

P. VERGILI MARONIS

AENEIDOS

LIBER PRIMVS

WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

R. G. AUSTIN

VI-V-139/I

SDS-06

FILOLOGICKÁ FAKULTA MASARYKOVY UNIVERZITY
ÚSTAV KLASICKÝCH STUDIÍ
Kabinet pro klasickou filologii

CLARENDON PRESS · OXFORD

impleuitque 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 735
 esse uelis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.
 adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator et bona Iuno;
 et uos o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate fauentes.' 740
 dixit et in mensam laticum libauit honorem
 primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore;
 tum Bitiae dedit increpitans; ille impiger hausit
 spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro;
 post alii proceres. cithara crinitus Iopas 745
 personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.
 hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,
 unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,
 Arcturum pluuiasque Hyadas geminosque Triones, 750
 quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
 hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet;
 ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur.
 nec non et uario noctem sermone trahebat
 infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem,
 multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa; 755
 nunc quibus Aurorae uenisset filius armis,
 nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.
 'immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
 insidias' inquit 'Danaum casusque tuorum 755
 erroresque tuos; nam te iam septima portat
 omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.'

729-56 MPR
 quae bdu, praefert Seru. 734 adsis 'alii' ap. Seru. 741 quem]

COMMENTARY

1-11. My song is of war, and of the man whose destiny brought him in exile from Troy to Italy, to found the race from which sprang Rome. Muse, tell me why he suffered so, through the enmity of the Queen of the Gods.

1-7. The famous opening, *arma uirumque cano*, has suffered from an ancient controversy. Donatus (*uita* 42) and Servius (*praef.*, p. 2, ed. Harv.) record that Virgil's first editors deleted four preliminary lines:

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus auena
 carmen, et egressus siluis uicina coegi
 ut quamuis auido parerent arua colono,
 gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis . . .

These lines are not in the early manuscripts; their earliest witness is *cod. Bernensis* 172 (ninth century), where they are inserted marginally by a later hand. They have often been thought genuine. I have rejected their authenticity in *CQ* N.S. xviii (1968), 107 ff., for the following principal reasons: (a) they have no firm textual authority; they depend ultimately on Donatus' story that the *grammaticus* Nisus (first century) had heard from his 'seniores' of their excision by Varius; (b) they are inappropriate to an epic *prooemium*; (c) their style and expression, when closely examined, are unacceptable; (d) their presence ruins a noble period. It has been suggested that they were intended as an inscription beneath a portrait of Virgil, forming a frontispiece to a copy of the *Aeneid* (cf. Martial 14. 186): see E. Brandt, *Philologus* lxxxiii (1928), 331 ff. For another possibility see below, p. 27.

That the canonical opening was *arma uirumque cano* is clear, from the evidence of the capital manuscripts and from allusions in literature: it is implicit in Prop. 2.34. 63 f. 'qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitatur arma / iactaque Launio moenia litoribus', and explicit in Ovid, *Tr.* 2. 533 f. 'ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor / contulit in Tyrios arma uirumque toros', Persius 1. 96 'arma uirum: nonne hoc spumosum?', Martial 14. 185 'accipe facundi Culicem, studiose, Maronis / ne nucibus positis arma uirumque legas' (the *Aeneid* makes too serious reading for the Saturnalia; cf. id. 8. 55. 19), Seneca, *Epp.* 113. 25 (poking fun at the Stoics) 'prudens uersus bonum est, bonum autem omne animal est; uersus ergo

animal est. ita arma uirumque cano animal est, quod non possunt rotundum dicere cum sex pedes habeat'. The words occur in several Pompeian graffiti (one a parody, 'fullones ululamque cano, non arma uirumque', *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 1936): see R. P. Hoogma, *Der Einfluß Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Amsterdam, 1959), pp. 222 f.

Homer had set the pattern for an epic *prooemium* in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, invoking the goddess-Muse at the outset; for an ancient epic poet was the Muses' mouthpiece, not speaking for himself (as in didactic poetry) nor about himself (as in personal poetry). Virgil follows this at certain crucial points within the *Aeneid* where he needs strengthened inspiration (7. 641, 9. 525, 10. 163). But there was another type of opening, used in the 'epic cycle': so the *Ilias Parua* began Ἴλιον αἰδῶ καὶ Δαρδανίην ἑτίπῳλον. Virgil blends this with the Homeric pattern at the pivotal moment of the *Aeneid* (7. 37 ff.), the exordium to the second half of his epic, where he first invokes the Muse and then continues (41 f.) 'dicam horrida bella, / dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges'. It is inconceivable that in his *prooemium* to the whole epic he should have violated ancient tradition by opening with four lines of personal introduction quite alien to the epic genre. Their removal shows the *prooemium* in a reverse pattern from that in 7. 37 ff.: first, the 'cyclic' opening *arma uirumque cano*, developed in a fine period, then (8 ff.) the invocation to the Muse.

This opening period has a noteworthy structure: ear and eye are led from the man of Troy to the climax in *altae moenia Romae*; the hero, his purpose, its significance, are succinctly clear (cf. Heinze, p. 437). It is carefully balanced: a statement in two lines, spilling over to a third (*arma . . . litora*), then a central *narratio* in just over three lines, cunningly made to look like a parenthesis (*multum . . . Latio*), then a conclusion in just under a line and a half (*genus . . . Romae*). The exordium to the *Iliad* also occupies seven lines: two set out the subject, three more give added detail, and there is a two-line conclusion; Achilles is named in the first, Agamemnon (Atrides) and Achilles in the last. Virgil has silently acknowledged Homer's precedent: if the apocryphal four lines are prefixed, this acknowledgement is blurred, while Troy and Rome no longer stand out clear, and the period becomes ungainly and burdensome to read.

The rhythmical art of the passage is deeply satisfying. Sense-pauses are skilfully varied, there is much enjambement, and a masterly closing cadence in the uninterrupted unit *Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae*; controlled

assonance and alliteration increase the effectiveness. Quintilian uses it (11. 3. 36 f.) to illustrate punctuation (*distinctio*) in reading (he takes for granted that the opening is *arma uirumque cano*). He postulates a light pause ('suspenditur') after *cano, oris, Italiam, profugus*, and a stop sufficient for taking breath after *litora*, 'quia inde alius incipit sensus'; he omits discussion of *multum . . . patres* (a pity), and ends 'cum illuc uenero atque altae moenia Romae, deponam et morabor' (the precise meaning of *deponam* is debatable, but plainly a full stop with a long pause is indicated; cf. C. P. Bill, *CP* xxvii, 1932, 170 f.).

It is hard now to understand how *arma uirumque* could ever have been thought to need some amplification to explain *arma*, and to balance the relative clause attached to *uirum*. But Servius states 'multi uarie disserunt cur ab armis Vergilius coeperit'; James Henry found *arma uirumque cano* marked by 'abruptness, turgidity, and ambiguity' (*Aeneidea* i. 6; he defends the apocryphal lines in 113 pages of fierce argument). Possibly the criticisms implied by Servius may explain the origin of 'ille ego', etc.: the question was asked, and the demand created the supply. His comment, however, well shows the startling impact of Virgil's opening words upon a Roman reader hearing them for the first time; they are so powerfully direct and resonant, and they are the words of a poet of peace, whose *Georgics* had shown him *studiis florentem ignobilis oti*, and whose *Eclogues* had been composed *patulae sub tegmine fagi*. No wonder that Propertius proclaimed (2. 34. 66) 'nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade'.

For discussion of the linguistic difficulties in the four 'ille ego' lines see *CQ*, l.c.; for the Servian tradition see H. T. Rowell in *The Classical Tradition: Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (ed. L. Wallach, Cornell, 1966), pp. 216 ff.; G. P. Gould, *HSCP* lxxiv (1970), 126 ff.

1. *arma uirumque*: for *arma* ('war') cf. 8. 114 'pacemne huc fertis an arma?'; *uirum* clearly points to *Od.* 1. 1 ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, and Virgil's allusiveness is continued in *multum . . . alto, multa . . . passus*: while the structure of the *prooemium* recalls the *Iliad*, the language recalls the *Odyssey*. Homer soon names Odysseus (*Od.* 1. 21); Virgil does not identify his *uir* until line 92, and then almost casually, an approach much less direct than Homer's.

Troiae qui: the word-order removes the coincidence of metrical ictus and speech-accent in the fourth foot that 'qui Troiae' would have given. Virgil tends to avoid having a spondaic disyllable in the fourth foot, unless a preceding preposition coalesces structurally with it, e.g. *pro caris* (24).

per uallis (186), *per noctem* (305), *sub noctem* (662). He often does this by postponing a relative (as here) or a connective, e.g. *primo quae* (470), *magnum quae* (602), *talīs nec* (4.551). When he does not avoid the pattern even where it could be avoided, there is often some obvious reason, such as emphasis (e.g. 565 'quis Troiae nesciat urbem?', 6. 22 'stat ductis sortibus urna') or euphony (e.g. 299 'ne fati nescia Dido', 5. 751 'animos nil magnae laudis egentis', where 'ne nescia', 'nil laudis' would have been uncomfortable to the ear). Sometimes metrical considerations prevent avoidance, e.g. 481, 489, where the connective *et* might have been postponed (see on 333) if metre had allowed. Since in a normal line ictus and accent must coincide in the last two feet (see on 105), a similar coincidence in the fourth foot also (e.g. 7. 24, 26, 29, 33) can produce monotony of rhythm if it is too frequent. Virgil constantly has this in mind, and his technique in this matter of the fourth foot differs markedly from that of Lucretius and Catullus: see Munro's introduction to his notes on Lucretius, 4th edn. (1886), p. 14; Bailey, *Lucretius, proleg.* pp. 112 f.; L. P. Wilkinson, *CQ* xxxiv (1940), 33; for a wider discussion see W. F. J. Knight, *Accentual Symmetry in Vergil* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1939), ch. 5; A. G. Harkness, *CP* iii (1908), 50 ff.; A. Woodward, *Philological Quarterly* xv (1936), 126 ff.

primus: Servius notes that some critics objected that Antenor had made a settlement in Italy before Aeneas reached Latium (see 242 ff.). This is pedantry; Antenor was not the founder of the Roman race, and Virgil justifiably ignores the tradition in the interests of his high theme.

2. **Italiam**: the first syllable is lengthened to suit the hexameter (so Callimachus, *h.* 3. 58; the reading *Italiae* in Lucr. 1. 721 is doubtful); less often Virgil has the metrically easier *Hesperia* (cf. 530), found in Ennius also (*Ann.* 23), or *Ausonia* (from the indigenous Ausones of Campania), which he is the first to employ. The adjective *Italus* is less intractable, but Virgil lengthens the first syllable if necessary (note *Itälä de gente*, 6. 757, but *Itälä regna*, 3. 185), as Catullus had done (1. 5) to bring *Italorum* into hendecasyllabics, probably influenced by Callimachus' precedent. Cf. Norden on 6. 61; Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 146 n. 3, and *Glotta* xix (1931), 249.

For the accusative without preposition after verbs of motion see LHS, pp. 49 f., and Landgraf's detailed study in *ALL* x. 391 ff.; with names of countries it is occasionally found in early Latin (Liv. Andr. fr. 13 M, *Graeciam redire*; Plaut. *Capt.* 573, *abiit Alidem*; *Curc.* 206, *parasitum misi*

Cariam). Virgil, following Homeric practice, much extended the use, applying it to names of peoples (*E.* 1. 64, *ibimus Afros*) and to nouns of place (365, *deuenerē locos*; 3. 601, *quascumque abducite terras*; 6. 696, *limina tendere*). In prose there are few certain examples before Tacitus, who provides numerous instances.

fato profugus: Quintilian (11. 3. 37) took these words together, and this seems natural to the rhythm; but the force of *fato* extends to *uenit* also; Aeneas was destined to exile, and destined to reach Italy. *Profugus* is regularly used of Aeneas and the Trojan migration: Sallust, *Cat.* 6. 1 'Troiani . . . Aenea duce profugi'; Livy 1. 1. 8 'postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam . . . , cremata patria domo profugos . . .'; Ovid, *Ars* 3. 337 'profugum Aenean'; Silius 8. 52 f. 'corripit ensem / certa necis, profugi donum exitiale mariti' (of Dido).

Lauiniaque uenit: a more precise statement of the place to which Aeneas came, expressed paratactically in Virgil's manner. *Lauinia* here is trisyllabic, by synizesis ('Lāuinja'); cf. 6. 33, *omnia*, with Norden's detailed note, and 7. 237, *precantia*. The textual tradition varies between *Lauiniaque* and *Lauinaque*, with good authority for both: but the former would be the more liable to correction, by a scribe unfamiliar with such prosody. Cf. E. Benoist, *Revue archéologique* xxxvii (1879), 115 ff.

The first syllable of the adjective *Lauinius* is long (4. 236; Lucan 9. 991; Silius 1. 44, 10. 438, 13. 64; cf. Prop. 2. 34. 64). The quantity varies in the nouns *Lauinium* and *Lauinia* (daughter of Latinus), according to metrical need and the position in the line: *Lāuini* (genitive), 1. 258, 270, 6. 84, Tibullus 2. 5. 49; *Lāuini*, Ovid, *Met.* 15. 728; *Lāuinia*, 6. 764, 7. 72, 314, 11. 479, 12. 17, 64, 80, 194, 605, 937, Ovid, *Met.* 14. 570, Stat. S. 1. 2. 244; *Lāuinia*, 7. 359, Ovid, *F.* 3. 629, 633, Silius 8. 176, 13. 806.

Lavinium was traditionally Aeneas' first foundation in Italy, and from there the Trojan *Penates* reached Rome: for a valuable discussion of its importance for the Trojan legend see R. M. Ogilvie on Livy 1. 1. 10; G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton, 1969), ch. 4; for an account of two archaic inscriptions confirming the tradition, found on or near the site of Lavinium (the modern Pratica di Mare), see S. Weinstock, *JRS* 1 (1960), 112 ff.

3. **ille**: = δ γε. The reflection from the *Odyssey* continues (δς μάλα πολλὰ / πλάγχθη . . . / πολλὰ δ' ὁ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα). The pronoun is pleonastic, with resumptive force, adding a fresh point ('est autem archaismos', Servius); cf. 5. 456 f.

'Daren ardens agit aequore toto / nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra', 9. 478 ff. 'agmina cursu / prima petit, non illa uirum, non illa pericli / telorumque memor', Hor. C. 4. 9. 47 ff. 'qui deorum / muneribus sapienter uti / duramque callet pauperiem pati . . . / non ille pro caris amicis / aut patria timidus perire'.

iactatus: Virgil constantly has this verb to express the Trojans' 'buffetings': again in 29, 182, 332, 668, 3. 197, 4. 14, 6. 693; so of the Phoenicians, 442, and of Dido, 629.

4. **ui superum**: cf. 7. 432 'caelestum uis magna iubet', 12. 199 'uimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis'; in these passages *uis* comes close in meaning to *numen* (so Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4. 107 'multa prodigia uim eius [sc. Cereris] numenque declarant', *post red.* 25 'qui apud me deorum immortalium uim et numen tenetis'). The implication in *superum* is made more precise by *Iunonis ob iram*. The archaic genitive form is a mark of epic style; it survived in official formulae (e.g. *triumuirum, socium, liberum*); the form in *-orum* came by analogy with the first declension *-arum*.

memorem . . . iram: the words recall both *Il.* 1. 1 *μῆνυ ἄειδε* and *Od.* 1. 20f. (of Poseidon) *ὁ δ' ἀσπερχές μενέαιεν / ἀντιθέω 'Οδυσῆϊ πάρος ἦν γαίαν ἰκέσθαι*. But Virgil's phrase is a striking personification, even more effective from the juxtaposition of *memorem* with *saevae*; Ovid borrows it, *Her.* 21. 9 'memori te uindicat ira', *Met.* 12. 583 'exercet memores plus quam ciuilitas iras', 14. 694 'memoremque time Rhamnusidis iram'; cf. Silius 13. 71 'pone, Anchisiade, memores irasque metusque'. Virgil may have thought of Aesch. *Ag.* 155 *μνάμων Μῆνυς*; but the phrase might come from early Latin poetry, in view of Livy 9. 29. 11 'censorem etiam memori deum ira post aliquot annos luminibus captum', for Livy's first decade appeared before the publication of the *Aeneid*, and it is not safe to infer that he has used Virgil here: see S. G. Stacey, *ALL* x. 38 f., 50, and Ogilvie, *Livy* 1-5, p. 3 (cf. my note on 2. 486 ff.). For Iuno's implacability cf. 5. 781 ff. 'Iunonis grauis ira neque exsaturabile pectus', etc.

5. **urbem**: Lavinium. The subjunctive *conderet* marks the aim to which his wanderings and sufferings were directed (cf. 10. 800 'dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret').
6. **inferretque . . . Latio**: an extension of *conderet*; in founding Lavinium, Aeneas was to make it the home of the Penates of Troy; cf. 8. 10 ff. 'Latio consistere Teucros, / aduectum Aenean classi uictosque penatis / inferre'. For the Penates see F. Bömer, *Rom und Troia* (Baden-Baden, 1951), pp. 50 ff.
- genus unde Latinum**: sc. *ortum est*. The reference in *unde* could be to the whole process just described, but *uirum* is the

more natural antecedent; for this archaic use of *unde* with a personal reference see Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 102 n. 2, and Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. C. 1. 12. 17: Virgil likes it in a solemn context and in high style, 5. 122 f. 'Cloanthus / . . . genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti', 5. 568 'Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini', 6. 765 f. 'regem, regumque parentem, / unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba'; cf. Hor. S. 1. 6. 12 f. 'Laeuinum, Valeri genus, unde Superbus / Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit'.

7. This ringing line foreshadows the subsequent move from Lavinium to Alba (cf. 270 f.), and thence to Rome. *Albani patres* is a high allusion to a developed city with its ruling families forming a 'senate'. In *altae moenia Romae* Virgil sums up all his pride in the City of the Seven Hills; cf. G. 2. 534 f. 'rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma, / septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces', Prop. 3. 11. 57 'septem urbs alta iugis'; but *altae* possibly suggests highmindedness too (cf. G. 3. 42 'te sine nil altum mens incohat'). Virgil does not use *alta* elsewhere as an epithet of Rome; yet to limit its application by taking it simply as 'transferred' from *moenia* (so Mackail) is to miss much of its evocative power: Ovid understood something of Virgil's pride, in his periphrasis for the *Aeneid* (part of a reading-course with which a girl can impress a man), 'profugum Aenean, altae primordia Romae, / quo nullum Latio clarius exstat opus' (*Ars* 3. 337 f.). Silius has an imitation, 3. 182 'uictorem ante altae statuam te moenia Romae'.

- 8-11. The ritual invocation of the Muse now begins, in which the poet speaks as the instrument through whom the divine Muses make poetry known to men: so *Il.* 2. 484 ff.

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
 ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστέ, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστε τε πάντα,
 ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν,

Apollonius Rhodius 4. 1381 f.

Μουσάων ὄδε μῦθος· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπακούος ἄειδω
 Πιερίδων, καὶ τήνδε πανατρεκές ἔκλονον ὀμφήν,

Callimachus, h. 3. 186

εἰπέ, θεή, σὺ μὲν ἄμμιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέροισιν ἀείσω,

Theocritus 22. 116 f.

εἰπέ, θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα· ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέρων ὑποφήτης
 φθέγγομαι ὅσσ' ἐθέλεις σὺ καὶ ὄππῃς τοι φίλον αὐτῇ.

This consciousness of complete subordination to the goddess-Muse is deep in the ethos of ancient epic; that is why Virgil (like Homer) asks the Muse's support at special moments;

e.g. 7. 37 ff. (where *maius opus moueo* explains his need), 7. 641 ff., before the Catalogue (where his prayer ends with words that recall *Il.* 2. 485 f., 'et meministis enim, diuae, et memorare potestis; / ad nos uix tenuis famae perlabitur aura'). See Norden on 6. 264 ff., and cf. *Stat. Th.* 1. 3. 8. 374, Silius 1. 3. 3. 222, 12. 390, Val. Flacc. 3. 213, 6. 34, 516; for a parody of the manner see *Hor. S.* 1. 5. 53 (Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 111 n. 1).

In a mosaic portrait of Virgil (first or second century), found in 1896 at Sousse in Tunisia, the poet is seated with a Muse on either side; he holds a papyrus roll of the *Aeneid*, open at the words *Musa mihi causas memora*: see D. Compagretti, *Atene e Roma*, xvii (1914), cols. 66 ff., and Mackail's *Aeneid*, p. xlvii. Portraits of Virgil were prominent among those possessed by Silius in his various Campanian villas (Pliny, *Epp.* 3. 7. 8), and Martial lists among his *apophoreta* (14. 186) a miniature text of Virgil, with a portrait ('quam breuis inmensum cepit membrana Maronem! / ipsius et uultus prima tabella gerit'). The emperor Gaius planned to remove busts of Virgil (and Livy) from all libraries, since the poet was 'nullius ingenii minimaque doctrinae' (Suetonius, *Gaius* 34. 2).

8. *quo numine laeso*: a difficult phrase, the meaning of which must be deduced from the uncomplicated *quidue dolens*. The interrogative *quo* is attached not to *numine* alone, but to *numine laeso*, which forms a unit, so that *quo numine laeso* = *quam ob iniuriam numinis*, 'for what affront to her divinity'; for a simpler example of the form of interrogative in which an ablative absolute expresses ground for an action (an unusual type) cf. *Cic. Verr.* ii. 3. 185 'tu uero quibus rebus gestis, quo hoste superato contionem donandi causa aduocare ausus es?' Some have equated *numen* here with *arbitrium* or *uoluntas*, adducing 2. 123 'quae sint ea numina diuum', 9. 661 'dictis ac numine Phoebi' (cf. Birt, *BPhW* 1918, 212 ff.), not sound parallels (since *diuum*, *Phoebi* make all the difference). For the expression cf. Ovid, *Her.* 20. 99 f. (of Diana) 'nihil est uiolentius illa, / cum sua, quod nolim, numina laesa uidet'.

The affront to Iuno's divine authority is explained in 19 ff. (her wish for Carthaginian supremacy thwarted by the Fates); and her resentment is further particularized by the personal *dolores* of 25 ff.

9. *deum*: for the genitive cf. *superum* (4, note). *uoluere*: the infinitive after *impello* is not found before Virgil (again, 2. 520) and Horace (*C.* 3. 7. 14), and is infrequent later (Ovid, *Am.* 2. 12. 22; Livy 22. 6. 6; Tac. *H.* 3. 4).

Voluere suggests partly the passage of time (cf. *G.* 2. 295 'multa uirum uoluens durando saecula uincit'), partly the idea of unrolling a series of events (cf. 262), partly the picture of an activity that goes on and on, circle-wise (cf. 305): the full sense is something like 'to undergo so many endlessly recurring misfortunes' (cf. 10. 61 f. 'iterumque reuoluere casus / da, pater, Iliacos Teucris').

10. *insignem pietate uirum*: so Virgil makes explicit from the start the essential characteristic of his hero, assigned by legend, and based ultimately on his deliverance of his father and the Trojan Penates from burning Troy; the frequent treatment of this act in art shows that the legend was known and honoured in Italy as early as the sixth century (see my note on 2. 708, with references). *Pietas* is a very Roman concept, embracing many aspects of man's relationship to the gods and to fellow men: duty, devoted service, responsibility, compassion, the full consciousness of what is due to others. It was not unilateral: it made equal demands upon those to whom it was given (cf. 253 'hic pietatis honos?'; Catullus 76. 26 'o di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea'). It was not smug; it could involve pain and self-sacrifice (cf. my note on 4. 393). It was a code of high conduct and an integral part of patriotism in the best sense. Cicero (*de inu.* 2. 65) includes it in *naturae ius*, implanted by an *innata uis*; he sums it up as 'quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conseruare moneat'.

See Henry's twelve-page comment here; Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1919), pp. 146 ff.; U. Knoche, *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Munich, 1956), pp. 89 ff.; P. Grimal, *Pius Aeneas* (Virgil Soc. Lecture, 1959); K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960), pp. 39 f.; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963), p. 19 n. 28; A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis* (Heidelberg, 1967), p. 24 n. 39; W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 24 f.; G. K. Galinsky, op. cit., ch. 1.

11. *impulerit*: the strong pause after a single word, run on from the previous line to end a period, is a favourite device of Virgil's. Such a pause, as here, is often the preliminary to a sharp, pregnant question or statement; so 241, 672, 2. 669 f. 'sinite instaurata reuisam / proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti', 4. 22 f. 'solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem / impulit. agnosco ueteris uestigia flammae', 4. 623 f. '... cinerique haec mittite nostro / munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt'. But often the word so carried over has special emphasis;

so 346 (*ominibus*), 549 (*paeniteat*), 2. 467 (*incidit*), 2. 529 (*saucius*), 4. 29 (*abstulit*), 4. 72 (*nescius*). Cf. Henry on 2. 247.

tantaene . . . irae? : for a similar summing-up line or phrase cf. 33, 8. 693, *G.* 3. 112, *G.* 4. 205; *Lucr.* 1. 101 'tantum religio potuit suadere malorum'. The plural *irae* is primarily necessitated by the metre (*tanta* could not stand); but Virgil often has the plural where the singular would be metrically possible, implying repeated feelings of anger, bursts of temper: see Landgraf, *ALL* xiv. 74, and my notes on 2. 381, 4. 197. Virgil has put in the forefront of the *Aeneid* the problem that constantly exercised him: the ways of god to man.

- 12-32. *The history of Iuno's enmity to the Trojans: her dear city, Carthage, was threatened by a decree of the Fates to be destroyed by a Trojan race; further, she had hated Troy's people ever since the insult set upon her by the judgement of Paris.*

Virgil now sets out, succinctly and forcefully, in a passage of intricate art, the main issue from which his epic tale springs. It corresponds to a *narratio* in a speech, such as 'plerique . . . uolunt esse lucidam, breuem, ueri similem' (*Quintilian* 4. 2. 31). But it is much more than a statement of facts: it makes clear the final power of Fate, against which even Iuno will be powerless in the end: Fate can be delayed, but it cannot be prevented; the foundation of the Roman race had a long and hard passage, but it was inevitable.

12. **urbs antiqua fuit** : for Virgil's opening cf. *Cic. Verr.* ii. 1. 63 'oppidum est in Hellesponto Lampsacum, iudices, in primis Asiae prouinciae clarum et nobile'. *Antiqua* implies not only age, but the honour due to age: cf. 6. 648 'genus antiquum Teucris, pulcherrima proles', *G.* 2. 174 'res antiquae laudis et artem'; so of Troy, 375, 2. 363 ('urbs antiqua ruit'), 4. 312; of trees, 2. 626, 714, 6. 179, *G.* 2. 209, *G.* 3. 332. In this way Virgil suggests to his contemporaries the respect due to an old and honourable foe. The nuance in *fuit* (cf. 2. 325 'fuit Ilium') can hardly be pressed.

In *urbs antiqua fuit* there is an epic stylistic feature which recurs in 159 'est in secessu longo locus', 441 'lucus in urbe fuit', 530 'est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt': such phrases mark an *ἐκφρασις* in which the poet digresses to describe for his readers a scene that is of importance to his narrative; the manner goes back to Homer (e.g. *Il.* 6. 152 *ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἀργεῶς ἰπποβότου*), and may be traced through Greek Tragedy and New Comedy to Hellenistic Epic, and thence to Roman Epic and Roman Comedy. The descriptive opening is picked up by some word that marks

the return to the narrative proper: here, *hic, hic, hoc regnum* (similarly *huc*, 170; *hic*, 534; *hoc in luco*, 450). English also uses the device, e.g. Tennyson's *Oenone*, 'There lies a vale in Ida . . . / Hither came at noon / Mournful Oenone'. See my notes on 2. 21, 4. 480 ff., 483, and the valuable discussion by G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 640 ff., 651 ff.

Tyrri . . . coloni : an important fact is put in a parenthesis, giving the illusion of casual narrative (see on 530). There may be a reminiscence of Ennius (*Ann.* 24 'quam prisci casci populi tenere Latini').

13. **longe** : adjectival, with *ostia* ('the far-away Tiber mouth'), in the Greek manner; cf. 7. 727 f. 'Aurunci misere patres Sidicinae iuxta / aequora', *Tac. Agr.* 10. 2 'septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, uasto atque aperto mari pulsantur'. The geographical opposition suggests the historical conflict.
14. **diues opum** : again, 2. 22 (of Tenedos); cf. 9. 26 'diues equum, diues pictai uestis et auri', 11. 338 'largus opum'; the genitive is either one of content or of reference. Virgil's little vignette of Carthage, rich and pugnacious, is a notable expression of the qualities that made her so formidable to Rome.
15. **fertur** : this type of word generally shows that Virgil is following some antiquarian or literary tradition; cf. 532 (*fama*), 3. 416 (*ferunt*), 4. 179 (*ut perhibent*), 6. 14 (*ut fama est*), 7. 409 (*dicitur*): see Norden on 6. 14, an important note; Leo, *Ausg. kleine Schriften*, ii. 103 ff.; Heinze, pp. 240 ff. For the effective juxtaposition *omnibus unam* cf. *Catullus* 5. 3 'omnes unius aestimemus assis'.
16. **posthabita . . . Samo** : Iuno put even Samos second to Carthage; cf. *Stat. Th.* 12. 115 f. 'Cadmi / moenia posthabitis uelit incoluisse Mycenis'; *posthabere* does not occur in high poetry except in Virgil (again, *E.* 7. 17) and Statius. Hera's temple at Samos is said by Herodotus (3. 60) to be *ἡὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν*, and (2. 148) as much *ἀξιόλογος* as the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The temple at Carthage was destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C.
- There is hiatus between *Samo* and *hic*: so 5. 735 'conclia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla', 9. 291 'hanc sine me spem ferre tui, audentior ibo', 10. 141 'Maeonia generose domo, ubi pingua culta', 12. 31 'promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi'; so in the second foot, 3. 606, *G.* 1. 4; in the third, 4. 235, 7. 226, 11. 480, *E.* 3. 6, 63, 8. 41, 10. 13, *G.* 1. 341. Nine of these lines occur in speeches, and most show a pause at the hiatus, which Virgil probably introduces as a dramatic device, just as in Plautus hiatus often occurs

at a change of speaker or before a new point in the narrative (see Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse*, p. 240). See my note on 4. 235; W. R. Hardie, *Res Metrica*, pp. 45 ff.; F. W. Shipley, *TAPA* lv (1924), 140 ff. For other types of hiatus see on 405, 617.

hic illius arma: this and the two following clauses form a tricolon in crescendo pattern, with anaphora (for which see on 78 ff.): a marked feature of Virgilian style.

17. **currus**: see *Il.* 5. 720 ff.; cf. Ovid, *F.* 6. 45 f. 'paeniteat quod non foueo Carthaginis arces, / cum mea sint illo currus et arma loco'. Virgil means that there was an image of Iuno in her temple, armed and in her chariot.

hoc: attracted into the gender of the predicate *regnum*; cf. 6. 129 'hoc opus, hic labor est'; Cic. *Chu.* 146 'hoc enim uinculum est huius dignitatis qua fruimur in re publica, hoc fundamentum libertatis, hic fons aequitatis' (where *hoc . . . hic* pick up *leges*).

dea: this (for *illa*, picking up *illius*) stresses Iuno's divine authority; cf. 412, 692 (so *heros*, 196; *deus*, 5. 841).

18. **si qua fata sinant**: *si qua* = 'if by any means' (cf. 6. 882 'si qua fata aspera rumpas'); the subjunctive represents Iuno's thoughts. Her struggle against Fate is a basic motif of the *Aeneid* (cf. 7. 293 f. 'heu stirpem inuisam et fatis contraria nostris / fata Phrygum'); she may, and does, go to extreme lengths to gain her purpose; she fights to the last (cf. 12. 819 f. 'illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur, / pro Latio obtestor'), but the will of Iuppiter must prevail. For the relationship of the gods to Fate see C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford, 1935), ch. 9; W. A. Camps, op. cit., ch. 5; Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 201 f.

tenditque fouetque: this correlating *-que . . . -que* is a feature of epic style, found already in Ennius, who took it over from the Homeric correlation $\tau\epsilon . . . \tau\epsilon$; see Norden on 6. 336, and my note on 4. 83; Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 209 f.; H. Christensen, *ALL* xv. 165 ff. (an elaborate statistical study).

The words so linked are, normally, related concepts (so *caelumque diemque*, 88; *terque quaterque*, 94; *ceruixque comaeque*, 477). Here Virgil has used the device to produce a striking word-complex with remarkable elasticity of construction. The intransitive *tendit* is given an object-clause (an innovation which has no parallel), and *fouet* is linked with it as if a transitive verb with direct object had preceded: difficult and interesting. The sense is: 'that this city should have sovereignty over the nations, this was her aim from the start ('iam tum'), this her cherished plan'.

19. **sed enim**: 'but in fact' (so 2. 164, 5. 395, 6. 28); *enim* was originally asseverative ('indeed'), and Plautus regularly uses it so. *Sed enim* is listed by Quintilian (9. 3. 14) as a Virgilian archaism (Cato used it; see Gellius 6. 3. 16); Ovid and Silver Epic follow Virgil's revival of it. See LHS, p. 508; Norden on 6. 28. For the postponement of the connective see on 333.

duci: present, because the train of events was already in being.

20. **olim**: 'one day', of the future; cf. 203, 4. 627 'nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore uires'.

uerteret: cf. 2. 652 f. 'ne uertere secum / cuncta pater . . . uellet'; the simple verb is used for the compound *euertere* (poetic style, cf. Norden on 6. 620); so for *auertere*, 528. Virgil likes *arces* as a virtual synonym for *urbs*; cf. 4. 347 f. 'si te Karthaginis arces / Phoenissam Libycaequae aspectus detinet urbis', 10. 12 f. 'fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim / exitium magnum . . . immittet'.

21. **hinc**: i.e. *Troiano a sanguine*; this and the next line extend the matter of 19-20, more precisely defining it. Virgil thus represents the defeat and destruction of Carthage by Rome as predestined; the history of the Punic Wars darkens the whole background of this Book.

late regem: 'with widespread dominion'; cf. Hor. *C.* 3. 17. 9 'late tyrannus'; the verbal idea in *rex* makes the adverb less remarkable than the use of *longe* in 13.

superbum: 'arrogant', from Iuno's standpoint; from a different angle it was the Roman duty *debellare superbos* (6. 853).

22. **excidio**: 'predicative' dative of purpose; cf. Tac. *H.* 1. 80. 1 'orta seditio prope urbi excidio fuit'. *Esse* predominates with such datives; *uenire* occurs also with *auxilio* and *subsidio*: see H. J. Roby, *Latin Grammar* (London, 1889), ii, pp. xxv ff., a valuable study.

sic uoluere Parcas: this explains the authority of her information (20); *uoluere* may suggest the turning of the Fates' spindles, or simply the 'unrolling' of their plans; cf. 262. 3. 375 f. 'sic fata deum rex / sortitur uoluitque uices, is uertitur ordo'.

23. **ueteris . . . belli**: the Trojan war, now long past (cf. 31), of which Iuno's present hostility is a survival; *prima* (24) picks up *ueteris* (i.e. 'in the beginning', = *prius*).

24. **Argis**: this masculine plural form (for the Greek neuter *Ἄργος*) is regular in Virgil; cf. Varro, *LL* 9. 89 'dicimus hic Argus cum hominem dicimus, cum oppidum, Graece hoc Argos, cum Latine, Argi': cf. *Thes. L.L.*, s.v. *Argos*, for the practice of different authors.

- Virgil now breaks off, to add a further cause for Iuno's resentment in an aside of studied casualness, as if the Muse were speaking informally to him and had suddenly remembered something fresh: this is a way of giving liveliness to a long exposition that might become tedious (cf. the elaborate opening of *G.* 1). After the parenthesis, again with deceptively casual art, he makes a new start on his main theme, in *his accensa* (29).
25. Iuno's bitter resentment (*dolores*) had a deep-seated personal origin, now to be explained.
26. The negative *necdum exciderant animo* is reinforced by the positive *manet alta mente repostum*; Iuno is represented as very feminine in her brooding jealousy.
repostum: see note on *compostus*, 249; but whereas *compositus* is equally possible in hexameters, the participle of *repono* (*repositus*) would be impossible unless in this syn-copated form.
27. *spretaeque . . . formae*: an explanatory variation of *iudicium Paridis*; the insult (*iniuria*) is defined by *spretae formae*, 'the scorning of her beauty' (cf. *numine laeso*, 8); so Velleius 1. 1. 1 'ob segnitiam non uindicatae fratris iniuriae' ('because of slowness in leaving unpunished the wrong done to his brother').
28. *genus inuisum*: 'the stock she abominated'; Dardanus, from whom the Trojans were descended, was an illegitimate son of Iuppiter (by Electra).
rapti Ganymedis: objective genitive. Ganymede too belonged to the *genus inuisum* (his father Tros was Dardanus' grandson); Homer (*Il.* 20. 234) says that the gods carried him off to be the cupbearer of Zeus; later versions made Zeus himself the abductor (*Hom. h.* 5. 202 ff.) by means of a storm-wind (*ἀέλλα*), or employing his eagle (cf. 5. 254 f. 'quem praepes ab Ida / sublimem pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger uncis'), or disguised as his eagle (Ovid, *Met.* 10. 155 ff., where Ganymede serves nectar *inuita Iunone*, an idea embroidered by Statius, *S.* 3. 4. 15 'Iuno uidet refugitque manum nectarque recusat').
29. *his accensa super*: this picks up *id metuens* (23), resuming the narrative after the parenthesis, another touch designed to give an impression of informality. *Super* = *insuper*, as in 2. 71 f. 'et super ipsi / Dardanidae infensi', (i.e. 'all this besides inflamed her'). Some take *super* with *his* (for *de*, cf. 750), which seems unlikely: cf. J. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien* (Prague, 1878), p. 11, and Deuticke's note.
30. *Troas*: a Greek accusative. Virgil is sparing in his use of a spondaic disyllable in the first foot, which tends to slow

down the rhythm. In general, such words have a more or less close connection, either in grammar or sense, with what follows; Norden (*Aeneis VI*, Anh. viii) makes this classification: (a) a connective follows (cf. 433); (b) the word is a preposition (cf. 56), or a conjunction (cf. 723), or a form of *ille* (cf. 210, 254) or of *qui* (cf. 72); (c) a reflexive pronoun follows (cf. 439, 587), or there is a grammatical connection (cf. 602). Within these categories, special emphasis is often obtained, as in 33, 376, 423, 524. Here, *Troas* is closely connected with the limiting apposition *reliquias Danaum*. See also P. Maas, *ALL* xii. 515 n.; and cf. my note on 4. 453.

reliquias Danaum: 'the leavings of the Greeks', such survivors as the Greeks had left (again 598, 3. 87); cf. Cic. *de sen.* 19 'aui reliquias' (= 'what your grandfather left unfinished'); Silius 10. 416 'reliquias belli' (= 'whom war had left alive'), 15. 538 (of land untouched by war): contrast 5. 787 'reliquias Troiae' (= 'the remnants of Troy'). For the prosody *reliquias* (necessary for the metre) cf. Lucr. 1. 1109, 3. 656, 6. 825; see Bailey, *Lucretius, proleg.* p. 132; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Gramm. d. lat. Spr.*, p. 938; Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 146 n. 3.

Achilli: for the form see Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 108 ff., 144; cf. my notes on 2. 7, 275.

31. *arcebat*: imperfect of constant action. Here now is the main verb of the sentence that began in 23; but the artfully contrived parenthesis, with the resumptive *his accensa*, prevents any straggling effect. The whole passage (12-33) is a notable example of Virgilian sustained composition.
32. *acti fatis*: cf. 2 'fato profugus'. It was because of Iuno's attempts to keep them from their goal that their wanderings continued *multos per annos*.
33. A line of extreme *grauitas*, slow and deliberate, with only one clash of ictus and word-accent (*erát*): Quintilian quotes it (8. 5. 11) to illustrate the figure *epiphonema*, 'rei narratae uel probatae summa acclamatio' (cf. Volkmann, *Rhetorik*, p. 455). Virgil has added a summarizing reflection to round off his narrative prelude, once more leading eye and ear and thought to Rome. Formally the reference is only to the founding of the city; but it inevitably brings to mind also the long, gradual, difficult but inexorable process by which Roman supremacy was established. It is worth remembering that for Virgil and his contemporaries the final destruction of Carthage in 146 was no remote event, but something that their own grandfathers could have seen happening in their lifetime.

34-49. *Iuno, seeing the Trojans cheerfully voyaging on from Sicily, soliloquizes angrily on her humiliating position.*

Virgil now 'in medias res non secus ac notas auditorem rapit' (Hor. *AP* 148 f.): he assumes knowledge of preceding events, later to be described in Aeneas' own narrative, and opens his tale with the Trojans setting sail from Sicily after the journeyings that followed Troy's fall. In this way he puts in the forefront of his epic the storm and shipwreck from which such momentous consequences came, making an immediate impact on the reader.

35. *laeti*: the Trojans' delight was the last straw for Iuno, and their happiness is charged with irony.

spumas . . . ruebant: 'they were churning the sea-foam with their bronze prows'; cf. 10. 214 'campos salis aere secabant'; Ennius, *Ann.* 385 'caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum'. The 'bronze' is strictly an anachronism; cf. F. H. Sandbach, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* v (1965-6), 26 ff. For *ruere* of violent driving motion cf. 85, *G.* 2. 308 f. 'ruit atram / ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem'; Lucr. 6. 726 'mare permotum uentis ruit intus harenam'.

36. *uulnus*: a 'hurt', physical or mental; cf. 4. 67 'tacitum uiuit sub pectore uulnus'; Lucr. 1. 34 'aeterno deuictus uulnere amoris', 2. 639 'aeternum daret matri sub pectore uulnus'; Theocritus 11. 15 ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος.

37. *secum*: sc. *locuta est* (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 422 'nec tulit et secum', also introducing a soliloquy by Iuno); for this use of *secum* cf. 4. 533, 6. 158, 10. 285, *G.* 4. 465, and *mecum* in 2. 93.

This monologue has a notable and deliberate parallel in 7. 293 ff., where Iuno intervenes to bring strife and bloodshed for the frustration of Aeneas: see Fraenkel, *JRS* xxxv (1945), 3; cf. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius*, p. 6; Buchheit, op. cit., pp. 59 ff.; Wlosok, op. cit., pp. 57 f. It was this that formed a declamation-exercise for the child Augustine: *Conf.* 1. 17 'praemio laudis et dedecoris uel plagarum metu, ut dicerem uerba Iunonis irascentis et dolentis quod non possit Italia Teucrorum auertere regem, quae numquam Iunonem dixisse audieram, sed figmentorum poeticorum uestigia errantes sequi cogebamur, et tale aliquid dicere solutis uerbis quale poeta dixisset uersibus'. For a Silver Latin Iuno-monologue see Seneca, *HF* 1-124.

mene: -ne is attached to the emphatic word (cf. 97, 4. 314 'mene fugis?'): Iuno can scarcely credit that *she* should be baulked. Note the many hissing s-sounds in her soliloquy (especially 44 f.); cf. 4. 603 ff.

desistere: this exclamatory infinitive ('indignantis'), emotional but with no verb of feeling expressed, belongs to lively familiar style. Ennius used it in Tragedy (*Sc.* 62), and it is frequent in Comedy, especially with the introductory -ne: e.g. Plaut. *Asin.* 226 'haecine te esse oblitum in ludo qui fuisti tam diu!', Ter. *Andr.* 245 'adeo hominem esse inuenustum aut infelicem quemquam ut ego sum!'; so too in Cicero's letters (e.g. *ad Att.* 9. 13. 8 'mene haec posse ferre!') and sometimes in his speeches (e.g. *Rosc. Am.* 95 'tene . . . potissimum tibi partis istas depoposcisse!'). See LHS, p. 366; K-S i. 720; Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, pp. 49 f.; H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Properz (Hermes, Einzelschriften 15, 1960)*, p. 152.

39. *quippe*: indignantly ironical ('O yes, naturally—the Fates bar my way'). The tone of this explanatory particle, used much like *scilicet*, depends on its context; contrast 12. 421 f. 'omnis de corpore fugit / quippe dolor', *G.* 2. 49 'quippe solo natura subest': see LHS, p. 510; K-S i. 808; and cf. my note on 4. 218.

Pallasne: emphatic, picked up by *ipsa*, 42, and contrasted with *ast ego*, 46; cf. 7. 304 ff. 'Mars . . . ast ego'. For Pallas' anger and its consequences see *Od.* 1. 326.

40. *Argium*: genitive, like *Danaum* (30); see on *superum*, 4. *ipso*: the crews; cf. *Il.* 14. 47 πρὶν πυρὶ νῆας ἐνπρήσαι, κτείναι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦς.

41. *unius*: explained in *Aiacis Oilei*; Pallas could revenge herself on a single individual, Iuno is powerless against a whole people who have wronged her (*una cum gente*, 47).

furias: 'mad lust'; cf. Stat. *Th.* 11. 637 f. (of Iocasta) 'multaque cum superis et diro questa cubili / et nati furiiis': the violation of Cassandra by the Locrian Ajax, son of Oileus, at Athena's temple was a tradition of the epic cycle, and was the subject of many vase-paintings (see my note on 2. 403). For the (trisyllabic) genitive form *Oilei* cf. *Ilioi* (120), *Idomeni* (11. 265); see Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 124.

42. *ipsa*: as often, of the central personage, controlling events ('why, she . . .').

Iouis . . . ignem: an added grievance: Pallas could use Iuppiter's own thunderbolt (cf. Eur. *Tro.* 80 f. ἐμοὶ δὲ δώσειεν φησὶ πῦρ κεραίνιον, / βάλλειν Ἀχαιοὺς ναῦς τε πικράναι πυρὶ).

43. *disiectitque . . . euertitque*: cf. note on 18. Pallas 'split their ships and upturned the sea with gales': the two actions are simultaneous, linked by the double -que, and there is no ὑστερον πρότερον (for which see on 526).

44. *illum*: emphatic, in adversative asyndeton: 'but as for him, with pierced breast he gasped out flame, as she whirled him

off in the spinning blast and impaled him upon a jagged crag'. Homer (*Od.* 4. 499 ff.) represents Ajax as drowned by Poseidon, with no mention of the thunderbolt; this, however, had evidently been in the tradition used before Virgil by Accius, for DServius quotes a line 'de Aiace' from Accius' play *Clytemestra*, 'in pectore / fulmen incohatum flammam ostentabat Iouis'. Virgil's restraint is well seen by comparing the horror versions of Seneca, *Agam.* 528 ff., and Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 530 ff. For the legend cf. Frazer's note on Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6. 6 (Loeb edn., p. 246); Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles* i. 8 ff.

Virgil must have remembered Lucr. 6. 390 ff., the argument against Iuppiter's control of thunderbolts:

cur quibus incautum scelus auersabile cumquest
non faciunt icti flammam ut fulguris halent
pectore perfixo, documē mortalibus acre,
et potius nulla sibi turpi conscius in re
uoluitur in flammis innoxius inque peditur
turbine caelesti subito correptus et igni?

But such rationalizing was not in his line, as he often makes clear.

45. *turbine*: the wind-force of the thunderbolt; cf. 6. 594 'praecipitemque immani turbine adegit': so of an arrow's flight, 12. 320 'incertum qua pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta', and of a whirled stone, 12. 531 f. 'praecipitem scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi / excutit effunditque solo'. Henry's fifteen-page note on *infixit* makes lively reading.

46. *ast ego*: see on 39. *Ast* is archaic; in early Latin it occurs in legal formulae (e.g. the Twelve Tables), and in sentences with a double protasis, e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 683 'si ego hic peribo, ast ille ut dixit non redit' (a parody of the legal manner); for other formulaic uses see Cic. *de leg.* 3. 10, Livy 10. 19. 17. In classical poetry it normally occurs only before a vowel, and most often with a pronoun following, as here, or before *ubi*, *ibi*; but note 10. 743 'ast de me diuum pater atque hominum rex', where the tone is solemn and has the ring of Old Latin (cf. Norden on 6. 316). See Leo, *Senecae tragoediae*, i. 214 ff.; Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.*, s.v.; and my note on 2. 467.

diuum regina: so 7. 308 'ast ego, magna Iouis coniunx'. With *incedit* cf. 405 'uera incesso patuit dea'; Iuno 'walks in majesty': the verb is coloured by its context (cf. 497, of Dido the Queen); in 8. 722 'incedunt uictae longo ordine gentes', *uictae* supplies the picture of a slow, sad walk (Henry has a good note on the point).

47. *et soror et coniunx*: cf. *Il.* 16. 432 *κασιγνήτην ἀλοχόν τε*; Hor. *C.* 3. 3. 64 'coniuge me Iouis et sorore'; Ovid, *Met.* 3. 265 f. 'si sum regina Iouisque / et soror et coniunx, certe soror'.

48. *et quisquam*: cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3. 8. 1 'et quisquam ingenuas etiam nunc suspicit artes?'; *et* marks a querulous or angry tone, as in 4. 215; cf. Cic. *de domo* 85 'et tu unus pestifer cuius eum restitutum negas esse ciuem?'

Iunonis: this device (the speaker's own name, instead of a pronoun or possessive adjective) is often used by Virgil, with varying nuances: e.g. 2. 79 (virtuous selfrighteousness, *Sinonem*), 2. 778 (affection, *Creusam*), 6. 510 (pity, *Deiphobo*), 7. 261 (honour, *Latino*), 8. 73 (reverence, *Aeneas*), 11. 689 (pride, *Camillae*): see Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien*, pp. 17 ff., an interesting list of passages from Virgil and Homer.

adorat: Quintilian (9. 2. 10) quotes the line with *adoret*, and so too Servius (three times); but the indicative has more force—Iuno sees herself already being neglected in worship. The future *imponet* in 49 (for which there are variants *imponit*, *imponat*) adds further dramatic tone ('Does anyone now . . .? Will anyone after this . . .?').

49. *praeterea*: 'any more', as in *G.* 4. 500 f. 'neque illum / . . . praeterea uidit'.

honorem: i.e. sacrifice; cf. 3. 118 'meritos aris mactauit honores', 3. 264 'numina magna uocat meritosque indicit honores'.

50-64. *Iuno visits the cave of Aeolus, the Lord of the Winds.*

The passage forms a smooth and artistic transition, leading on to the storm and shipwreck, from which so much was to depend. Homer's account of Aeolus (*Od.* 10. 1 ff.) is only incidental to his tale of Odysseus' calamities: Virgil uses the detail to serve a basic theme of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' involvement with Dido and the tragedy of her death. Cf. also Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 466 ff.: on the relationship of the two passages see Heinze, pp. 74 ff.; Buchheit, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 ff.

50. *flammato*: this metaphorical use is not recorded earlier; it is imitated by Statius (*Th.* 1. 249 f. 'flammato uersans inopinum corde dolorem / talia Iuno refert') and Silius (15. 560).

secum . . . uolutans: a frequent turn: so 4. 533 'secumque ita corde uolutat', 6. 185 'haec ipse suo tristi cum corde uolutat', 12. 843 'aliud genitor secum ipse uolutat'; 6. 157 f. 'caecosque uolutat / euentus animo secum', 10. 159 f. 'secumque uolutat / euentus belli uarios'.

51. *patriam*: the winds have a settled homeland, with established traditions and loyalties: so the bees 'patriam solae et certos nouere penatis' (*G.* 4. 155).

- loca . . . Austris : cf. 6. 265 'loca nocte tacentia late'; Ovid, *Met.* 14. 103 'loca feta palustribus undis'; *feta* suggests the large family of the winds (cf. Varro Atacinus, fr. 12 Morel, 'feta feris Libye'). Servius comments 'legerat apud Ennium [*Ann.* 594] *fuventibus uentis*, sed quasi asperum fugit et posuit *austris* pro "uentis": Virgil could not treat final -s as Ennius and Lucretius did, but the particularizing is in any case characteristic of his manner. Cf. 12. 115 'lucemque elatis naribus efflant', where Servius notes 'Ennianus uersus est ordine commutato. ille enim ait [*Ann.* 600] "funduntque elatis naribus lucem"'.
 52. **Aeoliam** : for the accusative see on 2. With the strong pause at the second-foot diaeresis cf. 168 'Nympharum domus. hic . . .': contrast 54, a like metrical pattern, where the absence of pause after *premit* makes a different rhythm. From 8. 417 it appears that Aeolia was identified with Lipara, off Sicily.

hic : this picks up the miniature *ἔκφρασις* of 51. Homer does not mention a cave; his Aeolus lives richly in a city, *δώματα καλά* (*Od.* 10. 13). Virgil seems to have had in mind *Lucr.* 6. 189 ff., where the winds are pent in clouds like caged beasts:

contemplator enim, cum montibus assimulata
 nubila portabunt uenti transuersa per auras,
 aut ubi per magnos montis cumulata uidebis
 insuper esse alius alia atque urgere superne
 in statione locata sepultis undique uentis.
 tum poteris magnas moles cognoscere eorum
 speluncasque uelut saxis pendentibus structas
 cernere, quas uenti cum tempestate coorta
 complerunt, magno indignantur murmure clausi
 nubibus in caueisque ferarum more minantur;
 nunc hinc nunc illinc fremitus per nubila mittunt.

For other Aeolus-pictures cf. Val. Flacc. 1. 591 ff., Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 474 ff.

53. A fine line, showing metrically and linguistically the noise and straining of the imprisoned winds: the massive spondees (the maximum number possible), the struggle of ictus and word-accent, the huge stretch of *tempestatesque* from the third to the fifth foot, the highly charged epithet *sonoras* ending the line—all combine to form a memorable sound-picture.
 54. **imperio . . . frenat** : Aeolus 'holds them down with his authority, curbing them with chains and prison-bars'; the force of *frenat* properly applies to *uinclis* only, and is then extended to *carcere*.

55. **illi** : the shift from object (*uentos*, 53) to subject is a characteristic Virgilian device, giving variety and emphasis together; cf. 2. 50 ff. (*hastam . . . illa*), 2. 460 ff. (*turrim . . . ea*): it occurs often in similes (cf. 153; 2. 628, where *illa* picks up *ornum*; 4. 445, where *ipsa* picks up *quercum*).
cum : 'to the accompaniment of'; cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1. 49 'hunc . . . abstulit magno cum gemitu ciuitatis': *murmure* must be taken with *montis* (the *mons* is explained in 61), cf. 245. Again the line has much metrical weight and strain, with effective alliteration (note the clatter of repeated *c* in 56). The winds 'fume and fret ranged round their bars, while the mountain rumbles and roars'.
 56. **arce** : deliberately ambiguous; it could mean an actual 'citadel', high above the winds' dungeon, or the ruler's headquarters, or simply a mountain-peak; Virgil imposingly shows the autocratic power of Aeolus over his prisoners. Cf. Ovid, *H.* 11. 65 'media sedet Aeolus aula'; Stat. *Th.* 8. 21 'sedens media regni infelicitis in arce' (of Pluto).
 57. **animos** : cf. *G.* 2. 441 'animosi Euri'. The word both implies the 'spirit' or 'temper' of the winds (cf. 10. 356 f. 'discordes aethere uenti / proelia ceu tollunt animis') and hints at their 'breath'; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 84 f. 'quadripedes animosos ignibus illis / quos in pectore habent, quos ore et naribus efflant', where *efflant* is carefully chosen to support *animosos*. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 19 'ipse autem animus ab anima dictus est; Zenoni Stoico animus ignis uidetur'; Lactantius, *de opificio dei* 17. 2 'alii sanguinem esse [sc. animam] dixerunt, alii ignem, alii uentum; unde anima, uel animus, nomen accepit, quod Graece uentus *ἀνεμος* dicitur': see Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basel, 1928), ii. 13 ff.
temperat iras : a variation on *mollit animos* (for *iras* see on 11).
 58. **faciat** : the vivid present suggests that the catastrophe might happen at any minute, were it not for Aeolus; cf. 6. 292 ff., *ni . . . admoneat . . . inruat*; 11. 912 ff., *ineant pugnas . . . ni . . . Phoebus . . . tingat equos*. But the construction is metrically advantageous too: Virgil could have written *faceret*, following it up with *auferrent*, but he could not have used *uerrent*, and he would have had no room for *quippe*; cf. Norden on 6. 3 ff., 293 f. For a more complicated example of this vivid use cf. 2. 599 f., with my note on 2. 600.
maria . . . profundum : the whole universe. Cf. *E.* 4. 51, *G.* 4. 222 'terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum'; see J. Sparrow, *Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 75 ff.
 59. **quippe** : here simply explanatory, like the explanatory

scilicet (cf. 39 note); its postponed position enables emphasis to be put on *ferant*.

rapidi: cf. 117 'rapidus uorat aequore uertex', where the sense of *rapere* also appears in the adjective; so 2. 305, 4. 241. *Ferant rapidi uerrantque* is an elaboration of the use of *rapere* with *ferre* to mean 'plunder': if Aeolus did not keep watch, the winds would loot the universe.

60. *omnipotens*: Ennian (*Ann.* 458), = *παγκρατής*; see Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, pp. 207 ff., and on Aesch. *Agam.* 1648, for this and similarly formed compounds; cf. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 152.

molemque . . . altos: *et . . . altos* explains the *moles*: Iuppiter 'set a towering mountain-mass above them (*insuper*)'; *molemque . . . regemque* (62) link correlated aspects of control over the winds (cf. 18 note).

62. *foedere certo*: Aeolus had a fixed contract, to check or loose the winds on order (*iussus*): he was now to ignore this, by going beyond his proper powers at Iuno's request, to his own ultimate discomfiture (132 ff.).

64. *supplex*: cf. 666 (Venus to Cupid): both goddesses were wily.

65-80. *Iuno asks Aeolus to cause a storm, offering him a beautiful nymph as bride if he does her will. Immensely flattered, he agrees.*

Iuno's crafty speech combines flattery with business acumen. She conveniently ignores the fact that Aeolus is not in her employ, and he is too delighted and overawed to have any misgivings.

65. Iuno addresses Aeolus with formal ceremony. *Namque* is in the style of prayers, explaining why the functions of the divinity addressed are appropriate: so 731 'Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur', 6. 117 f. 'alma, precor, miserere (potes namque omnia, nec te / nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis)'; similarly 5. 533 f. (Aeneas to Acestes) 'sume, pater, nam te uoluit rex magnus Olympi / talibus auspicis exsortem ducere honores', 6. 365 f. (Palinurus to Aeneas) 'aut tu mihi terram / inice, namque potes'; cf. Hor. *C.* 3. 11. 1 f. 'Mercuri, nam te docilis magistro / mouit Amphion lapides canendo'; *Il.* 24. 334 f. 'Ἑρμεία, σοὶ γὰρ τε μάλιστα γέ φίλτατόν ἐστιν / ἀνδρὶ ἑταιρίσσαι; Callimachus, *h.* 4. 226 ἀλλά, φίλη, δύνασαι γάρ, ἀμύνειο πότνια δούλους. See G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff.; Fraenkel, *JRS* xxxv (1945), 4 n.; Norden on 6. 117.

diuum . . . rex: a solemn and impressive formula (cf. 10. 2, 10. 743), going back to Ennius (*Ann.* 175, cf. 580, 581), and

ultimately to Homer's *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (*Il.* 1. 544, etc.); cf. 254 note.

For the monosyllabic ending *hominum rex* see on 105.

66. *mulcere . . . tollere*: this infinitive (cf. 319) after concessive or permissive *dare* is frequent in poetry from Lucretius (6. 1227) onwards; it is an extension of the special use of *dare* with *bibere* in early Latin (found also in Cicero and Livy), where the infinitive acts as a direct object; see LHS, p. 345. *Vento* belongs both to *mulcere* and to *tollere*; as a strong wind roughens the sea, so its withdrawal brings calm (cf. *E.* 2. 26 'cum placidum uentis staret mare', *G.* 4. 484 'Ixionii uento rota constitit orbis'). Henry has an entertaining note.

67. *nauiat aequor*: quoted as a Grecism by Quintilian (9. 3. 17); cf. 524 'maria omnia uecti', 5. 235 'quorum aequora curro', *G.* 3. 260 'natat . . . serus freta'; Ovid, *F.* 4. 573 'immensum est erratas dicere terras': this accusative of 'extent of space' after a normally intransitive verb is mainly poetic; for Cic. *de fin.* 2. 112 'si Xerxes . . . maria ambulauisset' see Reid ad loc. Cf. K-S i. 263 f.

68. *Ilium . . . portans*: cf. Ovid, *F.* 4. 251 'cum Troiam Aeneas Italos portaret in agros', Eur. *Orest.* 1365 Πάριον, ὃς ἄγαγ' 'Ελλάδ' εἰς Ἴλιον. Virgil always uses the Latin form *Ilium*, never *Ilium* or *Ilios* as Horace, Ovid, and others do, in spite of the harsh and unusual elision involved (cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. xi. 1. 8); see my note on 2. 625.

uictosque penatis: an expansion of *Ilium*; the Trojans 'carry Ilium to Italy' by bringing overseas the state gods, *Penates*, of Troy (cf. 8. 11 f. 'aduectum Aenean classi uictosque penatis / inferre'); so 2. 320, where the priest Panthus brings to Anchises' house 'sacra manu uictosque deos' (cf. 2. 717).

69. *incute uim uentis*: Iuno is brutally direct; DServius quotes Ennius (*Ann.* 512) 'dictis Romanis incutit iram'.

submersasque . . . puppis: 'sink their ships without trace'; a frequent construction, by which the action of one verb is expressed by a participle in agreement with the object of another verb, instead of two finite verbs being linked by coordination or subordination.

70. *age diuersos*: sc. *Troas*: 'drive them in all directions'. This is then varied and extended in *dissice* (from *disicere*, cf. *Thes. L.L.*, s.v.) *corpora ponto*; *corpora* means the living Trojans, not corpses (cf. 10. 430 'uos, o Grai imperdita corpora, Teucri'), and is little more than a substitute for *eos*. 71 ff. Cf. Hera's promise to Hypnos, *Il.* 14. 267 f., that she will give him one of the Graces to marry (δώσω ὀπυιέμεναι καὶ σῆν κεκλήσθαι ἄκοιτων). But Iuno speaks more solemnly and earnestly.

72. *quae*: sc. *est*; cf. 157, 9. 238 'in biuio portae quae proxima ponto', *G.* 1. 233. For such omission in other types of subordinate clauses cf. 81, 216, 520; in a principal clause cf. 202, 237. See Leo, *Senecae tragoediae* i. 184 ff. for the practice of Virgil and other poets in this matter, and cf. my note on 2. 2, *formā pulcherrima*: Deiopea was a very handsome girl with a neat figure. The Greek name accounts for the polysyllabic line-ending.

73. 'I will join her to you in lasting wedlock, and formally make her your own.' Iuno makes it clear that she does not propose a casual liaison; as goddess of marriage she uses the Roman technical term *conubium* ('ius legitimi matrimonii', Servius) and the ritual verb *dicare* ('obsequentem eam fore demonstrat', Servius), for which cf. Val. Flacc. 3. 535 f. 'quem tibi coniugio tot dedignata dicaui, / Nympha, procos', Stat. S. 2. 7. 82 f. 'taedis genialibus dicabo / doctam atque ingenio tuo decoram'. The marriage-bond is to be permanent, the wife is to be dutiful to her husband, the purpose of the marriage is to produce children (75): all very Roman, and far removed from Homer. This line, with its solemn significance, is repeated at 4. 126, where Iuno sets out her plan for Dido: see G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 370 ff. for an important discussion of both contexts, and especially of the implications for the position of Dido and Aeneas.

conubio: the prosody of the second syllable is a problem. Servius states that it is naturally long, and that Virgil has shortened it here. It could, however, be scanned as long if the word is made trisyllabic by synizesis, with consonantal *-i-*; the same possibility is open, in theory, with all forms of the word (not only in Virgil but in Ovid, Lucan, and Statius) other than the nominative and accusative plural, where *conūbia* is regular (except in Lucr. 3. 776, Stat. S. 2. 3. 19, 3. 3. 110, 5. 3. 241, *Th.* 1. 245, 3. 579, 8. 235, 11. 216, where synizesis would be necessary if the *-u-* is to be long). But such frequent invocation of synizesis is improbable; and on this and on other grounds it is reasonable to accept Wackernagel's view (*Festschrift für P. Kretschmer* [Vienna-Leipzig, 1926], pp. 289 ff.) that, despite Servius, the true prosody is *conūbium*—cf. *innūba*, *pronūba*, *subnūba*—and that metrical convenience alone accounts for *conūbia* where the second syllable bears the ictus (as it does in the majority of examples). For further detail see my note on 4. 126, and cf. Munro on Lucr. 3. 776.

proprium: 'yours', as a permanent possession; a variation of *stabili*: cf. 6. 871 'propria haec si dona fuissent' (i.e. 'if these gifts had been lasting'); Hor. S. 2. 6. 5 'ut propria haec

mihi munera faxis' (a prayer); Cic. *leg. Man.* 48 'quod ut illi [sc. Pompeio] proprium ac perpetuum sit . . . uelle et optare debetis'.

74. *omnis*: emphatically placed (cf. 30 note): a further extension of the idea in *stabili* and *proprium*. This is a characteristic line-pattern, with epithet and noun in agreement at beginning and end (see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. iii. A. 1); often a syntactical unit is so enclosed (e.g. 368, 551), a technique studied in valuable detail by T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ* n.s. xvi (1966), 140 ff., 298 ff.

75. *pulchra . . . prole*: either causal (with *faciat*), or descriptive (with *parentem*), or a fusion of both ideas. Aeolus will become a family man, with handsome children like their mother. Ennius puts the purpose of marriage more directly, *Sc.* 129 'ducit me uxorem liberorum sibi quaesendum gratia' (see Vahlen on *Sc.* 120, and G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 371); cf. Catullus 61. 204 f. 'Iudite ut lubet, et breui / liberos date'; *Hom. h.* 5. 126 f. Ἀγχίσεω δέ με φάσκε παρὰ λέχεσσι καλέσθαι / κουρῶδην ἄλοχον, σοὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ τέκνα τεκεῖσθαι.

In *Od.* 10. 5 ff. Aeolus has a wife, with six sons and six daughters married to each other, feasting continually with their parents: Virgil has chosen to make him a lonely bachelor. But D. Servius (on 71) offers some entertaining efforts by scandalized critics to explain away Virgil's temptation of a married man.

76 ff. A clever piece of characterization: Aeolus is awed and excited, and full of innocent self-importance (so soon to be shattered).

76. *contra*: 'in reply'; 6. 544 'Deiphobus contra', 7. 552 'tum contra Iuno'.

tuus: in antithesis with *mihi* (77). The emotional *o* with the vocative (cf. LHS, p. 26; Fordyce on Catullus 46. 9) suggests awe and respect here (cf. 229, 327 f., 522), sorrow in 198 f. *Optare* is stronger than *uelle*, suggesting a longing for something; cf. 10. 279 'quod uotis optastis adest'.

77. *explorare*: 'to settle', after thinking things out: 'deliberare' (Servius); 'aperire uel pensare' (D. Servius).

capessere: cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 300 'haec tibi si mea imperia capesses, multa bona in pectore consident'. Ovid is blunter, *Met.* 4. 477 'facta puta, quaecumque iubes' (Tisiphone to Iuno).

fas est: cf. 4. 113 (Venus to Iuno) 'tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando'. The basis of *fas* is divine sanction; here it means virtually 'duty' (cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 91): Aeolus says 'Your task is to settle your pleasure; I have a duty to carry out orders',

naïvely assuming that what Iuppiter's wife bids is within his brief from Iuppiter. For the double monosyllable ending the line, cf. 181, 603; there is no resulting rhythmic disturbance like that of 105 (*aquae mons*): see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ix. 4. b.

78 ff. *tu . . . tu . . . tu*: Aeolus returns Iuno's compliment (65) by using the ceremonial style of hymns, with anaphora (see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 10. 9): cf. 8. 293 ff. (hymn to Hercules) 'tu nubigenas . . . tu Cresia . . . te . . . te . . .'; Catullus 34. 13 ff. 'tu Lucina . . . tu potens Triuia . . . tu cursu . . .': the powers and honour of the deity are formally listed (so too Catullus 36. 12 ff.). In 7. 335 ff. Iuno uses this style to Allecto, 'tu potes . . . tu uerbera . . . tibi nomina . . .'; so Amata to Turnus, 12. 57 ff. 'spes tu . . . tu requies . . . te penes, in te . . .'; Horace silyly adapts it for his Ode to a wine-bottle, *C.* 3. 21. 13 ff. 'tu lene tormentum . . . tu sapientium . . . tu spem . . . te Liber . . .' (see G. Williams, op. cit., pp. 132 ff.).

Anaphora has its roots in the lively dramatic manner of spoken Latin, giving emotional emphasis in sentences of parallel structure: see Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, pp. 61 ff. for its development in Plautus and Terence (it reappears in the speeches of freedmen in Petronius, 44. 7, 63, 8, 9). The poets made it a conscious stylistic ornament, often serving as an artistic form of emphatic connective: e.g. 421 f., 709, 2. 306 'sternit agros, sternit sata laeta', *G.* 1. 77 f. 'urit enim lini campum seges, urit aenae, / urunt Lethaeo perfusa papauera somno': see LHS, pp. 694 f.

Quintilian (11. 3. 176) comments on the difference of tone needed for 'tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni' and 'tunc ille Aeneas?' (617).

78. *quodcumque hoc regni*: sc. *est*. The partitive is depreciatory; cf. Lucr. 2. 16 'hoc aeu quodcumque est', Catullus 1. 8 'quicquid hoc libelli' (see Fordyce ad loc.). Aeolus means 'my humble kingdom', with the modesty that conceals pride.

sceptra Iouemque: a compression for 'royal power and Iuppiter's favour'. Virgil has invented this detail (perhaps for sheer fun), that it was Iuno who had got the wind-kingdom concession for Aeolus from Iuppiter, to suit his plot.

79. *concilias . . . das*: the present is used, of a completed action with lasting effect: Iuno once did Aeolus this favour, and she remains his benefactress; so 9. 266 'cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido' (the bowl 'is a present from Dido', who was long since dead). The Augustan and later poets like the idiom (which has much metrical advantage for the

hexameter): see LHS, p. 306, and my note on 2. 663; Vahlen, *Opusc. Acad.* i. 364.

80. A line of almost operatic bombast (but innocently proud), full of noise and weight; a four-word line is rare. Conington found it awkward, a mere repetition of 78: but there Aeolus speaks of his power in general, here of his special sphere and of the capacity in which he has the entrée to the parties of the gods.

81-123. *Aeolus looses the winds. The Trojans, caught in a hurricane, face death; and Aeneas laments that he did not die at Troy. The storm falls violently upon the ships, and many are wrecked.*

Virgil first describes the swooping of the storm (81-101), then its effects (102-113), a balanced arrangement. Till now, except for the brief mention of the Trojans in 34 f., set on a fair course, the action has been on the divine plane; now the mortal actors take the stage, with their immediate condition settled arbitrarily by Iuno.

Virgil's storm is clearly reminiscent of *Od.* 5. 291 ff.; but there it is a horrible incidental only, here the storm has profound and lasting implications for Aeneas. Some modern scholars discover far-reaching symbolism in the passage: see Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils* (Innsbruck-Vienna, 1950), pp. 23 ff. (English version, pp. 13 ff.); B. Otis, *Virgil* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 227 ff.; such speculations are of undoubted interest, but they are entirely subjective. Homer's example, and the precedent of Naevius, who had likewise described the Trojans as overtaken by a storm (see on 229), had shaped poetic tradition for Virgil; his dramatic intuition showed him how and where to use it.

Juvenal, telling how a friend had escaped from a storm at sea, observes sardonically (12. 22 ff.) 'omnia fiunt / talia, tam grauitur, si quando poetica surgit / tempestas'. Virgil's sense of proportion may be realized from a comparison with other storm-descriptions: Ovid, *Met.* 11. 474 ff.; Lucan 5. 560 ff.; Seneca, *Agam.* 462 ff.; Val. Flacc. 1. 608 ff.; Statius, *Th.* 1. 342 ff.; Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 488 ff.: cf. W. H. Friedrich, *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Munich, 1956), pp. 77 ff. The *locus* spread from poetry to history; cf. Livy 21. 58, 40. 58, Tac. *Ann.* 2. 23. It was taken up in the declamation-exercises of the schools of rhetoric (Seneca, *Contr.* 7. 1. 4, 10; cf. the parody in Petronius 114): see J. de Decker, *Juvenalis Declamans* (Ghent, 1913), pp. 148 ff.; S. F. Bonner, *AJP* lxxxvii (1966), 280.

81. *haec ubi dicta*: again, 5. 32, 315, 8. 175; cf. 5. 362 'post, ubi confecti cursus'; for the omission of *sunt* see on 72: such an

omission in a subordinate clause is less common in Virgil with a passive participle than it is with a deponent (cf. 520, where both occur).

cauum . . . montem : a conflation of the *antrum* (52) and the *mons* (55). Probably *conuersa cuspidē* means 'with the butt-end of his spear' (but it could mean 'turning his spear-head' against the mountainside); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14. 300 'percutimurque caput conuersae uerbere uirgae', Lucan 7. 577 'uerbere conuersae cessantis excitat hastae'. Some commentators think that Aeolus was inside the winds' cave (e.g. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien*, p. 43), which seems improbable. The harsh alliteration marks the clatter of the blow; and the noise is continued by the winds themselves (in 83, every word but one contains *t*).

82. impulit in latus : Aeolus drove at the cavernous mountain on its flank; cf. 7. 621 'impulit ipsa manu portas'. Virgil reflects Ennius, *Ann.* 551 f. 'nam me grauis impetus Orci / percutit in latus'. The strong pause at the second-foot diaeresis (cf. 52 note) brings the rhythm to a jerk at the blow; see also 115, 116 for a like effect.

uelut agmine facto : the winds come pouring from the 'gate' like an army in column of march, moving with precision.

83. data : sc. *est* (see on 81). The dactyls here and in 84-5 suggest the rush of the winds; Virgil uses every device of rhythm and language in the whole passage to make us feel and see his storm.

perflant : cf. Lucr. 6. 132 ff. 'est etiam ratio, cum uenti nubila perflant, / ut sonitus faciant. . . / scilicet ut, crebram siluam cum flamina cauri / perflant, dant sonitum frondes ramique fragorem', a grand effect of noise.

84. incubuere mari : 'down they crash upon the sea'; the perfect marks instantaneous action (so 90 *intonuere*).

85 f. Cf. 2. 416 ff. 'aduersi rupto ceu quondam turbine uenti / configunt, Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois / Eurus equis' : a like arrangement (two winds named together, then an epithet of a third, named in the next line). The assortment of winds goes back to *Od.* 5. 295 f., with a variation: Virgil's winds are south-east, south, and south-west, with the north in reserve for 102. Seneca (*NQ* 5. 16. 2) complains that in describing these winds as all blowing together Virgil has stated 'quod fieri nullo modo potest': yet as a dramatist he himself has (*Agam.* 474 ff.) 'undique incumbunt simul / rapiuntque pelagus infimo euersum solo / aduersus Euro Zephyrus et Boreae Notus'. Mackail remarks that Virgil accurately represents a Mediterranean cyclone, and Conway defends him through painful personal experience; cf. Nisbet-

Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 3. 13. But in any case Virgil knew what an epic storm ought to be like.

85. Eurusque Notusque : for the correlation see on 18. **ruunt** : transitive (cf. 35); its repetition (with changed meaning) so closely after 83 is in Virgil's manner: cf. 684, 688 (*falle . . . fallas*), 2. 65, 70 (*accipe . . . accipere*), 2. 470 f. (*luce . . . in lucem*), 4. 406, 412 (*cogunt . . . cogis*), 5. 780 f. (*pectore . . . pectus*): see my note on 2. 505, with bibliographical references, and cf. Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

creberque procellis : 'squall-packed', one squall rapidly succeeding another. The construction, an adjective with dependent noun in the ablative, is a substitute for a compound epithet. Such compounding, natural to Greek, is a feature of early Latin; but greater linguistic sophistication brought severe restrictions: cf. Quintilian 1. 5. 70 'sed res tota magis Graecos decet, nobis minus succedit: nec id fieri natura puto, sed alienis fauemus, ideoque cum *κυρραύχενα* mirati simus, *incuruicercuicum* uix a risu defendimus'.

86. Africus : a wet and stormy south-wester. Its prominence here is due to its special villainy: Horace constantly curses it: it is *praeceps* (*C.* 1. 3. 12), *celer* (*C.* 1. 14. 5), *pestilens* (*C.* 3. 23. 5), *proteruus* (*Epod.* 16. 22); the merchant fears it (*C.* 1. 1. 15 f.), the mast shrieks with its storms (*C.* 3. 29. 57 f.). Livy (30. 24. 7) tells how Cn. Octavius, on a fair-seeming course from Sicily to Africa, met with the *Africus* which 'passim naues disiecit'; Tacitus (*Ann.* 15. 46) describes how some Roman captains 'grauis Africo, dum promunturium Miseni superare contendunt, Cumanis litoribus impacti triremium plerasque . . . amiserunt'. One of the virtues of Pliny's *cryptoporticus* in his Laurentine villa was that it 'Africum sistit' (*Epp.* 2. 17. 17).

uastos . . . fluctus : for this frequent pattern (an epithet before the caesura agreeing with a noun at the end of the line, enclosing a syntactical unit) see T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ* n.s. xvi (1966), 149 f., 157 f., 317 f.

87. DServius quotes from Pacuuius *Teucer* (fr. 335 R), 'armamentum stridor et rudentum sibilus'; Caелиus, describing to Cicero (*ad Fam.* 8. 2. 1) how Hortensius was booed in the theatre, quotes 'strepitus fremitus clamor tonitruum et rudentum sibilus' (evidently from the same passage): cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11. 495 'quippe sonant clamore uiri, stridore rudentes'.

uirum : for the genitive form see on 4. The double correlation of *que . . . que* here and in 88, following closely on 85, helps to give an impression of swift, cumulative terror.

88. Cf. 3. 198 f. 'inuoluere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum /

abstulit'; Accius, fr. 32 R 'deum regnator nocte caeca caelum e conspectu abstulit': so in a rhetorical storm (Seneca, *Contr.* 7. 1. 4) 'emicabant densis undique nubibus fulmina et terribili fragore horridae tempestates absconderant diem'; the manner is taken off by Petronius (114) 'dum haec taliaque iactamus, inhorruit mare nubesque undique adductae obruere tenebris diem'.

89. **ponto . . . atra**: 'black night settles upon the sea'. Quintus Curtius makes Alexander's soldiers list among imminent terrors (9. 4. 18) 'caliginem ac tenebras et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari'.

90. **intonuere poli**: possibly a deliberate echo of *incubere mari* (84). The intensive compound *intonare* occurs first in Cic. poet. fr. 7. 12 Tr., 'partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinistris' (cf. Norden on 6. 607). Virgil uses the plural *poli* here only (later Epic has it often): the thunder crashed 'from pole to pole' (Conington). Lucan improves upon the idea, 5. 632 f. 'arduus axis / intonuit, motaque poli conpage laborant'.

micat . . . aether: cf. Pacuvius, fr. 413 R 'flamma inter nubes coruscat, caelum tonitru contremitt'. Ovid plays further with his lightning, *Met.* 11. 521 ff. 'caecaque nox premitur tenebris hiemisque suisque; / discutunt tamen has praebentque micantia lumen / fulmina, fulmineis ardescunt ignibus ignes'; Seneca's picture is (*Agam.* 493 ff.) 'premitur tenebrae lumina et dirae Stygis / inferna nox est. excidunt ignes tamen / et nube dirum fulmen elisa micat': a brisk game. It is misleading to call this line an example of *ὑπερπρότερον* (see on 526): or is 'thunder and lightning' one?

91. **intentant . . . mortem**: cf. Seneca, *Phaedr.* 727 'instat premitque, mortis intentat metum'. *Intentare* is not recorded in poetry before Virgil. The line may echo Catullus 64. 187 'omnia sunt deserta, ostentant omnia letum': Virgil is so steeped in him that it is not possible to tell whether such reminiscences are conscious or not (cf. Fordyce on Catullus 66. 39).

92. **extemplo**: an augural word, which occurs in ordinary usage as early as Plautus (Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, p. 83). Ennius, Accius, and Lucretius have it, and its status of archaic dignity is seen from its occurrence in Epic and its absence in Lyric and Elegy (Ovid has it in the *Metamorphoses* only). See *Thes. L.L.*, s.v.; J. C. Jones, *ALL* xiv. 104.

Aeneae: the first naming of Aeneas, almost casually. Similarly, Latinus' *regia coniunx* is mentioned in 7. 56, but not named until 7. 343; Turnus' *soror alma* is mentioned in 10. 439, but not named until 12. 146: they are first indicated 'off-stage', named when they come directly into the action

(cf. Eumelus, *Od.* 14. 55): see Heinze, pp. 377 f., an interesting discussion.

One of the pictures in Vat. lat. 3867 (the Romanus) shows the scene with considerable vigour: the Trojans are in a violently storm-tossed ship, Aeneas has his arms outstretched to the sky, above is a winged Iuno with Eurys and Notus flanking her: see the Rome facsimile (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti* ii, published in 1902), and cf. K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Harvard, 1959), p. 60.

soluuntur frigore membra: a Virgilian fusion of *Od.* 5. 297 *λύτο γούνατα* with Livius Andronicus' translation 'Ulixi cor frigit prae pauore' (fr. 16 M). DServius, who quotes this, proceeds to show the captious naïveté of early critics: 'reprehenditur . . . Vergilius quod improprie hos uersus Homeri transtulerit, καὶ τὸτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ, ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν. nam soluuntur frigore membra longe aliud est quam λύτο γούνατα, et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas talia uoce refert molle, cum illud magis altum et heroicae personae πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν. praeterea quis interdum manus ad sidera tollit, aut quis ad caelum manum tendens non aliud precatur potius quam dicit ο τερque quaterque beati? et ille intra se, ne exaudiant socii et timidiore despondeant animo; hic uero uociferatur.' Apart from these absurdities, these earnest critics seem not to have noticed that in *Od.* 1.c. Odysseus was *alone*.

Thus early begins the long line of bad press-notices of Aeneas that led to Fox and Landor (cf. R. D. Williams, in *Virgil* [ed. D. R. Dudley, London, 1969], pp. 132 f.) and E. M. Forster (introduction to M. Oakley's translation of the *Aeneid* in Dent's *Everyman* series, London, 1957). They are misconceived: Virgil knew what he was about in so representing Aeneas on this our first meeting with him, an ordinary man, with no firm confidence in heroic destiny, bewildered, frightened of the elements: his world was far removed from Homer's, and far more complex.

93. **ingemit**: cf. Lucr. 3. 489 'concidit et spumas agit, ingemit et tremitt artus' (of an epileptic).

duplicis . . . palmas: cf. 9. 16, 10. 667. For *duplicis* ('both') cf. Lucr. 6. 1146 'duplicis oculos suffusa luce rubentis'; in Cic. *Arat.* 20. 1 Tr., *supera duplices umeros* represents Aratus, *Phaen.* 137 ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὤμων. *Geminus* is likewise used pleonastically: cf. 6. 788 'huc geminas nunc flecte acies', 8. 680 f. 'geminas cui tempora flammis / laeta uomunt' (transferred epithet); *Culex* 150 'geminas auium uox obstrepiat aures'; Catullus 63. 75 'geminas deorum ad aures'; Varro Atacinus, fr. 3 M 'geminis capiens tellurem Oeoxida

- palmis'; Apuleius ap. *Anth. Lat.* 712. 10 (from Menander) 'pupularum nitidas geminas gemmulas'.
- 94 ff. The description is interrupted by a speech, as in *Od.* 5. 299 ff., Lucan 5. 578 ff., Val. Flacc. 1. 627 ff., clearly traditional technique. Odysseus cries (*Od.* 5. 306 f.) *τρισμακάρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις οἱ τότ' ἄλοντο / Τροίη ἐν εὐρείῃ*; but he then laments the loss of glory from death in battle if he drowns, while Aeneas thinks of the brave men who are dead when he lives.
94. *terque quaterque*: for the correlation see on 18.
95. *quis*: this form (dative and ablative) occurs in Comedy, Lucilius, Sallust, Varro, Cicero's letters. Virgil has it eight times in the *Aeneid*, only once in the *Georgics* (1. 161), nowhere in the *Eclogues*: presumably its archaic tone commended it for Epic (in Silius it predominates). Lucretius has it once (5. 871), Catullus uses it sometimes, but only in his longer poems. But Horace uses it only in the *Satires* and (once) in the *Epodes*, presumably influenced by its familiar tone. In Elegy, Ovid, Propertius and Tibullus have it occasionally. In prose, it recurs in Livy and Tacitus. The form is thus clearly a matter for stylistic 'feel': see Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*², p. 316 n. 1, and cf. Kiessling-Heinze on *Hor. C.* 1. 26. 3.
- ante ora patrum*: the saddest of all deaths, and yet to Aeneas such men are *beati*; cf. Priam's outraged reproach to Pyrrhus, 2. 538 f. 'qui nati coram me cernere letum / fecisti et patrios foedasti funere uultus', 6. 308 'impositique rogis iuuenes ante ora parentum'. There are many tomb-inscriptions of the type 'quod par parenti fuerat facere filium / mors immatura fecit ut faceret pater' (*Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 164 etc.): see R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Roman Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1962), pp. 187 ff.; he suggests that the Romans felt more deeply on this than the Greeks.
96. *oppetere*: Ennian (*Sc.* 203 'utinam mortem obpetam'). Virgil's use without *mortem* or the like was taken up by Tacitus (*Ann.* 2. 24, 4. 50). The repeated *o* marks strong emotion (cf. 76 note).
97. *Tydidē*: Greek vocative, Greek patronymic of Diomedes: for Aeneas' escape from death at his hands, helped by Aphrodite, see *Il.* 5. 297 ff. (cf. the allusion in 4. 228); Helenus terms Diomedes *κάρτιστον Ἀχαιῶν* (*Il.* 6. 98), putting him even above Achilles.
- mene . . . potuisse*: for the construction see on 37. *Occumbere* (never of natural death) is absolute here (so 7. 294, 10. 865); *occumbere morti*, 2. 62 (see my note there for other constructions, and Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus d. lat. Sprache*, s.v.).

99. *Aeacidae*: i.e. Achilles (so 6. 58; of Pyrrhus, 3. 296; of Perseus, king of Macedon, 6. 839). For the characteristic triple anaphora cf. 78 ff. note (a quadruple *ἔθα* in a similar passage, *Od.* 3. 109 ff.). Unnecessary difficulty has been made of *iacet* (cf. Conway's note): for the moment, Aeneas is back on the battlefields of Troy, seeing his friends' bodies, dead.
- ubi ingens*: an elision at this point is unusual, except with *-que* (e.g. 177) and *neque*; cf. 9. 351 'ibi ignem', *G.* 4. 491 'ibi omnis', both with a strong pause preceding: see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. xi. 1. 9. The sense-pause (before *ubi* here) is also rare in Virgil (Norden, *ib.*, Anh. ii. 4. 4). This is the first occurrence in the *Aeneid* of *ingens*, so dear to Virgil: see Henry on 5. 118, a classic example of his manner; but cf. my note on 4. 89, and Conway on 453 below. For Sarpedon's death see *Il.* 16. 426 ff.
100. *correpta*: with *uoluit* (see on 69); Aeneas still sees events as if they were before his eyes. Servius knew a variant *sub undas*; cf. 8. 538 (a near-repetition of this passage; see Sparrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 103).
101. The arrangement is noteworthy: two nouns with a common genitive (*uirum*), then a noun with epithet. The main pauses in the whole speech have been carefully planned: end of second foot (96 *oppetere*); beginning of second foot (97 *Tydidē*); a lighter pause at *dextra* (end of 98); then a tricolon, of which the first clause occupies nearly the whole of 99, the second spills over to the second foot of 100 (*Sarpedon*), and the third, much longer, takes nearly two lines, giving a strong and effective finale. The speech is also markedly dactylic, a rush of anguished utterance.
- 102 ff. The shipwreck is described with vivid power (cf. the account of St. Paul's shipwreck off Malta in Acts 27). There are many violent verbs: *ferit, franguntur, furit, torquet, urget, inlidit, excutitur, uoluitur, uorat*. The sea is tossing everywhere: *fluctus, undis, aquae, fluctu, unda, fluctus, aestus, fluctibus, mari, alto, uadis, pontus, fluctus, aequore, gurgite, undas*; and in one tremendous phrase (105) we are shown metrically and verbally a piling jagged mass of waters. Cf. N. I. Herescu, *RÉL* x (1932), 322 f.
102. *talia iactanti*: so Petronius in his parody (114) 'dum haec taliaque iactamus, inhorruit mare'. The dative of 'person affected' provides a neat transition; contrast the varying methods of 50, 81, 142, 208, 297, 402, 579, 610, 631, 689. *Iactare* takes its tone from its context: it is often used of ranting, boastful talk (e.g. 2. 588, 9. 621), and Servius unsympathetically interprets here 'inaniter loquenti', but

Aeneas' cry is one of despair (cf. 2. 768 'ausus . . . uoces iactare per umbram'); in a remarkable passage (E. 5. 62 f.) the mountains 'shout for joy' ('ipsi laetitia uoces ad sidera iactant / intonsi montes').

stridens . . . procella: 'a shrieking northerly squall'; the *Aquilo* comes in at last (cf. 85 f. note). *Aquilone* may mark direction ('ab Aquilone', Servius), or, more probably, the specific manner of the *stridor*; the ablative with *stridens* acts for a compound epithet ('North-wind-whistling'). Virgil reflects early poetry: Ennius, *Ann.* 443 ff. 'concurrunt ueluti uenti cum spiritus austri / imbricitor aquiloque suo cum flamme contra / indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant'; Accius, fr. 566 f. R 'unde horrifer / Aquilonis stridor gelidas molitur niues'. Cf. Acts 27: 14 (New English Bible) 'A fierce wind, the "North-Easter" as they call it [Euroclydon' AV; *Euro-aquilo* Vulgate], tore down from the landward side. It caught the ship, and, as it was impossible to keep head to wind, we had to give way and run before it'.

104. prora auertit: 'the prow lurches round'. MR have *proram*, which involves an abrupt change of subject for *dat latus*, whereas *franguntur remi* (*prora auertit* give a balanced chiasmus and there is no problem with *dat latus*. For *auertere* used intransitively cf. 402; see *Theo. L.L.*, s.v., 1321. 53.

105. insequitur . . . mons: contrast the blandness of Ovid, *Tr.* 1. 2. 19 f. 'me miserum, quanti montes uoluuntur aquarum / iam iam tacturos sidera summa putes'. The modal *cumulo* applies both to *insequitur* and to *praeruptus* (cf. 2. 498 'fertur in arua furens cumulo', of a river in flood).

The rhythm is notable, a run of dactyls and a sharp monosyllabic ending. The normal end-pattern in Virgil is either of the type *Aquilone procella* or of the type *sidera tollit*; in both, the speech-accent and the metrical ictus fall upon the same syllable, giving a smooth close to the line: such coincidence must occur if the final word is disyllabic or trisyllabic and the last two feet are shared between two words only (or have the pattern of 104, *auertit et undis*). In this abnormal line, because of the monosyllable at the end, there is clash, not coincidence: the ictus gives *praeruptus aquae mons*, against the speech-accent *praeruptus aquae mons*. Such abnormality in Virgil is usually designed for some graphic effect; here, the mountainous waves rear up metrically. But sometimes such an ending reflects a traditional formula from early poetry, as in 65 'dium pater atque hominum rex'. See my note on 4. 132; Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ix. 2, 3.

106. hi . . . his: different crews; the varied construction is in Virgil's manner. Contrast Seneca, *Agam.* 497 ff. 'ipsa se

classis premit / et prora prorae nocuit et lateri latus. / illam dehiscens pontus in praeceps rapit / hauritque et alto redditam reuomit mari; / haec onere sidit, illa conuulsum latus / submittit undis, fluctus hanc decimus tegit': Virgil knew when to stop.

dehiscens: the verb is recorded in Varro only before Virgil. **107. terram**: the sea-bed; cf. Ovid, *Tr.* 1. 2. 21 f. 'quantae diducto subsidunt aequore ualles! / iam iam tacturas Tartara nigra putes'.

furit . . . harenis: 'there is a mad swirl of sea and sand'; cf. 3. 557 'aestu miscentur harenae'; Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 495 f. βίη δέ τις ἄσχετος αἰεὶ / ψάμμον ἀναβλύσκε διοιομένιο κλύδωνος. Sallust observes of the Syrtes (perhaps alluded to here) 'ubi mare magnum esse et saeuire uentis coepit, limum harenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt' (*Iug.* 78).

108. tris Notus abreptas: cf. 6. 355 'tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes': for this type of repetition see on 365. 637.

109. This line has been thoughtlessly criticized ('flat and pedantic', Mackail); Ribbeck deleted it. It is an artistically planned footnote, extending to *mari summo*, put in a typically Virgilian parenthesis (cf. 530 note; 9. 387 f. 'locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti / Albani (tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat)'), and reflecting the Alexandrian manner and technique: cf. Callimachus, *h.* 5. 39 ff. φηγῶ τειν ἱρὸν ἀγάλμα / ὦχετ' ἔχων, Κρείον δ' εἰς ὄρος ὠκίσαστο, / Κρείον ὄρος· σέ δέ, δαίμων, ἀπορώγεσσαν ἔθηκεν / ἐν πέτραις, αἷς νῦν οἶνομα Παλλαιτίδες, *fr.* 11. 5 f. ἄστυρον ἐκτίσαντο, τό κεν "Φυγάδων" τις ἐνίσποι / Γραικός, ἀτὰρ κείνων γλῶσσ' ὀνόμαγε "Πόλας". It is marked by two striking figures, epanalepsis (as in Callimachus, *h.* 5. 40 f.) and hyperbaton (see on *quae*, below).

Epanalepsis (the rhetorical repetition of a word or phrase from a previous line) is used with varied effect according to its context, sometimes merely ornamental, sometimes emotional; with this example (*saxa latentia . . . saxa*) cf. Lucr. 5. 950 f. 'proluuie larga laeure umida saxa, / umida saxa', and see, e.g., 2. 406, 6. 496, 7. 587, 10. 822; see Norden on 6. 164, and my note on 2. 406; G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 705, 730. Here the figure is designed to dress the didactic manner with ornament, and to give lively emphasis to the apparently casual parenthesis (which is itself a Hellenistic device of style; see G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 730 f.). Virgil was in any case interested in the kind of detail that he offers here; it is as if he wishes to give his readers ('Itali') the pleasure of looking at a map with him and of identifying the very place where these mythical events occurred; there is something

too of a historian's manner, e.g. Livy 30. 10. 9 'sub occasum solis in portum (Rusucmona Afri uocant) classem adpulere'.

quae: the word-order is dislocated (hyperbaton). Quintilian (8. 2. 14) quotes the line disapprovingly ('peior mixtura uerborum'); but, as Conway remarks, he was advising orators, not poets. The figure gives further colour to the footnote; there is a remarkable example (also in a passage of antiquarian interest) in 7. 678 ff. 'nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis, / Volcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem / inuentumque focus omnis quem credidit aetas, / Caeculus' (cf. also 9. 359 ff., again didactic): for its use by Callimachus (e.g. fr. 66. 2 f. οὐδὲ μὲν Ἑρῆς / ἀγνὸν ὑφαιόμενα τῆσι μέμηλε πάρος) see Pfeiffer on fr. 6. See Fordyce on Catullus 66. 18; Fraenkel, *Horace*, pp. 111 n. 2, 265 n. 3; Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 104 ff. (for Ovid); L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 213 ff.

For the elision of the monosyllable *quae* see on 219.

mediis . . . in fluctibus: the construction is loose; probably *latentia* is to be supplied.

Aras: Virgil has transferred to a suitable location some rocks of this name which Pliny mentions as lying between Sicily and Sardinia, 'scopuli uerius quam insulae' (*NH* 5. 42); DServius quotes Varro as stating in his *de ora maritima* that if voyagers from Sardinia to Sicily lost sight of either island, 'sciunt periculose se nauigare ac uerentur in pelago latentem insulam, quem locum uocant aras'. The Servian scholia record that the Greeks knew them as βωμοί, that they got their name 'quod ibi Afri et Romani foedus inierunt et fines imperii sui illic esse uoluerunt', and that they were a remnant of a vanished island where Carthaginian priests used to sacrifice: ingenious but improbable. But it is clear from the scholia that they were of geographical and antiquarian interest, which would explain Virgil's use of them for his purpose here. Their identification with the Skerki rocks (south-west of Lilybæum) is only guess-work.

110. **dorsum . . . summo**: 'a cruel monstrous reef at sea level'; cf. 10. 303 'inficta uadis, dorso dum pendet iniquo': the *dorsum* was only just visible, and would be invisible in a storm.

111. **breuia**: 'shallows' (so 10. 289): a Virgilian innovation; cf. Suetonius, *de naturis rerum* (p. 243 Reiff.) 'uada quibus in mari potest stari, quae Vergilius breuia appellat, quae eadem Graeci βραχέα'; so Mela 1. 35 (of the Syrtes) 'ob uadorum frequentium breuia . . . infestus', Tac. *Ann.* 1. 70 'neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, breuia a profundis' (cf. N. P. Miller, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* i [1961-2], 30).

syrtis: sandbanks in general, as in 146; contrast 4. 41, 6. 60. For the possibility that *Syrtis* can be used of land see H. E. Butler's interesting note on Apul. *Apol.* 72.

miserabile uisu: cf. 9. 465; *mirabile uisu*, 12. 252; *uisu mirabile*, 10. 637. Such phrases are not necessarily stopgaps; they mark a dramatic way of drawing attention to the wonderful or the horrible (especially prodigies; see my note on 2. 174).

113. **Lycios . . . Oronten**: the Lycians had come as allies to Troy, and after their king's death they joined Aeneas in his flight (Servius); *fidum*, therefore, has point. Orontes is named in Virgil's typical particularizing manner. The grouping of the wrecked ships is of interest: one line, with a footnote extension, for the first three (108-10), just over two lines for the next three (110-12), then five lines (113-17) for the Lycian calamity in full detail.

114. **ipsius**: i.e. Aeneas'; cf. 584 'uidimus ipsi' (Achates to Aeneas, referring to Orontes' ship): *ipse* is used of the dominant personage, although Aeneas has not been directly mentioned since *iactanti* (102).

a uertice: 'falling sheer'; cf. G. 2. 310 f. 'si tempesta a uertice siluis / incubuit'. *Ingens pontus* is a novel phrase, our 'huge sea' (Conington compares Val. Flacc. 4. 665 f. 'effluit imber / spumeus et magno puppem procul aequore uestit').

115. **in puppim ferit**: so 81 f. 'montem / impulit in latus'. For the rhythm cf. 52, 82 (notes); here its roughness is increased by the lack of a third-foot caesura. The next line is parallel in rhythm, but the pause after *caput* is less strong, and there is formally a caesura after *ast* (as after *ac*, 82). Cf. 2. 29, 30, with my note on 29.

excutitur: sc. *magister*, the helmsman; cf. 6. 353 'excussa magistro' (Palinurus' ghost speaking). In the Underworld, Aeneas meets Orontes waiting to cross the Styx, with Leucaspis (6. 334), and Servius (here) takes the latter to be the name of the *magister*.

116. **ast**: see on 46. The construction is changed, so that the ship (*illam*) is again the object; this enables Virgil to revert to active verbs in place of the less manoeuvrable passive. 'But as for the ship, thrice in the selfsame spot the wave spins her round with driving force, and the racing maelstrom sucks her down in the sea'.

ibidem: rare in elevated poetry; again, G. 3. 500, and several times in Lucretius; Silius 11. 330. An adverb or conjunction at the end of a line is unusual; see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. iii. B. 2, and my note on 2. 18.

117. **agens**: cf. 191, 4. 70 f. 'quam . . . fixit / pastor agens telis',

G. 3. 411 f. 'apros / latratu turbabis agens'. The force of *circum* applies both to *agens* and to *torquet*.

uertex: cf. 7. 567 'torto uertice torrens'. Quintilian (1. 7. 25) says that Scipio Africanus first made the change from the older form *uortex*, which some editors retain here (with R); cf. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 142 n. 3. For the repetition from 114, in a different sense, see on 85 (*ruunt*).

118. A line of great power and pity. It has the maximum possible number of spondees, in sharp contrast to the whirling dactyls of 117 (cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. vii. B. 1), and the maximum number of ictus-accent clashes possible in a regularly constructed line; the assonance is notable ('apparent rari nantes . . . uasto'), suggestive of the *uorago* which engulfs the sailors (cf. 6. 576 'quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra'). The men 'come into sight' (*apparent*), bobbing up and down; they are *rari*, few and widely scattered; the water is illimitable and desolate (*uasto*).

rari: cf. E. 6. 40 'rara per ignaros errent animalia montis'; but there the juxtaposition of *rara* with *ignaros* is a clever 'conceit', *rari* here is tragic.

gurgite: the open, tossing sea; see Henry's good note (sixteen pages).

119. The line repeats the pattern of 101; it is as if the horror of Troy is being re-enacted. For *tabulae* ('planks') cf. *Od.* 12. 67 f. ὁμοῦ πίνακας τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν / κύμαθ' ἄλως φορέουσι πύρος τ' ἄλλοιο θύελλαι.

Troia gaza: the adjective is trisyllabic. *Gaza* (γάζα) is Persian in origin, and is often used of royal and specifically oriental 'treasure' (see my note on 2. 763). Not all the *Troia gaza* had been looted by the Greeks, and some of it was saved from the wreck (647 ff.).

120. iam . . . iam: Virgil seems to have introduced this correlation into poetry (for *modo . . . modo, nunc . . . nunc*), but it never became common: see Wölfflin, *ALL* ii. 244. The little particularizing catalogue is carefully varied: two genitives, two nominatives; an epithet with *nauem*, none with *qua uectus Abas*; an epithet with the genitive *Achatae* and the nominative *Aletes*; and the accusative *nauem*+genitive is varied by *qua uectus*+nominative. For the form *Ilionei* (quadrisyllabic) see on 41; for *Achatae* cf. *Philoctetae* (Cic. *de or.* 3. 141), *Thyestae* (dative, Plaut. *Rud.* 509): see Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 116 n. 3. *Grandaeuus* occurs only in Lucilius (1108) before Virgil.

122. hiems: 'the storm'; the meaning 'wintry weather', and so 'winter', develops from this. Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 448 f. 'uiresque ualentes / contudit crudelis hiems'; Ovid, *Tr.*

1. 11. 41 ff. (writing on board ship) 'improba pugnat hiems indignaturque quod ausim / scribere se rigidas incutiente minas. / uincat hiems hominem'.

122 f. laxis . . . fatiscunt: 'the framework of their timbers was loosed, and all take in a villain torrent, cracking and splitting'.

122. compagibus: the word is often used of shipbuilding; cf. Pacuvius, fr. 250 R 'nec ulla subscus cohibet compagem aluei' (of Odysseus' raft); Livy 35. 26. 8 'primo statim incurso ad nouam et firmam nauem uetus, quae per se ipsa omnibus compagibus aquam acciperet, diuulsa est'; Seneca, *dial.* 4. 10. 8 'ille cuius nauigium multam undique laxatis compagibus aquam trahit'.

123. imbrem: sea-water; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 497 f. 'ratibusque fremebat / imber Neptuni'; Lucr. 1. 715, for 'water' as one of the four elements ('ueteres . . . omnem aquam imbrem dicebant', DServius). With *inimicum* cf. G. 4. 330 'fer stabulis inimicum ignem', an associated word-pattern.

rimisque fatiscunt: the cracking and splitting cause an instantaneous inrush of water, which is therefore given greater prominence in the unit; cf. 90, and see on 526. *Rimis* is modal; for the verb cf. G. 1. 180 'neu puluere uicta fatiscat' (sc. *area*), Lucr. 5. 308 'delubra deum simulacraque fessa fatisci'.

124-56. *Neptune notices that an unauthorized storm has arisen: he sternly rebukes the winds, and sets about calming the sea.*

The scene returns to the divine plane; the change is marked by *interea* (cf. 180).

124. Repeated at 4. 160 (with *caelum* for *pontum*), of the thunderstorm at the hunt; the alliteration well suggests the mass of noise.

126. stagna . . . uadis: 'the waters churned up and down from the sea-bed'. Servius takes *stagna* as 'profunda maris', normally calm 'nisi nimia tempestate turbantur' (cf. E. de Saint-Denis, *Latomus* v [1946], 167 ff.); but it need be no more than a synonym for *mare*, as in 10. 764 f. 'maxima Nerei / stagna'. *Refusa* implies both boiling up and pouring back; *imis uadis* can be either ablative ('from'), or recipient dative ('to'): it is a complex phrase of calculated two-way meaning, to give a vivid notion of upsurge and backwash.

commotus: Neptune was 'in a great state', both because of his anger and because (from another point of view) he was himself the sea. Cf. Stat. S. 4. 3. 67 ff., where the river-god Vulturinus, leaning on the arch of the bridge just built over him in his capacity as the river, says proudly (78) 'iam pontem fero peruiusque calcor'; Hollis on Ovid, *Met.* 8. 549.

alto : synonymous with *mari*; the sense is clear from the variation in the next line (*summa . . . unda*).

127. **prospiciens** : cf. *G.* 4. 352 'prospiciens summa flauum caput extulit unda' (of Arethusa).

placidum : difficult. Servius comments 'quaerunt multi quemadmodum *placidum caput* si *grauiter commotus*'; he thinks that while Neptune was angry with the winds, he was 'propitius Troianis'. This is forced and unlikely, although *placidus* certainly can mean 'propitious' (e.g. 3. 265 f. 'di, talem auertite casum / et placidi seruate pios', 4. 578 'adsis o placidusque iuues'; Ovid, *F.* 4. 161 f. 'ad Aeneadas placido, pulcherrima, uultu / respice'): Neptune's emotional pre-occupation is with Iuno and the storm, not with the storm's victims.

Placidus is sometimes conventional, of a ruler (Ovid, *F.* 6. 259; Stat. *Ach.* 1. 729) or an old man (Stat. *S.* 3. 3. 43), marking the calmness of authority or age: cf. 7. 194, where Latinus speaks *placido ore*. Sometimes it implies august benevolence, as in Ovid, *Met.* 8. 703 (Iuppiter speaking to Baucis and Philemon). Sometimes its meaning passes from 'calm' to 'calming', as in Ovid, *Met.* 15. 657 f., where Aesculapius is seen 'placido tales emittere pectore uoces, / "pone metus"': this is evident in 11. 251, where Diomedes 'haec placido sic reddidit ore', advising the Latins to come to terms with Aeneas. But in 521 (below) when Ilioueus addresses Dido on behalf of the shipwrecked Trojans, 'placido sic pectore coepit': he is neither 'calm' (for he feels in danger from Dido's people), nor 'calming' (for nothing has passed to suggest that the Tyrians are apprehensive): his attitude and manner are 'peaceable', designed to show that the Trojans have no aggressive intentions. The epithet takes its colour from its context.

Here there may be some guidance from Silius' imitation, 7. 254 ff. 'ut cum turbatis placidum caput extulit undis / Neptunus, totumque uidet totique uidetur / regnator ponto, saeui fera murmura uenti / dimittunt': he evidently thought of *placidum* as 'calming' in Virgil's line. This is possible: the storm ought not to be there, for Neptune has not sanctioned it, and he intends to quell it (cf. 142 'dicto citius tumida aequora placat'). But there is another possibility. In Stat. *Th.* 1. 201 f. Iuppiter, about to announce punishment of the house of Oedipus, 'mediis sese arduus infert / ipse deis, placido quatiens tamen omnia uultu'; his features have the stern intimidating look of authority: Virgil may mean something like this here, i.e. that Neptune shows the firm calmness of an autocrat who will stand no nonsense. The passage

is a good example of Virgilian elusiveness: we may assume, however, that in choosing just this epithet Virgil felt no conflict with *grauiter commotus*, and that he did not suppose that his readers would feel one.

For a discussion of *placidus* see T. E. V. Pearce, *CR* n.s. xviii (1968), 13 f.

129. **fluctibus . . . ruina** : 'the Trojans crushed by the waves and the crashing sky'; the storm has been so appalling that the sky seems to have collapsed upon the ships. *Ruina* is primarily the crash itself (cf. *G.* 1. 324 'ruit arduus aether'), then the 'ruin' that results (cf. 2. 465 f. 'ea lapsa repente ruinam / cum sonitu trahit', where the crash and the noise of the crash and the debris of the crash are graphically blended). Cf. Silius 17. 251 f. 'hinc rupti reboare poli, atque hinc crebra micare / fulmina, et in classem ruere implacabile caelum'.

130. **latuere** : cf. Stat. *Th.* 7. 154 'nec causae latuere patrem', Silius 15. 601 f. 'at non Hasdrubalem fraudes latuere recentum / armorum'. Virgil seems to have brought this use (cf. *λανθάνειν*) into poetry; so Varro, *RR* 1. 40. 1 'quod latet nostrum sensum', auct. *bell. Afr.* 56. 3 'Caesarem non latebat' (see Wölfflin, *ALL* vi. 99). *Iunonis* is ingeniously placed, belonging both to *fratrem* and to *doli*.

131. Zephyrus now appears; D. Servius comments 'ira in hoc Neptuni exprimitur, si etiam eum obiurgat qui non adfuerit'.

dehinc : monosyllabic, by synizesis (so 256, 6. 678, 9. 480), as sometimes in Comedy (see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 388. 63), where it must reflect common pronunciation; but the iambic scansion is more usual, as in 3. 464, 5. 722, 8. 337, 12. 87, *G.* 3. 167.

132 ff. Neptune's peremptory tone shows him as an autocrat, rebuking an underling who has presumed to encroach upon his jurisdiction; his insulting speech is the more biting in that he sends a message through one of those very winds that chafed so at Aeolus' restrictions (55). The hard *t*-sounds in the first four lines are notable, giving place to hissing *s*-sounds later.

132. **generis** : the winds were children of the Dawn (Hesiod, *Theog.* 378).

133. **iam** : 'by this time'; their insolence has gone even further than usual. *Numine* here is a good instance of its meaning 'assent'.

134. **miscere** : cf. Livy 4. 3. 6 'quid tandem est cur caelum ac terras misceant?', Juvenal 2. 25, 6. 283: proverbial for 'turning topsy-turvy' (Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, s.v. *caelum*).

135. **quos ego** : Neptune chokes with rage. Servius quotes Ter. *Andr.* 164 f. 'quem quidem ego si sensero . . . / sed quid opust