 involves themes that matter for the entire poem, it figures in a number of debates that have defined interpretation of the *Aeneid*. It is clear that Aeneas in book 2 is not a perfect being. He is constantly tested by emotions that threaten to distract him from what fate requires of him. In what ways does his yielding to *furor* in book 2 shed light on his actions later in the poem, particularly his slaying of Turnus at the poem's conclusion? And what does book 2 tell us about the nature and moral quality of fate and of the gods?

*Bibliography.* For more on the general themes and shape of book 2, see commentary notes on 1-267, 268-558 and 559-804. For general interpretation of book 2, see Heinze (1915, 1993: 3-49), Putnam (1965) 3-63, Anderson (1969, 2005), Gransden (1990), Johnson (1999), Adler (2003) 253-79, Fratantuono (2007) 37-74, and R. A. Smith (2011) 111-14. On the literary tradition of Troy's fall, see Heinze (1915, 1993: 49) and Gantz (1993) 646-57, 713-17. For the influence of tragedy in particular, see 1-267 n. On the imagery of book 2, see Knox (1950) and Putnam (1965) 3-63. On Greek treachery, see R. M. Smith (1999) and Syed (2005) 199-204. For the differing conceptions of heroism, see Johnson (1999) 50-4 and Adler (2003) 252-79. On wrath and fury in book 2 and beyond, contrast the "pessimistic" view of Putnam (1995) 172-200 with the "optimistic" and philosophical arguments of Galinsky (1988) and Wright (1997). On the gods in book 2 (and beyond), see E. L. Harrison (1970=1990), Coleman (1982), G. W. Williams (1983) 3-39, Cairns (1989) 1-28, Feeney (1991) 129-87, and Johnson (1999).

### 1-267: Sinon and the Trojan Horse

In the midst of a banquet at Carthage at the end of book 1, Queen Dido asked Aeneas to tell the story of Troy's fall, his subsequent wanderings, and the misfortunes of his people (1.753-5). Aeneas reluctantly (3-8) begins his narrative at the opening of book 2 by recounting the ruse of the Trojan Horse, the most widely known myth of the classical tradition. The tale goes back to the earliest of Greek literature. In *Odyssey* 8.499-520, the bard Demodocus, at Odysseus' request, sings a brief account of it at a banquet. Other poets, both Greek and Roman, treated the theme, but their versions exist now only in meager fragments: e.g. the

*Little Iliad* of Lesches and the *Sack of Troy* of Arctinus (Greek epics, ca. seventh/sixth century BCE), the Greek tragedies *Laocoon* and *Sinon* of Sophocles (fifth century BCE), and the early Latin tragedies (mid-third to early first century BCE) of Livius Andronicus, Naevius (*Equus Troianus*), and Accius (*Deiphobus*). It is clear that Vergil made use of such earlier epic and tragic poetry (including two surviving Euripidean plays on the aftermath of Troy's fall, the *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*). However, it is often difficult to determine the direct influence of a particular text. Because so much of the Trojan Horse tradition is fragmentary, we cannot be sure whether a seeming resemblance in Vergil results from a direct influence or from the influence of a common source.

Like so much of classical myth, the tale of the Trojan Horse was not a monolithic story but one that varied from poet to poet. There are several aspects of Vergil's presentation that seem significant. First, though some versions place Aeneas already away from Troy when the Greeks pour out of the horse, Vergil has Aeneas remain in the city to assume the lead role in the Trojans' escape. Second, Vergil elevates Laocoon, the priest who forcefully counsels the Trojans to distrust and destroy the Horse, to the position of primary critic of the Horse, though for most of the tradition that role is played by Cassandra (or by both Laocoon and Cassandra, as in Apollodorus). The forcefulness and relative credibility of Vergil's Laocoon makes the Trojans' failure to heed his warnings all the more tragic. And finally Sinon, the Greek captive who in Vergil contrives to be caught by the Trojans to convince them to accept the Horse, is not mentioned in Homer, though he appears in the *Sack of Troy* and the *Little Iliad*, where he lights a fire signalling the Greeks to sail from Tenedos against Troy. In Vergil, Sinon becomes a key symbol of Greek treachery, whose masterful speeches convince the Trojans to show compassion to him and thus bring on their own destruction.

Aeneas plays a background role in his narration of the decisions and events involved in this section. It is not until the second segment of book 2 (see 268-558 n.) that he begins to take the lead — first by attempting to resist the Greek invasion, and then by shepherding his family and people from their ravaged city (559-804). The use of Aeneas as narrator is crucial: by allowing us to hear his visceral responses to seeing the sack of his city, the first-person narrative contributes significantly to the tragic tone of the book, to the subversion of traditional Homeric values, and to the redefinition of heroism. (See Johnson (1999) for more on these themes and on the complex relationship between Vergil the narrator, Aeneas the inset narrator, and Aeneas the narrated, i.e. as character in the narrative.)

*Bibliography.* The fragmentary works mentioned above are available with translations in the relevant Loeb Classical library editions: West (2003) on Greek epic, Lloyd-Jones (1994-96, vol. 3) on Sophocles, and Warmington (1935-40, vols. 1-2) on early Latin tragedy. Comprehensive lists of possible allusions to Greek and Latin tragedy can be found in the articles on "Eschilo," "Euripide," "Sofocle," and "tragici latini" in Della Corte (1984-91).

For general readings of this section of book 2, see Putnam (1965) 5-28, Hexter (1990), R. M. Smith (1999), Adler (2003) 252-63, Fratantuono (2007) 37-44, and Ganiban (2008b). On the theme of sacrifice in book 2 (and the *Aeneid* more generally), see Bandera (1981), Hardie (1984) and (1993) 19-56 (especially 27-8), R. M. Smith (1999), and Panoussi (2009) 20-5. For the Trojan Horse myth and Vergil's adaptation of it, see Heinze (1915, 1993: 5-14), Austin (1964) 34-6, Gransden (1990), Gantz (1993) 646-54, and Clausen (2002) 61-74.

1-13: *The Carthaginians fall silent, as Aeneas agrees to tell the story of Troy's fall.*

By the time Aeneas begins his tale, Dido has already been inflamed with love for Aeneas by Venus and Cupid (1.657-722), a love that will be stoked by Aeneas' tale (4.1-5) and ultimately reciprocated (e.g. 4.395). For a narratological reading of this passage, see Gasti (2006).

1. **ora:** probably means "faces" or "gazes" (Page and Williams), though "voices" is also possible (Austin, and cf. *Geo.* 4.483 *tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora*). Note the change in verb tenses.
2. **toro...ab alto:** suggests his special seating at Dido's banquet. **pater Aeneas:** he is *pater* because he is the leader of the Trojans and probably also because he is forefather of the Romans. **orsus:** cf. 1.325 n.
3. **infandum:** derived from *fari* ("speak"). The etymological\* paradox in retelling the "unspeakable" is implied both by the emphatic position of *infandum* with its three long syllables and by its proximity to *fando* (6). **iubes:** Dido had requested Aeneas' tale at 1.753-6. **dolorem:** like Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 9.12-5), Aeneas foregrounds his pain and suffering before he tells his tale, though the Vergilian line itself is modeled on *Od.* 7.241-2.
- 4-5. **Troianas...eruerint:** indirect question, dependent on the phrase *infandum renovare dolorem*.
7. **Myrmidonum Dolopumve:** partitive genitives. These were two tribes from Thessaly. The *Myrmidones* were led by Achilles, the greatest Greek warrior. The *Dolopes* were led by Pyrrhus, Achilles' son, who will play an important role at 469-558. Moskalew (1990) sees a wordplay here in the phrase *MyrmiDONUM DOLOpumve* that would involve the double nature of the wooden horse as a *donum* (to Minerva) and as a *dolus*. This potential wordplay appears again at 252, and at other points may involve (and therefore explain) Vergil's more frequent use in book 2 of *Danai* for "Greeks," because of the similarity of its first syllable *DANai* to *DONum* (cf. 36, 44, and 49). **Vlixix:** i.e. Ulysses, the Homeric hero called Odysseus; the Latin spelling *Vlixes* is based on one of the Greek variants of his name, and is here in the genitive (cf. 1.30 n.).
8. **temperet:** present tense, potential subjunctive (AG §445-7). Odysseus had indeed cried upon hearing Demodocus sing of the Trojan Horse (Hom. *Od.* 8.521-31; cf. 1.459 n.), but perhaps not solely for the reasons Aeneas here suggests.
9. **praecipitat:** intransitive. Night is conceptualized as sinking or setting, like the sun and day. The use of dactyls here and the lack of a strong third foot caesura\* combine to suggest the falling stars, while alliteration\* (*suadent...sidera somnos*) and almost "chiastic"\* consonance\* (*suadent-que ca-dentia*) achieve an overall aural and rhythmic relaxation in *somnos*.
10. **si tantus amor...cognoscere:** the infinitive after nouns signifying desire is not uncommon in poetry; cf. 575 *ira ulcisci* and 1.9 n.
11. **breviter:** "briefly." The adverb may imply Callimachean poetics (see "Vergil and his predecessors" in the General Introduction) in contrast to Odysseus' use of Gr. *dienekeios* ("from beginning to end") with respect to narrating his tale to Queen Arete at *Od.* 7.241 (cf. 3 n.). See Rossi (2004) 50-1.
12. **refugit:** "recoiled," perfect tense (the *u* is long); it may suggest Aeneas' sudden and initial reaction to Dido's request, while *horret* describes his present state.

13-20: *Aeneas explains the Greek ruse of the wooden horse.*

Note that the Greeks, though exemplary warriors in the *Iliad*, are characterized by their skill at deception (13-20), which is juxtaposed against the Trojans' naiveté (21-39). This contrast between the Greeks and Trojans is central to Aeneas' description of how his people were persuaded to bring the horse into the city.

13. **Fracti bello fatisque repulsi:** note the artful chiasmus\* with which Aeneas begins the tale.

14. **Danaum:** contracted genitive, cf. 1.4 n. The phrase *ductores Danaum* is used by Lucretius at 1.86 (*ductores Danaum delecti*) of the Greek leaders' heinous sacrifice of Iphigenia, Agamemnon's daughter, due to their mistaken trust in *religio*. Here, Aeneas/Vergil uses the phrase where the Greek leaders manipulate *religio* (through the ruse of the horse) to their advantage in order to sack Troy. For more on Iphigenia's sacrifice, see 116 n.

15. **instar montis:** "huge as a mountain" (lit. "the image of a mountain"), in apposition to *equum*. **divina Palladis arte:** Pallas not only favored the Greeks, but was also the patroness of all handicrafts. Cf. also 264, where we are told that Epeos built the horse.

16. **sectaque...abiete:** "with cut pine" (i.e. with planks of pine). The *i* in *abiete* is consonantal (cf. notes on 1.2 and 1.288), and thus the word is scanned as a dactyl. **intexunt:** a metaphor\* from weaving; the process of placing the planks horizontally across the ribs (*costas*) is compared to the passing of the horizontal threads (of the woof) across the vertical threads (of the warp). Cf. also 112 *contextus* and 186 *textis*.

17. **votum:** many sources say that the Trojan Horse had an inscription identifying it as an offering to Pallas. Vergil at no place makes this clear, and such a detail would in fact undercut and make unnecessary some elements of Vergil's account, such as the inclusion of the clause *ea fama vagatur* in this line. See especially Horsfall on 17, 31, and 40-56.

18. **delecta virum...corpora:** *delecta* (from *deligo*) means "select" or "choice"; for *virum*, cf. 1.4 n. The entire phrase is a lofty periphrasis\* (compound phrase) for "select (i.e. outstanding) heroes." The phrase echoes Lucretius' *ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum* (cf. 14 n.). **sortiti:** *sortior* originally meant "choose by lot" but also developed the more general sense of "choose," as here.

19. **caeco lateri:** explaining *huc*, and means *in caecum latus*; for this usage of the dative, cf. 1.126 n.

20. **uterum:** the horse's "womb," as if it is pregnant with all the Greek warriors it hides, cf. 238 *feta armis*. (This metaphor also appears at Eur. *Tro.* 11). For other metaphors\* describing the horse, see 16 n., Knox (1950) and Putnam (1965) 5-28.

21-39: *The Trojans' initial debate over the horse.*

The Trojans leave their city with an almost reckless abandon, exposing themselves to the dangers lying in wait. Note that the matter-of-fact style of 21-30 underscores the untroubled certainty of the Trojans' naive (and fatal) interpretation of events.

21. **Tenedos:** an island not far off the coast of Troy; from the Trojan vantage point, it is thus "in view" (*in conspectu*). **fama:** ablative.

22. **dives opum:** "rich in resources," also used of Carthage (1.14).

23. **male fida:** "not safe." When *male* qualifies an adjective that has a good sense, it negates that good sense, cf. 23 *male fida* = *infida*; when, however, it qualifies an adjective that has a bad sense, it intensifies the bad sense, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.25 *male dispari*, "very ill-matched."

25. **nos...rati**: supply *eos* (i.e. the Greeks) as object of *rati* (*sumus*). **vento**: “by wind” here means “by sailing.” **Mycenas**: *Mycenae* was the city Agamemnon ruled and here stands for Greece in general.
26. **Teucria**: another name for Troy. Teucer was a forefather of the Trojans (cf. 1.38 n.).
29. **Dolopum...Achilles**: the Trojans display a special interest in the areas Achilles and his people, the Thesalians, occupied (see 7 n.). **tendebat**: “encamped” (*OLD* s.v. *tendo* 3b). The implied construction is *tendo* (“stretch”) + e.g. *tentorium*: “pitch one’s tent.”
31. **pars**: subject of both *stupet* and *mirantur*, though with the latter (a plural), it is taken as a collective noun. **innuptae donum...Minervae**: *Minervae* is objective genitive with *donum*, “gift of (i.e. for) Minerva.” Minerva was known for her chastity (hence *innuptae*).
32. **Thymoetes**: a Trojan who plays no further role in the poem, but see 34 n.
33. **duci...locari**: passive infinitives, the horse (*equum* or *donum*) understood as the accusative subject in indirect statement after *hortatur*. The citadel of Troy (*arx*), in addition to being a defensive position, housed temples of the gods and other sacred objects. As we shall see, Thymoetes’ suggested course of action will eventually be taken (244-5) and prove to be fatal. In Homer (*Od.* 8.504-10), the Trojans first bring the horse inside the citadel, and then discuss what to do with it.
34. **sive dolo seu...fata**: Aeneas provides two possible explanations for Thymoetes’ advice: 1) he is playing a trick (*dolo*, ablative of cause) or 2) fate (*fata*) required that this happen. On the former, the fourth century commentator Servius tells us that Priam had Thymoetes’ wife and son killed to fulfill an oracle. **iam Troiae sic fata ferebant**: “the fate of Troy was already tending this way.” *Fero* is often used without an object after words like *ut*, *ita*, *sic* to indicate a direction of events.
35. **at Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti**: *at Capys, et (ei) quorum melior sententia menti (erat)*. This entire line forms the subject of *iubent* (37). *Sententia* originally meant “opinion” or “judgment” (as here), and only later took on the additional meanings “aphorism” and “sentence.” Aeneas’ role in the debate is left unclear. See Horsfall (1995) 110-11.
36. **pelago**: dative, cf. 1.126 n. Cf. the Trojans’ deliberations at *Od.* 8.506-10. **Danaum...dona**: for the potential wordplay, see 7 n.
37. **iubent**: supply *nos*, and cf. 35 n. **subiectisque**: the *-que* is disjunctive (“or,” a poetic usage), and draws the two proposed modes of destruction (*praecipitare* and *urere*) closer together in thought, while the more general options expressed in 36-7 and 38 (destruction or examination) are indicated by *aut...aut*.
39. **studia in contraria**: here, “into opposing sides” or “factions”; the phrase thus refers to the opposing advice of Thymoetes (33-4) and Capys (35-8).
- 40-56: *Laocoon urges the Trojans to distrust the Greeks and the wooden horse.*

In contrast to the wavering Trojans, the older yet powerful (50) Laocoon voices certainty about the horse’s treachery, but he will be tragically ignored. His speech is impassioned (42 n.) yet rational, split between rhetorical questions\* (42-4) and practical analysis (45-9). At this point, he appears simply as a man of importance (40 n.), though his role as priest of Neptune will be revealed at 201. Lynch (1980) interprets Laocoon as representative of traditional republican Roman virtue (in contrast to Sinon’s problematic Greek eloquence), while Adler (2003) 259-60 discerns a strong Lucretian aspect in Laocoon because he privileges rational explanation over *religio* – this is what Lucretius’ poem on Epicurean philosophy (*De Rerum*

*Natura*) advocates (see also Hardie (2009) 166-7). For more on Laocoon, see notes on 1-267 and 199-233, Austin on 40-56 and 199-227, Lynch (1980), Tracy (1987), Harrison (1990) 52-4, R. M. Smith (1999), Adler (2003) 252-63, and Horsfall on 40-56 and 199-233.

40. **magna comitante caterva**: this detail suggests Laocoon's importance. Cf. 370.
42. **et procul**: understand *clamat* (cf. 1.37 n.). Note the clipped nature of the questions here through 45.
44. **dona...dolus Danaum**: *dolis* is ablative of separation with *carere* (AG §401). Note the alliteration\*, assonance\*, and consonance\* in this phrase; for the potential wordplay, see 7 n. **sic notus Vlixes?**: "Is Ulysses known (to us) in this way?" (i.e. do you think that the Greeks, with Ulysses as their leader, would send us a horse *without* some trick?). Laocoon here echoes Capys' skepticism (36). Ulysses epitomizes duplicity for the Trojans, and is taken as representative of Greek character (cf. Introduction to *Aeneid* 2 above and Syed (2005) 207-8). The ambiguous nature of Ulysses and of his trickery was also part of the Greek tradition. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus himself describes the wooden horse as a trick (Gr. *dolos*, *Od.* 8.494) and proudly connects his fame to his tricks (Gr. *doloisin*, *Od.* 9.19-20). However, in the *Iliad* and especially in later Greek writing (cf. 83 n.), Odysseus' trickery was also portrayed as troubling. Aeneas/Vergil expands on this latter strain of the tradition. See Ganiban (2008b).
47. **inspectura...urbi**: "to spy on our homes and come down upon the city from above." *Urbi* = *in urbem*.
48. **error**: "trick." **ne credite**: a poetic negative imperative, archaic\* in tone.
49. **id**: i.e. the horse. **et**: "even." **dona**: here "offerings" to Pallas, not simply "gifts," as the popular usage of this line usually implies. For potential wordplay, see 7 n.
51. **curvam compagibus**: = *curvis compagibus*, "(the belly) with its curved seams." The adjective *curvam* really describes *compagibus* but is transferred to *alvum* (cf. enallage\*).
52. **utero...recusso**: the verb *recutio* ("strike so as to cause to vibrate") appears for the first time in extant Latin here.
54. **si...si...fuisset**: past contrary-to-fact protases. **laeva**: must be understood with both *fata* and *mens*, though it has different shades of meaning. With *fata*, *laeva* means "ill-disposed"; with *mens*, "deluded" (i.e. if our minds had not been deluded).
55. **impulerat**: the pluperfect indicative is used instead of the subjunctive for vividness in this past contrary-to-fact apodosis (cf. AG §517b). Supply *nos* as object.
56. **staret...maneres**: an additional apodosis but this time *present* contrary-to-fact. Aeneas adds emotional effect by addressing the *Priamique arx alta* (vocative) directly in the second person (*maneres*) (i.e. apostrophe\*).
- 57-76: *Shepherds drag a Greek captive into the city.*
57. **manus**: accusative of specification (AG §397b) with *revinctum*. The convoluted syntax of 57-62 perhaps reflects the confusion resulting from Sinon's unexpected (cf. *ecce*) entrance.
58. **pastores**: that *pastores* (rather than soldiers) capture Sinon is perhaps surprising. Albis (1993) has suggested that this is a detail drawn from Ennius' *Alexander* (cf. also 281 n.). **regem**: i.e. Priam.
59. **Dardanidae**: "sons of Dardanus" (i.e. Trojans); construe with *pastores*. On Dardanus, cf. 1.28 n. **venientibus**: i.e. the Trojans. **ultra**: "willingly," modifying *obtulerat*, is explained in the following line.

60. **hoc ipsum**: “this very thing” is ambiguous: it can refer both to Sinon’s scheme to get caught and to his plan described in the second half of the line. **strueret**: here not “construct,” but “arrange” or “contrive” (*OLD s.v. struo* 6a).
61. **obtulerat**: see 59 n. **fidens animi**: the genitive *animi* is used with several verbs and adjectives that express feeling. Cf. 4.203 *amens animi*, 300 *inops animi*, 529 *infelix animi*, and 5.202 *furens animi*. Some have thought that this use of *animi* is locative in origin (AG §358), though it might be better construed as a genitive of reference or specification (so Austin *ad loc.*) (cf. AG §349d). **in utrumque paratus**: “prepared for either (outcome),” as explained in the next line.
62. **versare dolos**: “to perform his deceptions” (lit. “spin out his tricks”), cf. 4.563. Livius Andronicus in his translation of the *Odyssey* (see “Vergil and his predecessors” in the General Introduction) rendered Homer’s epithet Gr. *polutropon* into Latin as *versutum* (Hinds (1998) 61-2). Perhaps Vergil’s use of *versare* in describing Sinon has a doubly Odyssean resonance: both because Livius had used a form of this word in describing Odysseus, and because it is used in conjunction with *dolus*, a term virtually synonymous with Ulysses in *Aeneid* 2 (see Ganiban (2008b)). **certae occumbere morti**: the phrase adds an almost heroic nuance to Sinon’s scheming.
64. **circumfusa**: “crowded around” (lit. “poured around”). **ruit certantque...includere**: the change from a singular (*ruit*) to plural verb (*certant*) is fitting — the crowd of youth “rushes in,” and they (its separate members) “compete in mocking...” Here *certare* takes an infinitive, as if it were a verb expressing a “desire,” a largely poetic usage. Cf. 1.9 n.
65. **accipe nunc Danaum insidias**: Aeneas here responds to Dido’s specific request at 1.753-4.
66. **disce omnis**: construe *Danaos* (not *insidias*) with *omnis*, which is juxtaposed with *uno* (65). On the Trojan stereotype of the Greeks, see 44 n. This is the first half line (1.534 n.) in book 2, which contains nine others (233, 346, 468, 614, 623, 640, 720, 767, and 787) — a relatively high total suggesting that this book needed more polish than many of the others.
68. **circumspexit**: a spondaic line\*, of which there are relatively few in Vergil. The word’s heaviness perhaps suggests the way in which Sinon scans the hostile Trojans.
- 69-70. **nunc...iam...denique**: observe the temporal emphasis and the three rhetorical questions\*, increasing in length. Sinon establishes his wretched state to win over the sympathy of the Trojans by tantalizingly claiming that he is hated by both Trojans and Greeks.
- 71-2. **neque...locus**: sc. *est*. The *-que* is correlative with *et* but should be translated as a simple negative. **et...poscunt**: construe as a second relative clause with an understood *a quo* that has *mihi* (70) as its antecedent. **super**: adverb. **cum sanguine**: *cum* here = “by means of.” For the phrase, cf. 366 *poenas dant sanguine*, where *sanguine* is ablative of means.
73. **quo gemitu**: refers back to Sinon’s rhetorical questions\* (see 69-70 n.). **compressus et**: *est* *compressus* (*est*). For the delay of *et*, cf. 1.333 n.
- 74-5. **impetus**: “violent urge.” **hortamur fari**: sc. *eum* (i.e. Sinon). **quo sanguine cretus**: indirect question; supply *sit*. *Cretus* is “an exclusively poetic form” (Austin). **memoret...:** subjunctive in indirect command, still dependent on the idea in *hortamur*: “(we urge him) to say what confidence there is for him, a prisoner” (i.e. what makes him believe the Trojans would trust him rather than kill him on the spot). **capto**: dative of possessor; i.e. Sinon.
76. Since *fatur* here is redundant because of *inquit* (78), and since this sentence is repeated at 3.612 and not contained in the most important manuscripts, the line probably does not belong here and is thus bracketed; it is omitted by Mynors.



77-198: *The Sinon episode*

Sinon, the captured Greek, has insinuated himself into Troy in order to convince the Trojans to bring the wooden horse into their city. His success results largely from his ability to interweave “truths” the Trojans would recognize (e.g. the treacherous nature of Ulysses, the departure of the Greeks from their camps, and the theft of the Palladium) with falsehoods (e.g. his near sacrifice by the Greeks and the meaning of the horse). See especially Gransden (1990) 124-6, Hexter (1990), and Adler (2003) 257-9. His rhetorical artistry helps explain how the Trojans are deceived and also embodies the treacherous nature of the Greeks that this episode epitomizes for Aeneas. In his creation of Sinon, Vergil seems to have been influenced by Odysseus’ deceptions in Euripides’ *Philoctetes*, which survives only in fragments.

The episode breaks down into three large sections: 77-104 (Sinon explains his predicament and hatred of Ulysses); 105-44 (he explains the reason for his flight from the Greeks); and 145-98 (he explains the meaning of the wooden horse). For more on Sinon, see 1-267 n., J. W. Jones (1965, 1970), Lynch (1980), Manuwald (1985), Molyneux (1986), Frangoulidis (1992), R. M. Smith (1999), Ganiban (2008b) 64-8, Adkin (2011), and Horsfall *ad loc.* On the literary sources for Sinon, see 1-267 n. and Horsfall on 57-76, 77-104.

77-104: *Sinon admits he is Greek and describes his enmity with Ulysses.*

In this passage, Sinon skillfully wins over the good will of the Trojans in two ways: 1) through ostentatious professions of his honesty (77-80), and 2) by his self-proclaimed hatred of Ulysses (81-104). Throughout, Sinon strives to identify himself as a victim and enemy of Ulysses.

77. **fuertit quodcumque:** i.e. no matter what will happen to me.

78. **Argolica de gente:** note how Sinon immediately admits he is Greek in an attempt to substantiate his claim of honesty.

79. **hoc primum:** “(I admit) this first”; cf. 78 n. More usually, this phrase would precede the thing to which it refers.

80. **vanum...finget:** construe with *nec* (79). Sinon asserts his honesty, despite his hardships. *Vanum* implies gullibility, while *mendacem* suggests prevarication. **improba:** throughout Vergil this word expresses an absence of all moderation, of all regard for consequences or for the rights of others. So a famished wolf about to attack a sheepfold is *asper et improbus ira* 9.62; Love is “insatiate” in his tyranny (*improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis* 4.412), and Fortune in her attacks (as here). **finget:** understood *me* (i.e. *Sinonem*) as object.

81. **fando...:** “perhaps (*si forte*) in conversation some mention of the name (*aliquid nomen*, “any name”) of Palamedes, son of Belus, has come to your ears — as well as his glory celebrated by report.” Notice the artful hesitation of *si forte* and *aliquod*.

82. **Belidae:** Palamedes’ patronymic (*Belides*, *-ae*, m. “son/descendant of Belus”) should have a short *i*, but Vergil lengthens this vowel, as if *Belus* were an *-eus* noun. Cf. *Tydidēs*, “son of *Tydeus*.” In some versions of the myth, Belus was Palamedes’ great-great-grandfather. (For the Carthaginian Belus, cf. notes on 1.621 and 728-30). **incluta:** an adjective that goes back to early Roman epic and thus contributes to the high stylistic pitch of Sinon’s speech. **fama:** ablative of cause; cf. 21.

83. **quem:** antecedent is *Palamedis*. **falsa sub proditiōne:** “on a false charge of treason” (*proditiō*). Palamedes, who had discovered Ulysses’ ruse to avoid the Trojan war, was falsely

- accused of treason by Ulysses who forged a letter (cf. *infando indicio*) implicating Palamedes in betraying the Greeks to the Trojans. Though this story does not appear in Homer, it was important in Greek tragedy; Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides all composed a *Palamedes*, though the plays do not survive, except for some fragments. On Ulysses' troublesome nature, cf. 44 n.
84. **insontem**: modifying *quem*. **infando indicio**: note the emphatic repetition of *in-*, the harsh double elision\*, and “the clash between word accent and verse accent (*ictus*)” (Austin). **quia bella vetabat**: Palamedes' opposition to the Trojan war seems a Vergilian contrivance that reflects well on Sinon (Servius).
85. **neci**: dative, cf. 1.126 n. **cassum lumine**: a euphemism for “dead.” Sinon is using grand language.
86. **illi**: refers back in thought to the convoluted introduction of Palamedes at line 81. **comitem...propinquum**: *comitem* is predicative, while *propinquum* is attributive. The sense is: perhaps you have heard of Palamedes (81), “to that man my father sent me as a comrade and (being his) relative by blood...” **consanguinitate**: “blood-relationship.” V. seems to be the first poet to use this word.
87. **pauper in arma**: Sinon suggests that his father's poverty (not his belief in the war's cause) compelled him to send Sinon to seek his fortune as a soldier in early youth. **huc**: i.e. to Troy.
88. **stabat**: the subject is Palamedes, the focus of 81-7. **regno**: “royal power.”
89. **conciliis**: ablative of place where.
90. **invidia**: translate as “spite,” not “envy” (Horsfall). **postquam**: markedly describes Sinon's precarious position after Palamedes' death. **pellacis**: “deceitful,” first occurs here in Latin and is perhaps a derogatory play on Homer's positive epithet for Odysseus – Gr. *polymetis* (“resourceful,” “cunning”).
91. (**haud ignora loquor**): “The terse parenthesis invites the Trojans to share in Palamedes' familiar, pathetic fall: Sinon's deceit seeks to build on his hearers' informed humanity” (Horsfall). **superis concessit ab oris**: another euphemism for “died” (cf. 85 *cassum lumine*); Palamedes is subject.
93. **insontis...amici**: with this heavily spondaic\* line Sinon underscores his own pain at the injustice committed against Palamedes by the Greeks. **mecum**: “to myself,” “in my heart” (Goold).
- 94-6. **me**: *me...promisi ultorem (futurum esse)*, indirect statement. **si...remeassem...:** a future more vivid protasis in indirect statement (AG §589a3). The pluperfect subjunctives (*tulisset; remeassem = remeavissem*) are used to express action prior to that conveyed by the perfect indicative *promisi* (cf. AG §589a3), as the future perfect indicative can when this type of conditional is stated directly: *si fors tulerit, si remeavero, ero ultor*.
97. **mali labe**: an unusual phrase meaning “slip towards disaster” (Austin) or “stain of disaster” (Horsfall).
- 98-9. **terrere...spargere...quaerere**: historical infinitives, adding vividness to the spite Sinon roused in *Vlixes*, the nominative subject. **terrere**: has sense of “kept terrifying”; supply *me* as object. **vulgum**: masculine only here in Vergil. **ambiguas**: so that Ulysses can deny his role, if necessary. **quaerere conscius arma**: “conscious (of his guilt) sought weapons (to destroy me).” The *arma* here refer to Ulysses' trickery and treachery in attaining his revenge.
100. **donec Calchante ministro** —: Sinon suddenly and artfully cuts off his speech (i.e. an

instance of aposiopesis\*), at the very moment that he has most aroused his audience to hear the terrifying results of Ulysses' campaign to destroy him (cf. 105). *Calchante ministro* is ablative absolute. Calchas was the main seer among the Greeks and was involved in the call for the human sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis (cf. 116 n.).

101. **sed...autem**: "but indeed," a conversational phrase, common in the comic poets Plautus and Terence.
103. **idque**: *id* = "this" (i.e. the name "Greek"/*Achivos*). **iamdudum sumite poenas**: *iamdudum* refers to past time, while the imperative *sumite* refers to the future. The sense is: "exact the punishment you should have taken already!"
104. **hoc**: i.e. the punishment mentioned in the previous sentence. **Ithacus**: i.e. Ulysses, who was from Ithaca. Note that Sinon does not name his "enemy." **magno**: sc. *pretio*. **Atridae**: i.e. Agamemnon and Menelaus, cf. 1.458 n.

105-44: *Sinon explains why and how he fled Ulysses and the Greeks.*

As Sinon continues, he says little about the horse: he only gestures to it at 112-13, vaguely suggesting that it is an offering for their return home. Instead he concentrates his story on Ulysses' treacherous treatment of him and calls for the Trojans' pity. Sinon's use of Ulysses' deceitfulness to persuade the Trojans to trust him and to accept the horse is especially interesting because, in Homer, Odysseus claims to have (somehow) led the horse into the city (*Odyssey* 8.492-5). Vergil's Sinon and Homer's Odysseus are thus intriguingly connected in their guile. See J. W. Jones (1965) and (1970) 242-3.

105. **Tum vero**: this combination indicates a strong and immediate response or reaction to an event. (cf. 228, 309, 624). **ardemus scitari**: on this use of the infinitive, cf. 64 n.
- 108-10. **Saepe...saepe**: Sinon helps convey the Greeks' alleged eagerness to leave Troy by rhetorically joining two clauses by repeating *saepe*. For this effect, cf. 116-18 *sanguine... sanguine*; 499-501 *vidi...vidi*; 560-2 *subiit...subiit*. **Troia...relicta**: the explanation Sinon provides here (i.e. the Greeks want to give up the war) rests uncomfortably with his later claim (176-82) that the Greeks have temporarily returned home to regain divine favor so that they could sack Troy. See Lynch (1980).
111. **Auster**: the South wind, often associated with harsh weather. **euntis**: with conative sense.
- 112-13. **hic...equus**: "this horse," as if Sinon is pointing to it; it must still have Laocoon's spear sticking from it (50-3). This is Sinon's first reference to the horse. **contextus**: for the metaphor, cf. 16 n. **acernis**: "maple," though the horse is made of fir (*abiete*) at 16 and oak (*roboribus*) at 186. Vergil seems to use particular names (*acernis*, *abiete*, *roboribus*) to indicate the general category of wood. Hexter (1990), however, argues that the problem of the material of the horse is emblematic of the problem of interpretation in the *Aeneid*.
114. **scitatum**: supine expressing purpose. *Scitatum* is preferable to the reading *scitantem* (modifying *Euryplum*), which also appears in the manuscript tradition. While the participle with *mittere* can in some cases express purpose, such examples are usually found in prose (particularly Livy); moreover, the supine makes sense and is consistent with Vergilian usage. See Horsfall *ad loc.* for a full discussion.
116. **sanguine...virgine caesa**: "with a slaughtered virgin's blood" (hendiadys\*). Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia was sacrificed at Aulis to appease Diana, who detained the expedition there with hostile winds. For the sacrifice, see Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 183-247 and Lucretius 1.84-101. See Hardie (1984) 406-7 on the influence of the Lucretian passage here, and at 199-231 and 679-91.

118. **sanguine...**: note the effective parallelism with 116, and see 108-10 n. **quaerendi reditus**: sc. *sunt*. **litandum**: supply *est* in an impersonal construction. *Litare* is a technical word for a ritual sacrifice.
121. **cui fata parent**: the phrase has caused confusion, since there is no stated object, if *fata* is construed as subject; nor an obvious subject, if *fata* is object. It is perhaps better to take *fata* (“fate” or “oracle”) as subject, and understand *hoc* (i.e. death) as object. See discussion in Horsfall. **parent...poscat**: subjunctives in indirect question, dependent upon the idea “as they asked...,” implied in the preceding line.
123. **quae...divum**: indirect question set off by *flagitat* (“demands”). The oracle expresses the “will of the gods” (*numina divum*), but the seer must interpret it.
124. **et mihi iam...**: “and many were already prophesying to me the cruel crime of (that) schemer (i.e. Ulysses), and silently foreseeing the future.” **canebant**: oracles were usually uttered in hexameter verse and probably intoned or chanted; *canere* therefore often has the sense of “utter an oracle,” “prophesy.” Here, however, it describes the prophetic foreboding which was felt but not uttered (hence *taciti* 125).
125. **artificis**: substitutes for the name Ulysses, as if a synonym.
126. **ille**: Calchas, the seer. **tectus**: “shut up in his tent.”
129. **composito**: “by their agreement.” Calchas was acting according to Ulysses’ plan, and thus also becomes a figure of treachery. **rumpit vocem**: “breaks silence” (lit. “makes an utterance break forth,” *OLD* s.v. *rumpo* 5b); cf. 3.246.
- 130-1. **quae...tulere**: “the things (sc. *illa*) which each feared for himself (*quae...timebat*) they tolerated, when turned (*conversa*) to one unhappy man’s destruction.”
132. **parari**: historical infinitive with nominative subjects (*sacra, salsae fruges, vittae*); cf. 98-9 n.
133. **salsae fruges**: corn meal mixed with salt (*mola salsa*) was sprinkled on the head of the victim just before sacrifice. **tempora**: here “temples” (of head).
135. **limoso...lacu**: sc. *in*; perhaps recalling Marius’ taking refuge in the marshes of Minturnae in 88 BCE (cf. Lucan 2.70).
136. **dum vela...dedissent**: these words give in indirect discourse the thought in Sinon’s mind at the time he hid himself: “I will lie hidden until they set sail (*dum vela dent*), if by chance they will have set sail (*si forte dederint*.” After the past tense *delitui* (i.e. secondary sequence), *dent* passes into *darent*, and *dederint* into *dedissent*.
138. **dulcis natos**: at 87 Sinon says that he was sent to Troy as a youth (*primis...ab annis*), a claim that seemingly contradicts his statement here.
139. **illi**: i.e. Ulysses and his partisans. **fors**: “perhaps” (adverb), probably an archaism\* for *forsitan*.
141. **quod**: “therefore,” “as to which thing”; this adverbial use of *quod* is common in oaths; cf. 6.363. **te**: object of *oro* (143); note the effective separation of these words. **conscia...**: “the powers that know the truth” and therefore punish lies.
142. **per si qua est quae restet...**: “by whatever pledge that exists that still remains inviolable anywhere among mortals.” The accusative after *per* is the whole clause *si qua...fides*, which is thus parallel to the objects *superos* and *conscia numina*. Cf. 6.459.
144. **non digna ferentis**: cf. 49 *et dona ferentis*, about which Horsfall notes: “here Sinon also brings the Trojans a gift they do not deserve, but that is the sort of polyvalence that is not welcome here.”

145-98: *Sinon deceives the Greeks about the meaning of the wooden horse.*

Sinon now turns to his second task: to convince the Trojans to bring the horse into their city. Their fatal compassion and acceptance of the suppliant Sinon here must be contrasted with their more successful and unproblematic display of compassion to the suppliant Achaemenides at the end of book 3 (cf. 3.588-612).

145. **ultra**: connected to *ultra*, this word is used of voluntary acts that go beyond what might be expected. Here the Trojans not only “grant life to his tears” but go farther and actively show pity for him. Cf. 279, 372; 3.155; 4.304; 5.55, 446; 6.387.

146. **viro...manicas**: *viro* (i.e. Sinon) is dative of reference; taken with *manicas* it essentially means “his.”

148. **amissos...obliviscere Graios**: *obliviscere* here takes the accusative instead of the more usual genitive.

150. **quo**: “for what purpose?” or “why?” **molem hanc immanis equi**: note the emphasis on the size of the horse (cf. 15 *instar montis*).

151. **quae religio**: supply *est ea*; *religio* here means “sacred offering.” The first syllable of *religio* is short, but from Augustan poetry on, it is usually scanned long. **quae machina belli**: ironically Priam suggests (but ultimately rejects) that the horse could be a machine of war (cf. Laocoon’s warning at 46).

152. **ille**: i.e. Sinon. **instructus**: “trained.” *Instruo* originally meant to “build” or “construct,” but it could also be used of outfitting an animal, person, army etc. with necessary equipment. Eventually that equipment could involve more abstract ideas, as here with *dolis*, so that *instruo* could also mean “train” or “instruct.”

153. **vinclis**: for *vinculis*, which cannot be used in dactylic hexameter.

154. **aeterni ignes**: i.e. the sun and moon (if not the heavenly bodies more generally). **non violabile**: litotes\* for *inviolabile*, which occurs only at 11.363 in Vergil. *Violabile* seems to have been created by Vergil in this passage.

157. **fas...iura**: usually *fas* denotes “divine law”; *ius*, “human law.” Sinon thus asserts that divine law empowers him “to break the oaths (*iura*)” he had sworn to the Greeks. For a discussion of the distinction between *iura* and *leges*, see Horsfall *ad loc.*

158. **viros**: i.e. the Greeks. **ferre sub auras**: “divulge,” “openly proclaim” (lit. “bear up into the air”).

159. **neq**: another delayed connective (cf. 1.333 n.), though it could also be an “archaic use of *neq* as a simple negative, attached to a single word, found in early legal and ritual formulas” (Austin).

160-1. **tu...servata...Troia**: an apostrophe\* in which Sinon directly and powerfully addresses Troy, as Aeneas had at 56. **promissis**: the preposition *in* is omitted, as it commonly is in such phrases as *stare iureiurando*, *opinione*, *iudiciis*, etc.

163. **Palladis**: emphatic, and in position parallel to *Palladium* in 166. **stetit**: “stood firm in,” a very strong word. **ex quo**: understand *tempore*. This phrase and its correlate *ex illo* (169) structure this elaborate sentence (163-70).

164. **Tyrides**: cf. 1.471 n. On this patronymic form, see 82 n. **sed enim**: “but indeed,” “however.” For this elliptical\* phrase, cf. 1.19 n. Fully expressed the thought here would be “it ever stood, *but* (there came a change) *for...*” Vergil is fond of this perhaps archaic\* phrase and seems to place it indifferently at the beginning of a clause or after two or three words as

- here (cf. *Aen.* 1.19; 5.395; 6.28; cf. also 100 *nec enim*). **scelerumque inventor**: suggests the basic nature of Aeneas' characterization of Ulysses (cf. 77-198 n.).
166. **Palladium**: a statue of Pallas, whose preservation in the city was linked by fate (*fatale* 165) to Troy's safety. Note that the theft of the Palladium is not actually related to the ruse of the wooden horse, though Sinon here implies a connection (cf. 108-10 n. on Sinon's seeming contradictions). **summae...arcis**: i.e. the acropolis, on which the temple stood. Note the interlocking word order (synchysis\*) in *caesis summae custodibus arcis*.
168. **virgineas...vittas**: transferred epithet\*, since *virginea* really describes Pallas, not her *vittas*. The purity suggested by *virginea* also contrasts with the pollution of "blood-stained hands." The figure does not represent the goddess armed with her more usual helmet, spear and shield (cf. 175 n.). **ausi**: sc. *sunt*. **contingere**: "touch," "handle," with the implied sense of "defile" (cf. "contagion"). On the various versions of the Palladium's theft, see Gantz (1993) 642-6.
169. **ex illo**: cf. 163 n. **fluere...referri**: historical infinitives, cf. 98-9 n.; *spes* is a nominative subject. "The hope of the Greeks (began) to ebb and, sinking backward, receded." The metaphor\* in *fluere* is from the ebbing of the tide.
170. **mens**: the line ends with a monosyllable, cf. 1.105 n. The clipped nature of this line is made even more striking by the elaborateness of the previous six lines.
171. **ea signa**: "signs thereof" (i.e. of her anger). Cf. 8.705 *eo terrore*, "in terror at this." **Tritonia**: i.e. Pallas. According to one tradition, Pallas was born at Lake Triton in Africa; cf. *Tritonidis* in 226.
172. **positum...: positum (erat) (in) castris**, continues the clipped nature of 170. **arsere...: an** example of parataxis\*, wherein two independent clauses are placed side by side without a subordinating conjunction (AG §268). Cf. 692-3 *Vix ea fatus erat...subitoque fragore | intonuit*.
- 173-4. **luminibus...arrectis**: supply *ex*; *arrectis* means "raised" or "lifted" (cf. 1.152 n.). **salsus...sudor**: perhaps influenced by Lucretius 5.487 (Horsfall). The sweating of images was a frequent prodigy.
175. **emicuit**: a lightning metaphor\*. **parmamque...hastamque**: Pallas as a goddess of war, cf. 168 n.
176. **extemplo**: an archaic\* adverb that gives further gravity to the event. **temptanda**: sc. *esse*. **canit**: cf. 124 n. Note the switch to primary sequence.
178. **omina ni...: protasis** of a present general condition in indirect statement. **numen**: here means either the Palladium or the goddess Pallas, whose power is housed in the Palladium (Servius *auctus*). Sinon pretends that the Greeks must seek purification from Pallas back in Greece because of their profanation of the Palladium (163-8) in order to regain her support. This detail may refer to the custom of Roman generals who would return to Rome and "seek fresh auspices," if anything "unlucky" occurred on an expedition (*auspicia repetere*, cf. Livy 8.30.2).
179. **avexere**: *avexerunt*; indicative, not subjunctive, because the words are an explanatory remark of Sinon's. So too we have Sinon's words at 180-8, but 189-94 are the words of Calchas in indirect statement.
180. **quod**: "as to the fact that..." a use of *quod* very common in letter-writing (cf. Cic. *Fam.* 1.7 *quod scribis te velle...*); the clause represents Sinon's explanation. **vento petiere Mycenae**: cf. 25 n.

181. **arma deosque parant comites**: “they are procuring (fresh) forces and gods as companions.” Sinon suggests the gods have deserted the Greeks, who must therefore return home and induce them to join the expedition again. **pelago...remenso**: though deponent, *remenso* has a passive sense here.
182. **improvisi**: this adjective has an ironic quality. Within the terms of Sinon’s story, the Greeks will certainly return *improvisi*, but Sinon also knows that that Greek warriors are at that moment hiding “unforeseen” in the horse. *Improvisi* thus points to another fact that Aeneas the narrator and the reader already know. **digerit**: “arranges,” i.e. explains. Omens are expressions of divine will, but to the ignorant they seem confused and confusing. See 3.444 n.
183. **hanc**: with *effigiem*, is deictic and emphatic. **pro numine laeso**: this expands the idea in *pro Palladio*. Cf. 1.8 *quo numine laeso*. The explanation given here differs from that in 110-13, where the horse seems to be an offering for a safe return to Greece.
185. **tamen**: difficult usage; it has the sense of “moreover,” the line providing further directions about the building of the horse.
186. **roboribus textis**: ablative of description. Cf. 112-13 n. **caelo**: dative, cf. 1.126 n.
188. **antiqua sub religione**: “under ancient divine protection.” The horse was sent *pro Palladio* and if duly welcomed and worshipped would provide the same protection to Troy as the Palladium had (see 166 n.).
189. **nam...:** sc. *Calchas dixit*. A future more vivid conditional (*si vestra manus violaverit dona Minervae, tum exitium erit...*) is reported in secondary sequence indirect speech. *Violaverit* becomes *violasset* (for *violavisset*). Cf. 94-6 n. **dona Minervae**: cf. 31 n.
190. **ipsum**: i.e. Calchas.
191. **futurum**: sc. *esse*; infinitive in the future more vivid apodosis in indirect speech (see 189 n.).
192. **sin...:** the conditional in indirect discourse continues (see 189 n.). **vestris vestram**: the polyptoton\* (cf. also *vestra* 189) underscores what will be the Trojans’ direct role in their city’s downfall (cf. Horsfall). **ascendisset**: see 189 n.
193. **ultro**: see 145 n. Asia would not be content with defending itself against the Greeks but would go further and, unprovoked, carry an offensive war into Greece. **Pelopea ad moenia**: i.e. to Greece. Pelops was the grandfather of Agamemnon and Menelaus.
194. **venturam**: supply *esse*. For the construction, see 189 n. **ea fata**: i.e. that the Trojans would attack Greece (193). **manere**: here transitive.
195. **Talibus insidiis...:** Aeneas echoes his introduction to his narration at 65-6.
196. **credita**: sc. *est*. **res**: “tale.” **captique**: supply *sumus*. **coactis**: a word specially used of “forced” or “false” tears.”
197. **quos**: antecedent is the understood *nos in capti sumus* (cf. 196 n.). **Tydidis**: Diomedes, cf. 164; 1.471 n. **Larisaeus**: Larissa was a town in Thessaly (cf. 7 n.). Lines 196-7 present Diomedes and Achilles as defined by their military excellence, Odysseus by his treachery.
198. **anni...decem**: Troy fell in the tenth year of the war. **mille carinae**: the thousand ships that set sail against Troy is traditional as far back as Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 45 (fifth century BCE).

199-233: *Twin serpents suddenly emerge from the sea and attack Laocoon and his two sons.*

The scene switches suddenly back to Laocoon. As he performs a sacrifice (presumably regarding his distrust of the horse), he and his sons are attacked by twin serpents that emerge from the sea. They ironically become the human sacrifice necessary for the Greeks' return home (cf. 114-29). See R. M. Smith (1999) 503 on "the systematic perversion of religious sacrifice" in this episode.

Exactly why Laocoon (and his sons) must die is debated, since he is correct that the horse is a Greek ruse. Servius relates a story that Laocoon was punished for having sex in a sacred area, one perhaps associated with Neptune, while Hyginus (probably second century CE) says that Laocoon had married and had children against Apollo's will (see Tracy (1987) and Austin *ad loc.*). However, there is no clear indication of either of these stories in Vergil's/Aeneas' account, which reports that the Trojans believe Laocoon is killed for striking the sacred horse with his spear (228-31). The mode of Laocoon's death also varied, though perhaps the most famous representation is the marble statue group at the Vatican Museum that dates probably to the Late Republic (see Horsfall on 40-56). For details on Laocoon, see Gantz (1993) 646-9, and notes on 1-267 and 40-56.

199. **miseris**: understand *nobis*. **multo**: ablative of degree of difference. Note the effective alliteration\* in this line.
200. **improvida pectora**: *improvida* is used only here in Vergil and is much more common in historiography (cf. Sinon's ironic use of *improvisi* at 182). *Pectora* can refer to intellectual and emotional capacity. In Aeneas' story both are put to the test.
201. **ductus...sorte**: "drawn by lot," i.e. chosen by lot. It is only here that we learn that Laocoon is a priest of Neptune; in other versions, he is a priest of Apollo, cf. 1-267 n.
202. **sollemnis**: "sacred," "sacrificial." After Sinon's sudden entrance at 57, Laocoon left to perform a sacrifice, presumably to consult the gods about the wooden horse. **taurum ingentem**: *ingentem* suggests the importance of the sacrifice.
203. **ecce autem**: "but look!" This phrase introduces a dramatic and unexpected incident (cf. 318, 526, 673). **gemini**: this adjective is used to describe the serpents (*angues* 204) here and later at 225 (*dracones*), and is applied to the the *Atridae* (cf. 1.458 n.) at 415 and 500. See Knox (1950) on snake imagery in *Aeneid* 2. **a Tenedo**: this detail foreshadows the eventual attack of the Greeks from that island (255). **tranquilla**: like *sollemnis* (cf. 202 n.), this adjective contrasts with the serpents' violence. Petronius' description of Laocoon's death (mid-first century CE) looks back to this passage (*Satyricon* 89.36-66).
204. **immensis orbibus**: the monstrous size of the serpents is emphasized as the horse's had been earlier (cf. 150 *immanis equi*).
205. **incumbent pelago**: dative with *incumbunt*, "skim over" (lit. "lean on" or "over"); cf. 1.84 *incubere mari*. **pariter**: "at the same time," "side by side." **tendunt**: "aim for" or "head toward," cf. 1.205 n.
206. **fluctus**: "tide," thus differentiated from *undas* ("waves"). **arrecta**: cf. 1.152 n. **iubae**: *iubae* ("crests") are traditional features of serpents. *Iuba* was originally the hair on an animal's neck (especially a horse's mane, e.g. 11.497), but it came to be used of anything resembling such hair, such as the plume of a helmet (which could be made of horse-hair, cf. 412) or, as here, the crest of a serpent.
207. **pars cetera**: "the remaining part," i.e. the rest of the serpents' bodies (up until now, Vergil has focused on their chests and heads).



208. **pone:** adverb, “behind.” **legit:** “skims.” From its sense of “plucking,” “gathering,” *lego* in poetry acquires a secondary sense of “passing over the surface” or “along the edge,” and so we find *aequor, pontum, vada legere* “to sail over the sea,” and *oram, litus legere* “to coast along.” Cf. the analogous use of the verb to mean “peruse (a book).” **sinuat:** “winds.”
209. **sonitus spumante salo:** note the alliterative\* imitation (cf. 207 and 210). **arva:** “shores” (for *litora*); though the primary meaning of *arvum* is “field” or “plowed land,” in poetry the plural *arva* could be used simply to denote dry land as opposed to water. Cf. 3.496. **tenebant:** not “hold” but here “were reaching” (cf. *teneo* and 5.159).
210. **ardentisque oculos suffecti...:** *suffecti* is a passive participle with middle sense (cf. 1.228 n.).
211. **sibila...ora:** the artful enclosing adjective-noun phrase concludes the horrifying description of the serpents’ initial onslaught.
212. **diffugimus:** (historical) present tense, emphatically placed. **illi: gemini angues. agmine certo:** “with unswerving advance.” *Agmen* has two senses: 1) “an army on the march,” 2) “march,” “advance.” Here Vergil takes advantage of both meanings and describes the “advance” of the serpents by a word which also compares them with an “army on the march” as it moves in a long, winding, glittering line. Cf. 782 *leni fluit agmine Thybris*; 5.90.
- 213-14. **Laocoonta:** Greek accusative. **et:** probably with adversative sense (“yet,” “but”), since the serpents’ first victims are Laocoon’s children, not the priest himself. **parva duorum | corpora natorum:** note the interlocking word order (synchysis\*).
215. **depascitur:** with *morsu*; the verb probably means not simply “eat” but “devour.” Vergil uses it only twice in the *Aeneid*, both times in conjunction with serpents (here and at 5.93). At *Geo.* 3.458, *depascitur* is used of a disease preying on livestock.
216. **post:** adverb, coordinate with *primum* (213). **ipsum: Laocoonta. auxilio:** dative of purpose. **subeuntem:** *sub-* conveys the idea of *support*, as in *succurrere, subsidium* (cf. *subeunt* 467).
217. **corripiunt:** emphatically placed; the swiftness and finality of the serpents’ action contrast with the frantic nature of Laocoon’s actions in the preceding line. **et iam:** Vergil does not often place two monosyllables at the end of a line, particularly after such a strong pause at the end of the fifth foot. These words therefore stand out expressively. Cf. 1.105 n.
- 218-19. **medium:** “the middle of Laocoon,” i.e. “his waist.” **collo...circum...dati:** *collo* is dative with *circumdati*, which is separated by *tmesis*\*. *Terga circumdati* (exactly parallel to *amplexi medium*) is a good illustration of the middle use of the passive participle (cf. 1.228 n.). For the active use of this verb, cf. Priam as he vainly prepares to resist the Greeks (509-10). **superant:** sc. *Laocoonta*. The verb has a double force: “vanquish” and also “tower over” (cf. 311).
220. **ille:** Laocoon. The change of subject is marked by the prominent position of the pronoun. **tendit:** “strives,” “struggles” (cf. its different senses at 29 and 205).
221. **perfusus...vittas:** *vittas* is accusative of specification. For the construction, cf. 57 n. The gore (*sanie*) is presumably from the serpents’ devouring of Laocoon’s sons (215). The surprise of this attack is perhaps increased by its context: Laocoon is a priest of Neptune and is presumably in the process of sacrificing to him when the serpents emerge from the sea, the god’s domain.
222. **clamores...horrendos:** expands on the horror of the preceding line, while the hyperbole\* of *ad sidera* underscores the priest’s pain. **simul:** coordinate with *simul* in 220. Laocoon reacts simultaneously physically and vocally.

223. **qualis mugitus**: object of *tollit*; “such as the bellowings a bull [raises], when...” The bellowing and struggling of a victim at the altar portended disaster. Laocoon, who was in the midst of a sacrifice, is now compared to a bull being sacrificed. Laocoon thus metaphorically meets the fate (human sacrifice) that Sinon claims to have avoided, though it should be noted that Laocoon’s death is strongly implied (cf. Horsfall on 222) but is not actually described through this simile: the bull is struck and flees the altar, but its death is not portrayed. See R. M. Smith (1999) 518-20 on the simile and its implications.
224. **incertam**: the axe (*securim*) is *incertam* (“ill-aimed,” Williams) because it does not strike the bull dead.
225. **at**: transfers our attention from Laocoon’s presumed death to the departure of the serpents. **lapsu**: “by slithering.” Cf. 1.105 n. Words relating to *labor*, which can mean both slide (cf. slither, like a snake) and collapse in ruin (as Troy will) are important in describing the violence of Troy’s destruction: cf. 97, 236, 240, 262, 430, 465, 551, 693, and 695. See Knox (1950). **delubra...summa**: “the highest shrines”; as the next line shows, they stand on the acropolis.
226. **saevaeque**: with *Tritonidis*. Pallas is so called not only for her role as a war goddess and perhaps the most formidable divine opponent of the Trojans, but presumably also because the Trojans now realize that the serpents had been sent by her to quell Laocoon’s suspicions about the horse (cf. 40-53). Having completed their job, the *angues* find protection at her statue (227). **Tritonidis**: genitive, “of the Tritonian,” i.e. Pallas. See 171 n. **arcem**: for *templum*. The temple stood on the *arx* of the city.
227. **sub pedibusque deae**: i.e. under a statue of the goddess. The enclitic *-que* is usually not attached to a monosyllabic preposition but to another element in the prepositional phrase. Statues of Pallas often included a snake at her feet. **tegmentur**: “conceal themselves.”
228. **tum vero**: cf. 105 n.
229. **insinuat**: “creeps”; the fear caused by the serpents’ violence is thus described in the same language as the serpents’ slithering in 208 (*sinuant*). **scelus expendisse**: a contracted phrase meaning “had paid (the penalty of) crime”; cf. 11.258 *scelerum poenas expendimus omnes*.
- 230-1. **sacrum...robur**: the horse’s status as a religious offering as opposed to a weapon of war (*machina*) had been debated earlier (cf. 35-9, 45-7, 151). The Trojans now endorse the former interpretation and are tragically mistaken. **qui...**: causal clause (cf. 248-9). Laocoon had hit the horse with his spear at 50-3. **tergo**: dative with *intorserit*. But cf. 51 where it is the “side” and “belly” that are struck, not its back: *tergum* seems often used like *tergus* to mean “skin,” “hide” (1.368, cf. 1.211), and so here for any part of the framework of the horse, though the potential inconsistency is still present.
232. **sedes**: sc. *Minervae*. **simulacrum**: i.e. *equum*.
233. A half line, cf. 66 n.
- 234-49: *The Trojans drag the horse into the city and foolishly celebrate.*
234. **dividimus**: Aeneas uses the first person plural, thus portraying himself as acting along with the rest of the Trojans. See 1-267 n. **muros...moenia**: the *muri* are the city walls, while the *moenia* can be distinguished as the “buildings” inside. The line is not inconsistent with 242, which refers to “the gate” at which the horse enters. In ancient towns the gate was merely an opening in the lower part of the wall, and it would be natural to “divide the wall” at a point where there was a gate.

- 235-6. **omnes**: does Aeneas suggest that he actually helped bring the horse into the city? (Horsfall). **operi**: dative of purpose. **rotarum...lapsus**: “gliding wheels” (lit. “glidings of wheels”). On *lapsus*, see also 225 n. **stuppea vincula**: “hempen ropes.” *Stuppea* is an adjectival form of *stuppa* (“hemp” or “tow”) that Vergil introduced at *Geo.* 1.309. The ropes attached to the horse resemble those used to moor a ship. **collo**: dative, indirect object of the compound verb *intendunt*.
237. **intendunt**: “stretch,” “tie tightly.” The word is not used loosely for “fasten on,” “throw over,” but rather describes the tight pulling of a rope placed on the horse to haul it into the city. **machina**: cf. 46 and 151 n.
238. **feta**: “pregnant with,” “full of” *armis* (ablative). For the metaphor\*, cf. 20 n. and 258. **pueri...puellae**: a Roman religious rite may be suggested here—one in which *pueri* and *puellae* play prominent roles. Cf. Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 6 *virgines lectas puerosque castos* with Thomas *ad loc.* **circum**: adverb.
239. **contingere gaudet**: cf. 1.9 n.; *gaudent* here means “are joyfully eager to.” There may be reference here to the practice of noble youths laying their hands on the tracks of the cars (*tensae*) on which the images of the gods were carried at Rome.
241. **o patria...**: cf. Ennius’ *O pater o patria o Priami domus!* (*Andromache*, fr. 87 in Jocelyn, fr. 101 in Warmington).
242. **Dardanidum**: archaic\* genitive. **portae**: cf. 234 n.
243. **substitit**: “stuck,” “halted.” Tripping at the threshold was in itself a bad portent; the consequent rattling of the weapons provides another warning. **utero**: cf. 20 n.
244. **immemores**: i.e. ignoring the the omen in 242-3. **furore**: the first attribution of *furor* to the Trojans. It will play an important role in Aeneas’ actions throughout the book (see Introduction to *Aeneid* 2 above).
245. **monstrum infelix**: a foreboding phrase with its elision\* and spondaic\* quality that helps underscore the frenzied and catastrophic effort with which the Trojans drag the horse into their city. “Observe how the finality of this line is achieved by slow spondees, alliteration of *s*, use of the powerful word *monstrum*, and juxtaposition of the conflicting religious terms *infelix* and *sacrata*” (Williams).
246. **fatis...futuris**: dative of purpose; supply *canendis*. **Cassandra**: Apollo gave Cassandra the gift of prophecy to win her over, but she still rejected him. As a result, she was cursed by the god always to prophesy truly but never to be believed (see 247).
247. **non umquam credita**: probably modifying *ora*, not *Cassandra*.
248. **miseri**: the exclamatory *miseri* is explained by the causal *qui*-clause that follows (cf. 230-1, 345; 5.623; 6.590).
- 250-67: *At night, while the Trojans are sleeping, the Greek warriors spill out of the horse and open the city gates.*
250. **Vertitur...**: the heaven is regarded as consisting of two hemispheres, one bright and the other dark, which revolve and cause day and night. Cf. *vertitur interea caelum cum ingentibus signis* (Enn. *Ann.* fr. 205 in Skutsch and Warmington). **ruit Oceano nox**: cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.294. For *ruit* of upward movement, cf. 10.256-7 *ruebat | matura iam luce dies*. Mack (1980) however argues that downward movement is indicated and that *Oceano* is dative not ablative.
252. **Myrmidonum**: see 7 n. **fusi**: cf. 1.214 n. **per moenia**: here, “throughout the (buildings of the) city.” See 234 n.

253. **conticuere**: emphatically placed; cf. 1, where Vergil describes the Carthaginians as Aeneas was about to tell his tale. **complectitur artus**: perhaps an echo of the serpents strangling Laocoon's children (215 *depassitur artus*), cf. Knox (1950).
- 254-9. It is probably best to take *cum...extulerat...laxat* as an inverted *cum*-clause (Williams; AG §546a), the sentence meaning: "and now the fleet was moving (*ibat*)...when suddenly the king's ship gave (*extulerat*) the signal...and Sinon loosens (*laxat*)..."
254. **phalanx**: note that the Greeks are described as attacking in their characteristic military formation, though it is one that long post-dated the Trojan war. **instructis navibus**: "with its ships arrayed for battle." For more on *instruo*, see 152 n.
255. **Tenedo**: see notes on 21 and 203.
256. **regia puppis**: presumably Agamemnon's ship.
- 258-9. **inclusos...Danaos et...laxat claustra**: notice the zeugma\*: "(releases) the enclosed Greeks and...loosens the bars." This is also an example of *hysteron proteron*\*, since the bars would be loosened before the Greeks could be released. **utero**: see 20 n.
261. **Thessandrus**: does not appear in the *Iliad*; Servius says that he is the son of the Theban Polynices. **Sthenelus**: son of Capaneus and warrior in the *Iliad* (e.g. 2.564, 4.367, etc.). **dirus**: an epithet for Ulysses also at 762; he was *durus* at 2.7. By the end of book 3, however, we see a different understanding of him as *infelix* (cf. 3.613 n., 691).
262. **Acamas**: does not appear in the *Iliad* but was a son of Theseus. **Thoas**: Greek warrior at Hom. *Il.* 2.638, 4.527, etc.
263. **Pelides**: patronymic\* modifying *Neoptolemus* (also called Pyrrhus, cf. notes on 473 and 506-58), whose father was Achilles, and whose grandfather was Peleus. He will play a central role later in book 2, when he kills Priam. **primusque Machaon**: the force of *primus* is unclear, for Machaon is not the first warrior out of the horse, nor was he a notable warrior.
264. **doli**: here the horse (i.e. *equi*). **Epeos**: his role in building the horse goes back to Hom. *Od.* 8.493. Cf. also 15.
265. **somno vinoque**: probably hendiadys\* for "drunken sleep" (though it might also be taken as zeugma\*). **sepultam**: "buried," the metaphor\* looks forward to the destruction awaiting the Trojans. Cf. 3.630. Ennius (*Ann.* fr. 288 in Skutsch, fr. 294 in Warmington) has the fuller phrase *vino domiti somnoque sepulti* "overcome with wine and buried in slumber."
267. **agmina conscia**: "allied troops."

### 268-558: The fall of Troy

The second major section of book 2 describes the destruction of Troy. As the Greeks rampage through the city, we see Aeneas gradually realizing that Troy's final day has come. The section is framed by violence associated with Achilles: Hector, slain by this greatest of Greek warriors, appears in a dream to Aeneas at the beginning of this section, while Priam's death at the hands of Achilles' son Pyrrhus concludes it. If Hector's death and apparition mean the defeat of Troy's military defences (cf. *Iliad* 22; *Aeneid* 2.291-2), Priam's death shows with finality the collapse of Troy's political structure, symbolized gruesomely by the king's decapitation, the image with which this section ends (554-8). Between these two momentous events, we see Aeneas' gut-wrenching reactions to Troy's destruction.

This section is crucial for understanding Aeneas because it displays the origins of the most important themes of his epic. First, we learn from Hector that Aeneas is to assume a new role for his people: he becomes an agent of fate, who must lead his people from Troy to

found a new city (289-95). Second, the requirements of fate necessitate a reconfiguration of epic heroism. While heroic action in Homer privileged individual glory (see, e.g., Sarpedon's statement of the "heroic code" at *Iliad* 12.310-28), in Vergil it will take the good of the community as its foremost concern. These changes are difficult for Aeneas, and throughout this section he is continually overcome by his passions to act in a more Homeric mode and die in battle (e.g. 316-17), as he struggles to make sense of Hector's paradoxical (and un-Homeric) injunction to save his city by fleeing it.

Vergil may be the first to represent Priam's grisly death as "the crowning event of the sack of Troy" (Heinze (1993) 23), and there are numerous other elements in book 2 that differ from previous accounts. For more on Vergil's version of Troy's fall, see Kenney (1979), Putnam (1965) 28-37, Bowie (1990), Gransden (1990), Sklenár (1990), Ross (1998), and Rossi (2002, 2004: 17-53).

268-97. *Hector appears to Aeneas in a vision and urges him to take Troy's tutelary gods and flee the city.*

This scene has an important literary heritage in Homer and Ennius. At *Iliad* 23.65-107 the shade of Patroclus appears to Achilles to demand burial; at the opening of the *Annales*, the poet Homer appears to Ennius, the father of Roman poetry, as he begins his history of Rome, starting with the fall of Troy. Hector's appearance is thus grounded in the greatest works of the Greek and Latin epic traditions. For more on the influence of Ennius, see notes on 271 and 274-5, General Introduction (with notes), Wigodsky (1972) 74, 77-8, R. A. Smith (2005) 67-9, Casali (2007), Gildenhard (2007), and Elliott (2008) 250-6.

268. **mortalibus aegris**: dative plural, a Homeric phrase (cf. *Od.* 11.19), which contrasts human experience with the everlasting vitality of the gods.

269. **serpiti**: notice the continuing presence of snake metaphors.

270. **in somnis**: 1.353 n. Aeneas does not awaken until 302 (*excitior somno*). **Hector**: the greatest of the Trojan warriors. The elisions in this line help convey Aeneas' horror and surprise.

271. There is a complex recall of Ennius here. *Visus adesse mihi* echoes *visus Homerus adesse poeta* from *Annales* 1 (fr. 3 in Skutsch, fr. 5 in Warmington), while *effundere fletus* resonates with Lucretius' description of Homer, which itself refers back to the same Ennian passage: *speciem lacrimas effundere salsas* (Lucret. 1.125).

272. **raptatus bigis**: *bigae* (from *bi-* + *iuga* = two yokes) was a two-horse chariot; *raptio* conveys a strong sense of vehemence, "dragged violently away." Achilles fastened Hector's corpse to his chariot and dragged it back to the Greek camp on the Trojan shore (Hom. *Il.* 22.395-404). This event is the subject of one of the pictures Aeneas sees at Carthage at 1.483. There may be another Ennian echo, this time from the *Andromache*: *vidi, videre quod me passa aegerrime, | Hectorem curru quadriiugo raptarier* (fr. 78-9 in Jocelyn, fr. 91-2 in Warmington) (cf. Wigodsky (1972) 78). **ut quondam**: "as once (he had been)." Note the heavily spondaic character of this line.

273. **perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis**: *lora* cannot be an accusative of specification with a passive participle, since it is Hector's *pedes*, not the *lora* that are pierced. Instead, *lora* is a retained accusative. Thus, "having thongs passed through his swelling feet." Note the effective alliteration\* of *p* in *pulvere perque pedes*. **tumentis**: by referring to swelling feet, Vergil seems to adopt the post-Homeric account that Achilles dragged Hector alive around Troy (cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 1029).

- 274-5. **ei mihi, qualis erat:** the interjection *ei* is more common in tragedy than epic, and often occurs with *mibi* (“woe is me”) as here; cf. also 11.57. This is probably a quotation from Ennius’ *Annales* (fr. 442 in Skutsch, fr. 1 (*ex incertis scriptis*) in Warmington), where it seems to describe Homer’s apparition (cf. 268-97 n.). If so, this connection would give Hector’s appearance still more power and authority. **redit:** the present, instead of the perfect, is graphic and vivid. **exuvias indutus:** *indutus* has a middle sense (unlike *traiectus* in 273) and takes *exuvias* as object (cf. 1.228 n.). The *exuvias* are presumably Achilles’ armor that Hector had stripped from the body of Patroclus at *Iliad* 17.125. **Achilli:** see 1.30 n.
276. In *Iliad* 15, Hector led the Trojan charge to set fire to the Greek ships.
- 277-8. **squalem...illa:** note the tricolon crescendo\* and the heavily spondaic\* quality of Hector’s graphic depiction. **gerens:** refers back to *qualis erat* (274), “what a (terrible) sight he was...wearing a...” For *vulnera gerens*, cf. 1.315 n.
279. **ultra:** here “first” (i.e. without waiting for him to speak); construe with *compello*. **flens:** note that Hector is also weeping (271). For heroes’ tears, cf. 1.459 n. **videbar:** captures Aeneas’ uncertainty in comprehending what he experienced. Cf. also his use of this verb at 730, as he is fleeing the city.
- 281-6. Aeneas surprisingly does not seem aware that Hector has been killed. Perhaps Aeneas/Vergil is conveying the confusion that often characterizes dreams. The lapse is intriguing.
281. **o lux Dardaniae:** *lux* here means “hope,” “protector.” *Dardania* was an ancestor of Priam and the founder of Dardania in the Troad (cf. 1.28 n.). *Dardania* was used as a synonym for Troy. This phrase may recall a line from Ennius’ tragedy *Alexander: o lux Troiae, germane Hector* (fr. 69 in Jocelyn, fr. 76 in Warmington). See 285-6 n.
283. **expectate:** vocative participle. **ut:** exclamatory usage; its particular force here is “how gladly” and should be translated closely with *aspicimus* (285).
- 285-6. **quae causa...:** cf. 281-6 n. These questions may recall Ennius’ *Alexander*, where Cassandra (cf. 246 n.) prophesies the death of Hector, his mutilation, and the destruction of Troy; “*Quid ita cum tuo lacerato corpore | miser es aut qui te sic respectantibus | tractavere nobis?*” (fr. 70-1 in Jocelyn, fr. 77-9 in Warmington). Allusion to Ennius here and at 281 (see n.) would add to the power and accuracy of Hector’s (and Cassandra’s) words regarding Troy’s fall. See Wigodsky (1972) 77. **indigna:** when used of a person suffering, it means “undeserving,” but when of the thing suffered, “undeserved” and so “cruel,” “shameful.”
287. **ille nihil:** cf. 1.37 n. **nec...moratur:** *non* (or another negative) + *moror* is an idiom that means “pay no attention to” or “disregard.” Cf. 5.400 *nec dona moror*.
288. **gemitus...pectore:** Hector’s reaction is echoed by Aeneas’ when he sees the picture of Hector being dragged by Achilles’ chariot at 1.485 *gemitum dat pectore ab imo* (see also 272 n.)
290. **ruit...:** the phrase expresses an utter fall, “from top to bottom.” Note the starkness of Hector’s revelation about Troy’s capture.
- 291-2. **dextra:** “right hand” (i.e. “valor”). **possent...fuissent:** mixed contrary-to-fact condition. **hac:** sc. *dextra*, referring here to Hector’s own hand.
293. **sacra...penatis:** for *sacra*, cf. 296-7 n. The Penates are the gods of the Roman household, though as *patriosque...penatis* (what Aeneas carries out of Troy at 717) they represent the Penates of Troy. These objects are not actually handed over by Hector to Aeneas in this dream, but see 320-1 n.

294. **hos...comites**: i.e. *penatis* (293). **his**: understand *sacris et penatibus*. Notice the polyptoton\* (*hos...his*). Hector here gives Aeneas the mission that will occupy him throughout the epic (cf. 1.5-6).
- 296-7. **vittas Vestamque...ignem**: presumably the *sacra* mentioned at line 293 (with *vittas Vestamque* perhaps an instance of hendiadys\*). **aeternumque...**: the fire kept burning on the altar of Vesta at Rome was supposed to secure the continual existence of the state; Aeneas was thought to have brought it from Troy. This scene ends with great artistry: *manibus...ignem* comprise a tricolon crescendo\*, and 297 is a variation on a golden line\*.
- 298-317. *Aeneas views the conflagration of Troy and immediately prepares for battle.*
298. **Diverso**: adjective but with adverbial sense, “everywhere.” **miscentur moenia luctu**: Vergil often uses *misceo* to convey the idea of confusion, cf. 329, 487. **moenia**: cf. 234 n.
- 299-300. **quamquam...recessit**: “although the house of my father Anchises was set back, secluded and hidden by trees.”
- 302-3. **excitior somno...asto**: note the frantic nature of Aeneas’ actions—he is awakened and rushes to the roof all in the same sentence. **summi fastigia tecti**: *fastigia* alone can mean rooftop; with *summi tecti*, Aeneas emphasizes that he climbed to the highest point of the roof, presumably to gain the best view of the city (cf. 458). **ascensu**: primarily a prose word, used only here by Vergil. **supero**: “climb to,” “reach.” **arrectis auribus asto**: cf. 1.152 n.
- 304-8. This magnificent epic simile is based particularly on Hom. *Il.* 4.452-6: “Wildly as two winter torrents raging down from the mountains, | swirling into a valley, hurl their great waters together, | flash floods from the wellsprings plunging down in a gorge | and miles away in the hills a shepherd hears the thunder | so from the grinding armies broke the cries and crash of war” (Fagles).
305. **rapidus montano flumine torrens**: *rapidus* (from *rapio*) here means not so much “rapid” or “quick” as “flowing so vehemently that it drags things along with it.” The entire phrase: “a torrent violently whirling from a mountain stream.”
306. **sternit...sternit**: note the effective epanalepsis\*. **laeta**: “joyous,” “bounteous,” a common epithet of crops. **labores**: by metonymy\* “things produced by labor,” i.e. the crops; cf. 1.454-5 n.
309. **fides**: “truth,” “proof.” As Aeneas sees the city under attack, the truth of Hector’s words (289-95) becomes manifest.
310. **insidiae**: probably a retrospective characterization, since Aeneas does not explicitly learn about the cause of Troy’s fall (i.e. Sinon and the horse) until 328-30. **Deiphobi**: Deiphobus had married Helen after Paris’ death. He appears gruesomely disfigured in the underworld at 6.494-547. **dedit...ruinam**: “has made” or “caused ruin,” i.e. has fallen in ruin; cf. 482 *dedit fenestram*; 6.76 *finem dedit*; Lucr. 2.1144-5 *moenia...dabunt labem putrisque ruinas*.
311. **Vulcano superante**: “fire,” the god of fire here stands metonymically\* for fire itself; for the significance of fire in Vergil’s description of Troy’s fall, see Knox (1950) and Rossi (2004) 24-30. For the meaning of *superante*, cf. 218-19 n.
312. **Vcalegon**: “Ucalegon’s house”; the name of the owner identifies the house. Cf. 3.275 *Apollo* = “the temple of Apollo”; 5.498 *Acestes* = the lot with the name of Acestes on it. Ucalegon is mentioned at Hom. *Il.* 3.148 as a Trojan elder, where we also find mention of several other Trojans mentioned in *Aeneid* 2: Thymoetes (32) and Panthus (318). Horace (*Epistles* 1.18.84) and Juvenal (*Satires* 3.198-202) refer to the burning of Ucalegon’s house (see Austin). **Sigea...freta**: the waters around Sigea, a promontory in the Troad.

314. **amens**: the first of several references to Aeneas' frenzy in book 2. Cf. 316, 268-558 n. For a good discussion of Aeneas' actions (sometimes criticized) immediately following his vision of Hector, see Horsfall *ad* 289-95.
315. **glomerare**: governed by the sense of "desire" in *ardent animi* (cf. 10 n.). *Glomerare* (from *glomus*, "ball-shaped mass") originally meant "shape into a ball," but came to be used of gathering things, people, animals, etc. into dense masses or crowds, as here (*manum* = "troop"). Vergil may be the first writer to use it with regard to people. **bello**: dative of purpose.
317. **praecipitat**: note the emphatic enjambment\*. **pulchrum...**: "it occurs to me that it is glorious to die in battle." Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.13 *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*.
- 318-69. *Panthus, running from the citadel, tells Aeneas that Troy has fallen. These words incite Aeneas to rush to battle with the comrades he can find.*
318. **Ecce autem**: cf. 203 n. **Panthus**: he was conveyed from Delphi to Troy, where he became a Trojan priest of Apollo (Servius). Note the repetition of *Panthus* in the next line (an example of epanalepsis\*). On Panthus, see Miller (2009) 112-13.
319. **Othryades**: patronymic\*, but little is known about this Othryas. **arcis Phoebique sacerdos**: a kind of hendiadys\*, i.e. "priest of Phoebus Apollo's temple on the citadel (*arcis*)" of Troy.
- 320-1. **trahit**: takes three objects (*sacra, victos deos, parvum nepotem*), but with the first two, it means "carries," while with the third it means "drags." The resulting image of Panthus looks forward to the more elaborate picture of Aeneas fleeing the city at the end of book 2 (707-25). At 293 Hector told Aeneas to take control of the *sacra* and *victosque deos* (= *Penates*), but it is only here that Aeneas may be given them (though Vergil does not explicitly tell us), since Panthus has come carrying them. However, no mention is made of them again until 717 (see n.). What happened to them in the meantime is left unclear (see Horsfall). **amens**: so Aeneas describes himself at 314; the parallel between Panthus and Aeneas is strengthened further. **limina**: i.e. of Anchises' house. **tendit**: for this usage, cf. 1.205 n.
322. **quo res summa loco**: "Where is the main battle?" **quam prendimus arcem?** *arcem* here means "position of defense," not the citadel of the city (mentioned at 33, 245, 319); *prendimus* is perfect ("we have seized") or present ("are seizing"). Note the clipped nature of these questions.
323. **gemitu**: "with a groan," "groaning," cf. 1.105 n.
- 324-5. **venit summa dies...Dardaniae**: *venit* is emphatic; *summa* here means "last," "final" (cf. 11 *Troiae supremum...laborem*). **ineluctabile**: "inescapable," a word first used by Vergil. **fuius...fuit**: note the effective polyptoton\* and asyndeton\*.
- 326-7. **ferus...transtulit**: it was believed that the gods abandoned a conquered city (cf. 351 n.); Jupiter is here described as not merely having departed but having gone completely over to the enemy. **Argos**: accusative of place to which. **incensa**: "set ablaze," i.e. "burning."
330. **portis...bipatientibus**: dative with *adsunt*. *Bipatientibus* means "having both halves open," i.e. "wide-open."
332. **angusta viarum**: for *angustas vias*, "narrow streets." For this construction, cf. 725 *per opaca locorum* and 1.421-2 *strata viarum* (with n.).
- 333-4. **stat ferri acies mucrone corusco | stricta**: "a (battle) line of steel of gleaming blade stands drawn." *Stricta* modifies *acies* grammatically and can semantically, when *acies* means "sword blade." But here *acies* means "battle line," and thus *stricta* in sense really attaches to *ferri*, which is what is drawn (out of the scabbard). **neci**: dative of purpose.



335. **caeco Marte**: like *Volcano* at 311, *Marte* refers to the primary sphere of the god, and thus here means “war.” *Caeco* refers to the confusion of the situation (not the darkness of the night). It is often used metaphorically\*, e.g., as an epithet of “fear,” “passion,” “frenzy,” etc. (cf. 4.209).
336. **Othryadae**: see 319 n.
337. **feror, quo tristis Erinys**: sc. *vocat* (338); an *Eryinys* is a “Fury.” Throughout book 2, the passive of *fero* is used to convey frenzied action.
342. **Mygdonides**: “son of Mygdon,” modifying Coroebus. Homer (*Il.* 3.186) mentions a Mygdon, king of the Phrygians.
343. **insano**: not simply a general epithet of love, but with special force because Coroebus’ love led him to his death. **incensus**: used of the burning of Troy at 327, 353, etc.
344. **gener**: “future” or “would-be son-in-law”; cf. 4.35 where *mariti* means not “husbands” but “suitors.” As we learn from the noun *sponsae* (345), Cassandra had been betrothed to Coroebus, but, as far as we can tell, they had not yet married.
345. **infelix**: Vergil, like Homer, often places an adjective at the commencement of a line with a pause after it, thus giving it great emphasis, cf. 372 *inscius*, 529 *saucius*; 4.72 *nescius*, 185 *stridens*, 311 *crudelis*, 366 *perfide*, 496 *impius*, 562 *demens*; 5.480 *arduus*; 6.172, 590 *demens*, 822 *infelix*. **qui...**: causal relative clause, explaining *infelix*. Cassandra’s prophecies were doomed to be ignored (cf. 246-7 with notes). **furētis**: “mad” in the sense of “inspired”; being possessed by a god is often accompanied by the outward signs of madness, cf. 6.77-80.
347. **quos...**: “and, when I saw them (*quos*) in close ranks (*confertos*) bold (*audere*) for battle...”; *quos* refers to the warriors joined with Aeneas at 339-42.
348. **super**: adverb. **his**: supply *verbis*.
349. **audentem**: this reading suggested by Servius is preferable to *audendi*, which has much greater manuscript authority but is more difficult to construe. See Gardiner (1987). **extrema**: “desperate acts.”
351. **excessere...**: Aeneas here echoes Panthus’ words at 326-7. There was a regular formula (*carmen quo di evocantur*) for summoning the gods of a besieged city to leave it—a practice called *evocatio*. Aeneas here echoes Panthus’ claim about Jupiter at 326-7 (see n.).
353. **moriāmur...ruāmus**: either this is an instance of *hysteron proteron*\*, whereby the logical order of action is reversed (“Let us dash into the fray and die”), or *et...ruāmus* is an explanatory clause (“let us die, and let us do so by rushing into the fray”). In either case, note the assonance\* of the long vowel *a*, perhaps underscoring the urgency of Aeneas’ words to his comrades.
355. **lupi ceu...**: these words introduce a simile\* and are based on the Gr. *lukoi hos* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.72, 16.156). Normally there is a coincidence of word accent and verse accent in the fifth and sixth feet of a hexameter line. Here, however, the monosyllabic *ceu* disrupts it in the sixth foot, giving this line a special tension that is not resolved by line end (see 1.105 n.). On the simile, see Lyne (1987) 212-14, who discerns dramatic irony, and Horsfall (1995) 113-14. Other wolf similes occur at 9.59-64, 565-6 (both of Turnus), 11.809-13 (of Arruns).
356. **improba**: here “reckless,” “uncontrollable.” Cf. 80 n.
357. **caecos**: cf. 335 n.
358. **per tela, per hostis**: Cf. 306 n. and observe the other repetitions in this passage: 361 *quis...quis*; 364-5 *perque...perque*; 368-9 *ubique...ubique*.

360. **nox atra**: the phrase conveys the darkness of the actual night but may also function as a metaphor\* for “death” (cf. 6.866). **cava**: “enfoldng.”
- 361-2. **quis...fando** | **explicit**: Aeneas introduces another stage of his actions as Troy fell. Cf. 6 *quis talia fando*. On the repetition of *quis*, cf. 306 n. and 358 n. The metaphor\* in *explicit* (“unroll,” here with sense of “give account of”) “refers to [Vergil’s] readers unrolling their copies of *Aen.* to learn of the night’s dead” (Horsfall).
363. **urbs antiqua ruit...**: this passage resonates with the coda to Priam’s death at 554-8. The phrase also recalls the description of Carthage at 1.12 (*Vrbs antiqua fuit*), a city still under construction in book 1. See Reed (2007) 128-47 on Vergil’s treatment of the theme of ancient cities and its significance for his representation of Rome.
364. **inertia**: “lifeless,” not “unwarlike” or “unresisting.”
- 365-6. **religiosa deorum** | **limina**: the temples of the gods are not even free from slaughter. The first syllable of *rēligiosa* is long, cf. 151 n.
367. **quondam**: “at times,” “sometimes.”
369. **pavōr**: the final syllable is lengthened, cf. *obruimur* in 411 and 1.308 n. **plurima mortis imago**: i.e. death in many forms. Note the powerful tricolon\* that concludes this passage.
- 370-401. *Aeneas and his comrades kill the Greek Androgeos and put on Greek armor.*
- 370-1. **se...offert**: not merely “meets” but “comes to meet.” Cf. *se obtulerat* (of Sinon) at 59-61. **Androgeos**: a Greek nominative form, but note *Androgei* at 392, as if from *Androgeus*. We know nothing of this Androgeos.
372. **inscius**: cf. 345 n. **ultrō**: cf. 145 n. Aeneas emphasizes the unwitting nature of Androgeos’ mistake. **compellat**: cf. Aeneas to Hector at 280.
- 374-5. **segnities**: “sloth,” “idleness”; primarily a prose word, it helps color Androgeos’ (ignorant) rebuke to another soldier. **alii...vos**: cf. 1.184 n. **rapiunt...feruntque**: the ordinary phrase is *ferre et agere*, e.g. Livy 22.3 *res sociorum...ferri agique vidit*, where strictly *ferre* is used of “carrying off” portable property and *agere* of “driving away” captives or cattle; here, however, any distinction between *rapiunt* and *ferunt* is unnecessary. Translate, “plunder and pillage.” **incensa**: see 326-7 n.
377. **fida**: “assuring.” **sensit...delapsus**: an imitation of the Greek construction after verbs of feeling, knowing, etc., wherein a nominative participle is used to refer back to the subject: “he felt that he had fallen” (cf. *Geo.* 2.510 *gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum*). The more usual Latin construction would be accusative and infinitive (e.g. *sensit se delapsum esse*).
378. **retroque...**: “and (shrinking) backwards.” **pedem cum voce repressit**: a rhetorical figure not unlike zeugma\*, because *repressit* must be construed differently when taken with *pedem* and *cum voce*.
379. **aspris**: = *asperis*, a harsh instance of syncope\*; *aspris sentibus* explains why the snake was *improvisum* to Androgeos. For the simile, cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.33-5: “And he faded back into the Trojan troops | With cheeks as pale as if he had seen— | Had almost stepped on—a poisonous snake | In a mountain pass” (Lombardo). Given the destruction connected to snakes in book 2 (cf. 203 n.), there may be dramatic irony in associating a snake with a Trojan; cf. Lyne (1987) 210-12.
380. **pressit humi nitens**: “pressing down” or “stepping on the ground”; *humi* is locative. Note the rhythmic contrast between the firm stomp on the snake with the spondaic\* *nitens* and the quick dactylic\* retreat in *trepidusque repente refugit*.

381. **attolentem...**: “raising up its wrath and puffing out (lit. swelling as to) its deep blue neck” (cf. *Geo.* 3.421 *tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem*). *Attollo* originally means “raise something up” physically. Vergil seems to be the first writer to use it in the sense of arousing a passion (cf. 12.4 *attollitque animos*). **caerula colla tumentem**: *tumentem* is intransitive, thus making *caerula colla* an accusative of respect. *Caerula* means “greenish blue,” a traditional color of serpents that goes back to Ennius.
382. **abibat**: with conative force, “as he was trying to get away” (he, of course, did not succeed in doing so).
383. **circumfundimur**: “we surround him (Androgeos),” a middle or reflexive use (lit. “we pour ourselves around”); cf. 1.228 n.; 2.227 *teguntur*, “hide themselves,” 511 *cingitur ferrum*, 707 *imponere*, “place yourself on.”
388. **ostendit se dextra**: the construction is a natural variation of the ordinary *ostendit se dextram*: Cf. 1.314 *sese tulit obviam*; 3.310 *verane te facies...adfers*; 6.879-80 *se...tulisset | obvius*. *Dextra* (modifying *fortuna*) means “on the right side,” i.e. “propitious.”
389. **mutemus...**: the idea in *mutemus clipeos* is restated in *Danaumque insignia nobis | aptemus*, an example of theme and variation\*. **Danaum...insignia**: those parts of armor (e.g. helmets, shields, swords; cf. 392-3) that serve to distinguish the Greeks from the Trojans.
390. **dolus...**: a rhetorically terse indirect question that provides an apology for the proposed act of Trojan treachery. On Greek *dolus*, cf. 44 n. The full construction would be something like (*utrum*) *dolus (sit adhibendus) an virtus, quis...requirat?*
391. **ipsi**: i.e. the Greeks (although they are foes).
392. **Androgei**: genitive singular (cf. 370-1 n.). **clipeique insigne decorum**: *insigne* here is clearly the “emblem” or “ornament” on the shield (cf. 7.657-8 *clipeoque insigne paternum | centum anguis...gerit*) and not the shield itself, as in 389.
393. **induitur**: a middle usage (cf. 383 n.).
394. **hoc**: “the same thing” (i.e. put on Greek armor). **ipse**: we do not know anything about Dymas and therefore cannot say why he is thus specially distinguished.
396. **haud numine nostro**: “(guided) not by our own gods.” This phrase has at least two meanings that cannot be easily separated: 1) “by the Greek (i.e. not our own) gods” and by extension 2) “by hostile gods” (i.e. the gods of our enemies). By donning the Greek armor, they are supposed to pass under the guidance of the Greek gods but because these gods are hostile, the Trojans are led to fresh disaster. See 410-12.
398. **Orco**: dative. The infernal god Orcus here stands in for “underworld.”
- 399-401. Note Aeneas’ seemingly exaggerated picture of the Greek warriors cutting and running as he and his comrades move to attack — even though Troy is in the grips of defeat. In Homer, the Greeks are generally tenacious and relentless fighters.
- 399-401. **diffigiunt...petunt**: theme and variation\* (cf. 389 n.). **fida**: cf. 23 n. **pars**: coordinate with *alii*; it is taken as a collective noun with the plural verbs *scandunt...conduntur*. **alvo**: i.e. the belly of the wooden horse, but it can also mean “womb” (cf. 20 n.).
- 402-52. *They see Cassandra dragged from Minerva’s temple, and their deceptive use of Greek armor is discovered. Aeneas rushes to Priam’s palace with two comrades.*
- 403-4. **passis...crinibus**: “with hair disheveled”; cf. 1.480 n. Since suppliants would unbind their hair, there is a suggestion that Cassandra was in the midst of supplication, when the

- Greeks tore her from the temple. The violation of suppliants at altars will reach its highest sacrilege with the slaughter of Priam and another of his children, his son Polites (506-58). **Priameia virgo**: a lofty and learned way to name Cassandra, one of Priam's fifty daughters. **a templo...adytisque**: the use of both these words emphasizes the sacrilege involved. *Templum* refers to the temple as a whole, while *adytum* (Gr. *aduton*, "the unenterable place") is the innermost shrine in which the image of the deity was kept.
- 405-6. **tendens**: cf. 1.205 n. **lumina frustra**, | **lumina**: the repetition of *lumina*, which is grammatically unnecessary (i.e. epanalepsis\*), creates a powerful emotional effect. Note also the effective placement of *frustra*.
407. **non tulit...Coroebus**: for Coroebus's relationship to Cassandra, see 344 n.
- 410-12. **telis** | **nostrorum obruimur**: Aeneas and his band are still disguised as Greeks and thus are attacked by the Trojans. Note that the final syllable of *obruimur* is lengthened in arsis\* (cf. 1.667-8 n.). **errore**: cf. 48 n.
413. **gemitu...ereptae virginis ira**: *gemitu* and *ira* can be taken as a hendiadys\*, "with a raging shout at the carrying off" or "rescue of the maiden." The Greeks' reaction here suggests that Coroebus had temporarily rescued Cassandra, though he will die at Minerva's altar (424-6). As to the syntax of *ereptae virginis*, Latin idiom tends to avoid verbal nouns and, where we use such a noun followed by a genitive, it often employs (as here) a noun and past participle in agreement, cf. also 643 *captae...urbi* "the capture of the city; 5.665 *incensas perfert navis* "the burning of the ships."
414. **acerrimus Aiax**: he is punished by Pallas for his role in Cassandra's rape (cf. 1.39-45).
415. **gemini Atridae**: Agamemnon and Menelaus (cf. 1.458 n.) are regularly called twins (cf. Gr. *dissoi Atreidae*, e.g. Soph. *Ajax* 57), not because they were (Agamemnon was older), but because of their famous union in the siege of Troy. **Dolopum**: cf. 7 n.
416. **rupto...turbine**: in the passive, *rumpo* can mean "bursts forth"; *turbine* here is perhaps "hurricane." For all the winds loose at once, cf. 1.85 n. **ceu quondam**: "even as at times"; for this phrase introducing a simile\*, cf. 6.492, 7.378, 7.699.
417. **Zephyrus...Notus...Eurus (418)**: the West, South and East winds, thus explaining *adversi...venti* (416).
- 418-19. **stridunt silvae saevit**: note the alliteration\*. **tridenti**: the trident is normally a symbol of Neptune (cf. 1.138-9 n.), but here Nereus (a lesser sea god) wields one. **fundo**: *fundus* means "bottom," but was often used for the "depths" or "bottom of the sea."
421. **totaque...urbe**: "throughout the whole city," ablative of place where (AG §429.2). **agitavimus**: "hunted" (cf. *agitare feras*).
423. **ora...**: "mark our lips (i.e. speech) as differing in sound (from their own)," though in Homer and Vergil, the Greeks and Trojan use the same language (Greek in Homer; Latin in Vergil). *Signant* here is close in meaning to *agnoscunt*, and is an unusual usage of this verb, which more normally means "indicate."
425. **divae armipotentis**: i.e. Pallas/Minerva.
426. **cadit et**: for the delay of *et*, cf. 1.333 n. **iustissimus unus**: "most just of all men." *Unus*, which has by itself a superlative force (cf. 5.704), is sometimes added to superlatives or expressions equivalent to a superlative to give emphasis, cf. 1.15 *magis omnibus unam*; 3.321 *felix una ante alias*. For other strengthenings of superlatives, cf. 1.347 n.

427. **servantissimus**: “most protecting of”; it is the superlative of *servans*, an adjective created by Vergil that appears only here. **aequi**: “justice.”
428. (**dis aliter visum**): supply *est*. “it seemed otherwise to the gods,” a comment by Aeneas, expressing resignation to Rhipheus’ death as part of the gods’ plan, and perhaps incomprehension that such a good man was not saved (cf. 1.8-11 n.). See Johnson (1999).
- 429-30. **confixi a sociis**: i.e. because the Trojans had been dressed in Greek armor. **te tua...:** the apostrophe\* to Panthus intensifies the emotional power that will reach a climax in Aeneas’ words in 431-4. **plurima...pietas**: *plurima* (here “abundant”) emphasizes the inability of *pietas* to help the Trojans during the collapse of their city. **infula**: a headband wrapped in wool that was worn by priests. **textit**: here “protected,” not simply “covered.”
431. **flamma extrema meorum**: the burning town became the funeral pyre of those who fell.
- 432-4. **testor...vitavisse...meruisse**: understand *me*; the personal pronoun may be omitted in indirect statement when there is no ambiguity, as here. **vices Danaum**: *vices* here means *pericula* (Servius), thus “dangers (of fighting) the Greeks” (cf. Horsfall). Hirtzel and Mynors punctuate differently by placing a comma after *vices*, and thus construing *Danaum* with *manu* (434). *Danaum*, however, makes good sense with *vices*, while *manu* can be taken to indicate Aeneas’ own hand (i.e. valor). **ut caderem**: substantive clause of purpose (AG §563d) after the idea in *si fata fuissent* but conceptually carried on to *meruisse manu*. “If my fate had been that I should fall by my deeds, I earned it” (i.e. the right to fall). **divellimur**: a strong word whose emphatic position stresses that what happened to Aeneas was caused by the violence of the fray; with *inde*, it also vigorously marks the change of scene.
435. **Iphitus et Pelias**: nothing else is known about these Trojans.
- 438-9. **ingentem pugnam**: governed by *cernimus*, cf. 440 n. **ceu...forent...morerentur**: clauses of comparison (AG §524).
440. **sic Martem...:** Vergil repeats and expands the idea of *ingentem pugnam* (438).
- 441-4. Vergil describes an assault at and around the gate of the palace that has two goals: first, to burst open the gates (441), and second, to scale the walls (440-1, 442-4). The besieged Trojans are mainly on the roof, though a contingent is positioned behind the gate (450) in case it should be forced open. The gate seems to stand slightly back from the line of the front of the house, leaving an open space, which is flanked by the walls and forms the *vestibulum* mentioned in 469.
441. **acta testudine**: “by the advancing roof of shields,” lit. “by the tortoise brought up against it.” The *testudo* consists of a body of men who locked their oblong shields together over their heads so as to form a sloping roof over them in order to assault a fortified position.
442. **pāriētibus**: the first *i* is consonantal, making the *a* long, but the *e* short (cf. 2.16 n.). **postisque sub ipsos**: “right up under the very roof beams”; the phrase emphasizes the boldness of the assault as being made exactly where the defence was strongest.
- 443-4. **gradibus**: “by the steps” or “rungs” of the ladders. **clipeosque...protecti obiciunt**: *protecti* may be either “thus protected,” or it may be used in a middle sense, “protecting themselves.” Note the all-out effort of the Greeks: they are not only climbing (*nituntur gradibus*); they are also using their hands (*sinistris* 443; *dextris* 444) for different functions.
443. **contra**: Aeneas now focuses on the Trojan reaction to the Greek assaults on Priam’s palace. The Trojan defense of the walls and roof (445-9) and the gate (449-50) stand in chiasmic opposition to the Greek assaults on these areas at 442-4 and 441 respectively (Williams).

- 446-7. **his...telis:** i.e. the turrets and pieces of roof covering (445-6). **ultima:** here “the end,” an idea expanded by *extrema morte* (447).
449. **alii:** while 445-9 show the Trojans defending the roof, 449-50 describe the Trojans (*alii*) standing behind the palace “doors below” (*imas fores*).
451. **instaurati animi...:** the verbal idea in *instaurati animi (nostri)* governs the three infinitives that follow (cf. 64 n.).
- 453-68. *Aeneas and his comrades rush to the roof of the palace and overturn a tower onto the Greeks below.*
- 453-4. **pervius usus | tectorum inter se Priami:** a difficult phrase meaning “a passage connecting the halls of Priam with one another” (lit. “a traversable use of Priam’s halls among themselves”). The “halls of Priam” are probably his own palace and that of his son Hector and Andromache. They were connected by this private door in the rear (*postes relictis a tergo*), which “had been left” undefended by the Trojans inside and unobserved by the Greeks, who were unfamiliar with the palace (cf. 384 *ignarosque loci*).
457. **soceros:** “her parents(-in-law),” i.e. Priam and Hecuba, though *socer* usually means “father-in-law.” **avo:** “grandfather,” i.e. Priam. **Astyanacta:** Greek accusative. Astyanax was the son of Andromache and Hector. The three are famously portrayed as Hector leaves for battle at *Il.* 6.399-502. **trahebat:** suggests that the boy can barely keep up with his mother; cf. 320-1 *parvumque nepotem | ipse trahit* (of Panthus and his son).
458. **evado:** “I climb up”; for *e* or *ex* in compounds as meaning “upwards,” “on high,” cf. 461 *eductam* “rising high”; 553, 688 *extulit*. With *evado*, we must understand something like “by this passage,” referring to the *postes...a tergo*, described at 454-7. **summi fastigia culminis:** cf. 302-3 n.
460. **turrim:** object of *adgressi* (463) and the main verbs *convellimus* (464) and *impulimus* (465). **in praecipiti:** “on a sheer edge,” the phrase describes the position of anything when, if it falls, there is nothing whatever to stop its fall.
- 463-4. **circum:** adverb, “all around” (i.e. the turret). **qua summa...:** the Trojans use their crowbars (*ferro*) where these topmost stories (*summa...tabulata*) spring from the roof. **labantis:** “tottering,” cannot strictly be applied to *iuncturas* but describes the effect on the tower of the attack on them (thus “yielding joinings”).
- 465-6. **ruinam...trahit:** cf. 631. The phrase is extremely graphic. Note the use of dactyls to describe the tower’s fall.
467. **subeunt:** cf. 216 n.
- 469-505. *Pyrrhus bursts through the palace doors.*

In this section, Achilles’ son Pyrrhus enters the action. He is a carefully drawn figure, embodying many of the destructive metaphors\* in book 2: he is compared to a snake (471-5), a violent flood of water (496-99, cf. the storm in *Aeneid* 1); he flashes almost like fire (cf. *coruscus* 470); he embodies the violence of his father (*vi patria* 491). But this is not all that makes Pyrrhus terrifying. Set against his violence are glimpses at the complete vulnerability of Priam, his palace, and his family when confronted by this terrifying Greek warrior. For more on Pyrrhus and the imagery in this book, see Knox (1950), Putnam (1965) 34-7, and 471-5 n. On the structure of these lines, Kenney (1979) 114-17 discerns “a very striking example of ring-composition,” whereby the passage from 469-500 is enclosed by images of Pyrrhus raging (469-70, 499-500), and the events in between are arranged symmetrically with the interior of Priam’s palace described at the center (483-90).

469. **Vestibulum:** for the geography of the palace and the assault, see 441-4 n. **Pyrrhus:** the son of Achilles and Deidamia; he was also known as Neoptolemus (cf. 473 n.). He was born and raised on the island of Scyros (477) and led its contingent to Troy after his father's death (cf. 7 n.). Pyrrhus' deeds after the war and his eventual murder are recounted by Andromache at 3.321-36.
470. **telis et luce...aëna:** "with weapons and bronze reflection," hendiadys\* for "with shining bronze weapons." **coruscus:** may be a word play or paronomasia\* on the meaning of the name Pyrrhus in Greek, "Flame-colored"; cf. also 469-505 n.
- 471-5. **qualis ubi...:** this simile\* has an important and direct model in Hom. *Il.* 22.93-5 describing Hector, as Achilles approaches to fight: "As a snake in the hills, guarding his hole, awaits a man—| bloated with poison, deadly hatred seething inside him, | glances flashing fire as he coils round his lair..." (Fagles). Note, however, Vergil's reversals. Kenney (1979) 106 writes, "the snake is now a symbol of aggression and it is the son of Achilles who is the aggressor, the father of Hector who is presently being attacked." Vergil's simile also resonates with his own *Georgics*: lines 473 and 475 directly quote *Georgics* 3.437 and 439, which describe the danger of snakes to a shepherd resting in the fields, while 474 adapts *Georgics* 3.426, which depicts an amphibious serpent. For the influence of the Hellenistic poet Nicander, see Kenney (1979) 107-8.
471. **in lucem:** the phrase goes with the verb of motion *convolvit* (474) but echoes *luce* (470); cf. 475 *ad solem*. **coluber:** a largely poetic word for "snake," used by Vergil less frequently than *anguis* and *serpens*. **mala:** "poisonous."
473. **novus...iuventa:** the noun *iuventa* may be an ellipsis\* for *iuventa aetas* and is used much less frequently than *iuventus* by Vergil. *Novus* may allude to Pyrrhus' other name Neoptolemus (in Greek = "New Warrior"), which is used at 263, 500, and 549.
475. **micat:** "flickers," "darts." *Micare* is strictly used of a quick jerky movement backwards and forwards; the meaning "to sparkle" is only secondary.
- 476-7. **una...una:** here *una* is the adverb and means "together (with Pyrrhus)." **Periphas:** an unimportant warrior at Hom. *Il.* 5.842. **armiger Automedon:** in apposition to *equorum agitator Achilles*. Automedon appears as such at *Il.* 16.145 and 17.536. **Scyria:** adjective; see 469 n.
478. **tecto:** since Pyrrhus has come to the entrance (453), *tecto* here means "dwelling"; *culmina*, "roof."
479. **ipse:** i.e. Pyrrhus (469), to whom our attention is now returned. **dura:** describes both the material of which the doors (*limina*) are made and also the character of the resistance it offered.
480. **limina:** "doors," by synecdoche\*. **perrumpit...vellit:** the presents mark action still going on and incomplete, in contrast to the perfects *cavavit* (481) and *dedit* (482).
- 481-2. **trabe:** "wood panel" (of the door). **lato ore:** ablative of quality. *Os* ("mouth") could be used to mean an "opening," as here. **dedit:** cf. 310 n. and 480 n.
- 483-4. **apparet...apparet:** note the pictorial power of the repetition of the verb in different forms (i.e. polyptoton\*). **penetralia:** "chambers"; like *veterum*, this word suggests awe, as it was often used for a god's shrine, cf. 5.744 *penetralia Vestae*.
485. **armatos:** see 449-50. **vident:** the subject is probably "the Greeks," even though the interior of the palace had been the subject of *apparet* (483) and *apparent* (484). The change of subject

- is startling, but effective. Kenney (1979) 116-17 writes: “we share with the Greeks, in this eerie moment of stillness, the shock with which their gaze is suddenly recalled from the long receding vistas opening before them to the grim motionless figures awaiting their assault just the other side of the door.” (It has also been suggested that “the Trojans” or even *penetralia* could be the subject of *vident*, though not persuasively; see Kenney (1973) 228 n. 55, and Horsfall *ad loc.*) The reading *vident* is strongly attested in the manuscript tradition, but *videt* is also preserved (in V and a ninth century codex), a reading that would return us to Pyrrhus’ perspective; *videt* is preferred by both Geymonat and Horsfall. **in limine primo:** “on the very threshold,” i.e. on the other side of the hole just made through the doors.
- 486-505. According to Servius, this passage and thus the fall of Troy at some level are modeled on Ennius’ depiction of the destruction of Alba Longa (cf. 1.267-74) in the *Annales* (for Ennius, cf. 268-97 n.). Scholars also discern similarities to the sack of Alba in Livy 1.29. See especially Austin (*ad loc.*) and Rossi (2004) 23-4. Rossi suggests (40-4) that Vergil’s emphasis on the palace’s interior and the Trojan women’s lament is part of the literary theme of the *urbs capta* (cf. 507). For the influence of Ennius’ tragedy *Andromacha* here, see Reed (2007) 101-6.
486. **at domus interior:** the phrase (cf. 1.637 n.) contrasts what is going on within the house with what is going on outside. It thus expands upon *apparet domus intus* (483), the description of which includes what is just inside the front doors of the palace (*in limine primo* 485) as well as the inner court (*penetralia* 484).
487. **miscetur:** cf. 298 n. **cavae...aedes:** “hollow” or “vaulted halls,” the adjective suggesting the idea of “echoing.”
488. **ululant:** an onomatopoeitic\* word meaning “howl”; it is used here of the halls themselves.
490. **postis:** since the *postis* of the palace doors have just been breached (480) and are about to be torn out (493), the *postis* which the women kiss here are probably other doors or even “columns” (on this later usage of *postis*, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.45 *cur invidendis postibus... | moliar atrium?*).
491. **patria:** adjective, referring to Pyrrhus’ father, Achilles (see 268-558 n. and 469 n.).
492. **ariete crebro:** “incessant battering” (lit. “frequent battering-ram”). While Pyrrhus plies his axe (*bipenni* 479), his followers aid him by battering the door. Note that *ariete* here is trisyllabic—the *i* is consonantal, as in *abiete* 16 (see n.) and *parietibus* 442.
493. **emoti procumbunt cardine postes:** at 480 the Greeks began pulling out the doorposts, which are finally dislodged (*emoti*) here. Ancient doors were not hung on hinges but turned on two pivots with one socket in the *limen* or sill, the other in the *limen superum* or lintel. The term *cardo* can be used either of the pivot or of the socket in which it moves. Since the bar (*claustra* 491) fastening the two halves does not give, the Greeks must “wrench the posts from their supporting sockets” to knock down the doors.
494. **fit via vi:** note the emphatic repetition of *vi* in the same metrical position as in 491. Cf. Livy 4.38.4 *vi viam facit* (Austin). **rumpunt aditus:** *aditus* is a cognate accusative, “they burst an entrance.” **primos:** presumably the *custodes* of 492. **trucidant:** a strong word, “butcher”; it occurs again in Vergil only at 12.577, and is primarily found in prose.
- 496-9. This simile recalls that describing Diomedes in battle at Hom. *Il.* 5.87-92: “For he stormed across the plain like a winter torrent at the full which with its swift flood sweeps away the embankments; this the close-fenced embankments do not hold back, nor do the walls of the fruitful vineyards stay its sudden coming when the storm of Zeus drives it on;



and before it in multitudes the fair works of men fall in ruin” (Wyatt). See Kenney (1979) 109-12 for detailed discussion.

496. **aggeribus**: here probably “dam” (though it could also mean “river banks” and be roughly equivalent to *oppositas...moles* in the next line).

497. **oppositas...moles**: “opposing river banks.” **gurgite**: here “violent torrent,” not simply “water” or “stream.”

498. **fertur**: see 337 n. **cumulo**: see 1.105 n.

499-500. **vidi ipse**: emphatic. Recall that Aeneas is still on the palace roof looking down inside.

**furentem | caede**: both Pyrrhus and the river in the simile\* (*furens* 498) are infected by *furor*. **Neoptoleumum**: cf. 473 n.

501. **centumque nurus**: *nurus* is accusative plural. Priam is supposed to have had fifty sons and fifty daughters, the sons being married, and each having his marriage-chamber (*quinguaaginta thalami* 503) in the palace. Here therefore *centum nurus* refers to Hecuba’s fifty daughters and fifty daughters-in-law.

502. **sanguine foedantem...**: a reference to the slaughter of Priam at the altar described in the passage that follows (506-58).

503. **illi**: “those famous”; they are described at *Iliad* 6.242-50. **spes ampla nepotum**: in apposition to *thalami*. The reading *ampla* is disputed: *tanta* appears in M and in Servius *auctus ad* 504 and Donatus, while *ampla* is preserved by P and also suggested by Propertius 3.22.41-2, though it is difficult to determine which poet influenced the other, or whether they had a common model for the phrase. Either reading is possible.

504. **barbarico**: here denotes “Phrygian,” “Trojan.” This Greek adjective was used without pejorative associations to indicate those who did not speak Greek, and thus meant “non-Greek.” For example, when Plautus (*Trinummus* 19) wishes to say that he has translated a Greek play into Latin, he writes *Plautus vertit barbare*. The epithet is also found in Ennius.

505. **Danai...ignis**: note the association between fire and the Greeks.

506-58. *Pyrrhus first pursues and kills Polites at the altar where his parents have taken refuge, and then slays Priam.*

Priam’s death clearly serves as a symbol for Troy’s defeat, but it does still something more. Priam is brutally and profanely slain at an altar by Pyrrhus. The scene thus also encapsulates the terrible criminality of the Greeks, which before now had been primarily represented by the actions of Ulysses and Sinon.

The slaying of Priam by Pyrrhus was an important part of the poetic tradition of the sack of Troy. Vergil’s treatment largely follows the version that had Priam killed at the altar of Zeus Herkeios (as in the early Greek epic poet Arctinus) rather than being taken from the altar and then slain (as in the early Greek epic poet Lesches). But at the very end of the passage, with its tragic image of Priam’s decapitated body lying on the shore, Vergil seemingly alludes to yet another tradition, that Priam had actually been brought to the Trojan shore and murdered at Achilles’ tomb. Servius says this is the version in a play by Pacuvius (second century BCE), which is now lost. Knauer (1964a) and Bowie (1990) have also identified important references to Hector’s death in the *Iliad*, while Rossi (2004) 44-9 has explored tragic and historiographical subtexts. See also Heinze (1915, 1993: 25-6), Austin (*ad loc.*), and Sklenár (1990). For the tradition of Priam’s death in art, which often joined his death with that of his grandson, Astyanax, see Gantz (1993) 649-57. For a critique of interpretation of the episode, see Horsfall *ad loc.*

506. Aeneas, who has been narrating since line 3, addresses his audience with a question (*requiras*), and thus sets off the death of Priam as a set-piece (506-58).
507. **urbis...captae**: cf. 486-505 n. **uti**: cf. 1.466 n.
508. **tectorum**: here “palace.” **medium**: agrees grammatically with *hostem* but should be construed closely with *penetralibus* (cf. also 512).
511. **cingitur**: middle voice (cf. 219, 275, and 383 with n.) and thus can take an object (*inutile ferrum*). Cf. the passive use of this verb at 520. **fertur**: cf. 337 n. and 498. **moriturus**: cf. *periturus* at 408.
512. **aedibus...**: Aeneas/Vergil describes an enclosed court, unroofed but surrounded by a pillared portico (528) and rooms opening into the portico, and with an altar of *Zeus Erkeios* (“Zeus of the Homestead”) in the center.
516. **praecipites**: “driven headlong.”
- 519-524. Hecuba attempts to dissuade Priam from rushing to battle. Her tone is not contemptuous. Rather she “speaks with intense...and tender concern; her actions are profoundly familial and domestic” (Horsfall).
519. **mens...dira**: “monstrous idea” or “intent”; again the idea that fury is driving action.
520. **impulit...**: supply *te* (i.e. Priam). **cingi**: passive, not middle, cf. 511 n.
521. **istis**: with demonstrative (not derisive) force, since Hecuba had just called Priam *misserime coniunx* at 519.
522. **non, si ipse...adforet Hector**: “No, even if my own Hector were here to help.” *Adforet* is imperfect subjunctive (= *adesset*) in a present contrary-to-fact protasis. Hecuba means that the only resort they have is to seek refuge at the altar (as they will do) – and this would be the case, even if Hector were there. Cf. Hector’s own words on the futility of resistance (291-2).
523. **tandem**: here = “please.”
524. **moriere**: future tense. **ore effata**: *ore* is tautologous since it is already implied by *effata*, though Vergil often uses *ore* with a verb of speaking, perhaps to add epic grandeur.
525. **longaeuum**: sc. *Priamum*. Priam’s old age and thus weakness are again emphasized (cf. *senior* 509).
526. **Ecce autem**: cf. 203 n. **elapsus Pyrrhi de caede**: *caede* (instead of, e.g., *manibus*) is a surprising turn of phrase. This scene perhaps recalls Achilles’ pursuit of Hector (another son of Priam, like Polites) around the walls of Troy in *Iliad* 22. **Polites**: cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.791, 13.533, 15.339, 24.250.
527. **unus natorum Priami**: *unus* is set against the unspecified number of *tela* and *hostes* that Polites avoids; for *natorum*, cf. 501 n.
528. **porticibus longis**: for this ablative, cf. 421 n. *Longis* and *vacua* convey the desperation and futility of Polites’ flight for help and safety. **fugit**: present tense.
529. **infesto vulnere**: *vulnere* = *telo*, the entire phrase thus meaning “with hostile weapon” (i.e. his weapon is ready to wound Polites at any moment).
530. **insequitur**: the chase is now described from Pyrrhus’ perspective (529-30). The placement of *insequitur* pointedly contrasts with *saucius* describing Polites at the beginning of the preceding line. **iam iamque...**: implying not that Pyrrhus actually catches Polites, but that Pyrrhus is always on the verge of catching and stabbing him. Cf. 12.754-5 *iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti | increpuit malis*, of a hound hunting a deer.

531. **evasit**: “escaped,” “emerged,” presumably from the *portibus longis* and *vacua atria* of 528.
533. **in media...morte**: the expression is proverbial for being in imminent danger of death; cf. Cic. *Cat.* 4.18 *ex media morte reservatum*.
534. **abstinuit**: “refrain” (from an action), an intransitive use of this verb. **voci iraque**: “wrathful words” (hendiadys\*).
535. **at tibi**: this use of *at* is frequent in curses; it marks a sudden outburst of words that will not be controlled. The pronoun is also regularly placed immediately after *at* to emphasize the person at whom the curse is directed, cf. Plaut. *Most.* 1.1.38-9 *at te Iuppiter | dique omnes perdant*; Cat. 3.13 *at vobis male sit*.
536. **quae...curet**: relative clause of characteristic.
- 538-9. **qui...me cernere...fecisti**: “you (*tibi* 535) who caused me to see...,” a rare construction used instead of a substantive clause of result (i.e. *fecisti ut cernerem*; see AG §568); cf. Ov. *Her.* 17.174 *illum...forma timere facit*.
- 540-1. **non ille...talis...fuit...**: Priam contrasts Pyrrhus’ criminal behavior with the honorable treatment that he (Priam) received when he went to Achilles to beg for Hector’s body back, an event depicted in the paintings at Carthage (1.484) and retold in *Iliad* 24. For a more flattering depiction of Neoptolemus, see Odysseus’ praise of him to his father Achilles in the underworld (Hom. *Od.* 11.506-37). **satum quo...** = (*e*) *quo mentiris te satum (esse)*. **fidem**: this word often means “protection,” as in the phrases *in fidem et clientelam se committere*, *in alicuius fidem ac potestatem venire*, *di vestram fidem!*
542. **erubuit**: “blushed at,” i.e. “respected.” Many intransitive verbs thus acquire a secondary meaning and become transitive, cf. 31 *stupet*, “is amazed at”; 3.394 *horresce*, “shudder at”; 3.648 *tremesco*; and so *exire*, *evadere*, “escape from,” e.g. 5.438 *exii*; 6.177 *festinant*, “perform hurriedly.” **sepulcro**: dative of purpose.
- 544-5. **sine ictu**: practically synonymous with *imbelle*. Note the emphasis on Priam’s physical weakness here: *senior*, *imbelle sine ictu*, *protinus repulsum*; cf. 525 n. **rauco**: “echoing.” **aere**: for “shield.”
546. **umbone pependit**: the *umbo* is a projecting boss in the center of the shield, intended to cause a weapon to glance aside. Here we must suppose that it is strengthened or covered with leather that the spear just pierces and in which it is caught so as to “hang in vain from the boss.” *Pependit* seems to contradict the idea in *repulum* in 545.
547. **cui Pyrrhus**: *sc. fatur*; cf. 1.37 n. **referes...ibis**: hysteron proteron\*. These futures are used almost as imperatives “therefore (i.e. as you taunt me with cruelty) you shall go and bear your tale...” **ergo**: i.e. since you condemn my actions.
548. **Peliadae genitori**: Achilles, Pyrrhus’ father (*genitori*), was in turn “the son of Peleus” (*Peliadae*). **illi**: emphatic, “to him” (i.e. Achilles). **mea tristia facta**: *tristia* is sarcastic.
549. **memento**: imperative (from *meminisse*).
- 550-1. **morere**: imperative (from *mori*). **altaria ad ipsa trememtem | traxit**: Pyrrhus drags Priam to the altar for slaughter – thereby heightening the criminality of the act, as does the phrase *in multo lapsantem sanguine nati*.
552. **laeva, dextra**: *sc. manu*. With his left hand, Pyrrhus grabs Priam by the hair, while he stabs the king with a flashing sword (*coruscum...ensem*) in his right hand. For the potential wordplay with *coruscus*, see 470 n.
553. **extulit**: cf. 458 n. **lateri**: *in latus* (cf. 19 n.). **tenus**: preposition that normally follows its ablative object (here *capulo*), “up to the hilt.”

554-5. **Priami fatorum**: the “fate of Priam” became proverbial as an instance of a great reversal of fortune (cf. Arist. *Eth.* 1.10.14). **hic exitus illum...tulit**: “this end took him away,” a variation on *haec finis Priami fatorum*; for *tulit*, cf. 600 *tulerint*; 5.356 *me fortuna...tulisset*. **sorte**: “fate.”

557. **Asiae**: here the lands of Asia Minor, around the city of Troy. **iacet...:** these lines enact Priam’s reversal of fortune, from great ruler to headless corpse. Vergil may here allude to the murder of Pompey upon his arrival at Egypt in 48 BCE. Cf. Bowie (1990) and Sklenár (1990). **litore**: (*in*) *litore*. Earlier Priam had been slain inside the palace at an altar (550-3), but *litore* may be a reference to the tradition that Priam was killed at Achilles’ altar on the Trojan shore. Cf. 506-58 n.

### 559-804: The flight from Troy

In the final section of book 2, Aeneas decides to leave his fallen city, but he is continually distracted from doing so: when he sees Helen hiding at the temple of Vesta, he is overcome by a desire to kill her; when his father refuses to leave the city, he feels he must stay and fight; and when he loses track of his wife Creusa on the way out of Troy, he decides to rush back into the city to find her. In each case, Aeneas is momentarily tempted to risk death again in battle, but these temptations are overcome by important revelations (Venus: 594-620; omens: 679-704; the shade of Creusa: 776-89) that emphasize the necessity of his flight and Jupiter’s role in promoting his fate.

In creating these stumbling blocks to Aeneas’ departure from Troy, Vergil has creatively engaged the literary tradition. Venus’ revelation and Creusa’s appearance both seem to look back to important Homeric passages (cf. 589-633 n. and 725-95 n.), while the omen involving Ascanius’ burning hair bears some similarity to a story about the Roman king Servius Tullius (cf. 679-725 n.). By ultimately heeding these signs and revelations, Aeneas emerges as a figure of *pietas*, for it is in this section of book 2 that he is explicitly presented with the plan of the gods and fate that he will pursue in the remainder of the epic. For more information on the artistic and literary evidence for Aeneas’ flight from Troy, see Austin (*ad loc.*) and Gantz (1993) 713-17. For the influence of *Iliad* 6, see Hughes (1997).

559-66. *The sight of Priam’s slaying makes Aeneas think of his own father and family.*

This passage serves as a transition from the fall of Troy to Aeneas’ flight from the city. Up until this point, Aeneas has been little concerned with the safety of his family. Rather he has been trying to protect the city more generally from the onslaught of the Greeks.

559. **tum primum**: Aeneas had been buoyed by courage; only now does he experience *horror*, described in almost physical terms (*circumstetit*).

561. **aequaeuum**: i.e. with respect to Anchises. The adjective is created by Vergil (Horsfall).

562. **vitam exhalantem**: *vitam*, an abstract noun, is given a physical presence (cf. *horror* 559).

**Creusa**: Aeneas’ wife, though the tradition about her name and role in the mythological tradition varied. See 725-95 n.

563. **direpta domus**: Aeneas anxiously imagines his house as already plundered. The *u* in *domus* is short (i.e. nominative singular), but it is here lengthened in *arsis*\*. **Iuli**: an alternate name for Aeneas’ son Ascanius. Cf. 1.267-8 n.

564. **respicio**: Aeneas has been gazing down from the roof to the altar where Priam has just been killed. He now looks behind him on the roof to see what fighting forces (*quae...copia*) he still has.

567-88. *Aeneas glimpses Helen hiding at Vesta's temple and wants to kill her.*

This passage, usually referred to as the "Helen episode," has been the subject of much controversy. Though it does not appear in the major manuscripts, Servius *auctus* (i.e. the Servian commentary as expanded probably in the seventh/eighth century CE) quotes it in a note on line 566, and claims that it was part of Vergil's epic but was deleted by his literary executors (cf. 1.534 n.). To some, these lines seem inconsistent in various ways with Vergil's style and with what comes before and after the passage. For example, its account of Helen's action during Troy's fall differs from that at 6.511-27, where she is described as guiding the Greeks, not hiding in fear from them. To others, such inconsistencies indicate only that the passage had not received its final editing because of Vergil's untimely death, while certain features would suggest its authenticity: e.g. Venus' words at 594 and 601 seem references to this disputed passage (e.g. 574-5), references that would be difficult to explain if these lines are deleted. The arguments for and against authenticity are numerous and varied, but, in the end, the issue simply cannot be decided with certainty. It seems definite that a transitional passage is needed to link 566 and 589, e.g., to make sense of the *cum* clause in 589; however, whether 567-88 is authentically Vergilian is far from clear, not least because of its unusual transmission. The passage is thus printed in brackets in the Latin text to indicate its controversial status. For the ancient evidence, see Austin (*ad loc.*) and Rowell (1966). For the argument against authenticity, see Heinze (1915, 1993: 26-30), Goold (1970), Murgia (1971, 2003), and especially Horsfall (2008) 553-86. In support of Vergilian authorship, see Austin (1964) 217-19, Reckford (1981), Conte (1986) 196-9, E. L. Harrison (1990) 48-50, Egan (1996), Syed (2005) 74-9, and Conte (2006).

The question of Vergilian authenticity aside, Aeneas' near slaying of Helen is not part of earlier treatments of Troy's fall, and seems to be an adaptation of a tradition found in the *Little Iliad* (cf. 1-267 n.) that Menelaus almost killed his former wife Helen, when he finds her during the sack of Troy. See, e.g., Heinze (1915, 1993: 28) and Gransden (1990) 131.

567. **Iamque adeo:** Vergil frequently places *adeo* thus second in a clause to strengthen the preceding word; here it emphasizes the transition in the narrative, which is marked by *iamque*, as being an important one. Cf. 3.203 *tris adeo*; 5.268 *iamque adeo donati omnes*; 5.864. **Vestae:** the Roman goddess of the hearth who was also associated with virginity, as were her priestesses the Vestal Virgins. Helen's refuge at her temple thus compounds her brazenness and Aeneas' sense of outrage.

568. **servantem...latentem:** Aeneas places great emphasis on Helen's hiding (*tacitam, secreta, latentem*). *Servo* here means "stay near," not "guard" or "watch."

569. **Tyndarida:** singular accusative of the Greek patronymic *Tyndaris*, daughter of Tyndareus. Though Helen was the child of Leda and Jupiter (who was disguised as a swan when he raped Leda), Tyndareus was Leda's human husband, and thus Helen's "father." **dant clara incendia lucem:** Vergil contrasts Helen's attempt at hiding (567-9) with the brightness of the destruction of Troy, which her affair with Paris ultimately entailed (though cf. 601-3). Instead of the manuscript reading *clara* (modifying *incendia*), some editors (e.g. Mynors, Horsfall) prefer Ribbeck's emendation *claram*, which may better suit *lucem*, though adequate sense can be made of *clara* and is thus preferred here.

570. **erranti...ferenti:** supply *mibi* (i.e. Aeneas). Notice Vergil's use of two parallel participles to enclose the line, as in 568. Since Aeneas only descends at 632, we must imagine him still on the roof here, looking around, perhaps unsure what to do, when he sees Helen.

- 571-3. **sibi infestos...praemetuens**: these lines form an elaborate participial phrase to express in tricolon\* the things Helen (*illa*) fears. *Sibi* can be construed as dative with *infestos*; *praemetuens* is a rare word. Both meanings are probably at play. **Danaum poenam**: this is the reading in Servius, though Servius *auctus* has the unmetrical *Danaum poenas* (perhaps to incorporate the more commonly used plural *poenas*, as in 576), while the Servian codices read *poenas Danaum* (which would incorporate the plural *poenas* metrically). See Goold (1970) 143 and Horsfall *ad loc.* **patria**: i.e. Greece. The adjective *communis* thus emphasizes Helen's criminality: she is so bad that the Greeks and Trojans both hate her. The harsh feelings that she inspires among both Trojans and Greeks can also be seen at Hom. *Il.* 3.159-69, 241-2. **Erinyes**: a strong word for the denunciation of Helen, used also at Aesch. *Agam.* 749.
574. **aris**: can be taken as a locative ablative with *sedebat*, though it might also be construed as a dative with *invisa*. Perhaps both interpretations are at play. **invisa**: probably "hateful" (from *invideo*), as in 601 and 647, rather than "unseen" (*in + visus*), since she has just in fact been observed by Aeneas.
575. **exarsere: exarserunt. ira**: construe *ira* "angry longing" followed by the infinitive *ulcisci* in 576 (cf. 10 n.).
576. **sceleratas...poenas**: *sceleratas* probably refers to Helen's crimes, not the punishments themselves (*poenas*), and thus is a transferred epithet (or enallage\*) that means "punishment for her crime," cf. also 584 *feminea...poena* and 585-6 *merentis...poenas*. Williams (*ad loc.*) and others maintain that the phrase means "sacrilegious vengeance," i.e. because it involves a suppliant at an altar.
577. **scilicet**: "doubtless," "of course," marking strongly Aeneas' bitter indignation. **Spartam... patriasque Mycenae**: Helen (*haec*) is from Sparta, ruled by her husband, Menelaus. Mycenae is often taken for the whole region of Greece.
578. **triumpho**: an anachronism, imagining the Greek Helen in a decidedly Roman ceremony. The triumph was an official military parade for a general who had won a significant victory. Cf. the representation of Augustus' triple triumph (29 BCE) at the center of Aeneas' shield (8.714-28).
579. **coniugium**: stands in for *coniugem* (i.e. her Greek husband Menelaus). **patriis**: cf. 569 n. *Patriis* should be preferred to the reading *patres*. **natos**: in Homer, Helen only had a daughter (Hermione, Hom. *Od.* 4.12-14), though some sources suggest that she also had a son. *Natos* should perhaps be taken as "offspring."
- 581-2. These three questions are to be construed as a set. The future perfect indicative describes events that precede those conveyed by a simple future (*videbit* 579). Translate "Will it be for this (i.e. that this result might follow) that Priam has fallen by the sword...?" Cf. 4.590-1 (with n.) *ibit...et...inluserit?*
584. **feminea**: cf. 576 n. **nec habet**: the reading *habet haec* is also offered by the manuscripts and is accepted by Austin and Mynors. It is, however, difficult to construe with *tamen* (585), while *nec habet* makes easier sense and is printed by Hirtzel and Geymonat.
- 585-7. **nefas**: Aeneas dehumanizes Helen here and thus suggests that he will not suffer infamy for killing her. **merentis...poenas**: "just punishment," cf. 576 n. **animumque explesse iuvabit | ultricis flammae**: a difficult sentence for which there is no completely satisfactory explanation. The reading *flammae*, a correction in later manuscripts for *famam* or *famae*, offers the best solution. In this case, *explesse* would govern the genitive *ultricis flammae*, the entire clause meaning "and I will rejoice to have filled my soul with avenging fire"; "flame"

would imply something like “fury” (cf. 575 *ignes*). The use of the genitive with *explesse*, however, is not attested elsewhere, though verbs and adjectives expressing fullness are commonly followed by a genitive (cf. 1.215 *implentur Bacchi* with n.). See Renehan (1973), who argues for the authenticity of *flammae*, though he doubts that Vergil is the author of 567-88.

588. **furiata mente:** cf. 407. **ferebar:** cannot mean motion, because Aeneas is still on the roof, and does not descend until line 632 (*descendo*). Perhaps it is to be taken metaphorically, “I was carried away” (i.e. crazed).

589-633. *Aeneas’ mother Venus restrains him and reveals that the gods are behind Troy’s destruction.*

Perhaps the most important moment in book 2. Venus appears and prevents Aeneas from killing Helen. In the process she provides her son with an important revelation: the gods and fate are destroying Troy; Aeneas must yield to their will. He is thus given an understanding of events on an entirely new level. His role is to carry out the divine plan of which the destruction of Troy is just the beginning (and most painful part) for Aeneas.

Various intertextual influences have been seen here. Venus’ restraint of Aeneas resonates with *Iliad* 1.188-222, where Athena holds Achilles back from slaying Agamemnon. Venus’ removal of the cloud from Aeneas’ vision so he can see the overall divine dimension behind Troy’s destruction echoes (and contrasts with) *Iliad* 5.121-32, where Athena allows Diomedes temporarily to distinguish between god and human on the battlefield. The near killing of Helen also has a parallel in Euripides’ *Orestes*. For more on this passage, see Knauer (1964a), E. L. Harrison (1970=1990), Reckford (1981), Conte (1986), Hershkowitz (1998) 80-5, Johnson (1999), and Hardie (2009) 168-9.

590. **pura per noctem in luce refulsit:** again the contrast between light and dark, so central to the narrative of the fall of Troy, cf. 569 n. For *refulsit*, cf. 1.402 n.

591-2. **alma parens:** emphatic enjambment\*. **qualisque...solet:** “in form (*qualis*) and in stature (*quanta*) as she usually appears to the gods.” Not merely superior beauty but superior size characterizes the ancient gods and heroes. Venus’ willingness to appear to Aeneas here contrasts with her encounter with him at 1.305-417, when she is disguised as a huntress and is reproached by him, when he realizes her identity upon her departure.

597. **superet coniunxne:** *-ne* continues the indirect question; its delayed position is unusual but may add emphasis to *coniunx*.

599-600. **ni...resistat,...tulerint...hausarit:** mixed contrary-to-fact condition, with primary tense subjunctives that add vividness. **mea cura:** in contrast to *nostri...cura* (595), Venus here says that she is helping the very people Aeneas has been ignoring (i.e. his family, 596-8).

601-3. An important revelation to Aeneas that encourages him to look at the fall of Troy in a different way. In seeing Helen, he has focused his anger on the human aspect of Troy’s fall, but Venus explains that fate and the gods are behind Troy’s destruction. The theme of Aeneas’ gradual understanding of fate is central to his characterization and culminates in the shield Venus gives him at the end of book 8.

601. **Tyndaridis:** i.e. Helen; cf. 569 n. **Lacaenae:** adjectival form of *Laconia*, which is equivalent to Sparta.

602. **tyrannusve:** the enclitic *-ve* should be construed with *non* (601) “neither...nor...” **divum inclementia, divum...:** the asyndeton\* before the initial *divum* is contrastive; the repetition of *divum* (= *divorum*), an example of epanalepsis\*, underscores the divine level of Troy’s

- fall. Translate: “but the gods’ cruelty—the gods’—is overturning...” Vergil seems to have invented the word *inclementia* in this passage. As we will see at line 610-16, Neptune, Juno and Pallas Athena are exacting revenge on Troy for past wrongs.
- 604-7. To help Aeneas see the true causes of Troy’s destruction, Venus provides her son with a view of the involvement of the gods that is unclouded by human frailties. (Cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.127-8, where Pallas opens the eyes of Diomedes.)
- 606-7. **parentis...parere**: perhaps a wordplay (paronomasia\*) since *pārens* and the verb *pārere* (“to obey”) are not etymologically\* related. See O’Hara (1996) 134.
608. **hic**: “here,” picks up the thought from *aspice* (604). **moles**: perhaps “buildings,” cf. 1.421.
609. **mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum**: *undantem* means “billowing”; the dust (*pulvere*) is from the falling buildings. The interlocking word\* order mimics the idea in *mixto*.
610. **Neptunus**: Neptune and Apollo helped Laomedon (Priam’s father) build the walls of Troy but were cheated out of their pay. As a result, the sea-god sought the destruction of Troy in the Trojan War, though Apollo, despite his anger, still supported the Trojans.
611. **quatit**: perhaps refers to the epithet “Earth-shaker” that Homer often uses of Poseidon. **sedibus**: here “base,” “foundation.”
612. **Iuno...saevissima**: the bitterest enemy of Troy. For the reasons, see 1.12-28. **Scaeas... portas**: these were the most famous of the gates of Troy, and were named Scaean “because they were on the west, i.e. the left-hand side (Gr. *skaios*) looking north; cf. *Aen.* 3.351. Thus they faced the Greek camp” (Williams). Laomedon (cf. 610 n.) was said to be buried on top of these gates, and Troy’s safety depended on the protection of this tomb (Servius *ad* 13 and 241).
613. **prima**: points to Juno’s lead role in the destruction of Troy. **sociumque...agmen**: refers to the Greeks who are her helpers in the destruction of Troy; thus *socium* means “allied.” **furens**: cf. 1.34-222 n.
614. A half-line, cf. 66 n.
615. **Tritonia...Pallas**: cf. 171 n. Pallas was a central supporter of the Greeks in the Trojan War. In addition to aiding the most important Greek warriors (most notably Ulysses), she is associated with the ruse of the Trojan Horse (cf. 15 n.). Though this is the only place in the *Aeneid* where she is seen taking action, she nonetheless plays a role throughout. See Spence (1999b).
616. **nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva**: a difficult phrase. *Saeva* here is probably a nominative describing Pallas, the entire phrase meaning “shining forth from a cloud and fierce with the Gorgon.” The *nimbus* might then be a storm cloud or dark cloud that veils deities from sight (cf. 12.416 *Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo*). Either of these meanings is preferable to “halo” (Servius *auctus*, cf. 567-88 n.) or to the variant *limbo* (“hem”), also offered in Servius. **Gorgone**: Pallas had the head of a Gorgon on her shield.
- 617-18. **ipse pater...ipse**: *ipse* itself is emphatic; its repetition with asyndeton\* is doubly so. Jupiter (*pater*) himself rouses the Greeks and the gods to destroy Troy. We are not given a specific reason as to why Jupiter is taking such an active role, but the implication may be that he is upholding fate, not playing favorites.
619. **eripe, nate, fugam**: a periphrasis\* for *fuge* (“flee”) that puts special emphasis on “flight,” while also echoing Hector’s similar injunction at 289: *heu fuge, nate dea, teque his...eripe flammis*.



- 622-3. **dirae facies**: “terrifying forms” or “shapes.” **inimicaque...numina magna**: *inimica* is predicative, *magna* attributive. Since Aeneas has just described the physical presences of Neptune, Juno, Pallas, and Jupiter, *numina* probably refers more generally to their awesome powers. Note that 623 is a half line (cf. 66 n.).
624. **omne**: emphatic. Vergil vividly represents Troy’s destruction as culminating in one universal crash, an idea elaborated in the tree simile of 626-31.
625. **ex imo**: “from its depths” or “base.” **Neptunia**: cf. 610 n.
- 626-31. This simile is perhaps modeled on one at Hom. *Il.* 4.482-8 describing the death of Simoeisius: “and down in the dust he fell like a lithe black poplar | shot up tall and strong in the spreading marshy flats, | the trunk trimmed but its head a shock of branches. | A chariot-maker fells it with shining iron ax | as timber to bend for handsome chariot wheels | and there it lies, seasoning by the river” (Fagles). Cf. 624 n. Vergil employs other tree similes at 4.441-6 and 5.448-9. Cf. also Ap. Rhod. 4.1682-6.
628. **illa**: i.e. the ash tree (*ornum* 626). **minatur**: here, “threatens” to fall.
629. **comam**: accusative of respect after *tremefacta*. **nutat**: “totters” (intransitive).
630. **vulneribus**: emphasizes the violence of the axes. **supremum**: adverbial accusative.
631. **traxit...ruinam**: cf. 465-6 n. **iugis avulsa**: in the end the tree is not simply cut down but is uprooted.
632. **descendo**: only now does Aeneas apparently descend from the roof of Priam’s palace. **ducente deo**: explains how Aeneas manages to escape to his father’s house. *Deo* must be construed generically for “divinity” and not “male god,” since it indicates Venus; we would have expected *dea*. This is a long-standing textual problem. See the discussion in Horsfall.
633. **expedior**: middle sense, “I extricate myself,” and thus “I escape.” **dant...locum**: “give place,” or “yield.”
- 634-49. *When Aeneas reaches home, Anchises refuses to leave.*
- This is our introduction to Anchises, Aeneas’ father by the goddess Venus. He is initially portrayed as hopeless, old, and weak. This characterization, however, contrasts with the important role he will play in helping Aeneas lead the Trojans from their fallen city and in interpreting the many signs and portents they will encounter in book 2 and during their travels in book 3.
634. **ubi...perventum**: sc. *est*; an impersonal passive construction, emphasizing the action rather than the person committing it.
636. **primum...primumque**: “The ponderous anaphora...lends weight to this first sign of practical, reborn *pietas*” (Horsfall).
637. **abnegat**: “refuse” + infinitive; a verb first occurring in Vergil.
638. **integer aevi**: modifies *sanguis* (639) and means “unimpaired by age” (i.e. “youthful”). *Aevi* is probably a genitive of specification (AG §349d; cf. *Aen.* 5.73 *aevi maturus*; Enn. *Scen. deos aevi integros*, cited by Servius *ad* 9.253 (fr. 401 (*incerta*) in Jocelyn, fr. 385 (*ex fabulis incertis*) in Warmington; Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.1 *integer vitae* “upright in regard to life”).
640. **fugam**: Anchises is the third person to enjoin Aeneas to flee (cf. Hector at 289 and Venus at 619).
641. **me**: emphatically contrasts with *vos* (640). **ducere vitam**: a metaphor\* from spinning; each person “draws out” the thread of existence until the appointed hour; cf. 3.315 *vitam...duco*.

- 642-3. **satis...superque**: i.e. *satis superque est quod...* (“it is enough and more than enough that...”). **una...excidia**: plural for singular; the phrase alludes to the destruction of the city by Hercules, whom Laomedon had deceived. **captae...urbi**: see 413 n. **superavimus**: *superare* is used here exactly as *superesse* with the dative and means “survive.”
644. **positum adfati discedite corpus**: Anchises urges them to give him their final farewell (*adfati*), as if he is already a corpse laid out (*positum*) upon the bier.
645. **manu**: “by my hand” here means “by fighting.” **miserebitur hostis**: ironic\*, since the enemy will not show Anchises any special pity. From Achises’ perspective, however, being killed by the Greeks will seem an act of pity because it will relieve him of the burden of seeing Troy defeated.
646. **facilis iactura sepulcri**: a shockingly un-Roman idea; the “loss of burial” is regarded as almost the greatest loss that can befall a person. However, as Horsfall (*ad loc.*) notes, “after loss of bodily strength (when punished), of home, city, life, arms, *even* the loss of burial becomes tolerable” for Anchises.
- 647-8. **iam pridem**: construe with *demoror*. **annos | demoror**: because Anchises has lived so long past his crippling by Jupiter (see 649 n.), which made him hateful to the gods and useless, he has delayed the course of the years. **ex quo**: sc. *tempore*. **divum pater atque hominum rex**: an Ennian phrase (*Annales*, fr. 203 in Skutsch, fr. 207 in Warmington).
649. **fulminis**: because Anchises had bragged about his love affair with the goddess Venus, he was struck by Jupiter’s lightning and became lame; in another version, he was blinded (Servius *ad* 2.35). For the warning to him not to brag, see the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 286-8, on which cf. 1.305-417 n.
- 650-70. *Unwilling to flee without his father, Aeneas prepares to rush back into battle.*
651. **effusi lacrimis**: a very strong expression, as though they wholly melted into tears. We would have expected *effudimus lacrimas* (cf. 271 n.).
- 652-3. **ne...vellet**: this clause is governed by the idea of beseeching or fear in *effusi lacrimis* (651). **incumbere**: lit. “to lean” or “press on” (with dative), though here with the sense “to add weight to” a doom already pressing in on them (*fato...urgenti*).
654. **incepto...sedibus...in isdem**: form a zeugma\* with *haeret* that joins the physical (*sedibus*) and the abstract (*incepto*, “resolve”).
655. **rursus in arma feror**: refers back to 337; cf. also 498 and 511.
657. **efferre pedem**: an Ennian phrase (*efferreret pedem*, *Medea* fr. 215 in Jocelyn, fr. 260 in Warmington). **te...relicto**: ablative absolute.
658. **sperasti?**: *spero* with the present infinitive means not “hope” but “expect,” and refers not to something which may happen in the future but to what is already happening in the present: cf. 4.292 *non speret*, “does not expect,” 305 *dissimulare...sperasti*, “did you expect to hide?,” 337-8 *ne...abscondere...speravi*; 5.18 *sperem...contingere* (with n.). **nefas**: Anchises’ suggestion is so called because Aeneas would violate *pietas* if he were to leave his father to die in Troy.
660. **sedet**: here used to express fixity of purpose (*OLD* s.v. *sedeo* 11a); cf. 4.15, 5.418. It is essentially equivalent to *stat* (cf. 750 n.). **hoc**: neuter nominative, “this,” referring to Anchises’ decision to stay in Troy.
661. **isti...leto**: *isti* conveys a sense of frustration.

662. **multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus:** *sanguine* is a vivid substitution for “slaying”; *multo* emphasizes the goriness of Priam’s demise. Just as Priam’s death had earlier reminded Aeneas of his father Anchises, so now Anchises’ decision to remain in Troy brings to Aeneas’ mind the terrible slaying by Pyrrhus.
663. **pātris, pātre:** note the differing vowel lengths in these two inflected forms. The *a* is by nature short, but a short vowel followed by a mute and a liquid (here *t* and *r*) can be either long or short. Note also that the asyndeton\* between the two forms separates the line into two halves and further emphasizes Pyrrhus’ impiety through the accumulation of his crimes. **obtruncat:** denotes especially callous “slaying”; translate as “butcher” (cf. *trucidant* 494 with n.). Pyrrhus’ violence may also be conveyed by the three elisions\* in this line, the last with *qui* being particularly rare.
- 664-7. **hoc...cernam:** a difficult syntactic construction in which Aeneas suddenly addresses his mother Venus. The phrase *quod me...eripis* is literally “as to the fact that you are saving me”; it is here used as equivalent to a simple noun serving as subject of *erat*. *Hoc* is then a predicate and is explained by the clause *ut...cernam*. Translate: “Was this (the purpose), dear mother, (for) which you are saving me from sword and fire, that I may see...” **alterum in alterius... sanguine:** “one in the blood of the other,” modifying *Ascanium...Creusam*. **cernam:** we might have expected a secondary sequence subjunctive since *erat* (664) is imperfect, but because the overall sense of the sentence is present, the primary sequence subjunctive is used.
668. **arma, viri...arma:** note the play on the opening of the epic and the frenzied repetition of *arma*. Cf. Oliensis (2004). **forte:** Aeneas suddenly shifts from his address to his mother (664) to a generalizing imperative.
669. **sinite...revisam:** indirect command. For the omission of *ut* here, cf. the common phrases *fac abeas; velim facias; licet venias*. **instaurata:** used proleptically\*—Aeneas will “renew” the battle by reseeking it.
670. **numquam...hodie:** cf. *Ecl.* 3.49 *Numquam hodie effugies*. *Numquam* loses its sense of time and becomes an emphatic negative, cf. *nusquam* 5.853 n.
- 671-8. *Creusa begs Aeneas not to desert their family.*
671. **accingor:** passive, cf. 511 n. **clipeo...:** here “(the handle of my) shield.”
672. **insertabam...ferebam:** note the switch from present (*accingor* 671) to imperfect (*insertabam...ferebam*), the latter verbs explaining Aeneas’ actions at the time of Creusa’s unexpected appeal in the lines that follow.
673. **complexa pedes:** usually the suppliant clasps the knees; the substitution of the feet here marks Creusa as both beseeching and hindering Aeneas’ departure.
674. **patri:** for *ad patrem*, referring to Aeneas. *Patri* is emphatic: not “to me” but “to his father,” because it is to the paternal affection of Aeneas that she appeals by her act.
676. **expertus:** “having tried them (sc. *arma*) before,” i.e. from experience.
678. **coniunx quondam tua dicta:** Creusa uses this phrase because Aeneas is seemingly about to meet his death.
- 679-725. *Omens involving Ascanius encourage Aeneas, Anchises, and Creusa to leave.*

The omen of Ascanius’ burning hair seems to have been invented by Vergil and is perhaps based on the famous story about the sixth king of Rome, Servius Tullus (Livy 1.39; cf. *Ov. Fast.* 6.636); for possible Lucretian influence, see 116 n. At *Aen.* 7.71-80, a similar portent

will involve Lavinia, the Latin princess over whom the Italian war will be fought in the second half of the epic.

The confirmatory omen of the shooting star that follows (691 n.) may also be interpreted as containing an important allusion to the comet (*sidus Iulium*) that appeared during games that Octavian held in honor of Caesar in July 44 BCE and that many interpreted as indicating that Caesar's soul had been received among the gods (Pliny, *NH* 2.94). For this possible allusion, see West (1993) and M. F. Williams (2003); cf. also 5.522-4 n.

Anchises' interpretation of the omens represents a turning point in his characterization. Initially reconciled to Troy's destruction, he now takes on an important role in the Trojans' flight from Troy.

The passage closes with Aeneas, his father on his shoulders carrying the *penates* and Ascanius at his side (721-4). This image powerfully captures Aeneas' *pietas* and was a popular subject in art; for references, see Gantz (1993) 714-16. Julius Caesar used this image on coinage to connect himself to his Trojan ancestors.

681. **manus...**: a vivid picture. Creusa is on her knees holding up Iulus to Aeneas.
- 682-3. **levis...apex**: *apex* is strictly used of the point in which the cap of a flamen (a type of priest) ended, but it could also mean the "point" or "tongue of fire" (cf. *lambere* 684). **tactu...innoxia**: might be "harmless to be touched" (cf. 680 *dictu mirabile*), but "harmless with its touch" seems more fitting here, since the flame touches Ascanius' hair but does not burn it.
684. **tempora**: "temples" (of head). **pasci**: middle; it usually means "feed" or "graze," but here it is closer to "dance" or "play."
- 685-6. **trepidare...excutere...restinguere**: historical infinitives (cf. 98-9 n.). *Excutere* and *extinguere* carry the additional sense of trying (conative) "they try to shake off...to put out..." **sanctos...ignis**: the fire is *sanctos* because it is a divine portent of favor, though it is not fully accepted as such until 699-700.
687. **at pater Anchises...laetus**: note Anchises' sudden change of heart from despair to happiness, as he is seemingly the first to understand the meaning of the portent. His role as interpreter of portents will continue in book 3.
690. **hoc tantum**: a verb like *precor* must be supplied.
691. **deinde**: this word emphasizes the idea that there is a natural sequence—first due reverence of the gods and then due reward from them. **augurium**: Anchises asks for an omen (i.e. an *augurium impetrativum*) to confirm the one that had been sent by the gods unasked (i.e. an *augurium oblativum*). *Augurium* is the reading of Probus and the one Servius seems to have had. It makes good sense here, though Mynors prefers the manuscript reading *auxilium*. **firma**: imperative; i.e. confirm the first omen by a second, and thus show that the first sign was not an accidental event.
692. **subitoque fragore...**: note the parataxis\*. Instead of "and suddenly," translate as "when suddenly..."
693. **intonuit laevum**: "it thundered on the left," a good omen in Roman augury. *Laevum* is cognate accusative (AG §390b).
694. **facem ducens multa cum luce**: *facem* for *lucem*; lit. the star "trailing a torch accompanied with much light."
696. **Idaea...silva**: (*in*) *Idaea silva*. Ida is a Trojan mountain.
697. **signantemque vias**: the shooting star illuminates its path as it falls on Mt. Ida. These

- words should be understood closely with *claram*; it is by its “brightness” that the star “marks its path.” **tum**: i.e. after the star’s departure. **longo limite sulcus**: the path (*limes*) the star had taken seemed like a glistening furrow (*sulcus*) that had been plowed in the sky. *Sulcus* thus refers to the tail of light that trails the star with its long path.
698. **circum**: adverb.
699. **hic vero**: these adverbs help emphasize Anchises’ change of heart. **victus**: here not “conquered” but “persuaded” (i.e. finally to leave Troy, as Aeneas had advised, because of this omen.)
700. **sanctum sidus**: perhaps a reference to the *sidus Iulium*. See 679-725 n.
701. **nulla mora**: stresses the promptness of Anchises’ obedience, as does the present *sequor* and the still more emphatic *adsum*. Cf. 647-8 *annos demoror*.
702. **domum**: here “family” or “race”; the portent of fire had marked Ascanius, his “grandchild” (*nepotem*) and by implication his descendants as under divine protection.
703. **vestrum...vestro**: note the emphatic polyptoton\*.
705. **clarior**: perhaps describing both the crackling and brightness of the burning of Troy.
707. **ergo age**: “come, then.” This phrase has a conversational tone and is found especially in comedy, though *age* (imperative from *ago*) by itself is often used in combination with another imperative. **imponere**: cf. 383 n.
709. **quo...cumque**: “wherever things shall fall” (i.e. however things turn out). The metaphor in *cado* is from playing dice.
710. **ambobus**: supply *nobis* (Aeneas and Anchises).
711. **longe**: probably means “behind” (like *pone* at 725) rather than “far off.” This word prepares us for Creusa’s disappearance at 735-44. **servet**: “follow” (cf. 568 n.).
712. **animis advertite**: “pay attention to” (lit. “turn with your minds to”). Vergil uses *animis*, though the accusative *animos* is more usual with this verb.
713. **est urbe egressis**: “when you go out of the city, there is a...” (lit. “for those who have left the city, there is a...”). **tumulus**: “hill” or “mound,” not “tomb,” since the temple of Ceres is meant (714). Note the concise and conversational nature of Aeneas’ words here.
714. **desertae**: meaning is unclear. It is probably a transferred epithet\*, since it is the ancient temple that has been deserted (perhaps because of the war). It might, however, be a reference to Ceres’ “desertion” by her daughter Proserpina, who had been abducted by Pluto (Servius).
715. **religione...servata**: even though the temple has been abandoned, superstition still makes people take care of the ancient cypress tree near it. For the scansion of *religione*, cf. 151 n.
716. **ex diverso**: “from different directions.” The *antiqua cupressus* becomes the meeting place for the household slaves (*famuli*) to gather by their various routes from the city. *Diverso* (i.e. “many”) contrasts with “one” (*banc...in unam*).
717. **tu, genitor, cape...:** another sign of Aeneas’ *pietas* toward the gods. Aeneas will not permit himself to handle the *sacra* and *penatis* (cf. notes on 293 and 320-1) because his hands are still stained from battle.
719. **attrectare nefas**: an impersonal expression; supply *est*. “It is sinful that I handle them” (understand *ea*, referring to *sacra*)...” Cf. Hector at *Iliad* 6.266-8 (Horsfall). **vivo**: “flowing,” “running.”
721. **subiecta**: “stooped,” “placed under” (from *sub* + *iacio*), so as to be ready to receive Anchises.

722. **veste...fulvique...pelle leonis:** *veste...pelle* form a hendiadys\*, “with the covering of a tawny lion.” **super:** adverb, “on top.” **insternor:** middle sense, “I cover my broad shoulders,” cf. 383 n.

723-4. **succedo:** “I bend my shoulders to” (lit. “move to a position under”). **oneri:** referring to Anchises, whom Aeneas will carry on his shoulders. (Cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.625 *venerabile onus*, also of Anchises). **dextrae se...implicuit:** i.e. Iulus grasped Aeneas’ right hand. Servius notes: *puerilem expressit timorem, ne manu excidat patris*. **non...aequis:** litotes\*, emphasizing Iulus’ youth, small size, and reliance on his father’s protection; cf. 457 n.

725-95. *As they flee they city, Aeneas loses track of Creusa. He frantically rushes back to find her, when suddenly her ghostly form appears, telling him to stop his vain search and to seek the far away land where a happier fate awaits.*

Aeneas’ loss of Creusa has troubled many readers. It is true that in Vergil’s plot Creusa must be gone for Aeneas’ affair with Dido and his later engagement to Lavinia to take place. Yet, it is strange that this warrior known for his *pietas* somehow loses track of his wife. The tradition regarding Creusa varied but there were two dominant strands: one (the older) portrayed her leaving Troy with Aeneas (Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Naevius); the other claimed that she was rescued by Aphrodite or by Aphrodite and Cybele (Pausanias and perhaps Stesichorus; cf. 741 n.). Vergil seemingly follows the second strand but makes it more complicated. He emphasizes that Jupiter and Cybele have detained Creusa on Troy’s shores (777-9, 788), but at the same time he seemingly underscores Aeneas’ negligence concerning his wife (though see Horsfall *ad* 707-20). Our understanding of these two details can lead to extremely different interpretations, as Perkell (1981) and Hughes (1997) demonstrate. At the very least, Vergil’s treatment underscores Aeneas’ human weaknesses and emphasizes the personal losses that he will experience throughout the epic—whether due to his own actions or the exigencies of the gods and fate.

Aeneas’ loss of Creusa resonates with the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice in *Georgics* 4. Indeed, Vergil may have been drawn to this model in part because the earlier tradition named Aeneas’ wife *Eurydica* (she seems to have acquired the name Creusa during the late Republic, when her identification as a daughter of Priam may also have begun). Aeneas’ encounter with Creusa’s shade also has important models in Achilles’ attempt to embrace Patroclus’ shade at *Iliad* 23.99-101 and in Odysseus’ attempt to embrace his mother’s shade at *Odyssey* 11.206-8. For the larger tradition of and sources for Creusa at the fall of Troy, see Heinze (1915, 1993: 62) and Gantz (1993) 713-16. For interpretation, see Segal (1973-74), Briggs (1979), Perkell (1981), Hughes (1997), Khan (2001), Gale (2003), and R. A. Smith (2005) 77-82.

725. **pone:** adverb, “behind”; a largely archaic\* word, it was also used by Vergil to describe Eurydice (*Geo.* 4.487 *pone sequens*). Cf. 711 *longe*. **opaca locorum:** “shadowy places.” We might more regularly expect *opacos locos*, but cf. 235-6 *rotarum lapsus*, 332 n.; 1.421-2 n.

727. **adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai:** *ex* + ablative here indicates the “material” from which the *Grai* come. Housman conjectured *exagmine* as an older spelling of *examine*, and Mynors follows, but (as Williams notes) *examen* is not used of people elsewhere in Vergil. See Horsfall *ad* 7.703.

728. **nunc:** emphatically placed to contrast with *dudum* (726). **omnes...omnis:** note the elegantly chiasmic structure with chiasmus\* and enclosing polyptoton\*.

729. **suspensum:** “anxious,” “unsure,” modifying *me* (726). **comitique onerique:** Iulus and Anchises respectively.

730-1. **videbar:** Aeneas’ uncertainty reflects the darkness and confusion of the flight (cf. 279

- n.). *Iamque...evasisse viam* recalls *Geo.* 4.485 *iamque pedem referens casus evaserat omnis*, the passage where Orpheus loses Eurydice. Cf. Putnam (1965) 41-7, Gale (2003), and 725-95 n. **evasisse viam**: “to have passed the road in safety”; this verb is used in two senses, partly 1) “come to the end of,” and partly 2) “escape,” the road being regarded as dangerous.
732. **visus**: cf. 730-1 n.
735. **nescio quod...numen**: “some divinity.” The *o* in *nesciō* is shortened, perhaps reflecting conversational practice (Austin). **male amicum**: i.e. unfriendly; cf. 23 n.
736. **avia**: “remote paths.” **kursu**: lit. “at a run,” cf. 1.105 n.
737. **regione**: “direction,” the original meaning of the word, which is from *regere* (“to direct”), cf. Liv. 21.31 *recta regione iter instituit*.
- 738-9. **heu...resedit**: the disjointed questions vividly mark the upheaval of Aeneas’ feelings. **misero**: i.e. *mibi*, dative of separation governed by *erepta*. **fatone**: we would normally expect the first *-ne* after *misero*, the initial word of the question; its placement here, however, gives more emphasis to *fato*. **seu**: makes *resedit* an alternative to *erravit*; the second question is thus a double one, “did she (either) wander...or sit down?” **lassa**: the reading *lapsa* is also attested in the manuscripts (M), and printed by Mynors and Geymonat; *lassa*, however, makes a bit more sense with *resedit*. See Horsfall *ad loc.*
741. **nec...reflexi**: note that at *Alexandra* 1263-4 (a poem transmitted under the name Lycophron, second century BCE), Cassandra prophesies that at Troy’s fall Aeneas will show more concern for Anchises and his household gods than for Creusa.
742. **tumulum...sedem**: accusatives of place to which. The temple would stand on “a mound” (*tumulum*) and was the meeting-place appointed by Aeneas for his *famuli* (cf. 712-16). **antiquae Cereris**: *antiquae* describes the temple rather than the goddess. Cf. 713.
743. **hic demum**: “here only” or “and not before”; *demum* is generally only used with pronouns or with adverbs. Note the juxtaposition of *omnibus* and *una*.
744. **comites natumque virumque fefellit**: Creusa was lost, and so she “deceived” (*fefellit* from *fallo*) her companions. Aeneas emphasizes that not only he but also his other companions in flight and his son lost sight of Creusa, though he is the final and thus most emphatic member of this tricolon\*.
745. A hypermetric line\* (cf. 1.332 n.): *deorumque* has one too many syllables, but the final *-que* elides with the *aut* of 746. This feature further conveys Aeneas’ frenzy.
750. **stat**: impersonal construction; sc. *mibi* (“my purpose is fixed to...”, “I decide to...,” cf. 660 n.).
754. **lumine lustro**: *lumine* = “eyes,” the phrase meaning “I scan with my eyes.”
756. **domum**: accusative of place to which (AG §427.2). **si forte..., si forte...:** the repetition suggests that Aeneas was hopeful but realizes that the chances are slim. **tulisset**: pluperfect subjunctive in implied indirect discourse for the original future perfect indicative; the subject is Creusa. Aeneas would say “I will go to my house (to see) if by chance she will have returned there: this becomes “I returned (*refero* is historic present) to my house if by chance she had...” Cf. 94-6 n.
762. **Phoenix**: the tutor and comrade of Achilles. Phoenix plays an important role as a member of the group in *Iliad* 9 that appeals to Achilles to return to battle.
763. **praedam**: again underscores the *impietas* of the Greeks, to whom the contents of the temple are now “booty.” **gaza**: cf. 1.118-19 n.

764. **mensaeque deorum**: the tables in the temple where offerings were made.
765. **auro solidi**: “solid with gold,” i.e. of solid gold.
767. **circum**: adverb.
768. **quin etiam**: “and furthermore.” **vores iactare**: cf. 1.102-3 n.
770. **ingeminans**: “repeating” the name “Creusa.” **iterumque iterumque**: the repetition here reinforces that involved in the participle *ingeminans*. This is set against the adverb *nequiquam* (“in vain”) that expresses the futility of the act.
771. **tectis...furenti**: “ranging madly among the houses”; for the syntax of *tectis*, cf. 421 n., 528. The manuscripts are split between *furenti* (e.g. M) and *ruenti* (e.g. P). Hirtzel, Mynors, and Horsfall print the latter reading; however, the former reading is supported by other modern editors (e.g. Geymonat, Goold, and Conte) and perhaps captures better Aeneas’ frenzy as he searches for Creusa (cf. 776 n.).
773. **nota maior imago**: *nota* is ablative of comparison, describing Creusa. Since the gods are of more than human size (cf. 591-2 n.), Creusa’s words may imply that her status is almost divine. See Austin *ad loc.*, Khan (2001) 908-9, and 725-95 n.
774. **stetērunt**: the second syllable, normally long, is here shortened (i.e. systole). Lucretius shortens this syllable frequently. This line is used twice in the *Aeneid*: here and at 3.48; 4.280 and 12.868 are very close.
775. **adfari...demere**: historical infinitives with Creusa as subject. This line is repeated at 3.153 and 8.35.
776. **insano**: cf. 314 n. Creusa observes Aeneas’ loss of control as she attempts to calm him by revealing his fate, just as Venus had done at 594-5. Note the use of spondees in this line and the next.
777. **non...sine numine**: litotes\*, “not without the will” means “most certainly by the will.” This is the truth that has proved so difficult for Aeneas to accept.
778. **hinc comitem asportare**: also the reading in Austin (see his discussion *ad loc.*). The text, however, is problematic. In Servius it is *comitem hinc asportare*, which is not scannable; some therefore omit the *hinc* or read *portare* for *asportare* (e.g. Mynors and Horsfall). See discussions in Austin and Horsfall.
779. **fas**: sc. *est*. *Fas* functions here as a rough synonym for *fatum* (cf. 6.438 *fas obstat*). **aut**: = *ne*. **ille...superi regnator Olympi**: *ille* is either demonstrative (the speaker pointing upward to the sky) or something like a title applied to Jupiter (“the great ruler of high Olympus”; cf. 7.558 *haud pater ille velit, summi regnator Olympi*).
780. **exsilia**: plural for singular; supply *erunt*, and construe *tibi* as dative of possession. **arandum**: sc. *tibi est*; the metaphor\* in *aro* (plowing) for a ship cutting through the water is first employed by Vergil.
- 781-2. **terram Hesperia**: sc. *ad*. The word *Hesperia* (from Gr. *hesperos*, “evening star”) means “land to the West” (though it is often used as a synonym for Italy). **Lydius...Thybris**: to the north of Rome, the Tiber river flows along the border of Etruria, founded by the Etruscans, who some said were originally from Lydia (cf. Herod. 1.94). Creusa thus provides the most specific information thus far about the location of the land fated to the Trojans, since Hector had only told Aeneas to seek out a new land (294-5). Nonetheless, these details, while perhaps clear to the reader, must be confusing to Aeneas. *Lydius* more literally would identify something in Lydia (not Italy or *Hesperia*), and *Hesperia* is itself vague. See Khan (2001) 907.



- arva | inter opima virum:** the diction seems significant: *arva* from *aro* is strictly used for cultivated fields, not pasture; *opima* indicates fertility; *virum* suggests the traditional Roman farmer, owning his own farm. *Arva...virum* would mean “lands worked by men.” To take *virum* with *opima* (“rich in men”; cf. *dives opum* 22) is less natural. **leni...agmine:** *agmine* means “march” (cf. 212 n.), and the phrase is from Enn. *Ann. fr.* 163 in Skutsch, fr. 171 in Warmington *quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen*.
783. **res...regnum...regia:** notice the alliteration\*. **res laetae:** “happiness” (lit. “happy affairs”). **regia coniunx:** i.e. Lavinia, the daughter of the Latin king Latinus. It will be over her that the Italian war of *Aeneid* 7-12 will be fought.
784. **parta tibi:** “is won for you.” The prophecy sees and describes the future as already present. **lacrimas...Creusae:** *Creusae* is objective genitive (cf. 413 n.).
785. **Myrmidonum...Dolopumve:** cf. 7 n.
786. **aut:** here equivalent to *nec*. **servitum:** supine with verb of motion (*ibo*) expressing purpose (cf. *scitatum* 114). This construction is conversational in tone, suited to Creusa’s address to Aeneas.
787. **Dardanis:** “Trojan woman,” cf. 281 n. This is the final half-line in Book 2, cf. 66 n.
788. **magna deum genetrix:** i.e. Cybele, who was specially worshipped at Pessinus in Phrygia, but also on Mount Ida and was therefore favorable to the Trojans. She is often identified with the Earth “the great mother of all things.” Creusa does not explain why this goddess has kept her from leaving Troy.
- 790-4. These lines recall *Odyssey* 11.204-9 (Odysseus with his mother’s shade), *Iliad* 23.99-101 (Achilles with Patroclus’ shade), and *Georgics* 4.499-502 (Orpheus’ loss of Eurydice). Cf. 725-95 n., and see especially Segal (1973-74), Briggs (1979), and Gale (2003).
790. **lacrimantem...volentem:** modifying understood *me*.
791. **deseruit:** interestingly, Creusa “deserts” Aeneas, perhaps further suggesting that he is not to blame for her failure to leave Troy. Hughes (1997) 421 writes that “with these words, the abandonment motif is fully subverted.”
792. **collo dare brachia circum:** an elegant variation of the ordinary *circumdare brachia collo*; *collo* and *dare* are to be taken together, and *circum* is adverbial.
794. **volucris...somno:** *volucris* suggests that the ghostly form of Creusa flies away; *somno* stands in for *somnio*, “dream.”
- 796-804. *Aeneas finds his comrades joined by other fugitives, and at dawn he leads them to the mountains.*
798. **exsilio:** dative of purpose.
799. **animis opibusque parati:** they had made up their minds to follow him and also made preparations for doing so by collecting whatever treasures they could. Some word like *ire* must be supplied after *parati*.
800. **deducere:** a technical word for founding a colony; lit. “to lead down,” i.e. from the mother-city to the place chosen.
801. **Lucifer:** the morning star (actually Venus in the morning). **Idae:** this is where the shooting star had landed at 696 (see note). The dawn of the new day corresponds to the hope that flight from the city brings to the Trojans. For closural elements as well as intimations of continuation in the final four lines of the book, see Nagle (1983).
803. **nec spes opis ulla:** i.e. Troy was irretrievably lost.

804. **sublato...genitore:** the final picture of book 2 is of Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his shoulders from Troy as they flee to the mountains. This image appears in many ancient works of art (including a denarius minted by Julius Caesar in 49 BCE). The seventeenth century artist Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) closely modeled his famous statue of this event on these early depictions.

# Aeneid 3

## Introduction

*Aeneid* 3, with its explicit allusions to the *Odyssey*'s most famous episodes (e.g. the Cyclops, Scylla, and Charybdis), is the most Odyssean book in this so-called Odyssean half of the poem. While Vergil alludes throughout the *Aeneid* to many other texts, book 3 invites readers to give special attention to Odysseus and his adventures, even as they read Aeneas' own narrative of his voyaging from Troy to Carthage. Traditionally, readers have assumed that in thus alluding to the *Odyssey*, Vergil intended to rival Homer on Homer's terms—i.e. with the *same* purposes and values—and (sadly) failed. In particular, Vergil is felt by some critics to have fallen short of his Odyssean model in terms of sheer "excitement" (Horsfall (2006) xli). Yet, recent work on allusion has established that allusion should not be read as exclusively imitative. While poetic allusion clearly functions to establish sameness with the model text (*imitatio*), it also invites attention to differences from the model text (*aemulatio*, "rivalry"); and it is by way of these differences from his model that the alluding poet suggests his own purposes or new meanings. Thus, in the case of *Aeneid* 3, it is the differences between Odysseus' narrative of his exciting adventures in *Odyssey* 9-12 and Aeneas' narrative of his own difficult wanderings that function to establish for readers both Aeneas' particular state of mind in the *Aeneid*'s early books, as well as the new and Roman ideal of heroism that he comes to embody.

Some major differences between the Homeric model and Vergil's text that are significant for interpretation may be sketched as follows: "Resourceful" Odysseus narrates his wanderings to the peaceful Phaeacians (*Od.* 9-12); "pious" Aeneas narrates his to Rome's future enemy, the Carthaginians (*Aen.* 2-3). Odysseus, on an individual voyage of return to his established home, tells stories of his brilliant stratagems; even his near failures elicit a certain awe. The Phaeacians, therefore, shower him with gifts and arrange prompt transportation to Ithaca, where, through his wits and skill, Odysseus achieves his homecoming. Aeneas, by contrast, homeless, an exile "by fate," accepts the public mission of founding a new home for his whole surviving people. Defeated in the Trojan war, he must narrate to beautiful Dido, not his triumphs, but, instead, the fall of his city and loss of his wife (*Aen.* 2), followed by abortive settlements in wrong places and, finally, the death of his father (*Aen.* 3). From Aeneas' harrowing encounter with the ghost of Polydorus to the death of Anchises, *Aeneid* 3 tells of failure, flight, exhaustion, and loss. Optimistic prophecies and omens to Aeneas surely show divine care for the Roman mission. Yet oracles and signs are riddling (96), incomplete (147-71, 712), ambiguous (539-43), and thus liable to misinterpretation (103-17). For Aeneas, prophetic moments alternate with struggle towards the elusive (496) future that disappoints, even as it brings unanticipated goods. Aeneas desires rest and a stable home for his people (85-7), but is met with prophecies of unprecedented power and more war (97-8, 539-40).

From this brief summary we see that the *differences* between the wanderings of *Odyssey* 9-12 (sometimes referred to by scholars as "temptations") and those of *Aeneid* 3 (never referred to as

“temptations”) point to the other-oriented character of Aeneas’ journey; to his heroic *pietas* that demands endurance and self-sacrifice; to his effortful struggle to let the past go and to commit himself, on behalf of others, to a new homeland in Italy. In reflecting on this portrait, we see how Vergil illuminates the values of Homer’s text for us, even as he constructs a new, Roman model of the heroic.

Traditional versions of Aeneas’ travels, such as the *Alexandra* (a poem transmitted under the name Lycophron, second century BCE) and the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (fl. 30 BCE), included a series of stopovers, with repeated founding of cities, temples, and ritual practices. That this tradition offered no high drama was perhaps a problem; that it offered almost nothing canonical was an opportunity. It will be seen that the most emotionally powerful, significant events of *Aeneid* 3 (e.g. Aeneas’ encounters with Polydorus, Andromache, and Achaemenides) are Vergil’s innovations.

The narrative of *Aeneid* 3, as Heinze (1993) 68-70 established, is modeled on Greek “foundation-legends” or “colonization narratives” (Horsfall (1989)) and thus features certain commonplaces of this genre: riddling oracles of (especially) the god Apollo that propel the would-be colonists, inevitable misinterpretations, wrong settlements, corrective portents, and, finally, arrival at the destined location. The Trojans move unevenly westward to Italy, under Apollo’s increasingly explicit guidance (a motif termed “progressive revelation”). The Trojans’ stopovers in *Aeneid* 3 from Troy to Sicily have been usefully divided by Lloyd (1957a) into three groups: those in the Aegean (13-191), Greece (209-505), and Italy/Sicily (521-715). In each of these sections there is both a prophetic incident and a novel encounter that adumbrate the book’s major themes, as will be discussed *ad loc.*

Book 3 has seven unfinished lines, a remarkable range of tone (from the Euripidean pathos of the Polydorus episode to the learned Hellenistic character of the close), and some arguably ill-fitting choices of vocabulary by the narrating Aeneas. Horsfall (2006: xxviii-xxix) attributes such anomalies to the fact, as he argues, that book 3 was the first book of the *Aeneid* to be composed and therefore reflects Vergil’s not yet perfected epic technique. Other scholars’ theories will be noted *ad loc.* Nevertheless, in considering these supposed anomalies, readers might take into account that the character Aeneas, who narrates *Aeneid* 2-3, reports the speech of as many as twenty other characters, whose utterances are demonstrably distinctive to varying degrees (Landis (2007)). Vergil’s construction of characters through speech and its relationship to tone and expression in *Aeneid* 3 are topics that merit further study.

In sum, while Vergil, had he lived to complete revisions, surely would have added to or otherwise altered some passages of *Aeneid* 3, we may nevertheless be confident that *Aeneid* 2 and 3 reflect his mature conception. Most fundamentally, Aeneas’ narration of two books out of the twelve of the *Aeneid* corresponds in form to Odysseus’ narration of four books out of the *Odyssey*’s twenty-four. Further, rhetorically, both *Aeneid* 2 and 3 construct the same Aeneas, initially distrusting of his mission, yet driven by a conviction of duty and fatedness. The overall effect of Aeneas’ narrative, despite any perceived anomalies, is of a pathos and elevation of purpose that powerfully engage the sympathy of listeners (Dido) and readers.

Bibliography: for overall readings of *Aeneid* 3, see Allen (1951), Lloyd (1957a), DiCesare (1974) 61-93, Putnam (1980), Bright (1981), Horsfall (1986), Cova (1992), Quint (1993) 50-65, Stahl (1998b), and Hexter (1999). For the construction of character through speech, see Highet (1972), Feeney (1991), Laird (1997), Johnson (1999), and Landis (2007). On “difference as the meaning of allusion,” see Clausen (1964). For more recent and elaborated discussions of allusion, see, e.g., Thomas (1986), Farrell (1991) 5-14, Perkell (1996), and Hinds (1998).

Please note: translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are by R. Lattimore (1951 and 1965).

1-12. *After the fall of Troy, Aeneas and his companions build ships for their journey to a new homeland.*

Aeneas' narrative in book 3 shows his uncertainty about the future, wherein he faces challenges of a different order (both moral and metaphysical) from those imposed by war in book 2. Aeneas' frequent use of verbs in the passive voice and in the first person plural (73 of these versus 53 first-person singulars) characterizes him initially as uncommanding.

Lines 1-12 deploy rhetorical techniques (e.g. framing, interlocking word order\*, alliteration\*, varied rhythmical patterns, multiple place names evoking Troy) to achieve emphasis, solemnity, and pathos. See Lloyd (1957b) and Sanderlin (1975).

1. **POSTQUAM res...**: three long syllables lend solemnity to the opening of Aeneas' wanderings narrative. (Contrast the openings of books 1 and 2.) **res Asiae**: the kingdom of Asia. Priam is *regnatorem Asiae* (2.557). **res... gentem**: objects of *evertere*, the infinitive subject of *visum* (*est*), "it seemed best," a common use of *visum*.
2. **immeritam**: "undeserving," the enjambment gives emphasis. Aeneas protests the gods' judgment also in *Aen.* 2.402, 426-7. His distrust of the gods' justice, in tension with his sustained commitment to their will, is a pervasive motif of his narrative (cf. Johnson (1999)). The adjectives *immeritam...superbum* frame the line.
3. **Ilium...**: enjambment, thus emphatic; it frames the line with *Troia*. **humo**: "from the ground." **Neptunia**: "Neptune-built," cf. 2.610 n.
4. **diversa exsilia...**: "distant places of exile." Interlocking order of adjectives (*diversa...desertas*) and nouns (*exsilia...terras*) and the alliteration\* of *t* and *d* give rhetorical finish. **desertas**: "empty," either because the remaining Trojans are too few to conquer territory already occupied (Page) or by contrast with Troy and past experience (Horsfall). **quaerere**: infinitive of purpose, a poetic usage common in Vergil. Aeneas is driven literally by the winds and figuratively by destiny or divine will.
5. **auguriis...divum**: e.g. the omens of fire, thunder, shooting star (cf. 2.679-704); *divum* is an archaic\* (and therefore, for Vergil's readers, poetic) genitive plural (cf. 1.4 n.). **agimur**: on the use of passives in this section, see 1-12 n.
6. **Antandro**: feminine, town at the base of Mt. Ida, near Troy. **Phrygiae**: *Phrygius* = "Trojan." **molimur**: connotes great effort, cf. 1.564 n.
7. **incerti**: the Trojans grasp the meaning of prophecies only gradually, the significance of *Hesperia* and *Tiber* (cf. Creusa at 2.781) being initially unclear to them. Typically the meaning of omens and prophecies becomes clear to mortals only in retrospect. Failure to understand divine signs is a commonplace of colonization narratives (cf. Horsfall (1989), Dougherty (1993)). **ferant...detur**: subjunctives in indirect question after *incerti*, in parallel clauses; note the alliteration\* of *f*s. **sistere**: "stop," "settle," infinitive subject of *detur*, "it is granted" (i.e. by the gods).
8. **vix prima...et (9)...cum (10)**: "summer had scarcely begun and Anchises was advising... when I leave." Traditions vary on the season in which Troy falls.
9. **dare fatis vela**: variation on the common phrase *dare ventis vela*, "give sails to the winds," emphasizing the Trojans' yielding themselves to whatever destiny brings. Cf. 2.136 n.
- 10-11. Aeneas' grief (*lacrimans*) in leaving his *patria* encompasses *litora*, *portus*, *campos*, i.e. natural features. As a city-founder, he will build walls (thematic throughout the book), temples, etc.

11. **Troia fuit:** “Troy was” (and is no more), cf. 2.325. Such pathos characterizes Aeneas’ narrative throughout.
12. **penatibus:** colonists characteristically transport the sacred hearthfire of the mother city to the new colony. The Penates of the home protect the household; the Penates of the city, the city itself. These Penates, entrusted by Hector to Aeneas (2.293-5), are the gods of the Trojan people, originally (in Vergil’s version) brought from Italy by Dardanus (84-120 n.) and returned by Aeneas to their homeland, to become the household gods of the Roman state. Aeneas’ rescue of the Penates from Troy (*Aen.* 1.378, 2.717), with the promised continuity of their cult at Lavinium (12.192-4), is thematically and politically central to the poem. The reference to *magnis dis* is, probably purposefully, imprecise. **et magnis dis:** spondaic line and monosyllabic ending (cf. 1.105 n.) allude to Ennius (b. 239 BCE), Rome’s first great epic poet, as in: *dono ducite doque volentibus cum magnis dis* (*Ann.* fr. 190 in Skutsch, 193 in Warmington). Note alliteration\*. Thus the poem concludes with archaic\*, quintessentially Roman solemnity.

### 13-68: Travels in the Aegean I – Thrace

The stop in Thrace is traditional in the Aeneas legend. Eponymous towns such as Aenus at the mouth of the Hebrus and Aeneia in Chalcidice suggest early Trojan settlement of the area, as founders of colonies typically name the colony either after themselves or the mother city. However, the association of Polydorus’ story with Aeneas is new with Vergil, as is the sequel to his murder related here.

The primary source for Polydorus’ story is Euripides’ *Hecuba*, wherein Polydorus’ ghost reveals that Priam had entrusted him, the youngest son, along with much gold, to his son-in-law Polymestor, king of Thrace, to preserve his family line and wealth, should Troy fall. However, once Troy is lost, Polymestor (1.653 n.) murders Polydorus and throws his body into the sea. His mother Hecuba, though now a captive, contrives both to punish Polymestor for his violation of sacred trust and to bury Polydorus properly (*Eur. Hec.* 10-15, 716-20, 781-2).

This episode introduces two key motifs. First is the failure of attempts to preserve, refund, or imitate Troy: in sending away his youngest son, Priam hoped to preserve his line; analogously, settlements that Aeneas names after himself or Troy prove abortive. The enduring settlement will be named *Lavinium* after Aeneas’ future, Latin wife (12.194, 823-42). Second is the motif of “inadvertent trespass” (editor’s term), in which Aeneas stumbles into impiety, as will recur in the episode with the Harpies (cf. 209-77 n.).

Servius *ad* 3.46 cites the story of Romulus’ throwing a spear onto the Palatine, which then took root and grew into a tree. If Vergil is alluding to this story here, it would make of the Polydorus episode a “perverted foundation story” (Hardie (2007)). Thomas (1988b) reads this episode as an instance of “tree violation,” one kind of “inadvertent trespass.” See 31-3 n.

13-18. *The Trojans land in Thrace; Aeneas begins to found a town, naming it after himself.*

13. **procul:** “at a little distance,” “close by,” the Hellespont being a narrow strait. (See map.) **colitur:** “is inhabited.” **Mavortia:** poetic adjectival form, cf. 1.276 n.; the *terra...Mavortia* is Thrace. For the war god’s connection with Thrace, cf. *Hom. Il.* 13.301 where Ares (Roman *Mars* or *Mavors*) comes from Thrace to do battle. Thracians are traditionally fierce. **campis:** ablative of quality or place where.
14. **Thracēs arant:** parenthetical. Aeneas offers this explanation for the benefit of his listeners, Dido being the most important of these. Note the final short syllable of the Greek nominative

- plural; understand *terram* as object of *arant*. **acri...** **Lycurgo**: dative of agent with *regnata*; Lycurgus is termed fierce because he persecuted the Bacchantes, female followers of Bacchus (Gr. Dionysus). For this impiety he was punished by Jupiter (Zeus).
15. **hospitium**: can mean either 1) the relation of host to guest, hospitality, or, as here, 2) the place where such hospitality is shown; it is in apposition to *terra* (13); cf. 61. **socii**: the Thracian *Penates* are “allied” with the Trojan because Polymestor is married to Iliona, Priam’s daughter (see 19-48 n. and Servius *ad loc.*).
16. **dum fortuna fuit**: note the pathos, cf. 11. **feror**: Aeneas is carried by winds or fates (cf. 2.337 n.).
17. **moenia prima**: building walls is an important commonplace of colonization narratives. **fatis...iniquis**: lit. “fates being hostile,” ablative absolute. **ingressus**: “beginning” or “entering upon” (the task).
18. **Aeneadas**: “men of Aeneas.” Aeneas calls his people after himself, a typical founder’s gesture, see 13-18 n.
- 19-48. *Aeneas rips tree branches to wreath altars for sacrifice. To his astonishment, these drip blood. Polydorus’ voice, emanating from the tree, implores him to cease, for the blood is his. He urges flight.*
19. **Dionaeae matri**: Dione is Venus’ mother.
20. **auspicibus**: in apposition with *matri* and *divis*. Aeneas was offering sacrifices to his mother and the god to elicit their goodwill in this undertaking. **nitentem**: at verse end, with *taurum*, also at verse end (21).
21. **caelicolum**: archaic\*, thus poetic form of *caelicolarum*; see 5 n. Cf. 53.
23. **virgulta et...myrtus**: supply *erant*. **densis...**: “myrtle bristling with spear-shafts” (i.e. bristling like spears). Myrtle was sacred to Venus.
24. **viridem...silvam**: “the green thicket,” *silva* denoting not forest, but bushy, low-lying plants. **convellere**: i.e. “rip,” “tear,” a violent verb.
25. **conatus**: supply *sum*. **ramis...**: flowers and tree branches were common decorations for ritual occasions. **tegerem ut**: imperfect subjunctive in a purpose clause in secondary sequence. The postposition of *ut* (i.e. succeeding instead of preceding the verb it governs) is poetic. Cf. 1.333 n.
26. **dictu...mirabile**: i.e. “amazing to tell,” cf. 1.111 n.
27. **quae...arbos**: *arbos* is antecedent of *quae* but is attracted into the relative clause as a nominative. **ruptis radicibus**: ablative absolute; note the alliteration\*.
28. **huic**: sc. *arboris*, cf. 27 n.; dative of separation. **atro...sanguine**: ablative of description.
29. **tabo**: i.e. putrid, viscous fluid. **mihi**: dative of reference.
30. **gelidusque...**: proleptic\*.
- 31-3. **rursus et**: *rursus* (“again”) is made more emphatic by the postponement of *et* (cf. 1.333 n.). **alterius**: sc. *arboris*, “of (or ‘from’) a second tree.” **convellere**: the infinitive is used to express purpose (see 1.9 n.). Aeneas’ intention was to verify that the occurrence was a true omen, not a random occurrence. Alternatively, Adler (2003) 281-5 reads Aeneas’ multiple tearing of the branches as reflecting his (early) inclination to natural science, i.e. to know *causas penitus... latentis*, “deeply hidden causes” (32). Ultimately, Adler argues, Aeneas foregoes science to accept his mission, the mystery of revelation, and the divine will.

34. **movens**: “pondering,” “my mind racing.” **Nymphas...agrestis**: because Dryades and Hamadryades were the special guardians of woods and trees, respectively.
35. **Gradivumque patrem**: i.e. Mars; this ill-understood epithet may mean “rejoicing” or “leaping in battle” (Servius, Horsfall *ad loc.*). **Geticis**: adjective; the Getae, here identified with Thracians, lived by the Danube. **arvis**: dative after a compound verb.
36. **secundarent...levarent**: imperfect subjunctive in an indirect command or a wish in secondary sequence after *venerabar* (34). **omen...levarent**: “lighten the omen.” Omens were understood to require fulfillment: hence, it was necessary, after an evil omen, to ask the gods to fulfill it without harm.
37. **sed**: postponed, thus poetic, emphasizing the word that precedes. **hastilia**: plural, because the spears embedded in Polydorus’ body had grown into bristling shoots.
38. **adversae...harenae**: dative with compound verb *obnitor*. **harenae**: dative after compound verb.
- 39-40. **eloquar an sileam?**: deliberative subjunctives, showing Aeneas’ concern for his listeners. **imo...tumulo**: “from the depth of the mound.” **vox reddita**: “an answering voice”; Polydorus’ ghost responds to Aeneas’ action.
- 41-2. **miserum**: supply *me*. **Aenea**: Greek vocative, cf. 475 *Anchisa*. **iam**: “at last,” i.e. “after lacerating my body twice.” **parce sepulto**, | **parce...scelerare**: note the repetition and the varied construction and meaning of *parce*. “Spare a buried man, spare (i.e. cease) to defile...” **sepulto**: supply *mibi*, dative after *parce*.
- 42-3. **me tibi...externum**: *tibi* is dative of reference after *externum*, modifying *me*. **aut cruor hic de stipite**: *non* qualifies the whole sentence; therefore translate *aut* as “nor.” The voice (i.e. Polydorus’) thus intimates that the blood originates from his body, as it does not originate from the tree. **tibi**: dependent on *externus*.
44. **crudelis...avarum**: transferred epithets\* (i.e. transferred from Polymestor, to whom they actually apply) in chiasitic\* order with *terras* and *litus*, direct objects of parallel clauses with anaphora\* of *fuge*.
46. **iaculis...acutis**: ablative of quality or material with *seges*.
47. **ancipiti...**: the dread is *anceps* because it renders Aeneas doubtful of what to do. **mentem**: accusative of respect with *pressus*.
48. **steterunt**: perfect with short penult (cf. 2.774 n.). The scansion is archaic; see 5 n.
- 49-68. *Aeneas suspends his own narrative to recount Polydorus’ story to Dido, deploring the criminal greed for gold. He resumes with the Trojans’ flight after the funeral for Polydorus.*
49. **quondam**: lends pathos; cf. 11 n.
- 50: **mandarat**: syncopated\* form of *manda(ve)rat*. **alendum**: gerundive of purpose with dative of agent.
- 51-2. **Threicio regi**: the Thracian king is Polymestor, cf. 15 n. **iam**: “by now,” i.e. towards the end of the war. **diffideret...videret**: subjunctives in a *cum* circumstantial (or narrative) clause (AG §546 with notes 1 and 2). Cf. 416, 626, 679, 712. **armis**: dative after a compound verb (here *diffideret*). **cingique urbem...**: accusative and infinitive after *videret*.
53. **fractae**: supply *sunt*. **Teucrum**: archaic\* genitive plural in *-um*, cf. 5 n. Teucer is an ancestor of the Trojans, often called Teucrians after him.
54. **res**: “fortunes” (of the Greeks). **victricia**: *victrix*, feminine adjective, used here with *arma*.



55. **fas omne abruptit:** *fas omne* signifies all obligations imposed by the sacred laws of hospitality and of kinship. **obtruncat:** inconsistent with 45-6, but accords with Eur. *Hec.* 714-20, 782; cf. 2.663 n.
56. **vi:** ablative of manner. **potitur:** the short *i* makes *potitur* third conjugation; this verb takes the ablative (*auro* 55). **quid non....:** *quid* is cognate accusative; *quid cogis* means “with what compulsion do you compel?” Aeneas’ exclamation about criminal desire for gold serves to relate his narrative to Dido’s story, as told to him by Venus, since Dido’s brother Pygmalion killed her husband Sychaeus *auri caecus amore* (1.349).
57. **sacra:** *sacer* may mean “holy” or “accursed,” as common in the legal phrase *sacer esto*, “let him be accursed.” **postquam....:** Aeneas resumes his main narrative. **ossa:** understand *mea*.
58. **delectos....:** “to chosen leaders of the people, and my father first of all.”
59. **refero:** prodigies were regularly referred to the Roman Senate, *refero* being the technical term for laying a matter (*relatio*) before the Senate. The *delecti proceres* thus prefigure the Roman Senate. Throughout Vergil retrojects defining Roman customs into Aeneas’ epic past; cf. 174. **sit:** subjunctive in indirect question; note the alliteration\* of *p*, begun in 58.
- 60-1. **excedere...linqui...dare:** infinitives in apposition to *animus*, i.e. their “decision is to depart...”; note the tricolon\*. The alternation of active and passive infinitives seems un-Vergilian to some scholars. Some late manuscripts have *linquere*, but *linqui* is accepted as Vergilian by, e.g., Conington, Page, Horsfall, with Williams not so sure. **pollutum hospitium:** the “hospitable” or “allied land profaned.” **dare classibus Austros:** the fleet, thus personified, is impatient. *Auster*, strictly the South wind, here means “wind,” as frequently.
62. **instauramus:** technical term for repeating a religious ceremony invalidated by some error or omission in the first performance (Livy 5.52). Polydorus’ body, covered only by the chance action of wind and wave, had not received formal burial; therefore this second, ritually correct, burial is an *instauratio funeris*.
63. **aggeritur tumulo tellus:** earth is heaped upon the mound under which the body lay (*tumulo*, dative). **stant manibus arae:** “altars stand (i.e. are raised) to the spirits of the dead,” by Roman custom.
64. **caeruleis:** “dark-colored,” “somber.” **atra:** “funereal”; cypress trees (feminine), associated with death, were called black.
65. **circum Iliades:** sc. *stant* (63); *circum* is adverbial. **crinem...solutae:** lit. “unbound as to their hair”; *crinem* is accusative of respect, a Greek construction, used, as often, of a body part.
66. **inferimus:** technical term, *inferiae* being offerings to the dead (cf. Cat. 101.2). **tepido... lacte:** it is “warm” (*tepido*) because it has just been milked; bowls of new milk, wine, and blood are offered to Anchises’ spirit at 5.77.
- 67-8. **sacri:** because sacrificed to the gods. **animamque sepulchro | condimus:** “we bury” or “secure his spirit in the tomb.” **supremum...ciemus:** *supremum* a cognate accusative used adverbially, “we cry the last cry” or “we call out to him for the last time.” For this ritual last address to the dead, cf. 2.644 n., 11.97; Cat. 101.10.

### 69-120: Travels in the Aegean II – Delos

Aeneas’ visit to Delos is traditional (e.g. Dion. Hal. 1.50). Delos is a “natural symbol” (Allen (1961) 122) of rest for the Trojans, since the island itself, once a restless wanderer like them, was, through Apollo’s aid (of which they themselves are also beneficiaries), fixed in

place and thus able to “disdain the winds.” Delos, as Apollo’s birthplace, was an important cult-center, rivaling Delphi for worship of Apollo.

Significantly, Vergil makes Apollo the divine patron of the Trojans’ journey, a role he had not had previously (Heinze (1993)). Further, he transfers symbols (laurel, mantic tripod) and powers of Apollo’s cult at Delphi to Delos (Paschalis (1986a) 55). This elevation of Delian Apollo over Pythian Apollo serves Vergil’s Roman purposes: he constructs a Delian-Trojan-Roman Apollo, who is morally grander than the Delphic Apollo of Greek epic and tragedy, and whose oracles serve the Trojan/Roman mission (Paschalis (1986a) 50 n. 39, 56). Augustus built the famous temple of Apollo on the Palatine (dedicated in 28 BCE) (Suet. *Aug.* 29) to honor his divine patron. On Apollo in the *Aeneid*, see also Miller (2009) 95-184.

69-83. *The Trojans arrive in Delos, where Anius, the king and Apollo’s priest, welcomes the Trojans as old friends.*

69. **pelago:** dative after *fides*, on analogy with the construction of *fido*, *fidere* (3) taking the dative; supply *est*. The sense is: when the Trojans had faith that the sea was calm.

70. **lenis crepitans:** the “soft-rumbling” South wind. Vergil frequently joins an adjective with a present participle.

71. **deducunt:** “launch.” When sailors came ashore, they drew the ships up onto the beach (*subducta* 135); on departure they drew them down (*deducere*).

72. **portu:** ablative of separation. **terraeque urbesque:** the doubled *-que* is epic and Homeric, cf. 1.18 n.

73. **sacra...tellus:** because it was the birthplace of Apollo; note the framing of the verse by these two words. **mari...medio:** “surrounded by sea,” “in the sea-midst.” **colitur:** is inhabited (cf. 13 *colitur*, 77 *coli*).

74. **Nereidum matri:** i.e. Doris, wife of Nereus, mother of the Nereids (sea-nymphs). The Greek-like rhythm of this verse, with hiatus\* after *matri* and *Neptuno*, and spondaic fourth and fifth feet, suits the Greek site of Delos. **Neptuno Aegaeo:** “Neptune of the Aegaeon Sea,” cf. 1.617 n.

75-6. **quam...revinxit:** extended hyperbaton\* encompassing two verses encloses the wandering (*errantem*) island, suggesting its ultimate securing in place by the god. **pius:** in Vergil’s version of this myth, Apollo shows *pietas* to Delos, his birthplace. The goddess Latona, pregnant with Apollo and Diana, had vainly sought a land in which to give birth until she came to Delos, at that time a floating island, which received her. Apollo, in pious gratitude, bound the wandering island to the nearby islands of Myconos and Gyaros. By contrast, pre-Vergilian accounts omit mention of aid from Apollo (Paschalis (1986a) 58 n. 78). Cf. Williams *ad* 3.76. **arquitens:** compound adjective, epic, elevated.

77. **immotamque coli dedit...:** “and granted (the island) to be inhabited (i.e. to remain) unmoved and to disdain the winds (*contemnere ventos*).”

78. **huc...:** “to it (Delos) I am carried...” Note the passive *feror* and the adjective *fessos*, leitmotifs of *Aen.* 3.

79. **veneramur:** “we reverence,” “gaze with awe upon” (cf. 84). Both island and city are named Delos.

80. **idem:** Anius is a mythical figure, about whom there were various accounts; in one, his daughter Launa/Lavinia, a priestess, marries Aeneas and accompanies him to Rome (*Dion. Hal.* 1.59.3, Horsfall *ad* 69-120).

81. **lauro**: sacred to Apollo, cf. 91. Vergil places both Apollo's laurel and tripod (92) in Delos rather than Delphi.

84-120. *Aeneas prays that Apollo may grant the Trojans their own city. In response, a divine voice instructs the Trojans ("sons of Dardanus") to seek their "ancient mother" and promises universal rule. Anchises, interpreting the "ancient mother" as Crete, commands the Trojans to prepare to go there and then sacrifices to the gods.*

In understanding the "ancient mother" to be Crete, Anchises misses the clue inherent in the address "sons of Dardanus." The Penates' subsequent appearance to Aeneas corrects the error and sets the Trojans again on the right path. The Penates' revelation of the *Italian* origin of Dardanus and hence of his descendants Aeneas and the Trojans is a crucial passage in the *Aeneid*: the Trojans are Italians, returning to Italy, their true home.

In the *Aeneid*, as is revealed *piecemeal* (*Aen.* 3.94-9, 147-91; 7.205-11; 8.134-42), Dardanus is a son of Jupiter and Electra, born in a town in Etruria called Corythus or Corythum. He emigrates first to Samothrace and then to the Troad, where he founds Troy, marries Batea (daughter of Teucer/Teucus), fathers the Trojan race, and ultimately is apotheosed. (Elaborated versions of this story are found in later commentators, such as Servius *ad* 3.104, 167.) That Dardanus comes from Etruria is a significant innovation on Vergil's part (see Horsfall (1973), Wilhelm (1992)) with important thematic and political implications.

Other versions of Aeneas' heritage were current in Vergil's time. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, relying apparently on Varro (see Servius), represented Dardanus as ethnically Greek, from Arcadia, thereby implicitly claiming that Rome was a Greek city. On the other hand, if Dardanus, whom Aeneas claims as his ancestor already in *Iliad* 20.215-43, is Italian, then Aeneas' voyage is a return, a homecoming, a *nostos*; and his settlement in Italy has unarguable legitimacy. Syed (2005) 194-227 argues that the idea of an Italian Aeneas is essential to the Romans' sense of their distinctive selfhood, an Italian and Roman community with a shared past; see 167-8 n., 180.

On Dardanus and the Romans' ethnicity see: Horsfall (1973, 1987), Wilhelm (1992), and Jocelyn (1991).

83. **hospitio**: ablative of manner.

84. **venerabar**: "regard reverently," cf. 79 n. **saxo...vetusto**: the temple, built from stone ancient even to Aeneas, would therefore pre-exist Apollo's temple in Delphi (Paschalis (1986a) 60).

85. **da...da**: note the anaphora\*, alliteration\* (of *d*), and consonance\* (of *m*). Such marked sound effects are characteristic of ancient prayers, which were spoken aloud, and serve to attract the attention of the god that is being invoked. **propriam**: "our own," i.e. lasting, permanent. **Thymbraee**: epithet of Apollo; *Thymbra* is a city near Troy, sacred to Apollo. **moenia**: along with *domum* 85, *genus*, *urbem* 86, *moenia* are defining of city-founders (Horsfall); on *fessis*, cf. 78

86-7. **altera Troiae** | **Pergama**: Aeneas speaks of himself and his followers as Troy's "other (i.e. one of two) citadel." **reliquias...Achilli**: repeated from 1.30, in apposition to *altera Troiae Pergama*. The first syllable of *reliquias* is artificially lengthened, cf. 1.30 n.

88. **quem sequimur?**: "whom do we (are we to) follow?" In short questions the indicative, often used instead of the deliberative subjunctive, lends directness and urgency. The questions form a *tricolon abundans*\*. Anaphora\*, alliteration\*, and tricola\* are characteristic of prayer, cf. 85 n.

89. **animis...nostris**: dative after compound verb. **inlabere**: deponent imperative. Aeneas prays that the god may slip into their spirits.
90. **Vix...fatus eram...visa**: sc. *sunt*, “scarcely had I spoken, (when) all things seemed....,” cf. 2.172. **tremere**: in response to the god’s presence.
91. **liminaque laurusque**: alliteration\*, the first *-que* is artificially lengthened (cf. 1.308 n.). Artificial lengthening of the stressed syllable of a foot is characteristic of Homeric metrical practice, as is the double *-que*.
92. **mons**: Mt. Cynthus. **mugire**: a roar preceding the divine voice. **reclusis**: the temple doors “fly open” (Conington).
93. **summissi petimus terram**: “humbled we fall to the ground,” whether by kneeling or by prostrating themselves is unclear (Horsfall); cf. Lucr. 1.92 *muta metu terram genibus submissa petebat*.
- 94-5. **Dardanidae duri**: by addressing the Trojans as “sons of Dardanus,” the oracle hints that their ancient mother is Italy, (in the *Aeneid*) the original home of Dardanus; *duri* refers to the Trojans’ character and hardships. **quae vos...tellus**: the relative clause precedes the main clause, with the antecedent *tellus* attracted into the relative clause; *quae* and *tellus* then frame the relative clause. This reversed order of clauses and the emphatic hyperbaton\* of *quae...tellus* dramatize the land and the revelation concerning it. **eadem**: sc. *tellus*. **ubere laeto**: both have meanings appropriate to both *terra* and *mater*: *uber* means 1) a mother’s breast, 2) fertility of soil; *laetus* means 1) joyful, i.e. giving a joyful welcome, 2) fertile, fruitful.
96. **reduces**: the Trojans’ arrival in Italy is a return. Cf. 3.101 *reverti*. See 84-120 n.
97. **hic**: “here,” i.e. in this land just mentioned; English idiom would say “there,” cf. 111 *hinc cunctis...oris*: ablative of place or dative after *dominabitur*. This and the next line allude to Hom. *Il.* 20.307-8, Poseidon speaking: “but now the might of Aeneias shall be lord over the Trojans, | and his sons’ sons, and those who are born of his seed hereafter.” Vergil transforms Poseidon’s narrower prophecy of Aeneas’ rule over (an Asian) Troy into a promise of universal empire. As Horsfall (*ad loc.*) acutely observes, this foretelling of a universal empire for the Romans should be unwelcome to the Carthaginians.
98. **et nati...**: “and his children’s children and their children after them.”
99. **haec Phoebus**: “these things Phoebus (spoke),” cf. 1.37 n. **exorta**: sc. *est*.
- 100-1. **sint...vocet...iubeat**: subjunctives in indirect questions after *quaerunt*. Oracles were traditionally difficult to decipher; the Trojans try to understand the meaning of this one. **ea moenia**: “those (i.e. the promised) walls,” implicit in Apollo’s prophecy, cf. notes on 17 and 85. **errantis**: sc. *nos*.
102. **veterum...virorum**: pondering traditions of “earlier generations”; the alliteration\* is appropriately archaizing\*.
103. **spes...vestras**: i.e. “the object of your hopes.”
104. **Iovis magni...insula**: Crete is the birthplace of Jove. Saturn, Jove’s father, consumed his children at birth to prevent their overthrowing him. This displeased their mother, the goddess Rhea, who saved the newborn Jupiter by concealing him on Mt. Aegaeum in Crete and giving Saturn a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes in his place (Hes. *Theog.* 459-91). The Corybantes (111), by clashing their cymbals, prevented the baby’s cries from being heard. **medio...ponto**: “in the midst of the sea.”
105. **mons Idaeus ubi**: note the omission of *est*; the poetic postposition of *ubi* emphasizes the preceding word(s). The existence of a Mt. Ida in Crete as well as in the Troad makes possible

Anchises' inference that Crete was the cradle of the Trojan race as well as of many Trojan religious practices.

106. **centum urbes**: understand the Cretans as subject of *habitant*. **uberrima regna**: the fertile land supports many kingdoms, cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.649.
107. **maximus...pater**: "our great ancestor," i.e. *Teucus* (also *Teucer*), who left Crete during a time of famine and settled in the Troad. As father of Bateaia, who became the wife of Dardanus, he is also an ancestor (on the maternal side) of the Trojans, who are therefore often referred to as Teucrians (e.g. 1.555, 6.562, 6.648, 8.470, 8.513). (On Teucer, see Servius *ad* 3.108.) **audita**: "things heard," the "story."
108. **Rhoeteas**: adjective (from *Rhoeteum*, a promontory on the Hellespont). The agreement of the adjective before the caesura with the noun at the end of the verse (as here) is an elegant and recurrent feature of Vergil's verse.
109. **locum**: i.e. the Rhoetean coast. **regno**: dative of purpose.
110. **steterant**: i.e. had been built. **habitabant**: as subject, understand "they" (the inhabitants), cf. 106.
111. **hinc...**: "from here," i.e. from Crete, "(came) the Mother, dweller (*cultrix*) on Mt. Cybelus (*Cybeli*),...and the Corybantes' bronze (*Corybantiaque aera*) (cymbals)." **aera**: "cymbals," cf. 104 n. Note the alliteration\* of *c*'s and the anaphora\* of *hinc*.

Anchises identifies the goddess Rhea with the Phrygian goddess Cybele (the name derived from Mt. Cybelus in Phrygia), also known as the *Magna Mater* (cf. *domina*, "mistress" in 113). The *Corybantes*, her attendants, like the *Curetes* of Crete, clash cymbals and dance ecstatically in their worship of the goddess. Cybele is represented riding in a chariot drawn by lions or other wild animals, symbolizing her power over wild nature. Lucretius (2.600-43) captures the spectacular impact of Cybele's processions; Catullus 63, by contrast, paints a terrifying picture of the orgiastic rites that accompanied her mysteries. Other references to Cybele: 2.788 n., 7.139, 9.82-122, 10.252-5.

A visit to Crete does not figure in the Aeneas tradition, although there was a Pergamum in Crete in historical times (cf. 190 n.).

112. **Idaeumque nemus**: this grove is sacred to Cybele; the second syllable of *nemus* is artificially lengthened in arsis\* (cf. 1.308 n.). **hinc fida silentia sacris**: "from here (came the custom of) faithful silence to her holy mysteries," i.e. initiates into the mysteries were prohibited from revealing their contents.
113. **iuncti...leones**: note the suggestive framing of the verse with *iuncti...leones*. **subiere**: "passed under" (i.e. yoked to) with *currum* as object.
114. **divum**: archaic\* genitive plural, see 5 n. **qua**: in postposition, a poetic feature. Note the alliteration\* of *d*'s.
115. **Gnosia regna**: Cnossos, chief town of Minoan Crete. Note the chiasitic\* order of verbs (framing the line) and their accusatives, as well as the alliteration\* of *p*.
116. **longo...cursu**: ablative of degree of difference. **modo Iuppiter adsit**: subjunctive in a proviso clause, "(provided) only that Jove be favorable" (cf. AG §528). Anchises refers either literally to the god Jove or to the weather, which Jove personifies.
117. **lux**: sc. *diei*. **Cretaeis...in oris**: here as elsewhere (e.g. 321, 326) the adjective (*Cretaeis*) is more rhetorically elevated than the noun in the genitive (*Cretae*) (Horsfall *ad loc.*), as is also the case in English.

118. **meritos:** “deserved,” “due.” **honores:** “sacrifices,” “offerings.”
119. **Neptuno...:** they sacrifice to Neptune in prayer for their future sailing, to Apollo (note apostrophe\*) in thanks for the past oracle (Servius *ad loc.*).
120. **nigram...:** first a black victim is offered to the storm god to ward off harm, then a white victim to the beneficent West wind to secure good (Servius *ad loc.*).

### 121-208: Travels in the Aegean III – Crete

The Trojans hear that Idomeneus has been driven from Crete, leaving the island open for settlement by them. They sail to Crete, and there Aeneas begins to build a city, calling it Pergamum; but plague strikes. Anchises urges a return to Delos for consultation of the oracle, but the Penates appear to Aeneas, rendering the trip unnecessary. Anchises, once informed of Aeneas’ vision of the Penates, accepts its validity, remembering, if late, indications that Italy, not Crete, is the destined land.

121. **Fama volat:** introduces indirect speech; each of the infinitives *cessisse*, *deserta (esse)*, *vacare*, *astare* has its own subject accusative.
122. **Idomenea:** Greek accusative of *Idomeneus*, the warrior who led the Cretan ships to Troy. Caught by storms on his return, he vowed to the sea gods, should he arrive safely, to sacrifice whatever he might first see on reaching Crete: this turned out to be his own son, whom he did duly sacrifice. As punishment the gods sent plague on his people, who expelled him, whereupon he emigrated to Italy (Servius *ad loc.* 122). The *nostoi*, i.e. tales about the returns or homecomings of Greek heroes after the Trojan War, reflected actual Greek colonization around the Mediterranean (Horsfall (1989) 8). The leitmotif of the “victorious” Greeks’ many bad homecomings diminishes the value of their victory at Troy. (See 327-8 n., 332.) **desertaque...:** Crete was “deserted,” not by all its inhabitants, but by Idomeneus and his people.
123. **astare:** “stand ready (at hand)”, i.e. “be available for our project.”
124. **Ortygiae:** genitive; the ancient name of Delos, from the Greek word for “quail,” thus “Quail Island.” **pelago:** “on” or “over” the sea, ablative of space over which or extent (AG §429.4a).
- 125-6. **bacchatamque iugis Naxum:** *bacchatam* from *bacchor*, “to honor or traverse in Bacchic dance” used passively; lit. “Naxos traversed by bacchic revels on its ridges”; cf. 460, 475. **Naxum...Donusam, | Olearum...Parum:** Aegean islands. Paros was famed for its white marble.
127. **crebris...freta consita terris:** *consita* is from *consero* (“scatter” or “strew”); thus “straits strewn with many islands,” with an etymological play on the islands’ name, the *Sporades* (Gr. “scattered about”), islands south and east of the Cyclades. Page, Mynors, and Williams read *concita*, “made rough by,” because narrow straits between the islands cause strong currents and rough water. **legimus:** governs the preceding accusatives (*Naxum, Donusam...Cycladas*) in the sense of “pass by”; with *freta* it has the meaning of “pick one’s way through,” “cross,” occurring especially of ships skirting a coast (cf. 292 *litoraue Epiri legimus*) or skimming the surface of the sea. Cf. 2.208 n.
128. **nauticus... clamor:** a cheer from the men; the phrase emphatically frames the line. **vario certamine:** “in varied rivalry,” i.e. the ships are racing each other.
129. **hortantur...:** “they exhort each other: ‘Let us make for Crete and our forefathers!’” **petamus:** hortatory subjunctive.

130. **prosequitur...**: “escorts,” a technical term. **euntis**: sc. *nos*.
131. **antiquis...oris**: adjective before the main caesura with noun at verse end, an elegant, characteristic pattern, cf. 108 n.
132. **muros**: for the leitmotif, cf. 17, 85, 100. **optatae**: “much desired.” **optatae...urbis**: adjective *after* main caesura with noun at verse end, a variation on the pattern used in the preceding line.
133. **Pergameamque voco**: sc. *urbem*; “I call it the Pergamene city.” See 13-18 n. **laetam cognomine**: “rejoicing in the name.” A *cognomen*, strictly, is a co-name, i.e. a name that goes with another name. Vergil, however, frequently uses a *cognomen* to connote a new thing (here the Trojans’ new city) named after an old thing (here, *Pergama* or “Troy”); cf. 334, 350, 702 (Williams *ad loc.*).
134. **hortor amare**: poetic for *hortor ut ament*. **focos**: for worship of Penates, gods of the hearth (cf. 1.703-4 n.). **tectis**: probably dative of reference, “for (i.e. to protect) their homes.” Lines 134-7 describe characteristic actions of city founders (Horsfall (1989)).
135. **Iamque fere**: “about now.” **subductae**: sc. *erant*.
136. **conubiis**: scanned as if *conubjis*, three long syllables. **conubiis arvisque**: ablatives of means or datives. **operata**: supply *erat*, “was busied with.”
- 137-9. **iura domosque dabam**: cf. 1.507 *iura dabat legesque viris* (of Dido). **subito cum...**: the jagged word order here, with the verb in the middle (*venit*), subjects at the end (*lues, annus*), and the extreme hyperbaton\* of subject and modifiers (*tabida...miseranda...lues*), suggests Aeneas’ distress in making sense of the experience. Rendering the sentence into coherent English eliminates the achieved incoherence of the Latin. See Perkell (1989) 152-66 for discussion of portents and plague in Lucr. 6.1138-1286 and Verg. *Geo.* 3.478-566. **corrupto caeli tractu**: ablative absolute or ablative of source.
140. **linquebant...animas**: conventionally, life is said to leave the dead; here pathos accrues, as the dead leave their lives. **trahebant**: subject is “the dying.”
141. **sterilis**: proleptic\*. **exurere**: historical infinitive. **Sirius**: the Dog-Star (that appears with late, hot summer “dog” days) burned the life from the fields.
- 143-6. **remenso...mari**: ablative absolute. Past participles of many deponent verbs may have a passive sense, as here “the sea being traversed again,” cf. 125 *bacchatam*. **hortatur...ire... precari, | quam...finem**: for the construction, cf. 134 n. “He urges me to go...to pray for grace, (asking) what end...” **fessis**: emphatic through alliteration\* with *finem* and *ferat*; see 78 n. **ferat...iubeat**: subjunctives in an indirect question governed by the idea in *veniam precari*. Note the tricolon\*: *quam...*, *unde...*, *quo...*, with the last element the shortest. This divergence from the usual pattern of a *tricolon crescens*\* may suggest Anchises’ distress. **unde...**: “whence (i.e. from what quarter) to seek help for our troubles.”
- 147-91. *The Penates appear to Aeneas in a dream, promising empire and glory for his descendants. They identify the “ancient mother” of Apollo’s oracle as the land called Hesperia by the Greeks, but Italy by its inhabitants. Anchises, now himself remembering other hints of Italy, orders the Trojans again to set sail.*

At the behest of Apollo, consistently the Trojans’ divine ally, the Penates appear to Aeneas to reveal the Trojans’ true homeland. The awesome effect of the Penates’ utterances is achieved by alliteration\* (an archaic\*, incantatory, and solemn feature), omission of verbal elements (for “oracular brevity,” see Williams *ad loc.*), repetition of *nos* (emphatically affirming the

- gods' presence), and juxtaposition of *nos* and *te* (affirming the felt unity of the Penates with Aeneas and the Trojans). See Miller (2009) 118-22.
147. **Nox erat**: atmospheric start to what Horsfall (*ad loc.*) terms a "temporal ekphrasis"; "it was night when..." Cf. *Aen.* 2.250, Ap. Rhod. 3.744.
148. **effigies...penates**: hendiadys\*. **divum**: cf. 5 n.
- 150-3. **visi...**: the infinitives *astare*, *adfari*, *demere* complete *visi (sunt)*. "They seemed to stand... to address...to take away..." Cf. the visions of Hector at 2.271, Creusa at 2.773.
- 150-1. **visi**: supply *sunt*; subject is *penates* (148). **iacentis**: sc. *mei*, i.e. Aeneas. **manifesti**: "clear," "manifest"; agrees with *penates* (148), the nearer of its subjects (cf. also *effigies* in 148). *Manifesti* is a forceful word, indicating something not only visible but seemingly touchable, as by the hand. Aeneas distinguishes between a true dream, seen in light sleep (*in somnis* 151) and an unreal or false dream seen in deep sleep (*sopor*, cf. 173 n.). Cf. 4.358 *manifesto in lumine vidi* (of Mercury). **qua**: adverb "where," as often.
152. **insertas...fenestras**: a much debated line, fortunately of no thematic importance. The sense must be that bright moonlight comes through open windows, illuminating the Penates. Therefore, *insertas* must mean the windows are "unshuttered," "open" (Williams (1972) *ad loc.*) or, alternatively, the epithet *insertas* "inserted" is transferred from *luna* (Horsfall), with the moonlight being "inserted" through the windows.
153. **adfari...demere**: see 150-3 n.; alternatively, these infinitives may be taken as historical.
154. **tibi delato Ortygiam...**: *tibi* is dative after *dicturus...est*; *delato*, "having been brought to" or "arrived at"; *Ortygiam* is accusative of place to which (without preposition).
155. **canit**: see 2.124 n. **en**: "lo!" "behold!" **ultra**: "voluntarily," "of his own accord."
- 156-7. **nos...nos**: emphatic repetition; note also the repeated use of *nos* with *te*, *tua*, *tibi*. **nos...secuti**, | **nos...permensis**: supply *sumus*. Gods sometimes desert a defeated city; the Penates are steadfastly loyal. **Dardania incensa**: ablative absolute. **sub te**: "under you" (as leader).
158. **idem...**: long *i*, thus plural; "(we) shall likewise exalt to the stars..." **tollemus in astra**: likely refers to the fame of Aeneas' descendants generally, not uniquely to the deification of Julius and Augustus Caesar.
159. **imperium...urbi**: "empire to the (your) city," for Roman readers a stirring juxtaposition; *urbi* is to be understood in the sense of "*the* city," i.e. Rome. **moenia**: see, e.g., 85 n. **magnis**: possible meanings are "mighty gods," "mighty descendants," or (as dative of *magna*) "a mighty destiny."
160. **fugae...laborem**: i.e. (your) flight is not shameful, since it is divinely willed, cf. *Aen.* 1.2 *fato profugus*. In contrast to Odysseus, Aeneas is an exile by fate, not a mere wanderer (Bliss (1964)). *Labor* is a leitmotif, characterizing the Trojan (and future Roman) achievement. **ne linque**: *ne* with imperative is archaic\*; see 5 n. Similarly archaic are the simplex verb (*linque*, not compounded) and the alliteration\* (of *longum...linque laborem*) (Horsfall), all of which lend solemnity and rhetorical elevation to the Penates' utterance.
161. **mutandae**: sc. *sunt*.
162. **Cretae**: locative.
- 163-6. **est locus**: introduces an ekphrasis\*, i.e. a passage of description that interrupts the flow of narrative; the phrase is repeated from 1.530-3 (see notes). **Hesperiam**: the "Western Land" (i.e. Italy), named by Creusa at 2.781. **Grai**: scan as two longs.



164. **armis...ubere**: ablatives of respect.
165. **Oenotri**: name derived from the Greek word for “wine-growers.” **coluere** = *coluerunt*. **fama**: sc. *est*, “the rumor is,” “they say,” introducing an indirect statement.
166. **ducis**: referring to Italus, king of the Oenotrians, after whom Italy is now (*nunc*) named.
- 167-8. **propriae**: cf. 85 n. *hae sedes (sunt); Dardanus ortus (est)*. The three clauses from *hae nobis* (167) through *principe nostrum* (168) without a main verb contribute to the effect of “oracular brevity” (Williams). **Dardanus...Iasius**: half-brothers, sons of Electra (*Aen.* 8.134-41, Servius *ad* 3.104, 167), Corythus being the father of Iasius, Zeus the father of Dardanus. Iasius settles in Samothrace; Dardanus travels on from there to found Troy and becomes apotheosed (*Aen.* 7.205-11, Latinus speaking). See Horsfall (1973, 2000: 165-9). **genus a quo principe nostrum**: supply *ortum est*.
170. **refer**: “report” or “deliver.” **Corythum**: in the *Aeneid*, a town or region in Etruria, presumably named after a legendary early king, Corythus. Vergil makes this (probably fictive) location the birthplace of Dardanus and hence of the Trojan people (Jocelyn (1991)). **requirat**: jussive subjunctive, “let him seek,” “make for”; sc. *Anchises* as subject.
171. **Ausonias**: i.e. Italian. **tibi**: i.e. Aeneas.
173. **nec sopor illud erat**: “nor was that (a false vision arising from) heavy sleep,” as contrasted with *in somnis* at 151. There is an allusion here to Hom. *Od.* 19.547, where Odysseus, still in beggar disguise, tells Penelope that her dream of his return and vengeance on the suitors was not a Gr. *onar* (“[mere] dream”), but a Gr. *hupar esthlon* (“authentic waking-vision”). The words from *nec sopor* to *sudor* (175) form a parenthesis, and *attonitus* (172) goes grammatically with *corripio* (176): “astounded by such a vision...(for it was no dream...). I tear myself from bed.”
174. **velatas**: “crowned” or “garlanded,” i.e. with *vittae*, “fillets.” Cf. 405 where Helenus will instruct Aeneas in (what will become) a Roman custom of veiling the head. Vergil locates origins of important Roman customs in Aeneas’ experiences; cf. 59.
175. **tum...**: the cold sweat which came upon him after (cf. *tum*) the vision. **sudor**: because his heart is racing.
- 176-7. **supinas...manus**: cf. 1.93 *duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas*, i.e. with palms up. Note the hyperbaton\*. Aeneas offers prayer or sacrifice after a vision at 5.743, 8.70. **munera...**: “pour undefiled (i.e. pure, unmixed) offerings” — in this case, wine — “on the hearth.”
178. **honore**: a “ritual act,” a “sacrifice,” as often.
179. **Anchisen facio certum**: i.e. “I inform Anchises.”
180. **agnovit...**: the Trojans are *prolem ambigam* because they might be considered descendants either, on the paternal side, of (Italian) Dardanus by his marriage to Batea or, on the maternal side, of (Cretan) Teucer, father of Batea (Dardanus and Teucer thus being the *gemini parentes*). (On Teucer, see Servius *ad* 3.108.)
181. **seque novo veterum...**: the meaning of the antithesis\* between *novo* and *veterum* may be that the lands and stories were old, but Anchises’ mistake is new or recent. On Cassandra, see 186-7 n. **deceptum**: sc. *esse*.
182. **Iliacis exercite fatis**: “tested by the (hard) fates of Ilium.”
184. **portendere**: “that she (Cassandra) used to foretell this (i.e. a settlement in Italy) as due our race.” Understand *Cassandram* as accusative subject of *portendere* and *vocare* (185).

- 186-7. **quis...crederet...moveret**: past potential subjunctives, “who would have believed?” (cf. AG §446-7). **tum**: emphatic. Apollo had punished Cassandra for betraying him by ordaining that her prophecies would be true, but never believed.
188. **cedamus...sequamur**: hortatory subjunctives framing the line. **Phoebo**: because it was he who sent the Penates. **meliora**: “better (counsels” or “plans”).
189. **dicto**: dative after *pareo*.
190. **paucisque relictis**: this detail accounts for the origin of the town of Pergamum (see 121-208 n.), still in existence in Vergil’s day; alternatively, the phrase may refer to those who died there.
191. **vela damus**: sc. *ventis* (cf. 9 n.). **trabe**: metonymy\* for *nave*. **currimus aequor**: “run (over) the sea,” accusative of extent of space.
- 192-208. *After leaving Crete, the Trojans lose their way in a storm, but on the fourth day catch sight of mountains and circling smoke in the distance. They furl their sails and row ashore.*
- 192-5. These lines closely imitate Hom. *Od.* 12.403-6, describing the onset of the storm in which all the men but Odysseus perish; thus they function as an ominous allusion.
- 192 **tenuere**: = *tenuerunt*.
193. **caelum undique...**: “(but) sky and sea on *every* side...” Note the repeated *undique*, framed by *caelum* and *pontus*; *apparet* is to be supplied from *apparent*, forming a contrasted clause, without any adversative to mark the contrast.
194. **caeruleus**: “deepest blue” or “smoke black,” like a thunder-cloud.
195. **inhorrui unda tenebris**: “the wave roughened with (or at) the darkness.”
196. **venti volvunt mare magnaue...**: alliteration\*, with *aequora* emphatically enjambed\* into the following verse.
198. **involvere**: = *involverunt*.
- 201-2. **negat discernere...nec meminisse**: supply *se* (cf. 2.432-4 n.), “says that he neither distinguishes...nor remembers.” The Trojans are deprived both of landmarks (the normal basis of navigation in antiquity) and of stars (a rarer method in heroic times) (Horsfall). See Adler (2003) 288-91 for Palinurus as personification of science in the *Aeneid*. **viae**: genitive after *meminisse*.
203. **tris adeo...**: “three whole nights”; *adeo* gives emphasis to the preceding word (cf. 2.567 n.). **incertos...soles**: accusative of duration of time; the use of *soles* as “days” is common. “Uncertain suns” means “clouded,” “dark days.”
204. **erramus pelago**: again the pervasive motif of wandering (used of Trojans, islands, returning Greeks); ablative of “space over which,” cf. 124 n.
206. **volvere fumum**: “swirl up smoke,” a sign of an inhabited country.
207. **vela cadunt**: “sails fall,” brisker than “we lower the sails.” **remis insurgimus**: “we rise onto our oars”; *remis* is dative after a compound verb.
208. **caerul(e)a**: neuter of the adjective used as a noun; sc. *aequora*.
- 209-77: Travels in Greece I – The Strophades**

The Trojans find themselves on the Strophades, islands where herds of cattle roam without (apparent) guard. They kill some to eat and to sacrifice, but are set upon by Harpies. Aeneas’ men arm for battle, but the Harpies prove invulnerable. The eldest, Celaeno (Gr. “the Dark

One”), rebukes the Trojans, prophesying that famine will compel them to eat their tables before they found a city. Anchises prays that the gods may avert this horror; the Trojans flee to Mount Leucates and the temple of Apollo.

The prophecy (attributed variously to the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona, the Erythraean Sibyl, or Venus) that the Trojans will eat their tables is part of the traditional Aeneas legend, and is found also in, e.g., *Lycoph.* 1250-8, *Dion. Hal.* 1.55.3, Varro cited by Servius *ad* 3.256 f. However, other features of this account — the landing on the Strophades, the encounter with the Harpies, their invulnerability to human weapons—are unique to Vergil and therefore merit special attention.

In Homer, the Harpies, whose name means the Snatchers (Gr. *harpazein*), are personified storm-winds, later evolving into goddesses of famine, always hungry, who snatch others’ food. They are represented as birds with women’s faces or as women with wings. To Vergil’s readers the most familiar account would have been that of Apollonius (*Arg.* 2.178-300), where Phineus, the Thracian king, for having revealed divine secrets, is punished by visitations of the Harpies, who defile his food. He promises the Argonauts that he will prophesy their future (to the degree allowable) in return for deliverance. The sons of Boreas (the North wind), Calais and Zetes, who can fly, pursue the Harpies, turning back at the Strophades (hence called “Islands of Turning” from Gr. *strephesthai*), where the goddess Iris promises that the Harpies will cease their torture of Phineus.

The other significant intertext of this episode is *Odyssey* 11.104-17, where Tiresias, the underworld seer, reveals to Odysseus that he will have his homecoming if he and his companions can “contain their desire” and refrain from eating the cattle of Helios (the sun god). Otherwise, they and their ship will be destroyed. In *Odyssey* 12.278-390, despite Odysseus’ prohibition, the companions do eat the cattle, with the predicted result. Odysseus alone survives the wreck.

*Differences* from the epic models of this passage suggest interpretations (see Introduction to *Aeneid* 3). In contrast to Odysseus’ companions, the Trojans, in eating the Harpies’ cattle, have not violated an explicit taboo. Nevertheless, their actions may be seen as morally questionable. Smoke rising from the island (206) suggests civilization (cf. the smoke rising from Circe’s island in *Od.* 10.149, 197). Therefore, although the cattle may be without apparent guard (221), Aeneas might have suspected they were domestic animals.

Aeneas’ order to his men to arm for attack proves ill-conceived, since the Harpies are invulnerable (as they are *not* in Apollonius). In his recourse to arms against immortal creatures, Aeneas inadvertently recalls the over-confident Odysseus who proposes to take up arms against Scylla, despite Circe’s prior instruction. She rebukes his *hybris* (*Od.* 12.116-19). (Cf. Ap. Rhod. 2.288-9 where Iris announces to the sons of Boreas that it is not “permitted” (Gr. *themis*) to strike the Harpies (“dogs of great Zeus”) with swords.) That the Harpies are repellent, Aeneas surely establishes. However, Celaeno’s charges against the Trojans are not without justice and stand un rebutted; her retaliatory prophecy has Apollo’s authority (251).

In sum: Vergil connects the traditional table-eating prophecy with an unacknowledged (by Aeneas) moral infraction (the violation of the divinely owned cattle, if not with the flagrant impiety of Odysseus’ companions. The Trojans leave the Strophades filled with apprehension, morally compromised, with no divine reassurance. Vergil has, thus, through allusion to *Odyssey* 12, injected into the prophecy of famine a connection with the symbolic world of monsters (Scylla and Charybdis, Etna, Polyphemus still to come), a morally

- dangerous world of “inadvertent trespass” and unfamiliar hazards. (See Horsfall *ad* 209-69 for objections to such “modern moral criticism” and for a useful bibliography on this episode.) See also Nelis (2001) 32-8 on the Harpies and Phineus, and Miller (2009) 122-5.
210. **Strophades Graio nomine dictae**: for the Greek etymology of *Strophades*, see 209-77 n. **stant**: = *sunt*, with the further connotation of endurance or stability. **dictae**: “called.”
211. **insulae Ionio**: in imitation of the Homeric metrical practice called correption, Vergil sometimes shortens a final long vowel or diphthong in hiatus, as with *-ae* here. Cf. 5.261 *Iliō alto*; 6.507 *tē, amice*.
212. **Harpyiae**: the word scans as three longs, the middle syllable being the Greek diphthong *ui*. **Phineia**: adjective for genitive noun is poetic (117 n.); *Phineia* is quadrisyllabic, with the *e* long, and the final *i* and *a* short. **postquam**: note its postposition.
213. **clausa**: supply *est*. **mensas...priores**: accusative object of *liquere* (= *liquerunt*). **metu**: ablative of cause.
214. **illis...:** ablative after the comparative *tristius*. **monstrum**: sc. *se extulit*; the word is used also of Polyphemus (658).
215. **pestis et ira deum**: i.e. divine anger, resulting in *pestis*; a compound subject or an instance of hendiadys\*. For *deum*, cf. 5 n.
- 216-17. **virginei...vultus**: supply *erant*. The Harpies are birds with maidens’ faces. **foedissima...proluviis**: “foul discharge from their belly.” Donatus (the late fourth CE commentator), cited by Williams, infers that the Furies suffer from some malabsorption condition, their discharge then being intestinal excreta. **uncae...manus**: “taloned hands” (Conington). **pallida**: “pale with hunger” (this detail verges on being pitiable).
218. **fame**: ablative of cause. An unfinished line (cf. 1.534 n.). Others in book 3: 316, 340, 470, 527, 640, 661.
219. **delati**: *defero* is often used of bringing a ship into harbor, cf. 71 n.
220. **laeta**: “fat.”
221. **caprigenum...pecus**: “goat-born flock”; *caprigenum* is a compound adjective of the archaic, epic type. **nullo custode** is ablative absolute.
- 222-3. **ferro**: ablative of means. **divos ipsumque...Iovem**: “the (other) gods and above all Jupiter.” **in partem praedamque**: = *in partem praedae*, “to share the spoil,” hendiadys\*. The Trojans misguidedly call on Jupiter to accept a share of the ill-gotten spoils (E. L. Harrison (1985a)). **litore curvo**: “along the shore,” cf. 124 n.
224. **exstruimusque...:** *exstruere* occurs of “piling up” the couches on which Romans reclined at meals. Here the couches would be made of turf, despite the formality of language (*epulamur, dapibus*). **dapibus**: ablative after *epulamur*.
225. **lapsu**: “swoop.”
226. **Harpyiae**: the subject of *adsunt* (225) is revealed and made emphatic through enjambment\*. **clangoribus**: describing beating wings, not voice (*vox* 228).
228. **immundo**: enjambed, thus emphatic; **tum vox...:** “then (came) (sc. *est* or *fit*) a dread voice amidst the foul smell.”
229. **rursum...rursus (232)**: archaic\* form of *rursus*. Note the parallelism: the renewed attempt to feast is matched by a renewed attack of the Harpies.
230. This line is omitted by Servius, but included by Donatus (for whom, see 216-7 n.).

Presumably it is copied from 1.311 and wrongly inserted here, where it does not fit the syntax of adjoining verses. It is bracketed by Horsfall (see his discussion *ad loc.*) and other editors (Hirtzel, Mynors, Williams).

231. **arisque reponimus ignem:** i.e. in order to perform the sacrifice (cf. 222-3 n.) which had been interrupted.
232. **ex diverso caeli:** “from a different quarter of the sky”; *diverso* is the neuter of the adjective used as a substantive (cf. 1.111 n.).
233. **turba:** i.e. of Harpies. **pedibus:** ablative of means.
- 234-5. **ore:** commentators dispute what might be the nature of this *oral* pollution. **sociis... gerendum:** double construction after *edico*, which means “I order” with *capessant* (subjunctive in indirect command) and “I say” with *bellum gerendum (esse)* (an accusative and infinitive of indirect statement). “Then I order my comrades to seize (i.e. that they should seize) their arms and (I say) that war must be waged...”
236. **haud secus ac iussi faciunt:** “not otherwise than as ordered they do.” *Ac* or *atque* may be translated “than”; with *iussi* supply *sunt*. **tectosque...:** “and place their hidden-in-grass swords”; *tectos* and *latentia (scuta)* are used proleptically, cf. 1.70 n.
238. **dedere:** = *dederunt*; the subject is the Harpies (*delapsae*).
239. Misenus sounds his trumpet to mark the Harpies’ approach. (The story of his death is told in 6.162-74.)
240. **aere cavo:** “with the hollow brass,” i.e. the trumpet. **nova proelia:** “strange battles,” i.e. against Harpies. The infinitive *foedare* in apposition to *proelia* (241).
241. **pelagi...volucris:** Harpies are, variously, daughters of the Sea and Earth, of Neptune (Servius *ad loc.*), or of Electra daughter of Ocean (Hes. *Theog.* 265). Cf. Servius *ad loc.*, E. L. Harrison (1985a).
242. In Ap. Rhod. 2.284 the Harpies are not invulnerable and are saved by Iris’ intervention.
243. **sub sidera:** “towards the stars,” i.e. upwards.
245. **praecelsa:** to strengthen an adjective Vergil often prefixes *prae* instead of the more usual *per*; cf. *praedives, praedulcis, praepinguis, praevalidus*.
246. **infelix vates:** “prophet of ill.” **rumpitque...vocem:** emotion is *breaking through* her previously restrained silence (Servius *ad loc.*); thus, “speaks with indignation.” **pectore:** supply *ex*.
- 247-8. **bellum etiam...bellumne...:** “war indeed...is it war...?” Note the emphatic outrage in the repeated *bellum*. **Laomedontidae:** “children of Laomedon.” Celaeno knows (without asking!) who the Trojans are and where they are going. She implies that, like their ancestor Laomedon (2.610 n.), they too are treacherous (cf. 4.542, Dido speaking). **bellumne inferre:** sc. *nobis*.
249. **patrio...regno:** i.e. (*e*) *patrio regno (nostro)*. With *patrio*, Celaeno claims the Strophades are the “ancestral domain” of the Harpies; cf. 241, where they are offspring of the sea.
250. **animis:** supply *in* and construe with *accipite*, but not *figite*.
251. **quae Phoebos pater omnipotens:** sc. *praedixit*. The *pater omnipotens* is Jupiter, the highest authority, through whose will come Apollo’s revelations.
252. **Furiarum...maxima:** “greatest” or “eldest (i.e. *maxima natu*) of the Furies.” Harpies are identified with Furies elsewhere (Hom. *Od.* 20.78, Aesch. *Eum.* 50-1) and cf. 215 *ira deum*, 6.605, 12.845-52 (for Furies as the gods’ agents in punishing human wickedness).

- 253-4. **Italiam...petitis...ibitis Italiam**: the repetition of *Italiam* is highly rhetorical, as with *bellum* in 247. Celaeno achieves oracular portentousness through alliteration\*, emphatic repetition, brevity, and riddling revelation. **Italiam**: the accusative of motion towards, without preposition, is poetic (cf. 293, 441, 507, 601).
- 255-6. **ante...quam**: “sooner than.” **datam**: here “promised.” **nostraeque iniuria caedis**: “the wrong of our murder,” i.e. the “wrong of attempting to murder us.”
257. **ambesas...absumere mensas**: “to consume your gnawed-around (*ambesas*)...tables.” The prophecy is fulfilled harmlessly at 7.109-17 when the Trojans use thin cakes as plates or “tables” for their meat; cf. Lycoph. 1250-4; Dion. Hal. 1.55.3 for other versions of the story. (At 7.124-7 Aeneas attributes this prophecy to Anchises.) **subigat**: subjunctive of anticipated action after *ante...quam*, AG §551c.
259. **sociis**: dative of reference. **gelidus**: predicative.
- 260-1. **cedidere**: = *cediderunt*. **nec iam...exposcere pacem**: *pacem votis exposcere* is a religious formula (cf. Livy 1.16.3 *pacem precibus exposcunt*, 3.7 *supplicatum ire, pacemque exposcere deum*), appropriate since the men suspect that the Harpies are divine. **iubent**: sc. *me*.
262. **sint**: subjunctive in a subordinate clause in indirect discourse. **obscaena**: “filthy,” “ominous.”
263. **passis...palmis**: cf. 1.93.
264. **meritosque indicit honores**: “proclaims appropriate offerings.”
265. **di...di**: repeated elements, characteristic of prayer, serve to draw the gods’ attention.
266. **placidi**: i.e. (now having been) “placated.” **pios**: understand *nos*. **funem**: the mooring rope.
267. **excussos...laxare rudentis**: “to free the shaken-out sheets”; *rudentes* are ropes (nautical term “sheets”) fastened to the bottom corners of the sail to adjust it to the wind. They “shake the sail out full” (*excutere*) for speed; cf. 682-3 *rudentis excutere*.
268. **spumantibus undis**: for the ablative, cf. 124 *pelagoque volamus* with *n*.
270. **nemorosā Zacynthos**: artificially shortened vowel in an unstressed syllable, before the double consonant *Z* of Zacynthos, in imitation of Homeric practice.
271. **Neritos ardua saxis**: “Neritus steep with crags,” in Homer a mountain in Ithaca; here, as context and gender (feminine) show, an island. *Saxis* is ablative of cause.
272. **scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna**: cf. the epithet “rocky” used of Ithaca in the *Odyssey*; Laertes is Odysseus’ father.
273. **terram altricem**: “nurturing land,” i.e. that nursed Ulysses. **saevi ...Vlixi**: contrasts with *infelix* at 613, 691; for the genitive *Vlixi*, see 1.30 n.
275. **formidatus nautis**: “dreaded by sailors,” because it was built on a dangerous site; *nautis* is dative of agent or reference. **aperitur**: “comes into view.” **Apollo**: i.e. his temple, a common metonymy\*.
276. **hunc**: sc. *Apollinem*, as in 275. **fessi**: a leitmotif.
277. **stant litore puppes**: “the sterns stand along the shore”; *litore* is ablative of extension, cf. 124 *pelagoque volamus*.

**278-93: Travels in Greece II – Actium**

At Actium, the Trojans sacrifice to Jupiter and celebrate games. Aeneas dedicates Abas' shield. The Trojans then sail along the coast of Epirus, landing at Buthrotum.

In traditional accounts, the Trojans build a temple at Actium (Dion. Hal. 1.50.4). Vergil, however, locates games there and a shield dedication, which other sources place elsewhere (Zacynthos for the games in Dion. Hal. 1.50.3, Samothrace for the shield in Servius *auctus* on 3.287). In dedicating war spoils and celebrating games, Aeneas anticipates Augustus' future victory over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BCE.

The Trojans' religious observances are both expiatory (for the inauspicious sacrifice to Jupiter in the Strophades) and thank offerings for safe passage through Greek territory. The dedication of the Shield of Abas signifies differently. Conventionally, dedications are made on behalf of victors; here, irony\* inheres in Aeneas' dedication of a shield on behalf of the *vanquished* Trojans. The shield was a famous symbol of the power of Argive Hera, because it protected Argos after the death of Abas' (an early Argive king) family, its original owners (Servius *auctus* on 3.286). To explain Aeneas' possession of the shield, ancient even from his perspective, readers must infer that an Argive member of the Trojan expedition had carried the shield and lost it in combat with Aeneas. In dedicating this shield to Apollo, Aeneas transforms a symbol of Hera's power — or Greek victory generally — into a symbol of Trojan/Roman victory under Apollo. For full discussion and references, see Miller (1993) and Lloyd (1957b).

278. **insperata...tellure**: ablative after *potior*; *insperata*, “unhoped for,” because of the dangers mentioned in 282-3.
279. **lustramurque Iovi**: “we purify ourselves in honor of Jupiter,” *lustramur* functioning as a middle; purification is preliminary to sacrifice and celebration of sacred games. **votis**: i.e. sacrifices offered in fulfilment of a vow; ablative of means, not dative of purpose. **incendimus aras**: “we set ablaze the altars,” i.e. for sacrifices.
280. **Actiaque...**: Vergil makes these games constitute an ancient precedent for the quinquennial games that Octavian instituted at Actium to memorialize his victory there in 31 BCE, cf. notes on 59, 174. **Iliacis ...ludis**: ablative of means, note the adjective/noun placement. Note that this is a golden line\*.
281. **patrias**: “traditional,” “Trojan.” **palaestras**: “wrestling-bouts.” Note the same adjective/noun pattern as in 280. **oleo labente**: oil makes wrestlers' bodies slippery.
282. **iuvat evasisse...**: sc. *eos* or *nos*.
283. **Argolicas**: emphatic through enjambment\*. At this point, the Greeks are the most feared danger; subsequently various monsters will be. **fugam tenuisse**: “to have held (our course of) flight.”
284. **interea magnum...**: “meantime the sun rolls through the year”; the sun is thought to make a circuit in a year. *Annum* is the object of *circum* in *circumvolvitur*, and expresses duration of time; *magnum* is an ornamental epithet.
286. **aere cavo**: ablative of quality. The round shield (*clipeus*) is made by beating out a brass plate until it becomes hollow. **magni gestamen Abantis**: “gear of great Abas,” cf. 278-93 n.
287. **postibus adversis**: “on the doors facing” as one enters. **carmine**: an inscription, often on dedicatory objects, usually in verse.
288. **AENEAS...**: verbs are commonly omitted in such inscriptions; understand *dedicat* or *dat*, *dicat*, *dedicat* (abbreviated as D. D. D.). **DE**: supply *erepta*, “won from.”

289. Alludes to Hom. *Od.* 9.103-4.

291. **abscondimus arces**: the sense is “we lose the citadels (from our view),” cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.279, 292.

292. **legimus**: “skirt,” cf. 127 n. **portu**: dative after a compound verb.

### 294-520: Travels in Greece III – Buthrotum

In Buthrotum Aeneas finds a city that is not merely a namesake of Troy, but a wholesale imitation, so that Troy’s monuments are instantly recognizable, if on a small scale (*parvam Troiam* 349). Aeneas sees this replica as arid (*arentem* 350), false (*falsi* 302, *simulata* 349), an image (*effigiem* 497). Andromache’s emotional outpourings, at Hector’s tomb, and then at Aeneas’ departure, frame the episode. (On Andromache, see 297 n.) In between comes Helenus’ lengthy prophecy.

Nugent (1999) has observed that limitless, self-destructive grief characterizes female figures throughout the *Aeneid*; nowhere is this truer than in the case of Andromache, who focuses obsessively on the dead. Andromache longs for persons; Aeneas longs for a city, but not this one. In their bitter, asymmetrical losses, they fail to comfort each other.

The diminished quality of this “Little Troy” (349) is exemplified also in Helenus, Hector’s brother, a lesser son of Priam, now Andromache’s husband. (On Helenus see notes on 295 and 344-55.) The couple exchange no words; their marriage is without offspring. Commentators and Helenus himself draw attention to his loquacity (a significant contrast to Aeneas’ characteristic proto-Roman terseness); Aeneas later draws attention to his omissions (712-13; cf. also 374-462 n.). Helenus has the gift to see into the future, but *not to enter* it. This lack on his part points up by contrast the special courage of Aeneas, to whom the Roman mission is appropriately given. Aeneas’ experience of this “Troy” constitutes a lesson on the inadequacy of mere imitation.

In the traditional accounts, Aeneas meets Helenus, settled at Buthrotum (Dion. Hal. 1.51). In no account other than Vergil’s, however, does Aeneas meet Andromache, although her marriage with Helenus is prophesied in Euripides’ *Andromache*.

For further discussion: Grimm (1967); Anderson (1969, 2005); Putnam (1980) 56-9; Bright (1981); G. S. West (1983); Feeney (1983); O’Hara (1990) 26-31; Cova (1992, 1994); Quint (1993) 53-65; Bettini (1997); Hexter (1999); Nugent (1999); Nelis (2001) 38-44.

294-355. *Aeneas hears that Helenus, son of Priam, rules the kingdom of Pyrrhus (= Neoptolemus), son of Achilles, and is married to Andromache, Hector’s widow. Aeneas finds Andromache tending Hector’s (empty) tomb. She tells of becoming Pyrrhus’ slave, bearing him a child, then being given to Helenus, also a captive slave, who succeeded to Pyrrhus’ kingdom. Helenus enters with a retinue.*

294. **auris**: sc. *nostras*.

295. **Priamiden...**: the patronymic\* lends epic character, cf. *Aeacidae* 296. Helenus and Andromache were both given as prizes to Pyrrhus at Troy’s fall. Helenus, a seer, forewarned Pyrrhus of the sea storms that would destroy many Greeks on their returns home. Pyrrhus, in consequence, took the land route safely. In gratitude, at his death (see 333 n.), he left Helenus a share in his kingdom and Andromache for wife. **regnare**: infinitive of indirect statement dependent on the verb of saying implicit in *fama*.

296. **coniugio**: for *coniuge*, i.e. Andromache; ablative, along with *sceptris*, after *potior*. **Aeacidae**: “descendant of Aeacus” in the genitive (cf. 1.99 n.); the order of descent is Aeacus, Peleus, Achilles, Pyrrhus.



297. **patrio...marito**: a husband of her own race, i.e. Trojan. Although Andromache is from Thebes, she is perceived as Trojan because of her marriage to Hector. **cessisse**: “passed into the possession of,” cf. 333. This legal use of *cedo* with the dative is found in prose (e.g. Livy 31.46 *captiva corpora Romanis cessere*). It occurs also of booty passing to a new owner (Horsfall), a sense compatible with Andromache’s narrative.
- Andromache figures in the *Iliad*’s most heart-wrenching scenes (6.369-529, 22.437-515, 24.723-450), where she is defined by her passionate love for Hector and their son, Astyanax, both slain at Troy.
298. **incensum**: supply *est*. **pectus**: sc. *meum*. **amore**: ablative of means with *compellare* (“longing to address”).
300. **portu**: ablative of separation.
- 301-3. **sollemnis cum forte...**: “when (*cum*), by chance (*forte*), before the city (*ante urbem*) in a grove (*in luco*)...by the water of a false Simois (*falsi Simoentis ad undam*) Andromache was offering (*libabat*) to ashes (*cineri*) ritual feasts (*sollemnis...dapes*) and mourning gifts (*tristitia dona*)...” **sollemnis**: “ritual,” perhaps referring to the *parentalia*, the private celebration of rites for the family dead. Information builds up, in sense units, as Aeneas comes to understand what he is seeing. **falsi**: “counterfeit,” “pretended,” i.e. the body of water is named *Simois* though it was not the real river, which was in Troy. **libabat**: a technical term for any offering that can be “poured” upon the altar, such as wine, milk, oil, honey, eggs, beans. **cineri**: of Hector, as will be revealed.
304. **tumulum...inanem**: a cenotaph (empty tomb), because Hector’s ashes were buried in Troy (Hom. *Il.* 24.795-804). The verse is framed by *Hectoreum* and *inanem*, emphasizing Hector’s absence. For the elevated nature of such adjectival forms, cf. 117 n. **caespitē**: ablative of material.
305. **geminas...aras**: probably to Dis and Proserpina. The dead like even numbers (Servius *ad loc.*). **causam lacrimis**: she had built the two altars in order to lament.
- 306-7. **ut**: with indicative here means “as,” “when.” **Troia circum | arma (307)**: “Trojan arms about me” (Horsfall) or “Trojan warriors with me” (Williams). *Troia* scans as a dactyl. **amens**: “hysterical,” “out of her mind.” **magnis exterrita monstribus**: “terrified by the portentous apparitions.” Andromache mistakes Aeneas for a portent or revenant from the dead, cf. 313 *fuventi* (“hysterical”).
308. **deriguit visu in medio**: lit. “she stiffened at the sight” (lit. “in the midst of the sight”).
309. **longo...tempore**: “in time,” “after some time.”
310. **vera...facies, verus...nuntius**: “as a true form...a true messenger,” in apposition to an implied *tu*, the subject of *adfers*.
311. **si lux alma recessit**: “if life-sustaining light has departed,” i.e. “if you are dead.”
312. **Hector ubi est?**: the sense is “if you are a shade, why is Hector not with you?”
- 313-14. **vix pauca fuventi...**: lit. “with difficulty some few (utterances) (*pauca*) I throw in/interject to her hysterical...and stammer (*hisco*)...” Aeneas is profoundly disconcerted (*turbatus*) by Andromache’s emotionality. **raris...vocibus**: ablative of manner, “with halting words.”
315. **extrema**: “things beyond which one cannot go,” “utmost dangers” or “difficulties.” Aeneas responds by speaking of his own difficulties, and thus fails to offer sympathy to Andromache. His subsequent questioning (see 319 n.) strikes some commentators as (unintentionally) hurtful. Feeny (1983) discusses Aeneas’ avoidance of authentic emotional exchange.

316. **ne dubita:** *ne* + imperative is archaic\*; see 160 n. This is an incomplete verse (cf. 218 n.).
317. **deiectam coniuge tanto:** “fallen” or “cast down from such a (noble) husband.” *Casus*, *deiectam*, and *excipit* connote an actual fall; commentators take the referenced fall as loss of rank.
318. **digna satis:** “sufficiently worthy,” i.e. of you.
319. **Hectoris Andromache...:** “Andromache, wife of Hector.” **Pyrrhin conubia servas?:** “Are you still keeping marriage with Pyrrhus?” (The *n* in *Pyrrhin* is the interrogative enclitic *-ne*.) Heinze (1993: 82, 222, 273 n. 11) makes no comment on these verses, but some readers find Aeneas’ question tactless (West (1983) 260-1), “an unfeeling reproach” (Conington *ad loc.*). Cova (1994) *ad loc.* understands Aeneas to distinguish between Andromache’s moral state (eternal marriage to Hector) and her subsequent marriages (unwilled). Donatus (cf. 216-17 n.; cited by, e.g., West (1983) 260 n. 7) reads Aeneas as implicitly charging Andromache with sexual immorality, which her own speech is designed to refute (!). See also Highet (1972) 6 with n. 6.
- Aeneas addresses Andromache as “Hector’s wife.” She also represents herself as *univira*, married to only one man, an admired (if not widely exemplified) status among Roman women. Andromache speaks of Pyrrhus with loathing and of Helenus not at all.
321. **felix una ante alias:** “O happy alone above others.” Polyxena is the *Priameia* (cf. 117 n.) *virgo*, virgin daughter of Priam, sacrificed by Pyrrhus on Achilles’ tomb at Troy. Euripides’ *Hecuba* treats this event but places it in Thrace. Aeneas (1.94-6) expresses the same thought (i.e. it is better to have died at Troy) in the same kind of construction.
323. **sortitus:** Andromache, as wife of Hector, was, in fact, not assigned by lot, but instead chosen as his prize by Pyrrhus (Eur. *Tro.* 274). She speaks of the enslaved captive women generally.
324. **hec victoris heri...:** Hector, forecasting Andromache’s future as a slave after his death (Hom. *Il.* 6.455-8), cannot acknowledge and therefore omits from his imaginings precisely this sexual service that Vergil makes Andromache describe explicitly as a fate worse than death, in speaking of her “conqueror,” “master,” whose bed she is compelled as a “captive” to “touch.”
325. **nos:** strongly antithetical. Note the chiasmic\* order of the adjective/noun pairs *patria incensa, diversa...aequora*.
326. **stirpis Achilleae:** Andromache identifies Pyrrhus as the “Achillean child” (see 321 n. on *Priameia*). Achilles was the slayer of her husband. **iuvenem...superbum:** the child is Molossus (cf. 327-8 n.), who became the eponymous ancestor of the Molossian kings of Epirus.
- 327-8. **servitio:** ablative both of time and cause. **enixae:** “having borne (children).” **qui:** connective relative pronoun, “and he.” **deinde:** “thereafter,” i.e. when he was tired of me. **Ledaeam Hermionen:** Hermione is the daughter of Helen (who is daughter of Leda) and Menelaus, king of Sparta (Lacedaemon). In Euripides’ *Andromache* the jealous Hermione conspires (unsuccessfully) to murder Molossus and Andromache, since her own marriage to Pyrrhus is barren. **Lacedaemonios hymenaeos...:** these polysyllabic Greek words at line end give a Greek effect. Cf. also 1.53 n. Interlocking word order\* with the preceding *Ledaeam Hermionen*, the elevated adjectives, and the ponderousness of the whole verse may subtly express Andromache’s scorn.

- Before the Trojan war, Hermione was promised to Orestes. Subsequently, nevertheless, Menelaus gave her to Pyrrhus instead. Orestes, both for love of Hermione and also maddened by Furies as punishment for killing his mother Clytemnestra, murders Pyrrhus — in Vergil's version — at his father's altars (*patrias...ad aras* 332). (In other accounts the murder transpires in Apollo's temple at Delphi (e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 7.34-43, Eur. *And.* 1073-5, 1117-60), because Apollo is avenging the murder of Priam by Pyrrhus at Priam's own altar (Pind. *Paeon.* 6.110-20).) Vergil omits Apollo from the murder story because such primitive retribution would ill suit the morally elevated Apollo that he has constructed (Paschalis (1986a) 52). See notes on 73-83 and 85.
329. **me famulo famulamque Heleno**: the *-que*, grammatically unnecessary, is therefore emphatic — both *to* a slave and *to be* a slave. **habendam**: gerundive expressing purpose; the word is used devoid of any feeling. Andromache does not acknowledge explicitly her marriage to Helenus. Note that the word order is interpretable as both chiasitic\* and interlocking\*.
331. **scelerum Furiis agitatus**: “harassed by the Furies of his crimes,” i.e. the Furies who avenge blood killings. Orestes murdered Clytemnestra to avenge her murder of Agamemnon (his father/her husband), whose sacrifice of their daughter Iphigenia caused Clytemnestra to murder him. This story of serial vengeance and its ultimate resolution is treated in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.
332. **excipit incautum**: “catches unawares.” **patriasque obtruncat ad aras**: see 327-8 n. Pyrrhus' slaughter of Priam and his son Polites at the altar is described at 2.506-58 (see n.). The resemblance between the two passages implies retributive justice, but not through Apollo's agency. The misfortunes of the Greeks alluded to by Andromache, as with the shield of Abas (278-93 n.), point to the fleeting nature of their triumph at Troy.
333. **morte**: ablative of time. **reddita**: “duly given.” Pyrrhus gives over this share of his kingdom (*regnorum...pars*) and Andromache for wife in gratitude for Helenus' prophecy to him.
334. **Chaonios**: commentators remain unsure of the identity of this Trojan *Chaon* (335) after whom the land was named. **cognomine**: a “like” or “related name,” cf. 133 n.
337. **sed tibi**: note the emphatic position—I have told you *my* history, “but now about *yourself*, what winds, what fate...?” **dedere**: = *dederunt*; its subjects are *venti* and *fata*.
338. **ignarum**: sc. *te*. **oris**: dative after the compound *appulit*. Cf. 715.
339. **quid puer Ascanius**: “what (of) the boy Ascanius?” **superatne**: “does he survive?” Cf. 2.642-3 n.. **aura**: ablative after *vescor*.
340. **quem tibi iam Troia**—: see 218 n. for other half-lines. Some commentators suggest that *this particular* broken off verse represents Andromache's inability to speak, because she is weeping or because she has just realized that Creusa must be dead. Others, however, deny that such an irregularity would be acceptable in epic.
341. **tamen**: refers to *amissae*, “still, in spite of her loss.” **amissae...parentis**: the “lost parent” is Creusa, whose disappearance is described in *Aen.* 2.735-95.
- 342-3. **ecquid**: “at all,” “in any way”; cognate accusative used adverbially after *excitat*, cf. 56 n. **avunculus**: Hector was Ascanius' uncle because Creusa was Hector's sister. The coupling of Aeneas and Hector elevates Aeneas, who, in the *Iliad*, is not the equal of Hector (cf. 6.170, 11.291, 12.440). **excitat**: supply *puerum* (cf. *puero* 341) as object.
344. **taliam fundebat lacrimans**: Andromache does not wait for an answer. For unresponded-to speeches in the *Aeneid*, see Hight (1972), Johnson (1976), and Feeney (1983).

345. **heros**: “hero,” further elevated by the epic patronymic *Priamides* (346).
346. **Helenus**: In Hom. *Il.* 6.76 Helenus is “best of the augurs.” He tells Hector to instruct the Trojan women to offer sacrifice to Athena (6.86-98), but the goddess is unmoved (6.311; cf. *Aen.* 1.479-82 n.). He urges Hector to single-combat, foreseeing correctly that his death is not nigh (7.44). He is mentioned as a warrior (*Il.* 12.94; 13.576-8, 759-73) and a still surviving son of Priam (*Il.* 24.248). Cf. the prophecies of Circe (Hom. *Od.* 10.488-540, 12.37-141), Tiresias (*Od.* 11.90-137), and Phineus (Ap. Rhod. 2.311-407).
- 347-8. **suos**: his fellow Trojans. **laetus...lacrimas**: Helenus’ tears, by contrast to Andromache’s (344), are joyous. **multum**: adverb. Helenus has a large escort (*multis comitantibus*) and great wealth (cf. 353-5), despite the diminutives that characterize Aeneas’ description of the city.
349. **parvam Troiam...:** Aeneas “recognizes a tiny Troy and a (tiny) Pergamum mimicking its great namesake.” **magnis**: understand *Pergamis*, dative after *simulata*.
350. **arentem Xanthi...rivum**: a contrast to “the whirling Xanthus” (Hom. *Il.* 5.479). **cognomine**: ablative of description.
351. **limina**: Aeneas expresses emotion freely by embracing this threshold.
352.  **nec non**: “likewise.” **socia...urbe**: ablative after *fruor*.
353. **porticibus...in amplis**: in Greek houses the “porticoes” surrounded an open-air courtyard, in the center of which (*aulai medio*) stood the altar on which libations were poured (*libabant pocula Bacchi*). **rex**: like Anius, Helenus is both king and priest.
354. **aulai**: archaic first declension genitive singular, scanned as three longs; cf. 6.747 *aurai*, 7.464 *aquai*, 9.26 *pictai*. **Bacchi**: Bacchus, the wine god; metonymy\* for wine.
355. **impositis...dapibus**: ablative absolute. **auro**: dative after compound.
- 356-73. *Aeneas asks Helenus for confirmations and prescriptions. Helenus leads Aeneas to Apollo’s temple where he prepares to receive the god’s message.*
358. **his vatem adgredior dictis**: “I thus address (lit. approach with words) the seer.”
359. **Troiugena**: vocative, “Trojan-born,” an archaic\*/epic-type compound. **interpres**: “an intermediary” between two parties, here between gods and men, either as the gods’ mouthpiece or as interpreter of the gods’ communications; Helenus does both. **numina**: “will.”
- 359-61. Note the *tricolon abundans*\* with anaphora\* of *qui*. Aeneas’ elaborate address to Helenus, detailing his attributes, resembles an invocation to a god.
360. **qui...sentis**: “you who sense”; implies access to a higher order of things. **Clarii**: epithet of Apollo from his oracle at Claros, near Colophon. **lauros**: laurels were sacred to Apollo. **sidera**: cf. 4.519-20 *conscia fati | sidera*. Astrology was popular at Rome in Vergil’s day; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.
361. **volucrum...:** note short *u* before the mute-liquid combination *c-r*. Poet’s choice determines the scansion of mute + liquid after a short vowel. Cf. 2.663 n. Birds could manifest the divine either through their cries (an *augurium*) or through their flight patterns (an *auspicium*); in the former case the birds were called *oscines*, in the latter, *praepetes*.
- 362-3. **fare**: imperative of *for, fari*. *Fare age* means “come (on) now, say!” **omnem cursum mihi prospera dixit | religio**: “favoring oracles (*prospera...religio*) have affirmed (lit. “told of”) all my voyage”; *religio* denotes the totality of oracles Aeneas has received. Note the hypallage\* of the two epithets: the sense is *omnis religio dixit prosperum cursum* (Servius *ad loc.*).

364. **terras temptare repostas**: “to explore remote lands”; *repostas* is a contraction of *repositas*.
- 365-6. **novum dictuque nefas...prodigium**: *dictu* is ablative of the supine in *u*, which frequently appears after the indeclinable substantives *fas* and *nefas*. Here, however, *nefas* functions either as an adjective (*nefandum*) with *prodigium* — the prodigy is “strange (*novum*) and unlawful (*nefas*) to tell” — or as a noun essentially in apposition to *prodigium*. *Prodigium*, like *monstrum*, describes anything contrary to ordinary experience, and is thus attributable to divine intervention.
367. **quae prima pericula vito**: “what dangers do I first avoid?” The indicative for subjunctive is more vivid in this indirect question, cf. 88 n.
368. **possim**: potential subjunctive or subjunctive in the apodosis of a future less vivid condition (the implied protasis being *si sequar*, “if I were to follow”).
369. **hic**: temporal. **caesis...iuuencis**: ablative absolute; note the adjective/noun pattern, cf. 108 n. **de more**: “according to custom.”
370. **divum**: accusative in a double accusative construction (of person and of thing requested) after *exorat*. **vittasque resolvit**: the hair is unbound to free the seer for possession by the god. The Sibyl’s possession by Apollo in 6.46-51 includes hair coming loose, amongst other symptoms. For the “hampering influence of knots in religion and magic,” see Horsfall *ad loc.* and *ad* 7.394.
371. **limina**: i.e. threshold of the *adytum*, the inner sanctum of the temple, where the oracle is delivered; sacrifice is offered outside.
372. **ipse manu**: with his own hand, implying personal attention, 2.291-2 n. **suspensum**: *sc. me*.
- 374-462. *The prophecy of Helenus. Helenus affirms that divine will sustains Aeneas’ mission. A white sow surrounded by thirty piglets will mark the destined site of Trojan/Roman settlement. Particular prescriptions follow, including a request of the Cumaean Sibyl.*

Helenus’ prophecy consists, essentially, of two prohibitions, each followed by a prescription: avoid the eastern coast of Italy (396-402) and institute the practice of sacrifice with head veiled (403-9); avoid the monsters Scylla and Charybdis (413-32) and establish rites for Juno (433-40). The stop at Cumae to see the Sibyl (441-60) breaks this pattern, perhaps because there Aeneas will receive a different kind of revelation.

In its focus on of-this-world prescriptions that will make possible the greater revelation in the Underworld, Helenus’ prophecy resembles that of Circe, whose prescriptions enable Odysseus to speak with Tiresias, the blind seer in the Underworld, who reveals the secret of homecoming. Cf. Phineus’ prophecy to the Argonauts (Ap. Rhod. 2.311-407) and Nelis (2001) 38-44.

This prophecy is admonitory, emphatic, didactic, alliterative (375-6, 424-8, 455-9), and repetitive (383, 412, 433), all of which are characteristic features of oracular speech. In its length, however, the prophecy deviates from familiar oracular style. (Contrast Creusa at 2.776-89, Apollo at 3.94-8, Penates at 3.154-71, Celaeno at 3.247-57, Anchises at 5.724-39, and the Sibyl at 6.83-7.) Helenus himself calls attention to his loquacity (481-2), as do commentators (“ponderous solemnity and long-winded repetitiousness,” G. W. Williams (1983) 265; “definite verbosity,” “vexatious repetition,” Horsfall *ad* 374-462). The purpose of this characterization may be to draw a contrast between Helenus and Aeneas, both Trojan princes and both, in that sense, potential founders of a new Troy. The superiority of Aeneas

as Roman founder is exemplified in many ways, one of which is his proto-Roman terseness (see Feeney (1983)).

Despite its length, Helenus' prophecy contains significant omissions: the storm that drives the Trojans to Carthage, the death of Palinurus, and the visit to the Underworld. Aeneas laments explicitly that the prophecy omitted the death of Anchises (712-13). Nor does Helenus reveal the futility of his insistently prescribed sacrifices to Juno, who remains hostile to the Romans for centuries after the conclusion of the *Aeneid* (Feeney (1984)). O'Hara (1990) has shown, more generally, that prophecies in the *Aeneid* characteristically omit death and other difficulties. On Helenus, see O'Hara (1990) 25-31, 54-60, 123-27; Nelis (2001) 38-45; Miller (2009) 126-33.

- 374-6. **te...ire**: accusative and infinitive construction with *manifesta fides (est)*. **maioribus... auspiciis**: "with the gods' will." Originally *auspicium* denotes omens manifest in birds' flight or other specific celestial signs. In Vergil (only nine occurrences) it signifies more generally "exceptional occurrences" (Cova *ad loc.*). See 361 n. **manifesta fides**: "there is manifest truth." **sic fata...**: "thus does the king of heaven allot the fates and turn the changes; this is the cycle (of events) that is turning (unfolding)." This imprecise turning imagery implies a wheel of changes, turned by Jupiter, but also turning on its own. **rex**: the monosyllabic ending lends archaic solemnity; cf. 1.105 n.
377. **quo**: connective relative equivalent to *ut eo*; introduces a relative clause of purpose in primary sequence. **hospita**: neuter plural adjective, meaning either "stranger" or "host," or, in this case, possibly both.
379. **prohibent nam cetera...**: the future is partly unknown to Helenus, partly incommunicable because of the gods' prohibition against human omniscience. Cf. Phineus' admission to the Argonauts that he is not allowed to reveal their whole future (Ap. Rhod. 2.311-16). The accusative *cetera* is governed by both *scire* and *fari* (380).
380. **Helenum**: Helenus' use of his own name may suggest self-importance, although other readings are possible. **Iuno**: enemy of the Trojans since the judgment of Paris, cf. 1.27 n.; her hostility is analogous to some degree to Poseidon's wrath against Odysseus in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 1.68-79).
381. **Italiam**: not "Italy" as a whole, but the destined western coast, as opposed to the eastern, nearer coast (*banc oram* 396). **iam**: "now," i.e. now that you have arrived on the shore opposite Epirus. **re**: from *reor*.
383. **longa procui...**: various features in this line evoke oracular style — the jingling effect (*via inuia*, "pathless path"), repetition of *longallongis*, rhyme of a word before the caesura with a word at line end (*longis...terris*), coincidence both of word accent and ictus\*, and of word and foot in the second half of the verse. **dividit**: governs *Italiam* (381) and signifies "separates" or "divides (from you)"; note the ablative *longis terris* after *dividit*, "divides by a long stretch of country."
384. **ante et...quam (387)...possis**: the subjunctive after *ante quam* expresses an anticipated action; the indicative, a completed one. AG §551 b-c. **Trinacria**: Sicily, cf. 1.196 n. **lentandus**: a gerundive expressing necessity (understand *est*), referring to the bending of the oar as the rower drags it through the water.
385. **salis Ausonii**: the sea to the southwest of Italy, commonly called the Tyrrhenian Sea. *Ausonia* is identified as Aeneas' promised land (378). **salis**: metonymy\* for sea. **lustrandum**: gerundive, "must be traversed" (understand *est*).

386. **infern...lacus**: the Lucrine and Avernian lakes, near Cumae, the latter associated with the Underworld. **Aeaeae...insula Circae**: in the *Odyssey*, Circe's island, Aeaea, is in the east; she (temporarily) turns Odysseus' men into pigs, but also helps Odysseus leave when he is ready. In the *Argonautica* she is the daughter of the sun, aunt of Medea, and strongly associated with magic. Vergil, in accordance with later tradition, places Circe's island between Cumae and the mouth of the Tiber. The Trojans pass by Circe's island after leaving Cumae and Caieta (7.10-24).
387. **possis**: see 384 n.
388. **teneto**: future imperative, archaic\* in tone, hence formal and elevated; cf. 408. Note the alliteration\* of *t*'s, and the polyptoton\* of *tu* and *tibi*.
389. **tibi sollicito**: dative of agent with *invent*a. Aeneas will be anxious (*sollicito*) because of Turnus' marshalling of forces against him. **secreti ad fluminis undam**: i.e. at some point where the stream (the Tiber) is secluded.
390. **litoreis**: occurs only rarely of a riverbank. **ilicibus sus**: the monosyllabic verse ending is archaic\* (374-6 n.), and thus appropriate to this traditional oracle. The sow prodigy is a traditional feature of the Aeneas legend; other versions are found in Lycophron (1255-60) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.56). Helenus says the sow will mark the site of the future city (i.e. Lavinium); Tiberinus (at 8.43-8) repeats the prophecy (fulfilled at 8.81-3), adding that it signifies the foundation of Alba Longa from Lavinium in 30 years — as many years as the sow has offspring. (See Dougherty (1993) 20 with n. 31 on animal guides in colonization narratives.)
391. **triginta...**: "shall lie having given birth (*enixa*) to a litter of thirty young," the huge number of offspring being prodigious in itself (Horsfall). **capitum**: descriptive genitive after *fet*us. *Caput* is used in counting men or animals, cf. *per capita*. **enixa**: see 327-8 n.; its object is *fet*us.
392. **solo**: ablative of place where, without preposition. **albi...nati**: sc. *iacebunt*. The anaphora\* of *alba...albi* suggests an etymological\* link with Alba Longa (see Horsfall *ad loc.* for references).
394. **nec...horresce**: *ne* with the imperative is archaic\*; see 160 n. Cf. Thomas (1988a) on *Geo.* 2.96 for another instance of *nec* linking a prohibition to a preceding positive statement.
395. **fata viam invenient**: see 257 n.; uttered also by Jupiter (10.113). **aderit**: *adsis* or *ades* was commonly used in invoking the presence of a god. **vocatus**: "when invoked."
- 396-7. **has...hanc**: deictic, "this nearer border of the Italian shore," that is, the one "which, nearest, is bathed by the surge of our (i.e. the Ionian) sea."
398. **effuge**: note its dramatic placement at the beginning of the verse and before a pause; flight is a recurrent motif in book 3, as in book 2 (cf. 2.559-804 n.). **malis...Grais**: dative of agent. *Graii*s scans as two longs. The mention of Greeks is anachronistic, since Greek colonization of (what came to be called) *Magna Graecia* did not occur until centuries after the Trojan war.
399. **hic**: adverb, as scansion shows. **Narycii...Locri**: Naryca was a town of the Locrians, where Ajax son of Oileus was born. Returning from Troy, Ajax was shipwrecked by Pallas Athena (1.39-45); some surviving companions made their way to Southern Italy, where they founded another Locri. This passage alludes to leaders of the Trojan expedition (Ajax, Idomeneus, Philoctetes), with their geographical epithets. **moenia**: defining of city founders, cf. 85 n.
400. **Sallentinos...campos**: in the southeastern extremity of the Apulia region, in the heel of Italy. **milite**: ablative of means; a collective noun.

401. **Lyctius**: adjective; Idomeneus was from the city Lyctos in Crete, whence he was expelled, see 122 n. He founds, among other cities, Castrum Minervae, Aeneas' first stop in Italy. **hic illa...**: *illa* implies "well known"; "there is that (city) of the Meliboean leader (*ducis Meliboei*), small Petelia (*parva...Petelia*), relying on (*subnixā*) the wall (*muro*) of Philoctetes (*Philoctetae*)." Philoctetes, king of Meliboea, also exiled from Crete, founded Petelia in Bruttium. *Petelia* is likely connected with the Old Latin *petilus*, "thin" or "small." In this case *parva...Petelia* would be an instance of etymological\* wordplay (Williams *ad loc.*). For other possible derivations of the root *pet-*, either from an augury from bird flight (Gr. *petomai*, "fly") related to the founding of the town or because Philoctetes sought (*petiviti*) a place for the town, see Servius *ad loc.* On *Petelia*, see also O'Hara (1996) 143-4. See 692-711 and notes for further instances of etymological play. See O'Hara (1996) 102-11 on the poetic importance of such etymological wordplay for Vergil, a feature that identifies him as a poet in the learned Alexandrian tradition of Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes.
403. **quin**: "but no, indeed." *Quin* both corrects and exhorts: thus 1) (but no) "do not settle on the Adriatic coast," and 2) (indeed) "do take advantage of the stop to sacrifice and initiate the practice of veiling the head during sacrifice." **steterint**: of ships, "are anchored," future perfect from *stare*. **trans aequora**: construe after *transmissae*.
404. **iam**: "at last."
405. **purpureo...amictu**: frame the line, as if to exemplify the covering. **velare**: "veil your hair," passive imperative with middle sense. Romans covered their heads during prayer and sacrifice, while Greeks did not. In the *Origo Gentis Romanae* 12.2 (an anonymous compilation of earlier sources, probably made ca. 360 CE) this custom is attributed to a moment when, just as Aeneas was sacrificing on shore, Ulysses and his fleet chanced to arrive. To avoid recognition by Ulysses and consequent sacrilege, should he interrupt the ritual, Aeneas covered his head. See E. L. Harrison (1985a). A sense of Roman identity results from marking or establishing differences from other peoples (e.g. Syed (2005) esp. 194-223).
- 406-7. **ne qua...**: the sight of anything ill-omened (*hostilis facies*) invalidated the sacrifice; analogously, silence was required lest any ill-omened word be heard. **in honore deorum**: "at" or "during" offering to the gods.
- 408-9. **hunc...hunc...hac**: tricolon\* with anaphora\*, suiting Helenus' expansive style, cf. 433. **socii**: subject of the implied *tenento* (future imperative), cf. 388 n. **morem sacrorum**: "ritual custom." **casti...**: free of ritual pollution.
410. **digressum**: i.e. having departed from Italy. **orae**: dative after compound.
411. **angusti rarescent claustra Pelori**: the "barriers of Pelorus" are the opposite headlands on the Sicilian (*Pelorus* is the cape at the northeastern tip of Sicily) and Italian sides. Between these is a narrow (*angusti*) strait. From a distance the land appears continuous, an actual barrier; on approach, the strait opens to view. *Raresco* is "to grow thin," "to lose density," here specifically, "to (appear to) diminish," i.e. "to open." Thus "the barriers of narrow Pelorus will begin to open" as the Trojans approach them.
412. **laeva tibi tellus**: the left or southern side of Sicily, around which Aeneas is to sail *longo circuitu* to avoid Scylla and Charybdis. Note the emphatic position of *laeva*, emphasized by its repetition later in the line. **petantur**: jussive subjunctive.
413. **dextrum...litus**: once west of Italy's toe, the Trojans are to cross to Sicily, not continue up the western coast of Italy. **fuge**: a recurrent motif; see 398 n.
- 414-16. **loca...dissiluisse**: accusative and infinitive of indirect speech after *ferunt*. "They say these lands leaped apart..."



414. **haec loca** = *dextrum litus et undas*, “these lands,” i.e. the lands on the right, just mentioned. **vasta...ruina**: ablative of means. The Romans believed that Sicily, once joined to Italy, had broken off (Diodorus Siculus, 4.85.3; Ov. *Met.* 15.290; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.204). Rhegium is derived from Gr. *rhegnumi* (“break”). Cf. Dougherty (1993) 24 with 49 n. *Ruina* may signify earthquake (Hardie (2007)).
415. **tantum...**: “so much,” “such an effect,” a parenthetical reflection (i.e. given great extent of time, significant changes can occur). The pedestrian nature of this reflection may be seen to contribute to the characterization of Helenus.
- 416-17. **cum protinus...**: *protinus*, with *una*, here describes space (“one continuous expanse”), not time. Thus: “although the two lands were one continuous (expanse), the sea came in the midst with violence.” **foret**: archaic\* for *esset*, concessive clause, “although they were one...” **medio**: ablative, local or of extension. **vi**: “with violence” = “violently.” **undis**: ablative of means.
- 418-19. **Hesperium...latus**: the western side (of Italy). **Siculo**: sc. *latere*, “from the Sicilian side.” **arvae...diductas**: the sea washes between (*interluit*) “the fields and cities separated by the shore (*litore diductas*) in a narrow tide-way (*angusto...aestu*).” Formerly the fields and cities were 1) not separated and 2) inland. Now they are 1) separated and 2) on the sea-shore (*litore*).
420. **implacata**: “unplacatable” or maybe “unplacated,” unattested before Vergil. See Williams *ad loc.* on forms unattested before Vergil. For Latin speakers, neologisms\* would seem emphatically poetic.
421. **obsidet**: subjects are both *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, though only *Charybdis* is subject of *sorbet* (422). Homer’s *Scylla* is a man-eating monster with six heads, which she pokes out of her cave, fishing for “dolphins or dogfish or anything bigger” (*Od.* 12.94-6). She eats one man from each ship that passes (*Od.* 12.73-100, 222-59). Vergil’s is a later version (see below). *Charybdis* is the whirlpool.
- Circe tells Odysseus to avoid *Charybdis* absolutely and to sail instead close to *Scylla* on the cliffside, the loss of six men being preferable to the loss of all (as would occur if they were sucked down by *Charybdis*). By Vergil’s time *Scylla* and *Charybdis* were traditionally located in the Straits of Messina.
- 421-3. **barathri**: “abyss” of land or sea, used of the underworld in Lucr. 3.966, cf. *Aen.* 8.245. **ter...**: “three times” (a day), cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.105. **sorbet**: “sucks”; subject is *Charybdis*. **in abruptum**: the neuter of the participle used as a noun, “into the sheer deep.” **alternos**: “in turn”; like *vastos*, it also modifies *fluctus*. **sidera verberat unda**: hyperbole\*.
- 424-8. Note the hyperbolic\* sound effects appropriate to a monster, marked by assonance\* and alliteration\*.
425. **ora...**: cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.94. Homer makes *Scylla* pick off a sailor with each of her heads, but Vergil makes her “drag ships into the rocks,” where she lurks. **exsertantem**: “always darting out”; participle formed from the frequentative of *exserere*.
- 426-7. **prima...**: “on top,” referring to *Scylla*’s topmost part versus *postrema* (“behind,” “below”), her bottommost part. **hominis facies**: “the face of a human,” instead of *homo facie* (“human as to her face”). **et pulchro pectore virgo...**: “and she is a young woman with beautiful breast as far as the groin (*pube tenuis*), behind a fish-monster...” **pulchro pectore**: ablative of description; supply *est* in both clauses. **tenuis**: this preposition follows its noun, which is in the ablative (or sometimes genitive). **postrema**: sc. *facies est*. **pistrix**: “sea

- monster,” also found in the form *pistris* or *pristis*, the latter is used at 5.116 as the name of a ship bearing this monster as its figure-head.
428. **delphinum...**: “having tails of dolphins joined together with her belly of wolves.” **caudas**: accusative of respect, lit. “joined together as to her tails.” Cf. 47, 65, 81, 405 for other body-part accusatives of respect. **commissa**: passive participle of *committo* (“join together with”).
429. **metas**: goals around which racers had to turn, here applied to the headland of Pachynus around which the Trojans will turn.
430. **cessantem**: “lingering,” “delaying,” i.e. not taking the speediest route. Modifies an implied *te*, the accusative subject of *lustrare* in indirect statement introduced by *praestat* (429). **circumflectere**: perhaps a Vergilian coinage (Horsfall).
431. **quam**: after *praestat* (429) which has comparative force, “it is better than to have seen...”
432. **caeruleis canibus**: “sea-colored sea-dogs.” *Caeruleus* is a regular epithet of sea creatures, cf. 194 n., 2.381 n.
- 433–4. **si qua est...**: “if there is any foresight in Helenus, if any faithfulness in the seer, if...” The use of *si* or *si forte* with the indicative does not imply doubt, but the reverse. Helenus means “as surely as I have foresight...” (By contrast, for genuine doubt expressed by *si qua* with the subjunctive, see 1.18 n., 6.882.) The substitution of *Heleno* and *vati* for the personal pronoun suits oracular high style. **veris**: the neuter plural is used as a substantive.
435. **unum illud**: “this one thing.” *Ille* points with emphasis to something which follows; *Iunoni...donis* (438–9) explains what “this” is. **proque omnibus unum**: “this one thing instead of all beside,” i.e. this one thing which is as important as all other prescriptions put together. *Unum* emphatically frames the line.
436. The line is framed with two first person futures from different conjugations. Note also the repetition of *iterum* (cf. *unum* in 435).
- 437–8. **Iunonis...Iunoni**: note the emphatic placement. Juno’s wrath initiates the storm that brings the Trojans to Carthage, the first action of the poem. **Iunonis...Iunoni...dominamque...**: another tricolon\* (cf. the three *si*-clauses in 433–4), emphatically rhetorical. **cane vota libens**: “utter (i.e. perform) your vows gladly.” *Libens* is conventional in the paying of vows; V L S (*votum libens solvit*) is common in inscriptions. For *cano* used of a sacred utterance, cf. 2.124 n.
439. **supera**: “vanquish,” a strong word, “with suppliant sacrifices” (*supplicibus donis*), a seeming paradox; the metaphor\* is sustained in *victor*. **sic denique victor**: “thus (i.e. when you will have vanquished her hatred) at last victorious...”
440. **Trinacria...relicta**: frame the line. **mittere**: second singular future passive, emphasizing divine guidance.
441. **Cumaeam...urbem**: again, elevated adjective for genitive noun, cf. 117 n.
442. **divinosque lacus**: i.e. the Lucrine, nearer the sea, and the Avernian, more inland and separated from the Lucrine by a narrow strip of land. Only Avernus is associated with the entrance to the underworld, cf. 386 n. The *lacus* are *divinos* because they are sacred to the Underworld gods. **Averna sonantia silvis**: *Averna* is a place-name plural, on the analogy of *Pergamum*, *Pergama*; *silvis* is ablative of means. The sibilants of *sonantia silvis* may suggest an other-worldly presence in the gloomy groves (*nemorum...tenebris* 6.238) that surrounded the lake.
443. **insanam vatem**: “a possessed (or “frenzied”) prophetess.” The *vates* is the Cumaean Sibyl,

- Aeneas' guide through the underworld. Aeneas' visit to the Sibyl occurs in *Aen.* 6. **rupe sub ima**: i.e. deep within the rock (cave).
444. **fata...**: "announces destiny and entrusts her signs and symbols to leaves." The Sibyl writes her prophecies in verse (*carmina* 445, cf. *canit* 155) on leaves, then "arranges the leaves in order" (*digerit in numerum* 446), so that the prophecy, read consecutively, can be understood. When the wind disturbs the leaves, however, she does not restore them to proper order. **notas et nomina mandat**: suggests some form of writing.
445. **carmina**: the Sibyl's responses as well as Aeneas' shield dedication (287) are in meter (cf. 2.124 n.).
446. **in numerum**: in chronological order, cf. 444 n. (**in**) **antro**: = *rupe ima* as above.
447. **locis**: supply *in*.
448. **verum**: "but." **eadem...**: accusative plural agreeing with *volitantia...carmina* (450-1), the object of *prendere...curat*. **verso...cardine**: of a door (*ianua* 449); cf. 2.493 n.
449. **impulit**: "has set in motion," "disturbed."
452. **inconsulti**: "unadvised" "uncounseled"; people come to the Sibyl for *consulta*, the "decrees" of the gods (cf. 6.151 *dum consulta petis*), but depart without them. **odere**: = *oderunt*.
453. **hic tibi...**: completed by *quin* clause (instead of *ut non*) in 456 (see n.). **ne...fuerint**: jussive subjunctive, perfect tense in prohibition. **morae...dispendia**: lit. "the expenditures of delay," meaning "the loss consisting of delay." **tanti**: genitive of value, "of such importance."
- 454-5. **increpitem...vocet...possis**: concessive subjunctives after *quamvis*. **sinus**: of the sails. **secundos**: epithet transferred\* (from implied "winds") to the sails that the wind blows. "The voyage invites the sails into the deep" (Conington).
456. **quin adeas**: *quin* is the archaic\* ablative *qui + ne* (lit. "by which not"); "that you not approach..." a result clause that picks up the construction from 453, which is interrupted by the *quamvis* clause at 454-5. For this use of *quin*, see AG §559.1.
457. **ipsa canat**: "that with her own lips she utter her oracles," i.e. Aeneas is to ask that the Sibyl speak her answer to him, not entrust it to leaves. **canat...resolvat**: subjunctives in indirect command after *poscas*, in parataxis\* (since there is no *ut*). **volens**: "willingly," "graciously," customary in prayers, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.16 *lauro cinge volens*, *Melpomene, comam*; Livy 7.26 *precatus...volens propitius adesset*.
459. **fugiasque ferasque...**: (alliterative\*) subjunctives in indirect question after *expediet* (460). **-que...-que**: construe disjunctively, i.e. flee *or* endure, cf. 2.37 n., 6.892.
460. **venerata**: deponent participle, passive in meaning (cf. 125, 475); it modifies the Sibyl, *illa* in 458.
461. **haec sunt quae...liceat**: *liceat* is subjunctive in a relative clause of characteristic, "these are things of the sort about which it is permitted that I warn you."
462. **ingentem...**: proleptic\*, "by your deeds raise Troy (which will be) huge (*ingentem*) to the heavens." *Ingens*, here meaning "great," "powerful," "glorious," contrasts with *parva Troia* (349), i.e. Buthrotum.
- 463-505. *Helenus and Andromache give the Trojans farewell gifts. Aeneas prays that their cities may one day be one Troy in spirit.*

The farewell scene, like the opening scene, is indirect and suggestive: despite Anchises' expressed impatience to depart (472-3), Helenus talks at some length, as he is aware (480-1),

- repeating instructions already given. He hails Anchises as lucky in the *pietas* of his son (480). (Helenus and Andromache have no children.) In the opening scene, Andromache mourned her dead husband; in this closing she mourns her dead son, reflected (in her eyes) in Ascanius. Her words imply that she will never see Aeneas and Ascanius again. Aeneas, however, looks to the future in his prayer for their two cities, exhorting Helenus and Andromache to live “fortunate,” since they have achieved “quietude,” which he contrasts with his own fate of continued seeking (494-7).
463. **Quae:** connective relative equivalent to *et ea*.
464. **auro gravia ac secto elephanto:** “heavy with gold and sawn ivory,” may refer to ivory plates, used for inlaying (as in Hom. *Od.* 18.196, 19.564). **gravia...:** the manuscript reading *gravia sectoque elephanto*, which requires the lengthening of the final *a* of the neuter plural *gravia*, has no parallel in Vergil. The emendation *gravia ac secto elephanto*, accepted by Williams and Horsfall, is therefore preferable, although it entails unusual hiatus\* between *secto* and *elephanto*.
466. **ingens argentum:** “huge (amount of) silver.” **Dodonaeos:** i.e. like those hung from the oaks at Dodona; see 117 n. on such adjectival forms. Priests struck these hanging kettles (*lebetas*) and interpreted the resulting sounds.
467. **loricam...:** “a breast-plate sewn together with links and triple-meshed with gold,” i.e. chainmail (Horsfall). The first part of the phrase describes the *lorica* as a piece of chain-armor; the second, the material of which it was made.
469. **sunt et sua dona parenti:** here, *sua* is not reflexive, but means “for him,” “suiting him.” Thus, “there are, too, his own special gifts for my father,” i.e. not military equipment.
470. **equos:** Buthrotum was in Epirus (cf. 503), a region celebrated for horses, cf. *Geo.* 1.59. **duces:** “guides,” “pilots,” not typical parting gifts. Note that this is a half line, cf. 218 n.
471. **remigium:** = *remiges*, cf. 296. **supplet:** to replace the men Aeneas had lost or left in Crete (190).
473. **feret...:** imperfect subjunctive in negative purpose clause, “in order that there not be a delay to the favorable wind.” Note the postposition of *ne*. **vento:** dative of reference. **ferenti:** lit. “bearing,” the accusative *navis* being implicit, cf. 4.430 *ventosque ferentis*.
474. **quem:** connecting relative, equivalent to *et eum*.
475. **coniugio:** ablative after *dignate*. **Anchisa:** the Greek vocative form ends with an *eta* (long *e*). In 6.126 there is the same variation between *Anchisiade* and *Anchisiada*. **dignate:** vocative of the perfect participle of deponent with passive meaning (similarly *venerata*, cf. 460 n.). Servius *ad loc.* notes the more often active sense of *dignor*, as in 1.335.
476. **bis...:** Anchises had been saved both when Troy was destroyed by the Greeks, and also when it was sacked by Hercules, who had been defrauded by Laomedon, cf. 2.610 n. **Pergameis...ruinis:** with no main caesura; see 117 n. on the adjectival form.
477. **tibi:** ethical dative.
478. **praeterlabare:** second singular subjunctive of *praeterlabor* (= *praeterlabaris*) in a substantive result clause, functioning as the subject of *neesse est*. Cf. AG §568, 569.
479. **pars illa procul:** supply *est*.
- 480-1. **quid ultra...Austros?:** “why do I proceed further and, with talking, delay the rising breeze?” **fando:** gerund from *for, fari*.

482. **nec minus Andromache:** Andromache shows “no less” (purpose) in giving gifts to Ascanius (cf. 484 n.), i.e. than Helenus showed to Anchises. **digressu maesta supremo:** “mournful at the last parting.”
483. **picturatas...:** “figured with embroidery of gold.” **subtegmine:** the gold thread “woven” or “worked into” the cloth.
484. **Phrygiam...chlamydem:** an embroidered mantle in Phrygian (Trojan) style, i.e. presumably with bright colors, an ornate design, perhaps a border, and gold trim or other ornamentation. By contrast, Roman women of the Republic and Early Empire wore outer garments (*stolae*) that were often dyed, but not richly decorated and patterned (Symons (1987) 23). In 4.216-17 Iarbas will insult Aeneas’ Trojan dress. The future (male) Romans will, of course, wear the toga (1.282 n.). **nec cedit honore:** probably “nor does she (Andromache) yield (to Helenus) in honor,” i.e. in the gifts which she bestows on Ascanius. Grimm (1967) suggests that Andromache, as she speaks, puts the clothes on Ascanius.
487. **sint...testentur:** subjunctives in a relative clause of purpose — “that they may be to you memorials of my hands and bear witness to the enduring love of Andromache...” **longum:** agrees strictly with *amore*, but applies also to *testentur*; the gifts are to bear enduring witness of enduring love. Elision\* draws out *longum*. Andromache’s reference to herself by name lends pathos.
488. **coniugis Hectoreae:** “the Hectorean spouse.” In identifying herself as the wife of Hector, Andromache recalls her earlier tending of his empty tomb (*Hectoreum...tumulum...inanem* 304) and her moral/emotional status as an *univira*. **dona extrema:** “last/parting gifts”; they parallel her offerings (*tristia dona* 301) at Hector’s cenotaph, as described by Aeneas.
489. **sola...super:** = *quae sola super es*. Astyanax is thrown from the walls of Troy by the Greeks, as Andromache anticipates at Hom. *Il.* 24.734-6. (This murder is a subject of Euripides’ *Troades*.) Astyanax’s death prefigures the deaths of other young men in the poem, e.g. Lausus, Pallas, Euryalus, Marcellus.
- Ascanius would look like Astyanax if he looked like his uncle Hector, not, i.e., like his own father. By contrast, as Bettini observes, Dido sees in Ascanius an image of Aeneas (4.83-5). Vergil gives no indications of what Aeneas looks like (Griffith (1985) 309-19). See West (1983) 257-67 for comparison of the widows, Andromache and Dido.
490. **sic oculos...ferebat:** “thus he showed (or “moved”) his eyes...”
491. **et nunc...pubesceret:** “and now he would be a youth of like age with you,” the apodosis of a present contrary-to-fact condition (with the protasis “if he were alive” implied); *pubesceret* is imperfect subjunctive. **aequali...aevo:** ablative of description.
493. **vivite felices...:** “live fortunate” (or “happily”). **quibus:** dative of reference with understood *vos* (or *felices*) as antecedent.
- 494-5. **iam sua:** note the diaeresis\*, followed by asyndeton\* (*nos alia ex aliis...*), making the contrast emphatic. Note that the contrast that Aeneas describes is between two states more or less bad, not between happy and sad (Cova *ad loc.*). Despite his (unvoiced) negative responses to the perceived sterility of this imitation Troy, Aeneas makes a graceful, affirmative speech in parting. Cf. Most (2001) 162. **nos...vobis:** note the emphatic contrast; *vobis* is dative of reference. **parta quies:** supply *est*. Given the spiritless nature of *quies* in Buthrotum, readers and Aeneas himself might see Aeneas’ seemingly endless searching as nevertheless preferable. “It is the fate only of the dead to be finished” (Bettini (1997) 27).

496-7: **arva...quaerenda**: that the fields are still “to be sought” is emphasized through hyperbaton\* and enjambment\*; for Aeneas, the fields not only are not getting closer, they seem ever farther away (*semper cedentia retro*). These verses express the felt distance of his goal. **effigiem**: “you see an image.” Bettini (1997) 26-7: “The (Buthrotum) Trojans console themselves for their irreparable loss by contemplating the image of something that no longer exists.”

498-9. **melioribus...auspiciis**: ablative of attendant circumstance — “under better auspices...I pray (*opto*), and which will be (*quae fuerit*) less in the way of the Greeks,” i.e. than Troy. **quae fuerit...: Troia** is antecedent; *fuerit* is future perfect indicative or perfect subjunctive in a wish, after *opto*.

500-5. Very lit.: “If ever I will have entered into (*intraro*, syncopated\* future perfect)... and will see (*cernam*) the walls... then (*olim*)... we will make (*faciemus*) our kindred (*cognatas*) cities, our neighboring peoples (*populos propinquos*), in Epirus and in Hesperia, (cities/peoples) to whom (*quibus*) there is the same Dardanus (*idem Dardanus*) (as) founder (*auctor*) and the same misfortunes (*casus*), each (one) one Troy in spirit (*animis*). May this care (i.e. the care to effect this) remain for our descendants.”

500. **Thybrim...Thybridis**: polyptoton\* of place name; cf. 2.781-2.

502. **cognatas...**: here begins the apodosis of the condition whose protasis comes in 500-1. *Cognatas urbes* and *populos propinquos* are governed by *faciemus* (504) and repeated in *utramque*, standing for *utrosque*, which is assimilated to the case of *Troiam*.

503-4. **Hesperia**: local ablative (as is *Epiro*). This is the reading in Servius and in a number of later manuscripts, though the reading *Hesperiam* is also well attested and is adopted by Hirtzel, Mynors, and Horsfall. **quibus...casus**: they are united both by common descent and common disasters.

506-20. *The Trojans set sail again, land at sunset, but resume sailing during the night.*

506. **Provehimur**: note the passive verb, cf. 1-12 n. **pelago**: “on” or “along the sea,” cf. 124 n. **vicina Ceraunia**: they sail northward because it is from the northern part of the Ceraunian mountain range that the distance between Greece and Italy is shortest. **iuxta**: the postponement of this dissyllabic preposition is poetic.

507. **iter Italiam**: the accusative follows the idea of motion contained in *iter*. **brevissimus**: modifies both *iter* and *cursus*, but, as often, agrees strictly only with the nearer noun.

508. **ruit**: “set” or “rushed on.”

509. **sternimur**: middle, “we cast ourselves down.” **ad undam**: “by” or “near the water.”

510. **sortiti remos**: “having chosen the oars by lot.” It was customary (in poetry at least) to decide by lot which of the crew would row in a particular position in the ship (Horsfall). In this instance, the crew draw lots on landing to prepare for an anticipated sudden departure, as Palinurus subsequently commands.

511. **corpora curamus**: “we take care of our bodies,” the verb denoting all bodily care. **fessos...**: again, exhaustion is a leitmotif of the Trojans’ wanderings. **inrigat**: “flows into,” lit. “waters.”

512. **orbem medium**: = midnight. Night is conceived as making a circuit through the sky, “driven by the hours” (*nox horis acta*); cf. 508. The juxtaposition of two clauses (lines 512-13) without subordination (parataxis\*) is characteristic of epic style. In this particular instance, it has the further appropriateness of emphasizing the haste with which Palinurus acts.

513. **haud segnīs**: “not sluggish,” i.e. very active (litotes\*).
514. **auribus aëra captat**: i.e. “listens for the breeze,” which is likely to change before midnight.
516. **Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas...**: Arcturus, the Hyades, the Trienes, and Orion are constellations, Orion being the only one in the southern sky. **geminosque Triones**: the twin “plowing oxen” or the Big and Little Bear, *Ursa Major* and *Minor*.
- This verse repeats 1.744 (from Iopas’ didactic song in Dido’s court), which is in turn an almost precise citation of *Geo.* 2.477-8. In both instances, study of the stars exemplifies the didactic genre or “science.” Neither passage mentions gods nor prescribes prayer. Palinurus’ reliance on “science” or “technology” is exceptional. See Adler (2003) 288-91, who argues that Aeneas ultimately adopts a religious (as opposed to a scientific) understanding of human experience.
517. **armatum...auro**: “armed with gold” because of the three brilliant stars that form his belt and sword. **circumspicit**: Palinurus “looks all around,” i.e. both south (for Orion) and north (for the other constellations; see 516 n.). **Oriona**: Greek accusative form. Here the first three syllables are long, thus creating a spondaic\* fifth foot that emphasizes the line’s Greek character.
518. **cuncta...constare**: “that all is uniform in the clear sky,” i.e. there are no signs of disturbance.
519. **dat clarum...signum**: i.e. by a trumpet blast. **castra movemus**: a military technical term, “break camp.”
520. **alas**: the “wings” of the ship are the sails; *velorum* (genitive of material) describes what the wings consist of.

#### 521-47: Travels in Italy/Sicily I – **Castrum Minervae**

- At dawn, the Trojans reach Italy and come upon a harbor, which has a temple of Minerva. Aeneas sights four white horses, the first omen in Italy. The Trojans’ landing at **Castrum Minervae** figures in the traditional Aeneas legend (Dion. Hal. 1.51.3). The transition from East to West has immense symbolic significance, as the Trojans enter a culturally different world, to be marked initially by the Roman (as opposed to Greek) custom of sacrifice that they there initiate. See 405 n.
521. **rubescēbat**: not found before Vergil (Williams), cf. 420 n. **stellis...fugatis**: “the stars having been put to flight.”
- 522: **humilem**: “low-lying” (Servius *ad loc.*), an ironically unimposing first view of the promised land.
- 523-4. **Italiam. Italiam...Italiam**: triple repetition represents the men’s celebratory shouting; elision\* intensifies the excited effect. **Achates**: although not mentioned in previous versions of Aeneas’ story, in the *Aeneid* he is Aeneas’ closest companion and most frequent escort among the men (cf. 1.120 n.). To him is given the honor of being the first to sight Italy. **clamore**: ablative of manner.
525. **cratera**: Greek accusative.
527. **celsa**: because the stern (*puppi*) was higher than other parts of the deck; the image of the ship’s tutelary god was placed in the stern. The phrase *stans celsa in puppi* recurs of Augustus (8.680) at the battle of Actium, as depicted on the shield Vulcan makes for Aeneas; cf. 10.261 of Aeneas with his troops.

528. **maris...terrae tempestatum**: objective genitives with *potentes*, alluding to the tripartite division of the earth into land, sea, and sky.
529. **ferte viam vento facilem et spirate secundi**: smooth sailing is suggested by alliteration\* of *v*'s, *f*'s, and *s*'s. **vento**: ablative of means.
530. **crebrescunt**: unattested before Vergil (Williams), cf. 521 and 420 n. Vergil is creating (or using rare forms of) inceptive verb forms for this scene in particular. **portusque patescit**: "and a harbor nearer now opens (to our view)"; the harbor is at first concealed by the projecting headlands (535 n.), but seems to open gradually as the Trojans approach.
532. **vela legunt**: a technical phrase, "furl the sails."
- 533-6. A brief ecphrastic\* interlude.
533. **ab Euroo fluctu curvatus**: the harbor "is curved into a bow shape (*in arcum*) by the East-wind waves." *Euroi fluctus* are "East-wind-driven waves." *Eurous*, -a, -um is a rare adjective. The alliteration\* of *s* in 533-4 perhaps suggests the sea (Williams).
535. **ipse**: sc. *portus*. **gemino...muro**: ablative of quality "(on either side) tower-like crags extend their arms downward with (i.e. forming) a double wall." **dimittunt**: i.e. towards the sea.
536. **turriti**: "tower-like" or "towering." **refugit**: "stands back" from the shore, i.e. on a hill at the back of the harbor.
537. **quattuor...**: in the Roman context, four horses suggest the four-horse chariot of the triumphing Roman general. Horses used in Roman triumphs were usually dark, white being the exception. Of the exceptions, real or alleged, Camillus (fourth century BCE; cf. Livy 5.23.5-6) is the most famous. Julius Caesar, after his victory at Thapsus (46 BCE), also used white horses in his triumph (cf. Cassius Dio 43.14.3 and Weinstock (1971) 68-71). (See also Prop. 4.1.32, Tib. 1.7.8, Ov. *Ars am.* 1.214 for instances of white horses.) Servius *ad loc.* says whiteness portends victory. Consequently, though the sight of the horses portends their use in war, Anchises foresees also, ultimately, peace. The sign, in itself, is, as often, ambiguous. (Anchises interprets an omen also at 2.687.) Heinze (1993) 248-9 surveys briefly the range of omens and prodigies in the *Aeneid*. **primum omen**: the first omen sighted in Italy, thus freighted with great (but ambiguous) significance.
538. **candore**: ablative of quality.
- 539-40. **et pater Anchises**: the verb *ait* comes at 543. **bellum...bello...bellum**: emphatic triple repetition, replicating the triple repetition of *Italia* (523), along with assonance\* of *armantur* and *armenta*, creating an oracular tone. **portas**: from *portare*, as of a messenger. "You carry a message of war." **bello**: dative of purpose.
- 541-2. **sed tamen...**: "but yet those same four-footed ones (i.e. horses) at times are accustomed to yield to the chariot and to bear harmonious (*concordia*, transferred epithet\*) reins with the yoke." **idem**: nominative plural masculine, as scansion shows, with *sueti* and *quadripedes*. **curru**: dative after a compound.
543. **spes et**: supply *est*, "there is hope also of..." Anchises' interpretation of the omen opens with war (*bellum* 539) and ends with peace (*pacis* 543), as Horsfall notes *ad* 543; but "war" and "peace" are not in perfect balance, as the genitive is the less emphatic case. The ambiguity of the sign, signifying both war and peace, is characteristic of divine signs, particularly as they appear in colonization narratives, 537 n. For Williams (*ad loc.*), however, any ambiguity is subsumed by the legitimacy of Rome's purpose: "This symbolizes the whole concept of the Roman mission: first war against the proud, then civilization for the subdued peoples." Contrast O'Hara (1990) 59.



544. **armisonae**: epic, compound adjective, unattested before Vergil. **ovantis**: sc. *nos*.

545. **capita... velamur**: middle, “we are veiled as to (i.e. we veil) our heads,” accusative of respect with *velamur* part.

546. **praeceptisque...**: ablative of cause in a “loose relationship to the sentence” (Williams *ad* 546-7). Translate: “and following the prescriptions of Helenus, which (*quae*, i.e. *praecepta*) he had given as the most important” (*maxima*) (cf. 435-40).

547. **Iunoni Argivae**: recalls Juno as patron goddess of the Greeks at Troy, cf. *Aen.* 1.24 n. The hostility of Juno remains problematic for the Romans for centuries following the end of the *Aeneid* (Feeney (1984)). **adolemus honores**: “we light up sacrifices.”

#### 548-691: Travels in Italy/Sicily II – Mt. Etna

The Trojans sail around southern Italy to Sicily. At Mount Etna, they encounter a certain Achaemenides, who claims to be one of Ulysses’ crew, marooned on the Cyclops’ island, when Ulysses and the other survivors of the Cyclops fled in careless haste. In this sequel to the *Odyssey*’s most famous episode (9.105-566), Vergil creates a narrator who gives an account of events that diverges from Odysseus’/Ulysses’ own; i.e. a narrator who rivals and “corrects” Odysseus, as, in much the same way, the *Aeneid* and Vergil himself may be seen to rival and “correct” the *Odyssey* and Homer. As noted in the Introduction to *Aeneid* 3, the meaning of Vergil’s allusions to Homer inheres in their *differences* from Homer. Achaemenides retells Ulysses’/Odysseus’ account in such a way as to reveal that hero in a new—and lesser—light. In his own narrative of this most famous of his adventures, Odysseus dazzles with his brilliant stratagems (the divine wine, the blinding of the Cyclops, the escape under the sheep, the name of No Man), although conceding as well his incautious arrogance afterwards that escalated his troubles. By contrast, Achaemenides’ narrative *omits* all of Ulysses’ brilliant stratagems, involves fewer days, fewer men lost, a less dominant role for Ulysses overall, and culminates in his abandonment of one of his crew. Achaemenides’ version, therefore, diminishes the magnitude and character of Ulysses’ heroism. Assuming this revised perspective, Ulysses’ adventures may seem overrated: there is room for a greater hero. Vergil shows Aeneas becoming this greater hero, whose defining virtue is not mere cleverness, but the moral consciousness implicit in *pietas*.

Further, in preferring death at the Trojans’ hands to death by any Cyclopean means, Achaemenides emphasizes the monstrousness of the Cyclopes, in the face of which he would choose any *human* fate (e.g. 606). The antagonism between Trojans and Greeks that has hitherto pervaded Aeneas’ narrative thus dissipates in the face of this larger threat to the human condition generally. The Trojans’ compassion for Achaemenides and their joint flight from the Cyclopes show Greeks and Trojans bound by their common humanity. Trojan compassion or clemency (first to Sinon in *Aeneid* 2, then to Achaemenides) frames Aeneas’ self-deprecating narrative to Dido.

Some commentators, noting the similarities between the Sinon episode and this one (similar wordings are 2.74 vs. 3.608-9; 2.57 vs. 590; 2.69 vs. 3.599; 2.75 vs. 3.608; 2.77 vs. 3.599; 2.81 vs. 3.617, as listed by Rammiger (1991) 56-7), assume that Vergil would have eliminated one or the other of these episodes in revision. Others, however, read these two scenes—with the one alluding to the other—as emphatic demonstrations of Trojan (Roman) compassion.

For other discussions, see Heinze (1915, 1993: 77-85); Lloyd (1957a: 137-8; 1957b: 397-8); McKay (1966); Römisch (1976); Kinsey (1979b); Putnam (1980) 11-14; G. W. Williams

(1983); E. L. Harrison (1986); Ramminger (1991); Cova (1992); Akbar Khan (1998); Hexter (1999); Nelis (2001) 48-56; Syed (2005) 201-4; Horsfall *ad* 588-691.

548-87. *The Trojans sail past cities of southern Italy and arrive in Sicily at sunset, but terrifying sounds emanate from Mt. Etna.*

The Trojans heed Helenus' full warning about Scylla and Charybdis. Nevertheless, new monsters confront them. Mt. Etna is a terrifying force of nature that cannot be defeated by force of arms. In Vergil's version the rebel giant Enceladus, punished by Zeus' thunderbolt, lies buried under the volcano, moaning and straining. Consequently Etna's eruptions may be read as reminders of *hybris* and divine punishment. Thus, both natural and moral hazards menace the Trojans in their new world. See Hardie (1986) 264 on the personification (*viscera* 575, *eructans* 576, *gemitu* 577) of the "moralized volcano." See Nelis (2001) 45-8 for the relationship with Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

548. **Haud mora:** supply *est*.

549. **cornua...:** supply *vento* after *obvertimus*. To change direction, the men re-adjust the position of the sail-bearing (*velatarum*) yards (*antennarum*), thereby resetting the sails.

550. **Graiugenum:** epic compound, archaic\* genitive plural of *Graiugena*, *-ae*.

551. **Herculei...:** "of Herculean (i.e. built by Hercules) Tarentum, if the story is true." Many local legends and names connect Hercules with southern Italy; Tarentum itself founded a colony named Heraclea in Lucania.

552. **diva Lacinia:** the temple of *Iuno Lacinia* on Lacinium, a promontory on the Tarentine gulf.

553. **Caulonis...arces:** "citadels of Caulon." **arces...Scylaeum:** compound subject; supply *se attollunt*. *Scylaeum* scans as four syllables. See Williams *ad* 328 n.: polysyllabic verse endings nearly always consist of Greek nouns. **navifragum:** "ship-breaking," an epic compound.

554. **e fluctu:** "(rising) from the waves." The Trojans could not have seen Etna before the straits of Messina. The Sicily episode, with its mythical monsters, does not aim at realism.

555. **gemitum:** personification\* here has more than ornamental significance, since it implies the presence of spirits in nature, cf. *voces* 556. Note the repetition of *s*-sounds in this and the following two lines. **pulsata:** by waves.

556. **fractasque ad litora voces:** the waves "speak" (cf. *vox*) when breaking towards (*ad*) the shore.

557. **exsultantque...:** "the shallows (*vada*) leap up and sands are swirled with the tide."

558. **et pater Anchises:** cf. 99 n. **nimirum...:** lit. "no wonder," i.e. "surely." **illa:** that "previously cited" Charybdis, i.e. of which Helenus warned us, see 420-3.

559. **canebat:** subject is *Helenus*; objects are both *scopulos* and *saxa*.

560. **eripite:** supply *vos* (lit. "snatch yourselves out (of danger)"), or *nos* (Servius), or *navem* (Horsfall).

561. **haud minus ac...:** "no less than," "not otherwise than," cf. 236 n. **rudentem:** expresses the "roaring" of waves around the prow as Palinurus turns the ship leftward.

562-3. **laevas...laevam:** emphatic repetition. **remis ventisque:** "with oars and sails"; a regular phrase for "using every effort." Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 12. 25 *ventis, remis in patriam omni festinatione properari*.

564-5. **tollimur...:** "we are lifted into the sky on the swollen water (*curvato gurgite*) and then,

- the wave drawn down (*subducta...unda*), we sink down to the deepest Shades.” **idem**: nominative plural, understand *nos*; here *idem* heightens the contrast, cf. 448. **subducta... unda**: ablative absolute expressing cause. **ad manis imos**: i.e. even below the water, into the Underworld; note the hyperbole\*. **desedimus**: the “instantaneous perfect” (from *desidere*) is unexpected after the present *tollimur* (564); hence it dramatizes the contrast.
- 566-7. **ter...ter**: anaphora\*, emphatic, cf. 421-3 n. **clamorem**: further personification\*; see 555 n. **dedere**: = *dederunt*. **elisam**: “dashed upward.” **rorantia vidimus astra**: “we saw the stars dripping” (i.e. with sea water, not with dew, as *rorantia* connotes), another hyperbolic\* phrase.
568. **fessos**: supply *nos*. **cum sole**: “with the sunset.” A change of wind may occur at sunrise or sunset.
569. **ignarique viae**: the phrase has both literal significance (unknowingly they have landed among the Cyclopes) and philosophical resonance, consistent with the metaphorical\* implications of the passage, cf. *Geo.* 1.41 and 548-87 n. **oris**: dative after compound.
570. **Portus...ingens**: a brief harbor ephrasis, cf. 533-6, *Aen.* 1.160-9, Hom. *Od.* 10.87-91. **ab accessu**: cf. 533 n.; “unmoved by (i.e. protected from) the approach of the winds.” Note the ablative of impersonal agent with *ab*.
571. **ipse**: emphatic, the harbor *itself* is good; but (*sed*) the nearby volcano is not. This description of Mt. Etna resembles that of other monstrous presences (Charybdis, Mt. Etna, and Polyphemus) in book 3. All embody awesome, destructive forces that challenge courage and moral judgment, cf. notes on 548-87, 578. Horsfall *ad* 570-87 lists possible sources of this description, including Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 2.234, 3.88; Pind. *Pyth.* 1.15-28. See also Williams *ad loc.*, Hardie (1986) 263-5. **ruinis**: in senses of “downfall,” “eruption” and also “destruction.”
572. **atram...nubem**: cognate accusative with *prorumpit*. “It explodes a black cloud to the sky.” **aethera**: Greek accusative.
573. **turbine...piceo**: smoking “with pitchy spirals” and “whitening ash” (*candente favilla*), with interlocking order\* of adjective and noun, creating a colorful description.
574. **sidera lambit**: “licks the stars,” i.e. with its exploding tongues of fire. *Lambere* expresses the movement of fire, cf. 2.682-3 n.
575. **scopulos avulsaque viscera montis**: “rocks and ripped away innards of the mountain,” perhaps hendiadys\* if the rocks *are* the ripped away mountain innards.
576. **erigit eructans**: alliteration\* and assonance\*, intensifying emphasis. **liquefactaque saxa**: “liquefied rocks,” a striking phrase.
577. **cum gemitu glomerat**: “rolls on with a groan.” **fundo...imo**: ablative of separation.
578. **fama est**: = *dicunt*, introduces an accusative and infinitive of indirect statement. **Enceladi**: Enceladus is one of the giants who rebelled against the gods in the myth of the Gigantomachy, i.e. the cosmic battle between the Gods (representing order) and the Giants (as representing disorder). Hardie (1986) e.g. 259-67, tracing allusions to the Gigantomachy on the cosmic, political, and personal levels throughout the *Aeneid*, interprets the monstrous Charybdis, Etna, and Polyphemus as parallel manifestations of the gigantomachic forces of disorder. These monsters have human counterparts (e.g. Mezentius), which it is the task of Aeneas, “champion of cosmic order,” and Rome to contain. (Cf. also 1.34-222 n.)
- Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.15-20) identifies the giant under Mt. Etna as Typhoeus. Scholars derive

- Enceladus from Gr. *en-kelados* (“within-noise”), which could explain Vergil’s choice of this version. See Paschalis (1997) 138.
- 579-80. **ingentemque...**: “and that huge Etna piled upon him breathes out flame from its ruptured furnaces.” *Aetnam* is subject accusative of *expirare*.
- 581-2. **mutet latus**: i.e. Enceladus (note the change of subject). *Mutet*, “turns over,” is subjunctive in a subordinate clause in indirect statement. Tremors and quakes result from the giant’s movements underground. **intremere omnem**: conflict of word accent and ictus\* in the fifth foot perhaps suggests volcanic eruption. Note alliteration\* of *m* in this and the following line. **omnem...Trinacriam**: the subject accusative of *intremere* 581, *subtexere* 582. **caelum subtexere fumo**: lit. “and under-weaves (*sub-texere*) the sky with smoke,” i.e. weaves a web of smoke under the sky.
583. **immania monstra**: the “awful portents” are Etna’s menacing noises.
584. **causa**: cf. 32 *causas* with n.
- 585-6. **aethra | siderea**: ablative of cause. *Aethra* is the shining brilliance of the *aether* (Servius *ad loc.*; 1.90 n.).
587. **intempesta**: generally translated “unseasonable,” i.e. “when no man can work.” Others take it as meaning *intemperatus*, “unmoderated,” “profound.”
- 588-612. *At dawn a ragged man emerges from the woods begging for rescue or death. He says he is Achaemenides, a member of Odysseus’ crew, inadvertently left behind.*
588. **Eoo**: *Eous*, -a, -um, adjective here used as a noun; “the Eastern one,” i.e. *Lucifer* the light-bringing morning-star.
589. **umentem...umbram**: “the damp shade (of night).”
591. **nova**: “strange,” not recognizably human. **miseranda**: shows sympathy. **cultu**: ablative of respect.
592. **supplexque manus...tendit**: stretching out the hands in supplication is both a natural gesture and also a formally ritual one.
593. **respicimus**: the Trojans, on shore, “look back.” **immissaque barba**: “a wild-growing beard.” Romans in Vergil’s time generally did not grow beards.
594. **consertum tegimen spinis**: supply *erat*. **cetera Graius**: lit. “as to other things, a Greek”; *cetera* is an accusative of respect. Despite his degraded state, Achaemenides is identifiably Greek.
596. **isque**: closely connects what follows with what precedes, “we recognized him as a Greek and he quickly recognized us as Trojans.”
- 598-9. **sese...tulit**: “he rushed.”
- 599-600. **per sidera testor, | per superos...**: anaphora\* expresses emphatic earnestness (feigned or otherwise) in oath-making, cf. 2.141-4, 154-61; 4.314; 6.458-9. **hoc**: demonstrative. **caeli spirabile lumen**: “breathable light of the sky,” a striking expression, as *spirabilis* normally describes air, cf. *Geo.* 2.340 *cum primae lucem pecudes hausere*, “when the first animals drank in the light.”
601. **tollite**: “take me (on board).” **quascumque...terras**: accusative of motion towards.
602. **scio me**: supply *esse*. Only in *scio* and *nescio* does Vergil allow the shortening of the final -o of a verb, especially in the phrase *nescio quis*.
603. **bello...fateor petiisse**: *me* omitted because there is no ambiguity, see 201-2 n. In

- confessing (*fateor*) openly to having fought against the Trojans at Troy, Achaemenides establishes credibility for his subsequent assertions, a type of *deprecatio* (Horsfall), the rhetorical strategy that anticipates and thereby wards off blame or distrust. Dido's *deprecatio* at 4.425-6 makes the very opposite point (noted by Servius *auctus*, cited by Horsfall *ad loc.*).
605. **spargite me in fluctus**: i.e. "scatter me (i.e. having torn me into pieces) onto the waves"; cf. 4.600 where Dido declines to inflict this punishment on the Trojans.
606. **perco, hominum**: instances of hiatus\* after a syllable lengthened in arsis\* (cf. 1.308 n.) are not common in Vergil. Here, this vocal disruption suits Achaemenides' emotional stress. **hominum**: made strongly emphatic by hiatus\*, and cf. 626-7. Achaemenides bonds with the Trojans as fellow *homines*.
607. **genibusque volutans**: "groveling at our knees," *genibus* is ablative of place. Supplication scenes are a convention of epic (see Rammiger (1991) 64-8 for examples), Priam's supplication of Achilles for Hector's body being the most important of these. Procedurally, a supplicant clasps the knees of the person whose aid he seeks (Macleod (1982) *ad* 477-8). Although supplications are often rejected (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 21.34-135), religious obligation does fall on the supplicated person to grant the request of a suppliant. (Cf. Crotty (1994) xi.) Anchises therefore demonstrates religious correctness (*pietas* broadly conceived) in granting mercy to the suppliant.
- For Roman readers this scene evokes also a Roman emperor's granting of clemency, since Achaemenides extends his hands to the Trojans (592), a gesture that "in Roman art ...usually indicated the subjection of defeated barbarians" (Rammiger (1991) 71 with n. 59). Granting of clemency, despite its surface humanity, affirms power over the recipients. "The grace granted to the enemy is the symbol of [Roman] triumph over the Greek world" (Worstbrock (1963) 75, cited by Cova (1994) lxii).
- 608-9. **qui sit fari...quae...fortuna fateri**: the disjointed Latin imitates the Trojans' terse, urgent questioning; cf. 2.74-5 n. **sit...agitet**: subjunctives in indirect questions. **deinde**: goes with *hortamur* (understood), "we first press him to say who he is...then to confess what ill-fortune..."
610. **haud multa moratus**: Anchises' grace to Achaemenides recalls Priam's to Sinon, both followers of Ulysses. (See 613-54 n.) Thus these instances of clemency on the part of the Trojans essentially frame Aeneas' narrative. **multa**: cognate accusative used adverbially, cf. 4.390 *multa cunctantem*, 395 *multa gemens*; *haud multa* by litotes\* means "very little"; cf. also 1.327-8 n.
611. **praesenti pignore**: the "present pledge" is the proffered hand.
- 613-54. *Achaemenides tells of joining Ulysses in the expedition against Troy. On their return, Ulysses and others escape from the Cyclops' cave, but Achaemenides is forgotten. He entrusts himself to the Trojans.*
613. **infelicis**: sympathy inheres in this controversial epithet for Ulysses, reprised by Aeneas in 691, where *durus Vlixes* (2.7) has become *infelix Vlixes*. For Cova (1994) lix-lxvii and other recent scholars (e.g. Kinsey, Khan, Horsfall), Aeneas' use of the epithet *infelix* suggests that he now experiences generous sympathy for all those who suffer loss, even enemies. This sympathy on his part would be consonant with the Trojans' compassion to suppliants and with the overall focus on humanity and reconciliation that closes this book. There are, however, other interpretive possibilities, since Servius *auctus ad loc.* took the epithet ironically, as an insult (*vituperatione*). By contrast, Odysseus' defining epithet in the *Odyssey*

- is Gr. *polutropos*, “resourceful.” For G. W. Williams (1983) 262-78 the sympathy implicit for Ulysses here as well as for the Cyclops (below) is strikingly inappropriate in the mouth of Aeneas. He therefore infers that in a previous version, the epic narrator, Vergil, in whose mouth such sympathy would be appropriate, told the story.
- 614-15. **nomine**: ablative of respect. **Achaemenides**: this name and character are unattested elsewhere, and are therefore likely Vergil’s innovations. Greek elements in the name, *Achaios* = “Greek” and *meno* = “remain behind,” suggest the meaning of “the left-behind Greek” (O’Hara (1996) 147). On the other hand, the name is characteristically Persian (*Achaemenes* is a Persian royal house name; see, e.g., Heinze (1993) 93 n. 43). Kinsey (1979b) 112 accommodates both ideas: “Achaemenides represents the world, and in particular the Greek world, in the relationship it is to have to a Rome playing the role Anchises assigns to it in 6.847-53.” See also McKay (1966) and Khan (1998) 259-63. **Troiam**: accusative of motion towards. **genitore...paupere**: ablative absolute. **mansisset**: pluperfect subjunctive in a wish unfulfilled in past time, creating an intensely emotional interjection.
616. **dum**: regularly takes the present indicative even when referring to past time. **trepidi**: with *socii* in 617. **limina**: note the omission of Ulysses’ stratagem of escaping the cave by clinging unnoticed to the underside of the sheep.
617. **immemores**: “unremembering” (i.e. of Achaemenides).
618. **deseruere**: = *deseruunt*, emphatically enjambed\*. **sanie dapibusque cruentis**: ablatives of quality with *domus*, “a house of gore and bloody feasts.” Asyndetic\* expression, reflecting Achaemenides’ agitation, continues in the next line (*intus opaca, ingens*) with ellipsis\* of *est* or *erat*.
619. **ipse**: the intensive pronoun, commonly used absolutely as “the Master (of a house).” Both senses are appropriate here: the Cyclops is “master” of his cave as well as “he himself,” in contrast to the house (618). “He, himself tall, strikes the stars.” The rhetoric of this verse is unusual: mostly adjectives, one verb (the first verb being omitted), followed by an emotional interjection in 620, as also in 615. **pulsat**: stronger than *tangit*.
621. **nec visu facilis...**: lit. “not easy to look upon or speakable to in speech for anyone”; the supines *visu* and *dictu* are ablatives of respect (cf. 1.111 n.). **ulli**: dative of reference.
622. **visceribus...sanguine**: ablatives after *vescor*. “He feeds on the insides and black blood of wretches.”
623. **vidi egomet...vidi (626)**: strongly emphatic; he is not speaking from hearsay. **duo...**: cf. Hom. *Od.* 9. 288-9, where the Cyclops three times repeats the act of making a meal of two men.
624. **resupinus**: “reclining,” since in his hugeness he does not need even to get up to catch them. Note the alliteration\* of *m*’s.
625. **frangeret ad saxum**: “smashed on a stone,” with emphatic placement of *frangeret* (after *cum* temporal in 623). **aspersa**: “spattered”; blood spattered over the threshold, which was consequently “swimming” (*natarent*) in blood.
626. **fluentia tabo**: “streaming with gore.”
627. **tepidi**: i.e. still warm with life. Note the effective alliteration\* of *t* and *d* in *tepidi tremarent sub dentibus artus*.
628. **haud impune quidem**: “not unavenged” (did he do this). **passus**: supply *est*.
629. **oblitusve...**: Achaemenides shows admiration for Ulysses’ trademark cleverness and audacity. **sui**: genitive after *obliviscor*.

630. **simul:** = *simul atque*. Note the chiasitic\* order: *expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus*. See 633 n. **expletus:** “gorged.” **vino...sepultus:** “buried in (sleep brought on by) wine.” Cf. 2.265 n.
631. **per:** “through,” “throughout,” suggesting the size of the monster; cf. 624 n.
632. **eructans:** the Cyclops resembles the volcano (576), both monstrous presences.
633. **mero:** Achaemenides makes no mention of Odysseus’ own tale of his brilliant foresight (Hom. *Od.* 9.213-15) in anticipating a need for the potent, divine wine (described at length in Hom. *Od.* 9.205-11) from Maron, son of Euanthes, priest of Apollo. He mentions merely *vino* (630)...*mero* (633). **nos...precati:** Achaemenides’ first-person plural verbs (*fundimur, terebramus, ulciscimur*) give agency to the men as a group, not to Ulysses; but in Hom. *Od.* 9.331-5 Odysseus orders the men to draw lots to see which ones will join him in the blinding.
- 634-5. **sortiti...vices:** “having cast lots (*sortiti*) for our tasks (lit. turns).” **una:** “together.” **circum | fundimur:** middle voice, either of the compound verb *circumfundere* (and therefore an instance of tmesis\*) or of the simple verb with the adverb *circum*. The sense is the same in either case, “we spread ourselves around.” **lumen:** = “eye.” **terebramus:** contrast Hom. *Od.* 9.375-95 where Odysseus elaborately describes how he sharpens an olive stake, hardens it over the fire, then uses it (with the help of four others) as a carpenter’s “auger” to “bore” out the eye.
636. **ingens:** “huge,” emphatic placement. **latebat:** “was hiding” under his savage brow (*torva...fronte*).
637. **Argolici...:** the “Argive shield,” devised by the family of Abas, was round, large, and shining (Servius *ad loc.*) — thus the simile\*. **Phoebae lampadis:** the sun. **instar:** governs the genitives *clipei, lampadis*, and is in apposition to *lumen*.
- 639-40. **sed:** Achaemenides interrupts his narrative to warn urgently *fugite...fugite*, a leitmotif of book 3, cf. 44 and 398 n. **funem | rumpite:** “break the cable” instead of the usual *solvite* “unloose,” because the men are desperately rushing; so at 667 *incidere funem*, “to cut the cable.”
- 641-3. **nam qualis quantusque...:** “for hideous and huge as Polyphemus (is who) pens the cattle...(so hideous and huge) are the hundred other Cyclopes...” *Qualis quantusque* is lit. “of what sort and of what size”; cf. 2.591-2 n. **lanigeras:** compound adjective found in, e.g., Lucr. 2.318. **haec habitant ad litora:** “live along these shores.”
644. **Cyclopes:** scanned as two longs and a short ultima (Greek nominative plural as in 269). Opening spondees convey the massive slowness of the giants. The rhythm of this line, with a weak (or trochaic) caesura\* in the third foot and no strong caesura in the fourth foot, is characteristically Homeric.
- 646-7. **cum...traho:** here *cum* means “during which time.” The present tense *traho* indicates that he has been and is still dragging out his (miserable) life (cf. 5.626-7 *septima...iam vertitur aestas, | cum...ferimur*). *Cum* clauses often take the indicative when the emphasis is on time specifically, not circumstance. **lustra:** animals’ dens. **Cyclopas:** here the first syllable is short, unlike in 644, 675. The inconsistency may reflect Achaemenides’ agitation.
649. **infelicem:** technically, “growing wild,” “not cultivated,” but also likely “wretched,” “miserable” (cf. 613). **lapidosa:** either “stone-hard” or “growing on stony ground.”
650. **dant:** sc. *mibi*. **vulsis...radicibus:** ablative of means, “grasses’ pasture’ (me) with their torn-up roots” (as if Achaemenides were a herd animal).
651. **hanc:** demonstrative, “this fleet of yours.”

652. **huic me...:** *huic* (sc. *classi*) repeats the *hanc* of the preceding clause. **quaecumque fuisset:** *fuisset* is subjunctive in secondary sequence indirect statement for what would have been *fuerit* (future perfect indicative) in direct statement: “to this fleet, *whatever it shall prove* (lit. shall have proved) to be, I vow myself.” Secondary sequence: “I vowed myself to this fleet, whatever it might have turned out to be.” **quaecumque:** “whatever,” i.e. whether belonging to friends or foes.
653. **addixi:** as a legal term, of the magistrate who “assigns” or “surrenders” a debtor to be the slave of his creditor. **nefandam:** “lawless,” “impious.”
654. **vos:** emphatic in opposition to *gentem nefandam*, “you (i.e. rather than the Cyclopes) take my life by whatever death (you wish).” **animam hanc:** = my life.
- 655-91. *Polyphemus, blinded, comes to shore to bathe his eye. Sensing the Trojans’ presence, he cries out to his fellow Cyclopes, as the Trojans flee with Achaemenides.*
- 655-7. Note the alliteration\* of *m*, elision\* over the caesura\* (657), and rhymed endings.
- 656-7. **ipsum...moventem | pastorem...petentem:** these noun/adjective pairs framing sequential lines emphasize the hugeness of the monster. **ipsum:** “himself,” “in person,” contrasting the actual sight of him with Achaemenides’ description. Vergil’s Cyclops neither speaks nor is spoken to (Khan (1998) 252). **litora nota:** familiarity lends pathos (Horsfall).
658. **monstrum...:** a famous verse. Heaviness and immensity are suggested by spondees\*, elision\* of first three words, and absence of connecting particles. **cui:** dative of separation or disadvantage.
659. **trunca manum pinus...:** new subject, “the trunk of a pine directs his hand and steadies his steps”; that a pine-tree serves the blinded Cyclops as a staff suggests his great size. Though Achaemenides’ narrative differs significantly from Odysseus’ (Hom. *Od.* 9. 371-400), the latter’s story of the blinding is confirmed by Achaemenides here.
- 660-1. **lanigerae:** epic compound adjective. **ea sola voluptas | solamenque mali:** “his sole pleasure and solace of his ill-fortune.” See 613 n. on the pity implicit here. **ea:** antecedent is *oves*; the pronoun is attracted in gender and number to the predicate nominative *voluptas*.
662. **postquam altos...:** the Cyclops must wade to deep waves and open sea (*aequora*) to bathe his wound; for a man of normal height, shallow water would suffice.
663. **effossi:** “dug out,” very graphic. **inde:** “thence,” i.e. with water from the sea.
- 664-5. **dentibus infrendens gemitu:** “grinding his teeth (and) with a groan”; *dentibus* is ablative of means, *gemitu* ablative of manner, expressing pain and rage. **graditurque...:** “and advances now through open sea (*aequor...medium*)”; *medium mare* is regular Latin for “deep sea.”
- 666-8. Note the dactyls suggesting speed.
- 666-7. **celerare:** an historical infinitive, used particularly to convey swift, sharp action; similarly cf. *incidere*. **recepto | supplice:** ablative absolute. **merito:** adverb, “deservedly,” “rightly” taken on board (*recepto*) because of his crucial warning to the Trojans to flee. **taciti:** cf. 4.289. **incidere:** because of the need for haste, cf. 639-40 n.
668. **vertimus et:** = *et vertimus*, poetic post-position of *et* (1.333 n.). **remis:** ablative of means.
669. **sensit:** note the emphatic placement and asyndeton\*. Despite the Trojans’ efforts, the Cyclops “senses” their departure — a touch of pathos perhaps — “and turns to the sound.” **sensit...torsit:** subject is *Polyphemus*, these verbs framing the line. **ad sonitum vocis:**



“towards the sound of the voice (of oars moving through the water).” For *vocis* cf. 556.

670. **adfectare**: sc. object *nos*. *Adfectare*, the frequentative of *adficio* (“lay hold of”), is used to express the repeated attempts to seize the ships, and follows *potestas* as an infinitive follows *possum* or *potis* (see next line).

671. **nec potis...**: “nor is he able, in pursuing, to equal the Ionian waves.” The wind and waves carry the Trojans away faster than the Cyclopes can follow; cf. 683.

672. **quo**: ablative of cause.

673. **contremuere**: = *contremuerunt*. **penitus...exterrita**: “profoundly terrified.”

674. **curvisque...**: “and Etna roared (*immugiii*) within its winding caverns,” cf. 92; *mugire* is used of both subhuman and superhuman beings.

676. **ruit...complant**: *ruit* is singular to agree with *genus*, but, since the *genus* encompasses many individuals, the plural verb is appropriate.

677. **nequiquam**: “in vain” because the Trojans have already fled to a safe distance. **lumine torvo...**: ablative of description; each has only one eye. The Trojans flee the Cyclopes without incident, an anticlimactic conclusion by contrast to the drama of its Odyssean model.

678. **Aetnaeos fratres**: either the Cyclopes of Aetna are all related, or *frater* means “colleague” or “fellow-inhabitant”; note the elevated adjective (cf. 117 n.). **caelo...**: “to the sky,” dative, cf. 1.126 n. **capita alta ferentis**: lit. “bearing their heads high.”

679-81. **concilium horrendum**: a “fearsome assembly,” *concilium* connoting especially an “assembly for consultation,” although no custom of consultation exists among the Cyclopes. **quales cum...**: “such as when...airy oaks or cone-bearing cypresses stand, a tall forest of Jove or grove of Diana.” **vertice celso**: “with their high tops” or “on a high peak” (see Williams *ad loc.*) **coniferae**: an archaizing\* compound adjective. **constiterunt**: = “have stood” and still stand; the gnomic perfect, corresponding to the Greek gnomic aorist. The penult is short.

*Silva alta Iovis* corresponds with *aëriae quercus*, oaks being sacred to Jupiter, and *lucus Dianae* (in her manifestation as *Hecate*, goddess of the underworld) corresponds to *coniferae cyparissi*, cypresses being especially associated with death.

Judgments of this simile are mixed. While Williams *ad* 679 f. terms it “a fine pictorial simile” with “powerful impact,” G. W. Williams (1983) 264 says “the serene poeticism of the simile” ill suits either the fearfulness of the assembled monsters or the perspective of Aeneas. (See 613 n.)

This is the only simile in book 3, no other book having so few. Would Vergil have added similes during his anticipated revisions? Or did he choose not to characterize Aeneas as given to figurative language here? (Book 2, by contrast, has nine similes.) While Aeneas is not characterized as a self-conscious story-teller, Odysseus concludes his narrative to the Phaeacians by calling his words a *muthos*, a story, that he has told conspicuously well (*Od.* 12.450-3).

682-3. **agit...excutere**: “drives (us) to shake out (*excutere*) the sheets (*rudentis*) no matter where (i.e. in any direction) (*quocumque*).”

684-6. **contra iussa monent...** both text and translation of these famously difficult lines are disputed. The narrative situation is that the Trojans find themselves, in their haste to escape from the Cyclopes, sailing north with the wind towards Scylla and Charybdis. Recalling Helenus’ warnings to avoid these, however, they decide to reverse course, when suddenly a wind comes *from* the north and they easily resume their destined journey. I have adopted

Horsfall's text (for his full discussion, see his notes on 684-6). Translate: "but, the orders (*iussa*) of Helenus warn (*monent*) that I not hold the course (*ni teneam cursus*) between Scylla and Charybdis (*Scyllamque Charybдинque | inter*), on both sides (*utrimque*) a way of death (*viam leti*) with little difference" (*discrimine parvo*).

This assumes *teneam* for Hirtzel's *teneant*, and *utrimque* for *utramque*; *viam* is in apposition to *cursus* (accusative, object of *teneam*) and *inter* in anastrophe\* with *Scyllam* and *Charybдин*.

684. **contra**: "but," "on the other hand."

685. **inter**: in anastrophe\* with the preceding objects *Scyllam atque Charybдинque*, cf., e.g., *Aen.* 1.218 *spemque metumque inter*. **utrimque**: "from both sides." **discrimine parvo**: ablative of quality or description, pertaining to *viam*; the path is one "of little difference of death" between the one and the other.

686. **ni**: archaic for *ne* (see Servius *ad loc.*: *antiqui "ni" pro "ne" ponebant*). **teneam**: subjunctive in indirect command. **certum est**: sc. *nobis* or *mibi*.

687. **Boreas**: the North wind.

688-9. **vivo...ostia saxo | Pantagiae**: "the mouth of the Pantagias (river) (formed) of living rock." *Vivo* means "living," i.e. "natural," "uncut" with *saxo*, ablative of description. **praetervehor**: of travel, "drive," "ride," or "sail by." **Megaros**: adjective with *sinus*. **iacentem**: "low-lying." Megara and Thapsus are towns north of Syracuse on Sicily's east coast.

690-1. **talia**: "such places," i.e. these and other similar places. **relegens errata retrorsus | litora**: "retracing again (lit. backwards) the shores by which he had wandered," i.e. when he had come north with Ulysses from the land of the Lotus Eaters. **errata**: passive participle meaning "traversed" or "passed in wandering." **infelicis Vlixis**: Servius *auctus ad loc.*, anticipating many current readings, says the epithet is "incongruous," unless Aeneas, as a pious man, pities even an enemy (*etiam hostis miseretur*) who suffers similar wanderings. Cf. notes on 613, 660.

### 692-718: Travels in Italy/Sicily III – Sicily, Drepanum, and the death of Anchises

Aeneas' narrative of this final stage of the Trojans' travels before their shipwreck in Carthage resembles a *periplus* (a "sailing-around"), a genre popular in the Hellenistic period. Epic models of sea travel are, of course, the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica*; the more narrowly conceived *periplus* or sea travelogue exemplifies the Hellenistic taste for learning (aetiologies), wordplay (etymologies\*), and self-conscious poetic style (cf. the apostrophe to *Arethusa* 696, *Selinus* 705; the carefully balanced structure). See 401 n. on the poetic importance of such learned display.

The learning and style of these lines is felt by some scholars to be out of character for Aeneas as narrator (G. W. Williams (1983) 265). Further, in looking ahead to the founding of Syracuse (Camarina was a colony founded from Syracuse in 598 BCE), Aeneas exceeds the bounds of what he (in ca. 1200 BCE) could know. On the other hand, Horsfall (*ad* 692-707), defending the appropriateness of this passage, asserts that Vergil is indifferent to such disparities: "V. cares little that here he is not writing *ex sua persona*, or that his detail, on Aeneas' lips, opens him to criticism...If his characters speak sometimes more like Alexandrinising scholars than Homeric heroes, that does not trouble him much..."

As it stands, whether rhetorically appropriate to Aeneas or not, this passage serves a transitional function. As Williams *ad* 689 puts it: "V. makes great use of the poetic possibilities of proper names of places" to effect a transition from mythical monsters to

history and the realities of colonization and city-founding.

The passage is elaborately structured: five verses for Syracuse (692-6), the opening entry, and five for Drepanum (707-11) in closing; one for Selinus (705), two for Acragas (703-4), three for Camarina and Gela together (700-2). Each of the three opening lines begins with a geographical place name. Greek prosody is used for Greek names (e.g. the lengthened *e* in *Alpheum* (694), and lengthening of the final syllable (cf. 1.308 n.) of *Gela* in 702).

See Geymonat (1993) 323-31; Lacroix (1993) 131-55; Nelis (2001) 49-56; O'Hara (1996) 70, 92 for bilingual etymological wordplay; Parke (1941) for Vergil's possible use of a source on the origins of Sicilian cities and related oracles.

692-706. *The Trojans worship the Great Gods at Ortygia, passing Helorus, Pachynum, Camarina, Gela, Agrigentum, Selinus, Lilybaeum, and arrive at Drepanum.*

692. **Sicanio praetenta sinu:** "stretched in front of a Sicilian bay"; *sinu* is dative after a compound verb. This Sicilian bay, destined to become the famous harbor of Syracuse, is protected from the sea by the island of Ortygia on the north and the promontory of Plemyrion on the south. **Sicanio:** = *Siculo*. The poet names Ortygia, Syracuse having not yet been founded. (Ortygia was also an ancient name of Delos, birthplace of Diana, see 124 n.)

693. **Plemyrion undosum:** throughout this passage Vergil employs bilingual etymological wordplays by applying Latin epithets to Greek nouns which suggest the derivation of the latter. Here *undosum* suggests the derivation from Greek *plemmyris* "flood-tide," "flood." Cf. also (with notes) *stagnantis Helori* 698 and *arduus Acragas* 703. **dixere:** *dixerunt* = "they named." **priores:** "men of old."

694-5. **Alpheum...:** the indirect statement (*amnem egisse*) which follows *fama est* breaks off at *mare; qui...undis* (696) is direct speech. The Alpheus, a river of the Peloponnese, twice passes underground in its course. The myth is that the goddess Diana (=Artemis) rescued the nymph Arethusa from the pursuit of Alpheus by changing her into the fountain Arethusa in Ortygia; but Alpheus pursued her under the sea and mingled his stream with hers. Note the elision\* joining *Ortygiam* and *Alpheum*. Cf. *Ecl.* 10.1-6.

696. **ore...tuo:** apostrophe\* here and at 705 are termed "inane" in the mouth of Aeneas as narrator (G. W. Williams (1983) 266).

697. **iussi...:** nominative plural; who had "commanded" them or who were the *numina magna loci* is not specified.

698. **stagnantis Helori:** bilingual etymological wordplay (cf. 693 n.), Greek *helos* being a "marsh" or "swamp," and *Helorus* a river in SE Sicily; see 693 n.

699. **hinc:** temporal. **Pachyni:** *Pachynus* is a promontory of southeastern Sicily.

700. **radimus:** "scrape," "graze"; the expression comes from chariot-racing, where the charioteers, rounding the *meta* that marks the limit of the course, almost "graze" it, cf. 5.170. The change from the singular *exsupero* in 698 to the plural *radimus* here is thought un-Vergilian by some scholars. **fatis numquam concessa moveri:** "not allowed by the fates to be disturbed," an expression similar to the Gr. *akinetos* ("unmovable") as applied to sacred things which it is sacrilege to disturb. According to Servius, there once was a pestilential marsh around Camarina, which the inhabitants wished to drain. An oracle, however, warned that Camarina should not be disturbed. After the inhabitants drained the marsh, nevertheless, their enemies advanced over the dry ground and took the city.

702. **immanisque Gelā fluvii...:** note lengthening of the final syllable of *Gela*, either because it comes before the fricative-liquid combination of *fl* or because it is in imitation of Greek

feminine nouns ending in a long *a*. The city is named for the river. Note the uncontracted genitive of *fluvius*.

703. **arduus...Acragas**: bilingual etymological\* wordplay (cf. 693 n.), *arduus* being the Latin equivalent of *akros* “lofty” in Greek.
704. **magnanimus**: an epic compound adjective, in the archaic genitive plural (cf. 1.4 n.); this adjective is used only here in Vergil for horses. **quondam**: “once,” “of old,” anachronistic, since when Aeneas visited Sicily none of the mentioned towns existed.
705. **teque**: apostrophe\*, cf. 696. **datis...ventis**: ablative absolute. **palmosa Selinus**: either “abounding in palms,” or, better, “conferring the victor’s palm,” thereby another etymological\* play. *Selinon* (Gr.), a kind of parsley, was used in the making of victors’ crowns in athletic games; see, e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 13.33.
706. **vada dura lego...:** “thread the Lilybeian shallows, dangerous with unseen rocks”; *lego* describes Aeneas “picking” his way through submerged rocks. **saxis**: ablative of cause with *dura*. See 117 n. for the adjective *Lilybeia*.

707-18. *The death of Anchises: at Drepanum, unexpectedly, Anchises dies.*

Other sources place Anchises’ death elsewhere (e.g. Pallene, the Thermaic Gulf, Arcadia, Italy itself). Anchises’ death here serves Vergil’s narrative needs, as his presence would not have been admissible in the following Carthage episode.

Vergil, as epic narrator, imposes a quiet ending on Aeneas’ narrative (*conticuit...fine quievit* 718), leaving his hero — who thinks that in Carthage he has found safety — in a mood of resigned repose. Nevertheless, other features of this close undermine the surface calm. Aeneas himself is at a low moment, expressing his sense of abandonment (*me deseris*) by his father and deception by prophets, both friend and foe, who omitted Anchises’ death from their accounts. For him, Anchises’ death calls into question the value of the entire effort (*Cova ad loc.*). With his faith in the mission shaken and lulled by a false sense of security, Aeneas becomes susceptible to the liaison with Dido, a significant wandering off-course (*digressum* 715). Above all, dramatic irony\* undermines closure for Roman readers, who know that no Roman can be safe in Carthage.

The effect of Aeneas’ narrative on Dido becomes clear with the first words of the following book. Disarmed by Aeneas’ story of misfortune, so undeserved (e.g. *immeritam* 3.2) and so filled with pathos, Dido overlooks the explicitly promised imperial destiny of the future Romans and responds to Aeneas’ trials with pity and even love. Dido might be best advised to eliminate Aeneas and the threat he poses, but instead she wants to marry him. (See Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* 1.55-6 on how to elicit pity; see Most (2001) 162 on Dido’s “reading” of Aeneas.)

707. **inlactabilis**: “unjoyful” because of Anchises’ death, an unexpected loss, cf. 6.112; an instance of “understatement” (Horsfall), demonstrating Roman emotional control.
- 708-10. Information is revealed in stages, building suspense and emphasis, climaxing with *amitto Anchisen* (710), emphatically placed through enjambment\*. **hic...hic**: anaphora\*, here intensifying pathos.
709. **heu**: a breaking-through of emotional control, cf. also 711. **curae casusque**: alliteration\* can have different effects in different contexts. Here it intensifies the elegiac tone. **levamen**: lit. “a lightening of grief.”
- 710-11. **pater optime...erepte**: the vocatives create authentic pathos (as opposed to 696, 705 above); *optime* is rather formal, consonant with Aeneas’ Roman, emotional control; cf. 4.291-

2. **fessum**: the exhaustion theme. **deseris**: reproachful and emphatic through enjambment\*, cf. *Aen.* 2.741-6 on the “loss” of Creusa. A sense of abandonment is recurrent in laments (Perkell (2008)). **tantis...periclis**: cf. 108 n. **erepte**: vocative for nominative by attraction to *pater optime*. **nequiquam**: “in vain” because Aeneas had hoped to bring his father safely to Italy; the word thus lends pathos. Cf. *Aen.* 2.709-10: *quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periculum, | una salus ambobus erit.*
- 712-13. **nec vates Helenus...non dira Celaeno**: seers never tell the whole truth, as Helenus himself warned from the start (379-80). The point is that Aeneas *mentions* the omission, and that he feels deceived. These lines are essentially framed with the names of the misleading prophets. **cum multa horrenda moneret**: *cum*-circumstantial or -concessive.
714. **hic labor...haec meta...hinc (715)**: *tricolon abundans*\* with anaphora\*. **labor extremus**: implying (ironically) that their arrival in Carthage constitutes safe haven, not in itself another *labor*. **meta**: the turning point at either end of a race course; strictly, either the end or the midway point of the journey.
715. **hinc**: connects with the narrative beginning at 1.34. **vestris deus appulit oris**: Aeneas addresses Dido and her people. The disposition of adjective/noun *vestris...oris* constitutes a formally elegant (108 n.) but substantively abrupt halt to his narrative.
- 716-18. With Vergil’s resumption of his role as narrator, readers are reminded that Aeneas’ long narrative was performed for an audience.
716. **pater Aeneas**: Aeneas is so termed only after his father’s death (with the exception of 343, where Aeneas is *pater* of Ascanius, not of his people). Previously the honorific *pater* denoted Anchises (Roti (1983) 301 n. 4). **intentis omnibus unus**: “alone to the intent (audience).” The phrase echoes the poet’s introduction to Aeneas’ narrative: *conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant* (2.1 n.). This framing device contributes to felt closure. The antithesis between *omnibus* and *unus* emphasizes Aeneas’ isolation.
717. **fata renarrabat**: “recounted” (not “told again”).
718. **factoque...fine**: ablative absolute; the coincidence of word and verse accent (*ictus*\*) creates a resolved rhythm. **quievit**: the final word, suggests closure.



# Aeneid 4

## Introduction

Book 4 depicts the tragedy of Dido, Vergil's most memorable character, in perhaps the most celebrated, influential, and moving part of the *Aeneid*. In book 1 Dido and Aeneas met, and Venus sent Cupid in disguise to make Dido fall in love with him. In books 2 and 3 we are to imagine Dido listening to Aeneas' narration of the fall of Troy and of his wanderings. In book 4, Dido resists but then yields to her love for Aeneas (after further interference from the gods), and to a relationship that she thinks is marriage, but which must end with Aeneas' departure for Italy (after Jupiter sends Mercury to remind him of his mission). The speeches of Dido and Aeneas after she discovers that he is leaving are brilliantly crafted masterpieces showing doomed lovers in an impossible position, as Dido rages passionately and Aeneas suppresses his emotions. More than half of the book—which is the shortest book in the poem—describes Dido's reaction to Aeneas' imminent departure: she deceives her sister, feigns an elaborate magical ritual, curses Aeneas in a way that has a lasting impact both on the rest of the poem and on Roman history, and then kills herself.

The book is a marvel of effective adaptations from earlier poems and genres; the reader should both admire the skill with which Vergil recasts and combines earlier material, and ponder the effects of our recollections of these models on our reactions to scenes and characters. Book 4 offers us, in Clausen's words, "a love story told in Hellenistic style," which is to say in the style of post-classical Greek literature, and "an epyllion or miniature epic, so far as the larger decorum of epic permitted, concentrating on the woman's emotion and ending unhappily." Romans of Vergil's time knew a Dido story in which she never met Aeneas (cf. references in 198 n.; 1.494–642 n.): either Vergil or the early Roman poet Naevius invented the story of their love. Dido's role echoes many models: the females and males who threaten to delay Odysseus (Nausicaa, Calypso and Circe, but also the Cyclops and Alcinous), the young Medea of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, worried about being betrayed by Jason, the older Medea of Euripides, furious that she has been betrayed, and the Ariadne abandoned by Theseus in Catullus 64. The importance of tragedy extends beyond the borrowings from the *Medea*, as the several allusions to tragic models and even an overt reference to a tragic character show (cf. 471 n.). In her death scenes Dido resembles Euripides' Alcestis, Deianeira the wife of Heracles in Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*, and above all the Ajax of Sophocles' play and perhaps Roman versions, whose proud suicide prefigures Dido's.

Like many tragic characters, Dido can be seen as ruined either by the gods or by her own actions and choices—or by both. We can see Aeneas in the role of Odysseus fleeing a female who delays his return, but also as Jason not only with Medea, but also with Hypsipyle, queen of the Lemnian women, from whom Jason departs on cordial terms. If Dido is like Ariadne, then Aeneas is like Catullus' Theseus, except that we know more of why he leaves. Besides the borrowings from Catullus, there are links to recent love poetry, including elegies written in the

previous decade about male speakers who neglect traditional Roman values when overcome or even “enslaved” by love of a woman; elegy is also recalled in the vivid depiction of Dido’s feigned magic. Love gone wrong was featured also in the mythical stories of “Sorrows of Love” summarized by Parthenius for Vergil’s friend the poet Cornelius Gallus. There are echoes too of Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura*, both on the subject of love (which Lucretius advised not being troubled about) and on the gods’ lack of interest in human affairs.

Book 4 suggests recent and more distant Roman history as well. Dido’s deathbed curse of Aeneas is presented as the “aetion” or origin story of the enmity between Rome and Carthage, as well as explaining why Aeneas faces trouble in Italy in books 7-12. The North African queen Dido is also linked to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and so Aeneas’ affair with her suggests those of both Julius Caesar and especially Mark Antony with Cleopatra: in leaving Dido, Aeneas does what Antony would not.

How to interpret these links to literary models and historical figures and events, and how the actions of Aeneas and Dido in book 4 should affect views of Aeneas’ mission, and of the poem’s attitude toward Augustan or Roman values, are complex and difficult questions. The book follows tragedy’s practice of presenting irresolvable conflict that can be looked at from different viewpoints. Dido’s furious anger against Aeneas is given full expression, while the feelings of Aeneas receive relatively little attention, though his mission has been explained earlier in the poem, and is affirmed here. Many have found Aeneas cold and unsympathetic, while others admire his willingness to sacrifice personal happiness for his duty. Certainly he is an imperfect hero, even though critics of some eras have tried to explain away any perceived flaws, and readers of book 4 should remember that at the end of book 3 he lost the guidance of his father Anchises. Dido can be seen as a victim of the gods or of Aeneas’ carelessness, or as a dangerous representative of unrestrained passion. As the latter she would be associated with her patron goddess Juno and with Allecto and other female characters in the poem, who are often associated with anger and lack of control (although in book 10 and 12, Aeneas will yield to *furor* in battle in a way that contrasts with the self-control he exhibits in book 4). Gender issues will also influence how we read the book: Juvenal 6.435 (part of a long series of authors who contribute to the “reception” of the Dido story) complains about a woman who “pardons Dido.” Both Dido and Aeneas live in a world in which confusion and misunderstanding seem inevitable: questions of right, wrong, duty, loyalty, piety, guilt and innocence are blurred and ambiguous beyond any simple resolution.

The bibliography on book 4 is vast. In general, see the commentaries of Pease (1935) and Austin (1954) (and a “Green and Yellow” Cambridge Commentary by Sergio Casali is forthcoming), and also Heinze (1993), Newton (1957), Pöschl (1962), Monti (1981), Commager (1981), Perkell (1981), Clausen (1987=2002), Horsfall (1990) and (1995), Nuttall (1998), Spence (1999a), and Schiesaro (2008). On models and intertextuality, see Pease (1935), Clausen (1987=2002), Cairns (1989) on Dido and elegy, and Nelis (2001) on Apollonius. On reception, see Starr (1991), Desmond (1994), Burden (1998), and Thomas (2001). Further references are given below for many passages.

### 1-172: Dido resists and then yields to her passion for Aeneas

The book begins with Dido’s growing love for Aeneas, described in alliterative lines of vivid imagery of fire and wound, much of it suggestive of treatments of love in Greek drama and epigram, Catullus, and Lucretius (1-5). Dido cannot sleep (as lovesick heroines often cannot); then the next day tells her sister Anna of her attraction to Aeneas but determination



to remain loyal to her dead husband Sychaeus, saying that to yield to Aeneas would be a violation of *pudor*, in a way that probably suggested to Roman readers their old notion that a woman should have only one husband throughout her lifetime (6-30; see 27 n.). Anna, playing the advisor role familiar from Greek drama and epic (see 8 n.), argues for the advantages both to Dido and to Carthage of yielding to her feelings for Aeneas, and persuades Dido to consult the gods (31-55). Dido sacrifices, but (as the poet laments) the omens cannot help her, though Vergil does not tell us exactly why, and to some extent the reader's ignorance matches Dido's (56-66). As she burns with love and wanders the city, Vergil compares her to a deer fatally wounded by an unknowing shepherd (66-73). More symptoms of love follow, and construction on Carthage stops (74-89). Juno and Venus, each thinking to deceive the other, conspire to have Aeneas and Dido meet in a cave during a storm that interrupts a hunt (90-128). The plan is carried out: the hunt begins with a simile\* (141-50) comparing Aeneas to Apollo, which corresponds with the simile that linked Dido to Diana in 1.498-502. The encounter in the cave is marked by supernatural signs that mimic or mock a real wedding ceremony (165-8); from now on Dido considers herself married to Aeneas (see 160-72 n.), but the narrator says that with the name "marriage" she covers over a *culpa* (169-72).

1. **At regina:** these words begin three sections of book 4, here, at 296 and at 504. **saucia cura:** "wounded by care/love," recalling Ennius, *Medea* fr. 216 in Jocelyn, fr. 261 in Warmington *amore saevo saucia*, Lucr. 4.1048 *saucia amore* (see extensive n. in Brown (1987) *ad loc.*), and Catullus 64.250, where Ariadne *multiplies animo volvebat saucia curas*; we are in the world of Greek/Roman poetry about love. Wound imagery will recur throughout book 4; cf. Newton (1957), Hardie (1986) 232, Lyne (1989) 179-81, Clausen (1997) 40-1 = (2002) 75-6, Nelis (2001) 130, Ross (2007) 33-4. On love supposedly being foreign to Roman epic but often featured in it, see Hinds (2000).
2. **venis:** probably an instrumental ablative ("feeds *with* her veins/blood"), but it could also describe place ("in her veins"). **caeco...igni:** "hidden," "unseen"; in 1.688 Venus told Cupid to breathe unseen fire (*occultum inspires ignem*) into Dido. Fire imagery will also be important throughout the book, and includes the word *cura*, derived by Varro and Servius from *cor urit* (see O'Hara (1996) 150 for etymologizing in 1-5). **carpitur:** "is wasted," "consumed bit by bit." Note the alliteration\* in 2-3 of *v*, *c*, and *m*.
3. **multa...multus:** recalls *multum...multa* in 1.3-5; applied to *virtus* and *honos* here, the words suggest both Aeneas' abundant supply of these qualities, and that thoughts of them recur to Dido frequently. **viri virtus:** Cicero and others comment on the derivation *virtus* from *vir*, suggesting that the word means "manly courage and virtue."
4. **gentis honos:** suggests both Aeneas' own ancestry and the Trojans more generally; Dido associates birth with quality, as would a Roman aristocrat (cf. her words in 12). **infixi:** used metaphorically here, then literally in 689 when Dido is dying. **vultus:** either poetic plural for "face," or a plural suggesting that repeated images of Aeneas occur to Dido; the latter would suggest the images of the absent lover as described at Lucr. 4.1061-2: *nam si abest quod ames, praesto simulacra tamen sunt | illius et nomen dulce obversatur ad auris*; cf. too below 83 *absens absentem*.
5.  **nec...dat:** "and does not allow."  **nec...quietem:** cf. the similar phrase used of Aeneas' anxiety at 10.217 *neque enim membris dat cura quietem*; for *placida quies*, cf. Reed (2007) 61.
- 6-7. **postera...umbram:** Vergil has many ways to describe dawn (cf. the full list in Sparrow

- (1931) 85-7); these two lines examine it from slightly differing perspectives (theme and variation\*). **Phoebea**: from *Phoebus*, “of Phoebus Apollo the sun god”; it modifies *lampade*. **lustrabat**: “move over,” “traverse,” but it also suggests illumination; cf. Horsfall on 7.148. **Aurora**: goddess of dawn, here modified by *postera* in 6. **polo**: from *polus*, “the end of an axis,” “a pole”; here (as often) “the heavens.”
- unanimam**: “of one mind,” “like-minded”— but Anna will dismiss the concerns that Dido enumerates in 15-29. Does this suggest that Dido was not sincerely committed to the lofty standards she sets for herself? Anna plays the advisor role like that of the nurse in Euripides’ *Hippolytus*, and that of both the sister of Medea (3.645-743) and the nurse of Queen Hypsipyle (1.668-97) in Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica*; see Nelis (2001) 136-9, Krevans (2002-3). **male sana**: “not sane,” “disturbed.”
- 9-14. The interrogatives *quae...quis...quem...quam...quibus...quae* are used in exclamation: “what dreams...!”; Vergil is also using polyptoton\*.
9. **insomnia**: neuter plural, “dreams”; Vergil adapts Medea’s words at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.636, and more generally the literary motif of the dreaming woman in love; cf. Monti (1981) 53. The reading *terret* would make *insomnia* a feminine singular and mean “sleeplessness.”
10. **hospes**: guest-friendship and the conventions for the treatment of guests in ancient epic provide one vantage point for viewing the relationship of Dido and Aeneas; cf. Gibson (1999).
11. **quem sese ore ferens**: “bearing himself with what an aspect,” though that is not a very literal translation of this difficult Latin, which would be “bearing what a self...!” The interrogative/exclamatory pronoun *quem* matches the case of the reflexive pronoun *sese*. *Os* means “mouth” (from *os, oris, n.*), and by synecdoche\* “face,” “appearance,” though it could also refer to speech (cf. 2.1 n.). **armis**: taken by some as from *arma*, “weapons,” by others as from *armus*, “shoulder”; it may suggest both, as at 12.433, where Aeneas puts his arms (and weapons) around his son Ascanius.
12. **genus esse deorum**: Dido has heard that Aeneas is of divine stock (cf. 1.615-18), and his story and the qualities she mentions here make her believe it; contrast 365 below.
14. **iactatus**: used of Aeneas’ toils at 1.3 (also with *fato* in 1.2) and 6.693. **exhausta**: from *exhaurio*, “go through” or more literally “drink to the last dregs.” **canebat**: the poet’s word for his own activity, it suggests Aeneas as “singer” of books 2-3, as Odysseus is of *Odyssey* 9-12 (cf. esp. *Od.* 11.368), but here it literally must mean “narrate,” since we cannot imagine that Dido hears Aeneas speak in hexameters, although Vergil might be playing with the idea of the overlap between himself and Aeneas as narrator in 2-3.
- 15-16. **si...non...sederet**: *sederet* is imperfect subjunctive in the protasis of a present contrary-to-fact condition. Its subject is the whole noun clause *ne...iugali* (“not to be willing” or “that I not be willing”), with *vellem* an imperfect subjunctive in a substantive clause. **fixum immotumque**: neuter in agreement with the substantive clause *ne...iugali*. **cui**: “anyone,” equivalent to *alicui*, which is not used after *nisi, si, num* and *ne*.
17. **amor**: here either Sychaeus by metonymy\* or the love Dido felt for him; in either case *amor* made her disappointed (*deceptam*) and deceived (*fefellit* < *fallo*) her because it ended with his death.
18. **si non pertaesum...fuisset**: Dido adds a second protasis, this one past contrary-to-fact, “If I had not been...” *Pertaesum...fuisset* is pluperfect subjunctive of an impersonal semi-deponent; *pertaeddit (mihī)* + genitive means “I am extremely weary of, disgusted at” (the prefix *per-* is intensifying). **thalami taedaeque**: “marriage-bed” and “torch” (= “marriage”).

Is Dido weary of or disgusted with marriage because her first husband died, or (as we soon learn) because she has rejected local African suitors?

19. **huic**: construe with *culpa*, but a temporary ambiguity allows a reader, before coming to *culpa*, to think *huic* refers to Aeneas; see Clausen (1987) 42 = (2002) 77. **potui**: expresses possibility and so the indicative can stand in the apodosis of a condition where we might expect the subjunctive (AG §517c; for *potui* with present infinitive, see AG §486a). **culpa**: Dido refers to the idea of yielding to Aeneas as a “fault,” “offence,” “wrongdoing” or “weakness”; cf. 172 n.
- 20-1. **fata Sychaei**: Sychaeus was Dido’s husband, treacherously murdered at the hearth (*penates*) by her brother Pygmalion (see 1.343-59). *Fata Sychaei* could mean “the death of Sychaeus” or simply “what happened to Sychaeus.” Line 21 is more specific, as often with clauses in Vergil introduced by *et*, and points to the former. **fraterna caede**: “the murder carried out by my brother”; the phrase is used by Ariadne at Cat. 64.181 of Theseus’ killing of her half-brother the Minotaur.
22. **labantem**: from *labo, labare*, “totter,” “be ready to fall”; either proleptic after *impulit* (“drives it so that it begins to fall”), or Dido describes herself as turned, tottering, and driven without quite knowing what came first, what next; for imagery of collapse see also 391 n. Cupid in 1.719-22 began to wipe out Dido’s memory of Sychaeus and tempt her with a new love.
23. **agnosco veteris vestigia flammae**: Aeneas makes Dido feel the fire of erotic passion just as Sychaeus did; Dido uses the same fire imagery as the narrator.
- 24-6. **sed mihi...**: Dido would rather have the earth swallow her up, or Jupiter blast her with lightning, before violating *pudor* and its laws. Is this the typically overstated and easy claim of a lover (Pease) or is Dido more seriously calling destruction upon herself, with a “solemn and awful prayer” (Austin; cf. also Hardie (1986) 269)? **optem**: “potential subjunctive of assertion, like *velim*, but a much stronger word, for *optare* marks an ambition or an ideal. *Dehiscat* (like *abigat* below) is a jussive dependent on *optem*” (Austin; cf. AG §447). **prius**: seems unnecessary to us with *ante* in 27, but its inclusion follows Homeric usage, and *tellus... dehiscat* is a Homeric phrase (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.182). **umbras, | pallentis umbras**: Vergil often uses epanalepsis\* to create pathos or suggest strong emotion (see Wills (1997)). **noctemque profundam**: does the adjective suggest the depth of the night, or the darkness of the underworld deep below the earth?
27. **pudor**: addressed by Dido in an apostrophe\* that also involves personification\*. *Pudor* is a key but elusive term. Kaster (1997) 4-5: “*pudor* primarily denotes a displeasure with oneself caused by vulnerability to just criticism of a socially diminishing sort... People feel *pudor* not only because they are seen, or fear being seen, by someone else, but also because they see themselves and know that their present behavior falls short of their past or ideal selves.” Dido may feel *pudor* because she had wished to remain loyal to Sychaeus; note her fear in 534 of the derision of the suitors mentioned in 35-8. But Kaster also notes that, for women, *pudor* “was largely limited to a single frame of reference—the sexual: the *pudor* of women is, in effect, congruent with their *pudicitia*, or sexual respectability.” Is Dido to be judged more as a public figure, or as a (Roman) woman? What laws or restraints of *pudor* would Dido violate by pursuing Aeneas, especially if she sought to marry him? Dido’s feelings also involve the Roman concept of *univiratus*, or a woman’s having only one husband for life, which in Vergil’s time was partly revered, partly ignored as old-fashioned. Only *univirae* could sacrifice to the goddess *Pudicitia*, but around the time of the posthumous publication

- of the *Aeneid* widows were strongly encouraged to remarry by the Augustan marriage laws of 18 BCE. Cf. Rudd (1990) 154-9, Treggiari (1991) 233-7.
- 28-9. **ille meos, primus qui** = *ille, qui primus me sibi iunxit, meos amores abstulit*; the convoluted word order reflects Dido's confusion and agitation, and adds emphasis to the first three words. **meos...amores**: "my love"; the plural is common. Sychaeus will in fact have and keep Dido's love in the underworld (see 6.473-4). Note the nine *s* sounds in these lines; the triple alliteration\* at the end of 29 may suggest archaic Latin verse like that of Ennius.
31. **luce**: ablative of comparison. **sorori**: dative of agent with *dilecta*.
32. **perpetua...iuventa**: ablative of time or duration of time, probably "for your whole youth," rather than "endless youth." Since Dido has been married, the logic may seem strained to us, thinking that marriage ends a girl's "youth," but the point is probably that Dido has not yet had a child. Dido should probably be thought of as having married and lost Sychaeus while quite young, and so as still fairly young (so Clausen (1987) 106-7 = (2002) 211-12). **carpere**: second singular future indicative passive (meter shows that the first *-e-* is long); for the meaning, cf. *carpitur* in 2.
33. **Veneris nec**: in prose would be *nec Veneris*; for the postponement of the connective particle, cf. 1.333 n. **noris**: syncopated\* form of *noveris*, future perfect of *nosco*, but to be translated as a simple future, just as the perfect form *novi* means "I have learned, I know."
34. **cinerem aut manis**: *cinis* is the "ash" of a corpse; the *manes* are the spirit(s) of the dead. Anna suggests that both body (*cinis*) and spirit (*manis*) have been buried. Several times in book 4 Dido's attitude, like Anna's here, will resemble that of the Epicureans, who taught that humans have no sensation after death; cf. notes on 209-10, 379, 550-1, and also Dyson (1996a) and Gordon (1998).
- 35-6. **esto**: future imperative, "so be it," "granted..."; looks forward to what Anna says next. **aegram**: in what way does Anna think Dido is "sick" (cf. *male sana* in 8)? With sorrow for Sychaeus? With disgust at her suitors (cf. above 18)? **flexere**: = *flexerunt*. **Libyae...Tyro**: probably locatives, though for Tyro we would expect *Tyri*; it may be a "local ablative or an ablative of origin" (Austin). **Iarbas**: an African king whose complaints to his father Jupiter will soon play an important role (cf. 196-221).
- 37-8. **triumphis | dives**: Africa is "rich in victories," but the phrase may also suggest the later triumphal processions of Roman generals victorious over Carthaginian foes in the Punic Wars.
39. **quorum**: possessive genitive with *arvis* introducing the indirect question that is the subject of *venit*; "and do you not think of those in whose fields...?"
40. **genus**: in loose apposition to *Gaetulae urbes*, as though Vergil had said *Gaetuli*. The Gaetuli live to the south of Carthage.
41. **infreni**: "without bridles," which is how the Numidians (who live southwest of Carthage) ride, but with the suggestion that they are themselves "unbridled" or uncontrollable. **inhospita Syrtis**: the dangerous sandbanks off the coast between Carthage and Cyrene; cf. 1.111.
- 42-3. **siti**: ablative of cause (AG §404), explaining why the area is deserted. **Barcae**: the people of Barce, a city of Cyrenaica actually founded much later; the word may also suggest Hannibal, who belonged to the Barca family.
44. **germanique minas?**: a half-line, left incomplete at Vergil's death; see 1.534 n.

- 45-6. **Iunone secunda:** Anna mentions Juno as patron of both marriage and Carthage, but suggests she is “favorable,” in ironic ignorance of her role in sending the storm that brought Aeneas to Carthage. **carinas:** literally “keels,” but a frequent synecdoche\* for “ship.”
- 47-9. **quam...quae...quantis:** cf. above on 9 for interrogatives used in exclamations. **Teucrum:** genitive plural; the archaic *-um* form (rather than *-orum*) suggests epic style. Cf. 1.4 n. **Punica...gloria:** would sound chilling for Romans, given how close Carthage came to defeating them in the Punic Wars; in one sense the phrase indicates what is at stake in the Dido-Aeneas episode, which provides a mythological “action” or origin-story for the enmity between Rome and Carthage (see 615-29 n., and the passages collected in Horsfall (1990) 128-31).
50. **posce deos veniam:** double accusative after a verb of asking (AG §396). *Venia* can mean “leave” or “permission” to do something, with no connotation of wrong, or it can mean “forgiveness” for a wrong done; Anna must mean the former. **sacrisque litatis:** *litare* is “to obtain favor by sacrificing.” Pease notes: “the ablative absolute here expresses a condition; if the sacrifices have turned out favorably Dido may assume that the gods favor her course of action.”
- 52-3. **Orion:** the constellation’s November setting is usually accompanied by storms (cf. 1.535 n.). **quassataeque rates:** Aeneas’ ships were “shattered” in the storm in book 1 (cf. 551 *quassatam...classem*).
- 54-89. *Dido sacrifices to see if the gods will approve of her love for Aeneas. Her passion grows, and a simile compares her to a deer wounded by an unknowing shepherd.*
55. **solvitque pudorem:** “and broke down her sense of shame” or “and unshackled shame,” i.e. set it free from all restraints. Cf. Medea’s farewell to shame at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.785-6, and above 27 n.
56. **pacem:** i.e. *pax deorum*, suggesting “freedom from divine anger,” “approval of current activities” (*OLD* s.v. *pax*<sup>1</sup> 2). Dido seeks to learn the will of the gods through extispicy, a type of divination that involved reading the internal organs (cf. *exta* in 64) of sacrificial animals. Austin wrongly says that this is “an expiatory ritual.”
57. **bidentis:** “sheep” that are one to two years old; at this age sheep have two prominent teeth, which appear to be their only ones.
58. **legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo:** Dido sacrifices to Ceres the lawgiver, Phoebus Apollo, Dionysius Lyaeus (cf. 1.686 n.), and Juno the goddess of marriage, probably for their associations with the founding of cities and with marriage.
59. **vincla iugalia:** “bonds of marriage”; Juno was sometimes called *Iuno Iuga*; cf. Feeney (1991) 133, Hersch (2010) 118-22. **curae:** dative in a double dative construction, with *sunt* understood.
61. **fundit:** may have *pateram* in 60 as its object, or may be used with no object, with *tenens* alone governing *pateram*.
63. **instaurat:** for the word, cf. 3.62 n.
64. **pectoribus:** the final syllable, coinciding with the ictus\*, is lengthened in arsis\*. See 1.308 n., Pease on 4.146. **inhians:** “gaping over,” “poring over.” **spirantia:** “living,” “palpitating,” since the entrails were consulted the moment they were laid bare.
65. **heu...:** if *vatum* here is possessive genitive with *mentes*, then the phrase means “alas, ignorant minds of prophets,” since prophets know nothing about the future. If it is objective

- genitive with *ignarae*, then it means “minds ignorant of prophets,” suggesting that the rites have been performed incorrectly, or that Dido and Anna misunderstood the haruspices. The reader’s difficulty in handling the syntax of the genitive *vatum* parallels the difficulty both Dido and the reader have in interpreting the entrails. Dido does not learn from the sacrifices that her love for Aeneas is going to lead to a bad end; the reader does not learn exactly why this happens. See O’Hara (1993b).
66. **est**: third singular of *edo*. For the marrow as the site of erotic passion in love poetry cf. Rosenmeyer (1999).
- 69-73. **qualis...**: Dido is compared to a deer wounded by an unwitting shepherd, just as Medea flees like a frightened young deer at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.12-13; the simile interacts with both literal and metaphorical “wounding” and “hunting” elsewhere in the book (starting with lines 1-5), and elsewhere in the poem. See Johnson (1976) 78-82, Lyne (1989) 179-81, Keith (2000) 113-14, Nelis (2001) 131-5, Clausen (1987) 43-5 = (2002) 79-81.
72. **nescius**: suggests that Aeneas is unaware of what is happening to Dido, and *letalis harundo* foreshadows Dido’s death. Cf. 2.345 n.
73. **Dictaeos**: adjective; Dicte is a mountain in Crete. The Cretan setting may suggest the deer is searching for an herbal cure for wounds mentioned by Servius here and on 12.413; see references at O’Hara (1996) 235-6, Nelis (2001) 133. **lateri**: dative, as if with *inhaeret*.
77. **eadem**: probably not referring to Dido but modifying *convivia*.
79. **pendetque...**: cf. Lucr. 1.37 *eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore*, where the breath of Mars, as he lies in Venus’ lap gazing up at her, “hangs from her lips”; the graphic phrase describes the listener with head upturned towards the speaker’s lips, so near that he seems literally to hang from them. Cf. too Catullus 64.70 *totā pendebat perdita mente*, of Ariadne’s love for Theseus.
81. **suadentque cadentia sidera somnos**: repeated from 2.9 (see n.), with the beautiful and sleepy alliteration\* with coincidence of word accent and ictus\*.
82. **stratis...relictis**: on the “coverings” of the couch, “abandoned” after the feast.
83. **absens absentem**: “absent she sees and hears the absent one;” the repetition in a different case (polyptoton\*) stresses the contrast between the physical absence and his constant presence in her mind. Dido feels the classic symptoms of love in Greek and Roman poetry, explained scientifically at Lucr. 4.1061-2 (quoted above in 4 n.).
84. **aut...**: “or charmed by the resemblance to his father she holds Ascanius in her lap, if possibly she may (i.e. in the hope that she may; cf. AG §576d) be able to trick her unspeakable passion.” Dido tries to cheat her love by displaying affection for Ascanius as a substitute for Aeneas; on substitution in book 4, especially of bodies, see Bowie (1998).
- 86-9. **non coeptae adsurgunt turres...**: love makes Dido neglect the building of her city, which was in progress when Aeneas arrived in book 1; cf. 1.437 *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt*. Models like Circe, Calypso, and Cleopatra can be seen as deterring a male hero from his fate or duty, but Dido herself is turned from her duty by her encounter with Aeneas.
- 87-8. **bello | tuta**: “for defence in war”; lit. “safe (i.e. affording security) in war.”
89. **machina**: probably a “crane” used in construction, and possibly suggestive of the device which brought gods in at the end of some tragedies (*deus ex machina*, Nuttall (1998) 46-7); cf. 2.46, of the wooden horse. Some think it refers to the “structure” of the walls themselves.

90-128. *Juno and Venus, each thinking to deceive the other, agree to work together to arrange a marriage between Aeneas and Dido. Juno explains that at a hunting party she will create a storm to drive Aeneas and Dido to take refuge alone together in a cave, where they will celebrate their "nuptials."*

Vergil imitates both *Iliad* 14, in which Hera (=Juno) seeks the help of Aphrodite (=Venus) in seducing Zeus, and the start of *Argonautica* 3 (itself modeled on *Iliad* 14), where Hera and Athena visit Aphrodite to get her to make Medea fall in love with Jason. The interference of the gods here follows that of *Aeneid* 1 (cf. 1.643-756 n.), and, to some extent, parallels Juno's interference with Turnus in books 7-12. On the gods here, see Konstan (1986), Feeney (1991); on Juno in particular, see both Johnson (1976) and Feeney (1991); on Jupiter, see Hejduk (2009); on the gods generally, see Horsfall (1995) 138-43, with further references, and Ross (2007) 61-76.

90. **Quam:** Dido, subject of the infinitive *teneri* in indirect statement. **peste:** suggests both "disease" and "disaster"; cf. 1.712 of Dido, Catullus 76.20 of his love for Lesbia, and *Aen.* 7.505, as Amata rouses the Italians.
91. **nec famam obstare furori:** "and that (concern for her) reputation does not stand in the way of Dido's mad passion."
93. **egregiam...:** the position of *egregiam* marks the sarcasm, cf. 6.523. *Refero* is regular for bringing home spoils in triumph, cf. 10.862-3 *spolia...referes*; *Geo.* 3.12 *referam...palmas*. In Tibullus 1.6.3-4 a lover asks Amor whether trapping him is a source of *gloria magna* for the god.
96. **nec me adeo fallit:** "nor indeed does it escape me" or "I know full well." *Adeo* usually emphasizes a single word (cf. 2.567 n.), but here marks the whole phrase *nec me fallit*, which by litotes\* means "I know well."
98. **sed quis erit modus:** "but what end/limit will there be?" Cf. *Ecl.* 10.28 *ecquis erit modus?* and especially Jupiter's words to Juno in 12.793 *quae iam finis erit, coniunx? aut quo nunc certamine tanto?:* "or where do we (go) now in such a contest/battle?" *Quo* means "to what place" and is not connected with the ablatives *certamine tanto*.
- 99-100. **quin...exercemus?:** "instead, why do we not pursue?" Cf. *Ecl.* 2.71-2 *quin tu...paras?* and see *OLD* s.v. *quin* A.1 and AG §449b. **pacem aeternam:** not eternal peace, but the enmity called for in Dido's curse (see 615-29) will mark the history of Aeneas' people and the Carthaginians; book 4 tells an origin-story for that hatred. Cf. 12.504 *aeterna gentis in pace futuras*, of the Trojans and Italians.
101. **traxitque...:** for the bones as the seat of inmost feeling, cf. 1.659-60 and n.; the image here could be of flame, or of poison.
- 102-3. **communem:** predicative, and emphatic by position—"In common therefore let us rule...and with equal authority." Only the *imperator* in a Roman army could take the *auspicia*, so *auspicia* and *imperium* often bear almost the same meaning. Cf. *auspiciis* in 341 and *paribusque in regna...* | *auspiciis* in 7.256; the latter suggests a parallel between the situations in 4.102-3 and in book 7.
103. **liceat...:** "let her serve a Phrygian husband and yield her Tyrians to your hand(s) as a dowry." The bitterness is marked. *Liceat* means "she may for all I care"; "Phrygian" is contemptuous for "Trojan" (cf. 215 n.), as is *servire* for *nubere*.
105. **Olli:** archaic\*; cf. 1.254 n. **enim** explains why Venus gave a treacherous reply: "for she

- knew that Juno had spoken with feigned purpose.” **simulata mente:** “with feigned feeling”; in the Latin *mente* one can see the origin of adverbs of manner in Romance languages like (to choose a word of opposite meaning) French *sincèrement* (“sincerely”), or Spanish or Italian *sinceramente*.
106. **quo:** introduces a purpose clause. **regnum Italiae:** the kingdom which Aeneas was destined to found in Italy. Juno wanted Carthage, not Rome, to rule the world (cf. 1.12-22).
108. **tecum:** goes with *contendere* but is placed earlier in the line to gain ironical emphasis.
109. **si modo...:** “if only (as I hope) fortune brings this about in the way you say.” The Latin is dense, as often in tough diplomatic negotiations. *Quod memoras factum* is “this deed, which you mention” and *fortuna sequatur* (which recurs at 8.15) is literally “fortune follows” but with the sense of “favorable fortune” as in the phrase *fortuna secunda*.
110. **sed fatis incerta feror...:** more dense and ambiguous phrasing, which Austin calls “an experiment in language.” Does *fatis* modify *incerta*, or *feror*, or the whole concept *incerta feror*? Venus’ feigned uncertainty conceals what she learned from Jupiter at 1.257-96. **si:** “whether.”
113. **tibi fas...:** “for you it is right to explore Jupiter’s intentions with entreaty.”
- 115-16. **nunc qua...:** “now by what means our present (immediate) purpose (*quod instat*, lit. ‘that which presses upon us’) may be fulfilled, briefly, pay attention, (and) I will explain to you.” *Confieri* for *confici* is common. **advertite:** sc. *animum*, “pay attention.”
117. **venatum:** supine expressing purpose, with *ire*.
119. **Titan:** the sun. **radiisque...:** “and with his rays will have revealed the world,” which was previously covered in darkness; cf. 9.461 *rebus luce reiectis*; Ov. *Met.* 8.1 *retegente diem | Lucifero*, 9.795 *postera lux radiis latum patefecerat orbem*.
121. **alae:** “the beaters on horseback.” Roman cavalry fought on the “wings,” so a troop on horseback was called an *ala*. Here the beaters act like cavalry wings, driving the game up on either side to Aeneas and Dido. **indagine:** “with a net” set up to drive the prey in the desired direction.
124. **Dido dux et Troianus:** temporary syntactic ambiguity makes it appear for a moment as if Dido is the *dux* (so Clausen (1987) 24 = (2002) 43). Dido is *dux femina facti* at 1.364.
125. **adero:** “I will be present,” i.e. as the goddess of marriage (cf. 59 and 166).
126. **conubio...:** virtually repeated from 1.73, where Juno offers a bride to Aeolus as a bribe. On the scansion of *conubio*, see 1.73 n.
127. **hic hymenaeus erit:** probably “this will be their marriage”; *hae erunt nuptiae* (Servius), but this word usually appears in the plural (cf. 99, and see Caldwell (2008), Hersch (2010) 239-42). That we are not quite sure what Juno is saying here is probably appropriate.
128. **dolis risit...repertis:** “and smiled at the discovery of her (Juno’s) guile”; *dolis repertis* is probably ablative absolute. For *Cytherea*, see 1.257 n., 1.680, and also Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.108, one of Vergil’s models here. Venus or Aphrodite is “laughter-loving” in many texts (cf. 1.228 n.), including Hom. *Il.* 14.211, another of Vergil’s models, but there Hera also smiles at the way she deceives Aphrodite.
- 129-59. *At dawn the hunting party assembles; Dido appears dressed in regal splendor, and, as Aeneas joins her, a simile compares him to Apollo. The hunt begins, and Ascanius longs for more dangerous prey than deer.*



- The hunt is depicted on the well-known fourth-century CE mosaic from a Roman villa at Low Ham in England; see Anderson (2006), who also discusses more recent discoveries.
131. **rara**: “meshed”; probably a general epithet of all nets (*retia*); some distinguish between wide-meshed nets and the *plagae* used for smaller game. With the nominatives in 131 some verb such as “are brought” must be supplied (by zeugma\*) from *ruunt* in 132 or *it* in 130.
132. **Massyli**: adjective referring to a people who live west of Carthage. **odora canum vis**: “the keen-scented strength of hounds,” though *odorus* elsewhere means “giving forth scent.” For the phrase, cf. Lucr. 4.681 *permissa canum vis* and 5.1222 *fida canum vis*, themselves based on models both in Homer, who speaks of the strength or force of a hero (*Il.* 11.690, 14.418, 23.720; cf. additional references in Pease), and perhaps in Ennius, who has *virum vis* (*Annales* fr. 229 in Skutsch = *Spuria?* fr. 5. in Warmington). The final monosyllable (cf. 1.105 n.) in a hexameter makes the rhythm sound Ennian or at least archaic.
133. **cunctantem**: “lingering.” The word works to heighten the reader’s sense of expectation: there is a pause before the central figure of Dido appears; cf. Segal (1990), Caldwell (2008).
136. **progređitur**: Dido is the subject, even though the horse was subject of the last sentence.
137. **circumdata**: passive participle with middle sense and a direct object (*chlamydem*) (cf. 1.228 n.); “wearing (lit. ‘having thrown round herself’) a Sidonian robe with broideder border” (cf. AG §397a and b). Looked at from a different perspective, *chlamydem* can be called a “retained accusative,” with the case “retained” from an imagined active construction; see 2.273 n., S. J. Harrison (1991) 290-1, Thomas (1992) 136-7, and Austin on this line.
- 138-9. **auro...aurum**, | **aurea**: for the repetition in different forms (polyptoton\*) with gold, see 8.659-61 and 11.774 with Reed (2007) 56, Wills (1996) 286, Hardie (2006) 28-9; cf. 1.448 for bronze. The purple and gold suggest the wealth of Carthage. **nodantur in aurum**: “are knotted onto gold,” i.e. onto golden hairpins or the like. Line 139 is a golden line\* (cf. 1.172), with two adjectives and the two nouns they modify surrounding a central verb, but that term was not used in antiquity, so it is just a coincidence that Vergil uses a golden line to describe gold. The richly stylized line adds to the stately and elegant feel of Dido’s entrance.
140. **Iulus**: alternate name for Aeneas’ son Ascanius, which stresses his connection both with Troy and with the *gens Iulia* of Julius and Augustus Caesar (cf. esp. 1.267-8 with n.). The name scans as trisyllabic, with the initial *I* treated as a vowel.
141. **ante alios pulcherrimus omnis**: for this strong superlative, cf. 1.347 n. and 2.426 n.; the whole phrase will be applied to Turnus at 7.55-6. Servius *auctus* notes that the adjective tells us how Aeneas appeared to Dido.
142. **infert se socium**: “moves to meet her”; *socium* modifies *se* in the reflexive expression *infert se*.
143. **hibernam Lyciam**: “his winter dwelling in Lycia,” where Apollo had a shrine at Patara near the mouth of the river Xanthus. The comparison in 143-50 of Aeneas to Apollo recalls that of Dido to Diana in 1.498-502 (see n.), just as the comparison of Jason to Apollo in Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.307-10 is linked to that of Medea with Artemis (=Diana) in *Arg.* 3.876-84. On the simile\*, which likens Aeneas to a particularly foreign and exotic Apollo, see Pöschl (1962) 60-8, Nelis (2001) 133, Weber (2002), Hardie (2006), Caldwell (2008), and Miller (2009) 7, 159.
146. **Cretesque Dryopesque...Agathyrsi**: the first *-que* is lengthened in arsis\*, see notes on 64 and 1.308. Crete is far south of Delos, the Dryopes come from the northern part of Greece, and the Agathyrsi from Scythia further to the North.

- 147-8. **Cynthi:** mountain on Delos; for its suggestion of Callimachus, see Clausen on *Ecl.* 6.3.  
**fluentem...crinem:** the eternally youthful Apollo is always represented with “flowing locks.”
149. **tela...umeris:** i.e. the arrows in the quiver on his shoulder. The allusion to Hom. *Il.* 1.46, where Apollo’s weapons clang as he arrives to bring plague to the Greeks, may suggest (as did the deer simile in 68-73) that Aeneas brings destruction to Dido; cf. Miller (2009) 159. For suggestions of the *Iliad* in book 4, cf. notes on 169, 173-97, 227-9, 238-78, 285-6, 365-6, 443, 554-83, 607, 669, 672, and also Hughes (2002).
151. **ventum:** sc. *est*; “they came”; the passive of intransitive verbs is often used impersonally (AG §208d).
152. **deiectae...:** “dislodged (i.e. by the beaters whose job it is to drive the animals towards the hunters) from the crag’s top raced down...”
154. **agmina...:** the deer “group together their dusty columns” as if they were in military formation.
155. **montisque:** the clause is appended in parataxis\*, but actually introduces an explanatory clause, “as they leave...”; cf. 6.361.
- 156-9. **at puer Ascanius...:** his youthful enthusiasm and desire for more dangerous prey provide a light note before the dark storm and its aftermath; in 7.496-9 Ascanius’ zeal for hunting leads to the start of the war in Italy.
- 160-72. *A storm descends; Aeneas and Dido take refuge in a cave, and their fatal union is accomplished according to Juno’s plan, amid thunder, lightning, and other signs.*

The encounter in the cave is modeled on the marriage of Medea and Jason in a cave (Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.1128-69), with less obvious suggestions also of their first meeting in *Arg.* 3.936-1145; cf. Nelis (2001) 148-9. Vergil’s passage suggests either a wedding or a parody of a wedding, and the event is described in such a way that it is hard to know what is really happening; cf. Johnson (1976) 163 n. 42, Desmond (1994) 29. From now on Dido considers Aeneas her husband; we are not told Aeneas’ thoughts.

Are Dido and Aeneas to be thought of as married? Most scholars think the Roman notion of marriage did not depend on ceremony or paperwork, but required “simply the consent of both parties that it was marriage” (G. W. Williams (1968) 382), but Hersch (2010) 51-5 now argues that public declaration of consent may have been necessary. The only marriages to which Roman law paid full attention were those between two free Roman citizens, but claims that Aeneas as a proto-Roman cannot marry Dido are highly suspect. The narrator uses terms suggestive of marriage in 166-8 (see n.), and every detail suggests that Dido thinks of marriage, from the stress on children in 33 and 327-9, to her every reference to the relationship (cf. 316, 324, 431). Aeneas will claim in a crucially important passage (338-9) that he never thought they were married, and for many readers this will be enough; others may think that in helping to build Dido’s city he was publicly acting like a husband (cf. Mercury’s insult *uxorius* 266). Later authors such as Ovid, Silius Italicus, and Dante refer to them as husband and/or wife, though this need not determine how we read Vergil. In fact the scenes most crucial to a determination of what was said or understood by Dido and Aeneas are never put before our eyes. It can hardly be an accident that in the second half of the poem the same is true of the question of whether Turnus and Lavinia were engaged: both issues are marked by ambiguous uses of the term *data dextera* (307 and n.). On the marriage question, see G. W. Williams (1968), Monti (1981) 30-6 and 44-8, Lyne (1989) 46-8, Wiltshire (1989) 90-3, Feeney (1990), Rudd (1990), Horsfall (1995) 128-30, Gibson (1999), Caldwell (2008), and on the Roman wedding Hersch (2010).

160. **magno misceri murmure**: “to be troubled with mighty murmurings”; the same onomatopoeic alliteration occurs in 1.124; cf. Lucr. 6.101 and 197 *magno...murmure*.
165. **speluncam...**: repeated from 124 (see n.), so that Juno’s plan is carried out in the same words in which it is announced. What looks like a simple accident is thus strongly marked as the result of divine will, and the words acquire a certain ominous character that fits well with what follows.
- 166-8. **prima...**: “both primal Earth and bridal Juno give the sign: lightning flashed, as did Heaven as witness to the marriage, while on mountain heights the Nymphs shrieked.” Much of the description suits both celestial phenomena and aspects of a Roman wedding. The reference to Earth and Heaven suggests the *Hieros Gamos* or “Sacred Marriage” of those two, with Earth as the primal mother and Heaven (*Aether*) as the universal father descending into her lap in fertilizing showers (cf. Lucr. 1.250-64, and *Geo.* 2.325 with Thomas (1988a) *ad loc.*). The *pronuba* is the matron who assists the bride (cf. 7.319 *Bellona manet te pronuba*); at a wedding she might give the “sign” for the ceremony to start, but what sign Juno and Earth give here is not clear. The lightning flashes take the place of the usual “nuptial torches,” and the shriek of the Nymphs is the bridal hymn (for *hymenaeus*, cf. 127 n.). **conubiis**: for scansion, cf. 1.73 n.
169. **ille dies primus leti primusque malorum**: a clear foreshadowing of the doom awaiting Dido, perhaps recalling Hom. *Il.* 11.604, of Patroclus, *κακοῦ δ’ ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή* (“And that was the beginning of evil”), a line that also marks a crucial step towards disaster.
171. **furtivum...amorem**: the phrase suggests Latin love poetry; cf. Cat. 7.8, Tib. 1.5.75, Ov. *Fasti* 6.573.
172. **coniugium...culpam**: “she calls it marriage: with that name she covers over her fault.” For *culpam*, cf. 19 n.; does the narrator condemn what she is doing, or is the line “focalized” through Dido (or looked at from her perspective or point of view, cf. Fowler (2000)), so that she is overcoming her previous sense that marriage to Aeneas would have involved *culpa*? Does Dido “call” (*vocat*) the relationship a marriage openly, or only in her mind? Does she “cover over” a fault or her previous sense that marriage to Aeneas would have involved *culpa*? Cf. below on *dolos* in 296, where the word may represent only Dido’s view of the situation.

### 173-295: Jupiter intervenes to tell Aeneas to leave Carthage

Rumor, vividly personified as a winged creature, spreads tales of Dido and Aeneas’ love throughout Libya (173-97), and Iarbas, a rejected suitor, complains to his father Jupiter that the woman who rejected him has taken up with an effeminate Easterner (198-218). In a passage modelled on Zeus’ sending of Hermes to tell Calypso to release Odysseus (*Odyssey* 5.28-42), Jupiter tells Mercury to remind Aeneas of his mission, and Mercury flies to earth by way of a vividly described and semi-personified Mt. Atlas (219-58). Mercury finds Aeneas splendidly dressed in gifts from Dido, and helping to build Carthage; he calls Aeneas *uxorius*, and delivers Jupiter’s message that he should leave Carthage (259-78). Aeneas is stunned, but immediately tells his men to prepare to depart, while he looks for the best opportunity to tell *optima Dido* (279-95).

The description of personified Rumor in 173-97 has not been admired in every age, but recent critics have been more appreciative. It recalls the Homeric depiction of Rumor in *Iliad* 2.93 and *Odyssey* 24.412 (which Vergil closely follows in 173), as well as that of Rumor in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 760-4, and of Strife in *Iliad* 4.442-3. There are also borrowings from Apollonius and from Lucretius’ discussion of lightning, as well as links to passages

- on giants both in other poets and elsewhere in the *Aeneid*. The passage was imitated by Ovid and Statius, who carried personification\* to greater lengths than Vergil. Rumor will play an important role later in the book (298, 666) and in the poem. Cf. Hardie (1986) 373-81; Feeney (1991) 241-8, 364-91; Nelis (2001) 154; and now the full treatment with bibliographical references of Hardie (2012) 78-125.
175. **mobilitate...**: “thrives by moving and takes on strength as she goes.” Similar language at Lucr. 6.340 describes the momentum of lightning as it falls.
176. **parva...**: “small at first in fear...” The description is from that of Strife in Hom. *Il.* 4.442. Line 177 is repeated at 10.767, of the giant Orion to whom Mezentius is compared; for giants, see 179 n., Hardie (1986) 85-156, and O’Hara (2007) 96-101.
178. **ira...deorum**: “provoked by (her) anger against the gods”; *deorum* is objective genitive. Earth was angry at how her sons the Titans were treated.
179. **extremam...sororem**: “last...as their sister.” Coeus was a Titan, but Vergil joins him with Enceladus and the Giants; the Titans and Giants, both offspring of Earth who warred against heaven, are often confused. Lines 178-80 recall descriptions of Typhoeus in Hesiod, *Theogony* 820-2 and Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.38-40. **ut perhibent**: cf. Thomas *ad* 1.247 for the usual use of such phrases to mark allusion to a source text, or to suggest disbelief by attributing a claim to a source other than the poet.
181. **monstrum...**: cf. 3.658, of the Cyclops, as here with harsh elisions. The eyes as numerous as the feathers suggest the plumage of a peacock; Vergil may allude to the myth of Io’s watcher Argus (cf. 7.791), whose many eyes when he was slain became the ornament of the peacock; see Ov. *Met.* 1.722-3, perhaps inspired by the lost poem *Io* by Catullus’ friend Calvus.
183. **subrigit**: “pricks,” as *arrigere* and *erigere* often mean with *aures*; cf. 2.303 *arrectis auribus*.
185. **stridens**: “hissing”; perhaps of the sound of Rumor’s flight (cf. 1.397 *stridentibus alis*) but probably of its cry. *Stridere* is used of any hard grating sound.
186. **sedet custos**: “sits sentinel,” on the watch for anything that may happen.
188. **tam...**: “clutching what is false and foul (lit. ‘crooked’) no less than reporting truth.” So Numanus in 9.595 reports things *digna atque indigna relatu*. **ficti...tenax**: an objective genitive is common after adjectives in *-ax*, e.g. *capax, edax, rapax*. **ficti pravi...veri**: neuter adjectives used as substantives to express abstract ideas. Cf. 1.111 n.
190. **facta atque infecta**: Statius, *Thebaid* 3.430, describing Fame, has *facta infecta loqui*. For more on Fama, cf. 193 n.
192. **viro**: “husband”; Rumor describes the union as a marriage. **dignetur**: subjunctive in dependent clause in indirect statement.
193. **hiemem...fovere**: lit. “keep the winter warm” but with a suggestion too of Dido and Aeneas embracing and fondling one another. After *quam longa* supply *sit*, as in 8.86 *ea, quam longa est, nocte* “on that night throughout its length,” lit. “as long as it is.” **luxu**: suggests both self-indulgence and the opulence of Dido’s palace, which for Roman readers may have suggested that of Cleopatra (cf. 215 and 644 with notes).

What in Rumor’s report is not true? That Dido considers Aeneas her husband? That she neglects her kingdom (but see 261-4 for Aeneas supervising her city’s construction)? That they are captives of foul desire?

198-218. *Iarbas, son of Jupiter Ammon, angrily taunts his father as a powerless deity, who allows his*

*son to be scorned by a foreign woman for an eastern adventurer.*

198. **Hic...** “He, the son of (lit. ‘born from’) Ammon and a Garamantian nymph raped by him.” In the pre-Vergilian myth, Dido kills herself rather than agree to marry Iarbas; cf. Justinus, *Epitome* 18.6, Lord (1969), Horsfall (1990) 138-9, Hexter (1992) 340, Starks (1999) 262-4. Hammon or Ammon was a Libyan deity usually, as here, identified with Jupiter. The Garamantes are “tribesmen of the eastern Sahara” (Clausen (1994) on *Ecl.* 8.44). For those raped or “carried off” by Jupiter, cf. Ganymede (1.28, a cause of Juno’s anger, and 5.252-7) and Juturna the sister of Turnus (12.878).
- 200-2. **posuit...sacraverat**: the tenses suggest that he built the temples after first dedicating the “sleepless fire” (which resembles Vesta’s eternal fire at Rome). It is then better to take *solum* and *limina* as nominatives—“and the ground (in the temples) was (supply *erat*) fat with blood...,” for if *sacraverat* is allowed to govern *solum* and *limina*, it is hard to explain why we have *posuit templa* but *sacraverat limina*. Williams suggests that it is “possible to regard the nouns as accusative after some verbal notion taken by zeugma from *sacraverat*”; Goold’s Loeb text removes the problem by putting a semi-colon after *aeternas*.
203. **amens animi**: “mad in mind.” For the genitive *animi*, see 2.61 n.
204. **dicitur**: a curious use of this word, which often distances the speaker from a story, or alludes to a source; see 179 n.
- 206-7. **nunc**: “now,” emphatic, i.e. since my piety has so taught them. **Maurusia**: adjective; Mauretania is on the African coast west of Carthage. **pictis...toris**: cf. 1.708 n. **Lenaecum...honorem**: “Lenaean offering,” i.e. an offering of wine; *Lenaeus* is a cult-title of Dionysus.
- 209-10. **nequiquam...caeci...inania**: emphatic repetition of the same idea—are our terrors “vain,” your lightnings “aimless,” and your thunders “empty mutterings”? Iarbas, who introduced the worship of Ammon to his country, here questions it by using the language of the Epicureans (see 34 n.; *terrificant* in 210 is Lucretian) and others who criticized traditional religious practice.
- 211-14. **femina...**: scornful — “a woman,” and she “a wanderer,” has “bought the right to build” a “tiny” city; I granted her “the shore to plough” and fixed “the terms of holding the land,” and yet rather than be my bride she seeks to be Aeneas’ slave. Dido will refer with similar anger in 373 to her generous treatment of the shipwrecked Aeneas. For the buying of the site of Carthage, cf. 1.367 n. *Litus* here means land by the sea, as in 7.797-8 *sacrumque Numici | litus arant*.
213. **loci leges**: the conditions under which she is to hold the land. **conubia**: on the quantity of the second syllable, cf. 126 and 1.73 n.
214. **dominum**: emphatic, “a master” (cf. 103 *servire*), not a husband.
215. **Paris**: the Trojan with whom Helen ran off, causing the Trojan War; Iarbas both alludes to Trojan guilt in the war, and claims that Aeneas is the type of a warrior whose conquests are only over women. For Aeneas as another Paris, cf. 7.321, 363; 9.138-9. **semiviro comitatu**: in the *Aeneid* Trojans are several times associated, mainly by their enemies, with the effeminacy that became associated with the Phrygians in post-Homeric times, in part because of the worship of Cybele by eunuch priests; cf. 103, 9.598-620 (the taunts of Numanus), 12.99 *semiviri Phrygis* (Turnus of Aeneas; see 216-17 n. on *crinemque madentem*). Vergil may also suggest Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.379-10 *contaminato cum grege turpium | morbo virorum*). The rhythm produced by the four-syllable line-end *comitatu* adds to the “foreign” sound of the line (cf. 3.74 n. and Winbolt (1903) 135). Which qualities of

- the Trojans and Italians will survive in the amalgam produced by the agreement of Jupiter and Juno in 12.791-840 is a difficult but important question. Cf. O'Hara (1990) 140-50 with earlier references and (2007) 96-101, Starks (1999) 273-4, Syed (2004), Reed (2007) 85 (on this passage) and *passim*.
- 216-17. **Maeonia**: = "Lydian," from the land bordering Phrygia. **mitra**: Eastern head-gear fastened with strings, associated often with women (like Ariadne in Catullus 64.63), but also with Paris. **crinemque madentem**: Turnus adds more details at 12.99-100, "hair curled with hot iron and dripping with myrrh." Cf. the stereotype of the Trojans in the previous note, and the references to partying or slickly dressed males of Vergil's day in Cic. *Pis.* 25, *Red. Sen.* 13; Suet. *Aug.* 96.3 (Maecenas); Dio Cassius 46.3 (Cicero), Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.2; *Prop.* 2.4.5; Ov. *Ars Am.* 3.443. **subnexus**: a middle form (cf. 137 n.), "having tied"; some scholars prefer the form in most manuscripts, *subnixus*, "having rested." **raptō**: "prey," "booty"; cf. 1.111 n., 9.613. **potitur**: cf. 3.56 n. **nos**: in strong contrast with *ille*, "(yet) we."
218. **quippe**: suggesting irony\* (cf. 1.39-40 n.), and followed by fiercely alliterative\* *f*'s.
- 219-37. *In answer to Iarbas' prayer Jupiter summons Mercury and orders him to remind Aeneas of his mission, and to say that if Aeneas has no ambition himself, he has no right to ruin his son's hopes.*
- Jupiter sends Mercury just as Zeus sends Hermes to Calypso to free Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 5.28-42). Jupiter's brief prophecy of the fated Roman rule (229-31) is to be compared with the major prophecies in 1.257-96, 6.756-853, 7.96-101, 8.630-728, and 12.834-40. On this first scene, cf. Estevez (1982), and on Jupiter's sending of Mercury, cf. E. L. Harrison (1985b), Hardie (1986) 276-9, Feeney (1991) 173-5 and (1998), Ross (2007) 15-17, and Hejduk (2009).
220. **oculos...torsit**: "turned his eyes" but with a suggestion of sudden, violent movement.
222. **adloquitur ac**: the last syllable of the verb is lengthened in *arsis*\*.
223. **voca Zephyros**: i.e. to aid his flight. **pennis**: those on his winged sandals (239 *talaria*; cf. 259 *alatis plantis*).
225. **expectat...**: "waits and has no regard for the cities granted him by fate." *Exspecto* usually has a noun or a clause as an object, but here is used absolutely: he is simply "waiting" without object or aim.
226. **celeris...auras**: a transferred epithet (it is Mercury who will be swift) and so an instance of *enallage*\*, on which see Conte (2007) 58-122 (especially 98-100).
- 227-8. **non illum...**: "not such did his beautiful mother promise him to us—therefore twice rescuing him from Greek arms—but (promised) that he should be one to rule..." The present tense *vindicat* suggests that the effect of his rescue is regarded as still continuing (see Austin for examples). **Graium**: genitive plural; cf. 1.4 n. **bis**: once when she rescued him from Diomedes at Hom. *Il.* 5.311 (cf. *Aen.* 11.282-4 and the reversal at 12.896-906 where Turnus before his defeat is linked by allusion to Diomedes; cf. Lyne (1987) 132-9, Quint (1993) 69-83); the second time at the fall of Troy. Cf. too how Paris (see 215 n.) is saved by Aphrodite (=Venus) in Hom. *Il.* 3.380-2.
229. **gravidam imperiis**: probably in connection with *bello frementem* (and cf. 10.87 *gravidam bellis urbem*); the phrase means "teeming with military commands," i.e. opportunities for a great *imperator*. The implication is that Italy needs leaders, not lovers.
231. **totum...**: Aeneas was never himself "to make the whole earth pass beneath his laws," but

he was to do so by “handing down a race from Teucer’s lofty line” (230).

233.  **nec super...:** “nor for the sake of his own fame...” *Ipse* is put between *super* and the ablative that this preposition governs because *ipse* and *sua* have such a strong attraction for one another.

234. **Ascanione pater:** *pater* is added to emphasize the argument— “does *the father* grudge his son?”

235. **spe inimica:** for the hiatus\*, and Austin *ad loc. inimica in gente:* Mercury in 271 omits the description of the Carthaginian race as *inimica*, so that Aeneas will not hear Jupiter’s reference to the Punic Wars.

236. **prolem Ausoniam:** Conington suggests that this phrase “is the same as *genus alto a sanguine Teucro* regarded from another side. There we were to think of Rome as derived from Troy; here we are to think of it as the representative of Italian greatness.” But the line points also to the conflict in the tradition over whether Alba Longa and then Rome will be ruled by the descendants of Ascanius or by those of Aeneas’ Italian son Silvius (see 6.763 *tua postuma proles*, and cf. O’Hara (2007) 88-90).

238-78. *Mercury flies down to Carthage by way of Mt. Atlas, and finds Aeneas supervising the building of Carthage, wearing a luxurious cloak and sword given to him by Dido. Mercury insults Aeneas for being tamed by a woman, delivers his message from Jupiter, and disappears.*

The start of the passage is closely modeled on *Odyssey* 5.43-8, the description of Hermes (= Mercury) preparing to deliver to Calypso the message from Zeus that she must let Odysseus go. There are also suggestions of the similar scene at *Iliad* 24.339-48 (Hermes coming to Priam), and of Hermes’ role as bringer of souls to Hades as in *Odyssey* 24.1-10; cf. 242-4 n.

239. **talaria:** the winged sandals or anklets (cf. 259) of Mercury.

240. **sublimem alis:** “soaring on wings,” i.e. the wings of the *talaria*, cf. 223 n.

241. **pariter...:** “along with the swift breeze,” which he calls to his aid (226), and which helps to bear him along.

242-4. **hac...resignat:** a parenthetical description of Mercury’s wand. He was conductor of the dead or *pyschopompos* (a Greek term glossed by *animas...mittit*). The phrase *animas...mittit* suggests either shades sent to visit mortals in dreams, or shades restored to life as in “Orphic-Pythagorean beliefs in reincarnation” (see Austin, and 6.724-51). **Orco:** “from the Underworld”; Orcus = Dis, lord of the Underworld, and by metonymy\* his name is used for the Underworld itself. **dat somnos adimitque:** from Hom. *Od.* 5.47-8, 24.3-4 and *Il.* 24.343-4; in *Il.* 24 Hermes will literally put some to sleep (445-7) and wake others (677-89). It is not clear whether in this passage Vergil refers to sleep or figuratively to the sleep of death. **lumina morte resignat:** “unseals eyes in death” or “from death.” The former would allude to a Roman custom of opening the closed lids of the dead on the pyre (*illos* [sc. *oculos*] *in rogo patefacere*, *Quiritium magno ritu sacrum est*, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11.150), perhaps so that the dead may see their way as he leads them down to the underworld (cf. Pease here). The rendering “unseals from death” would return to the idea of *animas ille evocat Orco* (242), or refer mysteriously to some aspect of existence in the underworld. Servius suggests that *resignat* = *claudit*, “closes.”

245. **illa:** resuming the narrative after the parenthesis— “relying on it (i.e. the wand), he drives the winds.” The god is said to “drive” the winds, as previously (223, 241) he has been said to “fly” or “be carried along with the winds”; the poet presents the same idea in different ways that are not strictly consistent. **tranat:** lit. “swim across,” i.e. fly through; 6.16 has *enavit* of

Daedalus.

247. **duri:** an epithet equally suited to Atlas the “rocky” mountain and Atlas the “patient” Titan (whose name could be derived from a Greek word for “enduring”; cf. O’Hara (1996)). Strabo 17.3.2 and Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 5.13 mention a local or Roman soldiers’ name for Mt. Atlas that sounds like Durus. The enduring patience of Atlas may be a model for what Aeneas must do; others note that Atlas was punished for rebelling against Jupiter, like many of the giants mentioned or alluded to in this poem (see 176 n.).
248. **Atlantis:** note the epanalepsis\* of the name Atlas.
- 249-51. **caput...umeros...mento...barba:** the mountain is personified as an old man with “pine-wreathed head,” “snowy mantle,” “streaming cheeks,” and “frozen beard.”
252. **paribus nitens...alis:** “balancing on even wings,” i.e. just before landing; Austin has “by effort of balanced wing.” **Cyllenius:** Mercury was born on Mt. Cyllenius in Arcadia.
- 253-6. **hinc...:** closely modeled on Hom. *Od.* 5.50-4, where Hermes on his way towards Calypso’s island, is compared to a bird.
258. **materno...ab avo:** Atlas was the father of Maia, Mercury’s mother.
259. **magalia:** huts, as in 1.421-2 n.; cf. *Geo.* 3.340 *mapalia*.
- 261-4. **conspicit. atque illi...:** “he beholds Aeneas founding...And see! his sword was starred...” For *atque* introducing a sentence in close relation to the one preceding, cf. 1.227 n. We see Aeneas from Mercury’s point of view: the god is struck by the magnificence of his clothing, which indicates a man enslaved to a woman (cf. *uxorius* 266 n.) rather than a warrior. **iaspide:** “starred with tawny jasper” (Austin); the word for this jewel is a quadrisyllable here, with the initial *i* treated as a vowel, as in the allusion to this line in Juvenal 5.42-5. Austin calls 261-4 “a glimpse, seldom seen, of Virgil’s hero as a happy man.” Note too that Aeneas’ supervision of the construction that had halted when Dido burned silently with love (86-9) suggests that he and Dido are not completely *regnum immemores*, as Rumor had reported (194), at least in terms of Carthage; Aeneas can also be thought to be acting like a husband, perhaps even as king of Carthage (Monti (1981) 47).
262. **ardebat:** “blazed” or “glowed” with bright color. The luxury of Aeneas’ purple and gold *laena* is striking. The *laena* was a thick woolen outer cloak, worn by a *flamen* performing a sacrifice (Cic. *Brutus* 56); the word occurs only here in the *Aeneid*. A brilliant cloak (cf. *coccina* or “scarlet” in Juvenal 3.283; *hyacinthina* in Persius 1.32) was a sign of luxury, though Homeric chieftains could wear a purple cloak (Hom. *Il.* 10.133, Nestor) and Roman generals a *paludamentum* of scarlet or purple (cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.3, Valerius Maximus 1.8.8 of Caesar’s ghost). Jason at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.721-68 wears an elaborately decorated purple cloak during his visit to Hypsipyle. Florus 2.21.3 describes Antony’s shocking appearance in Egypt, with scepter, scimitar, and purple robe studded with gems. Cicero three times in the *Verrines* refers scornfully to Verres’ purple Greek-style cloak (*cum pallio purpureo*; the Greek cloak may be more shocking than a *laena*), each time in the context of Verres neglecting his duty to spend time with a girlfriend (5.12-13[31], 33[86], quoted above, 52[136]); later Cicero criticizes Antony’s wearing of a *lacerna* and Caesar’s use of a purple toga (*Phil.* 2.76, 85). See Lyne (1989) 189, Bender (1994), Heskell (1994), and Thomas (2001) 166-7; Reed (2006) offers more suggestions for connotations of *ardebat laena*.
264. **fecerat, et...discreverat:** “had made, dividing the web with threads of gold.” The clause *et discreverat* explains that it was made by interweaving gold threads with the wool. This line recurs in 11.75 as Aeneas wraps the body of Pallas in one of two cloaks made by Dido that he had saved.



265. **invadit**: “attacks,” like *adgreditur* (92) but stronger.
266. **uxorius**: a prosaic word (*coniunx* is more common than *uxor* in verse), which contemptuously suggests that Aeneas is “owned” by his “wife”; cf. Lyne (1989) 43-8, and Syed (2004) 188, who notes that Dio Cassius 50.26.5 has Octavian say before Actium that Antony is “enslaved to a woman.”
268. **ipse...ipse (270)**: extreme emphasis that the message comes straight from Jupiter.
269. **caelum...**: “with his power turns the heavens and the earth”; *torquet* goes more literally with *caelum* (guides its movement in a circle, cf. 482) than with *terras* (guides its destinies). Mynors, Geymonat and Conte print *et* instead of *ac* here; both appear in the manuscripts.
271. **Libycis teris otia terris**: “waste idle hours in the land of Libya,” Mercury’s version of Jupiter’s *inimica in gente moratur* (235); Aeneas will never learn of the Punic Wars. **teris... terris**: Vergil frequently uses such assonance\* (cf. 238 *parere...parabat*), though here etymological wordplay\* is probably suggested; cf. O’Hara (1996) and esp. Muse (2005).
273. This line does not appear in our fourth-century manuscripts, and is an interpolation suggested by 233.
274. **spes heredis Iuli**: either “the hopes of Iulus your heir,” with subjective genitive, or “the hopes placed in Iulus your heir,” with objective genitive. *Iuli* is trisyllabic; see 140 n. Mercury omits Jupiter’s reference to “Ausonian offspring” (236).
- 279-95. *Aeneas is stunned by Mercury’s words, ponders anxiously what to do, and at last sends orders to prepare the fleet for sea, hoping to find the right time to break the news to Dido.*
280. **horrore**: partly metaphorical, “dread,” partly literal, “bristling.” Cf. 2.774 (Aeneas at the shade of Creusa), 3.48 (Aeneas at Polydorus), 12.868 (Turnus); Hom. *Il.* 24.358 (Priam’s fear when Hermes approaches).
281. **ardet abire**: “he burns (with desire) to depart”; for the infinitive, cf. 2.64 n. In a reversal, the image of fire is used to represent not Dido’s passion but Aeneas’ desire to leave. **dulcis... terras**: expresses Aeneas’ attitude toward his time with Dido; cf. Conte (1986) 156, Fowler (2000) 47 (citing a partially corrupt note in Servius). In more general terms lines 281-94 express Aeneas’ thoughts, though they are in the third person, in what is called “free indirect discourse”; see Mackie (1988) 80-3, Fowler (2000) 45-7.
283. **heu quid agat?**: indirect deliberatives. Aeneas would say to himself *quid agam?* — as Ariadne does at Catullus 64.177 *nam quo me referam?* Dido’s *quid ago* in 534 is different. See Reed (2007) for the motif of the distressed heroine like Ariadne, applied to Dido, Turnus, and to some extent Aeneas. **quo nunc...**: “with what address can he now approach the passion-frenzied queen?” **ambire**: “to canvass” hints at cunning and treachery; Servius glosses it as *supervenire vel subdole circumvenire*, “to circumvent by flattery or guile”; *exordium* (284) also suggests rhetoric. See Clausen (1987) 45-6 = (2002) 84-5, Thomas (2001) 168-73, and on Aeneas’ reaction here in general see the sympathetic Ross (2007) 16-18.
- 285-6. These lines are repeated at 8.20-1, just before Aeneas’ dream of the Tiber, where they are followed by a simile\* linking Aeneas to Medea as she ponders whether to help Jason (cf. Johnson (1976) 84-7, Lyne (1987) 125-32, Reed (2007) 187-9). The description of Aeneas’ indecision also recalls Homer, e.g. *Il.* 1.189, and see next n.
287. **haec...**: “to him thus balancing (the alternatives) this view seemed better.” *Alternanti* may be used intransitively, but *sententias* is easily supplied. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.23 “to him as he pondered (two alternatives) this seemed to be better...”

288. **Mnesthea**: Greek accusative.

289-91. **aptent...cogant...parent...dissimulent**: he summons them (telling them to) “make ready...”; subjunctives in indirect command.

290. **quae rebus sit causa novandis**: “what reason there is for changing plans”; *sit* is subjunctive in indirect question; the noun + gerundive is used where English has a gerund + direct object (AG §503). The verb *novare*, like the adjective *novus*, suggests radical or revolutionary change.

291-3. **dissimulent**: cf. 305 *dissimulare. sese...temptaturum...*: accusative and infinitive in indirect statement, “(saying that) he will attempt (to find) an approach and the tenderest time (i.e. the most opportune place and time) for speech, or what plan might be best for his situation.” Cf. 423 *virī mollis aditus et tempora* and see Clausen (1987) 144 n. 25: “this is the only instance of the superlative of *mollis* in the *Aeneid*...—surely a fact bearing on the tone here.” Is Aeneas’ hesitation a result of concern for breaking the news gently to Dido, or cowardice that worsens the situation by leading her to think he would leave without saying anything? **optima Dido**: some think the adjective shows Aeneas’ love for Dido, others a sense of distance. **tantos...**: “does not expect such love to be broken.” For this usage of *spero*, cf. 2.658 n.

294-5. **ocius...laeti**: our first glimpse of how Aeneas’ men felt about the time in Carthage. In Hom. *Od.* 10.467-74 Odysseus’ men say they have stayed too long on Circe’s island, and in Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.865-74 Heracles tells the Argonauts that they must leave the Lemnian women (cf. Clausen (2002) 82-3); for joy in leaving, cf. also *Arg.* 4.888.

### 296-392: The confrontation between Dido and Aeneas

Dido learns what is happening and confronts Aeneas; her speeches at 296-330 and 365-87 are brilliantly crafted masterpieces expressing her passion, confusion and anger; combined with Aeneas’ intervening speech they form a scene like the “agon” or contest of words in Greek tragedy, in which characters passionately defend their positions and no one is ever persuaded. There are specific debts to the speeches of Medea in Euripides’ *Medea* (when Jason is abandoning her) and in Apollonius (when she thinks in *Argonautica* 4 that she may be abandoned), and to the lament of Ariadne abandoned by Theseus in Catullus 64.132-201 (itself modeled in part on the speech of Medea in Euripides). Dido first reproaches Aeneas for trying to leave secretly, and begs him to stay with her, in what she refers to as a marriage; she wishes she at least had a child to remind him of her, in words that echo the wedding song Catullus 61. Aeneas’ restrained words at 331-61 hide his pain and (most but not all readers think) his love; his speech recalls two speeches of Jason’s in the *Argonautica*, but Aeneas tells Dido nothing that she wants to hear. He claims that they were never married, warns her against “enflaming” them both, and says that the gods’ commands drive him to leave for Italy. In Dido’s furious second speech she reviles Aeneas for betraying her love, complains of the gods’ unfairness, hopes he will die at sea calling her name, and threatens to haunt him when she is dead (her formal curse will come later, in 615-29). On these speeches, on the relationship of Dido and Aeneas, or on gender issues in book 4, see G. W. Williams (1968), Perkell (1981), Clausen (1987) 48-9 and (2002) 88-91, Wiltshire (1989), Feeney (1990) and (1998), Rudd (1990), Horsfall (1995), Oliensis (1997), Gibson (1999), Nugent (1999), Starks (1999), Hinds (2000), Keith (2000), Nelis (2001) 148-52, Thomas (2001) 185-9, Ross (2007) 18-19, 32-5, and Schiesaro (2008).

296. **At regina**: begins a new section, as at 1 and 504. **dolos**: is the narrator-poet calling what

- Aeneas does “treachery” (cf. Aeneas’ use of the term for Ulysses and Sinon in 2.44, 62, 152, 196) or does the text again represent Dido’s point of view, as Austin suggests? Cf. 172 n. on *culpa*.
297. **praesensit**: “divined.” **excepit...**: “caught (the news of) his coming departure.” *Excipere* is used in prose with *rumores, voces, sermonem*; the verb implies that the person who catches the rumor is on the look-out for it.
298. **omnia tuta timens**: “fearing all safety” (*omnia tuta* is neuter plural). *Tuta timere* is “to fear where all is safe” (cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.47 *quid tuta times?* [Medea!]); *omnia tuta timens* is a stronger form of the phrase, “to fear where all is *absolutely* safe.” Dido at once detected Aeneas’ plan, because even before, when all was safe, she was full of fear and on the watch.
300. **inops animi**: “powerless in mind,” with no power to control her rage, cf. the common use of *impotens*. For the case of *animi*, cf. 2.61 n.
- 301-2. **qualis...**: the festival of Bacchus was celebrated every other year (*trieterica* means “every third year” but with inclusive counting) on Mt. Cithaeron near Thebes, when mystic emblems (*sacra*) were brought forth (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.11), and with cries to the god the Bacchantes, also called Thyiads or Maenads, rushed over Cithaeron. **Thyias**: scans as disyllable, with *yi* as a diphthong, and is suggestive of θύω, “rage” or “run madly.” **audito...Baccho**: may mean “when the voice of Bacchus is heard,” but more probably refers to the well-known cry of his name by his worshippers.
304. **compellat...ultro**: cf. 2.145 n. Horsfall (1995) 131: “crucial is *ultro*: Dido speaks first, while Aeneas, who has planned to offer an explanation, is forced instead into an anguished and halting defence.”
- 305-6. **dissimulare...tacitus...**: metrically, Dido in 305-13 begins with lines with much coincidence of word accent and ictus\*, especially in the crucial fourth foot; there is much clash in 314-19. The hissing *s*’s resemble the start of Medea’s speech to Jason at Eur. *Medea* 476. Clausen (2002) 86: Dido “repeat[s] two words, *taciti* (289) and *dissimulent* (291), from Aeneas’ secret instructions to his men, as if she had overheard him...” The technique is like that of Achilles’ use of the word “kinglier” in *Iliad* 9.392, used in Agamemnon’s instructions to Odysseus (160), but dropped by the tactful Odysseus. **perfide**: “faithless one,” “traitor,” also at 366; at Catullus 64.132-3, Ariadne calls Theseus *perfide* in each of the first two lines of her speech. Starks (1999) suggests that Vergil has Dido throw back in Aeneas’ face Roman stereotypes about Carthaginian treachery.
307. **data dextera quondam**: cf. *dextram* 314; was it a pledge of marriage, as in the models at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.99 and Eur. *Med.* 21, or merely of political alliance? Vergil has not shown us the scene in which the answer to this question might have been made clear. At 7.365-6 Amata cites Latinus’ pledges to Turnus (*totiens data dextera Turno*); were these alliances, or did they involve a promise of his daughter’s hand in marriage? Cf. 172 n. and Monti (1981) 3-8, 27-8, Horsfall (2000) on 7.366, and Hersch (2010) index s.v. “*dextrarum iunctio* (handclasp)” on the Roman wedding.
311. **crudelis**: cf. 2.345 n. **quid, si...**: these contrary-to-fact clauses make the argument that, even if he were going home, he would not start in such weather, and so his haste must reflect eagerness to escape from her.
314. **mene fugis?**: the powerful simplicity of these words is striking. Clausen (2002) 87 says asking why a lover flees is “an old poetic motif, here first in epic” and gives parallels (cf. Clausen (1987) 145 n. 39). Cf. also 6.466 *quem fugis?* (Aeneas to Dido). **per ego has...**

- placing a word between *per* and its object in an oath is common. The final monosyllable produces an unusual clash of word accent and ictus\* in the sixth foot (cf. 1.105 n.), and then the four-syllable final word in 316 produces clash in the last two feet.
316. **conubia...**: adapted from Ariadne's complaint at Cat. 64.140-1 *non hoc miserae sperare iubebas, | sed conubia laeta sed optatos hymenaeos*, where *conubia* is also a synonym of *hymenaeos*; in both passages the quadrisyllabic ending produces a Greek-sounding rhythm. Other examples of quadrisyllabic endings: *elephanto* 3.464, 6.895; *cyparissi* 3.680; *hyacinthus* 11.69. So too with proper names: *Erymantho* 5.448 and *Adamasto* 3.614.
317. **si bene quid...**: "if I have done you any service, if anything of mine was ever dear to you"; cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 520-1 "But remember me too. A man should remember if he has experienced anything pleasant (*terpnon*)"; cf. Panoussi (2002) 106 and (2009). For *dulce*, cf. 281 *dulcis... terras* with n., and Juturna's words at 12.882. Note that *si quid...* here means "as surely as..." (cf. 3.433-4 n.), but in 319 *si quis... locus* expresses doubt.
318. **domus labentis**: "falling house," because he, who had helped hold it up, was leaving (for the language of collapse see 391 n.).
320. **te propter**: "because of you"; the postposition of *propter* puts emphasis on *te*.
321. **infensi Tyrii**: as 294-5 tell us how Aeneas' men viewed the stay at Carthage, here we have a claim that Dido's people resented her relationship with Aeneas.
322. **extinctus pudor...**: "my honor has been destroyed, and that former fame by which alone I was approaching heaven." *Sidera adire* is "to win immortality," as Aeneas will (1.259); Ariadne, one of Dido's models here, will literally become a constellation (cf. Catullus 66.59-61). By her "former fame" Dido seems to mean her reputation for fidelity to her dead husband, though the fame of building Carthage, which, she says, will now be destroyed (cf. 325), is not excluded. For *pudor*, see 27 n.
- 323-4. **hospes...de coniuge**: "O guest (since only that name is left in place of 'husband')." The clause with *quoniam* explains why she says *hospes*; on guest-friendship, cf. also 10 n. and 424 n. Servius says that Vergil read this passage to Augustus with intense pathos.
325. **quid moror?**: "why do I delay?" i.e. to die, cf. 323 *moribundam*. **an mea...dum...**: "or (shall I delay) until...?"
327. **suscepta...**: "taken into my arms." *Suscipere* is used "originally of taking up a new-born child (cf. 9.203), symbolizing an intent to rear it; then, by an easy transfer, of the begetting or bearing of children" (Pease). Hypsipyle in *Argonautica* 1.897-8 mentions the possibility of having a child by Jason, and in fact she will (cf. Nelis (2001) 161-2, 181-3, Krevans (2002-03)). Cf. too Dido's words at Ovid, *Heroides* 7.133-9.
328. **parvulus**: the only diminutive adjective in the poem, which suggests both Catullus in general because of his frequent use of diminutives, and the marriage-poem Cat. 61 in particular (*Torquatus...parvulus* 61.209, cf. Petrini (1997) 91-3, Gutting (2006) 268-9). Apuleius, *Met.* 5.13 alludes to this passage tenderly, Juvenal 5.138 with sarcasm.
329. **tamen**: means "notwithstanding," but is hard to translate, because the suppressed thought opposed to it must be supplied or suggested in translation. It may be "to remind me of you by his face in spite of all (your cruelty)," or "though you are far away," or "with his face at least, though he can do so with nothing else." Each of these thoughts is suggested by *tamen*, but none of them is right by itself.
330. **capta**: suggests both *decepta*, as in Ovid's short version of the story at *Met.* 14.81, and

also a woman captured (and perhaps raped) in the taking of a city. For *deserta*, cf. Ariadne in Cat. 64.57.

331-61. *Hiding his pain, Aeneas replies: he acknowledges his debt to Dido, but denies that they were married. He cites visions of his father, thoughts of his son, and Jupiter's commands as delivered by Mercury, and says he must go.*

Aeneas' reply recalls two speeches of Jason's, to Hypsipyle in *Argonautica* 1.900-9, and to Medea at 4.395-409. It has struck many readers as cold and lacking in sympathy. The poet's introductory verses (331-2) and Aeneas' warning that Dido not "enflame" both of them (360) suggest that it might be dangerous for Aeneas to be anything other than cold, but Aeneas is given little chance here to earn the reader's sympathy. Aeneas shows no affection for Dido, though the narrator tells us in 332 of his *cura* (is this "love" or just "worry"?). Moreover, he admits no personal responsibility for the situation. Different readers, then, will find Aeneas here "despicable" (Page) and a man of "incomplete humanity" (Perkell (1981)), or a model of "self-control" (Cairns (1989) 52-3) and self-sacrifice (for more references, see 296-392 n.). We should strive to keep both views in mind.

332. **obnixus...**: "struggling, he smothered his care/love within his heart." Aeneas also hid his pain from his men at 1.208-9: *talia voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger | spem vultu simulat, praeiit alium corde dolorem.*

333-6. Aeneas' *exordium*, cf. 337 n.

333-4. **pauca**: cf. *pauca* in 337. His speech is longer than Dido's, but says less than Dido wants to hear. **te, quae...**: "that you have deserved (*promeritam*) the most that you can relate in speech," i.e. however many claims you put forward are fewer than your real ones.

335. **promeritam**: understand *esse*; picks up *si bene quid de te merui* (317). **Elissae**: Dido's Phoenician name (see 1.340 n.). It is unclear whether the use of the name is supposed to sound more intimate or more formal and distanced.

336. **dum memor...mei**: "while I have memory of myself"; cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.387-8 (Achilles to the Greeks) and Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.1079-80 (Jason to Medea), as well as Aeneas' promise in 1.607-10 that he will always honor and praise Dido.

337. **pro re pauca loquar**: Aeneas' speech begins very formally. The opening 333-6 is the regular and formal *exordium* or *captatio benevolentiae* prescribed in books on rhetoric, after which Aeneas adds that he will "speak briefly on the charge," *res* being the subject matter of the accusation made against him; cf. Sallust, *Iug.* 102.12 *pauca pro delicto suo verba facit*, and Seneca, *Herc. Furens* 401-2 *pauca pro causa loquar | nostra*, and see Feeney (1990) 169-71. He then addresses the charge, with the first words of the defense answering to the first words of the accusation, namely that he never hoped "stealthily to conceal his flight" (see also next n.).

338-9. **ne finge**: Aeneas tells Dido not to "make up" charges that he expected to depart without telling her (305-6), and he may be sincere, but we have seen that he did tell his men to conceal their initial preparations while he looked for the best time to tell Dido (287-95; see 305-6 n. and Thomas (1999) 224-6). **nec coniugis...**: "nor did I ever hold out the bridegroom's torch, nor join such a compact." **praetendi**: "put forward as a pretence," but also with the idea of actually "holding out" a marriage torch, even though this was not a part of a Roman wedding. This claim of Aeneas' is crucial to his view of the situation (on marriage, cf. 160-72 n.). **foedera**: suggests a political or guest-friendship alliance. Catullus applied this word to his relationship with Lesbia (76.3, 109.6); Vergil now uses it of a liaison between rulers that involves both love and politics. Cf. Monti (1981) 56-62 and below 520-1 n.

- 340-1. **meis...auspiciis:** “at my own behest” or “authority.” A commander takes the auspices himself and acts for himself (cf. 102-3 n.), while his officers only obey orders, as Aeneas does here. When Aeneas says, in effect, “If I could do what I want,” surely Dido would expect him to say “I would stay here,” but nothing in Aeneas’s speech tells Dido what she wants to hear.
- 342-4. **dulcisque...:** “and the dear remnants of my people I would honor; Priam’s lofty halls would still exist, and (almost = ‘for’) I should (before now) with my hand have raised a restored citadel for the vanquished.” The “remnants” are clearly the remains of Troy; *colerem* suggests both “honor,” “cherish” and “inhabit,” “live in” (cf. *incolerem*). Note change of tense in *manerent* and *posuissem*. Courtney (1981) argues, unconvincingly, that *manerent* cannot refer to rebuilding, and that the text is corrupt. The text can be defended if we think that Aeneas, somewhat illogically, echoes Dido’s *Troia antiqua maneret* in 312.
345. **Gryneus:** Apollo had a temple at Grynium, on the coast of Aeolia. Aeneas consulted Apollo through Helenus in 3.369-462, but that was at Buthrotum on the coast of Epirus. There may be a literary allusion that we do not fully understand in *Grynaeus*. Two poetic mentors of Vergil’s, Parthenius and Cornelius Gallus (who like Dido committed suicide), wrote about Grynean Apollo. Parthenius, fr. 620 (in the *Supplementum Hellenisticum*) has the phrase *Grynaeus Apollo* in Greek, and Gallus discussed the story of Apollo’s Grynean grove, as we see from *Ecl.* 6.72 *Grynei nemoris* and Servius’ note; cf. O’Hara (1993a), and Miller (2009) 100-1.
346. **sortes:** “oracles,” often written on small tablets or lots. For Apollo’s connection with Lycia, cf. 143 n.; Apollo Lykios also appears in the well-known programmatic passage at Callimachus, *Aetia* 1.22, telling the poet not to write epic or long poetry.
347. **hic amor, haec patria est:** emphatic: “this is my love (not you), this is my homeland.” Each demonstrative is attracted into the gender of the following noun. Some have seen allusion here to Amor as the “secret name” of Roma (see references at O’Hara (1996) 156, including Servius on *Aen.* 1.277). **si te...:** the argument answers Dido’s suggestion that he was only leaving her for “foreign fields” (311)—“If Libya charms a Phoenician, may not Ausonia charm the Trojans? We too (*et nos*) may seek a foreign realm.”
- 349-50. **quae...invidia est:** “what (cause of) resentment is there that the Teucrians settle...?” “Why resent...?”
351. **me patris Anchisae:** the genitive is governed by *imago* at the end of 353. We have heard nothing of these dream appearances, and may be as skeptical as Dido, but an epic poet may allude to events not narrated earlier (cf. Nünlist (2009) 157-73 for this idea in the Homeric scholia), and in 6.695-6 Aeneas says that Anchises has frequently appeared to him (we see one appearance in 5.722-40).
354. **me puer Ascanius...:** understand a verb such as *admonet* or *terret* from 353 with *puer* and *iniuria*. **capitis...iniuria cari:** “the wrong to his dear head.” *Caput* can be used for a person in strongly emotional language, e.g. 613 *infandum caput* and 640 *Dardanii...capitis* (though most examples display affection and not hatred, as in those two passages), Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.2 *tam cari capitis*, and *caput* paired in comedy with *lepidum* (Ter. *Ad.* 966), *festivum* (Ter. *Ad.* 261), and *ridiculum* (Ter. *And.* 371). Cf. oaths which are directed against the head as the most vital part, as in 357 and 493 below, so that *caput* = “life.” Cf. van Hook (1949).
- 356: **interpres divum:** as Servius notes, here and in 378 Vergil alludes to and glosses the Greek name for Mercury, Hermes; cf. ἑρμηνεύς, “interpreter, go-between.”

357. **testor...** “I swear by (lit. ‘call to witness’) your head and mine.” Cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.151 (Aphrodite to Eros) “Be witness now, your dear head and mine”; Ov. *Her.* 3.107 *perque tuum nostrumque caput, quae iunximus una*. See also 354 n. **celeris...auras**: see 226 n.
360. **incendere**: not just “stop making us both emotional” (Williams), for the metaphor\* of fire applies here as elsewhere in the book. Aeneas seems to fear losing control.
361. **Italiam...sequor**: “A fine half line [whose] powerful terseness is in striking contrast with the wordy rhetoric of the rest of the speech” (Page). There is no reason to think that the half-lines in the *Aeneid* that were incomplete at Vergil’s death were meant to be left that way (see 1.534 n.), but Page well notes that “Nothing..could improve these four words thus left rugged and abrupt.”
- 362-92. *Dido replies in furious anger, insulting Aeneas, complaining about the gods, stressing what she has done for him, and mocking his citation of messages from the gods. She hopes he will die at sea calling her name, and promises to haunt him when she is dead.*
- Vergil adapts elements of the speeches both of Medea in Euripides, *Medea* 465-519 and Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.355-90, and of Ariadne in Catullus 64.132-201; his own speech displays all the furious emotion that Latin rhetoric and skillful manipulation of metrical effects allow.
362. **aversa**: “askance,” “out of the corner of her eye”; as again when they meet at 6.469.
- 365-6. **nec tibi diva parens...**: an insult with a long history (and in sharp contrast to Dido’s praise of Aeneas’ stock in 12). Cf. *Il.* 16.33-5 (Patroclus to Achilles), *Cat.* 58 and 64.154-7 (Ariadne), *Ecl.* 8.43-5 (a lover denounces Amor), and Ov. *Her.* 7.37-9 (Dido); see also the discussion in Pease *ad loc.* and in Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.11.14. **perfide**: cf. 305-6 n.
367. **Caucasus Hyrcanaeque**: *Caucasus* refers to the area between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, of which Hyrcania is a part. **admorunt**: = *admovent*.
368. **nam...**: “for why conceal (my real thoughts)? Or for what greater wrongs do I reserve myself?” For the indicative *dissimulo* instead of the deliberative subjunctive, cf. 3.88 n.
- 369-70. **num...num...num**: the tricolon crescendo with anaphora\* beautifully expresses Dido’s growing rage. **ingemuit**: the use of the third person may express scorn, or suggest that these lines are a soliloquy in which she forgets Aeneas’ presence and argues with herself, before addressing him in the second person again in 380. **victus**: “defeated,” “yielding.”
371. **quae quibus anteferam?**: lit. “what shall I put before what?” Since everything is completely hopeless, she does not know, or care, what thought, word, or deed should come first.
372. **nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis**: “nor does the Saturnian father regard these things with just eyes.” Even the gods are no longer just; she has no idea, of course, of the role Juno and Jupiter have played in her disaster (cf. Hejduk (2009)). The unusual rhythm produces coincidence of word accent and ictus\* in the first three words of the line. The epithet *Saturnius* is not used elsewhere in Vergil for Jupiter, though it is applied often to Juno (1.23 n.); it refers to their father Saturnus, and has connotations of the Golden Age and of the Saturnian Italy evoked in *Aeneid* 7-12 (e.g. 8.329) and at times in the *Georgics*, e.g. 2.173 with Thomas *ad loc.*; on the Golden Age in Vergil, see Perkill (2002).
373. **ieictum**: “shipwrecked.” Dido’s complaints are like those of Iarbas against her at 211-18. The multiple asyndeton\* (there is no connector between *ieictum litore* and *egentem*, or *classsem* and *socios*, or *excepi* and *reduxi*) marks excited feeling.
- 376-7. **nunc...nunc...nunc**: repeating in scorn the *nunc...nunc* of Aeneas (345, 356), here in

- another tricolon crescendo\* (cf. 369-70 n.). Note too the sarcastic recapitulation of his list of deities.
378. **horrida**: “awe-inspiring.” She mocks the description given by Aeneas at 356-9.
379. **scilicet**: “certainly,” “to be sure,” almost “yeah, right.” Dido’s scornful words are expressed in hexameters with much clash of word accent and ictus\* (379-87). **ea cura...**: “that trouble bothers their repose,” i.e. trouble about Aeneas. Dido’s language recalls the gods of Epicurus as described by Lucretius (e.g. 1.44), whose “sacred everlasting calm” is never marred by thought of human sorrow (see 34 n.)
381. **i, sequere...**: mocks *Italiam...sequor* 361.
382. **pia**: “righteous,” cf. 1.10 n., but with irony when used against *pious Aeneas*; note too the bitter recall of “if the gods care for those who are *pious*” in Aeneas’ first speech to Dido in 1.603.
383. **supplicia hausurum**: supply *te esse*; “that you will drain the cup of vengeance” (lit. “punishment”). *Haurire* is used even in prose of suffering calamity (cf. 14 *exhausta*), but here may (momentarily) suggest drowning. **Dido**: probably Greek accusative, though elsewhere Vergil does not inflect the word; it could also be construed as vocative.
384. **sequar...**: “though far away I will pursue you with dark torches and, when chill death has severed (my) limbs from (my) soul, my ghost will haunt you everywhere.” Blazing torches are borne by the Furies, cf. 472 with n.; 7.456-7 where Allecto hurls *atro | lumine fumantis... taedas*, and with them they pursue the guilty; Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 67 *perterreri Furiarum taedis ardentibus*; Suet. *Nero* 34 *confessus exagitari se materna specie, verberibus Furiarum ac taedis ardentibus*. Vergil adapts the words of Medea at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.385 (“my Erinyes” = Furies) and her sister Chalciope at 3.703 (Erinyes). Servius says that *anima seduxerit artus* is hypallage\* (also called enallage\*) because normally the soul would be severed from the body; cf. 226 n., Conte (2007) 90.
386. **dabis, improbe, poenas**: cf. 2.80 n. Cf. Ennius, *Annales* fr. 95 in Skutsch, fr. 102-3 in Warmington *nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas*, Catullus 116.8 *tu dabis supplicium* (alluding to Ennius), Latinus at *Aen.* 7.595 *ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas*, and Aeneas at 8.538 *quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis!*
388. **auras**: “the day,” “the (open) air.”
390. **linquens...**: notice the stammering iteration of this line with its marked repetition of *multa*, three words beginning with *m*, and its double *-antem*. Similar language marks a similar desire to say more (both times to a dead lover/spouse) at 2.790-1 (Aeneas and Creusa) and *Geo.* 4.501-2 (Orpheus and Eurydice). Feeney (1990) 176: “After the gulf that has opened between them, the enjambment and isolation of *dicere* harshly expose the inadequacy of mere speech.”
391. **conlapsaque**: here and at 664 Vergil uses “a verb normally reserved for the description of collapsing buildings” (Lyne (1989) 41-2); at 664 this is “five lines before the simile that compares the lamentation at Dido’s death to that which might attend the sack of her city.” The same verb is used when Evander collapses and is carried away by his *famuli* at 8.584-5; see Clausen (1987) 50 = (2002) 92, and cf. Dido’s words at 22, 318.
392. **marmoreo...**: “carry *back* to her marble chamber and *duly* place upon the couch.” Note the different use of *re-* in *referunt* and *reponunt*, for which cf. 403. **thalamo**: dative, = *in thalamum*, cf. 1.126 n.



**393-503: Aeneas prepares to leave, and Dido resolves to die**

*Pius Aeneas* obeys the gods and returns to his ships, groaning much and close to failing because of love (393-6). As the Trojans prepare to leave, a simile suggestive both of Apollonius of Rhodes and of the archaic Roman poet Ennius compares their busy actions on the shore to those of ants hard at work (402-7), and the poet addresses Dido and asks what she was feeling as she watched (408-12). Dido urges Anna, curiously described as in some ways closer to Aeneas than she (421-3), to intercede, and to ask that he at least delay his departure (413-36). Aeneas is unmoved, like an oak whose roots reaching down to Tartarus make it able to withstand heavy winds (the simile has many poetic models), and useless tears fall (437-49). Dido longs for death, and ill omens that include the voice of her dead husband strengthen her resolve, as do dreams in which she is isolated or pursued by Aeneas, as characters in tragedy are pursued by Furies or by their victims (450-73). But she addresses Anna with a feigned look of hope and says she has found a priestess whose magic will either return Aeneas to her or release her from love for him; the rite will involve building a large pyre (474-503).

393. **At pius Aeneas:** Vergil boldly follows Dido's speech by calling Aeneas *pius*, which has struck readers in different ways, either as an outrageous claim in the face of his disloyalty to Dido (at 693 Juno is called *omnipotens* at her moment of failure), or as a firm explanation of why he is right to leave her. The epithet—like the whole book—highlights the difficulties and potential conflicting loyalties involved in attempts to adhere to *pietas*.

395. **multa...:** “groaning much, his heart weakened by strong love.” For *multa*, see 3.610 n. **animum labefactus amore:** *animum* is accusative of specification (AG §397d). Aeneas comes close to failing in his resolve; cf. 22 *animumque labantem*, of Dido, and 8.390 *labefacta per ossa*, of Vulcan as he yields to Venus' seduction. *Amore* tells us that Aeneas loves Dido, or (less likely) that he is shaken by her great love for him.

398. **uncta:** “well pitched.” Cf. 8.91 *labitur uncta vadis abies*; both recall Enn. *Ann.* fr. 376 in Skutsch, fr. 374 in Warmington *labitur uncta carina*.

399. **frondentis...remos:** “leafy oars,” i.e. boughs made into oars, not smoothly finished because of the Trojans' eagerness to leave.

400. For the unfinished state of line 400, cf. 1.534 n.

402-3. **ac velut...cum:** when Aeneas saw the Carthaginians at work on their city Vergil compared them to bees (1.430-6); now the Trojans as they prepare to leave are compared to ants, in a simile inspired by Apollonius (*Arg.* 4.1452-7). **populant:** the ants “despoil” like a conquering army; do the Trojans? Cf. Lyne (1987) 19, Nisbet (1990) 382.

404. **it nigrum campis agmen:** Servius says this is from an Ennian passage on elephants (*Ann.* fr. 502 in Skutsch, fr. 513 in Warmington); cf. Reed (2007) 99. The slow and stately movement of this line's five spondees is noteworthy. The collective nouns *agmen* and *pars* (405, 406) are used with plural verbs; cf. 1.212. n.

408. **quis tibi tum, Dido:** in the apostrophe\* at 408-11 we realize that we have been looking down on the Trojans through Dido's eyes; cf. Reed (2007) 99; less satisfying Syed (2004) 238 n. 14, and on both this passage and on apostrophe\* more broadly see Behr (2005), with references. Cf. also Soph. *Phil.* 276-84, where Philoctetes describes how he felt when he saw that the Greeks had abandoned him on Lemnos.

412. **improbe Amor:** another apostrophe\* (cf. Behr (2005)), “O wicked Love.” Amor is *improbus* (cf. 2.80 n.) because he compels (*cogis*) Dido and everyone else to yield to him; from Dido's point of view it is Aeneas who is *improbus* (386). Cf. the apostrophe\* at Ap. Rhod.

- Arg.* 4.445-7 (Medea is about to kill Absyrtus), *Verg. Ecl.* 8.50 *improbis ille puer* (also Amor) and *Aen.* 3.56-7 *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, | auri sacra fames!* (with n.); in book 4, cf. 66 *heu vatum ignarae mentes*, and above 408. On Dido's whole speech cf. Schiesaro (2008).
414. **animos**: "pride." **summittere**: cf. *Ecl.* 10.69 *omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori*.
415. **ne quid**: "so that she does not leave anything unattempted and so die in vain"; if she left anything unattempted which might have saved her, she would die unnecessarily.
416. **properari**: "the commotion," "stirring," lit. "that haste is being made"; cf. 151 n. for this use of the impersonal verb.
418. **puppibus...**: repeated from *Geo.* 1.304, where the sailors put crowns on their ships as a sign of joy at *entering* port; again we see Aeneas' men delighted to be leaving Carthage (cf. *laeti* 295). Curiously, the ancient critic Probus, as Servius reports, thought that Vergil should have cut this line.
419. **si potui...sperare**: "if I could expect (as I did)"; *potui* is probably to be read literally as a simple past tense (and not, as Servius suggests, as equal to *potuissem*; see Pease for discussion), even though the only hint of her having expected such sorrow is given in 298 *omnia tuta timens*. Dido's claim is probably unreal and merely intended to make her sister and Aeneas believe that she is becoming resigned to her situation.
422. **colere**: "made his friend." For this infinitive of custom or historical infinitive (AG §463), cf. 11.822 *quicum partiri curas*; *Geo.* 1.199-200 *sic omnia fatis | in peius ruere*. Vergil alludes here to the alternate version of the Dido story, found, e.g., in Varro (see Servius on 4.682 and 5.4), in which Anna, and not the chaste Dido, has a relationship with Aeneas (cf. 1.494-642 n.).
423. **mollis aditus et tempora**: cf. 293-4 *aditus et quae mollissima fandi | tempora. noras: the past tense may indicate, as Williams says, that "Dido subconsciously puts Aeneas in the past." Courtney (1981) argues that *noris*, a potential perfect subjunctive found in a sixth-century papyrus (*Pap. Colt* 1), is the better reading.*
424. **hostem**: note the progress—in 323 Aeneas is called *hospes* instead of *coniunx* (324) and now is *hostis*. The word *hostis* is emphatic: he acts like an enemy, but she, as the next lines show, has given him no cause.
426. **Aulide**: Aulis, where the Greek fleet gathered on its way to Troy; contrast the confession of Achaemenides at 3.602.
427. **cinerem manisve**: cf. 34 n. Dido alludes not to any actual charge brought against her (Anchises was buried in Sicily; cf. 3.708-15), but to an imaginary crime great enough to justify the cruel treatment she has received. Servius attributes to Varro a story in which Diomedes unearthed Anchises' bones (Horsfall (1981) 144); Hor. *Epod.* 16.13-14 refers to the idea of a foreign invader scattering the bones of Romulus. The manuscripts are divided between *cinerem* and *cineres* here; Conte prints *cineres* because the other five times Vergil uses *cinerem* the final syllable is elided.
429. **extremum hoc**: cf. *Ecl.* 10.1 *extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem*, and especially the suicidal lover at *Ecl.* 8.60 *extremum hoc munus morientis habeto*.
430. **ventos...ferentis**: "favorable breezes," cf. 3.473 n.
432. **neq pulchro...**: "nor that he give up (lit. 'lack') fair Latium"; *pulchro* is sarcastic.
- 433-4. **tempus inane**: "empty time," which will not be full of love as of old (*non iam...oro*), and so may offer "repose and room to passion (i.e. rest and time in which my passion can work

itself out) until fortune may teach my conquered soul to grieve.” Euripides’ Medea asks for and receives “one day’s” delay in her banishment (*Med.* 340, 355), a deadly mistake on the part of Creon.

436. **quam mihi cum dederit**: a difficult line, in part because Dido speaks obscurely and deceptively. If Aeneas will grant this last favor (*veniam*), Dido “will pay it back with interest (*cumulatam*) by (or ‘at’) my death”; the ablative may be either instrumental or temporal. For “pay back with interest,” or “give back good measure heaped up,” cf. Cic. *Fam.* 13.4.1 *cumulatissime gratiam rettulerunt*; Livy 24.48 *bene cumulatam gratiam referre*; Livy 2.23 *aes alienum cumulatum usuris*. Casali (1999-2000) thinks that Vergil suggests that if Aeneas had granted Dido’s last request and delayed his departure, she would have “repaid” him by retracting the brief curse in 381-7, and would have foregone the more elaborate and largely effective curse below in 607-29; cf. too Schiesaro (2008). Servius and some moderns prefer the reading *dederis*, which would call on Anna to grant a favor, but this reading seems weak, and *extremam veniam* is clearly parallel to *extremum munus* (429), where the favor is asked from Aeneas.

437-49. *Aeneas remains firm and is no more moved by laments and tears than an oak buffeted by winds, but too deep-rooted to be overthrown.*

437-8. **fletus...**: “such tears her sister bears and bears again,” i.e. from Dido to Aeneas, and not “bears backwards and forwards,” since Aeneas is unmoved.

441. **ac velut...cum...haud secus (447)...**: “and as when...even so...” Note the difference between the use of *ac velut cum* here and 402. Here the simile precedes and prepares the way for the thing described; there the simile\* follows and illustrates the description.

442. **Alpini Boreae**: “Alpine North winds.” Names of winds are masculine; *Boreas* is declined like other first-declension nouns taken from Greek like *Aeneas* (AG §44). The plural is rare and since *Boreas* is often merely “a gale,” perhaps *Boreae* means “gales,” without any reference to their direction. But Vergil, who grew up in Northern Italy, may be personifying this wind not in the form of a single power but of a group: the “North winds” rush from the Alps and “with their blasts on this side and on that compete with one another to uproot...” The link between the *flatus* resisted by the tree and the *fletus* resisted by Aeneas resembles wordplay between *flumen* and *flamen* and related words in Lucr. 1.277-97.

443-4. **it**: i.e. “rises.” **altae**: the leaves are called “lofty” (cf. *Geo.* 2.55) here in contrast with *consternunt terram*, so as to suggest the picture of their falling. Some translate “deeply strew.”

445-6. **quantum...**: repeated from *Geo.* 2.291, “strikes with its root towards Tartarus as far as with its summit to the airs of heaven.” This tree simile\* recalls others in which a tree *does* fall: *Aen.* 2.626-31 (Troy), Cat. 64.105-9 (Minotaur), Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.1682-6 (a giant), and the ultimate models in Hom. *Il.* 13.389-91 = 16.482-4, as well as *Il.* 12.132-4 (gigantic warriors do not fall; cf. *Aen.* 9.679-82). When Jason and Medea first meet they are compared to tall trees whispering together in the wind (*Arg.* 3.968-71). On the simile, cf. Briggs (1980) 35-9, Hardie (1986) 280-1, Clausen (1987) 51-2 = (2002) 94-6, West (1990) 436-7, and Nelis (2001) 16.

447. **adsiduis...**: “with ceaseless appeals from this side and from that” — Dido urges her suit at every point.

449. **mens...**: “his purpose is unmoved, tears fall fast in vain.” **lacrimae**: whose tears these are is unclear, probably deliberately. The parallel between the tree buffeted with winds and Aeneas with entreaties would suggest that these tears are his, just as the tree may lose leaves

but still remain firm. Throughout the passage, however, the contrast is clearly between the tears (*fletus* 437...*fletibus* 439) of Dido and the resolution of Aeneas; we therefore would have expected that the tears to be hers. Cf. Martindale (1993b) 120, Desmond (1994) 79, Horsfall (1995) 125 n. 20, Edwards (2004) 106.

450-73. *Dido longs for death and her purpose is strengthened by portents and nightmares: in dreams she seems to flee from Aeneas, like Pentheus or Orestes from the pursuing Furies.*

450. **fatis:** “doom,” “destiny,” which she now feels is irresistibly her enemy; construe with *exterrita*, but before encountering *exterrita*, a reader may also think momentarily that Dido is *infelix fatis*. Muecke (1983) suggests that *fata* means messages from the gods in the omens which confirm what Aeneas has said to her — a possible reading, but Vergil is not specific.

452. **quo magis...:** “and that she may more certainly fulfill her purpose and quit the light (i.e. die), she saw...”; *quo* introduces a purpose clause with a comparative adverb (AG §531a). That she sees such a portent helps to strengthen her half-formed resolve (*inceptum*) to die, and the portent is (apparently) sent by destiny with that object. **lucemque relinquit:** cf. *lucem relinquo* in 10.855; the expression sounds archaic\*, and occurs in Enn. *Ann.* fr. 137 in Skutsch, fr. 154 in Warmington *Postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit*, which is closely imitated at Lucr. 3.1025 (cf. too Lucr. 3.542 and 5.989).

454-5. **latices...sacros | fusaque...vina:** “the holy libation of outpoured wine”; possibly hendiadys\*, cf. 3.222-3 n. (though Williams thinks both water and wine are poured). The libation of wine was a part of the “offerings” (*dona*) at the altar. **obscenum:** cf. 3.262 n. Valerius Maximus 1.6, ext. 1 says that this portent happened to Xerxes, the Persian king who attacked Greece in the early fifth century.

457. **templum:** “a chapel” or “shrine” dedicated to the *Di Manes* of her “long-dead husband”; cf. *Ov. Her.* 7.99-102.

459. **velleribus...:** the line illustrates the “wondrous honor” with which she still “revered” Sychaeus — his shrine was still “garlanded with snowy fillets and festal boughs.” In 3.64 the altars of the Manes are *caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso*. The contrast of adjectives is remarkable, “dark” and “snow-white,” “funereal” and “festal” (for  *festa* certainly suggests “joy,” cf. 2.249). She still honored him, not with the signs of gloom and death, but with signs of joy and life.

460-7. **hinc exaudiri...:** notice the solemn effect of the alliteration\* in 460-1 *voces...verba vocantis | visa viri*; 465-6 *furentem...ferus*; 466-7 *semper...sola sibi, semper*. The infinitives *exaudiri*, *queri*, and *ducere* all depend on *visa (sunt)*, with *visa* taking the gender and number of *verba*. We are probably not being encouraged with *visa* to think that the apparitions were imagined by Dido; we are told what she perceives, and nothing more.

463. **longas...voces:** “draw out its long notes into a wail.” Williams well comments on the assonance\* of the long vowels here; for the owl, an omen of death, see Pease’s long note, and cf. 12.862-4 when the *Dira* comes to Turnus to tell him that he, too, is fated to lose to Aeneas.

464. **priorum:** some (including Page) have preferred the reading *piorum* (in part to avoid the triple *pr-*), but *priorum* makes Dido’s experience fit the pattern of those who understand an old prophecy only when it is too late, like Meliboeus in *Ecl.* 1.16-17, the Odyssean Cyclops (Hom. *Od.* 9.507 “prophecies of old”), or the Heracles of Soph. *Trachiniae* 1159-73.

465-6. **agit furentem:** not “drives to frenzy” (with *furentem* proleptic\*), but “pursues her frenzied.” Dido’s terrifying dream reflects her troubled state of mind and desperate situation. Aeneas pursues her while she flees in frenzied terror; the pursuit echoes the image of Aeneas

- as hunter in the deer simile of 68-73, and runs counter to her threat to pursue him as an avenging Fury (384-6) and the idea (rejected later) of literally following the Trojan ships (537-9). The dream of being alone on a long road reflects her sense of being isolated, hated by both Aeneas and her people. Long useless wandering appears also in Ilia's dream in Enn. *Ann.* fr. 34-50 in Skutsch, fr. 32-48 in Warmington (cf. Reed (2007) 191); in *Aen.* 12.908-9 Turnus' situation will be compared to a terrifying dream. On Dido's dream, cf. Schiesaro (2008). **furentem...ferus:** "frenzied...fierce."
469. **Pentheus:** king of Thebes driven mad for opposing the worship of Bacchus; his madness involved "seeing double," cf. Eur. *Bacchae* 918-19 ("two suns and two Thebes").
471. **scaenis agitatus:** "hunted on (or across) the stage," cf. 3.331 n. We expect a comparison between Dido and the real Orestes, not Orestes as represented on the stage. The line is unique in the *Aeneid* as an explicit reference to a post-heroic literary genre (we may even hear *scaenis agitatus* as "performed repeatedly on stage"), but follows a long series of allusions to tragic drama that begins with the metaphorical *silvis scaena coruscis* in 1.164 and Venus' wearing of the *cothurnus*, the high boot of the tragic actor, in 1.337; on tragedy, see Muecke (1983), Hardie (1997a), Clausen (2002), and Panoussi (2009).
472. **armatam...:** his mother here pursues him in the guise of a Fury (cf. 384), apparently within some house or temple, while the Furies themselves keep guard "on the threshold" to prevent his escape.
- 474-503. *Dido resolves to die, but to deceive her sister, she pretends to have consulted a sorceress who advises her to erect a pyre and burn upon it every memorial of Aeneas.*
- Vergil's depiction of Dido's feigned magic combines various models: the pyre is from the pre-Vergilian Dido legend (494 n.), and there are suggestions of Apollonius' Medea, Phaedra's Nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus* 476-515, Simaetha in Theocritus' *Second Idyll* (and Vergil's imitation of that poem in *Ecl.* 8), and the use of love magic in Horace's *Epodes* and in love elegy. On magic here, see Austin on 498, as well as Khan (1995), Kraggerud (1999), Schiesaro (2008), and Panoussi (2009) 50-4, all with earlier references; on magic in Latin poetry see the list of passages in Maltby (2002) on Tibullus 1.2.43-66.
475. **secum ipsa:** i.e. "in her own heart"; opposed to *dictis*. Cf. *secum* in 1.221, of Aeneas mourning after his speech of encouragement.
477. **consilium vultu...:** "masks her purpose with her face and makes hope bright (or 'sunny') on her brow." The forehead is often referred to as an index of feeling, e.g. *frons laeta, gravis, urbana, proterva, tranquilla, sollicita*. *Frons serena* is the opposite of a "cloudy" or "overcast brow," cf. Cic. *Pis.* 9.20 *frontis nubeculam*; Eur. *Hipp* 173. Aeneas at 1.209 hides his pessimism from his men, *spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*, and Jupiter at 1.255 speaks to Venus with a serene appearance: *vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat*; cf. O'Hara (1990) 133-7.
479. **eo me solvat amantem:** cf. Tibullus 1.2.59-60 *amores | cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos*. Here *eo* is ablative of separation after *solvat*.
480. **Oceani finem:** Oceanus was supposed to bound the world on all sides, and seems to do so especially towards the West "beside the sunset."
482. **axem...:** "turns upon his shoulder the heavens studded with glowing stars," repeated at 6.797, and adapted from Enn. *Ann.* fr. 27 in Skutsch, fr. 59 in Warmington (cf. too fr. 145 in Skutsch, fr. 162 in Warmington), as Macrobius *Sat.* 6.1 notes; cf. Lucretius 6.357. *Aptus* is

- here not “fitted to” but “with”; so at *Scen.* fr. 350 in Jocelyn, fr. 389 in Warmington, Ennius has *apta pinnis* “equipped with wings.” Atlas of course has been described above (247-51).
483. **hinc...**: “a priestess from there...has been shown to me, (once) guardian...and who used to give...” The impression is that the priestess is no longer in the far West, but at Carthage. The “gardens,” not the temple, of the Hesperides are usually spoken of; *templum* here has its basic sense of “sacred enclosure.” For the Hesperides and the dragon which guarded their golden apples (cf. *sacros ramos*), see  *OCD*. s.v. Hesperides and Pease, who notes the parallels between the story of the apples and that of the Golden Fleece, also guarded by a dragon (cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.156-61, and for a mention of the serpent guarding the apples, see *Arg.* 4.1396-7).
485. **dabat et...servabat...spargens (486)**: “she used to feed the dragon (and so made the apples safe) by scattering...”; the food we suppose would induce him to keep guard for her, but see next n.
486. **soporiferum**: a problem — poppies are perpetually called “sleepy” or “drowsy” (cf. *Geo.* 1.78 *Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno* and of course *The Wizard of Oz*), but to give a dragon “sleepy poppies” in order to keep it awake is odd. Vergil (or Dido, who is improvising a ruse) perhaps combines two passages in Apollonius (Hercules carrying off the apples of the Hesperides at *Arg.* 4.1395-449, and Medea drugging the serpent at 4.156-9) to produce a slightly incoherent new story, as Nelis (2001) 142 notes.
487. **se...promittit solvere**: with the present infinitive, this is not “promises that she will,” but “claims that she does set free hearts” (cf. AG §580c). **carminibus**: “incantations” as in Tibullus 1.2.60 (cf. 479 n.), Hor. *Epode* 17.4, Verg. *Ecl.* 8.69-70.
488. **quas velit, ast aliis...**: sc. *mentibus*; she sets free hearts “such as she will, but on others sends...”
489. **sistere aquam fluviis...**: for power over rivers (*fluviis* probably is dative; Austin suggests a local ablative) and stars, see Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.532-3, Tib. 1.2.43-4, and *Ecl.* 8.4 with Clausen (1994) *ad loc.*
491. **et descendere montibus ornos**: the power of the witch to move trees is somewhat like that of such malignant acts as drawing the moon from heaven (Prop. 1.1.19) or charming the crops out of a field (*Ecl.* 8.99), but more closely resembles that of Orpheus to make trees follow his music; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.11, and especially the description of Hesiod acting like Orpheus in the initiation of Gallus at *Ecl.* 6.71 *rigidas deducere montibus ornos*. Cf. O’Hara (1993a).
- 492-3. **testor...accingier**: “I call to witness the gods...that unwillingly do I arm myself with magic arts”; cf. *testatus* of Aeneas in 12.496, also of an action said to be taken as a last resort. *Accingier* is an archaic form of the infinitive, cf. 7.70 *dominarius*, 8.493 *defendier*, *Geo.* 1.454 *inniscierier*. For the accusative *artis* after *accingier* used as a middle, cf. 137 n. The verb suggests arming oneself with a weapon, and of course Dido will soon use a sword on herself. **testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque | dulce caput**: adapted from Cat. 66.40 *adiuro teque tuumque caput*, which is itself a translation of Callimachus, *Aet.* fr. 110.40 in Pfeiffer “I swear by your head (in Greek: *karen*) and your life.” Konstan (2000) shows that *cara* in 492 echoes the sound of Callimachus’ *karen*, “head,” which is then translated by *caput* in 493. For more on *caput* see 354 n.
494. **sub auras**: in the open air, possibly in an unroofed central courtyard, cf. 2.512 n., or in an interior garden like that found at the back of many Roman houses; cf. also 504 *penetrati*

*in sede sub auras*. In the tradition (cf. 198 n.) Dido's suicide on the pyre was how she escaped Iarbas; her pretense was that the ritual would release her from her vow to Sychaeus.

495. **arma viri**: one of numerous echoes in the poem of *Aen.* 1.1 (Clausen (2002) 97 n. 61, Hardie on 9.57).

496. **impius**: the word, in Dido's view, refutes all his claims to be called "the Good." For its emphatic position, cf. 2.345 n. **exuvias...**: as in the similar magic ritual by the abandoned lover in *Ecl.* 8.91 (*has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit*), having something once worn or used by the intended victim is crucial (cf. 497-8 n.). For Vergil's play on substitutions for bodies, see Bowie (1998). **lectumque iugalem**: Dido never stops thinking that she was married to Aeneas.

497-8. **abolere...**: two reasons are given for "consuming" the objects mentioned, 1) that it is good to get rid of all reminders of a villain, 2) that the priestess so commands, since by bewitching or ill-treating the *exuvias* you may similarly affect the person himself. It was common to bewitch, torture, or burn an image of the person, cf. 508 *effigiem*; *Ecl.* 8.75, 92; Theocritus 2.53; and Bowie (1998).

500. **novis...**: "veils (her) death with this strange rite."

501-2. **tantos...furores** | **concipit**: different from *concepit furias* in 474, where Dido "conceived madness" (i.e. grew mad herself), while here Anna cannot "conceive (i.e. imagine) in her mind such madness" in Dido. **quam morte**: "than (what had occurred) at the death of Sychaeus."

#### 504-705: Dido's curse of Aeneas and her death

The pyre is built, the rite is prepared, and Dido prays to whatever divinities care about unequal pacts of love (504-21). Sleep comes to all, but again not to Dido, who runs through alternatives to death and angrily rejects them all (522-53). Mercury then appears for a second time to the sleeping Aeneas and tells him to leave immediately, for a woman "is a changing and variable thing"; the Trojans depart (554-83). Dido sees the ships set sail, and solemnly curses Aeneas in a passage recalling the curses of Polyphemus on Odysseus (*Odyssey* 9) and Ariadne on Theseus (Catullus 64), and presaging (and causing) both the troubles Aeneas will have in the second half of the poem, and the centuries of conflict between Carthage and Rome (581-631). Dido mounts the pyre with a sword given to her by Aeneas (a motif borrowed from tragic treatments of Hector and Ajax), reviews her life in a way that recalls the epitaphs of noble Romans (see 653-6 n.), and then after additional lines that recall Ariadne and Medea, she stabs herself (632-62). As Dido sinks dying, the lamentation of her maidens alerts Anna, in a scene reminiscent of the death of Hector and its ties to the Fall of Troy (663-93); Anna laments Dido's act, and reproaches her for what she has done. Juno (here oddly called *omnipotens*) in pity sends Iris from heaven to cut a lock of her hair, and to end Dido's pain, since Dido is dying "neither by fate nor by a death she deserved." Dido's spirit passes into the air (693-705). On Dido's death, see Johnson (1976) 59-75, Tatum (1984), Perkill (1994), Rauk (1995), Clausen (1987= 2002), Keith (2000) 114-17, and Schiesaro (2008); on the curse, see 584-631 n.

504. **At regina**: beginning a new section of the book, as at 1 and 296.

506. **intenditque locum sertis et...**: "both hangs (or 'decorates') the place with garlands, and..." The ordinary construction would be *intendere sertia loco*, but here *intendere* is allowed to govern *locum* in the secondary sense of "cover" or "adorn." On such enallage\* cf. Conte (2007) 87-8.

- 507-8. **super:** adverb. **exuvias...effigiem:** cf. above 497-8 n.; Hor. *Serm.* 1.8.30 *lanæ et effigies erat, altera, cerea. haud ignara futuri:* litotes\*, “well-knowing what was to happen.”
- 510-11. **ter centum tonat:** *tonat* is transitive here in the secondary sense of “call” or “name with a voice of thunder.” Many take *ter* with *tonat*, but it is better to take *ter centum* together, as the parallel position of *tergeminam* and *tria* shows: the number “three” is of regular recurrence in magic rites and “three hundred” is put for any vague number (cf. *Geo.* 1.15), although *centum* may also allude as Servius suggests to the name Hecate (cf. Gr. *hekaton*, “hundred”). **tergeminam:** “three-fold”; cf. 6.800 *septemgemi Nili*, “sevenfold”; 6.287 *centumgeminus*, “hundredfold.” The goddess who was Luna in heaven, Diana on earth, and Hecate in hell was symbolized by a three-faced image set up at places where three roads met, cf. 609 and Ov. *Fasti* 1.141. As Hecate or the Moon (cf. *ad lunam* 513), she was often called on by witches.
512. **simulatos...:** “feigned (as being the waters) of the Avernian fount.” The pretense is an accepted part of magical ritual, not a part of Dido’s deception of Anna. For Lake Avernus with its entrance to hell, cf. 6.107, 118.
- 513-15. **quaeruntur...quaeritur:** “are sought,” i.e. brought forth, presumably from the witch’s supplies; the perfect participles *messae*, *revulsus*, and *praeruptus* tell how she had earlier acquired them. **ad lunam:** “by moonlight.” **aënis:** “of bronze.” Bronze was known before iron and so was retained in many ceremonial usages when for ordinary purposes iron had taken its place. Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.19) thinks that Vergil borrows from a lost tragedy of Sophocles, *Rhizotomoi* (*The Rootcutters*), where Medea cuts plants with a bronze sickle; Nelis (2001) 143 thinks of Medea gathering the drug that will help Jason at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.844-57. **pubentes...:** usually “ripening” or “growing to maturity”; Conington says it “seems to include the two notions of downiness and luxuriance,” while Williams translates it as “juicy.” The herbs are full of sap or juice (*lac*) which, though white, is “black poison.”
516. **amor:** “a love-charm”; a bold use of *amor* for something which produces love. The reference is to *hippomanes*, a piece of flesh supposed to be found on the forehead of a “foal at birth” (*nascentis equi*) from which it was bitten by the mother, unless “snatched away beforehand” (*praereptus*) to be used as a love charm. Vergil describes a different kind of *hippomanes* at *Geo.* 3.280.
517. **mola manibusque piis:** the adjective *piis* goes with both nouns, “with holy hands and offering.” The *mola salsa* or mixture of meal and salt was sprinkled on the altar (*Ecl.* 8.82 *sparge molam*); for *pious* applied to it, cf. 5.745, Hor. *Carm.* 3.23.20 *farre pio et saliente mica*, [Tib.] 3.4.9. The reference to Dido’s hands as *piae* is interesting, given the prominence of *pietas* in book 4 (cf. notes on 382, 393, 496, 596-9).
518. **unum...:** “with one foot unsandaled”; the participle is middle and governs *pedem* (cf. 137 n.). Having one foot wearing a sandal and one foot bare may be meant, as Servius suggests, to bind Aeneas and free Dido (cf. 479, 487-8, and *Ecl.* 8.80-1), but a simpler explanation would be that the bare foot keeps her “in touch with the earth and underworld powers” (Pease, who also mentions other theories).
- 520-1. **sidera:** cf. 3.360 n. **tum...:** “then she prays to whatever righteous and mindful power has concern (*curae* is predicate dative; cf. AG §382) for those who love in an unequal pact.” For the lovers’ *foedus* especially in Catullus, see 338-9 n.; Dido will find reciprocal love in the underworld (6.474 *aequatque Sychaeus amorem*).
- 522-53. *Night brings rest to all the world, but not to Dido, who reviews her options and resolves to die.*



- Note the placid and restful rhythm of 522-7. The contrast between the peace of night and Dido's restless misery is adapted from the description of Medea at *Argonautica* 3.743-50, soon before a passage in which Medea plans but does not carry out suicide (785-90); cf. too *Aen.* 8.26-7 (Aeneas; see 4.285-6 and n.) and 9.224-5 (before the Nisus and Euryalus episode), and the list of passages in Pease.
523. **quierant:** = *quieverant* < *quiesco*, "had sunk to rest."
524. **cum medio...** "when the stars wheel midway in their motion"; *lapsus* suggests motion which is smooth and steady.
526. **quaeque...quaeque:** both relative pronouns have *volucres* as antecedent. Note the smooth liquids in *lacus late liquidos*. The line is adapted from Lucr. 2.344-6: *Et variae volucres, laetantia quae loca aquarum | concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque, | et quae pervolgant nemora avia pervolitant.*
528. This line does not appear in our fourth-century manuscripts, or in Servius, and is an interpolation suggested by 9.225, where it occurs with *laxabant* for *lenibant*.
529. **at non...** supply *quierat* from *quierant* above. For the case of *animi*, cf. 2.61 n.
530. **solvitur:** both of the actual "unloosing" or relaxing of the limbs in sleep and also because sleep would set Dido free from cares.
531. **rursusque resurgens:** the sound of *rursus* repeated in *resurgens* illustrates the words *ingeminant curae*.
532. **magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu:** cf. Lucr. 6.73-4 *magnoque irarum volvere fluctus* (with Dyson (1997) on the wrath of the gods in Lucretius and Vergil, and cf. 34 n.), Ariadne in Catullus 64.62 *et magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, and Aeneas at *Aen.* 8.19 *magno curarum fluctuat aestu* (just before he is described by a simile\* modeled on one that Apollonius used of Medea; cf. 522-53 n.).
533. **sic adeo:** the emphasis thrown on *sic* by *adeo* (cf. 2.567 n.) marks excitement — after all the turmoil of her passion this is at last the outcome. **insistit:** cf. 12.47 *sic institit ore*; the word marks vigor and movement, as in *Geo.* 3.164 *viamque insiste*.
534. **en, quid ago?:** the present indicative is sometimes substituted for the deliberative subjunctive (cf. 3.88 n.), but since actual deliberative subjunctives follow in *experiar* and *petam*, Dido's *quid ago* is not *quid agam* "what am I to do?" (cf. 283, of Aeneas) but "what am I doing?" Dido criticizes herself for idly debating any longer, where there is no alternative but death, then she runs through all possible alternatives and shows that they are useless. **rursusne...** having rejected her African suitors before, Dido worries that she would be ridiculed (*inrisa*) if she were to make trial of them again. Cf. 27 n. for Kaster's idea that *pudor* can involve people who "know that their present behavior falls short of their past or ideal selves." Allecto mocks Turnus as an object of laughter at 7.425, *i nunc, ingratis offer te, inrise, periclis*.
536. **sim...dedignata:** concessive subjunctive.
537. **igitur:** "then," implies that the former suppositions have been rejected and *therefore* a fresh one must be put. **ultima:** "utmost," "extreme." Dido's sense of her dignity is different from the subservience of Ariadne (Catullus 64.158-63) or Ovid's Dido (*Her.* 7.168), who are both ready to accept a lesser role.
- 538-9. **quiane...** "(should I do so) because..." After *iuvat* supply *eos* and *esse* after *levatos*. *Bene* may go with *memores* or *stat* or *facti*; it probably affects them all, but goes strictly with the last.

540. **quis me...:** “but who—assume that I wish—will allow me to?” **fac velle:** supply *me*, as subject of *velle* in indirect statement. **ratibusve:** the reading also in Mynors, Geymonat, and Conte; Hirtzel has *ratibusque*, which is found in some later manuscripts.
- 541-2. **necdum:** note the force—“and do you not *yet* understand?” **Laomedontae:** for the Trojan Laomedon’s treachery, cf. *Geo.* 1.502 (with Thomas *ad loc.*), 3.3; *Aen.* 2.610 n., 3.247-8 n. The six-syllable word helps produce a rare four-word hexameter.
543. **sola fuga:** both words are emphatic. Should she join the Trojans “alone in flight,” or accompanied by all her people, whom she would uproot again (544-6)?
547. **quin morere...:** “no, die, as you have deserved, and with the sword end sorrow.” With *merita* (Dido’s view) contrast the words of the narrator, perhaps representing Juno’s view, at 696 *merita nec morte*.
- 550-1. **non licuit...:** after Dido in 548-9 mentions Anna’s pushing her towards Aeneas, she laments that “it was not allowed me (i.e. I was not allowed) to lead my life blamelessly, far from bridal chambers, like a wild animal (*more ferae*), or not to know (lit. ‘touch,’ ‘encounter’) such cares.” She regrets that she was not allowed (perhaps because of Anna’s pressure, or even the initial marriage to Sychaeus) to live a life without the emotional attachments (*curas*) of marriage (*thalami*), as wild animals do. The phrase *more ferarum* occurs three times in Lucretius: at 4.1264 of wives’ sexual positions likely to lead to conception (see Brown *ad loc.*), at 5.932 of the simple life of early man (*volgivago vitam tractabant more ferarum*), and at 6.198 of stormwinds. Dido’s wish to be free of *curae* also resonates with Epicurean thinking, as elsewhere in *Aen.* 4; see 34 n. The phrase *more ferarum* at Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.109 describes primitive men who took women by force as animals do. It is perhaps also noteworthy that the phrase *barbaros et ferarum more viventes* is used of “Hiarbas” (see 198 n.) and his people in the version of the Dido story told in Justin’s epitome of Pompeius Trogus 18.6.
552. **non servata fides:** Williams says “this summarising line contains indeed the whole truth, as Dido well knows,” but Dido will never know the whole truth of how gods and circumstances have conspired against her; her self-criticism and her conviction that she must die represent one way of looking at her situation, but not the only way; cf. 663-93 n. **cineri... Sychaeo:** “the ashes of Sychaeus.” *Sychaeus* is an adjective formed from a proper name, used instead of a genitive. Cf. 3.117 n. and S. J. Harrison (1991) on 10.156-7 *Aeneia puppes*.
- 554-83. *In a dream Mercury reappears and warns Aeneas to leave Carthage immediately. Aeneas and his men depart.*
- This second visit of Mercury (on which see Feeney (1998b), Schiesaro (2008)) is modeled in part on Hermes’ return in *Iliad* 24.677-91 to warn Priam to leave Achilles’ tent, with borrowings too from the nocturnal visit of the shade of Patroclus to Achilles (*Il.* 23.65-107). The cutting of the cable (579-80) recalls models in Homer and Apollonius.
554. **certus eundi:** “resolved to depart”; the poetic construction is an extension of the genitive after adjectives of knowledge or ignorance. Note the different construction *certa mori* in 564. Aeneas’ resolve allows him to sleep peacefully, unlike Dido (cf. 522 *carpebant*).
556. **forma dei:** “the shape of the god”; Page suggests that this was only a phantom “in all things like to Mercury,” and not the actual god who had been sent before, but it may be that we are simply getting Aeneas’ point of view here, while for the first visit we had Mercury’s (so E. L. Harrison (1985b)).
- 558-9. **coloremque:** a hypermetric\* line, cf. 629 and n.; 1.332 n. **iuventa:** ablative. This

- reading is also adopted by Mynors, Geymonat, and Conte; Hirtzel has the genitive *iuventae* found in some manuscripts and in Servius.
566. **iam:** “soon.” **turbari trabibus:** perhaps “crowded with craft”; *trabs*, lit. “tree-trunk” or “lumber,” is here used for “ship.” **saevas:** “fierce,” here indicating danger.
568. **si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem:** in Eur. *Med.* 352 a similar phrase is part of Creon’s threat to Medea.
569. **rumpe moras:** “break off delay.” **varium...:** “woman is always a varying and changeful thing.” The neuter seems to indicate contempt and *mutabilis* is usually used of inanimate objects; cf. Lyne (1989) 48-51. Is Mercury right, because Dido’s mood indicates that she is dangerous (to someone other than herself?), or is the god lying here, because it is Aeneas who has been “changeable” and Dido whose love has been unwavering? And is the slander on women here to be attributed to Vergil or merely to his character Mercury? Keith (2000) 24 reads the comment in light of epic’s traditional attitude towards women. Does Mercury save Aeneas here, or does his visit make things worse, and in fact lead to Dido’s curse and, ultimately, the Punic Wars (see 615-29 n.)? Dido at Ov. *Her.* 7.51 wishes Aeneas were more *mutabilis*.
571. **subitis...:** “startled by the sudden vision” or “phantom.” For the plural, cf. 5.81.
575. **tortos:** “twisted,” i.e. with twisted strands. **incidere funis:** “to cut the cables”; cf. the same phrase 3.667 of hurried flight, and below 580 where *retinacula* is equivalent to *funes*, the cables or ropes by which the ship is made fast to some object on shore.
577. **quisquis es:** “whoever you are,” “whatever your name.” Aeneas had no doubt that it was Mercury, but, as mortals’ names for the gods may be wrong or displeasing to them, ancient prayers often added a phrase like this which apologizes for any mistake in the name, and asks the proper power, whatever his or her name, to accept the prayer; cf. Turnus at 9.22 (after addressing Iris by name), and Nisus at 9.209.
578. **adsis...:** “be present and graciously assist us”; for *adsis*, cf. 3.395 n.; cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.693, “be gracious, lord (Apollo), be gracious, you who have appeared to us.”
- 579-80. **ensem | fulmineum:** “his lightning sword”; the adjective emphasizes how fast he drew it, and may suggest a connection with the lightning of Jupiter both here and at 9.441 (see Hardie (1994) *ad loc.*). Vergil imitates both Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4. 207-8, where Jason cuts a rope when leaving Colchis, and Apollonius’ model at *Od.* 10.126-7, where Odysseus draws his sword to cut a cable and get his ship away from the Laestrygonians.
581. **idem omnis simul ardor habet:** cf. 7.393 *idem omnis simul ardor agit*, 12.282 *sic omnis amor unus habet*, and the model for the line here, Hom. *Od.* 10.130, which describes Odysseus’ shipmates fleeing the Laestrygonians (Clausen (1987) 111-12 = (2002) 214).
583. **adnixi...:** repeated from 3.208.
- 584-631. *Dido sees the Trojan ships at sea and laments that she had not earlier used violence against Aeneas. She curses Aeneas, calling for him to suffer in Italy and for eternal enmity between Rome and Carthage.*
- Dido’s curse, which the reader must realize is largely to be fulfilled (see 615-29 n.), recalls that of Odysseus by Polyphemus in *Odyssey* 9.529-35, of Agamemnon and Menelaus by Ajax in Sophocles’ *Ajax* 835-44, of Jason by Medea in *Argonautica* 4.382-90, and of Theseus by Ariadne in Catullus 64.192-201, as well as the prelude to the duel in *Iliad* 3.277. It must also be read against the popular tradition of cursing one’s enemies or those who have committed

- an injustice, including lovers. Thousands of such curses survive on lead tablets (see *OCD* s.v. curses). On Dido's curse, see O'Hara (1990) 94-102, Khan (1995) with S.J. Harrison (1995), Horsfall (1995) 124, Kraggerud (1999), Panoussi (2009) 193-6.
- 584-5. **Tithoni:** Tithonus is the Trojan lover of Dawn. This two-line description of dawn recurs at 9.459-60, as the Trojans learn of the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus, and is inspired by Hom. *Il.* 11.1 (= *Od.* 5.1), *Il.* 24.695, Ap. *Rhod. Arg.* 4.183, and Lucr. 2.144 *primum Aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras*.
- 589-90. **pectus percussa...abscissa:** the middle sense of *percussa* and *abscissa* allows them to take direct objects (cf. 137 n.).
- 590-1. **ibit | hic...** "shall this wanderer depart and have mocked...?" — i.e. depart and so succeed in mocking. For the future perfect so used, cf. 2.581-2 n. **advena:** used in scorn, as at *Ecl.* 9.2-3 *advena nostri...possessor agelli*, and of Aeneas at *Aen.* 12.261. At *Aen.* 7.38-9 the narrator somewhat surprisingly refers to the Trojans who have arrived in Italy as an *advena...exercitus* (cf. O'Hara (2007) 96, with references).
- 592-3. **expedient...sequentur:** understand Dido's people as subjects. **diripientque:** Hirtzel and Conte print Heinsius' emendation *deripientque*, while Mynors and Geymonat follow the manuscripts.
595. **quae mentem...** "what madness warps my mind?" **mutat:** "changes," i.e. from a *mens sana* to a *mens insana*. Dido experiences a brief return to calmness and sad regret, like that of Corydon in *Ecl.* 2.69 a, *Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!*
- 596-7. **infelix Dido:** "Dido is the only personage in the *Aeneid* to address herself by name" (Laird (1997) 289). **facta impia:** Vergil does not say whose "disloyal deeds" these are, and many have thought Dido refers to her own betrayal of Sychaeus. But because Dido goes on to talk about her decision to share power with Aeneas, and about his *dextra fidesque*, Casali (1999) (cf. too Monti (1981) 62-9, rejected by Horsfall (1995) 127) argues that the whole passage makes better sense as an allusion to the story that Aeneas was able to escape from Troy (events to which 598-9 refer) because he betrayed Troy to the Greeks (see 12.15, where Turnus calls Aeneas the "deserter of Asia," and cf. Servius on 1.488). Thus Dido would be saying "you should have thought about those (stories of Aeneas') disloyal deeds then, when you were handing over the sceptre." Cf. too [Tib.] 3.6.42 *ingrati referens impia facta viri*, of Theseus' desertion of Ariadne in Catullus. **tangunt:** cf. 1.462 *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*; the echo may be significant.
598. **quem:** (*eius quem*, "of that man who, they say,...." (with *quem* as subject of the infinitive *portare*).
599. **subiisse umeris:** cf. 2.708 (Aeneas lifting Anchises, as here), and for the accusative after *subire*, cf. 12.899. **confectum aetate parentem:** cf. Cat. 68.118 *confecto aetate parenti*.
- 600-2. Dido's imagined scenarios for killing Aeneas and his men remind us of scenes from Greek myth, especially as treated in Greek and Roman tragedy. Lines 600-1 resemble one version (though not Apollonius') of how Medea killed her brother Apsyrtus, and scattered pieces of his corpse on the sea to slow her father's pursuit. Lines 601-2 suggest a crime like that of Atreus, who served his brother's children to him as a meal, or that of Procne and Philomela, who served Tereus his child (cf. *Ecl.* 6.78-81, *Ov. Met.* 6.412-674).
- 603-6. **verum...** "but (if I had fought them) the outcome of the combat would have been doubtful." Lines 600-2 suggested that it would have been better to fight Aeneas. *Verum... fortuna* introduces an objection to this. Then *fuisset...* says, "even supposing this to be true,

- I had no one to fear, since I was ready to die.” Then *faces...dedissem* confirms this argument, for “(if I had fought with him) I would have destroyed him before perishing myself.” In 603 *fuerat* is put for the subjunctive vividly (cf. 2.55 n.) and because the indicative is necessary to bring out the contrast with the subsequent *fuisset*.
- 605-6. **implesem...exstinxem**: contracted for *implevissem...exstinxissem*. **foros**: “gangways” or “decks” of a ship. **memet...dedissem**: “have flung myself upon the pile”; modeled on what is said of Medea at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.391-3.
607. **Sol...**: the start of Dido’s curse resembles both Hom. *Il.* 3.277 and (as part of a series of allusions to Ajax that will culminate in 6.450-76) Soph. *Aj.* 845-9, where Ajax cries out to the Sun when he is about to commit suicide.
608. **tuque...**: “and you, O Juno, mediator and witness of these woes.” *Interpres* means 1) one who acts as agent between two others, 2) one who explains what is dark or mysterious. So *Iuno pronuba* (59, 166) is *interpres* because 1) she brings man and woman together in wedlock and 2) explains its mysteries and “troubles” (*curae*). Again Dido’s ignorance of Juno’s real role is striking.
609. **nocturnis...Hecate triviis**: cf. 510-11 n. for the worship of Diana/Hecate at crossroads; she was often called Trivia, as at Cat. 34.15. **ululata**: “worshipped with wails.”
610. **di morientis**: probably the *di Manes* (cf. 3.63 n.).
611. **accipite...**: “listen to these things, turn your (divine) regard to ills that have earned it.” After *accipite* supply *animis* (for which cf. 5.304) or more probably *auribus*. *Malis* should be understood both with *meritum* and *advertite*: they were to have regard *for* her ills because that regard had been earned *by* those ills.
613. **infandum caputi**: “that accursed person”; cf. 354 n. on *caput*, but the notion that his name is literally unspeakable is also felt, both here and in 639 *Dardanii...capitis*.
614. **hic terminus haeret**: “that boundary stands fixed.” A Roman image of immovability, derived from the “boundary-stones” which everywhere marked their fields under the protection of the god *Terminus*; cf. Lucr. 1.77 *alte terminus haerens*; Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 25-6 *stabilisque rerum terminus*.
- 615-29. Those who are about to die are thought to be gifted with prophetic power (Hom. *Il.* 16.843-54, 22.355; *Aen.* 10.739-46), and Dido’s curse will largely be fulfilled (cf. 584-631 n.), though not always in the worst way possible. The later books of the *Aeneid* tell how Aeneas was “harassed in war” by the Rutulians, and driven to leave his son (temporarily); how he “implores aid” from the Greek Evander, and accepts a peace that sacrificed the name of Troy (12.828). Other sources relate that after a brief reign of three years he fell in battle and his corpse was undiscovered (cf. *Aen.* 1.259-66, which focuses on apotheosis, and contrast the words of Anchises in 6.763-6 about “long life” for Aeneas; cf. 1.265-6 n.). The latter part of the curse looks to Roman history, with a clear reference in 622-9 to Hannibal and the Punic Wars. The curse means both that the poem is providing the “action” or origin-story for Carthage’s long opposition to Rome, and that Aeneas’ troubles in the second half of the poem can to some extent be attributed to his actions in Carthage, just as Odysseus’ suffering and loss of his men follow from the Cyclops’ curse.
615. **audacis**: used of Aeneas’ opponents in Italy at 7.409; 9.3, 126, 519; 10.276, but cf. too 7.114, 9.625.
617. **indigna**: “cruel,” cf. 6.163.

618. **cum se...**: “when he will have surrendered himself beneath the conditions of an unequal peace.” Cf. the unequal compromise between Jupiter and Juno at 12.791-840, in which the Trojan name will die out and the Italian contribution predominate.
620. **sed cadat...**: “but let him die before his day and (lie) unburied amid the sand”; some verb like *iaceat* must be supplied from *cadat* in the second clause. **ante diem**: used of Dido’s death in 697. “To die in one’s prime and to die unburied—these were the most dreadful things that a man could suffer in ancient times” (Austin).
623. **exercete...**: “hound with hate, and offer that tribute (or ‘gift’) to my dust”; *exercere* is “keep busy,” “allow no rest to.”
624. **sunto**: future imperative, third plural, archaic\* in tone (AG §448a).
- 625-6. **exoriare...**: “Arise, you unknown Avenger, from my bones, to pursue...” Dido vividly speaks both to and of the avenger, whom every Roman would know to be Hannibal, who attacked Italy and threatened Rome in the Second Punic War. **nostris ex ossibus**: because in his hatred of Rome Hannibal was Dido’s true descendant. **qui...colonos**: relative clause of purpose; *sequare* is second person singular present subjunctive.
629. **impecor**: “I invoke.” **ipsique nepotesque**: imitates *sequo suosque* at the end of Ariadne’s curse at Catullus 64.201 (Wills (1997) 265-6, Clausen (2002) 101). Vergil’s hypermetric\* line (cf. 558; 1.332 n.) at the end of a speech is remarkable, and marks the rush and vehemence of her words, with no break between her words and what follows. Williams rightly speaks of “the neverending hatred of Dido.”
631. **invisam...**: “seeking how with all speed to be rid of hateful day.” *Abrumpere lucem* is a variation of *abrumpere vitam* (8.579), with *lucem* meaning “the light of day” or “life,” and *abrumpere* “to break off” what would otherwise continue.
- 632-62. *Sending an old nurse to distract her sister, Dido mounts the pyre and draws a sword given her by Aeneas; gazing on the memorials around her, she recalls the greatness of her life and with a curse on her betrayer stabs herself.*
- Borrowings from tragedy, especially Sophocles’ *Ajax* and Euripides’ *Alcestis*, deepen the pathos, and there are again echoes of Medea and Ariadne, as well as one important suggestion of Cleopatra.
632. **Barcen nutricem**: the “nurse” or “foster-mother” was held in high esteem, cf. 5.645, 7.1-7 (Aeneas’ nurse Caieta). As Servius *auctus* notes, Barca was the family name of Hannibal (cf. also Barcae in 43 and n.).
633. **suam**: the reflexive here refers to the subject not of its own clause but of the previous clause.
635. **dic...properet**: “tell her to hurry to...”; cf. 5.550-1.
637. **sic**: “so,” i.e. when she has done what lines 635-6 require. Dido wishes to gain time.
638. **Iovi Stygio**: the “underworld Jupiter” is Pluto; at 6.138 *Iunoni infernae* is Proserpina.
- 639-40. **finemque...**: “and put an end to my troubles by giving (lit. ‘and to give’) to the flame the funeral pyre of that Trojan person.” The periphrasis\* *Dardanium caput* is probably meant to mark abhorrence, cf. 354 n. and 613 n. The clause introduced by *-que* in 640 is explanatory. The *rogus* is that on which his *effigies* (508) is placed.
642. **coeptis immanibus effera**: “maddened by her awful purpose,” “wild with the enormity of what she has begun.”

643. **sanguineam volvens aciem:** “rolling her bloodshot eyes” (cf. *volvens oculos* of Aeneas at 12.939). **maculisque...:** “and her quivering cheeks flecked with spots.”
644. **pallida morte futura:** cf. *pallentem morte futura* at 8.709, of Cleopatra on the shield of Aeneas; the echo links the two North African queens.
646. **rogos:** Hirtzel prints *gradus*, found in some manuscripts, but other modern editors print *rogos*; *gradus* occurs below in 685.
647. **non hos...:** “a gift not begged (or perhaps ‘sought’) for such a purpose.” In 507 *ensem relictum* seems to describe a sword left behind by chance, but here the sword is clearly a gift which Dido had asked Aeneas for, and which was to be fatal. As Servius notes, Vergil adapts the model of the gifts exchanged by Hector and Ajax after their duel in *Iliad* 7: Ajax will kill himself with the sword given by Hector (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 661-5, 1026-35), and Hector will be dragged around Troy by Achilles, tied with the baldrick given to him by Ajax; cf. Tatum (1984) 446, Panoussi (2002) 103 and (2009) 183.
- 648-51. Dido throws herself on the bed like Alcestis at Eur. *Alc.* 175-80. For *Iliacas vestis* in 648 and *dulces exuviae* in 651 as suggestive of Hypsipyle, from whom Jason departs on better terms in Apollonius, see Krevans (2002-03).
- 653-6. The monumental simplicity and grandeur of these lines make them recall the simple epitaphs of the Scipios and other Republican nobles; see the first several examples in Warmington (1935-40, vol. 1), and cf. Clausen (1987) 58-60 = (2002) 107-8, Perkill (1994) 67, and Thomas (1998a) 283-5 on Turnus and the Scipios.
653. **vixi:** “I have lived my life.” The word conveys the idea that the life thus lived has not been an empty and useless one, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.41-3 *ille potens sui | laetusque deget, cui licet in diem | dixisse “vixi,”* i.e. “I have lived” and not merely existed.
654. **et nunc...:** cf. Turnus at 12.648-9 *sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpae | descendam, magnorum haud unquam indignus avorum.*
657. **felix, heu nimium felix...:** an echo of the abandoned Ariadne’s words at Cat. 64.171-2 *utinam ne tempore primo | Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes*, and Silenus’ words on Pasiphae in *Ecl.* 6.45 *et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent*, and of their models in Eur. *Med.* 1-6, Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.26-33, Enn. *Medea Exul* fr. 208-9 in Jocelyn, fr. 253-4 in Warmington; cf. Clausen (1987) 58-60 = (2002) 107-10, Reed (2007) 117.
659. **os impressa toro:** probably “pressing her lips upon the couch,” i.e. in a kiss. So *Medea* in Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.26 and *Alcestis* in Eur. *Alc.* 183; cf. Reed (2007) 79-80. **moriemur...:** “I shall die unavenged but (still) let me die” (it is, however, possible to put a question mark after *inultae*, as in Prop. 2.8.17-18 *sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Propertii? | sed morere*). **inultae:** emphatic — to die unavenged or to leave the dead unavenged (cf. 656) was repugnant to ancient sentiment.
660. **sic, sic iuvat...:** “thus, thus it is a joy to pass beneath the shades.” *Iuvat* is a strong word, cf. 2.27; 3.606; *Geo.* 3.292. The meaning of *sic* is uncertain. Some take it as summing up (cf. 1.225 n.) all that precedes (“with this sword, on this couch, etc.”); others refer it specifically to *inultae* (“even so” = unavenged). Some even suggest that Dido stabs herself at each utterance of the word. Cf. the words of Anchises at 2.644-5 in what he (wrongly) thinks to be a similarly hopeless situation: *sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus. | ipse manu mortem inveniam.*
662. **omina:** anything seen when setting out on a journey was specially ominous, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.1-20. At *Aen.* 5.1-7 the sight of the flames of Carthage indeed has a grim effect on the Trojans.

663-92. *Dido sinks dying: a wail arises among her maidens and alarms Anna, who laments, and reproaches Dido for what she has done.*

The responses of Anna, and of the city, to Dido's suicide, suggests a perspective different from Dido's: that she did not deserve to die, and should not have killed herself (Perkell (1994)); on Dido's death, see references above 504-705 n.; Keith (2000) 114-17 notes that prolonged physical agony in the *Aeneid* occurs only with the deaths of Dido and Camilla.

663-4. **dixerat, atque...**: "she had spoken and right away, amid such words..."; for *atque* cf. 1.227 n. **ferro**: "on the sword." **conlapsam**: see 391 n.

665. **sparsas**: this may suggest either hands spattered with blood or hands loosened and so spread wide in death (Servius).

666. **concussam...**: "rumor rushes wildly through the startled town." **bacchatur**: cf. 300-1 (Dido) *per urbem* | *bacchatur*.

667. **lamentis...**: note the wild and imitative rhythm of 667, with hiatus\* before the final four-syllable *ululatu*, as in 9.477, where Euryalus' mother laments his death. Recall too the wailing of the nymphs in 168.

669. **non aliter...**: in the climax of the imagery likening Dido's fall to the sack of a city (cf. Lyne (1987) 19-20, Hardie (1986) 283), Vergil borrows this simile (as Macrobian *Sat.* 4.6 noted) from Hom. *Il.* 22.410-13, where the wailing for Hector is as if Troy has fallen. At the actual destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE, Scipio Aemilianus thought of Troy, quoted Hector's famous words from *Il.* 6.448-9 about the necessity for Troy to fall, and said that even Rome would meet this fate (Appian, *Hist. Rom.* 8.19.132, Polybius 38.21-2). For suggestions of the *Iliad* in *Aen.* 4, cf. 149 n.

671. **perque...perque**: effective repetition; the flames "roll on" in wave after wave.

672. **audii**: recalls ἤκουσε of Hom. *Il.* 22.447, where Andromache hears the mourning at Hector's death.

673. Repeated, of Turnus' sister Juturna, in 12.871, just before his death.

675. **hoc illud...**: "Was this then your purpose?" **me**: emphatic, "was it me you sought to deceive (lit. 'assailed with a trick')?" (cf. 12.359 *bello petisti*).

678. **vocasses**: equivalent to *vocare debebas* or *utinam vocasses*. "To the same doom you should have invited me," or "if only you had invited..." Cf. 8.643; 10.854; 11.161-2 *Troum socia arma secutum* | *obruerent Rutuli telis! animam ipse dedissem*.

680-1. **his...manibus**: *his* is deictic and rhetorical. **struxi**: i.e. the pyre. **vocavi** | **voce**: "called aloud upon." **posita**: from *pono*, "lay out" (for burial). **crudelis**: vocative, of Dido.

682-3. **populumque patresque** | **Sidonios**: the "people" and the "Fathers" constitute the whole nation, and the phrase is modeled on the well-known *Senatus Populusque Romanus*.

683-4. **date vulnera lymphis** | **abluam...**: "grant me to wash her wound with water and gather with my mouth whatever latest breath flickers over hers." Anna's words are in strong contrast with her previous passionate speech; her passion is over, she has but one care—to perform the last acts of tenderness and love to her dying sister. For this contrast and for the construction *date abluam*, cf. 6.883-6; similar constructions are 5.163 *stringat sine*, 7.17 *habeant sine*. Servius suggests *date* = *permittite*. Some prefer to call *date vulnera lymphis* "a rhetorical inversion quite in Virg.'s manner, like *dare classibus austros* 3.61" (Conington; this would be enallage\*, cf. 226 n.). **extremus...**: the next of kin customarily receive in the mouth the last breath of the dying in order to continue the existence of the spirit; cf. Cic.



Verr. 2.5.45 *matres...filiorum postremum spiritum ore excipere*; Ov. *Met.* 12.424, and *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock*.

685. **sic fata...evaserat**: “so saying (i.e. while so speaking)...she had climbed”; *fata* is like a present participle here. For *evaserat*, cf. 2.458 n.

686. **semianimem**: four syllables; the *i* of *semi* is treated as a consonant.

689. **deficit**: “swoons”; the sign of life shown in lifting her eyes disappears. **infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus**: recalls 4 *infixi pectore vultus* and 67 *tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus*. Earlier “wound” metaphors\* here become literal, just as Dido’s pyre makes literal the earlier fire imagery.

691-2. Dido’s eyes “roam” vaguely in search of the light, and then, when they have at last turned heavenward and found it, she “groans deeply.”

693-705. *Juno in pity sends Iris from heaven to cut off the fatal lock and end Dido’s pain*.

693. **Iuno omnipotens**: an epithet used often of Jupiter, but of Juno elsewhere only in Allecto’s deceptive words to Turnus at 7.428. Juno’s *lack* of power, however, is evident here; she has been unable to protect Dido (though was this ever really her goal, e.g., in her plan with Venus earlier in the book?) or to stop Aeneas, and will ultimately fail to protect Carthage.

694. **Irim**: often the messenger of Jupiter (9.803) or especially Juno (cf. 5.606, 9.2), cf. Feeney (1998b). For the rainbow, cf. Johnson (1976) 66-72 and Perkell (1994) 68-70 with further references.

695. **quae...**: “to separate her struggling soul from (lit. ‘and’) the limbs that cling to it” (relative clause of purpose). The soul was supposed to be intertwined with the body, and so to have difficulty in disentangling itself, cf. Lucr. 2.950 *vitalis animae nodos a corpore solvit*.

696. **nec fato**: suggests that while Aeneas had to leave Dido, the story did not have to end with her death. **merita nec morte**: here the narrator, perhaps reflecting Juno’s viewpoint, explicitly contradicts Dido’s words *quin morere ut merita es* (547); the narrator’s condemnation of Dido’s *culpa* in 172 is similarly challenging, but presents an opposing viewpoint. Cf. Perkell (1994).

697. **ante diem**: Dido dies “before her time”; her curse called for Aeneas to fall *ante diem* (620), and he will indeed die and/or be taken up to heaven within three years.

698-9. **nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem | abstulerat**: Proserpina’s need to cut a lock from the hair of the dying seems to be a Vergilian invention, despite the efforts of Macrobian. *Sat.* 5.19.2 to make it traditional; Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.19-20, often cited by modern commentators, does not mention hair, as noted by Rauk (1995). Vergil adapts the words of Death at Eur. *Alc.* 74: both Dido and Alcestis are being likened to sacrificial victims, from whom some hair is plucked before death (cf. 6.245). The cutting of the lock here may interact with the allusion at 6.459 to Cat. 66, the *Lock of Berenice*, in which the queen cuts off and dedicates a lock of her hair (Hardie (2006) 34).

702-3. **hunc**: sc. *crinem*. **sacrum**: similar to the language of Eur. *Alc.* 76.

705. **in ventos...**: “her life passed into the air.” Cf. the deaths of Lausus (*tum vita per auras* 10.819) and of both Camilla and Turnus (*vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* 11.831 = 12.952, the last line of the poem).



# Aeneid 5

## Introduction

The Trojans sail from Carthage to Italy by way of Sicily, where they mark the anniversary of Anchises' death. This observance takes the form of offerings at Anchises' grave followed by the athletic contests that comprise the central episode of the book. During these contests the Trojan women, left to mourn for the dead hero, reflect gloomily upon their own sufferings and so fall under the influence of Juno's agent Iris, who causes them to set fire to the Trojan ships. As a result, Aeneas leaves the women behind in Sicily, together with anyone else who is unable or unwilling to continue the journey to Italy. The main themes of the book — sacrifice, leadership, family, and cultural inheritance — are central to the poem as a whole. This thematic economy contributes to the highly symmetrical structure and strong narrative movement of what Montaigne (*Essays* 2.10) perceptively called “the most perfect” book of the poem.

A relatively placid surface narrative masks difficult psychological and social issues, which are prefigured by the storm that drives the Trojan ships back to Sicily and by many aspects of the athletic contests, before these issues eventually break through to the surface in the burning of the ships. The crisis thus precipitated makes it clear that Aeneas cannot succeed simply by enduring the many physical tests that stand in his way. He must also at last face up to the inner challenges of leadership and humanity represented by the loss of his father and the death of Dido. How well he succeeds can be judged only from his experiences in the books that follow.

More than an expedient response to immediate circumstances, Aeneas' return to Sicily can be read as a journey back in space and (wishfully, perhaps) in time: the Trojans return to the very place where they found themselves before Juno's storm blew them off course to Carthage. But even if the place is the same, time has not stood still: since his father's death Aeneas has spent a year in Carthage with Dido in an affair that ended disastrously. The reader must assume that Aeneas is truly unaware that Dido has taken her own life. But as the book opens, the Trojans gaze from the open sea back upon a fire in Carthage, brooding uncomfortably on what it means and nearly bridging the gap between the hero's ignorance and the reader's knowledge of what has just happened (5-6 n.). It is therefore powerfully ironic that Aeneas mourns not for Dido but only and instead for his father. The hero is selective in what he remembers and what he does not; and in any case his mourning, while it is motivated by *pietas*, is also a sign that he continues to look backwards rather than to the future.

Book 5 and especially the episode of the games is a famous instance of Vergil's intertextual engagement with Homer. This engagement is itself often figured as involving a paternal and a filial relationship, much like that of Aeneas and Anchises. But Richard Heinze shows how Vergil, even when he is at his most “Homeric,” brings to bear quite different and more exacting principles of formal artistry than he found in his model; while Brooks Otis is particularly good at revealing the psychological qualities of Vergilian narrative, what he calls Vergil's “subjective style” (in contrast to Homer's comparative “objectivity”). In structural terms, we are still in

the “Odyssean” half of the *Aeneid* (books 1-6), and elements of Vergil’s games are borrowed from the contests held at the court of Alcinoüs (*Od.* 8); but the games are obviously indebted to an Iliadic episode as well, the Funeral Games of Patroclus (*Il.* 23). For G. N. Knauer such passages prove that the traditional idea of an “Odyssean” *Aeneid* 1-6 followed by an “Iliadic” 7-12 is too simple; instead, he argues, Vergil’s plan was to demonstrate through analysis and recombination the fundamental similarity of the Homeric poems to one another at the level of plot and to fashion his *Aeneid* as a simultaneous imitation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in their entirety. This double imitation extends beyond structural to thematic concerns: notably, the games in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* occur at the point when Achilles and Odysseus emerge from isolation and begin to reintegrate themselves into society, much as Aeneas must do in the wake of his ill-fated sojourn in Carthage.

Critics have also explored the ways in which Vergil incorporates other poetic voices into his intertext, turning what is often conceived as a dialogue into something much more polyphonic. The most important contribution of this kind comes from Damien Nelis’ study of Vergil and Apollonius (2001), which shows that Apollonius’ influence extends throughout the *Aeneid* in much the same way as Homer’s. Thus Aeneas’ voyage from Carthage to Sicily and the events that take place there in book 5 correspond to Jason’s voyage from Colchis to Aeaëa and the events that take place there in *Argonautica* 4. (Both episodes mark the westernmost points reached in the two heroes’ voyages.) Here again a narrative congruency points to a similarity of theme, in this case ritual purification. Jason, of course, has escaped from Colchis with Medea’s assistance: in particular, Medea has gone so far as to help Jason murder her own brother, Apsyrtus; and it is the pollution that the couple have incurred that must be expiated when they reach Aeaëa, home of Circe, Medea’s aunt. Reference to Apollonius, then, confirms that the games in *Aeneid* 5 are a symbolic expiation of Anchises’ shade. But Aeneas did not murder Anchises or leave him unburied; and Vergil’s reference to the *Argonautica* reminds the reader of an “absent presence” in his narrative. For if we ask who the Medea of the *Aeneid* is, the obvious answer is Dido. (This was seen clearly by Servius (*ad* 4.1), who declares that *Aeneid* 4 in its entirety is taken from *Argonautica* 3, meaning that Aeneas plays the role of Apollonius’ Jason and Dido that of his Medea.) It is thus (from the reader’s point of view) the more immediate pollution brought upon Aeneas by Dido’s death of which the hero must be purified. But, as was noted above, Aeneas is either unaware of this necessity or he suppresses such awareness. In these ways, Vergil’s intertextual program powerfully reinforces the psychological element of his narrative.

Expiation frequently takes the form of sacrifice, a motif that permeates this book (Putnam (1965)), in both the literal form of animal sacrifice, a fundamental element of Roman religion, and the metaphorical form of human self-sacrifice. The two aspects are repeatedly joined symbolically (e.g. 327-38 n., 483-4 n.) until, at the end of the book, we encounter an actual human sacrifice when Neptune demands (814-15) and obtains (827-71) one life as payment for his guarantee of safe passage to Italy for the rest of the Trojans. His victim proves to be Palinurus, the helmsman of Aeneas’ flagship, whose fate is comically prefigured by an episode in the boat race (104-603 n.), a famous instance of how comedy in the *Aeneid* repeatedly gives way to tragedy.

Another powerful critical approach involves the perception of parallels between the heroic rituals depicted in book 5 and historical Roman institutions. For the ancient Roman reader, Aeneas’ commemoration of his father as a whole must have recalled aspects of the Parentalia festival (59 n.). The games themselves resemble events staged by Augustus to entertain the

urban populace while advertising his own power and authority (Feldherr (1995) 248). In particular, the Troy game was revived by Augustus as a deliberate link with Rome's (and his family's) Trojan origins (545-603 n.). Finally, the entire spectacle of book 5 takes place against the backdrop of Mt. Eryx, from which the cult of Venus Erycina was imported to Rome during the third century BCE at a time when the Aeneas legend was becoming a significant part of Roman national identity (1-103 n., 759-61 n.). Together with other etymological details, such as the names of several contestants in the games who are identified as the ancestors of different Roman *gentes* (114-23 n., 117 n., 121-2 n., 123 n., 568-9 n., 569-70 n.), these motifs reinforce the theme of making a society cohesive by celebrating shared ancestral institutions, whether real or fictive.

The structure of book 5 is beautifully worked out, but seldom commented upon. The book is bracketed by a pair of deaths (those of Dido and Palinurus) the circumstances and significance of which remain mysterious to the Trojans, and with a pair of sea voyages (from Africa to Sicily and then from Sicily to Italy). The lengthy central episode (104-761, 658 lines) takes place on a single day. The briefer episodes that surround it (1-103, 762-871) are similar in length (103 and 110 lines) and are separated from the events of the central episode by an interval of nine days in each case (64, 762). In counterpoint to this impressively balanced structure, a studied asymmetry pervades the episodes that take place on the day of the games (104-761 n.). The book is a masterpiece of narrative composition, so effective and seemingly natural in its rhetorical and emotional effect that the artistic means by which it achieves its goals can easily go unnoticed.

*Bibliography.* On book 5 in relation to the poem as a whole, see Swallow (1952-53), Galinsky (1968); to Homer, see Heinze (1915) 145-70 = (1993) 121-41, Otis (1964) 41-61, Cairns (1989) 215-48; to Apollonius, see Nelis (2001) 186-226; to the theme of sacrifice, see Putnam (1965) 64-104; to that of spectacle, see Feldherr (1995, 2002).

### 1-103: The Trojans return to Sicily on the anniversary of Anchises' death

Even as Aeneas turns his thoughts and emotions away from Dido and towards Anchises, he seems not to have come fully to terms with the loss of either one of them or with the mantle of leadership that he himself must at last assume. From the time that he left Troy to his first arrival in Sicily (book 3), Aeneas looked to Anchises as his guide and interpreter of the gods' will—even though Anchises was often mistaken about what fate had in store. After his father's death, Aeneas immediately "lost his way" (thanks to Juno's meddling) and sailed from Sicily not to Italy, but to Carthage, where he fell in love with Dido, herself an exile and the founder of a city—a leader of the very sort that he himself must become. But his affair with her was Dido's undoing. However aware or unaware Aeneas may be of this fact, he seems to view his return to Sicily as an opportunity to go back to a point before his ill-fated Carthaginian sojourn, as if he could just erase an entire year of his life, forgetting about past feminine entanglements and resolving to avoid them in the future. The return to Sicily thus symbolizes an effort to begin anew, a theme appropriate to the first book of the middle third of the poem (books 5-8).

Aeneas evidently regards Sicily as a paternal space because Anchises died and was buried there (26-31). But the very landscape of Sicily is dominated by reminders that it is Aeneas' mother, and not his father, who has always been and who remains his most efficacious guide and protector. When foul weather from the west drives the Trojan fleet towards Sicily, there are indications that Venus is the cause (19-20 n.). The Trojan settlement in Sicily where

the main action of the book takes place is adjacent to Mt. Eryx, in antiquity the site of an important Venus cult. The mountain takes its name from a hero who was Venus's son by the Argonaut Butes — and thus, like Cupid, Aeneas' maternal half-brother (24, 412; cf. 1.667). Thus it is Venus who watches over Aeneas and the Trojans more effectively than father Anchises ever did or could do now; and the reader is aware, even if father Aeneas is not, that he would have been lost without his divine mother.

*Bibliography.* On Sicily and the formation of the Trojan legend, see Galinsky (1969), Gruen (1992) 6-51, Casali (2010a) 37-51.

#### 1-41 *The Voyage from Carthage to Sicily*

1-7. *The Trojans, departing from Carthage, see the blaze from Dido's pyre and brood over its meaning.*

1-2. **medium...tenebat...iter:** having cast off and got clear of the harbor, Aeneas is now heading into the *medium iter* (cf. *medium aequor* 3.664-5 n.), the main part of the crossing between departure and arrival. In a larger sense, he is at the "midpoint" of his journey to Italy: his journey is no longer to the west but, as he rounds Cape Drepanum, the westernmost tip of Sicily (and the turning point of Aeneas' voyage: see Nelis (2001) 215-21), back east to Italy. The phrase has metapoetic relevance to the structure of the *Aeneid* as well: books 1-4 contain the Trojans' stay in Carthage, books 9-12 their war against Turnus. Here we begin the middle third of the poem according to this triadic structure. Cf. 160 n., 835 n. **tenebat:** an inceptive imperfect (AG §471c), indicating that the middle section of the voyage was just getting started (8 n.). **certus:** "unwavering," in contrast to his previous indecisiveness; Aeneas leaves Carthage behind with a new sense of resolve, which will, however, be sorely tested in this book. **atros Aquilone:** Servius (citing Pliny the Elder) states that the seas change color according to whatever wind is blowing, and Aulus Gellius (*NA* 2.30) notes that Aquilo makes the seas *atrius*, "darker." Williams connects the name *Aquilo* with *aquilus*, "black," making *atros Aquilone* an instance of *figura etymologica*, a rhetorical figure in which etymologically related words are used next to each other.

When they first leave Carthage (4.562) the Trojans sail with Zephyrus, which blows from the west; but here they face Aquilo from the northeast, the very direction in which they must sail to reach Italy, as if the elements that brought them here were now conspiring to prevent them from moving beyond this point (19-20 n., 22-3 n., 32-3 n.).

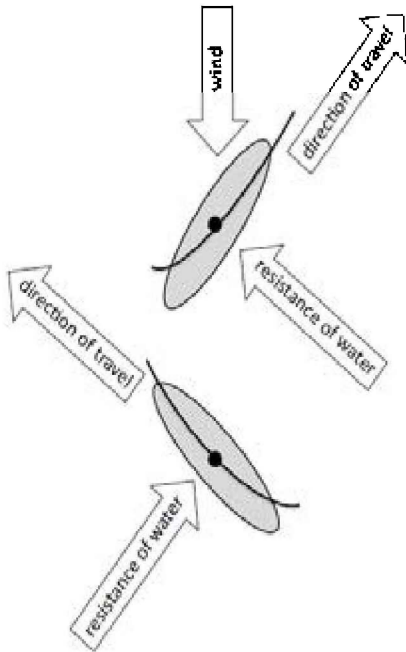
3. **respiciens:** in spite of his resolve to move on and complete his mission, Aeneas continues to look back to the past — often, as here, with only partial or even faulty comprehension. **infelicis Elissae:** *infelix* is Dido's perpetual epithet (1.749, 4.596-7 n., 6.456). For *Elissa*, see 1.340 n. Vergil never uses forms of *Dido* in the oblique cases.

5-6. **magno...amore...polluto:** an arresting phrase in two respects. First, representing the Trojans' perspective, it is capable of different interpretations: in their view, is the great love that was defiled Dido's love for Sychaeus or for Aeneas? In the former case, the blame would lie with Dido, a point of view that she herself expresses just before her suicide (4.552); in the latter, with Aeneas. Second, *polluo* is a powerful and unusual word in such a context. Elsewhere Vergil uses it with either a strictly literal meaning (of Celaeno and the Harpies befouling the Trojans' banquet, 3.234) or one pertaining to a religiously sanctified obligation (Lycurgus' sacriligious murder of Polydorus, 3.61; the Trojans' alleged violation of their treaty with the Latins, 7.467). Here the word introduces an important theme that derives from Vergil's imitation of Apollonius (see the Introduction to this book; cf. Nelis (2001) 190-

- 8). **notum...possit**: *notum* is the neuter participle used as a substantive (7.8 *perlitatum*, 7.22 *temptatum*) but it retains its verbal capacity to introduce the indirect question *quid...possit*; construe as “the knowledge [of] what a mad woman might do.” **quid**: cognate accusative with *possit* (AG §390c).
7. **augurium**: a word with strong religious overtones, in contrast to the prosaic *praesagitio* (Cicero, *Div.* 1.66, 123) or *praesensio* (Cicero, *Nat. D.* 2.7, 45).
- 8-34. *A storm threatens and the helmsman advises Aeneas to make for shelter. Aeneas agrees, and the fleet lands on Sicily near the tomb of Anchises.*
- 8-11. A nearly verbatim repetition in epic style of 3.192-5, modeled on the similar repetition of Hom. *Od.* 12.403-6 and 14.301-4. All the passages consist of exactly four lines; like Homer Vergil avoids repeating himself exactly; in addition Vergil reverses the order of the two Homeric passages, since this, the second passage of his pair, more closely renders the earlier one of Homer’s, and vice versa. Aeneas’ crossing to western Sicily is correlated with Odysseus’ approach to Scylla and Charybdis, which ancient geographers placed in the Straits of Messina between eastern Sicily and Italy.
8. **ut pelagus tenuere**: note the difference of tense between *tenuere* here and *tenebat* (1-2 n.). The Trojans are now well on their way and beyond sight of land. **tenuere**: = *tenuerunt*; the variant ending was attractive to poets both as an archaism\*, which lends dignity, and also because it offers different metrical possibilities (-*rē* instead of -*rūnt*) than the usual form.
9. **tellus**: = *terra*, but elevated in tone by its religious associations. Earth was worshipped in Rome as Tellus since at least the third century BCE and perhaps much earlier: see Richardson (1992) 378 s.v. Tellus, Aedes. **maria...caelum**: ≈ 3.193, *caelum undique et undique pontus*.
- 10-13. **olli...quianam**: cited by Quintilian (8.3.24) as archaisms for *illi* and *cur*, respectively. *Olli* is not infrequent in the *Aeneid* and in fact occurs four more times in this book (197, 284, 358, 580; cf. 1.254 n.), but *quianam* occurs only once again in the entire poem (10.6).
12. **Palinurus**: previously (3.202) the helmsman was unable to find his way in bad weather; now he successfully charts a course for Sicily. After years of wandering, the Trojans are better able to fend for themselves than they once were (22-3 n.). In book 5 Palinurus appears only in this initial episode and in the last (827-71), where the roles of helmsman and hero are brought dramatically together (868 n.).
13. **quianam**: 10-13 n. **cinxerunt aethera nimbi**: clouds within the heavier lower atmosphere (*aër* 19-20 n.) are said to have formed a “belt” (*cinxerunt*) below the bright upper air or *aether*. This image differs from English usage, in which a belt normally encircles something from without rather than from within.
14. **quidve, pater Neptune, paras?**: Palinurus’ question foreshadows the end of the book, where Neptune demands the helmsman’s life as compensation for Aeneas’ safe passage to Italy (800-15 n., 827-71 n.). **pater**: frequently used for any god (cf. 1.155 n.), but also the first occurrence in this book of an important thematic word. **sic deinde locutus**: = 400; 7.135 *sic deinde effatus* (but contrast 303 n.). In prose *deinde* would follow the participle, the force of which it sums up (2.391 *sic fatus deinde...induitur*), but Virgil often places *deinde* in unexpected positions (1.195 n., 3.609) precisely to avoid a prosaic tone.
15. **colligere arma**: the meaning is uncertain. If it refers to gathering loose equipment that would become dangerous in a storm, it means roughly “to batten down the hatches.” Servius however explains it as meaning *vela contrahere* “to shorten sail” so as to maintain better

control of the ship in high winds. **arma**: not “weapons” here but “equipment” more generally, an archaic usage that Vergil may have revived (see Mynors on *Geo.* 1.160), though perhaps it never lost currency in spoken Latin.

16. **obliquat**: “sets slantwise,” one of several verbs occurring first in Vergil that are formed from adjectives (here from *obliquus*) or nouns. The maneuver described is “tacking”: by setting the sail so that the wind strikes it at an angle, it is possible to move against the wind on a zig-zag pattern. Because ancient ships lacked a keel deep enough to provide balance and leverage against a crosswind, the maneuver was more difficult than it would be for modern ships and so was more of a coping mechanism than something that could be maintained over the long haul.



**Figure 1:** diagram of tacking procedure

- 17-18. **auctor | spondeat**: both words are formal in tone. *Spondeo* is regularly used of entering into a contractual agreement. *Auctor* has significance in both the legal (“security” or “guarantor”) and the parliamentary (“supporter” or “proposer of a motion”) spheres.
18. **sperem...contingere**: *Spero* normally takes a subject accusative plus future infinitive. The construction with the present infinitive alone is an archaism that remained common in poetry. Cf. also 2.658 n.
- 19-20. **transversa**: adverbial (cf. 3.610 n.). **vespere ab atro | consurgunt venti**: *vesper* by metonymy\* means “the west” (where the “evening star” sets), forcing the Trojans towards the east (cf. 1-2 n.). But literally Vesper is the evening star, i.e. the planet Venus. The winds thus blow again (1-2 n.) from the goddess’ precinct, urging the Trojans eastwards to Sicily in an expression of divine will. It is dark in the west because the Trojans set sail before dawn



- (4.584-8), and also because of the storm; but this darkness may suggest the trials that still await the Trojans as well as their ignorance of those trials. **in nubem cogitur aër**: according to ancient science, weather occurs in the lower atmosphere or *aër*, below the bright, fiery *aether* (13 n.), and clouds are merely *aër* in condensed form (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.101). **aër**: some of Homer's ancient critics connected *aër* allegorically with Hera (because the Greek words, ἄήρ and Ἥρα, sound similar). Vergil, aware of this conception of Homer's gods, applies it to his own. Thus in book 1, Juno (the Roman Hera) conjures a storm to prevent Aeneas from reaching Italy, driving him to Africa instead. Here, as Aeneas retraces his steps, when his route is again blocked by storm, the divine agency behind the storm is not made explicit (but cf. *vespere* in 19 with note).
- 21-2. **contra**: may be construed with both *obniti* and *tendere*, although *tendere contra* alone is repeated in 27. **tantum**: = *satis* (i.e. *quantum opus est*); adverbial with *sufficimus* "we are not strong enough" (9.806 *subsistere tantum*). **sufficimus**: not previously found with the complementary infinitive, but poetry in general uses the infinitive more freely than does classical prose.
- 22-3. **superat...iter**: Palinurus interprets the storm as a sign of divine will that the Trojans put in at Eryx. His correct inference shows that Aeneas and his people have made progress in understanding what fate requires of them. **vertamus iter**: the phrasing emphasizes the idea that the Trojans have reached the turning point of their journey (Nelis (2010) 215-21).
- 23-4. **litora...fraterna Erycis**: "the brotherly shores of Eryx" (630), hypallage\* for "the shores of your brother Eryx." The figure endows the shores themselves with brotherly feelings (the "pathetic fallacy"). The genealogical element is important: Eryx, like Cupid (1.667), is the half-brother of Aeneas (*germanus* 412) because he is also the son of Venus (by the Argonaut Butes according to Servius *ad loc.* (cf. Nelis (2001) 13-14, 205-9), who notes that others say the father was Neptune (on which see Leigh (2010)). These "brotherly shores" are therefore — and more importantly, if we judge by how much Venus does to support Aeneas' mission — maternal ones as well. But here as for the most part elsewhere in book 5, Venus' influence is implied rather than made explicit. (For the main exception see 779-826 n.) **longe**: depends on understood *abesse* (or *esse* 12.52). **Sicanos**: the oldest named inhabitants of Sicily, perhaps Iberian immigrants (Thuc. 6.2.2); properly those who occupied only the western half of the island except the region around Mt. Eryx (cf. 73 n. *Helymus*), but by metonymy\* all inhabitants of Sicily.
25. **servata**: *servo* is used regularly of "observing" the stars (6.338).
- 26-31. Aeneas has anticipated Palinurus in divining the will of the gods. By battling the winds the helmsman had been misreading or resisting signs from above; Aeneas understands and accepts the signs and welcomes the opportunity to visit the site of his father's tomb. Vergil, like most Romans, drew freely on the views of different philosophical schools. Here both Aeneas and Palinurus exemplify in different ways an attitude recommended by the Stoics and best expressed about a century after the *Aeneid* was written by the Neronian courtier and Stoic philosopher Seneca the Younger in a famous *sententia*: "fate leads the willing man, and drags the unwilling" (*Ep.* 107.11). Aeneas prospers not by realizing his personal desires (here, to reach Italy as soon as possible), but by recognizing what higher powers require of him (a temporary return to Sicily) and making that his goal.
27. **iamdudum**: construe with both *cerno* and *poscere* (26).
29. **quove**: the relative adverb *quo* "to which" (and not the pronoun). **magis...optem**:

- periphrasis\* for *malim* (= *magis velim*) “prefer” (cf. 4.24-6 n.). **fessas**: 1.168-9 n. **optem demittere**: *optem* + infinitive is common in poetry (2.635; cf. 21-2 n.), but not in prose. **demittere**: “bring to harbor” (cf. 3.219 n.).
30. **Acestēn**: 1.195 n. This is a Greek accusative form (Ἀκέστῃ).
31. **patris Anchisae**: for the death of Anchises see 3.710. **gremio complectitur ossa**: the metaphor\* of earth “embracing” the bones of the dead is conventional in Latin (e.g. Lucr. 1.135 = 4.734 *quorum morte obita tellus amplectitur ossa*) as it is in English. Here *gremio* intensifies the metaphor and personifies the land, so that we may catch a hint of something more: the land belongs to Venus, and Anchises is her former consort. Now she embraces the hero in death as she once did in love.
- 32-3. **secundi...Zephyri**: when the Trojans were still hoping to sail directly to Italy, they were hindered by “gales from the dark west” (19). Now that they have changed course for Sicily, the westerly gales have become “favorable Zephyrs.” Zephyrus is the Greek name for the Latin Favonus, the wind associated with the coming of spring (Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.1) and with the goddess Venus as well.
34. **harenae**: dative of end of motion with compound verb (AG §428h); a poetic construction that seeps into prose after Vergil’s time. Cf. 1.126 n.
- 35-41. *Acestes hurries to meet the Trojans and welcomes their return with a feast.*
36. **adventum sociasque rates**: an instance of hendiadys\*, to be construed *apo koinou\** (“in common”) as the object of both the participle *miratus* (“he wondered at *the arrival of friendly ships*”) and the finite verb *occurrit* (“and went to meet *them*”).
37. **horridus in**: construe with both *iaculis* and *pelle* (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.88 *tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes*). **et pelle Libystidis ursae**: = 8.368. *Libystidis ursae* probably refers to the Atlas bear (*Ursus arctos crowtheri*, also known as Shimera), a subspecies of the Brown bear once found in North Africa from Morocco to Libya, but probably extinct since the nineteenth century. It is mentioned by Greek writers as early as Herodotus (4.191) and was known in Rome from its appearances in *venationes* (*ursos Numidicos*, Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 8.131; but Pliny does not regard them as native to Africa, cf. 8.228). **Libystidis**: “Libyan,” a Greek form (Λιβυστιδός), here given the equivalent Latin ending (*-is* for the Greek *-ος*). The word must have sounded exotic: Vergil uses it only twice in the *Aeneid* (against thirteen occurrences of the more straightforward Latin word, *Libycus -a -um*), here and at 8.368 when Aeneas reaches the future site of Rome. Libya in the *Aeneid* is generally synonymous with Carthage by virtue of the ancient Greek usage by which all of Africa was called Libya, even though by Virgil’s time Libya was a well-defined area that did not include Carthage (*OCD* s.v. Libya). Exoticizing reference to Punic influence throughout the western Mediterranean in the heroic period may remind the reader that Carthage was to remain Rome’s rival for centuries after the events depicted in the poem. Such a reminder has special point in an episode set in the vicinity of Mt. Eryx, possession of which was specifically contested between the Romans and the Carthaginians during the First and Second Punic Wars (Traill (2001)). On the other hand, *Libystis* appears only in scenes where Aeneas is warmly welcomed, here by Acestes and subsequently by Evander, as indeed he had been welcomed by Dido.
38. **mater**: Servius (*ad* 1.550) relates the story of the Trojan woman Egesta who, banished by Laomedon, bore Acestes to the Sicilian river god Criniscus.
39. **veterum non immemor ille parentum**: this phrase sums up one of the major themes of the book, and indeed of the poem. Acestes remembers the ancestry that he shares with Aeneas

and extends him hospitality; Aeneas remembers his father, who had shared and relieved the hero's burdens throughout most of his wanderings (3.709); the reader will recognize throughout the book details that recall the antiquity of the Roman people and their ancestral connections to Troy. **non immemor:** litotes\*, "ever mindful."

40. **gratatur reduces:** supply *esse*. Acestes congratulates the Trojans for being *reduces*, returned to his town in safety. The accusative + infinitive construction with *gratari* (archaic\* for *gratulari*) appears here for the first time (Tac. *Ann.* 6.21 *incolumem fore gratatur*); the more usual dative (4.478) means "to congratulate someone as they do something." **gaza:** a loanword from Persian (Servius *ad* 1.119). Its exotic color suggests the opulence that Romans associated with the great kingdoms of Egypt and Asia Minor (see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.38.1 *Persicos apparatus*). It occurs only three times in the poem (cf. 1.119, 2.763), always with reference to Troy, here emphasizing Acestes' Trojan ancestry. **agresti:** in combination with *gaza* almost an instance of oxymoron\*, possibly connoting the uncouth and unkempt, but also bearing more positive associations with simplicity, frugality, and honesty.

#### 42-103: The Anniversary of Anchises' Death

42-71. Aeneas assembles the Trojans for a sacrificial banquet in remembrance of Anchises, and announces athletic contests on the ninth day thereafter.

42. **primo...Oriente:** ablative of time, "at the first (appearance of the) rising sun" (cf. 3.588). **fugarat:** = *fugaverat* by syncope\*.
45. **Dardanidae...a sanguine divum:** Dardanus was son of Jupiter by Electra, daughter of Atlas (8.134-7). *Divum* is masculine genitive plural (= *divorum*, cf. 1.4 n.).
46. A golden line\* of the pattern abVBA; see Wilkinson (1963) 215-18.
47. **divini...parentis:** Servius (*ad* 45) sees an allusion here to Augustus' relationship with his divine parent, Divus Iulius.
49. **iamque dies...adest:** on anniversaries in Roman culture and as a theme in the *Aeneid* see Feeney (2007) 148-66. Imposing order and regularity on the reckoning of time was an important part of Augustus' cultural program, and Aeneas' observance of this anniversary may be a graceful acknowledgement on Vergil's part of the Princeps' contributions in this area.
- 51-4. Aeneas would celebrate the anniversary of Anchises' death even under the most adverse circumstances, such as captivity in Greece or exile in Africa. The historical enmity between Romans and Africans began with the Punic Wars and continued (thanks to such foes as Jugurtha, Cleopatra, and others) down to Vergil's lifetime (1.12-33, 4.621-9). But by pairing Africa and Greece, home of the Trojans' traditional enemies, Vergil projects this historical situation back into the heroic period. Aeneas has never been taken prisoner by the Greeks, but he has of course spent a year of his exile in Africa.
51. **Gaetulis...Syrtibus:** the Trojans themselves have run afoul of the Syrtes (1.111 n.); but Aeneas' words here recall those of Anna to Dido early in book 4 where she mentions both the Syrtes and the hostile Gaetuli (as well as the Numidians) as dangers that surround the new Carthaginian settlement in Africa (4.40-1 with notes). Does this similarity suggest that Aeneas has adopted a Carthaginian perspective? Or does he use *Gaetuli* by synecdoche\* for Africans generally, avoiding explicit reference to his onetime friends, now enemies, the Carthaginians? **agerem:** governing *hunc (diem)*, "spend this (day)."

52. **deprensus**: “caught” or “captured” by the Greeks (hence the emphasis placed on *Argolico* and *Mycenae*, which refer to the kingdoms of the Greek leaders Agamemnon and Menelaus), balancing the sense of *exsul* in the preceding line (an exile in Africa, a prisoner in Greece). **urbe Mycenae**: genitive of apposition (AG §282, 343d; like the English idiom, “city of New York”). The simple appositive (*urbe Mycenā*) would be more common in Latin, but here Vergil uses the rarer construction (1.247 n., 565; 3.293). The singular *Mycena*, -ae is also much rarer than the plural *Mycenae*, -arum (cf. 6.773 *urbemque Fidenam* for *Fidenas*).
- 53-4. **vota...pompas** | **exsequer**: zeugma\*; *vota exsequi*, “to fulfill vows,” but cf. *pompas exsequi*, “to conduct a funeral procession” (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.48 *hunc laude exsequi*, “to lay him in the tomb with praise”). **suis**: in place of *propriis*, “due” or “appropriate,” with reference to *altaria* (3.469 n.; AG §301c). **altaria**: used properly, according to Servius (*ad loc.*) the word denotes altars belonging to the gods of the upper world (*di superi*), not those used in cults of heroes or the dead (*di inferi*). Its occurrence here perhaps suggests that Anchises has achieved some exceptional status beyond what is normally associated with ancestor worship.
55. **ultro**: “beyond expectation” (2.145 n.).
56. **haud...**: litotes\*. On Aeneas’ divination of the gods’ will, see 26-31 n.
57. **delati**: 3.219 n.
59. **poscamus ventos**: *poscere* takes two accusatives, of the person asked and of the thing requested (AG §396). *Ventos* is the latter; for the former, understand *Anchisen*. **haec...sacra quotannis**: Aeneas’ actions anticipate the Parentalia festival, held annually at Rome in honor of the dead and described by Ovid (*Fast.* 2.543) as instituted by Aeneas in honor of Anchises. Cf. 49 n., 64-5 n.
62. **adhibete penatis**: the gods thus “summoned” were traditionally believed actually to attend and partake of the feast (Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.31).
- 64-5. **si...extulerit**: not “if” but “when”; conditional clauses are idiomatic in such expressions (Cat. 14.17 *nam, si luxerit, ad libroriorum | curram scriinia*. **nona**: Roman funeral observances lasted nine days (Porphyrio on Hor. *Epod.* 17.48). Since the Trojans’ return from Carthage to Sicily takes place in winter (4.309), Vergil may conceive of Aeneas’ foundational celebration as taking place during the nine-day period from February 13-21, the date of the Parentalia in both the Numan and Julian calendars. The Parentalia festival was celebrated mainly within the family, but the last day of the festival, the Feralia, was celebrated publicly, and this detail too corresponds to Aeneas’ decision to celebrate Anchises’ memory publicly nine days after his announcement. **extulerit...orbem**: cf. 4.119 *extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem*.
- 66-9. Aeneas specifies five events, of which four are found in the account of the games (104-544): a boat race (*classis* 66: 114-285), a foot race (*pedum cursu* 67: 286-361), archery (*sagittis* 68: 485-544), and boxing (*caestu* 69: 362-484). The order of events follows the order in which Aeneas announces them here, except that the archery and boxing contests are reversed. The javelin throw (*iaculo* 68) does not occur either in *Aen.* 5 or in *Il.* 23.
68. **incedit**: 1.46 n.
69. **seu**: (following *aut*) “or if,” implying doubt whether any one will have the courage to undertake this dangerous contest. For the *caestus* itself see 401-5 with notes.
71. **ore favete**: any ill-omened words would spoil the performance of a sacred ritual. It was therefore customary to ask observers “to show favor with their speech” (*os* “mouth,” but by metonymy\* “speech”), i.e. to utter none but favorable words; and as the safest way to do this

was to say nothing, the phrase usually means “be silent” (Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.2 *favete linguis*; Prop. 4.6.1 *sacra facit vates, sint ora faventia sacris*).

72-103. *Aeneas offers sacrifice at his father’s tomb. A snake appears, tastes the offerings, and disappears. Aeneas declares it the tutelary deity of the spot, or the attendant spirit of Anchises, and renews the sacrifice, which is followed by a feast.*

72. **materna**: because myrtle is sacred to Venus (see Thomas on *Geo.* 1.28).

73. **Helymus**: evidently a companion of Aeneas, whose name recalls that of the Elymi, one of the peoples who occupied the region around Mt. Eryx; cf. 300 n. **aevis**: genitive of specification (AG §394d; 2.638 n.).

77-8. **duo...duo...duo**: the repetition connotes the care and solemnity with which the ceremony is conducted. **mero...Baccho**: syntactically between the ablative of description (AG §415), in which the ablative phrase directly modifies a noun, and the ablative of means (AG §409a), since *carchesia* here means not just “cups” but “cupfuls of” or “cups filled with.” On offerings to the dead see 3.62 n., 3.301-3 n. *Baccho* stands by metonymy\* for *vino*. **carchesia**: tankards somewhat narrowing in the middle with two handles reaching to the foot.

80. **salve...:** the ritual greeting of the deceased (6.506 n., Hom. *Il.* 23.179, Catullus 101.10). **iterum**: in reference to the *salve* that was uttered at Anchises actual funeral, which is now repeated.

80-1. **recepti | nequiquam cineres**: *recepti* is nominative modifying the proleptic\* *cineres* (“ashes saved in vain” from the destruction of Troy), not genitive (“ashes of him who was saved...”), so Servius, who nevertheless finds the expression strained. **animae...umbrae**: the plural is often used of a single apparition (*umbris* 4.571).

83. **quicumque est**: in ironic\* contrast with its later fame. Note that everything about the promised land is still quite strange to Aeneas.

84. **adytis**: the word suggests both the retreat of a serpent and the shrine of a divinity. The serpent represents the spirit of the dead, which was regarded as inhabiting (or visiting, 98 n.) the tomb, and which by partaking of the offerings indicates his happy acceptance of them.

85. **septem...septena**: in poetry the distributive is often used as a synonym or replacement for cardinal numbers for the sake of *variatio* (rhetorical variation). Cf. 560-1 n.; AG §137d. **gyros**: the circuits round the altar, *volumina* the undulations of the serpent’s body. **traxit**: governs both *gyros* and *volumina* but in slightly different senses (*zeugma*\*); the snake “trails a circle” by forming one as it moves, and “trails the coilings” of its body by the way it moves.

87-8. **notae...incendebat fulgor**: both nouns form the compound subject of *incendebat*, which agrees in number (and in sense) with the nearer of them.

89. **mille...colores**: cf. 4.701 *mille trahens varios adverso sole colores*.

90. **ille**: regularly used to signal a change of subject (AG §297a-b), here pointedly juxtaposed with the previous subject *Aeneas*. **agmine**: 2.212 n.

94. **instaurat**: 3.62 n.

95. **genium...:** the tutelary deity of places or persons was represented under the form of a serpent; the same was true of the *famulus* that was thought to attend demigods and heroes.

96-7. **bidentis...sues...iuvenco**: the technical name for this sacrifice was *suovetaurilia*. **nigrantis**: 6.153 n.

98. **animamque...:** cf. *Il.* 23.219. Just as the gods are summoned to a feast (62), so the dead are summoned to come and enjoy the offerings made to them.

100. **quae cuique est copia, laeti**: all were happy to contribute, each in proportion to his means. On distributive pronouns in relative clauses see AG §313a.

#### 104-761: The day of the Games

At 658 lines this is by far the longest of the book's three sections, but like the other two it takes place on a single day which is separated from each of them by a nine-day interval (64, 104-5, 762). While it is the centerpiece of a highly symmetrical book (see introductory note), its internal structure is enlivened by a studied asymmetry. The games (104-603, see n.) occupy three quarters of the space allotted to the day on which they occur (499 lines out of 658), while the day's second major occurrence, the burning of the ships (604-761, see n.), takes up only one quarter (157 lines). Within the games themselves, by the principle of *variatio* (85 n.) longer episodes alternate with shorter (Heinze (1993) 123). After brief preliminaries (104-13, 10 lines), the first event (boat race) occupies 172 lines, the second (foot race) 76, the third (boxing) 123, and the fourth (archery) 60. The fifth, and final, non-competitive event, the Troia, signals the closure of the contests by re-establishing a sense of symmetry, being almost exactly as long (58 lines) as the previous event.

#### 104-603: The Games

This episode is modeled on several previous epic accounts of athletic contests. Most obvious is book 23 of the *Iliad*, which describes the funeral games celebrated by Achilles in honor of Patroclus. This is the most extensive "intrusion" of Iliadic material into the Odyssean *Aeneid*. This incursion is made all the more striking by the fact that Vergil "moves" only the games to this part of the poem; Patroclus' actual burial—which gruesomely includes human sacrifice—does not figure in the memorial rites for Anchises in book 5, but rather becomes the model for Pallas' funeral in book 11, a book that not only occurs in the "Iliadic" half of the poem but one that, like *Iliad* 23, stands in the next-to-last position. But the "intrusion" of this Iliadic episode here is "justified" by the fact that the *Odyssey* too contains athletic contests, which are held at the court of Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians: details from this episode are woven into Vergil's games which, like those in the *Odyssey*, occur just before the narration of the central episode of both poems, the hero's visit to the world of the dead (Cairns (1989) 178-9). Similarly, Nelis (2001) 8-21 shows that the games in book 4 of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*—themselves a skillful imitation of the games episodes in both of Homer's epics—are scarcely less important to Vergil than are Homer's, not least because they call the reader's attention to the importance of the Sicilian episode in Vergil's Argonautic program (Nelis (2001) 186-226).

Vergil's skill in refashioning his sources is especially evident in this episode. Where Homer relates a long series of increasingly shorter episodes, Vergil selects just four, and alternates longer (boat race, boxing) with shorter (foot race, archery) contests. To these he adds a fifth, non-competitive event, the Troia, that has no Homeric or Apollonian counterpart. Where the earlier contests develop in a relatively straightforward way, Vergil's are full of unexpected twists; and instead of presenting the individual contests mainly as discrete episodes, Vergil relates them closely and in a variety of ways to major themes and turns of plot elsewhere in the *Aeneid*.

In some respects, however, the purpose of the games in Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil is very similar. In *Iliad* 23, Achilles has abandoned his allies over a personal vendetta with Agamemnon, and has returned to battle only to pursue a new vendetta with Hector. By presiding over the burial of his beloved friend Patroclus and holding games in his honor,

Achilles begins to see himself once again as a member of the warrior society that he had left in the first book of the poem. Apollonius' games, as Nelis stresses, follow the death of Medea's brother Absyrtus, and thus perform an expiatory function. Aeneas, left without guidance upon his father's death, becomes involved with Dido, temporarily loses sight of his goal, and tragically (if inadvertently) causes her death as well. Because Aeneas' return to Sicily immediately follows Dido's suicide, these games, as Nelis (2001) 190-8 shows, perform some of the expiatory functions of those in Apollonius. At the same time, they allow Aeneas, as he honors his deceased father, to establish himself as a leader in his own right and thus to assume his proper place among his people, much as Homer's games do for Achilles.

From another point of view, Vergil's games can be seen as a microcosm of the Trojans' experience in the poem as a whole: after a sea voyage (≈boat race) they will face a series of trials on land; and the land events (foot race, boxing, archery, Troia) come increasingly to resemble the arts of war. Notable too is the emphasis throughout the games on sacrifice, a dominant theme of the book and of the poem (Putnam (1965)). As the games progress, the motif of sacrifice becomes more literal and, in places, involves explicit reference to human sacrifice. In the boat race Gyas pitches his helmsman overboard in a comical anticipation of the sacrifice of Palinurus; with a long lead in the foot race Nisus slips in some sacrificial blood, but turns his misfortune to the advantage of Euryalus, thus "sacrificing" himself for his friend (and anticipating the devotion that he shows in deadlier circumstances in book 9); Entellus with a mighty blow of his fist literally sacrifices a steer, his prize as victor in the boxing match, calling it a more appropriate victim than the opponent whom he nearly killed in the ring; and the object of the archery contest is to shoot and kill a dove tethered to a ship's mast.

*Bibliography:* with a focus on intertextual relations to Homer, Apollonius, and others: Heinze (1915) 145-70 = (1993) 121-41, Otis (1964) 41-61, Knauer (1964a and b), Glazewski (1972-73), Rose (1982-83), Poliakoff (1985), Cairns (1989) 215-48; Nelis (2001) 186-226; Leigh (2010); with a focus on political and historical elements: Briggs (1975), Feldherr (1995, 2002), Traill (2001), McGowan (2002).

*Preliminaries (104-13). The Trojans and their Sicilian hosts gather on the appointed day, and prizes are displayed.*

105. **Phaëthontis:** the sun itself, as in Homer, and not the son of Helios and Clymene (Ovid, *Met.* 1.747-2.332).

106. **nomen:** "race" or "nation" (*OLD* s.v. 19); so *nomen Latinum*, "Latin people."

108. **visuri...parati:** the construction *pars...pars* is a very common way of saying "some do this, while others do that" (cf. 1.423-5). Vergil occasionally omits the first *pars* (557-8, 660-1). Here the addition of *et* gives the expression a slightly different force from the usual: the Sicilians all come to see the games, *and some also* to compete. As a collective noun, *pars* can take modifiers that do not agree with it in either gender or number (AG §286b; cf. 280a, 317d). **visuri:** future active participle expressing purpose (AG §499.2).

109-10. **circo...in medio:** as Feldherr (1995) 246 notes, the phrase is "slightly incongruous since the spectators have already gathered on the shore," but at the same time it "serves to recast the boatrace about to commence as a circus spectacle by superimposing the physical structure of the circus over the space of the composition." Cf. 288-9 n. **sacri tripodes:** called *sacri* because they were commonly used as votive offerings, tripods were also regular prizes in Greek games (Hom. *Il.* 23.259, Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.3).

111. **palmae pretium victoribus**: the palm is a symbol of victory (Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.5).
112. **talenta**: both *talenta* and *talentum* are supported by the manuscripts; the plural is preferable, because a talent is generally a weight of some particular substance (cf. *argenti...magnum talentum* 248), not several substances mixed together. Thus Aeneas offers (presumably) one talent each of gold and silver. Cf. 11.333 *auri eborisque talenta*.
113. **commissos...ludos**: modeled on the common phrase *committere proelium*, and thus likening the games to a kind of battle. **medio**: placed iconically in the middle of the line. **agger**: the herald stands on an elevated spot, perhaps the same one used earlier by Aeneas (44).

*First Event: The Boat Race (114-285)*

This event — the first and longest of the four — is modeled on the chariot race — the first and longest of Homer's events (*Il.* 23.262-650) with many additional contributions from Apollonius (*Arg.* 1.364-5, 2.345-8, 588-90, 932-5, 4.1541-5, etc.; Nelis (2001) 209-21).

114-23. *The captains Mnestheus, Gyas, Sergestus, and Cluentius enter the race. All but Gyas are to become the eponymous ancestors of specific Roman gentes.*

Greek intellectuals linked the foundation of Rome to heroes of the Trojan War as early as the fifth century, and the idea had gained currency at Rome by the third century. Not long before Vergil began the *Aeneid*, the senator and scholar M. Terentius Varro wrote a book *De familiis Troianis* to record and perhaps sort out the competing traditions, but apart from a few citations it does not survive. The families singled out here are curious choices, since they are decidedly not among the most important or the most admirable in Roman history. The names of the ships — *Pristis*, *Chimaera*, *Centaurus*, and *Scylla* — are surprising as well, in that they refer to monsters of a type that mythology usually represents as enemies of civilization.

114.  **pares**: “well-matched.”

116. **Mnestheus**: construe as two long syllables. As in all Greek names ending in *-eus*, *-eu* represents the Greek diphthong *ευ*. **remige**: “oarsmen,” collective singular (like *milite*, “troops,” 2.495; AG §317d n. 2) of the ablative of means. **Pristim**: a sea-monster (3.426-7 n.).

117. **Mnestheus...Memmi**: a fanciful etymology\*. The Memmii were not known as an especially ancient or important *gens*, although they were active in politics from the time of the Jugurthine War (112-104 BCE) until the end of the Republic. One of them, C. Memmius, was praetor in 58 and the following year as propraetor and governor of Bithynia he had Catullus (together with Catullus' friend and fellow poet C. Helvius Cinna) on his staff; see poems 10.7, 30; 25.7; 28.9; 31.5. Memmius is also the addressee of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* (see 1.26, 42, 411, *et passim*).

118. **ingentemque...ingenti mole Chimaeram**: emphatic repetition in the epic style (Hom. *Il.* 16.776); cf. 10.842 = 12.640, 447 *gravis graviterque*. For the entire expression cf. Lucretius 4.902 *trudit agens magnam magno molimine navem*. **ingenti mole**: ablative of quality (AG §415) or description.

119. **urbis opus**: “as big as a city.” A similar phrase in Cicero suggests the colossal size of a ship (*Verr.* 5.4.89 *navis...urbis instar*), but here the comparison between ship and city-state (traditional since Alcaeus, who is explicitly imitated by Hor. *Carm.* 1.14; see Nisbet-Hubbard 1.179; cf. Quintilian 8.6.44) suggests the destiny that awaits this crew (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 6.641



*urbis opus domus una fuit*). **triplici...versu:** the oarsmen are arranged one above the other in three banks. The detail is anachronistic, since triremes were invented in about 700 BCE, after the end of the heroic age (Thuc. 1.13).

120. **consurgunt:** Vergil encourages the mind's eye to move from the lowest bank of oars to the middle one to the highest as they "rise" one above the other, thus emphasizing the enormous size of the ship.

121-2. **Sergia:** this family's best-known member was the revolutionary L. Sergius Catilina, whose attempted *coup d'état* Cicero successfully opposed in 63 BCE. Vergil envisions Catilina as being punished in the underworld at 8.668. **magna:** feminine as if in agreement with the common noun *navis* (which Vergil does not use here) instead of with the (masculine) name of the ship, *Centaurus* (which he does).

123. **Cluenti:** the best-known Cluentius was the defendant of Cicero's *pro Cluentio*, whom Cicero got acquitted of a murder charge.

124-50. *The course is out to sea, around a rock, and home. They draw lots for places, and after a pause of breathless excitement the signal is given and they dash away amid the cheers of the onlookers.*

125-8. **tumidis...tranquillo:** successive clauses marked by contrasting initial words. **olim:** 1.289 n.

126. **Cauri:** northwesterly storm winds (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 18.338), perhaps bringing the showers for which Aeneas will soon pray (685-98).

127. **tranquillo:** neuter adjective used idiomatically as a one-word ablative absolute, "in fine weather" (AG §419.b.3).

128. **apricis:** properly of places, here (by hypallage\*) of those who enjoy such places.

129. **metam:** the turning post, just as in the Circus Maximus. Otis (1964) 52 notes that by calling attention to the *meta*, the midpoint of the race, in this initial description of the course, Vergil proleptically\* focuses the reader's attention on the place where the action of the race decisively (and literally) turns. Feldherr (1995) 246 adds that in so doing, "Vergil presents his audience with a view of the course in its entirety which replicates the perspective of a spectator in the elevated stands of the circus." Cf. 109-10 n., 288-9 n.

If the boat race does in some sense stand for the sea voyages that have dominated Aeneas' life since the fall of Troy, then this *meta* may have significance for his wanderings as well. In purely geographical terms, the games are set at virtually the westernmost point in Aeneas' wanderings. Once he rounds the farthest point of the island, he turns back towards the east and towards Italy. Socially and psychologically as well it is here that Aeneas begins to reverse the failures in leadership and, to some extent, in character that have plagued him up to this point. It must also be relevant that Vergil has placed these games near the midpoint of his narrative.

130. **pater:** in apposition to Aeneas and given adverbial force by the word-order (cf. *heros* 1.196, *dea* 1.412 n., etc.). Aeneas acts with a father's care for his people. This is the first time in book 5 that Aeneas is called *pater* (cf. 348, 358, 424, 461, 545, 700, 827, 867). **unde:** equivalent to *ut inde* introducing a relative clause of purpose (AG §531.2).

133. **ductores:** "captains," not "helmsmen" (which is *rector* (161) or *magister* (176)).

134. A silver line\* (Wilkinson (1963) 216), which lacks the chiasmic arrangement of the golden line\*. **populea:** the poplar was sacred to Hercules, hero of athletes.

- 136-50. Vergil's always careful management of verb tenses (Mack (1977)) is particularly noticeable in these lines. A series of present-tense verbs (*considunt* 136, *expectant* and *haurit* 137) set the scene, then are suddenly followed by instantaneous perfects when the starting signal is given (*dedit sonitum* 139) and the boats leap forward (*prosiluere* 140; cf. *condidit* 243; 1.84 n., 90; 4.164, 167, 562). The narration then switches back to the present tense (*ferit* 140, *spumant* 141, *infindunt* and *dehiscit* 142) for vividness. The simile repeats and intensifies the pattern: a pair of instantaneous perfects (*corripuere* 145, *concessere* 147) precede and share subjects with a pair of presents (*ruunt* 145, *pendent* 147), thus connoting a single, abrupt action followed by sustained effort. The string of present tenses that closes out the passage (*consonat* and *uoluntat* 149, *resultant* 150) draws the reader back from the heat of action to the calmer and more distant perspective of the audience.
- 136-7. **intentaque...intenti**: a type of zeugma\* – *intenta* is used literally and *intenti* metaphorically. **haurit**: as if the excitement literally “drained” blood from the heart.
138. **pavor**: “excitement” rather than “fear.”
141. **nauticus**: adjective (as in 3.128) instead of the genitive *nautarum*. **versa**: from *verto* “turn” not *verro* “sweep”; though the metaphor\* of rowing as sweeping is common in Vergil (3.208 = 4.583; 3.290 = 5.778; 6.320), that of sailing as plowing is further developed in this passage (142 *infindunt...sulcos* “they split furrows”; 143 *convulsum...aequor*, “the plowed-up plain”), and *verto* is frequently used of “turning” or “plowing” fields (e.g. *Geo.* 1.1-2).
- 144-7. A famous simile\* with a long pedigree. Homer compares ships to chariots at *Od.* 13.81-5, a sign that this episode owes something to the games of the Phaeacians; but the general shape of this contest along with many details derive (as ancient critics realized: see Servius *ad loc.*) from the chariot race of *Il.* 23 (114-285 n.), and a simile comparing ships with chariots seems to invite the reader to compare the Vergilian passage with its model. If so, then Vergil's claim that these (enormous: 118-19 with notes) ships are faster than Homeric chariots is hyperbolic\* and signals an element of competition (*aemulatio*) in Vergil's imitation (*imitatio*) of Homer (Nugent (1992)).
146. **immissis**: the regular word for running at full gallop, properly used of the reins that are let go so as not to restrain the horses.
147. **iugis**: “pairs” of horses, as elsewhere of oxen.
148. **studiis**: the plural of an abstract noun denotes “instances” or “displays of” that quality; hence *studia*, “cheers” (AG §100c). **faventum**: Latin generally prefers substantive participles even where synonymous nouns are available (e.g. *amans* instead of *amator* for “lover”). Thus here *faventis* (rather than *fautores*), “partisans.”
150. **colles...resultant**: the hills “leap back” or “echo.” The metaphor\* derives from the more explicitly “scientific” explanation given at *Geo.* 4.49-50, where it is said that an echo “leaps back” (*resultat*) after striking against a stony surface.
- 151-82. *The race. Gyas gets off first, Cloanthus next, with the other two behind and almost even. As they come to the turning-point, Menoetes, Gyas' helmsman, swings far to the right. Cloanthus makes a narrower turn and takes the lead. Gyas angrily pitches Menoetes overboard, delighting the spectators.*
151. **primisque**: the waves before Gyas are the “first” over which any boat passes.
- 153-4. **pondere pinus | tarda tenet**: the repetition of initial consonants (alliteration\*) seems to suggest Cloanthus' difficulty in moving his ship along. **aequo discrimine**: ablative of manner

- (AG §412). The *Pristis* and the *Centaurus* are “at the same distance” behind Cloanthus, even with one another.
155. **tendunt superare**: cf. *certant includere* 2.64 n. **superare**: usually means to overcome or defeat someone in a contest (184 *Gyan superare*), not to “win” or “secure” a prize or, as here, a position. **priorem**: not “first” (which would be *primum*), but “prior” with respect to one another – the *Pristis* and the *Centaurus* are vying for clear possession of third place.
156. **habet**: supply *locum priorem* from 155.
159. **metamque tenebant**: cf. *mediumque tenebat* 1. Similar phrasing reinforces the logical link between the turning post of the boatrace and the midpoint of Aeneas’ voyage. *Tenebant* is an inceptive imperfect (cf. 1-2 n. *tenebat*): translate “they were beginning to have” or “they almost had the turning post.”
160. **medio...in gurgite**: construe closely with *victor*, “victorious (i.e. leading) at the half-way mark” (*metam* 159). Gyas at the midpoint of the race is in a position like that of Aeneas as he rounds the westernmost tip of Sicily en route to Italy. Like Aeneas he will be severely tested at this crucial point; like Aeneas he will lose his helmsman and will have to steer the ship himself (176 n., 868 n.)
162. **mihi**: ethical dative (AG §380) indicating strong personal interest; equivalent to a parenthetical “tell me.”
163. **ama**: “hug,” i.e. “stay close to” (*OLD* s.v. *amo* 4b); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.3 *amatque ianua limen*. **stringat sine**: the imperative in parataxis\* with the jussive subjunctive is redundant and colloquial.
166. **quo...Menoete**: the short, unadorned sentences reflect Gyas’ growing agitation and disbelief at the conservative course that Menoetes is steering. **Menoete**: ablative (agreeing with *quo*), but formed on the model of the Greek dative (Μενούτῃ).
- 167-8. **revocabat...respicit**: on the different tenses see 136-50 n. **propiora**: neuter plural substantive: “holding (those places that are) closer (to the rock).”
170. **radit iter laevum interior**: “scrapes his path inside and to the left (of Gyas).” For *radit iter*, cf. 3.700 n., 7.10 (but contrast 217). *Laevum* and *interior* are both predicate adjectives, the former modifying *iter*, the latter *ille* (169), subject of *radit*.
172. **dolor**: “indignation” (*OLD* s.v. 3). **ossibus**: 1.659-60 n.
173. **nec lacrimis caruere genae**: modeled on Hom. *Il.* 23.385, where Diomedes weeps at losing his whip in the race. On tears and heroic character, cf. 1.459 n.
174. **decoris**: “dignity.” Servius comments that to lose one’s temper is disgraceful, particularly for one in command. **socium**: masculine genitive plural (= *sociorum*, cf. 1.4 n.).
175. **deturbat**: “pitches,” a vivid and rather blunt word (cf. Plautus, *Mercator* 116 *deturbare in viam* “to kick out into the street”). It appears again at 6.412, 10.555.
176. **ipse...ipse**: the repetition emphasizes the extraordinary (and, as it turns out, ill-considered) nature of Gyas’ actions (see below). **rector...magister**: predicate nominatives. Attempting to perform two normally separate jobs at once, Gyas “takes his place at the tiller *as steersman* and (continuing in his previous role) *as captain* urges his men...” By taking Menoetes’ place here Gyas anticipates Aeneas when he takes Palinurus’ place at the end of the book (868 n.).
177. **clavumque ad litora torquet**: “steers shorewards.” Strictly speaking, the pilot would move the *clavus* (“tiller”) *opposite* to the direction he wants to go; cf. (more straightforwardly) *proram pelagi detorquet ad undas* (165).

178. **gravis**: glossed by *iam...veste* (179).
- 181-2. Multiple repetitions (of the main verb *risere...rident*; of the present participle in *labentem*, *natantem*, *revomentem*; and of *et...et...et*) imitate the repeated outbursts of laughter. Page's rendering captures the spirit beautifully: "They laughed at him tumbling and laughed at him swimming, and now they laugh at him belching up the brine."
- 183-226. *Sergestus and Mnestheus try to catch Gyas. Sergestus, having a slight lead, runs onto the rock. Mnestheus passes him, overtakes Gyas, and gains on the leader Cloanthus. Cloanthus, by making a vow to the sea-gods, just manages to come in first.*
- 183-4. **spes...superare**: infinitive instead of the genitive of the gerund (AG §501) after *spes* (2.10 n.). **Mnestheji**: a Greek form, masculine dative singular (Μνηθηεῖ). Note in particular that *ei* is a diphthong standing for the Greek εἰ, so that the word consists of two long syllables (cf. *Mnestheus* 116 n.).
186. **ille**: pleonastic\* with resumptive and emphatic force (1.3 n., 6.593 n.; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.16 *tu*).
189. **insurgite remis**: 3.207 n.
- 189-97. *Mnestheus' speech to his crew is very loosely modeled on that of Antilochus to his horses at Iliad 23.402-16. But while Antilochus threatens his horses if they do not perform well, Mnestheus gallantly inspires his men to perform almost beyond their natural abilities by recalling their resilience in past trials and by setting them the realistic challenge not of placing first, but of overtaking their immediate predecessors and not finishing last.*
190. **Hectorei socii**: Mnestheus urges his men to be worthy of their former champion. **Hectorei**: an adjective instead of the genitive of possession *Hectoris* (cf. 3.117 n.). The adjectival suffix *-e-* before the regular first- and second-declension endings in *-us -a -um* is common in Latin and does not combine with the vowels that follow it to form a diphthong (in contrast to *Mnesthei* 183-4 n.), but is pronounced as a separate syllable. **sorte suprema**: a dense expression. First, it is syntactically ambivalent between the simple ablative of time ("on Troy's final night") and attendant circumstance, as if that final night had been analogous to a lottery that would throw together groups of survivors whose future actions would determine what fate had in store for the remnants of Troy. Second, the image of a lottery is conflated with the idea that Mnestheus *chose* these men in particular to be his companions. Both points of view are characteristic of the poem as a whole: the formation of his band was due to chance, but now they must themselves strive to achieve the best possible outcome, as if their fate were in their own hands. And in the event their efforts are rewarded by *casus* (201).
192. **usi**: = *usi estis*. Forms of *sum* are rarely omitted in the second person (cf. 1.42 n.).
193. **sequacibus**: "pursuing," as if the notoriously dangerous seas off Malea would not let a ship get away unharmed.
194. **Mnestheus**: added pleonastically\* at the end with proud resignation – "No longer do I, Mnestheus, seek the first place." **vincere certo**: 2.64 n.
195. **quamquam o!** — **sed**: by breaking off his thought (aposiopesis\*; 1.135 n.) Mnestheus emphasizes what he does not say and kindles the idea of victory in his men's minds.
196. **hoc**: cognate accusative (AG §390c) depending on *vincite* – "win *this* (victory)," i.e. avoid the stigma of finishing last. As often *hoc* points back to something just mentioned (AG §297a), namely *extremos rediisse*. **cives**: reminds the men and the reader that something more than sport is involved in these games (119 n., 202 n.).

197. **nefas**: finishing last would be “the unspeakable” (in English we might have said “the unthinkable”); but the word is very strong for the context, more appalling than mere “disgrace” (*dedecus*) and with religious overtones. **olli**: 10-13 n.
199. **subtrahiturque**: “is taken away,” “disappears” – they move so swiftly that the ocean itself seems to rush to get behind them. **solum**: the water’s surface is called “ground,” a reminiscence of the simile\* in which these ships were compared to chariots and also of Vergil’s Homeric model, the chariot race (144-7 n.).
202. **furens**: Sergestus exhibits the recklessness that would make his “descendant” a revolutionary (121-2 n.). **animi**: locative depending on *furens* (AG §358; 2.61 n.).
203. **iniquo**: “insufficient.”
205. **murice**: a rock-ridge that is jagged like the shell of the *murex*.
211. **agmine**: not the “line” of oars (so *OLD* s.v. *agmen* 3) but their “movement” or “drive” (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1b); the word is formed from the verb *ago* + nominal suffix *-men*. Cf. 2.212 n.
212. **prona**: “shoreward” as opposed to *in altum*, “out to the (high) sea,” but perhaps with the additional suggestion that the course was easy, with wind and tide in their favor.
- 213-17. The simile\* is modeled on Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.933-5 (Nelis (2001) 214).
214. **cui**: dative of possession (AG §373) with an understood verb “to be.”
- 218-19. **ultima...aequora**: “the final leg.” **impetus**: “momentum” in both a physical and a psychological sense.
221. **brevibus...vadis**: “shallows” (so *brevia* alone, 1.111 n.).
224. **cedit**: the subject is *Chimaera* (understood).
- 227-43. *The contest for second place.*
227. **ingeminat**: intransitive, “redoubles.”
228. **instigant studiis**: *instigo* is from the same root as *stimulus* (< \**stigmulus*) “goad.” The repetition of *st* in the two words represents in metrical terms the metaphorical goading that the spectators apply to the crews. On the plural *studiis* cf. 148 n.
- 229-31. **hi...hos hic** is often repeated in contrasts (*OLD* s.v. *hic*<sup>1</sup> 13) – thus *hi* refers to Cloanthus’ crew, *hos* to that of Mnestheus. **proprium...partum**: i.e. in anticipation. Cloanthus’ crew regard the victory as already theirs, already won. **possunt, quia posse videntur**: *possunt* and *posse* are used absolutely (i.e. without a complement), “they can”; with *videntur* understand *sibi*, “they seem to themselves to...,” “they think that they...” (*OLD* s.v. *video* 21). A famous *sententia*; cf. Livy 22.3.4 *dum se putant vincere, vicere*.
232. **fors**: “perhaps”; not in fact an adverb (so *OLD* s.v. *fors*<sup>2</sup>) but an idiomatic use of the noun related to expressions like *forsan*, *forsitan*, *fortasse* (2.139 n.).
233. **palmas...utrasque**: the plural of *uterque* frequently means “both” (*OLD* s.v. *uterque* 3b). **ponto**: dative of end of motion (34 n.; AG §428h), here with an uncompounded verb.
234. **in vota vocasset**: ≈ 514.
235. **aequora**: cognate accusative with *currunt* (AG §390; 1.524 n.).
236. **laetus**: ≈ *libens* (cf. 3.437-8 n.).
237. **voti reus**: “condemned (to payment) of my vow” (*damnatus voti* in prose). A vow is a promise to do something for the gods if they first do something for you; when they have done their part you become *voti reus* (or *damnatus*). *Voti* is genitive of the charge or penalty (AG §352a); *reus* (like *damnatus*) connotes liability until the vow is fulfilled.

238. **proiciam**: the verb means, simply, “to throw” or even “to fling” and is often used in contexts where the action implies contempt. At the same time, it is evidently the correct word to denote the offering of a sacrifice to a sea god by throwing it into the water (so Servius; cf. Varro, *R.R.* 1.29.3). **liquentia**: 1.432 n.
240. **Panopeaque virgo**: = 825. Panope appears in Homer’s catalogue of Nereids (*Il.* 18.45). Cf. *Panopesque* 300 n.
241. **manu magna**: a typically epic phrase (*Il.* 15.694; Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 581 in Skutsch, fr. 541 in Warmington; cf. 487 *ingenti manu*). Gods and heroes are conceived as being larger than mere mortals. Ap. Rhod. 2.598-600 (Nelis (2001) 223-6). **Portunus**: the god of harbors (from *portus*), cf. Greek Melicertes (*Geo.* 1.437) or Palaemon (823).
242. A fully dactylic line imitating the speed of the ship’s movement after the push, which is emphasized by the diaeresis\* after *impulit*.
243. **condidit**: the perfect connotes rapidity (136-50) – the boat shoots forward and, almost before you can see it, has taken its berth in the harbor.
- 244-67. *Aeneas distributes rewards to all the crews and special prizes to the captains – a robe embroidered with the story of Ganymede, a suit of armor, and a pair of vases and silver cups.*
- 247-8. **optare...ferre**: Vergil commonly uses the infinitive of purpose after the verb *do* (1.66 n.; AG §460a). The syntax varies, however, in different passages. Here it is possible to detect the influence of a Greek phrase (δῶκε δ’ ἄγειν, Hom. *Il.* 23.512) that is found in the model for this entire scene. **vina**: not different “wines” as in English, but “casks of wine” (AG §100b). **talentum**: cf. 112 n.
- 250-7. An ecphrasis\* of the winner’s prize, a cloak on which is embroidered an image of the abduction of Ganymede. The passage was imitated by Statius (*Theb.* 1.548-51) and Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 2.409-17). The significance of this ecphrasis is debated: does it depict abduction as an emblem of human loss and divine caprice (Putnam (1998) 55-74) or apotheosis as an emblem of Cloanthus’ victory and of ultimate Trojan success (Hardie (2002))?
- 250-1. **chlamydem**: the *chlamys* was a Greek cloak of which the Romans rather disapproved (Cicero, *Rab. Post.* 27, Val. Max. 3.6.2-3). Putnam (1998) 222 n. 14 lists several ominous *chlamydes* in the *Aeneid*. At the same time this garment’s colors (gold and purple) are those of the *vestis triumphalis* in historical times, and its border resembles that of a senator’s toga (see below). Vergil thus projects contemporary customs back into the heroic period, simultaneously using exoticism to suggest chronological distance. **auratam**: in Vergil’s day an especially luxurious garment might be made of fabric interwoven with gold threads. **plurima...purpura**: connotes both the richness of the hue and breadth of the stripes. In historical times a toga with a broad purple border denoted senatorial rank, while a narrow stripe signaled membership in the equestrian order. **circum**: i.e. around the edge of the garment, as a border. **Maeandro**: a river in Asia Minor famous for its twists and turns. Its name became a common noun for any sort of winding road, whether literal or metaphorical, including both the rhetorical and, as here, graphic varieties. The name is also of course the source of the English loan word “meander.” **Meliboea**: Meliboea in Thessaly was an important source of exotic purple dye (Lucr. 2.500). *Meliboeus* is an adjectival form (cf. 4.552 n.).
252. **puer...regius**: i.e. Ganymede (cf. 1.28 n.); the same phrase denotes Ascanius at 1.677-8. Ganymede is apparently represented twice on the *chlamys*, first hunting, then being carried away: a common means of telling a story in the visual arts.

254. **praepes**: a technical term from augury meaning “a bird of good omen.” According to Aulus Gellius (*NA* 7.6), Vergil was criticized by Julius Hyginus, the first director of Augustus’ Palatine Library, for using the word in a non-augural context. But Vergil often draws on specialized diction, especially from the religious sphere, as a means of achieving a suitably elevated style. For an argument that augury is in fact thematically relevant to the passage see Hardie (2002) 345-6.
255. **sublimem**: proleptic\*. **armiger**: because he carries the thunder-bolt (Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.1 *ministerium fulminis alitem*) – so, “bearer of weapons,” not of body-armor.
256. **sidera**: perhaps a reference to the identification of Ganymede with the constellation Aquarius (Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi* 26, Hyginus 2.29, Ovid, *Fast.* 2.145).
257. **in auras**: “to the sky.” The dogs are depicted as gazing upwards and barking at the disappearing eagle.
- 259-60. **lēvibus**: “smooth” (not *lēvibus* “light”). **trilicem | loriam**: 3.467 n.
261. **Iliō alto**: no elision, but hiatus\* with correption; cf. 3.211 n. **viro**: not just “man” but, as often, “hero”; dative of reference with *decus*, “an adornment (fit) for a hero.”
263. **vix illam...**: modeled on Hom. *Il.* 5.303 where Diomedes alone hefts a stone “such as no pair of men could lift, such as men are today.” **Phegeus Sagarisque**: both will be killed by Turnus (9.575, 765). A second Phegeus appears at 12.371. There is a Trojan Phegeus at *Il.* 5.9. The name is disyllabic (cf. *Mnestheus* 117 n.).
266. **geminos ex aere lebetas**: “twin caldrons (made) of bronze.” The adjective *āērēus* (“brazen”) becomes a cretic (a metrical sequence of – ∨ –) in the form required (*aerēōs*, masculine accusative plural) and so will not fit into a hexameter line. The adverbial expression *ex aere* (“(made) of bronze”) is so closely held in between *geminos* and *lebetas* that it can take the place of an attributive adjective. Such phrases are common in Latin poetry, which imitates Greek word order in this respect. **lebetas**: a Greek form (λέβητας), masculine accusative plural.
267. **cymbia**: the κυβίον was a type of Greek drinking cup. **argento perfecta atque aspera signis**: the elegant word-order of this phrase (chiasmus\*) connotes the fine craftsmanship of the cups themselves. **aspera signis**: i.e. embossed with so many “figures” (*signis*, ablative of specification, AG §418) that they are “rough” (*aspera*) to the touch.
- 268-85. *Sergestus, with oars broken but using his sails, manages to get home and receives a consolation prize.*
268. **iamque adeo**: 2.567 n.
269. **taenis**: a rare contraction for *taeniis*.
271. **ordine debilis uno**: “maimed on one side,” lit. “(rendered) hard to handle (*debilis* = *dehabilis*) with respect to one row” (of oars, i.e. the ones on the portside, which broke against the rocks, 202-9).
- 273-81. With its portside oars broken and useless the ship can only wriggle along like a crippled serpent. On the simile\* see Swallow (1952-53) and A. Rose (1982-83).
273. **qualis saepe**: 1.148 n. **aggere**: Roman roads were raised above ground level and banked with a rampart.
274. **gravis ictu**: “heavy with a blow (of his stick),” a poetic equivalent of the more prosaic *gravi ictu*, “with a heavy blow” (which also has a different metrical shape). Cf. *gravis...dictis* 387.

275. **saxo**: ablative of means, to be taken closely with *lacerumque*.
276. **dat...tortus**: = *torquet* (or, in prose *se flectit*), “turns.” Such phrases involving the verb *dare* are common in Vergil.
- 278-9. **arduus attollens**: cf. 3.70 n. **pars...plicantem**: note the repetition of sound in *nexantem nodis, se sua, nexantem...plicantem*, all suggesting the snake’s repeated struggles.
282. **promisso munere**: everyone was to have some reward (70, 305).
284. **olli**: 10-13 n. **datūr**: the final syllable is short by nature and by position (before a vowel), but is irrationally lengthened here as (occasionally) elsewhere (2.411 *obruimūr*, 4.222 *adloquitūr*). In all such cases the final syllable receives the metrical beat. Cf 1.667-8 n. **operum...Minervae**: i.e. weaving and spinning.

*Second Event: The Foot Race (286-361)*

Vergil’s second event (of four) is modeled on Homer’s fourth (of eight), which is also a foot race (*Il.* 23.740-97).

- 286-314. *Aeneas goes to a grassy spot shaped like a circus and offers prizes for a foot-race, which many competitors enter.*
286. **misso certamine**: “the (participants in the previous) contest having been dismissed.” *Misso* is a poetic variation on the compound verb (*dimisso*) that one would expect in prose.
- 288-9. **theatri | circus**: *theatri* is genitive of apposition (AG §343d). The phrase indicates an oblong course surrounded by slopes on which the spectators could sit and which made it into a natural theater — like the valley of the Circus Maximus in Rome. Cf. the natural *scaena* in the Libyan harbor (1.164). On the theatrical aspect of the games and its relation to the theme of sacrifice see Feldherr (1995).
- 289-90. **quo...resedit**: “and to this place the hero went, into the midst of the assembly, and seated himself in an elevated spot.” *Consessus* is “the (seated) crowd” (340), and Aeneas chose a position where he would be *consessu medius*, “central with respect to the crowd”; or, as we would say in English, he took his seat in the middle of the crowd. **exstructo**: perfect passive participle of *exstruo*, used absolutely as a noun only here, in the ablative of place where, perhaps of a platform built for Aeneas, or else (in view of the evident play between the natural and the artificial in Vergil’s description of this and other theaters) simply of an elevated position within the valley that formed the circus.
291. **velint**: subjunctive in a conditional relative clause (AG §519) because Aeneas does not invite “those who do wish” but “any who may wish” (486).
294. **Nisus et Euryalus primi**: ≈ 9.467, also a half-line (cf. 1.534 n.). First to enter the race, these two will be at the center of a controversy over who finishes first. Their sporting adventures here prefigure their military exploits later in the poem (9.176-502).
296. **amore pio**: Vergil presents Nisus’ love for Euryalus in idealized “platonic” terms of admiration for his character rather than physical attraction.
297. **Diores**: in Homer the name belongs not to a son of Priam but to a Greek captain (*Il.* 2.622) felled by Peirus the Thracian (*Il.* 4.517) and survived by his son Automedon (*Il.* 17.429, 474). Vergil’s character will, together with his brother Amycus, become a victim of Turnus (12.509-12).
298. **Salius...Patron**: a pair of Greeks, Acarnanian and Arcadian respectively, who evidently joined Aeneas when he visited Helenus in Buthrotum. The names appear in earlier versions



- of the Aeneas legend, where Salius is an Arcadian who joined Aeneas and eventually founded the *Salii*, a college of dancing priests in the Roman state religion (a story told by Servius *ad* 8.285 and attributed to Varro by Isidore, *Orig.* 18.50), while Patron was an Acarnanian sent by Helenus to accompany Aeneas (Dion. Hal. 1.51). Why Vergil varies the tradition by making Salius an Acarnanian and Patron an Arcadian is obscure. Both characters appear only in this episode, though the name Salius is also given to a Rutulian soldier (10.753).
300. **tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque:** the Sicilian Helymus shares a name with one of Aeneas' Trojan companions (73 n.), which probably means that he is to be regarded as the eponymous ancestor of the Elymi, a Sicilian people who inhabited the vicinity of Mt. Eryx and were thought by some to be descended from the Trojans (Thuc. 6.2.3, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.47, 1.52; cf. 23-4 n.). In Homer Panopeus is the father of Epeius (victor in the boxing match at *Il.* 23.665) and the eponymous hero of a town in Phocis (*Il.* 2.520, 17.307; *Od.* 11.581). *Panopes* therefore is a heroic name associated with athleticism and foundation legend. Cf. 240 and 825 *Panopaeaque virgo*.
303. **sic deinde locutus:** "then spoke as follows." For the usual meaning of this phrase see 14 n.
307. **caelatam...argento:** "embossed with silver," probably on the handle. **ferre:** after *dabo* (247-8 n.).
308. **unus:** "alike" or "common" to all (cf. 616 *una*). **praemia:** here "special prizes" opposed to those that all will receive.
309. **flava...oliva:** Latin color terms generally have to do with saturation and intensity rather than exact hue. *Flavus* is used of gold, blond hair, a lion's coat, and the Tiber, things that are yellow but tending towards tan or even, as here, olive. **caput nectentur:** *caput* is accusative of specification (AG §397b) with *nectentur*, "they shall have their head(s) crowned."
- 311-12. **Amazoniam...Threiciis:** the epithets heighten the value of the objects by their exoticism and by the fact that both Amazons and Thracians were noted archers and allies of the Trojans against the Greeks. **lato...auro:** ablative of material with no preposition, as often in poetry (AG §403.2, n. 1), modifying *baleus* (313). **circum:** a preposition that sometimes, as here, follows its object (AG §435).
- 315-39. *Nisus takes a long lead followed by Salius and Euryalus, then by Helymus with Diore close behind. As Nisus nears the goal he falls, but manages to trip Salius so that Euryalus comes in first.*
316. **corripunt:** in poetry *corripere* and *carpere viam* (1.418 n., 6.629) suggest immense speed, as if the runners actively seize the course rather than just pass over it. **spatia:** properly used of several "laps" (*Geo.* 1.513), but here (and 325) just of the "course" in a one-lap race.
317. **effusi nimbo similes:** the image is of raindrops in a cloudburst (cf. *Geo.* 4.312). **simul ultima signant,:** punctuation is debated among editors. Those who take *simul ultima signant* as the conclusion of the sentence that precedes it translate "and they all together mark (with their eyes) the far end of the course," which is an unusual meaning for *signare*. Those who take the phrase as the beginning of a new sentence take *simul* as *simul ac* or *simul atque*, "as soon as they mark (with their feet) the far end of the course..." This use of *simul* is not uncommon, and the result is a livelier and more pointed narration: instead of standing and looking at the far end of the course, the runners have reached it as soon as it is mentioned; in addition, beginning a new sentence with *simul* avoids bringing the narrative to a momentary halt at the end of the line.
- 318-26. These lines are beautifully effective in suggesting the relative speed of the various

contestants. Williams well notes the identical pattern of dactyl-spondee-spondee-dactyl in the first four feet of 318, 319, and 320, and the presence of single words of dactylic shape filling the fourth foot of each line (318 *omnia*, 319 *fulminis*, 320 *proximus*). All of this produces a vivid impression of rapid movement. In the first two of these lines, which describe the lead runner, Nisus, the impression of speed is heightened by the presence of fifth-foot dactyls as well (318 *corpora*, 319 *ocior*). But the following line, which describes the second-place runner, Salius, ends unexpectedly with the ponderous, slow-footed, four-syllable word *intervallo*. This is a quite rare device that Vergil generally reserves for some particular effect; here he drives home the great difference in speed between the runners in first and second place. By contrast, a different mixture of dactyls and spondees coupled with the repetition *calcemque...calce* in 324 suggests how very closely the fifth-place runner, Dioreus, is following Helymus, the runner ahead of him: and the three long syllables of *incumbens* that open the following line may suggest the sound of Dioreus' approaching footsteps to Helymus as he tries to maintain his slim lead. Finally, the two short, unaccented syllables of *prior* (326) suggest the margin by which Dioreus might have slipped ahead (*elapsus* 326) of Helymus, if the course had been just a bit longer.

It is remarkable that in the middle of this virtuoso display we find one of those most visible tokens of the poem's unfinished state, a half-line (322). Williams again notes that the name of Euryalus, "one of the most tenderly drawn characters in Virgil," occurs in three unfinished lines (289, 322, 9.467), "almost as though Virgil found it hard to get the words he wanted for Euryalus."

319. **fulminis...alis**: "the wings of lightning," i.e. "the winged lightning."
320. **proximus**: "next," but (contrary to what English derivatives like "proximity" would suggest) without implying closeness. *Secundus*, on the other hand (again, unlike "second"), does imply closeness: thus Horace (*Carm.* 1.12.19) says that there is nothing "second" (*secundum*) to Jupiter, but Pallas is "next" in honor (*proximos occupavit honores*).
- 327-38. In Homer's footrace Athena causes Ajax to slip in some dung so that Odysseus is able to win (*Il.* 23.771-86). The low comedy of the Homeric episode (noted with disapproval by ancient commentators) is transformed here in two ways. First, Vergil maintains epic decorum by having Nisus slip not in dung but in blood. Second, he links the episode to one of the central themes of the book and of the poem by specifying that this blood is the result of sacrifice (*caesis* 329, *sacro* 333). When Nisus then trips Salius so that his beloved Euryalus may win the race, the reader is thus invited to reinterpret his accidental fall and unsportsmanlike act as a "sacrifice" on behalf of his friend, one that anticipates his more tragic sacrifice at 9.384-445.
327. **iamque fere**: 3.135 n. **spatio extremo**: not "at the last course" but "at the end of the course." "Superlatives (and more rarely Comparatives) denoting order and succession... usually designate not *what object*, but *what part of it*, is meant" (AG §293).
329. **ut**: commentators differ on whether to translate "as" or "where" (*OLD* s.v. *ut* 24 a-b).
- 331-2. **presso...solo**: ablative absolute with concessive force; though he tried to plant his feet as firmly as possible, they tottered (*titubata*) and he could not hold (*haud tenuit*) his balance. **titubata**: = *quae titubaverunt*, as if deponent; cf. 4.38 *placito*, 6.746 *concretam*.
334. **non...non ille**: the repetition and the pleonastic\* (186 n.) use of the pronoun emphasize Nisus' devotion.
336. **spissa...harena**: the image of "hard-packed sand" is at odds with the *gramineum campum*

previously mentioned as the venue of the race (287), and is perhaps meant to suggest the arena (the derivative of *barena*, “sand”) as it was in Vergil’s day.

340-61. *Salius appeals the decision in favor of Euryalus. Aeneas disallows the objection, but presents Salius with a lion’s skin and Nisus with a shield.*

The argument over prizes is modeled on the aftermath of Homer’s chariot race (*Il.* 23.539-653). But in Homer, when Menelaus accuses Antilochus of having won only by performing a risky and unfair maneuver, Antilochus conciliates Menelaus by conceding his prize to him. In contrast, Nisus not only fails to acknowledge the justice of Salius’ complaint against him, but in fact demands a prize for himself, though he did not even finish the race. Similarly, all of Vergil’s contestants make claims which they stubbornly refuse to yield, leaving them for Aeneas to settle. This he does, like Achilles in the Homeric episode, by lavishly awarding extra prizes, and his amusement (*risit* 358) at the situation that Nisus has created keeps the tone light and cheerful.

340-1. **ora prima patrum**: a projection into the heroic past of a contemporary custom by which special seats on the front tiers of seats in the circus were reserved for members of the Senate (Livy 1.35.8).

342. **reddi...poscit**: a poetic construction; in prose *posco* requires *ut* + subjunctive.

343. **lacrimaque decorae**: Euryalus’s tears (cf. 1.459 n.) are becoming in two senses – although they register his feelings, they do so without the clamor raised by Salius, and (as Servius comments) they enhance his natural beauty.

344. **veniens**: “when it presents itself” or “appears” (*OLD* s.v. *venio* 7); cf. 373, 400, *Geo.* 1.29 *an deus immensi venias maris*.

346-7. **subiit**: often used of “succeeding” or “replacing” someone, and so by extension here. When Nisus and Salius fell, Euryalus, Helymus, and Diores in a sense “replaced” them as the top three runners. **venit...si reddantur**: a mixed conditional sentence. Diores “*has* come in third to no purpose” (a simple past apodosis), “*should* the first prize be given to Salius” (a future less vivid protasis). Different manuscripts give *reddentur*, which produces a future more vivid protasis, and *redduntur*, a simple present protasis: both readings, as well as *reddantur* which is preferred here, may be correct and all three give equally good sense.

350. **me**: construe as subject accusative of *miserari*, not with *liceat* (which requires the dative).

352. **aurejs**: *ei*, normally not a diphthong in Latin (cf. 183-4 n.), is here scanned as a single long syllable by synizesis\* (1.698 n.).

354. **te lapsorum miseret**: the impersonal construction *miseret* + accusative, like the personal *miseretor*, still requires a complement in the genitive. Nisus gives a humorous turn to Aeneas’ *casus miserari* (350): if “pity for the fallen” is your motto, he says, what will you do for me?

355-6. **merui...tulisset**: not a true mixed condition, but an ellipse\* – Nisus maintains that he earned (*merui*) first prize *and would have received it* if bad luck had not taken it away (uncompounded form *tulisset* for the compound *abstulisset*).

358. **olli**: 10-13 n.

359. **Didymaonis**: otherwise unknown. **artis**: *opus* is much more common for an individual work of art. The plural is a poeticism (cf. Hes. [Sc.] 312).

360. **Danais**: dative of agent. It was apparently debated in antiquity how Aeneas would have obtained a shield taken by the Greeks from a (presumably Trojan) temple. Servius mentions a tradition that it came into Helenus’ hands—perhaps along with Pyrrhus’ kingdom?—and

that he gave it to Aeneas. Page argues strenuously instead that it was some Greek soldier who removed from a Greek temple a shield previously dedicated to Neptune, used it in battle, and lost it to Aeneas or to another Trojan.

*Third Event: The Boxing Match (362-484)*

The third event is the most complex of all in terms of sources. The basic structure derives from the second event in *Iliad* 23, but crucial details come from other epic bouts between Odysseus and Irus (*Od.* 18) and Castor and Amycus (Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.1-97, Theoc. *Id.* 22). For a detailed analysis of how these sources are combined see Nelis (2001) 8-21.

Apart from epic predecessors, McGowan (2002) finds within this episode elements of political allegory recalling an episode from the First Punic War.

362-86. *Aeneas offers prizes for both winner and loser. Dares stands forward and, seeing no challengers, demands the winner's prize.*

364. **evinctis...bracchia palmis**: the ancient boxing glove (*caestus*) consisted of leather thongs, studded with lead, which were bound round the hand and arm (cf. 401-5).

366. **velatum auro vittisque**: the horns of a sacrificial beast were gilded and decked with garlands.

369. **Dares**: on the etymology\* of the name (from Gk. δέιρω, "to flay") and its dramatic significance see McGowan (2002).

370. **Paridem**: in Homer Paris is unwarlike and effeminate (4.215), but a favorite of Aphrodite (Venus), whose presence in this book is subdued, but pervasive (Farrell (1999)). His boxing prowess was evidently figured in the epic cycle (Hyg. *Fab.* 91, 273).

372-3. **victorem...ferebat**: Dares had defeated a certain Butes (not the father of Eryx (23-4 n.), but this recurrence of the name is intriguing) at the funeral games of Hector. If Vergil is alluding to an earlier literary treatment of these games, that source is lost to us. If we had it, both Butes' identity and the syntax and full meaning of the sentence might be clearer. The word order suggests that *victorem* and *immani corpore* are to be taken closely with *Buten* (as appositive and ablative of quality (AG §415) – "Butes the (previously) victorious (though not in his contest with Dares), of enormous physique" – and that *se ferebat* ("he flaunted himself as" or "he boasted that he") calls for an infinitive of indirect discourse (easily supplied as an understood *esse*) followed by the prepositional phrase *Bebrycia...Amyci de gente. Veniens* is a circumstantial participle: Butes made his boast "as he arrived (on the scene)," perhaps as an uninvited participant in Hector's funeral games.

Amycus, king of the Bebryces and a legendary boxer and braggart, was killed in a contest with Pollux (Ap. Rhod. 2.1-97, Theoc. *Id.* 22). Butes, Amycus' descendant, was also a great boxer (*victorem* 372) and braggart who met a similar fate against Dares. Dares' own boastfulness follows a pattern that predicts the outcome of this contest.

372. **Bütēn**: a Greek accusative.

384. **quo...usque**: tmesis\*.

385. **ducere dona iube**: supply *me* as subject accusative.

387-425. *Acestes goads Entellus, an old fighter once taught by the hero Eryx, into accepting the challenge.*

388. **ut**: 329 n. **toro**: 6.674 n.

391. **nobis**: ethical dative (AG §380). **deus ille**: a common form of hyperbolic\* praise for

- exceptional individuals (*OLD* s.v. *deus* 2a; *Ecl.* 5.64).
392. **nequiquam**: Entellus' reverence for Eryx would be pointless if he refused to fight.
394. **sub haec**: "thereupon," lit. "immediately after these things"; in prose *sub haec dicta, sub mentionem, sub hanc vocem*.
395. **sed enim**: "but (it is no use) for...," "but indeed" (1.19 n.).
396. **hebet**: a bold metaphor\*; literally "to be blunt" or "dull," as a weapon.
397. **fuera**t: for the pluperfect see Fordyce on 8.358 and on *Cat.* 10.28, 64.158.
400. **nec...moror**: 2.287 n.
- 402-3. **suetus...ferre**: for *consuetus* and *conferre*.
403. **ferre manum**: *conferre manum* is a military phrase, "to fight hand-to-hand," but a boxing match is hand-to-hand combat in a very literal sense. Vergil often refreshes the meaning of a common phrase in this way. **intendere brachia tergo**: *intendere brachia* normally means "to stretch (or extend) one's arms." But with the ablative, the verb changes its force, as Entellus' arms are not stretched but "covered" or "wrapped" with leather thongs. See *OLD* s.v. *intendo* 3b, and cf. 843; cf. 4.506 n.
- 404-5. Vergil's source is Homer's description of Ajax' seven-layered shield (*Il.* 7.222), itself already hyperbolic\*; Vergil's description of Entellus' gloves is considerably more so.
406. **longeque recusat**: an elliptical\* phrase well glossed by Williams as *longe refugit recusans certamen*.
- 410-11. The thought is from Ap. Rhod. 2.145-6, Φράζεσθ' ὅττι κεν ἦσιν ἀναλκείησιν ἔρεζαν | εἰ πως Ἡρακλῆα θεὸς καὶ δεῦρ' ἐκόμισσε, "Consider what they would have accomplished with their cowardly deeds | if ever a god had brought Heracles here."
411. **tristem**: because Hercules killed Eryx in that bout.
412. **germanus Eryx...tuus**: cf. 23-4 n.
414. **suetus**: cf. 402-3 n.
415. **aemula**: age is "jealous" (*OLD* s.v. *aemulus*<sup>1</sup> 2) because it robs us of our former powers (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.7 *invida aetas*).
418. **sedet**: "is settled," cf. 2.660 n.
420. **exue caestus**: *exuo* normally takes as its object the garment that is removed (but cf. 422-3 n.).
421. **duplicem...amictum**: modeled on Amycus' cloak in Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.32; cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.125; *Od.* 13.224, 19.225.
- 422-3. Alliteration\*, the slow movement enforced by the double caesura\*, and a hypermetric\* elision\* suggest Entellus' great bulk. **magna...exuit**: here (contrast 420 n.) *exuo* takes as its object the limbs that are stripped of their covering (cf. *exutas* 2.153).
- 426-60. *As the bout begins Dares shows his agility while the older Entellus stands on the defensive. When Entellus attempts a knockdown blow he misses, loses his balance, and falls. Embarrassed, he rises in fury and attacks Dares with a tempest of blows.*
- 426-7. These lines closely paraphrase Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.67-9, thus signalling the start of a more extended allusion (426-60 ≈ *Arg.* 2.67-97). For details see Nelis (2001) 16-18.
429. **pugnamque lacessunt**: normally the object of *laccio* is one's opponent, not the fight itself.
430. **motu**: "nimbleness" (cf. 442 *adsultibus*).

432. **gēnuā:** two syllables (instead of the usual three) – the *u* is treated as a consonant and pronounced as a *w* (cf. 589 n.).
- 433-8. Some of the blows delivered miss, some hit; the latter are distinguished both by where they strike and by the sounds that they produce – they either echo feebly about the hollow ribs, or make a good thud (*vastos sonitus*) on the solid chest. **vulnera...tela:** both words stand for *ictus*, “blows”; a good illustration of the difference between metonymy\* and metaphor\*. Wounds are the product of blows, and so are logically associated; thus to call blows wounds involves an anticipatory change of name (metonymy). But there is no necessary connection between blows and weapons: to make such a link involves a movement from one field, sport, to another, war (metaphor). In this case, however, the two fields involved are not very distant, and the metaphor supports the idea that these games are a kind of preparation for the battles that the Trojans will face in Italy. **corpore:** evidently a boxing idiom with no precise English equivalent, “by (bending his) body” (OLD s.v. *corpus* 7a; cf. Cicero, *Cat.* 1.6 *tuas petitiones parva declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi*). **exit:** “avoided,” here transitive in a secondary sense (OLD s.v. *exeo* 13b; cf. 2.542 n.).
439. **molibus:** “bulwarks,” ablative of specification with *celsam* referring to the walls and towers of the besieged town.
440. **sedet:** “encamps,” a continuation of the siege metaphor\* (439 n.).
444. **a vertice:** 1.114 n.
445. **celeri...corpore:** 433-8 n.
446. **ultra:** the very force of Entellus’ attempted blow causes him to fall, untouched by Dares.
447. **gravis graviterque:** 118 n.
- 448-9. Homer reserves the image of a felled tree for the death of men in battle (e.g. *Il.* 5.560, with the commentary of Kirk (1990) *ad loc.*). **Erymantho:** 6.801-5 n.
450. **studiis:** one-word ablative of manner (AG §412b, note), lit. “with (shows of) eagerness” (cf. 148 n.); virtually equivalent to the adverb *studiose*, “eagerly” (cf. 1.105 n.).
451. **caelo:** dative of end of motion (cf. 34 n.; AG §428h), here with an uncompounded verb (cf. 233 n.).
454. **vim suscitāt irā:** similar clausulae at 10.263 *spes suscitāt iras* and especially 12.108 (Aeneas) *se suscitāt irā*. As in the latter example the ablative is instrumental and so, as often in the case of immaterial “instruments” (AG §408), can be construed as expressing means (the hero “sets violence in motion by means of his anger”) or manner (the hero “angrily sets violence in motion”).
457. **ille:** 186 n.
- 458-60. **quam...Dareta:** Nelis (2001) 467 suggests a connection with Ap. *Arg.* 2.1083-89. Alliteration\* in *culminibus crepitant*, the sibilants in *densis ictibus heros*, the weak caesuras\* in 460, and assonance\* in the frequentative verbs *pulsat versatque*, all represent the ceaselessness of Entellus’ blows. **versat:** lit. “keeps turning,” i.e. knocking from side to side. **Darēta:** Greek accusative.
- 461-84. *Aeneas stops the fight. The reeling Dares is led away while Entellus, to show his strength, kills with a single blow the bullock he received as a prize and then declares his determination never to fight again.*
466. **non:** = *nonne*, which is very rare in poetry. **alias:** not merely “another” but “of a completely different and unfamiliar kind” (OLD s.v. *alius* 7). Entellus has exhibited a superhuman strength granted him by the god.

467. **dixitque et**: emphatic combination of the conjunctions *-que* and *et* (very uncommon in prose) marks the act that follows the word as instantaneous (cf. 1.227 n.).

468-73. ≈ *Il.* 23.695-9.

468. **ast**: archaic\* for *at* (cf. 1.46 n.).

471. **galeamque enseque**: the second prize (367). *-que...-que* is not regular Latin usage, but is modeled on Greek τε...τε, a conspicuous feature of Homer's epic style introduced into Roman epic by Ennius.

473. **superans animis**: "triumphant in spirit."

476-81. Vergil's metrical artistry is on display in these lines. The relatively unmarked movement of the first two lines perhaps suggests the placid and unsuspecting nature of the bullock just before the sacrifice. The slow, largely spondaic movement of 479 mimics the slow rise of Entellus' fist, while the rapid dactyls of 480 suggest the blow that follows. The final line begins with a single verb of dactylic shape (*sternitur*, "it is felled") in the first foot, which effectively arrests any further movement as soon as the line has begun; when the line does begin to move again, it suggests the lifeless quivering (*tremens*) of the beast, which gives out in a jerky clausula (481 n.).

479. **libravit**: not "swung" but "poised" the hand before delivering the blow.

480. **arduus**: enjambment\* of this word effectively extends the sense of equipoise developed in the previous line.

481. **procumbit humi bos**: a one-syllable word at line-end always produces an odd, choppy effect (cf. 1.105 n.). Servius greatly disapproved of this line, but most modern readers have admired the way in which *bos* at once completes the sentence and puts a definitive end to both the irregular movement of the line and to the animal's death-throes.

483-4. Entellus' words make explicit a metaphorical equivalency between ritual animal sacrifice and the results of contests between human beings that is implied throughout the episode of the games and, indeed, throughout the *Aeneid*.

#### *Fourth Event: The Archery Match (485-544)*

Vergil's fourth event is Homer's seventh (*Il.* 23.850-83), though the very end of the episode owes something to Homer's eighth and last event, the javelin-throw, as well (535-8 n.). The arrangement of this episode and the next two episodes is notable: the archery contest (485-544 = sixty lines) is followed by the Troia (545-603 = fifty-nine lines) and then by the burning of the ships (604-63 = sixty lines). This measured, balanced arrangement marks a turning point in the long narrative of the events of this day.

485-99. *A dove tied by a string to a mast is the mark. Four competitors draw lots for the order in which they will shoot.*

486. **velint**: cf. 291 n.

487. **ingentique manu**: cf. 241 n.

488. **traiecto in fune**: while the general sense is obvious (the bird was tethered to the mast), it is unclear whether the Latin means that the tether was looped around the mast or around the bird.

490. **deiectamque...sortem**: the ancient "lot" was a pebble cast (*deiectam*) into an urn or helmet, which was shaken (6.431-3 n.) until one lot leapt out (*exit* 492).

492. **locus**: metonymy\* for the lot which gave him his place.

493-8. **Mnestheus...Eurytion...Acestes**: all again (cf. 492 n.) by metonymy\* for the lot of each contestant.

- 493-4. **Mnestheus...Mnestheus:** epanalepsis\* (4.24-6 n.).
496. **Pandare:** Pandarus was incited (*iussus*) by Athena to shoot Menelaus and so break the truce between the Greeks and Trojans (*Il.* 4.86-103).
- 500-18. *The first three contestants: Hippocoon hits the mast, Mnestheus cuts the cord, Eurytion hits the dove.*
500. **validis...incuryant yiribus:** alliteration\* expresses both the effort that goes into drawing the bow and the gradual bending of the bow itself.
501. **pro se quisque:** “each with all his might” (repeated at 12.552).
- 505-6. **intremuit...micuitque:** assonance\* of the two verbs reinforces the sense that the first action produced the second. **micuitque:** the manuscripts all read *timuitque*, which is redundant with *exterrita* (“it was fearful, having been terrified”) and unexpected in conjunction with *pennis* (“it was fearful with or in respect to its wings”). The difficulty can largely be glossed over in English paraphrase (“it was terrified and showed its fear by beating its wings,” *vel sim.*), but the expression remains very odd Latin. D. A. Slater’s conjecture *micuitque* is both paleographically plausible (because *mic-* could easily have been converted into *tim-* by a copyist’s error) and gives better sense (“it thrashed in terror with its wings”). Some editors accept the manuscript reading on the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, cf. 1.2 n. **plausu:** the meaning of *plausu* is debated. The clausula of 505 *micuitque exterrita pennis* ≈ 215 *plausumque exterrita pennis*, where *plausum* is the “flapping” of a bird’s wings (similarly *plaudentem* 516). In the corresponding passage of Homer, however, the archer who cuts the string is cheered (*Il.* 23.869), so that *plausu* here may mean the audience’s applause.
507. **adducto...arcu:** only the tips of the bow are drawn back towards the archer. Elsewhere (9.632) the arrow is said to be drawn back in this way, or the arms of oarsmen (141).
- 509-10. **ipsam...nodos:** asyndeton\*. The emphatic position of the words marks the antithesis: “the bird *itself*...he could not hit, *but*...” (cf. 1.184 n.).
512. **Notos atque...in nubila:** for the postponed preposition cf. 2.654; 6.416, 692.
514. **in vota vocavit:** Eurytion appeals to his brother Pandarus as a patron of archers, much as the boxer Entellus regarded his teacher Eryx (483).
- 517-18. **decidit...aetheriis:** in Stoic thought the ether, or fine fiery substance that surrounds the universe, was considered to be the source of all life (1.607-8 n., 6.724-51 n.). At death the soul, which is composed of this substance, quits the body and returns to its native place. Thus here the bird’s body becomes separated from the soul (*exanimis*) that gives it life, which it leaves (*vitam reliquit*) in heaven before falling back to earth.
- 519-44. *The last contestant, Acastes, shoots into the air. His arrow takes fire, vanishing like a shooting star. Aeneas accepts the startling omen and awards first prize to Acastes.*
520. **contendit:** *contendit* and *contorsit* are both well attested in the manuscripts. *Contendit* is perhaps preferable as (slightly) *difficilior lectio* (cf. 1.2 n.), since it was less commonly used with *telum* than was *contorsit*—and thus more likely to have been “corrected” by a scribe to *contendit*.
521. **ostentans:** participle of attendant circumstance (AG §496), “in displaying,” but verging towards a purpose construction, “to display.” **patēr:** the final syllable is lengthened in arsis\*. Construe as a predicate nominative with adverbial force suggesting the dignity with which Acastes made his display (cf. *heros* 1.196, also describing Acastes; *dea*, of Venus, 1.412 n.). On the theme of fatherhood cf. 14 n., 130 n.



522-4. Vergil never specifies how the prophets explained the meaning of the portent or what was the event that it foretold. Accordingly, scholars have debated these questions since antiquity. The likeliest interpretation at least for the latter point is that the portent foretold the foundation of Segesta with Acestes as its first king. The imagery parallels Anchises' interpretation of the flames about Ascanius' head, confirmed by the appearance of a shooting star (2.679-725 n.), a clear analogue of the *sidus Iulium* of 43 BCE, which was said to betoken the apotheosis of Julius Caesar; but unlike Anchises' portent, the connection between this omen and the *sidus Iulium* is impressionistic and indirect.

526. **signavitque viam flammis**: denotes the trail that the shooting star left behind it (2.697 n.), not a path that it indicated for others to follow.

527. **refixa**: since the ancients thought that stars were "fixed" (*sidera quae affixa dicimus mundo*, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.28), they regarded shooting stars as having come "unfixed" (Hor. *Epod.* 17.5).

528. **crinem**: a standard metaphor\* for the (equally metaphorical) "tail" or "trail" of a shooting star or comet (cf. Greek κομήτης, "having long hair").

530-1. **nec...abnuit**: litotes\*. Aeneas warmly welcomes the omen. An ominous word or event was, if bad, immediately deprecated, or, if good, welcomed, so as to avoid the evil and make sure of the good.

534. **exsortem**: applied to persons this word usually means "having no share in" (6.428), but applied to things, such as prizes, it means "specially chosen" in that it is not subject to competition or lottery (cf. 8.552). Vergil seems innovatively to combine these two meanings: Acestes, "having no share in" the lottery to determine the order of archers, nevertheless wins a "specially chosen" prize as a result of his exceptional performance.

535-8. As often in Homer, heroic gifts gain prestige by having a distinguished pedigree. More specifically, at the end of the chariot race Achilles gives Nestor, who has not competed, a vessel that had belonged to Patroclus himself (*Il.* 23.615-23). Similarly, a gift once given to Anchises would be an especially distinguished prize if awarded at a festival in his honor.

536. **cratera**: a Greek accusative; a large vessel for mixing wine with water for use at a symposium. **impressum signis**: "embossed with figures" and so possibly of metal, like the prize earlier awarded for third place in the boat race, silver *cymbia* which were themselves *aspera signis* (267 n.), although in Vergil's time clay vessels that imitated more expensive metal ware by means of mold-made figures in relief were quite common.

537. **in magno munere**: "as..."; the prose idiom would be *in magni muneris loco*. **Cisseus**: father of Hecuba (7.320, 10.705) according to Euripides (says Servius); of Theano according to Homer (*Il.* 11.223), who makes Hecuba daughter of Dymas (*Il.* 16.718).

538. ≈ 572. **ferre**: 247-8 n. **sui**: reflexive pronoun, objective genitive (AG §348, 349a, 350) depending on *monimentum* (not possessive adjective modifying *amoris*).

541. **praelato invidit honori**: the usual construction is *invidere aliquid alicui* "to begrudge a thing (accusative) to a person (dative)," but this construction is not uncommon (*OLD* s.v. *invideo* 2a).

*Fifth Event: The Troia (545-603)*

This equestrian event is for display, not competition, and corresponds to nothing in any surviving poetic source. In it the motifs of genealogy (as expressed through the etymology\* of names, cf. 114-23 n.) and institutional aetiology\* reappear. The very name of this Troy game (*Troia* or *Iustus Troiae*) stands as a powerful link between ancient Trojan and contemporary Roman cultural identity (cf. 596-603 n.). There may however be an ironic gap in perspective

- between the backward-looking satisfaction that Aeneas takes in recalling the Trojan origins of this game and the narrator's forward-looking emphasis on its Roman future (568-9 n.).
- 545-59. *Aeneas sends for Ascanius to bring up his youthful band of horsemen.*
545. **misso:** 286 n.
546. **Iuli:** Ascanius' new, dynastic name (1.267-8 n.) occurs here for the first time in this book. It is found only twice more, almost immediately below (569-70 n.). Only the narrator uses it, and only in this episode; elsewhere he uses the boy's Trojan name, Ascanius (74, 597, 667), as do Aeneas (548-51 n.) and, indeed, Ascanius himself (673).
547. **Epytidēn:** Homer describes Periphas, son of Epytus, as an (already) aged herald in the service of Anchises at *Il.* 17.323. The Epytus named at 2.340 is perhaps to be regarded as his son. The form is a Greek accusative.
- 548-51. **Ascanio...dic:** more prosaically, *dic Ascanio (ut) ducat...* For the jussive subjunctive without *ut* after the imperative see AG §449c. **Ascanio:** the narrator has just called the boy by his dynastic, proto-Roman name, Iulus (546 n.), but Aeneas continues to use his son's Trojan name (569-70 n.). **avo:** dative of reference (AG §376-80).
553. **incedunt:** an elevated synonym for *ire, gradiri*, etc. (cf. 1.46 n.).
556. **omnibus:** dative of reference (AG §376-80). **in morem:** suggests order and uniformity as opposed to disorder (cf. *sine more* 694), though here the phrase may be proleptic\* – Vergil wishes this occasion to be understood as the original enactment of what would become a traditional pageant (cf. 596-603 n.). **tonsā comā pressā coronā:** note how the ablative phrase surrounds the nominative, just as a crown encircles each boy's hair. **tonsa:** it is uncertain whether this word denotes a particular kind of "close-trimmed" wreath or is merely a decorative epithet.
557. **ferunt:** the understood subject is *pars*, "some" (cf. 108 n.).
559. **oborti:** an etymological\* hint at *torques* (from *torqueo*), the name of this common military decoration.
- 560-79. *The boys advance in three companies headed by Priam, Atys, and Ascanius.*
- 560-1. There are three companies of twelve riders, each with a leader. For the distributive *terni*, properly not "three" but "three apiece"; cf. 85 n. *Seni* on the other hand is the true distributive used in multiplication (AG §137c) and frequently employed by poets to avoid a prosaic tone, *bis seni*, "twice six," evidently sounding more elegant than the more straightforward *duodecim*, "twelve."
561. **ductores:** the boy-captains named in 563-72.
562. **magistris:** each company also had an adult trainer, of whom Epytides was apparently the chief (579).
564. **avi:** a Greek boy typically received his grandfather's name, and here as elsewhere in the *Aeneid* the customs of the heroic age are Greek. According to Roman custom the eldest son traditionally bore the same *praenomen* as his father.
565. **auctura:** the attributive future active participle expressing likelihood or certainty (AG §499.1) – "destined to increase" the Italian race (by the number and fame of his descendants).
- 566-7. **bicolor...:** "dappled with patches of white." **vestigia primi...pedis:** a grandiloquent epic periphrasis\* – the horse's prints are not to be distinguished here from its hooves. *Primi pedis* denoted not the forefoot but the front of the hoof (or "pastern" as it is called by horsemen); *stare in primis pedibus* means "to stand on tip-toe" and *primi digiti* are "finger-tips."

568-9. **Atys...Atii:** etymological\* connections between Trojan and Roman names appear in this last episode of the games narrative, as they did in the first (114-23 n.). Augustus' mother was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Julia, sister of C. Julius Caesar. In making Atys the friend of Iulus, Vergil projects the linkage between the *gens Atia* and the *gens Iulia* into the legendary past. **Atys...Atys:** emphatically repeated in the same metrical *sedes* in consecutive lines; cf. 569-70 n.

569-70. **Iulo...Iulus:** cf. the treatment of Atys' name in the preceding lines. Here the repetition is made even more emphatic by occupying the final position and by polyptoton\*.

570-2. Iulus' mount is a gift to him from Dido. Mention of Dido (cf. *Elissae* 3 n.) and of the Trojans' sojourn in Carthage have been oblique throughout most of this book (cf. 37 n., 51 n.). Here, however, her name is directly linked with the important themes of memory, good faith, and love (*monimentum et pignus amoris* 572). Conington (*ad* 571) conjectures that this could be the same horse that Ascanius rides at 4.157, when he rode with the hunting party that was the beginning of Dido and Aeneas' affair. Perhaps it is more than coincidence that Iulus' appearance on horseback here as well precedes another of Juno's attempts to block the Trojans from reaching Italy (cf. 604-40 n.). Even more poignantly, in book 11 (72-5) a richly-worked cloak, made by Dido with her own hands and given to Aeneas, is used as a burial shroud in Pallas' funeral. On the relationship between Pallas' funeral and the games held in honor of Anchises see the Introduction to this book.

572. ≈ 538.

578. **lustravere:** "they traversed" (*OLD* s.v. *lustrō* 3; cf. 3.385 n.); an interesting word choice because *lustrare* commonly means "to review (troops)" (cf. 6.681 n.), and these "troops" are indeed being reviewed by the onlookers; but the troops, not the onlookers, are the subject of the verb.

580-603. *After moving in procession round the ring, the riders put on a display of military horsemanship, in which the movements are as intricate as the Labyrinth and as lively as those of a shoal of dolphins. The tradition was passed on first to Alba Longa, then to Rome.*

580-7. The movement of the companies is illustrated by the following chart:

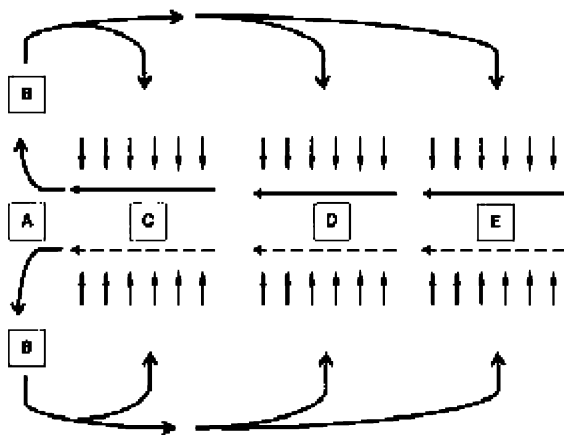


Figure 2: Equestrian maneuvers of the Troia

- Three companies of twelve each first ride down the middle of the circus in two lines (*agmina*), eighteen pairs (*pares*) of riders side-by-side, until the lead riders of the first two companies reach position A. Then all the riders turn ninety degrees to the left or right and gallop apart until they reach the outer edges of the circus (position B). Then they face about and charge one another, the two halves of each company converging on positions C, D, and E, respectively. After this they continue to perform intricate maneuvers in mock battle to demonstrate their skillful horsemanship and expert training.
580. **olli:** 10-13 n. **pares:** because each pair of riders in the *agmen* would become a pair of opponents in the charge. **terni:** the youths grouped into three companies (or *turmae* 550, 560) on either side, here called *agmina* because they are still advancing in double file.
581. **choris:** the six halves of these three companies. What the three *ductores* do is not stated. Since it seems unlikely that they would join one half of their company against the other, they may stand outside the “combat.”
- 582-7. The first maneuvers described in 580-2 are simple, but they are followed here by “fresh charges” and “fresh retreats,” in the course of which the two opposing divisions and their various parts wheel in and out in what seems to be a more elaborate manner, if one judges by the pair of similes that follows (588-95). Of course in this “mimicry of war” there could be no actual charge, but just when the two squadrons were meeting the actual shock would be avoided by skillful wheeling in and out of the six companies.
- 588-95. A double simile\* comparing the intricacy of the riders’ movement to the form of the Labyrinth, the legendary maze that the mythical Daedalus built as a prison for the Minotaur, and their sportiveness (*ludo* 593) to the capering of dolphins. The similes anticipate a pair of important ecphrastic\* passages. In one, Aeneas sees a representation on Apollo’s temple at Cumae of the human sacrifice that took place in the Labyrinth (6.20-30). In the second, a school of dolphins propitiously encircle the zone on Aeneas’ shield where Augustus’ victory at Actium is depicted (8.671-4). The similes thus bring out two aspects of the Troy game that are major themes in this book and in the poem, namely, the pathos of individual self-sacrifice that young men are called to make in war, and the success that such instances of sacrifice make possible.
589. **pāriētībūs:** four syllables, *i* having its consonantal sound *y* (663; cf. 1.2 n. *Lāviniāquē*, 2.16 ābiētē, 6.32-3 n. *ōmniā*); cf. 432 n.
590. **quā:** = *ut eā* (“so that there”), introducing a relative clause of purpose (AG §531.2).
591. **inremeabilis error:** ≈ 6.27 = Cat. 64.114 *inextricabilis error* (both also of the Labyrinth).
594. **delphinum similes:** the archaic\* construction (AG §385c2) *similis* + genitive occurs only here in Vergil.
- 596-603. This sentence suggests a continuity of tradition that is not supported by other evidence. The intricacy of the maneuvers performed in this ceremony have been connected with a pair of archaic\* verbs, *ampruare* and *reampruare*, having to do with dance. These may be cognate with the Etruscan word *truia*, which is inscribed over images of horsemen and a labyrinth on a sixth century oenochoe found at Tragliatella, and which has nothing to do with Troy. Therefore, while the ceremony may well have ancient origins, they would be Etruscan rather than Trojan. But Roman antiquarians, eager to establish a connection between Rome and Troy, may well have connected *truia* with *Troia*. The ceremony was first introduced at Rome by Sulla (Plut. *Cato Min.* 3) — i.e. not until the early first century BCE. It was “revived” by Julius Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 39), regularized by Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 43), and continued by his successors.

598. **priscos...Latinos**: the phrase is technical, describing the early inhabitants of the district around Alba as opposed to the later Latin League (Livy 1.3).

603. **hac...tenuis**: tmesis\*.

**604-761: The Burning of the Ships and its Aftermath**

The burning of the ships was a regular part of the Trojan legend, but practically every detail is subject to variation in the different tellings, including the location of the event, its place in the sequence of Trojan wanderings, how and why it came about, and even whose ships were burned. All that remains constant is that a group of Trojan women burn a number of ships. In fashioning this episode, Vergil adopts details from one or another version of the story to create an original episode with a traditional air.

Note (cf. 485-544 n.) the balanced arrangement of episodes that narrate the aftermath of the Burning of the Ships:

664-679	News from the ships reaches the men	16 lines
680-699	Jupiter sends a storm to quench the flames	20 lines
700-718	Aeneas takes council with Nautes	19 lines
719-745	Anchises appears to Aeneas in a dream	27 lines
746-761	Aeneas arranges to divide his followers	16 lines

Episodes in this section are much shorter than in the Games narrative (cf. 104-603 n.). One effect of this change is to quicken the narrative and to convey a sense that events are beginning to move impetuously towards a denouement.

*Bibliography*: Bertram (1971), Pavlovskis (1975-76), Holt (1979-80), Nethercut (1986), Gruen (1992) 6-51, Nugent (1992), Farrell (1999), Oliensis (2001), Casali (2010a) 43-6.

604-40. *Juno sends Iris to the beach where the Trojan women mingle ritual lamentations for Anchises with regrets for their own troubles. Disguising herself, Iris reminds the women of their ceaseless wanderings, urging them to burn the ships and so make sure of remaining in Sicily.*

604. **fidem**: accusative of specification (AG §397b) with *mutata*. **novavit**: developing the idea expressed by *fidem mutata*. In Latin, “to renew” or “make new” often means not “to restore” to original glory from a run-down condition, but “to change,” usually for the worse (cf. *res novae*, “political revolution”).

606. = 9.2 ≈ 4.694. **Saturnia**: Juno’s principal epithet in the *Aeneid* (1.23 n., 1.47; cf. 799 n.)

608. **movens**: “plotting” (cf. 3.34 n.). **dolorem**: “retained” accusative of specification (AG §397b) with *saturata*. Juno’s *dolor* and its causes are explained at 1.9 and 1.25-8.

609. **per mille coloribus arcum**: the separation of the preposition from its object is common in poetry, but is here made easier by the fact that *mille coloribus* (descriptive ablative or ablative of quality, AG §415) is equivalent to an attributive adjective such as *multicolore* (Conington *ad loc.*) meaning “thousand-colored.”

610. **virgo**: pleonastic\* after *illa* (609).

611. **lustrat**: “crosses” here and not “sees” or “reviews” (578 n.).

613-15. The women have not taken part in the games either as participants or as spectators, but have passed this time in ritual lamentation for Anchises. This arrangement corresponds to the normal practice of funerary observance in ancient cultures and to the thematic opposition

- between male and female throughout the *Aeneid*, in which men are generally aligned with fated success and women with the forces that tend to delay the realization of that success. See Nugent (1992). The women's laments for Anchises are blended with tears for themselves, like the tears of Briseis and the other captives at *Iliad* 19.301-3, ostensibly for Patroclus but also for their own sorrows.
613. **Troadēs**: short final syllable as in Greek rather than long as in Latin. **acta**: from *acta*, -ae (not *ago*, *agere*), a Greek loan word (ἡ ἄκτῆ, "shore") used several times by Cicero but occurring only here in Vergil and never again in poetry before the Flavian period.
- 614-15. The slow movement of these lines (both entirely spondaic except in the fifth foot) suggests the lugubrious atmosphere of the women's activities, in sharp contrast to the festive nature of the men's celebrations.
- 615-16. **tot vada...superesse**: accusative and infinitive of exclamation (AG §462; 1.37 n.).
618. **haud ignara nocendi**: "not unskilled (i.e. "well skilled," *litotes*\*) in working ill." For this use of the gerund, cf. AG §504.
621. **fuisse**: subjunctive because the line gives, not an explanatory remark of Virgil's, but the *thought* which induced Iris to assume the shape of Beroë (informal indirect discourse AG §592). Iris thinks that Beroë, as one who had seen better days, is sure to be discontented.
624. **traxerit**: subjunctive in a relative causal clause (AG §535e, 540c) explaining *miserae*.
626. **septima...aestas**: Beroë here repeats the words that Dido had spoken one year previously (1.755), when the seventh summer had just passed; now the eighth summer is approaching. Scholars since the time of Servius have regarded the repetition as a chronological inconsistency and, possibly, an indication of the poem's unfinished state (cf. 1.755-6 n.). For a review of the question and a critical response, see Dyson (1996b).
- 627-8. **freta...terras...saxa | sidera**: all governed by *emensae* which denotes the "measuring out" of the many geographical features that the Trojans have passed by on the wanderings. **sidera**: metonymy\* for the different regions that lie under the various constellations (*OLD* s.v. *sidus* 5b).
631. **iacere**: idiomatic for "laying" foundations of all kinds.
633. **iam**: "at last." **Troiae**: Iris/Beroë plays on the women's hope that their city (like that of Helenus, 3.349 n.) is to be a new Troy, which is just what her mistress Juno fears as well. The frequent aetiological\* and etymological\* motifs in this book encourage such a view. But with this episode begins a process of leaving behind, both literally and figuratively, relics of the old Troy and of emphasizing the Italian and Latin qualities of the new Rome (12.819-42).
636. **Cassandrae**: 2.246 n.
- 641-63. *After Iris flings the first torch herself, a woman cries that she is not Beroë but some divine being. The goddess then soars heavenward, which causes a fury among the women who immediately set upon the ships with fire.*
- 643-4. Unusual but beautiful prosody: two early pauses in each line, a diaeresis\* after *et iacit* (643) and a caesura\* after *Iliadum* (644) suggest first the pause which follows a vigorous effort, then the pause of astonishment.
645. **Pyrgo**: a character and a name (< Greek πῦρ "fire") clearly invented for this episode. **tot**: 1.204 n. Priam famously had fifty sons and fifty daughters (2.501 n.).
646. **vobis**: ethical dative (AG §380); equivalent to a parenthetical "I tell you."

- 648-9. **ardentisque...oculos:** so Achilles recognizes the disguised Athena as a goddess by her blazing eyes (*Il.* 1.199). **qui spiritus...qui vultus:** the pronoun *quis* is regular in such expressions, but Vergil sometimes uses the adjective *qui* instead (9.723, *Geo.* 1.3), with no difference in meaning. However, while all surviving manuscripts give *qui* in 648, about half change to *quis* in 649, forcing editors to choose whether Vergil remained consistent in this passage or started with the less common and ended with the more common form. **spiritus:** “spirit” in the sense of an impressive, energetic, confident demeanor (*OLD* s.v. *spiritus* 7b-d).
651. **careret:** subjunctive because the causal clause states the motive of someone other than the speaker (AG §540 n.1), here Beroë (the real one, not Iris in disguise), whom Pyrgo paraphrases.
654. **matres:** fatherhood is a major theme in this book in respect of the observances devoted to Anchises, of Aeneas’ progress in filling the paternal role that Anchises has vacated, and in respect of the lines of descent between eponymous Trojan ancestors and the Roman *gentes* that they will found. But in contrast to the *patres*, who will marry Italian brides and father Trojan-Italian children, these women are destined to remain in Sicily (715-18). The only mother who really counts as such in this book, as in the poem as a whole, is Venus: see Nugent (1992), Farrell (1999).
655. **spectare:** historical infinitive (AG §463) here denoting a continuous action (contrast 685-6 n.) – the women simply gazed in astonishment until suddenly startled by the flight of Iris, when they break out into a sudden cry (expressed in the indicative *conclamant* (660)).
656. **fatis:** ablative of cause (AG §404), “the (Italian) realms that call them *because of their destinies.*”
658. **secuit...arcum:** *secare* is used frequently of vigorous active movement with an accusative that denotes the substance *over* which, not *through* which, the cutting takes place (6.899 *secat viam*). Thus Iris “cuts a rainbow” across the sky as she goes.
- 661-2. **pars spoliant:** collective singular subject of a plural verb (AG §317d2; 1.212 n.). A prior *pars*, subject of *rapiunt* (660), is to be inferred (cf. 108 n.). **aras:** the *quattuor arae* mentioned at 639-40. **frondem...conciunt:** develops and explains *spoliant aras*. The women take the garlands that decorated the altars and the firewood to be used for burning sacrificial victims, and use these as kindling for the ships instead. Their act is thus related in a perverse way to the important theme of sacrifice.
662. **furit immissis Volcanus habenis:** a heady mixture of images – the fire god Vulcan (a standard instance of metonymy\* for the element fire) “rages” like an insane person or a wild beast “with loosened reins” (a common metaphor\* from horseracing: cf. 146 n.).
663. **pictas abiete puppis:** “painted ships of pine,” enallage\* for “ships of painted pine.” **abiete:** ablative of material (AG §403.2), which regularly takes a preposition or at least a verb of making or constructing; but poetic usage is freer, and here the position of *abiete* between *pictas* and *puppis* allows it to be used as virtually equivalent to the adjective *abiernas* (cf. 266 n., 609 n.).
- 664-79. *Eumelus carries the news of the fire to Aeneas, and Ascanius gallops off to stop the women. They come to their senses and flee, panic-stricken, as the men arrive and try to quench the flames.*
664. **cuneos:** the wedge-shaped divisions of the seats in a theater. Vergil writes here as if the games took place in an artificial Augustan-era theater (cf. 288-9 n., 340-1 n.).
665. **Eumelus:** the name of a Greek warrior, son of Admetus, leader of a contingent from

- Phrae, and a great horseman (*Il.* 2.714, 764) who takes part in Homer's chariot race (*Il.* 23.288, etc.). The name is given here to an otherwise unknown Trojan as a general element in the extensive relationship between Vergil's games and Homer's.
669. **magistri**: 560-1 n. That the *ductores* and *magistri* are not the same is shown by 668, where the *magistri* vainly try to control Ascanius (cf. 133 n.).
- 676-7. **ast**: cf. 468 n. **illae diversa...per litora passim | diffugiunt**: "they scatter over different parts of the shore"; normal Latin idiom would require *diversae* (modifying *illae*) "they scatter in different directions along the shore." Perhaps an instance of enallage\*.
- 677-8. **et sicubi concava...saxa petunt**: brachylogy (an abbreviated construction or expression) for *et sicubi saxa concava [sunt, ea] petunt*. The women behave like frightened animals at the approach of the men.
- 680-99. *Aeneas prays Jupiter either to send the Trojans help or to annihilate them on the spot, and a great storm of rain extinguishes the flames.*
681. **posuere**: an uncompounded form in place of the compound *deposuerunt* with the alternative ending of the third person plural in the perfect active indicative.
682. **stuppa**: tar was used to seal the joints of the hull against leakage, and though the timbers themselves were wet from the shower (*udo...robore* 681) the tar would continue to smolder and could burst again into flames. **lentusque**: "lingering."
683. **est**: from *edo, esse, edi, esum* (not from *sum, esse, fui, futurus*). **toto descendit corpore pestis**: the imagery, appropriate to a medical description of disease, is used elsewhere of Dido's lovesickness (4.2, 66-7).
- 685-6. **umeris abscindere vestem**: a sign of violent emotion. **abscindere...vocare...tendere**: historical infinitives (AG §463), here denoting instantaneous action (contrast 655 n.). **auxilio**: dative of purpose (AG §382.2)
687. **exosus** = *exosus es* (192 n., 1.42 n.), a deponent form. The compound is not found in literature before Vergil. **ad unum**: "to the last man" (*OLD* s.v. *unus* 2b).
688. **quid**: cognate accusative (AG §390b-d) with *respicit*, "has any regard for..."
690. **tenuis...res**: "slender fortunes."
691. **vel tu**: the pronoun emphasizes the direct personal character of the appeal. **quod superest**: two interpretations are possible: 1) the clause may in effect modify the verb in a way that makes an adversative transition between one thought and the next ("save us or put us to death, *which is the remaining option*"); 2) it may define the direct object of *demitte* ("put to death *what remains* (of us)" (796 n.)). The first of these requires the reader to infer a direct object from the context, such as *nos* from *Teucrum* (690) or perhaps *me* from the first-person verb *mereor* (692). **morti**: dative of end of motion with a compound verb (34 n., AG §368a, 428h).
694. **sine more**: "without restraint" (cf. *in morem* 556, "according to form").
695. **ardua terrarum**: "the lofty places of the earth," i.e. mountains, a grand periphrasis\* in imitation of several Homeric phrases.
697. **implenturque super**: = *superimplentur*, "are filled to overflowing" (tmesis\*).
- 700-18. *Aeneas considers giving up his quest and settling in Sicily. The seer Nautes urges him to go on, but to leave behind the women and old men, the infirm, and the timid to found a city in Sicily with the help of Acestes.*



704. **unum**: “alone,” “uniquely” (2.426 n.). **Tritonia**: 2.171 n.
706. **haec responsa dabat...quae...**: a somewhat difficult passage, which most editors now explain as follows: *haec* (feminine nominative singular) is Pallas (704) who habitually “gave oracular utterances” (*responsa dabat*) to Nautes; *quae* (neuter accusative plural, as also in the following line) introduces an indirect question (not a relative clause) depending on (but not modifying) *responsa* and meaning “what the great wrath of the gods signified,” etc. The great editor O. Ribbeck reported finding the correction *hac* in a late manuscript, and some editors have accepted this as referring to *arte* 705, construing the phrase thus: “by means of this (art) he (Nautes himself, not Pallas) interpreted what the great anger of the gods signified,” etc.
708. **isque**: i.e. *Nautes* (704). The pronoun is very infrequent in poetry. **Aenean**: a Greek accusative form. **solatus**: = *consolans* (uncompounded form). The participle of a deponent verb often has present as well as active force.
710. **ferendo**: “by enduring,” ablative of the gerund (AG §507.1). **est**: prodelision (an elision involving “the suppression of initial short *e* instead of a preceding final vowel,” AG §612e) at line end is common and should be distinguished from other occurrences of a final monosyllable; cf. 481 n.
712. **consiliis**: dative of purpose by analogy with common phrases like *locum castris capere* (OLD s.v. *capere* 9a-b). *Socium* normally takes the objective genitive.
- 713-14. **amissis...navibus**: dative with *superant*. **superant**: OLD s.v. *supero* 5b (cf. 2.642-3 n.). **quos pertaesum...est**: the impersonal verb *taedet* (here with the intensifying prefix *per-*) governs the genitive of the object, *incepti rerumque*, and the accusative of the person affected, *quos* (AG §221b; cf. 4.18 n.). In the present system, active forms of *taedeo* are normally used, but in the perfect system, as here, passive forms are common.
716. **quidquid**: the neuter includes men, women, and children alike (cf. 1.601-2 n.).
717. **habeant...sine**: 163 n.
718. **Acestam**: Vergil connects the Greek name of the town, Egesta (Lat. *Segesta*), with the name of Acestes. Cf. Thuc. 6.2, Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.72.
- 719-45. *Aeneas remains unsure, but that night Anchises appears in a dream, bidding him follow the counsel of Nautes. In Italy he is to find the Sibyl of Cumae and under her guidance visit Anchises in Elysium to learn what fate has in store for him and his descendants.*
- 719-20. Aeneas’ confidence is so shaken by the loss of the ships that even Nautes’ sound and friendly advice leaves him more doubtful than ever.
721. **polum**: metonymy\* for *caelum*.
722. **caelo...delapsa**: though Anchises himself is below in Elysium (735), the vision comes from above, being sent by Jupiter (726).
724. Cf. Cat. 64.215 *nate, mihi longa iucundior unice vita*.
725. **nate...fatis**: = 3.182.
735. **cōlō. hūc**: hiatus\*, in this instance without correption (cf. 261 n.).
736. **nigrarum**: because offered to the gods below (6.153 n.). **multo...sanguine**: ablative of price (AG §416).
741. **deinde**: exactly like English “then” or “now” in indignant questions. **proripis**: supply *te*. The omission of *te* connotes the speaker’s agitation.
- 743-5. For sacrifice after a vision cf. 3.176-7 n., 8.542.

744. **canae:** Vesta is “white-haired” because she (or her Greek counterpart, Hestia) was considered the eldest of the Olympians.
745. **farre pio:** = *mola salsa* (4.517 n.) was regularly offered to the Penates (Hor. *Carm.* 3.23.20) and was thought to expiate ill-omened dreams ([Tibullus] 3.4.9).
- 746-61. *Aeneas announces his plan to Acestes and his followers. They make lists of those who are to stay behind and repair the fleet while Aeneas marks out the new town.*
- 746-8. Where Nautes’ advice had deepened Aeneas’ doubt (719-20 n.), hearing the same advice from his father restores the hero’s resolve.
750. **transcribunt:** ≈ *adscribunt*, the normal technical term for enrolling citizens in a colony (OLD s.v. *ascribo* 2b). The change of prefix seems to reflect the transferral of these individuals from Aeneas’ leadership to that of Acestes. The subject must be inferred from *socios* (746). **matres:** accusative.
751. **deponunt:** “they put ashore” as if literally taking them off the ships (Servius). **nil:** cognate or adverbial accusative (AG §390d, n. 2) with *egentis*. **magnae laudis:** genitive of want (AG §356) with *egentis*. **egentis:** accusative in agreement with *animos*.
752. **ipsi:** i.e. Aeneas’ *socii* (see 750 n.).
753. A hypermetric line\*.
754. **virtus:** possibly intended as a collective noun, as if *virī fortes*, in apposition to *exigui* (“few in number, but (*a band of*) *courageous men* keen for war”); but it is easy to supply a possessive (e.g. *eorum*) so as to render “few in number, but *their* courage was keen for war.”
- 755-7. In his note on this passage Servius describes in detail the ritual that the Romans observed in founding a new city. Cf. Vergil’s descriptions of the foundations of Carthage (1.420-9) and of Pergamum in Crete (3.132-9).
757. **regno:** Acestes’ settlement is for the first time called a “kingdom.”
- 759-61. The worship of Venus at Eryx was formally organized as a proper cult. The temple was famous in antiquity (Thuc. 6.46.3, Theoc. 15.100, Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.43.5). The cult of Venus Erycina was imported to Rome in 215 BCE, and thereafter it contributed to the Venus cults promoted by Sulla and Pompey as well as to the cult of Venus Genetrix adopted by Julius Caesar and then by Augustus. See Galinsky (1968), Gruen (1992).
761. **lucus late sacer:** properly speaking not a grove, but an open area surrounded by trees, so that these words are literally “a wide space of consecrated ground.” Anchises receives a hero’s *temenos* at the goddess’ cult site.

### 762-871: The Trojans sail from Sicily to Italy

This brief concluding section (90 lines) of departure balances the similarly brief (103 lines) opening section of arrival.

Venus’ responsibility for Aeneas’ welfare has been evident throughout the book in subtle ways (19-20 n., 23-4 n., 412 n.; cf. 1.667). Now, as the book concludes, her influence becomes overt as she is shown bargaining with Neptune to secure safe passage to Italy for Aeneas and his people (779-826). Thus the reader is aware, even if Aeneas is not, that he would have been lost without her protection. The bargain that Venus strikes involves a human sacrifice as Neptune demands one life in return for the safety of all the rest. The death of Palinurus thus draws together the motifs of literal animal sacrifice (96 n.) and metaphorical human sacrifice (96-7 n., 327-38 n., 476-81 n., 483-4 n.) that have pervaded much of the previous action in this book. *Bibliography:* Putnam (1965) 64-104, Brenk (1991), Dyson (1996b), Leigh (2010).

762-78. *The wind blows fair, and after a sad parting from their comrades Aeneas offers sacrifice and the fleet sets sail.*

762. **dies...novem:** accusative of duration of time (AG §423.2). A span of nine days separates the day of the games from the events that precede (64-5 n.) and follow it. The religious observances that mark both periods establish a ritual atmosphere for all the events of the book. **epulata:** = *epulata est*. The verb *epulor* denoted public, ceremonial banqueting, often with religious significance, as opposed to *cenare*, which is used of private dinner parties (e.g. Cat. 13.1).

763. **honos:** archaic\* for *honor*, i.e. "sacrifice" (OLD s.v. *honor* 2b).

765. **procurva:** = *curva*; a Vergilian coinage\*, occurring only here in classical Latin.

766. **noctem diemque:** accusative not of duration of time but direct object of *morantur*.

769. **perferre:** the prefix indicates willingness to struggle on *through to the end*.

773. **ex ordine:** = *rite*, "solemnly," according to Servius, as if casting off were simply a continuation of the preliminary rites (cf. *ex more* 244).

774-8. These lines are substantially composed out of other passages in Vergil's poetry. Some consider the repetitions to be place-holders, assuming that Vergil would have rewritten the lines to eliminate them if he had lived. It seems possible, however, that verbal repetition is meant to underline the ritual quality of the actions described in these lines.

774. ≈ *Geo.* 3.21.

775-6. **extaque...fundit:** ≈ 237-8.

778-777. The manuscripts are evenly divided on the ordering of these two lines. The arrangement 778-777 (as printed here), however, seems to describe a more natural sequence of events: first the men start rowing; then a breeze follows/accompanies them as they go (*euntis*).

778. = 3.290. **certatim:** the note of competition links the resumption of the voyage to the interlude of the games.

777. = 3.130.

779-826. *Venus, fearful that Juno might rouse another storm, appeals to Neptune to bring Aeneas in safety to the Tiber. Neptune promises to help Aeneas as he has in the past, but demands that one life be sacrificed in recompense for Aeneas' safe passage. Then he drives over the sea to calm it, followed by his train of sea-deities.*

After Aeneas makes sacrifice and departs, the scene shifts to a negotiation on the divine plane, by means of which Venus obtains for Aeneas what he had hoped to secure by sacrifice. Viewed from one angle, the shift of scene conforms to the epic motif of double motivation, by virtue of which every action has both human and divine causes. From a slightly different point of view, Aeneas' piety is contrasted with the ruthlessness of the gods as the convention of animal sacrifice that he performs is repeated, at Neptune's insistence and with Venus' approval, in the "sacrifice" of Palinurus (see Putnam (1965) 97-104; Leigh (2010)).

781-98. Venus' speech is remarkably manipulative, focusing mainly on Juno's opposition to the Trojans (whom, according to Homer, both Aphrodite/Venus and Poseidon/Neptune supported) and on her more recent arrogant interference in Neptune's own realm (the storm scene in book 1).

781. **Iunonis:** the first word sets the tone for Venus' entire speech. **exsaturabile:** elsewhere only at Statius *Theb.* 1.214; *exsaturata* 7.298 (again with reference to Juno).

782. **descendere:** by using this verb ("to stoop") Venus emphasizes the humility of her plea and

the desperateness of her situation.

783. **pietas nec mitigat ulla:** no *pietas* (on Aeneas' part) appeases Juno.

784. **infracta:** the prefix is intensive.

785-6. **non...satis est:** the city of Troy is spoken of as the heart that Juno plucks out of the body of the Phrygian people and devours (*exedisse*) before proceeding to outrage the maimed and mutilated remains. The imagery recalls a passage of Homer in which Zeus tells Hera that she would not be satisfied until she "ate Priam and the sons of Priam raw" (*Il.* 4.34). Achilles, too, tells Hector that he wishes his anger would drive him to devour Hector's corpse (*Il.* 22.346-7), which he then mistreats as Juno is said to have mistreated the Trojans. **traxe:** = *traxisse* by syncope\*. The image of "dragging" recalls Achilles' dragging Hector's body around the walls of Troy.

787. **reliquias:** direct object of *insequitur* 788; denotes both what remains of the Trojan people (as elsewhere, e.g. 1.30), i.e. "survivors" (*OLD* s.v. *reliquiae* 3) and, continuing the imagery of the previous lines, "the remains or relics of a dead person, esp. after cremation" (*OLD* s.v. *reliquiae* 2). **cineres atque ossa:** appositive to *reliquias* (cf. 47).

788. **sciat:** jussive subjunctive, dismissive in tone – her reasons (*causas*) are for her to know, because no one else can understand them. There is some irony\* in this, since elsewhere Vergil traces the causes of Juno's anger back to, among other events, the judgment of Paris (1.27), by which Venus (through bribery) – and not Juno – was named fairest of goddesses.

790. Venus here paraphrases Neptune's own words (1.133-4) to remind him of his earlier indignation.

791. **Aeoliis:** because they were caused by Aeolus' letting loose the winds at Juno's request (1.65-75).

793. **per scelus:** "wickedly," to be construed with the ablative absolute *matribus actis*.

794-5. **classe...amissa:** hyperbolic\*, since only a portion of the fleet was lost. **subegit...linquere:** Aeneas is to be understood as the subject accusative of *linquere*. **ignotae linquere terrae:** hyperbolic or worse – the Trojans had visited Sicily previously and regard it as hospitable country (23-4 n.). *Linquere* with direct and indirect object means "to leave something to the mercy or control of something else" (*OLD* s.v. *linquere* 6).

796. **quod superest:** "as for the rest," a transitional formula (cf. 691 n.).

796-7. **liceat...liceat:** i.e. to Aeneas and his remaining followers. **tibi:** indirect object on the model of *vela dare ventis* (4.546). Venus asks that the Trojans might entrust their sails to Neptune instead of to the winds (i.e. sail under his protection). Similarly at 3.9 they entrust their sails to the fates.

798. **ea moenia:** i.e. walls by the Tiber, which has just been mentioned (*Thybrim* 797).

799. **Saturnius:** while Juno is frequently called *Saturnia* (606 n.; cf. 1.23 n., 4.372 n.), Neptune is *Saturnius* only here, perhaps to signal that he is a match for his sister; perhaps also, in view of his startling demand at 814-15, to suggest that all of Saturn's children share something of the same temperament.

800-15. Neptune's response is gracious and receptive to Venus' request, emphasizing their like-mindedness. But after granting Aeneas safe passage, he mentions almost casually, but pointedly, that he will require one life in compensation for this favor.

800. **fas omne est:** "it is entirely right" (3.55 n.). **Cytherēa:** the long second *e* represents the diphthong *ει* in the Greek spelling Κυθήρεια. The island of Cythera was the site of an

important cult of Aphrodite because it was there that she was born of the sea-foam (Hesiod, *Th.* 192-3). Neptune, as god of the sea, aptly addresses Venus by this cult-title to suggest their affinity.

801. **merui**: in addition to the confidence that Venus would naturally have in Neptune as the god of the element in which she was born, he has “earned” her trust by protecting Aeneas from shipwreck. **saepe**: the Trojans have survived two storms at sea (1.81-156, 3.192-210) and have avoided another (5.8-34). The reader knows for certain that it was Neptune who saved the Trojans in Book 1. Book 3 is narrated by Aeneas, who cannot inform his audience what divine forces may lie behind natural phenomena. In this book, when Palinurus faces the first storm he wonders out loud what Neptune has in store (14)—a question that will be shockingly answered in this episode (814-15, 840), at least for the reader; but neither Palinurus nor Aeneas will ever know the whole truth (6.341-62). So, with *saepe* the reader glimpses as Aeneas cannot how constantly the gods’ favor sustains him, and at what cost.

802-11. Neptune recalls the contest between Aeneas and Achilles as described by Homer (*Il.* 20.156-351). Achilles’ contest with the river Xanthus in fact takes place after his duel with Aeneas (*Il.* 21.136-382).

804-5. **Troïa...exanimata...agmina**: governed in common by *sequens* and *impingeret*. **sequens**: as often, a circumstantial participle is best rendered as a parallel main verb – “when Achilles *was pursuing* the exhausted Trojan troops *and pinning* them....” *Troïa* is trisyllabic (though the final syllable is lost in elision before *Achilles*).

806-8. In recalling this scene from the *Iliad*, Neptune “quotes” the words of the river Xanthus (21.218-20), which had previously been paraphrased in Latin by Catullus (64.357-60).

810. **nube cava**: cf. 1.516 n. At *Iliad* 20.321 Neptune saves Aeneas by bringing a mist over the eyes of Achilles. **cum**: concessive.

811. For this story see 2.610 n.

814. **unus erit...quem**: ≈ *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli | templa* (Ennius, *Annales* fr. 54-5 in Skutsch, fr. 63-4 in Warmington; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.806, *Fast.* 2.485). The Ennian context refers to the apotheosis of Romulus, whose fate contrasts sharply with that of the sacrificial victim Palinurus.

815. **caput**: = *vita*, as often in Latin.

816. **laeta**: proleptic\* – his words soothed her soul and so made it glad.

817. **auro**: ablative of means, “with gold”; equivalent in sense to *aureo iugo*, “with a golden yoke.” **genitor**: 1.155 n.

821. **sternitur aequor aquis**: ≈ 8.89. **aequor**: the level surface (cf. *aequus*) of either water or land (141 n.; cf. *Geo.* 1.50); perhaps proleptic\* in view of the verb *sternitur* – the surface of the water is calmed and so becomes level. **aquis**: variously explained as dative of reference or ablative of place where.

822. **cētē**: a Greek nominative plural form (κῆτη), “whales” or “sea monsters” of any sort.

823-6. A catalogue of minor sea divinities in Neptune’s retinue. Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 36.5.26) describes a painting by Scopas that hung in the Circus Flaminius, in which were depicted Neptune, Thetis, Achilles, Nereids riding on dolphins, whales or seahorses, Tritons, the “chorus” of Phorcus, sea-monsters, and other marine creatures. The panel was probably known to Vergil and may have helped to inspire this highly pictorial passage. But stimulus to the visual imagination is equalled by the musical sequence of exotic names, many of

them clearly borrowed from specific literary sources (see notes). Apart from such decorative functions, catalogues in the *Aeneid* lend emphasis at key points in the narrative and ease transitions between episodes.

823. **Glauci:** a Boeotian fisherman who was changed into a sea-god (Ovid, *Met.* 14.1-74) and became a sort of typical “old man of the sea.” **Inousque:** possessive adjective instead of genitive, “Ino’s (son).” Ino (alias Leucothoe or Leucothea), a Theban princess who, being pursued by her insane husband, Athamas, threw herself from a cliff into the waves below and was transformed into a minor sea-goddess (Ovid, *Met.* 4.416-562). **Palaemon:** son of Athamas and Ino who shared his mother’s fate; also known as Melicertes (*Geo.* 1.437) and identified with the Roman god Portunus (Servius *ad* 241).
824. **Tritones:** 1.144-5 n.; cf. 6.171 n. **Phorcique:** Phorcys is mentioned as an ancient sea-god at Hesiod, *Theog.* 237 and Homer, *Od.* 13.96.
- 825-6. **Thetis...Cymodoceque:** in a famous Homeric catalogue (*Il.* 18.39-49) Thetis, sea-goddess and mother of Achilles, is accompanied by twenty-four nymphs, daughters of the sea-god Nereus, including the six named here. **Panopaeaque virgo:** 240 n., *Geo.* 1.437.
826. This line is formed from two halves of the lines that begin Homer’s catalogue of Nereids (*Il.* 18.39-40).
- 827-71. *As the fleet sails with fair winds, the god Sleep, taking the shape of a sailor, tries to persuade Palinurus to abandon his post and enjoy some rest. When Palinurus refuses, the god first throws him into a profound sleep and then casts him overboard. Aeneas wakes, discovers the loss of his pilot, and takes his place.*
- The death of Palinurus continues a pattern that begins with the loss of Creusa at the end of book 2 and the deaths of Anchises and Dido at the ends of books 3 and 4, respectively. Here death is most explicitly figured as the sacrifice of a blameless victim. The theme of sacrifice, which is so prominent in this book, thus culminates in the most troubling and seemingly arbitrary and unnecessary deaths in the entire poem. See especially Putnam (1965) and Feldherr (1995).
827. **suspensam blanda:** a splendid instance of what Horace (*Ars Poet.* 47-8) calls *callida iunctura*, (“clever juxtaposition”). The words contrast sharply, illustrating how Aeneas’ anxiety begins giving way to the enticement of hope. **suspensam:** cf. 4.9.
829. **malos:** from *malus*, -i, “mast” (not *malus -a -um*, “bad, evil”). **intendi:** 403 n.; cf. 4.506 n.
- 830-1. **una...pariter...una:** emphasizes the way in which the whole fleet act together. **fecere pedem:** *pedes* are the sheets or ropes at the bottom of a sail, by which it can be adjusted for tacking (cf. 16 n.; 3.267 n.). **fecere...solvere:** = *fecerunt, solverunt*.
832. **sua:** 53-4 n. Stronger than the simple possessive (*eius*), the reflexive form indicates an especially close relationship: the winds are so favorable that they seem to belong to the fleet.
834. **ad hunc:** “towards him.” **cursum:** direct object of *contendere*.
835. **mediam...metam:** the personified Night in her chariot (721) is supposed to ascend the sky, like the sun, and at midnight half her course is done and she begins to descend; the midpoint in her journey is therefore compared to the turning post that marks the half-way point of a chariot race. In this context the imagery inevitably recalls the position of the Trojan fleet at the opening of the book (cf. 1-2 n. *medium...tenebat...iter*) and the drama of the boat-race around its all-important turning post (for *meta*, cf. 129 n., 159).
839. **aëra...:** “parted the air cleaving the gloom,” i.e. in his flight.

840. **te, Palinure:** Vergil is more restrained in using apostrophe\* than later epic poets, and more deliberate than is Homer. This instance must rank as one of the most effective in the entire poem.
841. **insonti:** unexpected and very emphatic by enjambment\* and by caesura\* in the second foot. Vergil makes it as clear as possible that Palinurus has done nothing to deserve this death. **deus:** suggests the divine power that Somnus will bring to bear on Palinurus. It is not to be a fair fight.
842. **Phorbanti:** this Phorbas is otherwise unknown. At Hom. *Il.* 14.490 a Phorbas is named as the father of Ilioneus, but no direct reference to the Homeric passage seems intended. Rather, Vergil prefers to give minor characters Homeric names rather than to introduce new names into the epic tradition. **loquelas:** the remarkable diminutive suggests the soft insinuating words he uses; cf. Lucr. 1.39, an often imitated passage in which the poet asks Venus herself to seek peace for the Romans by speaking *loquelas*, “blandishing and seductive words,” to her lover Mars — thus preventing unnecessary deaths rather than causing one, as the *loquela*e of Somnus (who is presumably Venus’ agent) do here.
843. **Īāsīdē:** four syllables; a Greek form, Ἰᾱσίδῆ (masculine vocative singular), “son of Iasius.” Contrast the *-ē* of the Latin second-declension vocative. A son of Jupiter, Iasius was one of the founders of the Trojan race (3.167-8 n.); Palinurus (like Iapix, 12.392) was one of his descendants.
845. **furare:** imperative of the deponent verb *furor, furari*. **labori:** dative of separation (AG §381), common with verbs meaning “to take.”
847. **vix...:** “scarcely lifting his eyes,” i.e. keeping them steadily fixed on the prow and the star he was steering by, without attending to his interlocutor. The explanation “with scarcely lifted eyes,” as though they were already feeling the drowsy influence of the god, is forced and inconsistent with the very energetic reply that follows.
848. **mene:** emphatic by position: “Are you telling *me*...?”
850. **Aenean:** emphatic by position, as if to say, “assuming I am reckless about myself, can I expose *Aeneas* to such risk?” **quid enim?:** the parenthesis contributes to the vivid, almost colloquial character of Palinurus’ speech.
851. **caeli:** manuscripts and editors are divided between *caeli* and *caelo*. The former, “entrust Aeneas to the false winds even (*et*) when so often deceived by the treachery of a clear sky” (note that this entails taking *et* as an intensive adverb, as for instance in *timeo Danaos et dona ferentis*, 2.49), gives better sense than the latter, “entrust Aeneas to the false winds and (*et*) the sky after being so often deceived by fair weather,” which entails taking the adjective *sereno* (“fair”) substantively (“fair weather”).
853. **nusquam:** a very strong negative (*OLD* s.v. 5) with no reference to place as such. **amittebat:** cf. 1.308 n. **sub astra:** “directed up towards (*OLD* s.v. *sub* 21) the stars” by which he was steering.
854. **Lethaeo rore:** Lethe is the river of forgetfulness in the Greek mythological underworld (6.749-50 n.). Here the waters of Lethe cause Palinurus to fall into a deep sleep and thus, very much against his will, to “forget” his duty.
- 855-6. **vique...Stygia:** Styx, the river of death, encircles the underworld. To cross it is to die (cf. 6.134 n.); Palinurus’ fate, to die without being allowed to cross it, is still worse (6.367-76). **utraque...tempora:** 233 n. **cunctantique...:** “and despite his efforts (i.e. his struggles to

- keep awake) loosens his swimming eyes.” *Solvit* stands in opposition to *tenebat* (853), which describes an “intent” gaze.
857. **laxaverat...et...proiecit** (859): parataxis\* (2.172 n.).
- 858-9. **cum...cumque**: cf. *in...inque* 2.51; *perque...perque* 1.537, 2.364, 4.671 n. The repeated pronoun adds force. The conjunction is not required (cf. 2.358 *per tela per hostes*), “but it also adds a certain vehemence to the style” (Page).
862. **iter**: cognate accusative with *currit* (AG §390; cf. 1.524 n.).
864. **iamque adeo**: 2.567 n. **scopulos Sirenum**: Hellenistic scholarship identified the rocks of the Sirens (*Od.* 12.39) with the modern Galli near Capreae in the bay of Naples.
- 865-6. **quondam...tum**: the Sirens were *once* a danger because of their song; Odysseus alone heard their song and nevertheless sailed safely by (*Od.* 12.153-200). According to post-Homeric tradition, the Sirens became distraught at Odysseus’ success and hurled themselves into the sea; *then* (including in particular the time when Aeneas approached them) the only sound to be heard was that of waves crashing against the rocks. **adsiduo...sale saxa sonabant**: the sibilants in this line imitate the sound of the surf against the Sirens’ rocks.
868. **ipse ratem...rexit...undis**: Aeneas takes his helmsman’s place. The act invites two opposite interpretations. On the one hand, it may symbolize Aeneas’ continued growth as a leader; on the other, it repeats what Gyas did when he pitched Menoetes overboard, tried to steer the ship himself (cf. 176 n. *ipse...ipse*), and went from first place to last in the boarace.
- 870-1. Aeneas pronounces an epitaph for his lost comrade, one that is dignified and in keeping with the traditions of the genre.
870. **nimum...confise**: Williams observes that “It is a most effective piece of poetic irony that Aeneas in his last farewell to Palinurus attributes his death to the very thing that he had most resolutely refused to do” (850 n.). The gap between human and divine perspectives remains enormous.
871. **nudus**: “unburied.” On the consequences of not receiving burial see 6.322-30. The contrast between the unfortunate helmsman’s fate and the elaborate honors paid to Anchises, who rests in a proper grave, is extremely stark.



# Aeneid 6

## Introduction

Near the end of book 5, Anchises appeared to Aeneas in a dream and told him to travel to the underworld to learn about the future of their descendants (see 1-263 n. below). Book 6, which narrates this journey, can be divided into three parts. It begins (1-263) with the Trojans landing at Cumae in Italy. Aeneas proceeds directly to visit the Sibyl, and together they prepare to enter the underworld. In the central portion of the book (264-678), the Sibyl guides Aeneas through the various regions of the underworld, where he sees and interacts with numerous shades. The book concludes (679-901) with Aeneas having reached the Fields of the Blessed in Elysium, where he finds the shade of his deceased father. Anchises reveals to him the future greatness of their descendants and of the Roman state they will establish, which will culminate in a golden age under Augustus.

Book 6 represents an important turning point in the epic. Here Aeneas will in some sense put the past behind him and bring to an end his wanderings in the “Odyssean” half of the epic. He will encounter many of the figures from earlier in the poem, and will, as a result, come to a better understanding of past events. At the same time, he will also learn about the future. Prior to Anchises’ prophecy, the Sibyl predicts a terrible conflict, one in which the Trojan War past threatens to be reborn in a new form, with Aeneas facing another Achilles in Italy (83-94); she thus provides a transition to the “Iliadic” half of the *Aeneid*, in which this new war will be depicted.

Aeneas’ journey through the underworld draws upon many sources, making book 6 one of the richest of the *Aeneid*. The most important source is Homer’s *Odyssey* 11, where Odysseus travels to Hades to question the shades of the dead in order to learn how to return to his home in Ithaca. Vergil’s underworld episode, however, is more complex than Homer’s. Unlike Aeneas, Odysseus meets most of the shades at the entrance to the underworld, where they come to him. In addition, Homer’s underworld does not look much further forward than Odysseus’ lifetime, focusing instead more on past events; Vergil’s underworld, by contrast, reveals a difference in the destinies of souls, according to the lives they have lived on earth, and ultimately foretells the distant future.

In addition to Homer, there are many other literary, philosophical, and religious influences. Vergil’s underworld reflects Orphic and Pythagorean accounts of punishment, rewards, and purgation in the afterlife, and of the transmigration of the souls, so central to the Parade of Heroes at the end of the book. In addition, there are allusions to other literary/philosophical accounts of the afterlife, including the “Myth of Er” from Plato’s *Republic* and the “Dream of Scipio” from Cicero’s *Republic*, as well as the Stoic doctrine on the nature of the soul, which plays an important role (see 724-51 n.). Finally, the description of Elysium, where Anchises and other blessed souls are located, suggests the language of the happy existence of those initiated into the mystery religions, which were popular during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods.

Up until now, Aeneas has dutifully fulfilled the demands of fate and the gods, not always with complete knowledge or understanding, but acting out of the piety that defines him (*pius Aeneas*). At the end of book 6, he receives from Anchises his first, full account of the greatness of the race he is destined to found. In the remainder of the poem, however, it is not clear that he is thinking in any detail about what Anchises has here revealed to him. To some readers, indeed, his departure from the underworld through the gate of ivory (from where false dreams exit) casts doubt onto everything he has witnessed (see 893-901 n.). Nonetheless from this point on Aeneas tends to act with greater determination and confidence.

*Bibliography.* For general interpretation, see MacKay (1955), R. D. Williams (1964), Segal (1966), Camps (1967-68), Solmsen (1972), Feeney (1986), Zetzel (1989), Horsfall (1995) 144-54, Fratantuono (2007) and O'Hara (2007) 170-2. For the influence of Homer and other sources, see Knauer (1964a), Camps (1967-68), and Nelis (2001). For the religious and philosophical elements, see Butler (1920) 1-36, Fletcher (1941) ix-xxviii, Solmsen (1972), and Braund (1997). For the Parade of Heroes, see Feeney (1986), Goold (1992), Hardie (1998) 96-7, and Reed (2007) 148-50. For the gate of ivory, see 893-901 n. For the importance of viewing and spectacle, see Leach (1999). For all aspects, see the landmark commentaries (in German) by Norden (1926), and (in English) by Austin (1977).

### 1-263: The landing at Cumae and preparation to enter the Underworld

After the Trojans land at Cumae, Aeneas quickly proceeds to the temple of Apollo, whose doors have been decorated by the master craftsman Daedalus. After gazing at the artwork, which is described at length (see 14-41 n.), Aeneas enters the cave of the Sibyl, where he hears a terrifying prophecy of the trials he will face in Italy. He also learns that before he can travel to the underworld, he must bury his companion Misenus (who, unbeknownst to him, lies dead on the beach, a victim of his own hubris) and find a golden bough which he is to present to Proserpina in the underworld. He quickly performs both tasks.

Aeneas' meeting with the Sibyl results from two earlier episodes: 1) the Trojan priest Helenus had instructed Aeneas to consult the Sibyl at Cumae and to learn about the wars he will have to fight (3.441-60), and 2) Anchises had appeared to Aeneas in a dream (5.722-39), prophesying the Italian war and also instructing him to travel to Elysium in the underworld, guided by the Sibyl, so that they could meet and Aeneas learn the future of their descendants and of their city (i.e. Rome). Aeneas' encounter with the Sibyl in this section fulfills the first task and initiates the second.

Throughout, Aeneas' *pietas* is emphasized – he is described as *pius* three times (9, 176, 232), an adjective that underscores the degree to which he has undertaken this task out of a sense of responsibility to the gods, the state, and his family; it also points to the difficulty and the heroic nature of his undertaking: he is a living being who hopes not only to descend to the underworld, but also to return from it alive – a far more difficult challenge. We shall also see the importance of burial (e.g. the case of Misenus), as well as the requisite mystical and ritual actions (e.g. performing sacrifices and finding the golden bough) mandated by the Sibyl. Such features make this section a rich and fitting prelude to Aeneas' descent to the underworld.

For the murals of Daedalus, see W. Fitzgerald (1984), Paschalis (1986b), Putnam (1998). For the Sibyl, see Miller (2009) 133-49. For the golden bough, see Brooks (1953), Segal (1965, 1966), West (1987) = (1990) 224-38, Clark (1992), Weber (1995).

1-13. *The Trojans land at Cumae in Italy and visit the Temple of Apollo.*

1. **Sic fatur lacrimans:** the helmsman Palinurus died at the close of book 5; book 6 opens with Aeneas weeping for his lost comrade, as he takes control of the helm or “reins” (*habenae*) of the ship to guide it to Cumae. **classi:** dative of reference. **immittit habenas:** a racing metaphor\* which literally means “to loosen the reins”; here it refers to loosening the ship’s cables so that the sails can be filled by the winds.
2. **tandem:** i.e. after long wanderings. **Euboicis...oris:** Cumae, just west of the modern city of Naples, was founded in the seventh century BCE by settlers from the Greek city Chalcis on the island Euboea (cf. *Chalcidicaque* 17). Since Aeneas would have arrived five centuries earlier, the reference here is anachronistic. Note that the gentle, lapping movement of lines 1-2, achieved by a mixture of soft vowels (*a, i*), and nasal (*m, n*) and liquid (*l, r*) consonants, creates a soothing effect, suggesting a dreamlike, gentle gliding into the harbor of Cumae.
3. **obvertunt pelago proras:** once in the harbor, they turn the prows to face the sea presumably so that the ships would be ready for immediate departure (cf. 901). **dente tenaci:** instrumental ablative.
4. **fundabat:** the imperfect tense indicates that the anchor was in the process of giving their ships a firm base on the shore, while the present tense (*praetexunt* 5) indicates the final result of their efforts.
- 5-6. **emicat ardens:** the Trojans dart forth (*emicat*) burning (*ardens*) in their eagerness to set foot on this long-sought land. **litus in Hesperium:** Hesperia (lit. “the western land”) has long been the goal of their quest, as Dido is informed by Ilioneus (1.530; 1.569) and Aeneas (4.355, etc.); cf. 2.781 and 3.163, 185, and 503.
- 6-11. **quaerit pars...pars...rapit...at pius Aeneas...petit:** “some look for..., others seize..., but pious Aeneas seeks out...”
6. **semina flammae:** sparks (“seeds of flame”) were believed to be hidden in the flint until it was struck. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 490; Verg. *Geo.* 1.135; *Aen.* 1.174.
8. **rapit:** suggests a violent attack upon the woodlands to find either wood for cooking or wild game.
9. **at:** strongly marks a change of subject. **pius Aeneas:** the epithet *pius*, most often applied to Aeneas, refers to his duty to the gods, the state, and his family; here his religious duties as well as his obligations to his father are emphasized (cf. 1.305; 4.393; 6.232; 7.5; 12.311). **altus Apollo:** Apollo is here identified with his lofty temple. This temple, however, is anachronistic since Apollo was not established at Cumae until 410 BCE; prior to that, the site was sacred to Hera. See Johnston (1998). The ruins of the historical Temple of Apollo still stand on the Acropolis of Cumae, above the city’s ancient harbor; at a lower level, a few hundred feet away (*procul* 10), is the cave of the Cumaean Sibyl. Aeneas seems to climb up the hill from the harbor, and proceed through the sacred groves of Hekate (*Triviae lucos* 13), past the level of the cave itself to the entrance of the temple of Apollo, where he will be standing, admiring the temple doors (14-33), when the Sibyl (cf. 10 n.), having been previously summoned by Achates (34-5 n.), suddenly appears and reproaches him for wasting time (37).
10. **Sibyllae:** the title of a priestess of Apollo; for her personal name see 36. She was thought to be the Sibyl from whom Tarquinius Superbus, Rome’s last king, purchased the original Sibylline Books (cf. 72 n.). See Guarducci (1946-48), Parke (1988), Johnston (1998).

11. **antrum immane:** cf. 42-4 n. **cui:** the god “breathes (his reply) into” his seer (*cui*). **mentem anumque:** strictly speaking, *mens* is the “intelligence” or “insight” into the future which attends inspiration, while *animus* is the emotion associated with it. Both words are the direct objects of *inspirat*: “inspiration” is regarded as something almost material.
12. **Delius...vates:** Apollo is the “Delos-born” prophetic god.
13. **iam subeunt:** “now they approach”; the use of the plural shows that Aeneas took companions with him. **Triviae lucos:** the grove surrounding the temple (*aurea tecta*) is described as sacred to Trivia, goddess of the “three-ways crossroads,” a Greek epithet for Hecate, the underworld goddess with the attributes of Apollo’s twin sister Artemis (later attributed to Roman Diana). The temple at Cumae may once have been associated with a cult of the dead. See Turcan (1992) 217-18, Pailler (1995) 111-26, Parker (1995) 485, and Jimenez (2009) 46-60. **aurea tecta:** a reference to the Temple of Apollo (cf. 9 n.).

14-41. *The description of the temple and Daedalus’ carvings on the doors*

The action of the poem is suspended while Vergil describes in detail carvings Aeneas sees on the doors of the temple of Apollo. This literary device, known as ecphrasis\*, presents to the reader what the eyes of the characters are contemplating. (Compare *Aen.* 1.418-93 with n., where Aeneas and Achates gaze at the paintings on Juno’s temple in Carthage.) Here the artwork, created by the master craftsman Daedalus, tells the story of the slaying of the Minotaur, in which Daedalus himself played an important role. There are four main panels: the death at Athens of the Cretan prince Androgeos, son of king Minos (20-2 n.); the young Athenians chosen annually by lot to be sacrificed to the Minotaur at Crete to atone for Androgeos’ death (20-2 n.); Pasiphae’s mating with the bull that produced the Minotaur (23-6 n.); and Theseus’ slaying of the Minotaur in the Labyrinth with Daedalus’ help (27-30 n.). As we learn at 30-3, sorrow prevented Daedalus from including the story of his son’s death as they tried to flee Crete after the Minotaur’s death.

This ecphrasis resonates with the main narrative. Aeneas and his companions contemplate mythical scenes of greed, passion, and murder, which hint at the pain of a father (Daedalus) whose son (Icarus) has not fulfilled his promise. The ecphrasis also provides a view of the tragedy in store for a father who fails what he has undertaken, and underscores the audacity—and promise—if he should succeed. Aeneas is thus reminded of his responsibilities to his own son and descendants (30-3), as well as to his father, Anchises, who had perished before the storm with which Book 1 begins.

The tale of Daedalus and Icarus was widely represented in ancient art. At Pompeii, for example, a fresco in the House of the Vettii depicts Daedalus’ role in facilitating Pasiphae’s mating with the bull, while his child Icarus sits on a bench nearby, playing with his father’s tools. This important father-son theme recurs below, as in Aeneas’ speech to the Sibyl (103-23), and in his subsequent encounter with his father in the underworld at the end of this book. The myth of Daedalus and Icarus is told in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.183-235; it was frequently represented on Roman vases and gems and in wall paintings. Daedalus’ connection with Cumae goes back to a history of Sicily written by Timaeus of Tauromenium (ca. 350-260 BCE). For interpretations of the myth, see Otis (1964) 280-5, Segal (1965) 642-5, W. Fitzgerald (1984), Leach (1988) 356-9, Putnam (1998) 75-96, and Nyenhuis (2003).

15. **praepetibus pennis:** “on swift wings.” *Pennae* (lit. “feathers”) here means “wings” by synecdoche\*.
16. **insuetum per iter:** *insuetum* because Daedalus was the first mortal to fly. **gelidas...ad**

- Arctos:** “towards the icy Bears” (i.e. “north”). The Greater or Lesser Bears (*Arctos*) are the constellations that mark the celestial north pole. Daedalus and Icarus first flew northward, toward Samos, where Icarus fell, north of Crete. Daedalus then flew northwest, to Cumae. **enavit:** literally, “he swam out/forth”; here it is a metaphor\* for flying. For *ex* as a prefix meaning “upwards,” “on high,” cf. *elata* 23, *evadere* 128, *evexit* 130, *educere* 178, 630, and 3.567.
17. **Chalcidica...arce:** cf. 2 n. The arrangement of epithet and noun framing the line is a neoteric feature. **levis...astitit:** not “alighted,” but “came to a halt” or “hung hovering light(ly).” The next words, *redditus his primum terris*, describe his actual landing.
18. **sacravit:** the wings were dedicated as a thank-offering to Apollo for his safe arrival in Cumae (implying an analogy to the Trojans’ safe arrival here, too, although there is no suggestion of a similar offering by the latter); the dedication also signaled that Daedalus was giving up flying (as the Trojans will give up their sea voyage). Cf. 1.248-9 n.
19. **remigium alarum:** “oarage of wings.” Cf. 1.301, where the phrase is used in describing the flight of the god Mercury. It is a mixed metaphor, because Daedalus was actually trying to “row” through air on artificial wings. **posuitque...templa:** the dedication of the wings in gratitude to Apollo was the main purpose for building the temple. The neuter plural (*templa*) suggests its magnificence; *immania* captures the viewer’s awe.
- 20-2. To feed the Minotaur (see 14-41 n.), Minos ordered Aegeus, king of the Athenians (*Cecropidae* 21), to furnish annually seven young men and seven maidens selected by lot (*ductis sortibus* 22), though Vergil mentions only seven young men (*septena... corpora natorum* 21-2); Aegeus’s son, Theseus, offered himself as one of these youths. Minos made this demand as punishment for the death of his son Androgeos, who was killed at the Panathenaic Games in Athens (in another version of the myth he was killed when he went to fight the bull of Marathon). **Androgeo:** a Greek genitive. **tum:** signals another scene—the sacrifice Minos exacted from the Athenians for his son’s murder. **Cecropidae:** “descendants of king Cecrops,” a mythical first king of Athens.
- 23-6. Minos, king of Crete (*Gnosia tellus* 23), had prayed for a perfect white bull to offer to the gods, but after receiving it, he could not bear to sacrifice it, so he substituted instead an inferior bull. To punish Minos, the gods caused his wife Pasiphae to become enamored of the white bull. To help her satisfy her passion, Daedalus created a wooden cow, into which she climbed and thus was mated (*supposta*) with the white bull. The offspring of this match was the *Minotaur*.
23. **contra elata mari:** on the opposing door (*contra*) are depicted the island of Crete “rising high (*elata*, cf. 16 n.) out of the sea,” Pasiphae’s passion for the bull, the Minotaur, and the Labyrinth built by Daedalus to house him. This door is said to “respond” (*respondei*) to the scenes depicted on the previously described door. **Gnosia tellus:** Crete is identified by its city, Cnossos.
24. **tauri:** objective genitive after *amor*. **suppostaque furto:** “mated by a trick.” *Supposta* (lit. “placed beneath”) is a contraction (syncope\*) of *supposita* (cf. 14-41 n.).
- 25-6. **Pāsiphāē:** consists of four syllables. **mixtum genus prolesque biformis...Veneris monimenta nefandae:** all in apposition to *Minotaurus* (26). **biformis:** describing *Minotaurus* (“the bull of Minos”), a creature half man, half beast.
- 27-30. Daedalus constructed a maze, the Labyrinth (*labor ille domus et inextricabilis error* 27), to enclose the Minotaur. When Theseus arrived in Crete, Minos’ daughter Ariadne (*reginae*

- 28) fell in love with him and, with the help of Daedalus, provided him a sword and a thread with which to retrace his steps from the Labyrinth after killing the Minotaur.
27. **hic**: “here.” The Labyrinth is described in several ways: *labor ille...et inextricabilis error* (27, note the chiasitic\* arrangement) and *dolos tecti ambagesque* (29). **domus**: genitive singular.
28. **reginae**: the story has moved from Pasiphae to her daughter Ariadne, who is also a *regina*. Cf. Catullus 64.52-201 for the story of Ariadne, who helped Theseus kill the Minotaur, and then was abandoned by him on the isle of Naxos. **sed enim**: “but in fact,” cf. 1.19 n.
- 29-30. **ipse**: Daedalus *himself*. The “not-to-be-unraveled” (*inextricabilis* 27) maze was in fact unraveled (*resolvit*) by its own creator. **filo**: Ariadne provided Theseus the thread which enabled him to trace his way out. **vestigia**: of Theseus.
- 30-3. Daedalus, to escape from Crete (*fugiens Minoia regna* 14) and the anger of Minos, created for himself and his son *Icarus* (31) wings consisting of feathers joined by wax. Icarus, however, ignored his father’s warning not to fly too near the sun. As a result the wax melted, his wings disintegrated, and he fell into the sea near Samos (thereafter named “the Icarian Sea”), where he perished.
- 30-1. **tu...magnam | partem...(si) sineret dolor, Icare, haberes**: the present contrary-to-fact condition expresses Daedalus’ inability to depict Icarus’ story. For the story of Icarus’ death, see the previous note.
- 32-3. **bis...bis...:** the repetition of *bis* (“twice”) and the absence of a connective between the clauses (asyndeton\*) help convey Daedalus’ torment caused by Icarus’ fall (*casus*). Compare 2.792-3, where a similar use of anaphora\* reflects Aeneas’ sorrow at the loss of Creusa (*ter...ter*). **conatus erat: pater** (i.e. Daedalus) is implied as the subject from the adjective *patriae*. **omnia**: the *i* is consonantal; scan as a trochee (*ōmniā*). Note the change of subject. There is an emotional pause after *manus*, and the narration moves from the picture on the doors to the Trojans gazing at them.
- 34-5. **perlegerent...adforet**: the contrary-to-fact construction here, as in 31, again reflects frustration—the Trojans’ desire is to keep staring at Daedalus’ art, which occupies their attention while they await the Sibyl’s arrival (cf. 14-41 n.). **praemissus**: it appears that Achates had been sent ahead to summon the Sibyl. Cf. 9 n. **Triviae**: cf. 13 n.
36. **Deiphobe Glauci**: the Sibyl’s name, Deiphobe, (daughter) of Glaucus, is here used. **regi**: i.e. Aeneas.
37. **ista**: the Sibyl’s rebuke (cf. 9 n.) is consistent with her later responses to Palinurus (373-81). *Ista* is deictic and contemptuous, as she points scornfully to the *spectacula* at which they gaze—“such sights as those.” A ritual offering must be made at once to Apollo and Trivia. It will consist of seven bullocks from a herd “untouched by the yoke” (*grege...intacto* 38) (i.e. none of them have been used for toil) and seven sheep in their second year (*bidentis* 39). Norden notes here that the number seven had special significance in the cult of Apollo. **sibi**: reflexive, referring to *tempus*.
38. **mactare**: complementary infinitive after *praestiterit*.
39. **praestiterit**: “it would be better,” potential subjunctive, used to express a wish (*pace tua dixerim, crediderim, affirmaverim*; cf. AG §447).
- 40-1. (**nec...morantur | iussa viri**): “the men don’t delay (obeying) her commands.” The parenthesis indicates that they perform the sacrifice as commanded, after which the Sibyl leads them into the temple and down to her cave.

42-76. They approach the entrance to the Sibyl's cave, and the Sibyl instructs Aeneas to pray: he asks that she promise him at last a happy end to his wanderings and a home in Italy. As he prays, the Sibyl passes into the cave's recess, where the god Apollo takes full possession of her and issues his reply through her mouth.

42-7. The Sibyl descends to her cave (cf. *antrum inmane* 11, *antro* 77, *adyto* 98), hewn out of the face of the rock (42). It is at the threshold of this cave (*limen* 45) where Aeneas actually consults the Sibyl. She is standing in front of its doors (*fores* 47) when she begins to feel "the power of the deity now nearer," and instructs Aeneas to offer prayer.

42-4. **Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum:** supply *erat* with *excisum* – "the huge side of the Cumaean (Euboean) cliff (had been) cut into a cave." Here we share the experience of Aeneas and his companions when they first come upon the great cave (cf. 11 *immane antrum*), whose passageway is a mix of light and dark because of the light shining across it at intervals from its lateral passageways. The cave, discovered by Maiuri in 1932, has a trapezoidal shape, which has been compared with Mycenaean tholos-tombs and with sixth-century Etruscan tombs. **aditus centum, ostia centum:** *centum* is regularly used to represent an indefinite number, with grandiose effect (cf. 81, where the "hundred" doors fly open spontaneously). There is in fact only a single entrance; the *ostia* (lateral passages) are eight in number. **unde...responsa Sibyllae:** the actual cave's acoustics are such that a person crying out from the inner sanctum can be clearly heard at the entrance and also through the eight lateral passages to one side of the long corridor (143.8 yards) between the entrance and the inner cave. For a more detailed description of the cave, see Austin on 6.46-76.

45. **ventum erat:** "they had come." Intransitive verbs are frequently used impersonally in the passive voice. **fata:** "oracles," lit. "the things said" (from *for, fari*) by the gods—and therefore destined to happen. Cf. 46 *fanti*.

46-9. **cui...color...comptae...comae...corda:** the alliteration\* underscores the Sibyl's struggle as the god takes possession of her.

46. **cui...fanti:** can be dative of possessor or reference.

47-8. **non...non...non:** the three-fold repetition (anaphora\*), paired with asyndeton\*, is emphatic. **unus:** "the same" as it had been before.

49. **corda:** the plural of *cor* is often used in a singular sense in poetry, as here; "her wild heart swells." **maiorque videri:** supply *est* or *facta est*. *Videri* is an epexegetic (explanatory, cf. 1.66 n.) infinitive ("she is greater to be looked upon"), explaining in what sense *maior* is used, viz. not "greater" in dignity, age, or the like, but "greater in appearance" (cf. 6.164-5 *praestantior...ciere*, "skilled to rouse"; 4.564 *certa mori*).

50. **mortale sonans:** *mortale* is a cognate accusative (cf. AG §390), but is equivalent to an adverb qualifying *sonans*. Cf. 201 *grave olentis*, "strong smelling"; 288 *horrendum stridens*, "hissing horribly"; 401 *aeternum latrans*, "ceaselessly barking"; 467 *torva tuenteum*.

51. **cessas in vota precasque:** an unusual construction with this preposition. "Do you delay (to perform) your vows and prayers?" A "vow" (*votum*) is a promise to do something in case one's prayer is answered—"Grant me this (66)...then I will build (70)."

52-3. **Aenea:** vocative. **neque enim:** the Sibyl's indignant question (51-2) is really a command, and *enim* explains the reason for it. "Delay not to pray," she says, "for until (*ante*) you pray, the portals will not open." **attonitae...domus:** the "house" is spoken of as possessing sense and feeling, and the words *ora* and *dehiscent* are used to make the personification more vivid. **talia fata:** cf. 46 *talia fanti*.

54. **Teucris:** dative of reference.

56. **miserate**: vocative, “you who have pitied.”
57. **derexti** = *derexisti*; syncopated\* forms in the perfect tense are common in Vergil.
58. **Aeacidae**: genitive, “of Aeacus’ grandson” (i.e. “of Achilles”). The only part of Achilles’ body which could be penetrated was his heel (hence the term “Achilles’ heel”); Paris shot him in the heel, and thus the Greek hero perished. **obeuntia**: “bordering.”
59. **duce te**: ablative absolute. **repostas**: syncope\* for *repositas*; cf. *supposta* 24.
60. **Massylum gentis**: the Numidians of North Africa, the inland neighbors of Carthage and Dido; cf. 4.132, 483. **Syrribus**: dative. The *Syrtes* are the sandy, desert flats between Carthage and Cyrene (cf. 1.111 n.); the phrase *praetenta...arva* refers to the lands extending to them.
62. **hac Troiana tenus...**: *hactenus* almost acquires a secondary sense of “this far but no farther,” and this sense is here fully brought out by the perfect optative subjunctive *fuert secuta*. “This far may it have followed us (and now may that following cease).” The “luck of Troy” was proverbial (cf. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 1101a). Note the alliteration\*: *Troiana tenus fuert fortuna*.
63. **vos**: the gods who had been Troy’s enemies—Juno especially, but also Poseidon and Pallas (Minerva). **Pergameae**: an alternate adjective for *Troianus*, referring to Pergamum, the citadel of Troy. **iam**: emphatic. **fas est**: not “it is lawful,” but “it is right.” *Fas* and *nefas* represent the unchanging laws of right and wrong which are binding even on the gods. *Ius*, by contrast, would refer to law applicable to mortals.
- 66-7. **praescia venturi**: the objective genitive is common in poetry after adjectives implying knowledge, such as *consciis*, *insciis*, *nesciis*, *doctus*, *docilis*, etc.; cf. AG §348. **non indebita... fatis**: an efficient form of expression in claiming the fulfillment of a promise; cf. 11.759, where Arruns, destined to be killed by Camilla, is called *fatis debitus*.
68. **agitata**: “storm-tossed.”
- 69-70. **tum...**: here begins the vow the Sibyl called for in 51. The promises made anticipate events that will come long after Aeneas: the temple named here, according to Servius, is the one built in 28 BCE by Augustus to Apollo on the Palatine Hill to commemorate the battle of Actium. (Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.31; Propertius 2.31, 4.6.) The *festos dies* (70) of Apollo, *Iudi Apollinares*, were actually instituted in 212 BCE, during the Second Punic War.
71. **penetralia**: the Sibylline Books (see 72 n.) were originally kept in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.62) but were later moved into the *penetralia* of Augustus’ new temple to Apollo on the Palatine (cf. 69-70 n.).
72. **tuas sortis arcanaque fata**: i.e. the Sibylline Books, which were, it was said, originally nine in number (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 1.19). When Tarquinius Superbus (Rome’s seventh and final king) refused to purchase all of them from the Sibyl, she burnt three, and asked the same price for the six remaining. On his again refusing, she burnt three more, and asked the same price for the last three, which he bought.
- 73-4. **lectos...viros**: the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, one of the four major priesthoods in Rome, were in charge of the Sibylline Books, and consulted them on occasions of national disaster. (cf. Livy 5.13.6; 6.3.12; Cicero, *Fam.* 8.4.1). Cf. 71 n. **foliis...**: the seer Helenus (3.445) had warned Aeneas that the Sibyl’s predictions were written on the “leaves” she carefully arranged, but that, when the doors of the cave were opened, the incoming wind blew them about in confusion, with the result that those who sought a reply “departed unadvised and despising the Sibyl’s dwelling.” Vergil both here and in book 3 appears to be referring to some well-known method of consulting the Sibylline Books; his use of the



- term *sortis* suggests the chance selection of one of a number of oracles, each contained on a separate leaf. Vergil's text was consulted as containing prophetic information, as early as the second century (see *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Hadrianus* 2.8) and thereafter. **ne... manda:** the use of *ne* with the imperative occurs in archaic Latin. In classical Latin prose, the subjunctive would normally be used (*ne mandes* or *ne mandaveris*). Cf. 614 *ne quaere carmina:* "oracles," because they were delivered in hexameter verse; consequently, *canas* (76) = "utter your oracles"; cf. 2.124 n.
75. **ne...volent:** negative purpose clause.
76. *ipsa:* i.e. "with your own lips." Aeneas asks for the spoken and not the written word of prophecy. **canas:** cf. 73-4 n. **finem dedit:** "made an end."
- 77-97. *While Aeneas speaks, the Sibyl, who has moved into the cave, begins to struggle against the god who is gaining possession of her. When she is subdued, she prophesies that the Trojans will finally settle in Italy, but only after long wars.*
- 77-80. The god gradually tames the priestess as one might tame an unruly steed (cf. 100-1). Cf. the madness of Cassandra in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1150.
77. **Phoebi nondum patiens:** "not yet enduring Phoebus (to take control)." *Phoebi* is objective genitive. **immanis:** used adverbially, "violently."
78. **si:** "if" (i.e. to see if), "in the hope that."
- 79-80. **excussisse:** the perfect tense is used in the strict sense, expressing her hope "to have flung off the god" and thus to be rid of him. **tanto magis ille...:** supply *quanto magis illa bacchatur*—"the more she raves (*bacchatur*), so much the more he..."; *tanto* is ablative of degree of difference. **fatigat | os rabidum:** just as a strong curb would be used to "wear out" a horse, and, if cruelly used, would fill its mouth with blood and foam. **figitque premendo:** "and trains by restraining."
81. **ostia...domus...ingentia centum:** the *ostia* (cf. 43) now fly open spontaneously. The instant action is conveyed by the perfect tense (*patuere*).
83. **o tandem...:** "O you who at last..." **defuncte:** vocative, from *defungor*, which governs the ablative case.
84. **terrae:** parallels *pelagi* (83), both of which can be locative ("on the sea...on the land") or genitive after implied *pericula*. **Lavini:** the first syllable is short. Lavinium was Aeneas' first settlement in Italy. It lies on the coast of Italy, just south of Rome, at modern Pratica di Mare. This is the first time Aeneas hears this name; it is previously used by Jupiter to Venus in 1.258 (*cernes urbem et promissa Lavini | moenia*) and 270; cf. 1.2; 4.236.
86. **sed non et venisse volent:** note the emphatic position of *non et*, emphasizing *venisse*, "they will wish they had *not even come*." **bella, horrida bella:** the Sibyl now draws a parallel between the Trojan War and the coming war in Italy (which will be the subject of books 7-12, the so-called "Iliadic" half of the poem), only here the Trojans, not the Greeks, will be the invaders. There will be another Achilles (*alius...Achilles* 89), namely Turnus, king of the Rutulians; just as Achilles was the son of the sea-nymph Thetis, so Turnus was son of the goddess Venilia. Turnus' contest with Aeneas is central to the second half of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas, however, will also be partially modeled on Achilles in books 7-12. The Sibyl's prophecy recalls the cyclic prophecy of *Eclogue* 4.34-6: *alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae uebat Argo | delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella | atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.*

87. **Thybrim:** Vergil regularly uses the Greek spelling for the river Tiber (here, in accusative case), with two exceptions (*Geo.* 1.499 and *Aen.* 7.715). **cerno:** i.e. in prophetic vision; cf. our word “seer.”
88. **Simois...Xanthus...Dorica castra:** The two rivers of Troy (*Simois, Xanthus*) and the Greek camps (*Dorica castra*) are named metaphorically\* in anticipation of the similar struggle that will take place in Italy beside the local rivers Tiber and Numicus; the camps of Turnus and his followers will be analogous to the Greek camps at Troy.
89. **defuerint:** future perfect. There will be no lack of disasters similar to those which characterized the fighting at Troy.
90. **Teucris addita Iuno:** *addita* indicates that Juno and her anger cannot be gotten rid of. For Juno’s wrath, cf. 1.4 *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram*, 1.34-222 n.; 7.286-340.
92. **quas gentis...quas...urbes:** note the dramatic change to an exclamation.
93. **coniunx iterum hospita:** Helen, wife of Menelaus, originally welcomed Paris as a guest. Here Lavinia, daughter of king Latinus, will be betrothed to Aeneas, and their engagement will ultimately lead to a war in Italy.
94. This is one of about 58 half-lines in the *Aeneid* that were not complete when Vergil died. Cf. notes on 835 and 1.534.
96. **qua:** “by whatever path.” Manuscript authority supports *quam* over *qua*: “yield not to calamity, but face it more boldly *than* your Fortune will allow.” Such an expression, however, represents a defiance of fate, which, though perhaps rhetorical, is not consistent with Aeneas’ piety. For Vergil, even the gods can only achieve their goal *si qua fata sinant* (1.18 and 6.147): within the limits of fate, both free will and action have scope, but they cannot surpass those limits.
97. **Graia...ab urbe:** i.e. Pallanteum, the city ruled by Evander, a Greek immigrant, who will be allied with Aeneas in books 8-12.
- 98-123. *Aeneas accepts the hard struggle which awaits him, asking only that he first be allowed to pass through the entrance to the underworld at Avernus and visit his father there.*
98. The *adytum* (“not to be entered”) is the inmost part of the cave, which serves as the sanctuary of a temple. Here it becomes clear that the Sibyl has been prophesying from within her sanctuary (*ex adyto*) while Aeneas stands at the entrance.
- 99-100. **horrendas canit ambages...obscuris vera involvens:** her prophecies are as obscure as the Labyrinth itself (cf. 27-9).
- 100-1. **ea frena...concutit et stimulos...vertit:** the horse-training metaphor\* of 77-80 (see n.) continues, as Apollo, against whose mastery the priestess was earlier represented as struggling violently, has gradually tamed her. He now has absolute possession of her and keeps her with excitement alive until she has finished delivering the oracle. Note the alliteration\* in *frena furenti*.
102. **quierunt:** = *quieverunt* by syncope\*.
103. **heros:** cf. 192 *maximus heros*, 451 *Troius heros*; 8.18 *Laomedontius heros*.
107. **dicitur:** supply *esse*. **tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso:** “the gloomy marsh where Acheron wells up.” Lake Avernus is described as being an outlet (cf. 1.126 *stagna refusa*) for the subterranean waters of Acheron, one of the rivers of hell. Cf. 239 n.
- 108-9. **ire...contingat:** *contingat* is subjunctive in indirect command (as are *doceas* and *pandas*), governed by *oro* (106) (cf. AG §588). “(I ask that) it be my (happy) fortune to go...” *Contingit*

is used normally of happy (as opposed to *accidit*, of unhappy) occurrences.

110-14. Compare 2.707-8, where Aeneas, fleeing Troy, carries his father on his shoulders (for more on this image, see 2.804 n.). Anchises accompanies Aeneas throughout *Aen.* 3 but dies at the end of the book.

110-12. **illum ego...ille, meum**: the inversion reflects the link between father and son.

114. **ultra**: this preposition governs the accusatives *viris* and *sortem*. **sortem...senectae**: the proper “lot of old age” is repose.

115-16. **quin...idem...mandata dabat**: again Aeneas’ actions are balanced by those of his father (*idem*), who in 5.731-9 instructed Aeneas to make these very requests. The Sibyl should thus take both father and son into consideration (*nati patrisque* 116). **ut...adirem**: can be construed as an indirect command after *orans* or in apposition to *mandata*.

117-18. **potes namque omnia**: “for you have all power”; *omnia* is a cognate accusative (AG §390).  **nec...nequiquam**: the double negative (cf. *litotes*\*) makes a strong positive statement. **lucis...Avernis**: Avernus here is an adjective (4.552 n.), i.e. the woods around Avernus; cf. 107 n. **Hecate**: cf. 13 n.

119-23 To bolster his case, Aeneas offers two pairs of examples of heroes who traveled to the underworld. The first pair, Orpheus and Pollux, did so to perform acts of *pietas*; they support Aeneas’ pious appeal *natiq[ue] patrisq[ue]...miserere* (116-17). The second pair, Theseus and Hercules, were children of gods, as is Aeneas (*mi genus ab Iove summo* 123).

119-20. **si potuit...: si** with the indicative in an appeal implies no doubt of the fact, but rather irrefutable truth. The Thracian bard *Orpheus*, through the charm of his music (*fretus cithara fidibusque canoris* 120), was allowed to descend into the underworld to bring back his wife Eurydice (*coniugis* 119).

121-2. Pollux and Castor were sons of Leda, but Pollux was also the son of Jupiter, and therefore immortal. When Castor died, Pollux received permission to share his immortality with his brother, so that one day they were both dead and the next both were in the heavens. Thus “by alternate death” (*alterna morte*) Pollux redeemed his brother.

122-3. **quid Thesea, magnum | quid memorem Alciden?**: *Thesea* and *Alciden* are Greek accusative forms; *Alcides* is a patronymic\* describing Hercules, who was the (maternal) grandson of Alceus. For the actions of Theseus and Hercules in the underworld, see notes on 392 and 393. **Thesea, magnum**: though *magnum* is naturally taken with *Thesea*, some editors put a comma after *Thesea*, thereby linking *magnum* with *Alciden*. The debate goes back to Servius, who felt that *magnum* more appropriately describes Hercules, because Theseus behaved badly in the underworld and had to be rescued by Hercules. **memorem**: deliberative subjunctive (AG §443-4) in rhetorical questions\*. **mi genus ab Iove summo**: Aeneas was grandson of Jupiter through his mother, Venus. **mi**: (= *mibi*) dative of possession (AG §373).

124-55. *The Sibyl tells him to seek the golden bough. Only the golden bough can provide the bearer a secure passage through the underworld. First, however, he must bury one of his companions, Misenus, who has just died, and then locate the mysterious golden bough.*

On the golden bough, see R.A. Brooks (1953), Segal (1965, 1966), West (1987), Clark (1992), Parvulescu (2005).

124. **aras...tenebat**: a sign of supplication; cf. Iarbas praying to Jupiter at 4.219.

125. **sate**: vocative of perfect passive participle of *sero*. **divum**: = *divorum*.

126. **Anchisiade:** a patronymic\*, cf. 122-3 n. The Greek vocative ending *-e* is long. **descensus:** this noun is rare in classical Latin, occurring in poetry only here, in Prop. 4.8.5, and in Manilius 5.5; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.463 *descensuram Erebo*. **Averno:** dative of direction, see 1.126 n. Servius explains: *id est ad Avernum*. Wellesley (1964) and Williams, however, interpret *Averno* as ablative, “by way of Avernus.”
127. **atri...Ditis:** *Dis*, god of the underworld, is black. His name means “Wealthy” (cf. *dives*), since the seed that grows from under the soil is the source of agricultural wealth.
129. **pauci:** emphatic by position; it is the subject of *potuere* (131). **aequus:** “level” should mean “impartial,” as “equal” does in English, but from its constant opposition to *iniquus* (“hostile”) it acquires the meaning of “favorable,” “partial to.”
130. **ardens...aethera:** note the juxtaposition of these two words; the fiery spirit rises to that “aether” or elemental fire to which it is related (cf. 1.90 n.). Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.9 *hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules | enisus arces attigit igneas*.
131. **dis geniti:** in apposition to *pauci* (129); *dis* is ablative of origin. **potuere:** emphatic by position; it repeats the *potuit* (119) of Aeneas’ appeal but to convey a warning. **media omnia:** “all the intervening space” between here and the underworld.
132. **Cocytus:** one of the rivers of the underworld. Others include the Styx, Lethe, Acheron, and in 6.551 Phlegethon, the river of Tartarus (see 550-1 n.). The river Lethe suggests Orphic/Pythagorean influences (cf. notes on 703-23, 724-51).
133. **quod si tantus amor:** supply *est*. *Quod si* is adversative, “but if”; *menti* is dative of possession.
134. **bis...bis:** *bis* (“twice”) is emphatic, since mortals normally descend to the underworld only once—at death. For the repetition of *bis* with asyndeton\*, cf. 32-3 n. **innare:** for the use of this word with regard to sailing, cf. 16 n.
137. **aureus...ramus:** the phrase frames the line, “golden in both leaves and pliant stem (is) the bough (that lies hidden on the obscure tree).” **foliis...vimine:** ablative of respect. Vergil gives the bough mystical qualities: it is made of gold; it quickly grows back when plucked; only those summoned by Fate may pluck it; and it has been established as the special offering owed to Proserpina. In 190-2 a special sign from the gods reveals its location, and it is instantly recognized and respected by Charon (406-10). Phrases describing the golden bough are placed in emphatic arrangements: 137 *aureus...ramus*, 141 *auricomos...fetus*, 143-4 *alter | aureus*.
138. **Iunoni infernae:** = Proserpina.
- 140-1. **non ante datur...subire...quam quis decerpserit:** “it is not permitted to enter...before someone has plucked...” **quis:** the manuscripts vary between *qui* (accepted by Hirtzel) and *quis*, which is interpreted as (*ali*)*quis* and is the better reading (accepted here and by Austin and Mynors).
142. **sibi pulchra suum...Proserpina munus:** notice the emphatic interweaving of *pulchra...Proserpina* and *sibi...suum...munus*. “Beautiful” Proserpina, queen of the underworld, claims the bough “for herself as her own special offering,” and she does so because of its beauty.
143. **primo avulso:** supply *ramo*; ablative absolute.
144. **frondescit...metallo:** “puts forth leaves of a similar metal.” Vergil has similarly conjoined metal (which is not considered a living thing) with a growing plant in the adjective *auricomos* (141), a striking oxymoron\*, not used before Vergil’s time. *Metallo* is ablative of material (AG §403).

145. **alte vestiga:** *altus* indicates something that is not at ground level. Some translate *alte* as “search deeply,” but here it refers to the branch’s placement in a tree, “high up.” *Vestigo* usually refers to tracking footprints (*vestigia*) on the ground; *alte* is needed here to make its meaning clear. **rite:** with *carpe manu*. *Rite* (“duly”) is a religious word and suggests that there were certain forms and observances which Aeneas must respect: he is “duly” to pluck the bough with his hand and to use no other means; it cannot be taken by him unless fate allows (cf. 146-7 *ipse volens...sequetur, | si te fata vocant*).
149. **praeterea:** “in addition.” The Sibyl now turns to the second of the preliminary tasks she mentioned at 136. **exanimum...corpus amici:** the dead body of a companion must be properly buried before Aeneas can approach the dwellings of the dead. **tibi:** ethical dative, showing the speaker’s concern for the person affected or interested. Translate *tibi* here as if a genitive with *amici*: “of your friend.”
150. (**heu nescis**): until now, Aeneas was unaware of the recent death of his friend and fellow Trojan, the trumpeter Misenus. An account of his death is given below (162-74). **funere:** here “with his corpse.”
151. **consulta:** a rare word except in the phrase *senatus consultum*, where it means “decree.” Here, it means “advice.”
152. **sedibus...refer...suis:** the dead man has a “home” or “resting-place” where he must be placed.
153. **nigras pecudes:** “black victims” were always offered to the gods of the underworld; here the Sibyl has switched to a new instruction, not related to Misenus’ burial rites. **sunto:** future imperative (third person plural) of *esse*, often used in legal formulae or in divine commands; here it reflects the authority of the Sibyl’s instructions. “Let these be...” (AG §449).
154. **sic demum:** “in this way only.” Cf. 330, 573 *tum demum*, 637 *his demum exactis*, “this being accomplished, and not before,” “only when this was done.” Cf. 2.743 n.
- 156-82. *They find the drowned corpse of Misenus and prepare for his funeral.*
- Aeneas’ discovery of Misenus’ corpse recalls Odysseus’ encounter with the shade of Elpenor, who had fallen off Circe’s roof unnoticed and descended to Hades (*Od.* 10.552-60). But whereas Elpenor’s death was an accident anticipating Odysseus’ descent to the underworld, Misenus’ boldness was responsible for his death. The episode with Misenus will also resonate with Aeneas’ encounter with the shade of his helmsman Palinurus at 337-83. He, like Misenus, remains unburied. Aeneas and his comrades lament Misenus’ death and prepare for his burial, but before the funeral rites are conducted (212-35), Aeneas finds the golden bough (183-211).
156. **maesto defixus lumina vultu:** the phrase describes mourning mingled with meditation. **lumina:** accusative of specification (AG §397b) limiting *defixus*.
- 157-8. **caecos...eventus:** “the mysterious outcomes.” Aeneas does not fully understand what he has been told.
159. A beautiful line expressing the slow melancholy pacing. Notice *figit*, “he plants,” instead of *ponit*, “places.”
- 160-3. The structure of the sentence is *multa...serebant...atque...vident*: “much were they debating...and suddenly they see.”
160. **sermone serebant:** an alliterative phrase (cf. 46-9 n.) that refers to the derivation (mentioned by Varro, *L.L.* 6.7.8 *sermo est a serie*) of *sermo* from *serere*, “to join together.”

- “Conversation” is the “linking” together of short remarks into one chain.
- 161-2. **quem...quod...diceret**: indirect question, (debating) “what lifeless comrade...what body...the prophetess spoke of.”
- 162-4. **Misenum...Misenum**: the repetition (cf. 495-6 *ora | ora*), a rhetorical device known as epanalepsis,\* is used for emotional effect. **in litore sicco**: although Vergil’s account gives the impression that Misenus lies on the beach below the Sibyl’s cave, the promontory named after him (Monte Miseno, see 234-5 n.), where he was said to have been buried, actually lies some 5 miles to the south-southeast. Lake Avernus lies between Cumae and Monte Miseno. In the forests surrounding Lake Avernus grows the tree with the golden bough.
164. **Aeoliden**: Misenus was probably son of Aeolus, god of the winds (1.50-64 n.), rather than son of a Trojan Aeolus (cf. 12.542).
165. **ciere...accendere**: epexegetic (cf. 49 n.) infinitives after *praestantior*, “more outstanding at summoning...and inflaming.” The line is chiasitic\*. Note the choppy assonance of this description of a bugle call.
168. **illum**: Hector.
171. **sed tum**: resumes the narrative after the descriptive parenthesis — “but then,” i.e. on the occasion when he met his death. **dum personat**: “while he made the sea re-echo”; *dum* takes the present even when referring to past time; cf. 338. **concha**: he had mockingly challenged the sea-god Triton on his own instrument.
172. **demens**: the adjective, when placed emphatically at the beginning of the line, has almost the force of an interjection—“Madman!” Cf. 2.345 n. **vocat in certamina divos**: similarly, Thamyras “challenged” the Muses and lost his sight, and Marsyas challenged Apollo with the flute and was flayed alive.
173. **exseptum**: “caught.” The word is especially used of “lying in wait for” and so “catching”; it is frequently used of hunters. **si credere dignum est**: that Misenus drowned on the beach is not in doubt; the circumstances associated with his death, however, may be open to question. In *Geo.* 3.391, on the tale of Pan and Luna, Vergil uses the phrase to indicate that the tale is a myth, not necessarily a true story.
175. **omnes...fremebant**: the low, rumbling sound of Misenus’ sorrowing companions suggests the sound of the sea, in which he drowned.
- 176-7. **iussa...festinant**: “quickly perform the commands.” For *festino* (transitive) in the secondary sense of “do hurriedly,” cf. 2.542 n. **aramque sepulcro**: “altar for a funeral.” The tomb is shaped like an altar. Vergil’s early commentators were perplexed by the phrase and changed it to *sepulcri*.
178. **caelo**: dative, “toward the sky.”
- 179-82 Vergil’s description of the felling of forest-trees has been compared with Ennius’ *Annales* fr. 175-9 in Skutsch, fr. 181-5 in Warmington, quoted by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 6.2.27. Both passages echo Homer’s description (*Il.* 23.114-22) of the gathering of wood for Patroclus’ funeral. This passage also echoes *Aen.* 11.135-8, and is itself recalled by Lucan 3.440-5, Stat. *Theb.* 6.90-107, and Sil. Ital. 10.527-34. For analysis of the passage, see Austin *ad loc.* and G. W. Williams (1968) 263.
179. **itur**: impersonal passive, “there is a going,” i.e. “they go.”
- 181-2. **fraxineae**: adjectival form of *fraxinus*, an ash tree, one used for spears and javelins. **montibus**: ablative, “from the mountains.” **ornos**: a mountain-ash tree.
- 183-211. *While cutting wood for the funeral pyre, Aeneas is attracted by two doves, the sacred birds*

of Venus, which guide him to the golden bough.

184. **hortatur**: he “encourages” them not only with words but also by example, when he girds himself with weapons like their own (*paribus...armis*). **accingitur**: the use mimics the Greek middle voice (cf. 1.228 n.) — “he girds himself.”
185. **suo tristi cum corde**: i.e. he does not convey his sadness to his men, but ponders in silence.
186. **sic forte precatur**: though some editors read *voce*, the manuscripts strongly support *forte*. Moreover *forte* recurs in 190. With this repetition, two ordinary events become a remarkable coincidence occurring together. As a result Aeneas infers that the apparent coincidence is a divine phenomenon.
187. **si**: = *O si*, “Oh would that” or “if only.”
- 188-9. **vere | heu nimium**: observe the order, “truly—alas! too truly—.”
193. **maternas...**: “recognizes his mother’s birds”; doves were sacred to Venus. **agnoscit**: the manuscripts read both *agnoscit* and *agnovit*; Mynors accepts the latter. **laetusque**: note here the dramatic change of Aeneas’ mood from that in 185 (*tristi cum corde volutat*).
194. **este**: present imperative plural of *sum*.
- 195-6. **pinguem dives**: artistic juxtaposition, the “richness” of the produce suggests the “wealth” or “fatness” of the soil. **dubiis...rebus**: “fail not my precarious fortunes.”
197. **vestigia pressit**: he stopped so as not to startle the birds.
198. **tendere**: cf. 1.205 n.
- 199-200. **prodire**: historical infinitive. (Cf. 256 *mugire*, 491 *trepidare*, and 557 *exaudiri*.) “They kept advancing in flight” (*volando*). **tantum...quantum**: “only so far as...” **possent**: the subjunctive suggests that it is the intent or purpose of the birds to stay within Aeneas’ sight.
202. **tollunt...lapsae**: “swiftly they fly up, then drop down through the yielding air...” *Liquidum* describes the bright, clear quality of the air.
203. **geminae**: cf. 190 *geminae...columbae*; some manuscripts read *gemina*, which would describe *arbore* and mean “two-fold,” since the foliage consists of both plant-life and metal.
204. **aura**: several times used of the scent which is given off by anything (e.g. *Geo.* 4.417 *dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura*), but here it is used of the “variegated (*discolor*) radiance” which glistens from the gold. The assonance\* of the phrase *aure...aura* heightens its strangeness. **refulsit**: cf. 1.402 n.
205. **quale...viscum**: the bough is here compared to mistletoe (*viscum*), whose fresh green leaves (*nova* 206) are contrasted with the bare, leafless oak on which it grows. **brumali frigore**: the adjective comes from *bruma*, the winter solstice, the coldest day of the year; hence in the coldest part of winter.
206. **quod non sua seminat arbor**: other growth is produced from its own parent tree (*sua seminat arbor*), but with the mistletoe this is not so. Vergil probably refers to the belief that mistletoe is produced in some mysterious manner and not from seed at all. In fact it is a parasitic plant, the fruit of which is eaten by birds; the seed is sown by their rubbing their beaks, with the seed adhering, on the bark of trees. In *Geo.* 2.82, Vergil depicts a grafted tree as being amazed at “branches and fruit not its own” (*miraturque...frondes et non sua poma*).
207. **croceo fetu...**: “and with its yellow growth embrace the shapely trunks.” The color of mistletoe is a yellowish green. When seen with the sun shining through it, the leaves are edged and veined with gold and the stem seems powdered with gold dust.
209. **sic leni crepitabat brattea vento**: “so the gold foil crackled in the gentle breeze.”

211. **cunctantem**: “close-clinging”; the adjective is used in artistic opposition to *avidus*, but somewhat awkwardly when we remember the Sibyl’s words in 147. Austin argues that the “delay” is a reflection of the nature of the clinging plant, not a contradiction of the Sibyl’s words.
- 212-35. *Meanwhile, the Trojans perform funeral rites for Misenus.*  
 Vergil gives a detailed description of the elaborate funeral rite for Misenus. These rites bear comparison with the funeral rites for Pallas in Book 11 (59-99), both of which are based on the funeral rites of Patroclus in the *Iliad* (23.163-83). However, details from Roman rites have also been added, as Williams points out, such as the averted faces (224), the meal prepared for the rites (*dapes* 225), the funeral procession (*lustratio*, cf. 231), and the conclusion of the rite (*novissima verba* 231). These funeral rites establish the solemn mood necessary for 236-63, where Aeneas will himself prepare to descend to the underworld.
213. **flebant**: note the emphatic spondee followed by a pause (cf. *Ecl.* 5.20-1 *exstinctum nymphae crudeli funere Daphnim | flebant*), and also the heaviness of *-ebant...-ebant*, which frames the line.
- 214-15. **pinguem taedis et robore...pyram**: *robore* here is oak. *Pinguem* governs the ablatives of respect *taedis*, referring to the resinous (and hence flammable) quality of pine trees, and *robore secto*. For the construction, cf. 4.505 *ingenti taedis atque ilice secta*.
- 216-22. **intexunt (216)...constituunt (217)...expediunt (219)...coniciunt (222)**: Austin points out that the ritual aspect of the service is emphasized by these words, each placed at the beginning of a line, with the heavy sounds accented by *unguunt* and *reponunt*, which end lines 219 and 220. Cf. Ennius, *Annales* fr. 147 in Skutsch, fr. 157 in Warmington *Exin Tarquinium bona femina lavit et unxit*.
216. **cupressos**: always connected with death; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.23 *invisas cupressos, Epod.* 5.18 *cupressos funebris*.
218. **pars...pars (222)**: “some...others,” hence the plural verbs. (Cf. 491-2, 642-4).
220. **toro**: the funeral bed; it would be set on the *feretro* (222), the funeral bier, which would then be placed on the pyre. **defleta**: *deflere* is a technical word for “lamenting the dead”; cf. 11.59.
221. **nota**: apparently “purple robes” are spoken of as “well-known wrappings” of the dead, because they were commonly used at the burial of the great; cf. *Aen.* 11.72, where Aeneas wraps the corpse of Pallas in robes, *auroque ostroque rigentis*, and Hom. *Il.* 24.796.
222. **pars...feretro**: “others (cf. 218 n.) shouldered the huge bier—a sad service.”
- 223-4. **triste ministerium**: a cognate accusative in apposition to the action of the previous line. **more parentum...aversi**: the point is not that it was “the custom of their ancestors” to kindle the pyre, but to do so “with averted face.” The face was also averted in performing magic rites; cf. Theocritus 24.93.
225. **dapes**: probably the flesh of sacrificed victims (cf. 11.197). **fuso crateres olivo**: “bowls of poured oil.” The ablative describes the bowls’ contents.
228. **ossa...lecta cado**: the remaining bones were gathered up in a funeral urn (*cado*).
229. **socios pura circumtulit unda**: *circumferre* originally meant “carry around,” then came to mean “carry lustral water around,” and then “purify.” Servius says *circumtulit, purgavit. Antiquum verbum est*. Cf. Plaut. *Amphitruo* 2.2.153 *quin tu istanc iubes pro cerrita circumferri?* “Why don’t you have her sprinkled with holy water as a madwoman?”



230. **rore...et ramo:** hendiadys\*, “dew from a bough.” **felicis olivae:** “of a fruitful olive.” *Felix* signifies good omen as well as fruitfulness.
231. **novissima verba:** this marks the formal end of the ritual. Servius says that the phrase refers to the word *ilicet*, with which the mourners were dismissed, but more likely it alludes to the last farewell to the dead. Cf. 11.97-8 *salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, | aeternumque vale*; or 4.650 *incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba*, where Dido bids farewell to her own life.
232. **ingenti mole:** ablative of description with *sepulcrum*.
233. **suaque arma viro...:** “the hero’s own equipment, an oar and a trumpet.” The position of *arma* between the emphatic words *sua* and *viro* indicates that some special “arms” are intended by the word, and all ambiguity is at once removed by the addition of the words *remumque tubamque*, which are in apposition to and explain *arma*. Compare Elpenor’s tomb in Hom. *Od.* 12.15.
- 234-5. **monte...qui nunc Misenus ab illo | dicitur:** today known as “Misenum” or “Capo Miseno,” it is a prominent landmark in the area. Similarly, the name “Palinuro” persists (cf. 381). Capo Miseno is an isolated, flat-topped mass of rock forming the western cusp of the Gulf of Pozzuoli, 300 feet high and commanding a magnificent view of the Bay of Naples. The bulk of the Roman fleet was stationed here, as Pliny the Younger’s letter (6.16) on the death of his uncle and the eruption of Vesuvius indicates. The practice of aetiological\* explanations of such place names is Hellenistic.
- 236-63. *Having completed the funeral rites for Misenus, Aeneas now prepares for his own descent to the underworld by sacrificing victims to the gods at the entrance to Avernus, as he was instructed to do by the Sibyl. When the rites are complete, the Sibyl and Aeneas descend to the underworld.*
236. **praecepta:** Aeneas now turns to the final part of the “instructions” given by the Sibyl (153) — a sacrifice to the gods of the underworld.
- 237-8. **spelunca...scrupea:** it is a natural cave, hence it is covered with sharp rocks; *scrupeus* (from *scrupus*) means “composed of sharp rocks.” No such cave has been identified beside Avernus, although a passageway which had been a tunnel survives at the site. **immanis hiatus:** note the broad, gaping *a*-sounds here, in 493 *clamor frustratur hiantis*, and in 576 *quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra*.
239. “Over which no birds (*volantes*) in safety could direct their way in flight.” Vergil refers to the supposed derivation of Avernus from the Gr. *aornos*, “birdless.” Lucr. 6.740 gives the same account of birds not being able to fly across Lake Avernus, and also explains the fact as due to the sulfuric exhalations of the district (cf. 240-1). Austin *ad loc.* and C. Hardie (Appendix in Austin 279-86) attempt to rebut the entire notion, although it is clear that Vergil accepted this tradition. For the sulfuric emanations from Avernus, cf. 201.
- The Sibyl’s cave was thought to be located beside Lake Avernus until Amadeo Maiuri discovered the Cumaean cave in 1932 (cf. 42-4 n.). In the Middle Ages, the “Acherusian Swamp” was identified as what is now known as the nearby Lago Fusaro. Vergil seems to have blended Lake Avernus and the Acherusian Swamp.
240. **halitus:** “exhalation,” cf. 239 n.
241. **supera...convexa:** the vault of heaven; cf. 4.451 *caeli convexa*.
242. The line is considered to be an interpolation incorporating the etymological\* explanation of Avernus (see 239 n.).

244. **invergit vina:** *invergere*, “to pour upon”; Servius says that this phrase was used when the libation was poured to the gods below. The *sacerdos* is the Sibyl.
245. Cf. 4.698-9 n. and Hom. *Od.* 3.445.
246. **libamina prima:** “first-offerings,” from *libare*, to pour out a few drops of wine as an offering; it then comes to mean to offer a small portion of anything. The offering of a portion is a symbol of the dedication of the whole.
247. **voce vocans:** “calling aloud.” Cf. 506; 3.68; 4.680. This religious phrase marks an audible invocation of a god. **Hecaten:** Greek accusative. Cf. 118. Hecate is Diana of the underworld (cf. 13 n. on *Trivia*). **caeloque Ereboque:** Hecate’s two spheres of power.
249. The manuscripts are divided between *suscipiunt* and *succipiunt*; the more archaic form, *succipiunt*, is usually favored (as in Mynors) because the passage describes an archaic ritual. Cf. 1.175 n.
250. **matri Eumenidum:** i.e. Night. Cf. 7.331, where Allecto is called *virgo sata Nocte*; Aesch. *Eum.* 416. **magnae...sorori:** i.e. Earth, sister of Night.
251. **sterilem...vaccam:** Cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.522, where Circe tells Odysseus to offer a barren heifer to the shades.
252. **Stygio regi:** i.e. Pluto, ruler of the underworld, also known as Dis (from *dives*, cf. 127 n.). **nocturnas:** sacrifices to the gods below were offered at night; 255 indicates that this sacrifice was taking place at night.
253. **solida...viscera:** “whole carcasses.” This was by no means usual; the ordinary practice was to burn only inedible portions of the victim, the remainder belonging to the priests and being eaten or even sold.
254. **super:** prefix to *fundens*, separated by tmesis\*. The final syllable of *super* is lengthened in arsis\*.
256. **coepta moveri:** the passive of *coepi* is used with passive infinitives; see AG §205a.
257. **canes:** the hounds of the underworld accompany Hecate.
258. **procul o, procul este, profani...:** a religious formula. Cf. Callim. *Hymn Ap.* 2.2. **este:** the imperative of *sum*. **profani:** the “uninitiated,” a reference to Aeneas’ companions. Aeneas, armed with the golden bough, will be the only mortal to enter the underworld.
260. **vaginae eripe ferrum:** the Sibyl tells him to draw his sword, apparently so that he will feel protected, although when he later draws it against creatures in the underworld, she will prevent him from using it. Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 11.48) used his sword, but Aeneas will not.
262. **furens:** her frenzy returns as she flings herself into the cave.

### 264-678: The journey through the Underworld

Aeneas now begins his actual journey through the underworld. Conveyed by the boatman Charon, he crosses the river Styx and then observes the various regions of the underworld, among which the shades are divided. There is Tartarus, where guilty shades are punished (548-627), Elysium, for the shades of the blessed (637-78), and a less clearly defined place, where shades are in a kind of limbo (426-547 n.), experiencing neither punishment nor a happy existence. Along the way Aeneas will meet important figures from his past, to some degree in reverse chronological order, beginning with his helmsman Palinurus (337-83) who died at the end of book 5, then Dido (450-76) who committed suicide in book 4, and Deiphobus (494-547) who was killed during the fall of Troy, the subject of book 2. These

encounters will force Aeneas to come to a fuller understanding of earlier events, and also to see that he must leave that past behind and turn his attention to the future (e.g. 535-9).

The topography of Vergil's underworld displays much originality. (In *Odyssey* 11, it is not fully described.) Vergil provides many details, although the physical arrangement remains somewhat vague, apart from the location of the river Styx and the lower level of Tartarus. Vergil probably made use of depictions of the underworld in other works as well, such as those mentioned by Aristophanes in the *Frogs*, but that are now lost. We also know of a detailed painting of the underworld by the fifth-century BCE artist, Polygnotus, which would have been in existence in Vergil's time; although it has not survived, it is described in great detail in Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (4.28), written in ca. 150 CE, long after Vergil. This painting may have influenced some of the details of Vergil's depiction of figures in the underworld, supplying details not found in Homer. Later poets, particularly the great Italian poet Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), relied heavily on Vergil's account of the underworld. In his *Inferno*, Dante refines the geographical layout of *Aeneid's* underworld to contain a sequence of descending circles, and has Vergil act as Dante's guide, just as the Sibyl does for Aeneas in this book.

For discussion of the different regions of the underworld, and their literary and philosophical background, see Butler (1920) 19-36, Norden (1926) *ad loc.*, Norwood (1954), Otis (1964), Solmsen (1972), Austin (1977) 154, Feeney (1986), Horsfall (1995), and Braund (1997). For the journey through the underworld, see R. D. Williams (1964) 193-9, Johnson (1976) 82-4, 88-92.

264-7. *Vergil prays to the powers of darkness for permission to attempt so profound a theme.*

264. **silentes:** i.e. the dead, as in 432 (*silentum*). Not only is there a reference to the silence of the grave, but the ghosts are also described as being actually voiceless or possessing only a thin almost inaudible voice (492-3). Throughout the underworld everything loses the substance and reality of the upper world.

265. **Chaos:** cf. 4.510, where Dido invokes *Erebumque Chaosque*. **Phlegethon:** cf. 550-1 n.

266-7. **audita loqui:** "to speak the things I have heard." **sit mihi fas...sit numine vestro:** *fas* is what is permitted under divine law; *numine vestro* "consistent with your divine will," i.e. "may it be lawful."

268-94. *Aeneas and the Sibyl approach the vestibule and entrance of Dis, where they confront numerous forms of human misery, dreams that dwell in a great elm tree, and monsters gathered at the entrance.*

268-9. Line 268 consists of slow, heavy spondees, while the lightness of 269 suggests the insubstantiality of these *domos...vacuas* and *inania regna*.

270. **per incertam lunam:** for *per lunam* cf. 2.340. It is clear that *incertam lunam* means a moon that gives no sure sign of its presence; it is hidden and gives just enough light to make sight possible but no more.

273. Aeneas and the Sibyl are represented as arriving at the "house of Orcus," which is described as if it were a Roman house. Outside the front door of a Roman house was a porch (*vestibulum*), which Vergil envisions as a narrow hall or passageway, which he calls *fauces*, "jaws" or "throat," and hence "a narrow entrance" into the underworld. Here (274-89) they encounter personified abstractions of human worries. **Orci:** the name of the god (*Orcus*), equivalent to *Dis* (a Roman name for Pluto, cf. 252 n.), is used to describe his realm, just as

- the genitive of the equivalent Greek god, Hades, is often named to designate his realm, i.e. the underworld.
276. **turpis**: not “dishonorable” but “disfiguring” or “squalid.”
277. **Labos**: = *Labor*.
278. **consanguineus Leti Sopor**: “Death’s brother Sleep.” Cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.231.
279. **adverso in limine**: “on the threshold before them”; War is specially placed in the very gate of death.
280. **ferrei**: a dissyllable by synzesis\*. **Eumenidum**: although Vergil here places the Furies in the entrance to the underworld, he later mentions them (555, 570-2, 605) as being in Tartarus.
282. **In medio**: they have now passed the entrance and entered an inner court—possibly an atrium (Page) or some kind of peristyle court (Austin), open to the sky, where they encounter a giant elm tree.
283. **ulmus opaca, ingens**: insubstantial dreams reportedly cling beneath the leaves of the giant elm tree, like creatures of the night. The tree has no known literary precedent. Cf. Sil. Ital. 13.595-600; Norden cites Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* 2.33. **volgo**: can be taken with *ferunt*, “commonly,” or can refer to the dreams, “everywhere.”
285. **monstra**: Aeneas and the Sibyl encounter all sorts of unnatural creatures, which are described in 286-9 and have as little substance as dreams.
286. **Centauri**: were half-man, half-horse. **Scyllae**: Scylla was a blend of woman and sea-creature (probably a giant squid). Here her name occurs in the plural and must somehow mean “monsters like Scylla,” even though Scylla was unique, and was located at the straits of Messina, not in the underworld (see 3.421 n.). Cf. Lucr. 4.732 and 5.893, where the plural also occurs. Scylla and the Centaurs are not traditionally found in the underworld before Vergil.
287. **Briareus**: a hundred-headed (i.e. *centumgeminus*, an adjective created by Vergil) giant. **belua Lerna**: the multi-headed Hydra, each of whose heads, when severed by Hercules, grew back in multiples.
288. **Chimaera**: a monster that was part lion, she-goat, and snake. It was slain by Bellerophon.
289. **Gorgones**: Medusa, whose gaze turned people and creatures to stone, was the most famous of the three *Gorgon* sisters. **Harpyiaequae**: a blend of women and birds, often represented as death-spirits (cf. 3.209-77 n.). **forma tricorporis umbrae**: Geryon, a monster with three bodies, lived in Spain and was slain by Hercules, who, on his return, happened to drive his cattle through what would be the future site of Rome (cf. *Aen.* 8.201-4).
292. **docta comes**: the Sibyl. **tenuis...vitas**: the shades are described as “thin lives” that are without a body but are disguised under (*sub*) a hollow semblance of shape. Vergil probably is referring to the theory that the principle of life consists of a substance or essence that is “thin” or “rarefied” beyond comparison (cf. Lucr. 3.243 *qua neque mobilius quicquam neque tenuius exstat*). Notice how each word emphasizes the idea of insubstantiality, enforced by Aeneas’ vain attempt to cut them down in 294.
293. **volitare**: expresses the rapid uncertain movement of anything without weight, cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.495.
294. **umbras**: emphatic at end of the line.
- 295-336. *They approach the ferry over the Styx and the Sibyl explains that the throng of ghosts, eager but unable to cross, are the unburied, who must therefore wander a hundred years upon its banks.*

295. **Acherontis**: the river Acheron flows (*omnem...eructat harenam*) into the Cocytus (297), and then the Cocytus and Styx form a single stream, over which Charon ferries the souls. Cf. 132, 384 and the description of the drunken Cyclops (*saniem eructans...3.632 n.*).
- 298-9. **portitor...Charon**: this memorable description of Charon, properly “the ferryman” (*portitor*), may be based on a painting, possibly the one by Polygnotus later described by Pausanias (10.28) (cf. 264-678 n.). Charon does not appear in Homer; cf. Eur. *Alc.* 254; Aristoph. *Frogs* 179-208; Etruscans depicted him as a Charun, a winged monster. **cui...mento**: “on whose chin” (lit. “to whom on his chin”).
300. **stant lumina flamma**: “his eyes stand fixed with flame.” *Stant* implies a fixed stare.
301. **nodo**: fastened on his left shoulder with a “knot” instead of the more usual *fibula* (buckle).
302. **conto subigit**: “pushes along with a pole.” The force of *sub* is clear: he starts the boat by pushing against the bottom of the river. Afterwards, when he gets away from the bank, he “attends to the sails.”
303. **ferruginea**: a dark color, either dark purple or violet. **subvectat**: *sub-* conveys the idea of bringing the dead *up* to the bank they wish to reach.
304. **iam senior...**: he is old, but old age for a god (*deo*) differs from that for mortals; it is *cruda* (“full of blood,” “vigorous”) and *viridis* (a common epithet of youth).
307. **magnanimum**: genitive plural (1.4 n.).
309. For the simile, cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.2, 6.146, and Verg. *Geo.* 4.473. The “leaves” and “birds” selected in this comparison with ghosts and their movements recall the description above (283-4) of *Somnia vana*.
312. **fugat**: transitive, from *fugare*, “put to flight.” **terris...apricis**: = *in terras apricas* (cf. 1.126 n.). Note the contrast with the present setting; cf. *Ecl.* 9.49, *Geo.* 2.522.
313. **orantes...transmittere**: the usual construction with *oro* is a subjunctive noun clause (indirect command); here the infinitive depends on the sense of desire contained in *oro*. Cf. 1.9 n. and *Ecl.* 2.43 *abducere...orat*. **transmittere cursum**: “to make the crossing”; *cursum* is an internal accusative.
314. **ripae ulterioris amore**: “in (passionate) longing for the farther shore.”
315. **navita**: = *nauta*, i.e. Charon. The postponed connective (*sed*) is a Hellenistic usage, cf. 1.333 n.
316. **ast**: 1.46 n. **summotos**: *summovere* is used technically to denote the action of the lictors who clear a way for the consul or make a crowd “move on.” Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.10 *submovet lictor...tumultus*; Livy 3.48 *i, lictor, submove turbam*.
317. **enim**: not “for,” but adding emphasis to the word it follows, “Aeneas marvelling, indeed...” Cf. *enim* in *Geo.* 2.508-10 *hunc plausus hiantem | per cuneos geminatus enim... | corripuit*, “redoubled, indeed”; *Aen.* 8.84-5 *quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno, | mactat*, “to you, indeed, to you.”
318. **quid vult**: = *quid sibi vult*, “what does it mean” (i.e. what does the *concursum ad amnem* mean?).
319. **quo discrimine**: i.e. what is the distinction between those who can and those who cannot cross the river?
320. **remis...verrunt**: i.e. they cross the river. The dead serve as Charon’s crew.
321. **olli**: 1.254 n; cf. 730 *ollis*.

324. **iurare...numen:** *iurare* takes a cognate accusative of the deity or thing invoked in an oath, “whose deity the gods fear to invoke...” **et fallere:** “to deceive,” i.e. not to keep their oath. An oath taken in the name of the river Styx (323) was the most binding of all, for both men and gods. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.185-6; *Il.* 15.37-8.
325. **inops:** “helpless,” though it could also be taken as “poor,” because they lack the coin usually placed between the lips of the dead as payment for their passage.
327. **datur:** impersonal verb; supply *ei* (or *Charoni*). The subject is the infinitive *transportare*, whose object is the dead thronging the shores.
328. **sedibus:** the last resting-place, i.e. the grave; cf. 152, 371.
330. **tum demum:** “then, and only then” do they return to this shore to seek passage (cf. 154 n.).
331. **constitit:** Aeneas pauses to ponder (*putans*) their fate.
332. **animo:** “in mind.” Page and other editors accept the variant reading *animi*, a locative (cf. 10.686), but the uncorrected manuscript reading *animo* is probably authentic and is accepted by Mynors *et al.*
333. **mortis honore carentis:** “lacking the honor of death,” i.e. the rites owed to the dead.
334. **Leucaspim...Oronten:** Leucaspis is not mentioned earlier; Servius assumes he was the helmsman of Orontes’ ship, which sank at 1.113-17.
- 335-6. Note the alliteration\* throughout, and the whirl and rush of 336, depicting the rough seas in which the ship sank. A weak caesura\* after *Auster* is followed by the elision\* of the long *a* in *aqua*, while the *w*-sound continually recurs. **vectos:** “while voyaging.”
- 337-83. *The ghost of Aeneas’ helmsman, Palinurus, approaches and relates the story of his death. He begs Aeneas to let him accompany them across the stream. The Sibyl tells Palinurus this cannot be done; she promises that he will be buried and that the spot where he died will bear his name forever.*
337. **sese...agebat:** “was approaching,” “was making his way to us.” For Palinurus’ death, cf. 5.835-71.
338. **Libyco...cursu:** “on the voyage from Libya.”
339. **mediis effusus in undis:** “falling overboard in mid-ocean.” It took him three days (355) to reach land.
341. **prior adloquitur:** “is the first to address him”; cf. 387 *prior adgreditur dictis*; 834-5 *prior... proice*, “be first to fling away.”
- 343-4. **dic age:** “come, now, speak”; cf. 2.707 n. **fallax haud ante repertus...Apollo:** Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 559, where Apollo is addressed as “not previously false.” **hoc uno responso:** this oracle is not described earlier in the poem.
346. **Ausonios:** often used for “Italian.” The Ausones were the indigenous people of Campania, the province to the south of Latium, where Cumae is located. The accusative after *venturum* indicates motion toward the Ausones and their land. **en...fides est?:** an exclamatory question.
347. **ille autem:** “but he (replies).” **cortina:** the cauldron on the tripod, on top of which the priestess at Delphi sat; here it signifies the Delphic oracle.
348. **nec me...:** “nor did any god drown me in the deep” (in answer to 341), but the emphasis must be placed on the words *aequore mersit*. Palinurus refers to the ambiguity inherent in oracular language, which appears to say one thing and is subsequently found to have meant

another. An oracle such as this (“safe from the perils of the sea shall you reach the borders of Italy”) is not merely considered free from fraud, but even deserving of admiration for the skill with which “it wraps truth in darkness” (cf. 100 *obscuris vera involvens*).

349. **namque...:** in 5.838-56 the god Sleep first casts him into slumber and, because he still clings faithfully to the tiller (*gubernaculum*) while asleep, flings him rudder and all into the sea. The tiller was connected to the rudder (*armis*), which governs the ship’s direction. Palinurus can only account for finding himself afloat on the rudder by saying that it was “torn away with much violence by chance.”
351. **maria aspera iuro:** “I swear by the harsh seas” (cf. 458).
- 352-4. **non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem, | quam tua ne...navis...:** “that I did not feel any fear for myself as much as (for you) that your ship...” **me...cepisse timorem:** “did I feel fear...” **spoliata...excussa:** modify *navis*. **excussa magistro:** “torn from its guide,” cf. 1.115 *excutitur...magister*, “the helmsman is dashed overboard.” *Excusso magistro* would be more usual, but the form of the phrase here is due partly to Vergil’s fondness for variety, partly to a desire to make the phrase parallel to the preceding one. Observe the sibilant character of this line, expressive of the whistling of the wind; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.1 *iam satis terris nivis atque dirae | grandinis misit Pater*. **deficeret:** “might sink,” subjunctive in a subordinate clause in indirect statement, after *iuro...non ullum timorem (me) cepisse quam...*
355. **tris...hibernas...noctes:** accusative of duration. *Hibernas* (“winter,” adjective) is used metaphorically\* here to mean “stormy,” since the ancients did not sail in winter.
357. **summa...ab unda:** “from the crest of a wave.” Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.392
- 358-61. **iam...tenebam, | ni gens...invasisset:** a mixed condition, “already I was reaching safety (and would have), had not a barbarous people...attacked me.”
360. **montis:** here “rock” or “boulder.”
361. **invasisset...putasset:** “had attacked me and thought...” (i.e. “had attacked me, while thinking...”). The subject is still the *gens crudelis* (359). **praedam:** being ignorant of the facts (*ignara*), they considered him a shipwrecked sailor, who would probably have secured any money he possessed in his belt before the ship went to pieces.
- 363-4. **quod te...oro:** the relative pronoun *quod* sums up his preceding account, “because of this situation...I beg of you.”
- 365-6. **invicte:** adding to the force of the appeal, “Save me, for you are unconquerable.” **aut tu... aut tu (367):** notice the exceedingly strong personal emphasis. **terram | inice...portusque require:** the natural sequence would be the reverse — Aeneas would first have to return to the harbor of Velia, to the south of Cumae, before he could cast dirt upon Palinurus’ grave. For a similar chronological inversion, cf. line 361. The “sprinkling of earth” three times over the dead (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.36 *iniecto ter pulvere*) constituted technical burial.
371. **ut saltem...quiescam:** “that at least I may rest...” Palinurus asks only that he find rest in the peaceful dwellings on the farther shore of the Styx now that he is dead. *Saltem* is not to be taken with *in morte*.
- 374-5. **tu...aspicies...?:** “Will you (alone of all men)...behold...?” (an indignant form of question). *Tu* is meant to rebuke his unacceptable desire. **inhumatus...iniussus:** “unburied... unbidden.”
376. **desine fata deum...:** by *fata deum* Vergil means those general laws for the government of the universe, which are not only “laws of the gods” but “laws for the gods” and which even they cannot alter.

378. **nam:** “for I tell you”; this usage is characteristic of Sibylline verses, as are the future tenses that end lines 379-81.
379. **ossa piabunt:** the corpse is outraged by being left unburied, and must be “appeased” by burial and expiatory sacrifices.
381. **Palinuri nomen:** it is now known as Capo Palinuro, on the coast of Italy, south of Paestum.
383. **gaudet cognomine terra:** “he takes joy in the land named after him.” Hirtzel, Mynors, and Austin, following Servius, read *terra*, and interpret *cognomine* as the ablative of the adjective *cognominis* (“having the same name”). The manuscripts, however, read *terrae*.
- 384-416. *Resuming their journey, the Sibyl and Aeneas approach the river Styx and the ferryman Charon, who carries the dead across the river in his leaky boat. Charon at first refuses to let them board his craft, but when he sees the golden bough, he sullenly ferries them across.*
- 385-7. Charon (*navita*), without waiting for them to get nearer (*iam inde...ab unda*), speaks first (*prior*) and “scolds them unprovoked” (*increpat ultro*) (i.e. before they can speak).
385. **iam inde:** “already from a distance” (i.e. without waiting for them to get nearer).
389. “Say now why you come, from there where you are (*iam istinc*), and check your steps.” Note the abruptness of the line.
392. **Alciden:** accusative, i.e. Hercules (cf. 122-3 n.). The eleventh labor Eurystheus imposed on Hercules was to descend to the underworld and bring Cerberus up to the world above (see 395-6); afterwards he returned Cerberus to Pluto.
393. **accepisse lacu:** “to have welcomed on my lake,” cf. 412 *accipit alveo*; 3.78-9 *portu | accipit*. **Thesea:** Greek accusative. Theseus aided his friend Pirithous in an attempt to abduct Proserpina; the two heroes were caught and not permitted to leave the underworld. In one version, Hercules rescued Theseus but not Pirithous (cf. 122-3 n.); in another, Theseus never escapes, cf. 617-18.
395. **Tartareum...custodem:** Cerberus; according to Servius he was kept in chains for a year. **manu:** “by force,” i.e. with physical violence.
397. **dominam:** Proserpina.
398. **Amphrysia:** an epithet of Apollo, here used for his priestess, the Sibyl. To atone for having killed the Cyclopes, Apollo tended the sheep of Admetus by the river Amphrysus (*Geo.* 3.2).
399. **absiste moveri:** “cease to be troubled.”
- 400-2. **licet...licet:** concessive, governing the subjunctive mood. “Even though the huge door-keeper frightens the bloodless ghosts...and chaste Proserpina keeps watch over her uncle’s threshold.” She was daughter of Jupiter, and the wife of Pluto, his brother. The tone throughout is contemptuous; hence the “bloodless” ghosts and the emphasis on *casta*.
405. **si te nulla movet...imago:** “if no vision moves you,” i.e. if the vision moves you not at all.
408. **nec plura his:** “nor (was there) more than this (said)”. The discussion has ended; Charon yields at once.
409. **fatalis virgae:** “fateful branch,” cf. 147.
411. **alias animas:** “the other ghosts.” Aeneas is not one of the ghosts; rather, he is contrasted with them. **iuga:** the benches on the boat; the regular Latin word is *transtra*.
412. **deturbat:** “pushes out of the way.” **laxat...foros:** the *fori* would be the gate or entrance to the boat; “he lets down the gangplank.” **alveo:** disyllabic by synizesis\*.



413. **ingentem**: Aeneas' size contrasts starkly with that of the ghosts.

414-16. **sutilis**: the boat is described as "stitched together" (*sutilis*); it would consist of hides sewn together and stretched on a framework of wood. Note the strange details we are given of the scene: the boat is old and "leaky" (*rimosa*); the water is a "marshy ooze" (*paludem*); the landing-place is not solid ground but "shapeless mud" (*informi limo*) and "grey sedge" (*glauca ulva*).

417-25. *After crossing the Styx, they encounter Cerberus, the three-headed dog guarding the entrance to the underworld. They render him harmless by throwing him a drugged honey-cake.*

417-19. **Cerberus**: first named by Hesiod (see *Theog.* 311, 769-74), and thereafter numerous writers refer to him. He is also depicted on a number of vase-paintings, often in the company of Hercules, one of whose tasks was to capture him, bring him to Eurystheus (cf. 392 n.), and then return him to the underworld. Like Charon, Cerberus is part of the traditional machinery of the underworld. He is physically huge, and all three of his heads bark (cf. *latratu trifauci*) so loudly that his sound as well as his size fills (cf. *personat* with 171 n.) the cave and blocks the way (*adverso antro*). In Vergil's depiction, his necks are covered with serpents (*colubris*). Cf. 8.296, where he is called *ianitor Orci*.

420. **soporatam...offam**: the Sibyl throws him a morsel "made drowsy" with (i.e. steeped in) honey and drug-soaked grain.

421. **famē**: some nouns, such as *famis*, vary between third and fifth declension; the ablative of *famis* is always long, as here. Cf. AG §76b.1; 105e.

422-3. **immania...**: "relaxes his enormous back, sprawling on the ground." The participle *fusus* means "lying at ease" (cf. 1.214 n.). *Resolvit* and *fusus* vividly express the effect of the drug; shortly before he received it, his back was rigid and every muscle was strained with excitement. **humi**: locative.

424-5. **occupat Aeneas aditum...evaditque...ripam**: the tone is mock-heroic. **custode sepulto**: ablative absolute, "its guardian buried (in sleep)." Cf. 2.265 *somno vinoque sepultum*. **inremeabilis**: "that permits no return" (*remeare* = "to return"). Cf. 5.591, where the adjective describes the Labyrinth.

426-547. Aeneas and the Sibyl now proceed to a region inhabited by shades who are neither punished (like those in Tartarus at 548-627) nor happy (like those in Elysium at 637-78). The first three groups in this region—infants (426-9), those wrongfully killed (430), and suicides (434-9)—are discussed briefly. They are followed by the inhabitants of the Fields of Mourning (*Lugentes campi*), who have died because of love (440-76), and finally by the shades of famous warriors, both Greek and Trojan (477-93).

This first region of the underworld, a kind of limbo, raises difficult questions. For example, will any of the shades it contains eventually be sent to Tartarus or Elysium? Why do the shades of infants and of warriors inhabit this same general region? Vergil does not provide answers to such questions; he is more concerned with presenting Aeneas' painful encounters in this region with two people from his past. In the Fields of Mourning, Aeneas discovers Dido, whom he addresses for the last time (450-76, see n.), as he acknowledges that her death was brought about by his departure from Carthage. She refuses to respond to him and instead turns away in silence, retreating into the arms of her husband Sychaeus, thus bringing a bitter close to her tragic affair with the Trojan leader. Then among the famous warriors, Aeneas encounters Priam's son Deiphobus (Helen's final Trojan husband), who describes his brutal death at the hands of his wife Helen, her Greek husband Menelaus, and

Odysseus on the night of Troy's fall (see 494-547 n.).

Vergil does not indicate how long these souls must stay here, nor does he attempt to establish any doctrine about the fate of souls in the afterlife, although commentators have long attempted to find one here.

426. **vagitus**: regularly of the "wail of infants," cf. Lucr. 2.576-7 *miscetur funere vagor | quem pueri tollunt visentes luminis oras*.
- 427-8. **in limine primo...vitae exsortis**: *vitae* is governed by *exsortis* (accusative plural), though it still resonates with *in limine primo*. These ghosts were deprived of a share in life "from the very beginning" (*in limine primo*).
429. **abstulit atra dies...**: "a black day carried off and plunged in bitter death." *Dies atris* in the Roman calendar were unlucky days, marked with black, on which no legal business could be transacted. **acerbo**: contrasts with *dulcis* (428), but the word is especially used even in prose of premature, "untimely" death.
430. **mortis**: genitive governed by *damnati*, "condemned to death" on a false charge.
- 431-3. **nec vero...sine sorte..., sine iudice**: even if denied justice on earth, they find it here. The reference is to the *sortitio iudicum* ("appointment of the jury by lot") in a Roman court by the magistrate investigating the case (*quaesitor* 432), who here is *Minos*, a judge in the underworld; he "shakes the urn," summons a gathering of the dead "the silent" (*silentum* | *concilium* 432-3), and examines the record of their lives (*vitaeque et crimina* 433). The Labyrinthine quality of the underworld (*inremeabilis* 425), as well as the presence of *Minos*, recalls the scene on the doors of the temple of Apollo (20-33). **urnam movet**: the names were placed on tablets in an urn, which was shaken until one came out. Cf. 22 *stat ductis sortibus urna* and 5.490 n. **conciliumque**: Geymonat, Mynors and Austin here adopt *consiliumque*, found in some of the early manuscripts, but the other main manuscripts accept *conciliumque*, as do Servius and Tibullus. *Consilium* would suggest a general gathering of the dead to cast judgment.
435. **peperere**: from *pario*. **manu**: cf. 395. **lucemque perosi**: cf. Dido's misery, *taedet caeli convexa tueri* 4.451. The attitude here toward suicide differs strikingly from the language of Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.35: *Catonis nobile letum*. Horace had in view the teaching of the Stoics; closer to Vergil's sentiment are the famous lines in Hom. *Od.* 11.489-91, where Achilles says he would prefer to be a mere hireling and alive, rather than to rule over all the departed dead. Vergil appears to feel pity for the suicides (cf. 435 *insontes*).
438. **fas obstat**: *fas* here almost = "fate." Cf. 4.440 *fata obstant*, of Anna's pleas to Aeneas. **inamabilis**: "unlovable," i.e. "hateful" (an example of *litotes*\*).
- 440-76. *The Fields of Mourning where the victims of cruel love wander at large. Seven mythical heroines wander here, setting the stage for Aeneas' meeting with Dido.*
440. **partem fusi...in omnem**: the *Lugentes campi* are vast, allowing solitude to their inhabitants.
442. **quos**: a collective masculine, even though Vergil names only women, "(those) whom pitiless love has consumed with a cruel wasting."
443. **secreti...calles**: "sequestered glades"; *calles* are not "paths" (cf. 9.383) but "glades," the open, clear, grassy parts in a wood used for grazing cattle. **myrtea**: because the myrtle is sacred to Venus.
- 445-6. **Phaedram**: Phaedra, wife of Theseus, daughter of *Minos*, slew herself because of her

- unrequited passion for her stepson Hippolytus (cf. Eur. *Hipp.*). **Procrim:** Procris jealously spied on her husband Cephalus while he was hunting and was accidentally killed by him when he mistook her for a wild boar (Ov. *Met.* 7.690-862). Her excessive passion (rather than lust) sets the stage for the reintroduction of Dido. **Eriphylon:** Eriphyle was killed by her son Alcmaeon because she had been bribed by the gift of a necklace to persuade her husband Amphiaraus to join the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, where he perished. This appears to be Vergil's comment on women in power who betray their country for the sake of their own desires. *Phaedra*, *Procris* and *Eriphyle* were depicted in Polygnotus' painting of the underworld (cf. 264-678 n.).
447. **Euadnen:** Evadne, the wife of Capaneus, who was also slain at Thebes, flung herself on his funeral pyre. **Pasiphaen:** cf. 23 n. **Laodamia:** the wife of Protesilaus, who was the first Greek to die at Troy. She obtained permission for her husband to return to life for three hours and then died with him (cf. Cat. 68.73-86; Ov. *Her.* 13).
448. **Caeneus:** had been a maiden, but was changed by Poseidon into a young man (Ov. *Met.* 12.172-209). Vergil has him become a woman again and a victim of cruel love.
- 450-76. Aeneas now encounters Dido. His words to her and her response ironically recall Aeneas' own failure to respond to Dido's pleas in 4.438-9: *sed nullis ille movetur | fletibus aut voces ullas tractabilis audit*. Compare 1.479-82, where Pallas Athena, depicted in the mural at Carthage, also refuses to respond to the pleas of the Trojan women—Vergil uses the same words there (1.482) as in his description of Dido here, in 469 (see n.). Others have suggested an allusion here to *Odyssey* 11.543-67, where the great warrior Ajax, who had lost the contest for Achilles' armor to Odysseus and committed suicide as a result, refuses to respond to his former rival. See Panoussi (2002, 2009).
450. **recens a vulnere:** Dido's wound is still fresh; she had stabbed herself with Aeneas' sword when he departed, cf. 4.646.
451. **quam:** governed by *iuxta* and *agnovit*.
- 453-4. **obscuram:** agrees with *quam*, "a dim shape." **qualem...:** "as when one sees, at the beginning of the month, or thinks he saw, the moon rising through clouds."
456. **infelix Dido:** Vergil has often given her this epithet, even as early as 1.712, and she applies it to herself at the end of book 4 (596); cf. 4.68, 450, 529. **verus mihi nuntius ergo:** "then the news was true..." The flames at the beginning of book 5 had been the first sign to the Trojans of Dido's tragedy.
457. **extinctam...secutam:** supply *esse*; infinitives in implied indirect statement after the verbal idea in *nuntius*.
459. **et si qua fides...:** "and by whatever pledge is valid in the grave."
460. **invitus, regina...:** cf. Cat. 62.39 *invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi*. In Catullus, it is the frivolous outcry of the Lock of Hair (*coma*) which has been severed from its mistress's head, whereas here it is employed in a powerful moment of anguish, rendered more complex when the reader realizes that Dido's husband, Sychaeus, is standing near her. (For discussion, cf. Johnston (1987) and the section "Contemporary interpretation" in the General Introduction.) Note the slow, spondaic meter in the first half of the line, suggesting Aeneas' sincerity in this statement.
462. **loca senta situ:** "places rough with neglect." *Sentus*, a rare word, means "uncared for"; cf. Ter. *Eun.* 2.2.5; Ov. *Met.* 4.436. *Situs* indicates an absence of activity or the effect of being so left alone — "rust," "moldiness," "decay."

463. **egerere**: *egerunt* (from *ago*, not *egeo*).
466. **extremum...**: “it is fated that what I now say to you is the last.” *Quod* is a cognate accusative after *adloquor*.
- 467-8. **ardentem et torva tuentem...animum**: “her fiery and grimly gazing wrath,” or burning and gazing fiercely,” or “her fierce and grim-eyed wrath.” *Torva* is cognate accusative. **lenibat**: “was soothing,” i.e. attempting to soothe. The imperfect can describe an action which is incomplete or only attempted (conative), particularly in the present (AG §467) or in the imperfect tense (AG §471c). **animum**: accusative of specification, to denote the part affected, “with respect to her mind.” Cf. AG §397b. **ciebat**: can also be conative, suggesting he was trying to summon tears from Dido, since Aeneas, the subject of *lenibat*, is already shedding tears (455, 476), while Dido attempts to turn away. Compare the ambiguity of *lacrimae volvuntur inanes* (*Aen.* 4.449 with note).
469. **illa...oculos aversa tenebat**: Cf. 1.482 *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*, where the same words depict Pallas Athena’s hostility to the Trojans. In 4.331-2 Aeneas refuses to be moved by Dido’s words (*immota tenebat lumina*), and in 4.362 *talia dicentem...aversa tuetur*, Dido refuses to be moved by Aeneas’ words. In 4.438-9 Aeneas’ is again unmoved by Dido’s pleas (*sed nullis ille movetur | fletibus aut voces ulla tractabilis audit*).
470. **vultum**: accusative of specification, cf. AG §397b.
471. **quam si dura silex**: an ironic echo of 4.366-7 *duris genuit te cautibus...Caucasus*, where Dido charges Aeneas with inhuman origins. **stet**: the monosyllabic *sto* is used in preference to any of its compounds to express immovable fixity. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.42 *stet Capitolium*, *Geo.* 4.209 *stat fortuna domus*. **Marpesia cautes**: Marpessus was a mountain in Paros; Parian marble had a luminous glow.
472. **tandem corripuit sese**: “at length she rushed away”; *corripuit* suggests the sudden convulsive movement with which she breaks from her trance.
- 473-4. **coniunx...Sycheus**: the first indication that her husband Sycheus now accompanies her, a violation of the rules of the *Lugentes campi*, since he did not die of love, but was murdered. Many questions arise here: Is she happy now that she is with Sycheus? Does *aequat amorem* mean he gives her the love she needs? Does Aeneas blame her situation on her fate (*casu iniquo*) rather than on himself? Does he only pity her (*miseratur*), not love her?
475. **concussus**: “shaken (by her unjust death).”
476. **prosequitur**: this word is used of escorting a person a part of the way as a mark of honor or esteem; cf. 898, where Anchises escorts Aeneas to the exit from the underworld.
- 477-93. *They now encounter those who fell in battle. First they see ghosts of soldiers who died at Thebes, then at Troy. The Trojans hurry eagerly to meet and question Aeneas, while the Greeks are terrified when they see him.*
- 477-8. **Inde datum molitur iter**: “From there he toils along the appointed path”; *molitur* suggests difficulty. **arva...ultima, quae...secreta**: these fields, “set apart” (*secreta*), comprise the last part of the neutral region. **bello clari**: “men famous in war.”
- 479-80. **Tydeus...Parthenopaeus...Adrasti**: these were three of the seven heroes who fought in the war against Thebes, which preceded the Trojan War. Adrastus, king of Argos, was their leader. **inclutus**: this archaic\* adjective, “renowned, celebrated” (echoing the Homeric epithet κλυτός), is more stately than the equivalent *clarus* (478); cf. 562 and 781. There is an implicit irony in applying *inclutus armis* to Parthenopaeus, who was ultimately ill-suited for

the war he fought. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.246-50.

481. **multum fleti**: cf. 50 n. **ad superos**: “(much lamented) among those above,” i.e. “upon earth” or “alive”; see also 568; **bello...caduci**: “fallen in battle.” This adjective is rarely applied to persons in this sense, but Donatus on 10.622 suggests it implies premature death.

483-4. The Trojan warriors Glaucus, Medon, and Thersilochus are named in *Iliad* 17.216. Polyboetes, a priest of Ceres, does not appear in Homer. Priests as fighting men (like Chloereus, priest of Cybele, 11.768) appear to be a post-Homeric phenomenon.

485. **Idaeum**: was a herald and Priam’s charioteer (Hom. *Il.* 2.248; 24.325, 470). **etiam**: = *etiam*, “even yet,” “still,” a use fairly common even in prose. Cf. *Geo.* 3.189 *invalidus etiamque tremens, etiam inscius aevi*.

487-8. **iuvat...**: “they delight to linger still, and to pace beside him, and to inquire the cause of his coming.”

489. **at Danaum**: the Greek reaction to Aeneas contrasts with that of the Trojans. For the contracted genitive plural, cf. 503 *Pelagum*, 562 *Teucrum*, 588 *Graium*, and even 653 *currum*.

491. **trepidare...vertere**: historical infinitives.

492. **ceu...rates**: the Greek ships were drawn up along the shore and fenced in; the Greeks were several times driven by sallies of the besieged Trojans to take refuge behind this stockade. **pars tollere...**: observe the order: “some raised a shout—an insubstantial sound; once begun, their war-cry (*clamor*) frustrates their gaping mouths.” *Exiguam* is “thin”; their inability to utter the war-cry astonishes the ghosts. For the assonance\* of 493 cf. 237 above. Note the contrast with the Greek account of the same events: through Aeneas, Vergil gives the impression that the Greeks were regularly driven back to their ships, whereas in Homer, the Trojans are represented as having been penned up in their city for ten years. Vergil’s technique of exposing his audience to a point of view that is not simply that of the poet or of the narrator within the poem but that functions in conflict with the context has been called “deviant focalization” by Fowler (1990).

494—547. *Here Aeneas sees his brother Deiphobus cruelly mangled, and hears the story of his slaying.*

After the death of Paris, Deiphobus had competed successfully against his brother Helenus for Helen’s hand in marriage, but was killed and mutilated on the night of Troy’s fall by Menelaus (Helen’s original Greek husband) and Odysseus. A briefer version of Deiphobus’ story is told by the bard Demodocus at *Od.* 8.517-21. There we hear that a fierce battle was waged at Deiphobus’ house by Menelaus and Odysseus, who fought like Ares and had the support of Athena, but neither Deiphobus’ death nor his marriage to Helen is explicitly mentioned in Homer. Vergil’s version, by contrast, not only makes Deiphobus’ marriage and death clear, but also emphasizes the treachery of Helen over the glory of the Greek warriors, and the inhuman and disgusting manner of his death. On Deiphobus, see Bleisch (1999).

494. **Priamiden**: accusative, “son of Priam.” Cf. 509 *Priamides* (nominative).

495. **vidit**: some manuscripts read *vidit et*, which was modified, for metrical reasons, to *videt et* by later commentators, and accepted by Mynors.

496-7. **ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora...truncas...naris**: accusatives of respect, governed by *lacerum*, “mangled,” “mutilated.” **inhonesto vulnere**: *inhonesto* suggests something disgraceful or immoral.

498. **vix adeo...**: Aeneas “hardly even” recognized him, cowering and seeking to hide those hideous wounds.” *Adeo* underscores *vix* (cf. 2.567 n.).
500. **genus...**: “O descendant of Teucer’s lofty lineage.”
501. **quis...optavit**: “who chose to exact such cruel vengeance?” The indicative *optavit* indicates that it was the choice of such especially cruel vengeance that excites indignation.
- 502-3. **cui tantum de te licuit?**: “Who was permitted (to exact) such a price from you?” **suprema** | **nocte**: as *suprema lux* or *supremum lumen* (735) would be “last day,” “day of death,” so the night that witnessed Troy’s destruction is *suprema nox*.
504. **procubuisse**: “had fallen down, dead.”
505. **egomet**: emphatic, “with my own hands.” **tumulum...inanem**: a monument in place of a tomb. **Rhoeteo litore**: Rhoeteum was on the shore north of Troy (cf. 3.108). It is also the place where Catullus’ brother was buried (Cat. 65.7).
506. **manis ter...**: the reference is to the “last greeting” (231 *novissima verba*, see n.) to the dead which formed a part of the funeral ceremony, cf. 2.644 *positum adfati discedite corpus*; 3.67-8 *animam...supremum voce ciemus*.
507. **te, amice**: *te* in hiatus\* becomes short here.
508. **patria...terra**: construe this ablative phrase closely with *ponere*.
509. **nihil...relictum**: “nothing by you, my friend, has been neglected.”
510. **funeris umbris**: “the ghost of the dead”; *funus* here is “corpse.”
511. **Lacaenae**: genitive, “of the Spartan woman.” It is a contemptuous reference to Helen: Deiphobus will not name her.
512. **his mersere malis**: as in 505, another echo of Catullus’ sorrow for his brother (*accipe, quis merser fortunae fluctibus* 68.13). The metaphor\* is of a shipwrecked sailor. **illa**: very emphatic, “that woman” (Helen). **haec monimenta**: deictic. The antithesis\* is ironic\*, “these are the memorials she has left.”
513. **falsa...gaudia**: their joy at the feigned departure of the Greeks was misinformed, as everyone now knows (*nosti = no(vi)sti*). When the city was buried in slumber, the warriors concealed in the belly of the horse descended and opened the gates to their comrades (cf. 2.250-67).
514. **egerimus**: the *i* in the subjunctive ending was originally long but here is short.
- 515-16. **fatalis equus**: cf. 2.237-8 *scandit fatalis machina muros | feta armis. saltu...venit*: Cf. Enn. *Alexander* fr. 72-3 in Jocelyn, fr. 80-1 in Warmington (a reference to Paris) *Nam maximo saltu superabit gravidus armatis equus | qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama*, and Aesch. *Agam.* 825. The phrase vividly describes the horse as something living and animated with an eager desire for Troy’s destruction. For the actual dragging of it into the city, cf. 2.234. **gravis**: certainly represents Ennius’ *gravidus*, “pregnant” (cf. also 2.20 n.); Vergil’s *gravis* also suggests the *fatal* character of the offspring who were to come forth from that “heavy womb.”
517. **euhanthis orgia**: “celebrating with Bacchic cries the (sacred) revels.” Torchlight processions of women at night were common in the worship of Bacchus.
519. **summa...ex arce**: “from the top of the citadel.” This is inconsistent with 2.567-87 (the “Helen episode,” where Helen has taken refuge in the temple of Vesta; see n. on this passage). In 2.256 the signal comes from the Greek ship to Sinon. In other versions, Sinon sends the

- signal to the Greeks (2.1-267 n.), or Antenor is the traitor responsible. There are also accounts that say there were two signals, one from Sinon and one from Helen. Cf. Austin *ad loc.* for more details.
523. **egregia**: in bitter scorn, “my excellent wife,” cf. 4.93.
524. **emovet...subduxerat**: “removes, and had already slipped my trusty sword away from my head (*capiti*).” (He would have kept his sword near his head, ready to be used.) The change of tense in *subduxerat* indicates that this action had preceded the other. **emovet**: some manuscripts read *et movet* or *amovet*; *emovet* is found not only in some of the early manuscripts, but also in Tibullus, which would be an even earlier reading.
526. **scilicet**: strongly accentuates the scorn, which is also marked in *amanti* — “doubtless hoping that this would be a noble gift to her lover,” a reference to her returning husband, Menelaus.
529. **hortator scelerum Aeolides**: i.e. Ulysses. He is called “child of Aeolus” intentionally, referring to the tradition that, although his mother was wife of Laertes, his real father was Sisyphus, son of Aeolus. Sisyphus was the least scrupulous, most cunning of mortals, and thus typifies badly used cleverness. Ulysses is here characterized not as “the wise counselor,” as in Homer, but (as in later tradition, from Sophocles to Dante) as a manipulating scoundrel, who persuades others to carry out the crimes he dare not perpetrate himself (cf. 2.44 and 2.164 with notes).
530. **instaurate**: *instaurare*, “renew,” is a religious word (cf. 3.62 n.). With *sacra* it signifies repeating a rite that was not duly carried out; hence it is used here in prayer. **si**: “as surely as” (cf. 3.433-4 n.). **pio...ore**: Deiphobus grounds his appeal on the “piety” of the mouth that utters it. For *pio*, cf. 1.10 n.
- 533-4. **an quae...**: “or what Fortune harries you so that you approach these sad sunless halls, the dwelling of disorder?” **ut...adires**: purpose clause; the secondary sequence of tenses after *fatigat* suggests “still harasses you (as it did harass you) so that you approach...”
- 535-47. *The Sibyl reminds Aeneas that he must not linger; they have reached the point where the path diverges in two opposing directions. Deiphobus bids farewell and returns to the shadows.*
- 535-6. **Hac vice sermonum**: “amid such interchange of speech.” **Aurora...**: “Aurora in her heavenly course had already passed the central pole,” i.e. it was past midday. **medium...axem**: the central axis or midpoint around which the heavens seem to revolve.
- 537-8. **fors...traherent**: a mixed condition. Much of the allotted time had already passed, and “perhaps (*fors*) they would now continue to spend all the allotted time (*traherent*, present contrary-to-fact)...” For this reason, the Sibyl interrupts them and brings their conversation to a close.
539. **nox ruit**: “night is coming on,” i.e. it is near nightfall. When “night falls” in Vergil (cf. 2.8-9 *nox...praecipitat*), it sinks to its close.
540. **ambas**: the word “both” can only be used when two things have been already mentioned, or where reference is made to things notoriously two in number, e.g. “with both eyes.” Vergil’s use of *ambas* assumes that every one knows that the path here diverges in two directions. Cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 524.
- 541-2 **dextera quae...tendit, | hac iter Elysium nobis**: “the path (supply *via*) on the right hand which leads..., by this one is our route to Elysium.” *Elysium* is accusative after the idea of motion in *iter*, cf. 3.507 n.

- 542-3. **at laeva...exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit**: how “the path on the left (supply *via*) exacts the punishment of evil-doers” is at once explained by the succeeding words. **impia**: either “irreverent” (cf. 563 *sceleratum limen*) or “pitiless.”
544. **ne saevi**: this construction of *ne* + the imperative for a negative command is archaic\*; cf. 73-4 n.
545. **explebo numerum**: “I will complete the number (of ghosts) and go back into the darkness.” Deiphobus had left the ranks of dead warriors in their “sunless dwelling” (534) and was following Aeneas, who was passing on to the sunny realms of Elysium. He steps back from this brighter path into the gloom and so occupies the place he had left vacant.
546. Deiphobus’ words mark his return to his sad fate, and, to some degree, Aeneas’ departure from his own past; after the following account of Tartarus by the Sibyl, Aeneas will meet with his father and take the first steps toward becoming a Roman (cf. 851-3).
547. **in verbo vestigia torsit**: “turned his tracks in mid-speech.”
- 548-627. *Aeneas, looking around, sees before him a vast and awful fortress from which come groans and sounds of woe. The Sibyl explains that this is the abode of the damned, which she alone of those who are righteous has been allowed to enter, and she describes its inhabitants and their punishments.*
548. **Respicit**: Aeneas, who has turned to the right towards Elysium, “looks back” after the departing Deiphobus, and thus finds himself facing the gates of Tartarus, which Vergil then describes.
549. **moenia**: the buildings of the city; cf. 2.234 *muros et moenia...urbis*.
- 550-1. **flammis...torrentibus...Phlegethon**: the name of the River of Fire (Phlegethon) is derived from from the Gr. *flegein*, “to burn” (cf. 618 n. on *Phlegyas*). **ambit**: the river surrounds Tartarus, like a moat.
- 552-4. **columnae, | vis ut nulla..., non ipsi...caelicolae valeant**: a word like *tantae* is implied with *columnae*; a negative result clause follows.
552. **porta...**: “confronting him (is) a mighty gate and columns of solid adamant.” **adamante**: adamant is a legendary metal of extreme hardness. The doorposts are called *columnae* because of their size. The spondaic meter perhaps suggests the weight of the doors.
554. **stat...ad auras**: “stands facing the breeze.”
555. **Tisiphone**: cf. 570-1 n. **palla succincta cruenta**: “girded with a bloody cape.”
- 557-8. **exaudiri...sonare**: historical infinitives. “From here are heard groans and fierce lashes crack; then too (*tum*) the creaking of iron and trailing chains (are heard).”
559. **hausit**: he “drank in” or “devoured” noise (*strepitum*). Some manuscripts read *haesit* instead of *hausit*, but this would require the dative instead of the accusative case.
561. **quis tantus clangor ad auris**: “What is this great sound to my ears,” i.e. “sound I hear?”
562. **inclute**: cf. 479.
563. A skillful inversion of the rule that the guilty may not tread on holy ground: “no holy foot may tread that guilty threshold.” The Sibyl explains that she is an exception.
564. **lucis...Avernus**: “the groves of Avernus.”
566. **Gnosius**: “of/from Cnossos,” a city on the island of Crete. **Rhadamanthus**: Rhadamanthus, Aeacus, and Minos were the judges of the dead. According to Plato (*Gorg.* 524a), Rhadamanthus, the brother of Minos, judged the dead from Asia; Aeacus judged the



- dead from Europe. For Minos, see 431-3 n.
567. **castigatque auditque dolos**: Rhadamanthus chastises or reprimands (*castigat*) the sinners and hears their confessions of fraud (*dolos*).
568. **quis**: = *aliquis*. **furto...inani**: a *furtum* is any fraudulent act; it will be rendered useless (*inani*) by the punishment.
569. **seram**: “late,” “too late”; the opportunity for expiation is lost when death comes. **commissa piacula**: “crimes (they have) committed.” *Piaculum* is a crime requiring expiation.
- 570-1. **continuo...**: as soon as Rhadamanthus has pronounced judgment, “straightway vengeful Tisiphone, armed with a scourge, hounds on the guilty (*sontis*), leaping upon them.” **ultrix**: “avenging.” The root of Tisiphone’s name, *tisis*, in Greek also means “avenger” (Servius on 4.609). Note the alliteration\* of *t* and *s* in 570-2. Tisiphone, one of the three Erinyes (also called “Furies” and “Eumenides,” e.g. in Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*), avenges murder. **quatit**: the verb means “agitate,” “keep in restless motion” and should be construed closely with *accincta flagello* and *insultans*. The picture is that of a brutal driver urging on a crowd of terrified animals. Cf. 12.337-8 *equos...fumantis sudore quatit*; *Geo.* 3.132 *cursu quatiunt et sole fatigant*.
573. **cardine**: not a “hinge” but a pivot, with one socket in the sill, and the other in the lintel. Cf. 2.493 n.
- 574-5. **custodia qualis...sedeat...servet?**: the rhetorical questions\* refer to Tisiphone, the single “watch” seen on this side of the door. By contrast an (unseen) fifty-headed Hydra (576) with inky, black jaws sits on the other side of the gate. This appears to be a different Hydra from the one in the *vestibulum* (287).
576. For the onomatopoeic\* sound, cf. 237-8 above.
- 577-9. **Tartarus...bis patet in praeceps tantum...quantus ad aetherium...suspectus Olympum**: “Tartarus gapes open downward twice as far...as is the view of the sky upward... to heavenly Olympus.” For the imagery, cf. 4.445-6 n.
- 580-1. **Titania pubes**: the Titans, sons of Earth and Sky, were defeated when they tried to overthrow Zeus and were cast into Tartarus. **volvuntur...**: “they writhe at the bottom of the pit.”
582. **Aloidas**: “sons of Aloeus,” i.e. Otus and Ephialtes, the Giants who piled Mt. Ossa on Olympus, adding Mt. Pelion on top, in an effort to make war on the gods in the heavens. Cf. *Hom. Il.* 5.386; *Od.* 11.306; *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.7.4, and Horace, *Odes* 3.42-80, where an analogy with Augustus’ own wars against evil is suggested.
585. **Salmonea**: Greek accusative. Salmoneus, founder of a city in Elis, arrogantly tried to imitate Jupiter (cf. 586-94).
586. **flammas**: the manuscripts read both *flammam* (as in Hirtzel) and *flammas*, but the more logical plural seems to be more widely accepted.
588. **mediaeque per Elidis urbem**: “through a city in the middle of Elis.” Olympia is located in Elis; hence the location is all the more insulting as it is the very place where the Olympian Jupiter was specially worshiped.
- 590-1. **demens, qui...simularet**: “Madman! to mimic the clouds and inimitable thunderbolt!” Cf. 172 n. **aere**: with bronze vessels, or perhaps his chariot was made of bronze.
593. **contorsit**: Jupiter “whirled” his missile headlong (*praecipitem* 594). The emphasis is on the secure, steady spin (*immani turbine* 594) of his thunderbolt. Cf. 12.531. **ille**: Jupiter. *Ille* is pleonastic (cf. 1.3 n.), but is added to emphasize strongly the contrast between *pater*

*omnipotens* and Salmoneus.

595-6. **nec non...cernere erat**: impersonal construction, “it was also (allowed) to see.” **Tityon**: a son of Earth and Zeus, he attacked Leto after she gave birth to Apollo and Artemis, but Zeus destroyed him with his thunderbolt, and now a vulture (two vultures in Homer) consumes his liver, which continually grows back; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 523-33.

598. **tondens**: “trimming back” or “grazing upon the deathless liver and entrails rich (*fecunda*) with punishment,” i.e. the liver eternally produces fresh material to feed upon.

599-600. **rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto | pectore**: “pries open (the liver) for a feast and settles deep in (the victim’s) breast.” **epulis**: dative of purpose. **renatis**: from *renascor*; they grow again as fast as they are eaten.

601. **Lapithas...Pirithoumque**: Pirithous was the son of Ixion’s wife and king of the Lapiths; see 393 n. The fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, which was depicted on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, occurred at the wedding of Pirithous, who invited the Centaurs to his wedding feast. **Ixiona**: Ixion attempted to rape Hera; Zeus, however, substituted a cloud in her likeness, which in turn gave birth to Centaurus, father of the Centaurs. His traditional punishment in the underworld is to be whirled eternally on a wheel.

In Vergil, the punishments of these figures are more similar to those traditionally assigned to Tantalus, who in some accounts is eternally threatened by an unstable, overhanging rock (cf. 616-17, where other sinners also suffer this punishment), and in other accounts is desperately hungry and thirsty, and is taunted by food and drink that move away when he attempts to taste them.

602. **quos**: Hirtzel’s text assumes a lacuna before 602, and so it accepts the manuscript reading *quo super*, which would mean something like “concerning which”; however, because of the lacuna, it is unclear what the *quo* refers to. Most editors reject the lacuna, as does this edition, and instead adopt the alternative manuscript reading *quos super*, “over whom,” referring to the Lapiths, Ixion, and Pirithous (601). **iam iam**: “now, now”; every moment the rock is about to slip. Observe the accommodation of sound to sense: the overhanging syllable of the hypermetric\* line (*cadentiqu(e) | imminet*) suggests the overhanging rock.

603. **lucent...**: “golden gleam the supports to high-piled, festal cushions.” *Fulcra* are not “feet,” but ornamental supports or rests for the cushions of a couch. *Genialis* usually refers to a bridal bed, but here it simply refers to the festal occasion.

605. **regifico**: “fit for a king.” **furiarum maxima**: a Fury (not identified) stays close to them, enforcing their punishments.

608-9. **invisi fratres...pulsatusve parens...fraus innexa clienti**: these sinners, while based in part on Greek tradition, have committed violations against particularly Roman social connections and ideas (see individual notes), including family ties, legal obligations between patron and client, and the proper use of wealth (cf. 610-11). **fraus innexa clienti**: “guile devised against a dependant,” thus violating the XII Tables (the basis of early Roman Law), which say *Patronus, si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto*. Conversely, the reciprocal duty of the client to his patron is referred to below, in 613.

610. **qui divitiis...incubere**: “those who brooded over wealth.” Greed in a wealthy person is a serious fault; cf. *Geo.* 2.507, where the miser *defosso...incubat auro*; and *Hor. Sat.* 1.1.70-1. **reperitis**: not “found by accident,” for there could hardly be “a very great throng” of such discoverers of treasure, but “gained” or “won” with trouble and difficulty after searching; cf.

718 *reperta*.

611. “And not set aside a portion for their kinsfolk—and these (the misers) are the largest group.” Note the simplicity of the words *quae maxima turba est*.

612-13. **quique ob adulterium caesi**: a woman caught in adultery could be killed by her husband, but the adulterers could also be killed or punished. In 18 BCE (after the death of Vergil), adultery was officially brought into the criminal law and expanded. **quique arma... impia... dominorum fallere dextras**: *arma impia* implies civil war (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.30 *impia proelia*), and *dominorum fallere dextras* appears to be a reference to the war with Sextus Pompeius in 36 BCE, particularly to his enlistment of slaves in that cause: “those who took up arms in an unholy cause or did not fear to violate the loyalty owed to their masters.”

614. **ne quaere**: an archaic\* construction (cf. 73-4 n. on *ne manda*).

615. **quae forma... mersit**: the subjunctive is more normally used in indirect questions, but here the indicative *mersit* provides vividness (*expectant* must be supplied with *quam poenam*) and is in keeping with the character of the Sibyl’s words.

616-17. **saxum**: Sisyphus, who is doomed to roll a stone continually uphill that continually rolls back again, is here suggested as a model for others in this group. **radiisque rotarum**: Ixion is pinned on a revolving wheel.

618. **infelix Theseus**: in contrast with 122, which may imply his rescue by Hercules, Theseus is here doomed forever to some form of sedentary life. **Phlegyas**: father of Ixion, he set fire to Apollo’s temple at Delphi. (Cf. 550-1 n.)

619. **testatur**: lit. “calls to witness”; he makes a solemn appeal to all to hear his words of warning. Of course the warning was useless in the underworld, but it is really being addressed by the poet to people on earth.

621-4. These wrongs join treason with incest. Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.39) indicates that lines 621-2 are adapted from Varius: *vendidit hic Latium populis, agrosque Quiritum | eripuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit*. Roman laws were inscribed on bronze tablets and set up in the forum; only a truly corrupt official would, for a bribe (*pretio*), pass laws (*fixit*) and change laws (*refixit*).

623. Incest was a subject of literary interest in Republican and Augustan Rome. Vergil’s Greek teacher Parthenius wrote a collection of love stories (*Erotika Pathemata*), which were dedicated to Vergil’s friend Gallus and included several such stories; Ovid retold the incestuous tales of Myrrha (*Met.* 10.298-502) and of Byblis (*Met.* 9.454-665) in his poem. **hymenaeos**: a Greek word that permits a quadrisyllabic ending to the line; cf. 4.99, 4.316 n.

624. **ausi...**: “all dared an enormous wrong (*immane nefas*) and attained what they dared.” *Potior* governs the ablative.

625-6. **non, mihi... ferrea vox**: the Sibyl concludes her account of the punishments in Tartarus with a flourish; these lines are repeated from *Geo.* 2.43-4, where they summarize Vergil’s praise of Maecenas—in sharp contrast to this context—and are based on Hom. *Il.* 2.488-9, cf. Enn. *Ann.* fr. 469-70 in Skutsch, fr. 547-8 in Warmington.

628-36. *The Sibyl and Aeneas now turn away from Tartarus, deposit the golden bough, and take the alternate path, toward Elysium.*

629. **carpe viam**: “seize the way,” i.e. quickly pursue your way (see 1.418 n.). Cf. 634 *corripunt*

- spatium medium*; 5.316. **susceptum perfice munus**: “complete the duty undertaken,” i.e. of bringing the golden bough as an offering to Proserpina (142).
- 630-1. **Cycloplum educta...moenia**: the entrance to Elysium was constructed (*educta*) by Vulcan and the Cyclopes in their forges. At this entrance (cf. 635-6 *aditum...adverso in limine*) Aeneas must deposit the golden bough.
633. **per opaca viarum**: a favorite periphrasis\* which throws the emphasis on the adjective (cf. 1.421-2 n.).
- 635-6. **occupat Aeneas aditum**: cf. 424. **corpusque recenti | spargit aqua**: a ceremony of purification on entering a sacred place or commencing a holy rite is usual.
- 637-78. *They proceed to the groves of the blessed, where the souls of the blessed, the great and good dwell. The Sibyl inquires where Anchises is to be found, and Musaeus offers to guide them.*
- 637 **His demum exactis**: “this done, then (but not before)”; cf. 154 n.
638. **virrecta**: “green places.” The word is coined by Vergil from *virere*, “to be verdant.”
639. **fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas**: Vergil’s Elysium is an extensive development of the concept found in Homer and Hesiod, both of whom speak of a place apart from mortal suffering, to which the heroes of Troy and Thebes were removed in lieu of death. Elysium is mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 4.561-8; Hes. *O.D.* 167-73; Pind. *Ol.* 2.56; Pl. *Phaedo* 114c; Hor. *Epode* 16; and Tibullus 1.3.57-66 with K. F. Smith (1913) *ad loc.*; for Orphic elements cf. Guthrie (1952). This idyllic place has much in common with the Golden Age, first described in Hes. *O.D.* 109-20 as a privileged place free from pain and sorrow, which reappears in Vergil’s Fourth *Ecl.* and *Geo.* 2.173-6. It appears again in *Aen.* 7, where Latinus proudly announces that the Latin people are the Golden Race, though in *Aen.* 8 Evander tells about the decline of this once-golden race. For further discussion, cf. Johnston (1980). Here Vergil’s Elysium combines *otium* and *negotium*: the inhabitants enjoy poetry and leisure, but they continue to appreciate war horses and chariots.
- 640-1. **largior...aether**: a “more generous aether” than in the rest of the underworld. **lumine...purpureo**: the phrase may be a descriptive ablative, describing the aether, “of dazzling light.” For the meaning of *purpureo*, cf. 1.591 n. **solemque solem, sua sidera norunt**: like the Isles of the Blessed, Elysium enjoys its own fine weather.
- 642-4. **pars...pars**: “some...others.”
644. **pedibus plaudunt choreas**: note the alliteration\*, mimicking the dance; *choreas* is cognate accusative.
645. **Threicius...sacerdos**: “the Thracian seer,” i.e. Orpheus, who was not merely a poet but also a prophet and the founder of the Orphic mysteries. Cf. 661-2. The “long robe” seems especially to have been worn by musicians. Cf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 215 *tibicen, traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem*; Ov. *Fasti* 6.596. The *locus classicus* for the story of Orpheus and Eurydice is Vergil, *Geo.* 4.453-527.
646. **obliquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum**: the “differences of seven sounds” (*septem discrimina* is cognate accusative) are the seven distinct notes of the ancient lyre’s seven strings, which Orpheus “utters as an accompaniment (*obloquitur*) to the rhythm” (*numeri*).
647. **digitis...pectine**: he played at times with his fingers (i.e. quietly), at times with his *plectrum* (i.e. loudly). The *pecten* or *plectrum* was held in the right hand.
- 648-50. First named of the blessed race of heroes are Teucer, traditional ancestor of the Trojans (cf. 3.108); in another legend, Dardanus was already in Troy when Teucer arrived (cf. 3.167).

Ilus was father of Laomedon and grandfather of Priam; Ilus' brother Assaracus was father of Capys and grandfather of Anchises.

651. **procul:** "some distance away." **inanis:** not "empty," but "unreal," "ghostly."

653-5. **quae gratia currum...:** "the same delight in chariots that (*quae...eadem*) was theirs in life, the same care to feed their glossy steeds" attends them now. The contracted genitive plural form (*currum* for *curruum*) is rare. Cf. Martial 2.5.3 *duo milia passum*. Some manuscripts give *curruum*, the final syllable being elided with *armorum*. **cura...pascere:** poetic use of the infinitive, showing purpose; cf. 2.10 n. and AG §460c. **repositos:** = *repositos*, "when buried."

657. **pacana:** Greek accusative modified by *laetum*.

658-9. **odoratum lauri nemus:** with one exception, ancient manuscripts read *lauri*, "fragrant grove of laurel"; Mynors and some other recent editors accept *lauris*, which is found in a fifth century manuscript and places the emphasis on the scent rather than on the trees. **unde superne...:** "from which source rolls the full flood of Eridanus through the forest into the upper world." Vergil identifies the Eridanus as the river Po (*Padus*).

662. **vates:** the word means "poets" or "seers," since the two skills were considered to be one and the same.

663-4. "And those who enriched life by the discovery of skills and who by their services caused some people to remember them." (*Sui* is objective genitive, governed by *memores*.) *Excoluere* suggests *cultus*, which is the Latin word for "civilization," all that tends to make life less savage and barbarous. A widely accepted belief at Rome, which is reflected in Vergil's works, was that of the third century Alexandrian writer, Euhemerus, who wrote that all the gods were once mortal and were made gods after their deaths because they had improved human existence through their skills and discoveries; cf. Johnston (1980) 65-72.

664. **aliquos:** some manuscripts and Hirtzel read *alios*, but the earlier reading is *aliquos*, adopted by Mynors.

665. **vitta:** the garland usually marks the sanctity of priests or poets; but note the *vittis cruentis* of Discordia in 281.

667. **Musaeum:** like Orpheus, Musaeus was a legendary poet and musician; cf. Pl. *Apol.* 41a, *Rep.* 363c, and Austin *ad loc.* (for more details).

668. **umeris exstantem:** Musaeus is much taller than any of the crowd surrounding him.

670 **illius ergo:** *ergo* here is an archaic preposition, governing the genitive (like *causa* or *gratia*); "because of him."

674. **riparumque toros:** the banks form couches which seem to have been designed for this purpose, "cushions of river-banks and meadows fresh with streams." Cf. 5.388 *viridante toro consederat herbae*.

675. **si fert ita corde voluntas:** "if the purpose in your heart is so inclined."

### 679-901: Elysium and Anchises

In the third and concluding section of the book, Aeneas finally reaches the shade of his father, Anchises, who first reveals how souls are regenerated and given new bodies according to the life they have lived on earth. He then proceeds to explain to his son the hope and glory of their descendants, whose shades he points out as they wait in the underworld to be born. Here, at last, the future will be revealed, in a parade of the great Roman heroes to come, even though Aeneas will not fully comprehend their significance. This development marks, for the

first time, the transition from Trojan to Roman, as Anchises describes the still-to-be-founded Roman state, which will impose law and order on a chaotic universe and culminate in the emperor Augustus (792).

Anchises' revelation represents the most detailed account of Aeneas' future in the epic. It also creates a strong contrast with Odysseus' experience in *Odyssey* 11. Homer's underworld reflects largely on the past and on what is in store for him on the homeward voyage. Aeneas, who has already completed that voyage, visits his father to learn not just the immediate future, but the destiny of the new nation his descendants will build.

The encounter with Anchises, like so much of book 6, is also enwrapped in mystery. Anchises' explanation of the regeneration of souls, taken by many as a kind of philosophical core of the epic, is a complex blend of Orphic, Pythagorean, Platonic, and Stoic ideas, although they do not fully mesh with the Parade of Heroes that follows. Moreover, the book ends with the startling appearance of the younger Marcellus (Augustus' nephew, son-in-law, and presumed heir, who died young in 23 BCE, see 860-92 n.), and Aeneas' controversial exit through the Gate of Sleep (893-901 n.). The issues raised by these episodes (and book 6 more generally) have been interpreted as interacting in various ways with the overall prophecy, and thus affect interpretations not only of this book, but indeed of the entire poem.

For overall discussions of this section, see Otis (1964) 299-301, Tarrant (1982), Gotoff (1985), Feeney (1986), Habinek (1989), Zetzl (1989), Goold (1992), and Braund (1997) 216-18.

679-702. *Aeneas and the Sibyl finally locate Anchises as he surveys the spirits destined to be reborn. Here the purpose of Aeneas' journey through the underworld is fulfilled, as father and son come face-to-face.*

679. **At pater Anchises:** *At* marks a major turning point in the narrative.

680. **animas superumque ad lumen ituras:** "souls destined to pass to the light above." Vergil later explains how they will do so.

681. **lustrabat studio recolens:** "was surveying them with eager contemplation."

683. **fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque:** observe the balance and alliteration\* of this line—*virum* (genitive plural = *eorum*) is framed by two pairs of alliterative nouns, the first pair (*fataque fortunasque*) being the implicit outcome of the second pair (*moresque manusque*, "their characters and their deeds").

686. **genis:** besides "cheeks," *genae* can also mean "eyelids" or simply "eyes," as here.

687-8. Anchises' welcoming words to his son reflect his long period of waiting but also his unwavering confidence in Aeneas' *pietas*, which has now *vicit iter durum* (688).

688-9. **tueri...audire...reddere:** substantive infinitives, the subjects of *datur*. This is the kind of interaction Aeneas laments not having with Venus, as she departs in 1.409.

690. "This is what I kept planning in my mind and what I kept thinking would happen."

692-3. **quas...terras et quanta per aequora vectum...quantis iactatum...periculis:** cf. 1.3-5 *multum ille et...iactatus et alto...multa quoque et bello passus*; 4.13-14 *heu, quibus ille | iactatus fatis!*

694. **ne quid...nocerent:** *quid* is cognate accusative with *nocerent*; "that the realms of Libya would do you some harm," i.e. Dido might induce you to stay in Africa.

696. **tendere adigit:** the infinitive is due to the sense of compulsion contained in *adigit*; cf. 567

*subigit...fateri*, and 1.9 n.

700-2. Repeated from 2.792-4, where Aeneas tries to embrace Creusa.

703-23. *Aeneas notices a large number of spirits along the banks of the river Lethe, and asks Anchises about them. Anchises says that they are souls waiting to be re-born, and that they have gathered to drink the waters of forgetfulness before they move to a new life. He then explains the relationship between the soul and the body.*

While the language recalls Lucretius' account of the Epicurean view of the destruction of the soul at death, the account itself is based on the Orphic and Pythagorean concepts of the purification and transmigration of souls, and their rebirth in other bodies, including in the bodies of Aeneas' descendants.

Orpheus (sixth century BCE) was said to have travelled to the underworld to recover his dead wife Eurydice but failed to bring her back (see Vergil, *Georgics* 4.315-527), and was torn apart by Maenads, followers of Dionysus (Bacchus). Orpheus was believed to be the author of a number of "gold leaves" found in Crete, Sicily and southern Italy which appeared to indicate that the dead person had been initiated into some kind of "mystic" cult (from Gr. *mystes*, "initiated"). Because he had been to the underworld, had spoken with Persephone (*Proserpina*) and returned, he was believed to have had the understanding to describe the underworld, the afterlife, and the origin of the gods. Pythagoras (sixth century BCE) is connected with two traditions, one religious—the transmigration of souls—and one scientific—among his important discoveries was the geometric theorem that still bears his name. His doctrine of the transmigration of souls led to a cult with periods of initiation, secret doctrines, passwords, special dietary restrictions and burial rites. Pythagoreans and adherents of Bacchic mystery cults adopted Orpheus as their figurehead. Plato and the later Neoplatonists discuss some of the Orphic/Pythagorean beliefs. Stoicism was a philosophical movement founded by Zeno of Citium in the third century BCE; divided into logic, physics and ethics, it was strongly influenced by Plato and Aristotle. Cf. 724-51 n.

On Anchises' speech, cf. Zetzel (1989); for the rebirth of souls, cf. Tarant (1982), Gotoff (1985), Feeney (1986), Habinek (1989).

704. **et virgulta sonantia silvae:** "the rustling thickets of a woodland," an elaboration of *seclusum nemus*.

707-8. **ac velut...variis:** "even as when in the meadows the bees on a clear summer day settle on multicolored flowers." For the simile\*, cf. 1.430-6, describing the Carthaginians building their city; cf. also Hom. *Il.* 2.87-9, where the Greeks hurrying to council are like bees, and Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.879-82, where the Lemnian women gather, like bees, around the departing Argonauts.

710. **horrescit:** Aeneas shudders with surprise at the sight.

711-12. **quae sint...quive viri...:** indirect questions after *causas requirit*. **porro:** "over there."

713. This is the first information given to Aeneas concerning the rebirth of souls, which is first alluded to in line 680. **quibus:** dative. **fato:** ablative.

715. **securos latices:** "waters that take away cares," and hence provide *longa oblivia*, "long-lasting forgetfulness"; cf. 1.749 *longumque bibebat amorem*.

716-17. **has (animas)...hanc prolem...:** the two clauses are connected by the emphatic repetition of *has* and *hanc* — "Of these truly...of this, the race of my children, have I long yearned to tell you."

718. **quo magis...laetere:** purpose clause.

719. **anne...putandum est:** “are we indeed to think ...?” (lit. “must it be thought?”).

721. **lucis:** “light (of life)”;

objective genitive, governed by *cupido*. **miseris:** dative of possession. Aeneas’ difficulty in understanding their longing for life reflects the sufferings and sadness that have dominated his own life.

723. **suscipit:** “he takes up” these questions, or “replies.”

724-51. *Anchises now explains what life is, and how it comes to pass that certain souls are restored to their original purity and then, after drinking of Lethe, are again allowed to animate mortal bodies.*

The theory that Anchises puts forward here is a blend of the Stoic doctrine of the *anima mundi* (726 n. 730 n.) with the doctrine of rebirth in Platonic and Orphic-Pythagorean beliefs (cf. Pl. *Rep.* 10.614, *Phadr.* 248, *Gorg.* 493; and Verg. *Geo.* 4.219-27). It regards “life as something possessing substance” (cf. 292 n.); this vital substance permeates the universe and is its source of life throughout; it is conceived of as analogous to air or fire (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.15 *ignis ille corporeus, vitalis et salutaris omnia conservat, alit, auget, sustinet sensusque afficit*). It is often identified with that fine and fiery element known as *aether*, which, being lighter than earth, flood, air, and fire, rises above them all to the highest place, and so becomes the source of life for celestial bodies.

United with this physical conception is an ethical one (derived from Plato, and adopted much later by the nineteenth century Romantic writers) that in humans the soul becomes infected by the body, and finally loses its earlier, divine property. Hence after death the soul must undergo purgation and purification, until all the taint is removed. Then, after drinking of the waters of Lethe (the river of forgetfulness), the soul may again experience rebirth. Interestingly, Vergil expresses these beliefs and explanations often with pointedly Lucretian diction and style (cf. 639 *sedes...beatas*; 724 *principio*; 759 *expediam dictis*), though Lucretius’ Epicurean epic (*De Rerum Natura*) had only scorn for the entire notion of an afterlife.

This section can be seen as the philosophical core of the epic—perhaps laying a basis for the Parade of Roman Heroes at 752-853. Some scholars, however, emphasize the contradictions between this passage (particularly with its Platonic and Orphic conception of the body’s contamination of the soul) and the Parade of Heroes, which emphasizes the greatness that souls will achieve when they have assumed human bodies. For the concept of the body as a prison of the soul (734 n.), cf. Pl. *Crat.* 400c; *Phd.* 66b. For further discussion of the passage, see Bailey (1935) 275, Guthrie (1952) 186; Otis (1964) 299-301, Solmsen (1968) 8-14, Tarrant (1982), Gotoff (1985), Feeney (1986), Habinek (1989), and Zetzel (1989).

724. **Principio:** “in the first place,” a Lucretian term for beginning the sequence of a philosophic argument. The argument continues: *inde* 728, *hinc* 733, *non tamen* 736, *ergo* 739. **campos...liquentis:** a periphrasis\* for bodies of water.

725. **Titaniaque astra:** “the Titan’s stars” signifies the Sun and the stars, which were the children of the Titan Hyperion; the Sun is frequently called *Titan*. Some editors, however, interpret the plural as a periphrasis\* for “the Sun” alone. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 374.

726. **spiritus...alit:** “a breath from within sustains.” According to the Stoic principle, the universe is material and is pervaded by a fiery *anima* from which the human soul is detached until after death, at which time the soul returns to its fiery element. This fiery *spiritus* is the warm air or ether that animates all living beings, the fiery principle that sustains life.



727. **mens...**: “mind (= Gr. *nous*) sets in motion the whole mass, and mingles with its mighty frame.”
728. **inde**: from this *spiritus* and *mens infusa* (726-7) come all living creatures.
730. **igneus**: “fiery is the force...” The nature of the *spiritus* or *mens* is the pure essence of fire; the particles of the divine fire are the *semina*, from each such “spark” or “seed” grows a separate human life. *Igneus* is the Stoic term to describe the *anima mundi*, the divine fire of the world soul and the source of life. **ollis**: = *illis* (*seminibus*), dative of possession. The archaic\* *ollis* emphasizes the solemnity of this account; cf. 321; 1.254 n.
731. **quantum non**: “to the extent that.” The seeds are in their nature and essence “fiery,” but this fiery nature can only exhibit itself to a limited extent because it is clogged and dulled by the body. **corpora noxia**: probably “guilty” or “harmful bodies.” Many manuscripts invert the order of these two words (thus *noxia corpora*), thereby enhancing the power of the guilty bodies in hindering the process.
733. **hinc**: from the union with material substance (i.e. with the the body). **metuunt... gaudentque**: Vergil describes the four passions (*perturbationes*) which disturb the calmness and clearness of the pure soul. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.6, Hor. *Epist.* 1.6.12. **auras**: the air above.
734. **clausae**: the souls (sc. *animae*) are imprisoned in darkness; the concept of the body as a tomb or prison for the soul is Orphic; cf. 724-51 n.
735. **supremo...lumine**: “on last day of life.”
736. **non tamen**: Vergil now turns to the doctrine of the purgation and transmigration of souls.
- 737-8. **penitus...inolescere**: many long-accumulated contagions (*multa diu concreta*) have of necessity become deeply engrained (*inolescere*, “grow into”), and have to be expunged.
- 739-42. **exercentur poenis...**: they are disciplined by three forms of punishment and purification—air (*ventos* 741), water (*gurgite vasto* 741), and fire (*igni* 742).
- 740-1. **panduntur...suspensae**: some souls (*animae*) are “hung up” and “spread wide” to the winds.
742. **infectum eluitur scelus**: “the guilty stain is washed out.” **exurituri igni**: the metaphor\* is from purging away the dross from gold so as to leave it pure.
743. **quisque suos patimur manis**: “each of us endures his own ghosts.” *Manis* in Vergil can refer to the collective spirits of the dead, to the place where they exist, or to the spirit of an individual. Here he extends the last of these meanings to include the purification process each must endure because of his or her past life. **exinde**: after this purification.
744. **pauci**: those “few” who need only minimal purification (like Anchises, Orpheus, Musaeus) do not need to be reborn (as do the souls that crowd the banks of the Lethe in 706), and so they stay in Elysium.
- 745-7. **donec longa dies....**: as the passage stands it must mean that, when the purgatorial cleansing above described is over, thereafter (*exinde*) the soul passes into Elysium and dwells there “until the passage of time, the cycle at last completed, has removed the ingrown corruption and (so) leaves pure the ethereal sense and breath of elemental fire.” **aurai simplicis ignem**: is a restatement of *aetherium sensum*. *Aurai* is an archaic\* genitive and is trisyllabic.
748. **has omnis...**: in contrast to those remaining in Elysium, those less fortunate crowd on the bank of the Lethe and will be reborn “when they have rolled the wheel (of time) for a thousand years.” The cycle is suggested by Pl. *Phdr.* 249a, *Rep.* 10.615a.

749-50. **Lethaeum...scilicet immemores:** “to Lethe’s stream...forgetting, you see.” *Scilicet* pointedly draws attention to the connection between *immemores* and *Lethaeum* (Lethe = river of forgetfulness). **supera...convexa:** “the heavenly vault,” cf. 241.

752-853. *Anchises and the Parade of Heroes*

Anchises, accompanied by Aeneas and the Sibyl, now ascends a mound and points out to Aeneas the souls of great Romans awaiting birth, who will build the glory of Rome: the Alban Kings and Romulus (760-87); the *gens Iulia*, and particularly Augustus (788-807), whose expansion of the Roman Empire will (implicitly) rival that of Alexander the Great; the early kings of Rome and early Republican leaders; Caesar and Pompey (826-35); and a series of other famous Romans. While the main narrative of the *Aeneid* consists of Aeneas’ wanderings and battles, this Parade of Heroes is an example of prolepsis\* (rhetorical anticipation) because it alludes to future events with respect to Aeneas’ time, which later writers such as Lucan and Silius Italicus will elaborate in separate epic poems. For this open-ended aspect of epic poetry, see Fowler (1989, 1997) and Hardie (1993, 1997b). The section ends with an epilogue that finally proclaims the special duty and responsibilities of Rome to the world.

753. **sonantem:** cf. 709 *strepit omnis murmure campus*.

755. **legere:** “to scan” or identify them as they approach.

756-8. **Nunc age:** Anchises begins to speak. **quae...qui...:** indirect questions dependent on *expediam* (759). **deinde:** “in the future.” **animas:** accusative, also dependent on *expediam*.

760. **pura...hasta:** Servius says that this is a headless (*pura*) spear formerly given to a warrior who has won his first victory (*qui tum primum vicisset in proelio*).

761. **proxima...lucis loca:** “the nearest place to the light”; hence he will be the first to ascend.

763-8. **Silvius:** the first figure in Vergil’s procession is Silvius (769), so-named from the site of his birth (*silvis* 765), the son of Aeneas by Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, king of Latium (*Italo commixtus sanguine*). Here we are told that he will found Alba Longa (on Mount Alba, 766), which is regularly connected by legend with Aeneas’ settlement in Italy. The name was thereafter borne by all the kings of Alba Longa (*Albanum nomen*). Silvius was succeeded by Aeneas Silvius (769), and later Capys and Procas, whose brother was Numitor, the father of Rhea Silvia (*Ilia mater* 778) and grandfather (*avo* 777) of Romulus and Remus.

763. **postuma:** not “born after the father’s death,” but as the next line shows, “late-born.”

768. **te nomine reddet:** “shall recall you by his name.” The final syllable of *Numitor* (768) is long.

769. **pariter:** the words recall the description of Aeneas (*Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis* 403) and mean “equally illustrious with you (either) for piety or valor,” or “whose fame for (either) piety or valor may be matched with yours.” *Vel* is thus separated from *pariter*, and is used naturally; *pariter* suggests that this second Aeneas is a counterpart of the first, not only in name but in nature.

770. **si umquam:** according to tradition he was kept out of his kingdom for 52 years. **regnandam:** an intransitive verb here used transitively, “to be governed.” Cf. 3.14 n.

772. **civili...quercu:** the *corona civica* (a crown of oak leaves), which was given to one who had saved the life of a citizen in war, and was assigned in 27 BCE as a perpetual honor for Augustus. (Cf. Ov. *Fasti* 1.614, *Trist.* 3.1.36.)

773-6. These are all early Latin towns near Rome (some of them deserted by Vergil’s time),

- which were members of the Latin League headed by Alba Longa. *Nomentum* is about 14 miles northeast of Rome; *Gabii* to the East. *Fidenae* (normally plural—the first syllable is long) is 5 miles to the northeast; for *urbem Fidenam*, cf. 5.52 n. *Collatia* (*Collatinus* is the adjective) is on the right bank of the Anio. *Pometii* is usually called Suessa Pometia and is in the territory of the Volsci to the south, as are *Cora* and *Bola*. *Castrum Inui* is to the south on the coast, near Ardea.
777. **avo comitem sese...addet**: Romulus is introduced with the suggestion that he will be born during the lifetime of his grandfather, Numitor. **Mavortius**: the adjective derived from *Mavors*, the archaic\* form of *Mars*, cf. 1.276 n.
778. **Ilia**: the Trojan name of Rhea Silvia, the Vestal Virgin who was the mother of Romulus and Remus (cf. 1.274 n.). For *Assaracus*, cf. 650.
- 779-80. **viden**: = *videsne*, with second syllable shortened; the phrase is colloquial, found more often in comedy than in epic, and serves to provide a more immediate, conversational tone between father and son. **geminae...cristae**: a cryptic allusion; Page interprets these twin crests as signifying reconciliation with Remus; others find in them a reference to Mars, but they clearly indicate that he has been marked as special by Jupiter (*pater ipse*). Romulus, who was actually worshipped as Quirinus, has already been marked out to become a god. Cf. 1.292 n. **superum**: genitive plural (cf. 1.4 n.).
781. **auspiciis**: i.e. the favorable omen of the twelve vultures which appeared to Romulus (only six appeared to Remus). Anchises minimizes this basic flaw in the story of the founding of Rome (as does Jupiter in 1.275-7), namely that Remus did see the birds first, and Romulus' right to name Rome after himself is secured only after he kills his brother. Cf. Livy 1.6. *Auspiciis* also suggests the fact that Romulus was always represented in augural dress, wearing a *trabea*, a short Etruscan garment, and holding a *lituus*. **incluta**: cf. 479-80 n.
782. Cf. Jupiter's prophecy at 1.287 *imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris*. Rome in her glory will extend her empire to the entire earth, her spirit to the heavens.
783. **septemque una sibi**: note the juxtaposition of *septem* and *una* (i.e. *Roma*), emphasizing how a multiplicity of entities will become one (cf. *e pluribus unum*, the motto of the United States). The line is almost a repetition of *Geo.* 2.535 *septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces*.
784. **Berecynthia mater**: Cybele, who was worshipped on Mt. Berecynthus in Phrygia, and was brought to Rome in 204 BCE. She is called *mater* through her identification with the earth and with Rhea, the wife of Cronus and mother of Zeus, and so is commonly called *Magna Mater* (the "Great Mother") and *Mater Deum* ("Mother of the Gods.") In 2.788 (see n.) Creusa becomes her servant; Anchises speaks of her lion-drawn chariot in 3.111-13; in 7.139 she is one of the deities Aeneas invokes on arrival at the site of Lavinium. In 9.82 she appeals to Jupiter to save the Trojan ships from burning, and in 10.234-5 she changes the Trojan ships into sea nymphs who go to summon Aeneas to assist Ascanius. Cf. also 9.619 and 10.252. Anchises here draws comparisons 1) between her mural crown (*turrita* 785; cf. *Lucr.* 2.606) and Rome's citadels surrounded by a wall, giving the effect of "a diadem of towers" (*muro circumdabit arces* 783), and 2) between the goddess "rejoicing in a brood of gods" (*laeta deum partu* 786) and Rome's similar pride in being "blessed with a race of heroes" (*felix prole virum* 784).
- 789-807. Anchises now points out Augustus, who appears out of chronological order, immediately after Romulus (the founder of Rome), making him the "second founder" of Rome. On this, cf. Norden *ad loc.*, Stahl (1998b), Williams *ad* 789, Grebe (2004).

789. **Caesar:** Augustus Caesar, not Julius Caesar, as is clear from 792 (cf. 1.286 n.). Julius Caesar was said to be a descendant of *Iulus* (an alternate name for Ascanius).
792. **divi genus:** “son of a god.” Julius Caesar, Augustus’ adoptive father and great-uncle (his mother, Atia, was Caesar’s niece), received divine honors after his death and was called *Divus*.
- 792-3. **aurea condet | saecula:** “who will again establish a Golden Age for Latium, amid the plough-lands where Saturnus once held sway.” Saturnus, the mythological equivalent of the Greek god Cronus, was the Roman god of sowing and the husband of Ops (“Wealth”). He presided over a golden age that was based in agriculture, the source of all wealth. After he was overthrown by his son, Saturnus is said to have brought his golden age to Latium, so-named because he was able to hide there safely (cf. 8.323 *his quoniam latuisset*)—thus extending the Greek version of Zeus’ defeat of Cronus, wherein Cronus was then cast into the underworld.
- In *Aen.* 7, Latinus tells Aeneas that the Latin people are the descendants of the race of Saturnus, a people who are spontaneously just, with no need of law (*neve ignorete Latinos | Saturni gentem haud vinclō nec legibus aequam, | sponte sua veterisque dei se more tenentem* 7.202-4), but in *Aen.* 8, Evander explains how the Golden Age was destroyed by the inferior race that succeeded it (*decolor aetas* 8.326), motivated as it was by war and greed (*belli rabies et amor...habendi* 8.327). (Compare the succession of Saturnus’ son, Jupiter, who ruled over the inferior Silver, Bronze, and Iron Ages, as well as the Age of Heroes in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 110-201.) Augustus will be the founder of a new Golden Age, which will also be characterized by the simplicity of the Golden Age enjoyed under Saturnus. Cf. Johnston (1980), Galinsky (1996).
794. **Garamantas et Indos:** the Garamantes (in modern Tripoli, in Libya), were the most southern African nation known (*extremi Garamantes Ecl.* 8.44), subdued in 19 BCE by L. Cornelius Balbus. India is said in the *Georgics* to lie at the farthest ends of the earth (*extremi sinus orbis Geo.* 2.123).
795. **iacet extra sidera tellus:** “Earth (over which he shall extend his sway) lies beyond the stars.” The sudden change of construction is dramatic: Anchises speaks as though he actually sees before him the land he is describing.
796. **extra...vias...:** the sun’s apparent annual path through the stars (the Ecliptic), and the Zodiac, a belt on each side of this imaginary line — beneath this belt, according to Vergil, lies a similar belt of earth, which is the world he knows, and the lands north and south of it are *extra sidera, extra anni solisque vias*. **caelifer Atlas:** Atlas is either a rebellious Titan condemned to support heaven, or Mt. Atlas in Mauretania, which is not unnaturally described as “heaven-supporting.” Cf. 4.246-51.
797. This line, based on Ennius, is repeated from 4.482 (see n.).
798. **huius in adventum:** “for (in expectation of) his coming.”
799. **responsis horrent:** the places themselves, and implicitly their inhabitants, “shiver at the oracles,” suggesting both a reaction to oracular response and the chill of the Caspian Sea and the Crimea.
800. **septemgemi...Nili:** a reference to the Nile’s delta; and hence an allusion to Augustus’ victory over Egypt at Actium. **trepida:** in contrast to *horrent* (799), an excited state of fear, the hot haste of panic, as well as the warmth of Egypt (cf. *Geo.* 1.296 *trepidi...aëni*, “a boiling caldron”).
- 801-5. Hercules and Bacchus are cited here as models for Augustus. They were deified because, in addition to being half-divine, they extended the boundaries of civilization and thus

improved the fate of the human race. Three of Hercules' labors are mentioned in this passage: the slaying (or, in some versions, abduction) of the "bronze-footed stag" (802), the capture of the boar on Mt. Erymanthus in Arcadia (802), and the destruction of the many-headed Hydra at Lerna in Argolis (803). The image of Bacchus driving a car drawn by tamed tigers from Mt. Nysa (804-5) represents the advance and triumph of civilization. Augustus, too, by extending the boundaries of the Roman state, will improve the lot of the mortal race. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.9-16, where Augustus is compared to Hercules, Bacchus, and Quirinus.

801 **Alcides:** i.e. Hercules; see 122-3 n.

804. **iuga flectit:** "guides his car."

805. **Liber:** Bacchus/Dionysus. **celso Nysae de vertice:** Bacchus is said to have been raised by nymphs at Mt. Nysa, which is located variously in India, Ethiopia, Arabia, or Asia.

806. **et dubitamus:** "and are we still (i.e. after contemplating the glory of Augustus) hesitating...?" Anchises concludes his prophecy with an exhortation based on the preceding *exempla*; now that he has seen the glorious vision, Aeneas should have no more doubts or hesitation. At the same time the use of the first person here suggests that Vergil is not so much thinking of Anchises and Aeneas as addressing an appeal with his own living voice to his fellow-Romans, raising the question whether Vergil, too, shares Anchises' imperialistic inclinations. **virtutem:** "manliness," "all that may become a man," "worth." The phrase *virtutem extendere factis* means "to develop one's *virtus* through one's deeds." Cf. Aristotle's statement in *Nic. Eth.* 1103-38 that virtue only exists when it is based in action, i.e. one cannot be virtuous when one is asleep.

809-12. **regis:** Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, was a native of the little town of *Cures* (811) in the Sabine territory; the Romans considered Numa the founder (*fundabit* 811) of their religious and legal institutions. Hence he is represented as a venerable priest "offering sacrifice" and "decked with boughs of olive," the symbol of peace. For the derivation of *Quirites* from *Cures*, cf. Austin *ad loc.*; Ogilvie (1965) on Livy 1.18.1. **primam...urbem:** "infant city." *Primam* may also be taken as a transferred epithet\* describing Numa.

814. **Tullus:** Tullus Hostilius, third king of Rome; tradition emphasizes his military exploits. For his destruction of Alba, see Livy 1.22-31.

815. **Ancus:** Ancus Martius, fourth king; conqueror of the Latins (cf. Livy 1.32-4).

816. **popularibus auris:** popular favor is compared to a breeze because of its fickle and treacherous nature.

817-19. The fifth and seventh kings were Etruscan—Priscus Tarquinius and L. Tarquinius Superbus. L. Tarquinius Superbus was banished in an uprising headed by L. Iunius Brutus (510 BCE), the avenger (*ultoris* 818) of the outrage inflicted by Superbus' son Sextus Tarquinius on Lucretia, the wife of T. Collatinus. Brutus recovered (cf. *receptos* 818) for the people the right of electing their own rulers, and he himself, along with T. Collatinus, were elected the first consuls (819). Cf. Livy 1.49-2.21.

817-18. **vis et...videre:** "Do you also want to see...?" **superbam:** the transference of the epithet\* of Tarquin (Tarquinius Superbus) to Brutus is striking; Vergil normally uses it in the negative sense of excessive pride (e.g. Turnus at 10.514, 12.326; Mezentius at 11.15, etc.), but not always (e.g. Priam at 2.556). Here the adjective may suggest an ambivalent attitude toward the man who overthrew the tyrant but who also had his own sons executed (820-1). On Vergil's attitude toward Brutus the assassin, cf. Galinsky (2006) and Johnston (2006). **fascis:** twelve lictors preceded the kings carrying *fascēs* (a bundle of rods) and an axe as the

token of their power to inflict scourging and death. Later the axe was only carried with the *fascēs* when the consul was at the head of an army in the field.

820. **natosque pater:** juxtaposition for emphasis. The sons of Brutus plotted to bring back the Tarquins (cf. Livy 2.4), and consequently the father had to condemn his own sons to death *pulchra pro libertate* (821).
822. **utcumque ferent...:** the simplest way to interpret these lines is to connect *infelix* not with what precedes, but with what follows (as Augustine did, *Civ. Dei* 3.16) — “unhappy, however posterity will extol (*ferent = ferent laudibus*) that deed.” Then after this parenthetical tribute to the father’s grief the poet returns to the patriot’s devotion (*vincet amor patriae* 823).
824. **Decios:** P. Decius Mus was the name of two plebeian consuls, father and son, who solemnly devoted themselves to death in battle, the father (340 BCE, Livy 8.9) in a war against the Latins, the son (295 BCE, Livy 10.28) in the battle of Sentinum against the Gauls. **Drusos:** M. Livius Drusus Salinator was consul with C. Claudius Nero and defeated Hasdrubal (brother of Hannibal) at the river Metaurus (207 BCE). The Drusi were one of the most famous families at Rome (its members included Augustus’ wife, Livia Drusilla). See Feeney (1986) on the “riddles” involved in the family plurals throughout the passage.
825. **Torquatium:** T. Manlius Imperiosus was called “Torquatus” after he slew a gigantic Gaul (361 BCE) and took the chain (*torques*) he wore round his neck (Livy 7.10). When consul (340 BCE), he put his own son to death (cf. *saevum... securi* 824) for engaging in combat with the enemy contrary to orders (Livy 7.8).

**Camillum:** according to Livy (5.48-50), M. Furius Camillus recovered the gold paid to the Gauls to ensure their withdrawal from Rome in 390 BCE. Vergil modifies the story so that Camillus recovers not the gold but the Roman standards (*signa*). Vergil’s modification may reflect the recovery—or the anticipation of the recovery—of the standards from the Parthians, achieved in 20 BCE. The loss of these standards to the Parthians when they defeated Crassus in 53 BCE had been a major trauma in Vergil’s time. See Augustus, *Res Gestae* 1.29; Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.51, 1.12.53, etc.

826. **illae...animae:** Caesar and Pompey. Pompey (*gener* 831) married Julia, the daughter of Caesar (*socer* 830) who died in 54 BCE. In 49 BCE, civil war broke out between the two men, and Pompey was defeated at Pharsalus in the following year. **paribus...in armis:** i.e. both in Roman arms, indicating civil war; cf. Lucan 1.6 *obvia signis | signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis*. **fulgere:** second syllable is short, unusual for a second conjugation infinitive; cf. 4.409.
830. The legions with which Caesar crushed Pompey were those which had served with him in Gaul (58-50 BCE). The Alps and promontory of Monaco (*arx Menoeci*) formed the “rampart” or “barrier” of Gaul in the North, from which Caesar invaded Italy.
831. **adversis instructus Eois:** lit. “equipped with opposing Eastern (forces).” Pompey was associated with the East, because of his Mithridatic campaign (66 BCE) and his settlement of Judaea and Syria (63 BCE), but his forces were mainly gathered from Greece. Vergil presents the conflict between Pompey and Julius Caesar as a clash between East and West.
833. The alliteration\* of the repeated *v* expresses violence.
835. **sanguis meus:** nominative for vocative. The *gens Iulia* claimed descent from Iulus the grandson of Anchises (cf. 1.267-8 n.). This is the first time Anchises addresses the ghosts, with special attention to his descendant. This and line 94 are the only incomplete lines (cf. 1.534 n.) in this book.

- 836-7. **ille...victor**: deictic, “that hero over there”; L. Mummius, surnamed Achaicus (*caesis insignis Achivis* 837), who destroyed Corinth in 146 BCE. **triumphata...Corintho**: *Corinthus* is feminine, “when Corinth has been defeated.”
- 838-40. **ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae**: Aemilius Paullus, who in 168 BCE at the battle of Pydna defeated Perseus, the last king of Epirus (Macedonia). *Argos* and *Mycenae* refer more generally to Greece, thus implying that the victory over Perseus served as retribution for the destruction of Troy. **Aeaciden**: i.e. Perseus, who claimed descent from Achilles, grandson of *Aeacus*. **templa et temerata Minervae**: the temple was violated by Ajax son of Oileus. Cf. 1.41 n.
841. **magne Cato**: M. Porcius Cato “the Censor,” who died 149 BCE at age 85; he was famous for his bellicosity toward Carthage. **tacitum**: in passive sense, “untold,” “unsung.” **Cosse**: Cornelius Cossus slew Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, and won the *spolia opima* (854-9 n.) in 428 BCE.
842. **Gracchi genus**: the two most famous Gracchi were the great *tribuni plebis* — Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, whose death by an aristocratic mob in 133 BCE marked the beginnings of the civil unrest that culminated in the fall of the Republic a century later, and his brother Gaius who was similarly killed a decade later (121 BCE). Vergil may also be thinking of their father, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, consul 177 BCE, as well as an earlier Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, twice consul (215, 212 BCE) during the Second Punic War.
- duo fulmina belli**: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major defeated Hannibal at Zama (202 BCE) during the Second Punic War; his adopted son P. C. Scipio Africanus Minor (son of Aemilius Paullus) destroyed Carthage (146 BCE) in the Third Punic War. Cicero (*Balb.* 34) speaks of two Scipios as *fulmina nostri imperii*, and Lucr. 3.1034 has *Scipiades, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror*, both allusions suggesting a play on the root meaning of the family name, *scipio*, “staff,” “support,” “prop.”
843. **parvoque potentem**: “powerful with little.” The contrast is between the greatness of Fabricius’ public services and the smallness of his private means. Fabricius and Serranus are types of the old Roman generals, who left the ploughshare to lead an army and then returned to it again. Cf. 844 n.
844. **Fabricium**: C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul 282 and 278 BCE, in the war against Pyrrhus was famous for the stern simplicity of his life and the firmness with which he refused the bribes of Pyrrhus. **Serrane**: C. Atilius Regulus Serranus, consul 257 BCE, defeated the Carthaginians off the Liparaean Islands, just off NE Sicily. Vergil here gives what was no doubt the popular etymology\* of his name Serranus, namely that he was found *sowing* (*sero*) when summoned to be consul. On coins the name is found as *Saranus*, and it is generally connected with Saranus, a town in Umbria.
845. **quo...** Anchises’ question serves as a device for cutting short a list that is growing tedious. A long array of heroes of the great Fabian *gens* is supposed to claim the poet’s attention, but the poet is “weary” and selects only him who was “the Greatest.” **Maximus**: Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator (“the Delayer”) was appointed dictator after the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene (217 BCE), and wore out Hannibal by “delaying” and by continually hampering his movements while avoiding a pitched battle (cf. Livy 22.9, 48 and *passim*).
846. This line is based on Ennius’ often quoted *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* (*Ann.* fr. 363 in Skutsch, fr. 360 in Warmington).
- 847-53. These seven lines, comprising the epilogue to Anchises’ prophecy, convey Vergil’s notion of Greco-Roman civilization, beginning with four lines summarizing Greek

- accomplishments, and three climactic lines conveying the spirit of the *Pax Romana*. The formal structure is a list, known as a priamel, in which there is an opening statement listing what others (*alii...*) (here, the Greeks) will accomplish (*excudent...ducent...orabunt...describent...dicent*, 847-50), followed by a contrasting statement of what, in this case, the Romans will accomplish (*tu...*).
847. **excudent**: “will beat out.” **alii**: clearly refers to the Greeks. **mollius**: the word indicates that the lines of the statue are soft, flowing, smooth, and natural; the opposite is *durius* (cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.22 *quid fusum durius esset*), which describes what is hard, stiff, unnatural.
848. **credo equidem**: the words have a concessive force; the concession is, however, only made in order to bring out more forcibly by contrast the claim that follows in 851-3. **ducent**: *ducere* is generally used of modeling any ductile material, such as clay, but here has the sense of “bringing out” the lineaments of the face from marble.
849. **caeli...meatus**: the movements of the heavenly bodies.
850. **radio**: the rod used for drawing astronomical or geometrical diagrams on sand, cf. *Ecl.* 3.41.
- 851-3. “Remember, O Roman, to govern the nations with your command—these shall be *your* arts—to impose civilization (*morem*) on peace (*paci*).” In these famous lines, the mission of Rome is clearly stated: to tame the proud and establish civilization through an orderly, just government.
852. **hae...artes**: parenthetical; the “arts” of government are opposed to the arts of sculpture, oratory, etc. **pacique**: some editors, including Hirtzel, based on a misreading of Servius, instead read *pacisque* (“the custom of peace”), which has no manuscript authority. Consequently this edition has *pacique*, which is consistent with Mynors’ edition. For the dative with *imponere*, cf. 2.619. For the singular of *mos* in the sense of *mores*, cf. 8.316 *quis neque mos neque cultus erat*.
853. **parcere**: cf. Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 51-2, where Augustus is described as *bellante prior, iacentem | lenis in hostem*.
- 854-9. *Anchises points out one more hero, M. Claudius Marcellus.*
- M. Claudius Marcellus was consul five times; in his first consulship (222 BCE) he slew the leader of the Insubrian Gauls, and so won the *spolia opima*, which were the spoils taken when the Roman general slew the enemy’s general (*quae dux duci detraxit* Livy 4.20), and which according to tradition were only won three times—once by Romulus, once by Cossus (841 n.), and for the last time by Marcellus.
- 857-8. **hic rem Romanam...sistet**: “this man will cause the Roman state to stand firm (*sistet*) when a great upheaval shakes it; his steed will trample (*sternet*)...” *Tumulus* is specially used of a war *within* Italy or an uprising of the Gauls. **sistet...sternet**: antithesis\*, emphasized by assonance\*.
859. **Quirino**: normally the spoils (cf. 854-9 n.) were dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, but Vergil follows a tradition wherein the spoils were instead dedicated to the deified Romulus (*Quirinus*), who is linked with Jupiter and was the builder of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.
- 860-92. *Aeneas now draws his father’s attention to a pale young man—Marcellus, the son of Augustus’ sister, Octavia, and of C. Marcellus.*
- In 25 BCE Augustus gave Marcellus to his only child, Julia, in marriage, and promoted his brief political career. Marcellus, however, died in 23 BCE, at the age of 19. His death was a



- great blow to Augustus and his family. For Vergil's contemporary audience—and especially for Augustus and Octavia—this delicate eulogy is a very personal and a painful moment (see 882-3 n.). The Theatre of Marcellus in Rome was dedicated in his memory. Why Vergil should end Anchises' revelation of the greatness of Rome on such a note of sorrow has long intrigued his readers. Cf. Brenk (1986), O'Hara (1990) 167-70, and Reed (2001).
- 860-2. The construction is "and at this point Aeneas (said), for he saw a youth walking beside him (*una*, adverb, "together" with M. Claudius Marcellus)..., but his (the youth's) brow (was) very sad..."
865. **instar**: the word is rarely used without a genitive and rarely with a modifier; here it means something like "presence," "bearing," "promise."
866. **sed nox atra**: the line describes night as hovering round him in a ghostly manner and already casting over his bright and youthful form the shadow of the grave.
869. **tantum**: adverb, "only." Fate will "only allow a glimpse" of him, nothing more.
- 870-1. "It seemed to you (*vobis...visa*, supply *est*), O gods, that the Roman race would be too great, if such gifts had been permanent (*propria*)." A mixed condition, with the implied future tense of the apodosis overwhelmed by the contrary-to-fact protasis (*si...fuissent*).
- 872-3. **ille...campus**: in connection with "the city of Mavors," "that Field" (personified) is obviously the Campus Martius. **virum**: genitive plural, cf. 1.4 n. **aget**: "will make."
- 873-4. **quae...funera**: Marcellus was buried with unusual ceremony in the mausoleum which Augustus had erected five years earlier (*tumulum...recentem*) in the Campus Martius for his family.
876. **in tantum spe tollet**: "raise (our Latin descendants) so high in hope." **quondam**: "one day," "in the future"; cf. the similar use of *olim* at 1.289 n., 3.541.
878. **prisca fides**: "ancient honor"; *priscus* suggests the goodness of "old-fashioned" ways. **invicta**: "invincible"; Marcellus did participate in the Cantabrian campaign in 26 BCE.
- 882-3. **heu, miserande puer...rumpas**: the heroes of the Roman race have just passed in review before the vision of Aeneas and of Vergil's spellbound audience. The poet now concludes by focusing his skills upon the last figure. **tu Marcellus eris**: these words fall from Anchises' lips in slow, measured, and almost ghostly accents. It was reported that the mother of Marcellus fainted as Vergil read these words (cf. Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 32). The mention of the name of Marcellus is reserved until the end of the sentence in 883, giving these three simple words their full force.
- 883-4. **manibus...flores**: "let me scatter lilies, bright (*purpureas*) flowers, with full hands..."
887. **aëris in campis latis**: "in wide fields of air." Since Elysium is set in the underworld, Page attempts to associate this *aer* with the "mist" in Homer, *Odyssey* 20.64. Austin (*ad loc.*) rejects this notion, and instead, citing Norden, suggests the influence of such theories as that in "Plutarch's cosmological myth *de facie in orbe lunae visa* in which (943c) the soul after separation from the body is represented as wandering in the region between the earth and the moon," and then rises to the Elysian Plain, on the upper part of the moon.
892. **quo...modo fugiatque feratque**: indirect questions.
- 893-901. *Departure from the Gates of Sleep.*
- The Gates of Sleep are a sudden break in the narrative. Just as Aeneas and the Sibyl entered the underworld aided by the golden bough, so now they depart mysteriously through twin (*geminæ* 893) Gates of Sleep. One Gate is of horn (*cornea* 894), the other of ivory (*candenti...*

*elephanto* 895), recalling Homer, *Odyssey* 19.562, where Penelope describes the gates of dreams. True dreams (*veris...umbris* 894) come through the gate of horn (*cornea*), while that of ivory (*candenti elephanto* 895) is for false dreams (*falsa...insomnia* 896) (cf. Plato, *Charmides* 173a, Horace, *Odes* 3.27.39).

The departure of Aeneas and the Sibyl through the Ivory Gate (*porta eburna* 898) imply that they are “false dreams,” but the significance of this detail has proved difficult to interpret. Earlier critics had tried to explain the problem in various ways: Norden interprets this as meaning that Aeneas and the Sibyl left the underworld before midnight, since “true dreams” appeared only after midnight. Austin suggests that they are not “true shades” so they cannot exit through the gate of horn. More recently, scholars have focused on the broader significance of the Gates of Sleep. For Tarrant their departure reflects the imperfection of man’s corporeal state, while Gotoff argues that this fulfills the dramatic need for Aeneas not to remember his experiences in the underworld during the second half of the epic (indeed, there is no indication in Books 7-12 that he does); cf. Horsfall (1995) 146. Others would emend the text (e.g. Kraggerud would eliminate line 896 altogether). In any case, there is some irony in the fact that the entire preceding Parade of Heroes was meant to inspire Aeneas, and yet his experiences in the underworld ultimately become associated with *falsa...insomnia*.

For further discussion see R.D. Williams (1964) 48; Thornton (1976) 61; Clark (1979) 224; Tarrant (1982) 51-5; Gotoff (1985); West (1987) 224-38; Habinek (1989) 253-4; O’Hara (1990) 170-2; Brenk (1992) 277-94; and Kraggerud (2002).

897-8. **his...dictis...porta...eburna:** “with these words then, Anchises escorts his son...and sends him forth by the ivory gate.”

899. **viam secat:** the verb suggests that Aeneas is cutting his way through a dense forest to reach the ships.

900. **recto...litore:** Hirtzel, Page, and Williams retain this older manuscript reading, “straight along the shore.” Mynors, Austin, *et al.* accept the more recent manuscript reading *recto...limite*, thus avoiding the repetition of *litore* in 901.

901. **ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes:** a repetition of 3.277 indicating there that the Trojans have landed at Actium; here it indicates they have landed at Caieta. The phrase also recalls the landing at Cumae at the beginning of the book.

## Appendix: Vergil's Meter<sup>1</sup>

Dactylic hexameter was the meter of Homer and later Greek epic. Once it was adopted by the influential Latin poet Ennius in his *Annales* (second century BCE),<sup>2</sup> it became the meter of Roman epic as well. As the name indicates, “dactylic hexameter” literally describes a line that contains six (Gr. *hex*) measures or feet (Gr. *metra*) that are dactylic (– ∪).<sup>3</sup> In actual practice, however, spondees (– –) could substitute for dactyls within the first four feet,<sup>4</sup> and the line's ending was largely regularized as – ∪ / – ×. The Latin dactylic hexameter can thus be notated as follows:

– ∪ / – ∪ / – ∪ / – ∪ / – ×

(Here, “/” separates metrical feet; “–” = a long syllable; “∪” = a short syllable; and “×” = an *anceps* (“undecided”) syllable, one that is either long or short.)

Very rarely a spondee is used in the fifth foot, in which case the line is called “spondaic.”

The basic rhythm of the dactylic hexameter can be felt in the following line from the opening of Longfellow's *Evangeline*:

“This is the /fórest prim/éval, the /múrmuring /woóds and the /hémlock.”

búm-ba-ba /búm-ba-ba /búm-ba-ba /búm-ba-ba /búm-ba-ba /búm-bum/

[1<sup>st</sup> foot    2<sup>nd</sup> foot    3<sup>rd</sup> foot    4<sup>th</sup> foot    5<sup>th</sup> foot    6<sup>th</sup> foot]

- 
- 1 For more on Vergil's meter, see Jackson Knight (1944) 232-42, Duckworth (1969) 46-62, Nussbaum (1986), and Ross (2007) 143-52.
  - 2 The earliest Latin epics by Livius Andronicus and Naevius were composed in Saturnian verse, a meter that is not fully understood.
  - 3 The word “dactyl” comes from the Greek word *dactylos*, “finger.” A metrical dactyl with its long and two short syllables resembles the structure of a finger: the bone from the main knuckle to the first joint is longer than the two bones leading to the fingertip.
  - 4 More technically the two short syllables of a dactyl are “contracted” into one long, and a spondee is formed.

Here five dactyls (búm-ba-ba) are followed by a final disyllabic foot. These metrical units (as with English verse more generally) are created through the use of natural word stress to create patterns of stressed and unstressed syllables. Thus a dactyl in English poetry is a stressed syllable followed by two unstressed syllables (e.g. “This is the” and “múrmuring”). In Classical Latin meter, however, metrical feet are based not on word *stress* but on the *quantity* of individual syllables (i.e. whether they are long or short). Thus, in Latin a dactyl contains one long syllable followed by two short ones (– ∪).

To *scan* a line (i.e. to identify a line’s rhythm and meter), long and short syllables must be identified. A syllable can be *long* in two ways: *by nature*, if it contains a vowel that is inherently long or is a diphthong;<sup>5</sup> or *by position*, if it contains a naturally short vowel followed either by a double consonant (x or z) or, in most cases, by two consonants, even if one or both consonants are in the next word.<sup>6</sup> In general, all other syllables are *short*.<sup>7</sup> If, however, a word ending in a vowel, diphthong, or *-m* is followed by a word that begins with a vowel, diphthong, or vowel + *h*, the first vowel or diphthong is *elided* (cf. *laeti* in 1.35 below; elided syllables are enclosed in parentheses in the examples below). As a result the two syllables merge and are scanned as one – a phenomenon called *elision*. *Elision* occurs frequently in Vergil.<sup>8</sup>

By applying these rules, we may scan hexameter lines as follows:

mūltā sū/pēr Priā/mō rōgī/tāns, sūpēr / Hēctōrē / mūltā (Aen. 1.750)

prōtrāhit / īn mēdi/ōs; quāē / sīnt ěă / nūmīnă / dīvūm (Aen. 2.123)

vēlă dă/bānt laē/t(i) ēt spū/mās sālīs / aerē rū/ēbānt (Aen. 1.35)

5 One can determine if a vowel is long by nature by looking the word up in a dictionary to see if it has a macron over it or by checking inflected endings in a grammar (for example, some endings, like the first and second declension ablative singular (-a, -o), are always long; others, like the second declension nominative neuter plural (-a), are always short).

6 An exception to this general rule: if a short vowel is followed by a mute consonant (b, c, d, g, p, t) and a liquid (l or r), the resulting syllable can be either short or long. Cf. 2.663 where *patris* and *patrem* are short and long respectively: *natum ante ora pātris, pātre[m] qui obtruncat ad aras*. It should also be noted that *h* is a breathing, not a consonant; it therefore does not help make a vowel long by position.

7 However, at times a short syllable is lengthened in *arsis* (see Glossary).

8 Sometimes, however, a final vowel is left unelided in what is called *hiatus* (see Glossary).

A long syllable generally takes twice as long to pronounce as a short, and the first syllable of each foot receives a special metrical emphasis known as the *ictus* (see discussion below).

The flow of a line is affected not only by its rhythm but also by the placement of word breaks. A word break between metrical feet is called a *diaeresis*:<sup>9</sup>

ēt iācīt. / ārrēc/taē mēn/tēs stūpě/fāctāquē / cōrdā (Aen. 5.643)

Here, *diaereses* (plural) occurs after *iacit* and after *stupefactaque*<sup>10</sup> (note how the former helps reinforce the syntactic pause after *iacit*). A word break *within* a metrical foot is called a *caesura*. When a caesura falls after the first syllable of a foot, it is called “strong” (as after the first *super* in 1.750 above); if it falls after the second syllable in a dactylic foot, it is called “weak” (as after the first *multa* in 1.750). The most important caesura in any given line often coincides with a sense break and is called the *main* or *principal caesura*.<sup>11</sup> It most frequently falls in the third foot, but also occurs not uncommonly in the second or fourth (or sometimes both). Although word breaks are important mainly because they affect the interplay between *ictus* and word accent (see below), the slight pause implied in the *main caesura* may also be seen to shape the movement of each verse by breaking it into two (or more) parts. Here are the first seven lines of the *Aeneid*, scanned and with the *main caesurae* marked (“||”):

ārmā vī/rūmqūē cā/nō, || Trō/iaē quī / p̄rīmūs āb / ōrīs  
 Ītālī/ām fā/tō p̄rōfū/gūs || Lā/vīniāquē / vēnīt  
 lītōrā, / mūlt(um) ill(e) / ēt tēr/rīs || iāc/tātūs ēt / āltō  
 vī sūpě/rūm, || s̄aē/vāē mēmō/rēm Iū/nōnīs ōb / irām,  
 mūltā quō/qu(e) ēt bēl/lō pās/sūs, || dūm / cōndērēt / ūrbēm  
 infēr/rētquē dē/ōs Lātī/ō, || gēnūs / ūndē Lā/tīnūm  
 Ālbā/nīquē pa/trēs || āt/qu(e) āltāē / mōēniā / Rōmāē.

9 When a *diaeresis* occurs just before the fifth foot, it is often called a *bucolic diaeresis* because this type of diaeresis was used frequently in pastoral poetry: e.g. *nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, || lentus in umbra* (Vergil, *Eclagues* 1.4).

10 In the combinations *qu, gu, su* (e.g. *-que, sanguis, suesco*), note that the *u* is consonantal but that the combinations themselves count as a single consonant for the purposes of scansion.

11 Readers may differ on where (or even if) there is a main caesura in a given line.

(Note that in line 2, *Laviniaque* is pronounced as four (not five) syllables, as if the second *i* were a consonant.)

In addition to metrical length, words also have a natural accent,<sup>12</sup> which may coincide or clash with the metrical stress (*ictus*) that falls on the first syllable of each foot. Coincidence of word accent and metrical stress produces fluidity in the verse; clashing of word accent and metrical stress creates tension. For example:

+     +     /     +     /     /  
**īnfān**/dūm, rē/**gīn**ă, **iū**/bēs rēnō/**vār**ē dō/**lōr**ēm     (*Aen.* 2.3)

(Naturally accented syllables are in boldface; “/” = ictus that coincides with word accent; “+” = ictus that clashes with word accent.)

In this line, there are several clashes in the first four feet (wherein the word accent generally does not coincide with the verse accent, *ictus*) but coincidence in the final two.<sup>13</sup> In creating clashes, the placement of *strong caesurae* is particularly important. For example, “if a word of two or more syllables ends after the first long of a foot (that is, producing a strong caesura), there will be a clash between accent and ictus in that foot,” because the final syllable of such words is not accented.<sup>14</sup> The *strong caesurae* in 2.3 (above) after *infandum* and *iubes* display this principle well.

The metrical features sketched above were masterfully employed by Vergil, and, in the *Aeneid*, the Latin hexameter reached the height of greatness. While there are many elements that contribute to the grandeur of Vergil’s use of meter, two are of particular significance.

First, Vergil managed the sequence of clash and coincidence of word accent and verse ictus in such a way as to achieve a rhythmically varied and pleasing line. In general we find that Vergilian hexameters are characterized by the clash of ictus and word accent in the first four feet and

12 Disyllabic words have their accent on their initial syllable: *cāris*, *dābant*, *mōlis*. If, however, words are three syllables or longer, the word accent falls: on the penultima (second to last syllable), if it is long (*ruēbant*, *iactātos*) but on the antepenultima (the syllable preceding the penultima), if the penultima is short (*gēntibus*, *māria*, *pōpulum*).

13 Classical Latin speakers would presumably have pronounced the word accents in reading lines, while still maintaining the basic rhythm of hexameter. Otherwise, the ictus would have transformed the basic sound of the word.

14 Ross (2007) 146. For word accentuation, see n. 12 (above).

by the coincidence of ictus and word accent in the last two feet.<sup>15</sup> A pleasing resolution of stress thereby results at line end. For example:

/        +        +        +        /        /  
**Saēpē fūgām Dānāi Trōiā cūpiērē rēlictā**        (2.108)

/        +        +        +        /        /  
**Hic āliūd māiūs mīsērīs mūltōquē trēmēndūm**        (2.199)

By employing such dynamic interplay between *ictus* and word accent, Vergil ensures that successive verses will sound and “feel” somewhat different, and he thereby avoids the potential monotony of the dactylic rhythm (búm-ba-ba) when *ictus* and word accent coincide. Vergil’s rhythmic innovation constituted an advance over his predecessors, such as Ennius, who could write:

/        /        /        /        /        /  
**sparsis/ hastis/ longis/ campus/ splendet et/ horret**

This verse exhibits a coincidence of *ictus* and word accent throughout the entire line.

Second, Vergil looked beyond the individual hexameter as a compositional unit.<sup>16</sup> The dactylic hexameter suggests a natural pause at line end, and it was understandable for poets to complete the expression of a thought by the end of a verse (i.e. “end-stopped” verses\*). For example, consider the following passage from Ariadne’s soliloquy in poem 64 of Catullus, one of Vergil’s most important Latin predecessors:

nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat,  
 nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles;  
 quis dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci,  
 nil metuunt iurare, nihil promittere parcent:  
 sed simul ac cupidae mentis satiata libido est,  
 dicta nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant.

(Cat. 64.143-8)

15 Vergil sometimes avoids such resolution for special effect, though he does so rarely. For example, in the following line, a clash between ictus and word accent occurs in the final foot: *sternitur/ exani/misque tre/mens pro/cumbit hu/mi bos* (5.481).

16 The hexameters of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* function much more frequently than those of the *Aeneid* as individual units of thought.

Here, each individual hexameter forms a unit for the expression of a thought. This is not to claim that Catullus' lines (or those of Vergil's other predecessors) are all end-stopped in this way, nor that Vergil did not compose such lines. Nonetheless, in the *Aeneid* he displayed a stronger tendency to express ideas beyond the confines of the single hexameter. Enjambment\* (the continuation of the sense or a syntactic unit from one line to the next), for example, takes on an increased importance, and this is related to Vergil's characteristically paragraphic or periodic style<sup>1</sup> – one that develops ideas over several lines, and has the effect of moving the reader through the narrative at a more dynamic pace. The opening of the poem is an excellent example (1.1-7):

ARMA virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris  
 Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit  
 litora—multum ille et terris iactatus et alto  
 vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,  
 multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem  
 inferretque deos Latio—genus unde Latinum  
 Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

Here Vergil uses enjambment\*, a variety of sense pauses (*caesurae* and *diaereses*, see above), as well as other stylistic features such as polysyndeton\*, alliteration\*, and assonance\* to create one sentence that reads like a paragraph. What results is a forceful, metrically varied, and memorable introduction to the epic.

In the *Aeneid*, the Latin hexameter attained a state of refinement that would influence all subsequent poets. Vergil's metrical skill is a fundamental part of his artistry, an aspect of the *Aeneid* that only readers of Vergil in Latin can fully appreciate.

---

1 See, e.g., the discussion in Gransden (1976) 45.



## Glossary

Vergil's skillful use of language is a defining element of his artistry. He often employs rhetorical figures and stylistic devices to reinforce the content of his poetry. Careful attention should therefore be paid both to what Vergil says *and* to how he says it. The following list defines many of the terms (primarily rhetorical, stylistic, and metrical) that are encountered in studying Vergil and that are used in the commentary. For more information on the terms, see Lanham (1991), Brogan (1994), and Lausberg (1998). Fuller information on Vergilian style can be found in Jackson Knight (1944) 225-341, Camps (1969) 60-74, O'Hara (1997), and Conte (2007) 58-122. Stylistic analyses of Vergilian passages are presented in Horsfall (1995) 237-48 and Hardie (1998) 102-14.

*NB: all line references are to the Aeneid unless otherwise noted.*

**Aetiology** (Gr. "investigation of causes"): the study of the origin or cause of a name, event, custom, ritual, etc. Explanations of how something came into being are important elements of Hellenistic poetry, represented most significantly by Callimachus' influential *Aetia* (*Causes* or *Origins*), and thus *aetiology* became an important component of Latin poetry as well. The interest in *aetiology* can be seen in numerous passages in the *Aeneid*: e.g. the explanation of the origin of the enmity between Rome and Carthage (4.615-29 n.) or of the *lusus Troiae* (5.545-603 n.). *Aetiology* is also an important component of numerous wordplays through the epic, see O'Hara (1996).

**Alliteration**: the repetition of a letter or sound in neighboring words, though the term today is most often used of the repetition of initial consonants. (For the repetition of vowel sounds, see *assonance*; of consonants more generally, see *consonance*.) *Alliteration* is frequent in Vergil and employed for a variety of purposes: e.g. to emphasize words, to suggest connections between words, to create effects such as *onomatopoeia* and *paronomasia*, or simply to please the ear. Some examples: *cavum conversa cuspide* (1.81, of Aeolus striking a mountain), *magno misceri murmure* (4.160, of a storm) and *suadent...sidera somnos* (2.9, of stars at night).

**Anaphora** (Gr. “bringing back”): the repetition of a word at the beginning of consecutive sentences or clauses. It is commonly used, e.g., to convey emphasis, emotion, or stylistic elevation. Consider Dido’s scornful questions in her reply to Aeneas at 4.369-70: *num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit? | num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?* (“Did he sigh as I cried? Did he turn his eyes (toward me)? Did he, yielding, shed tears or pity his lover?”). Cf. also the famous lines from the *Georgics* describing Orpheus’ lament for Eurydice: *te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum | te veniente die, te decedente canebat* (“Of you, sweet wife, of you on the lonely shore, of you at day’s rising, of you at day’s setting he used to sing to himself,” *Geo.* 4.465-6). Here *anaphora* is combined with other features (e.g. *apostrophe* and *asyndeton*).

**Anastrophe** (Gr. “turning back”): the inversion of normal word order involving only two words (Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.6.65), usually prepositions and their objects, e.g. *Italiam contra* (1.13) and *Argolica de gente* (2.78). The preposition is delayed, thereby putting more emphasis on the initial word. As Quintilian notes, we can also see *anastrophe* in everyday phrases involving certain ablative pronouns and the preposition *cum*, which is treated as an enclitic: e.g. *mecum* (5.635), *secum* (5.599). *Anastrophe* is a type of *hyperbaton* (see below).

**Antithesis** (Gr. “opposition”) the juxtaposition of contrasting ideas usually within a balanced or parallel construction. In *Aeneid* 7.312, Juno expresses her decision to rely on the power of the underworld to achieve her will as follows: *flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo* (“If I am unable to bend the heavenly gods, Acheron I will incite”). The *antithesis* of *superos* (i.e. heaven) and *Acheronta* (i.e. hell) adds clarity, force, and emotion to Juno’s decision. Cf. also *novo veterum...errore locorum* (“by a new error concerning ancient places,” 3.181).

**Apo koinou** (Gr. “in common”): describing a construction in which two clauses or phrases syntactically share a word or phrase. E.g. *nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum | sufficimus* (5.21-2), wherein *contra* should be understood with both *obniti* and *tendere*, i.e. “we able neither to fight against nor to make enough headway (against).” Cf. also *miratus...adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes* (5.35-6), wherein *adventum sociasque rates* must be shared as the direct object of both *miratus* and *occurrit*, i.e. “Acestes marveled at the arrival of the allied ships and went to meet (them)” (in this translation, *adventum sociasque rates* is construed as a *hendiadys*, see commentary note).

**Aposiopesis**: (Gr. “becoming silent”): the abrupt stopping of a sentence or a thought, usually to suggest the overwhelming emotional state of the speaker. E.g.

*iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti, | miscere et tantas audetis tollere moles? | quos ego – ! sed motos praestat componere fluctus* (“Now, winds, do you dare to intermingle the sky and land without my command, and to raise such great upheavals (of water)? You whom I –!” 1.133-5). Here, Neptune suddenly cuts short his rebuke of the winds.

**Apostrophe:** (Gr. “turning away”): a sudden shift of address to a figure (or idea), absent or present. E.g. *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!* (4.412). In this line, the narrator Vergil suddenly addresses *Amor*, emphasizing the role the god had played in Dido’s disastrous love for Aeneas. *Apostrophe* occurs as early as Homer, but in the Hellenistic period it became a characteristic feature. Vergil uses it more discerningly, usually to heighten the emotional register or to vary the pace of a passage.

**Archaism:** the use of a form or expression that is older or no longer current. It can be introduced for a variety of effects. Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.3.24) writes that “age confers dignity, because words which not everyone would have used give style a more venerable and distinguished air. Vergil, with his perfect judgment, used this Ornament with unique skill. *Olli, quianam, moerus, pone*, and *pelligerent* produce a sprinkling of that authoritative air of antiquity, which is impressive also in picture, and which no art can reproduce” (Russell, Loeb).

**Arsis, lengthening in:** the lengthening of a final short syllable of a word when it occurs in *arsis* (i.e. at the first long syllable of a hexameter foot, which receives the *ictus*, the metrical stress), and is (usually) followed by a strong caesura (cf. 1.651 *Pergama cum peterēt...*; 4.64 *pectoribūs...*).

**Assonance** (Lat. “answer with the same sound”): the repetition of vowel sounds in neighboring words or phrases. Latin is rich in vowel sounds, making *assonance* a natural and frequent poetic feature. E.g. *nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque, sequamur* (“Goddess-born, let us follow where fate draws us to and draws us back,” 5.709) and *quingaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra* (“the monstrous Hydra with her fifty black, gaping mouths,” 6.576). See also *alliteration* and *onomatopoeia*, which often makes use of *assonance*.

**Asyndeton** (Gr. “unconnected”): the omission of conjunctions (e.g. *et*, *-que*, *aut*, *sed*) between words, phrases, or clauses. *Asyndeton* can convey effects such as emphasis, suddenness, and vehemence. One of the most famous Latin examples is Caesar’s *veni, vidi, vici*. Vergil uses *asyndeton* frequently both on a small scale with individual words (e.g. *eiectum litore, egentem*, “cast out on the shore, begging,” 4.373), and on a larger scale with clauses, as when Aeneas scans the sea after the storm that begins the epic: *navem in conspectu nullam, tris litore cervos | prospicit errantis* (1.184-5). This last

example lacks a conjunction between *nullam* and *tris*, and can be further classified as *adversative asyndeton* because contrast is implied: “He sees not one ship but three stags wandering on the shore.”

**Caesura** (Lat. “a cutting down”): a word break *within* a metrical foot. *Caesurae* (plural) are often described as strong or weak: a *strong caesura* is one that falls after the first syllable of a foot; a *weak caesura* is one that falls after the second syllable of a *dactylic* foot. The most important *caesura* in any given line often coincides with a sense break and is called the *main* or *principal caesura* (indicated by “||” below). It most frequently falls in the third foot, but also occurs not uncommonly in the second or fourth (or sometimes both). For example, in 1.750:

mūltā sū/pēr Priā/mō rōgī/tāns, || sūpēr / Hēctōrē / mūltā

There are *strong caesurae* after the initial *super* and after *rogitans*; a *weak caesura* occurs after the initial *multa*. (*Weak caesurae* are also described as *trochaic*, since the initial two syllables before the word break form a *trochee*, as in the first *mūltā* above.) The *main caesura* may be taken as falling after *rogitans*. For further discussion and additional examples, see the appendix on “Vergil’s Meter.”

**Chiasmus**: (Gr. “crossing”): an arrangement of words whereby parallel constructions are expressed in reverse word order. E.g. *expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus* (3.630). The word “chiasmus” is derived from the Greek letter “chi” because if the parallel constructions are split in half and placed one over the other, an X is formed when the syntactically related words are connected:

expletus    dapibus  
                  X  
vinoque    sepultus

*Chiasmus* is a type of *hyperbaton*.

**Coinage**. See **Neologism**.

**Consonance** (Lat. “concord”): the repetition of consonant sounds in neighboring words or phrases. E.g. *accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt* (1.123). Note the use of *c/q* and *m* sounds in this line (and also the assonance involving the vowel *i*). See also alliteration and assonance.

**Dactyl**: a metrical foot comprised of one long syllable followed by two short ones (– ∪). See the appendix on “Vergil’s Meter.”

**Diaeresis** (Gr. “division”): A word break between metrical feet (see above). For example, in 4.1:

Āt rē/gīnā grā/vī iām/dūdūm / saūcīā / cūrā

*Diaereses* (plural) occur after *iamdudum* and *saucia*. When a *diaeresis* occurs after the fourth foot (i.e. just before the fifth foot), it is often called a *bucolic diaeresis* because this type of *diaeresis* was used frequently in pastoral poetry: e.g. *nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, || lentus in umbra* (Vergil, *Eclogues* 1.4). For further discussion and additional examples of *diaeresis*, see the appendix on “Vergil’s Meter.”

**Dicolon Abundans**: the restatement of an initial phrase or clause in different language. For example, when Aeneas introduces his story to Dido in *Aeneid* 2, he says *sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros | et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem* (2.10-11). The phrase *Troiae supremum audire laborem* (“to hear of the final suffering of Troy”) is a variation on the idea in *casus cognoscere nostros* (“to learn of our”–or perhaps “my”–“misfortunes”). In the line that follows (2.12), another example occurs with *luctuque refugit* (“recoiled in grief”), a variation on *meminisse horret* (“shudder to recall”). In these cases, as often with *dicolon abundans*, the variation does not simply repeat the initial idea but heightens its intensity and pathos. *Dicolon abundans* is also called *theme and variation*.

**Ecphrasis** (Gr. “description”): a detailed and vivid description of an object, person, or event, though in a more restricted sense the term *ecphrasis* is applied to a detailed description specifically of a work of art. The three most important ecphrases of art in the *Aeneid* are the paintings Aeneas views at Carthage (1.418-93), the doors on Apollo’s temple at Cumae (6.20-33), and Aeneas’ shield (8.626-728). Cf. 1.418-93 n.

**Elision**: if a word ending in a vowel, diphthong, or vowel + *-m* is followed by a word that begins with a vowel, diphthong, or *h*, the first vowel or diphthong is *elided*. As a result the two syllables merge and are scanned as one. For example, in 1.3 there are two *elided* syllables (enclosed in parentheses):

litōrā, / mūlt(um) ill(e) / ēt tēr/rīs iāc/tātūs ēt / āltō

For further discussion and additional examples, see the appendix on “Vergil’s Meter.” For *prodelision*, see 5.710 n.

**Ellipsis** (Gr. “leaving out”): the omission of a syntactically necessary word (or words) that can be inferred from the context. For example, when Laocoon rushes down from the citadel to warn the Trojans about the wooden horse, his speech is prefaced with the phrase *et procul* (“and from far off,” 2.42). Here some verb of speaking such as *clamat* has been omitted but can

be easily inferred, and the *ellipsis* may help convey the frantic nature of Laocoon's actions. *Ellipsis*, however, also can serve to create "the charm of brevity and novelty" (Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.3.58, Russell, Loeb).

**Enallage** (Gr. "interchange"): the distortion of "the syntactic relations among words: one element of the phrase, often the adjective, is referred not to the element to which it belongs by a logical or grammatical connection, but to another one more or less near by" (Conte (2007) 70). E.g. *fida... fraterna Erycis* (5.24): here, "the trustworthy, brotherly shores of Eryx" really means "the trustworthy shores of (your) brother Eryx"), since *fraterna* modifies *litora* grammatically but *Erycis* in sense. This type of *enallage* is also referred to as *transferred epithet* or *hypallage*. But other types of syntactic exchanges fall under the category of *enallage* as well. Consider the phrase *volvare casus* (lit. "to roll misfortunes," 1.9). Here Vergil has reversed the real syntactic relationship between the words as we must imagine them (*volvi casibus*, "to be enveloped" or "overwhelmed by misfortunes"), if the phrase is to make sense. As these examples show, *enallage* forces us to stop momentarily and puzzle out the semantic and syntactic connections. It occurs much more frequently in the *Aeneid* than in Vergil's other works and can thus be construed as an element of stylistic elevation. See the discussion of these examples and of *enallage* as a defining aspect of Vergil's style in Conte (2007) 70-5. The term *hypallage* is often used interchangeably with *enallage*.

**End-stopped Lines:** see **Enjambment**.

**Enjambment** (Fr. "crossing over," "spanning"): the continuation of the sense or a syntactic unit from one line to the next. This feature is frequent in Vergil and plays with our expectations that thoughts and clauses will be contained within the individual hexameter line. As a result, enjambed words are given more emphasis, which can be heightened if some kind of pause follows, as in Ilioneus' appeal to Dido (1.524-5):

*Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti,  
oramus:*

(It is) you (that) we, wretched Trojans, carried by the winds over every sea beseech:

*Oramus* ("we beseech") has been enjambed, and is followed by a strong *caesura*, which bestows still more emphasis to the verb. Such *enjambment* of the main verb for emphasis is particularly characteristic of Vergil. Lines without *enjambment* are called *end-stopped*.

**Epanalepsis** (Gr. "taking up again"): the "syntactically unnecessary repetition of a word or phrase from a previous line, to add emphasis, ornament, or

pathos, producing the effect of lingering over a word or idea" (O'Hara 1997: 253), as in 4.25-6: ...*adigat me fulmine ad umbras, | pallentis umbras Erebo* ("may he hurl me with lightning to the shades, | the pale shades in Erebus"). Consider also 2.405-6, in which Cassandra is being dragged away from Pallas' temple with her hands bound: *ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, | lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas* ("directing her burning eyes to the sky in vain, | her eyes, because bonds were constraining her soft palms," 2.405-6). *Epanalepsis* is used less often in Vergil's poetry than, e.g., in Catullus 64.

**Epic or Compound Adjective:** an adjective formed from two (or more) words. Compound adjectives are frequent in Homer and thus become a characteristic element of Classical epic poetry, one that conveys elevated style. E.g. *aligerum* (1.663), *omnipotens* (2.689), *arquitenens* (3.75), *auricomos* (6.141). Vergil employs compound adjectives with reserve, particularly when compared to other Latin epic predecessors such as Lucretius.

**Epithet** (Gr. "added"): an adjective or descriptive phrase that accompanies or substitutes for a name. The use of epithets goes back to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (e.g. "rosy-fingered Dawn" and "gray-eyed" Athena), where they are important compositional elements for oral poetry such as Homeric epic. In Vergil they become literary devices that help create epic tone. Just as Homer's Odysseus is "of many turns" (Gr. *polytropos*), and Achilles "swift-footed" (Gr. *podas okus*), Aeneas is *pious* (e.g. 1.220, 305, 378, etc.), an *epithet* underscoring the importance of *pietas* for his heroic characterization. Some other examples in Vergil: *Iuppiter omnipotens* (e.g. 5.687), *infelix Dido* (e.g. 1.749), and *regia Iuno* (e.g. 4.114).

**Etymology:** the (study of the) derivation of a word. The word *etymology* itself, e.g., is from Gr. *etumos* ("true") and *logos* ("word"). *Etymologies* were particularly characteristic of Hellenistic writers and important for Vergil. E.g. at 5.117 (see n.), the name of the Trojan *Mnestheus* is taken as the etymology of the Roman clan *Memmii*. Often we can see Vergil engaging in etymological wordplay (cf. *paronomasia*\*): e.g. at 1.261-2, we find *fabor...fatorum*, perhaps suggesting the etymological connection between the words. But sometimes wordplay can playfully suggest false etymologies: e.g. 4.271 *teris...terris* (see n.). In 3.693 *Plemyrium undosum*, Vergil might be seen as engaging in bilingual etymological wordplay by applying a Latin epithet (*undosum*) to a Greek noun (Gr. *plemmyris*, "flood-tide"), thus suggesting the derivation of the latter (see n.). On etymological wordplay, see especially O'Hara (1996).

**Euphemism** (Gr. “use of an auspicious word”): the substitution of an agreeable, less offensive, or indirect expression for one that may seem harsh, offensive, or unnecessarily blunt. E.g. *cassum lumine* (“bereft of light”) is used of the deceased Palamedes at 2.85, while *silentes* (“silent ones”) is used of the dead at 6.432.

**Golden Line and Variations:** in dactylic hexameter, an artful arrangement of two adjective/substantive phrases with a verb in between. It usually takes the form of ABVab, wherein C is a verb/participle, while Aa and Bb are both adjective-noun phrases and interlocked. E.g.

A    B    V    a    b  
egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena  
(1.172)

The variation ABVba is often called a *silver line*, in which the two adjective-noun phrases are not interlocked; rather one phrase frames the other. E.g.

A    B    V    b    a  
cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus  
(5.134)

The term “golden line” is not an ancient one but dates to the seventeenth century, most famously in Dryden’s preface to his *Sylvae* (1685).

**Hendiadys** (Gr. “one through two”): the expression of one idea through two terms joined by a conjunction. E.g. *sanguine...et virgine caesa* (2.116), “with blood and a slaughtered maiden” really means “with the blood of a slaughtered maiden”; in *spargens rore levi et ramo felicitis olivae* (6.230), *rore...ramo* really means “dew from the bough.”

**Hiatus:** (Lat. “gaping,” “yawning”) the “gap” created when two syllables, which would normally be elided (see *elision* above), are not, usually when the preceding syllable receives special emphasis. E.g. 4.667:

lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu

Here, *hiatus* occurs between *femineo* and *ululato* (i.e. there is no elision between the final -o of *femineo* and the initial u- of *ululato*).

**Hypallage:** see **Enallage**.

**Hyperbaton** (Gr. “transposed”): any distortion of normal word order. Because Latin is a highly inflected language, there is much latitude in altering word arrangements without sacrificing clarity of meaning. Indeed *hyperbaton* is a central element of Latin poetry. It includes simple distortions, such



as *anastrophe* and *tmesis*, but can also involve more formalized patterns such as *interlocking word order* (*synchysis*, e.g. *mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum*, 2.609), *chiasmus*, enclosing noun-adjective phrases (e.g. *magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem*, 4.28), and so-called *golden lines* (e.g. *aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem*, 4.139).

**Hyperbole** (Gr. “excess”): exaggeration, used for emphasis or some other effect. E.g. Aeneas, as he gazes at the murals of the Trojan War at Carthage, “wets his face with a copious flood (of tears),” *largo...umectat flumine vultum* (1.465); or consider the gust of wind that “lifts the waves to the stars,” *procella...fluctusque ad sidera tollit* (1.102-3). See Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.6.67-76), who concludes that “Hyperbole only has positive value when the thing about which we have to speak transcends the ordinary limits of nature. We are then allowed to amplify, because the real size of the thing cannot be expressed, and it is better to go too far than not to go far enough” (8.6.76, Russell, Loeb).

**Hypermetric Line**: a line in which an extra final syllable elides with the initial syllable of the following line. E.g. 1.332-3:

iactemur doceas; ignari hominumque locorumque  
erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti:

Here, the final syllable (*-que*) of *locorumque* elides (see above) with the initial vowel of *erramus* at the start of the following line. Most examples in Vergil involve elision of *-que* at line end, as here (though cf. *Geo.* 1.295). At times, such lines can add to the poetic texture of an event, as at 2.745-6:

quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque,  
aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?

Here the hypermetric *-que* in *deorumque* elides with *aut* in the following line and helps convey Aeneas’ fury as he searches for Creusa. Hypermetric lines do not occur in Homer, though Vergil’s Latin epic predecessors such as Ennius and Lucretius employed them. As Austin (1955) on 4.558 writes: “it was Virgil who first used [hypermetric lines] for artistic purposes.”

**Hypotaxis**: see **Parataxis**.

**Hysteron Proteron** (Gr. “later as earlier”): a kind of syntactic *hyperbaton* through which the chronological order of events is reversed. One of the most famous examples occurs at 2.353, where Aeneas exhorts his comrades: *moriatur et in media arma ruamus*. Technically one must rush to battle before dying in it. Individual instances of this figure, however, are sometimes disputed. In the line above, for example, the clause *et...ruamus* is taken by some as

explanatory (“let us die, and let us do so by rushing into the fray”), and thus not an instance of chronological reversal.

**Ictus** (Lat. “stroke,” “blow”): the special metrical emphasis that the first syllable of each foot receives. The dynamic interplay between *ictus* and *word accent* is central to Vergil’s metrical artistry. See the appendix on “Vergil’s Meter.”

**Interlocking Word Order:** see **Synchysis**.

**Interpretatio:** see **Dicolon Abundans**.

**Irony** (Gr. “dissembling”): saying one thing but with its opposite somehow implied or understood. For example, in *Aeneid* 1 Venus, disguised as a huntress, tells her son Aeneas that his comrades and fleet are safe, and adds the following clause to qualify her prediction: *ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes* (“unless for nothing my parents have falsely taught augury (to me),” 1.392). This line is playfully ironic because Venus is a goddess (her father being the king of the gods), and knows that her revelations are truthful. *Dramatic irony* results when the reader or spectator possesses information unknown to a character and consequently interprets the character’s words or actions in a different light. Thus when Dido tells the Trojans that they should consider her city their own (*urbem quam statuo, vestra est*, 1.573), there is dramatic irony, since we as readers know not only that Dido’s generosity will bring about her downfall, but also that Aeneas’ descendants, the Romans, will eventually conquer Carthage.

**Litotes** (Gr. “simplicity”): the description of something by negating its opposite. Because it provides emphasis through understatement, *litotes* can be considered the opposite of *hyperbole* and is not unusual in Vergil. So, when Pallas (Minerva) is described as *non aequae Palladis* (“not favorable,” 1.479), Vergil conveys through *litotes* that she is actually “hostile” or “angry.” Cf. also *nec...abnuit* (“not reject,” i.e. accept, 5.530-1), *non digna* (“not worthy,” i.e. unworthy, 2.144), *non immemor* (“not unmindful,” i.e. remembering, 5.39).

**Metaphor:** (Gr. “transference”): the application of a word or phrase from one field of meaning to another, thereby suggesting new meanings. E.g. *At regina gravi iam dudum saucia cura | vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni* (“But the queen long since hurt by grievous love feeds the wound with her veins and is consumed by an unseen fire,” 4.1-2). Dido’s passion for Aeneas is figured here as a wound (*vulnus*) and as fire (*igni*).

**Metonymy** (Gr. “change of name”): the substitution of one word for another somehow closely related. In Vergil, *metonymy* often involves names, qualities, or attributes. For example, *Bacchus* can stand in for “wine” (3.354) and *Ceres* for “bread” (1.701). But *metonymy* can involve other

types of relationships, such as those between cause and effect (e.g. *labores* for “things produced by labor,” 2.306), and between possessor and thing possessed (e.g. *Vcalagon* for “Ucalegon’s house,” 2.312). See also *synecdoche*, which is a type of *metonymy*.

**Neologism** (Gr. “new word” or “utterance”): a newly coined word. E.g. 3.430 *circumflectere*; 5.765 *procurva* (instead of *curva*); 6.638 *virecta* (from *virere*). Because such words would presumably have seemed unusual to a contemporary reader/hearer, they would have had a special poetic resonance. *Neologism* is also referred to as *coinage*.

**Onomatopoeia** (Gr. “making of a word” or “name”): the use or formation of words that imitate natural sounds. Individual words may be *onomatopoeic*, as *ulularunt* at 4.168. *Onomatopoeic* effects can be found in phrases as well. For example, in *fit sonitus spumante salo* (“a sound arises from the spuming sea,” 2.209), the *alliteration* of *s* imitates the sound of the sea; in *quingenta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra* (“the monstrous Hydra with her fifty black, gaping mouths,” 6.576), the use of *a* suggests the gaping of the Hydra’s mouths. As is clear from these examples, *onomatopoeia* often involves devices such as *alliteration*, *assonance*, and *consonance*.

**Oxymoron** (Gr. “pointedly foolish”): the juxtaposition of seemingly contradictory words. For example, in *animum pictura pascit inani* (“he feeds his spirit on empty paintings,” 1.464), the idea of feeding (*pascit*) on something that is empty (*inani*) seems paradoxical. Cf. also *festina lente* (“hurry slowly,” Gr. *speude bradeos*), a proverb, we are told, that Augustus especially liked (Suetonius, *Augustus* 25.4).

**Parataxis** (Gr. “placing side by side”): the sequential ordering of independent clauses (as opposed to *hypotaxis*, the subordination of one clause to another). A famous example is Caesar’s *veni, vidi, vici*. An example from *Aeneid* 2: *vix positum castris simulacrum: arsere coruscae | luminibus flammae arrectis...* (2.172-3). Though the two halves of the sentence are independent, in sense one is subordinated to the other: “scarcely had the image been placed..., (when) glittering flames blazed...” Vergil leaves it to the reader to sense such logical relationships. *Parataxis* is particularly characteristic of Vergil and epic more generally.

**Paronomasia** (Gr. “slight alteration of name”): a wordplay or pun, usually employing words that sound similar. Consider *cari...cura parentis* (“concern of the caring parent,” 1.646), *auri...aura* (“gleam of gold,” 6.204), and *pārentis...praeceptis pārere* (“obey your parent’s instructions,” 2.606-7). *Paronomasia* often makes use of word *etymology* and various sound effects such as *alliteration* and *assonance*, and is a feature of Vergilian poetry that has roots going back to Homer but that bears the special influence of the

erudite work of the Alexandrian tradition. (See the list and discussion of *paronomasia* in O’Hara (1996) 60-3 with n. 316 and *passim*.)

**Patronymic** (Gr. “father’s name”): a name formed by attaching a suffix to the name of a father or other ancestor. E.g. 5.407 *Anchisiades*, “son of Anchises,” i.e. Aeneas; 3.248 *Laomedontiadae*, “descendants of Laomedon,” i.e. the Trojans; 6.58 *Aeacides*, (grand)son of Aeacus,” i.e. Achilles. Patronymics are elevated in tone and characteristic of epic poetry.

**Periphrasis** (Gr. “circumlocution”): the use of many words to express an idea that could be stated more succinctly, if not by just one word. It is an important element of elevated, epic style. It can be used to express something that might normally be said with language seemingly inappropriate to epic: e.g. *toto proflabat pectore somnum* (“was breathing out sleep with his whole chest,” 9.326), a phrase that, according to Servius, Vergil uses to avoid the humble word *sterto* (“snore”). More commonly, it is used in Vergil as a stylistic embellishment, particularly to achieve an elevated and/or erudite tone, such as in *Iovis ales* (“Jove’s bird,” i.e. the eagle, 1.394), *Amphrysia vates* (“Amphrysian soothsayer,” i.e. the Sibyl, 6.398), or the description of nighttime as *Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris | incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit* (“It was the time when first quiet begins for weary mortals and creeps up on them most pleasingly by grace of the gods,” 2.268-9, an example cited in Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.6.60).

**Personification**: a metaphorical use of language whereby an inanimate object or abstract idea is given human abilities or qualities. E.g. at 2.385, “fortune breathes (*favor*) on our labor” (*aspirat...Fortuna labori*); at 3.44 the “land” is described as “cruel” (*crudelis terras*). Consider also the elaborate descriptions of the personified goddess *Fama* at 4.173-97 and of various abstractions that cause human suffering (e.g. *Morbi*, *Senectus*, *Metus*) at 6.274-81.

**Pleonasm** (Gr. “excess”): redundancy, especially for the sake of emphasis. E.g. *arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris | Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit | litora — multum ille et terris iactatus et alto...* (1.1-3). Here, the *ille* is technically unnecessary but draws added attention to the *vir* (1), Aeneas.

**Polyptoton** (Gr. “in many cases”): the repetition of a word in its inflected cases. Dido begins her address about Aeneas’ effect on her to her sister Anna with clauses beginning with *quae...quis...quem...quam...quibus...quae* (4.9-14). Here *polyptoton* creates an artful, but grammatically varied patterning that allows for an expansive introduction to the emotional content of what Dido describes. *Polyptoton* can create other effects: at 1.684, it emphasizes the deception involved when Venus asks Amor to take on the appearance of Ascanius: *notos pueri puer indue vultus*, “as a boy (*puer*=Amor), put on

the familiar appearance of the boy (*pueri*=Ascanius).” Cf. also 4.83, where Dido’s visions of Aeneas at night are described: *illum absens absentem auditque videtque* (“absent, she hears and sees the absent one”)

**Polysyndeton** (Gr. “much-connected”): the repetition or excessive use of connective particles (especially *et* and *-que*). As Quintilian notes (*Inst.* 9.3.51-2), in some cases the same connective word can be repeated: *tectumque laremque | armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque pharetram* (*Geo.* 3.344-5); in other cases different connectives may be used, as in the opening sentence of the *Aeneid*: *arma virumque cano...multum ille et terris... et alto...multa quoque et bello passus...* (1.1-5). With respect to possible effects, *polysyndeton* (and its opposite *asyndeton*) make “our words more vigorous, more insistent, and able to display a force that seems to come from repeated outbursts of emotion” (Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.3.54, Russell, Loeb).

**Praeteritio** (Lat. “passing over”): the mentioning of a subject in order to state that it should not be mentioned. Cf. 4.43, where Anna tries to persuade Dido to engage in an affair with Aeneas: *quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam | germanique minas?* (“Why should I mention wars rising from Tyre and the threats of your brother?”).

**Prolepsis** (Gr. “anticipation”): the use of a word or phrase that anticipates a later event or outcome. For example, as Dido embraces Amor (disguised as Ascanius), she is called *miseræ* (1.719), a word that looks forward to the tragic outcome that will result from the god’s infection of her, though at the moment she appears fine. Consider also *furentem | incendat reginam* (1.659-60): here the force of *furentem* is not “set the raging queen on fire” but “set her on fire so that she rages.”

**Rhetorical Question**: a question that is posed not to receive an answer but for some other purpose or effect. E.g. Juno asks several *rhetorical questions* as she considers taking action against Aeneas at the beginning of *Aeneid* 1: *mene incepto desistere victam | nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem?* (“Am I, conquered, to desist from my undertaking, and unable to turn the Trojans’ king from Italy?” 1.37-8); *et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat | praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?* (“And does anyone still worship the divinity of Juno, or, as a suppliant, place a sacrifice on her (i.e. my) altars? 1.48-9). In both examples, the questions help convey Juno’s indignation and anger.

**Sarcasm**: the use of language (often ironic or satirical) intended to harm or wound. E.g. Dido’s retort casting doubt on Aeneas’ claim that the gods compel him to leave Carthage: *nunc augur Apollo | nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso | interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras. | scilicet is*

*superis labor est, ea cura quietos | sollicitat* (“Now the prophet Apollo, now the Lycian oracles, now the messenger of the gods, sent even by Jupiter himself, bears these horrible commands through the breezes. No doubt this labor is for the gods; this care troubles those who enjoy calm,” 4.376–80).

**Silver Line:** see **Golden Line and Variations**.

**Simile** (Lat. “similar”): a figurative comparison between two different things. It is an important component of epic style. E.g. *uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur | urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta, | quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit | pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum | nescius: illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat | Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo* (4.68–73). In this simile, Dido, consumed by her love for Aeneas, is compared to a wounded stag.

**Spondaic Line:** a hexameter in line in which the fifth foot is not a dactyl (– ∞) but a spondee (– –). E.g. 2.68:

constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit:

Vergil does not employ spondaic lines frequently; when he does, it is usually for special effect, perhaps as here, where Sinon is described carefully scanning the crowd of his hostile Trojan captors. Such lines often involve Greek names, as at 3.517:

armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.

**Spondee:** a metrical foot comprised of two long syllables (– –). See the appendix on “Vergil’s Meter.”

**Syllepsis:** see **Zeugma**.

**Synchysis** (Gr. “mingling,” “confusion”): an arrangement of two phrases (here Aa and Bb) that interweave their members in an ABab pattern. It is also called *interlocking word order*. E.g.

A            B            a            b  
mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum    (2.609)

Here the *synchysis* may be seen to mimic the mingling of dust and smoke that is described.

**Syncope** (Gr. “a cutting short”): the omission of a letter or syllable from the interior of a word. E.g., 1.201 *accestis* for *acce(ssi)stis*; 2.379 *aspris* for *asp(e)ris*; 3.50 *mandarat* for *manda(ve)rat*; 5.786 *traxe* for *trax(iss)e*; 6.59 *repostas* for *repos(it)as*.

**Synecdoche** (Gr. “understanding one thing with another”): a type of *metonymy* that uses the part for the whole (or the reverse). E.g. *atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas* (“with his light wheels he glides over the wave-tops,” 1.147). Here *rotis* (“wheels”) really stands in for “chariot.” Other examples include *ferrum* (“iron”) for “sword”, *tectum* (“covering” or “roof”) for “house,” *sceptra* (“scepter”) for *regnum* (“rule”). Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.6.19) says that “*synecdoche* has the power to vary the discourse, enabling the hearer to understand many things from one, the whole from the part, the genus from the species, the consequences from the antecedents, and vice versa” (Russell, Loeb).

**Synizesis** (Gr. “collapse”) the collapsing of two vowels into one (a diphthong or simple vowel) to allow a word to fit into a poetic meter. For example, in *dehinc* the *e* and *i* combine to form one syllable at 1.131, 256; 6.678; 9.480. Cf. also *aurea* at 1.698 and *ferrei* at 6.280, both of which scan as disyllables.

**Theme and Variation:** See **Dicolon Abundans**.

**Tmesis** (Gr. “cutting”) the “cutting” of the elements of a word (usually a compound word) by interjecting a word or words in between. Most often *tmesis* involves the separation of a prefix: *circum...fudit* (1.412), *circum...dati* (2.218-19), *ante...quam* (3.255-6), *inque salutatam* (9.288). Cf. also *quo...usque* (5.384) and *hac...tenus* (5.603). *Tmesis* involving compound verbs often has an archaic flavor, since in Homer such prefixes function as adverbs and can stand independently, though in later usage they formed compound words. However, *tmesis* can also occur for other reasons, such as the creation of emphasis or for metrical purposes.

**Transferred Epithet:** see **Enallage, Hypallage**.

**Tricolon** (Gr. “having three limbs”): the grouping of three parallel clauses or phrases. Consider Aeolus’ respectful address to Juno: *tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptrā Iovemque | concilias, tu das epulis accumbere divum | nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem* (1.78-80). Here, each of the three clauses is further articulated by an initial *tu*. Consider also Aeneas’ words to Helenus: *Troiugena, interpres divum, qui numina Phoebi, | qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis | et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae* (“O Trojan-born, interpreter of the gods, you who (perceive) the will of Phoebus, who (perceive) the tripods and laurels of the Clarian, who perceive the stars, the language of birds, and the signs of the swift wing,” 3.359-61). In both of these examples, the three elements increase in length, and thus the resulting *tricolon* is described as *abundans*, *crescens*, or *crescendo*.

**Trochee:** a metrical foot comprised of a long syllable followed by a short one (– ∪). In the dactylic hexameter (see the appendix on “Vergil’s Meter”) the final

foot is disyllabic and can be either a trochee or spondee. E.g. *venit* in the final foot of 1.2 (*Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque vēnīt*) is a trochee.

**Word accent:** disyllabic words have their accent on their initial syllable: *cáris*, *dábant*, *mólis*. If, however, words are three syllables or longer, the word accent falls: on the penultima (second to last syllable), if it is long (*ruébant*, *iactátos*) but on the antepenultima (the syllable preceding the penultima), if the penultima is short (*géntibus*, *mária*, *pópulum*). The interplay between (i.e. the clash or coincidence of) *word accent* and *ictus* is a fundamental element of Vergil’s artistry. See the appendix on “Vergil’s Meter.”

**Wordplay:** see **Paronomasia**.

**Zeugma** (Gr. “yoking”): the governing of two (or more) words by one, as in *Troiugena...qui numina Phoebi, | qui tripodas, Clarii et lauros, qui sidera sentis* (“O Trojan-born, you who (perceive) the will of Phoebus, who (perceive) the tripods and laurels of the Clarian, who perceive the stars,” 3.359-60), wherein all the accusative objects are dependent on *sentis* in the final clause. Sometimes the “yoking” can involve literal and metaphorical senses of a word, in which case the *zeugma* is sometimes referred to as *syllipsis* (Greek, “taking together”): e.g. *crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro | nudavit* (1.355-6), wherein Sychaeus figuratively “reveals” his murder at the altar (*aras*) but literally “bares” his pierced chest (*traiectaque pectora*).



## Works Cited

- Adkin, N. (2011) "Sinon on his 'pal' Palamedes," *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 47: 155-69.
- Adler, E. (2003) *Vergil's Empire: Political Thought in the Aeneid*. Lanham, MD.
- Albis, R. (1993) "Aeneid 2.57-59: the Ennian background," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95: 319-22.
- Allen, A.W. (1951) "The dullest book of the Aeneid," *Classical Journal* 47: 119-23.
- Allen, G. (2000) *Intertextuality*. London.
- Anderson, W.S. (1969 first edition; 2005 second edition) *The Art of the Aeneid*. Wauconda, IL.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2006) "Ancient illustrations of the Aeneid: the hunts of books 4 and 7," *Classical World* 99.2: 157-65.
- Anderson, W. S. and Quartarone, L. N. (eds.) (2002) *Approaches to Teaching Vergil's Aeneid*. New York.
- Armstrong, D., Fish, J., Johnston, P. A., and Skinner, M. (eds.) (2004) *Vergil, Philodemus, and the Augustans*. Austin.
- Austin, R. G. (ed.) (1955) *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1964) *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1971) *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1977) *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus*. Oxford.
- Bailey, C. (1935) *Religion in Virgil*. Oxford.
- Bandera, C. (1981) "Sacrificial levels in Virgil's Aeneid," *Arethusa* 14: 217-39.
- Barchiesi, A. (1984) *La traccia del modello: effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana*. Pisa.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997) "Ecphrasis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 271-81.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) "The statue of Athena at Troy and Carthage," in *Style and Tradition: Studies in Honor of Wendell Clausen*, eds. P. Knox and C. Foss. Stuttgart and Leipzig: 130-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) "Representations of suffering and interpretation in the Aeneid," in *Virgil: Critical Assessments of Classical Authors*, vol. 3, ed. P. Hardie. London: 324-44. Originally published as "Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'Eneide," *Antike und Abendland* 40 (1994): 109-124.
- Bartsch, S. (1998) "Ars and the man: the politics of art in Virgil's Aeneid," *Classical Philology* 93: 322-42.
- Beck, D. (2007) "Ecphrasis, interpretation, and audience in Aeneid 1 and Odyssey 8," *American Journal of Philology* 128: 533-49.

- Behr, F. (2005) "The narrator's voice: a narratological reappraisal of apostrophe in Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Arethusa* 38.2: 189-221.
- Bender, H. (1994) "*De habitu vestis*: clothing in the *Aeneid*," in *The World of Roman Costume*, eds. J. L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante. Madison: 146-52.
- Bertram, S. (1971) "The generation gap and *Aeneid* 5," *Vergilius* 17: 9-12.
- Bettini, M. (1997) "Ghosts of exile: doubles and nostalgia in Virgil's *Parva Troia* (*Aeneid* 3.294 ff.)," *Classical Antiquity* 16: 8-33.
- Bleisch, P. (1999) "The empty tomb at Rhoeteum: Deiphobus and the problem of the past in *Aeneid* 6.494-547," *Classical Antiquity* 18: 187-226.
- Bliss, F. R. (1964) "*Fato profugus*," in *Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, ed. C. Henderson. Rome: 99-105.
- Bowie, A. M. (1990) "The death of Priam: allegory and history in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Quarterly* 40: 470-81.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) "*Exuvias effigiemque*: Dido, Aeneas and the body as sign," in *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity*, ed. D. Montserrat. London and New York: 57-79.
- Bowra, M. (1933-34) "Aeneas and the Stoic ideal," *Greece and Rome* 3: 8-21; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 363-77.
- Braund, S. (1997) "Virgil and the cosmos: religious and philosophical ideas," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 204-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2004) "Making Virgil strange," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 25: 135-46.
- Braund, S. M. and Gill, C. (eds.) (1997) *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*. Cambridge.
- Braund, S. M. and Most, G. (eds.) (2003) *Ancient Anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen*. Yale Classical Studies 32. Cambridge.
- Brenk, F. E. (1991) "Wind, waves, and treachery: Diodorus, Appian, and the death of Palinurus in Virgil," in *Mito/Storia/Tradizione: Diodoro Siculo e la Storiografia classica*, eds. E. Galvagno, C. Mole Ventura. Catania: 327-46.
- Briggs, W. W., Jr. (1975) "Augustan athletics and the games of *Aeneid* V," *Stadion* 1: 267-83.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1979) "Eurydice, Venus and Creusa: a note on structure in Virgil," *Vergilius* 25: 43-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1980) *Narrative and Simile from the Georgics in the Aeneid*. Leiden.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1981) "Virgil and the Hellenistic epic," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.31.2: 948-84.
- Brenk, F. E. (1986) "*Aurorum spes et purpurei flores*: the eulogy of Marcellus in *Aeneid* VI," *American Journal of Philology* 107: 218-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1992) "The gates of dreams and an image of life: consolation and allegory at the end of Virgil's *Aeneid* VI," *Collection Latomus: Studies in Latin Literature and History VI*: 277-94.
- Bright, D. F. (1981) "Aeneas' other *Nekyia*," *Vergilius* 27: 40-7.
- Brockliss, W., Chaudhuri, P., Luchkov, A., and Wasdin, K. (eds.) (2012) *Reception and the Classics: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Classical Tradition*. Yale Classical Studies 36. Cambridge.

- Brogan, T. V. F. (ed.) (1994) *The New Princeton Handbook of Poetic Terms*. Princeton.
- Brooks, R. A. (1953) "Discolor aura: reflections on the Golden Bough," *Amerian Journal of Philology* 74: 260-80; reprinted in *Virgil: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. S. Commager. Englewood Cliffs, NJ (1966): 142-63.
- Brown, R. D. (1987) *Lucretius on Love and Sex: A Commentary on De Rerum Natura IV, 1030-1287*. Leiden and New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1990) "The structural function of the song of Iopas," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 93: 315-34.
- Burden, M., ed. (1998) *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*. London.
- Butler, H. E. (1920) *The Sixth Book of the Aeneid*. Oxford.
- Cairns, F. (1989) *Virgil's Augustan Epic*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2003) "Propertius 3.4 and the *Aeneid* incipit," *Classical Quarterly* 53.1: 309-11.
- Caldwell, L. (2008) "Dido's *deductio*: *Aeneid* 4.127-65," *Classical Philology* 103.4: 423-34.
- Camps, W. A. (1967-68) "The role of the sixth book in the *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 7: 22-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1969) *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid*. Oxford.
- Casali, S. (1999) "*Facta impia* (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.596-9)," *Classical Quarterly* 49: 203-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999-2000) "Staring at the pun: *Aeneid* 4.435-36 reconsidered," *Classical Journal* 95: 103-118.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007) "Killing the father: Ennius, Naevius and Virgil's Julian imperialism," in *Ennius Perennis: The Annals and Beyond*, eds. W. Fitzgerald and E. Gowers. Cambridge: 103-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2008) "The king of pain: Aeneas, Achates and *achos* in *Aeneid* 1," *Classical Quarterly* 58.1: 181-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010a) "The development of the Aeneas legend," in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, eds. J. Farrell and M. C. J. Putnam. Malden, MA: 37-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010b) "The *Bellum Ciuile* as an anti-*Aeneid*," in *Brill's Companion to Lucan*, ed. P. Asso. Leiden: 81-110.
- Clark, R. J. (1992) "Vergil, *Aeneid* 6: the bough by Hades' gate," in *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*, eds. R. M. Wilhelm and H. Jones. Detroit: 167-78.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2000) "P. OXY. 2078, Vat. Gr. 2228, and Vergil's Charon," *Classical Quarterly* 50: 192-6.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2009) "The Eleusinian Mysteries and Vergil's 'appearance-of-a-terrifying-female-apparition-in-the-Underworld,'" in *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, eds. G. Casadio and P. A. Johnston. Austin: 190-203.
- Clausen, W. (1964a) "Callimachus and Latin poetry," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5: 181-96.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1964b) "An interpretation of the *Aeneid*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68: 139-47; reprinted with revisions in *Virgil: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. S. Commager. Englewood Cliffs, NJ (1966): 75-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1970) "Catullus and Callimachus," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74: 85-94.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1987) *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry*. Berkeley, CA.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1994) *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues*. Oxford.

- \_\_\_\_\_(2002) *Virgil's Aeneid: Decorum, Allusion, and Ideology*. Munich and Leipzig. A revised and expanded version of Clausen (1987).
- Clay, D. (1988) "The archaeology of the temple to Juno in Carthage," *Classical Philology* 83: 195-205.
- Coleman, R. (1977) *Virgil: Eclogues*. Cambridge.
- Commager, S. (1981) "Fateful words: some conversations in *Aeneid* 4," *Arethusa* 14: 101-14.
- Conington, J., and Nettleship, H. (eds.) (1858-83) *The Works of Virgil*. Three volumes. London.
- Conte, G. B. (1986) *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*, tr. C. Segal. Ithaca, NY.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) "The Virgilian paradox: an epic of drama and sentiment," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 45: 17-42. A revised version is included in Conte (2007) 23-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2006) "Questioni di metodo e critica dell'autenticità: discutendo ancora l'episodio di Elena," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 56: 157-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007) *The Poetry of Pathos: Studies in Virgilian Epic*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (2009) *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis*. Berlin.
- Conway, R. S. (ed.) (1935) *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*. Cambridge.
- Courtney, E. (1981) "The formation of the text of Vergil," *Bulletin for the Insitute of Classical Studies* 28: 13-29.
- Cova, P. V. (1992) "Per una lettura narratologica del libro terzo dell'*Eneide*," *Letteratura latina dell'Italia settentrionale*: 87-139.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1994) *Virgilio. Il libro terzo dell'Eneide*. Biblioteca di Aevum Antiquum 5. Milan.
- Cowan, R. (2009) "Scanning *Iulus*: prosody, position and politics in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 55: 3-12.
- Crook, J. (1996) "Political history: 30 B.C. to A.D. 14," in *The Augustan Empire: 43 B.C. – A.D. 69. The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. X. Second edition, eds. A. Bowman, E. Champlin, and A. Lintott. Cambridge: 70-112.
- Crotty, K. (1994) *The Poetics of Supplication: Homer's Iliad and Odyssey*. Ithaca, NY.
- de Grummond, W. W. (1981) "*Saevus dolor*: the opening and the closing of the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 27: 48-52.
- Dekel, E. (2012) *Virgil's Homeric Lens*. New York.
- Della Corte, F. (ed.) (1984-91) *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*. Six volumes. Rome.
- Desmond, M. (1994) *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid*. Minneapolis and London.
- DiCesare, M. (1974) *The Altar and the City*. New York.
- Dobbin, R. (1995) "Julius Caesar in Jupiter's prophecy, *Aeneid*, Book 1," *Classical Antiquity* 14: 5-40.
- Dougherty, C. (1993) *The Poetics of Colonization*. New York and Oxford.
- Duckworth, G. (1954) "The architecture of the *Aeneid*," *American Journal of Philology* 75: 1-15.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1969) *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry: A Study in Metrical Variety*. Ann Arbor.

- Dyson, J. (1996a) "Dido the Epicurean," *Classical Antiquity* 15.2: 203-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1996b) "The puzzle of *Aen.* 1.755-6 and 5.626," *Classical World* 90.1: 41-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) "*Fluctus irarum, fluctus curarum*: Lucretian religio in the *Aeneid*," *American Journal of Philology* 118.3: 449-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2001), *King of the Wood: The Sacrificial Victor in Virgil's Aeneid*. Norman, OK.
- Edmunds, L. (2001) *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry*. Baltimore.
- Edwards, M. W. (2004) *Sound, Sense, and Rhythm: Listening to Greek and Latin Poetry*. Princeton.
- Egan, R. B. (1996) "A reading of the Helen-Venus episode in *Aeneid* 2," *Echos du monde classique* 40: 379-95.
- Eliot, T. S. (1957) *On Poetry and Poets*. London.
- Elliott, J. (2008) "Ennian epic and Ennian tragedy in the language of the *Aeneid*: Aeneas' generic wandering and the construction of the Latin literary past," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 104: 142-72.
- Erler, M. (1992) "Der Zorn des Helden, Philodems 'De Ira' and Vergil's Konzept des Zorns in der 'Aeneis'," *Grazer Beiträge* 18: 103-26.
- Estevez, V. A. (1982) "*Oculos ad moenia torsit*: on *Aeneid* 4.220," *Classical Philology* 77: 22-34.
- Fagles, R. (1990) *Homer: The Iliad*. New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1996) *Homer: The Odyssey*. New York.
- Fantham, R. E. (1996) *Roman Literary Culture: From Cicero to Apuleius*. Baltimore.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1998) "Allecto's first victim: a study of Vergil's Amata (*Aen.* 7.341-405 and 12.1-80)," in *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Its Political Context*, ed. H-P. Stahl. London: 135-53
- Farrell, J. (1991) *Vergil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic: The Art of Allusion in Literary History*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) "The Virgilian intertext," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 222-38.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1999) "*Aeneid* 5: poetry and parenthood," in *Reading Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. C. Perkell. Norman, OK: 96-110.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2001) "The Vergilian century," *Vergilius* 47: 11-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2005) "The Augustan period: 40 BC-AD 14," in *A Companion to Latin Literature*, ed. S. J. Harrison. Oxford: 44-57.
- Farrell, J. and Putnam, M. C. J. (eds.) (2010) *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*. Oxford.
- Farron, S. (1989) "The introduction of characters in the *Aeneid*," *Acta Classica* 32: 107-10.
- Feeney, D. C. (1983) "The taciturnity of Aeneas," *Classical Quarterly* 33: 204-19; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 167-90.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1984) "The reconciliations of Juno," *Classical Quarterly* 34: 179-94; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 339-62.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1986) "History and revelation in Vergil's Underworld," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 32: 1-24.

- \_\_\_\_\_(1991) *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998a) *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998b) "The appearance(s) of Mercury and the motivation of Aeneas," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Burden. London: 105-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007) *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*. Berkeley, CA.
- Feldherr, A. (1995) "Ships of state: *Aeneid* 5 and the Augustan circus spectacle," *Classical Antiquity* 14: 245-65.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2002) "Stepping out of the ring: repetition and sacrifice in the boxing match in *Aeneid* V," in *Clio and the Poets: Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography*, eds. D. Levene and D. Nelis. Leiden: 62-79.
- Fitzgerald, W. (1984) "Aeneas, Daedalus and the Labyrinth," *Arethusa* 17: 51-65.
- Fitzgerald, W. and Gowers, E. (eds.) (2007) *Ennius Perennis: The Annals and Beyond*. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume. Cambridge.
- Fletcher, F. (1941) *Virgil, Aeneid VI*. Oxford.
- Fowler, D. (1987) 'Vergil on killing virgins', in *Homo Viator, Classical Essays for John Bramble*, eds. M. Whitby, P. Hardie, and M. Whitby. Bristol: 185-98.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1989) "First thoughts on closure: problems and prospects," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 22: 75-122.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1990) "Deviant focalisation in Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 36: 40-63; reprinted in Fowler (2000): 42-63.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1991) "Narrate and describe: the problem of ekphrasis," *Journal of Roman Studies* 81: 25-35.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997a) "Story-telling," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 259-70.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997b) "Epicurean anger," in *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, eds. S. Braund and C. Gill. Cambridge: 16-35.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997c) "On the shoulders of giants: intertextuality and Classical studies," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 39: 13-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997d) "Second thoughts on closure," in *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature*, eds. D. Fowler, D. Roberts, and F. Dunn. Princeton: 3-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2000) *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2001a) "Introduction," in *Texts, Ideas, and the Classics: Scholarship, Theory, and Classical Literature*, S. J. Harrison. Oxford: 65-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2001b) "Epic in the middle of the wood: *mise en abyme* in the Nisus and Euryalus episode," in *Intratextuality: Greek and Roman Textual Relations*, eds. A. Sharrock and H. Morales. Oxford: 89-113.
- Fowler, D., Roberts, D. H., and Dunn, F. M. (eds.) (2001) *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature*. Princeton.
- Frangoulidis, S. A. (1992) "Duplicity and gift-offerings in Vergil's *Aeneid* 1 and 2," *Vergilius* 38: 26-37.
- Fratantuono, L. (2007) *Madness Unchained: A Reading of Virgil's Aeneid*. Lanham, MD.
- Fredricksmeier, E. A. (1984) "On the opening of the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 30: 10-19.

- Gale, M. (2000) *Virgil on the Nature of Things: The Georgics, Lucretius and the Didactic Tradition*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2003) "Poetry and the backward glance in Virgil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 133: 323-52.
- Galinsky, G. K. (1968) "Aeneid V and the Aeneid," *American Journal of Philology* 89: 157-85.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1969) *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*. Princeton.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1988) "The anger of Aeneas," *American Journal of Philology* 109: 321-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1994) 'How to be philosophical about the end of the Aeneid,' *Illinois Classical Studies* 19: 191-201.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1996) *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2003) "Greek and Roman drama and the Aeneid," in *Myth, History, and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in Honour of T. P. Wiseman*, eds. S. Braund and C. Gill. Exeter: 275-94.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (2005) *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. Cambridge.
- Ganiban, R. (2007) *Statius and Virgil: The Thebaid and the Reinterpretation of the Aeneid*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2008a) *Vergil: Aeneid 2*. Newburyport, MA.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2008b) "The *dolus* and glory of Ulysses in Aeneid 2," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 61: 57-70.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2009) *Vergil: Aeneid 1*. Newburyport, MA.
- Gantz, T. (1993) *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Two volumes. Baltimore.
- Gardiner, J. (1987) "Virgil, Aeneid 2.349-50," *Classical Quarterly* 37: 454-7.
- Gasti, H. (2006) "Narratological aspects of Vergil's Aeneid 2.1-13," *Acta Classica* 49: 113-120.
- Geymonat, M. (ed.) (1973 first edition; 2008 revised edition) *P. Vergili Maronis opera. Post Remigium Sabbadini et Aloisium Castiglioni recensuit Marius Geymonat*. Paravia and Rome.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993) "Callimachus at the end of Aeneas' narration," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95: 323-31.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1995) "Chapter eight: the transmission of Virgil's works in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, ed. N. Horsfall. Leiden: 293-312.
- George, T. V. (1984) *Aeneid VIII and the Aitia of Callimachus*. Mnemosyne Supplement 27. Leiden.
- Gibson, R. K. (1999) "Aeneas as *hospes* in Vergil, Aeneid 1 and 4," *Classical Quarterly* 49.1: 184-202.
- Gildenhard, I. (2007) "Virgil vs. Ennius, or: the undoing of the annalist," in *Ennius Perennis: The Annals and Beyond*, eds. W. Fitzgerald and E. Gowers. Cambridge: 73-102.
- Gill, C. (1997) "Passion as madness in Roman poetry," in *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, eds. S. Braund and C. Gill. Cambridge: 213-41.

- \_\_\_\_\_(2003) "Reactive and objective attitudes: anger in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Hellenistic philosophy," in *Ancient Anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen*. Yale Classical Studies 32, eds. S. Braund and G. Most. Cambridge: 208-28.
- Gillis, D. (1983) *Eros and Death in the Aeneid*. Rome.
- Girard, R. (1977) *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. P. Gregory. Baltimore.
- Glare, P. G. W. (ed.) (1996) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, revised with corrections. Oxford.
- Glazewski, J. (1972-73) "The function of Vergil's funeral games," *Classical World* 66: 85-96.
- Goldberg, S. M. (1995) *Epic in Republican Rome*. New York and Oxford.
- Goold, G. P. (1970) "Servius and the Helen episode," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74: 101-68; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 60-126.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1992) "The voice of Virgil: the pageant of Rome in *Aeneid* 6," in *Author and Audience in Latin Literature*, eds. A. J. Woodman and J. Powell. Cambridge: 110-23, 241-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1999) *Virgil*. Two volumes. Cambridge, MA.
- Gordon, P. (1998) "Phaeacian Dido: lost pleasures of an Epicurean intertext," *Classical Antiquity* 17: 188-211.
- Gotoff, H. (1985) "The difficulty of the ascent from Avernus," *Classical Philology* 80: 35-40.
- Gransden, K. W. (ed.) (1976) *Virgil: Aeneid, Book VIII*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1984) *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1990) "The fall of Troy," in *Virgil*. Greece and Rome Studies, eds. I. McAuslan and P. Walcot. Oxford: 121-33.
- Grebe, S. (2004) "Augustus' divine authority and Vergil's *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 50: 35-62.
- Greenwood, M. A. (1989) "Venus intervenes: five episodes in the *Aeneid*," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 14: 132-6.
- Grethlein, J. and Rengakos, A. (eds.) (2009) *Narratology and Interpretation: The Content of Narrative Form in Ancient Literature*. Berlin and New York.
- Griffith, M. (1985) "What does Aeneas look like?" *Classical Philology* 80: 309-19.
- Griffith, R. D. (1995) "Catullus' *Coma Berenices* and Aeneas' farewell to Dido," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 125: 47-59.
- Grimm, R. (1967) "Aeneas and Andromache in *Aeneid* III," *American Journal of Philology* 88: 151-62.
- Gruen, E. S. (1992) *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*. Ithaca, NY.
- Guarducci, M. (1946-48) "Un antichissimo responso dell'oracolo di Cuma," *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale in Roma* 72: 129-41.
- Gurval, R. A. (1995) *Actium and Augustus*. Ann Arbor.
- Guthrie, W. K. C. (1952) *Orpheus and Greek Religion*. Second edition. London.
- Gutting, E. (2006) "Marriage in the *Aeneid*: Venus, Vulcan, and Dido," *Classical Philology* 101.3: 263-79.
- Habinek, T. (1989) "Science and tradition in *Aeneid* 6," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 92: 223-54.



- Hannah, R. (1993) "The stars of Iopas and Palinurus," *American Journal of Philology* 114.1: 123-35.
- Hansen, P. A. (1972) "Ille ego qui quondam...once again," *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 22: 139-49.
- Hardie, C. (1977) "Appendix: the crater of Avernus as a cult-site," in *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus*, ed. R. G. Austin. Oxford: 279-86.
- Hardie, P. R. (1984) "The sacrifice of Iphigeneia: an example of 'distribution' of a Lucretian theme in Virgil," *Classical Quarterly* 34: 406-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1986) *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1987) "Aeneas and the omen of the swans," *Classical Philology* 82: 145-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1991) "The *Aeneid* and the *Oresteia*," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 20: 29-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993) *The Epic Successors of Virgil*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1994) *Virgil: Aeneid, Book IX*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997a) "Virgil and tragedy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 312-26.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997b) "Closure in Latin Epic," in *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature*, eds. D. Fowler, D. Roberts, and F. Dunn. Princeton: 139-62.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) *Virgil*. New Surveys in the Classics 28. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1999) *Virgil: Critical Assessments of Classical Authors*. Four volumes. London.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2002) "Another look at Virgil's Ganymede," in *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. T. P. Wiseman. Oxford: 333-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2006) "Virgil's Ptolemaic relations," *Journal of Roman Studies* 96: 25-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007) "Review of Horsfall: *Aeneid 3, A Commentary*," *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2007.8.47. Retrieved May 4, 2012 from <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2007>.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2009) *Lucretian Receptions: History, The Sublime, Knowledge*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2012) *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature*. Cambridge.
- Hardwick, L. (2003) *Reception Studies*. New Surveys in the Classics 33. Oxford.
- Hardwick, L. and Stray, C. (eds.) (2008) *A Companion to Classical Receptions*. Malden, MA and Oxford.
- Harries, B. (1989) "Back to the horse: symbol and narrative in *Aeneid* 2," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 14: 136-41.
- Harris, W. (2001) *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge, MA.
- Harrison, E. L. (1970) "Divine action in *Aeneid*, book two," *Phoenix* 24: 320-32; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 46-59.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1972-73) "Why did Venus wear boots? Some reflections on *Aeneid* I, 314 f." *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 12: 10-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1980) "The structure of the *Aeneid*: observations on the links between the books," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.31.1: 359-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1985a) "Foundation prodigies in the *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Liverpool Latin Society* 5: 131-64.

- \_\_\_\_\_(1985b) "Vergil's Mercury," in *Vergilian Bimillenary Lectures 1982*. Vergilius Supplementary volume, eds. A. G. McKay, A. Gordon. College Park, MD: 1-47.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1986) "Achaemenides' unfinished account: Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.588-69," *Classical Philology* 81: 146-7.
- Harrison, S. J. (1988) "Vergil on kingship: the first simile of the *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 34: 55-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1990) *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1991) *Vergil, Aeneid 10. With Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1995) Response to Khan (1995), in *Religion and Superstition in Latin Literature*. Nottingham Classical Literature Studies 3, ed. A. Sommerstein. Bari: 29-37.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1996) "Aeneid 1.286: Julius Caesar or Augustus?" *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 8: 127-33.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) "The sword-belt of Pallas: moral symbolism and political ideology (*Aen.* 10.495-505)," in *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Its Political Context*, ed. H-P. Stahl. London: 223-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2001) *Texts, Ideas, and the Classics: Scholarship, Theory, and Classical Literature*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (2005) *A Companion to Latin Literature*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2008) "Virgilian contexts," in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, eds. L. Hardwick and C. Stray. Malden, MA and Oxford: 113-126.
- Heinze, R. (1903 first edition; 1908 second edition; 1915 third edition) *Vergils epische Technik*. Leipzig and Berlin.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993) *Virgil's Epic Technique*, tr. H. Harvey, D. Harvey, and F. Robertson. Berkeley, CA.
- Hejduk, J. (2009) "Jupiter's *Aeneid*: *fama* and *imperium*," *Classical Antiquity* 28.2: 279-327.
- Hersch, K. (2010) *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*. Cambridge.
- Hershkowitz, D. (1998) *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*. Oxford.
- Heskel, J. (1994) "Cicero as evidence for attitudes to dress in the Late Republic," in *World of Roman Costume*, eds. J. L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante. Madison: 133-45.
- Hexter, R. (1990) "What was the Trojan horse made of?: interpreting Vergil's *Aeneid*," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 3: 109-31.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1992) "Sidonian Dido," in *Innovations of Antiquity*, eds. R. Hexter and D. Selden. London: 332-84.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) "Imitating Troy: a reading of *Aeneid* 3," in *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. C. Perkell. Norton, OK: 64-79.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010) "On first looking into Vergil's Homer," in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, eds. J. Farrell and M. C. J. Putnam. Oxford: 26-36.
- Heyworth, S. (2005) "Pastoral," in *A Companion to Latin Literature*, ed. S. J. Harrison. Oxford: 148-58.
- Hightet, G. (1972) *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid*. Princeton.

- Hinds, S. (1998) *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2000) "Essential epic: genre and gender from Macer to Statius," in M. Depew and D. Obbink (eds.), *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*. Cambridge, MA: 221-44.
- Hirtzel, F. A. (ed.) (1900) *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford.
- Holt, P. (1979-80) "Aeneid V: past and future." *Classical Journal* 75: 110-21.
- Hooley, D. (2002) "Twentieth-century critical perspectives," in *Approaches to Teaching Vergil's Aeneid*, eds. W. S. Anderson and L. N. Quattarone. New York: 22-31.
- Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (eds.) (1996) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition. Oxford.
- Horsfall, N. (1973) "Corythus: the return of Aeneas in Virgil and his sources," *Journal of Roman Studies* 63: 68-79.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1973-74) "Dido in the light of history," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 13: 1-13.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1979) "Some problems in the Aeneas legend," *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 29: 372-90.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1981) "Virgil and the Conquest of Chaos," *Antichthon* 15: 141-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1986) "The Aeneas legend and the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 32: 8-17.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1987) "The Aeneas legend from Homer to Virgil," in *Roman Myth and Mythography*. BICS supplement 52, eds. J. Bremmer and N. Horsfall. London: 12-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1989) "Aeneas the colonist," *Vergilius* 35: 8-26.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1990) "Dido in the light of history," in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 127-44. Reprint of Horsfall (1973-74).
- \_\_\_\_\_(1995) *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*. Leiden.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (2000) *Virgil, Aeneid 7: A Commentary*. Leiden.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (2003) *Virgil, Aeneid 11: A Commentary*. Leiden.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (2006) *Virgil, Aeneid 3: A Commentary*. Leiden.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (2008) *Virgil, Aeneid 2: A Commentary*. Leiden.
- Hughes, L. (1997) "Virgil's Creusa and *Iliad* 6," *Mnemosyne* 50: 401-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2002) "Aeneas and Dido, an Homeric Homilia?" *Latomus* 61: 339-51.
- Hunter, R. L. (2006) *The Shadow of Callimachus: Studies in the Reception of Hellenistic Poetry at Rome*. Cambridge.
- Jackson Knight, W. F. (1944) *Roman Vergil*. London.
- James, S. (1995) "Establishing Rome with the sword: *condere* in the *Aeneid*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 116: 623-37.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2002) "Future perfect feminine: women past and present in Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *Approaches to Teaching Vergil's Aeneid*, eds. W. S. Anderson and L. N. Quattarone. New York: 138-46.
- Jimenez, A. (2009) "The meaning of *bakchos* and *bakcheuein* in Orphism," in *Mystic Cults of Magna Graecia*, eds. G. Casadio and P. A. Johnston. Austin: 46-60.
- Jocelyn, H. D. (ed.) (1969) *The Tragedies of Ennius: The Fragments*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1991) "Virgil and Aeneas' supposed Italic ancestry," *Sileno* 17: 77-100.
- Johnson, W. R. (1976) *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid*. Berkeley, CA.

- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) “*Dis aliter visum*: self-telling and theodicy in *Aeneid* 2,” in *Reading Vergil’s Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. C. Perkell. Norman, OK: 50-63.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2005) “Introduction,” in *Virgil: Aeneid*, trans. S. Lombardo, Indianapolis, IN: xv-lxxi.
- Johnston, P. A. (1980) *Vergil’s Agricultural Golden Age: A Study of the Georgics*. Leiden.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1987) “Dido, Berenice, and Arsinoe,” *American Journal of Philology* 108: 649-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) “Juno and the Sibyl of Cumae,” *Vergilius* 44: 13-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2002) “The anger of Juno in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Approaches to Teaching Vergil’s Aeneid*, eds. W. S. Anderson and L. N. Quartarone. New York: 123-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2006) “Horses, Turnus and *Libertas*,” *Vergilius* 52: 22-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2012) *Vergil: Aeneid* 6. Newburyport, MA.
- Jones, A. H. M. (1970) *Augustus*. London.
- Jones, J. W. (1965) “Trojan legend: Who is Sinon?” *Classical Journal* 61: 122-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1970) “The Trojan Horse: *timeo Danaos et dona ferentis*,” *Classical Journal* 65: 241-7.
- Kallendorf, C. (2006) “Allusion as reception: Virgil, Milton, and the modern reader,” in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, eds. C. Martindale and R. Thomas. Malden, MA and Oxford: 67-79.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007a) *The Other Virgil: ‘Pessimistic’ Readings of the Aeneid in Early Modern Culture*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007b) *The Virgilian Tradition: Book History and the History of Reading in Early Modern Europe*. Variorum Collected Studies Series CS885. Aldershot and Burlington, VT.
- Kaster, R. (1997) “The shame of the Romans,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 127: 1-19.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2012) “Honor, culture, praise, and Servius’ *Aeneid*,” in *Reception and the Classics: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Classical Tradition*. Yale Classical Studies 36, eds. W. Brockliss, P. Chaudhuri, A. Luchkov, and K. Wasdin. Cambridge: 45-56.
- Keith, A. M. (2000) *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2006) “Women’s networks in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” *Dictynna* 3: 211-33.
- Kennedy, D. (1992) “‘Augustan’ and ‘Anti-Augustan’: reflections on terms of reference,” in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. Powell. Bristol: 26-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997) “Modern receptions and their interpretive implications,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 38-55.
- Kenney, E. J. (1979) “*Iudicium transferendi*: Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.469-505 and its antecedents,” in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, eds. D. West and A. J. Woodman. Cambridge: 103-20.
- Khan, H. A. (1995) “Demonizing Dido: a rebounding sequence of curses and dreams in *Aeneid* 4,” in *Religion and Superstition in Latin Literature*. Nottingham Classical Literature Studies 3, ed. A. H. Sommerstein. Bari: 1-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) “Anchises, Achaemenides and Polyphemus: character, culture, and politics in *Aeneid* 3, 588f.,” in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 9, ed. C. Deroux. Brussels: 231-66.

- \_\_\_\_\_(2001) "Exile and the kingdom: Creusa's revelations and Aeneas' departure from Troy," *Latomus* 60: 906-15.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2002): "The boy at the banquet: Dido and Amor in Vergil, *Aen.* I," *Atheneum* 90: 187-205.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2003): "Venus' intervention in the Dido-affair: controversies and considerations," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History 11*. Collection *Latomus* 272, ed. C. Deroux. Bruxelles: 244-74.
- Kinsey, T. E. (1979a): "The song of Iopas," *Emerita* 47: 77-86.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1979b) "The Achaemenides episode in Virgil's *Aeneid* III," *Latomus* 38: 110-24.
- Kirk, G. S. (ed.) (1990) *The Iliad. A Commentary. Vol. 2, Books 5-8*. Cambridge.
- Knauer, G. N. (1964a) *Die Aeneis und Homer: Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils mit Listen der Homerzitate in der Aeneis*. Göttingen.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1964b) "Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5: 61-84; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 390-412.
- Knox, B. M. W. (1950) "The serpent and the flame: the imagery of the second book of the *Aeneid*," *American Journal of Philology* 71: 379-400.
- Konstan, D. (1986) "Venus' enigmatic smile," *Vergilius* 32: 18-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2000) "A pun in Virgil's *Aeneid*: 4.492-3?" *Classical Philology* 95: 74-6.
- Kraggerud, E. (1994): "Caesar versus Caesar again: a reply," *Symbolae Osloenses* 69: 83-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) "Samson Eitrem and the death of Dido: a literary reappraisal of a magical scene," in *The World of Ancient Magic. Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4-8 May 1997*, eds. D. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen. Bergen: 103-13.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2002) "Vergiliana (II): What is wrong with the *somni portae*? (*Aen.* 6.893-898)," *Symbolae Osloenses* 77: 128-44.
- Kraus, C., Marincola, J., and Pelling, C. (eds.) (2010) *Ancient Historiography and Its Contexts: Studies in Honour of A. J. Woodman*. Oxford.
- Krevans, N. (2002-03) "Dido, Hypsipyle, and the bedclothes," *Hermathena* 173/174: 175-83.
- Kronenberg, L. (2009) *Allegories of Farming from Greece and Rome: Philosophical Satire in Xenophon, Varro and Virgil*. Cambridge.
- Lacroix, L. (1993) "Le périple d'Énée de la Troade à la Sicile: thèmes légendaires et réalités géographiques," *Antiquité Classique* 62: 131-55.
- Laird, A. (1993) "Sounding out ecphrasis: art and text in Catullus 64," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 83: 18-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997) "Approaching characterisation in Virgil," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 282-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power: Speech Presentation in Latin Literature*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2001) "Design and designation in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Tacitus' *Annals* and Michelangelo's *Conversion of Saint Paul*," in *Intratextuality: Greek and Roman Textual Relations*, eds. A. Sharrock and H. Morales. Oxford: 143-70.

- Landis, S. (2007) "Aeneas as a reporter of speech in *Aeneid* 2-3," Honors Thesis, Emory University.
- Lanham, R. A. (1991) *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*. Second edition. Berkeley, CA.
- Lattimore, R. (trans.) (1951) *Homer: The Iliad*. Chicago.
- \_\_\_\_\_(trans.) (1965) *Homer: The Odyssey*. New York.
- Lausberg, H. 1998. *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, trans. M. Bliss, A. Jansen, and D. Orton. Leiden.
- Leach, E. W. (1988) *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome*. Princeton.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) "Viewing the *spectacula* of *Aeneid* 6," in *Reading Virgil's Aeneid*, ed. C. Perkell. Norman, OK: 111-27.
- Leigh, M. (2007) "Epic and historiography at Rome," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. J. Marincola. Malden, MA and Oxford: 483-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010) "Boxing and sacrifice in the epic: Apollonius, Vergil, and Valerius," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 105: 117-55.
- Levitan, W. (1993) "Give up the beginning? Juno's mindful wrath (*Aeneid* 1.37)," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 18: 14.
- Lewis, C. T. and Short, C. (eds.) (1879) *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford.
- Liddell, H. G. and Scott, R. (eds.) (1968) *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie with supplement. Oxford.
- Lloyd, R. B. (1957a) "*Aeneid* III: a new approach," *American Journal of Philology* 78: 133-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1957b) "*Aeneid* III and the Aeneas legend," *American Journal of Philology* 78: 382-400.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1957c) "The character of Anchises in the *Aeneid*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 88: 44-55.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (ed.) (1994-96) *Sophocles*. Three volumes. Cambridge, MA.
- Lombardo, S. (1997) *Homer: Iliad*. Indianapolis, IN.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2005) *Virgil: Aeneid*. Indianapolis, IN.
- Lord, M. L. (1969) "Dido as an example of chastity: the influence of example literature," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 17.1: 22-44.
- Lowenstam, S. (1993) "The pictures on Juno's temple in the *Aeneid*," *Classical World* 87: 37-49.
- Lowrie, M. (1999): "Telling pictures: ecphrasis in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 45: 111-20.
- Lynch, J. P. (1980) "Laocoön and Sinon: Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.40-198," *Greece and Rome* 27: 170-9.
- Lyne, R. O. A. M. (1987) *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1989) *Words and the Poet: Characteristic Techniques of Style in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford.
- MacKay, L. A. (1955) "Three levels of meaning in *Aeneid* VI," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 86: 180-9.
- Macleod, C. W. (ed.) (1982) *Homer: Iliad, Book XXIV*. Cambridge.
- McAuslan, I., and Walcot, P. (eds.) (1990) *Virgil*. Greece and Rome Studies. Oxford.

- McGowan, M. M. (2002) "On the etymology and inflection of Dares in Vergil's boxing match, *Aeneid* 5.362-484," *Classical Philology*: 80-8.
- McKay, A. G. (1966) "The Achaemenides episode: Vergil, *Aeneid* III, 588-691," *Vergilius* 12: 31-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1971) *Vergil's Italy*. Bath.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1989) "Vergil's Aeolus episode," in *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond Schoder*, ed. R. F. Sutton. Wauconda, IL: 249-56.
- Mack, S. (1980) "Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.250-2," *Classical Quarterly* 30: 153-8.
- Mackie, C. J. (1988) *The Characterization of Aeneas*. Edinburgh.
- Mahoney, A. (ed.) (2001) *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar*. Newburyport, MA.
- Maiuri, A. (1969) *The Phlegraeian Fields*. Fourth edition. Rome.
- Maltby, R. (2002) *Tibullus, Elegies: Text, Introduction and Commentary*. Leeds.
- Mandelbaum, A. (trans.) (1971) *The Aeneid of Virgil*. New York.
- Manuwald, B. (1985) "Improvisi aderunt: zur Sinon-Szene in Vergils *Aeneis* (2.57-198)," *Hermes* 113: 183-208.
- Marincola, J. (ed.) (2007) *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*. Malden, MA and Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010) "Eros and empire: Virgil and the historians on Civil war," in *Ancient Historiography and its Contexts: Studies in Honour of A. J. Woodman*, eds. C. Kraus, J. Marincola, and C. Pelling. Oxford: 183-204.
- Martindale, C. (ed.) (1984) *Virgil and his Influence*. Bristol.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993a) *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993b) "Descent into Hell: reading ambiguity, or Virgil and the critics," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 21: 111-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1997) *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*. Cambridge.
- Martindale, C. and Thomas, R. (eds.) (2006) *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Malden, MA and Oxford.
- Miller, J. F. (1993) "The shield of Argive Abas at *Aeneid* 3.286," *Classical Quarterly* 43: 445-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2009) *Apollo, Augustus and the Poets*. Cambridge.
- Mitchell, R. N. (1991) "The violence of virginity in the *Aeneid*," *Arethusa* 24: 219-38.
- Molyneux, J. H. (1986) "Sinon's narrative in *Aeneid* II," *Latomus* 45: 873-7.
- Monti, R.C. (1981) *The Dido Episode and the Aeneid: Roman Social and Political Values in the Epic*. Leiden.
- Moskalew, W. (1990) "Myrmidons, Dolopes, and Danaans: wordplays in *Aeneid* 2," *Classical Quarterly* 40: 275-9.
- Most, G. (2001) "Memory and forgetting in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 47: 148-70.
- Most, G. and Spence, S. (eds.) (2004) *Re-Presenting Virgil: Special Issue in Honor of Michael C. J. Putnam. Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 52. Pisa.
- Muecke, F. (1983) "Foreshadowing and dramatic irony in the story of Dido," *American Journal of Philology* 104: 134-55.

- Murgia, C. (1971) "More on the Helen episode," *Classical Antiquity* 4: 203-17.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2003) "The date of the Helen episode," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 101: 405-26.
- Muse, K. (2005) "'Don't dally in this valley': wordplay in *Odyssey* 15.10 and *Aeneid* 4.271," *Classical Quarterly* 55.2: 646-9.
- Mynors, R. A. B. (ed.) (1969) *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1990) *Virgil: Georgics*. Oxford.
- Nagle, B. R. (1983) "Open-ended closure in *Aeneid* 2," *Classical World* 76: 257-63.
- Nappa, C. (2005) *Reading After Actium: Vergil's Georgics, Octavian, and Rome*. Ann Arbor.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2011) "Catullus and Vergil," in *A Companion to Catullus*, ed. M. Skinner. Malden, MA and Oxford: 377-98.
- Nelis, D. (2001) *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. Leeds.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010) "Vergil's library," in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, eds. J. Farrell and M. C. J. Putnam. Oxford: 13-25.
- Nethercut, W. R. (1986) "*Aeneid* 5.105: the horses of Phaethon," *American Journal of Philology* 107: 102-8.
- Newton, F. (1957) "Recurrent imagery in *Aeneid* IV," *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 88: 31-43.
- Nisbet, R. G. M. (1990) "*Aeneas Imperator*: Roman generalship in an epic context," in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison. Oxford: 378-89; reprinted from *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 18 (1978-80): 50-61.
- Nisbet, R. G. M. and Hubbard, M. (eds.) (1970) *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1*. Oxford.
- Norden, E. (1901; trans. 1999) "Vergils *Aeneid* im Lichte ihrer Zeit," *Neue Jahrbücher für Klassische Altertum*, vol. 7: 249-82, 313-34; translated as "Virgil's *Aeneid* in the light of its own time," in *Virgil: Critical Assessments of Classical Authors*, vol. 4, ed. P. Hardie (1999). London: 114-72.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1903 first edition; 1916 second edition; 1926 third edition) *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI*. Leipzig and Berlin.
- Norwood, G. (1954) "The tripartite eschatology of *Aeneid* 6," *Classical Philology* 49: 15-26.
- Nugent, S. G. (1992) "*Aeneid* V and Virgil's voice of the women," *Arethusa* 25: 255-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) "The women of the *Aeneid*: vanishing bodies, lingering voices," in *Reading Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. C. Perkell. Norman, OK: 251-70.
- Nünlist, R. (2009) *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*. Cambridge.
- Nussbaum, G. B. (1986) *Vergil's Meter: A Practical Guide for Reading Latin Hexameter Poetry*. Bristol.
- Nuttall, A. D. (1998) "Inconstant Dido," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Burden. London: 89-104.
- Nyenhuis, J. E. (2003) *Myth and the Creative Process: Michael Ayrton and the Myth of Daedalus, the Maze Maker*. Detroit.
- O'Hara, J. J. (1990) *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid*. Princeton.



- \_\_\_\_\_(1993a) "Medicine for the madness of Dido and Gallus: tentative suggestions on *Aeneid* 4," *Vergilius* 39: 12-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1993b) "Dido as 'interpreting character' at *Aeneid* 4.56-66," *Arethusa* 26: 99-114.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1994) "Temporal distortions, 'fatal' ambiguity, and Iulius Caesar at *Aeneid* I. 286-96," *Symbolae Osloenses* 69: 72-82.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1996) *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Aetiological Wordplay*. Ann Arbor.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1997) "Virgil's style," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 241-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007) *Inconsistency in Roman Epic: Studies in Catullus, Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, and Lucan*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010) "The unfinished *Aeneid*?" in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, eds. J. Farrell and M. C. J. Putnam. Oxford: 96-106.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2011) *Vergil: Aeneid 4*. Newburyport, MA.
- Oliensis, E. (1997) "Sons and lovers: sexuality and gender in Virgil's poetry," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. Cambridge: 294-311.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2001) "Freud's *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 47: 39-63.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2004) "Sibylline syllables: the intratextual *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 50: 29-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2009) *Freud's Rome: Psychoanalysis and Latin Poetry*. Cambridge.
- O'Rourke, D. (2011) "The representation and misrepresentation of Virgilian poetry in Propertius 2.34," *American Journal of Philology* 132: 457-97.
- Osgood, J. (2006) *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*. Cambridge.
- Otis, B. (1964) *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*. Oxford.
- Page, T. E. (ed.) (1894, 1900) *Virgil: Aeneid*. Two volumes. London.
- Pailler, J.-M. (1995) *Bacchus: Figures et Pouvoirs*. Paris.
- Palmer, L. R. (1954) *The Latin Language*. London.
- Panoussi, V. (2002) "Virgil's Ajax: allusion, tragedy, and heroic identity in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Antiquity* 21: 95-134.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2009) *Greek Tragedy in Vergil's Aeneid: Ritual, Empire, and Intertext*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010) "Aeneas' sacral authority," in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, eds. J. Farrell and M. C. J. Putnam. Oxford: 52-65.
- Parke, H. W. (1941) "The sources of Vergil, *Aeneid* III, 692-705," *American Journal of Philology* 62: 490-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1988) *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*. London.
- Parry, A. (1963) "The two voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Arion* 2 (1963): 66-80.
- Pavlovskis, Z. (1975-76) "*Aeneid* V: the old and the young," *Classical Journal* 71: 193-205.
- Parker, R. (1995) "Early Orphism," in *The Greek World*, ed. A. Powell. London: 483-510.
- Parvulescu, A. (2005) "The Golden Bough, Aeneas' piety, and the suppliant branch," *Latomus* 64.4: 882-909.

- Paschalis, M. (1986a) "Virgil and the Delphic Oracle," *Philologus* 130: 44-68.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1986b) "The unifying theme of Daedalus' sculptures on the Temple of Apollo Cumanus (*Aen.* 6, 20-33)," *Vergilius* 32: 33-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names*. Oxford.
- Pavlock, B. (1985) "Epic and tragedy in Vergil's Nisus and Euryalus episode," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 115: 207-24.
- Pease, A. S. (ed.) (1935) *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. Cambridge.
- Pelliccia, H. (2010-11) "Unlocking *Aeneid* 6.460: Plautus' *Amphitryon*, Euripides' *Protesilaus* and the referents of Callimachus' *Coma*," *Classical Journal* 106.2: 149-219.
- Pelling, C. (1996) "The Triumviral period," in *The Augustan Empire: 43 B.C. – A.D. 69. The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. X. Second edition, eds. A. Bowman, E. Champlin, and A. Lintott. Cambridge: 1-69.
- Perkell, C. (1981) "On Creusa, Dido, and the quality of victory in Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Women's Studies* 8 (1981): 201-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1989) *The Poet's Truth: A Study of the Poet in Virgil's Georgics*. Berkeley, CA.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1994) "Ambiguity and irony: the last resort?" *Helios* 21: 63-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1996) "The 'dying Gallus' and the design of *Eclogue* 10," *Classical Philology* 91: 128-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.) (1999) *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*. Norman, OK.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2002) "The golden age and its contradictions in the poetry of Vergil," *Vergilius* 48: 3-39.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2008) "Reading the laments in *Iliad* 24," in *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. A. Suter. Oxford: 93-117.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2010) *Vergil: Aeneid* 3. Newburyport, MA.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (forthcoming) "Vergil and Critical Theory," in *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, eds. R. Thomas and J. Ziolkowski. Malden, MA and Oxford.
- Petrini, M. (1997) *The Child and the Hero: Coming of Age in Catullus and Vergil*. Ann Arbor.
- Pfeiffer, R. (ed.) (1949-53) *Callimachus*. 2 vols. Oxford.
- Phillips, O. (1980) "Aeole, namque tibi," *Vergilius* 26: 18-26.
- Poliakoff, M. B. (1985) "Entellus and Amycus: Vergil, *Aen.* 5.362-484," *Illinois Classical Studies* 10: 227-31.
- Pöschl, V. (1950) *Die Dichtkunst Vergils: Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis*. Innsbruck.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1962) *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, tr. G. Seligson. Ann Arbor.
- Powell, A. (ed.) (1992) *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*. Bristol.
- Purcell, N. (2005) "Romans in the Roman world," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. K. Galinsky. Cambridge: 85-105.
- Putnam, M. (1965) *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design*. Cambridge, MA.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1979) *Virgil's Poem of the Earth: Studies in the Georgics*. Princeton.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1980) "The third book of the *Aeneid*: from Homer to Rome," *Ramus* 9: 1-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1993) "The languages of Horace, *Odes* 1.24," *Classical Journal* 88.2: 123-35.

- \_\_\_\_\_(1995) *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*. Chapel Hill.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*. New Haven.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2011) *The Humanness of Heroes: Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's Aeneid*. Amsterdam.
- Quartarone, L. N. (2002) "Pietas, furor, and ecofeminism in the *Aeneid*," in *Approaches to Teaching Virgil's Aeneid*, eds. W. S. Anderson and L. N. Quartarone. New York: 147-58.
- Quinn, K. (1968) *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description*. London.
- Quinn, S. (2000) *Why Virgil?: A Collection of Interpretations*. Wauconda, IL.
- Quint, D. (1993) *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Vergil to Milton*. Princeton.
- Rammiger, J. (1991) "Imitation and allusion in the Achaemenides scene (Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.588-691)," *American Journal of Philology* 112: 53-71.
- Rauk, J. (1995) "Macrobius, Cornutus, and the cutting of Dido's lock," *Classical Philology* 90.4: 345-54.
- Reckford, K. J. (1981) "Helen in *Aeneid* II and VI," *Arethusa* 14: 85-99.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1995-96) "Recognizing Venus I: Aeneas meets his mother," *Arion* 3: 1-42.
- Reed, J. (2001) "Anchises reading Aeneas reading Marcellus," *Syllecta Classica* 12: 146-68.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2006) "Ardebat laena: *Aeneid* 4.262," *Vergilius* 52: 55-75.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007) *Virgil's Gaze*. Princeton.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2010) "Virgil's Roman," in *A Companion to Virgil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, eds. J. Farrell and M. C. J. Putnam. Oxford: 66-79.
- Renehan, R. (1973) "Pseudo-Vergil's *ultrix flamma*: a problem in linguistic probabilities," *Classical Philology* 68: 197-202.
- Ribbeck, O. (ed.) (1868) *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneis in usum scholarum*. Leipzig.
- Richardson, L., Jr. (1992) *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore.
- Römisch, E. (1976) "Die Achaemenides-Episode in Vergils *Aeneis*," *Studien zum antiken Epos: Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 72: 208-27.
- Rose, A. (1982-83) "Vergil's ship-snake simile (*Aeneid* 5.270-281)," *Classical Journal* 78: 115-21.
- Rosenmeyer, P. (1999) "Tracing Medulla as a *locus eroticus*," *Arethusa* 32.1: 19-48.
- Ross, D. O. (1987) *Virgil's Elements: Physics and Poetry in the Georgics*. Princeton.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) "Images of fallen Troy in the *Aeneid*," in *Style and Tradition: Studies in Honor of Wendell Clausen*, eds. P. Knox and C. Foss. Stuttgart and Leipzig: 121-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2007) *Virgil's Aeneid: A Reader's Guide*. Malden, MA and Oxford.
- Rossi, A. (2002) "The fall of Troy: between tradition and genre," in *Clio and the Poets: Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography*, eds. D. S. Levene and D. P. Nelis. Leiden: 231-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2004) *Contexts of War: Manipulations of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative*. Ann Arbor.
- Russell, D. A. (ed.) (2001) *Quintilian IV: The Orator's Education, Books 9-10*. Cambridge, MA.

- Roti, G. (1983) "Omnibus unus (*Aeneid* 3.716)," *American Journal of Philology* 33: 300-1.
- Rowell, H. T. (1966) "The ancient evidence of the Helen episode in *Aeneid* II," in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. L. Wallach. Ithaca, NY: 210-21.
- Rudd, N. (1990) "Dido's Culpa," in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. Harrison. Oxford: 145-90; reprinted from *Lines of Enquiry*, N. Rudd (1970). Cambridge: 32-53.
- Sanderlin, G. (1975) "Aeneas as apprentice: point of view in the third *Aeneid*," *Classical Journal* 71: 53-8.
- Schiesaro, A. (2008) "Furthest voices in Virgil's Dido," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* n.s. 6: 60-109, 194-245.
- Schmidt, E. (2001) "The meaning of Vergil's *Aeneid*: American and German approaches," *Classical World* 94.2: 145-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2008) "The German rediscovery of Vergil in the early 20th Century (1900-1938)," *Vergilius* 54: 124-49.
- Scullard, H. H. (1982) *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68*. Fifth edition. London.
- Segal, C. P. (1965) "Aeternum per saecula nomen: the golden bough and the tragedy of history. Part 1," *Arion* 4: 617-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1966) "Aeternum per saecula nomen: the golden bough and the tragedy of history. Part 2," *Arion* 5: 34-72.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1971) "The song of Iopas in the *Aeneid*," *Hermes* 99: 336-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1973-74) "'Like winds and winged dream': a note on Virgil's development," *Classical Journal* 69: 97-101.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1981a) "Art and the hero: participation, detachment, and narrative point of view in *Aeneid* 1," *Arethusa* 14.1: 67-83.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1981b) "Iopas revisited (*Aeneid* 1.740 ff.)," *Emérita* 49: 17-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1990) "Dido's hesitation in *Aeneid* 4," *Classical World* 84: 1-12.
- Sharrock, A. and Morales, H. (eds.) (2001) *Intratextuality: Greek and Roman Textual Relations*. Oxford.
- Shotter, D. (2005) *Augustus Caesar*. Second edition. London.
- Sklenár, R. (1990) "The death of Priam: *Aeneid* 2.506-558," *Hermes* 118: 67-75.
- Skulsky, S. (1985) "*Invitus, regina...*: Aeneas and the love of Rome," *American Journal of Philology* 106: 447-55.
- Skutsch, O. (ed.) (1985) *The Annals of Q. Ennius*. Oxford.
- Smith, K. F. (1913) *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus*. New York.
- Smith, R. A. (2005) *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*. Austin.
- \_\_\_\_\_(2011) *Virgil*. West Sussex, UK.
- Smith, R. M. (1999) "Deception and sacrifice in *Aeneid* 2.1-249," *American Journal of Philology* 120: 503-23.
- Solmsen, F. (1968) "Greek ideas of the hereafter in Virgil's Roman epic," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112: 8-14.

- \_\_\_\_\_(1972) "The world of the dead in book 6 of the *Aeneid*," *Classical Philology* 67: 31-41; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 208-23.
- Southern, P. (1998) *Augustus*. New York.
- Sparrow, J. (1931) *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil*. Oxford.
- Spence, S. (1999a) "Varium et mutabile: voices of authority," in *Reading Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. C. Perkell. Norman, OK: 80-95.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999b) "The polyvalence of Pallas in the *Aeneid*," *Arethusa* 32: 149-63.
- Stahl, H.-P. (ed.) (1998a) *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*. London.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998b) "Political stop-overs on a mythological travel route: from battling Harpies to the Battle of Actium (*Aen.* 3.268-93)," in *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Its Political Context*, ed. H.-P. Stahl. London: 37-84.
- Staley, G. A. (1990) "Aeneas' first act: 1.180-194," *Classical World* 84: 25-38.
- Starks, J. H. (1999) "Fides Aeneia: the transference of Punic stereotypes in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Journal* 94.3: 255-83.
- Starr, R. J. (1991) "Explaining Dido to your son: Tiberius Claudius Donatus on Vergil's Dido," *Classical Journal* 87: 25-34.
- Stok, F. (2010) "The life of Vergil before Donatus," in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, eds. J. Farrell and M. C. J. Putnam. Oxford: 107-20.
- Sullivan, J. P. (1992) "Dido and the representation of women in Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*, eds. R. M. Wilhelm and H. Jones. Detroit: 64-73.
- Swallow, E. (1952-53) "The strategic fifth *Aeneid*," *Classical World* 46: 177-9.
- Syed, Y. (2005) *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self: Subject and Nation in Literary Discourse*. Ann Arbor.
- Syme, R. (1939) *The Roman Revolution*. Oxford.
- Tarrant, R. J. (1982) "Aeneas and the Gates of Sleep," *Classical Philology* 77: 51-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (2012) *Virgil: Aeneid, Book XII*. Cambridge.
- Tatum, J. (1984) "Allusion and interpretation in *Aeneid* 6.440-76," *American Journal of Philology* 105: 434-52.
- Thibodeau, P. (2011) *Playing the Farmer: Representations of Rural Life in Vergil's Georgics*. Berkeley, CA.
- Thomas, R. (1983) "Virgil's ecphrastic centerpieces," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 87: 175-84.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1986) "Virgil's *Georgics* and the art of reference," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 90: 171-98.
- \_\_\_\_\_(ed.) (1988a) *Virgil: Georgics*. Two vols. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1988b) "Tree violation and ambivalence in Virgil," *American Journal of Philology* 118: 261-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1992) Rev. of Harrison (1991), *Vergilius* 38: 134-44.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1998) "The isolation of Turnus: *Aeneid*, book 12," in *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Its Political Context*, ed. H.-P. Stahl. London: 271-302.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1999) *Reading Virgil and His Texts: Studies in Intertextuality*. Ann Arbor.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (2001) *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) (2011) *Horace: Odes, Book IV and Carmen Saeculare*. Cambridge.
- Thomas, R. and Ziolkowski, J. (eds.) (forthcoming) *The Virgil Encyclopedia*. Three vols. Malden, MA and Oxford.
- Thornton, A. (1976) *The Living Universe*. Mnemosyne Supplement 46. Leiden.
- Tracy, S. V. (1987) "Laocoon's guilt," *American Journal of Philology* 108: 451-4.
- Traill, D. A. (2001) "Boxers and generals at Mount Eryx," *American Journal of Philology* 122: 405-13.
- Treggiari, S. (1991) *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*. Oxford.
- Turcan, R. (1992) "L'élaboration des mystères dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique et romaine: de l'orgasme à l'initiation," in *L'Initiation: Les rites d'adolescence et les mystères, Actes du Colloque International de Montpellier 11-14 avril 1991*, ed. A. Moreau. Montpellier: 215-33.
- Van Hook, La Rue (1949) "On the idiomatic use of KARA, KEFALH and Caput," in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, *Hesperia Supplements* vol. 8: 413-14.
- Van Sickle, J. (1992) *A Reading of Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*. New York.
- Vernant, J.-P. and Vidal-Naquet, P. (1988) *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*, tr. J. Lloyd. New York.
- Volk, K. (ed.) (2008a) *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Virgil's Eclogues*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) (2008b) *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Virgil's Georgics*. Oxford.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1993) *Augustan Rome*. London.
- Warmington, E. H. (1935-40) *Remains of Old Latin*. Revised edition. Four volumes. Cambridge, MA.
- Weber, C. (1995) "The allegory of the golden bough," *Vergilius* 41: 3-34.
- Weinstock, S. (1971) *Divus Julius*. Oxford.
- Wellesley, K. (1964) "Facilis descensus Averno," *Classical Review* n.s. xiv: 235-8.
- West, D. A. (1969) "Multiple-correspondence similes in the *Aeneid*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 59: 40-9; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 429-44.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1987) "The bough and the gate," 17th Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, Exeter University Publications; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 224-38.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1993) "On serial narration and the Julian Star," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 21: 1-10.
- West, D. and Woodman, A. J. (eds.) (1979) *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*. Cambridge.
- West, G. S. (1983) "Andromache and Dido," *American Journal of Philology* 104: 257-67.
- West, M. L. (ed.) (2003) *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge, MA.
- White, P. (1993) *Promised Verse: Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome*. Cambridge, MA.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (2005) "Poets in the new milieu: realigning," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. K. Galinsky. Cambridge: 321-39.
- Wigodsky, M. (1972) *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry*. Wiesbaden.
- Wilhelm, R. M. and Jones, H. (eds.) (1992) *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*. Detroit.
- Wilhelm, R. M. (1992) "Dardanus, Aeneas, Augustus, and the Etruscans," in *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*, eds., R. Wilhelm and H. Jones. Detroit: 129-45.
- Wilkinson, L. P. (1963) *Golden Latin Artistry*. Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1969) *The Georgics of Virgil: A Critical Survey*. Cambridge.
- Williams, G. W. (1983) *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*. New Haven.
- Williams, M. F. (2003) "The *sidus Iulium*, the divinity of men and the Golden Age in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *Leeds International Classical Studies* 2.1: 1-29.
- Williams, R. D. (1960) "The pictures on Dido's temple (*Aeneid* I, 450-493)," *Classical Quarterly* 10: 145-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.) (1960) *Virgil: Aeneid V*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.) (1962) *Virgil: Aeneid III*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1964) "The sixth book of the *Aeneid*," *Greece and Rome* 11: 48-63; reprinted in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (1990). Oxford: 191-207.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1965-66) "The opening scenes of the *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 5: 14-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1972-73) *Virgil: Aeneid*. Two volumes. London.
- Wills, J. (1997) *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1998) "Divided allusion: Virgil and the *Coma Berenices*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 98: 277-305.
- Wiltshire, S. F. (1989) *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid*. Amherst.
- Winbolt, S. E. (1903) *Latin Hexameter Verse: An Aid to Composition*. London.
- Wlosok, A. (1999) "The Dido tragedy in Virgil: a contribution to the question of the tragic in the *Aeneid*," in *Virgil: Critical Assessments of Classical Authors*, vol. 4, ed. P. Hardie. London: 158-81. Originally published as "Vergils Didotragödie: ein Beitrag zum Problem des Tragischen in der *Aeneis*," in *Studien zum antiken Epos*, eds. H. Görgemanns and E. A. Schmidt (1976). Meisenheim: 228-50.
- Wright, M. R. (1997) "*Ferox uirtus*: anger in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, eds. S. M. Braund and C. Gill. Cambridge: 169-84.
- Wyatt, W. (ed.) *Homer: Iliad*. Two volumes. Cambridge, MA.
- Zanker, P. (1988) *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, tr. A. Shapiro. Ann Arbor.
- Zetzel, J. E. G. (1989) "*Romane, memento*: justice and judgment in *Aeneid* 6," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119: 263-84.
- Ziolkowski, J. and Putnam, M. C. J. (eds.) (2008) *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*. New Haven.
- Ziolkowski, T. (1993) *Virgil and the Moderns*. Princeton.





# GENERAL INDEX

*Please note:* This index contains major references to the listed terms but is not intended to be comprehensive. References to pages in the “General Introduction” are preceded by “p” or “pp.” (e.g. p. 14, pp. 2-3); references to notes in the commentary are made by book number in Roman numerals followed by line number/numbers (e.g. I.16, 265-6; II.7-12; III.124; IV.13, 78, 142-3). An asterisk (\*) indicates terms included in the Glossary.

## **Ablative:**

*absolute:* I.16, 122, 152, 265-6; II.100, 657; III.17, 27, 137-9, 143-6, 156-7, 221, 355, 369, 564-5, 614-15, 666-7, 705, 718; IV.50, 128; V.331-2, 793; VI.59, 143, 258, 424-5; one-word construction: I.737; V.127  
*attendant circumstance:* I.155, 697; III.498-9; V.190  
*cause:* I.674; II.34, 82; III.213, 218, 271, 327-8, 546, 564-5, 585-6, 672, 706; IV.42-3; V.656  
*comparison:* I.544; II.773; III.214; IV.31  
*degree of difference:* II.199; III.116; VI.79-80  
*description:* I.313, 702; II.186; III.28, 350, 426-7, 491, 677, 685, 688-9; IV.11; V.77-8; VI.232  
*extent, space over which:* III.124, 204, 268, 277, 416-17  
*impersonal agent:* III.570  
*instrumental:* IV.2, 436; V.454; VI.4  
*local:* II.574  
*manner:* III.56, 83, 314, 523-4, 664-5; V.153-4, 450, 454  
*material:* I.166, 167; II.727; III.46, 304; V.311-12, 663; VI.144  
*means:* I.75, 238-9, 673, 674; II.71-2; III.136, 222-2, 233, 279, 280, 298,

400, 416-7, 442, 529, 650, 664-5, 668; V.77-8, 116, 275, 454, 817  
*origin:* I.102-3, 297; IV.35-6; VI.131  
*place from which:* I.375  
*place where:* I.128; II.89, 421, 528; III.13, 392; IV.489; V.289-90, 821  
*quality:* I.313, 490, 702; II.481-2; III.13, 45, 286, 535, 538, 618, 685; V.118, 372-3, 609  
*separation:* I.144-5, 647, 679; II.44; III.72, 300, 577; IV.479  
*specification:* I.72; V.267  
*supine:* I.111; III.26, 365-6  
*time:* III.333; IV.32; V.42, 190  
*with tenuis:* II.553; III.426-7

## **Accusative:**

*adverbial:* II.630; III.67-8, 342-3, 610; V.19-20, 751  
*cognate:* I.327-8, 340, 524; II.494, 693; III.56, 67-8, 342-3, 572, 610; IV.395; V.5-6, 196, 235, 688, 751, 862; VI.50, 117-18, 223-24, 324, 466, 467-8, 644, 646, 694  
*double construction:* III.370; IV.50  
*duration:* I.74, 683; III.203; V.762; VI.355  
*extent of space:* I.67; III.191  
*Greek:* I.113, 129, 181-2, 483-4, 611, 619, 724; II.213-14, 457; III.122, 517, 525,

- 572; IV.288, 383; V.30, 372, 458-60, 536, 547, 708; VI.122-3, 247, 393, 585, 657  
*internal*: VI.313  
*motion toward/place to which*: I.2, 619; II.326-7, 742, 756; III.154, 253-4, 507, 601, 614-15; VI.346, 541-2  
*predicate*: I.109  
*respect*: I.320, 579, 589-90; II.381, 629; III.47, 65, 428, 545, 594; VI.496-7  
*retained*: II.273; IV.137; V.608  
*specification*: II.57, 221; IV.395; V.309, 604, 608; VI.156, 467-8, 470
- Acestes**: I.195; V.39, 522-4
- Achaemenides**: II.145-98; III.548-612
- Achates**: I.120, 174, 188, 305-417, 418-93, 581, 752; III.523-4; VI.9, 14-41
- Achilles**: I.4, 99, 284-5, 418-93, 475, 483-7, 489, 490-3, 752; II.7, 29, 268-97, 268-558; V.104-63; VI.86
- Actium**: pp. 4-5, 18; I.289; III.278-93, 527; V.588-95; VI.800
- Adjectives**:  
*adverbial meaning*: I.35, 737  
*diminutive*: I.256; III.347-8; IV.328; V.842  
*epic compound*: I.663; III.221, 359, 550, 553, 642, 660-1, 679-81, 704  
*adjective/noun arrangements*: III.108  
*prolepsis*: I.70, 259, 659-60, 712, 719; II.669, III.30, 141, 462; IV.22, 465-6; V.255, 816  
*substantive*: I.111, 421-2; III.232, 433-4, 588; IV.188; V.851
- Adverb, modifying adjective**: IV.8
- Aeneas**:  
*Anchises in underworld and*: VI.679-901  
*attack on Harpies*: III.209-77, 235  
*Augustus and*: pp. 13-14; I.286-96; III.278-93  
*authenticity as narrator*: III.692-718  
*dedicates shield at Actium*: III.288  
*deification*: I.250, 265-6  
*Hector and*: II.268-97; III.342-3  
*Helen Episode*: II.567-88  
*ecphrasis*: I.418-93  
*exit through Gates of Sleep*: VI.893-901  
*fate and*: pp. 13-16; I.223-304; II. 268-558, 559-804, 589-633, 725-95  
*frenzy/fury*: II.268-558, 314, 559-804, 776  
*heroism*: II.1-267, 268-558  
*Jason and*: IV introduction, 90-128, 160-72, 285-6, 296-392, 331-62, 513-18, 584-631  
*journey through underworld*: VI.264-678  
*reasons for leaving Dido*: IV.296-392  
*landing in Italy*: III.521-47  
*luxurious purple cloak*: IV. 262  
*'marriage' to Dido*: IV.160-72, 172, 296-392  
*narrator*: II introduction, 1-267, 56, 234, 506; III introduction, 14, 39-40, 56, 692-718  
*Parade of Heroes and*: VI.752-853  
*Paris and*: IV.215  
*pater*: III.716  
*penates*: II.293, 294, 320-1, 717  
*pietas of*: pp. 14-16; I.8-11, 10; II.559-804, 658, 717, 725-95, 804; VI.9, 769;  
*passim*  
*receives prophecy of future rule*: III.97, 147-91  
*sees Dido in Underworld*: VI.450-76  
*shipwreck at Carthage*: I.34-222  
*Sibyl and*: VI.1-263  
*Theseus and*: IV introduction, 296-392  
*tormenting by Juno*: I.8-11  
*Venus and*: I.305-417  
*vs. Helenus as founder of New Troy*: III.294-355, 374-462  
*vs. Odysseus as hero*: I introduction, 94-101, 198-207; II introduction;

- III.160, 548-691, 629, 677  
*vs. Odysseus as narrator*: II  
 introduction, 3; III introduction,  
 613, 679-81
- Aeolus**: I introduction, 34-222, 50-64;  
 VI.164, 529
- Aetiology\***: III.59 (prodigies, Roman  
 senate), 63 (altars to spirits of dead),  
 67-8 (ritual last address), 280 (Actian  
 Games), 405 (covered heads)  
*in Hellenistic literature*: III.692-718  
*of place names*: III.190 (Pergamum);  
 IV.47-9, 615-29 (Punic Wars);  
 V.545-603 (*lusus Troiae*), VI.234-5  
 (Misenum)
- Ajax**:  
*son of Oileus*: I.41, III.399; VI.838-40  
*son of Telamon*: I.619; II.414; IV.584-  
 631, 647; V.327-38, 404-5; VI.450-706
- Alba Longa**: I.7, 271; II.486-505; III.390,  
 392; IV.236; V.580-603; VI.763-8
- Alcides**: VI.122-3, 392, 801; see **Hercules**.
- Alliteration\***: I.81, 124, 245-6, 294-6,  
 680; II.9, 44, 199, 209, 245, 273, 418-19,  
 783; III.1-12, 147-91; IV.28-9, 81, 135,  
 160, 216-17, 390, 460-7; VI.46-9, 62,  
 100-1, 160, 165-7, 168, 225-36, 370, 506,  
 570-1, 644, 683, 833
- Allusion**: p. 8 (with n. 33); see  
**Intertextuality**.
- Ambiguity**: p. 23; I.286-96; III.543; IV.19,  
 124; VI.348, 467-8
- Anachronism\***: I.35, 168-9, 181-2, 494-  
 642; II.578; III.398, 704; V.119; VI.2
- Anaphora\***: I.78, 200, 204, 421-2; II.636;  
 III.44, 85, 88, 111, 359-61, 392, 408-9,  
 566-7, 599-600, 708-10, 714; IV.369-70;  
 VI.32-3, 47-8
- Anastrophe\***: I.13, 218-19, 348, 466;  
 III.684-6, IV.320-1
- Anchises**: I.305-417; II.634-49, 679-725,  
 804; III.84-120, 121-208, 374-462,  
 463-505, 537, 607, 707-18; IV.351; V  
 introduction, 1-103, 104-603, 613-15,  
 654, 719-45, 827-71; VI introduction,  
 679-901; see also **Games**.
- Androgeos**:  
*Greek warrior*: II.370-401  
*Minos' son*: VI.16-41
- Andromache**: III.294-520
- Antenor**: I.1, 242-4
- Antithesis\***: III.181, 325, 716; V.509-10;  
 VI.512, 857-8
- Antony, Marc**: pp. 5-7; III.278-93; IV  
 introduction, 215, 262, 266
- Apodosis**: I.543; II.55, 56, 191; III.368,  
 491, 502; IV.19; V.346; VI.870-1
- Apollo**: III.69-120, 75-6, 327-8, 374-462;  
 IV.143, 345; VI.9, 37, 69-70, 71, 398
- Apollonius of Rhodes (*Argonautica*)**:  
 p. 9; I.643-756, 723-56; III.209-77;  
 IV.296-392; V introduction, 104-603;  
*passim*
- Aposiopesis\***: I.135; II.100; V.195
- Apostrophe\***: I.160-1, II.429-30, III.119,  
 696, 705; IV.27, 408, 412; V.840; VI.30-1
- Aratus**: pp. 5, 9
- Archaism\***  
*arma*: V.15  
*ast*: I.46  
*command*: VI.74, 544, 614  
*compound adjective*: III.221, 359, 550,  
 679, 704  
*dii*: I.636  
*ergo*: VI.670  
*extemplo*: II.176  
*future imperative*: III.388  
*genitive (aurai)*: VI.745-7  
*genitive plurals*: I.4

*genitive singular*: III.354  
*gratari*: V.40  
*honos*: V.763  
*Ille* (pleonastic): I.3  
*imperative (future)*: IV.624; VI.74, 614  
*includus*: VI.479-80 496-7  
*infinitive (-ier)*: 492-3  
*Mavortius*: I.276  
*monosyllabic verse ending*: I.105, III.12, 375, 390  
*ne + imperative*: 2.48; III.160, 316, 394  
*ni for ne*: III.686  
*olli*: I.254  
*perfect ending in -ere*: V.8  
*potis*: III.671  
*prayer*: III.85  
*quianam*: V.10-13  
*quin*: III.456  
*rursum*: III.229  
*sed enim*: I.19  
*similis + gen.*: V.594  
*simplex verbs*: III.316  
*succipiunt*: VI.249  
*uti*: I.476  
**Argonautica**: see **Apollonius of Rhodes**.  
**Arsis\***, **lengthening in**: I.308, 651, 667-8; II.410-12, 563; III.112, 606; IV.64, 146, 222; V.521; VI.254  
**Ascanius**: see **Iulus**.  
**Assonance\***: II.44, 353; III.424-8, 539-40, 576; IV.271, 463; V.458-60, 505-6; VI.165, 204, 492, 857-8  
**Asyndeton\***: I.106-7, 184, 204, 209 (adversative), 384, 421-2, 495, 598-600; II.324-5, 602, 617-18, 663; III.494-5, 593, 618, 669; IV.373; V.509-10; VI.32-3, 47-8, 134  
**Atlas**: I.741; IV.247, 482; VI.796  
**Atridae**: I.458; II.104, 203, 415  
**Attraction (grammatical/syntactic)**: I.72, 267-8, 573; III.27, 94-5, 660-1, 710-11; IV.347

**Augury**: II.693; III.401, 361; V.254  
**Augustus/Octavian**: pp. 1-7, 13-14, 16-18; I.148-53, 223-304, 267-8; III.278-93; V introduction, 49; VI.69-70, 679-901, 752-853, 789-807, 801-5, 860-92; *passim*  
**Ausonia**: III.385; VI.346  
**Auspices**: I.346; III.361, 374-6; IV.102-3, 340-1; VI.781  
**Avernus**: VI.107, 162-4, 239  
**Bacchus (Liber)**: I.686; IV.301-2; VI.703-23, 801-5  
**Brutus, L. Iunius**: VI.817-19; VI.820 (sons of Brutus)  
**Brutus, M. Iunius**: pp. 2-3  
**Buthrotum**: III.294-520  
**Caesar, Julius**: pp. 2, 3, 13; I.267-8, 286-96; II.679-725; III.537; VI.752-853, 792, 826, 830, 831; see also **Gens Iulia**.  
**Caesura\***: I.308, 341, 367, 418-93, 561-78; II.9; III.108, 131, 132, 383, 476, 487, 644, 655-7; V.422-3, 458-60, 643-4, 841; VI.1, 335-6  
**Callimachus**: pp. 5, 9; I.333; III.401; IV.147-8, 346, 492-3  
**Carthage**: pp. 12, 14-15, 19-20; I introduction, 12-33, 13, 14, 16, 298, 305-417, 338, 426, 427; II introduction; III.707-18; IV.1-172, 173-295, 504-75; V introduction, 1-2; VI.426-547, 842  
**Cassandra**: I.41; II.1-267, 246, 403-4  
**Cassius**: pp. 2-3  
**Castrum Minervae**: III.401, 521-47  
**Cato the Elder**: p. 11; VI.841  
**Catullus**: pp. 9, 22-3; *passim*  
**Celaeno**: III.209-77  
**Chiasmus\***: I.53, 396-400, 687, 750-2; II.13, 445, 728; III.44, 115, 325, 329, 630; VI.27, 165

- Circe:** III.209-77, 374-462
- Civil Wars:** pp. 4-8; I.291-6 (with notes); VI.612-13, 826
- Clemency:** I.422-3; II.602 (*inclementia*); III.548-691, 607, 610; VI.853
- Cleopatra:** pp. 4-5; III.278-93; IV introduction, 86-9, 193, 215, 632-62, 644; V.51-4
- Cloanthus:** I.510; V.151-82, 183-226
- Cognomen:** I.267-8; III.133, 350, 334
- Coinage (neologism)\*:** III.420, 430, 521; V.765; VI.638
- Colonization (or Ktistic) Narrative:**  
III introduction, 7, 17, 84-122, 398, 543, 692-718
- Conditional Sentences:**  
*contrary to fact:* I.58-9; IV.15-16, 311-13; VI.30-1, 537-8  
*future less vivid:* III.368  
*future more vivid:* II.94-6 (indirect statement); III.502  
*mixed:* I.374; II.291-2, 599-600; V.346, 355-6; VI.358-61, 537-8, 870-1  
*present contrary to fact:* II.94-6 (indirect statement); III.491  
*present general:* II.178 (indirect statement)  
*relative clause:* V.291  
*with indicative of *posse* in place of subjunctive:* IV.19
- Connective Relative:** III.327-8, 377, 463, 474
- Consonance\*:** II.9, 44; III.85; IV.390
- Crete:** III.84-120, 121-208; VI.14-41, 23-6
- Creusa:** II.559-804, 725-95, 562, 711; V.827-71; VI.32-3, 700-2, 784
- Cum Clauses:**  
*circumstantial (narrative) with subjunctive:* III.51-2, 712-13  
*concessive:* III.712-13  
*inversum:* II.254-9  
*temporal with indicative:* III.646-7  
*with gnomic perfect:* III.679
- Cumae:** III.374-462; V.588-95, 719-45; VI introduction, 1-263, 2, 9, 14-41, 42-4, 239
- Cupid:** I.643-756
- Cybele:** II.725-95; III.111; IV.215; VI.784
- Cyclopes:** III.548-691, 678; VI.630-1
- Cyclops (Polyphemus):** I introduction; III.548-691, 659; IV.615-29
- Daedalus:** VI.1-263, 14-41
- Dardanus:** I.28, 380; II.281; III.84-120, 167
- Dative:**  
*agent:* I.326, 344, 440, 494, 574; III.14, 50, 275, 389, 398; IV.31; V.360, 691  
*compound verbs:* I.6, 112; III.35, 38, 51-2, 89, 207, 292, 355, 410, 541-2, 569, 692; V.34; VI.6, 112, 852  
*disadvantage:* III.658  
*direction/place to which:* I.126; II.19, 36, 85, 186; III.678; IV.392; V.34; VI.126, 312  
*double dative:* I.22, 299-300; IV.59  
*ethical:* I.102-3; III.477; V.162, 391, 646; VI.149  
*impersonal verb construction:* I.95-6; II.750; IV.18; VI.327  
*indirect object:* I.138-9; II.235-6; V.794-5, 796-7; VI.713  
*possessor:* I.529; II.74-5; V.214; VI.46, 122-3, 133, 721, 730  
*predicate:* IV.520-1  
*purpose:* I.210; II.216, 235-6, 246, 315, 333-4, 542, 798; III.109, 539-40; IV.59; V.685-6, 712; VI.599-600  
*reference:* I.102-3, 265-6, 448-9, 723; II.146; III.29, 42-3, 134, 259, 275, 473, 493, 494-5, 621; V.261, 548-51, 556,

- 821; VI.1, 54  
*separation*: II.738-9; III.27, 658; V.845
- Deception**:  
*Dido and*: IV introduction, 17, 474-503, 512  
*Greeks and*: II introduction, 13-20  
*Juno and Venus*: IV.90-128  
*Laomedon*: II.642-3  
*prophecy*: III.707-18  
*Sinon*: II.62, 77-198  
*those punished for false oaths*: VI.324  
*Trojan Horse*: II introduction, 13-20  
*Ulysses*: II.44  
*Venus and Cupid*: I.673, 679, 684
- Delos**: III.69-120
- Diaeresis\***: III.494-5; V.242, 643-4
- Diana**: I.320, 337, 498-502; II.116; III.75-6; VI.13
- Dido**:  
*Aeneas' departure from Carthage*: V introduction, 1-103  
*Ariadne and*: IV introduction, 283, 296-392, 305-6, 362-92, 504-705, 584-631  
*as Aeneas' audience*: II.1-13; III introduction, 707-18; IV introduction  
*blaze of her pyre seen by Aeneas*: V.1-41  
*Cleopatra and*: IV introduction, 86-9, 193, 215, 644  
*courage of*: I.364  
*curse of Aeneas*: IV.384, 436, 504-705, 584-631, 615-29  
*death at book-end as pattern*: V.827-71  
*Evander and*: IV.391, 615-29  
*fate and*: I.299-300, 494-642, 571, 643-756  
*founding of Carthage*: I.12-33, 335-71, 443-4, 504  
*flight from Tyre*: 335-71  
*grandeur of*: I.498-502  
*her gift to Iulus*: V.570-2  
*historiographical tradition of*: p. 12  
*infection with passion by Venus and Cupid*: I.643-756; ; II.1-13  
*intertextual nature*: p. 22; I.494-642; IV introduction  
*leadership of*: I.364, 494-642, 522-3, 561-78  
*'marriage' to Aeneas*: p. 19; IV.160-72, 172, 296-392  
*Medea and*: IV introduction, 69-73, 90-128, 160-72, 285-6, 296-392, 513-18, 584-631  
*(mis)fortune of*: I.563, 628-9, 712, 719, 749  
*'model' for Aeneas*: I.305-417, 504; V.1-103  
*name (Dido/Elissa)*: I.340  
*pollution of Dido's death for Aeneas*: V introduction  
*shade in underworld*: VI.426-547, 450-76  
*tradition of her story*: I.494-642; IV.198  
*tragic nature*: p. 16  
*univiratus (marriage to one husband)*: IV.27  
*use of magic*: IV.93-503, 475-503
- Diomedes**: I.97-8, 469; II.496-9, 589-633
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus**: p. 12; II.725-95; III introduction, 84-120, 390
- Donatus, Tiberius Claudius**: pp. 2, 24; I preliminary lines, 534; III.216-17, 230, 319; VI.481
- Ecphrasis\***: p. 20; I.159, 418-53; III.163-6, 570; V.250-7; VI.14-41
- Elision\***: I.37, 448-9, 598-600, 617; II.84, 245, 270, 663; III.487, 523-4, 655-7, 658, 694-5; IV.181; V.422-3, 710, 804-5; VI.335-6
- Ellipsis\***: I.330; II.473; III.618; V.355-6
- Elysium**: V.719-45; VI.1-263, 639, 679-901
- Enallage\***: I.355, 361; II.51, 168, 576, 714;

- III.44, 152, 454-5, 541-2; IV.226, 384, 506, 683-4; V.663, 676-7; VI.809-12
- Enjambment\***: I.115, 596; II.317, 591-2; III.2, 3, 196, 226, 228, 283, 496-7, 618, 708-10, 710-11; IV.390; V.480, 841
- Ennius**: pp. 10-11; I.60, 69, 105, 224, 254, 293; II.58, 241, 265, 268-97, 381, 486-505, 504; III.12; IV.1, 28-9, 132, 386, 393-503, 482; V.241, 471, 814; VI.179-82, 216-22, 515-16, 797, 846
- Epanalepsis\***: I.109; II.306, 318, 405-6, 602; IV.24-6, 248; V.493-4; VI.162-4
- Epicurean Philosophy**: p. 21; I.723-56; II.40-56; IV.34, 209-10, 550-1; VI.703-23, 724-51
- Epithet\***: I.24, 60, 188; II.62, 90, 168; III.35, 44, 85, 272; IV.131, 226, 247, 372; V.3, 311-12, 606; VI.9-10, 13, 398
- Etruscan**: II.781-2; III.84-120; VI.817-19
- Etymological Wordplay\***: I.57, 174, 261, 288, 337, 367; II.3, 606-7; III.127, 210, 392, 401, 692-711, 693, 698, 703, 705; IV.2, 271; V introduction, 1-2, 117, 369, 559, 568-9, 633; VI.242, 844
- Fate**:  
*Aeneas and fate*: pp. 13-16; I introduction, 2, 32, 34-222, 198-207, 223-304, 241, 286-96, 494-642, 643-756  
*Aeneas, Dido's death and*: VI.473-4  
*Anchises and*: V.1-103  
*Bacchus, Hercules and*: VI.801-5  
*Creusa's explanation of*: II.781-2  
*Dido and*: I.299-300, 494-642, 571  
*Fall of Troy and*: II.589-633, 601-3, 604-7, 612, 617-18  
*free will and*: VI.96  
*heroism and*: I introduction; II introduction  
*Juno's resistance of*: p. 14; I.34-222  
*Gods' (Jupiter's) control of*: pp. 13-14; I.223-304, 494-642, 643-756, 723-56; II.589-633, 601-3, 617-18, 622-3  
*Palinurus and*: V.814 (Poseidon's prophecy), 871  
*Priam and*: II.554-5, 557  
*Roman rule and*: IV.219-37  
*Trojan Horse and*: II.34
- Fire Imagery**: I.659-60, 713; II.469-505, 679-725, 685-6; IV.2, 23, 281, 360, 689; V.662
- Focalization**: pp. 18-19; IV.141, 172, 281; VI.492
- Framing\***: III.73, 113 188; VI.17, 137, 213, 683, etc.
- Furor**: pp. 14, 21; I introduction, 12-33 (Juno), 34-222, 50-64, 148-53, 223-304, 348, 659-60; II introduction, 244, 499-500; IV.91, 501-2
- Fury**: p. 14; I.223-304, 294-6, II.337; IV.384, 465-6, 472; VI.555, 570-1, 605
- Games (commemorating Anchises' death)**: V.104-603  
*Preliminaries*: V.104-13  
*Boat race*: V.114-285  
*Foot race*: V.286-361  
*Boxing match*: V.362-484  
*Archery match*: V.485-544  
*The Troia*: V.545-603
- Gates of Sleep**: VI.893-901
- Gender, in interpretation**: pp. 19-20
- Genitive**:  
*appositional*: I.27, 247; III.255, 477; V.52, 288-9  
*archaic/contracted (-um)*: I.4  
*charge (condemnation or accusation)*: V.237, VI.430  
*Greek*: VI.20-2  
*material*: III.520  
*objective*: I.350, 556; II.31, 784; III.528; IV.178, 188, 274; V.538, 712; VI.24, 66-7, 77, 663-4, 721

- partitive*: I.601-2, 604; II.7  
*possessive*: IV.39, 65; V.190, 754, 832  
*predicate*: I.601-2  
*specification*: I.178; II.61, 638; IV.203, 300; V.73  
*subjective*: IV.274
- Gens Iulia**: I.267-8; IV.140; V.522-4, 759-61; VI.835
- Gerund**: III.480-1; IV.554; V.183-4, 618, 710
- Gerundive**: I.269; III.50, 329, 384, 385; IV.290
- Giants/Gigantomachy**: I.50-64, 665; III.548-87, 578; IV.176, 179, 247; VI.582
- Gods, interpretation of**: p. 18; *passim*
- Golden Age**: I.291, 569; IV.372; VI.792-93
- Golden Bough**: VI.1-263, 124-55, 137, 628-36
- Golden Line\***: I.172, 291; II.296-7; III.280; IV.138-9; V.46, 134; VI.19
- Guest-friendship**: IV.10, 323-4, 338-9
- Half line**: p. 7; I.534; II.66; III.218; IV.361, 400; V.318-26; VI.94
- Harpies**: III.209-77; VI.289
- Hecate (Trivia)**: III.679-81; IV.510-11, 609; VI.13, 37
- Hector**:  
*Aeneas' dream of*: II.268-558, 268-97 (with notes), 302-3, 304  
*Andromache and*: III.294-520, 297, 304, 312, 319, 324, 488  
*death of*: I.483-7; II.272, 273, 274-5  
*heroism of Aeneas and*: III.342-3  
*penates and*: II.268-97, 293, 294; III.12, 150-3
- Hecuba**: II.519-24; III.13-68; V.537
- Heinze, R.:** p. 17
- Helen**: I.650; II.567-88 (Helen episode), 589-633; VI.494-547
- Helenus**: III.294-520, 346, 374-462, 463-505
- Hellenistic\* Poetry/Style**: pp. 3, 5, 9, 21-2; I.333; III.401, 692-718; IV introduction, 346
- Hendiadys\***: I.61, 111, 293, 504, 648, 654-5; II.116, 265, 296-7, 319, 413, 470, 534, 722; III.148, 215, 222-3, 575; IV.454-5; V.36; VI.230
- Hercules**: III.476; VI.119-23, 289, 801-5
- Heroism**: pp. 14-15; I introduction; II introduction
- Hesiod**: p. 5; I.148-53; IV.173-295; VI.639, 792-3
- Hesperia**: I.530, 569; II.781-2; III.7, 163-6, 500-5; VI.5-6
- Hiatus\***: I.16, 405, 617; III.74, 211, 464, 606; IV.235, 667; V.261, 735; VI.507
- Homer**: pp. 7-8; I introduction; II introduction; III introduction; V introduction; *passim*
- Hypallage\***: III.362-3; IV.384; V.23-4, 128; see also **enallage**.
- Hyperbaton\***: III.75-6, 94-5, 137-9, 176-7, 496-7; IV.28-9
- Hyperbole\***: I.102-3, 106-7, 129, 465; II.222; III.421-3, 564-5
- Hypermetric Line\***: I.332, 448-9; II.745; IV.558-9, 629; V.422-3, 753; VI.602
- Iarbas**: IV.35-6, 173-295
- Ictus\* and Word Accent\***: see also **Word Accent**.  
*coincidence*: I.105; III. 383, 718; IV.81, 305-6, 372  
*conflict*: II.84-5; III.581-2; IV.305-6, 314, 379
- Ides of March**: p. 2



*Iliad*: see **Homer**.

**Ilioneus**: I.120, 520-60

**Imperative**:

*agolagite*: I.617; II.707

*archaic with ne*: II.48; III.160, 316, 394;  
VI.73-4, 544

*deponent*: II.550-1; III.89, 362-3

*future*: II.549; III.388, 408-9; IV.35-6,  
624; VI.153

*passive*: III.405

*present*: I.137; II.103, 668, 691; VI.194

*with jussive subjunctive*: V.163, 548-91

**Imperium**: I.50-64, 223-304, 287

**Impersonal verb**: I.95-6; IV.18, 416;  
V.713-14

**Impersonal constructions**: I.272, 667-8,  
700; II.118, 634, 719, 750; IV.151; V.354;  
VI.45, 179, 327, 595-6

**Impiety**: II introduction, 663; III.13-68,  
209-77

**Inadvertent Trespass**: III.13-68, 209-77

**Incomplete Lines**: see **Half Lines**.

**Indirect Command**: I.645; II.74-5, 669;  
III.36, 234-5, 457, 686; IV.289-91;  
VI.108-9, 115-16, 313

**Indirect Questions**: I.66, 307, 332, 467,  
667-8, 719, 751; II.4-5, 74-5, 121, 123,  
390, 597; III.7, 59, 100-1, 143-6, 459,  
608-9; IV.39, 290; V.5-6, 706; VI.161-2,  
711-12, 756-58, 892; with indicative:  
III.367; VI.615

**Indirect Statement**:

*accusative and infinitive*: I.17, 234, 733;  
II.33, 94-6, 191; III.51-2, 121, 165,  
234-5, 295, 414-16, 430, 578, 694-5;  
IV.90, 291-3; V.372-3; VI.142, 354,  
457

*informal*: V.621

*subject omitted in*: II.432-4; III.201-2;  
IV.540

*subordinate clause in*: III.262, 581-2,  
652; IV.192; VI.352-4

*conditional in*: II.178, 189, 192

**Infinitive**:

*apposition to nouns*: III.60-1, 240

*archaic*: IV.492-3

*complementary*: III.150-3, 670; V.21-2;  
VI.38

*epexegetic*: I.319; VI.49, 165

*exclamatory*: V.615-16

*for indirect command*: III.134

*historical*: I.423-5; II.98-9, 132, 169,  
685-6, 775; III.141, 153, 666-7;  
IV.422; V.655, 685-6; VI.199-200,  
491, 557-8

*in apodosis*: II.191

*object*: I.306

*poetic usages*: I.9; II.64

*purpose*: I.66, 527-8; III.4, 31-3; V.247-8

*subject of impersonal verb*: III.1; VI.327,  
688-9

*with dare*: I.66, 319; V.247-8

*with opto*: V.29

*with spero/spes*: II.658; V.18, 183-4

*with verb of inducing or permitting*:  
III.7

**Interlocking\* Order (Synchronism\*)**: I.647,  
649; II.166, 213-14, 609; III.1-12, 4, 327-  
8, 329, 573

**Intertextuality**: pp. 8, 21-2; I

introduction; III introduction; V

introduction; *passim*. See also **allusion**.

**Iphigenia**: II.14, 116; III.331

**Ira (wrath, anger)**: p. 14; I introduction,  
223-304; II introduction; see also **furor**.

**Iris**:

*at Dido's death*: IV.693-705

*rouses Trojan women in Sicily*: V.604-  
40, 641-63

**Irony\***: I.77, 392, 464, 573, 685, 687, 733,  
734; II.355, 379; III.278-93, 707-18;  
IV.45-6, 108, 218, 382; V.83, 545-603,

- 788, 870; VI.471, 479-80, 512, 893-901
- Italy:** I.2, 12-13, 530; III.84-120, 94-5, 381, 521-47, 548-691; V introduction, 1-2, 762-871; VI introduction, 1-263. See also **Hesperia**.
- Iulus (=Ascanius):** p. 13; I.7, 267-8, 288, 643-756; II.679-725; III.463-505; IV.84, 156-9, 236; V.545-603; VI.835 (*gens Iulia*)
- Jason:** p. 9; I.643-756; III.692-711; IV introduction, 90-128, 160-72, 296-392; V introduction
- Judgment of Paris:** I.27
- Juno:**  
*destruction of Troy:* II.612, 613  
*fury of:* I.4, 8-11, 34-222, 223-304  
*hatred of Trojans:* I.12-33  
*her temple at Carthage:* I.418-93  
*Homer's Poseidon as model of:* I introduction,  
*love of Carthage:* I.12-33  
*role in Troy's fall:* II.612, 613  
*Saturnia:* I.23  
*scheme with Venus (Dido and Aeneas in cave):* IV.90-128, 160-72  
*sends Iris:* IV.693-705 (Dido's death); V.604-40 (Trojan women in Sicily)  
*shipwreck of Trojans:* I.34-222; V.779-826  
*tormenting of Aeneas:* I.8-11  
*Trojan vota for Juno:* III.374-462, 437-8  
*wrath of:* I.4
- Jupiter:** I introduction and *passim*  
*fate and:* I.223-304, 241, 261; II.617-18  
*Homer's Poseidon as model:* I.34-222; III.380  
*Homer's Zeus as model:* I.223-304, *passim*  
*intervention in Carthage:* IV.173-295  
*political/cosmic control:* I.34-222  
*prophecy:* I.223-304  
*Troy's fall:* II.617-18
- Ktistic Narrative:** see **Colonization Narrative**.
- Labyrinth:** VI.14-41
- Laocoon:** II.1-267, 40-56, 199-233
- Lavinia:** II.679-725, 783; IV.160-72; VI.763-8
- Lavinium:** I.2; III.12, 390; VI.84
- Liber:** VI.805; see **Bacchus**.
- Line-end, four-syllable word at:** III.553; IV.215, 314, 316, 667; V.318-26
- Litotes\*:** I.130, 136, 479, 630; II.154, 723-4, 777; III.513, 610; IV.96, 507-8; V.39, 56, 530-1, 618; VI.117-18, 438
- Locative:** I.193; II.61, 380; III.162; IV.35-6, 203; V.202; VI.84, 332, 422-33
- Lectio Difficilior:** I.2; V.505-6, 520
- Livy:** p. 12; *passim*
- Lucretius:** pp. 10-11, 21-2; *passim*
- Maecenas:** pp. 4-5
- Manuscripts:** pp. 23-4
- Marcellus (Augustus' nephew and son-in-law):** III.489; VI.860-92
- Mars:** I.274, 276 (*Mavortia*); III.35 (*gradivum*)
- Mavors (=Mars):** I.276; see **Mars**.
- Medea:** I.494-642, 643-756; III.692-711; IV introduction, 8, 69-73, 90-128, 160-72, 296-392, 433-4, 522-53, 584-631, 600-2; V introduction
- Mercury:** I.297-304; IV.173-295, 554-83; VI.19, 749-50
- Metaphor\*:** I.9, 50-64, 301, 342, 356, 659-60, 671-2, 673, 675, 688; II.16, 20, 112-13, 169, 175, 223, 238, 265, 269, 335, 360, 361-2, 469-505, 588, 641, 709, 780; III.439, 569; IV.4, 69-73, 280, 360, 471, 689; V.31, 136-7, 141, 150, 228, 250-1,

- 396, 433-8, 440, 483-4, 528, 662, 762-871; VI.1, 16, 19, 87-8, 100-1, 355, 512, 742
- Meter:** see **Appendix: Vergil's Meter.**
- Metonymy\*:** I.35, 177, 215, 253, 454-5, 650, 701; II.306; III.191, 275, 354, 385; IV.15-16, 242-4; V.19-20, 23-4, 71, 77-8, 433-8, 492, 493-8, 626-7, 662, 721
- Minerva (=Pallas Athena):** I.27, 41, 479-82; II.15, 17, 166 (*Palladium*), 171 (*Tritonia*), 178, 227, 402-52, 602, 615; III.521-47
- Minos:** VI.14-41, 431-3
- Minotaur:** VI.14-41
- Misenus/Misenum:** VI.1-263, 156-82, 212-35, 234-5 (*Misenum*)
- Mola Salsa:** IV.517; V.745
- Monosyllable, lines ending in a:** I.105
- Muse, invocation of:** I.8-11
- Naevius:** pp. 10-12
- Narrator:**  
*Achaemenides as:* III.548-691  
*Aeneas as:* I.673; II introduction, 182; III.56, 610, 613, 692-718; IV.14  
*authenticity of Aeneas as:* III.679-81, 692-718  
*epic narrator/Vergil:* III.613, 707-18, 716-18; IV.14, 23, 160-72, 296, 331-61, 696; V.545-603; VI.492
- Neologism\*:** see **Coinage.**
- Neoptolemus:** see **Pyrrhus.**
- Neptune:** I.34-222, 138-9, 150, 223-304; II.40-56, 610; V.762-871, 779-826
- "New Poets"/Neoteric Poetry:** pp. 9, 21
- Nicander:** pp. 5, 9
- Nordon, E.:** p. 17
- Nostos/Nostoi:** III.84-120, 122
- Octavia, sister of Augustus:** p. 4; VI.860-92
- Odyssey:** see **Homer.**
- Onomatopoeia\*:** IV.160; VI.576
- Odysseus/Odyssey:** I introduction, 34-222, 223-304, 305-417, 418-493, 494-642, and *passim*. See also **Homer** and **Ulysses.**
- Omens:** I.393-400; II.182, 679-725; III introduction, 7, 36, 374-6, 521-47; IV.393-503; V.254, 522-4; VI.781
- Optimism vs. Pessimism (in interpretation):** pp. 16-18
- Oracles:** I.469, 474-8; II.124; III introduction, 94-5, 121-208, 390, 457; VI.73-4
- Oracular Speech:** III.147-91, 167-8, 253-4, 374-462, 383, 433-4, 539-40; VI.348
- Orpheus:** I.723-56; II.725-95; VI.119-23, 645, 703-23
- Orphism:** IV.242-4; VI.639, 645, 679-901, 703-23, 724-51
- Oxymoron\*:** I.464; V.40; VI.144
- Palamedes:** II.83
- Palinurus:** III.201-2, 512, 516; V.12, 26-31, 762-871, 801, 827-71; VI.337-83
- Pallas:** see **Minerva.**
- Parade of Heroes:** VI.752-853
- Parataxis\*:** I.302; II.172, 692; III.457, 512; IV.155; V.163, 857
- Parentalia:** III.301-3; V.64-5
- Paris, Judgment of:** I.27
- Paronomasia\* (or Wordplay):** I.12, 37, 174, 180-1, 298, 365; II.7, 49, 470, 552, 606-7; III.401, 693, 698, 703; IV.271, 442
- Passions:** pp. 14, 21; see also **Furor** and **Ira.**

- Pathetic Fallacy:** V.23-4
- Pathos:** I.474-8; III introduction, 11, 16, 49, 140, 487, 656-7, 669, 708-10, 710-11; IV.24-6, 323-4, 636-62; V.588-95
- Patronymic\*:** I.97-8, 99, 157; II.82, 164, 263, 319, 569; III.295, 345; VI.122-23, 126
- Pax deorum:** III.260-1; IV.56
- Penates:** I.6, 10, 703-4; II.293, 320-1, 717; III.12
- Perfect Tense:**  
*instantaneous:* I.84; III.564-5; V.136-50  
*gnomic:* III.679-81
- Pergama (Troy):** I.466; III.133 (Crete)
- Peripatetic Philosophy:** p. 21
- Periphrasis\*:** I.338; II.18, 619; IV.639-40; V.29, 566, 695; VI.633, 724, 725
- Periplus:** III.692-718
- Personification\*:** I.126, 292; III.60-1, 116, 201-2, 548-87; IV.27, 173-295, 249-51, 442; V.31, 835; VI.52-3, 273
- Pessimism:** see **Optimism vs. Pessimism.**
- Philippi, Battle of:** p. 3
- Philosophy (in interpretation):** pp. 20-1
- Pietas:** I.10, 34-222, 223-304, 378, 544-5  
*Aeneas:* I.6, 8-11, 10, 151, 305; II introduction, 559-804, 679-725; III introduction, 548-691; IV.393; V introduction; VI.1-263, 687-8  
*Anchises:* III.463-505, 607  
*Apollo:* III.75-6  
*pietas vs. furor:* I introduction, 34-222, 222-304  
*simile:* I.151  
*Trojans:* I.526
- Polydorus:** III.13-68; V.5-6
- Polyphemus:** see **Cyclops.**
- Polyptoton\*:** I.106-7, 657, 684; II.192, 294, 324-5, 483-4, 703, 728; III.388, 500; IV.9-14, 83, 138-9; V.569-70
- Polysyndeton\*:** I.1-5
- Pompey:** p. 2; II.557; V.759-61; VI.752-853, 826, 830, 831
- Pöschl, V.:** p. 17
- Postposition of Words\*:** see also **Anastrophe\*.**  
*et:* I.333; II.73, 426; III.668  
*ne:* III.473  
*nec:* II.59; IV.33  
*postquam:* III.212  
*qua:* III.114  
*sed:* III.3  
*ubi:* III.105  
*ut:* III.25
- Priam:** II introduction  
*ancestry:* VI.648-50  
*compassion of:* II.145-98; III.610  
*death:* II.506-58, 559-66 (*as reminder to Aeneas*); III.332  
*ransoming Hector's body:* I.483-7; II.540-1; III.607  
*symbol of Troy's fall:* 268-558
- Princeps/Principate:** p. 6
- Prodelision:** V.710
- Prolepsis\*:** I.70, 259, 552, 659, 712, 719; II.669; III.30, 141, 236, 462; IV.22, 465; V.80-1, 129, 255, 556, 816, 821; VI.752-853
- Proserpina:** IV.698-9
- Pudor:** IV.27
- Punic Wars:** I.12-33, 20, 293, 661; IV.47-9, 615-29; V.37, 51-4; VI.842
- Purpose Clause:** I.299-300, 553-4, 688; III.25, 473; IV.106, 452; VI.75, 533-4  
*prius:* I.193  
*substantive clause of:* II.432-4  
 see also **Relative Clause of Purpose and Supine.**

- Pygmalion:** I.341, 349, 353, 364; III.56; IV.20-1
- Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus):** II.469-505, 506-58; III.294-355, 327-8
- Pythagoreanism:** IV.242-4; VI.132, 679-901, 703-23, 724-51
- Quin:** I.292; III.403-4, 453, 456; IV.99-100, 547
- Quirinus:** VI.779-80, 859
- Quirites:** VI.809-12
- Reception Studies (of the *Aeneid*):** pp. 22-3
- Relative Clause of Characteristic:** I.62-3; II.536; III.461
- Relative Clause of Purpose:** I.20, 62-3, 236, 287, 705-6; III.377, 487; IV.106, 625-6, 695; V.130, 590; VI.718
- Remus:** p. 11; I.274, 275, 292; VI.779-80, 781
- Rhea:** III.104, 111; VI.784
- Rhea Silvia:** I.274; VI.763-8, 778
- Rhetorical Question\*:** I.48; II.40-56, 69-70, 73; VI.122-3, 574-5
- Rome:** I introduction, 7, 12-33, 20, 33, 223-304; IV introduction, 504-705; V introduction, 37; VI.752-853; *passim*
- Romulus:** p. 11; I.250, 274, 275, 292; V.814; VI.760-853, 779-80, 781, 854-59, 859 (Quirinus)
- Rumor:** IV.173-295, 193
- Sacrifice:** I.632, 703-4; II.14, 77-98, 116, 199-233, 223; III.19-48, 176-7, 209-77, 278-93, 374-462, 521-47; IV.56, 65, 262, 698-9; V introduction, 72-103, 104-603, 327-38, 476-81, 483-4, 661-2, 762-871, 779-826, 827-71; VI.20-2, 23-6, 236, 809-12; (Roman vs. Greek) III.405
- Saturnus:** III.104; IV.372; VI.792-93, 852
- Scylla and Charybdis:** I.198-207; III.209-77, 374-462, 684-6; V.8-11; VI.286
- Servius:** p. 24; I preliminary lines, 294-6, *passim*
- Servius Auctus (or Danielis):** I.294-6
- Sibyl:** III.374-462; V.719-45; VI introduction, 1-263, 9-10
- Simile\*:** I.148-53, 430-6, 498-502; II.223, 304-8, 355, 379, 471-5, 496-9, 626-31; III.637, 679-81; IV.69-73, 143, 301-2, 402-3, 441, 445-6, 669; V.144-7, 213-17, 273-81, 588-95; VI.309, 707-8
- Sinon:** I.673; II.1-267, 77-198; III.548-691, 610
- Spondaic Line\*:** II.68; III.12, 74, 517
- Spondee\*:** I.288, 671; II.245, 776; III.644, 658; IV.404; V.318-26; VI.213, 268-9
- Stoic Philosophy:** p. 21; VI.703-23, 724-51
- Strophades:** III.209-77
- Subjective Style:** I.643-756, V introduction
- Subjunctive:**  
*anticipated action:* III.257, 384  
*characteristic:* I.62-3; II.536; III.461  
*concessive:* III.454-5, 416-17; IV.536; VI.400-2  
*condition:* I.58-9; II.522; III.491; IV.15-16, 18  
*conditional relative clause:* V.291  
*cum-circumstantial:* III.51-2, 679, 712  
*deliberative:* III.39-40; IV.42-4, 283-4, 534, 368; VI.122-3  
*dependent clause in indirect statement:* IV.192  
*dum-clause:* I.5; IV.325  
*future more vivid conditional:* II.94-6 (indirect statement)

*hortatory*: III.129, 188; IV.625-6  
*implied indirect discourse*: II.756  
*indicative for vividness*: IV.603-6  
*indirect command*: I.645; II.74-5; III.36,  
 234-5, 457, 686; IV.289-91; VI.313  
*indirect question*: I.307, 332, 467, 719,  
 751; II.121; III.7, 100-1, 143-6, 459;  
 608-9; IV.290  
*indirect statement*: III.652  
*jussive*: III.170, 234-5, 412, 453, 478;  
 V.548-51, 788; VI.544, 883-4  
*mixed condition*: II.599-600  
*optative*: I.330; VI.62  
*potential*: I.327-8, 548-50, 565; II.8;  
 III.186-7, 368; IV.24-6, 423; VI.39,  
 436-7  
*priusquam*: I.193, 472-3  
*proviso*: III.116  
*purpose*: I.299-300, 688; III.25, 473,  
 487; VI.75; VI.199-200  
*relative causal clause*: V.624  
*relative clause of purpose*: I.705-6;  
 III.487  
*result clause*: III.456; VI.552-4  
*subordinate clause in indirect  
 statement*: III.262, 581-2  
*substantive result*: III.478  
*unfulfilled wish*: III.614-15  
*wish*: III.499, 615; VI.62  
*with quin*: III.456  
*with si qua*: I.18  
**Substantive Clause**: I.9; II.432-4, 538-9;  
 IV.15-16  
**Supine**: I.111; II.114, 786; III.365-6, 621;  
 IV.117  
**Sychaeus**: I.343-56 (with notes), 494-642,  
 720; IV.1-172, 27, 32, 494, 596-7; V.5-6;  
 VI.426-547  
**Syncope\***: I.26, 201, 248-9, 591; II.379;  
 III.50, 500-5; IV.33; V.42, 785-6; VI.24,  
 57, 59, 102, 163  
**Synecdoche\***: I.147; II.480; IV.11, 45-6;

V.51 III.240; VI.15

**Synzesis\***: I.131, 698, 726-7; V.352;  
 VI.280, 412

**Teucer**: (early Trojan king) I.38, 625-6;  
 II.26; III.84-120, 180; VI.648-50; (son  
 of Telamon) I.619

**Textual Tradition**: pp. 23-4

**Theocritus**: pp. 3, 9

**Tmesis\***: I.412, 610; II.218-19; III.634-5;  
 V.384, 603, 697; VI.254

**Tragedy**: pp. 10-11, 16, 21-2; *passim*

**Transferred Epithet\***: see **Enallage\***.

**Tricolon\***: I.58-9, 146, 495, 520-60, 607-8;  
 II.369, 571-3, 744; III.60-1, 143-6, 408-  
 9, 437-8. *Crescendo*: I.80, 99; II.277-8,  
 296-7; III.88, 271, 359-61, 714; IV.369-  
 70, 376-7

**Triumvirate**: pp. 2-3

**Trojan Horse**: II.1-267, 7, 13-20, 17, 40-  
 56, 77-198, 245, 615\_

**Troy**:

*association with Phrygians*: IV.215

*Buthrotum as imitation of*: III.294-520

*connection to Rome*: I.223-304; V.39,  
 569-603

*fall of Troy*: II introduction, 1-267, 268-  
 558, 485-505

*fate of*: II.34, 589-633

*flight from*: II.559-804

*fortuna*: VI.62

*journey from*: III introduction

*Juno's hatred of*: I.12-33

*Lusus Troiae*: V.545-603

*murals of war at*: I.418-93

*oracles/prophesies involving*: I.469

(Rhesus), 474-8 (Troilus); II.725-95

*penates of*: II.293; III.12, 147-91

*rivers at Troy*: VI.87-8

*synonyms*:

*Dardania*: II.281

- Pergama*: I.466  
*Teucra*: II.26; III.84-120  
 See also VI.648-51.
- Turnus**: I.25, 34-222; IV.90-128, 160-72, 705; V.1-2; VI.86, 87-8, 817-18
- Tydidēs**: I.471; II.164, 197; see **Diomedes**.
- Ulysses**: II introduction, 7, 44, 62, 77-198, 83; III.548-691, 613; see also **Odysseus**.
- Univira**: III.319, 488; IV.27
- Venus**:  
*appeal to Jupiter*: I.224-304  
*appeal to Neptune*: V.779-826  
*concern for Aeneas*: I.231-3, 305-417, 662; II.589-633; V.762-871  
*cult (Erycina)*: V introduction, 1-103, 759-61  
*disguise as huntress/meeting with Aeneas*: I.305-417  
*her doves as Aeneas' guides*: VI.193  
*her tale about Dido*: I.335-71  
*infection of Dido (with Cupid's aid)*: I.643-756  
*judgment of Paris*: I.27  
*marriage to Anchises*: I.305-417; II.649  
*reveals identity to Aeneas*: I.402-17  
*revelation of gods' involvement in Troy's fall*: II.589-633
- trickery/deception*: I.673  
*with Juno, arrangement of 'marriage' in cave*: IV.90-128
- Vergil**:  
*Aeneid*: pp. 6-7; *passim*  
*Eclogues*: pp. 3-4, 9; *passim*  
*Georgics*: pp. 5, 9; *passim*  
 life and death: pp. 2-7  
 See also **Narrator**.
- Wish**:  
*unfulfilled*: I.575-6; III.614-5  
*with subjunctive*: I.330; III.36, 498-9; VI.39, 62
- Word Accent\***: see **Appendix: Vergil's Meter**; see also **Ictus\* and Word Accent**.
- Wordplay**: see **Paronomasia\***.
- Zeugma\***: I.356, 426; II.258-9, 265, 378, 654; IV.131, 200-2; V.53-4, 85, 136-7

*Vergil, Aeneid Books 1–6* is the first of a two-volume commentary on Vergil's epic designed specifically for today's Latin students. These editions navigate the complexities of Vergil's text and elucidate the stylistic and interpretive issues that enhance and sustain appreciation of the *Aeneid*. Editions of individual books of the *Aeneid* with expanded comments and vocabulary are also available from Focus Publishing.

### Features

- Up-to-date notes and commentary by leading scholars of Roman epic
- A general introduction to the entire volume covering the literary, cultural, political, and historical background
- Introductions to each book
- Line-by-line notes providing grammatical and syntactical help and explanations of literary references
- Appendix on meter with examples from the text
- Glossary on rhetorical, syntactic, and grammatical terms