

## Virgil *Aeneid* X

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### Further Commentary Notes

*Servius, the author of a fourth-century CE commentary on Virgil is mentioned several times. Servius based his notes extensively on the lost commentary composed earlier in the century by Aelius Donatus. A version of Servius, amplified by material apparently taken straight from Donatus, was compiled later, probably in the seventh or eighth century. It was published in 1600 by Pierre Daniel and is variously referred to as Servius Auctus, Servius Danielis, or DServius.*

*Cross-reference may be made to language notes – these are in the printed book.*

*An asterisk against a word means that it is a term explained in ‘Introduction, Style’ in the printed book. A tilde means that the term is explained in ‘Introduction, Metre’ in the printed book.*

**215 – 6** In epic, descriptions of the time of day, particularly dawn, call forth sometimes surprising poetic flights. In Homer these are recycled as formulae; not so in Virgil (for the most part), although here he is adapting a passage from an earlier first-century epic poet Egnatius, from whose depiction of dawn seems to come the phrase **curru noctivago** (cited in Macrobius, Sat. 6.5.12).

This is the middle of the night following Aeneas’s trip to Caere. The chronology of Books VIII – X is as follows:

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| TWO DAYS AGO | Aeneas sails up the Tiber to Evander (VIII).  |
| NIGHT BEFORE | Aeneas with Evander. Venus and Vulcan (VIII). Nisus and Euryalus (IX).  |
| DAY BEFORE   | Evander sends Aeneas on to Caere; Aeneas receives his armour (VIII). Turnus attacks the Trojan camp (IX, X). Council of the gods (X). |
| THIS NIGHT   | Aeneas returns from Caere (X).  |



The ‘c’ alliteration\* of l. 215 lends a degree of decisiveness to the day’s retreat. The framing of **curru noctivago** by **alma... Phoebe** over the end of the line (enjambment~) neatly expresses the moon’s crossing the heavens. The assonance\* of ‘..um pu..’ and then ‘pum’ suits the pounding of hooves.

**217 – 8** Here is the re-entry, made dramatic by asyndeton\*, of Aeneas, last mentioned in l. 159 at the lead of the flotilla. The wording of this line recalls Virgil’s description of Aeneas’ beloved Dido (4.5), suggesting the strong emotion of his **cura**. Watchfulness and solicitude are both characteristics of a good commander – and Aeneas is on the whole a model *imperator*. He is clearly a capable captain also: *ipse* points up his personal responsibility.

**219 – 23** The enjambment~ and then caesura~ after **comitum** suggest Aeneas trying to make out what is going on. **nymphae**, immediately following and in asyndeton\*, suggests he identifies what sort of thing is approaching, though he needs a fuller explanation before the narrator’s **suarum... comitum** becomes clear. To the listener also, **suarum... comitum** is a surprise: what women were accompanying Aeneas? Our curiosity is piqued.

**219 chorus** is a word from Greek in which it means a round dance, a group of dancers, the tragic or comic chorus in the theatre (which both sang and danced) and finally a group of performers. It suits the movements, as if choreographed, of the nymphs.

**220 Cybebe**, Cybele, whose sacred stone was traditionally brought to Rome in 204 BCE from Pessinus, was installed in a temple on the Palatine Hill. Her worship was associated with troubling religious ecstasy, even self-mutilation (see Catullus 63), but there was a revival of her cult under Augustus. The episode in Book IX, when Cybele changes the Trojan ships into nymphs, was deemed incongruous by ancient commentators (Servius remarks, ‘notatur a criticis’, ‘it is censured by critics’) – inevitably it was taken up by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (14.530 ff.). The nymphs, however, serve to spur Aeneas and his ships on and enable them to arrive in time to save the Trojan camp.

**220 alma** echoes l. 215, of Phoebe: there is a light-heartedness in this scene, despite the urgency of the situation, in contrast to the conflict to come.



**221 nymphas** repeats *nymphae* to stress the wonder – and good fortune – of their new state.

**222 iusserat**: the enjambment~ and diaeresis~ communicate the incontestable authority of Cybele.

**fluctusque secabant** Despite *innabant* just before, of swimming, this is a phrase (a metaphor from ploughing, cutting the soil with the ploughshare) which is used often of ships and sounds exaggerated for swimmers, however strong. To call this ‘humorous’ (Harrison 1991) begs the question, but the whole episode approaches whimsical fantasy.

**223 quot... prorae**: the jostling of ‘r’ and ‘t’ is apt for the boats in close array. The separation of **aeratae** and **prorae** depicts their extension along the shoreline.

**224 regem**: for the kingship of Aeneas, see ‘Introduction, The *Aeneid* and Roman History’. On the death of Anchises (3.708 – 10), Aeneas was the most authoritative figure among the refugees from Troy. **agnoscunt... lustrant...** positions the verbs first to give a real sense of purpose to the actions of the nymphs. The rhythm of the line is spondaic~, which captures the lapse of time while the manoeuvres take place.

**choreis** implies the movements of a *chorus*, l. 219, synchronised swimming.

**225 fandi doctissima** is a charming touch – as if most of the nymphs struggle to be articulate, having been boats not long before. It also prepares us for a speech. Cymodocea has a name close to that of an ‘actual’ Nereid Cymodoce (Greek ‘receiver of the waves’; 5.826); she resembles other helpful sea-nymphs in epic (e.g. Ino rescuing Odysseus, *Odyssey* 5.333 ff.).

The two words occupying the second half of the line give her a significant presence.

**226 – 7** A tricolon\* of verbs joined by *-que* and *ac* (polysyndeton\*) highlights Cymodocea’s ability to do three things at once. **tacitis** perhaps explains why speech does not come easily to sea-nymphs. **subremigat** does not occur before Virgil and is perhaps his coinage. The *sub-* vividly details the left hand remaining under the water; the *-remigat*, ‘paddles’, again recalls her previous existence as a boat.



**228 – 9** The elision~ between **ignarum** and **adloquitur** suggests Aeneas being unable to put in a word before Cymodocea begins. Nocturnal apparitions in Homer often salute their addressee by asking (reproachfully) if he or she is asleep (e.g. Il. 2.23, 23.69). Here Cymodocea asks if Aeneas is awake – the precise greeting (**‘vigilasne? vigila’**), says Servius, used by the Vestal Virgins to the priest of Janus, whom they called *rex* – Aeneas’s future role and how he is recognised by the nymphs (l. 224).

Cymodocea’s urgency comes across in the rhetorical question (she knows Aeneas is awake), its enjambment~, the monosyllabic line ending\* **deum gens** (bringing the line to a bump and drawing attention to the final word, the anaphora\* of *vigil*-transforming the question into an imperative, the second imperative in l. 229, the ‘v’ alliteration\* and the brevity of both sentences. The fact that the nautical advice is imparted by an ex-ship nevertheless continues the underlying lightness of tone.

**230 – 231** The tricolon\* (with asyndeton\*) of what **nos sumus** is proud: ‘(Once) trees, now nymphs, (always) your fleet’. The bucolic diaeresis~ at the end of the fourth foot both leaves **tua** hanging in the air, the loyalty Cymodocea stresses, and makes the opening of the next sentence even more emphatic. There has been a double metamorphosis, from tree to ship and ship to nymph (something which appealed to Ovid in his retelling of this same incident in *Metamorphoses* 14.527 ff.). Cymodocea upsets this chronology to put **classis tua**, the most important predicate of **nos sumus**..., emphatically last.

**231 – 4 perfidus... quaerimus**: ‘p’ and ‘f’ alliteration\* in ll. 231 – 2 adds force to the utterance. The two monosyllables at the end of the line, **ut nos**, are much less abrupt than the single monosyllable of (*deum*) *gens* (l. 228), as it were coalescing into a dissyllable. **Rutilus** in the middle of l. 232, framed by his weapons of violence and the words beginning with ‘p’ at either end, represents the attention focused on Turnus. **praecipites** is premature – the nymphs at this stage were still moored, but they identify with the scurrying Trojans. **rupimus** and **quaerimus** at the start of their lines make a chiasmus\* with their objects: this simultaneously stresses the purposefulness of their actions and brings together **tua vincula** and **te** – they are bound to Aeneas. The phrase **rupimus... vincula** records the words used in the narrative of the boats’ transformation, in 9.118. **invitae** sounds almost sheepish, as if Cymodocea views their



flight as desertion (cf. Aeneas to Dido, 6.460). **quaerimus**, in enjambment~ and followed by a diaeresis~, epitomises their constant quest that now has ended.

**234 – 5** The chiasitic\* arrangement of the infinitives in l. 235 makes them a package, tied up by *et... -que*. This line forms a strong contrast with what follows – the kindly rescue of the ships versus the continued plight of Ascanius and the Trojans. The expression **aevum agitare** is archaic and thus slightly quaint on the lips of a sea-nymph who has only recently acquired a voice.

**236 at** marks a strong contrast – a change of scene, or a change of standpoint within a scene. **puer** reminds the listener that Ascanius is not of an age for war (he is told by Apollo to desist from it, 9.656).

**237 tela inter media:** the anastrophe\* of the preposition to between its noun and adjective makes a miniature representation of entrapment. *medius* occurs two lines on also, as Cymodocea paints a picture of dense fighting. The word order in the whole line expresses entrapment, being a chiasmus\* of the nouns **tela** and **Latinos** around their respective adjectives.

**238 – 40** Cymodocea adds to the sense of urgency by her terse summary of dispositions followed by a rush of imperatives (ll. 241 – 2). **forti**, not just an epic epithet, implies readiness for battle. The enjambment~ onto **Arcas eques**, the delayed subject followed by a caesura~, gives the **Arcas eques** a sense of eagerness. The reversal of word order in the next sentence, **medias... Turno**, is designed to make the hanging mention of Turnus particularly threatening. His plan is **certa**; the framing of **illis** by **medias... turmas** shows his control.

**241 – 2** Cymodocea's words tumble out: elision~ between **surge** and **age**, then **age** and **et**; the tricolon\* of imperatives, **surge**, **iube** and **cape**; the polysyndeton\* piling them on top of each other (with elision~ between **iube** and **et**); the interruption of **Aurora... veniente** by **socios**, as if Aeneas should not wait to give his orders; and the alliteration\* of **veniente vocari, clipeum cape**.

**242 – 3 ipse / invictum ignipotens** is a magnificent phrase, with 'i' assonance\* and elision~ between **invictum** and **ignipotens** to add grandeur. The position of **invictum**, agreeing with **clipeum**, links the shield's qualities closely to its maker. The latter,



Vulcan, is conjured up by the kenning (adjectives used to evoke a noun) ‘the fire-powerful’ (cf. 8.414, 8.628, of Vulcan forging Aeneas’s shield). At Venus’ request, he had made a complete suit of armour for Aeneas (8.625 ff.). This is the first mention since its presentation to Aeneas of the shield: a magnificent piece of work decorated in impossible detail with scenes from future Roman history, culminating in the Battle of Actium, at which Augustus defeated his rival Antony (see ‘Introduction: Historical Background’). It references the shield Achilles’ mother brings him (Il. 18.478-608) from Hephaistos and, as there, signals a turning-point in Trojan fortunes. **auro** would not be practical since gold is so soft, but indicates the divine source – Achilles’ arms are likewise of gold (Il. 21.165), as are the arms of the gods themselves. Cymodocea is not providing circumstantial detail; rather she is reminding Aeneas of the divine favour shown him.

**244 lux** is personified – appropriately enough, as very soon Aeneas himself becomes a tower of light (Il. 270 – 1). **mea... putaris** amounts to ‘if you believe me – as if you wouldn’t’.

**245** A so-called ‘Silver Line’, in which adjectives and their respective nouns balance each other around a fulcrum (often a verb): abcBA (see ‘Introduction, Style’). The effect here is to add conviction to the prophecy, which is perfectly formed, however gruesome its content. **ingentes... acervos** frame the line, just as the corpses will extend across the battlefield.

**246** Note the purposeful ‘d’ alliteration\* of **dixerat... dextra discedens**. We are reminded that Cymodocea is holding the ship with her right hand (l. 226). This is an unobtrusive version of ring form, where the speaker (or here the narrative) brings the listener back to the starting point. Similarly *inscius* in l. 249 reprises *ignarum* in l. 228. **impulit**: In the great games told of in Book V (Il. 241 – 2), the sea god Portunus gives just such a helping shove to Cloanthus’ boat. The inspiration for these striking moments may well be Athena’s helping hand to the Argo in Apollonius’s *Argonautica* (2.598-9).

**247 haud ignara modi** is another reminder of Cymodocea’s origins. As a former ship she knows what it takes to get one going. **altam... puppim** – although the epithet **alta** is conventional for ships, its separation from **puppim** (here for the whole ship)

effectively enacts the vessel's onrush – as does the immediately following verb **fugit. ocior** – epic similes for speed are often brief and in pairs. (Cloanthus' boat in Book V is also compared in the space of one line to the south wind and to an arrow.)

**249** The effect on the other ships is instant – this short sentence, with the 'c' alliteration\* of **celerant cursus**, has them speeding on their way. **stupet**, first word in its sentence, captures the impact Cymodocea's speech has had on Aeneas.

**250 Tros Anchisiades:** Although the patronymic is a standard feature of epic, the addition of race (**Tros**) here gives Aeneas his full stature: he is a man of far more than individual importance. He immediately recovers his energy – the dactylic~ **animos tamen omine tollit**, with its play on 'n', 'm' consonance\* and various vowels, as well as the 't' alliteration\*, are anything but 'stupefied'.

**260 iamque** brings us back from quickly passing time, as would 'and now...'. **Teucros** – Aeneas is a good leader because he is looking out first and foremost for his men and for the camp in which he left them. Teucer, first king of Troy, his son-in-law Dardanus and his great grandson Tros (also kings of Troy) all bequeathed adjectives to describe their people (*Teucrici, Dardanidae, Toiani*).

**261 stans celsa in puppi:** this heavily spondaic~ phrase with its elision~ between **celsa** and **in** endows Aeneas with great strength and solidity. The same phrase is also used to describe Augustus in the focal scene on the very shield he is holding (8.680), the battle of Actium (see note above on ll. 242 – 3). The parallel is powerful – the ruler of the future Romans and the most recent ruler of Rome both on their way to an engagement that would decide their fortunes. He uses the same phrase also of Anchises (Aeneas' father), in 3.527, another key moment when Italy is sighted. This makes the phrase into a formula, in the manner of Homer, but keeps the recycling of it in the family. It is worth quoting the two lines from Book VIII in full, as the parallels continue (see notes on l. 270 – 1 and on l. 272):

'...stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammis

laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.'

'<...Augustus> standing on the high stern, whose radiant temples spew out



*twin flames while the star of his ancestors comes into view above his head.'*

**clipeum** is produced of a sudden, anticipating the **cum** which thus echoes it. It is as widely separated as it could be from its adjective, **ardentem**. This gives it a scale and majesty appropriate to its effect. **ardentem** brings the sentence to a halt at the caesura~, and puts us in the shoes of the Trojans who watch the shield's silver and gold decoration glinting far away to the west as the sun rises behind them. **ardentem** is also appropriate for the handiwork of the god of fire, which soon (in ll. 270 – 1) will be emitting jets of flame.

**262 – 266 ad sidera** is hyperbole\* typical of epic, but apt for the impact Aeneas has, first of all on Trojan morale. The immediacy of this effect is captured by the ayndeton\* first at the start of the sentence and then in the tricolon\* (**tollunt... suscitāt... iaciunt...**). The cry is cleverly mimicked in the elision~ between the diphthong at the end of **Dardanidae** and **e**. The menace of Trojan anger is contained in **addita suscitāt**, the double dactyl~ and '-it-' assonance\*; this immediately results in defiant action, **tela... iaciunt**. The simile\* of the cranes is based on Homer (Il. 3.2 ff.) but is a lesson in how Virgil adapts his model: he sets the scene with **sub nubibus atris**, the winter storms the birds are fleeing. He gives the cranes a military discipline with **dant signa**; his mention of the javelins in the previous line adds to the evocativeness of **aethera tranant** ('sail through the air' rather than a plain 'fly past'). Their gliding is in the metre also, as ll. 265 – 6 lack the strong third foot caesura~. The tricolon\* describing the Trojans is answered by another tricolon\* (with polysyndeton\*, however – these details accumulate as if being noticed spontaneously) within the simile\*. The sweep of this long sentence which had begun with **clamorem** comes to a close on **clamore secundo**, in a line whose first four feet are swift dactyls~ filled with 'u' assonance, the whooping of cranes.

**267 – 8 at** – see on l. 236. The chiasmus\* **Rutulo regi ducibusque... Ausoniis**, over the end of the line, represents dismay spreading down the Italian troops.

**269** They are attacking from the coastal side of the Trojan camp, so have to look back to see what is threatening them (**respiciunt**). What they behold is nothing but sea-borne reinforcements – in **totum... aequor** the adjective and noun are as far apart as possible to correspond to the breadth of the new battle front.





**270 – 1** A tricolon\* of clauses describing fire (**apex... flamma... ignis**), in polysyndeton\* to stress three simultaneous phenomena. **apex**: A similar phenomenon occurs in 2.683, when Ascanius's head is crowned with a flame. **funditur** in enjambment~ like the overflowing flame. **vastos... ignes** – the 'v' alliteration\* conjures up the rush of that 'fire'. Two pairs of noun/adjective frame **vomit**, 'spew forth', a graphic centre-piece. **vastos**, having the connotation 'devastating' (to the enemy), is more than size alone. **aureus**: Literal – Vulcan used much gold on the shield's decoration (8.445, 655, 672, 677) – but also because divine (see note to l. 243). In the description of the battle of Actium on the shield (8.680 – 1) Augustus's head is said to emit 'geminas flammis' from both temples.

Virgil is referring to two scenes in Homer: the first is when Diomedes blazes fire from his helmet, shield and shoulders, like a star (Il. 5.4-7) – and as Aeneas, though not from his shoulders; the second is when Athena makes Achilles, re-entering the battle after a long withdrawal (as Aeneas), issue bright flame (Il. 18.205-6).

**272 – 275** Another simile\* modelled closely on Homer (Il. 22.26 – 31), who compares Achilles' armour dazzling the enemy to the destructive dog-star Orion (which rises just before Sirius). Virgil compares Aeneas's apparent combustion to Sirius, but also prefixes another comparison, to comets of ill-omen. A comet seen soon after the death of Caesar (and included on Aeneas' shield, 8.681, above Augustus's head) was on the other hand taken to prefigure his deification.

**272 liquida** is displaced to stress the good visibility.

**273 sanguinei lugubre** – there is no doubting the menace here. **Sirius** rises in July – August, at the hottest season of the year. **ardor** picks up from *ardet* just before the simile\* itself.

**274 ille** carries over from the previous line (as does *nascitur* in the next) as if the personified dog-star is eager to do its work. **mortalibus**, with its root in *mors* (likewise, possibly, *morbos*), is aptly chosen: four words connected to suffering in one line.

**275 contristat** – a hard ('t' consonance\*) spondaic~ word for misery between soft 'l' alliteration\*. The whole simile is another tricolon\* of three verbs responding to the tricolon of three verbs about fire (Il. 270 - 1).

**276** This repeats 9.126, with a small variation (*at non* to **haud tamen** here). In both places what it stresses is Turnus's dauntlessness when confronting a miraculous omen (in Book IX, the transformation of the ships). **audaci** is Turnus' particular epithet; it stands for both 'bold' and 'rash' – here the former, as **fiducia** makes clear.

**277 praecipere ... pellere** – the 'p' alliteration adds to the energy of Turnus' actions.

**278** This repeats 9.127, but with much less point than the repetition of 9.126 – it is unclear here whose **animos** Turnus is raising, unlike in Book IX, where the Rutulians had just been mentioned. If l. 278 has not displaced a different line, Turnus launches into his encouraging address without the normal introductory verb of speaking – again, appropriate to the man.

**279 ff** Exhortation during battle is a commonplace of epic, however implausible it may be in reality – cf Aeneas in 2.347 - 354. Here Turnus speaks with military terseness (note how many short sentences there are).

**279 quod... adest** is lent ferocity by the 't', 'st', 's' and 'd' sounds. **perfringere** is very rare in any author without an object – leaving it absolute is, however, in keeping with Turnus's *violentia* (11.376).

**280 in manibus... viris**: the proverbial ring is picked up at the close with *audentes Fortuna iuvat*.

**280 – 1 nunc... nunc...:** This anaphora\* brings together two standard appeals – to love of home and to past glory. Each takes the form of a doublet – **coniungis... tectique; facta... laudes**. **coniugis** has particular resonance for Turnus, who is rival with Aeneas for the hand of Lavinia, daughter of king Latinus of the Latins.

**282 facta** – the enjambment~ and the alliterative\* 'f' (after *referto*) evoke the man of action. **ultro** – emphatic: 'let's take the initiative', resuming the idea in *praecipere*. Its elision with **occurramus** is again dynamic.

**283 vestigia** is made the subject to reduce the disembarked Trojans to their unsteady steps.



**284 audentes... iuvat:** one of the 58 half-lines in the Aeneid. These are sometimes, as here, effective cliff-hangers; at other times they seem markers for later addition or revision. Scholarly opinion usually treats them as a symptom of incompleteness.

**286 haec ait** – a standard formula for closing a speech. **secum versat:** Turnus is leaving some of his force to continue the siege of the camp while taking the rest to oppose the landing. He delivers his speech of encouragement before he has decided who will go, a sign of impulsiveness. **obsessos... muros** – the scale of the operation is implied by the separation of noun and adjective.

**287** There is a contrast between the deliberate Aeneas and the more fiery Tarchon, eager to make landfall. His plan is effective, except in his own case.

**288 pontibus exponit** – this nautical terminology gives a sense of Aeneas' (attempt at) systematic disembarkation.

**288 – 90** The men, however, are keen to disembark and so jump out anyhow, creating a lively picture of the crews streaming into the shallows in some disorder – **multi... alii.**

**289 languentis** portrays the sea as animate – cf. the earlier advance of the ships like a tidal wave (l. 269).

**290 speculatus** is another military term – Tarchon at first seems to be cautious, but his speech undoes this impression.

**291** The onomatopoeia of **fracta remurmurat unda** is striking: the alternation of 'a' and 'u' and of hard and soft consonants suggests the booming such surge might make. **remurmurat** occurs only here in Virgil.

**291 – 2** The tricolon\* **vada... unda... mare** reflects the care with which Tarchon surveys the coast ahead of him. The elisions~ between **mare** and **inoffensum** and **crecenti** and **adlabitur**, combined with the spondaic~ feet in the middle of the line, give some feeling of the gentler swell.

**293 subito** – Tarchon is decisive and leads by example. **socios... precatur** – Tarchon is characterised not as commanding his men but beseeching his peers. He badly wants them to fulfil his ambition.

**294 nunc** stresses the moment of truth. **o lecta manus** flatters his crew as an elite – they too are heroic.

**295 tollite, ferte rates**, a fine representation of the plunge and pull of the oars, dactyls~ abetted by ‘t’ and ‘te’ assonance\*. The imperatives accumulate into a tricolon\* crescendo (with **findite**), followed by the wish of *premat* in the next line. **inimicam** personifies the land – its position, split from **terram** by **rostris**, enacts what the beak of the ship will do and communicates Tarchon’s aggression.

**296 sulcum... premat** – the chiasmus\* **findite... terram, sulcum... premat** juxtaposes **terram** and **sulcum** to reinforce the oddness of a ship cleaving dry land – the regular metaphor is, with equal oddity, that ships ‘plough the sea’ (cf. for example l. 222, *secabant; aequor arandum*, 2.780). **ipsa carina** is given a will of its own, as if it shares Tarchon’s hostility.

**297 nec... recuso**: litotes\* ‘adds a lofty tone’ (Harrison) – but at the same time **statione**, ‘anchorage’, is ironical and provides the climax to Tarchon’s exhortation: this is their ships’ final resting place. Thus **puppim** is held between **tali** and **statione**.

**298 arrepta** makes the beaching vessel seem to grasp the shore. **semel**, ‘once (and for all)’.

**298 – 9 quae... Tarchon**: this formula to round off Tarchon’s speech is made more imposing by the enjambment~ onto the spondaic~ **effatus Tarchon**. This sets him up for the greater fall when he bungles the very manoeuvre he is instructing them to make. **socii** picks up the *socios* he entreats in line 293, reinforcing how obedient they are. **tonsis** has as its root *tondeo*, since oars are planed smooth.

**300 spumantes** is striking not just because it contributes to the sibilance of this pair of lines – the hiss of the water - but also because Virgil uses it of eager horses (6.881) or fierce wild beasts (4.158): the boats are infected with their crews’ zeal. A succession of lines with spondaic~ first feet, starting at line 298, consolidates the sense of effort,

finally released at *solvitur* (l. 305). **rates... inferre** is the execution of Tarchon's *ferte rates*, l. 295.

**301 tenent**, 'hold', is appropriate after **arrepta**, 'snatched', l. 297, especially when remembering that the *rostrum* of the ship was often shaped or decorated like a beak or jaws. The chiasmus\* **rostra tenent... sedere carinae**, with its elision~ between **siccum** and **et**, runs over onto the next line as far as the caesura~, in evocation of the ships coming to a halt up the beach.

**302 omnes innocuae** places great stress on the surprising success of the landing: the last word of the description is 'unharméd'. **sed non...** corrects **omnes innocuae** - the rhetorical figure is called *correctio rei superioris*. It combines with the brief apostrophe\* to Tarchon and the unusual line ending of three dissyllables (where the clash of ictus and accent - see 'Introduction, Metre' - and 't' alliteration\* make **puppis tua** stand out) to warn of a change of tone. What this tone is remains open to debate - it could be a lingering trace of the lightness in the Cymodocea episode, or a more severe come-uppance to Tarchon's (over-)confident words.

**303 - 4 pendet... anceps sustentata...**: this vocabulary suggests a pair of scales tipping one way then the other on the fulcrum of the sandbank (**dorso... iniquo**). This balance is nicely reflected in the chiasmic\* **inflicta vadis, dorso dum pendet...** **iniquo** can mean 'unfair' as well as 'uneven' - the outcome is fixed. The 'd' alliteration\* and spondees~ in its second half suggests the clumsiness of the stranded vessel. **fluctusque fatigat** - the 'f' onomatopoeic alliteration\* has something of the waves' insistence. **fatigat** personifies the waves, too.

**305 solvitur** in enjambment~ captures the moment of disintegration, which is then depicted in terms of its consequences for the sailors. **mediis... in undis**: just as **exponit** here echoes the same word in l. 288, so *mediis... in undis* contrasts with *de puppibus altis* in l. 287; **exponit** is aptly framed by the waves; the others disembarked either into the shallows (l. 289) or directly onto dry land (l. 301). Tarchon is conspicuous by his predicament.

**306 - 7** The flotsam of **fragmina** and **transtra** frame the displaced **quos** in the middle - a concise illustration of the sailors' predicament. **fluitantia** from *fluito*, the

frequentative of *fluo*, applied often to wavering motion – the thwarts are floating unhelpfully, and indeed the ‘a’ assonance\* within *fluitantia transtra* suits the bobbing fragments. Hence too the enjambment~ onto **impediunt**. In l. 307 the last clause is again framed, by verbs which start with ‘re-’: the men are being relentlessly tugged back. The mild anacoluthon\* fits the waves’ struggle for control. The completely dactylic line suggests the irresistible vigour of the waters.

**362 at parte ex alia** signals a complete change of scene. On **at** see the style note to l. 236. This is a good example of the cinematic (as Harrison calls it) character of epic: here a sort of cross-cutting represents simultaneous action. The same cinematic spirit often underlies the order of clauses and the word order within clauses, where the centre of attention can be put first, to dominate its verbal surroundings, or postponed till last, for surprise or suspense. It is worth applying this principle with determination to ll. 362 to 368. **saxa rotantia**, with its assonance\* of ‘a’, clatters like the rocks. **late** is in an unemphatic position but goes naturally with **intulerat** on the next line – enjambment~ fitting for a river in spate.

**363 arbusta... diruta**: the parallel of structure, rhythm and ending with **saxa rotantia**, the alliteration\* of ‘r’ and ‘t’ and that enjambment~ all mirror the energy of the **torrens**.

**364 – 5** Pallas enters the fray. He is strongly reminiscent of Sarpedon in Iliad 16 (ll. 419 ff.) in both the words of encouragement he gives his men and his death soon afterwards at the hands of a great hero of the opposition (in Sarpedon’s case Patroclus, in Pallas’s Turnus). These lines, up to 367, seem to follow his thoughts. ‘There are the Arcadians – on foot – and being harried by the Latins – why, and where are their horses? – I must do something!’ Pallas is thus absorbed into the action. There is a ring of military terminology in several of the phrases here: *acies pedestres*, *terga dare*, *natura loci*, *equos dimittere*. This makes Pallas’ intervention seem thought-out, for all his youth.

**367 suasit**: This personifies the terrain – which gives **aspera** a secondary meaning of ‘sharp’, as if ordering them impatiently.



**368 nunc prece, nunc dictis... amaris:** an antithesis pointed by the anaphora\* of **nunc**. The nouns **prece** and **dictis** serve to introduce Pallas' speech, while the contrast between pleading (**prece**) and scolding (**dictis amaris**) prefigures his tactics of persuasion. **amaris** is a carefully chosen and placed word – 'stinging'.

**369 – 378** In his address to his men, Pallas is not urging them on to hot-headedness but to jettison fear and be worthy representatives of their great tradition. In this he is the model Roman general – there is a close parallel to these precise words extant in Sallust's *Catilina* (59.6), when the rebel Catiline fires his troops by reminding them of *facta eorum fortia*. Although the sentiments Pallas expresses are compilations from (mostly Iliadic) precedent, the character of Pallas comes through as ambitious, charismatic and self-reliant.

**369 quo fugitis, socii?** With a similarly indignant rhetorical question Sarpedon rebukes his men (Il. 16.422): 'Shame on you, Lycians; where are you fleeing?' **socii** rings a little strangely from Pallas to his compatriots – it is more 'companions' than 'allies' – although he may be reminding them that they have an obligation to more than just themselves. **per vos** makes a slightly surprising start to the list of five invocations but the train of thought soon explains itself – first the glorious record of the men themselves (**vos / fortia facta**), then the renown of Evander and his campaigns (**Evandri nomen / devicta bella**), then his own prospects (**spem meam**). The anaphora\* of **per** and the crescendo of the relative clause in l. 371 make the eventual command **fidite ne pedibus** all the more insistent. **fortia facta**, especially after **fugitis**, takes full advantage of 'f' alliteration to impress the men with their own exploits.

**370 – 1** This **per** has its own tricolon, moving from **ducis Evandri** to **meam** (and its relative clause): Pallas is keen to prove himself his father's son (a motif in epic, cf. e.g. Il. 1.404 and the story of Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, and of especial relevance in the *Aeneid* as Ascanius grows into a warrior, heir to Aeneas: he drew his first, and last, blood in 9.621 – 635. Augustus referred to himself on coins as *divi filius*, 'the son of the deified (Caesar)').

**371 patriae... laudi:** these words embracing the relative clause define Pallas' motivation. **subit aemula** are telling: Pallas is in the ascendant.



**372 – 3 fidite ne pedibus:** the build-up to this phrase (see notes to ll. 369 and 370) and the disrupted word order within it well convey Pallas' emotion. The phrase itself reflects the Iliad – 6.505, 22.138. **ferro** stands in stark antithesis to the immediately preceding **pedibus**, and exploits the 'f' of **fidite** as well as the 'r' of **rumpenda**. The line is chiasmatic\*, **fidite – pedibus – ferro – rumpenda est**, but more striking are the spondees~ of **ferro rumpend-** followed by the enjambment~ onto *est via* and immediate diaeresis~: this portrays the elation of having broken out.

**373 globus** is apt for a packed mass of men – it can be synonymous with the formation called the *cuneus*. Here, however, Pallas is pointing out (**ille**, deictic) the focus of the Italian attack. The line is another Homeric echo (Il.15.616 ff.).

**374** Pallas refers to his own words earlier – **vos**, as in l. 369; **Pallanta ducem**, the recasting of *ducis Evandri*; **patria alta** reprises *patriae laudi*, a shift to 'fatherland' from 'father' which legitimises his leadership – even the 're-' of **reposcit** is a deft touch. Pallas's mentioning himself by name adds portentousness.

**375 numina nulla premunt** is another of Pallas' memorable half-lines, abetted by 'nu-' assonance. Pallas emphasises that their fortunes are in their own hands. **mortali** (elided with *urgemur*, to reduce it further) is already in strong antithesis to **numina**, but the antithesis is greatly reinforced by the combination of enjambment~ onto **mortales** with the polyptoton\*. In Il. 21.568-70, Aeneas says of Achilles, 'For even this man's skill can be pierced by sharpened bronze, in him is a single soul and men say that he is mortal.'

**376** Pallas rephrases for a third time the same idea, that the enemy has no advantage, metaphysical (**animaeque**) or physical (**manusque**), over them: the double *-que* is not idle.

**377 ecce**, accompanied by a gesture. **maris... pontus:** the entrapment of **nos** by **maris... pontus** is made doubly secure by **magna... obice**. The assonance of **maris magna** makes the obstacle even more forbidding. **ōbice** scans in accordance with its origin *ōbiice*, whose first 'i' being consonantal lengthens the previous syllable.

**378** Two more telling half-lines, ending, as Pallas began, on a rhetorical question. The asyndeton\* between sentences which makes his speech hit all the harder is particularly





stark here. **terra fugae** is opposed by **pelagus**, but then also by **Troiam**, almost a new **terra** which now becomes the Arcadians' only safe haven.

**379** Pallas, having spoken, leads by example, another sign to the Romans of a good general – ...**ait et...** amounts to 'No sooner had he spoken than...'. He goes where he said they should – **densos** alludes to *densissimos* (l. 373), **prorumpit** to *rumpenda* (l. 372). There is a kinship between Pallas and Tarchon: both in this book address their men and lead by example (for Tarchon see ll. 290 – 305), though with very different consequences. In 11.741 – 2, Tarchon again spurs his horse into instant action after rebuking his followers but, unlike Pallas, lives to tell the tale. Not for long, perhaps: at his charge he is described as *moriturus et ipse*, 'himself about to die'.

**380** **obvius huic primum** immediately tells us that we are embarking on the series of Pallas' exploits (aristeia). **fatis... iniquis**: the observation of lucklessness is an example of the compassion for the fallen which mixes, in such combat scenes, with often ghoulish details of their dispatch.

**381** Lagus's identification waits a line as he emerges out of the mêlée. The diaeresis~ after his name captures his hesitation. **magno... pondere**: the separation of **magno** from **pondere** underscores the cumbersomeness of this great rock (nobody in epic throws small stones), as does the heavily spondaic~ line and the postponement of **dum**.

**382** An entirely spondaic~ line: Virgil brings out the effort, not the rapidity, of Pallas' assault. The 't' alliteration\*, though the effect is hard to pinpoint, adds grittiness.

**383** **per medium** is itself placed graphically and disruptively in the middle of the relative clause – a dead hit. Precise anatomical details are typical of Homer, who also provides the precedent for wounds in the back. Presumably Lagus turns in the effort of heaving the boulder from the ground. **dabat** – the long *-bat* could either be lengthened before the caesura~ (so-called 'lengthening in arsis' –see 'Introduction, Metre'), or a throwback to the original scansion of the imperfect.

**384** The prolongation of the sentence onto the next line to end with **haerentem** suggests the struggle Pallas has to free his spear – and the opportunity this gives his opponents. **occupat** - 'anticipates'. **Hisbo**: the name is delayed as was that of Lagus, though here to convey the surprise that Hisbo hopes to spring on Pallas. Like Lagus,



too, we suspect he will fail as soon as we hear of him. The *aristeia* is about the prowess of Pallas, not the creation of suspense.

**385 hoc sperans:** it soon becomes apparent that Hisbo, in the grip of blind fury, is not calculating carefully – his ‘hope’ is more an angry reflex. **ruentem**, followed almost immediately by *furit* and *incautum*, put across Hisbo’s savage grief.

**386 crudeli morte sodalis:** the standpoint is Hisbo’s (or possibly Virgil’s own sentiments intrude, but that has less point given the connection with **incautum**); this note of compassion is brutally interrupted after the enjambment~ by *excipit* and the diaeresis~.

**387 tumido in pulmone** continues the pathetic image of Hisbo to the last, while **recondit** shows only merciless efficiency on Pallas’ part.

**388 Sthenium:** name derived from the Greek for ‘strength’ (sqe/noj); it is not found before Virgil. **Rhoeti de gente vetusta:** Rhoetus is the name of a Rutulian slain in 9.344 but also in myth belongs to ‘centaurs and giants’ (Harrison).

**389 Anchemolus:** the name is strongly reminiscent of the Greek for ‘coming (too) near’ (a)gxi/moloj), suiting his behaviour. **ausum incestare:** the elision~ gives additional weight to the spondaic~ **incestare**, the shock of domesticity violated.

**390 vos... gemini:** After incest, we are taken into a scene of family intimacy. It is as if the audience is being given an interlude from the battle, though in fact it makes the deaths of the twins all the harsher by contrast. **Rutulis... arvis:** the word order makes the fields embrace the fallen.

**391 Daucia, Laride Thymerque...:** the concatenation of names suggests personal acquaintance. **simillima** is embroidered upon in the next line, but is leading up to the return to battle and the difference Pallas will impose on the identical twins (*discrimina*, l. 393).

**392 indiscreta** in the sense of ‘indistinguishable’ seems to be a Virgilian innovation. **suis... parentibus:** the impact of their loss is evident. **gratus... error** is poignant, especially when mirrored so quickly by **dura... discrimina. error** is also slightly illogical – it refers to the ‘mistake’ inherent in **indiscreta**, not to the **proles** themselves.



**393 at nunc**, again indicates a sharp contrast to what has preceded. **dura dedit...discrimina**: appropriately hammering ‘*d*’ alliteration\*. The single-line sentence, whose last word is *Pallas*, rings implacably.

**394 – 5** The apostrophe\* resumes, but now separates to contrast the fates of the twins, with the variation of **tibi, Thymbre...**, then (in l. 395) **te... Laride**. Both are now objects (direct or indirect) not agents; the agents are **Evandrius ensis** and **decisa... dextera**, both personified; they jointly convey the horror of war. The imposing adjective **Evandrius** is following epic fashion (Turnus bears his father’s sword, 12.90; Achilles his father’s spear, Il. 19.390); it also reminds the listener that Pallas’ cited his father’s victories (l. 370) and it pits one whole family against another. The swift demise of Thymbre (l. 394) is set against the protracted suffering of Larides (ll. 395 – 6).

**394 tibi, Thymbre**: the assonance\* of ‘*ti*’ and ‘*i*’ has a pathetic quality. **caput**: the ‘-ut’ is lengthened before the caesura~, ‘brevis in longo’ (see ‘Introduction, Metre’).

**395 – 6 te... suum** luridly captures the life lingering in the severed right hand (**decisa** is a metaphor from pruning), which is an even more unlikely agent than the sword of Evander. The interlocking word order, the adjectives displaced from their nouns and the vocative juxtaposed to **suum**, is a reflection of pain. To us it might seem Virgil goes too far – ‘grotesque and almost comically gruesome’ (Harrison) – but he has a model in Ennius (Ann. 483 – 4, there of a severed head whose eyes blink). **quaerit... micant... retractant**: the tricolon\* of verbs give a pathetic image of failing energies, and the will to fight on nullified. **semianimes**: scans as four syllables – the ‘-i-’ is treated as if it were consonantal. The prevalent dactyls~ reflect the twitching. **micant**: *mico* describes any flickering movement, such as glittering light.

**398 mixtus dolor et pudor**: The jingle of two dissyllables of the same ending makes the **mixtus** almost superfluous.

**426 at** – another change of scene (l. 236, note). **Lausus** – his delay till the end of the line, the chattering ‘*t*’ alliteration and his position between **perterrita... agmina**, indicate his almost vanishing in the disorder he is trying to stem. The word order

enacts the scene. In what follows, a series of short sentences (up to l. 433) conveys the stalemate as the two sides are locked together.

**427 pars ingens belli:** spondaic to suit the gravity of his role; as does the use of **pars**, which is used of people in laudatory contexts. The bucolic diaeresis~ serves to kick-start his miniature aristeia on **primus**.

**428** A line exemplifying the extent to which Virgil can push language: **interimit** appears only here in all his works, and illustrates how he varies words for ‘kill’ to avoid trivialising repetition. **nodum** is unparalleled except by a later imitator and puzzled the ancient commentators. **mora** is an echo of a Homeric phrase meaning ‘bulwark of war’, but becomes more concrete in this metaphor from wood-sawing.

**429 – 30 sternitur... sternuntur...:** anaphora\* and polyptoton\* represent Lausus’ aristeia as experienced by the other side: a succession of varied deaths. The tricolon\* of peoples being killed reaches its climax with **et** and an apostrophe\* – talking to those who escaped the Greeks and are now meeting their deaths as if present. The pathetic effect is heightened by what is probably a Virgilian coinage, **imperdita**, by referring to the Trojans as simply ‘bodies’ (**corpora** – an example of synecdoche) and by the rhyming of the two lines, which associates the slain with each other. (Rhyme is usually avoided in hexameters.)

**431** Lausus and Pallas are **ducibus... aequis**, ‘evenly-matched leaders’. The combat which ensues, by contrast, between Pallas and Turnus, is anything but (l. 459, *viribus imparibus*).

**432 extremi addensent acies:** the spondaic~ rhythm and elision~ between **extremi** and **addensent**, itself a word of vanishing rarity, make a memorable picture of the clumsy huddle.

**433 sinit:** the last syllable is lengthened before the caesura, ‘brevis in longo’~; it makes a significant pause as the impasse sets in. A similar impasse, evoked in l. 360, had oppressed the fighting just before Pallas set out on his killing spree – another detail shared between the two youthful warriors.



**433 – 4 hinc Pallas... contra Lausus:** this carefully constructed phrase uses **hinc** in asyndeton\* to point the antithesis and places Pallas at the start of his clause, Lausus at the end. Yet they have everything else in common – age, beauty and fatal destiny – each of which augments the tragedy of their premature demise. **instat et urget:** the doublet of near-synonyms expresses doggedness.

**435 Fortuna:** Lines 435 – 8 raise the question of the relationship between Fortuna, Jupiter and Fate. All three appear to be controlling events. As we see in the council of the gods at the start of the book (10.104 – 113), it is at least plausible for Jupiter to claim that he is impartial – though that does not prevent him from intervening. Fortuna, goddess of luck, would seem to stand in opposition to Fate. Virgil leaves the connections mysterious - ‘Fortuna here is identical in effect with Jupiter and fate, as generally in the Aeneid.’ (Harrison) On the gods in the Aeneid, see Feeney [1991], chapter 4.

**436 – 7 ipsos concurrere... regnator Olympi:** the two commanders **ipsos** are not allowed to clash, unlike their armies (*concurrunt*, l. 430). The sentence could begin with *haud tamen*. The odd delay of the phrase creates the temporary impression that Lausus and Pallas **will** be permitted to meet. Cue the puppet-master himself, sonorously named by his rank: **magni regnator Olympi**, at the ultimate remove from **ipsos**. The spondees amplify his dignity, as does the choice not of *rex* but of **regnator**, with its ‘*gn*’ assonance. Blocking an encounter between Pallas and Lausus can be construed as impartial and thus in keeping with Jupiter’s promise (l. 112). But whatever happens, Pallas must be cut down by Turnus so that Aeneas will take Turnus on, win Lavinia and – the rest is destiny.

**438** As often in tragedy, the disaster is foreshadowed – this is also the case in Homer with the deaths of Sarpedon, Patroclus, Hector and Achilles. Thus we are given a view of fate denied even to most of the gods. The emotional drama comes from our wish that the protagonists escape from what we have been told is inevitable, and from waiting to find out how the inevitable will unfold. **manent** – the verb would be more naturally used of the *maior hostis* himself.

**439 alma** is an epithet frequently applied to goddesses. Juturna, the goddess referred to, ‘was a water-nymph originally connected to Lavinium, well known at Rome



through the Lacus Juturnae in the Forum Romanum' (Harrison). Virgil was the first to link her to Turnus as his sister, possibly prompted, as early commentators suggest, by the etymology *iuvere Turnum* ('to help Turnus'). Virgil (12.138 ff.) tells of her deification after she surrendered her virginity to Jupiter.

**439 – 40 Lauso Turnum** – an eloquent enjambment~ juxtaposes helper and helped and gives Turnus a dramatic entrance.

**440 volucris curru:** Turnus is a formidable charioteer (see, for example, 12.326 ff.). **secat** – compare the implicit cutting of the saw metaphor in l. 428. The verb is expressively placed inside what its own object.

**441** There is no verb of speaking to introduce Turnus's speech (see note on l. 228) – this gives his words the suddenness of an outburst. Similarly in l. 451 Pallas has hardly spoken (*fatus* is an abbreviation of the normal formula) before he takes his stand against Turnus. Turnus's urgency here is striking – note his omission of *est* after **tempus**, the short clauses in asyndeton\* and what he does not say: no invocation of a god (unlike Pallas's speech in l. 460), but total self-confidence (warranted by the outcome) and wilful cruelty.

**442 solus... Pallas:** triple anaphora\* with change of case – formulating Turnus's absolute insistence that he be left to fight Pallas in single combat. The elision~ of **ego in Pallanta** fits his haste.

**443 debetur:** Turnus views Pallas as his own right. While this claim is justified by the havoc Pallas has been causing among Turnus's troops, 'the reader also senses that Turnus is keen to seek the easy glory of killing a young and inexperienced hero' (Harrison). The enjambment~ and spondaic~ start to the line give **debetur** particular force. **cuperem... adesset:** As if the wish itself were not cruel enough, the word **spectator** exacerbates the cruelty because it turns the sight of one's own child being slain into entertainment. The ancients considered watching the death of one's own children as a perversion of nature and even a source of religious pollution. In 2.536 – 9, Priam curses Pyrrhus for compelling him to watch his son's murder. At the end of the whole poem (12.934), Turnus, at Aeneas's mercy, appeals to Aeneas to pity his father's old age.



**444** The narrator plays with time: the battle ground empties instantly while it takes the next three lines, for Pallas, frozen to the spot, to recover his defiance.

**445** **abcessu** echoes *cesserunt* and **iussa iusso** in the previous line – they give an unexpected drama to **tum** – this is a ghastly moment of realisation for Pallas. **iuvenis** contrasts with *ingens corpus* in the next line: Turnus is depersonalised into a huge physique, *ingens* more than just an epic epithet – this is the impression Turnus makes on Pallas. It is a sign of changing sympathies when, at 12.221, Turnus comes up against Aeneas and the comment is, ‘All were struck by the beard only just growing on his cheeks and his fair, still youthful complexion’ – these impressions are relative. **Rutulum** is used loosely for Italians in general, and in this case for Lausus and his Etruscans as well as any of Turnus’s own men who followed him to aid Lausus. **superba** – an epithet often used of Turnus (cf. l. 514). It calls to mind Greek *hubris* (u/(brij), the pride that comes before a fall, and arrogant power (as wielded by the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus).

**446 – 7 stupet... volvit... obit...**: The tricolon\*, with polysyndeton\*, repeats the same idea three times with slight variation as Pallas takes in the detail. **miratus stupet** juxtaposed underline how taken aback Pallas is; though **truci** immediately shows him recovering himself.

**448 talibus... dictis... dicta tyranni**: chiasitic\* structure to pit words against words, prefiguring the confrontation which follows. **it contra** also fits closing physically with an opponent.

**449 – 50 aut... aut...** – Pallas has no illusions. The key word is **laudabor** – not so much ‘death or glory’ as ‘glory by death or victory’. The way the spoils dominate the whole of l. 449 and frame **ego** gives the impression either of optimism or of Pallas convincing himself – the **iam** particularly suggests him imagining a little too far ahead. The asyndeton of his three sentences makes them starkly brave. We already know (8.568-9) how hard it was for Evander to part from Pallas. When Pallas’s corpse is returned to him (11. 149 ff.), his grief is overwhelming. **sorti... utrique**: the phrase surrounds and dominates **pater**. Pallas claims Evander to be a sort of Spartan mother saying ‘(Come back) with your shield or on it’ (Plutarch Laecae. 6.16); it is a brave riposte to Turnus’s wish for this father to watch.



**450 tolle minas:** A brusque dismissal of Turnus's bullying on which to end. **fatus** is unusually brief as a closing formula for a speech; normally a *sic* or *haec* would go with it. It is as if Pallas is already moving when he finishes speaking.

**452 coit:** the separation of the adjective and noun which constitute the subject, **frigidus** and **sanguis**, to opposite ends of the line, makes the verb **coit** at the centre particularly powerful – the furthest blood is drawn in to the heart. **praecordia:** the Arcadians feel for Pallas the apprehension he denies himself. Likewise in the Iliad (7.215), when Hector faces the mighty Ajax, the Trojans' knees tremble.

**453 desiluit... apparat...:** the verbs, without connecting word, head their brief clauses – **Turnus** is energetic and purposeful, the line full of dactyls~ to match. The chariot at the time of the Trojan War was both a means of conveyance to and from the front, where duels were fought, and a combat vehicle (see language note to l. 440). It also offered a view over the engaged troops (*specula* in the simile below, l. 454).

**454 comminus:** another dactyl~ in enjambment~, coming to a halt at the diaeresis~. The dramatic pause is prolonged by the simile\* which follows, the action as it were suspended but in fact heightened by the glimpse of a world outside the battle.

**454 – 6 leo** – the lion is a frequent animal of comparison for heroes in their ferocity, but as the preeminent beast of anger is particularly appropriate for Turnus here (cf. 12.4 – 8). Lion similes abound in the Iliad, and there are several instances where the lion encounters a bull – most notably when Patroclus is standing over the dying Sarpedon (16.487 ff.). Later in the same book (16.823 ff.) Hector, who has just speared Patroclus, is compared to a lion which has defeated a wild boar in contest over a small mountain spring. Thus, as the fight progresses, parallels accumulate between Pallas and Patroclus, dear to Aeneas and Achilles respectively, culminating in the fatal role their armour plays after their deaths (Aeneid 12.942 – 3; Il. 22.323).

The casting of Turnus as the lion predicts the outcome; note how the bull which corresponds to Pallas is only practising for battle. (Bulls are the duelling animals with whom Aeneas and Turnus are compared in 12.715 ff.; but comparisons of Aeneas to an animal in Books IX – XII are rare). There is a notably detailed description of a bull





servicing his apprenticeship in Georgics 3.232 ff.). **specula** is a Virgilian touch absent from his Homeric models; detachment is commanding.

**455 stare** – contrasts with *advolat* in the next line: a standing target. The word order is again visual, as the lion makes out in the distance that the movements in the distance are of battle and the animal making them a bull – instantly he swoops down.

**456 advolat** in enjambment~ before the diaeresis~, closing the simile as *comminus* (l. 454) had prepared for it. **imago**: the word for ‘simile’ in Latin, though Virgil is not so much commenting on himself here as shifting the standpoint to describe the impression Turnus makes on bystanders, most notably the Arcadians.

**457** The focus switches from Turnus to Pallas (and probably the viewpoint also, from the Arcadians’ to their leader’s). Pallas is weighing up his chances.

**458 ire** at the start of the line has a decisiveness about it which is undermined by what follows, especially **viribus imparibus**. **prior**: he who throws first has the advantage of surprise but can ill afford to miss, as his opponent then has the luxury of time (l. 480, *diu librans*).

**459 viribus imparibus**: the combat between Aeneas and Turnus which closes the Aeneid regularly recalls this one, between Turnus and Pallas. Thus in 12.216 and 12.218, the fight is described as *impar*, the combatants *non viribus aequos* (‘unequal’, ‘imbalanced in might’). **magnum... ad aethera**: there is a hint at the futility of Pallas’s prayer, dissipated in the wide air.

**460 – 3** This second prayer of Pallas, unlike the one he made to Tiber during his *aristeia* in ll. 421 ff., for success against Halaesus, recalls past service to the god (as is the usual formula) but promises nothing. Nevertheless the reason Hercules does not answer it is that fate, as he knows without Jupiter telling him, rules even the gods – l. 472. This raises the question whether prayer can have any point. Fate, however, seems to control outcomes but not the way they are achieved. In Halaesus’s case, it is Tiber who brings about what Fate has ordained (see ll. 418-20 and 424-5).

**460 per patris hospitium**: This visit of Hercules is mentioned by Evander in 8.362 -3 (and with the story of Cacus in 8.201 – 267). Hospitality, or better guest-friendship



(Greek *xeini/a*), was a vital component of heroic society, Homeric or Virgilian: strangers had to be received, bathed, fed, questioned only over dinner and then lodged. On departure the host bestowed a farewell gift or gifts. The recipient was under obligation to do likewise, when the opportunity arose, either to the host or to another stranger arriving at his gates. Pallas portrays himself as a new-comer to great labours (*coeptis ingentibus*, l. 461), in which Hercules is at home. Later (ll. 516 – 7: *mensae quas advena primas [tunc adiit]*) almost the same phrase as here is used to recall the welcome Evander gave to Aeneas.

**464 ff.:** This episode among the gods takes as its pattern Il. 16.431 – 61, where Zeus, considering whether to intervene to save his son Sarpedon (see note to ll. 364 – 5) from Patroclus, is dissuaded by Hera on the grounds that, if he does so, all the gods will want to save their children. Zeus, accepting her argument, honours his son's death with a shower of bloody rain. The changes Virgil makes are significant ones: Hercules is the mourner, Jupiter the consoler, and there is no temptation to oppose fate – whereas Homer implies that the gods could if they chose. At the close of his speech, Jupiter turns away, not in coldness but as if he cannot himself bear to watch. He abides by his resolution to let be what will be (ll. 108 – 113).

There is another important Homeric echo from the *Odyssey*, 3.108 – 12, when Nestor, king of Pylos, enumerates those who died at Troy, including his own son Antilochus. Virgil's adaptation has a life of its own: the point is not so much the pity of war as impotence before Fate.

**464 – 5 magnum... gemitum:** the separation of the words reflects the strength of the emotion. Hercules was a hero of the Stoics and fittingly suppresses any sound of grief (a muffling evoked by frequent '-u-' and '-m-'). He knows all too well what will follow – hence **lacrimas... inanes:** the chiasmic\* arrangement with **magnum... gemitum** suggests that the tears are no less painful for being futile. They 'confirm his *humanitas*' (Harrison) – gods rarely if ever weep.

**466 genitor natum:** The juxtaposition underlines the relationship.

**467 breve et irreparabile:** The gnomic advice is sympathetic, though each sentiment is traditional, a *to/poj* (the Greek term used for a common-place). **breve** elides with **et**,



appropriately, and the length of **inreparabile** suits its inexorability. The asyndeton\* makes the sentiments sound even more authoritative.

**468 famam:** Glory, Greek *kle/oj*, grants the epic hero a species of immortality. An active life was also a Stoic ideal, though not for reasons of *fama*. The ‘*f*’ alliteration of **famam... factis** reinforces the *sententia* (epigram, or even ‘soundbite’).

**470 gnati... deum:** This is an appeal to the listener’s knowledge of the Homeric tradition – sons of gods killed at Troy were Ascalaphus (Ares), Sarpedon (Zeus), Achilles (Thetis), Memnon (Eos), Cycnus (Poseidon). **tot** is offset at the start of the next line by *Sarpedon*, in enjambment~: the universal law embraces the particular instance of Jupiter’s own son. **gnati... deum... mea progenies** is a chiasmus which, with the name of Sarpedon at its centre, projects Jupiter’s sorrow.

**471 mea... sua:** Just as Jupiter’s son cannot escape Fate, nor can Turnus. For the two dissyllables at the line ending, cf. l. 302; here the clash of ictus and accent (see ‘Introduction – Metre’) highlights *súa*.

**472 vocant:** The call of fate is a Homeric notion. In 12.725 – 7, at the final combat between Aeneas and Turnus, Jupiter holds up a pair of scales to check what the outcome will be – as if he does not always know Fate’s small print. **metasque...** rephrases the same idea, chillingly with *pervenit* in the perfect: Fate’s call is immediate.

**473 reicit** scans as a dactyl. The aversion of his gaze signals that, for Jupiter, the matter is closed.

**474 at** returns us from the gods to the scene of action (see note on l. 236). **magnis... viribus** and **deripit** on the next line indicate the energy of Pallas’s attack.

**476 – 7** The word order is so arranged that the verb (**incidit**) on the next line immediately follows what the spear hits (**tegmina summa**), even though **incidit** has no grammatical object. This makes the moment of impact the more impressive, as does the enjambment~.

**477 molita** personifies the spear making hard-won progress. The outer edge is however where the shield is weakest – nothing proves the superior strength of Turnus



more than the power of his throw, which passes through the centre of Pallas's shield (l. 484).

**478 magno... de corpore** compares with Pallas's *pectus... ingens* (l. 485): where before Virgil has emphasised Pallas's youth and the contest as *viribus imparibus* (l. 159), in the duel he makes him a worthy match for Turnus (see style note to l. 445). In his fight with Patroclus, Sarpedon's spear narrowly misses Patroclus's left shoulder (Il. 16.479). Weapons passing through armour but doing little or no damage are a feature of Homeric combat (e.g. Il. 3.359 ff.); wounds in epic are usually either trivial or fatal.

**480 diu librans** – Turnus is taking a careful aim and in the process intimidating Pallas.

**481 aspice num...**: Another colloquial turn of phrase. The taunt to the opponent who has already used up his spear is another Homeric feature (Hector to Achilles, Il. 22.279 ff.) **penetrabile** is postponed and interposed between **nostrum** and **telum** for sneering effect.

**482 – 3** The abruptness of **dixerat**, 'he had finished speaking', is followed by the tortuous description of the spear's course. The anaphora\* of **tot... tot... totiens** makes the shield impossibly thick and heavy – but the emphasis is on the irresistible force and the – almost – impenetrable object. **pellis... tauri** appropriately surrounds the clause. The detail of so much protection to so little effect adds pathos and brings the narrative into a kind of slow motion. The pace resumes at l. 486.

**484 vibranti... ictu**: the adjective and noun enclose the line, dominating the sense – the order of words differs between the two most important ancient manuscripts, but **medium** as here in the centre of the line and next to the verb has a particular finality.

**485 moras** – abstract where an adjective + noun might have been expected, e.g. *loricam rigidam*; **moras** implies similar layers of workmanship in the breastplate to those in the shield. **perforat** is graphic, enhanced by 'p' alliteration – 'bored through'. The spear-point has a determination of its own, overcoming every successive obstacle.

**486 rapit**: After the use of *deripit* in l. 475, where the energy was of attack, here the action is a shocked reflex.



**487 eādem:** The *ea-* in *eadem* scans as a single long syllable by synizesis~. The ‘-i-’ of *sanguis* was originally long (and is always so in Lucretius); this makes the lengthening in *arsis*~ easier. This and the previous line are strongly influenced by Il. 16.503 – 6, Patroclus over the body of Sarpedon:

‘Setting his foot on his chest,| he tugged the spear from the flesh, and after it came his spirit.| He extracted the life at the same time as the spear point.’

The most notable alteration by Virgil is Pallas’s poignant (*frustra*) attempt to save himself by pulling out the spear. Patroclus’s bracing himself by placing his foot on Sarpedon’s chest is emulated in l. 495.

**488 – 9** The noise of the collapsing warrior’s armour is a close echo of Homer: ‘And his armour clattered upon him’ (e.g. Il. 4.504) – Ennius before Virgil had emulated it in Latin (Ann. 415, *concidit et sonitum simul arma dederunt*); **terram... petit ore...** is another echo, of the Homeric phrase ‘he took earth in his teeth’ (i.e. ‘bit the dust’), Il. 2.418. Nowhere more obviously than in scenes of combat does Virgil follow Homeric tradition. The addition of **hostilem** to **terram** gives Pallas’s last moment a pathetic defiance.

**491 – 5** Turnus’s words sting. **memores:** ‘Mark my words’ – he wants the Arcadians to report even his gibes to Evander. **Evandro**, in enjambment~ – as if killing Pallas was no more than a message to his father. **qualem meruit:** By sending Pallas to war in alliance with the Trojans, Evander has deserved to lose him. (If Pallas is the subject of *meruit*, then the phrase is another example of Turnus’s *superbia*.) Certainly Turnus’s returning the body was less shameful than exposing or mutilating it; but Evander is not there to watch as Priam watched Hector – so the only proof of Pallas’s death is the body itself. **meruit** begins a series of increasingly mercantile resonances (see later **largior**, **haud... stabunt... parvo**; Aeneas picks up on this in l. 532). **quisquis... quidquid...** are dismissive, and the parallel structure of the two phrases has a neatness which belittles both the **honos** and the **solamen:** the honour of the tomb is necessary rather than consoling (Horace, Odes 2.20.23-4, *sepulcri/ mitte supervacuos honores*; ‘dismiss the vacant honours of the tomb’). That ‘consolation’ of burial is as much a painful reminder of the inverted order by which the son has predeceased the father (Herodotus Histories, 1.87.4: ‘In peace sons bury their fathers,



in war fathers bury their sons.’). **largior** – as if generous (*largus*, ‘abundant’), though with the tone of, ‘For what it’s worth’. Turnus knows very well how Evander will take the news of Pallas’s death; when Evander eventually hears it, at 11.148 ff., he flings himself on the corpse of Pallas and clings to it, weeping and groaning. In his ensuing speech he does not blame Aeneas, but says he lives on only for vengeance. **haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo hospitia**: For the connotations of **hospitia** (poetic plural for singular) see note on l. 460. The notion of cost is itself insulting – and the litotes\* *haud parvo*, given a twist by the separation of the words, makes it more so. The same sentiment could have applied to Dido, who welcomed Aeneas in Carthage in Book I, fell in love with him and committed suicide when he left: the ill-fatedness of *Aeneia hospitia* in general gives the phrase a connotation of its own. Turnus tails off in the first foot of the line (note the elision between **hospitia** and **et**) but continues by his actions, removing the baldric from Pallas’s corpse.

Later on in this book (ll. 810 ff.), Aeneas, maddened by the death of Pallas, confronts Lausus (see l. 426 and note). After he has killed him, even though he knows what sort of man Lausus’s father Mezentius is (he heard from Evander in 8.481 ff. and will joyfully take him on at the end of this book, ll. 874 ff.), his words point a detailed contrast to Turnus’s:

'quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,  
quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?  
arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum  
manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.  
hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:  
Aeneae magni dextra cadis.' [825 – 30]

‘What, poor boy, can Aeneas the true give you in return for these fine deeds of yours, what can he give you worthy of so great a nature? These arms in which you had joy: keep them for your own; I send you back to your fathers’ shades and ashes, if that service is worth anything to you. Yet with this, unhappy one, you can solace your pitiful death, that you fell at the hand of great Aeneas.’ (Harrison)



Most obviously, Aeneas speaks of Lausus and his family with consideration – both he and Turnus use the same word, **remitto**, for returning the corpse, but Aeneas praises Lausus and does not objectify him in the manner of Turnus’s **qualem meruit**. Aeneas does not remove any spoils, though that was normal conduct in battle. Such consolation as Aeneas gives, though it might sound arrogant, is in fact the very *fama* of which Jupiter speaks in l. 468; moreover, Aeneas does not undermine it – the phrase *si qua est ea cura* is spoken in sadness, not scorn. After he has spoken, Aeneas picks up Lausus’s body himself. By this compassion on the battlefield Aeneas is set apart not just from Turnus but from all other epic warriors; when Achilles picks up Hector’s body to return it to Priam (Il. 24.589), the scene takes place in the Greek camp. It may be that Aeneas’s compassion is so great precisely because grief and guilt at the death of Pallas had, for a while at least, wrenched such humanity out of him (Il. 515 – 605). The word *pious* with which he describes himself in this speech has a very different quality to it since his abandonment of restraint: he admires Lausus’s devotion to his father.

**495 laevo pressit pede:** The action – treading on the body with the ill-omened left foot (the ‘-p-’ alliteration makes this even more distasteful) – displaces the almost perfunctory formula **talìa fatus:** Turnus embodies the brutality of war.

**496 – 7 immania pondera... impressumque nefas:** The weighty words beginning *im-* together give the baldrick (**baltei**, scanned as two syllables by synesis~ of *-ei*) a massive significance. The **pondera** ascribed to it are more than literal (see note below on l. 501); what connection the **nefas** portrayed on it might have to Pallas and Turnus has provoked much debate and some implausible suggestions. The most cogent option is to take the legend as representing universally on the one hand the hopes of young men (*manus iuvenum*, l. 498) expecting success in love and war and instead being slain; and on the other marriage as a cause of bloodshed (*thalami... cruenti*, l. 498, cf. the prophecy in 6.94, that great woe will stem from *externi... thalami*, ‘marriage to a foreign bride’). Its depiction would then have no specific relevance to either Pallas or Turnus beyond their untimely deaths in a war which will decide a marriage settlement – but would highlight at an appropriate moment the absurdity of taking spoils in the hope of enjoying them.



**497 una sub nocte** – contrasts with the *manus iuvenum*, the 50 victims.

**498 foede... cruenti...**: the first is both moral and physical, the second physical but shocking in its application to *thalami*.

**499 Clonus**: The name in Greek means ‘tumult’. **auro**: It is the shine of the baldric that will eventually be Turnus’s undoing – see below on l. 501.

**500** Just so Hector rejoices in the armour of Achilles, which had brought Patroclus’s ruin (Il, 18.131 – 2). The rejoicing here is reiterated (**ovat, gaudet**) and made more unpleasant by the gloating **potitus**.

**501 – 5** Here is an exclamation of the kind Virgil reserves for emotional high points in the poem. The poet is not simply drawing the moral that one should remember the fragility of good fortune, but is lamenting how often due limits (**servare modum**, l. 502 and see note) are not regarded and with what consequences. Virgil has already given an instance of being carried away by loot in a digression in Book IX (ll. 176 – 449): the young Trojan Euryalus, on a night raid, kills Messapus and puts on his helmet. This helmet, glinting in the moonlight, betrays Euryalus’s presence to a cavalry patrol, and he is caught and killed. Virgil mourns the loss of a courageous youth. Here Turnus has yet to suffer the consequences, so Virgil concentrates on the penalty for such misjudgement. In the Iliad (17.201 – 6), it is Zeus rather than the poet who comments on Hector’s folly in donning the armour of a greater man, Achilles; and it is Zeus who promises Hector will suffer for it.

That penalty for Turnus’s excess comes at the very end of the poem (12.930 ff.): worsted in single combat by Aeneas, Turnus supplicates him; at that fatal moment, Pallas’s baldric glints on Turnus’s shoulder and Aeneas, *furiis accensus et ira terribilis* (‘ablaze with rage and frightful in his wrath’ ll. 946 – 7), invoking the name of Pallas plunges his sword into Turnus’s heart.

**servare modum**: The Delphic motto, ‘Nothing in excess’, recurs in many different forms in Greek and Latin literature and philosophy. It was a tenet of the Stoics (cf. Seneca, de Clem. 1.2.2, *modum tenere*).





**503 – 5 Turno... Pallanta:** The two names frame the sentence, as it is on them that the story hinges at this point. Pallas appropriately comes last word, as he becomes first out and then Aeneas's preoccupation. **magno... emptum:** The buying of Pallas's safety casts Turnus's venal phrases, particularly *haud parvo* (l. 494) back in his teeth. **cum optaverit:** The elision of monosyllables had an archaic flavour in Virgil's time and was avoided by later poets. The two *cum* clauses use are composed chiastically to set **optaverit** against **oderit** (the assonance aids the effect). The latter is left hanging after the enjambment~ at the diaeresis~, followed by the sharply antithetical **at. oderit** is an appropriate word with which to leave Turnus's killing of Pallas.

**505 gemitu lacrimisque:** Four-syllable line endings (rare and thus mildly disconcerting) occur elsewhere in the description of distress (e.g. and spectacularly at 4.667. *lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu* – 'with laments, groans and women's wailing').

**506 impositum scuto:** It was not a Homeric but a Spartan custom to carry the dead back on their shields (see note on 449 – 50). *scutum*, the oblong legionary shield, is much rarer in the *Aeneid* than *clipeus* (the round shield, language note to l. 242) – as if Virgil is sounding a note of ordinariness, or just practicality, here. Otherwise the scene is typical of heroic mourning and repeats itself in similar terms for Lausus (l. 841).

**507** Another intervention by Virgil, this time a plangent apostrophe\* to Pallas himself. The 'you' is postponed until the vocative **rediture**, however, by the alliterative doublet of **dolor / decus** and the emotional contradiction they create for Evander. **rediture** also prepares us for the return of the corpse (described in 11.139 – 81). The pause made by this and the previous interjection (ll. 501 – 5) slow up the action before Aeneas's reaction is described – and this second interjection places us squarely where his thoughts will be when he hears the news of Pallas.

**508 haec... dies:** As elsewhere (e.g. 4.169; Il. 8.541), a crucial day becomes personified. The anaphora of *haec*, asyndeton\* between the two clauses and the addition of **eadem** highlight the antithesis between **bello dedit** and **aufert**. The violent removal of Pallas is captured by the uncomfortable elision~ at the start of the sixth foot, **eadem aufert** (at the word which means 'removed').



**509** As foretold by Cymodocea, ll. 244 – 5: ‘*at crastina lux... ingentes Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos*’. If her prophecy has been fulfilled, its mood of optimism has not. The echo marks the closure of a section and the couplet summarises the episode that has just taken place: an epiphonema\*.

**510 – 42** Aeneas’s reaction to the death of Pallas is of shocking violence; he behaves with a ferocity which matches any excess in the Iliad. Indeed, in a comparison between the behaviour of Aeneas after the death of Pallas here and Achilles after the death of Patroclus (Virgil’s model here), Aeneas surpasses Achilles in violence, since as well as human sacrifice (cf. Il. 21.27 – 8) and rejecting supplication (Il. 21.64 ff.), Aeneas chases a priest (admittedly a warrior priest) in his sacred attire across the plain (**agit campo**, l. 540) and then makes him into a sacrificial victim (**immolat**, l. 541); Virgil does not intend this to be a standard epic duel. In the killing spree which follows (ll. 543 – 605), Aeneas’s taunts to his victims take on the cruelty of Turnus’s. Virgil cannot be simply following Homer’s precedent here; nor does it seem sufficient to claim that, ‘like his other failings, <his anger> makes Aeneas a realistic character rather than a pale paragon’ (Harrison).

Notwithstanding, in l. 604 we are told that Aeneas’s extraordinary sally has enabled the beleaguered Trojans to break out of the camp. Juno also removes Turnus from the battlefield. The episode reveals, however, the vengeful aspect of *pietas* (Aeneas’s preeminent virtue which in ll. 515 – 7 conjures up before him Pallas, Evander, their hospitality and friendship; and which is once again stressed at the death of Lausus, l.826). Augustus (Res Gestae 2) records with pride how he avenged the murder of his (adoptive) father – and though he adds there ‘with the sanction of the law’, it is the revenge that Ovid appears to glorify when he calls Augustus the ‘most brave avenger of a murdered father’ (Metamorphoses 15.820 – 1). At the very end of the poem, when Aeneas, whom Turnus has supplicated, finally kills him out of anger at the death of Pallas (see note to l. 501), Servius comments on Aeneas’s hesitation: ‘He is shown to be *pious* because he contemplates sparing his enemy and in killing his enemy gains the badge of *pietas*, because out of respect for Evander he avenges Pallas’. Such vengefulness is not without its human price – see ‘Introduction, Book X’.



**510 nec iam:** No *at* here – the action resumes as if barely interrupted. **fama**, here in the sense ‘rumour’, is personified in 4.188 and said to be ‘as tenacious of fiction and slander as a messenger of truth’. **certior auctor:** After the death of Patroclus, Homer has a named messenger (Il. 18.1).

**511 – 2 advolat:** Last used of the attacking lion, l. 456. The urgency of the message is captured by the prominence given to **tenui discrimine leti**, the asyndeton\* before **tempus** and the omission of *esse* after it.

**513 – 4 proxima quaeque:** Aeneas’s reaction is immediate – asyndeton\* again – his slaughter is wholesale but strongly driven by the purpose of reaching Turnus – as the scything metaphor of **metit** and *latum limitem* make plain. The separation of **latum** from **limitem** mirrors the sense; **ardens** as a spondee~ occupying the first foot gains emphasis; in the second foot the elision~ of **limitem** before **agit** is rare and adds force to **agit** (note the insistent ‘a-’ alliteration). There is no end-stopped line (where a break in sense coincides with the end of the sixth foot) from 513 until 520, reflecting the furious energy of Aeneas.

**514 – 5 te, Turne:** This apostrophe\*, with repeated ‘t-’ ‘ demonstrates Aeneas’s single-minded pursuit (as Hector’s of Patroclus after the death of Sarpedon, in Il. 16.731-2, and Achilles’s of Hector after the death of Patroclus, in Il. 20.75-8). It does more, however: it is as if Virgil is in Aeneas’s mind, addressing Turnus as he hunts him down (focalisation). **superbum** (see note on l. 445) - Turnus is inattentive to anything other than his triumph. **caede nova** has the concrete sense of ‘fresh blood’ as well as the more abstract ‘recent killing’.

**515 – 7 Pallas, Evander... dextraeque datae:** Servius attributes the broken-up structure of the sentence to the agitation of Aeneas. It is a tetracolon (tricolon\* but with four components) in asyndeton (until **dextraeque**) which summarises the personal obligation (the names) arising from hospitality (**mensae** – see note to l.460) and alliance (*dextrae* - the plural reflects Aeneas’s handshake with both Pallas and Evander). **in ipsis... oculis:** The phrase frames **omnia** and splits the four subjects into two groups of two, as if the recollections could not be more vivid (**ipsis oculis**) to Aeneas, or more absorbing.



**517 – 20: Sulmone... flammas:** This is a horrific act by Roman standards – Cicero on the Gauls (pro M. Fonteio 31): ‘Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum?’ (‘For who does not know that to this day they keep up the appalling and barbaric practice of human sacrifice?’) Achilles, in rage at the death of Patroclus, seizes 12 youths whose sacrifice on Patroclus’s pyre is later described (Il. 21.26 - 33, 23.175 - 83). Virgil restricts himself simply to mentioning their despatch (11.81 – 2, quos mitteret umbris | inferias, ‘whom he would send as offerings to the dead’, recalling the language here) but tellingly adds details here, absent in Homer, of the continued cycle of parental loss, in the chiasitic\* **Sulmone... Ufens**. (Sulmo, however, has already been killed, at 9.412.) **umbris**, poetic plural for singular, refers to Pallas. **captivo... sanguine** – again echoed at 11.82 – Aeneas is personally involved in this ritual.

**521 – 536** The killing of Magus, following the death of Pallas, corresponds to Achilles’s killing of Lycaon (Il. 21.34 ff.), which takes place after the death of Patroclus. Both the slain supplicate their attackers unsuccessfully; the Iliad, which contains much more fighting than the Aeneid, has several precedents for this. Aeneas, by contrast, is breaking new ground – and continues by spurning the supplication of Tarquitus (l. 554) and Liger (Il. 595 ff.).

**521 Magus:** The word means ‘magician’ and fits with *astu* in the next line. **infensam:** At first sight gratuitous personification of the spear, but the idea is that Aeneas’s wrath communicates itself to his weapons – hence *tremibunda* in the next line.

**522 ille astu subit:** Just as Lycaon does against Achilles (Il. 21.68 – 70).

**523 supplex:** Its position gives the word a particular expectancy.

**524 – 5** The appeal to thoughts of a dead father and young son is usual in a supplication (cf. 6.364, almost identical); but here, in the context of Evander’s loss of Pallas and the forthcoming death of Lausus, it has even greater resonance. Also Aeneas’s *pietas* places family high among the objects of respect. Magus’s situation is set in close parallel with Aeneas’s by **gnatoque patrique** (corresponding chiasitically to **surgentis Iuli** and **patrios manes** respectively and linked by the double *-que*).



**526 – 8 est domus alta... mihi:** The *astus* of Magus is characterised by his depiction of untold wealth of many kinds, counted and well hidden, and lingered over to tempt Aeneas. **alta**, in **domus alta**, implies riches. Then note the tricolon – **domus, talenta, pondera** – and the detail within the chiasmus **talenta... argenti, auri pondera...** The position of **mihi** at the end of the sentence, if it is not mere gabbling, is a reminder that all these things could belong to Aeneas. But offering a ransom does not work for Homeric suppliants (Adrestus, Dolon and Hippolochus in Iliad 6, 10 and 11 respectively, and Lycaon in the equivalent episode to this one in Iliad 21.99 ff.).

**528 – 9 non hic...tanta:** Another related, wily and unheroic, suggestion, that Magus's survival will not prevent the Trojan victory and thus he is worth more alive than dead.

**530 – 532 Aeneas contra... parce tuis:** Both **contra** and **reddiit** suit the way Aeneas turns Magus's offer round when spurning its venality: he starts with a summary of the treasure (**argenti atque auri... talenta**), adding a sarcastic **multa**, 'if it is all worth so much', then tells Magus to save it (and not his life) for his descendants (**gnatis parce tuis**).

**532 belli commercia... ista:** A striking phrase spoken with contempt, particularly the postponed **ista** ('of the kind you mention'). Turnus, the gibe goes, was not open to negotiation. Ironically he did use mercenary language (above all l. 494), which one of the *Arcades memores* might have relayed to Aeneas.

**533 Pallante perempto:** The finality of Pallas's death is reflected in the last two words of Aeneas's argument, with fierce 'p' alliteration.

**534 hoc... hoc...:** Another allusion to the son and father of ll. 524 - 5, but as much as to say, 'The only *pietas* relevant here is from all of my family towards Pallas'. **hoc** is spoken at the same time as the actions described in the next two lines, so that *sic fatus* has the force of 'while saying this'.

**535 – 6** This execution recalls, in manner and description, the way Pyrrhus, Achilles's son, finishes off Priam in 2.552 – 3. This is a battlefield (not the altar of Book II) and Magus is not a weak old man; nevertheless, Magus's dispatch is brutally effective.



**537 – 542** In this further instance of Aeneas's selective *pietas*, he makes a sacrifice of a priest in his insignia of office. The priest is armed (l. 541), but he is not shown defending himself: Aeneas could have spared him or moved after other prey, but Virgil lingers over the sacred headband which identifies both priest and victim – it does not seem overly fanciful to see this as focalisation, and Aeneas as drawn to the shining garments; the contrast between them and **ingenti umbra** (l. 541) makes Aeneas particularly baleful. Haemonides and Aeneas are votaries of different deities; where Apollo and Diana lose, Mars gains a trophy.

**537 Phoebi Triviaeque** – the brother and sister Apollo and Diana regularly shared a cult.

**538 infula... vitta**: The '-a' endings interweave as the ribbons.

**539** This is as spondaic~ a line as any can be. As well as emphasising Haemonides' conspicuousness (**conlucens, insignibus albis**) it also conveys ponderousness – apt given his fate (*lapsus*, next line).

**540 – 542** Aeneas is grimly efficient: note the tricolon\* of verbs (**agit, immolat, tegit**) in one and a half lines. **superstans** appears to have been introduced by Virgil into verse here, and in itself has Aeneas towering over his foe.

**541 immolat**, highlighted by the enjambment~ and diaeresis~, is a sacral term for 'sacrifice' (cf. l. 519), deriving from the *molae* or barley meal used within the ritual. Virgil, seeing through Aeneas's eyes, treats the priest as a victim in Pallas's honour. **ingentique umbra tegit**, if taken to refer to Aeneas rather than death (see language note on this line), implies that either Aeneas or Serestus is despoiling the corpse of its weapons. Serestus acts as a porter (such porters are also seen in the Iliad, e.g. 16.664-5).

**542 tibi, rex Gradive**: An apostrophe\* which again indicates Aeneas's focus on combat. Although a foreign origin for the word is more likely (see language note), the antiquarian Varro connected *Gradivus* to the dance steps of the Salii, certain priests of Mars. **tropaeum**, though a Greek word (referring to the turning point of the battle), denotes a piling up of the weapons offered to a god, this was not practised after



B L O O M S B U R Y

Homeric battles. Neither Aeneas nor Serestus makes Turnus's fatal error, that of keeping any weapon for himself.