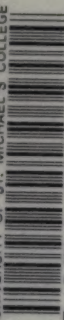



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AENEAS AT THE SITE OF ROME

BY W. WARDE FOWLER   

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AENEAS
AT THE SITE OF ROME

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EIGHTH BOOK
OF THE AENEID

BY

W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A., LL.D. EDIN.

"We live by hope
And by desire; we see by the glad light
And breathe the sweet air of futurity,
And so we live, or else we have no life."

WORDSWORTH.

R. M. Brady

[SECOND EDITION, REVISED]

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MCMXVIII

To
MY EVER HELPFUL FRIEND
R. S. CONWAY

"Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur."—ENNIUS.

PREFATORY NOTE

ALL through the eighth Aeneid we seem, like Aeneas, to be breathing "the sweet air of futurity," and this gives the book a distinctive freshness among its fellows. It seems fit reading for us to-day. Before the war the air we breathed was somewhat stagnant; it was not fragrant with the thought of better things, great things, to come, of old faults and failings overcome and put away, of a coming reign, far distant perhaps, but coming, of truth, beauty, and goodness. But now, after all that has been done and suffered in the last three years, we may breathe "the sweet air of futurity" with enjoyment and trust. In these three years we have had as many escapes as those of Rome depicted on the Shield of Aeneas, yet the good sense and courage of our people have survived them all. I should like to think that any educator using this book may find some help in it for the lifting up of the hearts of his pupils to look forward with good sense and courage to the many perils yet to be overcome.

W. W. F.

July 2, 1917.

NOTE TO REPRINT, MAY, 1918

THIS little volume has brought me many welcome letters and friendly criticisms from Mr. J. W. Mackail, Professor Conway, the Bishop of Durham, Mr. C. E. Freeman, Mr. Gilbert Watson (an old Oxford pupil), and others. Both in the text, especially on p. 47, where I have rewritten a paragraph, and in an Appendix at the end of this edition, I have taken advantage of these criticisms, and wish here to offer my best thanks to all my correspondents. They all help me to a knowledge of Virgil which is growing steadily, though still imperfect enough.

W. W. F.

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AENEAS AT THE SITE OF ROME

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS book is not, I suppose, a favourite with most readers of Virgil. It has not the splendid drive of the second, fourth, and sixth books, each of which tells a great story, and goes straight through with it; its plan can hardly be expressed in two or three words, like the plans of those great poems. Together with the seventh book, it serves as quiet preparation for the war and bloodshed that is coming. The poet seems to wish to put off this bloodshed as long as possible; beyond doubt it was the least congenial part of his work.¹ As I read now through the last six books, I find much interest in the discovery of constant efforts on the part of the poet to escape his fate—the necessity of describing Homeric battles.

The eighth book consists, not of a single story, but of a succession of scenes passing happily and naturally one into another. The interview between Aeneas and the river-god; the voyage up the Tiber to the site of Rome: the reception by Evander and the story of Cacus: the walk through the Rome that

¹ Cp. Boissier, "Horace et Virgile," p. 318.

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

was to be: the start for Agylla, with the forebodings about young Pallas: the scene between Vulcan and Venus: the forging of the shield—these are all somewhat loosely strung together, though for a lover of Virgil they make up a varied and delightful whole. And our poet knew how to give a quiet book a grand ending; for the Shield, though (as I think) in part unfinished, leaves the modern reader satisfied, and must have left the Roman reader entranced. It strengthens the sense of *futurity* that pervades the whole book, and which has induced me to steal from their context the lines of Wordsworth which are printed on the title-page.

These scenes and pictures teem with local allusions and delicate Roman touches; no book of the Aeneid is so full of them. This is, in fact, the most Roman of all the books. The Roman imagination, such as it was (and there was probably more of it than we fancy), would respond warmly to the idealisation of the greatest of Italian rivers, to the legend of Cacus, to the picture of the seven hills before Rome was there. Still more heartily would it respond to the tender relation of father and son so strongly brought out here in Evander and his beautiful stripling Pallas, destined to die, as we can guess, even if we know nothing of what is coming. The relation of host and guest (*hospitium*), and of military guardian and ward (*contubernium*), are also to be found here, as we shall see. Nor is religion wanting; the spirit of it breathes about the site of Rome, as in the memorable lines (351 *ff.*) where the

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great cult of the Capitol is dimly foreseen among the mists of old Italian *religio*.

Another advantage that this book has for most readers is that the divine machinery, the Homeric use of the gods in the story, is less evident and wearisome here than in most of the others. The Tiber-god does not, I think, distress us, as the Olympian deities so often do; he is a local influence, a spirit of the country, a legitimate impersonation of geographical facts. The interview of Venus and Vulcan is here the only piece of typical divine machinery; and it is kept well under control, and is almost overshadowed by the magnificent description of the Cyclopes at work.

It is not, indeed, in divine figures, but in human ones, that Virgil is here rejoicing. Evander and Pallas are real human beings with true and tender souls. Aeneas himself seems to me more human, if less heroic, in this book than elsewhere; the Roman surroundings are acting on the poet. There are tender touches, too, of humble life such as Virgil knew and loved. The late Dr. Verrall noticed this, in a valuable bit of writing kindly sent to me by Professor Conway.¹ The good prince Evander, waked by the swallows under his thatch (viii. 455), and walking, with his dogs for guards, to debate policy with his early-risen guest, is more to Virgil, is touched with more love, than all those wonders and splendours of Cyclopiian art with

¹ The National Home-Reading Union (*Special Course Magazine*), No. 65, pp. 24 ff.

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which the simple scene is so vividly contrasted. Even Vulcan himself comes in for this homely treatment. "Very early, right after the middle watch of the night, does he quit his bed, even at that hour 'when a woman awakens the slumbering ashes of her fire, a woman on whom lies the burden to live by her distaff and spinning of thread; of night-time she makes work-time; and plies her maids with the long, long task till dawn, that she may be able to keep her honour for her spouse and to rear her little children.' From Homer still, from Apollonius Rhodius, and one knows not from whom beside, come hints, materials, helps for this simile, which is not a simile at all, in the common sense of the term. But neither Homer, nor any known author before Virgil, nor perhaps any since, would have put it here, or could have touched it to so tender an issue."

Dr. Glover, in his volume on Virgil, calls Aeneas the most solitary figure in literature, and compares him to Marcus Aurelius, the solitary and conscientious imperial sage. There is some truth in this, and the comparison is at least an interesting one. He means, I think, that Aeneas finds little social joy in life; his thoughts and anxieties are nursed in his own breast. His *fidus Achates* is a somewhat shadowy figure; he is far from being for Aeneas what Horatio is for Hamlet; he is the *abstraction* of comradeship. This loneliness of mind, setting in more especially after the death of his father, explains, by contrast, Aeneas' passionate love

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for Dido. Then for a brief interval of sunshine his heart lies open, but is doomed to close once more, never again to be stirred by a woman's love. Like the later Roman gentleman, he was affectionate even tender-hearted, towards his son, and other boys like Pallas and Lausus, but romance has left him for ever. Yet in this eighth book he is less lonely than elsewhere; he is never alone, after the first few lines of it, either in body or mind. He is a human being full of hope, and conscious of a great future. In Evander he finds someone to revere, in Pallas someone to love. The atmosphere of Rome is around him, and the Shield prophetically enriches his being; he is not, like Marcus Aurelius, a lonely figure with no future before him. The last line of the book forbids us the comparison; Aeneas is to live for ever in the glorious destiny of his descendants.

The place of this book among the others is best understood if we think of the condition of the Mediterranean world when the Aeneid was being written. Augustus had soldered together the two halves of that world by his victory at Actium, after some years in which disruption threatened to be permanent; the centre point, the pivot on which the whole system moved, was Italy, with Rome as its heart and brain, the seat of its life and power. Italy had been reached in the sixth book, and in the seventh its various peoples had been mustered to oppose the stranger who came by the will of Jupiter and the decrees of Fate to rescue the country from chaos and barbarism; but so far

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Aeneas had not touched Roman soil. It must have given the poet some trouble to devise a plan which should bring him to Rome, show him the scenes of Rome's future life, and forecast for him the perilous history of his descendants. He had to think not only of the proud Roman himself, but of a world of Graeco-Roman critics and readers: he had to remember Augustus, the saviour of the Empire, and the ideas that were in his mind for securing its prosperity.

The plan adopted seems to me to be wonderfully happy and complete. Aeneas was to find his way to Rome by Rome's own river; then to be the guest of the first founder of a city on the site of Rome, Evander the Greek, with a name of good omen. Admitted at once to a Graeco-Roman cult at the famous *ara maxima* of Hercules, he enters into *hospitium* with his host, and into the tenderest friendship with him and his son. Marching out to meet the enemy, with Evander's son at his side, he bears on his shoulder a magic shield, on which are pictured the critical moments of the greater city that was to be, ending with that happiest of all scenes for the Roman of Virgil's day, the great naval battle of Actium, the most momentous, perhaps, of all the battles of the world.

The plan was unquestionably a happy one; whether it was executed happily each reader must decide for himself. Among the observations that follow, there may be two or three which will help him to a favourable conclusion.

P. VERGILI MARONIS
AENEIDOS

LIBER VIII

Vt belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu,
utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma,
extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu
coniurat trepido Latium saevitque iuventus 5
effera. ductores primi Messapus et Vfus
contemptorque deum Mezentius undique cogunt
auxilia et latos vastant cultoribus agros.
mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem
qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere Teucros, 10
advectum Aenean classi victosque penatis
inferre et fatis regem se dicere posci,
edoceat, multasque viro se adiungere gentis
Dardanio et late Latio increbrescere nomen:
quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur, 15
eventum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi
quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino.

Talia per Latium. quae Laomedontius heros
cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu,
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc 20
in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat,

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sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia pervolitat late loca, iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti. 25

nox erat et terras animalia fessa per omnis
alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat,
cum pater in ripa gelidique sub aetheris axe
Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello,
procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem. 30

huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno
populeas inter senior se attollere frondes
visus (eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
carbasus, et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo),
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis: 35

‘ O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas,
expectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis,
hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates;
neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae 40
concessere deum.

iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnum,
litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati. 45

[hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum,]

ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.
haud incerta cano. nunc qua ratione quod instat
expedias victor, paucis (adverte) docebo. 50

Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
qui regem Euandrum comites, qui signa secuti,

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delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum.
hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina; 55
hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge.
ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam,
adversum remis superes subvectus ut amnem.
surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris
Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque 60
supplicibus supera votis. mihi victor honorem
persolves. ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis
stringentem ripas et pingua culta secantem,
caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis.
hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus, exit.' 65

Dixit, deinde lacu fluvius se condidit alto
ima petens; nox Aenean somnusque reliquit.
surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis
lumina rite cavis undam de flumine palmis
sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera voces: 70
'nymphae, Laurentes nymphae, genus amnibus
unde est,
tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
fonte tenet, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis, 75
semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis,
corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.
adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes.'
sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremis
remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis. 80

Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile mon-
strum,

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candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo
procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus:
quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno,
mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram. 85
Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tume-
ntem

leniit, et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,
mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.
ergo iter inceptum celerant. rumore secundo 90
labitur uncta vadis abies, mirantur et undae,
miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe
scuta virum fluvio pictasque innare carinas.
olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant
et longos superant flexus, variisque teguntur 95
arboribus, viridisque secant placido aequore silvas.
sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem
cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
tectata vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat. 100
ocius advertunt proras urbique propinquant.

Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae magno divisque ferebat
ante urbem in luco. Pallas huic filius una,
una omnes iuvenum primi pauperque senatus 105
tura dabant, tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras.
ut celsas videre rates atque inter opacum
adlabi nemus et tacitis incumbere remis,
terrentur visu subito cunctique relictis
consurgunt mensis. audax quos rumpere Pallas
sacra vetat raptoque volat telo obvius ipse, III

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et procul e tumulo: 'iuvenes, quae causa subegit
ignotas temptare vias? quo tenditis?' inquit.
'qui genus? unde domo? pacemne huc fertis an
arma?'

tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta 115
paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae:

'Troiuenas ac tela vides inimica Latinis,
quos illi bello profugos egere superbo.
Euandrum petimus. ferte haec et dicite lectos
Dardaniae venisse duces socia arma rogantis.' 120
obstupuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas:

'egredere o quicumque es,' ait 'coramque parentem
adloquere ac nostris succede penatibus hospes.'
excepitque manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit.
progressi subeunt luco fluviumque relinquunt. 125

Tum regem Aeneas dictis adfatur amicis:
'optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari
et vitta comptos voluit praetendere ramos,
non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas
quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis;
sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum 131
cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem.

Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus, 135
advehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis.

vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit;
at Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas, 140
idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit.

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sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.
his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem
temptamenta tui pepigi; me, me ipse meumque
obiecī caput et supplex ad limina veni. 145
gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello
insequitur; nos si pellant nihil afore credunt
quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga
mittant,

et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra.
accipe daque fidem. sunt nobis fortia bello 150
pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuventus.'

Dixerat Aeneas. ille os oculosque loquentis
iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.
tum sic pauca refert: ' ut te, fortissime Teucrum,
accipio agnoscoque libens! ut verba parentis 155
et vocem Anchisae magni vultumque recordor!
nam memini Hesionae visentem regna sororis
Laomedontiaden Priamum Salamina petentem
protinus Arcadiae gelidos invisere finis.
tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas, 160
mirabarque duces Teucros, mirabar et ipsum
Laomedontiaden; sed cunctis altior ibat
Anchises. mihi mens iuvenali ardebat amore
compellare virum et dextrae coniungere dextram;
accessi et cupidus Phenei sub moenia duxi. 165
ille mihi insignem pharetram Lyciasque sagittas
discedens chlamydemque auro dedit intertextam,
frenaque bina meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas.
ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra,
et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet, 170
auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

interea sacra haec, quando huc venistis amici,
annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate faventes
nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis.
Haec ubi dicta, dapes iubet et sublata reponi 175
pocula gramineoque viros locat ipse sedili,
praecipuumque toro et villosi pelle leonis
accipit Aeneas solioque invitat acerno.

tum lecti iuvenes certatim araeque sacerdos 179
viscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris
dona laboratae Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant.
vescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuventus
perpetui tergo bovis et lustralibus extis.

Postquam exempta fames et amor compressus
edendi,

rex Euandrus ait: ' non haec sollemnia nobis, 185
has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
imposuit: saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
servati facimus meritosque novamus honores.

iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis 191
stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.

hic spelunca fuit vasto summota recessu,
semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat,
solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti 195
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.

huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat.
attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas 200
auxilium adventumque dei. nam maximus ultor

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tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus
Alcides aderat taurosque hac victor agebat
ingentis, vallemque boves amnemque tenebant.
at furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum 205
aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,
quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
avertit, totidem forma superante iuencas.
atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,
cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum 210
indiciis raptos saxo occultabat opaco.
quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.
interea, cum iam stabulis saturata moveret
Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet,
discessu mugire boves atque omne querelis 215
impleri nemus et colles clamore relinqui.
reddidit una boum vocem vastoque sub antro
mugii et Caci spem custodita fefellit.
hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro
felle dolor, rapit arma manu nodisque gravatum
robur, et aërii cursu petit ardua montis. 221
tum primum nostri Cacum videre timentem
turbatumque oculi; fugit ilicet ocior euro
speluncamque petit, pedibus timor addidit alas.
ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis 225
deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna
pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis,
ecce furens animis aderat Tiryntius omnemque
accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,
dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira 230
lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat
limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit.

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis
speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu,
dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum. 235
hanc, ut prona iugo laevum incumbibat ad amnem,
dexter in adversum nitens concussit et imis
avulsam solvit radicibus, inde repente
impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis. 240
at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae,
non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens
infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
pallida, dis invisae, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes. 246
ergo insperata deprensam luce repente
inclusamque cavo saxo atque insueta rudentem
desuper Alcides telis premit, omniaque arma
advocat et ramis vastisque molaribus instat. 250
ille autem, neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli,
faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)
evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca
prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro
fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris. 255
non tulit Alcides animis, seque ipse per ignem
praecipiti iecit saltu, qua plurimus undam
fumus agit nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra.
hic Cacum in tenebris incendia vana vomentem
corripit in nodum complexus, et angit inhaerens
elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur. 261
panditur extemplo foribus domus atra revulsis
abstractaeque boves abiurataeque rapinae

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caelo ostenduntur, pedibusque informe cadaver
protrahitur. nequeunt expleri corda tuendo 265
terribilis oculos, vultum villosaque saetis
pectora semiferi atque extinctos faucibus ignis.
ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri. 270
hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.
quare agite, o iuvenes, tantarum in munere laudum
cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris,
communemque vocate deum et date vina volentes.’
dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra 276
velavitque comas foliisque innexa pependit,
et sacer implevit dextram scyphus. ocius omnes
in mensam laeti libant divosque precantur.

Devexo interea propior fit Vesper Olympo. 280
iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant
pellibus in morem cincti, flammisque ferebant.
instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae
dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.
tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum 285
populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis,
hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
Herculeas et facta ferunt: ut prima novercae
monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis,
ut bello egregias idem disiecerit urbes, 290
Troiamque Oechaliamque, ut duros mille labores
rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae
pertulerit. ‘tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembris,
Hylaeumque Pholumque, manu, tu Cresia mactas

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

prodigia et vastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem. 295
 te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci
 ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento;
 nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus
 arduus arma tenens; non te rationis egentem
 Lernaeus turba capitum circumstetit anguis. 300
 salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis,
 et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.
 talia carminibus celebrant; super omnia Caci
 speluncam adiciunt spirantemque ignibus ipsum.
 consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant.
 Exim se cuncti divinis rebus ad urbem 306
 perfectis referunt. ibat rex obsitus aevo,
 et comitem Aenean iuxta natumque tenebat
 ingrediens varioque viam sermone levabat.
 miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum 310
 Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus
 exquirisque auditque virum monumenta priorum.
 tum rex Euandrus Romanae conditor arcis:
 'haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tene-
 bant
 gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata, 315
 quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere
 tauros
 aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,
 sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat.
 primus ab aethereo venit Saturnus Olympo
 arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul adeptis. 320
 is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
 composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
 maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
 saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat, 325
 deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
 et belli rabies et amor successit habendi.
 tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanae,
 saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;
 tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris, 330
 a quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim
 diximus; amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.
 me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
 Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
 his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda 335
 Carmentis Nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.'

Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
 et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
 quam memorant, Nymphae priscum Carmentis
 honorem,
 vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros 340
 Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.

hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum
 rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
 Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.
 nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti 345
 testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis Argi.

hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
 aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
 iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
 dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant. 350
 ' hoc nemus, hunc ' inquit ' frondoso vertice collem
 (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades
 ipsum

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.
haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris, 355
reliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum.
hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.'
talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis. 361
ut ventum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.' 365
dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locavit
effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae:
nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.

At Venus haud animo nequiquam exterrita mater
Laurentumque minis et duro mota tumultu 371
Volcanum adloquitur, thalamoque haec coniugis
aureo

incipit et dictis divinum aspirat amorem:
'dum bello Argolici vastabant Pergama reges
debita casurasque inimicis ignibus arces, 375
non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi
artis opisque tuae, nec te, carissime coniunx,
incassumve tuos volui exercere labores,
quamvis et Priami deberem plurima natis,
et durum Aeneae flevissem saepe laborem. 380
nunc Iovis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:
ergo eadem supplex venio et sanctum mihi numen

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

arma rogo, genetrix nato. te filia Nerei,
te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx.
aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clausis 385
ferrum acuant portis in me excidiumque meorum.
dixerat et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
cunctantem amplexu molli fovet. ille repente
accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit, 390
non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco
igne rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.
sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx.
tum pater aeterno fatur devinctus amore:
' quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit 395
quo tibi, diva, mei? similis si cura fuisset,
tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset;
nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata vetabant
stare decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos.
et nunc, si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est,
quidquid in arte mea possum promittere curae, 401
quod fieri ferro liquidove potest electro,
quantum ignes animaeque valent, absiste precando
viribus indubitare tuis.' ea verba locutus
optatos dedit amplexus placidumque petivit 405
coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.

Inde ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abactae
curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitatur ignis 410
noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile
coniugis et possit parvos educere natos:

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo
mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit. 415

insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque
erigitur Liparen fumantibus ardua saxis,
quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis
antra Aetnaea tonant, validique incudibus ictus
auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cavernis 420
stricturae Chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat,
Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus.
hoc tunc ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto.

Ferrum exercebant vasto Cyclopes in antro,
Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyra-
cmon. 425

his informatum manibus iam parte polita
fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
deicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat.
tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae
addiderant, rutuli tris ignis et alitis Austri. 430

fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque
miscabant operi flammisque sequacibus iras.
parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucris
instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes;
aegidaque horrifera, turbatae Palladis arma, 435
certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant
conexosque anguis ipsamque in pectore divae
Gorgona desecto vertentem lumina collo.

' tollite cuncta ' inquit ' coeptosque auferte labores,
Aetnaei Cyclopes, et huc advertite mentem: 440
arma acri facienda viro. nunc viribus usus,
nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra.
praecipitate moras.' nec plura effatus, at illi

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem
sortiti. fluit aes rivis auriq̄ue metallum 445
vulnificusq̄ue chalybs vasta fornace liquescit.
ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra
tela Latinorum, septenosq̄ue orbibus orbis
impediunt. alii ventosis follibus auras
accipiunt redduntq̄ue, alii stridentia tingunt 450
aera lacu. gemit impositis incudibus antrum.
illi inter sese multa vi bracchia tollunt
in numerum versantq̄ue tenaci forcipe massam.

Haec pater Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris,
Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitāt alma 455
et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.
consurgit senior tunicaq̄ue inducitur artus
et Tyrrhena pedum circumdat vincula plantis.
tum lateri atq̄ue umeris Tegeaeum subligat ensem
demissa ab laeva pantherae terga retorquens. 460
nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto
praecedunt gressumq̄ue canes comitantur erilem.
hospitis Aeneae sedem et secreta petebat
sermonum memor et promissi muneris heros.
nec minus Aeneas se matutinus agebat. 465
filius huic Pallas, illi comes ibat Achates.
congressi iungunt dextras mediisque residunt
aedibus et licito tandem sermone fruuntur.
rex prior haec:

‘ maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam
res equidem Troiae victas aut regna fatebor, 471
nobis ad belli auxilium pro nomine tanto
exiguae vires; hinc Tusco claudimur amni,
hinc Rutulus premit et murum circumsonat armis.

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis 475
iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem
ostentat. fatis huc te poscentibus adfers.
haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto
urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis. 480
hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
imperio et saevis tenuit Mezentius armis.
quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
effera? di capiti ipsius generique reservent!
mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora vivis 485
componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentis
complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.
at fessi tandem cives infanda furentem
armati circumstant ipsumque domumque, 490
obtruncant socios, ignem ad fastigia iactant.
ille inter caedem Rutulorum elapsus in agros
confugere et Turni defendier hospitis armis.
ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis, 494
regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte reposcunt.
his ego te, Aenea, ductorem milibus addam.
toto namque fremunt condensae litore puppes
signaque ferre iubent, retinet longaevus haruspex
fata canens: 'o Maeoniae delecta iuventus,
flos veterum virtusque virum, quos iustus in hostem
fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira, 501
nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem:
'externos optate duces.' tum Etrusca resedit
hoc acies campo monitis exterrita divum.
ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam 505

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarcho,
succedam castris Tyrrhenaque regna capessam.
sed mihi tarda gelu saeculisque effeta senectus
invidet imperium seraeque ad fortia vires.
natum exhortarer, ni mixtus matre Sabella 510
hinc partem patriae traheret. tu, cuius et annis
et generi fata indulgent, quem numina poscunt,
ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime
ductor.

hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,
Pallanta adiungam; sub te tolerare magistro 515
militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta
adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis.
Arcadas huic equites bis centum, robora pubis
lecta dabo, totidemque suo tibi munere Pallas.'

Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant 520
Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates,
multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,
ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.
namque improvise vibratus ab aethere fulgor
cum sonitu venit et ruere omnia visa repente, 525
Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
suspiciunt, iterum atque iterum fragor increpat
ingens.

arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena
per sudum rutilare vident et pulsa tonare.
obstipuere animis alii, sed Troius heros 530
agnovit sonitum et divae promissa parentis.
tum memorat: 'ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto
quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor. Olympo
hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras
laturam auxilio. 536

heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub
undas

scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
Thyбри pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.'

Haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto 541
et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras

excitat, hesternumque larem parvosque penatis
laetus adit; mactat lectas de more bidentis
Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus. 545

post hinc ad navis graditur sociosque revisit,
quorum de numero qui sese in bella sequantur
praestantis virtute legit; pars cetera prona
fertur aqua segnisque secundo defluit amni,
nuntia ventura Ascanio rerumque patrisque. 550

dantur equi Teucris Tyrrhena petentibus arva;
ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulva leonis
pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis.

Fama volat parvam subito vulgata per urbem
ocius ire equites Tyrrheni ad limina regis. 555

vota metu duplicant matres, propiusque periclo
it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago.

tum pater Euandrus dextram complexus euntis
haeret inexpletus lacrimans ac talia fatur:

'o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos, 560
qualis eram cum primam aciem Praeneste sub ipsa

stravi scutorumque incendi victor acervos
et regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi,
nascenti cui tris animas Feronia mater 564

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

(horrendum dictu) dederat, terna arma movenda
(ter leto sternendus erat; cui tum tamen omnis
abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exuit armis):
non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam,
nate, tuo, neque finitimo Mezentius umquam
huic capiti insultans tot ferro saeva dedisset 570
funera, tam multis viduasset civibus urbem.
at vos, o superi, et divum tu maxime rector
Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis
et patrias audite preces: si numina vestra
incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant, 575
si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum:
vitam oro, patior quemvis durare laborem.
sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam,
dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri, 580
dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas,
complexu teneo, gravior neu nuntius auris
vulneret.' haec genitor digressu dicta supremo
fundebat: famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.

Iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus apertis 585
Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates,
inde alii Troiae proceres, ipse agmine Pallas
in medio chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis,
qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis, 590
extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit.
stant pavidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur
pulveream nubem et fulgentis aere catervas.
olli per dumos, qua proxima meta viarum,
armati tendunt; it clamor, et agmine facto 595

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula
campum.

est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem,
religione patrum late sacer; undique colles
inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos, 600
arvorum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos.
haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant
castra locis, celsoque omnis de colle videri
iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in arvis. 605
huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuventus
succedunt, fessique et equos et corpora curant.

At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos
dona ferens aderat; natumque in valle reducta
ut procul e gelido secretum flumine vidit, 610
talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro:
' en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte
munera: ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos
aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.'
dixit, et amplexus nati Cytherea petivit, 615
arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu.
ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore
expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit,
miraturque interque manus et bracchia versat
terribilem cristis galeam flammisque vomentem,
fatiferumque ensem, loricam ex aere rigentem, 621
sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerula nubes
solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget;
tum levis ocreas electro auroque recocto,
hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum. 625

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi
fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.
fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro 630
procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
impavidos, illam tereti cervice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.
nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas
consessu caveae, magnis Circensibus actis, 636
addiderat, subitoque novum consurgere bellum
Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque severis.
post idem inter se posito certamine reges
armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenentes 640
stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca.
haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae
distulerant (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!),
raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus
per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres. 645
nec non Tarquinius eiectum Porsenna iubebat
accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat:
Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.
illum indignanti similem similemque minanti
aspiceres, pontem auderet quia vellere Cocles 650
et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis.
in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat,
Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser 655
porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;

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Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant
defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae:
aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis,
virgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla 660
auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant
gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.
hic exsultantis Salios nudosque Lupercos
lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo
extuderat, castae ducebant sacra per urbem 665
pilentis matres in mollibus. hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem. 670
haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago
aurea, sed fluctu spumabant caerulea cano,
et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.
in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella, 675
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres
fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
hinc augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,
stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammis
laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus. 681
parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis
arduus agmen agens: cui, belli insigne superbum,
tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.
hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis, 685
victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
Aegyptum virisque Orientis et ultima secum

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia^mconiunx.
una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis
convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor. 690
alta petunt; pelago credas innare revulsas
Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos,
tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant.
stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum
spargitur, arva nova Neptunia caede rubescunt.
regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro, 696
necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis.
omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
tela tenent. saevit medio in certamine Mavors 700
caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae,
et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla,
quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.
Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
desuper: omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi, 705
omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.
ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis.
illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura
fecerat ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri, 710
contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosa^mque flumina victos.
at Caesar, triplici in vectus Romana triumpho
moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat, 715
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;
omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;

Aeneas at the Site of Rome

ante aras terram caesi stravere iuvenci.
ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi 720
dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
postibus; incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,
quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.
hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros,
hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos 725
finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,
extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,
indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes.
Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet 730
attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

Lines 1-5:

“ Ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu,
utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma,
extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu
coniurat trepido Latium saevitque iuventus
effera.”

The third of these lines has been the subject of much discussion. Dr. Henry says: “ The entire force and excellence of the passage perishes if we understand, with Servius,¹ the *equos* and *arma* of Turnus’ own horses and arms.” Henry puts us on the right track, but his language is, as often, too strong and dogmatic. If he means that the picture in Virgil’s mind is not that of an ordinary human Turnus whipping his steeds and clashing his spear and shield, he is right; the *tumultus* is much too great and general to be the result of such a Turnus getting into his chariot and making a noise. But he evidently means more; and I feel sure that a Roman could not have understood the words “ *concussit equos* ” and “ *impulit arma* ” in an abstract sense

¹ Servius’ notion that there is an allusion to the stirring of the *ancilia* by the Consul before a war (*Mars vigila*) seems to me unnecessary.

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as meaning simply war and the "commotion of men, arms, and horses." *Equi* and *arma* were definite things for the Roman mind and must be so for ours.

The passages cited by Dr. Henry from Ovid, Lucan, and Statius, seem to me of little force, and I take this opportunity of expressing my feeling that these quotations from later poets, while often interesting in themselves, should always be accepted with caution in explaining Virgil. A Virgilian phrase loses much of its living force when taken up and imitated in the Silver Age. The process is the exact opposite of the relation of Virgil and Ennius; Virgil increases the lustre of Ennius, Lucan and the rest diminish the lustre of Virgil, or even obscure his meaning. It is far better to make Virgil his own interpreter, as, indeed, Henry usually does; but here he has forgotten a really enlightening passage in the twelfth book. I must quote this passage in full; it seems to me to show exactly how Virgil thought of Turnus in these later books:

"Turnus ut Aenean cedentem ex agmine vidit
turbatosque duces, subita spe fervidus ardet;
poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus
emicat in currum et manibus molitur habenas.
multa virum volitans dat fortia corpora leto,
seminecis volvit multos aut agmina curru
proterit aut raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas.
qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebrī
sanguineus Mavors *clipeo increpat atque furentis*
bella movens immittit equos, illi aequore aperto
ante Notos Zephyrumque volant, gemit ultima pulsu

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Thraca pedum circumque atrae Formidinis ora
Irae Insidiaequae, dei comitatus, aguntur;
talis equos alacer media inter proelia Turnus
fumantis sudore quatit, miserabile caesis
hostibus insultans; spargit rapida ungula rores
sanguineos mixtaque cruor calcatur harena."

(xii. 323-340.)

Let us remember that we left Turnus at the very end of the seventh book, moving in the region of the supernatural. His helmet was a supernatural one; it carried a Chimaera that breathed out flame like Etna, flame that grew fiercer and more grisly as the wearer plunged deeper into the fight.¹ So, too, in the passage just quoted he is like the god of war himself, and the urging of the horses and the clashing of arms are idealised by the comparison. I believe that Virgil is thinking of him in the same way in the passage we are considering. Turnus is idealised; he is for the time at least a superman, and his helmet, horses, and arms, are all idealised too.

Turnus, we must remember, is descended from an Italian deity, Pilumnus, and has a sister who is divine; Juno addresses her as *dea*: "Extemplo Turni sic est adfata sororem diva deam" (book xii. 138). In these later books the light in which the characters are seen is not quite that of ordinary human nature; in this Virgil follows Homer (*e.g.*, Iliad, xiii. 298 *ff.*). War seems to demand it, and our own Poet has apparently felt the need:

¹ "Gathering of the Clans," p. 82.

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“ O for a Muse of fire, that would ascend
The brightest heaven of invention,
A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene.
Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
Assume the port of Mars, and at his heels,
Leashed in like hounds, should famine, sword, and fire,
Crouch for employment.”

(Prologue to “ Henry V.”)

Line 12.—I postpone all discussion of Virgil's use of the words *fatum* and *fortuna* till we come to the last line of this book.

Lines 22 ff.:

“ sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia pervolitat late loca, iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.”

It is worth while to think this simile well over, and compare it with its original in Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 756 ff.:

πυκνὰ δὲ οἱ κραδίη στηθέων ἔντοσθεν ἔθνιεν,
ἡελίου ὡς τίς τε δόμοις ἐνιπάλλεται αἶγλη,
ὔδατος ἔξανιοῦσα, τὸ δὴ νέον ἢ λέβητι
ἢ ποῦ ἐν γαυλα κέχυται· ἢ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
ὠκείῃ στροφαλιγγι τινάσσεται αἴσσουσα.
ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν στήθεσσι κέαρ ἐλελίζετο κούρης.

I note the following points. First, the flickering light is compared by Apollonius to the palpitations of the heart, by Virgil to the agitated wavering of the mind; and anyone who has experienced both

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these troubles will have little difficulty in deciding which is the best comparison. In the inferior poet the simile is to me almost unpleasant; in Virgil it is absolutely true and telling. Secondly, in spite of the beauty of the Greek, the craft of words is inferior in Apollonius; it is like Swinburne's verse compared with Milton—too subtle and verbose. Thirdly, what a world of difference is there, in its appeal to humanity, between the woman of the magic myth, and the leader of the hosts of Fate, still for a moment hesitating! He hardly ever hesitates again; but at this moment the simile exactly represents the fluctuations of an anxious mind in solitude and at night, when you have no power to control the flash of thought, to fix the mind on any given point.¹ Note that Aeneas is still up and watching; but at last he lies down to rest, and then the river-god comes to him.

“Sole *repercussum*,” the reading of all MSS., is undoubtedly what Virgil wrote, and if German editors like to blame him for it they are welcome to do so; but when they propose to read *repercusso* they only show their own want of Virgilian feeling. As Henry says, “It would not be Virgil's thought or picture if there were not a difficulty somewhere in the expression.” I entirely agree with him that “*imagine lunae*” is simply equivalent to “*luna*,” and answers to “*sole*” without any complication.

¹ I find that what I have written about this simile is in complete disagreement with the late Professor Tyrrell, “*Latin Poetry*,” pp. 141 ff.

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Lines 31 to 80.—I have explained my view of these lines in an article in the *Classical Review* for December, 1916, the leading points in which I here reproduce.

I believe that Virgil had a more scientific idea of the Tiber than we usually credit him with. I believe that he had in his mind the whole basin of the Tiber, and not only the main stream which bears that name. This would be not unnatural in a man who had passed his early years in the greatest river-system in Italy, and not on the main stream of the Padus, but on or near a powerful affluent. In those days, too, he had read Lucretius, where he found a rational account of a water-system not so very far from the truth as we know it;¹ an account which neglected the vulgar idea of a river, and touched on the physical relation of land and water in a way that would be sure to attract an inquiring mind like Virgil's.² Lucretius tries to answer the question how the balance of water in a river-basin

¹ *Lucr.*, v. 261; cp. vi. 608. Virgil's interest in the first of these passages is strongly suggested by his expression "caput urbibus" in line 65, formed on Lucretius' "caput amnibus." Cp. also *Aen.* ix. 30; *Ov.*, *Fasti*, ii. 597.

² v. 264:

" sed primum quicquid aquai
tollitur in summaque fit ut nil umor abundet,
partim quod validi verrentes aequora venti
diminuunt radiisque retexens aetherius sol,
partim quod subter per terras diditur omnes.
percolatur enim virus, retroque remanat
materies umoris, et ad caput amnibus omnis
convenit," etc.

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is preserved; and the interesting point in his answer is that the water gets back again from the sea to the springs. Apparently he thought that it goes back underground; he had an idea of an underground system of channels and reservoirs, which dimly answers to what we know as the permeation of rocks by rain-water and the formation of springs. Such an underground system may have been originally suggested to Greek inquirers by the disappearance of streams in the limestone districts of Greece. If one river had secret chambers within the earth into which it could suddenly retire, why not others? What limit could there be of such chambers? Greek fancy seized on the idea, and created the pretty myth of the identity of the River Alpheus and the Sicilian Arethusa, and others of the kind, of which Strabo has an elaborate account and criticism in his sixth book (p. 271).

Now, Virgil knew well this idea of an underground water-system, and has used it with great effect in his fourth Georgic (363 ff.). Aristaeus is admitted to its marvels in a miraculous way, and we, too, are treated to a magnificent scene, the water-chambers of the world:

“ iamque domum mirans genetricis et umida regna
speluncisque lacus clausos lucosque sonantis
ibat, et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum,
omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra
spectabat diversa locis, Phasimque Lycumque,
et caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus,
unde pater Tiberinus et unde Aniena fluenta. . . .”

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In the eighth book this grand scene recurs to his mind; Tiberinus (line 66) vanishes into an underground reservoir (*lacus ima petens*): and then Aeneas addresses him, not knowing where in all his water-system he may be, from his many springs to his mouth:

“ quo te cunque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
fonte tenet, quocunque solo pulcherrimus exis,
semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis,” etc.

All this water-system is his abode, his *domus*, as in the fourth Georgic the *umida regna* were the abode of Cyrene. His *domus* is the whole basin of the Tiber; and I am convinced that this is the real meaning of the word in line 65, which has given the commentators so much trouble: “ Hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus, exit ” (Here the great water-system in which I dwell has its outlet to the sea). We must not separate too sharply the deity from the river; he *was* the river, and could quite well speak of his watery habitation as having its doorway at the spot where he appears to Aeneas. Look again at lines 74, 75:

“ quo te cunque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
fonte tenet, quocunque solo pulcherrimus exis.”

Here in my view, *exis*¹ has exactly the same meaning as in 65: “ Wherever a reservoir beneath

¹ *Exire* can, of course, be used of the mouth of a river; the Nile “ in maris exit aquas ” (Ov. “ Amores,” ii. 13, 10). It is used also of an overflow, as in the fine simile in Aen. ii. 496. The river flows out at its source, or when

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the earth holds a spring for thy supply: at whatever spot thou, now in the full beauty of a glorious river, hast thy outlet to the sea, I will ever do thee honour and give thee sacrificial offerings."

But there is yet a difficulty. How can the basin of the Tiber be described as "*celsis caput urbibus*"? These three words, in my view, are in apposition to *domus* and amplify it, as both Virgilian rhythm and manner demand. I hope we may also agree that there is no direct allusion here to Rome, of which there is as yet no thought; the river-god's prophecy does not proceed beyond the foundation of Alba. "*Magna domus*" cannot be at the same time the house of the river-god and the future city of Rome. And yet, if we take *domus* as the water-system which is at the same time the god and the god's habitation, as the sky was at the same time Jupiter and Jupiter's dwelling, it is at first sight hard to see how it can also be thought of as *celsis caput urbibus*.

It is hardly enough to recall the relation of the cities of this region to its many streams; yet it is helpful to do so. The word *celsis* reminds us of the lines in the second Georgic,¹ lines which their poet must often have dwelt on with satisfaction:

it floods, or when it leaves its channel for the sea. *Ostium* is the place of outlet, the doorway of the house of the river-deity; *exitus*, like *exire*, is used for the actual debouchment, as in Festus (p. 214, Lindsay): "*Ostiam urbem ad exitum Tiberis in mare fluentis.*"

¹ Georg., ii. 155 ff.

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“ adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem,
tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis,
fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.”

It is true enough that these cities found their help and protection in the rivers; but to explain the word *caput* in line 65 we must range a little further.

What did *caput* mean for a Roman? Certainly not mainly the human or any other head. It had a wide and varied meaning, and perhaps the best way to see this at a glance is to consider what is meant by *capite deminutus*.¹ If a free man “loses his head,” he loses his life and power as a citizen; and this expression may well have been centuries older than the city-state of Rome. These two words, “life” and “power,” do indeed very well express the Roman idea of *caput*. If you wanted to damage a man by cursing him, you directed your curses at his head, as the citadel of his life and power. “*Caput belli*” (Liv. xxvi. 7) is the city that gives life and power to a confederacy at war. In Lucretius “*caput amnibus*” is the head or power of water, which, continually renewed within or beneath the earth, gives life and power to the water-system of the world.² So we, too, speak of a head of water; and Mr. Belloc has lately taken to writing of a “head of shell”—*i.e.*, a reservoir giving an army its life and power. Pliny uses the word of the Pontus, noting the opinion of some geo-

¹ Festus, p. 61, Lindsay.

² A friend reminds me of Lucr. v. 293, where “*lucis caput*” is a spring or fount of light.

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graphers that it acts as a reservoir for the whole Mediterranean (Nat. Hist., iv. 93).

Now, if Virgil had been in the habit of writing as the ordinary human being would expect him to, he would no doubt have written "caput amnis"; even Bentley, though no ordinary human being, plagued by the difficulty of the line, proposed "Tuscis caput amnis" as the true reading. But Virgil was not wont to write as one would expect him to, and here he wished to do something better than state a geographical fact. The Italy that he had in his mind was an Italy ennobled by the works of man; he is thinking of those *egregiae urbes* as existing at the time of Aeneas, before Rome was; and by one of his bold strokes of language he lifts the meaning out of the region of mere geography into the higher poetical plane of human life and achievement. The great water palace of the river-god is what gives life and power to the cities; for if the Tiber and its tributaries had not been there, the cities would be wanting too.

Lines 68 *ff.*:

"Surgit et aetherii spectans orientia Solis
lumina, rite cavis undam de flumine palmis .
sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera voces:"

Aeneas takes running or living water from the river in the palms of his hands, and lifts them towards heaven, before praying to the Nymphs and the Tiber. It is possible that the water is here the material of sacrifice, for prayer without sacri-

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fice was almost unknown in the Roman religion,¹ and the objects of prayer are here deities of water. It does not seem possible, however, to explain the ritual with certainty; but we may compare the pretty story of Claudia, the suspected vestal virgin, who boldly helped to haul the ship ashore that was bringing Cybele to Rome. She rushed forward, filled the palms of her hands with water, thrice dashed it about her head and then thrice raised her hands in prayer (cp. *Aen.* ix. 22 *ff.*). Then she prayed to the goddess, and no harm came to her. The learned Dr. Eitrem quotes this story from Ovid in his work on "Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer," but I fear that not much is gained by it in explaining Virgil's account.²

Lines 81 *ff.*:

"Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,
candida per silvas cum fetu concolor albo
procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus:
quam pius Aeneas, tibi enim, tibi maxima Iuno,
mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram."

The peculiar stress here laid on the duty of prayer to Juno is fully explained by book iii. 435 *ff.*:

¹ "Religious Experience of the Roman People," p. 181.

² P. 90. *Ov.*, *Fasti*, iv. 315. I see, however, that on p. 111 he says that Virgil's ritual has nothing to do with Ovid's; he thinks that in the former water was the thing offered, and compares *Serv.*, *Ecl.* vii. 21 (sacrifice to the *Camænae* of water and milk). So, perhaps, in *Aen.* ix. 22.

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“ unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum
praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo,
Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora,
Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem
supplicibus supera donis: sic denique victor
Trinacria finis Italos mittere relictâ.”

In both passages the words *magna* and *maxima* are not cult-titles, but only indicate her great powers. Great indeed they were, but not irresistible, for she could only delay the Fates, not alter them.¹ But even delay might be for Aeneas a personal failure and a disappointment; so he is to be constantly attacking her with prayer and sacrifice. He must lose no chance, and here was a victim handy, and one of good omen.²

This idea of the duty of trying to appease a hostile deity is not without interest. The usual prayer and sacrifice was addressed to deities who had been established in the city under a covenant (*pax*) with its inhabitants. The local gods of foreign communities could only be brought over to Rome by the process of *evocatio*, as was Juno of Veii, or the deities of Carthage in the third Punic war.³ But the Juno of the Aeneid is not a local deity, and the idea of persistent prayer to her is not strictly Roman.

“ Mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad

¹ See Miss Matthaei in *Cl. Quarterly*, 1917, p. 15.

² For the sow as victim of Juno (on Kalends only), see *Macrob.*, i. 15, 19.

³ See my “*Rel. Exp.*,” p. 206.

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aram." There is no need to explain these words as a ὑστερον πρότερον. *Mactare* does not necessarily mean to slay a victim, though in later Roman history it often does mean this. Like *immolare*, it originally referred to some part of the rite in which the material of sacrifice, not necessarily, by any means, an animal, was hallowed for acceptance by a deity.¹ "He consecrates the sow for the honour of the deity, carrying the sacred apparatus in his hand, and brings her with her progeny to the altar."

Those who believe that Virgil had some knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures² may allow themselves to think here of Abraham's ram, and in the next few lines, where Tiber stays his current for the benefit of the invaders, the crossing of the Jordan will not unnaturally occur to them.

Lines 86 ff.:

"Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
leniit, et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,
mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.
ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo.
labitur uncta vadis abies, mirantur et undae,
miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe
scuta virum fluvio pictasque innare carinas.
olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant,
et longos superant flexus, variisque teguntur
arboribus, *viridisque secant placido aequore silvas.*
sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem

¹ See "Rel. Exp.," pp. 182 ff., and Marquardt, "Staatsverwaltung," iii. 180, note 9.

² See Virgil's Messianic Eclogue, pp. 104 ff.

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cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
tectata vident, quae nunc Romana potentia coelo
aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.
ocius advertunt proras urbiue propinquant.”

This charming picture should need no comment; but, unluckily, it contains two lines which have been so much discussed that I cannot pass them over here. I advise every student to learn the whole passage by heart; if he lets Virgil's lines become in this way a part of his mental being, he will probably come to a right conclusion about them. The first of these lines is 90. I have restored the old punctuation of it; in the Oxford text a full-stop is placed after the word *celerant*.¹ After considering all that has been written about it and all the parallel passages quoted, I have come to the conclusion that *rumore secundo* stands to the preceding words exactly as *clamore secundo* stands to the preceding words in the simile of the cranes in x. 266.² Just as the cranes fly before the black storm, cheering themselves with their cries, so the rowers start on their course with quickened pace, cheering themselves with the musical sounds used all over the world by boatmen and sailors.³ The cheerfulness is the result of the discovery that the river is not opposing them; hence the line begins

¹ Heyne was the first to make the alteration; Dr. Henry follows him.

² “fugiuntque notos clamore secundo.” See *Classical Review*, May, 1918, p. 65.

³ *E.g.*, in Borneo; see “The Pagan Tribes of Borneo,” vol. i., p. 132.

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with "Ergo." It is the men who are cheerful, not the boats, as Henry seems to suggest when he takes the words *rumore secundo* of the rippling noise made as the boats cut through the water.

The other doubtful line is 96, which some editors, from Servius downwards, have wished to refer to the *shadows* of trees in the water. In my first edition I said that Henry, in my opinion, had demolished that view once for all. His long note is an admirable lesson in Latin literature, and I still find it difficult to disagree with him. But after much meditation and correspondence, I do not feel so sure as I did. The whole picture is an imaginative one: the poet goes a little beyond his habit in making the "waves and unwonted woods" marvel at the shields and painted hulls, and his fancy may have travelled yet a little further. This is one of those passages of Virgil about which dogmatism will always be unsafe: the best commentator is our own feeling as we read—a feeling that need by no means be always the same.

This happy voyage brought them, at noon of the day following their start by night, to a point whence they could see the site of Rome and Evander's scanty settlement. This point is just below the Aventine, where the *marmorata* is marked in any map of Rome; but they would not land here, for the Aventine stood between them and the settlement. Putting on a spurt, they made for the lower ground beyond the hill, which seemed likely to be their natural landing-place ("Ocius advertunt pro-

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ras urbique propinquant"). This was what in Roman days was known as the *navalia*, the usual landing-place, adjoining the Forum boarium and close to the Circus maximus. Here, too, was the *ara maxima* of the Hercules cult, where Evander's son Pallas was at that moment sacrificing. He saw the boats approach; the rowers now resting on their oars, as they glided at an "easy" to the shore ("tacitis incumbere remis," line 108). This "easy" is a necessity of the situation, as anyone will see at once who will contemplate for a few minutes a good map of the site of Rome, showing the course of the Tiber, for otherwise the boats must run into the bank; yet the commentators, one and all, so far as I know, take "incumbere remis" as meaning (as of course it often does mean) that they bent on their oars in the act of pulling. Mr. Mackail, who understands rowing, and knows the geography, stands alone in translating "resting on their silent oars," and in a letter to me remarks that "incumbere" is used in exactly this way just below in the story of Cacus, where the big tower-like rock "prona iugo laevum incumbebat ad amnem" (236).

The sense of the words, and the picture they call up, will be just the same whether we read "tacitis" with Servius and a minority of manuscriptal authority, or "tacitos" with the great MSS. M, P and R. But the Oxford editor has adopted the former reading, and I have no doubt he is right. The boats glide on under the impetus of their last strokes, but the oars are silent and at rest.

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Lines 103 ff.:

“ Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae magno *divis*que ferebat
ante urbem in luco.”

What *divi* are these? I think they are such spirits as may be in the *lucus*—spirits, perhaps, unknown and unnamed; just as below (line 352) he writes of an unknown *deus* inhabiting the *nemus* on the Capitoline hill. Virgil is reflecting the Roman religious instinct to cover the whole ground in sacrifice and prayer, in case any *numen* should have reason to complain of neglect. Cp. 279, and iii. 19, where the *divi* are coupled with Venus. Note that there is no real distinction in Virgil between *deus* and *divus*. One might imagine that *deus* was more a real deity than *divus*, since the deified Caesars were called *divi*, not *dei*; but in xii. 138 Juno is called *diva* and Juturna *dea*, and of these two Juno was of course the most truly a goddess. Varro, in a fragment of the *De Ling. Lat.* (ed. Müller, p. 265), wrote: “Ita respondeant cur dicant deos, cum omnes antiqui dixerint divos.” From a comment of Servius on v. 45, I gather that neither Varro nor the scholars of his day had any sure notion of a difference of meaning in the two words.

Lines 105, 106:

“ Una omnes iuvenum primi pauperque senatus
tura dabant, tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras.”

The people in general offer incense as a preliminary purification, as in the ritual of the *ludi saeculares*,

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just after Virgil's death, *suffimenta* were distributed to the people for the same purpose ("Rel. Exp.," 441). Only magistrates and priests could actually sacrifice and pray. By *tura* Virgil probably means herbs culled in the neighbourhood, and used as oriental incense was in later days. Pliny tells of a *herba Sabina*, which "brathy appellata a Graecis . . . a multis in suffitu pro ture adsumitur."¹

The mention of *cruor* in 106 is interesting, since the blood of victims is hardly ever alluded to in connexion with Roman sacrifice proper. If mentioned by poets or historians, it is always either in rural Italy, as in Horace twice (Od., iii. 22, iv. 11, 7), or in barbarous countries, as in Ovid, "ex Ponto," iii. 2, 54. The latest investigator of "Opferritus" can produce no evidence of its use in ritual that is strictly Roman.²

Lines 127 *ff.*—This speech of Aeneas may seem to some of us rather comical, with its cheap mythology and genealogical nonsense. But it is not really nonsense in its relation to the whole poem, in which it is inserted with a definite intention. In order to understand why it is there, we must be clear why it was desirable in Virgil's time to claim a common origin for Greek and Trojan, such as now at last we are ourselves beginning to discover, though with an archaeological proof instead of a mythical one. "The Dardanians who founded the Troy of the Mycenaean age were—and this is hardly questioned

¹ Quoted by Eitrem, *op. cit.*, p. 210. (Plin. xxiv. 102.)

² Eitrem, "Opferritus und Voropfer," p. 435.

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now—a branch of the Phrygian stock, who were themselves sharers in the great thrust of the nations from the north. The Phrygian language was closely akin to the Greek, and the two nations had doubtless come down together, or nearly at the same time, from the Danube Valley.”¹

It is necessary to insist on the fact, however obvious it may be to those who know, that in Virgil's time the Empire was almost as much Greek as it was Roman. Augustus had reunited the Greek and Roman elements, the east and the west, which for a time had been sundered under sinister Egyptian influence. Every educated Roman was bilingual, and Greece was his intellectual, and also his spiritual, home. The religion of the age was mainly Greek in forms of thought, though the Roman forms of worship lived on. An excellent way of realising the mixture is to study the ritual of the secular games of the year 17 B.C., and the hymn written by Horace for that occasion; both ritual and hymn declare the undoubted fact that the religion of the Romans was henceforward to be even in outward expression a Romano-Hellenic one, answering to the cosmopolitan character of the whole vast Empire (“Rel. Exp.,” 443).

Now, Aeneas was not a Roman, and to make the hero of the Aeneid and the ancestor of Augustus a Greek, would be more than the Romans of that day would easily put up with. But the situation might

¹ Leaf, “Homer and History,” p. 72. “Sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.”

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be saved by inventing for him a common descent from deities both Greek and Trojan.

Professor Nettleship has admirably explained the whole history of the belief of the Romans about their descent from Aeneas and their relation to the Greeks ("Vergil," pp. 50, 51). When the Greeks first came to know anything at all of Rome, they claimed her as Greek. That was in the fourth century B.C.; but when in the third century, from Pyrrhus onward, Greeks became the enemies of Rome, it was the legend of Aeneas and the Trojan descent that became popular at Rome. "Pyrrhus regarded himself as the descendant of Achilles; the Romans answered by claiming descent from the ancient and inveterate enemies of Greece. . . . The anti-Grecian interest dominant with the Romans at this time seized upon a religious symbol (the Penates) which was soon made the centre of a developed legend; and the story of the foundation of Rome, not through the instrumentality of Trojan captives, but by the first of the surviving Trojan princes, Aeneas, had assumed full shape by the end of the third century B.C., and formed part of the Roman history of Fabius Pictor. . . . Henceforth they cherished the Trojan legend as a matter of public policy, and professed, indeed, to be guided by it in their dealings with the East." There may even be, as Nettleship suggests, a Trojan reason for the arrival of the religion of Mithras at Rome in later days. But this is a doubtful point.

But in the second century B.C. there grew up a

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fresh enthusiasm for everything Greek, against which reaction was hopeless. In the last century B.C. we find a tendency to represent the Trojans as Hellenes, and in Virgil's own time the Greek historian Dionysius gave this tendency very definite utterance.¹ Thus, this speech of Aeneas exactly represents the ideas of the age by giving the speaker a substantial claim to be where he was, an invader of Italy. This claim is a double one. The first part of it, in lines 131-134, appeals to the oracles, the common descent, the fame of Evander, and the *virtus* of Aeneas. The second part is in 147-150; the enemy, uncivilised and cruel, will conquer all Italy, unless Trojans and Greeks agree on an alliance, such as may bring civilisation to the rude Italian tribes. Thus all arguments combine to suggest an immediate friendly understanding between Aeneas and Evander. This is why Aeneas comes himself, instead of sending *legati*: "me, me ipse meumque obiecti caput et supplex ad limina veni." In him is represented the common descent of the peoples that are destined to rescue Italy from barbarism, and secure for her a great career in the world.

Lines 172 *ff.*:

"interea sacra haec, quando huc venistis amici,
annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate faventes
nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis."

In keeping with the object of Aeneas in his speech, as I explained it above, Virgil here introduces what

¹ Dion. Hal., i. 58.

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was in reality a Greek worship; for, in spite of many attempts, no one has yet proved the existence of an Italian Hercules. This worship came from Greek cities in Campania by way of Tusculum: its ritual was Greek; the practice of giving tithes, with which it was associated, was apparently not Italian. Perhaps it would be better to call it a Mediterranean cult, as indeed it was, and in which respect it well suited Virgil's need.¹ It was also convenient that the great altar of Hercules, famous throughout Roman history, should have been close to the spot where Aeneas landed from his boats.²

I may also notice here that in the story that follows, a story told as brilliantly as any story in literature, it is highly probable that Virgil was not using, as has often been supposed, a Latin form of the famous myth of Hercules and the stolen cattle, but taking an old Italian deity of fire, Cacus by name, and endowing him with the attributes of the volcanic deity Typhoeus, borrowed from Homer and Hesiod.³ This idea of Cacus as a fire-monster is

¹ An extremely useful monograph on "The Myth of Hercules at Rome," by John Garrett Winter, University of Michigan (the Macmillan Company, New York), may be referred to for a careful examination of the abstruse subject, with sane conclusions.

² "Roman Festivals," pp. 193 ff.

³ This seems to me to be proved satisfactorily by Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 ff. On p. 258 is a reasonable account of the connexion of the Cacus myth with the *ara maxima*:

"Reduced to its outlines, Livy's version tells of a purely

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peculiar to Virgil, and comes almost beyond doubt from Typhoeus, whom Virgil must have been thinking of at the time, since he mentions him in line 298. He clothes the obscure Roman Cacus with the attributes of the Greek Typhoeus, thereby connecting Rome with Campania and Sicily, Vesuvius and Etna. As the region about Rome was actually and traditionally volcanic, it was not impossible for him to call upon his readers to imagine the Aventine as a volcanic hill.

In line 173 Virgil uses the language of later Rome, a Rome of settled institutions, such as priests and annual worships. He might be poetically justified in this, but the invitation to foreigners to share in these is a bold innovation, only justified by the desire to emphasise the alliance of Greek and Trojan, and to clinch the argument of Aeneas, just uttered, that Greeks and Trojans were really one race. The presence of strangers at religious rites

Greek god who comes to the Tiber side and institutes sacrifices at the *ara maxima*, initiating into the ritual the Potitii and Pinarii. These sacrifices were known to differ from the usual Roman sacrifices in that they were said to be performed *Graeco ritu*. At this point the myth must have ended in its earliest form. A later generation sought a reason for the sacrifice, and found it in the recovery of the cattle that were a familiar and indispensable feature of the Geryon myth. These cattle must have been stolen, and Cacus, originally a disparate deity, was given the rôle of the thief. The myth of Hercules and the myth of Cacus were thus originally two wholly distinct myths, fused by the Romans themselves in later times."

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in ancient Italy was considered dangerous and ill-omened.¹

Lines 182, 183:

“ Vescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuventus
Perpetui tergo bovis et lustralibus extis.”

The *exta* were those parts of the body of the victim which were examined for omens, and then placed on the altar (*exta porricere*); and these parts, in the *ritus Romanus*, were certainly not eaten either by priest or worshipper. But we know that the cult of Hercules at the *ara maxima* was not “ritu Romano,” but “ritu Graeco” (“Roman Festivals,” 194); and, as the Greeks had no such scruple, Virgil is quite justified in writing after the Homeric fashion. That by *exta* he means the parts placed on the altar seems clear from Livy’s account (i. 7), with which may be compared Varro, Ling. Lat., vi. 54 (a passage unluckily somewhat mutilated).

What Virgil meant by *lustralibus* I do not feel sure. Evidently Servius did not know; but his note is useful as showing that he understood the word *exta* as I understand it in this context. But whatever its technical meaning, if it had one, *lustralibus* may be taken as indicating that the *exta* were holy, as having been on the altar.

There is an article in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* for 1909, pp. 461 ff., which reviews the practice of primitive peoples in regard to sacrificial meals.

¹ See “Rel. Exp.,” pp. 32 ff.

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Lines 185 ff.:

“rex Euandrus ait: ‘non haec sollemnia nobis,
has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
imposuit: saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
servati facimus meritosque novamus honores.’”

These lines seem a little odd in the mouth of Evander, who was himself a settler in Italy from a foreign land. But Virgil makes him speak like a Roman of later times, expressing the strong Roman feeling against deities not belonging to the spot, unless they were especially invited by the State, as were Juno of Veii, and Cybele in the second Punic war. The curious word *superstitio* is here explained by Virgil in his usual manner by the words *veterum ignara deorum*, which imply rather contempt and neglect than simple ignorance. It seems here to mean a standing over or passing over, and may be paralleled with an occasional use of the word *super-sedeo*, as, for example, in Suetonius (Aug., 93), where Augustus “in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin *supersedit*” (*i.e.*, omitted).¹

Secondly, there is here no doubt an allusion to Augustus' distrust of new foreign worships, especially that of Isis, which had been showing itself while the Aeneid was being written; he tolerated *old* foreign cults, “*ceteras contemptui habuit*” (Suet. Aug.,

¹ For *superstitio*, see Mayor's ed. of Cic., de Nat Deorum, vol. ii. 184. But I do not think that Mayor's conclusion is convincing. See “Rel. Exp.,” 345 and 355.

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93). The same feeling is also emphasised in the Shield (lines 696 ff.). Here it may be as well to remember that, in the secular games of 17 B.C., though half the ritual is not Roman, there was no *vana superstitio*; there were no Greek deities but the good old ones, long inhabitants of the city. So, too, with the cult of the *ara maxima*: it was not *superstitio*, for it had filtered through Italian and Latin cities, and established itself within the sacred boundary of the city. And line 188 seems to suggest that it was the result of the fulfilment of a vow, like so many other Roman worships.¹

Lines 190-272: The Story of Cacus.—Virgil has hardly had his due from the critics as a teller of stories. Sellar, who had a chilling habit of comparing him with Homer, gives him some credit for powers of narration,² but does not mention this story, nor does Heinze in his "Epische Technik." I am inclined to think that the art is so perfect as to conceal itself from the critic no less than from the ordinary reader. What shall we say of Pastor Aristaeus, of the sack of Troy, of Nisus and Euryalus, of the death of Camilla? These stories are full of concentrated energy, of swift motion, of tender feeling, of intense human interest; and that of Cacus, though it naturally has less of the last two qualities than the rest, is among the best-told stories of the

¹ "Meritos novamus honores" is the language of a *voti reus*. ("Rel. Exp.," pp. 202 ff.) For the advent of Hercules to Rome, *ib.* 230.

² P. 359 (cd. 3).

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marvellous that literature can show. It reminds me of Wandering Willie's Tale in Redgauntlet, of which a friend of mine used to say that it was the best short story ever told; and its insertion in the whole epic is even more skilfully contrived than is Scott's story in his novel. It was a favourite with the Romans, or Livy, Propertius, and Ovid,¹ besides Virgil, would hardly have taken the trouble to tell it in their several ways; the *ara maxima*, the Forum boarium, the Aventine, could not be mentioned in Roman narrative without some allusion to one or other form of the far-famed story of Hercules and the oxen. Virgil braced himself to the effort, and began by a stroke which lifts him far above the level of the other story-tellers. He makes Evander tell the story, not as a legend, *but as a thing that actually happened in his own time*, to commemorate which the great altar had been erected. "It attests a rescue from a superhuman destructive monster, who robbed and slew our men and cattle. It chanced that the great Hercules, himself a superhuman wonder-worker, came this way, that Cacus robbed him too, and paid the penalty with his life."

The telling of this story only takes about seventy lines, of which not one is either weak or superfluous. It runs swiftly to its climax—and a terrible climax it is: the revelation of the monster's lair, the last struggle with the fire-spouting fiend—and ends quickly, as all good stories should. When it is done, Evander calls on his audience to join in cele-

¹ Liv., i. 7: Ov., Fasti, i. 543 ff.; Prop., iv. 9.

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brating the glories of Hercules and in singing his praises: "Consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant."

Lines 233 *ff.*:

" stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis
speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu,
dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum.
hanc, ut prona iugo laevum incumbebat ad amnem,
dexter in adversum nitens concussit et imis
avulsam solvit radicibus, inde repente
impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis."

What was the picture in Virgil's mind when he wrote these lines? Dr. Henry seems to me to have entirely misapprehended it; but the question which he begins by asking is an essential one, and I will begin by answering it myself. The river, Virgil says, was on the left. On the left of what? Right and left, used of inanimate objects, must be relative to some human being; that human being may be an imaginary person looking up or down the stream, or it may be an actual person—*e.g.*, I myself on the Thames Embankment, or Hercules in the story looking up or down the Tiber. I have no doubt whatever that in these lines it was an actual person—*i.e.*, Hercules—and that as the river was on his left, he was looking upstream. He was looking, in fact, towards his own cattle and the settlement of Evander, rather than turning his back upon these essential things.

Now, in these lines Hercules hurls into the river

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(though Henry denies that it fell into the river at all)¹ a tower of rock which leaned towards or over that river on the left. On the left means *on the left of Hercules*, because he is the only person pictured as in action at the moment. Hercules must, then, have been looking up the river, with the big rock between himself and it, he being on the right of the rock, and the river on the left. Thus, coming from the right of it ("dexter"), he pushed it in the opposite direction ("in adversum nitens")—*i.e.*, towards the river—and, after a mighty struggle with it, hurled it over the precipice.

Where does Virgil imagine this rock to have been, and the cave which it guarded? His own language convinces me that it was on the steep side of the hill where it falls to the river; and this seems to have been the traditional site of the cave. Solinus² in the third century A.D., a good authority, identified it with the Salinae, which, as we know, were under the steep cliff of the Aventine at its northern corner, where the Porta Trigemina stood in historical times.³ This statement of Solinus makes me

¹ Dr. Henry here seems to me to be obsessed by his own critical powers; he finds himself, naturally, in opposition to received interpretations (here Servius, Heyne, Forbiger, Conington). And he supports his view by quotations from Ovid, Silius, and Claudian, which (as I have said before) rather hinder than help us in discovering the picture in Virgil's mind.

² Solinus, i. 8.

³ Hülsen-Jordan, *Römische Topographie*, III. 172, note 51.

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fairly confident that the picture in Virgil's mind is that I have described. The cave was on the steep side of the Aventine, looking down on the river, and quite near to what was later the Forum boarium, on the site of which Hercules was pasturing his oxen. This would account in the story for the ease with which Cacus contrived to filch the four oxen without detection—perhaps, too, for the tenancy of the big rock by *dirae volucres*, which, as Virgil would know, would be likely to build their nests on the river side of the hill, as the safer and more profitable one.

Line 240:

“ Dissultant ripae, refluitque exterritus amnis.”

This is only a strong way of describing what actually happens when you hurl a big stone into a small stream; the wash of the water drives the banks back—*i.e.*, what was bank before is flooded, and the new banks are much farther apart. At the same time the stone hinders the downflowing water, and for the moment forces it backwards. The effort of imagination lies in the relative size of rock and river.

Lines 241 *ff.*:

“ At specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae,
non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens
infernās reseret sedes et regna recludat
pallida, dis invisā, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes.”

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On these fine lines Conington remarks that they are imitated from Homer (Iliad, xx. 61). I mention this to show how easy it is to slip into the way of making Virgil *imitate* Homer, or some other poet, simply because he takes a hint from them. Here are Homer's lines:

πάντες δ' ἔσσειόντο πόδες πολυπίδακος Ἴδης
καὶ κορυφαί, Τρώων τε πόλις καὶ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν.
ἔδδεισεν δ' ὑπένερθεν ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεύς,
δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἄλτο καὶ ἴαχε, μὴ οἱ ὑπερθεν
γαῖαν ἀναρρήξειε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη
σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ.

Here you may say that there is a hint given and taken—viz., the idea that a great shock may reveal the infernal regions. But there the debt to Homer ends, for the Greek and Roman infernal regions are by no means alike, and Virgil here abides by the Roman. There no king reigned, for Orcus, often supposed to be such a king, was only an old Italian name for Hades, used in later times to represent the Greek Plutus. The spirits of the dead, Manes, let us remember, dwelt dimly and almost impersonally below,¹ and on three days of the year might come up and roam about. The opening of the cavern roof seems to me to be compared to the opening of the *mundus*—unless, indeed, we are to suppose that Virgil did not know of the *mundus*,

¹ See Wissowa, R.K., 310; "Rel. Exp.," 85 and 386; and for the idea of the *mundus* J.R.S., vol. ii. 25 ff., article on "Mundus patet."

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which is unlikely. The Hades of book vi. is, of course, quite different.

Dr. Verrall remarks that this passage, unlike Homer's, is mysterious and religiously suggestive. "The picture of hell opened, when attached to the person and worship of Hercules, the conqueror of death, the man made God, acquires the possibility and suggestion of a human significance. We can hardly help thinking of 'the spirits in prison'; and, indeed, there can be little doubt that Virgil is here working on the lines of some actual belief, one of these mysteries with which mature paganism then teemed."¹ I agree; but I think that the origin of the belief on which he is working was that of the *mundus*.

Lines 271, 272:

"Hanc aram *luc*o statuit, quae maxima semper
dicetur nobis, et erit quae maxima semper."

The scene as Virgil imagined it was close to the riverside, where poplars were growing on the bank, and within was a *nemus* (see line 305), where there was a natural or artificial clearing (*lucus*) in the marshy woodland. The poplars, with their foliage of two colours (bicolor), of white and green,² supplied the sacred garlands. This tree must have been the

¹ In National Home-Reading Union (*Special Course Magazine*), No. 68, p. 25, Dr. Verrall's language about Hercules is perhaps too strong; but it may find support in lines 301, 302, and 362-365.

² The two colours are well shown in the plate of *Populus alba* in Sowerby's "British Botany."

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white poplar, which is not uncommon in England, and may frequently be noticed showing the white under-surface of its leaves during windy weather in summer. (See Johns' "Forest Trees of Great Britain," vol. i. p. 357.) But why this tree was sacred to Hercules no one seems to know.

In the charming scene of sacrifice and song that follows, the student of Roman religion would wish to know whether Virgil is going upon facts of ritual or indulging his own invention. I will therefore go to some extent into his details, which, so far as I can judge, are strictly Roman, or old Graeco-Roman.

" Devexo interea propior fit Vesper Olympo.
iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant
pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.
instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae
dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.
tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum
populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis,
hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmina laudes
Herculeas et facta ferunt. . . ."

First let us notice that this is an evening sacrifice; that is proved by the first line quoted above, and by the torches (*flammas*). On the other hand, the rite that was going on when Aeneas arrived was a noontide one, and was followed by a meal, as is made plain by lines 97-106. The interval was filled up by Evander's story of Cacus; and one reason for the insertion of this story may have been a desire to conform to old Roman practice in separa-

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ting the two chief parts of the day's religious work. For if we examine the ritual of the Arval Brethren, which Augustus was reorganising while Virgil was devoting himself to the Aeneid, we find a clear analogy with the order of the day described here. In the Arval rites there was a sacred meal at noon, and later, after a rest, the priests went on to the altar for the chief sacrifice, which must have taken place towards evening, and was followed by the singing of the famous Arval hymn, and by another meal. As a rule, in Roman rites the sacrifice and meal took place in the morning, and the *exta*, after being cooked, were laid on the altar in the afternoon.¹

In the rite Virgil is describing the sacrifice of oxen was at noon, and the *exta*, or such parts of them as had not been eaten, were laid on the altar towards evening. This must be the meaning of the words "cumulant oneratis lancibus aras," and so Servius explains them. At the same time the other offerings were renewed² and another meal partaken of. When the priests have done their work, clad in skins according to the most ancient

¹ Henzen, *Acta Frat. Arv.* pp. 26 and 28 ff.; "Rel. Exp.," 181 and 435 ff.

² "Instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae dona ferunt." *Mensa* is here the sacred table found in all cults, as well as the altar; the latter was used only for animal sacrifice, the former for fruits, etc. (Marq., 165). *Mensa secunda* here is not "a second meal," but like *placabilis ara*, of good omen for the worshipper. So at least it seems to me.

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fashion, retained in historical times only at the Lupercalia, the Salii appear and sing as they dance round the altar. They are in two divisions of old and young, a fact for which Virgil is the only authority;¹ but he would not be likely to invent it, and it is quite in keeping with Roman practice.

On the whole, then, there is nothing in Virgil's picture to conflict with well-established Roman custom. True, Macrobius² makes one of his learned prozers accuse Virgil of two errors: of bringing in the use of poplar for garlands, and of introducing the Salii, who properly belonged to the worship of Mars. But then he makes another learned person defend Virgil, and the defence is quite complete. No doubt, he says, the bay is used in the worship of Hercules, but that is quite a recent innovation, introduced since the bay-tree was planted on the Aventine hard by; before that it was the poplar which Hercules loved, and which Virgil seems to imagine growing on the bank of the river. Secondly, he tells us that Salii took part in the worship of Hercules at Tibur, a fact which is confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions.³ Whether the Roman Salii ever danced and sang round the *ara maxima*,

¹ Diomedes said so in the fifth century A.D., but he may have learnt it from Virgil.

² Sat. iii. 12, 1 ff.

³ Wissowa, R.K., 555, note 2. Macrobius quotes a book on the Salii of the Hercules cult at Tibur by one Octavius Hersennius; also Ant. Gniphon, the tutor of Julius Caesar (iii. 12, 7 ff.).

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as Virgil describes, must remain doubtful; but he can be convicted of nothing worse than bringing them from Tibur to Rome with a view to picturesque effect, and to find a place for the hymn that follows. The hymn itself was, of course, simply Greek in its subject-matter, but here again Virgil is right, if we accept the conclusion of recent scholars that there was no genuine Italian Hercules, and that the god of the great altar had found his way thither from Greek cities of Sicily and Campania.

Lines 314 *ff.*: Virgil's idea of the ancient history of Latium.—Though Evander is here speaking of the site of Rome only, the ideas he expresses apply to Latium and Italy generally. They are worth a little attention, for they probably represent common Latin tradition and certain views of Roman scholars.

The earliest life, he thinks, was that of the Fauni, and of wild men sprung from trees; whether he means that these two classes were identical is not perfectly clear. Lucretius shows the common belief well,¹ and Virgil was no doubt thinking of him. Virgil's idea seems to be that these primitive men dwelt on the hill-tops, not practising agriculture, but getting their food either by hunting or by gathering the fruit of the trees among which they lived. Such forest peoples are at the present day the Yeddahs of Ceylon, who, like these primitive Italians, know no law and no civilisation.

Then Saturnus, deity of agriculture, whom Virgil

¹ iv. 580 *ff.*; v. 925 *ff.*

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naturally identifies with Kronos, brought this wild folk down from their hilltops to the plain of Latium, and taught them agriculture; a Golden Age followed, which in time gave way to degeneracy, "et belli rabies et amor successit habendi."

Next came a period of immigration, in which successive invaders gave new names to the land. Who were these invaders? Names do not count for much, but he mentions Ausonians and Sicanians. Lastly came Greeks, with Evander himself as leader. The Etruscans are not mentioned, for at that time they had not reached either Rome or Latium.

Now let us compare this account with the most recent views of archaeologists—*e.g.*, Peet and Modestow, representing many others. The earliest inhabitants of Italy of whom we know anything were, as in Europe generally, palaeolithic men, who lived apparently in much the same state as Virgil's *indigenae*. Were there any survivors of these, or any traces of their memory in historical times? A great part of Italy was still wild woodland even in Virgil's time, and I am inclined to think that the popular traditions that gathered round the name Faunus indicate a possible survival into historical times of a few of such primitive folk.¹

Then came the long age of neolithic men, a pastoral people living on the hills, but descending into plains

¹ See "Roman Festivals," p. 264; Mannhardt, "Antike Wald und Feldkulte," 113 ff.; Ridgeway, "Early Age of Greece," i. 173 ff.; Lawson, "Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion," p. 244.

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such as that of Latium, and there probably beginning agriculture.

It is here, I think, that we must put Virgil's Golden Age, which seems to belong to the later period of the indigenous peoples, before the migrations began. I may just throw out the suggestion that this charming myth of a Golden Age represents ideally the earliest experiments in agriculture of a still pastoral people, in virgin soils teeming with productive power, which afterwards became weakened by a natural process of decay.¹

Then comes the period of immigration. Of the Ausones we know nothing, but the Sicani whom Virgil mentions are among the traditional immigrants accepted by many good archaeologists. Modestow makes them a branch of the Ligures,² themselves a neolithic people, passing under different names as they moved from the north-west into the peninsula. These are by many believed to form the basis of the Latin population. Then followed the people from the *terremare* of Northern Italy, who formed at least the upper stratum of the Italic peoples of historical times; and lastly came the mysterious Etruscans.

¹ Ovid, *Met.*, i. 109 ff. (of the Golden Age):

“ Mox etiam fruges tellus inarata ferebat
Nec renovatus ager gravidis canebat aristis.”

Nec renovatus—without a season of rest. Cp. Tacitus' account of German agriculture in his day (“*Germania*,” 26).

² “*Introduction à l'Histoire Romaine*,” pp. 127 ff.

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What strikes us here is the clear and broad division between the periods of *indigenae* and immigrants both in Virgil and in the archaeologists, though the latter, as might be expected, are not agreed about its details.

Line 334.—To “Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum,” as the force which brought Evander to Latium, he adds the prophecies of Carmenta¹ and Apollo. Such an overwhelming force of fate may seem rather unnecessary in the case of Evander; but in his destiny is included that of Aeneas, for with Evander begins the history of Rome *at Rome*. The Greek and Trojan founders are now to walk round the site of Rome together, and Virgil wishes to inspire his reader with the sense of the power of destiny as he proceeds.

Lines 337 *ff.*: The Walk through the Site of Rome.²—It was a great stroke of the poet to bring Aeneas up the Tiber, for he knew that by the river alone he could land him exactly where, almost at a glance, he could see every essential feature of the site, every spot most hallowed by antiquity in the mind

¹ Carmenta is here spoken of as the mother of Evander, which is startling. She must have come with him from Arcadia, the home of rural Nymphs, and have settled in Rome, where she died. Dionys., i. 31; Strabo, p. 230 (where she appears as Nikostrate). Plutarch (Romulus, 21) calls her wife of Evander, but everywhere else—*e.g.*, Quaest. Rom., 56—mother.

² The following paragraph is slightly altered from my “Social Life at Rome,” pp. 2 *ff.*

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of a Roman of Virgil's day. "The walk that follows comprised the whole site of the heart and life of the city as it was to be, all that lay under the steep sides of the three almost isolated hills—the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine. The poet knew that he need not extend it to the other so-called hills, which come down as spurs from the plain of the Campagna—Quirinal, Esquiline, Caelian. Densely populated as those were in his own days, they were not essential organs of social and political life; the pulse of Rome was to be felt beating most strongly in the space between them and the river, where, too, the oldest and most cherished associations of the Roman people, mythical and historical, were fixed." Where exactly Virgil imagined Evander's settlement to have been is not quite clear to me; perhaps it was not quite clear to him, nor was it worth while to trouble his readers about it. The only certain point, as we shall see, is that Evander himself dwelt in the very heart of the Rome that was to be, and just where Augustus had taken up his abode in Virgil's own time, on the northern edge of the Palatine, where it sloped to the Sacred Way leading down to the Forum Romanum.

When they first set out on this walk, Evander, who is represented by Livy as an old man of culture and knowledge,¹ talks, as we have seen, about the ancient history of the site, and of Latium, and their progress was slow. But now they turn to look

¹ i. 7.

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at the altar of his mother Carmenta, where afterwards was the famous gate which bore her name.¹ This was close to the river, and, standing here and looking away from it, they would see up the valley, between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, into the hollow which afterwards became the Forum, and beyond it to the Argiletum. Evander first points out the slopes of the Capitoline covered with dense wood, where Romulus afterwards placed his sanctuary for refugees;² and then, on the steep side of the Palatine, the Lupercal where the she-wolf was to nurse the twins. Straight ahead was the wooded dell bringing a little stream down into the Forum, and known in historical times as the Argiletum.

Next, Aeneas was led forward to the foot of the Capitol, then covered with trees and brushwood. Here the poet makes a fine stroke which must have delighted the Romans of his own day. We know not, said Evander, what deity inhabits this wood; we know that there is one, my anxious people feel

¹ "Roman Festivals," pp. 290 ff.

² Virgil knew better than to attempt an allusion to the temple of "Veiovis inter duos lucos," with which the asylum was popularly associated ("Roman Festivals," 122); he covers the whole Capitoline hill with a wood, and leaves it to his reader to fix the "asylum" where he will. Why does he call Romulus *acer*? The reader of Livy's account of Romulus will easily see why; he was represented in the legend as a determined man of action, bent on turning his neighbours to account in laying a sure foundation for his new city. See, too, the third and fourth chapters of the comparison of Theseus and Romulus in Plutarch's Lives. Cp. 441, of Aeneas.

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the consciousness of it,¹ and some of my Greeks from Arcadia believe that they have here beheld their own Zeus, as they knew him amid cloud and storm in their own mountains. Truly a noble forecast of the greatest of Roman worships! Here, too, the learned king tells of an ancient settlement founded by Saturnus on the hill-top, and couples with it another on the hill beyond the Tiber which bore the name of Janus, and bears it to this day.

Now Evander leads his guest to his own dwelling, and there can be no doubt where this was. A single *datum* makes this quite clear. It was at a point where the cattle of Evander could not only be heard, but *seen*, as they pastured both in the Forum and on the Carinae. The position of the Carinae has now been placed beyond doubt; it is the name for the crest and steep slope of the Esquiline which faces, at a distance of about 300 yards, the north-west side of the Palatine and the *summa sacra via* just beneath it, where the Arch of Titus now stands. Evander and his guest could not have seen the herds on the Carinae until they reached this point; but here they would be able to see the cattle in both places, as Virgil says in line 360.²

Here they were just at the entrance to Evander's home, which we must imagine to have been on the

¹ For the meaning of *religio*, see "Rel. Exp.," index *s.v.*

² "Talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
pauperis Evandri, passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis."

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edge of the Palatine immediately above them,¹ and certainly not on the site of the later Regia, which was down below, close to the Temple of Vesta, a point from which the herds on the Carinae could certainly not be seen. Evander calls his dwelling *sedes*, and only uses Regia to point the contrast between Hercules the mighty and the humble reception he submitted to so gladly.² "This was all he got in the way of a king's dwelling." If the reader who has not been in Rome will study Lanciani's walk through the Sacra Via,³ keeping a careful eye on the map which accompanies it, he will easily realise the situation of Evander's home. To do so is important, for it explains what I believe to be a clear intention of the poet which the commentators have never noticed.

This was almost the exact spot where stood the abode of Augustus, of which Suetonius⁴ tells us that it was comparatively modest and unpretending. He lived at first close to the Forum, but after his return to Rome in 29 B.C., on the Palatine. Now, we know, from Ovid's account of the arrival

¹ "Talibus inter se dictis *ad tecta subibant*;" *i.e.*, they talked in this way as they *went along uphill* to Evander's dwelling. The idea of a walk uphill is suggested by *subibant*, and made certain for a Roman by the mention of the cattle on the Carinae. Cp. ix. 9; "sceptra Palatini sedemque petit Evandri."

² "ut ventum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit, 'limina victor Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.'"

³ "Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome," pp. 190 ff.

⁴ Aug., 72.

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of his book in Rome, that this was the very first building to meet the traveller when he had left the *summa sacra via* and the Temple of Jupiter Stator to enter the Palatine; after the temple of Vesta and the Regia have been passed,

“ Inde petens dextram, porta est, ait, ista Palati,
Hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.
Singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis
Conspicuos postes tectaue digna deo.”¹

These two last lines allude to the house, *aedes*, as he himself called it, of Augustus, which it was Ovid's cue to magnify, and which had doubtless become grander during the thirty years or more that divided the eighth book of the Aeneid from the third book of the *Tristia*. But Suetonius insists that the house was never really magnificent or in any way conspicuous,² and this falls in entirely with the general policy and practice of Augustus as head of the State. Before leaving Ovid, let us notice that he marks this as the site of the earliest Rome; and “*tecta digna deo*” suggests that he may have been thinking of the very passage of Virgil that we are discussing.

Now let us look at the famous passage that immediately follows in Virgil, of which Dryden wrote that he was lost in admiration of it;³ “I contemn

¹ *Tristia*, iii. i. 25 ff.; Hülsen-Jordan, *Röm. Topogr.*, iii. 74.

² “*Postea in Palatio, sed nihilominus aedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis.*”

³ Quoted by Conington in his note.

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the world when I think of it, and myself when I translate it ”:

“ Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
Finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.”

What he means to say is this: “ Hercules once came here to help us, even a son of Jupiter, and did not despise this humble abode. Do thou bravely follow his example. His divinity needed no outward show; so reckon thyself like him, as worthy of divinity, and be capable of despising vulgar wealth.” Now we see what Virgil is really thinking of while he lets his fancy roam back to the imaginary days of Evander. These noble words were as applicable, when they were written, to Augustus as to Aeneas.

Deo is best taken, as Servius and Heyne took it, as meaning divinity in the abstract, not that of any particular god. Hercules it cannot be, for he was not fully *deus* when he arrived at Rome, and the *te quoque* puts him in the same position as Aeneas. Dr. Henry dogmatically condemned the view I accept, and suggested Jupiter as the *deus* alluded to. Line 301, which he did not quote, might have given him some support; but I have a strong feeling that *deus* is here, as so often in the poetry of the time, divinity in the abstract.¹

Lines 366 ff.:

“ dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locavit
effultum foliis.”

¹ So *e.g.* in Hor., Od., i. 3, 21, i. 34, 15; “ Roman Ideas of Deity,” p. 150.

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Was Aeneas lodged in the same house as his host, or in another hard by? If we look on to line 461, we find that it was *not* in the same house; for Evander with his dogs leaves his own threshold to visit his guest in his *sedes et secreta*. This seems to be natural enough, for we cannot suppose Evander's house to contain guest-rooms, and we must imagine, as surely Virgil did, small dwellings like the hut of Romulus, with only one story. Mr. Page, however, remarks that, as Aeneas was in the same house, the statement that Evander goes from the threshold to meet him must be a slip. Not at all; lines 366 *ff.* by no means necessarily imply that Aeneas had been taken to a spare room in Evander's house. The dwelling of Romulus was standing on the Palatine in Virgil's time, and he must have been thinking of it; it was a mere hut with a roof of thatch or reeds,¹ and could not possibly suggest spare bedrooms.²

¹ In Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 183, Mars tells the poet that

“ Quae fuerit nostri, si quaeris, regia nati,
Aspice de canna straminibusque domum ”

—*i.e.*, the hut was of wattles with a straw roof. Dionysius also had seen it in Augustus' time (i. 79). Cp. Hülsen-Jordan, iii. 39, Burn, “Rome and the Campagna,” p. 156. Apparently it resembled in shape the hut-urns now familiar to archaeologists.

² Someone may ask what is meant by “*mediis aedibus*” in 467: does not that show that one house only was in Virgil's mind? I do not think so. The whole passage (454-468) has a largeness about it which forbids me to think of chambers in a small hut-dwelling. I prefer to see the two friends meeting in the open air, as would be

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Lines 419 ff.:

“ validique incudibus ictus
auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cavernis
stricturae chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat.”

I write *chalybum* with a small *c*, as in 446, “vulnificus chalybs vasta fornace liquescit.” I believe, though I own I cannot prove it, that in each line *chalybs* means a pig of iron, the first form taken by the metal in the process of manufacture. Servius so understood it: “chalybum posuit stricturas pro ferri massis.”

But what does he mean by *stricturae chalybum*? One thing, I think, is pretty clear—that *strictura* and *fornax* are two parts of the machinery of the forge (or possibly the same part?). *Fornax* was a well-known term for an oven or furnace, but no one, ancient or modern, has been able to tell us for certain what *strictura* was. Writers later than Virgil are plainly in doubt about the word; Nonius¹ simply guesses, quoting this line only, that it must mean a spark or sparks. Pliny's account² of iron-founding is unsatisfactory, and he leaves us quite in doubt as to *strictura*. It is better to try the pre-Virgilian authors; and we may get something from each of the two surviving passages in which

natural in the Italian climate, and then returning to the house of Evander, and sitting just within the doorway. It was, of course, summer time, as we know from the fact that the trees were green and the poplar leaves were out.

¹ P. 26, Onions.

² xxxiv. 143.

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the word occurs. Lucilius¹ has "crebrae ut scintillae in stricturis, quod genus olim ferventi ferro. . . ." This suggests the emission of sparks during some part of the manufacturing process, and answers fairly well to the *stridunt* of 420. Varro helps us still more; he is quoted by Servius on Aen. x. 174: "Nasci illic [*i.e.*, in the island of Elba] ferrum, sed in stricturam non *posse cogi* nisi transvectum in Populonium." This must mean that the ore of Elba could not be made into pig-iron there, but had to be brought over to the mainland to be manufactured at Populonia. *Cogi in stricturam* may mean constraining the ore into the form of pigs (the oblong lumps ready for further forging), by means of moulds or runs. In an interesting paper in the *Treasury* for May, 1917, called "The Sussex Pig," which gives an account of the ancient Sussex forges, I read that "before the mouth of the furnace lay the sand-beds in which the molten metal was run to be cast into shape as pigs." The word *strictura* itself suggests constraint—*i.e.*, the forcing or squeezing of the metal into certain channels or runnels, as in 445, "fluit aes rivis." *Stringo* is no doubt a difficult word, and bears a variety of meanings which it is not easy to trace to a common origin; but Mr. Page quotes a line from Persius (ii. 66) in which it is used of iron manufacture, though inaccurately, I think: "Stringere venas ferventis massae crudo de pulvere." Servius, too, on this line says that *strictura* is "terra ferri in

¹ Fragm. 105, Baehrens.

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massam *coacta*," which agrees with the language of Varro just quoted. Perhaps on the whole it will be safe to translate "smelting" with Mr. Page, though we do not know exactly what the process was which is indicated.

Line 427.—The thunderbolts, Virgil tells us, might be hurled by Jupiter from any quarter of the sky ("toto quae plurima caelo deicit in terras"). Conington remarks that *toto* carries out the idea of *plurima*. Servius knew better; he says that it means all the sixteen parts or regions of the sky. I think he remembered the Etruscan lore, which Virgil had picked up from Varro, Nigidius, or some such authority. Jupiter was said to dwell in all the sixteen regions,¹ and if so he could certainly shoot from them all.

Lines 454-456:

"Haec pater Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris
Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitata alma
et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus."²

There has been a most amusing controversy about these lines, in which I feel not incompetent to take a part. Reading without commentators, I should

¹ Martianus Capella, i. 46. See Thulin, "Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza" ("Rel. Versuche und Vorarbeiten," III. i. 16 ff.), who quotes Servius on this passage as good authority.

² I do not need to point out the wonderful contrast between these lines and the fierce forging scene which precedes them; in no part of the poem is such another contrast to be found.

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never have doubted that the birds alluded to are the swallows feeding noisy nestlings on the beams of the roof of a windowless humble dwelling, knowing well as I do how loud and vigorous their chattering is as the light begins to show in the east. But Heyne asked whether swallows can wake up a sleeper, and whether we should not think of cocks, which had already been suggested by Servius. Wagner in his edition of Heyne's Virgil solemnly remarks that he had heard "homines rusticanos" affirm that they have been awakened by swallows, and decides in favour of the swallow tribe.

On this, Henry, who liked to be by himself or in a minority, remarks that "cock-crow not swallow-crow is meant, according to immemorial saws, and is already indicated in the verse itself by *sub culmine*, the *culmine* being from all time the cock-roost, while the swallows were content to lodge under the eaves." But for this use of *culmine* "from all time" he only quotes Corippus,¹ who in the sixth century A.D. wrote in praise of Justinian. Varro does not use the word in his account of the poultry-yard, and old Cato knew little or nothing of poultry-yards. But, Henry goes on, the matter is placed beyond all doubt by Silius, xiv. 20 (of the Straits of Messina):

" Sed spatium quod dissociat consortia terrae
latratus fama est (sic arta intervenit unda)
et matutinos volucrum transmittere cantus "

¹ For Corippus, see Wilamowitz in "Kultur der Gegenwart," vol. viii., p. 202.

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—“ Where he must be a very determined swallowite who takes the meaning to be that the twittering of swallows can be heard across the straits.” No doubt, Silius is thinking of Virgil’s line, but his words have no force in determining Virgil’s meaning. If he meant cocks, it does not follow that Virgil did. Certainly the swallows could not be heard across the straits, and I imagine it is doubtful whether cocks could be heard, either.

Henry adds that the cock’s “ song ” is pre-eminently the morning song with all poets, ancient and modern; which is a strong statement, seeing that there are no cocks in Homer or in Hesiod. But he quotes from Sophocles a passage which I have known by heart for more than half a century, yet never dreamt that cocks were alluded to in it:

ὡς ἡμῖν ἤδη λαμπρὸν ἡλίον σέλας
ἔφα κινεῖ φθέγματ’ ὀρνίθων σαφῆ.

(Electra 18.)

Nor did Sophocles so intend it, I am sure. Long after Sophocles a scholiast said so, alas! and that is a very different thing. Sophocles knew little or nothing about fowls, while the scholiast did. The domestic fowl did not reach Greece till the sixth century B.C., and was not introduced into Italy until the fifth century at earliest.¹ Cato in the

¹ Newton, “ Dictionary of Birds,” p. 291; D’Arcy Thompson, “ Glossary of Greek Birds,” pp. 20 ff.; Storr-Best, “ Varro on Farming,” p. 291, note.

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second century only just mentions it.¹ Probably the advance in fowl-keeping after the time of Cato, and especially under the early Empire, unduly associated the cock with the dawn in the minds of learned commentators who had never heard the morning songs of wild birds in the country, as undoubtedly Virgil had. I may just add that cocks do not necessarily begin to "sing" at dawn, as swallows do. A cock may begin at midnight or at any time, or may, as Marcellus says in "Hamlet," sing all night long.

I should be ashamed to write thus at length about so trivial a question, if I were not convinced, by realising the out-of-door life of a southern climate, that both Virgil and Sophocles were thinking of the musical chatter of swallows heard through unglazed windows, and not of the raucous and annoying crowing of the domestic cock.

Lines 447 ff.:

' *Ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra
tela Latinorum, septenosque orbibus orbis
impediunt.*'

These last words have been explained in different ways. The same phrase is used, with *alternos* instead of *septenos*, of the movements of the boys in book v. 584, and that passage is not without a

¹ De agric., 88. Varro, R.R., iii 9, shows that poultry had become far more important in his day. By his time *gallicinium* had become a word for the time before dawn, according to Serv., Aen., ii. 268, but is not found in Varro L.L., vi. 4-7. See Marquardt, "Privatleben," 247, note.

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bearing on this. There, if I am not mistaken, *impediunt* is used metaphorically in the sense of weaving, for in weaving the threads are fixed so as to hold fast, to prevent their coming loose, and this is undoubtedly the root meaning of the word. In the same way the boys weave an orderly series of movements, held together by a plan.

In the passage before us it seems to me that *impediunt* has the meaning of *holding together*, though not in the sense of weaving; and, as there is only one way in which the layers of the shield can be held together securely—viz., by a strong rim or circumference—I think Henry is right in taking *orbis* of the seven layers and *orbibus* of the rims. “*Impedire* has here its very usual meaning¹ of bind, invest, surround with, in the manner of a hoop or ring. . . . *Orbibus* means the concentric rings or hoops which bound the body all round the margin, like so many felloes, one overlapping the other round the body, whether solid or spoked, of a cart wheel. Nothing can be more manifest than the necessity of this outer ring or felloe, to keep the seven flat disks in their places, and from shifting or separating at their edges, nothing more happy

¹ Henry does not quote any instances of this usage. The usual meaning of *impedire* is, of course, to fetter, restrain, a meaning very close to the one given above, as may be seen, e.g., in such a passage as Rhet. ad Herenn., i. 1, init: “negotiis familiaribus impediti”—i.e., *fixed up at home*.

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than the use of *impediunt* to express this fact." For the triple rim of a shield he quotes two passages of Homer: Il. xviii. 478 (which is more realistic than Virgil's account) and Il. xi. 32.

These words have also been taken to mean that there were circles on the surface of the shield, in which were to be placed the scenes described at the end of this book; but this seems to me to destroy the unity of thought in the lines we are discussing. Virgil could never have thought of jumping from "unum omnia contra tela Latinorum" to patterns on the surface of the shield.

Lines 520 ff.:

"Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant
Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates,
multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,
ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto."

The pathos of this passage, which is very delicate, seems to have been altogether missed. The commentators do not seem to have discovered it. Why does Virgil call Aeneas *Anchisiades* here? Why are he and Achates sad? Why is the word *putabant* used?

Evander has just, apparently without misgiving at the moment, given his son into the charge of Aeneas, and seems to lay special stress upon the boy's name, which is the last word of line 519. Pallas was the hope and comfort (514) of his father's old age; and by this time he was well known to Aeneas, for he was the first to accost the stranger when he

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reached the site of Rome. Their relation as guardian and pupil (*contubernium*) is beautifully pictured in x. 159 *ff.*, where the voyage from the Etruscan coast is described:

“ Hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat
eventus belli varios, Pallasque sinistro
adfixus lateri iam quaerit sidera, opacae
noctis iter, iam quae passus terraque marique.”¹

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The effect on Aeneas of the death of his pupil and the boy's funeral are told with much touching tenderness later on. Pallas is in some sense the hero of these books (viii.-xi.), and even to the very end of the poem he is not forgotten, for but for him and his belt Turnus might have escaped death. If the books had been thoroughly revised, his importance in the story might perhaps have been still more obvious.

Now, the poet knew what was coming, while the reader does not; but Virgil wishes his reader to see that Aeneas has an intuition of the boy's fate, an intuition which soon passes to Evander (568 *ff.*), and he puts in the word Anchisiades with that object. As in the more famous passage in x. 822,

¹ Passages like this go far to convict Sellar of misjudging Virgil very seriously (pp. 361 *ff.* of his volume on Virgil). The Scotch critic made the serious mistake, which the Germans and Mr. Gladstone have also made, of judging a poet by comparison with others born in other lands and other ages. That means that they read him with one eye upon Homer, or, strange to say, in this case upon Spenser.

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it betrays what is passing in the hero's mind.¹ When Aeneas slays Lausus, pity seizes him for the lad's father, and he thinks of his own father Anchises, who might so easily have lost his son. Here, too, pity seizes him for Evander, for the life of Pallas was in jeopardy, and he was responsible to Evander for it. I believe that the patronymic is used here just as in the tenth book, and that the cloud passing over the hero's mind was mainly anxiety for the son of his host. There was no other real reason for depression, and it is out of keeping with the character of Aeneas after the descent into Hades.² Just below, after the sign from Venus, he cheers up Evander, yet seems to hint at a possible misfortune which may affect him: "ne quaere profecto Quem casum portenta ferant; ego poscor."

Putabant dura indicates, I think, a premonitory sadness, of which the death of Pallas would be the explanation. *Putabant* does not mean that he meditated about the perils of the campaign, but that the forebodings about Pallas forced themselves on his mind. Let us look at vi. 331 ff., where *puto* is used in the same sense and is also accompanied by the patronymic. Aeneas is contemplating the unhappy fate of the unburied dead:

¹ "At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris. . ."

I can never forget the thrill that went through me when the meaning of Anchisiades was first made plain to me by my tutor, H. Nettleship.

² See "Rel. Exp.," p. 422.

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“constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit
multa *putans* sortemque animo miseratus iniquam.”

Why *Anchisa satus*? His father was safe in his grave, and has just been placated; but he is thinking of what might have been, and of his own possible fate. He sees two Trojans whom that fate had overtaken in their wanderings; but between him and his father, by the grace of the gods, the relation was still intact. Then Palinurus salutes him and begs for the burial of his body, and, divining the current of his thoughts, calls him by his father's name (348). The meaning of the patronymic here is made certain by line 364, in which he appeals to Aeneas not only by his father, but also by his young son.¹ I may mention two other passages in which the patronymic is used with much the same object. In vi. 126 Aeneas has been telling the Sibyl all about his father in terms of tender affection, so that she appropriately addresses him as *Tros Anchisiades*. And again in x. 250, when the Nymphs into which the ships have been changed have been talking about their home on Mount Ida, and his mind goes back to the old days and the old haunts, no wonder Virgil calls him *Tros Anchisiades*!

The tender relation of father and son is, of course, strong throughout the *Aeneid*—nay, is one of the leading thoughts in it;² the word *pietas* contains

¹ “Per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,
eripe me his, invicte, malis.”

² Even Mezentius felt it in his passionate way (x. 844 ff.) a noble passage, every word in which is worth careful weighing.

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that meaning as well as devotion to the decrees of Fate or Jupiter. The affection of mother and son is less obvious, but not absent, if we think of Euryalus in ix. 287, who could not bear to see his mother in tears, and left her without a farewell embrace when he went out to face a deadly peril. This was not cowardice, or dulness of heart, as Dr. Henry seems to think; it is Virgil's knowledge of a boy's mind that is here shown. The same thing has happened many times, I am sure, in the present war. With full acceptance of his boyish friend's feeling, the still younger Ascanius sheds tears as he thinks of the love of his own parents:

“ atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago,”

where *patria pietas* is no doubt the love of both father and mother, the family affection. Roman virtues were masculine rather than feminine, but the loving care of a mother is not wanting in Roman story (cp. ix. 473 *ff.*); and at this very moment Augustus was doing his best to restore the old family life in Roman society.¹

There is yet another sacred relation to be remembered here, that of *hospitium*. What made the death of Pallas so painful to Aeneas was not only the thought of fatherhood, and of the trust with which Evander had charged him, but the fact that Pallas and his father had been the first of all Italians

¹ There are some interesting remarks on this subject in the last few pages of Lecky's "History of European Morals," vol. ii.

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to welcome him to their home and to form a personal and political alliance with him.¹ For we know on good old Latin authority that the relation between host and guest was a stronger bond than any other but that of the relation of father and son.² These old Italian blooms unfold themselves in Virgil's poetry if we read it with a knowledge of things Roman, as well as with a knowledge of human nature.

Lines 524 *ff.*: The Heavenly Sign given by Venus.—Much has been written about these lines, and many questions raised. Conington has for once an interesting note, referring to Mr. Gladstone's strictures on Virgil for allowing Venus to send lightning.³ Gladstone was right even from an Italian point of view, in complaining that Venus could not do such work, or at any rate never did it; the Etruscan lore of lightning shows no trace of her as a thunderer. But Conington is equally right in arguing that she could easily get Jupiter,

¹ See x. 515 *ff.*:

"Pallas, Evander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas
tunc adiit, dextraeque datae."

² To realise the force of *hospitium*, the best way is to read Gellius, Noct. Att., v. 13, with its quotations from Cato and Masurius Sabinus (*temp.* Tiberius). The latter wrote: "In officiis apud maiores ita observatum est, primum tutelae, deinde hospiti, deinde clienti, tum cognato, postea adfini."

³ "Studies," vol. iii., p. 523.

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the chief dealer in these munitions, to do the job for her. We certainly need not make a difficulty here if Virgil did not.

Nor, again, in the grand line 526 ("Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor") need we trouble ourselves about the word Tyrrhenus. Mr. Page says that the epithet here is used "merely to give literary ornament, though somewhat awkwardly, as there has been so much reference to the actual Etruscans." Henry thinks of one individual Tyrrhenus who invented the trumpet, and appeals to Silius v. 10. Let me once more protest against his use of the later poets in explaining Virgil; they had not Virgil's mind, and they, too, often spoil him by their borrowings and allusions. Henry is quite wrong here, as anyone will allow who knows the frequent allusion in the Greek dramatists to the Etruscan origin of the trumpet.¹ In any case an epithet like this is not otiose or flat because it is conventional; on the contrary, it carried the bilingual Roman back to the Greek literature on which his literary intelligence was built; and it is a grand word, placed emphatically at the beginning of the line.

One other point before we leave this episode. Does Virgil mean that the arms destined for Aeneas were themselves actually shown him in the sky? Henry emphatically says No; all that Virgil means is the shape and sound of battle in the sky, so often reported both in ancient and modern history, and

¹ Many of them are collected in Müller-Deecke's "Etrusker," vol. ii., p. 207, esp. note 6.

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described by Milton in "Paradise Lost," book ii. 533 *ff.* But commentators from Servius downwards have recognized the arms of Vulcan, and line 535 supports them. Whether the actual material armour was up there in the cloud, or only a semblance and promise of it, does not much matter. The reader may take his own view of the spirit of the passage, and will doubtless remember that he is reading poetry, poetry which at this point is alternating with curious effect between the realistic and the sublime, the human and the supernatural.

Lines 541 *ff.*:

"Haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto
et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras
excitat, hesternumque larem parvosque penatis
laetus adit; mactat lectas de more bidentis
Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus."

These lines present several small but serious difficulties. To begin with, where was the altar with the "Herculean" fire? Let us be clear what has happened. In 465 *ff.*, Aeneas and Evander meet after rising, and sit down for a talk *mediis aedibus*, *i.e.*, in the house of Evander, or the lodging of Aeneas, or in the open courtyard between the two. While they were talking appeared the sign from heaven, which they saw through the open door or went out to see; again it matters little which. But as in 541 Aeneas is said to have risen from his seat, they seem to have been indoors during the thunderstorm, or at the threshold. Certainly they were on the Pala-

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tine, if I was right in my description of their walk, and the altar spoken of cannot be the great altar of Hercules, which was far away by the river; Virgil would never have allowed a stranger to offer the morning sacrifice there. And the Lar and Penates must be those of Evander, in his house on the Palatine.

Then, what does the word *Herculeis* mean? Remembering that Hercules had been in that house, and had left his traces there in many ways,¹ I can understand the word, though not without difficulty. But in the next line 'hesternum larem' is to me still more difficult. It was apparently so puzzling to Roman readers that another reading, 'externum,' had appeared before Servius' time, which he rightly rejects, interpreting 'hesternum larem' as the lar to whom sacrifice had been offered the previous day; in other words, Aeneas, leaving his own lodging, went to the house of Evander, where they sacrificed together. This is certainly possible. But a passage in book v. (743 ff.), which closely resembles the one before us, has raised a suspicion in my mind which I feel rather unwillingly compelled to mention here.

" Haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitatur ignes
Pergameumque larem et canae penetralia Vestae
farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra."

¹ See R. Peter in *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Hercules, pp. 2291 and 2901 ff. One story was that Pallas was the son of Hercules (Dionys., i. 43). He was also believed to be the ancestor of the gens Fabia (Ov., 'Fasti,' ii. 237), through a daughter of Evander (Silius, vi. 627).

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Is it possible that a displacement of two words in two successive lines found its way into the text in viii. 542-43, and that we should read

“ et primum *hesternis* sopitas ignibus aras
excitat, *herculeumque* larem parvosque penatès
laetus adit”?

If so, *lar* would have an epithet attached to it after Virgil's own manner in the Aeneid; cp. ix. 259: ‘Assaracique larem et canae penetralia Vestae.’ The metaphorical use of *lar* (as in Georg. iv. 43, of the bees' home) is not, I think, to be found in the prophetic poem of the Roman state. *Lar* in the Aeneid is a word of serious religious and historical import.

Line 562:

“ scutorumque incendi victor acervos.”

This line shows that the custom of destroying booty, and especially arms, which has only lately been satisfactorily explained, was still known in Virgil's time, or he would not have alluded to it. Strange to say, S. Reinach in his ample discussion of the question does not mention this passage.¹ He gives us, however, a sufficient amount of evidence, partly from Roman authors, partly from the Bible, that spoils were taboo and could not be used by their captors, but must be hung in the air, or thrown into water, or burnt. He gives us, also,

¹ “Cultes, Mythes, et Religions,” iii. 223 ff. and reff. The passage in Orosius, v. 16, 5, is especially interesting.

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examples of the breaking of this taboo and its consequences,¹ and of the gradual wearing away of the old scruple under stress of circumstances, as in Livy, xxiii. 14. He acknowledges his debt here to the Danish antiquary Worsaae, who has thus explained the great quantity of mutilated armour found in Danish peat-bogs.

Reinach gives his explanation on p. 243, and it is probably the right one. These arms were supposed in primitive times to be possessed of magical and mischief-making powers; they belonged to strange people of whom one knew little or nothing—anyhow, nothing good. The feeling is, in fact, the same as that about the captives, of which I have written in an article called "Passing under the Yoke."² If the captive strangers were subjected to a magical ceremony, they might be dismissed without doing harm to their captors; and so, if you destroyed the arms, there was an end of their mischief-making power.

Line 574: "Numina vestra."—As in i. 666, I imagine that in the plural the word means "acts of will"; in the latter passage—nay, in both—there is a reminiscence of the true nature of the old Italian deity, who was thought of rather as a series of manifestations of will-power than as a personal god (See "Rel. Exp.," 118.)

¹ See his paper, p. 233. Cp. ix. 364 ff; x. 700 and 776.

² *Classical Review*, March, 1913.

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Line 578:

“ sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris.”

Though I am keeping a consideration of Fate for the end of the book, I may here notice that this use of Fortuna is interesting, as immediately following a prayer to Jupiter. For Evander, Fortuna was *omnipotens* in line 334, and apparently equivalent to Fatum. So here Fortuna is a force beyond the power of Jupiter to control, and, in fact, seems to be Fatum viewed in the concrete rather than the abstract, Fatum in action at a given moment. It is very nearly the Polybian use of *τύχη*, for which I may refer to my “Roman Ideas of Deity,” p. 69. Here, too, note that Virgil seems to dislike to attribute evil, at any rate unnecessary evil, to Jupiter, and that Fortuna saves him from the necessity. The word *infandum* could not be used of anything Jupiter does,¹ but we have it used here of a possible action of Fortuna.

The speech of Evander which contains these lines is very interesting, not only because of its pathos and tender Italian feeling, but because it helps to link together the points of the story that is coming. Pallas is fixed henceforth in the reader's memory, and when his sad story is taken up again in the

¹ Cp. vii. 583, and i. 251, where the word is used of events contrary to the will of Jupiter. The unnecessary loss of a son could hardly be attributed to him. On Jupiter's goodness, see Dr. Glover's “Virgil” (ed. 2), pp. 277 ff.

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tenth book, this picture of the old father remains with us.

Then follows the last of the succession of scenes in which the story of this book is told. We have had the voyage up the Tiber, the sacrifice to Hercules (with the tale of Cacus), the walk round the site of Rome, the morning service, the heavenly sign from Venus, the return to the boats, and the prayer of Evander. Now we have in the last place the march out to Agylla, on which Henry has an excellent note. He compares it with a parallel scene in the fourth book, where Dido and Aeneas set forth in perfect happiness and splendour of equipment to the hunting-party that was to prove so fatal. On both scenes the poet has lavished his powers of description. "To a reader unacquainted with the sequel both pictures are as gay and exhilarating as they stand to him who reads the story for the second, or it may be for the hundredth time, in the saddest contrast to the grim catastrophes by which their sunny morning brightness is so soon, so very soon, to be overcast, and for ever extinguished."

Lines 600 *ff.*:

"Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos,
arvorum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos."

What exactly Virgil meant in using the name Pelasgos here it is impossible to say. In the second

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book he seems to use it for Greeks;¹ and here he may perhaps be supposed to use it for Etruscans. But whether he uses it in a racial sense at all may be doubted. Dr. Leaf seems to me to have shown that in Homer it has no racial meaning, but indicates, like the word "Welsh" in its various forms, the relation between an invading and an invaded people, in the tongue of the former.² Virgil may simply mean that an invading people—Etruscans, perhaps—found a clearing here, made by primitive inhabitants, who had set up a festival to the half-wild deity Silvanus, one that always seems to haunt the borderland between woodland and cultivation.³ There was an old tradition of Pelasgoi in this southwest corner of Etruria, which is preserved by Dionysius;⁴ but this is not the place for any discussion of the many passages which bear upon this old ethnological puzzle. It will be found discussed in Modestow's "Introduction à l'Histoire Romaine," pp. 439 ff.

Lines 621 ff.:

"loricam ex aere rigentem,
sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerulea nubes
solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget."

¹ ii. 83 and 106.

² "Troy," chapter vii., *passim*.

³ For Silvanus, see "Rel. Exp.," 132, 142.

⁴ Dionys., i. 27, and Modestow, p. 444. See also Korte in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Etrusker.

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Conington tells us that this simile is from Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 125, where of the golden fleece it is said that it was

. . . νεφέλην ἐναλίγκιον, ἧτ' ἀνίοντος
ἡελίου φλογερῆσιν ἐρεύθεται ἀκτίνεσσιν.

I suppose we may assume that Virgil had this passage in his mind; but he has improved on it in a subtle manner. Apollonius likens the fleece to a cloud "that blushes red with the fiery beams of the rising sun." Virgil is not thinking of a fleece, but of a supernatural breastplate of bronze; and bronze is a material that (even without being supernatural) can take a variety of tints according to the light in which it is seen. Thus, Servius thought of the rainbow in the cloud, and the idea is worth consideration. But on the whole I think that what the poet's mind saw was a grey-blue ground colour shot through with blood-red light. Apollonius thought of a red cloud at sunrise; Virgil thinks of a dark cloud with ruddy light flashing through it.

Henry says of Virgil's lines that the final *m* occurring nine times in two lines and a half has a bad effect, but that it may have been meant to inspire awe of the cuirass. I think it probable that some effect was intended; whether successfully or not may be doubtful.

Line 626 to end of book: The Shield of Aeneas.— I am strongly of opinion that it is futile to deal with this description on plastic principles, and to look

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for divisions or compartments on the surface of the shield, into which the various scenes might be fitted. The same may be said, in my view, of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*, and certainly of the mantle of Jason in Apollonius Rhodius,¹ which last is a comparatively feeble performance. Once we lose the right mood in reading the Homeric shield, we spoil it, and surely the right mood is that of interest in human life actually going on, as it were, under our eyes. He who allows himself to try and puzzle out how these scenes of human life could be compressed into a metallic surface is simply wasting his time. In Virgil's shield the attention of the Roman reader was to be absorbed by successive pictures of Roman history, and that reader would be the last man to inquire how they fitted in within the shield's rim; nor need we attempt that unnecessary task.²

The main point of distinction between the shields of Achilles and Aeneas has been well put by Sellar:³ "The Shield of Achilles presents to the imagination the varied spectacle of human life—sowing and reaping, a city besieged, a marriage festival, etc.; the Shield of Aeneas presents the most momentous crises in the annals of Rome, culminating in the great triumph of Augustus." Virgil's scenes can

¹ Book i. 720 *ff.*

² See Heinze, "Vergil's epische Technik," p. 394, who quotes C. Robert to the same effect in regard to the Homeric shield.

³ "Roman Poets of the Augustan Age": Virgil, p. 323.

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never for non-Romans have the same charm as Homer's; they lack the universal element. But if only, when we reach this point, we have clothed ourselves to some extent with the Roman spirit, they may warm us with a sense of human achievement such as they were certainly meant to inspire. The best way to acquire this sense of things Roman is to read straight through the poem untroubled by commentators; and how few of us ever do that! I have done it more than once, just as I have read through Shakespeare's plays and poems almost unharassed by other reading; and the two undertakings have been great epochs in my life.

This human achievement, then, though Roman only, is for two or three reasons worth most careful attention. As Dr. Glover has remarked, Virgil here gave for the first time its literary expression to the triumph of a nation politically, racially, and geographically one, over clan and city. "It is not the victory of Rome so much as of Italy that Virgil thinks of in describing the Battle of Actium."¹ This sudden rise of a principle of nationality, glorified by Virgil, might be compared with the rise of the German Empire in the nineteenth century, and the extravagant self-praise of her Professors and men of letters, but for two circumstances which saved the Roman poets from anything so poisonous as German Chauvinism. One of these is the sad-

¹ "Virgil," (ed. 2), pp. 106 ff. In 678 Augustus leads "Italos in proelia"; in 715 he "dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat." Cp. xii. 827.

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ness of the time, and the entirely wholesome feeling of *relief*, not of triumph, that succeeded. A second circumstance was that, unlike Germany, Rome recognised and revered her teachers. Greece was always before her, supplying ideas and models, and the Romans could not claim the great Greeks as belonging to their own race, as the modern German childishly deludes himself into fancying that Dante and Shakespeare, and apparently all great men, must be Germans, because Germany alone is capable of producing them.

Now I wish to ask the question, On what principle does Virgil choose the scenes from Roman history represented on the shield? He might have chosen great victories, such as Beneventum, Zama, Pydna, Magnesia, but passed them over; was it only because they did not offer him scenes suitable to the kind of dramatic representation that he wished for? Certain it is that he did not choose either victories or triumphs until he came to his own time. Even in the sixth book, in the great list of Roman heroes, conquerors of the triumphant sort are not too prominent, and it ends with the escape of Rome from the dire attack of Hannibal, and with lamentation over the Civil War. Here in the eighth book we have a long list, not so much of triumphs, as of escapes from terrible perils both moral and material, ending with the Battle of Actium, the most wonderful escape of all, the escape from a broken empire and the threatened dominion of an Oriental queen in alliance with an unscrupulous

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Roman, the impersonation of self-seeking magnificence, of individual passion as against the wisdom and order of the State.

These escapes or critical moments are as follows; they are introduced, we may notice, by the supernatural escape of the twins from destruction:

1. The escape of the Romans of the Palatine from the fruit of their own unscrupulousness, by a treaty with the more civilised and moral Sabines, confirmed by sacrifice at the altar of Jupiter

2. The escape of Rome from the attempt of Mettus of Alba to destroy her by treachery, which meets with due punishment.

3. The escape of Rome from the Etruscan yoke of Tarquin and the attack of Porsena: Rome fighting for liberty, and barely escaping at the bridge.

4. The escape from the Gauls on the Capitol, which illustrates the good fortune rather than the conquering spirit of Rome.

5. After an awkward interruption about religious matters comes the escape from Catiline and revolutionary anarchy. We may note that Augustus was born in that year of salvation.

6. Last and greatest, the escape from Oriental monarchy, for ign religion, a Roman renegade, and a fatal division of the Empire. The triumph at the end (714 ff.) is a triumph over barbarians who were menacing the Roman system—the new Augustan system—of peace and morality. “By none so well as by Virgil was voice given to the inspiring

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expectation, that the Roman Empire might become, by righteousness, the shaping mould of humanity; and if the prophecy was not fulfilled exactly as it was conceived, yet neither did it fall to the ground."¹

The last sixty lines, containing the Battle of Actium and the triumph, are full of enthusiasm, and seem to be highly finished work. Henry Nettleship threw out a suggestion that they may have been written soon after the battle, and adapted from a poem in praise of Augustus which Virgil seems to have projected when he wrote the introduction to the third *Georgic*: (46 ff.)

“ mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas
Caesaris et nomen fama tot ferre per annos
Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.”

I think there is a good deal to be said for this conjecture, though more than conjecture it can never be. In my view, there is a curious contrast between the finished workmanship of these last sixty lines, and what I may almost call the ragged condition of the presentation of the earlier scenes. I am disposed to look upon that presentation as unfinished work, and will point out two or three reasons for this conclusion. In the first place, line 654² is quite out of place, and Ribbeck's suggestion that we should place it after line 641 hardly mends matters. To me it seems a line left on the margin

¹ Verrall, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

² “ Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.”

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for insertion if occasion served, which has crept into the text in the wrong place. Again, lines 663-666¹ come in very abruptly and awkwardly. Servius saw this, and tried to explain it by saying that priests very properly follow closely on temples. But they do *not* follow closely; the Capitoline temple is mentioned ten lines back, and is there introduced somewhat awkwardly. These lines look to me as if Virgil had put in the ancient priesthoods and their attributes, not for Servius' reason, but at the request of Augustus, bringing his scenes from old Roman history to a sudden end for this purpose. Between the attack of the Gauls in 390, and the conspiracy of Catiline in 63 B.C., there is a big gap; and the most wonderful escape that Rome experienced, that from Hannibal's invasion, is left a complete blank. It is just possible that Virgil, finding at line 663 that he was getting into difficulties, left his historical scenes rather abruptly, sketched a conclusion for them with Catiline and Cato, and went on to add the sixty lines he had finished long before, leaving the transitions to be worked up later—a task to which he never returned.

¹ " *hic exsultantes Salios nudosque Lupercos
lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo
extuderat, castae ducebant sacra per urbem
pilentis matres in mollibus.*"

The passage usually quoted here, Liv. v. 25, has no relation to the invasion of the Gauls.

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Lines 666 *ff.*:

“ hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem,
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem.”

On the introduction of Catiline and Cato, Dr. Glover has a good remark.¹ He suggests that, as Virgil was seven years old in the year of the conspiracy, it may have been the first public event of which he took any notice; for there was some disturbance in Cisalpine Gaul at the time, and there may have been an expectation that Catiline would break through in that direction.² “As he grew older, Virgil would learn more of what Catiline’s rising had meant, and with other Italians he would learn to hate Sulla and Sulla’s men. And then, as the star of the first Caesar rose, Virgil with all the Transpadanes would watch with eager interest the career with which their own destiny, their Roman citizenship, was involved.”

Dr. Glover does not notice in connexion with these lines the familiar fact that Caesar was practically on the same side as Catiline in that year, and that Cato was always his bitterest enemy; so that it would seem rash to introduce Catiline as a criminal and Cato as a hero immediately before the great victory of Caesar’s adopted son. But the fact is that Catiline represented the cause of disorder and

¹ “Virgil” (ed. 2), p. 23.

² Sall., *Cat.*, 42 and 56.

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social anarchy, which Julius in his later years, and Augustus throughout his life, were systematically crushing out; while Cato was the hero of the cause of order and morality which Augustus was trying to associate with his own government, if not with that of Julius. And we must remember that the death of Cato had greatly impressed the Roman world, and that such feelings could not well be repressed even if the poets had wished it. Horace in the first ode of his second book marks the popular view, which passed on into succeeding generations, as may be seen in Plutarch's *Life of Cato*.¹

Line 671:

“ Haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago
aurea. . . .”

Virgil's idea seems to be that the two scenes of the Roman priests and the regions of Tartarus were at opposite sides of the Shield, and that between them there was an open space of sea, surrounded by a circle of lively dolphins, with the battle going on within the circle. The sea was golden; the foam and the dolphins were silver.

¹ I assume that the younger Cato is meant. Valerius Maximus expresses the same feeling about Cato in many passages in the next generation, and Velleius (ii. 35) has much to say of Cato's virtue, though, oddly enough, nothing of his death.

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Lines 678 ff.:

“ Hinc augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,
stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammas
laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.”

These lines are interesting for several reasons. First, their stern simplicity is in keeping with the habits and wishes of Augustus, and in striking contrast with the varied magnificence of his enemies. But the divine attributes of the conqueror are obvious, in the shape of the double flame and the star, the religious electricity, as Henry calls it, of the favoured of heaven. He, by the way, is quite right in insisting that this double flame belonged to the temples, and not to the helmet of Augustus (cp. 684, of Agrippa). The word *geminas* indicates duplication, as so often in religious matters; we have just seen the matrons doubling their vows (line 556), and the duplication of altars and victims is familiar to us in Virgil.¹ The star is also a sign of divinity; it belongs more especially to Julius, as Servius tells us in his notes on i. 287 and on this passage, but there was also a legend of a star which had guided Aeneas to Italy, and was thus a part of the family tradition of the Julii.²

This religious electricity is expressed also in the word *augustus*, which properly means “sanctioned

¹ Ecl. v. 65; Aen. iii. 66, 315, v. 77. Cp. the *gemini angues* of 697.

² See Servius (from Varro) on Aen., ii. 801.

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by religious authority," and therefore of good omen.¹ I should myself prefer to write it here "augustus," as an adjective and not as a name.² It is too far away from Caesar in the line; and the name Augustus was not assumed until more than three years after the battle of Actium—*i.e.*, in January, 27 B.C. Virgil does not use Augustus as a name in the *Georgics*; the hero is simply Caesar. Now, if, as Nettleship suggested, this part of the Shield was in its original form written for another poem soon after the battle, the word may have been placed where it is simply to give religious colouring to the whole passage, which it does most effectually. "Hinc augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar. . . ." I am not in the habit of indulging in conjectures, but I may express an opinion that this line may perhaps have been responsible for the adoption of the famous name. If Caesar knew the passage, he must have instantly seen how well suited to his policy the epithet was.

Professor Conway tells me in a letter that he is delighted with the suggestion that the lines should be written "Hic augustus agens Italos in praelia Caesar." He adds that "it may be helpful to remember that *augustus* in this picture probably

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 609:

"Sancta vocant augusta patres. Augusta vocantur
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu."

² Norden on *Aen.*, vi. 792, is of opinion that there, and in our line, and in *Hor.*, *Od.*, ii. 9, 19, the word was *felt* still as an appellative.

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represents a physical (but of course significant) largeness of the figure in the representation, like the figures of the chiefs in the Shield of Achilles:

Καλὸν καὶ μεγάλῳ σὸν τεύχεσιν ὥς τε θεῶ περ,
'Αμφὶς ἀριζήλω· λαοὶ δ' ὕπ' ὀλίζονες ἦσαν.

—just as *arduus agmen agens* of Agrippa, a few lines farther on, represents his outstanding position high on the poop of the Admiral's ship. The adjective in both places is exactly the right part of speech. The connexion with *augeo*, always present, and paralleled by the far more than physical meaning of *auctus* (*honoribus*, etc.), preserved the original notion of greatness, physical and other, which is that of the Vedic *ojas*, neuter substantive, identical letter for letter with Latin *augus*."

On the words *cum patribus populoque* Servius has an unusually good note. He says that the poet is taking pains to show that the war is *iustum bellum*—*i.e.*, that it is one against the external enemies of Italy, who are threatening to destroy her;¹ the Senate and People are therefore represented as supporting the champion of the State, together with the gods who are more especially bound up with its life. If there were ever any doubt in the mind of a Roman as to the justice of the cause that was victorious at Actium, these four lines should have dispelled it.

Line 679: "Penatibus et magnis dis."—Virgil gives Augustus the same religious outfit that he had given to Aeneas when leaving Troy (iii. 12). Much,

¹ See Greenidge, "Roman Public Life," p. 157.

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but to little purpose, had been written about Aeneas and the Penates, till in 1886 Wissowa cleared up the whole question by carting away rubbish and applying good criticism to what remained. This criticism he has lately reprinted in a volume of collected papers;¹ I can here only briefly indicate the result. In the temple of the Penates on the Velia (just where stood the house of Evander) were two figures representing the Penates of the Roman State in the guise of the Dioscuri, according to the common practice of using Greek artistic types to represent Roman deities. But the Dioscuri were known in Greece as the *Great Gods*,² and this same title naturally attached itself to the Penates, for Varro tells us that there was an inscription on the base of the statue, *MAGNIS DIS*.³ A story, apparently starting from the annalist Cassius Hemina in the time of the younger Scipio, identified both Penates and Dioscuri with the *magni di* of Samothrace; and other stories arose explaining how Dardanus took them from Samothrace to Phrygia—*i.e.*, Troy—and how Aeneas again took them from Phrygia to Italy.⁴

¹ "Gesammelte Abhandlungen," pp. 95 ff.

² Pausanias, i. 31, viii. 21, 4.

³ Serv., Aen., iii. 12: "Varro quidem unum esse dicit penates et magnos deos, nam in basi scribebatur *MAGNIS DIS*."

⁴ Macrobius, iii. 4, 7 ff. Another form of the story identified the *magni di* with the Penates of Lavinium, the reputed religious mother of the Roman State (Preller, "Röm. Mythologie," 681 ff.), which were said to be small *sigilla*—*i.e.*, aniconic images of a mysterious character. (See Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 110.)

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Virgil seems to distinguish Penates and *di magni*; Varro identified them. What is more important is that they are identified with the Penates of the Julian family, and these, again, are identified with the Penates of the Roman State, according to the shrewd policy of Augustus, exemplified also in his dealings with the Lares.

Lines 696, 697:

“ regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro,
necdum etiam *geminos* a tergo respicit *anguis*.”

This means literally twin snakes, as in 289 of this book and ii. 203; and behind it is, no doubt, the widely spread superstition about twins, of which I have said something elsewhere.¹ I entirely agree with Henry that Virgil is not here thinking of the asp with which Cleopatra committed suicide, for that was neither a twin nor one of two; nor could it act as an omen, any more than the single snake which Allecto put into the bosom of Amata. I am glad to see that Mr. Page, in the last and best school edition of these books, says that Henry's view “deserves consideration.” But he does not quote what seems to me Henry's most convincing evidence, the “respice ad haec” of vii. 454.² “Look

¹ “Virgil's Gathering of the Clans,” p. 52.

² “tum flammea torquens
lumina cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura
reppulit, et geminos erexit crinibus angues,
verberaque insonuit rabidoque haec addidit ore:
'en ego victa situ, quam veri effeta senectus
arma inter regum falsa formidine ludit:
respice ad haec: adsum dirarum ab sede sororum,
bella manu letumque gero.'”

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behind you," that is, "at what I have to show you—viz., the ominous horrors, and above all the twin snakes, foreboding war and death for Turnus," as in our passage the twin snakes forbode death to the Queen, and as in the second book the twin serpents meant death to Laocoon. Whoever will read carefully the whole passage about Allecto (445-455) will in all probability come round to the view that twin snakes are a mysterious omen of death. I add the following from Henry (p. 776): "Even modern superstitions are not without their two snakes, apparitors of hell and Satan, as in the Christmas carol of Dives and Lazarus:

" ' As it fell out upon a day
Dives sickened and died,
There came two serpents out of hell
Thereto his soul to guide.' "

Compare the *two* devouring serpents, which were fed with daily oblations of human blood, in the Emir's tale in Scott's "Talisman," ch. iii.

Lines 698, 699:

" Omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam."

In the first of these lines I am inclined to accept Lachmann's conjecture (or suspicion) that Virgil wrote Niligenum, as M¹ has *nigenumque*. The choice of Neptune, Venus, and Minerva, to represent Italian deities, is rather puzzling; but (1) they were all also Trojan deities (Serv., Aen., ii. 241 and iii. 3; and for Minerva Pallas ii. 188), and (2) we need

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not be thinking too much of antiquities: Actium was the beginning of new things. Apollo and Neptune stand respectively for Western culture and the command of the Mediterranean, while Minerva probably means wisdom and reason, as opposed to the irrational crowd of Egyptian deities. She had been for some time treated as Athene rather than the old Italian Minerva.¹

Line 701.—“Caelatus ferro:” with iron, not gold or silver, to suit the fierce and warlike nature of the god. “Tristes ex aethere Dirae:” spirits of evil omen hovering in the air. Virgil may, as Heyne thought, have remembered the Kêres of Hesiod’s Shield, line 24, present at a battle and contending for the possession of the fallen. (See Conington’s note, and for the Kêres, Gilbert Murray, “Four Stages of Greek Religion,” p. 48.)

Lines 711-713:

“Contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosa que flumina victos.”

The peculiarity of these lines is that they will apply equally well to a statue of the Nile, such as the famous one in the Vatican, or to the actual river itself. Henry’s very long note on this passage is well worth careful reading, though he does not seem quite to grasp this fact. Think of the reclining statue, and all the language fits it, for *tota*

¹ See Wissowa, *Rel. und Kult.*, ed. 2, p. 255.

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veste means that the folds of the drapery are open wide to receive the fugitive fleet; think of the river itself, and these words mean that the fleet might find refuge in its creeks and recesses, clothed with reeds and other cover. Those who read the accounts of the destruction of the German cruiser *Königsberg* in the *sinus* of the East African river in 1915 will at once recognise the appropriateness of Virgil's language to a flying ship making for the protection of a sedgy river. I will hazard the conjecture that the poet originally wrote the lines in this latter sense, and later on adapted them to the shield—*i.e.*, to the necessity of imagining a *statue* of the river.

Lines 714 *ff.*:

“ At Caesar, triplici invecus Romana triumpho
moenia, *dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat,*
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant:
omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae:
ante aras terram caesi stravere iuveni.”

Heyne was here guilty of an absurdity; he fancied that, in the first three lines quoted above, Virgil made Augustus consecrate, on the days of his triumph, all the temples that he was destined to consecrate during the remainder of his reign—*i.e.*, during the next forty years. Now, the triumph took place in August, 29; and only one temple was consecrated at that time, and that one not to an Italian god, but to Divus Iulius. True, the next year, in his sixth consulship, Augustus began to restore the old temples, and accomplished this work

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to the number of eighty-two. But the lines quoted above absolutely forbid us to think of consecrations understood (so to speak) proleptically; they form a graphic account of what happened on the three days of the triumph and no others. And apart from this, *sacrare votum* cannot, in my humble opinion, based on a large experience of Roman religious language, mean "consecrate temples (or anything else) that you have vowed." *Votum sacrare* can only mean "to make a solemn vow with special religious meaning or sanction"; as *legem sacrare* (in the form *lex sacrata*) is "to make a solemn covenant with another party," or as *foedus sacrare* (Liv., xxxviii. 33¹) is "to make a treaty, and secure it by some religious form."

We are not told that Augustus made such a vow, either by Dio Cassius or Suetonius, or by himself in the "Monumentum Ancyranum"; what these accounts tell us is naturally the fulfilment rather than the undertaking of vows. But that he did form the intention, at this time, of restoring old temples and building new ones there is no doubt; whether he fixed his intention by a *votum* is uncertain, but likely enough. My own opinion is that these lines were written before the return of Caesar in 29 (see below on 720), and that Virgil was imagining things which may or may not have happened at the time of the triumphs. In any case we may translate thus: "He made a solemn vow for the eternal

¹ "Foedus quod in Capitolio, quod Olympiae, quod in arce Athenis sacratum fuisset." Cp. Aen. xii. 141.

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glory of the Italian gods, that he would erect shrines three hundred in number in all parts of the city."

I maintain that the picture conveyed in these lines is greatly ennobled by this interpretation of *votum immortale sacrabat*. The joy in the streets, the resounding cheers, and the religious enthusiasm, follow naturally, not only on a sense of deliverance from the menace of Oriental tyranny, but on a conviction that a new *pax deorum* is about to be established.¹ And the same picture is cleared of the absurdity of supposing that Caesar actually dedicated an immense number of temples in a single day, or even in three days.

Line 718:

"Omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae."

Perhaps a warning may not be out of place against the notion that *in templis* necessarily means *inside* the temple building. It would, of course, have been impossible for matrons to dance and sing, or altars to reek with sacrifice, within the temple, as we understand that word. In front of all temples, so far as we know, was an open space, sometimes called *area*, as in the case of the Capitoline temple, where was the altar of sacrifice; tables (*mensae*), for "unbloody" offerings might be within the building itself. The word *templum*, too, did not necessarily imply that the limits of the sacred enclosure coincided with the walls; not only in front, but all round the

¹ See "Rel. Exp.," p. 431.

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building, there must have been a space consecrated by the pontifices after *inauguratio* by the augurs.¹

The *matrum chorus* reminds us of the prominent part taken at the *ludi saeculares* in 17 B.C. by *matronae*: see the Acta of these games (C.I.L., vi. 32,323, secs. 108, 112, 123). I doubt if there is any *direct* reference to the forms of *supplicatio*, as is generally assumed by commentators.

Lines 720 ff.:

“ Ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi
dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
postibus: incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,” etc.

These lines have a decided resemblance to those already referred to, at the beginning of the third Georgic. Both are imaginative pictures, and both, if I am not mistaken, date from about the same time, the picture in the Shield being, of course, the later of the two. In the Georgic, Virgil imagines great games like those of Greece going on beside the river Mincius, with Caesar as the presiding genius:

¹ On this subject see Marquardt, “Staatsverwaltung,” iii. 163 and 156, note 5. Mark especially the reference to Vitruvius, iv. 5 (the sacrificer faced east, so as to see *orientem caelum*): Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, ed. 2, p. 475, and Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Ara. So, in the ritual of the Fratres Arvales, the *arae* were not *in aede*: Henzen, *Acta* 19 and 143. Even in the oldest places of worship in the city, *sacella*, as they were most usually called, the altar was in the open: Gell. vii. 12, 5, from Trebatius.

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“ in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit;
illi victor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro
centum quadriugos agitabo ad flumina currus.”

And again:

“ ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus olivae
dona feram. iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas
ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuencos.”

Then come the pictures of battles and conquests carved on the doors of the temple, in Egypt with the Nile conspicuous, and in the Far East. Then the poet announces his intention of keeping for the present to woodland and pasture, yet,

“ mox tamen ardentem accingar dicere pugnas
Caesaris, et nomen fama tot ferre per annos
Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar,”

where the words of the second of these lines may perhaps remind us of the last line of the eighth book.

In the Shield the grand show is in Rome, and seems to be a triumph, yet has some of the features of a *supplicatio*; its centre point a temple, not yet dedicated at the time of the actual triumph, where the conquered peoples freely offered their gifts, as Virgil had pictured himself doing in the third Georgic. This picture is, surely, not to be taken historically any more than the other. Virgil could put whatever he liked on the Shield; and he chose to put Augustus enthroned in an unfinished temple, accepting the willing offerings of peoples coming from the far limits of the Empire.

The question may be asked whether this grand

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picture was drawn before or after the return of Augustus in 29 B.C. and the triple triumph that followed. I am disposed to think, as I have already said, that it was a fragment of the poem projected in the third Georgic, line 46, and that it may in its original form have been written between 31 and 29 B.C.—*i.e.*, before the triumph.¹ The year 29 was one of general holiday, and Virgil's tone, both in the third Georgic and in the Shield, resounds with joy and exultation; both pictures seem to me to have the same stamp of vigorous freshness, suggesting that they belong to that year of happiness and rejoicing.

Lines 729-731 (the last lines of the book):

“ Talia per clypeum Volcani, dona parentis,
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
attollens humero *famamque et fata* nepotum.”

I have postponed a note on the difficult subject of Virgil's idea of Fate till we have come to the last of the ten occurrences, in this book, of the words *fatum* or *fata*. These will be found in lines 12, 133, 292, 334, 398, 477, 499, 512, 575, 731. In the *Classical Quarterly* for January, 1917, there appeared a careful and interesting discussion of this subject by Miss L. E. Matthaei (pp. 11 *ff.*). In the *Classical Review* for 1910 (pp. 169 *ff.*) there was a shorter paper full of valuable material, on “The Conception of Fate in the Aeneid,” by Professor MacInnes.

¹ See H. Nettleship, “Vergil,” p. 71, and “Ancient Lives of Vergil,” p. 58.

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Still further back, in a paper on the teaching of Virgil, Professor Conway (pp. 14, 15) touched on this question, and has added to the remarks he then made much illuminating matter both in correspondence and in personal intercourse with me. Thus, even in England alone, without having recourse to German learning, I have been able to find much to add to what I have already written on the subject.¹

The ten passages in our book are all very much of the same kind; they represent the Stoic idea of Fate, "the positive principle which brings order into the universe," the "desire or instinct of all things to seek their τέλος or appointed end, which both Plato and Aristotle postulated as the basis of their thought."² What was, in Virgil's mind, the origin, meaning, nature, of this force, and how far he identified it with a personal deity, we cannot be sure; he had not fully faced the problem, but was postponing it till his poem was completed, when he would be free to turn his mind to philosophy.³ Miss Matthaëi does indeed write of the "philosophy of the poem," as if Virgil had really tried to formulate some scheme. But these great problems of human life and thought cannot be neatly dealt with by any of us, least of all by a poet like Virgil, who had a constant sense of mystery in the universe, finding expression in many different ways.

¹ "Rel. Exp.," 411, 424; "Roman Ideas of Deity," 77.

² Matthaëi, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23.

³ Suet., "Vita Vergilii," ch. 35.

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As the Aeneid grew in the course of years, the point of view from which the poet looked on Fate changed from time to time, according to his own mood while writing, or to the context immediately in hand, and he not unfrequently puts into the mouth of a speaker in the action a view which need not be assumed to be his own. Very often, as in several passages of this book, there is distinct reference to oracular utterances, partial revelations of a will of which the secret and essence is unrevealed; in these the word *fatum* shows traces of the influence of its etymology, as the spoken word. Once more, as in the last line of this book ("attollens humero *famam*que et *fata* nepotum"), there is often a close relation implied between the divine and human action which together bring about a result; "*famam et fata*" seem to indicate, as also in vii. 79, the divine and human aspects of the same glorious deeds (R.S.C.). And lastly it is clear that for Virgil Fate was a moral force, if only we allow the development of Rome and Italy, as a force in the world, to be one for good, and not for evil. Virgil, like Augustus and most of his contemporaries, recovering from the pessimism of the previous generation, undoubtedly held this destiny of Rome to be a force for good, in spite of many back-currents. His optimism begins with the fourth Eclogue, is strong in the Georgics, stronger still in the Aeneid; this is one side of the meaning of "*famam et fata*" in 731. He believed in the genial destiny of Rome as a Jew believed in the kingdom of the Messiah.

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But there is another way of looking at the philosophy of the Aeneid, on which Miss Matthaei has laid almost too much stress. She calls Virgil a pessimist, and the Aeneid a pessimistic poem.¹ What she means is that, apart from the Fate which brings order into the universe, we find in the Aeneid that individual human beings have their own fates, often running counter with each other, some of them benevolent, others cruel. In the eighth book it is a cruel fate that is hanging over Pallas and threatening his father in his old age with the death of a beloved son. No doubt, this cruelty of fate is baffling, and, as so often in the present war, seems thus to increase the poignancy of human suffering.² But this does not make either Virgil or his poem in any true sense of the word pessimistic—a word so much in vogue just now that incautious writers are apt to employ it without mature reflection. And the individualisation of the idea of destiny was surely a feature of our poet's time; it was entirely in keeping with current ideas of the individual soul and the astrology that was then beginning to exercise great power over men's minds. In the previous two or three generations there had been

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 13, twice over.

² Professor Conway reminds me that, at the funeral of Pallas (xi. 164 ff.), his father claims that the lad's life is not thrown away: "caesis Volscorum millibus ante Ducentem in Latium Teucros cecidisse iuvabit." It is thus that he seeks to adjust the fate of the individual to the Destiny which is a force for good in the world, as we are so many of us doing at the present hour.

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so many sad examples of the cruel fate of individuals, often men and women of great gifts and virtues, that in such a poem as the Aeneid it was impossible that such shadows should not be reflected.¹ The greatest example in the poem is of course that of Dido, who rebelled against her fate and defied it by suicide. But these shadows, though here and there they darken the water, have no effect whatever on its clear and refreshing substance. The "sweet sense of futurity" which I have noticed in the eighth book runs all through the poem, filling the mind of the Roman reader with hope and confidence.

In the eighth book there is no question of passion or rebellion against fate. We see Aeneas submitting himself to a power which is here almost the same as his own conscience; affected once or twice, as any other human being would be, by a momentary anxiety, yet looking steadily forward to the goal in front of him, sure of his own righteousness in the conduct of an arduous life. In line 12 he asserts that he is claimed by the fates as

¹ Cp. "Roman Ideas of Deity," p. 72, for the influence of *fortuna* on such a man as Cicero. I may here note that the editor of our Oxford text has sought, with doubtful success, to distinguish between *Fortuna* as almost equivalent to *Fatum*, and *fortuna* in the ordinary sense of the incalculable element in human life, by printing the word *Fortuna* and *fortuna* respectively. Cp. in this book 334 and 578, with 15 ("si fortuna sequatur"). It would perhaps be safer to write both *fatum* and *fortuna* consistently without the capitals.

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King of Latium; in 131 he adds that his own *virtus* and the holy oracles of the gods have brought him a *willing* traveller and guest to Evander's doors.¹ In 334 Evander claims the same authority for his position in Latium, and the whole context shows that in obeying the decrees of fate he, too, has followed his own conscience. All this is excellent Stoicism, if we choose to call it so, but it is also the natural instinct of humanity responding to the call of that stern lawgiver who "wears the Godhead's most benignant grace." The Stoic believed in destiny, and yet refused to be a slave to it. "The rational will of man has power to recognise the rational order of the world, and to adopt it as his own. By the exercise of his own powers, the authority which reason gives him, he is able to control his own inner life and to accept events as the outcome of God's will, and by this attitude to attain to perfect freedom."²

In the last line of the book Fate is again a moral force, but is looked at from the point of view of Virgil himself, as one living when the destiny of Rome is already largely accomplished. It is a glorious line,

¹ "Sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum
cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem."

See Matthaei, *op. cit.*, 20; Fowler, "Roman Ideas of Deity," p. 70.

² Matheson, Epictetus (translation), Introduction, p. 18; Glover, Virgil, p. 200. So exactly in Wordsworth's "Excursion," near the end of "Despondency corrected."

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and to write more about it is quite needless for those who have entered into the spirit of the whole poem. All I will say is this, that those who are members of a great Empire, now struggling for the principle of liberty and civilisation, conscious of a great mission in the world, and of an overwhelming claim upon them to blot out the shortcomings of the past by a sense of duty ever more enlightened, will recognise that the philosophy of the Aeneid and its religion are not things peculiar to Hellenistic Greece or Imperial Rome, but represent the finest instincts of human nature striving to realise the will of God by faith and obedience. They are not merely matters of curiosity and research, but stand for an abiding principle of human life. Many of us may have felt our faith wavering in hours of sadness and bereavement, when we see our loved ones sacrificed for a result still doubtful: what cruel fate has done this? we ask, sorrowing, as Evander and Aeneas sorrowed bitterly for the death of the boy Pallas. But it is no conflict of the individual with Fate that pains us; it is the loss of a precious life used and spent in the service of the everlasting Righteousness.

I write these last lines on the day which has brought us the welcome news of the adhesion of the great Republic of the West to our just cause, an event which gives us fresh confidence in its justice, fresh hope for humanity.

April 4, 1917.

APPENDIX

Lines 213 *ff.* :

“ Interea, cum iam stabulis saturata moveret
Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet,
discessu mugire boves atque omne querelis
impleri nemus et colles clamore relinqui.”

What is the meaning of the last three words, *colles clamore relinqui*? My former pupil, Mr. Gilbert Watson, drew my attention to a difficulty here which I had not noticed, and has written to me at length about it. Can it mean simply that the oxen, leaving their laager by the river, where was afterwards the *forum boarium*, were passing the Palatine and Aventine hills, and that their lowing as they advanced was heard in the cave of Cacus and answered? (The route of Hercules in Italy seems to have been from north to south, so that he would leave the site of Rome by what was afterwards the valley of the *Circus maximus*; see Heyne's "Excursus on Hercules in Italy.") If we give the present infinitive its full force, I think this may be all that Virgil means, and so does Mr. Mackail, as he tells me. The oxen had just started, and as they passed

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along between Palatine and Aventine, and towards what was later the Porta Capena, they would be close to the den of Cacus. Perhaps the best commentator is a good map of the site of Rome.

But from Servius downwards there has been a feeling that *clamore relinqui* may suggest an echo: cp. 305, "Consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant." Mr. Watson also aptly quotes G. iii. 554 and Aen. v. 150. Mr. Sidgwick's note on the line also suggests as a possible meaning "the hills were left behind with the sound"—*i.e.*, the echo lingered in the hills. But whether this can really be got out of the Latin may be doubted, and the text is certain. The only way would be, as Mr. Watson suggests, to take *relinqui* as meaning that the hills were "left" by the sound after it had struck them and been reflected as an echo; the translation then would be, "the lowing echoes from the hills."

On pp. 100 *ff.* I have strongly expressed the opinion that the description of the Shield of Aeneas should not be dealt with on plastic principles, and that it is waste of time to look for compartments on the surface of the shield into which the scenes might be fitted. Professor Conway tells me that he differs entirely from this view, believing that not only the shield of Aeneas but that of Achilles were conceived by the poets as actual works of art, and suggested by such works known to them. I hope he may elaborate this view, and produce the necessary evidence for it.

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Line 731 (last line of the book) :

Mr. Mackail makes the interesting suggestion that Virgil had in his mind the idea that Aeneas bears up the fortunes of Rome as Atlas bears up the world in 137 and 141 of this book, and in iv. 482, to which I may add "Paradise Lost," ii. 301 *ff.* (of Beelzebub) :

"deep on his front engraven
Deliberation sat and public care ;
And princely counsel in his face yet shone,
Majestic though in ruin ; sage he stood
With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies. . . ."

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