

Nicholas Horsfall
Virgil, *Aeneid* 6

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A Commentary

by

Nicholas Horsfall

Volume 1

Introduction, Text and Translation

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For Licia Ricottilli

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Preface

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 But her aid was withdrawn (not by me, not by de Gruyter) before the task was completed and, alas, I came to discover that her eye had not been anything like flawless.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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

(1) *Aeneid* 6

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

After a certain amount of captious criticism in recent years, I might be permitted to say once more that the sequence *Heldenschau*-funeral of Marcellus is an unmatched display of sustained elevation, the more striking because Virgil is so careful to avoid great heights of lexical and stylistic elaboration.² In expounding 756-901 I have tried to steer a course between the insistence on blame, criticism and subversion found in some modern studies and the equally objectionable black-shirted devils of ultranationalist patriotic rhetoric. Certainly the funeral of Marcellus was conceived from

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

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

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

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

(2) Chronology

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

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

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

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

(3) Structure

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

(4) *Aeneid* 6 and its neighbours.

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

(5) Language, grammar, syntax, style

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

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

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

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

- (i) Homer 4, 6, 52, 58, 83, 164, 165, 172, 179-82 (!), 219, 221, 226, 228, 232f., 275, 287, 304, 305-8 (!), 309-12 (!), 336, 377, 413 (*bis*), 426-547, 440, 456-66, 462, 492, 501, 547, 549, 596, 597, 625-7 (!), 649, 654, 657, 687, 765, 767, 787, 788, 797, 893-6 (!).
- (ii) Aeschylus 343, 438, 534, 589.
- (iii) Sophocles (?) 310, 707-9.
- (iv) Euripides 25, 30, 362, (?) 395, 456-66, 469, 511, 899.
- (v) Hellenistic (Call., AR, Lyc.) *SC*, (18)(c), 72, 85, 88, 94, 204, 258, 300, 309-12, 360, 398, 422, 438, 443, 453-4, 460, (548-636), (i), 558, 659, 707-9.
- (vi) Naevius No unchallengeable verbal echoes.
- (vii) Ennius⁴ 16, 58, 86, 87, 91, 104, 114, 125, 130, 160, 165, 179-82 (!), 180, 185, 194, 210, 238, 261, 264, 300, 301, 322, 328, 332, 337, 345, 364, 365, 366, 376, 382, 383, 391, 394, 408, 424, 436, 486, 493, 494-547, (iii), 516, 520, 555, 556, 559, 562, 573, 585, 591, 592, 605, 625-7 (!), 638, 649,

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

2 See xiii, n.2.

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

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

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

(viii) Pacuvius¹ 195, 413, 586, 692.

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

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

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

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

(6) Sources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(8) Eschatology

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

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

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

[illegible]

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

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

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

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

(9) Commentaries

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

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

(10) Text¹

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

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

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

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1 The text we have is earlier than 207AD, perhaps not by much. cf. M.Reeve in *TT*, 190, R.Kaster, *Suet.Gramm.*, 208, C.Dionisotti, *JRS* 72 (1982), 89, Cameron, 32, Rossum-Steenbeek (426-547), 28, n.69, *cum grano salis*.

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

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- Roiron F.X.M.J.Roiron, *Etude sur l'imagination auditive de Virgile* (Paris 1908)
- RTA *Ritual texts for the afterlife* (ed. F.Graf, S.I.Johnston, London 2007)
- SC *The Sibyl(s) and the cave(s)*(2, 70-84)
- Schmit-Neuerburg T.Schmit-Neuerburg, *Vergils Aeneis und die antike Homerexegese* (Berlin 1999)
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- TCD Tiberius Claudius Donatus; for TCD on vv.1-157, see Marshall
- ThesCRA *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum* 1 (Los Angeles 2004), 2 (*ib.*, 2004), 3 (*ib.*, 2005)

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Praemonenda

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Text and Translation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
 quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraueris urbes!
 causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
 externique iterum thalami.

tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, 95
 qua tua te Fortuna sinet. uia prima salutis
 (quod minime reris) Graia pandetur ab urbe.” T

Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla O
 horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit,
 obscuris uera inuoluens: ea frena furenti 100

concutit et stimulos sub pectore uertit Apollo.
 ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt,
 incipit Aeneas heros: “non ulla laborum,
 o uirgo, noua mi facies inopinawe surgit;
 omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi. 105

unum oro: quando hic inferni ianua regis
 dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso,
 ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
 contingat; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas. T

illum ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela 110
 eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi;
 ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum
 atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat, T
 inualidus, uiris ultra sortemque senectae.

quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem, 115
 idem orans mandata dabat. gnatique patrisque, O
 alma, precor, miserere (potes namque omnia, nec te

nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis),
 si potuit manis accersere coniugis Orpheus PO
 Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris, 120

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

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

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

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

Thus he spoke and kept hold of the altar.

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

dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes.
 sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro.
 duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt.
 sic demum lucos Stygis et regna inuis
 aspicias.” dixit, pressoque obmutuit ore.

T
 155

Aeneas maesto defixus lumina uultu
 ingreditur linquens antrum, caecosque uolunt
 euentus animo secum, cui fidus Achates
 it comes et paribus curis uestigia figit.
 multa inter sese uario sermone serebant,
 quem socium exanimum uates, quod corpus humandum
 diceret. atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,
 ut uenere, uident indigna morte preemptum,
 Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter
 aere ciere uiros Martemque accendere cantu.
 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
 et lituo pugnans insignis obibat et hasta.
 postquam illum uita uictor spoliauit Achilles,
 Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros
 addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.
 sed tum, forte caua dum personat aequora concha,
 demens, et cantu uocat in certamina diuos,
 aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
 inter saxa uirum spumosa immerserat unda.
 ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant,
 praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae,
 haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulcri
 congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.
 itur in antiquam siluam, stabula alta ferarum;
 procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex

160
T
 165

 170

 175

T
 180

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

cunctantem, et uatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

constitit Anchisa satus et uestigia pressit
multa putans sortemque animo miseratus iniquam.
cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis
Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
quos simul a Troia uentosa per aequora uectos
obruit Auster, aqua inuoluens nauemque uirosque.

T

T 335

Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,
qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera seruat,
exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis.
hunc ubi uix multa maestum cognouit in umbra,
sic prior adloquitur: “quis te, Palinure, deorum
eripuit nobis medioque sub aequore mersit?
dic age. namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,
hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,
qui fore te ponto incolumem finisque canebat
uenturum Ausonios. en haec promissa fides est?”

340

345

Ille autem: “neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit,
dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit.
namque gubernaculum multa ui forte reuulsum,
cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam,
praecipitans traxi mecum. maria aspera iuro
non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem,
quam tua ne spoliata armis, excussa magistro,
deficeret tantis nauis surgentibus undis.

P

350

tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes
uexit me uiolentus aqua; uix lumine quarto
prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda.

355

paulatim adnabam terrae; iam tuta tenebam,
ni gens crudelis madida cum ueste grauatum
prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera

P

360

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
 corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resoluit
 fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro.
 occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto
 euaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.

425

Continuo auditae uoces uagitus et ingens
 infantumque animae flentes, in limine primo
 quos dulcis uitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos
 abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo;
 hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis,
 nec uero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes:
 quaesitor Minos urnam mouet; ille silentum
 consiliumque uocat uitasque et crimina discit.
 proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum
 insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi
 proiecere animas. quam uellent aethere in alto
 nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!
 fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae
 alligat et nouies Styx interfusa coercet.

P**P****P** 430**P****T**

435

TT

nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem
 Lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt.
 hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit
 secreti celant calles et myrtea circum
 silua tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.
 his Phaedram Procrinque locis maestamque Eriphylen
 crudelis nati monstrantem uulnera cernit,
 Euadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia
 it comes et iuuenis quondam, nunc femina,
 Caeneus rursus et in ueterem fato reuoluta figuram.
 inter quas Phoenissa recens a uulnere Dido

P 440**O**

445

450

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

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

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

| | | |
|---|-------|-----|
| errabat silua in magna; quam Troius heros ut primum iuxta stetit agnouitque per umbras obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense aut uidet aut uidisse putat per nubila lunam, demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est: | T | 455 |
| “infelix Dido, uerus mihi nuntius ergo uenerat exstinctam ferroque extrema secutam? funeris heu tibi causa fui! per sidera iuro, per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est, inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. | | 460 |
| sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras, per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam, imperiiis egere suis; nec credere quiui hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem. siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro. | | 465 |
| quem fugis? extremum fato quod te adloquor hoc est.” talibus Aeneas ardentem et torua tuentem lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat. illa solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat nec magis incepto uultum sermone mouetur | | 470 |
| quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes. tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem. nec minus Aeneas casu percussus iniquo prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem. | T 475 | |
| Inde datum molitur iter. iamque arua tenebant ultima, quae bello clari secreta frequentant. hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclutus armis Parthenopaeus et Adrasti pallentis imago, | | 480 |

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

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

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

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

| | |
|--|-------|
| hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci Dardanidae, quos ille omnis longo ordine cernens ingemuit, Glaucumque Medontaque Thersilochumque, tris Antenoridas Cererique sacrum Polyboeten, Idaeumque etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem. | 485 |
| circumstant animae dextra laeuaque frequentes, nec uidisse semel satis est; iuuat usque morari et conferre gradum et ueniendi discere causas. at Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaeque phalanges ut uidere uirum fulgentiaque arma per umbras, | 490 |
| ingenti trepidare metu; pars uertere terga, ceu quondam petiere rates, pars tollere uocem exiguam: inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis. | |
| Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto Deiphobum uidet et lacerum crudeliter ora, | T 495 |
| ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis auribus et truncas inhoneste uulnere naris. | |
| uix adeo agnouit pauitantem ac dira tegentem supplicia, et notis compellat uocibus ultro: | O |
| “Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri, quis tam crudelis optauit sumere poenas? | 500 |
| cui tantum de te licuit? mihi fama suprema nocte tulit fessum uasta te caede Pelasgum procubuisse super confusae stragis aceruum. | P |
| tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo in litore inanem constitui et magna manis ter uoce uocaui. | T 505 |
| nomen et arma locum seruant; te, amice, nequiu conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra.” | |
| ad quae Priamides: “nihil o tibi, amice, relictum; omnia Deiphobo soluisti et funeris umbris. | 510 |

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

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

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

To that, Priam's son replied:

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