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EXCIDIIUM TROIÆ

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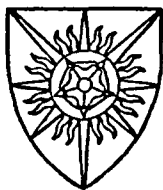
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PREFACE

WE ARE HERE presenting for the first time the complete text of the *Excidium Troiae*, a post-classical compendium of ancient history dealing with the downfall of Troy, the wanderings of Aeneas, and the early history of Rome. This edition is based on three manuscripts (described in Section VIII of the Introduction), one of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, the other two in the Laurentian and Riccardian Libraries in Florence.

The Bodleian manuscript (*Rawlinson D 893*) first came to the attention of Mr Atwood in 1932, while he was a student at the University of Virginia. Through correspondence with Mr O. T. Holloway of the Bodleian Library he was able to determine that this manuscript contained a hitherto unpublished Latin version of the Trojan War, and to obtain an excellent photostatic copy of the entire text. He included a brief discussion of this text in his doctoral dissertation, which was presented during the same year. The first quarter of the Rawlinson manuscript was published in *Speculum* in October, 1934, together with a discussion of the mediaeval interrelationships of this version of the Troy story.

Work on the remaining, and larger, portion of the *Excidium Troiae* was begun late in 1934. At that time both editors were instructors at Stanford University, and their friendship soon led to Mr Whitaker's active collaboration in the preparation of the Latin text. The subsequent discovery of two additional manuscripts both delayed the work and increased its scope; at the advice of Professor W. A. Oldfather it was decided to prepare an edition, complete with introduction, variants, and notes, of the entire text, and not merely of the unpublished portion.

It is not easy to indicate precisely which portions of this book are the work of each collaborator, since there has been a high degree of co-operation between us in all aspects of our work; much of the earlier spadework, in fact, was done by the two of us working together. Mr Atwood has concentrated chiefly on the first fourth of the text—that relating the downfall of Troy; he constructed a tentative text of this portion and investigated its possible sources, as well as its classical and mediaeval analogues. His studies of the later portions of the composition have been confined almost entirely to the question of sources and derivatives. Mr Whitaker constructed the text of the last three-fourths of the *Excidium*; he also revised Mr Atwood's text so as to render it consistent with his own textual policies. Thus the final choice of the entire text, the

listing of variants, and the study of manuscript relationships have been the work of Mr Whitaker. He also contributed much of the linguistic material contained in Section I of the Introduction.

Sections I–VII of the Introduction, and most of the notes on sources and analogues were written by Mr Atwood; Section VIII and most of the notes on textual problems were written by Mr Whitaker.

We wish to express our gratitude to a number of scholars whose advice and assistance have been indispensable to us in the preparation of this volume. Professors A. A. Hill and W. A. Montgomery of the University of Virginia devoted much time to aiding Mr Atwood in the unfamiliar task of transcribing, reading, and construing the Rawlinson manuscript. Professor Hill, moreover, has on many occasions proved a wise and trustworthy guide in problems of mediaeval research.

In the matters of text construction and textual criticism, we have fortunately been able to profit by the expert aid and advice of Professor W. A. Oldfather. Together with Dr J. A. Catterall (at that time his research assistant), Professor Oldfather read through the entire Rawlinson manuscript and our rough transcription with minute care, making countless corrections and suggestions. His corrections it is, unfortunately, impossible to acknowledge in the notes, since they amounted to lessons in paleography; and his numerous conjectures and emendations were so good that many of them appeared as the reading of one of the Florentine manuscripts after they were discovered and collated. Our indebtedness to him is therefore far greater than the occasional mention of his name in the notes might suggest. With Professor Oldfather's permission we are reprinting many of his published comments on the Rawlinson text, contained in his article 'Notes on the *Excidium Troie*,' *Speculum*, XI (1936), 272–277. Unless this work is specifically cited, the occurrence of Professor Oldfather's name indicates indebtedness to his unpublished oral or written suggestions.

To the late Professor A. G. Solalinde we are indebted for a great deal of information regarding the Spanish versions of the Troy story and their evident relationship to the *Excidium Troiae*. Professor Solalinde also called our attention to a reference which led us to the oldest of our three manuscripts; and he kindly lent us a photostatic copy of one of his manuscripts of Alfonso el Sabio's *General Estoria*.

In the matter of paleography we have been aided most generously by Professor Bernard M. Peebles and by Professor S. Harrison Thomson. We are relying strongly on Professor Thomson's opinion of our two later manuscripts, whose classification is dependent entirely on paleographical

criteria. With his permission we have quoted some passages from his correspondence pertaining to this problem.

We are indebted to a number of libraries for their courteous co-operation: to the Laurentian and Riccardian libraries in Florence and the Bodleian Library at Oxford for permitting the photostating of manuscripts; to the libraries of the University of Virginia, Stanford University, the University of Texas, and Harvard University for innumerable courtesies and services.

Grateful acknowledgment is hereby made to the publishers of *Modern Philology*, *Speculum*, *PMLA*, *Studies in Philology*, and the *University of Texas Studies in English*, for permission to reprint (in revised form) material which has previously appeared in articles in those journals.

Finally, we wish to express our gratitude to the American Council of Learned Societies for the generous financial grant which made the publication of this volume possible; and to Messrs S. H. Cross, G. W. Cottrell, Jr., Paul E. Ward, and Robert J. Clements of the Mediaeval Academy of America for their patient assistance in the preparation of our manuscript for the press.

E. B. A.
V. K. W.

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- III Florence, LAURENTIAN LXVI, 40, fols. 35^v-36^r (pp. 26, 25-28, 4)
- IV Oxford, RAWLINSON D 893, fol. 83^v (pp. 19, 26-23, 1)

INTRODUCTION

I. NATURE AND PROBABLE ORIGIN

THE ANONYMOUS *Excidium Troiae* (ET), contained in three known manuscripts,¹ may conveniently be divided, with regard to its content, into three parts.² The first part, which makes up a little less than one fourth of the text, contains a classical version of the Trojan War beginning with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and culminating in the death of Achilles. The second part relates the fall of Troy as narrated by Virgil, and gives a detailed summary of the wanderings of Aeneas, taken from the same source. In the final portion, which is extremely brief, there is presented an account of the founding of Rome and something of its early history. Thus the complete text consists of a continuous narrative of Troy and Rome from the casting of the golden apple to the reign of Augustus Caesar. The account is written in a fairly simple variety of vulgar Latin of the early mediaeval period; the organic unity of the piece and the recurrence of certain stylistic peculiarities mark the whole narrative as a single composition. The earliest extant manuscript known to us dates from the end of the ninth century;³ but even this text seems a considerable distance from the original—at many points further than the later manuscripts. In numerous instances the three manuscripts show the same corruptions in phraseology, as well as the same accumulation of glosses and even titles of illustrations, which must have been inherited from earlier exemplars. But even the many scribal accretions seem hardly sufficient to account for the present state of the text. The entire composition appears to be a rewritten version of an earlier Latin handbook, rather than an original mediaeval product. Indications of a classical origin are to be found through the entire text—both in the narrative of Troy and in the summary of Virgil.

The Troy story shows no relation whatever to the accounts of Dares and Dictys,⁴ from which the great body of mediaeval Troy literature was derived. Instead, it presents a more classical sequence of events, which agrees fairly closely with the ancient Greek epic. The history opens with an account of the Nereid Thetis. She had been loved by Jupiter, who would have accomplished a union with her but for the prophecy that if a son were born to them he would dethrone his father. Jupiter therefore arranges her marriage to Peleus and gives a wedding

feast, to which he invites a number of gods and goddesses. Discordia, enraged at not being asked to attend, duly casts the golden apple and brings about great strife among the three goddesses, who are sent to Paris to be judged. An account is then given of Paris: Hecuba, before his birth, had dreamed that she bore a firebrand which burned Troy to the ground. Because of this evil omen Paris was exposed in the mountains, and was found and reared by a herdsman. He had won a reputation for great justice because of his fairness as referee in fights between the bulls. Paris decides the contest in favor of Venus, and later goes to Troy in company with his foster-father the shepherd, where he defeats his brothers in the athletic contests. They plan to kill him, but are prevented by the shepherd, who reveals Paris' identity. He remains in Troy, and is later sent on an expedition to Greece for the purpose of recovering his aunt Hesione, who had been carried away by the Greeks. He abducts the all-too-willing Helen, whereupon the Greeks prepare for war. On being told that Troy can be won only by the help of Achilles, Agamemnon organizes a search; Odysseus and Diomedes find him among the virgins at the court of King Licomedes. The story reverts to Thetis, and the youth of Achilles is told: his bath in the Styx, his life with Chiron, his life with Licomedes and his love for Deidamia. The account of the actual fighting is extremely brief but essentially Homeric: Achilles loves Briseis, and on being deprived of her sulks in his tent until Patroclus is killed, after which he avenges his friend by slaying Hector and dragging his corpse. As a condition for the relinquishing of Hector's body, Achilles obtains Polyxena in marriage. She, at the instigation of her parents, learns about and makes known the vulnerable spot of her husband. Achilles is invited to the temple, and Paris, from behind the statue of Apollo, shoots him in the heel with a poisoned arrow. Ajax recovers his body, which is given great honors. At the advice of the gods Pyrrhus is fetched from the court of Licomedes, and he arrives in the Greek camp intent on avenging his father. At this point the author takes up the Virgilian narrative of the taking of Troy, and continues with the story of Aeneas' wanderings.

It will become apparent that this history represents a distinct version of the Troy story and not a piecing together of events from classical sources; and it will likewise be seen that the account could hardly have been originated by the mediaeval writer of the extant version. In order to produce such a work it would have been necessary for him to make up a complete history, classical in plan and order, from such Latin authors as Ovid, Statius, 'Pindarus Thebanus,' Hyginus, the 'Vatican

Mythographers,' Servius, and others. So widely scattered is the information in most of these accounts that it is difficult indeed to conceive of its combination in a reasonably sequential order by the writer of a vulgar Latin text so obviously lacking in scholarship.

Most of the story, to be sure, finds parallels in classical Latin sources; yet these parallels are not of such a nature that we can regard them as sources. Hyginus,⁵ for example, gives an account of the wedding feast, but he fails to mention the inscription on Discordia's apple or the fact that the apple was of gold; while Ovid's account of Paris⁶ omits Discordia and the apple entirely. Moreover, the order of events could surely not have come from those sources.⁷ It is remarkable that *ET* makes the starting point of the story the love of Jupiter for Thetis and the prophecy which prevents their union—a circumstance corresponding to the beginning of the ancient epic account contained in the *Cypria*.⁸ The account of Hecuba's sinister dream agrees rather closely with that of Ovid;⁹ yet Ovid does not connect the episode with Paris' exposure and subsequent life as a shepherd. The youth of Paris is told briefly in Hyginus;¹⁰ yet *ET* disagrees with Hyginus and agrees with Apollodorus of Athens¹¹ in having Paris sent to be exposed rather than having him sent to his death by Priam and later spared by the servants. For the long account of Paris' defeat of his brothers in the athletic contests it would have been necessary to expand the brief note in Servius.¹² The account of Achilles corresponds in a general way to Statius, yet there are almost unquestionable indications that the story was not drawn from the *Achilleid*,—at least, not in its entirety. In the first place, the name *Odisseus* is used, whereas Statius always uses *Ulixes*.¹³ Further, *ET* is more complete than Statius in telling of Achilles' vulnerable heel where he is later shot by Paris—a detail which corresponds to Servius and Hyginus.¹⁴ Yet *ET* proceeds to disagree radically with both accounts in the manner of Achilles' death, telling us that he had married Polyxena and that she had revealed his vulnerable spot. Even if all details could have had their origin in extant Latin accounts, it is utterly impossible to suppose an unlearned mediaeval writer capable of selecting and arranging this scattered information in a simple, connected narrative agreeing so closely with the ancient Epic Cycle. We are forced to conclude that *ET*'s Trojan story is a redaction of a considerably older Latin chronicle of the Trojan War which originated in classical times. The notes following the text, in which a full account of the classical sources and analogues is given, will furnish further evidence to support this conclusion.

We find this evidence of an earlier origin not only in the Trojan history

but in the reworking of Virgil as well. The mixture of learning and ignorance, of skill and ineptitude, which meets us on every page seems to indicate at least two stages of composition: one a simple yet not ignorant summary of the *Aeneid* which originated in an earlier and more scholarly period; the other a mediaeval redaction of this story with some additions, including some corrupted and malapropos quotations from Virgil. The author of the original version must have had a considerable knowledge of ancient legends, as well as a good understanding of Virgil. He knew, for example, that it was Iuturna who wounded Aeneas when he came to swear his oaths to Turnus, whereas Virgil only hints indirectly that it was she.¹⁵ He knew of the sacrifice of Polyxena at the grave of Achilles, to which Virgil alludes very obscurely,¹⁶ and he gives additional information about the blinding of Polyphemus by Ulixes, 'qui alio vocabulo Odisseus nuncupatur' (23, 16-17). The knowledge shown throughout is not at all consistent with the bungling which is so common in the present version, and it seems quite justifiable to presuppose the existence of an earlier version from which our mediaeval redaction had its origin.

Evidence of reworking is also to be found in the occasionally traceable omissions of original material and additions of new material. A very patent omission is to be observed, for example, in the passage in which the three goddesses request Jupiter to decide their dispute (3, 21-26).

As W. A. Oldfather remarks, 'Before *Quibus* [3, 24] some inquiry as to who the judge should be, has obviously been omitted by the redactor.'¹⁷ As for unoriginal material, the most obvious additions are in the form of quotations from the *Aeneid*. Such are the lines dragged in as a commentary on the judgment of Paris: 'Manet alta mente repositum . . .,' etc. (5, 11-13).¹⁸

A further discussion of the spurious quotations will follow (pp. lix-lx); it is sufficient here but to mention them as additional evidence of re-writing.

Indication of an earlier origin is also to be observed in the language and vocabulary of the whole composition.¹⁹ There is a distinct residue of pedantry which it would be difficult to assign to the naïve author of the present text, yet which is quite typical of the end of the classical period.²⁰ The rather frequent Greek words and forms seem to be entirely out of keeping with the unlearned mediaeval Latin in which our version is written. Examples are the use of the name 'Odisseus' (9, 21; 10, 4; 23, 17, etc.), and of such Greek accusatives as 'Andromachen' (24, 16). And we have 'Et passus *manian* se armavit . . .' (18, 9) and

'Mercurius in *acra* Carthaginis venit . . .' (36, 6), both of which are pure Greek. There are other uncommon Greek loan-words, as 'parthenos' (9, 20), and some learned and unusual words, such as 'comperendinavit' (4, 26), 'remanded to the third day,'²¹ and 'malaginavit' (52, 24), from *malaginum*, a medical term denoting a kind of salve made without fire.

An attempt to date the original version exactly from these remnants of an earlier vocabulary would probably be unsuccessful,²² and it is sufficient to point out that the most likely period for the composition of such a work was that of the great commentators—from the fourth to the sixth centuries A. D.²³ The mannerism of asking questions and then answering them is characteristic of Servius and his age,²⁴ and the method of explaining and *justifying* a mythological statement is distinctly reminiscent of Macrobius. Examples of such explanations in *ET* may be found on pp. 39, 11–13 and 45, 16–17. The latter passage may be compared with Macrobius' statement about Mezentius: 'Ergo quod diuinos honores sibi exegerat, merito dictus est a Vergilio contemptor deorum'²⁵—although the explanation itself is different.

Whatever the date of the original story, we may suppose that it goes back to late classical times and that it was written by a mythographer who knew something of ancient legends. At a later period the entire work was rewritten; but the date and place of the redaction are at present impossible to determine. According to Oldfather,²⁶ certain locutions suggest very strongly that the redactor was French. The regular use of the comparative for the superlative is typical of French usage, although the idiom was Spanish as well, and must have been known fairly early in mediaeval Latin. Examples are the inscription on the golden apple: 'pulchriori dee donum' (3, 17);²⁷ Venus' promise 'Ego tibi dabo pulchriorem uxorem' (5, 6); and the statement 'potentior omnibus [Ciclopibus] Polifemus fuit' (23, 26). What may likewise be a Gallicism is the use of *in* to mean 'in the likeness of': 'in Arpalice' (34, 25), 'in Martem' (35, 2), and possibly 'in parthenos' (9, 20).²⁸ This is somewhat stronger than the classical meaning, 'as' (*in uxorem*, etc.); but similar meanings are to be observed in Old and Middle French and Provençal.²⁹

ET, we may say in summary, is a thoroughly rewritten version of a not unlearned narrative produced in late classical times, drawn from Virgil and some additional material relating the downfall of Troy. As for the sources which the original author used in addition to the *Aeneid*, it will be impossible to state a final conclusion. It seems highly unlikely that *ET*'s story of the Trojan War could have been pieced together from

such extant Latin accounts as those of Ovid, Hyginus, Statius, Servius, and the Vatican Mythographers, for the reasons indicated above (pp. xii f.): there are no extended parallels to those accounts, i.e., no parallels which run through more than a very short portion of the story. *ET*, moreover, contains certain episodes which are organically connected with the narrative and which have no equivalent in extant classical sources—episodes such as Mars' encounter with Paris' bull, and the contest of Paris and his brothers in the stadium.³⁰

As in the case of Dares and Dictys,³¹ there is to be considered the question of a Greek original for our version of the Trojan War. That this material is of *ultimate* Greek origin can hardly be denied, considering the close resemblance of *ET* to the Greek Epic Cycle of antiquity. It is, in fact, at least possible that the original author of the Latin version drew his account directly from a Greek source (or sources). Although the question cannot now be finally decided, the available evidence can be summarized.

First it should be pointed out that there is little evidence—and certainly no proof—that the author of our account of Troy drew directly from any extant Latin source other than Virgil.³² Even such widely used sources as Ovid cannot be shown to have influenced the author of *ET*.

On the whole, our narrative shows greater similarity to extant Greek accounts than to Latin ones. Even in some of the colloquial passages (where one would expect originality) there are definite parallels to some of the late Greek Troy narratives. Paris' conversation with Helen (8, 8 ff.) shows remarkable similarity to a corresponding passage in Colluthus, while Sinon's proposed deceit of the Trojans (14, 10 ff.) parallels a scene in Quintus of Smyrna. This resemblance to Greek accounts is likewise to be observed in the short history of Rome which follows the account of Aeneas. Rather than follow the most common Latin source, Livy, our version bears a closer resemblance to the accounts of Dio, Plutarch, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.³³ Although it is doubtful whether any of these accounts can be considered as a direct source, this seeming preference for Greek material might give some weight to the idea that the author had access to a no longer extant Greek chronicle of the Trojan War—some highly simplified and popularized epitome of the ancient cycle.

Finally, there is the very noticeable Greek flavor in the language of *ET*, some of which might be construed as indicative of the use of Greek source material. A number of Greek loan-words may be listed, including some uncommon ones:

P. 6, 11 'agonem.' Known to Classical Latin at least from Pliny on. But in the phrase 'agonem populi,' the meaning is clearly 'throng' or 'assembly'—an ancient Greek meaning not recorded in *Thes. Ling. Lat.*

9, 20 'parthenos.' Unknown to CL. Note that in our text the word is not declined.

9, 21 'Odiseus.' This form is used except where the story follows the *Aeneid*—there *Ulixes* is substituted.

12, 4 'trutina.' CL at least from Varro on.

18, 9 'manian.' Occurs in Cicero and in later glosses; but is clearly regarded as a foreign word.

17, 5 'lampadibus.' CL from Plautus on.

19, 17, etc. 'zaba.' Apparently from Arabic; not in CL or CG. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, quotes examples from 565 A. D., 607, 911, etc. In Du Cange.

12, 30 'thura.' CL from Plautus on.

33, 22 'fialas.' CL from Juvenal on.

36, 6 *Ra* 'acra.' CL only in proper name in Pliny.

11, 12, etc. 'monomachia.' Common in post-classical L.

Likewise some case forms should be observed:

P. 9, 9 *L* 'Pariden.'

18, 9 *L Ra* 'manian.'

24, 16 *L Ra* 'Andromachen.'

34, 24 *L* 'Enean.'

To adduce all these examples as evidence of Greek source material would be absurd, since many of them occur in that part of the narrative which is taken from the *Aeneid*. Indeed, some (e. g., 'Pariden,' 'Enean'), may be mere scribal flourishes, since the scribe of *L* seems to have had some superficial Greek.³⁴ Most of those which survive from the original author may be taken to mean merely that he had a knowledge of Greek,³⁵ and (as Oldfather points out³⁶) that he was a man of considerable pedantry. Yet this pedantry is of a singularly artless sort; we find none of the rhetorical complications, the piling up of citations, or the pseudo-critical evaluation of sources so common in those Latin writers who attempt to give the impression of great learning. Indeed, a few of the Grecisms which occur in the narrative of the Trojan War are difficult to account for as mere pedantry, and might very conceivably be survivals from a Greek original. The use of 'agonem'³⁷ with a Greek meaning, in violation of common Latin usage, seems hardly natural to one who is telling a plain story in idiomatic Latin; yet it is the kind of mistake which a translator or redactor might easily make. 'Parthenos' likewise seems a strange substitution for *virgo* unless the author merely carried over a

word which he found in his source.³⁸ But probably the most significant of the Grecisms is the name 'Odiseus,' which is almost never to be found in other Latin works. Throughout that part of *ET* which relates the Trojan War, this form is consistently used. In the portion drawn from Virgil, on the other hand, the name regularly appears as 'Ulixes.' What is even more striking, in a digression concerning Ulixes and the Cyclops, in which the author departs from the *Aeneid*, the name 'Odiseus' is again substituted (23, 17). The natural conclusion would be that the author is merely following his source in writing one form or the other. Considering the rarity of Odiseus in Latin, there is at least a strong suggestion that this earlier source was a Greek one.

Since the evidence is inconclusive, the whole question of ultimate sources must for the present be left open. The text as we now have it has come through a long period of wretched transmission; its ultimate date and origin can only be a matter of conjecture, since the narrative preserves some elements of great antiquity.³⁹ It should be observed that *ET* in its original Latin form was almost certainly intended as a handbook for the instruction of the young. The extreme simplicity of the narrative, and the frequent repetitions give definite evidence of a pedagogical intent. Moreover, there occurs with great frequency a question-and-answer formula undoubtedly designed to drill the students of classic legend: 'Et dicere habes: qui fuit Paris . . . ?' etc. (3, 27). The entire work, as we have seen, underwent a thorough mediaevalizing at the hands of a redactor; it accumulated some incorrect and inappropriate quotations as well as some naive glosses and some amazing scribal corruptions before it came down to us in its present form.

NOTES TO SECTION I

¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D 893 (*Ra*); Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 881 (*Ri*); Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana LXVI, 40 (*L*). The earliest of these is *L*, dating from the end of the ninth century. For a full discussion of the MSS, see below, pp. lxxvii ff.

² It is doubtful whether the original version made any divisions in the story. The scribes of *L* and *Ra* do not divide the text; the name 'Excidium Troiae' occurs at the beginning of *L* and at the end of *Ra*. The scribe of *Ri* designates the Virgilian narrative as 'Liber Eneydum'—certainly a conventional mediaeval name, but one which was probably not in the original, since the *incipit* does not occur at the point where the Virgilian material first begins. See below, p. 20, 6-8.

³ For a full account of this MS see E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford, 1929), Plate xxv.

⁴ Gorra, after an apparently hasty examination of *Ri*, concluded that the story was based on Dictys. A close study of *ET* gives no support whatever to this opinion, although there are of course some parallels. See Egidio Gorra, *Testi Inediti di Storia Troyana* (Turin, 1887), pp. 242-243. For editions of Dares and Dictys, and also for editions of classical works cited on the following pages, see Bibliography below, pp. 339 ff.

⁵ *Fabulae*, no. 92.

⁶ *Heroides*, xvi.

⁷ E. g., in Hyginus the information regarding Thetis and Paris is contained in separate and unconnected fables (nos. 54, 91, etc.); Ovid goes immediately from Hecuba's dream to Paris' judgment, omitting the story of his youth.

⁸ See O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1906), I, 661 ff. Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* begins with the wedding of Peleus.

⁹ *Heroides*, xvi, 43 ff.

¹⁰ *Fabulae*, no. 91.

¹¹ *The Library*, III, xii, 5.

¹² Servius, *Commentarii, Aen.*, v, 370. Cf. note to p. 5, 19 below.

¹³ See the discussion below, p. xviii.

¹⁴ Servius, *Aen.*, vi, 57; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, no. 107. Cf. note to p. 10, 25 below.

¹⁵ *ET*, p. 52, 16-17; *Aen.*, xii, 813-815 (ed. H. R. Fairclough, London, 1930), Juno says:

Iuturnam misero (fateor) succurrere fratri
suasi et pro vita maiora audere probavi,
non ut tela tamen, non ut contenderet arcum.

¹⁶ *Aen.*, III, 321-323, Andromache:

o felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,
hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis
iussa mori . . . !

Cf. note to p. 20, 1-5 below.

¹⁷ 'Notes on the *Excidium Troie*,' *Speculum*, xi (1936), 274. At some points it seems necessary to assume that the original story has been condensed. One indication of such treatment is to be found in the story of Paris' pretense of being a merchant when he arrives at Menelaus' kingdom. See pp. xxxi; xxxiii.

¹⁸ Cf. *Aen.*, I, 26-28.

¹⁹ For further discussion of the Greek element, see below, pp. xvi ff.

²⁰ See Oldfather, *op. cit.*, p. 273. The redactor, he says, 'was an ignorant fellow, and . . . the author was unusually pedantic.'

²¹ The unusual nature of this word is strongly indicated by its treatment in the MSS (see below, p. 4, 26). The corrector of *Ra* makes the marginal substitution 'procrastinavit'; the scribe of *Ri* doctors the passage to read 'competenter ordinavit.'

²² Oldfather points out that the use of the word *casa* to mean 'the royal box in the circus' is known to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* only from Corippus (end of the sixth century), and the meaning may have been current only in that period. It hardly seems necessary to conclude, however, that the author of *ET* modelled his use of the word on Corippus. See Oldfather, *op. cit.*, pp. 273, 275. The use of *ei cere* with the meaning of 'lead out' or 'bring out' (see below, p. xx, n. 35) was common between the second and fifth centuries (to judge from the examples in *Thes. Ling. Lat.*). That the meaning was current in the Middle Ages seems improbable: it is not recorded in Du Cange; and the combination 'fuisse eiectam' (9, 5), 'to have been led out,' was obviously not understood by the scribes, who made various alterations. The Greek *zaba* appears only from 565 A. D.; see E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914). But the word was common in mediaeval Latin and may have been introduced by the redactor.

²³ This was also the period of the two most popular summarizers of Trojan history, Dares and Dictys.

²⁴ See D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (2 vols., Florence, 1896), I, 76 f.; also F. A. Wright and T. A. Sinclair, *A History of Later Latin Literature* (New York, 1931), Part I, *passim*.

²⁵ Macrobius, *Saturnalia* (ed. F. Eyssenhardt, Leipzig, 1893), III, 5, 11.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

²⁷ Other Latin accounts besides *ET* used the comparative form in this inscription; the *Compendium Historiae Troianae-Romanae* has 'pulchriori debetur'; in the *General Estoria* of Alfonso el Sabio and in the anonymous *Istorieta Trojana* the inscription reads 'pulchriori detur'—evidently quoted from

a mediaeval Latin account bearing some relation to *ET*. For discussion and citations see below, p. xlii. On the golden apple and its various inscriptions see also A. G. Solalinde, 'El Juicio de Paris en el "Alexandre" y en la "General Estoria,"' *Revista de Filología Española*, xv (1928), 7-8.

²⁸ See below, p. xvii and p. xx, n. 38.

²⁹ See the note to p. 9, 20 below.

³⁰ These episodes are analyzed in section IV below.

³¹ The discovery of a Greek original for Dictys adds weight to the supposition that Dares also was derived from a Greek source; but the question has not been finally decided. See, among others, G. Körting, *Dictys und Dares* (Halle, 1871); N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys* (Baltimore, 1907) and 'The Greek Dictys,' *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, xxix (1908), 329-335.

³² The best case could probably be made out for the *Achilleid* of Statius, in the episode of the discovery of Achilles. Yet even here, as has been shown on p. xiii, there are some considerations which make it difficult to consider Statius a direct source.

³³ See below, p. lxxii. The use of Greek source material on Roman history was not uncommon at the end of the classical period; one need but recall Jerome's Roman chronicle, which was drawn mostly from Eusebius. That Greek material might conveniently be combined with the *Aeneid* appears clearly in the fourth or fifth century work *Origo Gentis Romanae*, in which the author supplements Virgil by means of excerpts from Dionysius and others. Ed. Hermann Peter, *Berichte der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, lxiv (1912), 71-165.

³⁴ See E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, Plate xxv.

³⁵ Some of the idioms in *ET* parallel similar usages in late Greek, although they are by no means to be explained as pure Grecisms. A few of these are especially common in the Itala and Vulgate translations of the Bible, although certainly not confined to such works. Among these is the very frequent use of the present participle in such combinations as 'respondit dicens,' 'mandavit dicens,' 'alloquitur dicens,' etc., paralleling the familiar λέγων formula of New Testament Greek. One might also note the often recurring *coepti* + infinitive to form what amounts to an ingressive aorist: 'cepit eum velle revocare' (6, 4), etc. This corresponds to the Greek idiom involving ἀρχομαι, and may have some connection with it. Also interesting is *ecicere* with the meaning of *educere*: 'reginam de palatio . . . fuisse ecictam' (9, 4-5). This usage is especially common in the Itala Bible, and may have a connection with a strikingly similar weakening of Greek ἐκβάλλειν (=ἐκφέρειν, ἐξάγειν). All of these usages were common in late popular Latin, and can therefore not be taken as evidence of literary influence, although collectively they may indicate a preference for that type of Latin which resembles Greek. For discussion of the weakened *ecicere* see H. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata* (Marburg, 1875), pp. 361-362; E. Löfstedt, 'Lateinisch-Griechische Parallelen,' *Symbolae Philologicae O. A. Danielsson Octogenario Dicatae* (Upsala, 1932), pp. 179 ff., and *Syntactica* (2 vols., Lund, 1928-33), II, 445 ff. On *coepti* see *ibid.*, II, 450 ff.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 272 f.

³⁷ This is evidently the original reading, although the word appears in two of the MSS (*L* and *Ri*) as 'agmen.'

³⁸ The word is not recorded at all in Harper. It should be pointed out, however, that the word occurs in the title of a fourth-century poem, in a phrase strikingly similar to that found in our text: 'Verba Achillis in parthenone, cum tubam Diomedis audisset.' *Poetae Latini Minores* ed. Aem. Baehrens (6 vols., Leipzig, 1879-86), IV, 322. Could this, as well as the 'in parthenos' of *ET*, represent an attempt to render into Latin a Greek locution pertaining to the disguise of Achilles?

³⁹ It is possible that a study of some of the episodes would throw light on the period in which the story took its original form. For example, if we are to assume that the story is a Roman product, the account of the Greek athletic sports in the circus (5, 19 ff.) seems suggestive of the early Empire, since in later times these sports were pursued in separate stadia rather than in the circus. The account of the free participation of the King's sons in the contests is no doubt a Greek touch, since it suggests a prestige which the Greek sports never enjoyed in Rome. On this see L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (9th ed., Leipzig, 1919-20), II, 24 and 145 ff.

II. THE TROY STORY IN THE *Excidium Troiae* AND THE PROBLEM OF AN 'ENLARGED *Roman de Troie*'

It has long been known to scholars that a number of vernacular versions of the Troy story contain certain departures from the Dares-Dictys narrative which seem to indicate a common origin. Before discussing the relationship of the *Excidium Troiae* to other mediaeval Troy narratives, it will be necessary to summarize the hypotheses already advanced for the explanation of this unknown source material

The problem began with a study of the Middle English poem *The Seege or Batayle of Troye*. A. Zietsch,¹ the first to concern himself with the poem, stated that Dares was the chief source, although he pointed out (but did not explain) a number of divergences. W. Greif,² observing numerous correspondences between the *Seege* and Benoit's *Roman de Troie*, held that the *Roman* must also have been used to a considerable extent; and observing, moreover, several close similarities between the English poem, the *Trojanische Krieg* of Konrad von Würzburg, the Old Norse *Trójumanna Saga*, and some other versions, in details connected with the life of Paris, postulated the existence of a common Latin source for at least this part of the story. E. T. Granz,³ attempting to account for all the corresponding details, held that an expanded recension of the *Roman de Troie* was the common source of the accounts, allowing, however, that the English poet made independent use of Dares. The theory was further developed by C. H. A. Wager,⁴ who by means of a comparative study of the *Seege*, the *Trojanische Krieg*, the *Trójumanna Saga*, and the Old Bulgarian *Trojanska Priča*, attempted to show that the source common to all was a reworking of the *Roman de Troie*, partly expanded and partly condensed. G. L. Hamilton,⁵ after a comparison of parts of the *Confessio Amantis* with the *Trojanische Krieg*, attempted to point out that Gower also made extended use of the 'enlarged *Roman de Troie*' in his account of Achilles.

The whole hypothesis, already grown somewhat topheavy, was valiantly attacked by Miss M. E. Barnicle in her edition of the *Seege*.⁶ The 'enlarged *Roman de Troie*' in her opinion was a myth; there was no common source for the accounts mentioned other than a common knowledge of the extant Latin classics. The material interpolated varies so widely in arrangement and general treatment that the postulation of an extended *Roman* as a main source is a hindrance rather than an aid. Additions of material not found in Dares or Benoit are to be explained on the ground of 'raw material in the shape of a well-known and widely dissemi-

nated legend rehandled as each writer saw fit' (p. lxvi). Correspondences between the various mediaeval versions therefore simply mean that each writer 'had a knowledge of Dares, Benoit, Ovid, Statius, or whatever was used as the ground source plus a knowledge of classical legends, such as the Youth of Achilles, the Youth of Paris, etc.' (p. lxxiv). No intermediate stage need have existed save the growth and operation of tradition—meaning, apparently, oral tradition. This we are led to believe from Miss Barnicle's mention of the William Tell legend and the *Story of the Seven Sages*, which she compares to material found in the various Troy stories.

Let us examine first the possibility of a common source for the *Seege or Batayle of Troye*, the *Trojanische Krieg*, and the other related versions which have been mentioned. The evidence for such a source is briefly this: toward the beginning of these accounts, which are all recensions of Dares or Benoit, there occur a number of details and episodes not to be found in either of those two sources. Although not all the details occur in all the versions in question, yet there are several cases in which two or three of the versions agree against Dares and Benoit. These are, according to the combined studies of Granz and Wager: (1) Priam's attempt to regain Hesione; (2) the dream of Hecuba and the birth of Paris; (3) the life of Paris in the fields; (4) his judgment of the goddesses; (5) Paris' visit to Greece and the carrying off of Helen; and (6) the youth of Achilles.

First of all, it should be pointed out that not all the correspondences noted by the exponents of an expanded *Roman de Troie* are of any significance. Priam's attempt to regain his sister Hesione, although it is common to both the *Seege* and Konrad, is not radically different from the account contained in the extant *Roman de Troie*. Benoit relates⁷ that Priam, after the rebuilding of Troy, summons a parliament to consider the problem of recovering Hesione, who had been carried away by Hercules and given to Telamon. After some deliberation he decides to send Antenor as a messenger to the Greeks, demanding that Hesione be restored to him. Antenor makes his demand to Peleus, Telamon, Castor and Pollux, and Nestor in turn, but with no success. Now, the *Seege*⁸ tells that Priam calls his parliament and proposes war against the Greeks, while the parliament favors peace, provided Hesione be restored. Antenor makes his demand before all the Greeks assembled at one spot, seemingly at the court of Hercules,⁹ and is duly told to leave, as in Dares and Benoit. Konrad likewise has Priam favor war while the parliament favors peace, and he makes Antenor visit all the Greeks together at the

court of Telamon in Salamis.¹⁰ The obvious difference in the place at which the interview takes place seems to indicate, as Miss Barnicle (pp. lxii ff.) points out, individual handling of the extant *Roman de Troie*. The condensation of four meetings into one is only natural, for in Benoit's poem the last three are only repetitions of the first.

In the story of Paris, to which belong four of the six parallels adduced by Granz and Wager, we find a number of considerably more significant details. The *Seege* interpolates the following account of his birth and early life: Hecuba, when pregnant, dreams that she gives birth to a fire-brand which burns the city of Troy and all the surrounding country.¹¹ The dream is interpreted to mean that her son will bring about the destruction of Troy. When the son is born Hecuba is touched by his beauty, and when he is seven years old she sends him into the fields 'to kepe swyn wiþ staf and ston.' He is brought up as a herdsman, where he takes pleasure in making the animals fight, and crowns the winner with a garland. On account of his wisdom he is called Paris.¹² Later Priam hears of the wisdom of his son and sends for him. In an assembly in which Priam is considering the sending of an expedition into Greece, Paris relates that in the forest he had acted as arbiter between four 'ladies' for the possession of a golden ball which they had found. He is sent to Greece, carries away Helen, and thus brings on the Trojan War.

No trace of the story of Paris' youth is to be found in Dares or Benoit; yet the story is contained in the *Trojanische Krieg*, the *Trójumanna Saga*, and the Bulgarian *Trojanska Priča* in essentially the same form as in the Middle English poem. In Konrad,¹³ as well as in the other two versions,¹⁴ Hecuba tells her dream to Priam, who wants to kill the child. In Konrad and the *Trojanska Priča* Paris is left outside the city and is later found by a shepherd,¹⁵ while in the *Seege* and the *Trójumanna Saga* Hecuba sends him directly into the keeping of a herdsman;¹⁶ the latter seems to be merely a compression of the fuller story found in the other versions. In all four accounts the child is renamed Paris while the *Seege* and Konrad agree in having this name given him because of his wisdom.¹⁷ The *Seege* agrees with the *Trojanska Priča* that Paris was seven years old when sent to the fields.¹⁸ One of the most striking correspondences is in connection with his life as a herdsman, where, it is related in all four accounts, he takes great delight in making the bulls fight, and always crowns the winner with a garland.¹⁹

The story of Paris' judgment of the three goddesses is told in a variety of forms, indicative, it seems, of varying degrees of dependence on sources other than Dares and Benoit. The *Trójumanna Saga* follows Dares in

making the judgment a dream; in the *Seege* the goddesses come to Paris while he is asleep but seem to be real entities; while in the *Trojanische Krieg* and the *Trojanska Priča* it is an actual occurrence, and has considerably more bearing on the origin of the war. A correspondence in all accounts except the *Seege* is the appearance of the story of Peleus' marriage to Thetis and the strife caused by Discord in casting the golden apple.²⁰ It has also been shown that in the *Togail Troi*, an old Irish version of Dares, we find the same story inserted just before the judgment of Paris.²¹

There have been pointed out numerous other correspondences of varying degrees of significance. In the *Seege*, the *Trojanische Krieg*, and the *Trojanska Priča*, Menelaus is present in Sparta when Paris arrives, while in Dares and Benoit he has been called away before the arrival of the Greeks. A rather important similarity between the *Seege* and Konrad, the last of those advanced as evidence for an expanded *Roman de Troie*, is the inclusion in both accounts of the story of Achilles' youth. Both poems tell of the prophecy that he would be killed in battle,²² of his enchantment in magic waters,²³ of his life with the centaur and among the virgins at Licomedes' court, and of his discovery by Ulysses.

It is almost obvious from the foregoing summary that it would be very difficult to account for all the corresponding details by means of a single hypothetical, all-inclusive source. The theory of an enlarged *Roman de Troie* is open to at least three objections, any one of which is fatal:

1. The order and manner in which the interpolated events are introduced vary so widely (as pointed out by Miss Barnicle) that it is impossible to conceive of a single poem as a source. The youth of Paris, for example, occurs at the beginning of Konrad's poem and the *Trojanska Priča*, while in the *Seege* it is related after an account of the first destruction of Troy. In the *Trójumanna Saga* the episode is dragged in, with no apparent connection, just after the Argonauts land at Troy on their expedition to Colchis. The judgment of Paris is told by Konrad as an occurrence following the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, while in the *Seege* it is an experience related by Paris before Priam and the assembled Trojans. It is evident that no single, all-inclusive romance can account for these divergences.

2. As demonstrated by Greif,²⁴ all the name forms are unquestionably Latin and not French. The Latin declension of names is fairly consistently kept in the *Trojanische Krieg* and the *Trójumanna Saga*, and to a lesser extent in the *Seege*. In the portion containing non-Benoit material, Konrad uses *Priamus*, *Priamí*, and *Priamô*, while in the portion

drawn from the *Roman* he usually uses *Príant*, which is in turn *verdeutscht* to *Príandes*, neither of which forms appears toward the beginning of the poem. In the *Saga* such forms as 'til Thetidem,' 'var sagðr Príamó,' etc., are indisputable evidence of Latin origin.

3. Finally, the very nature of the added episodes speaks eloquently against an enlarged *Roman de Troie*. For, bungled as they are, the episodes are essentially classical in nature, and are clearly remnants of a tradition not only widely different from Dares and Benoît, but entirely contradictory to those accounts—a tradition in which divine caprice, manifested in the wedding feast and the subsequent judgment, was the original cause of the Trojan War; and in which Achilles, rather than the arch-traitor of the mediaeval accounts, is a hero of some importance and dignity. The details interpolated into the accounts we have examined represent an attempt to combine and harmonize the two traditions—a palpably unsuccessful attempt, except perhaps in the poem of Konrad, where the entire first part of the story has to be made over in order to allow the reintroduction of the Greek deities as a significant factor in the Trojan War.

There remains the question of whether the various mediaeval writers drew their supplementary information directly from the extant Latin classics or whether the entire story reflected in the interpolations was known to them in a single, connected narrative such as we find in *ET*. Miss Barnicle's idea that these writers made separate use of classical Latin authorities is open to a number of objections. In the first place, although the mediaeval writers all tell essentially the same story, that story is not found in continuous form in any one Latin authority. We would find it necessary to suppose, as Miss Barnicle suggests, that the various versions of Hecuba's dream and the youth of Paris derive from a combination and expansion of the accounts found in Ovid (*Heroides*, xvi, 43 ff.) and Hyginus (*Fabulae*, no. 91). Yet all accounts except Konrad almost immediately depart from Hyginus and agree with Apollodorus²⁵ in having Paris exposed by Hecuba rather than sent to his death by Priam and later spared. There are, moreover, corresponding details which could not possibly have come from Hyginus, such as the statement in all four accounts that Paris liked to watch fights between the bulls in his herd, and that he crowned the victor in these contests.²⁶ For the youth of Achilles the available classical source would be Statius. Yet at some points the mediaeval writers relate a fuller story than that found in the *Achilleid*—as when both the *Seege* and Konrad tell of the prophecy that Achilles would die in battle,²⁷ and when the former makes

mention of the vulnerable spot of Achilles, where he is later slain.²⁸ The idea, then, that the mediaeval writers could have made up a complete story from the Latin authors that have been mentioned appears highly improbable.

Finally, the supposition that these writers drew their information from the Latin classics would place upon them a burden of scholarship which the author of the *Seege*, at least,²⁹ is unable to bear. The poem is full of absurdities and corruptions of classical legend: Peleus, the father of Achilles, is 'half mon, half hors'; Paris' judgment is for possession of a golden ball which four elfin ladies (Saturnus, Mercurius, Jub ter, and Venus!) had found; Achilles meets his death by being thrown to the ground and having swords and knives thrust into the bottoms of his feet. The theory that the author supplemented Dares and Benoit by the use of Ovid, Statius, Hyginus, Servius, and perhaps other sources is therefore incredible.

It has become evident that in order to explain the source relation of the vernacular accounts under discussion it is necessary to turn to a single Latin narrative in which the entire story is to be found; it is further apparent that, in its content, *ET* shows a very close similarity to the material contained in these vernacular versions. Every one of the puzzling episodes is to be found in *ET*: the wedding feast, Hecuba's dream and the exposure of Paris, Paris' life as a shepherd, including his judgment of the bulls, and the youth of Achilles, including the account of his vulnerable heel.

The evidence for a source relationship is especially strong in connection with details which could not have come from any of the extant classical accounts. In the story of Paris' life among the herdsmen it is related that he takes pleasure in making the bulls fight, and that he always awards a crown to the victor. The *Seege* gives the following account:

Bote when þe child sawȝ fyȝte bole or bor,
 Or any opir best, lasse or more,
 He hadde gret ioye heom to by-holde
 Whiche of heom opir ouercome scholde;
 þeo child wolde do ilke best to fyȝt
 And hade gret ioye of þat syȝt;
 Wilke best wolde fyȝte & stande
 He wolde him coroune wiþ a garlande
 (*MS L*, 281-288).

Konrad von Würzburg:

sô vremde pfarren dicke striten
 mit den sînen von geschiht,
 son liez er sîn engelten niht,
 daz si dâ fremde wâren.
 er wolte rehtes vâren
 und tet in guot gerihte kunt.
 swaz dâ gesigte bi der stunt:
 ez wære ein ohse, ez wære ein wider,
 daz reht enleit er dô niht nider,
 wan er im eine crône
 sazt ûf sîn houbet schône.

(640-650).

Trojanska Priča:

Pariž committebat duos boves, et pungebant inter se et uter vincebat, ei nectebat coronam e floribus; uter vero non vincebat, ei nectebat (coronam) e stramine (p. 159).

Trójumanna Saga:

. . . ok á nokkorum degi, er hann [Paris] gætti feárins, kom til hans griðúngr einn mikill, er hann hafði eigi fyrr sèt, ok barðist við einn af hans griðúngum, ok varð sá sigraðr er Alexandr átti, þá setti þórr kórónu af dýrlegum blómum yfir höfuð hans; ok annan dag kom griðúngr, ok fór sem hinn fyrri dag; ok hinn þriðja dag komm hinn sami griðúngr, ok mátti sá minna fyrst, er Alexandr átti, ok þá batt hann brodd einn mikinn í enni honum, ok mátti sá þá ekki við, er til var kominn, ok undi þá Alexandr vel við, ok því setti hann kórónu á höfuð honum, ok tignaði hann þá svâ fyrri sigr sinn

(p. 20).

The correspondence in all four versions of this detail is a sufficient indication that it was to be found in the original source; and, further, that it had some rather important bearing on the story. Konrad intimates that in judging these contests Paris shows great justice; the author of the *Saga* seems to conceive of the episode as having some significance, yet he never connects it with the preceding or following events. Now, *ET* makes perfectly clear the nature of the classical story which must underlie the other accounts. Mars takes the likeness of a bull, overcomes Paris' animal, and receives the crown; it is by means of this that Paris' justice as a judge is known to the gods (4, 11-21). The relation of *ET* to the other accounts is obvious. The fights between the animals serve as a link between Paris' life in the fields and his choice as arbiter in the dispute between the goddesses. The account given in the *Saga* of the

strange *grīðūngr* becomes quite intelligible when interpreted as a remnant of the fuller story given in *ET*.

It seems evident that the narrative contained in the first part of *ET* was available in *some form* to the mediaeval writers whose works we have been considering. But before going into a detailed analysis of the episodes in order to determine this source relationship more exactly, it will be necessary to discuss the relationship of *ET*'s Troy story to a number of other mediaeval narratives which have not as yet been mentioned.

NOTES TO SECTION II

¹ Zeitsch, *Über Quelle und Sprache des mittellenglischen Gedichtes 'Seege oder Batayle of Troye'* (Kassel, 1883).

² Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie, Lxi, Marburg, 1886)*.

³ Granz, *Über die Quellengemeinschaft des mittellenglischen Gedichtes 'Seege oder Batayle of Troye' und des mittelhochdeutschen Gedichtes vom trojanischen Kriege des Konrad von Würzburg* (Leipzig, 1888).

⁴ Wager, *The Seege of Troye* (New York, 1899).

⁵ Hamilton, 'Gower's Use of the Enlarged *Roman de Troie*,' *PMLA*, xx (1905), 179-196.

⁶ *The Seege or Batayle of Troye*, ed. Barnicle (Early English Text Society, Original Series, no. 172, London, 1927).

⁷ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans (6 vols., Société des anciens textes français, Paris, 1904-12) ll. 3187 ff.

⁸ Lincoln's Inn MS (L) (Miss Barnicle's edition):

And siþen he made his parlement
And after al his kyndam sent . . .
ffurst þenne saide Priamus . . .
'y schal heom zeue a neowe bataile
And weorre on heom boþe nyȝt and day.'
And his counsail saide, 'sir, nay . . .'
(349-350; 353; 360-362).

Note that references in this style are to lines; references to pages, folios, etc., are provided with the appropriate symbol, e. g. '(p. 150).'

⁹ MS L:

þeo messenger com to sir Ercules,
þat maister of þat discomfitoure was,
And to sir Pollex and to sir Castor,
To sir Talamon and sir Nestor,
And saide to heom . . .

(385-389).

¹⁰ *Der Trojanische Krieg*, ed. A. von Keller (*Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins*, xliiv, Stuttgart, 1858), ll. 17801 ff. and 18004 ff.

¹¹ MS L:

A drem his modir dremede þan
þat out of hire body a braunche sprang
þat brennede troye and al þat lond
(240-242).

¹² MS L:

Wilke best wolde fyȝte & stande
He wolde him coroune wiþ a garlande.

Of alle dedis þe child was wis;
ffor-þy he was called child Parys
(287-290).

¹³ *Trojanische Krieg:*

und seit in dô ze mære
dem werden kûnege Priamô
(366-367).

¹⁴ *Trójumanna Saga*, ed. J. Sigurdsson, *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab), iv (1848), 4-100. 'Hekúbu dreymði, þá er hon var úraust, at einn logbrandr liði fram af munni hennar, þar fyri þótti henni öll Trójuborg brenna; hon var rædd mjök og sagði Priamó drauminn' (p. 18). The *Trojanska Priša* is published in *Starine* (Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti), III (1871), 156-187, with a Latin translation: 'et auditis his Prêjumuša rex secum reputabat, quid haec futura essent,' etc. (p. 159).

¹⁵ Konrad and the *Trojanska Priša* further agree in telling that the herdsman's wife had just borne a son. Konrad:

des hirten wîp dô kindes lac . . .
ir trûren wart vil gar ein wint
dur den hôchgebornen knaben:
si wolte in verre lieber haben
danne ir kint, daz si gebar
(564; 572-575).

Trojanska Priša: 'et invenit puerum opilio senex, cui uxor pepererat filium, et attulit eum pastor uxori suae et dixit ei: enutri mihi puerum hunc' (p. 159).

¹⁶ *Seege, MS L:*

And whan þe child was seoue ger old . . .
His modir þouzte on hire dremyng . . .
And made him to þeo feld to gon
To kepe swyn wîþ staf and ston
Vndur a mon þat better couþe
(261; 263; 269-271).

Trójumanna Saga: 'ok er móðirin sá, hversu fagrt þat barn var, vildi hon eigi láta út bera, ok fékk hann til fósturs á laun, ok var hann þá kallaðr Paris' (p. 18).

¹⁷ Konrad:

daz er geheizen Pâris
wart dur sîn gelichez reht
(662-663).

For *Seege* see p. xxix, n. 12. For further discussion of this detail see p. liv, n. 9.

¹⁸ *Trojanska Priša*: 'et cum esset septem annorum, pueri ambo ibant in campum cum patre suo, et ludebant circa pecus' (p. 159).

¹⁹ The significance of this detail will be discussed later. See pp. xxvi ff.

²⁰ This is told at great length by Konrad. In the *Trójumanna Saga* the account is brief and extremely confused: 'en er hann [Paris] vóx upp, elskaði hann mjök Freyju, en síðan, er hann vissi um ætt sína ok hann gerði brullaup sitt til Thetidem, þá bauð hann þangat öllum guðum; hon tók upp eitt gullepli, á því var þat ritað, at sú skyldi eignast er fegri væri . . .' (pp. 18, 20).

²¹ Published, with an English translation, in *Irische Texte*, 2nd ser., 1 (ed. W. Stokes and E. Windisch, Leipzig, 1884).

²² Konrad (Proteus prophesies that a son will be born to Peleus and Thetis):

'er wirt sô wol versunnen,
daz Troye noch gewonnen
wirt von sîner krefte.
mit sîner meisterschefte

Introduction

beginnet er ir an gesigen
und muoꝝ ouch denne tōt geligen
vor der veste wunneclich

(4599-4605).

Seege, MS L:

Apon a day Dame Tetes
To þe firmament heo lokid, wiþ-oute les,
And þer heo saw, saun failē,
Hire sone scholde beo slayn in bataile

(1234-1237).

For the probable origin of this detail in the *Seege* see below, p. lvi, n. 24.

²² In Konrad Thetis tells Chiron that she is going to dip her son in a certain magic spring (13602 ff.).

In the *Seege* she bathes her infant son in a 'water of enchauntement' (1215).

²⁴ In view of the fact that Greif postulated the existence of a Latin narrative similar to *ET*, it might be well to quote his conclusions: 'Als Erklärung für alle diese auffallenden Analogieen . . . kann nur die gelten, dass denselben eine gemeinschaftliche Quelle zu Grunde lag; denn die Annahme, dass einer des andern Werk gekannt habe, ist durchaus unzulässig . . . Als feststehend kann ferner gelten, dass jene Vorlage eine lateinische war, wie vor allem die Namensformen beweisen: *Discordiā* (K[onrad] 1254), *Prīamī* (S[aga] p. 18, 9), *Prīamō* (S[aga] p. 18, 17), *Thetidem* (S[aga] p. 18, 26).' *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, pp. 102-103.

²⁵ *The Library*, III, xii, 5. It is of course impossible to suppose that this account was used by the various mediaeval writers.

²⁶ Hyginus says merely 'habuit taurum in deliciis' (*Fabulae*, no. 91).

²⁷ See above, p. xxix, n. 22. The *Achilleid* contains only an allusion to some kind of prophecy by Proteus: 'Agnosco monitus et Protea vera locutum' (I, 32). See the note below to p. 10, 26.

²⁸ *Seege, MS L:*

His modur baþede him verrament
In a water of enchauntement
Þat al so hard by-com his skyn
As any baleyn to hewen yn,
Bote þeo soles of his feet
Þer his modur hondys seet

(1214-1219).

The *Achilleid* gives only the vaguest allusion to Achilles' vulnerability:

. . . si progenitum Stygos amne severo
armavi—totumque utinam!

(I, 269-270).

Brief accounts of the vulnerable heel are found in Servius, Fulgentius, and other sources. See the note below to p. 10, 25.

²⁹ The *Trójumanna Saga* seems likewise to be an unscholarly product; e.g., in the story of the wedding of Paris and Thetis, etc.

III. THE TROY STORY: FURTHER LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS

Since the *Excidium Troiae* is clearly a redaction and not an original mediaeval work, it will be worth while to consider the possibility of related Latin redactions of the same basic narrative. Especially interesting in this connection is an account attached to two of the manuscripts of the *Chronicon Venetum* known as *Compendium Historiae Troianae-Romanae*.¹ Although extremely brief, this narrative shows some remarkable affinities to *ET*, and it seems quite likely that it was partly derived from the same ultimate source. Although not all the events in question are included, and although the order of the narrative is somewhat different, it will be recognized that the two stories are very close in content. The *Compendium* begins with a brief account of Orpheus and Neptune and the building of Troy. There follows the sinister dream of Hecuba, who envisions the birth of a firebrand which burns the city.² Priam therefore decides to destroy the infant, but Hecuba, moved with pity, sends him to a herdsman for safekeeping.³ He is brought up in the fields, as in *ET*; and there is the additional information that he shows his prowess by conquering twelve robbers. He likes to watch fights between the bulls and always crowns the winner with a garland. When a strange bull is defeated by Paris' favorite, he crowns the winner; but when the same animal returns and gains the victory, he removes the garland from his pet and crowns the stranger with it.⁴ At the wedding of Proserpina and Perithous, Discordia casts the apple; and the goddesses come to Paris, since they have heard of the judgment of the bulls. Paris decides in favor of Venus and later, at her advice, goes to Greece in the guise of a merchant. There he steals Helen, and thus brings on the Trojan War. Following the war, there is an account of Aeneas, with no apparent direct dependence on Virgil, although the events are roughly the same. Finally, there is a somewhat fuller summary of the history of Rome.

It is obvious that the *Compendium* and *ET* are very similar in their general outlines, and it seems quite likely that the two are to some extent dependent upon a common original. Three details especially are indicative of such a relationship, since, so far as has been determined, they do not occur in other Latin accounts. One is the story of the bull fights⁵ and Paris' justice in judging them. Another is the statement in both accounts that Venus took unfair advantage of the other goddesses when she came to make her bribe by appearing nude before Paris and thus arousing in him a burning passion.⁶ Finally, there is Paris' ruse of pretending to be a merchant when he came to Greece and abducted Helen.⁷

Although the *Compendium* is probably too brief to have served to a very great extent as a source book for mediaeval writers, it is highly significant in showing that the Trojan material contained in *ET* existed in other related Latin accounts which would have been available to mediaeval authors.

The idea that this related Latin material was used by mediaeval writers on Troy is suggested very strongly by a study of the Troy narrative which Robert Mannyng of Brunne incorporates into his *Story of England*.⁸ Toward the beginning of his history, Mannyng devotes some 300 lines to a recounting of the events leading up to the destruction of Troy. This narrative has hitherto been attributed to Dares Phrygius,⁹ whom Mannyng cites as his authority. Yet the evidence for Mannyng's use of Dares consists only of a short sketch (ll. 431-456) of the first destruction of Troy at the hands of Jason. This evidence is decidedly inconclusive, since Mannyng's information might have come from any of a number of intermediate versions.¹⁰

The remainder of Mannyng's narrative consists of three episodes, none of which is part of the Dares tradition. The first of these (ll. 459-502) is the now familiar battle of the bulls. Paris, son of Priam (says Mannyng), was a keeper of beasts, since it was the custom in old times for knights and youths of noble blood to keep them.¹¹ One day a bull comes from Greece and fights with one of Paris' beasts. The next day he returns; the battle goes on for many days. Finally the 'bole of Troye' is defeated, whereupon Paris awards a crown to the victorious stranger. As in *ET* and the numerous vernacular versions, this story is designed to establish the competence of Paris as a judge; but Mannyng compresses the story considerably by having the three goddesses themselves observe the battle of the bulls and its outcome. Mannyng's account agrees very closely with that of the *Compendium*, which, unlike *ET*, relates that the strange bull returned to battle more than once.

The second of Mannyng's episodes is the judgment of the goddesses (ll. 503-612)—but Robert transforms them into 'pre wicches,' who 'in þe eyr dide fare.' These weird sisters observe the bull fight and Paris' decision, and marvel at his wisdom. Soon they begin to argue over their beauty, and they agree to let Paris decide the issue. As a prize they resolve to make a ball of some kind, and they request Paris to award it to the fairest among them. Before the day set for judgment the three come to Paris individually and offer bribes. Juno offers worldly position, Pallas offers wisdom, while Venus offers the 'fairest lady þat now

lyues' (l. 581). After much soul-searching, Paris decides to award the ball to Venus, whereupon the other ladies are 'for wrayth al mad.'

The source of this episode could certainly not have been Dares, since in Dares' account the judgment is merely a dream which Paris relates before the parliament; moreover, there is no mention of the bribes offered by either Pallas or Juno. Neither *ET* nor the *Compendium* will serve; in the former Pallas is called Minerva and she promises victory rather than wisdom; in the latter the bribes of Pallas and Juno are omitted entirely. But the general similarity between Mannyng and these narratives¹² seems strong enough to warrant the supposition that the source which he used had some relation to those accounts.

The third episode which Mannyng presents is the rape of Helen (ll. 613-730). Venus, immediately after the judgment, instructs Paris to prepare a ship laden with riches and proceed to Greece in the guise of a merchant. Paris arrives, and is greeted by Menelaus. Paris tells him that whoever wishes to see his riches must come aboard his ship. Helen hears of this and finally gets leave to visit the merchant vessel. After she comes aboard and is absorbed in an examination of the riches, Paris sets sail and takes her away to Troy. There follows a short account of the towering wrath of Menelaus, and of the expedition which resulted in the final overthrow of Troy.

This episode likewise differs radically from the narrative of Dares, in which Helen is simply captured in the temple, and carried away after a battle with the *oppidani*.¹³ But a most interesting parallel to Mannyng's narrative is found in the *Compendium* (p. 243), where Paris approaches Helen in the likeness of a merchant, woos her with words and gifts, and finally sails away with her to Troy. An almost identical account is given in the Spanish *Libro de Alexandre* (to be discussed later)—the only important difference being that Menelaus is absent at the time of Paris' arrival (as he is also in Dares). One manuscript of the *Seege*, moreover, mentions Paris' ruse of pretending to be a merchant when questioned as to his identity,¹⁴ and in *ET*, as we have seen (pp. xxxi, xxxix, n. 7), Paris is mistaken for a merchant when he arrives at Menelaus' kingdom. It seems quite evident that *ET* gives us an abridgment of an episode which was originally something like that contained in the *Compendium*, and that Mannyng must have had access to some form of the narrative that underlies these accounts.

There are a number of other vernacular Troy stories which should be examined with a view to their source relationship to *ET*. The late Pro-

fessor A. G. Solalinde pointed out (orally) that the chain of events with which we are concerned was known to the Spanish writers of the thirteenth century, and that essentially the same story of Paris and the origin of the war is to be found in the *Libro de Alexandre* as well as in some later versions. A brief survey of these works will be helpful.

The *Libro de Alexandre*¹⁵ is, of course, mainly concerned with the fabulous life of Alexander the Great. There is, however, an insertion of some length (stanzas 322–761) in which a complete account of the Trojan War is given, the sources of which have not been fully determined.¹⁶ A comparison of this part of the story with *ET* reveals a striking similarity not only in the choice of events but also in the order of their narration. After a brief summary of the whole Trojan War we find an account of the wedding feast—but it is transformed into a convocation held by ‘dos reys,’ who remain unnamed. Discordia becomes Sin, or the Evil One—‘el peccado’—and she (or he) casts the golden apple and brings about great strife, whereupon the goddesses are sent to the shepherd Paris.¹⁷ At this point the author breaks off to tell of the early life of Paris.¹⁸ Before his birth Hecuba had seen a horrible thing in her sleep:

que salie de su cuerpo || una flamma yrada
quemaua toda Troya || tornaua la en nada.¹⁹

Priam accordingly commands that the child be killed; but Hecuba sends him to be reared by shepherds. A brief account of his life with them is given, but the bull fights are not mentioned. The goddesses come before him and harangue him at some length, promising him the regular bribes.²⁰ Paris decides in favor of Venus and demands the wife of Menelaus, of whose beauty he has heard. Venus consents but tells him that he must change his name and go as a merchant.²¹ He proceeds to Greece and steals Helen while Menelaus is absent ‘en una caualgada.’²²

At this point the Greeks prepare for war; and one of their first tasks is to find Achilles. It is related that Achilles’ mother, a very clever woman, had enchanted him so that ‘non podies fierro || nunca en el entrar.’²³ Then, still fearing an evil fate, she places him among the nuns in a monastery.²⁴ Ulixes finds him by placing weapons before him; and he is taken to Troy to join in the fighting. The author turns to other sources for the actual siege; yet there is one more interesting point of comparison in connection with the death of Achilles. Paris knows about his vulnerable point, which, according to *Alexandre*, is in ‘las plantas de los pies.’²⁵ He finds Achilles kneeling in prayer and kills him by shooting an arrow into the sole of his foot. This seems to be a corruption of the older story

found in *ET*, in which Paris shoots Achilles in the heel while he is worshipping in the temple of Apollo.

It is obvious that the story told in *Alexandre* is remarkably similar in most respects to that found in *ET*. If we make allowance for the free mediaevalizing of the story in *Alexandre* we can find few differences of any significance. One is the use (in *Alex.*) of the name Pallas for Minerva and Ulixes for Odiseus. Another is the statement that Priam knows about Hecuba's evil dream and advises that the child be killed, whereas in *ET* Hecuba acts on her own responsibility. Then there is the mention of the fact that Hecuba's child is first named Alexe and is later renamed Paris²⁶—a detail not found in *ET*. Finally, there is the account of Venus' scheme for Paris to sail to Greece under the pretense of being a merchant, which, as we have seen, corresponds to the *Compendium* and to Robert Mannyng. All these differences might reasonably be interpreted to mean that the source of *Alexandre* was a different redaction of the same basic narrative, in which the story was told more fully and with some variations. At any rate, the great similarity of *Alexandre* to *ET* warrants the assumption of a very close source relationship between the two.

Another Spanish account which evidently contains a great deal of material from the same version of the Troy story is that contained in the *General Estoria* of Alfonso el Sabio.²⁷ Solalinde has already pointed out²⁸ that the story of the judgment of Paris, especially the part concerned with the promises of the goddesses, was drawn largely from the *Libro de Alexandre*. From the same source might well have come the statement that Achilles was vulnerable only in the soles of his feet,²⁹ and that Paris shot him while he was kneeling in prayer.³⁰ Yet the *Estoria* is much more complete than *Alexandre* in telling that Achilles was definitely dipped in the Styx by Thetis³¹ rather than merely enchanted. It also contains an account of Paris' judgment of the bulls,³² which could not have come from the *Alexandre*. Although Alfonso includes a vast body of Trojan material in his history before settling down to Dares' account of the actual fighting, the general plan and order of the events are quite similar to those of *Alexandre* and *ET*. It would be unwise to state a final conclusion until a complete study of the *Estoria* has been made; yet it seems not unreasonable to suppose that some form of the Latin version with which we are concerned influenced the first part of Alfonso's narrative.

Still another Spanish account which shows some affinities to *ET* is Leomarte's *Sumas de Historia Troyana*.³³ Although in large part Leo-

marté's narrative follows that of the *Libro de Alexandre*, it is more complete in certain points, as for example in the inclusion of the incident of Paris and the bulls, in which Leomarte agrees quite closely with Alfonso's version. There is likewise an interesting correspondence with Konrad von Würzburg in the story of Paris' exposure, in which it is related that Paris is sent to be killed, but is spared by the servants when they see the infant smile.³⁴

Two of the Italian texts published by Gorra should likewise be taken into consideration in connection with *ET*. One of these, the *Istoriotta Trojana*,³⁵ contains the familiar episode of Paris' judgment of the bulls, and some interesting variations in the judgment of the goddesses, to be discussed later (p. xlv). The other, *La Fiorita* of Armannino Giudice,³⁶ is of interest in that it contains one element not commonly found: the story of Paris' return to Troy and his defeat of his brothers in the athletic contests. After telling (roughly according to Guido de Columnis) of Jason and Medea and the first destruction of Troy, Armannino gives a brief account of Hecuba's dream of a firebrand which burns the city. Paris is accordingly exposed and brought up by a shepherd. He becomes an expert bowman and an excellent athlete. Enone, a 'duchessa,' is mentioned briefly, but there is no account of the animal fights or even (at this point) of the judgment of the goddesses. Having heard of the athletic contests in Troy, Paris goes thither to take part. He engages his brothers in friendly sparring bouts and defeats them all, including Hector. Hector is humiliated, and seizes his sword in order to deal Paris a death blow. Hecuba, having recognized her shepherd son, intervenes to save his life, for he would never have survived a real battle with his elder brother.³⁷ This account differs noticeably from *ET*, in which Paris' brothers plan to take their revenge by surrounding the circus with soldiers who are to seize him after the games are finished. Armannino's account shows some similarity to that of Servius, the chief disagreement being the statement that it was Hecuba who revealed Paris' identity; Servius states that Paris revealed himself, while in *ET* it is his foster-father, the shepherd, who makes the revelation. It seems unlikely that Armannino's source could have been the brief statements of Servius,³⁸ and this story of Paris' contest with his brothers may well go back ultimately to the *ET* narrative of Paris' athletic feats in the stadium.³⁹

The reason why most mediaeval writers neglected to mention Paris' triumph in the athletic contests is, no doubt, that they considered the episode inappropriate. They were unable to distinguish between athletic prowess of the Greek variety and actual strength in battle. To have

Paris defeat Hector must have seemed impossible to a mediaeval writer, since it was dangerously like questioning the supremacy of the noblest knight of antiquity. The German writers, however, seemed to have no scruples about recording the contest as a fight between Paris and Hector. In the *Weltchronik* of Jansen Enikel,⁴⁰ Paris engages Hector in a fierce fight with bucklers and finally strikes him down, after which the shepherd dramatically reveals the identity of his ward. This is quite similar to the account given in Konrad's *Trojanische Krieg* (ll. 5012-5068), in which the brothers wage a playful battle 'in einem rinc,' and Paris smites Hector so heavy a blow that the shepherd feels constrained to interfere in order to prevent serious trouble.

A much more distinct effort to emphasize the valor of Paris is observable in the Middle High German *Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg*.⁴¹ This contains a highly mediaevalized narrative whose sources can be but vaguely discerned, since the author obviously allows himself great freedom and independence in telling the story. There is an interminable account of Paris in the guise of a knight-errant who wanders about overcoming giants and dwarfs and otherwise distinguishing himself by mighty deeds of arms. The relationship of this account to *ET* is indicated by the appearance of the same characteristic events: Hecuba's dream; the exposure of Paris; his life as a shepherd, including his judgment of the bulls; his judgment of the goddesses; and the finding of Achilles at the court of Nicomedes.⁴² There are, however, many additional accounts of Paris' exploits, which may have been inspired by the classical story of his athletic ability. While still a shepherd, he slays a dog with his fist, and later overcomes a she-bear and a lion.⁴³ After his judgment of the goddesses Paris sets out in search of adventure; but rather than merely go to Troy and distinguish himself in the stadium, he wanders about and engages in a series of gaudy mediaeval battles.⁴⁴ He is finally dubbed 'knight' by the 'kaisser' in Constantinople and is there victorious in a glorious tournament, which, it is just possible, may correspond to the circus games in *ET*. Of course, Paris' exploits in the Trojan War are equally valorous. It would be highly inconsistent if so bold a knight resorted to the unmanly trick of shooting Achilles from ambush; and indeed, he does not: he engages him in a fierce duel and slays him (in what manner it is not clear). Then he hews off his head and throws it away:

Das hoppt schwang er von im dan:
By dem hare er es do nan,
Mitt gewaltt er es von dan
Warff über muren und dry graben
(19400-19403).

Such an account of Paris is, of course, rather unusual and individual; yet it seems likely that in its main outlines it was inspired, or suggested, by the more ancient story contained in *ET*, in which considerable attention is given to the youth of Paris, and in which his youthful exploits are sufficiently prominent to suggest many heroic qualities to a mediaeval writer. The German account wanders rather far afield, to be sure; but it is difficult to suggest another origin.

Another version of the Paris story which shows some interesting affinities to *ET* is the brief account of the judgment of Paris contained in *Eneas*,⁴⁵ a twelfth century romance drawn from Virgil and a number of other sources.⁴⁶ The interpolation regarding Paris is the same in all essentials as that found in *ET*: the three goddesses are at a 'parlemant' (l. 103) when Discorde casts a golden apple on which an inscription indicates that the most beautiful should have it. They fall into strife, come to Paris, and show him the inscription. Paris postpones judgment for three days;⁴⁷ during this time the three goddesses come to him separately and offer him wealth, strength in battle, and the fairest lady respectively.⁴⁸ On the day agreed upon they return, and Paris awards the apple to Venus. The great similarity in plan, as well as in many of the details,⁴⁹ is apparent, and we can hardly avoid the conclusion that some version of this Latin narrative was known to the author of *Eneas*. There should be noted, however, some significant differences in the two accounts. Minerva in *Eneas* is called Pallas, and she is the second to offer her bribe rather than the first as in *ET*. Juno's offer to increase Paris' flocks in the Latin account (4, 32-5, 1) is peculiarly bucolic—whereas in *Eneas* she merely offers wealth:

plus que ses pere ne avoit,
et molt par lo feroit riche home
(140-141).

These differences might at first sight appear to be original variations in the narrative; but a close study of them points to the conclusion that the author of *Eneas* is following his source in these details. No less than nine of the analogues discussed in Section IV, episode 4⁵⁰ show the very same divergences from *ET*: Minerva is called Pallas, and she follows Juno in her address to Paris; moreover, in not one of these analogues does Juno make the offer that she makes in *ET*. These facts, together with a consideration of the close and detailed similarity of *Eneas* to *ET* in other respects, confirm the idea that some reworking of the *ET* narrative—whether an earlier or a later form than that extant—had acquired the traits that we have noted in *Eneas*.

In addition to the versions already mentioned, there are a few other narratives which will be occasionally cited in the ensuing analysis of episodes. One of these is *MS G* of the *Roman de Troie*, attributed to Jean Maukaraume,⁵¹ containing an account of Hecuba's dream and the youth of Paris. Versions of the youth of Achilles and of his discovery among the virgins will be cited from the *Alexander* of Ulrich von Eschenbach,⁵² from some fragments attached to the *Repgauische Chronik*,⁵³ and from the *Confessio Amantis* of John Gower.⁵⁴ A few references will also be made to three other accounts: the Old French *Floire et Blanceflor*,⁵⁵ the *Historie van Troyen* of Jakob Maerlant,⁵⁶ and the *Liet von Troye* of Herbort von Fritslâr.⁵⁷

NOTES TO SECTION III

¹ Published by H. Simonsfeld in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xi (1886), 241-251.

² 'Que cum gravida esset et nondum puerum peperisset, sompniavit, se quamdam facem concepisse, cuius igne totam civitatem videbat ardere. Que retulit Priamo' (p. 242). Cf. *ET*, p. 4, 1-5.

³ '... et occulte suo vacario in nemore iussit ad nutriendum dari' (p. 242).

⁴ '... deinde ad gregem rediit et de victore victoriam habuit. Moxque Paris de capite suo diadema abstulit et illius fronti constituit. Cuius fama per universa climata divulgata: omnes mirabantur tam recta consilia' (p. 242). In *ET* (p. 4, 14 ff.) the strange bull is Mars, and he wins at the first encounter.

⁵ It is by no means necessary to consider this a mediaeval detail or to connect it with Spain! When we consider the great fondness of the Romans for watching fights between animals in the time of the Caesars it becomes quite credible that the episode was a classical accretion to the story. Bull-baiting and bull-fighting were also common in the Greek world, and were native to Thessaly. On this see Friedländer, *Darstellungen*, II, 87 ff.

⁶ *Compendium*: '... se nudam Paridi presentavit: quam ut vidit, in eius amore exarsit et illam vitricem promisit, si satisfaceret eius petitioni' (p. 243); *ET*, p. 5, 5 ff.

⁷ *Compendium*, p. 243; *ET*, p. 7, 26 ff. At least this is implied in the latter when Helen sends word to Paris: 'si aliquod ornamentum quod regine placeat in venalibus possit ferre.' No doubt in the source of *ET* the detail was more prominent.

⁸ Ed. F. J. Furnivall (2 vols., London, 1887).

⁹ Aem. W. Zetsche, *Über den ersten Teil der Bearbeitung des 'roman de Brut' des Wace durch Robert Mannyng of Brunne* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 10; F. J. Furnivall, *op. cit.*, p. xviii; J. E. Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, 1926), p. 200.

¹⁰ E.g., Benoit's *Roman de Troie*, Guido's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, or even the Middle English *Seege or Batayle of Troye*.

¹¹ In the *Seege*, on the other hand, Paris' occupation is by no means recognized as an aristocratic one:

And made him kepe swyn þere
As he a pore monnes sone weore
(275-276).

¹² E.g., in *ET* Paris likewise sets a day for the judgment; the goddesses come to him separately to offer bribes, etc.

¹³ *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, ix-x.

¹⁴ Harley MS, ll. 654a-654b.

¹⁵ Ed. R. S. Willis, Jr. (*Elliott Monographs*, no. 32, Princeton and Paris, 1934).

¹⁶ Parallels for part of the story have been pointed out in Dares and the pseudo-Pindarus Thebanus. A. Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, IV (1875), 82 ff., holds that the first part of the story 'procède évidemment de la version qui est représentée par la *Crónica troyana* imprimée' (p. 87), of which there were several early editions. This was a reworking of Leomarte, *Sumas de Historia Troyana* (edited in 1932 by A. Rey in *Revista de Filología Española*, Anejo XV). Professor Solalinde has stated that this material cannot possibly be considered older than the *Alexandre*, and so it hardly comes into question as a source. The Troy story in *Alexandre* is probably the earliest of the Spanish versions (see A. Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 16ff.), and its sources need a thorough re-examination, for which this survey may serve as a starting point. On *Alexandre* and its sources see also R. S. Willis, Jr., *The Relationship of the Spanish 'Libro de Alexandre' to the 'Alexandreis' of Gautier de Chatillon* (*Elliott Monographs*, no. 31, Princeton and Paris, 1934), and *The Debt of the Spanish 'Libro de Alexandre' to the French 'Roman d'Alexandre'* (*Elliott Monographs*, no. 33, Princeton and Paris, 1935).

¹⁷ Stanzas 335-345. Citations are from *MS O*.

¹⁸ It is interesting that the author interrupts himself at exactly the same point as in *ET. Alex.*, 346: 'Qviero uos sobre Paris || un poquiello faular'; *ET*, p. 3, 27: 'Et dicere habes: qui fuit Paris . . . ? Respondendum est . . .'

¹⁹ Stanza 348. Cf. *ET*, p. 4, 2.

²⁰ I.e., Juno offers wealth, Pallas strength in battle (stanzas 369, 374).

²¹ Stanza 392: 'Faz te camiar el nombre || ue cuemo mercadero.'

²² Cf. *ET*, p. 7, 21-22. A further interesting detail is that in both accounts the news reaches Menelaus before his return. *Alex.*, stanza 400: 'Fueron al rey las nouas || & sobieron ge [=le] mal'; *ET*, p. 9, 5-7.

²³ Stanza 411. Cf. *ET*, p. 10, 24-25.

²⁴ Among the 'serores' in a 'mongia' (stanzas 411 ff.)—the mediaeval equivalent of the 'virgines' of King Licomedes (*ET*, p. 10, 5).

²⁵ Stanza 724. Achilles' vulnerable heel is not definitely mentioned in Statius' *Achilleid*, though most of the other events pertaining to Achilles are. On the vulnerable soles see below, pp. I; IV, n. 22.

²⁶ These are significant because they are also found in Konrad von Würzburg, the *Trôjumanna Saga*, and other versions. See above, p. xxiii.

²⁷ This was being edited at the University of Wisconsin by A. G. Solalinde; the first volume was published in Madrid in 1930. Because of the war in Spain and the untimely death of Professor Solalinde, publication of the remainder of the text has been delayed. According to *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, no. 17 (1942), pp. 63 and 69, this project is being continued by L. A. Kasten, V. R. B. Oelschläger, M. H. Singleton, and others.

²⁸ 'El Juicio de Paris en el "Alexandre" y en la "General Estoria,"' *Revista de Filología Española*, xv (1928), 1-51.

²⁹ ' . . . que segunt dizen los autores de los gentiles en ninguna parte de su cuerpo non podie entrar fierro si non en las plantas de los pies.' *MS Escorial Y*, I, 1 (a photostatic copy of which Professor Solalinde very kindly lent me), fol. 64^r.

³⁰ Fol. 81^r.

³¹ Fols. 63^r, 64^r.

³² ' . . . quando vinien toros ajenos e lidiauan con los suyos e vencien los suyos a los ajenos, coronaua el de guirlandas de rramos e de flores a los suyos, e si vencien los ajenos, coronaua a los ajenos e non a los suyos; e por esta derecho que fazie, pues que el fue sonando por las tierras, vinien muchos a el con sus pleitos' (fols. 45^r, 45^v).

³³ Ed. A. Rey, *Revista de Filología Española*, Anejo xv (Madrid, 1932).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150. This detail, as Greif (pp. 95-96) points out, may have been due to the influence of the *Iliad* of Simon Capra Aurea (Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Latina*, clxxi, 1447 ff.). But Leomarte attributes the detail to Virgil!

³⁵ E. Gorra, *Testi inediti di Storia Troyana* (Turin, 1887), 371-403. Gorra likewise (pp. 320 ff.) summarizes an interesting version of the Paris story contained in a poetical account called *Il Trojano a stampa*.

³² *Testi inediti*, pp. 532-561.

³³ P. 540. Paris is said to struggle 'più per ingegno e per grande destrezza che per forza.' Cf. *ET*, p. 6, 6: '. . . non arte sed virtute dimicavit.'

³⁴ *Commentarii, Aen.*, v, 370: '. . . in Troiae agonalis certamine [Paris] superaret omnes, ipsum etiam Hectorem, qui cum iratus in eum stringeret gladium, dixit se esse germanum.' Hyginus, *Fab.*, no. 91, likewise mentions Paris' defeat of his brothers, and it is Cassandra who recognizes him.

³⁵ H. Dunger quotes a marginal gloss to Ovid's *Heroides* in which it is the shepherd who reveals Paris' identity (see the note p. 5, 19 below). This corresponds to the Middle High German versions as well as to *ET*. See Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihre antiken Quellen* (Leipzig, 1869), p. 47.

³⁶ A voluminous poetic history of the world composed in the late thirteenth century. The section on Troy contains the same series of events as the other versions we have considered, and it will therefore be included in the ensuing 'Analysis of Episodes.' Ed. P. Strauch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores qui Vernacula Lingua usi sunt*, Vol. III, Part 1 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1900), ll. 13691-13754.

³⁷ Ed. A. Koppitz (Berlin, 1926). This was written, according to Koppitz (p. xxii), by a pupil of Konrad von Würzburg. Valeria Gramatzky in *Quellenstudien zum Götterweiger Trojanerkrieg* (Berlin, 1935) gives abundant evidence of the poet's use of Konrad. It is doubtful, however, if he was entirely indebted to Konrad for the story. For example, he is more complete than Konrad in the story of the bulls (ll. 1764 ff.).

³⁸ L. 16308. It is possible that this form arose from a confusion with the name Nicodemus. Licomedes appears once in the Rawlinson MS as *Nichomedis* (p. 11, 4) and in Ulrich von Eschenbach's *Alexander* as *Nycomèdes* (l. 18492).

³⁹ Ll. 1476-1478; 1558-1616—a reminiscence of the youthful David, no doubt. Yet it has been pointed out that the *Compendium* hints at Paris' youthful feats by telling that he conquered twelve robbers (see above, p. xxxi)—an event which actually occurs in a later portion of the *Trojanerkrieg* (ll. 6491 ff.).

⁴⁰ Including one with his brother Hector (ll. 10879 ff.), in which the two knights recognize each other after a long struggle.

⁴¹ *Eneas*, ed. Salverda de Grave (Paris, 1925-29; and an older edition, Halle, 1891).

⁴² On the sources of *Eneas* see Salverda de Grave, *Eneas* (Halle, 1891), Introduction, pp. xxx ff.; F. M. Warren, 'On the Latin Sources of *Thèbes* and *Énéas*,' *PMLA*, xvi (1901), 375-387; E. Faral, 'Ovide et quelques autres sources du *Roman d'Énéas*,' *Romania*, xl (1911), 161-234 and 'Le récit du jugement de Paris dans l'*Énéas* et ses sources,' *Romania*, xli (1912), 100-102; A. Pauphilet, 'Eneas et Énée,' *Romania*, lv (1929), 195-213. For a scholarly condemnation of *Eneas* as literature see Jessie Crosland, 'Eneas and the Aeneid,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxix (1934), 282-290.

⁴³ *ET*, p. 4, 25-26: '. . . iudicium comperendinavit'—certainly the correct reading, although the word has been altered to 'procrastinavit.' Cf. the quotation from *Eneas* below, p. liv, n. 12.

⁴⁴ On the offers of the goddesses see p. xlv.

⁴⁵ Passages of the *Eneas*, to be compared with *ET*, are quoted also on p. liii, n. 2 and p. liv, n. 11.

⁴⁶ *Viz.*, Konrad, Enikel, Alfonso, Leomarte, Mannyng, *Alexandre*, the *Trojanska Priča*, the *Götterweiger Trojanerkrieg*, and the *Isorietta Trojana*.

⁴⁷ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans (Paris, 1904-12). See 'Variantes complémentaires,' iv, 389 ff.

⁴⁸ Ed. W. Toischer (*Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins*, clxxxiii, Tübingen, 1888).

⁴⁹ Ed. A. Bernoulli, *Germania*, xxviii (1883), 30-38.

⁵⁰ *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay (2 vols., E. E. T. S., *Extra Series*, nos. 81-82, London, 1900-01).

⁵¹ Ed. É. du Méril (Paris, 1856).

⁵² Portions are given in *Episodes uit Maerlant's Historie van Troyen*, ed. J. Verdam (Groningen, 1873).

⁵³ Ed. G. K. Fromann (*Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Litteratur*, v, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1837).

IV. THE TROY STORY: ANALYSIS OF EPISODES

In order to bring together the mass of analogous literary material, it will be worth while to analyze separately the episodes in *ET* relating to Paris and Achilles, indicating as nearly as possible the points at which *ET* agrees and disagrees with the other versions which have been discussed.¹

1. *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*

Jupiter gives a feast to celebrate the marriage of Peleus to the Nereid Thetis. To it he invites a number of deities. Discordia, enraged at not being invited, procures a golden apple on which she writes: 'A gift to the fairest goddess.'² This she casts among the assembled deities. Juno, Minerva, and Venus fall into strife and ask Jupiter to decide which of them is most beautiful. Being fearful of offending them, he refuses and sends them to Paris, a shepherd on Mount Ida (*ET*, p. 3, 11-26).

The story of this feast is found (in some form) in *C* (242-243), *K* (808 ff.), *TP* (159-161), *TT* (75-76), *Leom* (151 ff.), *Alf* (23 ff.), *JE* (13787 ff.), *TS* (18.20), *Alex* (335-345), *Ulr* (4877 ff.), and *En* (101 ff.).

Only in *K* and *TP*³ is the feast connected with Peleus and Thetis. In *C*, it is the wedding of Proserpine and Perithous; in *TS*, it seems to be the wedding of Paris and Thetis. *TT* mentions Peleus but not Thetis. In *JE*, it is a 'hōchzit' held in Troy by the three goddesses. In *Alf* and *Leom*, it is confused with the feast of Tantalus; in *Alex*, it is a gathering held by two kings. In *TS*, it seems to be the bride herself who casts the apple; in *Alex*, the apple is cast by Satan. *S*, *Alex*, *Leom*, *Alf*, and *K* give a fuller and more dramatic version of the quarrel, in which there are some correspondences.⁴ *RM*, *GT*, *S*, and *IT* drop the episode and otherwise account for the apple. In *RM* (503 ff.), the goddesses begin to quarrel over their beauty and resolve to make a ball as a prize; in *GT* (1787 ff.), Distordia and Terius give Paris the apple with instructions to award it to one of the goddesses who will appear; in *S* and *IT*, the goddesses find a ball and then begin to quarrel over it. In *K*, *Alf*, and *Leom*, Jupiter's reasons for refusing to decide the quarrel are the same: since he is related to all, he dare not decide.⁵

2. *Hecuba's Dream and the Exposure of Paris*

Hecuba dreams, when pregnant, that she gives birth to a firebrand which burns Troy to the ground.⁶ The dream is interpreted to mean

that her son will be the cause of Troy's downfall. When Paris is born he is exposed on Mount Ida and is found by a shepherd (*ET*, p. 4, 1-9).

Found in *C* (242), *S* (239 ff.), *TS* (18), *TP* (159), *K* (354 ff.), *GT* (1 ff., 827 ff., 1328 ff.), *JE* (13515 ff.), *Alex* (348 ff.), *Leom* (149 ff.), *Fior* (539), and *RTG* (389 f.).

Hecuba's dream, except for a few individual flourishes, shows a fair degree of uniformity. In its interpretation there are several variations. In *ET*, *RTG*, and *S*, Hecuba sends the child away without Priam's knowledge; in the other versions she tells Priam about her dream. In *K*, Priam himself interprets the dream, after the birth of Paris. In *Alex*, *Leom*, and *K*, Priam tells Hecuba that it is better to lose a son than the whole city of Troy.⁷ In *JE* and *Alex*, Paris is stolen away from his mother by servants.⁸ *K* and *Leom* agree in having Paris sent not to be exposed but to be killed and later spared by the servants. In *C*, *S*, *TS*, and *RTG*, Paris is not exposed but sent secretly by Hecuba to a herdsman to be reared. In *S* and *TP*, Paris is seven years old when he goes to the fields to care for the herds.

3. *Life of Paris as a Herdsman*

Paris is brought up as a herdsman, and becomes well known among his fellows. He likes to watch fights between the bulls, and gives the winner a golden crown. One day Mars takes the likeness of a bull and overcomes Paris' favorite. Paris removes the crown from his bull and awards it to Mars. For this reason he wins a wide reputation for justice (*ET*, p. 4, 11-21).

Analogous versions are found in *C* (242), *S* (273 ff.), *RM* (459 ff.), *TS* (20), *TP* (159), *K* (576 ff.), *GT* (1419 ff.; 1767 ff.), *Leom* (150-151), *Alf* (45^r-45^v), *Fior* (539), and *IT* (381).

Several expansions of the story are to be found. *K*, *TP*, *Leom*, and *Fior* state that the shepherd's wife had just borne a son. *S* (289 f.), *K* (658 ff.; 1746 ff.), *GT* (1908 ff.), *Leom* (152), *Alf* (27), *TP* (159), *TS* (18), *Alex* (360), and *Fior* (539) state that the child was renamed; in the first five the name is given him because of his great justice or wisdom.⁹ *K*, *S*, *Alf*, *Leom*, and *TP* merely state that Paris liked to watch fights between the bulls and that he crowned the winner; in the other accounts a strange bull fights with his bull. In no version besides *ET* is the strange bull identified with Mars. In *C*, *S*, *TP*, *TS*, *Leom*, *Alf*, *IT*, and *GT*, the crown is of flowers, not gold; *K* and *RM* merely mention a crown, of unspecified material.¹⁰ In *K* and *Alf*, Paris wins such a reputation

for justice that people come to him from far and near with their disputes. K, *TP*, Leom, and *Fior* include the love of Paris and Oenone; K gives the fullest account.

4. Judgment of the Goddesses

The three goddesses come before Paris and show him the inscription.¹¹ He postpones the judgment in order to listen to their bribes.¹² Minerva offers strength in battle; Juno offers to increase his flocks by having them produce twin offspring; Venus offers the fairest lady. Paris awards the apple to Venus, whereupon the other goddesses are hostile to the Trojans (*ET*, pp. 4, 23-5, 18).

Versions are found in *C* (243), *S* (507 ff.), *RM* (513 ff.), *TS* (20, 22), *TP* (161-163), *TT* (76 f.), *K* (1881 ff.), *GT* (2004 ff.), *JE* (13863 ff.), *Alex* (362 ff.), *Leom* (153-154), *Alf* (27 ff.), *IT* (382), *Flo* (451 ff.), *En* (114 ff.), and *Ulr* (4905 ff.).

The story seems to have been known in a great variety of forms and from a variety of sources; it will not be possible even to mention all the variations. *TS* follows Dares in making the judgment a dream; in *S* and *IT*, the goddesses come to Paris while he is asleep but apparently wake him up; in the other accounts the occurrence is definitely real. In no other account besides *ET* is Pallas called Minerva. In *TS*, the three goddesses are Freyja, Sif, and Gefjon, while in three MSS of *S*, they are four 'ladies of Elfen Land': Saturnus, Mercurius, Jubiter, and Venus. *K* and *JE* have Paris attend the feast, and the judgment seems to take place there. The speeches of the goddesses to Paris in *K*, *S*, *TP*, *Leom*, and *IT* show some significant correspondences.¹³ The bribes of the goddesses show great variety. In *RM*, *K*, and *JE*, Pallas promises wisdom rather than strength in battle, while in *TS* and *Flo* she promises both.¹⁴ No parallel has been found to Juno's promise in *ET*, although her offer of wealth takes a number of forms; e.g., in *GT*, she offers all the treasures buried since Adam. In *TP* and *K*, Venus specifically promises Helen; in *IT* and *S*, Venus offers to make all the ladies love him and to give him his pick; in *Alex* and *JE*, he is also to have his choice.¹⁵ In *ET* and *C*, Venus appears nude to Paris and warps his judgment;¹⁶ in *C*, he makes advances to her, but since she cannot cohabit with a mortal, she offers Helen instead.

5. Paris' Defeat of his Brothers

Paris goes to Troy, where the circus games are in progress. He enters the arena and overcomes the 'campestriarii',¹⁷ then he defeats the runners.

His brothers challenge him to race, and he defeats them. They plan to kill him, but are prevented by the shepherd, who declares that Paris is their brother (*ET*, pp. 5, 19-6, 22).

Somewhat similar events are found in *Fior* (539-540), *K* (5012 ff.), *JE* (13691 ff.), and *GT* (10879 ff. *et passim.*).

In all of these accounts the contest is a fight of some kind between Paris and Hector. In *Fior*, Hecuba reveals Paris' identity; in *K* and *JE*, it is the shepherd; in *GT*, the brothers, after a long fight, recognize each other after the fashion of Round Table knights.¹⁸

6. Expedition to Greece and Rape of Helen

Paris is sent on an expedition to Greece for the purpose of recovering Hesione, Priam's captive sister. He arrives at the kingdom of Menelaus in disguise, and is mistaken for a merchant.¹⁹ With the aid of Venus he wins Helen's love and runs away with her, together with much treasure (*ET*, pp. 7, 5-9, 3).

Cf. *C* (243), *S* (654a-654h), *RM* (613 ff.), *Alex* (389 ff.), *K* (20469 ff.), and *Rep Chron* (34).

RM and *Alex* agree with *C* in having Venus instruct Paris to change his name and go to Greece in the guise of a merchant. In *C*, *S*, *K*, *RM*, and *Alex*, Menelaus is present when Paris arrives, but only in *S* and *RM* does he remain throughout Paris' stay.²⁰ In *S* (Harley MS) Paris, when questioned, says that he is a merchant; in *K* he also conceals his identity, saying that he is a Carthaginian. Most writers prefer to follow Dares in this episode.

7. Youth of Achilles

Thetis, mother of Achilles, dips him in the Styx so that he becomes invulnerable except in his heel. Then, because of a prophecy that Achilles will die in battle, she turns him over to Chiron to be reared. After he is able to bear arms, Thetis remembers the prophecy, takes him from Chiron, and places him among the virgins of King Licomedes (*ET*, pp. 10, 21-11, 7).²¹

Found in *S* (1200 ff.), *K* (4496 ff.; 5758 ff.; 13402 ff.), *Alex* (410 ff.), *Leom* (179), *Alf* (64^r), *JE* (14531 ff.), *Rep Chron* (35), *Gow* (V, 2961 ff.), and *Ulr* (18488 ff.).

In *S*, *Alf*, *Alex*, *Leom*, and *GT*, Achilles' vulnerable point is in the soles

of his feet.²² Only Alf names the Styx; *Alex* merely has him enchanted, while *S* and *K* mention magic waters.²³ In *K*, Proteus utters the prophecy concerning Achilles; in *S*, Thetis reads it in the firmament.²⁴ In *Alex* and *Leom*, Thetis places Achilles among the nuns in a convent; both accounts omit the training of Achilles by Chiron.²⁵

8. *Finding of Achilles*

Because of a prophecy that Troy can be conquered only with the help of Achilles,²⁶ Odiseus and Diomedes go to seek him. They come to Licomedes' court in the guise of ambassadors. They display feminine trinkets and also arms before the virgins; Achilles chooses the arms and is recognized. He has been in love with Didamia and on her has begotten Pyrrus (*ET*, pp. 9, 17-10, 20).

Found in *S* (1192 ff.; 1252 ff.), *K* (27108 ff.), *TP* (173 ff.), *GT* (16303 ff.), *JE* (15089 ff.), *Alex* (413 ff.), *Leom* (179 ff.), *Fior* (544 ff.), *Rep Chron* (35), *Gow* (V, 3070 ff.), and *Ulr* (18491 ff.).²⁷

In no other account besides *ET* is Ulixes called Odiseus. *K* gives a long account of the love of Achilles and Deidamia.

9. *Death of Achilles*

Achilles has married Polyxena, who finds out about his vulnerable heel. Achilles is invited to the temple of Apollo, where Paris shoots him in the heel with a poisoned arrow (*ET*, pp. 12, 12-13, 5).

Cf. *S* (1648 ff.), *Alex* (722 ff.), Alf (81^r), and *JE* (16456 ff.).

The principal difference from the Dares accounts is the utilizing of Achilles' vulnerable point, which in *S*, *Alex*, and Alf²⁸ is in the soles of his feet. In *S*, Paris and his companions thrust swords and knives into the bottoms of his feet; in *Alex* and Alf, Paris shoots Achilles in the sole while he is kneeling in prayer;²⁹ in *JE*, he shoots him 'in di fersen' (16518), also while he is kneeling.

First of all it should be observed that the mediaeval versions which have been compared show a number of significant differences from *ET*; that many of them show correspondences in details not found in *ET* at all. These correspondences are of such a nature as to make it highly improbable that *ET in its present form* could have been widely used as a direct source. There follows a list of some of these points, which may be augmented by a further study of the individual accounts:

1. Hecuba tells Priam about her evil dream. He advises that the

child be destroyed (all accounts except *S* and *RTG*). In *ET*, Hecuba does not reveal the situation to Priam until Paris has defeated his brothers and is in danger of death.

2. Some versions mention the shepherd's son, with whom Paris was reared.

3. In *S* and *TP*, Paris is seven years old when he goes to the fields.

4. In every account except *ET*, Paris crowns the winning bull with a garland of flowers rather than with a golden crown.

5. In no other version besides *ET* is the strange bull identified with Mars.

6. Paris is given his name by the shepherd. In *S*, *K*, *GT*, *Leom*, and *Alf*, he is named Paris because of his justice or wisdom.

7. In no other version is the name *Odisseus* used for *Ulixes* or *Minerva* for *Pallas*.

8. Juno's offer to increase Paris' flocks in *ET* is unique.

9. *C*, *Alex*, and *RM* tell a fuller story of Paris' pretense of being a merchant.

10. Several speeches in the vernacular accounts show correspondences in details not found in *ET*; e.g., Priam to Hecuba (p. liv, n. 7), the quarrel of the goddesses (p. liii, n. 4), the goddesses' offers to Paris (p. liv, n. 13), etc.

Considerable care is necessary in drawing conclusions from these observations. It would be tempting to assume that the departures from *ET* in the various mediaeval narratives result from the fact that the authors of these narratives had access to the source account upon which the present *ET* is based; that, in other words, the details in which *ET* is unique represent the work of *ET*'s redactor. But items 5 and 7 (above) hardly seem capable of such an interpretation; they seem definitely to represent traits of the older narrative, preserved in *ET* but uniformly omitted or altered in the other versions. Of the same nature is the account of Paris' athletic triumphs, preserved in a classical form in *ET* but mediaevalized in the other narratives (see pp. xxxvi ff.). Such departures from *ET* would seem to show that the mediaeval writers on Troy had access to at least one other redaction of the *ET* material—one differing from *ET* in several particulars yet based on essentially the same original story.

It cannot be stated with certainty that this related material was not built directly on the present text of *ET*; in fact, there are some points which seem to favor such a view. Occasionally some of the very manuscript traits of the present *ET* seem to be carried over into the vernacular

accounts; examples have been noted on p. xli, n. 42, p. lv, n. 21, and p. lv, n. 22. On the other hand, the story of Paris' pretense of being a merchant, found in *C* and some of the vernacular narratives, was apparently derived from an episode in the original account, of which only a trace remains in *ET* (see p. xxxiii). In the face of these difficulties, the exact relationship of *ET* to the other versions seems impossible to determine on the basis of the evidence at hand. All that we can conclude with some confidence is that *ET* gives us something fairly close to a late classical narrative which underlies the vernacular stories; that kindred though not identical redactions of this narrative must have circulated rather widely during the Middle Ages; and that the writers we have studied combined this material in various ways with the narratives of Dares and Benoit. The *Compendium* offers sufficient evidence that this material existed in other forms, and, taken in conjunction with *ET*, it throws considerable light on the probable nature of the original story. In some cases, moreover, the two Latin versions show very close and detailed similarities to the vernacular accounts. The *Compendium* is closest to the narrative of Robert Mannyng and an account quite like it must have been his source; *ET* seems closest to the *Seege*, and, considering the close correspondences of the Riccardian MS to the English poem,³⁰ this text in its present form (or something quite like it) may be found sufficient to explain most of the poet's departures from Dares and Benoit.

The numerous divergences in the mediaeval accounts should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the story told in all of them is fundamentally the same. Most of the differences can be accounted for on fairly simple grounds: (1) loose handling of the supplementary Latin source, (2) varying degrees of dependence on that source, and (3) the influence of other sources. Under the first heading belong many of the variations in the *Seege*, and the mention in the *Saga* of Þórr, Freyja, Sif, etc. The fact that the authors of the *Seege*, the *Saga*, and the *Istoriëtta Trojana* represent the goddesses as coming to Paris while he is asleep in the forest simply means that these writers were less indebted to supplementary sources; for this part of the episode they followed Dares (or Benoit), where the judgment is related by Paris as a dream that came to him in the forest. The influence of other supplementary sources is likewise easy to observe. The use of Ovid is quite apparent at the beginning of the *Trójumanna Saga*,³¹ and the accounts of Oenone found in Konrad and the *Trojanska Priča* were very likely taken directly from the same source.³² Konrad may have made use of the *Ilias* of Simon

Capra Aurea,³³ and, it is quite probable, knew something of Statius as well.³⁴

A further examination of some of the episodes themselves will do much to explain some of the variations and corruptions, which long prevented scholars from recognizing the events as part of a consistent classical narrative. Consider, first, the divine wedding feast and the malice of Discordia. Of all the ancient episodes, this is probably most out of harmony with the mediaeval idea, deriving from Dares, that the Greek gods took little part in the Trojan War. This may explain the fact that Alfonso and Leomarte begin with a feast, but transfer it to a king, Tantalus, and apparently confuse it with the perverted gastronomic debauch found in the sixth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The fact that Jansen Enikel makes the feast a 'hōchzît' held in Troy and *Alexandre* makes it a festival held by two kings simply means that these authors are transforming the unfamiliar into the familiar. In *Alexandre* the story is plainly made to conform to the biblical legend of Eden in that the golden apple is cast by the Evil One rather than by Discordia.³⁵ This is not at all surprising—in fact, a very similar notion is found in the slightly insane French poem *Ovide Moralisé*,³⁶ the author of which seems to regard the apple as symbolic of Original Sin, as it is in Genesis. But in another passage the apple represents the Buried Talent; it is quite useless to try to derive sense from so woolly a mind. On the whole, it seems that mediaeval writers were unable to understand the divine wedding or to reconcile it to the godless story of Dares.

In the various accounts of the ill-omened Paris and his exposure we again find some interesting variations. Konrad von Würzburg, as we have seen, has the child sent, not to be exposed, but to be killed. The servants pity him and allow him to live, after which they bring back the tongue of a dog as evidence that they have obeyed. Some details in this story, as Greif³⁷ points out, are remarkably similar to those in the *Ilias* of Simon Capra Aurea; and it is just possible that Konrad was influenced by that work. The butchering of a dog in such circumstances was a very common incident in folk tales of exposed infants,³⁸ and so need not necessarily have had a literary source. Konrad continues to relate that the helpless infant is found by a hind and cared for until shepherds find him. This is likewise part of a universal folk tale; yet it is certainly not an unclassical conception: the nursing of infants by beasts was common in ancient literature. Hyginus³⁹ lists ten infants who were so nursed, among whom, however, Paris is not included. But since Apollodorus of Athens⁴⁰ records the fact that Paris was nursed by a bear, it is clear that

this element had already become attached to the story in classical times. Konrad's choice of a hind may represent a Germanic motif; at any rate, we find the same animal mentioned in the Old Norse *Þiðriks Saga*⁴¹ as the nurse of the young Sigurth. This account likewise mentions the tongue of a dog, which is used to prove the butchering of the accused queen Sisibe, the mother of Sigurth. It is quite plain that Konrad freely altered and expanded his story by the use of numerous conventional narrative situations and motifs.⁴²

In contrast to the rather barbaric story in Konrad, we find in several versions a distinct effort to soften the heartless exposure of Paris by simply having him turned over to herdsmen for safe-keeping. In Jansen Enikel's *Welchronik*⁴³ Priam, on hearing about Hecuba's evil dream, resolves that the child must be sent away; and he turns him over to a forester named Dardanus to be brought up. In the *Trójumanna Saga*⁴⁴ Priam wants to expose the infant but Hecuba sends him secretly to a *fóstr*. This variation may have been due to the influence of *Gunnlaugs Saga*,⁴⁵ where exactly the same thing takes place after the birth of Helga—or the incident may have been a conventional one in the sagas. The English *Seege*⁴⁶ diverges still further in having Hecuba keep the child until he is seven years old, and then turn him over to a foster-parent—a procedure more in keeping with civilized practice.

As a final illustration of the free handling of these episodes, we might mention some of the corruptions in the story of Achilles' death at the hands of Paris. A few writers seem to have learned enough of the classical story to know that Achilles could be wounded only in one part of his body, and that it was in this one point that Paris attacked him while he was worshipping. Now, the persistent misconception in the mediaeval stories that Achilles was vulnerable not in the heel but in the soles of his feet could have been suggested, as we have seen (p. lv, n. 22), from the phrase 'nuda planta' found in *ET*. But the conception was no doubt greatly strengthened in the Spanish accounts from a tendency to visualize the act of worship in Christian terms. That is, in the *Libro de Alexandre* and the *General Estoria*,⁴⁷ when Paris seeks a method of avenging Hector, he must find Achilles *kneeling in prayer*, at which time, of course, his soles would have offered the best target.⁴⁸

Thus it appears that the extremely diverse form in which the classical episodes appear in the mediaeval accounts is not incongruous with a common origin. The story was modified from a number of readily understandable causes: simple failure to understand the narrative; the use of

other literary sources including Ovid and the Bible; and probably also the intrusion of traditional material.

By way of conclusion, we may reaffirm that the non-Dares material appearing in the various vernacular versions cannot be accounted for by means of an all-inclusive common source. The 'enlarged *Roman de Troie*' is therefore a needless creation and is unsatisfactory as a source.

We may further affirm that there was in existence from the end of the classical period a Latin account of the Trojan War from which the present version of *ET* had its origin. This chronicle, it is logical to assume, was available during the Middle Ages in such kindred forms as the *Compendium*, some of which may have been fuller than *ET*. It is the combination of this narrative with the accounts of Dares and Benoit which explains the appearance of similar episodes in the vernacular versions that have been studied.

An examination of the dates given on p. lii, n. 1 will make it apparent that the vernacular versions of the Troy story which show extended parallels to *ET* are almost entirely confined to the period between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth—although the *Eneas* gives evidence that the *ET* material was in use somewhat earlier. The almost simultaneous appearance, in the later thirteenth century, of the same characteristic details in widely separated parts of Europe might be held to indicate that a popular redaction or scribal reworking of the *ET* narrative was made at that period, and was soon being circulated over most of Europe. The rapid disappearance of our series of episodes from vernacular literature during the fourteenth century might reasonably be attributed to the mounting prestige of Guido de Columnis, whose *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287) established the Dares-Dictys tradition as the sole authoritative one. At any rate, the later followers of Guido usually followed him faithfully, and no doubt regarded major alterations and interpolations as presumptuous and somewhat impious.

The fact that no mediaeval author cites a source for any of the events we have considered seems to indicate that the authorship of the Latin chronicle, as well as that of its reworkings, was unknown. This anonymity and the lack of prestige resulting from it no doubt partially account for the extreme freedom with which the story was rehandled by mediaeval writers. Rather than respecting their source as history, as in the case of Dares and Guido, they regarded it as myth and felt free to alter it in accordance with numerous mediaeval ideas. Yet it seems

evident that in its most popular period this Latin version (in some of its rehandlings) rivalled the accounts of Dares and Dictys as a source of information on Troy. It is significant that both the Riccardian and the Laurentian manuscripts of *ET* are immediately preceded by copies of Dares. The two were probably regarded as alternate versions of the Troy story, and this circumstance helps to explain the frequent appearance of classical episodes in the mediaeval narratives.

The Latin version which underlies the mediaeval stories was not, it should be emphasized, used as a complete history of Troy. Its principal use was to supplement the account of Dares, but not, in most cases, to interfere seriously with it. The logic of its narrative, in which the war was brought on by divine caprice, was quite sufficient to win it a place in mediaeval Troy literature; yet so cogent were the fraudulent claims of Dares and Dictys⁴⁹ that the more ancient legend eventually dwindled away and was lost.

NOTES TO SECTION IV

¹ In the comparison of these accounts, the following *sigla* are used. Approximate dates of composition are given, so far as can be determined. Editions of these works are listed in the bibliography on pp. lxxxvii-xci; references are to page, line, etc., as indicated.

Alex: *El Libro de Alexandre*. Mid-xiii (stanza)

Alf: Alfonso el Sabio, *General Estoria*. Late xiii (folio of *MS Escorial Y, I, 1*, or page of the portion printed by A. G. Solalinde, *op. cit.*)

C: *Compendium Historiae Troianae-Romanae*. xiii (?) (page)

En: *Eneas*. Late xii (line)

ET: *Excidium Troiae* (page and line)

Fior: *La Fiorita*, by Armannino Giudice. Early xiv (page)

Flo: *Floire et Blancheflor*. xiii (line)

Gow: John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. c. 1390 (book and line)

GT: *Der Götterweiger Trojanerkrieg*. c. 1300 (line)

Herbort: the *Liet von Troie* of Herbort von Fritslâr. Second decade of xiii (line)

IT: *La Istorieta Trojana*. xiii or xiv (page)

JE: Jansen Enikel's *Welchchronik*. Last quarter of xiii (line)

K: Konrad von Würzburg, *Der Trojanische Krieg*. Left unfinished 1287 (line)

Leom: Leomarte, *Sumas de Historia Troyana*. Late xiii (page)

Maerlant: the *Historie van Troyen* of Jakob Maerlant. Late xiii (line)

Rep Chron: the fragments attached to the *Repgauische Chronik*. xiii (page)

RM: Robert Mannyng's *Story of England*. 1338 (line)

RTG: *MS G* of the *Roman de Troie*. Mid-xiii (page)

S: *Seege or Batayle of Troye*. Early or mid-xiv (line)

TP: *Trojanska Priča*. xiv (?) (page)

TS: *Trójumanna Saga*. Mid-xiii (page)

TT: *Togail Troi*. c. 1147 (page)

Ulr: Ulrich von Eschenbach's *Alexander*. c. 1287 (line)

For many of the ensuing parallels, indebtedness is acknowledged to a number of earlier studies, including the works already cited of E. T. Granz, W. Greif, C. H. A. Wager, G. L. Hamilton, M. E. Barnicle, and A. G. Solalinde. Greif's monograph was especially valuable, in that it gathered

parallels in the Paris story from Konrad's *Trojanische Krieg*, *The Siege of Troye*, *MS G of the Roman de Troie*, the *Trojanska Priča*, the *Trójumanna Saga*, the *Repgauische Chronik*, and the *Cronica Troyana* of Delgado (a later form of the Leomarte narrative). Miss Barnicle added the *Togail Troi*, while Hamilton adduced parallels between Gower and Konrad. Solalinde indicated correspondences between the Spanish versions and brought them at some points into comparison with the *Compendium (Chronicon Venetum)*. He personally pointed out the close relation of some of the Spanish accounts to the *ET* narrative.

² *ET*: 'Pulchriori dee donum.' Cf. *En*:

il i ot escrit an grezois
qu'a la plus bele d'eles trois
faisoit de la pome lo don

(107-109).

In *C* the inscription reads 'pulchriori debetur.' In *Alf* and *IT* it is 'pulchriori detur.' See above, p. xix, n. 27.

³ The names, however, appear as *Feleī* and *Tiřom*.

⁴ E.g., Juno takes up the apple, reads the letters, and claims it: *Alf*: 'e leyo donna Juno aquel latin . . . , e dixo luego alas otras: "Amigas, esta mançana yo la deuo auer e mia es"' (p. 25); *S*:

Saturnus þeo eldest þeo bal yp tok
And on þeo lettres gon heo loke
And saide, 'y wol haue þis riche bal'

(521-523).

Cf. also *K* (1913 ff.) and *Alex* (343).

Pallas denies this claim and puts in one of her own. Cf. *K* (1950), *Alex* (343), *Alf* (25), and *S* (525 ff.). Venus rebukes them and claims the apple for herself. *K*:

ir mügent iuwer kriegen lân,
ich wil den apfel selbe hân,
wan er ist mîn von rehte:
an libe und an geslehte
kan mir kein vrouwe sîn gelich

(2099-2103).

S:

Dame venesse seyd, 'Now be styлле;
That appul is myn be ryght skylle,
ffor I am, without lees,
The fayrest that cuer born was'

(*MS H*, 413-416).

In *IT* and *S* they realize that they are getting nowhere, and resolve to find a disinterested judge: *S*: 'Anoder man þat most Jugegy' (*H*, 422); *IT*: 'troviamo alcuno soficiente acciò giudicare' (382).

⁵ *Alf* (26): '. . . vos, donna Juno, sodes mi hermana e muger linda, e regnades comigo; e vos, donna Pallas, sodes mi fija que nascistes dela mi cabeça; e vos, donna Venus, sodes mi hermana.' Cf. *Leom* (152), where identical statements are made, save that Venus is also 'mi cunnada.' *K*:

Vênus diu was sîn swester
und frô Pallas sîn tohter . . .
sô was Jûnô sîn selbes wîp
und dar zuo diu swester sîn

(1598-1599; 1602-1603).

⁶ Cf. *ET*, p. 4, 2: '. . . totam Troiam circuit,' etc.; *JE*:

. . . daz fiur heiz
brunn einen wîten kreiz
umb di stat, diu Troy hiez

(13521-13523).

⁷ Leom: '... mucho mejor sera que perdades vn fijo que non tal çibdat con tanta muchedunbre de gentes' (149). *Alex*:

Menos de mal sera || que un fijo perdades
que de tan grant perigro || uos carrera seades
(353).

K:

'e3 ist vil bezzer, wizze Krist,
da3 e3 gelige aleine tôt,
dan da3 ich von im kæme in nôt
und alle3 mîn geslechte'

(426-429).

It is irresistible to cite here a passage in *ET* where Priam makes an exactly opposite statement. After Paris has returned to Troy the *sacerdotes* demand his death in order that Troy be not destroyed. Priam declares: 'Melius est ut civitas pereat,' etc. (p. 6, 25).

⁸ JE: 'daz kint begund si [daz wip] stelen' (13596); *Alex*: 'furtaron lo las amas' (355).

⁹ *ET* merely states (after the bull fight): '... iudex iustus appellatus est' (p. 4, 20). In some text of the narrative, there appears to have crept in a gloss or explanation of Paris' name, deriving it from Latin *par*, 'equal,' hence 'equitable' or 'impartial.' Cf. K:

da3 er geheizen Pâris
wart dur sîn geliche3 reht.
'pâr' und 'gelich' sint ebensleht

(662-664).

Leom: 'E dixole asi Paris commo aparejo o ygual porque daua sienpre los juyzios yguales fascas derechos' (152); *S*:

Of alle dedis [*H* domes] þe child was wis;
ffor-þy he was called child Parys

(289-290).

Alf adduces the same etymology: '... sobre aquel nombre [Elexe] que auie antes pusieron le este otro Paris, delos juyzios que daua pares' (27). Cf. also *Alex*, where Priam receives Paris back into his household on a 'par' with his brothers, then changes his name, 'Ca ygual lo fasia || de los otros & par' (360).

¹⁰ Cf. *ET*: '... inter cornua imponebat' (p. 4, 14); *GT*: '... vast entzwüschon dü horn' (1783); *TP*: '... imponebat cornibus eorum' (159).

¹¹ *ET*, p. 4, 23-25. Cf. *En*:

La parole li unt mostree
de la pome, qui ert donec
a la plus bele d'eles trois

(117-119).

Cf. also *S*: (the goddesses ask Paris to take the ball),

And zeue þe bal þer cortseysly,
As þeo lettres spak, to þeo faireste lady

(545-546).

¹² *ET*: 'iudicium comperendinavit' (p. 4, 25-26). Cf. *En*:

porpansa soi que jugemant
ne feroit pas hastivemant
sanz grant porpens, et rova lor
a lui reviegnent al tierz jor

(125-128).

In RM (538) the goddesses 'sette a day' when they are to come to judgment.

¹³ E.g., Juno says that she has power to bestow wealth: *TP*: '... habeo enim in potestate divitias' (161); Leom (Juno says that): '... ella abia poder de dar las riquezas a quien quisiere' (153); K:

'ich hân in mîner werden hant
grôzlichen hort und allen schaz'
(1940-1941).

S:

'ffor y haue myzt to zeue richesse
To whom y wol, more or lasse'
(557-558).

A similar statement is made by Pallas; cf. *TP* (161), *Leom* (153), *K* (1954), and *S* (573-574).

Venus reminds Paris of his justice: *IT*: 'Paris, settu se'leale uomo, tu mi dei la mela donare' (382); *S*:

'ffor þou art þe trewest knyght
And all þyng þou Jugest ryght'
(*MS H*, 443-444).

¹⁴ Alf shows that Pallas is mistress of two accomplishments; and this is his explanation of her two names: '. . . en lo que me dizen Pallas so deesa delos saberes liberales, et Mincrua deesa de batalla' (39).

¹⁵ *IT*: '. . . io ti donerò bello dono. Ciò fia chettutte le donne chetti vedranno t'amaranno e qualunque tue vorrai, sitti darò' (382); *TP*: '. . . te amabunt pulchrae dominae' (161); *S*:

'Alle wymmen þat þe seon wiþ syzt
Schole þe loue wiþ al heore myzt'
(593-594).

JE:

'sag mir, lieber friunt guot,
zuo welher froun stê dir der muot'
(13917-13918).

Alex: 'dar te yo casamiento || muger qual tu quisieres' (386).

¹⁶ Cf. *TS*: 'hon [Freyja = Venus] beraði líkam sinn' (22).

¹⁷ Probably 'wrestlers.' See the note to p. 5, 28, below.

¹⁸ Another distinct version of Paris' return to Troy is traceable in some of the accounts. In *C* (243), Venus reveals the identity of Paris just after the judgment, and Priam again receives him into his household. This is the version followed by *TP*, in which Venus (at the judgment) says: '. . . et indicabo tibi patrem et matrem: pater tibi est Prêjamaš rex et mater Jakupa domina Troiae urbis' (163). In *TS* (20) and *S* (291-294) Paris is received again into his family just after the fight of the bulls, since Priam has somehow heard about his son. *K* appears to have been influenced by both versions; i.e., Venus reveals Paris' identity and Priam recognizes him as his son (3208-3209); but later Paris fights with Hector and has to have his identity revealed again by the shepherd (5051 ff.).

¹⁹ See above, p. xxxiii.

²⁰ In the classical versions of the story, as in *C*, Menelaus is present when Paris arrives, but later departs. See the note to p. 7, 21, below. In *C* he departs 'in expeditionem'; cf. *Rep Chron* (34): 'Menelaus ir man [was] ein hervart gevarn'; *Alex* (399): 'Oul rey a yr || en una caualgada.'

²¹ In *ET* Achilles is said to be 'in parthenos'—'in the guise of a virgin' (see p. 9, 20). The Riccardian MS reads 'in parchimos,' which would surely have been taken for the name of a place. It is striking that in *S* (1240) Achilles is sent to the 'lond of Parchy' to live with the maidens.

²² *ET*, at a later point, contains what may be a partial explanation of this corruption: when Achilles is betrayed by Polyxena, he consents to come to the temple of Apollo, where custom demands that 'inermis et nuda planta ingrediebatur.' Accordingly Achilles 'inermis nuda planta templum ingressus est' (12, 27-30). The word *planta*, interpreted literally, might have given rise to the idea that it was in this part of the body that Achilles was smitten.

²³ Also called in *S*, 'water of helle':

His modir him baþede in þe water of helle,
And was honged by þe feet & þries deopped adoun

Body and blod, hed and croun,
 Bote þeo soles of his feet
 Þer his modir hondes seet

(1345-1349).

Cf. *ET*, 10, 23-26. The picture in *S* of Achilles' bath could very well have come from a reading of the Latin account.

²⁴ *S*:

To þe firmament heo lokid, wiþ-oute les,
 And þer heo saw, saun faile,
 Hire sone scholde beo slayn in bataile

(1235-1237).

Here again we find a striking correspondence to the Riccardian MS of *ET*: 'Et dum tractaret mater sua constellationem eius,' etc. (10, 26-27). This strengthens the probability that the author of *S* had read *ET* in something like its present form. Regarding the close similarity of *S* to *ET*, note the comments of G. Hofstrand, *The Siege of Troye* (Lund, 1936), 196-203. After an examination of the first part of *ET* (*Speculum*, IX, 397-404), he states: 'The details about Paris' youth seem to make it certain that some version of it was known to the author of the *Seege* . . .' (p. 202).

²⁵ In some text of the Achilles story there must have occurred a gloss or explanation to the effect that Chiron was half man, half horse. *S*: 'Half mon, half hors his fadir [!] was' (1206); *Rep Chron*: '[Schirone] der was halb ein ros, halb ein man' (35); *JE*: 'der was halp ros, halp man' (14551); *GT*: 'Halb rosse unde man' (14973); *Maerlant*: 'Al was hy half man ende half paert' (99); *Herbort*: 'Halp ros vñ halp man' (291); *K*:

da3 oberteil der forme sîn
 was gestellet als ein man
 und stiez ein underteil dar an,
 da3 eime rosse was gelich

(5854-5857).

²⁶ In *ET* the Greeks obtain their information at the temple of Minerva, outside the walls of Troy; in *Leom* (178 f.) it is the temple of 'Mares e Apolo' in Athens. All the other accounts make use of a soothsayer of some kind. In *JE* (15081 ff.) he is not named; in *K* (4548; 4599 ff.) and *Gow* (V, 3082 ff.) it is Proteus; in *Alex* (406) it is Calchas; in *GT* (14885 ff.) it is Media; in *S* (1191) it is Palmydes. In several accounts there are references to star-reading as the source of the prophet's knowledge: *S* (Palmydes):

'ffor a man, the god of lybye,
 He shewed me full vtterly
 In a planete, verement,
 He [Achilles] shall him [Hector] slene
 with dolfull dýnte'

(*MS H*, 1199a-1199d).

In *Rep Chron* (35) the king asks his 'sternenseher' to reveal the future; in *Gow* (V, 3086) Proteus is asked to 'seche after constellation' to determine how Troy can be taken; in *GT* Media is said to be so wise

Daz sy an dem gestirne kos
 Waz wonders sôltte geschechen

(14916-14917).

In *K* Proteus is said to know the heavens:

den louf an dem gestirne
 bekande der prophète

(4504-4505).

All these references may have some connection with the 'constellationem' of *ET*, quoted above (p. lvi, n. 24) in a different but contiguous episode.

²⁷ In Ulr the life of Achilles among women is grandly confused with the pretended madness of Ulysses.

²⁸ Cf. also *GT* (18891), where Achilles is said to be invulnerable except 'undan durch die füsse.' The exact manner of Achilles' death in this account (19355 ff.) is not entirely clear, since something may have dropped out of the text at line 19399.

²⁹ Leom (247) also mentions this story as a variant version of the death of Achilles.

³⁰ See pp. lv-lvi, notes 23-24. Since the present volume has been in press, E. B. Atwood has published a series of three studies of the *Seege of Troy*, in which the relationship of *ET* to the English poem is more fully traced. See 'The Youth of Paris in the *Seege of Troye*,' *University of Texas Studies in English*, 1941, 7-23; 'The Judgment of Paris in the *Seege of Troye*,' *PMLA*, LVII (June, 1942), 343-353; and 'The Story of Achilles in the *Seege of Troye*,' *Studies in Philology* XXXIX (July, 1942), 489-501.

³¹ I. e., in the accounts of Saturn, Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, of Jupiter's affairs with Io, etc.

³² Evidence of this is found in the detail of the inscription in which Paris plights his troth. *Heroides*, v, 29-30:

Cum Paris Oenone poterit spirare relicta,
Ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua.

TP: ' . . . et dixit ei Alexander: o domina Oineuša, non deseram te; si vero te deseruero, fluvius hic Kašantuša retrorsum fluet' (163). *K*:

man sol daz wiſzen hiute
und êweclichen iemer mê,
sô Pâris und Egenoê
von ir minne scheident
und beide ein ander leident,
sô muoz diſ wazzer wunnedlich
ze berge fliezen hinder sich
und widersinnes riuschen

(788-795).

³³ See above, p. xl, n. 34.

³⁴ See M. E. Barnicle, *The Seege or Batayle of Troye*, p. lxxii.

³⁵ In *MS H of S* (400-404) Fortune had cast the apple for the goddesses to find—likewise a perfectly natural mediaevalizing of Discordia.

³⁶ *MS Bibl. Nat. fr.* 373, Book xi—a photostatic copy of which was kindly lent me by Professor S. B. Meech of the University of Michigan.

³⁷ *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, p. 95. See above, p. xl, n. 34.

³⁸ On this see A. Aarne, *Der reiche Mann und sein Schwiegersohn* (*FF Communications*, no. 23, Hamina, 1916), p. 57.

³⁹ *Fabulae*, no. 252.

⁴⁰ *The Library*, III, xii, 5.

⁴¹ Ed. H. Bertelsen (2 vols., Copenhagen, 1905-11), I, 299.

⁴² Miss Barnicle's opinion that the various mediaeval versions of the Paris story are primarily derivatives of traditional lore, plus a judicious use of the extant classics (*Seege*, p. lxxiv), seems hardly tenable. Unless we assume the existence of a basic Latin narrative we are unable to account for the mediaeval stories as products of tradition, although they certainly may have been expanded and modified from such a cause.

⁴³ Ll. 13619 ff.

⁴⁴ P. 18.

⁴⁵ *Gunnlaugs Saga Ormsungu*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1916), pp. 4-7.

⁴⁶ Ll. 261-272.

⁴⁷ See above, p. xxxv.

⁴⁸ The death of Achilles in *S* (1750-1755), in which he is slain by being wounded in the soles with knives and swords, seems to have been entirely original. The rather ignominious death of Achilles in *GT*, as has been shown (p. xxxvii), simply arises from a misconception of the character of Paris.

⁴⁹ Both claimed to have been eye-witnesses of the Trojan War. The mediaeval writers therefore took great pride in telling the story exactly as Dares and Dictys had told it, even when they knew those sources only at second hand.

V. THE REDACTION OF VIRGIL

It has been shown¹ that the prose version of the *Aeneid* contained in the *Excidium Troiae* represents a mediaeval reworking of a considerably earlier summary of Virgil's narrative. Since the piece in its present form has been much tampered with, it is not possible to decide exactly which elements of the text are original and which are the work of later hands. In general we may say that the earlier version must have told a simple, chronological story in spite of its pedantry, and that it must have included a number of explanatory digressions revealing a certain degree of learning. To the mediaeval redactor we can probably attribute a further vulgarization of the language, and a very large number of poorly digested and often inappropriate quotations from the *Aeneid*.

It is by no means necessary, however, to suppose that all the quotations in *ET* are interpolations of this redactor. Some of them are very closely woven into the story, and are so simplified as to be in perfect harmony with their context. Such, for example, is Nisus' agonized speech when he sees the Rutuli about to kill Eurialus (43, 25-44, 2).² Such also is the speech of Polydorus' ghost, who tells Aeneas about his fate, and then warns him to depart (22, 10-16). The text abounds in simple quotations and paraphrases which are quite skillfully handled and which must have been part of the original. Yet there are many others that are longer and more pretentious, the introduction of which is abominably malapropos. These must have been added by the mediaeval redactor, or perhaps by more than one—for some are much worse than others.³ An example of this kind of interpolation is recognizable just after the story of Paris' judgment, where the episode is glossed by a quotation concerning Juno's wrath (see p. xiv). Equally spurious and inept is the passage in which Palinurus, while drowning in the deep, cries out and begs that dust be scattered on his body (25, 9-15). In the *Aeneid* this appeal occurs during Aeneas' visit to hell, after Palinurus has explained that he drifted to the shores of Italy and was slain there, and that his body remained unburied. But since neither Palinurus' escape from the waves nor Aeneas' visit to hell is mentioned in *ET*, it seems that the interpolator merely picked out a speech of Palinurus and attached it to him wherever he found him, which happened to be in the act of drowning.

In most cases the Virgilian quotations serve no useful purpose in the actual narrative; rather than carrying on the story, they usually do nothing but interrupt it. Time after time it can be observed that the

narrative takes up after the quotation at the exact point which it had reached before it; and the awkward transitions at such points are a strong indication that the redactor rewrote the original text only to an extent sufficient to allow the introduction of the quotation. Examples may be found on pp. 13, 22-27; 17, 6-14, and in many other passages.

The corrupt state in which many of the quotations are found is in numerous cases merely due to bad copying, as a comparison of the three manuscripts will readily indicate. Others seem to show lapses of memory or lack of understanding on the part of the redactor. Such are Juno's speech to Eolus (26, 1-6) and Iarbas' supplication to Jupiter (35, 16-20). In many cases an originally bad quotation is still further corrupted by copyists who are unable to understand it. The Rawlinson MS has, for example, 'Dextera mihi deus est et telum commisibile librum' (45, 15-16) corresponding to Virgil's 'telum, quod missile libro' (*Aen.*, x, 773). The Riccardian has 'celum comisso libro'; both scribes obviously had a faulty quotation before them and can hardly be blamed for making it worse.⁴ There are a few interesting cases of unintelligent quoting in which the passage is carried to the end of a line, the last part of which makes no sense at all without its context. Juno agrees to bring Aeneas and Dido together in a cave, and: ' "Illic himeneus erit." Non acerba petenti. Quid multa?' (34, 22-23).⁵ In the *Aeneid* the passage runs thus:

'hic hymenaeus erit.' non adversata petenti
adnuat atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis
(iv, 127-128).

And when Turnus is killed by Aeneas he says: 'Vicisti, vicisti; et victum tendere palmas' (54, 18-19), whereas Virgil has:

'vicisti et victum tendere palmas
Ausonii videre'
(xii, 936-937).

Such quotations as those noted certainly indicate no great understanding of the *Aeneid*; they seem to proceed from a mind devoted to rote learning, and devoid of judgment and taste.

The individual corruptions of Virgil and the points of correspondence between *ET* and the *Aeneid* can easily be followed from the *testimonia* which accompany the text, and so it will not be necessary to give a complete comparison at this point. The details of the story are actually quite close to those of the *Aeneid*, and it is seldom that we find a completely original passage of any length. Of course there are many omis-

sions; *ET* contains no account whatever of the following events: the building of a fleet by the Trojans (III, 1 ff.); the visits to Delos and Crete (III, 73–208); the meeting with Andromache (III); the prophecy of Helenus (III); the encounter with Scylla and Charybdis (III); the supplication of Venus and Jupiter's prophecy (I, 223–296); the funeral games in celebration of Anchises (v); and Aeneas' visit to the underworld (vi). A multitude of minor details are likewise omitted, although most of the other principal events are mentioned in some manner. The chief alteration is in the order of the narrative; *ET* rearranges the events so as to make them proceed chronologically from the building of the wooden horse to the arrival of Aeneas in Africa, rather than begin *in medias res*, with the storm which drives Aeneas to Carthage. This arrangement is not without skill, and it indicates a rather firm knowledge of the fall of Troy which need not have been derived entirely from Virgil.⁶ There are also numerous combinations and compressions of events, as when the drowning of Orontes and the later loss of Palinurus are turned into a single event.⁷ Similar economy is found in the account of Aeneas' departure from Dido, wherein he merely goes away to his ships while Dido is asleep and thereby avoids a long and painful scene.⁸

The additions which have been made to the Virgilian narrative may be divided into two classes: those which are completely original and those which have been derived from other sources. In the former category undoubtedly come many of the speeches, which show little similarity to the corresponding passages in the *Aeneid*, being, on the whole, much more simple and direct. In many cases speeches and conversations appear which do not occur in the *Aeneid* at all. Dido, for example, gives a long account of herself beginning 'Quia ego etiam peregrina sum in hac provincia . . .' (30, 17–18). She makes no such speech in Virgil, although part of it corresponds to what Venus has already told Aeneas in I, 340 ff. And when Aeneas arrives in Italy he is met by a group of the *cives* and he has a long conversation with them (37, 22 ff.). They want to know who he is and what he wants; he gives them a summary of his wanderings and expresses a desire to found a kingdom in Italy. They ask him how he expects to do this, since Latinus has allied himself to Turnus and the two of them are extremely powerful. Virgil gives no hint of such a conversation, although he does give the pertinent information about Latinus and Turnus (vii, 47 ff.). A great deal of original dialogue is to be found throughout *ET*. The characters speak rapidly, colloquially, realistically—in such a way as to arouse a lively interest in young readers. Now and then an original descriptive detail is added,

as when Mezentius, before returning to battle, plasters his wounds with flour: 'plagas suas de farina calcavit' (47, 16), or when a corpse is said to be 'vermibus ebulliens' (45, 10); yet for the most part the truly original element is confined to dramatic speeches and conversations.

With regard to the details added from sources other than the *Aeneid* it will be impossible to speak with finality. It is quite certain that other sources were used; yet in most cases it is not possible to determine which one of a number of accounts was used, or whether the author had access to a source which is not now extant. It is clear that some information about the fall of Troy was taken from another account. There is an episode, for example, in which the Greeks, after having built the wooden horse, cast about for some means of placing it inside the walls of Troy. Sinon volunteers for this service; he instructs the Greeks to scourge him and bind him, and then to leave him in the swamps near Troy (14, 8 ff.). It is, to be sure, conceivable that the author could have invented the entire scene, together with the dialogue. Yet the episode is entirely in accordance with Greek tradition. Quintus of Smyrna tells that the Greeks, having built the wooden horse, are in need of a brave man to remain near the horse and to deceive the Trojans into accepting it. Sinon volunteers for this service and withstands the tortures of the Trojans in order to perpetrate his fraud.⁹ In the *Posthomericæ* of Tzetzes¹⁰ we find that Sinon had allowed himself to be wounded, and Tryphiodorus, in *The Taking of Ilium*,¹¹ mentions the fact that when he was found he showed signs of having been whipped. Now since the Trojan chronicle from which the first part of *ET* was drawn is very close in all essentials to the Greek Troy narratives,¹² it seems reasonable to suppose that this source was also used to some extent in supplementing Virgil's account of Sinon and the overthrow of Troy.¹³

The short account of the sacrifice of Polyxena (20, 1-5) may also have been found in the original chronicle, although the details of her death are unclassical. The reference to Polyxena as she who had previously betrayed Achilles (20, 1-2) definitely connects the episode with an earlier point in the Troy story. There is, therefore, at least a strong suggestion that the death of Polyxena was drawn from a later portion of the chronicle that supplied the story of Polyxena's betrayal of her husband. This suggestion is certainly incapable of proof, for similar accounts of Polyxena's death at the hands of Pyrrhus are found in a great number of sources, including Apollodorus,¹⁴ Quintus of Smyrna,¹⁵ Hyginus,¹⁶ Ovid,¹⁷ Dictys,¹⁸ Servius,¹⁹ and the second Vatican Mythographer.²⁰ The statement that Polyxena was shut up within Achilles' tomb rather than butchered in the

conventional way shows a noticeable similarity to the account of Mezentius' tortures, related in a later portion of *ET* (45, 6 ff.). But, as Professor Oldfather has suggested, the narrative may have been influenced at this point by the story of Danae, or that of Antigone, where a similar situation is to be found.

Another addition which very likely came partly from the Trojan chronicle is the short account of Polyphemus and his blinding by Odysseus. This is suggested by the use in this passage of the Greek form 'Odysseus' rather than 'Ulixes,' which is used by Virgil. 'Odysseus' is used throughout the story of the Trojan War,²¹ whereas 'Ulixes' is used where the story follows the *Aeneid*. The change back to 'Odysseus' in this episode furnishes some evidence that the author of *ET* is here reverting to the same narrative which furnished the earlier material concerning Odysseus. To be sure, there is not a great deal of information which might not have come from Virgil; *ET* gives only the barest summary of Odysseus' wanderings and his arrival in Sicily. We find then the non-Virgilian explanation that the Cyclopes were *discipuli* of Vulcan and that their seat of operations was at Mount Aetna. This is not Homeric, yet it is certainly in harmony with later classical tradition.²² A curious variation from Virgil is the statement that Odysseus blinded the Cyclops 'de lampade ardente' (24, 1). In the *Aeneid* (III, 635) it is a dart or spear of some kind ('telo . . . acuto'), while in other versions of the Cyclops story there is a remarkable assortment of weapons.²³

The question naturally arises as to whether any of the information in *ET* was drawn from the Servian commentaries. Although there are several points of correspondence, no conclusive evidence of such a relationship can be found, since the statements in question are always to be found in other sources, and since there is no noticeable verbal similarity. The brief account of the burial of Anchises (24, 24-25) may owe something to Servius, although he merely expresses wonder that no such account is given in the *Aeneid*: 'Quaeritur sane cur sine ulla descriptione funus patris praeterierit?' (*Aen.*, III, 711). An account of Polyxena's death is also found in the *Commentarii*, but, as has been shown above (p. lxii), this is also contained in a great number of other sources. The same might be said of the other parallels between *ET* and the Servian commentaries; they are hardly sufficiently striking to warrant the assumption that the author of *ET* made direct use of that source.²⁴ The same is true of Macrobius; there is no valid evidence of direct dependence, although the explanatory method is sometimes similar.²⁵

There is one possible indication of the use of Ovid's *Fasti*, although

here too the correspondence may represent an indirect rather than a direct relationship. This is found in the account of Dido's funeral, in which it is stated that Anna placed her sister's remains 'in Liburno litrino' (37, 10-11) beside those of her husband Sichaeus. Ovid does not mention Sichaeus or the Liburnian vessel,²⁶ but he gives a rather full account of affairs after Dido's death, including her burial and epitaph, and the last rites paid to her by Anna.²⁷ His motive is an interest in the story of Anna, who, it turns out, is also in love with Aeneas and who later wanders to Italy and involves herself in difficulties with Lavinia.

An attempt should be made to determine something of the literary influence of the story of Aeneas contained in *ET* and to indicate whether or not it was known and used to any extent during the Middle Ages. Since the *Aeneid* itself was read and understood only by the most scholarly of the mediaeval writers, it is likely that prose summaries of the story such as *ET* had a considerable sub-literary vogue, and that it was on such sources that many mediaeval readers depended for their knowledge of Virgil. It is doubtful, however, if any intermediate version of the *Aeneid* succeeded in establishing itself as a widely accepted authority. Comparatively speaking, there is a considerable degree of independence between the various mediaeval stories of Aeneas—an independence attributed by Salverda de Grave to the great popularity of Virgil among mediaeval writers.²⁸ There are, to be sure, a few traditional accretions to the story which are difficult to account for. De Grave points out, for example, that in the *Eneydes* (the source of Caxton's translation), the *Roman d'Eneas*, and the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, Aeneas, after having overcome Turnus, sees on him the *ring* of which he had previously robbed the youthful Pallas, and that Aeneas kills Turnus and takes the ring. In the *Aeneid* (xii, 942) it is a girdle, whereas in *ET* it is a bracelet ('brachialem'; p. 54, 22). Such correspondences are baffling, and in the absence of other and more extensive similarities are well-nigh impossible to account for. Parodi²⁹ also has pointed out some interdependences between the Italian accounts of Aeneas. One interesting observation (p. 104) is that in *La Fiorita* of Armannino Giudice the companions of Aeneas are taken as prisoners when they come to Carthage; in the *Aeneid* (I, 520 ff.) Ilioneus complains to Dido that his ships have not been permitted to land, and that they have been threatened with flames, but he and his companions enjoy personal liberty at the time. In *ET*, however (29, 12 ff.), the Trojans are brought before Dido in fetters, and she, hearing the appeal of Ilioneus, releases them from their chains.

There is somewhat firmer evidence for connecting the Virgilian story

of *ET* with that found in *Eneas*, an Old French romance previously discussed in Section III. As we have noted (pp. xxxviii; xlv), the two narratives show a striking similarity in the episode of the judgment of Paris. Moreover, at several points in the story of Aeneas there is evidence that the author of *Eneas* had access to some form of the *ET* narrative. Indications of this influence are especially noticeable in some of the speeches and conversations of Aeneas and others. It should be emphasized that the speeches found in *Eneas* are not slavishly dependent on Virgil or any other source; there is a high degree of originality in them which springs from a natural tendency to mediaevalize the story. Yet there is some evidence that the author was familiar with the colloquial passages of *ET* (or a closely related text), and in some instances considered them better suited to the tone of his narrative than the epic utterances in the *Aeneid*. Consider for example the speech of Ilioneus to Dido, in which occurs a summary of the Trojans' wanderings not found in the *Aeneid*: the destruction of Troy, the assembly and departure of the Trojans, and their exile for seven years:

Bien as oï, ja a lonc tens,
 que Greu furent vers Troïens;
 astrent la vile et trebucherent . .
 De la celestial lignee
 ot an Troie un riche baron;
 de cele grant ocision
 qu'i feisoient la nuit li Greu,
 lo garantirent bien li deu;
 fors lo mistrent de la cité;
 grant gent ot o lui asanblé.
 Por lor comandement vait querre
 Itaille, une loigtaine terre;
 quise l'avons set anz par mer,
 ne la poons ancor trover
 (565-567; 572-582).

In *ET* (29, 20 ff.), at the same point in the story, Ilioneus gives a very similar account of the Trojans' departure, of the promised kingdom in Italy, and, finally, of the seven-year exile. Although the passage in *Eneas* shows considerable freedom, it is clear that in substance it corresponds to that of *ET*. Consider also Dido's reply to this same speech of Ilioneus, in which she says that she also is a stranger in the country, and thus has a great sympathy for exiles:

Ge refui ja plus esgaree,

quant ge ving an ceste contree,
 car ne sui pas de cest païs;
 par moi lo sai, bien l'ai apris,
 que ge doi bien avoir pitié
 d'ome, sel voi desconsoillié
 (615-620).

Although a similar statement is found in the *Aeneid*, it occurs in Dido's speech to Aeneas just after he reveals himself (1, 628-630). In *ET*, however, as in *Eneas*, the statement is part of Dido's answer to Ilioneus at this same point: 'Quia ego etiam peregrina sum in hac provincia, etiam et vos audite casus meos' (30, 17-18)—after which she gives an account of her exile from Tyre.

Another speech in *Eneas* which was no doubt taken from the prose account is that of Aeneas to his comrades when he leaves them to seek the aid of Evander, no trace of which is to be found in the *Aeneid*. *Eneas* tells that before setting out Aeneas calls his men together, commends the camp to their keeping, and warns them against attack:

Toz ses chevaliers asanbla . . .
 'Seignor,' fait il, 'an ceste terre
 somes molt acoilli de guerre.
 Turnus ne nos i velt laisier,
 venir nos doit ci asegier . . .
 Venus ma mere m'a mandé
 que ci pres a une cité,
 dun Euander est rois et sire . . .
 El me mande que quiere aïe . . .'
 (4562; 4565-4568; 4573-4575; 4579).

In *ET* (39, 14-20) we also find an account of this assembly and Aeneas' warning against enemy attack, together with his statement that he must depart to seek Evander. Although Aeneas' farewell speech in the *Eneas* is considerably longer, it is obvious that in essence it is the same, and that the idea for such a farewell scene must have been derived from the prose account. A similar correspondence is found in connection with the excursion of Nisus and Euryalus to obtain the return of Aeneas. Ascanius, according to the French poem, tells them that if they are able to do this he will divide his kingdom (if he ever obtains one) equally among the three of them:

se cest besoing poëz fornir
 et ge viegne a terre tenir,

nos en esterons partot troi,
ja n'en seroiz peor de moi
(5033-5036).

In the *Aeneid* (ix, 258-280) Ascanius promises Nisus a number of gifts, including the domain held by King Latinus, and he tells Euryalus that he will make him his comrade in all things. In *ET* (42, 6-7), however, we find that Ascanius proposes to divide his kingdom among them if they are successful in their mission.³⁰

It is possible that a few other details in the story originated in *ET*. Sinon, in the *Eneas*, is found tied 'sor le fossé' (l. 950); in *ET* he is 'ante pendacem cinctum' (14, 16 and note). If the assumption is correct that this was taken to stand for *pendicem*, 'slope' or 'bank,' then the detail in *Eneas* may well have come from the prose account. Another similar detail is found in the account of Volcens. Virgil (ix, 367 ff.) tells that Volcens captures Euryalus and that Nisus thereupon gives himself up. The Rutuli slay Euryalus, whereupon Nisus rushes upon Volcens and kills him. In *Eneas* (ll. 5240-5267) and in *ET* (43, 19-20) Nisus merely wounds Volcens—in the former after he gives himself up, in the latter before. In both accounts Volcens lives to see their heads brought back to the Rutulian camp on spears.³¹ Finally, there is a similarity in connection with Aeneas' duel with Turnus, during which Turnus casts a huge stone at Aeneas. In *ET* (54, 15-16) Aeneas catches it: 'ipsum lapidem Eneas exceptavit,' while in *Eneas* (9761 ff.) he wards it off with his shield. Virgil (xii, 906-907) merely says that the stone falls short; and since this outcome is decidedly anticlimactic, it is quite possible that each writer supplied a more striking conclusion independently.

It is certainly not a tenable supposition that the author of *Eneas* used the *ET* narrative as a source for any considerable portion of the story. Yet there is certainly sufficient evidence that the prose source was known to him and that it left some traces in his account. We need not necessarily question his knowledge of Virgil,³² for his task was not merely that of a translator; he felt at liberty to use whatever appealed to him in other sources, so long as the general outlines of the story remained the same.

Another version of the Aeneas story which bears a close relationship to *ET* is that contained in the *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* of Martinus Polonus.³³ Parodi³⁴ has already pointed out in his discussion of the Riccardian MS that Martinus' account of Aeneas' visit to Evander is significantly similar to that found in *ET*; and he concludes that there must be some source relation between the two passages. Indeed, that similarity extends throughout Martinus' abbreviated account of Aeneas'

wanderings, and it is sufficiently striking to bring into question the editor's attribution of this portion of the *Chronicon* to the *Aeneid*. As for facts and details, there is nothing in Martinus' passage which is not to be found in *ET*. After an initial quotation from Orosius concerning the origin of the war,³⁵ the *Chronicon* states merely that Aeneas departed from Troy with Ascanius and Anchises; that he arrived in Sicily, where Anchises died;³⁶ that he was driven by a tempest to Africa, where he was loved by Dido, the founder of Carthage;³⁷ and that he deserted her and proceeded to Italy. An account so lacking in detail is impossible to trace to a source; it is, to be sure, Virgilian in a general way, yet it also corresponds to pp. 21-37 of *ET*. The *Chronicon* proceeds as follows:

Ubi cum in portu, ubi Tyberis influit mare, applicuisset, dictum est ei in sompnis: *Vade ad regem Evandrum, qui regnat in 7 montibus*—scilicet in eo loco ubi postea Roma condita est—*et pugnabit contra Latinum regem, et tu iuvabis eum, quia tibi debetur regnum Ytalie. Et ut credas, do tibi istud signum: Quando processeris invenies sub arbore olyve suam vel porcam albam cum 30 filiis albis. Et ibi ex hoc eventu post civitas edificata est que usque hodie Albanum nomen accipit*

(p. 399).

In a considerably longer passage in *ET* (38, 19-39, 13), the Tiber delivers essentially the same message to Aeneas. The correspondence to Martinus is especially striking in two non-Virgilian details: first, the statement that Evander ruled in the Seven Hills (38, 28); second, the explanation that this was the place where Rome was later founded (39, 5-9). Certain of Martinus' peculiarities of expression, moreover, could hardly be coincidental: the 'ut credas' clause (*ET*: 'Et ut dictis meis credas . . .', 39, 2); the use of 'filiis' (for 'porcellis') and of the form 'Albanum' (for Virgil's 'Alba'—VIII, 48). The name appears variously in *ET* as 'Albana civitas,' 'Albana' (alone), and 'Albanum' (presumably to designate the kingdom, as distinguished from the city)—but never as 'Alba.' The *Chronicon* proceeds to describe Aeneas' meeting with Evander:

Cum autem Evander vidisset Eneam, suspicatus hostem, sibi cum armis occurrit. At Eneas hoc cernens, tulit ramum olyve, sibi ostendens in signum pacis more antiquorum, qui de terra ad terram transeuntes, ne crederentur hostes, ramum olyve in manu deferebant pacem pretendendo

(p. 399).

The emphasis on the use of the olive branch shows considerable similarity

to *ET* (39, 26-40, 3), in which Aeneas uses this means of announcing his peaceful intentions.

It is evident that *ET* represents a version of the story which somehow, in some form, was used by Martinus in the preparation of his *Chronicon*. Yet the lack of extended verbal parallels precludes the idea that he copied directly from our text. Martinus' treatment of his sources is irregular; whereas in this section of his narrative he quotes verbatim from Orosius, he follows Paulus Diaconus at a considerable verbal distance.³⁸ The parallels we have noted might be explained in a number of ways. *ET* may be only an indirect source; that is, an intermediate redaction might have existed between *ET* and the *Chronicon*. Or we might presuppose an earlier Latin source from which both accounts were drawn.³⁹ But the simplest and most logical explanation, it would seem, is that Martinus, with characteristic carelessness, merely draws his story from *ET* by memory. We find in the quoted passages the typical traits of recollected matter—the gaps in thought, the capricious emphasis on the relatively insignificant—which appear to indicate that Martinus' Virgilian story is merely a remembered version of *ET*.

One more instance of the use of the *ET* narrative by mediaeval writers should be mentioned at this point, although the indicated influence is but a slight one. This occurs in a passage in Chaucer's *Legend of Dido*, in which Aeneas steals furtively away from Dido's bed:

For on a night, slepinge, he let her lye,
And stal a-wey un-to his companye,
And, as a traitour, forth he gan to saile
Toward the large contree of Itaile
(1326-1329).⁴⁰

This is not a radical alteration of Virgil's narrative, since in the *Aeneid* the ships actually set sail before dawn; but the total effect of Chaucer's account heightens quite perceptibly the rascality of Aeneas' desertion. In Virgil Aeneas takes his leave after a painful scene and goes 'unto his company' with Dido's full knowledge (iv, 393 ff.); Dido is definitely not asleep at the time, but from her tower watches the fleet preparing to depart (ll. 408-411), and even requests Aeneas to delay his departure for a short time (ll. 419-440). *ET*, on the other hand, takes a much less sympathetic view of Aeneas' behavior at this point. When Dido accuses Aeneas of wanting to leave her, he lies unscrupulously and tells her that he has no such notion (36, 14-15). But his ships are prepared and he steals away from Dido's bed while she is asleep (36, 17-20). Now, this variation in the story was obviously ideal for Chaucer's purpose, and it

is quite plausible to suppose that he helped himself to it. The close verbal similarity practically precludes the idea that the parallel is a coincidence. An even more definite indication that Chaucer had this source in mind is his statement that when Aeneas stole away from Dido he left his sword *at the head of her bed*:

A cloth⁴¹ he lafte, and eek his swerd standing
 Whan he fro Dido stal in her sleping,
 Right at her beddes heed . . .

(1332-1334).

This detail is not found in Virgil or Ovid, but it obviously corresponds exactly to the passage cited from *ET*, in which Aeneas leaves his sword 'ad caput lecti' (36, 20).

It is certainly no discredit to Chaucer that he allowed himself the privilege of drawing from so inferior and amateurish a version of the story of Aeneas. The episode that he found there fitted beautifully into his two-fold purpose: that of blackening the character of Aeneas and at the same time arousing greater sympathy for Dido, the Martyr of Love.

NOTES TO SECTION V

¹ Above, pp. xiii-xiv.

² On the Virgilian quotations see E. G. Parodi's discussion of the Riccardian MS: 'I Rifacimenti e le Traduzioni Italiane dell'Eneide di Virgilio,' *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, II (1887), 97-368. He comments, p. 193, on the passage referred to above.

³ E.g., the scribe of *Ri* made some changes and revisions, and evidently added some quotations and paraphrases not to be found in his exemplar. See below, pp. 18, 1; 41, 1, etc.

⁴ The passage is missing in *MS L*.

⁵ On the MS readings see the note on p. 34, 23. Possibly the interpolator supplied the quotation from memory, giving *acerba* as a loose synonym for the Virgilian *adversata*.

⁶ See pp. lxii f.

⁷ See p. 25, 4-16. *Aen.*, I, 113-115; v, 835-871.

⁸ P. 36, 15-20. *Aen.*, IV, 305 ff.

⁹ Quintus Smyrnaeus, *The Fall of Troy*, XII, 238-374. For editions of this and following works see Bibliography pp. 339-340 below.

¹⁰ Ll. 680-681.

¹¹ Ll. 260-261.

¹² See above, p. xvi.

¹³ It is, of course, not probable that the original Troy story ended at the point where Virgil begins. The source account, whether a Latin or a Greek one, might very well have covered the entire cycle, including the story of Odysseus.

¹⁴ *Epitome*, v, 23.

¹⁵ *The Fall of Troy*, XIV, 304-319.

¹⁶ *Fabulae*, no. 110.

¹⁷ *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 439-480.

¹⁸ *Ephemeridos Belli Troiani*, v, 13.

¹⁹ *Commentarii*, *Aen.*, III, 321.

²⁰ *Mythographi Vaticani*, II, 205.

¹¹ On the significance of this form, see p. xviii.

¹² See *Kyklopen* in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie*. Euripides (*Cyclops*, 95, 599 *et passim*) seems to have this conception of the Cyclopes.

¹³ In Euripides (*Cyclops*, 455) Odysseus uses a stake of olive; Apollodorus (*Epitome*, vii, 7) makes it a sharpened club as in Homer. In the numerous folk versions of the story nearly every conceivable instrument has been utilized: boiling oil, molten lead, rubber made from heather, a hot bar, a spit, a sharpened stick, an awl, a heated knife, and even a pistol (in a modern Breton version). For a summary of thirty-six of these folk tales see J. G. Frazer's appendix to his edition of Apollodorus (pp. 404-455). *MS Ra* has 'de lapide ardente' (24, 1), which is something new, though perhaps unintentional.

¹⁴ E.g., The account of Dido's trick of cutting the bull's hide into a narrow strip in order to encircle more land (p. 31, 8-10) corresponds roughly to Servius, *Aen.*, 1, 367; but the same episode is related more fully by Justin, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, xviii, 5. The explanation of the white sow that marked the site of Alba (p. 39, 10 ff.) resembles that given by Servius, *Aen.*, 1, 270 and viii, 43; but whereas Servius states that Alba was founded by Ascanius, *ET* more than once mentions Postumus Silvius as the founder (pp. 39, 10 ff.; 55, 11 ff.).

¹⁵ See above, p. xv.

¹⁶ See the note on 'litrino,' p. 37, 11.

¹⁷ *Fasti*, iii, 543 ff.

¹⁸ In an introductory essay to W. T. Culley and F. J. Furnivall's edition of Caxton's *Eneydos* (E. E. T. S., E. S., no. 57, London, 1890), pp. xxiv ff.

¹⁹ In his article in *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, II, 97-368, *passim*.

²⁰ Two other speeches in *Eneas* which seem to be nearer to *ET* than to the *Aeneid* are found in lines 3177-3222 and 4707-4742.

²¹ In the *Aeneid* their heads are also placed on spears, but it is after the dead Volcens has been brought back to the Rutulian camp (ix, 465-467).

²² F. M. Warren (*PMLA*, xvi, 384-385) holds that the entire *Eneas* was drawn from a Latin prose source; but since he offers in evidence only the differences between *Eneas* and the *Aeneid* we are justified in withholding acceptance of this view.

²³ Ed. L. Weiland, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scrip.*, xxii (Hannover, 1872), 377-475.

²⁴ *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, II, 191-192.

²⁵ Ed. Weiland, p. 398.

²⁶ P. 398: '... devenerunt in Syciliam. Ubi Anchise patre mortuo . . .' Cf. *ET*, p. 24, 23-24.

²⁷ P. 398-399: '... per tempestatem maris devenerunt in Affricam. Ubi a Dydone regina, que Carthaginem dicitur construxisse, nimium adamatus. . . .' Cf. *ET*, p. 38, 4-6.

²⁸ P. 399.

²⁹ This is the explanation favored by Parodi in *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, II, 192.

³⁰ *Works*, ed. W. W. Skeat (6 vols., Oxford, 1899-1900).

³¹ This represents the garments left by Aeneas, mentioned in *Aen.*, iv, 648.

VI. THE HISTORY OF ROME

The last part of the *Excidium Troiae* represents a quite common tendency to connect the story of Aeneas directly with the later history of Rome. This connection is definitely made in the *Aeneid* itself, in a passage in which Anchises, during Aeneas' visit to the underworld, utters a prophecy concerning the future glories of Rome (vi, 756-853). It was therefore usual through the Middle Ages for one who wrote of Aeneas to continue the story after the death of Turnus and to mention Aeneas' mighty successors. Such accounts are found in the *Origo Gentis Romanae*,¹ the *Compendium Historiae Troianae-Romanae*,² the *Irish Aeneid*,³ the *Roman d'Eneas*,⁴ and the *Eneydos* of Caxton.⁵ These accounts are usually brief; that contained in *ET* is compressed to the point of incoherence, and so the exact nature of the source is difficult to determine. The most obvious Latin source would be Livy; yet, short as the account is, it contains several details not found in that source, and in some instances it corresponds more closely to the Greek accounts of Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Dio Cassius. Some of these are the death (or translation) of Aeneas in the river rather than on the battlefield as in Livy;⁶ the flight of Lavinia to the woods, where she gives birth to Silvius;⁷ and the division of Procas' estate so that one son might choose the riches, the other the kingdom.⁸ The first two of these are found in Dionysius,⁹ and also in Servius¹⁰ and the first Vatican Mythographer;¹¹ the third occurs, so far as has been discovered, only in Plutarch's life of Romulus.¹² Plutarch's account states that Amulius, after the death of his father, divided the inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures over against the kingdom. Numitor, his brother, chose the kingdom, whereupon Amulius, with the aid of his wealth, made himself so powerful that he was able to overcome Numitor and seize the kingdom. In *ET* (56, 1 ff.) Numitor saves some difficulty by choosing the riches in the first place, allowing Amulius to take and keep the kingdom. However, since Romulus later (57, 1 ff.) kills Amulius and places Numitor on the throne, it would appear that Amulius was regarded as a usurper, and that the story in *ET* is simply a compressed version of that told by Plutarch. Numerous other parallels with classical accounts are pointed out in the notes following the text, from which, however, nothing can be concluded except that the author drew from a fuller account (or accounts) than that of Livy. Whether it is necessary to postulate the existence of an earlier Latin or Greek history, or whether we may suppose that the original author of the prose story of Aeneas drew his Roman narrative

from a number of sources seems hardly capable of decision at the present time.

The Roman material in *ET*, brief as it is, seems to have been known in the Middle Ages and accepted, at least in some quarters, as an authority. Landolfus Sagax,¹³ who made some additions to Eutropius' Roman history, borrows from *ET* the following passage concerning Amulius and Numitor:

et dum Procas obisset, testamentum suum duobus filiis suis Amulio et Numitori reliquit, ut unus pecuniam protinus alter regnum susciperet. Amulius vero fratri suo Numitori electionem dedit, quid desiderat, acciperet. Numitor vero pecuniam tulit, Amulius autem regnum optinuit, in quo *regnauit annos quadraginta tres*. et dum regnum optineret, consuluit responsumque est ei, quia ab stirpe fratris sui occideretur et regnum perderet, statimque eum de regno expulit. Numitor autem abhiens *in agro suo vixit*. erant autem ei duo filii Sergestus et Rhea que et Ilia dicta est. metuens ergo Amulius rex responsum Sergestum ad venationem secum duxit et eum in silva occidit Rhea vero que et Ilia *adimendi partus gratia virgo Vestalis elegit quae*¹⁴

As has been indicated (p. lxxii), this material probably derives ultimately from Plutarch; it seems not to have been well known,¹⁵ and this fact may have led Landolfus to regard it as suitable to the kind of learned annotation he was attempting (or pretending) to achieve. At any rate, the closeness with which he quotes from *ET*¹⁶ indicates that he felt his matter to be at least passably authoritative.

In a considerably later chronicle, the *Eneydos* of Caxton, there is what appears to be another allusion to the Roman material contained in *ET*. Regarding the founding of Alba, there is the following statement:

And of thys cite ben many in doubte who buylde it vppe, Ascanys, or elles Syluyus postunus his brother

(p. 164).¹⁷

ET distinguishes itself from all other versions of the story by the statement that Alba was founded by Postumus Silvius rather than by Ascanius (55, 11 ff.); it is probable, therefore, that Caxton's reference is to some redaction or derivative of the *ET* story.

NOTES TO SECTION VI

¹ See p. xx, n. 33.

² See pp. xxxi f.

³ Ed. George Calder (Irish Texts Society, London, 1907).

⁴ See pp. xxxviii; lxiv-lxvii.

⁵ Ed. W. T. Culley and F. J. Furnivall (E. E. T. S., E. S., no. 57, London, 1890).

⁶ The passage in question seems to have that meaning, although it is not entirely clear (55, 3-4).

⁷ Below, p. 55, 7-10.

⁸ P. 55, 26-56, 4.

⁹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, I, 64 and I, 70 (ed. E. Cary, vol. I.)

¹⁰ *Commentarii, Aen.*, I, 259; I, 270.

¹¹ *Mythographi Vaticani*, I, 202.

¹² III, 2.

¹³ Ed. H. Droysen, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiq.*, II (Berlin, 1879), 225-376.

¹⁴ P. 227. The italicised phrases represent passages in Paulus' *Historia Romana* to which the annotations are supposed to apply.

¹⁵ Only one other mention of the episode in Latin has been discovered; that is in the *Origo Gentis Romanae*, pp. 155 f.

¹⁶ The corresponding passage is found on pp. 55, 26-56, 11. It should be observed that Landolfus even fails to correct the name *Sergestus*, which should be *Aegestus*.

¹⁷ Ed. Culley and Furnivall (London, 1890).

VII. LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE *Excidium Troiae*

It has been shown that the *Excidium Troiae* as we now have it represents at least two major stages of composition, and that the many mediaeval accretions to the text make it extremely difficult to form an accurate conception of the original account or of its author. Leaving these questions out of consideration, the piece, just as it stands, shows an individuality of its own; there remain certain distinct traits in it which should be commented on critically before concluding this discussion. Though the language is thoroughly mediaeval, the details of the story itself remain strikingly classical. We find none of the accessories of chivalry and religion and magic so common in the mediaeval stories of Troy. Nor do we find the common mediaeval tendency toward allegory and moral interpretation from which few writers entirely escaped. The type of Christian mythography represented by Fulgentius,¹ in which classic myths are but symbols of moral truths, might well have been expected to leave some traces in a work of this sort; yet we find in *ET* only a purely expository tendency—a desire to explain who everyone was and what was meant by every mythological allusion.

A thoroughly amoral and cynical detachment is observable throughout the story, coupled with a patent lack of respect for most of the characters. Aeneas lies unscrupulously to Dido before stealing away from her in the night; yet Dido, rather than being presented as Love's martyr, is little more than a libidinous courtesan who plans a union with Aeneas, 'volens se de persona eius satiare' (33, 9). Paris deliberately postpones his judgment of the goddesses in order to see who will make the best offer (4, 25 ff.). Ascanius is badly frightened when Turnus besieges the camp, and would surrender but for Nisus and Euryalus (41, 15 ff.). The intervention of the Sabine women with their children to end the internecine war is a touching episode as narrated by Ovid;² in *ET* it is only a shrewd trick, since it was Romulus' idea in the first place (57, 14 ff.). A definite liking for the morbid and scandalous is apparent in the description of Mezentius' tortures (45, 6 ff.), in Achilles' post-mortem love for Penthesilea (11, 20–22), and in Paris' conversation with Helen, in which she shamelessly tells him of her passion and asks his name afterward (8, 8 ff.).

If there is a literary virtue in *ET* it is in the dramatic impulse which pervades the composition. The characters are constantly brought into direct conversation, the realistic aspect of which is striking. Rather than merely relate (as in *Aen.*, 1, 664 ff.) that Cupid comes to the feast in the likeness of Ascanius, *ET* tells that the squire Achates approaches Cupid

in the ship, and, mistaking him for Ascanius, addresses him thus: 'Pater tuus mandavit ut munera tecum portes et per te regine offeras' (33, 4-5). In Virgil Aeneas says that he called for his lost Creusa again and again: 'iterumque iterumque vocavi' (II, 770); in the prose story his very words are given: 'Creusa, Creusa, ubi es?' (21, 10). Similar colloquial vim is shown when Venolus approaches Diomede in order to ask his support in battle. 'Contra quos pugnatis?' asks Diomede, shrewdly. 'Contra Eneam Troianum,' replies Venolus; and Diomede's refusal is instantaneous and decisive: 'Non do auxilium, quia bellum inimicum fortissima cum gente deorum geritis' (49, 7-9). Thus throughout is the story dramatized and colloquialized. Although essentially a pedagogical account, its aim is above all to tell a lively and realistic story; and in this modest capacity it is certainly not devoid of merit.

NOTES TO SECTION VII

¹ In the *Mythologiae* and the *Virgiliana* every detail carries a lesson. The Servian commentaries are not free from this tendency, as is seen in this comment on the Cyclops' eye: 'Multi Polyphemum dicunt unum habuisse oculum, alii duos, alii tres: sed totum fabulosum est. nam hic vir prudentissimus fuit, et ob hoc oculum in capite habuisse dicitur, id est iuxta cerebrum, quia prudentia plus videbat. verum Ulixes eum prudentia superavit . . .' (Servius, *Aen.*, III, 636).

² *Fasti*, III, 206-224.

VIII. MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT

The following text of the *Excidium Troiae* is based upon photostatic copies of three manuscripts:

L Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, LXVI, 40, fols. 20^v-40^v, 49-52^v, 55-61^r.

Ra Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D 893, fols. 80^v-88^v.

Ri Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 881, fols. 54-72^v.

Of these, *L*, which is much the oldest, has attracted considerable attention.¹ It is described briefly in Meister's edition of Dares² and at some length in Mommsen's edition of the *Exordia Scythica*;³ Ludwig Traube gives an elaborate outline of its contents;⁴ and E. A. Lowe alludes to it frequently in his book on the Beneventan hand.⁵ But the best account, by all odds, is that in Lowe's *Scriptura Beneventana*, parts of which follow:

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS. LXVI. 40.

'Exordia Scythica'.

Dares Phrygius De Exitu Troianorum.

Anonymous De Excidio Troiae, et Comment. In Aeneid. Lib. II.

Tituli et Versus Cellani Abbatis.

Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri.

. . . Gatherings vary in size; hair-side on the outside of quires; no old quire-marks visible, but 15th-century letters have been placed on the lower left-hand corner of the first page of each quire. Parchment of rough quality. The original pale-brownish ink has been retraced here and there. A leaf is missing at the beginning of the first quire; the last quire is also defective, and leaves are wanting elsewhere in the MS. The third quire, marked C, now follows G; and D follows B . . .

Unusual literary interest attaches to our manuscript by reason of the texts it contains. The 'Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri' became one of the favourite novels of the Middle Ages, and such was the delight taken in it that translations were made in various vernacular tongues, the earliest, in Old English, going back to the 11th century. Our MS. furnishes the oldest copy of this story in Latin. It also preserves what appears to be the unique text of the 'Exordia Scythica' and of the verses of Cellanus, the Irish abbot of Péronne. It was Traube who first called attention to the palaeographical and historical significance of these verses. Their presence in a MS. of miscellaneous contents suggests that the compilation was made in an Insular centre, and probably at Péronne itself. Then, certain errors which occur in this poem: *scrux* for *sed crux*, *prae* for *per*,

and in the Juvenal verse (xiii. 171) on f. 62: *quatiare* for *quatiare sed* and *genubus* for *gentibus*, can only go back to an exemplar in Insular script. Furthermore, the subscription found on f. 20: 'EXPAICIT IωHANNES SUBDIAC. SCRIPSIT' with its Greek letters (Λ, ω) and its rectangular capitals (S, C) recalls Insular models and the Insular habit of parading irrelevant Greek learning, thus confirming the supposition that our MS. is a direct copy of an Insular original.

Nothing is known as to its precise home, but there is something to be said for the surmise that it was Monte Cassino . . . The date depends upon palaeographical criteria only. Judged by these, our MS. is most suitably assigned to the end of the 9th century.

. . . A contemporary corrector made a long addition at the foot of f. 34^v and the top of f. 35, and shorter additions elsewhere in the MS.⁶

The misplaced quire C, it should be noted, falls in the middle of the *De Excidio Troiae*, and there are considerable gaps in the text where leaves have been lost.

Ra is, unfortunately, not so well known. The description of it in the Rawlinson catalogue runs, in part, as follows:

Membranaceus. In folio, 4to et 8vo saec. x-xvii. ff. 169.

A collection of fragments of MSS., many of them being leaves formerly used as fly-leaves by book-binders. The larger part were collected by P. Le Neve [1661-1729], but some were collected by Thomas Rawlinson, and two or three have been added from books now in the library.⁷

The whole volume consists of eighty-two fragments, of which the thirty-eighth contains the *Excidium Troiae*. It is described as 'eleven leaves, containing the following articles, by two late thirteenth century hands.'⁸ *ET* (Item 38, iii) is preceded by a fragment 'Quid intersit inter philosophiam et sapientiam' (Item 38, ii) and is followed by 'Eight leaves containing seven sermons' (Item 39).

Professor S. Harrison Thomson, who very kindly inspected a folio of the manuscript, remarks that it 'has certain aspects that make it look French'; but, on the basis of certain characteristics of the hand, he inclines to the opinion that it is Italian. He concludes: 'Whether southern French or north Italian (tho' I lean strongly to the latter), I am very confident it is mid-xivth [century].'⁹

The first quarter of the *Ra Excidium Troiae* has already been published by Mr Atwood.¹⁰

Ri has been described by Parodi, who has examined it, as follows:

Codice Riccardiano, segnato 881, probabilmente del sec. xiv; membranaceo, di

cm. 250 d'altezza per 185 di larghezza [obviously mm. 250 and 185], con rubriche rosse ed iniziali rosse e turchine, talvolta figurate, e con miniature illustrative del testo, al quale o son collocate di fianco nel margine o intercalate.¹¹

According to Gorra, *Ri* is 'di fogli 467 e contiene scritture di vario argomento' and *ET* follows a text of Dares.¹² Both Parodi and Gorra discuss *ET* at some length, but Gorra misinterprets its contents rather badly. Professor Thomson, who has also inspected a specimen of *Ri*, argues that the manuscript is probably of Spanish origin because of peculiarities of the script and the general character of the miniatures, and he dates it about 1275: 'It cannot be XIV, nor before 1250.'¹³

A word more should be said about the miniature illustrations in which *Ri* abounds, most of them marginal but a few extending across the page. In fols. 54-63 each page has either one elaborate drawing across its entire width or from two to four marginal miniatures, the average being better than three; fols. 64-66 contain one miniature apiece; fols. 67-72 have none. Titles for such drawings continue, however, throughout *ET*. These titles uniformly come at the end of paragraphs, most of them being written in the space left by an incomplete line of text; but some are distributed confusingly over parts of several lines in such a way as to suggest that the scribe was copying them along with his text. The following is a typical arrangement (in *Ri* the right-hand margin is, of course, perfectly straight; the title is here indicated by italics):

corpus Hectoris filii sui accepit et sepelivit. *Priamus Polixenam filiam suam*
Achilli
 Polixena vero cum Achilli coniuncta fuisset et eam nimie diligeret a Priam dedit
 mo rege . . .

(*Ri* 57^v; *ET* p. 12, 11-13)

It seems obvious, therefore, that the miniatures are themselves part of the textual tradition behind *Ri*. The scribe apparently copied in the titles, leaving, if necessary, the proper blank space; and someone later supplied many, but not all, of the drawings. It is perhaps significant that some of the titles parallel those which had crept into the exemplar from which all three of our manuscripts are derived.

The three manuscripts described above cannot be closely related, for their differences are numerous and important; but they do descend from a common source which apparently had the following characteristics. As a text, it already had a considerable history behind it. A few of the more difficult words had been glossed, 'laeva,' for example, being defined as 'contraria' (p. 16, 16); and the glosses had become an integral part of

the text. It presented an extremely corrupt version of what purported to be quotations from Virgil, several of which were carried mechanically to the end of a verse whether there was any break in the sentence structure at that point or not (e.g., p. 34, 23, p. 50, 27; cf. above p. lx). In reading these, one is reminded of a modern schoolboy who, quite uncomprehendingly, sings off poetry purely for the rhythm of the lines; and one suspects that the tag ends of lines help explain the bad state of the rest of the quotations. The exemplar must also have been unintelligible in a few places because of slight omissions (cf. p. 3, 24; p. 53, 18); and it perhaps contained marginal miniatures the titles of which crept into the texts derived from it, or, more probably, it had already confused the titles with the text. In literary style, the source was apparently a strange mixture of illiteracy and pedantry. Both *Ra* and *Ri* show evidence of varying amounts of scribal correction, and the Latin of *L* can only be described as barbarous. On the other hand, perhaps because of the late Greek sources from which the text may, in part, have derived, or perhaps because of the Irish influence noted in *L* (cf. Lowe, above), the exemplar employed a good many words of Greek origin and paraded a knowledge of Greek inflectional forms, different examples of which appear in *L* and *Ra*, although not in *Ri*.¹⁴

Given these assumptions, it is easier to understand the state of the three texts that we have. *L*, as has been noted, is seriously incomplete, for it omits over one third of *ET*, apparently because leaves have fallen out. Furthermore, it reflects clearly the low estate to which knowledge of Latin had fallen in the period during which it was written. It constantly confuses the accusative and ablative after prepositions; it mixes singulars and plurals, nominatives and accusatives; and its spelling is completely eccentric and inconsistent. It is not uniformly bad, however, for occasionally it preserves the correct form of a proper name where *Ra* and *Ri* err (e.g., 'Menelaus' *L*, 'Melaus' *Ra*, 'Menlaus' *Ri*, p. 9, 24) or is closer to it than they ('Numa Populius' *L*, 'Neuma Polimius' *Ra*, 'Numina Pamfilius' *Ri*, for Numa Pompilius, p. 57, 22); and sometimes it preserves what seems to be the correct reading (cf. the quotation of *Aen.* II, 389-391, on p. 19, 4-6; or, for a more doubtful example, 'triumphus de agnito filio vel a matre,' p. 6, 21). It also preserves numerous Greek forms, especially the accusative *Enean*, which it writes almost consistently. But *L* is of value in arriving at a text of *ET* only for occasional details and, for reasons which will appear below, as a check upon *Ra*; it would be impossible to derive from it an intelligible text.

Ra, on the other hand, is much the best of the three manuscripts. In

general, it shows the same text as *L*, but it is free from many of the gross errors of the earlier manuscript. It seems to have been derived from the exemplar by literal-minded, fairly careful copyists. It meticulously preserves several Greek forms, although not so many as *L* (e.g. with *L* it reads 'manian,' p. 18, 9, and 'Andromache,' p. 32, 11, where *Ri* reads 'mania' with a nasal mark and 'Andromacha'); and in one place it perhaps failed to eliminate the false learning of the exemplar, for it reads a spurious Greek 'famen' (p. 23, 3) where both *L* and *Ri* have 'famem.' Its quotations from Virgil are more nearly correct than those in *L*, and they are also superior to those in *Ri* which have not been expanded by reference to a text of the *Aeneid* (cf. the quotation of *Aen.* IV, 173-177, on p. 35, 10-12); it is especially interesting to note that it is much closer than *Ri* (the passages do not appear in *L*) to the original in the tags of lines discussed above, which, since they never did make sense, were peculiarly liable to corruption. It is also the most accurate of the three in the spelling of proper names, although certainly bad enough. As one might expect, it makes no additions to the text; there is, however, some indication of correction by the scribe (cf. 'strupro' *Ra*, 'stupro' *Ra*¹, 'strupro' *Ri*, p. 56, 14), but the evidence is very slight.

Ri shows the work of a very different kind of scribe (or scribes). As compared with the humble copyist of *Ra*, he¹⁵ certainly had a very high opinion of his own learning, perhaps rightly; but he was unquestionably very careless. He was, in fact, a perfect example of the rule that no scribe was so dangerous as one with a little learning. He obviously altered numerous passages to rectify or conceal a mistake in transcribing that he had made earlier in the sentence. Perhaps the best example is his attempt to conceal his error in writing 'aras' for 'aram' (p. 22, 4-5). He then wrote '[aras] que dum fabricata fuissent' and 'aras coronarentur' where *L* and *Ra* have '[aram] que dum fabricata fuisset' and 'ara coronaretur,' giving himself away in both places by failing to alter accurately or fully. He also attempted continually to correct the Latin, eliminating 'dangling' participles, rectifying such Vulgar Latin forms as 'vellens' (volens), and apparently substituting words or forms which seemed to him stylistically preferable. In fact, he shows certain marked traits of style: a knowledge of the ablative absolute (cf. pp. 20-21 especially);¹⁶ a preference for superlatives; and a disposition to substitute single verbs for phrasal constructions (cf. 'hostes intrasse' for 'intratam fuisse,' p. 19, 17; 'obviavit' for 'obviam fuit,' p. 20, 12). These peculiarities all resulted in tampering with the text. In the last part of *ET*, moreover, whole sentences have been drastically rewritten, although no reason is

apparent. But in one respect *Ri* is superior to *Ra* as a text to read: it has apparently been corrected by reference to a copy of the *Aeneid*. Thus the description of Hector's ghostly visit to Aeneas, hopelessly garbled in *L* and *Ra*, is quoted accurately and at greater length; and the longer quotations from Virgil are written as verse. In addition, a considerable paraphrase of a passage from the *Aeneid* is introduced at one point (see p. 41, 1). That these passages are the result of revision at some point in the history of the text and not of a better transmission of the original version is strongly indicated by the fact that the shorter quotations are, as we have noted, more corrupt than those in *Ra*; furthermore, *Ri* fails to correct the most obvious errors in the quotations which it does not rewrite at length as verse.

The general relationship of the three manuscripts must have appeared in the preceding discussion. Despite a few additions to the original text of *L* (cf. pp. 9, 21; 57, 9) and two considerable additions to *L* by another hand (pp. 15, 21; 25, 18), *L* and *Ra* present substantially the same text. *Ri*, on the other hand, patches the text and begins a *Liber Eneydum* when Aeneas and his followers leave Troy; it adds the long paraphrase of the *Aeneid* noted above, making minor alterations in the context to support the inserted material; it omits an essential part of the Turnus story where there is no gap in the text such as would have resulted from the loss of leaves from a manuscript (from p. 52, 10 to p. 54, 16; see the note to p. 52, 10); and it presents, particularly in the last half of *ET*, a radically different version of entire sentences. We must conclude, therefore, that *Ri* not merely corrects and alters, but represents a separate textual tradition—that *L* and *Ra* belong to one 'family' and *Ri* to another. The situation, however, is not quite so simply disposed of, for *L* and *Ri* show common variations from *Ra* that must be accounted for. Some of these, like the easy change of 'abducite' to 'adducite' (p. 23, 12) or of 'tempestatis' to 'tempestates' (p. 30, 6) may well be mere coincidence. But no such facile assumption will explain a considerable passage which *L* and *Ri* add, with minor variations, to the account of the death of Priam: 'Hic finis Priami regis, deinde Polixena filia [Polixenam filiam *Ri*] Priami regis quam pater eius Achilles uxorem duxerat' (p. 19, 23). The added words are so ungrammatical and so malapropos that they cannot be a part of the original text. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that they had crept into the exemplar, and that the scribe of *Ra* recognized them as an intrusion and omitted them. It should be noted that 'Hic finis Priami' occurs below, where it is obviously a miniature title that has intruded into the text. It is not impossible that a similar title crept in

earlier and was expanded into the passage under discussion. There is, however, no other evidence in the manuscripts to support such a conjecture.

In the attempt to arrive at a text of *ET*, several guiding principles have been followed. The primary objective has been to arrive at the post-Classical text which must lie back of the three manuscripts used. This archetype obviously showed many of the characteristics of Vulgar Latin; no attempt, therefore, has been made to make the text adopted conform to Classical standards. In fact, 'bad' Latin has sometimes been written when the weight of evidence favored it, even though one manuscript read a 'correct' idiom. This principle has also applied to the numerous quotations from Virgil. A consistent attempt has been made to reproduce the version, often garbled and misquoted, which must have appeared in the archetype rather than to write the accepted text of the *Aeneid*, although perhaps occasionally the temptation to emend has been too strong to resist where no sense whatever could be made out of the manuscripts. Similarly, the additions in *L* and the passages in *Ri* obviously rewritten by reference to a text of the *Aeneid* have been relegated to the variant readings; and the quotations from Virgil have uniformly been written as prose, as they are written in *Ra*, since few of them could possibly be scanned as verse. Finally, an effort has been made to keep corrections or emendations to a minimum and to follow the manuscripts, or one of them, whenever it was at all possible to do so, even though an emendation was very tempting.

In the formation of a text, the previously outlined theory of the relationship of the manuscripts has been followed as consistently as possible. When *L* and *Ra* have one reading and *Ri* another, the case has been judged on its merits, with the understanding that *Ra* is more conservative and that *Ri* tends to 'correct.' Where *L* and *Ri* agree against *Ra*, or *Ra* and *Ri* against *L*, that agreement has normally been accepted as establishing the text. There has been no attempt at rigid consistency in spelling, because that, too, would be false to the manuscripts; but normally the spelling of *Ra* has been followed. Capital letters and punctuation have, of course, been added, and *u* and *v* are differentiated according to modern usage.

It has been thought advisable to make the textual apparatus as complete as possible. Its arrangement adheres as closely as possible to the following principles:

1. All variant spellings of all proper names have been given at least once; the

comment (*et alibi*) means that the form listed occurs elsewhere in the *MS* indicated but is not repeated in the textual notes.

2. All variations amounting to a different word or a different grammatical form (e.g., a different case or tense) have been listed.

3. Minor variations in spelling have, in general, been omitted. These take the form, primarily, of substitutions of *p* for *b*, *v* for *b*, and *g* for *c* such as are common in mediaeval texts; since in every case the original spelling has been adhered to in the lists of *varia*, there are enough examples to serve the needs of anyone interested in linguistics. Similarly, no mention has been made of doubling of single consonants or omission of one of double consonants, or of variations between *i* and *e* or *is* and *es* in nouns of the third declension. *L*, especially, tends to write *i* in such forms and frequently substitutes *i* for *e* in other unaccented positions.

4. Greek inflectional forms have generally been indicated, except that only the first few occurrences of *Enean* in *L* have been noted.

5. The titles of miniatures in *Ri* have consistently been omitted as extraneous to the text.

The usual textual symbols are used, and, in addition, curves have been employed in the text or notes to indicate a guess at letters made illegible by blots (especially in the last few pages of *Ra*) or cut off at the edge in binding. Pointed brackets have therefore been reserved for conjectural additions without any basis in the text. Where a lemma has been given, the complete equivalent of the passage indicated in the lemma has been quoted from each manuscript cited.

NOTES TO SECTION VIII

¹ The standard catalogue listing is in A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* (4 vols., Florence, 1774-77), II, 812-814.

² Ferdinand Meister, *Dareti Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia* (Leipzig, 1873), p. iii: 'F. Florentinus Laur. LXVI. 40 f. 6^b Saec. x . . . scriptus est a Johanne Subdiacono.'

³ He writes, in part: 'Scriptus, fortasse Casini, saec. ix vel x . . . in ipso principio.' Theodore Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antig.*, xi (Berlin, 1894), 308.

⁴ After his analysis of the contents, Traube continues: 'Alles dies ist von ein und derselben beneventanischen Hand in neunten Jahrhundert niedergeschrieben worden, und zwar so fortlaufend, dass wir denken können, es habe dem Schreiber schon ein Sammelband sehr gemischten Inhalts als Vorlage gedient. Es bleibt auch deswegen ungewiss, ob der Subdiakon Iohannes, der auf fol. 20 als Schreiber genannt wird, der Schreiber unseres Bandes oder eines Bestandtheiles der eben vorausgesetzten Vorlage war.' Ludwig Traube, 'Peronna Scottorum,' *Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, Jahrgang 1900, p. 485.

⁵ E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914). See especially p. 328.

⁶ E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford, 1929), Plate xxv. Lowe also includes a considerable bibliography of references to the MS.

⁷ *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Partis Quintae Fasciculus Quartus* (Oxford, 1898), col. 75.

⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 80.

⁹ From an unpublished letter from Prof. S. Harrison Thomson to E. B. Atwood, Sept. 2, 1938.

¹⁰ See *Speculum*, ix (October, 1934), 397 ff. For comments on this text by Prof. W. A. Oldfather see also *Speculum*, xi (April, 1936), 272 ff.

¹¹ E. G. Parodi, 'I Rifacimenti e le Traduzioni Italiane dell'Enaide di Virgilio,' *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, II (1887), 182.

¹² E. Gorra, *Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana*, p. 241.

¹³ From the letter cited above. If the belief expressed below, that the miniatures may be copied, is sound, Prof. Thomson's argument might be somewhat weakened.

¹⁴ It is very possible, of course, that *Ri* represents a purely continental tradition which never came under Insular influence; the Greek vocabulary present in *Ri* as well as the other two would then result from a late Greek source for part of the material or a late Latin source under Greek influence.

¹⁵ The use of *he* is, of course, merely a convenience in writing. The changes noted may have occurred at any point in the separate textual tradition back of *Ri*.

¹⁶ Cf., however, p. 17, 21, where the ablative absolute is certainly the better reading and has been adopted.

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Purely for convenience, the works listed below are grouped as Classical Versions, which are discussed chiefly in the Critical Notes, and Mediaeval Versions, which are discussed in Sections II–VI of the Introduction. A few mediaeval accounts, of which only passing mention is made, are not here included.

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EXCIDIVM TROIAE

EXCIDIUM TROIAE

INCIPIT EXCIDIUM TROIAE. Thetis dicta est mater Achillis, que de numero quinquaginta Nereidarum electa est. Et dicere habes: que fuerunt Nereide, aut quare hoc vocabulum acceperunt? Respondendum est: a Nereo patre et Ida matre. Coniuncto vocabulo patris et matris Nereide appellatae sunt. Qui Nereus et Ida in insulam quam-
dam habitationem habuerunt et ibi quinquaginta filias procreaverunt. Merito hoc fabula iactitat Nereidas in mari esse eo quod in insula procreate sunt. De quarum numero, ut dictum est, Thetis electa est, quam Iupiter amaverat, et dum sibi eam coniungere vellet consuluit. Et responsum est ei quod si sibi eam iungeret, si quis de eis nasceretur, Iovem de regno pelleret. Hoc metuens, Iupiter memoratam Thetidem Peleo cuidam iuveni in matrimonium dedit et ei nuptias celebravit.

Merito cena deorum appellata est; in qua cena fuerunt Iupiter, Neptunus, Apollo musarum deus, et Mercurius; necnon et tres dee, id est Iuno, Minerva, et Venus. Discordia vero, dea litis, ad ipsas nuptias vocata non est. Hec, dolore ducta, malum aureum subornavit, in quo scripsit: 'Pulchriori dee donum.' Et dum malum tres dee superius memorate volentem viderent, omnes simul tenuerunt, et de tollendo malo contentio inter eas facta est. Et dum titulum scriptum in eodem malo intenderent, ubi scriptum fuit 'Pulchriori dee donum,' de pulchritudine sua contendere ceperunt. Et Iovem petierunt ut inter eas iudicaret que earum pulchrior esset. Iupiter ergo, positus in ambiguo, nolens aliquam earum ledere, eis respondit: 'Ego inter vos iudex esse non possum; sed dabo vobis iudicem qui inter vos iudicet.' . . . Quibus sic respondit: 'Ite ad Ideum montem qui super Troia est, et ibi habebitis Paridem pastorem; solus inter vos poterit iudicare, quia iudex iustus est.'

Et dicere habes: qui fuit Paris, aut quare iudex iustus appellatus est? Respondendum est: iste Paris filius fuit Priami regis Troianorum, de

1 INCIPIT EXCIDIUM TROIAE] *om. Ra* Incipit liber exitium Troie *Ri* | Tetis (*et alibi*) *Ra*
2 Nereitarum *L* Nereidarum (*et alibi*) *Ra* | electa *Ri* | abes *L* 4 Ita (*et alibi*) *L* Ydai *Ra* Idam *Ri*
5 Nereite *L* | Idai *Ra* | insula *L* 7 et merito *L* | iactat *Ri* | Nereideas *L* 8 numerum *L*
9 Iuppiter (*et alibi*) *L* | amavit *Ra* | eum *L* | iungere *Ri* 10 quod sibi eum non iungeret *Ri* |
coniungeret *Ra* | ut si *L* *Ri* | quid *Ra* 11 pelleret] pelset *Ri* | Peledi *L* 12 cuidam *om.*
Ra | ei *om. Ri* 13 et Neptunus *Ri* 14 muscarum *Ra* | deos *L* | Mercurium *L* | Discordia] *L*
deest ad p. 5, l. 25 16 vocitata *Ra* | Hec] Hoc *Ri* | quo malo *Ri* 17 Pulchriori (*et alibi*) *Ri*
18 volentes *Ri* | simul omnes *Ri* 19 inter eas *om. Ra* 20 intenderent] viderent *Ri*
21 Iovem *om. Ra* 22 in ambiguo *om. Ra* 23 illarum *Ra* earum *Ra*¹ 25 Ideum] eum *Ri* |
super] sub *Ra* | Troia (*et alibi*) *Ri* 27 habet *Ri* | aut] et *Ri* | iustus iudex *Ri* 28 et de *Ri* |

Hecuba regina natus; quem dum regina adhuc pregnans in utero haberet per somnium vidit se peperisse flammam, que totam Troiam circuit et eam incendit. Que dum templa consuleret, quidnam talis visio esset, responsum est ei quia si quis de ea nasceretur, per ipsum Troia periret—
 5 quod et contigit. Hoc metuens, dum eum peperisset, pro augurio, ut per ipsum omne augurium a Troia tolleretur, ancillis precepit ut eum extra urbem in montem proicerent—quod et factum est. Et dum ab ancillis proiectus fuisset, a quodam pastore qui in eodem monte fuit collectus est, et ab eo nutritus est. Qui dum adolesceret, cepit eum
 10 nutritor eius in vestibus magnis, tum in habitu pastorali induere. Et iam inter alios pastores cepit opinatissimus esse. Cui Paridi in armento suo taurus mire magnitudinis natus est. Qui taurus cum tauris aliorum pastorum dimicabat et singulos vincebat. Quem dum Paris semper victorem videret, ei coronam auream inter cornua imponebat. Hoc videns,
 15 Mars se in similitudinem tauri aptavit et cum tauro Paridis se ad dimicandum ostendit. Qui dum Mars in similitudinem tauri cum tauro Paridis dimicaret, Mars victor extitit. Tunc Paris videns Martem in similitudinem tauri taurum suum superasse, coronam quam tauro suo imponebat Marti imposuit. Et propter quod iustitiam secutus est et
 20 sibi non cohibuit, iudex iustus appellatus est. Hec opinio de eodem peragravit. Merito etiam Iupiter inter tres deas ipsum iudicem quesivit. Quid multa?

Ad Paridem Iuno, Minerva, et Venus venerunt; et dum ei malum aureum offerrent, dixerunt: 'Lege titulum, et quod tituli scriptura continet inter nos iudica.' Ille vero accepto malo eas distulit et iudicium comperendinavit. Quia dum iudicium dilatum fuisset, uti habet vulgus: 'Quid das ut vincas?' secretim utreque ut nemo de se sentiret ad Paridem ingrediuntur. Quid multa? Primum Minerva ingressa est et Paridi dixit: 'Ego consancio arma tua ut quotienscumque cum aliquo dimicare volueris te victorem faciam et me iudica pulchriorem.' Cui ille ita
 30 promisit et discessit, promissum ei retinens. Accedens deinde Iuno ad eundem Paridem ingressa est. Et ipsa iam ei promisit duplicari fetus

1 Hecuba *Ri* 2 sompnium *Ri* | flamma *post* que *add. Ra* 3 quae nunc visio talis *Ri* 4 quis] quid *Ra* 7 montibus proicerent *Ri* 8 esset fuisset *Ra* 10 eius] suus *Ra* tum] tamen *Ri* 11 pastores alios *Ra* 12 thaurus *Ri* 15 adaptavit *Ra* 18 supasse *Ri*
 19 et quod *Ri* 20 conibuit *Ra* | opinio *Ri* 21 ipsum] eum *Ri* | quesuit *Ra* 24 aureum *om. Ri* | offerturent *Ra* 26 comperendinavit *Ra* procrastinavit *Ra*¹ competenter ordinavit *Ri* Quia 'dum] Qui cum *Ri* | iudicium delatum *Ra* dilatum iudicium *Ri* 27 vincas] unicas *Ri* 28 multum *Ra* | Primo *Ri* 29 consancio ut arma tua *Ri* 31 promissum ei] per promissum eius *Ri* | Secedens *Ri* 32 eundem] eum *Ra* Et ipsa iam] Etiam ipsa ei *Ri* | duplicare *Ri*

armentorum suorum ut geminos parerent, et iudicaret eam pulchriorem. Etiam ipsi promisit, quia Iuno dea connubii et fetus appellatur, sicut Minerva dea armorum et pugne appellatur, et discessit. Postea vero Venus amicta pallio blatteo [nuda] tenens ante se duobus digitis pallium ad eum ingressa est, et dum ante eum staret, dimisso pallio nuda ei apparuit. Que Paridi sic dixit: 'Ego tibi dabo pulchriorem uxorem et me iudica pulchriorem.' Ille vero videns speciem dee vel virginis, ut habet etas iuvenilis, furore amoris incensus ei dixit: 'Te iudico inter omnes pulchriorem,' et discessit. Ergo venit dies statuta ut ad iudicium eius venirent, et malum aureum Veneri tradidit. Ille vero, videntes se despectas vel abiudicatas, exierunt cum magno dolore. [Manet alta mente repositum iudicium Paridis spreteque iniuria forme et genus inuisum et rapti Ganimedis honores.] Quod iudicium fecit ut adversus Troiam iracundia dearum suscitaretur, ut adimpleretur quod per somnium regina viderat, quia per Paridem Troia periret. Ille vero, id est Iuno et Minerva, dum de iudicio Paridis abiudicate discesserunt, ceperunt cogitare qualiter Troia periret. Venus vero, pro qua iudicium fuerat, etiam ipsa ut Paridi promissum impleteret, cepit de coniugio eius cogitare.

Et dum hec geruntur, subito in animo Paridis amor spectaculorum que apud Troiam gerebantur, quod nunquam noverat, introivit. Et cepit pastori nutritori suo imminere ut ad Troiam ubi pater eius regnabat pro videndis spectaculis descenderet. Nutritor vero, metuens ne eum perderet, cepit eum ab intentione revocare. Cui sic dicebat: 'Habes spectaculum armentorum tuorum. Quid desideras quod nunquam nosti videre?' Ille vero magis magisque imminebat ut ad Troiam descenderet. Quem dum nutritor suus ab intentione non valuisset revocare, cum eodem ad Troiam ad spectaculum in circum descendit. Qui dum aurige cucurissent, complentes sextum emissum, campestriarii, ut consuetudo habet,

11-13 *Aen.* 1, 26-28

1 ut ei *Ri* | pareret *Ra* 2 conubii *Ri* | appellatur- pugne *om. Ri* 3 dea morum et pagne *Ra*
 dea armorum et pugne *Oldfather (Speculum, XI, 274)* 4 blatteo *Ra* balth'o regal *Ri* blatteo
Oldfather loc. cit. | nuda glossam ind. *Oldfather loc. cit.* | palleum *Ri* 6 Que] Cui *Ri* | pulchriorem
 me uxorem *Ri* 8 etatem *Ri* 9 statutus *Ra* 10 veniretur *Ra* 11 vel] et *Ri*
 exierunt] dixerunt *Ra* | exciderat animo ante manet *add. Ri* 12 repostum *Ri* inuisum] inusum
Ri 13 raptiganis medis *Ri* 14 iracundiam excitaret dearum *Ri* | impleteretur *Ri* 16
 et *om. Ri* | abiudicate *om. Ri* | discessissent *Ra* 17 pro -fuerat] cum iudicatum fue erat *Ri* |
 18 Paridis *Ri* | eius coniugio *Ri* 21 innuere *Ra* imminere *Ra*⁴ imminari *Ri* 22 vero eius *Ri*
 23 Cui sic-26 revocare *om. Ri* 25 Quem] *L rursus incipit* 26 cum eodem-descendit] Tandem cum eodem ad spectaculum circi ad Troyam descendit *Ri* 28 complentes sexto misso *L*
 complexante se et misso *Ri* campestriarii] campratiarii *L* capraciarii *Ri*

- ante casam regis ad dimicandum descenderunt. Quos dum Paris dimi-
cantes videret, presumens de iuventute sua se ad dimicandum cum eis
cepit petere. Quem dum nutritor suus videret, metuens ne eum perde-
ret, cepit eum velle revocare. Ille vero non obediens nutritori suo, sed
5 presumens de iuventute sua, se in arenam iactavit et cum campestriariis
non arte sed virtute dimicavit et coronam accepit. Discedentibus vero
campestriariis iuenculi cursores qui de meta in metam currebant exierunt.
In quibus cucurrit etiam et ipsos vicit et coronam accepit. Deinde filii
regis fratres eius furore ducti ad arenam descenderunt et eum ad cursum
10 provocaverunt, etiam et ipsos vicit et tertio coronatus est. Hoc videntes,
filii regis qui ab eo victi sunt, dolore coacti quia eos inter tantum agonem
populi confunderet, ceperunt de nece eius cogitare ut eum interficerent;
et iusserunt vomitoria circi a militibus custodiri ut dimisso circo compre-
henderetur, et desiderium suum in eum complerent. Hoc dum nutritor
15 suus agnosceret, se in arenam ante casam regis iactavit et tali voce regem
interpellavit, dicens: 'Miserere, Domine Rex, iuveni, quoniam filius tuus
est; et vos, o filii regis, amovete furiam vestram a iuvene, quia frater
vester est!' Quid multa?—agnovit rex filium, fratres fratrem, et ad regi-
nam matrem eius mandatur si ita factum esset ut nutritor eius suggessit.
20 Regina vero manifestavit quia pro somnio quod viderat eum iactavit.
Et dum hoc a regina manifestaretur, cum rege patre suo vel cum fratribus
ad domum regiam perrexit, et triumphus de agnito filio vel a matre in
domo regis factus est. Hoc ad sacerdotes pervenit, et ceperunt imminere
ut Paris occideretur, ne civitas, secundum quod antea mater eius per
25 somnium visitata fuerat, periret. Hoc dum ad regem perferretur, dixit:
'Melius est ut civitas pereat, dum tamen filius noster non interficiatur.'
- Et cum hec apud Troiam geruntur, fratres eius maiores vel iuniores
qui iam uxores habebant eum cogebant uxorem ducere. Ille vero ita eis
respondit: 'Promissum teneo deo Veneris; ipsa mihi dabit uxorem.' Et

1 casam] domum *Ri* | Pares (*et alibi*) *L* 2 se] audaciam *Ri* 3 dum] cum *Ri* 4
oboediens *L* 5 iuventute] virtute *Ra* iuventute *Ra*¹ | arena *L* *Ra*¹ campestriariis] campran-
tariis *L* capratiariis *Ri* 6 demicavit *L* | descendentes *L* descendentibus *Ri* 7 campes-
triariis] camprantarii *L* capraciariis *Ri* | iuventuli *Ra* iuenculi *Ri* qui-8 accepit] quod et armenta
currebant cum quibus cucurrit et ipsos vicit et coronam accepit *Ri* 10 et ipsos etiam *Ri* 11
eos *post* populi *Ri* | agonem] agmen *L* *Ri* 12 eius nece *Ri* 13 vomitoria] lomitra *Ri*
14 eo *Ri* | Hoc nutritor eius dum *Ri* 15 iactabat *Ra* iactavit *Ra*¹ 16 Miserere *om. Ri* |
Rex meus *Ri* 17 o *om. L* | amovite *L* 18 cognovit *Ri* 19 esset] esse *Ra* est *Ri* | eius]
suus *Ri* | suggesserat *L* 20 sompno *Ri* 21 hoc regina manifestaret *Ri* 22 perrexerunt *L* *Ri*
| filio *om. Ra* | a *om. Ri* 23 regia *Ri* | Et dum hoc *Ri* | et *om. Ri* imminere] immuniri *Ri* 24
ne] nec *Ri* secundum] sed unde *Ri* | ante a matre eius per somnium visum fuerat *Ra* 25 somp-
num *Ri* | Hoc autem *Ri* | perferretur *L* 26 tamen] tam *L* | noster fortis non interficitur *L*
27 cum] dum *Ra* iuniores] minores *Ri* 28 eis *om. L* *Ra* 29 dabit mihi *Ri*

cotidie fanum Veneris deprecabatur, dicens: 'Dea magna, a qua amor conubii conceditur, comple circa me promissum tuum et da mihi uxorem.' Illa vero dum interpellationibus eius cotidie extediaretur, volens apud eum promissum implere sic ei respondit: 'De Grecia accipies uxorem.' Et dum ista geruntur contigit ut rex Priamus pater eorum in consistorio suo cum filiis suis—id est, Hectore, Paride, vel aliis—de captivitate Hesione sororis sue, que temporibus Laomedontis regis patris eius a Grecis captivata fuerat, disputaret. Quos sic alloquitur, dicens: 'Pergat unus vestrum in navibus cum exercitu magno ad partes Grecorum, et Hesionam amitam vestram huc exinde liberet.' Paris vero, sciens sibi de Grecia a Venere uxorem fuisse promissam, patri suo regi respondit, dicens: 'Iube mihi naves cum exercitu vel signo parari ut iussionem regis adimpleam.' Quid multa?—iussio regis adimpleta est et naves cum exercitu preparate sunt.

Paris vero cum exercitu in navibus ad Greciam perrexit, in qua provincia eodem tempore regnabant Agamemnon et Menelaus. Qui Menelaus habuit uxorem nimium pulcherrimam nomine Helenam quam Iupiter in similitudinem cigni amavit et de eo concepit, et de ipso conceptu nati sunt Castor et Pollux, vel memorata Helena Menelai regis uxor. Qui dum ibi Paris in eadem provincia venisset, ita contigit ut Agamemnon et Menelaus de urbibus suis ubi regnabant sine mulieribus absentes fuissent. Regine vero absentibus regibus viris suis gestatu foris ab urbibus in suburbanis cum familiis suis super ora maris exierunt. In quibus locis ita provenit ut Paris cum suis de navibus ad terram descenderet, quia iam eum nuntius Veneris precesserat et Helenam reginam furore amoris sagittaverat. Contigit ut ipsa Helena Paridem ornatum cultu regali super ora maris de contra videret. Et quia iam amore eius serpita fuerat, nuntios ad eum mandavit, dicens si aliquod ornamentum quod regine placeat in venalibus possit ferre. Paris vero etiam ipse decontra

1 cotidie (*et alibi*) L 2 conceditur] concidi L procedit Ri 3 extediretur L | apud eum om.
Ra 5 eorum pater L 6 Hector et L | qui et Alexander *post* Paride *add.* Ri 7 Hesione
L Esione Ra Essione Ri | quam tempore L | Laomedontis L Laumedontis Ri | regis -Grecis om.
Ri | patri L | a Grecis om. Ra 8 captivata] facta Ri 10 ametam L | huc om. *et* sororem
meam *add.* Ri | inde liberate Ra 12 naves dari Ra | exercitu parare que et preparate sunt L | et
ut Ri | ut iussionem—14 sunt om. L 15 in navibus cum exercitu Ri | ad Greciam om. Ri
16 regnabat L Ra | Agamenon (*et alibi*) Ri | fratres *post* Menelaus *add.* Ri 17 nimis L | Helena
L | Lede *post* Helenam *add.* Ra | Alteram Helenam *post* quam *add.* Ri 18 cigni Ri | adamavit
Ra | concipit L | concepto L 19 vel] et Ra 20 advenisset Ra | contingit Ri 21
regnabat L 22 gestatum L gestatim Ri 23 familia sua L 24 ita] id L Ra | descen-
derent L 25 Et quia Ri | Veneri L 26 Helena regina Ri 27 Et om. L Ra 28
nuntius L | ad eum dicens Ri | aliquo ornamento L 29 in venalibus] iuvenilibus Ri | posset Ri |
ipse om. Ri | eontra Ra

reginam aspiciens, furore amoris eius accensus commemoratus est quod
 promisso Veneris ipsam poterat ducere uxorem. Nuntiis regine respon-
 dit: 'Portamus tale ornamentum quod regine placere possit.' Nuntii
 vero regine responsum Paridis nuntiaverunt. Illa vero iterato nuntios
 5 remisit, mandans ut si quod magnum in ornamentis portabant ad pala-
 tium regine ferrent. Paris vero mutato habitu cum ornamentis ad
 palatium perrexit. Et dum regine ornamenta ostenderet, serpita amore
 eius videns speciem vel formam tante iuventutis sic ei respondit: 'Vellem
 10 regem vestrum secretim videre, quia nimium ex quo eum super ora maris
 vidi amore eius accensa sum.' Cui Paris sic respondit: 'Regem quem
 dicis ecce assum. Sed ne agnitus fuissem ornatum regis deposui et in
 isto habitu ad te veni. Nam et ego ex quo te vidi amore tuo accensus
 sum.' Cui illa respondit: 'Quisnam es tu?' Ille dixit: 'Filius Priami regis
 Troianorum.' Regina dixit: 'Et que te ratio fecit ad nostram provinciam
 15 venire?' Paris respondit: 'Monitio dee Veneris, que sic mihi promisit
 dehinc accepturum uxorem.' Regina respondit: 'Vellem, si etiam et tu
 vis, me hinc uxorem duceres.' Paris dixit: 'Quomodo fieri potest, cum
 sis uxor regis, ut te uxorem accipiam?' Helena dixit: 'Tantum ut tuus
 animus velit. Nam ex quo te vidi intollerabilis me amor tuus possedit,
 20 quod si me uxorem non duxeris, amore tuo moriar.' Paris dixit: 'Et
 quomodo hoc fieri potest ut de domo regia exeas?' Helena respondit: 'Sunt
 mihi de familia mea famuli fidelissimi qui cum thesauris vel omnibus
 ornamentis hora noctis silentissima de palatio exeant, tantum ut cum
 nave ad ora maris paratus sis.' Paris dixit: 'Et si hoc placet regine, com-
 25 pleatur desiderium utrorumque.' Quid plura? Discedente Paride regina
 servos suos fidelissimos ad se vocari iussit, quos secretim ita allocuta est
 ut thesauros vel ornamenta occulte colligerent et ad horam constitutam
 parati essent. Venit hora, et Paris cum navibus ad litus iunxit. Regina

1 regina L | amori L | recomemoratus Ri | est om. L 2 promissio Ri | ipsa Ri | nuntio L Paris
 nuntiis Ra nuntius vero Ri respondit] om. Ra supple ait Ra¹ 3 talem L 5 remisit] revocavit
 L Ra portabant] haberent L 6 deferrent L adferrent Ri | Tunc Paris mutato Ri 7
 ostendit Ra 8 tante talique L iuventutis] virginis Ri | ei om. Ri 9 secreta Ri 10
 amori L accensa] sauciata L | Cui om. Ri 11 assum] ego sum L Sed ne -isto] Sed deposui regale
 ornamentum ne agnitus fuissem et dignitate regis exposita de isto L | regium Ri | exposui de isto Ra
 13 illa] ille Ra | Ille dixit om. Ra | regis Priami Ri 14 te ratio fecit] ratio te venit Ri nostram]
 meam Ri 15 Monitio] ammonitu Ri | qui mihi sic L quia sic mihi Ri 16 hinc Ri Vellem
 -duceres] Si velis etiam me hinc uxorem ducere poteris L 17 me -duceres] me accipere in
 uxorem et me hinc uxorem duxeris Ri | fieri L 19 Nam ego L Nam et ego Ra | mea mortuus
 possidet L 20 uxorem om. L Ra | morior L Ra 21 hoc om. L | domo tua Ri 22
 thesauro L vell] et Ri 23 ornamentis meis L | exeam L | tu cum navi ad maris ora Ri 24
 placuit Ra 25 descendente L 26 vocare Ra | quibus Ra | ita om. Ri 27 thesaurum
 L thesaurum Ra | constituta L 28 et om. L Ra | navi Ri

vero cum thesauris vel ornamentis suis de palatio ad navim descendit et cum Paride navigavit. Et coniunctio Veneris sicut antea promiserat apud eos celebrata est. Quid multa?

Opinio per totam provinciam peragravit reginam de palatio ad filium regis Troianorum cum omnibus divitiis fuisse eiectam. Que opinio ad Agamemnonem regem et Menelaum maritum eius ubinam fuerunt pervenit. Hoc audientes furore magno accensi utrique ad urbes suas venerunt. Et congregatis mille navibus et decem ducibus cum exercitu magno, faventibus eis Iunone et Minerva, quia dolebant circa Paridem pro iudicio mali aurei, ad Troiam producunt, ut impleretur quod mater eiusdem Paridis antea per somnium viderat, quia per Paridem Troia periret.

Redeamus ad causam. Paris vero accepta Helena ad Troiam venit et domum Priami regis patris sui cum uxore sua ingressus est, et ibi cum fratribus suis esse cepit.

Agamemnon vero et Menelaus Troiam cum mille navibus et decem ducibus obsederunt, ubi foras muros templum Minerve constituerunt, et consuluerunt quidnam eis futurum esset. Responsum est eis nisi per Achillem Pelei et Tetidis filium nullo modo posse Troiam adiri. Et ceperunt cogitare ubinam poterat esse iste Achilles, et quia fama hoc habuit quia in domo Licomedis regis in parthenos inter filias regis, id est Didamiam vel alias, secretim habebatur, Odisseus et Diomedes acceptis ornamentis virginum vel armis ad Licomedem regem in similitudine legatorum, ac veluti ab Agamemnone et Menelao directi, pergunt, ubi venientes tale mendacium finxerunt, dicentes: 'Petunt te Agamemnon et Menelaus reges nostri ut eis auxilium ad Troiam des.' Quibus ille respondit: 'Tractemus et vobis responsum dabimus.' Illi dixerunt: 'Si precipis offeremus munera, iube ut infantes salutemus.' Rex dixit: 'Salutentur a vobis infantes, et munera que portatis eis offerte.' Odisseus vero et Diomedes accepto scuto ornamenta que virginibus competunt composue-

1 thesauro L vel] vel omnibus L et Ri | suis om. Ri | navem L descendit] pervenit Ri 2 Et om.
L Ra | ante L 3 eum Ri | celebratus Ri 4 totam] omnem Ri | regina Ri | a filio Ri 5
fuisse eiectam] suis se eiectam L Ra fugisse ei et tam Ri 6 provenit Ra 7 urbem suam Ri
8 et decem] vel decem L 9 eis] ei L | Pariden L 10 quod inter eas iudicaverat post aurei
add. Ri | impleatur Ra | eius de Paride Ra 12 pervenit Ri 14 fratribus] parentibus Ri
15 vero om. Ri | cum om. Ri 16 obsiderunt Ra 17 cum consulerent Ra | quidnam fac-
tutum esset et responsum Ri 18 Tetides L | possit Troia adiri L possint Troyam adire Ri
19 Achillis (et alibi) L 20 Licomedis (et alibi) L Ligomedis (et alibi) Ra parthenos] pasthenos Ra
parchimos Ri | Didamia L Didemiam Ra Didamiam Ra¹ Diademiam Ri 21 secreta habitabatur
Ri | Odisseus et Diomedes regibus dixerunt: 'Nos ad eum proveniemus.' Quod et factum est. ante
Odisseus add. L | Odisseus vero L Ri | Dyomedes Ri 22 vel armis—legatorum om. Ri 23
ac] hac L | Agamemnonem L 24 Melaus (et alibi) Ra Menlaus Ri 26 Tractamus L | ille
Ri 27 deferimus Ri ut] et L Ra 28 vobis] nobis Ri 29 scuto et Ri

runt necnon et sagittas, et ad filias regis sicut preceptum fuerat ingressi sunt. Inter quas etiam Achilles in similitudinem virginis fuit, rege patre earum ignorante quia vir fuit, quoniam in similitudinem virginis illi a matre sua commendatus fuerat. Quas Odiseus et Diomedes cum munere-
 5 ribus salutaverunt; et dum singule virgines unaqueque ad ornamenta manum mitterent, Achilles vero non tulit nisi tantummodo sagittam, quam digitis reperiens ab Odisseo et Diomede agnitus est. Et continuo Diomedes tuba cecinit. Achilles vero dum tubam canere audivit, furia armorum invasus, scutum et astam in manu cepit, calce reperiens
 10 tunicam muliebrem qua vestiebatur concidit, et caligam de pede eius exuit. Cui Odiseus et Diomedes dixerunt: 'Iusserunt te Agamemnon et Menelaus reges una nobiscum ad Troiam venire, quia sic eis responsum est, quoniam per te Troiam poterit adiri. Hoc cum Didamia filia regis, quam occulte pregnaverat et de ea postea Pyrrum genuerat, vidisset quia
 15 Achilles ad Troiam ducitur, ad pedes eius cum filio suo Pyrro se prostravit. Que ita deprecata est ne eam dimitteret. Achilles vero Didamiam vel Pyrrum filium suum Licomedi regi commendavit, ne ab eo negaretur, et cum Odisseo vel Diomede ad Troiam profectus est. Quem honorifice Agamemnon et Menelaus susceperunt, et cepit una cum eis in exercitu
 20 Troiam obsidere.

Et dicere habes: quare Achilles inter virgines inventus est? Iste Achilles Pelei et Tetidis filius fuit, quem dum mater eius enixa fuisset, tenens talum eius duobus digitis, capite deorsum in aqua inferiorum que Stix nuncupatur tinxit. Et exinde stagnatus est, propterea eum ferrum
 25 nullo modo adiri poterat, nisi tantummodo in talo ubi digiti matris eius quando eum tinxit tetigerunt. Et dum tractaret mater sua constellationem eius, responsum est ei: 'Quia multos gladio perimet, etiam ipse per ferrum morietur.' Hoc mater eius metuens, dum cepisset puer iam lautior esse, eum Chironi pro docendis armis vel litteris discipulum obtu-
 30 lit; et dum a Chirone litteris vel armis doctus fuisset, se in Chironem

1 et archum et sagittas *Ri* | regis *om. Ra* | sic compreceptum *Ra* 2 similitudine *L* 3 eorum
MSS | similitudine *L* | illia *Ri* 6 sagitta *L* 7 qua *L* | digito *Ra* reperiens] reperiens
Ri | Et *om. Ra* 8 tuba *L Ri* | audiret *L* videret *Ri* 9 asta *L Ri* | manu tenens *Ri* | calcem
Ri 10 que *L* quam *Ra* | caliga *L Ri* | eius *om. Ra* 11 exivit *L Ri* exuit *Ri* Iusserunt te]
 Petunt et *L* 13 Troya *Ri* | poterit Troiam adiri *L* | Hec *L* 14 et de ea] unde *Ra* | postea
om. Ri | Pyrrum *L* Pirum *Ra* Pirum *Ri* 15 se *om. Ri* 16 Quem *L* 17 nabeo
 negaretur *L* | neglegeretur *Ri* 18 honorifice *post* Menelaus *Ri* 19 ab Agamemnon et
 Menelaus susceptus est *L* | cepit *om. L Ra* | eo *Ra* | exercito *L* 20 obsidere ceperunt *L* exobsi-
 dere *Ri* 22 fuit filius *Ri* 23 tenens] *L deest ad p. 13, l. 1* | inferorum *Ri* 24 stegie
 nuncupantur *Ri* | ferrum eum *Ri* 25 potest *Ra* 26 tetigaret *Ri* constellationem] constillat
 Iovem eius *Ra* 28 puer *om. Ra* 29 laudior *Ra*

magistrum suum posuit, et in silva leonem occidit. Hoc dum Thetis mater eius videret quia iam arma poterat tractare, metuens ne eum perderet pro hoc quod ei responsum fuerat, quia de ferro caderet, eum a Chirone tulit et illum in cultu virginis aptavit, et ad domum Licomedis regis duxit et eum petivit ut cum filiabus suis disciplinose erudiretur. 5 Quem rex estimans esse virginem suscepit et cum Didamia filia sua vel cum aliis, sicut superius dictum est, constituit. Hac de causa Achilles inter virgines deputatus est, et exinde, sicut iam superius diximus, ad Troiam ductus est. Pyrrus vero filius eius a Licomede avo suo nutriebatur. Quid multa? 10

Dum Achilles Troiam veniret, Hector filius Priami regis Troianorum petivit monomachiam cum Achille pugnare. Et quia Achilles ab Agamemnone et Menelao lesus fuerat pro Briseida quam apud Troiam ꝑper muros exposueratꝑ, et eam sibi coniunxerat, et postea ei ab Agamemnone sublata est. Ipse dolor fecit eum contra Hectorem nolle exire. Sed 15 Patroclum Hector occidit; dum hoc Achilli nuntiatum fuisset, dolore nimio Patrocli amici sui percussus petivit se una cum Hectore pugnaturum, et diem inter se constituerunt quando utrique ad se ad dimicandum venirent. Et antequam dies statuta veniret, primum Achilles cum filio Neptuni dimicavit et eum occidit; deinde cum Penthesilea regina Amazonarum, etiam et ipsam sub mamilla percutiens de equo iactavit, cum qua dum exanime concubuit. Postea vero cum Memnone Ethiope filio 20 Aurore pugnavit, et eum in fronte percutiens interfecit. Isti omnes quos memoravimus a Troianis in auxilium petiti fuerant. Quid multa?

Venit dies statuta ut contra Hectorem ad dimicandum exiret; quem 25 Achilles sub mamilla percutiens ante muros interfecit, et continuo super eum sedens cum amicis suis—id est, Eace et Aiace Telamonio—eum armis exui iussit et mandavit duos equos indomitos ad currum iungi, et corpus Hectoris post currum talaribus ligari et post muros trahi. Hoc cum Priamo regi patri eius vel Hecube matri necnon et Polixene sorori eius 30

2 quia -tractare *om. Ri* 3 cadit *Ra* 4 cultum *Ri* Licomedis] Nichomedis *Ra* 5 disciplinas ei *Ri* 6 cum *om. Ri* 7 cum *om. Ri* 9 filius a Licomede regis *Ri* 11 Priami *om. Ra* 12 petiit monarchiam ut cum Achille pugnaret *Ri* 13 Briseida *Ra* 14 murum *Ri* | iunxerat *Ri* 15 sublata *Ra* subulta *Ra*¹ exuta *Ri* 17 nimio amici percussus petiit *Ra* 18 ad post se *om. Ri* 19 primo *Ri* 20 petente silea *Ra* Penthesilea *Ri* | Amazonarum *Ri* 21 ipsa *Ri* | mamillam *Ri* 22 quadam exanime *Ra* qua dum exanimis *Ra*¹ qua iam ipse *Ri* Memnone] Agamemnone *Ri* | theupe filio et *Ra* 23 in *om. Ri* 24 fuerunt *Ra* 26 super eum *om. Ra* 27 Eas (Eace *Ra*¹) et Aiace Dedamónio *Ra* Eas dias et Telamonio *Ri* armis exui] *om. Ri* exarmari *Ri*¹ 28 et ante ad *add. Ra* corpus] corus *Ri* 29 doloribus *Ra om. Ri* talaribus *Oldfather (p. 276)* | murum *Ri* 30 vel] et *Ri* | necnon *om. Ri* | Polixene virgini *Ri*

virgini nuntiatum fuisset, super portam civitatis collocantes viderunt corpus Hectoris post currum ligatum. Ac illi cum lacrimis deprecati sunt deposita trutina contra corpus eius aurum pensari et sibi corpus eius donari; quod Achilles pietate ductus iussit concedi. Et trutina foras
 5 muros eiecta corpus Hectoris ex una parte positum est, ex alia vero parte aurum ponebatur; et dum omne aurum finitum fuisset et non equaretur corpus Hectoris, Polixena soror eius virgo armillas et brachiales suas eiecit et in trutina posuit. Achilles vero videns speciem virginis amore eius accensus Priamo regi mandavit: 'Dono vobis aurum et corpus si
 10 istam dederitis mihi uxorem.' Quod Priamus rex concessit. Et data Achilli filia sua aurum et corpus Hectoris filii sui accepit et sepelivit.

Polixena vero dum Achilli coniuncta fuisset et eam nimie diligeret, a Priamo rege patre eius vel ab Hecuba matre eius mandatur, dicens: 'Credimus quia debes dolere tante iuventutis fratris tui contra quem nec
 15 unus hominum manum ausus est levare, et ad secretam Achillis partem ubi poterit a ferro adiri nobis prevenire; et dum occisus fuerit et mors fratris tui vindicata fuerit meliore coniugio coequali nostro te poterimus dare.' Hoc dum Polixena audiret, cepit Achillem per amplexus et blandimenta provocare ut ei locum occultum ubi a ferro adiri poterat ostenderet.
 20 Et quia nichil est quod mulieres non extorqueant de viris ut eis fateantur ut coniuges cari habent, secretum locum in tali nervo ubi a ferro adiri poterat ei ostendit. Hoc dum Polixena agnosceret parentibus suis nuntiavit, qui dum audissent finxerunt se devotionem in templo Apollinis habere et ei sacrificium offerre, ad quam devotionem petierunt Achillem
 25 una cum Polixena filia eorum interesse. Quibus Achilles consensum prebuit et ad devotionem templi Apollinis venit. Quia mos erat ut quando unusquisque ad sacrificandum templa ingrediebatur, inermis et nuda planta ingrediebatur, hoc etiam Achilles fecit. Et dum ad templum veniret, arma deposuit et caligam ferream de pede eiecit, et inermis nuda
 30 planta templum ingressus est. Et cum thura Apollini offerret, Alexander

1 collantes *Ri* 3 deposita] debere reposita *Ri* | auro *Ra* | pensare *Ri* 4 eius *om. Ri* | foris *Ri*
 5 ex ante alia *om. Ri* | parte *om. Ri* 6 omne *om. Ra* 7 corpori *Ri* | Polixena vero
Ri | vel brachialias *Ra* | suos *Ri* 10 mihi dederitis *Ri* | uxorem *om. Ri* 11 corpus -sepeli-
 vit] corpus filii sui accepit *Ra* 12 dum] cum *Ri* 13 rege -eius] rege et Heccuba matre *Ri*
 14 dolorere *Ra* | ante iuventutem *Ri* | nec *om. Ri* 15 nullus hominum manus *Ri* | secreta *Ri* |
 partem *om. Ri* 16 prevenire] aperire *Ri* 17 vindicata] iudicata *Ra* | et meliore *Ra* meliori
Ri | equali *Ri* 19 a ferro] ferrum *Ri* 20 Et *om. Ra* de] a *Ri* 21 caribent *Ra* | in talo
 nervi *Ra om. Ri* | a *om. Ri* 22 id est in talo *add. post* poterat *Ri* | Hec *Ra* | suis *om. Ra* 23
 qui] et *Ra* | templo *Ra* Templum *Ra*¹ 24 et] ut *Ri* | offerrent *Ri* 25 assensum *Ri* 26
 erat] fuit *Ra* 27 templis veniebat *Ri* 28 hoc etiam] et hoc *Ri* 29 iret arma exposuit
Ra | et ante nuda *add. Ri* 30 Apollinis *Ri*

qui et Paris filius regis frater Hectoris magnus sagittarius de post statuam Apollinis Achillem in talo sagittavit, et quia sagittam veneno toxicaverat, Achilli venenum per membra serpuvit. Et dum se Achilles male cepisset sentire, titiones de ara tollens, quantoscumque in templo invenit interfecit, et sic mortuus est. [Ecce qualiter Achilles mortuus est.] Eas vero et Ajax Telamonius amici Achillis venerunt et corpus eius a Priamo rege petierunt. Et eis concessum est. Quod corpus foras ab urbe tulerunt, et super eum planctum magnum fecerunt.

Nuntiatum est Agamemnoni et Menelao Achillem occisum fuisse; nimie contristati sunt; et iterato templa consuluerunt, et eis responsum est quia per stirpem Achillis Troia deiceretur. Et ad Licomedem regem legatos direxerunt, ut eis Pyrrum nepotem suum filium Achillis de Didamia natum dirigeret. Quod et factum est. Et dum Pyrrus filius Achillis duodecim annorum ad Troiam veniret, et ei de morte patris sui dictum fuisset, furore accensus cepit cogitare qualiter mortem patris sui posset vindicare. Quid multa?

Agamemnon et Menelaus Minervam deprecabantur ut eis responderet qualiter Troia adiri possit. Quibus dea respondit ut deberent dolos preparare, et se veluti extediantes cum navibus vel exercitu a Troia tollerent ad provinciam suam reversuros, et apud Tenedos insulam se occultarent, et ibi equus ligneus ex arte Minerve occulte fabricaretur ut per eum Troia introiretur. Quod audientes responsum, Minerve obedierunt et se ad Tenedos insulam cum navibus et exercitu contulerunt, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama insula, dives opum Priami dum regna manebant, nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis. Qui dum apud Tenedos venirent, in occulto sinu se constituerunt, et equus ligneus ab eis fabricari cepit.

24-26 Aen. II, 21-23

1 post] *L rursus incipit* | statua *L* 2 sagitta venenum toxecatus fuerat *L* sagittam venenum
toxiacaverat *Ra* 3 Achillem venenum *L Ri* | acceptus sentiret *L* accepisse sentiret *Ra* 4
tirones *Ra* ticiones *Ri* | templum *Ri* 5 Eas] Emis *Ri* 6 Aias et *L* Aias et *Ra* | amici eius-
dem *Ri* 7 Et eis] Etenim *Ra* | corpus eius *L* | ab urbe foras *Ra* 9 Nuntiatum est] Nuntiatio
L Nuntiator *Ri* | Menelai *L* | fuisset *L* | nimium *Ra* 10 merito templum *Ra* 11 stirpe *L* |
deiceretur] adiretur *Ri* 12 ut] et *L* | Diademata *super rasura* *L*³ 14 sui *om. Ra* 15
cogitare cepit *Ra* | sui *om. Ra* | possit *L* 17 Melaus *Ra* 18 qualiter Troia adiri possit *om.*
Ra | adire posset *Ri* dea] illa *Ra* dea sic *Ri* | ut *om. L Ri* | debere *Ri* | preparari *L* 19 se ac *Ri a* |
ab *Ra* de *Ri* 20 ad] et ad *Ra* 21 Troiam *L* in Troia *Ri* 22 audiente *Ra* | respondit et
responso *Ri* 24-26 Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama / Insula, dives opum Priami dum
regna manebant, / Nunc tantum sinus statio male fida carinis *add. marg. super. Ra*¹ 24 no-
tissima fama *om. L Ra* 25 manerent *L Ra* nunc] punc *Ra* | nunc tantum sinus et *om. L add. L*³
om. Ra sinus] finis *Ri* 26 et in *Ri* | sino *L* se loco *Ra* 27 et *om. L Ra* | ab eis *om. Ri*

Et dum hec in Tenedos geruntur, luciscente die cives Troiani, per muros ubi exercitus vel naves Grecorum fuerant intendentes, neminem viderunt et gaudio repleti sunt. Putantes quia inimicis caruerunt, ceperunt Virgiliana lingua cantare: 'Hic Dolopum manus, hic seivus tendebat Achilles; classibus hic locus, hic acies certare solebat.' Et dum gaudio replerentur, portas civitatis patefecerunt, et armenta omnia vel iumenta in palude ante muros iam securi eiecerunt.

Et dum iam Troia secura maneret, apud Tenedos divine Palladis arte equus ligneus fabricatur. Et dum perfectus fuisset, ceperunt cogitare qualiter ipse equus Troiam perduceretur. Tunc unus de genere Palamedis Sinon nomine dixit: 'Ego faciam ut equus ad Troiam ducatur.' Cui dixerunt: 'Quo ordine?' Sinon respondit: 'Fusticate me et cingite ante pendacem, et me per noctem in paludibus Troie perducite.' Quod et factum est.

Luciscente vero die pastores Troie consuete cum armentis et pecoribus in paludibus exierunt, ubi Sinonem fusticatum et ante pendacem cinctum iacentem invenerunt, quem vinctis a tergo manibus cum magno clamore ad Priamum regem perduxerunt. Qui dum Priamo regi ductus fuisset, fama per omnem Troiam peragravit. Et congregatio Troianorum ante regem facta est. Quem rex presentibus turbis interrogare cepit. Cui sic ait: 'Dic nobis, de qua origine es tu, vel que sit cognatio tua.' Cui Sinon sic respondit: 'De genere Palamedis regis, quem Greci interfecerunt; et dum pro morte eius vellem aliquid assumere, inter Grecos inimicitias concepì. Sed iuretur mihi quia eis non tradar et singula publicabo.' Quod dum ei iuratum fuisset, quod eis non traderetur neque contaminaretur, etiam ipse isto more sacramentum dedit erectis ad sydera palmis: 'Vos eterni ignes,' ait, 'inviolabile vestrum testor numen, vos are ensesque nefandi.' Cumque sic sacramentum dedisset, rex accepto sacramento

4-5 II, 29-30

27-28 II, 154-155

1 in] apud *Ri* | lucis centedie *Ra* | die *om. Ri* | Troiani cives *Ri* 2 vel] et *Ri* | fuerunt *L Ra*
 3 putantes *om. Ra* | carerent *L caruerant Ri* 4 canere *Ri* 5 solebant *Ri* 6 omnia
om. Ri vel] et *Ri* | vel iumenta *om. L et add. post muros | palude*] padules (*et alibi*) *L* 8 iam
om. Ri | remaneret *Ri* | Palamedis *L* 9 Et] qui *Ri* 10 Troie *L* 11 perducatur *Ri*
 13 pendace *L* | per *om. Ri* | nocte *L* | in *om. L Ri* 15 lucente *Ra* | lucescente *Ri* 16 padules
L | pendice *L* 18 Priamo] Priami *Ra* | perductus *Ra Ri* 19 famam *L* 20 rege *L* facta est
 ante regem *Ri* 21 origine] regione *L* | tu *om. L vel*] et *Ra tua*] vestra *L Ra* 23 vellim *L* |
 aliquid *om. Ra Ri* 24 concepit *Ra* | eis me non traditis et vobis *L* 25 Quod] Qui *L Cui Ri*
 ei] ab eis *Ri* quod] quia *Ra Ri* 26 etiam et ipse per *L* | ipse *om. Ra* | erectis-28 nefandi] Sustulit
 exutas vinculis ad sidera palmas. Vos eterni ignes et non violabile vestrum testor numen, ait, vos are
 ensesque nefandi, quos fugi viteque deum quas hostia gessi [*Aen. II, 153-156*] *super rasura add. L*³
 27 vox *Ri* | ignis *Ra* | quos acresesque nefandi *Ri*

eum de vinculis solvit et tanquam proprium sic eum habere cepit. Cui ita dixit: 'Iam noster eris. Obliviscere Grecos.'

Sinon vero sciens se bene a rege fuisse susceptum dolos preparavit, ut equus, sicut a suis discesserat, Troiam perduceretur; et cepit regi fiducialiter sic loqui: 'Quando huc de provincia nostra ad vos exivimus, sacrificatum est de sanguine virginis, quem sic poposcit Apollo. Et iam nunc pro reditu nostro dum Apollinem deprecati fuisset, sic respondit: "Quando huc cogitastis navigare, sanguine me placastis virginis. Et nunc pro reditu vestro nisi iterato sanguine humano sacrificaveritis, nullo modo ad propria vestra reditum habere potestis." Cumque talia responsa acciperemus, omnes pavor invasit cuius animam posceret Apollo. Et cum sors emissa fuisset, super me cecidit ut de sanguine meo Apollini offeretur. Et sic invento loco fugiens huc ad regnum tuum devolutus sum. Interea fecerunt equum mire magnitudinis, quem templo Minerve quod foras muros fecerunt pro reditu suo volunt offerre. †Quem metum speret regnum tuum iam hic esse.† Ergo iube eum a templo Minerve quod foras muros est tolli, et huc ipsum equum ad templum Neptuni quod intra urbem est [et in eius tutela Troia fabricata est] mitti; et necesse erit ut eis Apollo et Minerva, quod sibi promissa perdi videntur, irascantur, et dum navigare ceperint vim tempestatis excitent et (eos in pelagus demergant. Et hostibus carebitis.' Talibus insidiis periurique hac arte Sinonis capta est quam non anni domuere decem, non mille carine.

Hec cum rex a Sinone audiret, cepit eum tanquam proprium diligere et in domo sua habere. Et cum ista geruntur, Greci, ut superius dictum est, scientes Sinonem ad domum regis bene fuisse susceptum vel illa

2 II, 148-149

21-22 II, 195-198

1 eum] eundem *Ra Ri* | de *om. Ri* 3 a rege] agere *Ra* 4 ad Troiam *L^a Troye Ri* | et Sinon *Ri* 6 est *om. L Ra* 7 redito *L* | sic nobis *L* 8 et placastis sanguinem virginis *L Et* | at *Ra* 9 redito *L vestro -humano*] nostro si iterato de sanguine humano non *Ri* 10 provinciam vestram reditus *Ri* 11 acceperimus *L* 12 missa *L* | sacrificaretur. Hoc dum averterem et recalcitrare vellim cesus sum. Et iam decem diebus tantummodo restabant ut sacrificium de sanguine meo Apollini *post Apollini add. L* 13 offeretur *om. Ri* | sic *om. Ri* | loco *om. Ri* 14 etiam equum *Ri* 15 fecerant *L* | foris fecimus muros *Ri* | redito *L metum*] equum *Ri* 16 sperit *Ra* 17 foris *Ri huc*] hic *Ra om. Ri ad*] *om. L in Ra* 18 quod] qui *L Ra* | ad eius tutelam *Ri* | Troie *Ra* | mitte *Ra* 19 quod] qui *L Ri* | videtur *L perdiderunt Ri* 20 illis illi vim *L illos vim Ri* | excitet *Ri* | pelagos dimergant *L pelago demergantur Ri* 21 Et hostibus carebitis] *om. Ra* vos hostes carebitis *Ri* | Hiis talibus *Ra Talibus-22 carine*] Talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis credita res captique dolis lacrimisque coactis quos neque Tydides nec clarisevus Achilles, non anni dom (vere decem?), non mille (carine?) [*Aen. II, 195-198*] in rasura et in marg. *add. L* | periurii que *Ri* 22 capta est quam] factum quod *Ri* 23 dirigere *L* 24 et *om. L Ra* | diximus *L* 25 ad domum regis] a rege *Ri vel*] vel et *Ri*

secreta que locutus fuerat complevisset, et equum ligneum quem fecerant per noctem de Tenedos ad Troiam perduxerunt et eum ante templum Minerve quod foras muros est statuerunt. Et cum dies lucesceret et equus ad templum Minerve visus fuisset, cepit populus pro videndo equo
 5 catervatim de civitate exire. Inter quos etiam Laucoon sacerdos Neptuni egrediebatur et populum increpabat dicens, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Laucoon summa decurrit ab arce magna comitante caterva. Et dicebat: 'Que vos tanta invasit insania, cives, si vos creditis avectos hostes aut ulla putatis dona carere dolis Danaum? Si quicquid illud certum est,
 10 timeo Danaos et dona ferentes. Aut aliquis latet error intus (ne credite, Teucri), aut ad hoc est iste equus fabricatus ut per eum inimici muros ascendant.' Et hec dicens erexit ingentibus viribus astam et in ilium equi dedit, et qui intra eum inclusi fuerunt streptitum dederunt, sicut scriptum est: Intonuere cave gemitumque dedere caverne. Et iam Lau-
 15 coon proximus fuit Argolicas fedare latebras si mens non leva fuisset. [Hoc est, contraria.] Sic deus iratus Troie, sic fata ferebant.

Et cum Laucoon populum ab intentione revocare vellet, populus eum advertere noluit, sed sic ei dicebat: 'Si vis ut dictis tuis credamus, sacri-
 20 fica Neptuno; et si hoc responderit quod tu dicis, necesse erit ut dictis tuis credamus.' Tunc Laucoon taurum ingentem adduxit ad aram; et cum duobus filiis suis geminis ad aram Neptuni veniens, dum vellet tau-
 rum mactare, ecce a Tenedos super aquas maris immensis orbibus angues [hoc est, dracones] sibilabant linguis atque spumam per ora iactabant. Qui venientes filios Laucoontis subligaverunt et eos morsibus occiderunt;
 25 cumque Laucoon filios suos eruere vellet, etiam ipse cum filiis suis a serpentibus devoratus est. Hec cum Troiani viderent, quibus iam dii irasce-

7-16 II, 40-56

1 que] quod L que cum eis Ri | complivisset L complevisse Ri | et om. L Ri quem] quod L | fecerunt Ri
 2 de] ad Ri | et eum] ad ubi cum venissent L et ibi eum Ra 3 foris muro L foris a muris
 Ri | luceret Ra et om. Ri 4 providendi equum L pro visione equi Ri 5 etiam om. Ra
 6 ingrediebatur Ri | populus L 7 Laucoon-8 cives] Primus ibi ante omnes magna comitante
 caterva Laucoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce et procul: O miseri, que est tanta insania, cives L
 8 invasit insania tanta cives Ri | si vos om. L Ri | redditis ad vectos Ri 9 dolis om. Ri | Sic
 notus Ulixes post Danaum add. L² quicquid] quid Ri illud] ullum Ra | certum om. Ri 10 latet
 error] leti terror L lateros Ri 11 Teucri] vere L Ra 12 ingenti L ilium] chilium Ri 13
 fuerant Ri strepitum dederunt] strepuerunt Ri 14 insonuere L | dederunt L caverne] caterve
 Ri | Laucaon (et alibi) Ri 15 fetore L leva] leu L lesa Ri 17 cum] om. L dum Ri | dum vel-
 let revocare L 18 avetere Ri | dicebant L Ri 19 quod] ut Ri | est Ri 20 tauro in-
 gente L 21 suis om. Ra 22 a om. L | aqua L | uribus L | sanguis L arguens Ri 23
 sibila L Ra atque] ad que L | spumas Ra 24 Laucoon L Ra | morsibus eos Ri 25 ipse
 om. Ri | suis ipse Ri 26 iam om. Ra

bantur, dixerunt: 'Quia resistit ut equus Troie mitteretur ad templum Neptuni, merito ipse Neptunus ei iratus est, et serpentes ei immisit ut eum cum filiis suis devorarent.'

Et dum regi Priamo singula nuntiata fuissent, iussit iuvenes vel in-
nuptas puellas congregari cum lampadibus et equum intra urbem (sicut 5
Sinon per dolos dixerat) ad templum Neptuni perducere. Cum ad portam
venisset et equus intrare non potuisset quia mire magnitudinis fuit, muri
in circuitu porte elisi sunt, et sic equus super rotas ambulans in urbem
missus est, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Dividimus muros et menia pandimus
urbis. Accingunt omnes operi; pedibusque rotarum subiciunt lapsus et 10
stuppea vincula collo intendunt, scanditque fatalis machina muros.
Quid multa?

Dum equus in Troiam mitteretur, per sollempnitatem quia donum
inimicorum Minerve oblatum Neptuno datum est. Epulum magnum 15
fecerunt, et iacuit Troia somno vinoque sepulta. Et dum iam nox veni-
ret, Sinon, videns Troiam vino sepultam iacere, ad equum ivit, et ostium
quod in dorso habuit aperuit; et exinde novem duces qui intra eum
armati inclusi fuerunt exierunt—id est, Tessandrus, Stenelus, Ulixes,
Acamas, Toas, Pelides Neoptolimus, Macaon, Menelaus, et Epeos doli
fabricator—qui omnes per portas circumierunt. Et hostes Grecorum 20
qui apud Tenedos fuerunt, levatis a Sinone signis de Troia, continuo in
navibus venerunt. Et dum portas omnes patentis invenirent, urbem
per noctem introierunt et eam igne vel gladio cremaverunt. Ecce quali-
ter Troia ab inimicis adita vel interfecta est!

Et dum Troia adita fuisset, Eneas Veneris et Anchise filius gener Priami 25
regis per somnium, quia nondum ad eum hostes pervenerant, ab umbra

9-11 II, 234-237 15 II, 265 18-20 II, 261-264

1 Quia restitit *L* Qui restat *Ra* | Troiam *Ra* | emitteretur *L* non mittatur *Ri* 2 est *om.* *L* *Ra* | et
om. *L* | ei *om.* *L* 3 suis filiis *L* suis *om.* *Ra* 4 iussit] misit *Ra* vel] et *Ri* 5 intra urbem *om.* *Ri*
6 Et cum *L* cumque *Ri* 7 potuisset] posset et *Ri* 8 rotas] portas *L* | urbe *Ri* 9 scripsit
L scribit *Ra* | pandimus *L* 10 pedibus *Ra* | lapsis *L* 11 scandit *L* *Ri* 12 in] ad *L*
Ra | pro sollempnitate *L* *Ra* | qui dono *L* 15 factus est *Ri* sepulta] sopita *Ri* 16 sepultam]
sopita *Ri* | iaceret *L* 17 dorsum *L* | inde *L* *Ra* 18 fuerunt inclusi *Ra* fuerant *Ri* | Tessan-
drus iste nepos Ulixis Acglamasto pelique Neoptulimus Magaon Menelalis et Ebleus *L* | Texandrus
Ra | Stenalus *Ri* 19 Achamas Thoas Pelidesque *Ri* | Pelides. Neobtolimus *Ra* | Machaon *Ri* |
Ebleus *Ra* 20 circuierunt *L* 21 et levati (leuti *L*) sunt *L* *Ra* | Troie *Ra* 22 omnes
om. *Ri* | invenirent *L* viderent *Ri* 23 introiere *Ri* eam] cum *Ra* vel] et *Ri* | incremaverunt *L*
concremaverunt *Ri* 24 interfecta] capta *Ri* 26 sompnos *Ri* | necdum ad eos *L* | hostes ad
eum *Ra*

Hectoris admonitus est, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Ecce mihi ante oculos mestissimus Hector visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus, squallente barba atque horrida, lora tumentium pedum habens. Sic talia fatur: 'Dormis, nate dea; hostis habet muros, ruit alto a culmine Troia. Fui-

5

mus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens gloria Teucrorum.'

Hec cum ei umbra Hectoris alloqueretur, Eneas expergefactus, in turrem quam in superioribus domus sue habuit ascendens et aurem ponens, audit strepitum armorum atque flammaram sicut stuppe vel segetis quando in furnum mittitur. Et passus manian se armavit, et de domo

10

sua armatus dum vellet exire eum uxor sua tenuit. Cui sic ait: 'Hanc primum tutare domum.' Ille vero uxorem suam a se repellens armatus exiit. Et dum per urbem vagaretur, se ad eum multi collegerunt, inter quos fuit etiam Corebus, qui Cassandram filiam regis desponsaverat, et venerat ad eam ut in coniugio acciperet, et ibi eum excidium invenit.

15

Et dum triginta armati effecti fuissent, in alios triginta adversarios impigerunt, quorum dux fuit Androgeus. Et dum sibi utrique per obscuram noctem occurrerent, sperans Androgeus Eneam cum sociis suis de agmine suo esse sic eis locutus est, dicens: 'Eu,' inquit, 'iuvenes, quare tardius de navibus descendistis?' Eneas vero, dum agnosceret Androgeum cum

20

sociis suis inimicum esse, eum cum omnibus sibi coniunctis interfecit.

1-5 II, 270-273; 277; 289-290

15-16 cf. II, 370-371

1 monitus *Ri* | descripsit] ait *Ri* | Ecce mihi-5 Teucrorum] Troya capta: / Ecce mihi ante oculos mestissimus Hector / Visus est adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus, / Squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crines / Vulnereque illa gerens que circa plurima muros / Accepit patrias. Vel ultro flens ipse videbar / Compellare virum et mestas expromere voces: / 'O lux Dardanie, spes of fedissima Teucrum, / Que tante tenuere more? quibus Hector ab oris | Expectate venis? ut te post multa tuorum / Funera, post varios hominum urbisque labores / Defessi aspicimus! que causa indigna serenos / Fedavit vultus? aut cur hec vulnera cerno?' / Ille nichil me querentem vana moratur, / Set graviter gemitus ymo de pectore ducens, / 'Eu fuge, nate dam, teque hiis,' ait, 'eripe flammis. / Hostis habet muros; ruit alto acumine Troya. / Stat patrie Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra / Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuisset. / Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troya penates; / Hos cape fatorum comites, hiis menia quere / Magnaque pererrato statuesque denique ponto.' [*Aen*, II, 270-271, 277-295] *Ri* 2 mitissimus *L Ra* | visus est *L Ra* | mihi *om. Ra* 3 ora tumentium nondum *L lora* manum nodum *Ra* manum *del.*, tumentium *add. Ra* | fator *L* 4 hostes habens et *L* | culminem Troie *Ra* 6 Dum hec *Ri ei*] eum *L eo Ra om. Ri* | loqueretur *Ri* 7 sue domus *Ri* | ascendit auresque iponens *Ri* 8 armorum *Ra* | stuppa *L* stuppam *Ra* | segetes *L Ra* 9 furno *Ri* | passos *L* | manian] *sic L Ra* mania *Ri* | et dum *Ri* 10 dum *om. Ri* | uxor sua eum *Ri* Cui] eique *Ri* 11 arma tuus *L* 12 se post multi *Ra* 13 etiam fuit et *L* | Corevius *L* Coreph *Ri* 14 ad] ut *L* | eum *Ri* | ut *om. L* | eum *om. Ri* | supervenit *Ri* 15 dum] cum *Ri* 16 Et -occurrerent] Et sibi in nocte obscura occurreret *Ri* | obscura *L* 17 Eneam *L* 18 ei *L* et sic eos *Ri* | Eu] *O L* eus *Ri* 19 descenditis *Ra* 20 suis inimicum] inimicos *Ri* | sibi *om. Ri*

Qui dum eum interficerent, metuens ne in maius agmen incurrissent et agnitus esset, illis omnibus quos interfecerunt loricas vel galeas eorum [eos] exuerunt et se induerunt atque arma eorum intulerunt; et sic socios suos (Eneas) allocutus est, dicens: 'Mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis aptemus. Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? Arma dabunt ipsi.' Et dum iam in signo inimicorum ambularent, ceperunt in quantos-cumque impeerunt interficere. Et dum per civitatem vagarentur, ecce vident Cassandram ab adversariis per crines trahi maxima voce clamantem. Non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Corebus. Cum sponsus vocem eius audisset, se inter hostes volens eam eruere misit et ibi interfectus est. 5 10

Hoc dum Eneas videret, se ad domum regis direxit. Ubi a longe veniens vidit Pyrrum Achillis filium cum exercitu iam domum regis intrasse; et Pyrrus post Ypolitem filium Priami regis per quadra porticus evaginato gladio currebat. Quem ante aram que in domo regis fuit sub arbore lauro ante oculos Priami regis patris eius interfecit. Qui Priamus, quando vidit domum suam intratam fuisse, se armis vel zaba munivit; et una cum Eguba uxore sua super aram stetit. Cui uxor sua sic ait: 'Nec tali auxilio nec defensionibus istis hoc tempus erit. Quod si vellent dii ut Troia defensa fuisset, Hector non occideretur.' Priamus vero, dum videret filium suum a Pyrrum ante oculos suos interfici, Pyrrum increpare cepit atque ei maledicere, quem Priamum similiter Pyrrus super aram interfecit, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Hec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem Pergama, totque populis terrisque superbum regnatorem Asiae. Iacet ingens litore truncus avulsumque humeris caput absque nomine corpus. [Hic finis Priami.] 15 20 25

4-6 II, 389-391

9 II, 407

19-20 II, 521-522

23-26 II, 554-558

1 eos *Ri* | ne *om. Ri* 2 esse *Ri* | illos *L om. Ri* | omnes *L Ri* 3 tulerunt *Ri* 4 insignis *L* (insigni)a *L²* insigne *Ra* insignias *Ri* 5 nobis] *om. L Ra* nobis *L²* | Dolus armatus *Ra* dolosa virtus *Ri* | ab hoste *Ra* in hostem *Ri* | requirit *Ra* 7 impigebant *L* impigebant *Ri* 8 videns *Ri* | a crinibus *Ra* ad crines *Ri* | tray immania voce clamantes *Ri* 9 et dicentem *post* clamantem *add. L* | Corevius *L* Coreb *Ri* | Quod dum sponsus eius vocem dii audisset *L* At ubi Coreb sponsus illius vocem eius audiens *Ri* 10 hostes] omnes *Ra* | vellens ea eruere se inter hostes *L* 11 est *om. Ri* 13 exercitum *L* 14 et] intrare qui *Ri* | Ypolitum *Ri* | regis Priami *Ri* | quatra *L Ra* 15 gladium *Ri* | quam in domum *L* 16 laurus *Ri* 17 intrata fuisset *L* hostes intrasse *Ri* | zabam *Ri* 18 aram] arma *Ri* 19 Nec] Non *Ri* | defensionibus *L* defensoribus *Ri* | isti *L* | hoc *om. Ri* erit] eget *Ri* 20 fuisset defensa *Ri* | occisus foret *Ri* 21 suos] eius *L* | Pyrrum *L* 22 atque ei] ac *Ri* | Priamum similiter *om. L Ra* | aram eum *L* 23 interfecit *L Ra* | His finis Priami regis deinde Polixena filia (Polixenam filiam *Ri*) Priami regis quam pater eius Achilles uxore duxerat *post* interfecit *add. L Ri* | sicut Virgilius descripsit *om. Ra* | Hec] hic *Ra Ri* | fato rem *Ra* 24 Troia incensa *Ra* et prolapsa-25 Asiae] et tot condenda populis terrisque superbum prolapsa videntem pergama regnatorem Asiae *Ri* | videntur *Ra* 25 regnat et remasie *Ra* 26 absque] et sine *L²* et sinore (nomine *om.*) *Ri* | Hec *L*

Polixenam vero, que secretum locum ubi idem Achilles a ferro adiri poterat parentibus suis indicaverat, (Pyrrus) cepit et eam ad tumulum patris sui perduxit. Et aperto tumulo vivam eam in sarcofago ubi pater eius fuit misit et cooperuit et plumbo ligavit. [Ecce qualiter Polixena occisa est.]

Eneas vero, dum regem interfectum vidisset, cepit cogitare qualiter se de Troia erueret. Et dum ad domum suam reverteretur, ei veniens mater sua in numine suo se ostendit. Cui sic ait: 'Tolle patrem vel filium et hinc egredere; quia, dum Iupiter fata tua perpenderet, hoc ei responderunt, quod te oportet regnum apud Italiam optinere—non solum tu sed et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.' Et cum eum allocuta fuisset, subito non comparuit. Discedente vero matre eius Panthus sacerdos portans deos aureos ei obviam fuit. Cui sic ait: 'Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates. Hos capite, fugite, ubi fueris menia conde.' Et cum ab eo deos suscepisset, discessit.

Inde ad domum suam veniens, omnem familiam suam allocutus est, dicens: 'Quisque quomodo potest ad templum Cereris cum omnibus suis mihi occurrat, necnon et cum omni ornatu domus mee, quo possimus a manibus adversariorum evadere.' Et [cum] hec dicens patrem suum in scapula super pellem leonis levavit. Et tenens manum Aschanii filii sui, Creusam coniugem suam filiam Priami regis sic alloquitur, dicens: 'Eia coniunx, exeamus quia nos fata gubernant.' Et de domo sua per noctem

13-14 II, 293-294

1 Que (Quia Ra) Polixena vero L Ra | idem om. Ri | a om. L Ri add. L^s 3 sui perduxit] super-
duxit Ri vivam] unam Ri ubi -misit] patris posuit et intrusam misit Ri 4 plumbum L Templum
Ra 5 mortua est Ri 6 Eneas-8 ostendit] Agamemnon, iratus Ence ob hoc factum, eo quia
Polixenam absconderat, cum a patria protinus discedere iubet. Ipse vero, dum regem interfectum
videret, cepit cogitare qualiter se de Troia erueret. Incipit liber Eneydum de itinere suo et quomodo
se egit. Eneas, dum Agamemnonis interdictu in civitate ulterius morari non valens, cum domum
suam reverteretur, Venus eius mater sibi suo in nomine se ostendit Ri 7 de Troia se Ra 8
numine] nomine MSS | fratrem vel Ra patrem tuum et Ri 9 Iupiter enim dum fata Ri | ei om.
Ri | responsum est L 10 quia te oportebat Ra quia oportebit te Ri | Italie L in Italiam Ri | Et
non Ri | te set et natos natorum tuorum Ri 11 et qui- illis om. Ri | nascuntur L | Cumque hec
locuta Ri 12 non comparuit] ab eius oculis evanuit Ri | Discedente fuit] Eius matre discedente
sacerdos quidam Panthus deos aureos portans ei obviavit Ri 13 ei obviam fuit] et obviam se ei
fecit L Cui] qui Ri 14 Hos -conde] Hos capes Hector comites hys moeniam quondam Ri | capere
fugam et ubi L 15 suos cepisset L 16 suam ante veniens om. Ri | sic allocutus Ri 17
Quis L Ra quomodo] prout Ri | potest se L 18 et] atque Ri | ornatum L | que domus mea
habere potest L Ra | quod L | possumus Ra 19 manus inimicorum Ri | Hysque dictis Ri
20 scapula sua L scapulis Ri | Tenensque Ri | filii sui manus (Aschanii om.) Ri 21 coniugem]
uxorem Ri | filiam Priami regis om. Ri sic] om. L hoc modo Ri 22 nos om. Ra Ri de -noctem]
domum Ri

exiens, ad templum Cereris quod foris ab urbe in montibus in occulto loco fuit inter nemora cupressus perrexit. Et dum iter agunt, uxor eius ab eo erravit. Et dum ad templum veniret, invenit ibi multam turbam priorum Troianorum, qui illuc se cum omnibus divitiis suis contulerant. Qui dum Eneam viderunt, omnes genibus eius provoluti cum magnis lacrimis eum deprecari ceperunt. Cui sic dixerunt: 'Te nobis ex hodierna die ducem confirmamus, et ubi fueris fortunam tuam sequemur.' Et hiis dictis Eneas ab eis dux confirmatus est. Et dum respiciens uxorem suam non videret, iterato de templo Cereris ad Troiam reversus est. Et cepit voce magna clamare: 'Creusa, Creusa, ubi es?' inquit; et dum ita vociferaret ei umbra eius apparuit. Cui sic respondit: 'Iam me noli querere; quia a diis rapta sum, et in numero suo me constituerunt, merito quid tibi futurum sit pronuntio. Oportet te per multa pericula maris necnon et per multum tempus ad regnum tibi promissum pervenire, et aliam accepturus eris uxorem. Perquire. Commendo tibi Ascanium filium nostrum necnon et Anchisem patrem tuum ut eos in aliquo non contristes. Et noli oblivisci Creusam tuam.' Et cum hec dixisset, Eneas volens eam amplexam tenere putans eam vivam esse, ab oculis eius subito sublata est. Hec videns Eneas cum magnis lacrimis iterato ad templum Cereris perrexit. Et dum ibi veniret, omnes socios ad se convocans sic allocutus est, dicens: 'Eia omnes fortissimi viri, omnia vestra in navibus ponite, et quo nos fata provocaverint pergamus.' Et continuo omnis turba Troianorum, preceptioni eius obediens, statim cum omnibus suis se in navibus posuerunt, ubi etiam Eneas cum Anchise patre suo et Ascanio filio necnon et cum familia ascendit.

Et de Troia cum viginti navibus exierunt. Qui dum dies lucesceret, respicientes post se viderunt aggeres Troie fumare, et ululatum magnum

11-17 Cf. 11, 776-789

1 templum] domum *L* foris] longe *Ri* | in occulto -cupressus *om. Ri* 2 cypressina *L* | Dumque inceptum iter agerent *Ri* 3 Et dum ad] Dumque ad *Ri* | multa turba *L* maximam turbam *Ri* 4 priorum et nobilium *Ri* | se illuc *Ri* | divitiis *om. Ra* 5 Qui- eius] Hijque Enea viso eius genibus *Ri* 6 eum *om. Ri* | deprecare *L* 7 ibi *Ra* ubicumque *Ri* | hec dicentes *L* hec dicens *Ra* 8 dux *om. Ra* | respiceret et *L* respiciebat et *Ra* 9 iterato *om. Ri* | iter agens ad *Ri* | clamare ante cepit *Ri* 10 magna voce *Ra* | inquit *om. Ri* | ita *om. L Ra* | vociferat *Ra* 11 umbra eius ei *Ri* | Cui] Qui *Ri* | noli me *Ri* 12 suo numero *Ri* 13 sit futurum *Ra* 14 multos tempus *L* | promissum tibi regnum *Ri* | alia *L* inde *Ra* 15 Perquire] pro qua re *L* quare *Ri* 16 necnon] filium meum *Ri* | et *om. Ra* | eos *om. Ri* | contristeris *Ra Ri* 17 obliviscere *L* | hoc *Ra* | volens Eneas amplexari et tenere eam *Ri* 18 subito *om. Ra* 19 iterato] iter agens *Ri* 20 dum *om. Ri* | venerit *L* veniens *Ri* | advocans *Ri* | allocutus eos *L* 21 dicens] O virgo Troyanorum *Ri* 23 preceptis *Ri* | statim *om. Ri* 24 posuerunt ubi etiam] navibus collegerunt ubi et *Ri* | et *om. Ra* 25 et *om. Ri* | familia sua *L* 26 de] a *Ri* | dum iam *L* 27 respiciens post se aggeri Troie fumaret *Ra* | ageris *L*

de perditione civitatis dantes audierunt. Illi vero iter suum per maria direxerunt. Et primum Samothraciam venientes, dum ad litus naves iungerent et diis suis quos portabant vellent sacrificium offerre, sub radice montis aram fabricaverunt. Que dum fabricata fuisset, cepit Eneas
 5 querere laurum aut mirtum unde ara coronaretur. Et respiciens inter spissa silvarum vidit arbores mirteas; ad quas dum veniret et exinde virgas abscederet, ceperunt ipse virgule guttas sanguinis distillare. Quod dum Eneas videret, evanuit; et cepit secum cogitare quidnam hoc esset, et consideravit nimfas fuisse agrestes. Et aurem humo ponens, vox ei
 10 de sub humo respondit, dicens: 'Parce,' inquit, 'et noli lacerare sepultum. Nam ego sum Polidorus, Priami regis filius, quem huc pater meus cum magnis divitiis regi Tracie furtim mandavit alendum. Ille vero, volens divitias quas portabam lucrari, me in isto loco lanceis interfici mandavit. Et qui me interfecerunt super tumulum meum lanceas fixerunt, et ipse
 15 lancee fronderunt et in mirtum converse sunt. Sed moneo te: fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum.' Et hec cum dixisset, vox de sub humo siluit.

Hoc audiens, Eneas exinde cum magnis lacrimis naves ascendit; et errans per multa tempora in mari ad litus desertum ubi habitatio hominum non fuit sub silvis devolutus est. Et cum de navibus cum sociis
 20 suis descenderet, silvam ascenderunt ubi armenta non parva vel pecuaria invenerunt, quod armentum vel greges Arphiarum avium fuerunt. Quarum avium Celeno regina fuit. Et dum de armento ipso vel de pecoribus [non parva] mactarent, sibi epulum in silva fecerunt. Ecce subito agmen
 25 Arphiarum avium venit; et dum greges suos devastatos viderent, ceperunt se velle in volatu mittere et singulos rapere et eos devorare. Hoc videns, Eneas cum sociis suis cepit ipsas aves sagittare; et dum eas sagittis vincere non valuissent, videntes se turbatos, sub nemoribus arborum ubi aves

9 III, 34 10-16 III, 41; 44; 49-51

1 vero] *om. Ra* atque *Ri* | mare *Ri* 2 primos amotrariam *L* | Samothraciam qui nunc Samandradi vocatur *Ri* 3 suis *om. Ri* sacrificium offerre] sacrificare *L* 4 aras *Ri* | fabricate fuissent *Ri* 5 aut] ac *Ri* | aras coronarentur *Ri* 6 spissas *L* | mirteas *L Ra* | et quos *L* ad quos *Ra* virgas] virgulas *Ri* 7 gutte *L* 8 dum] cum *Ra* | evanuit et *om. Ri* | Eneas cogitare secum *Ri* 9 cogitavit *Ri* | nefas fuisset *L* nemphas esse *Ri* | aurem homo *L Ra* | apponens *Ri* | ei *om. L Ra* 10 sub homo (humo *L*) statim *L* | sepulcrum *L Ri* 11 Nam et *L* | Polidurus *L* Polidarius *Ri* 12 traici (throicio *L*) furti *L* Trayci furtim *Ri* | alendum] tollendum *Ri* | velens *L* 13 asportaveram *Ri* | in *om. Ra* 14 meum *om. Ri* 15 myrtam *L* | efuge *L* 16 abarum *L* aquarum *Ri* | Et *om. L Ri* 19 deserto *L* 20 socios suos *L* 21 pecuniaria *Ra* pecuari *Ri* 23 Et cum de armento ipso non parvam mactarent vel *Ri* | armenta ipsa vel pecora *Ra* 24 silvam *Ri* 25 alfiarum *L* alphiarum *Ra* | avium *om. L Ri* | devastatus *L* 26 volatum velle *Ri* | ut eos devorarent *Ri* 28 valuisset *L* | videns se turbatus *L* videns se turbatum *Ra*

accedere non valebant se ad epulum posuerunt. Hoc videntes, aves ceperunt eis epulas stercorare. Tunc ipsa Celeno regina sedens super pinnam montis cepit famem futuram prophetisare pro hoc, quod ausi sunt armenta earum devastare. Quod et contigit.

Inde per maria errantes, devenerunt Siciliam sub igneo monte; ubi dum iungerent audierunt vocem Achemenidis (Greci qui de exercitu Ulixis a Polifemo Ciclope captivatus fuerat; et ab eodem de spelunca evasit, et pro metu aliorum Ciclopum ad litus descendere non poterat ne ab eis interficeretur; sed per multa tempora in silvis herbis vescebatur, et inter lapides in locis occultis ne ab aliquo videretur obcelatus fuit) talia voce clamantem atque dicentem: 'Tollite me, Teucri, et quascumque potestis abducite terras. Si pereo, hominum manu perisse iuvabit.' Hanc cum Eneas vocem deprecantis audiret, naves ad litora iunxit et Achemenidem in navem levavit. Et dicere habes: qui fuit Achemenides, vel Ulixes de cuius exercitu captivatus fuit; vel quis fuit Polifemus qui eum captivavit? Respondendum est: hic Achemenides de exercitu fuit Ulixis, qui alio vocabulo Odiseus nuncupatur. Qui Odiseus in numero decem ducum quos Agamemnon et Menelaus ad Troiam in auxilium invitaverunt fuit. Et dum Troia expugnata vel incensa fuisset, exinde omnes unusquisque ad provinciam suam reversi sunt. Et dum reverterentur, diversa supplicia a diis immortalibus pertulerunt, de quorum numero, ut superius diximus, Odiseus cum suis ad provinciam suam remeans, a vento percussus, Ethne monti Sicilie devolutus est. In quo monte Vulcanus deus ignis, a quo omnis ars aurificum, argentariorum, erariorum, vel fabrorum ferrariorum procreata est. Cuius Vulcani discipuli Cyclopes fuerunt; et potentior omnibus Polifemus fuit, qui Polifemus hominum vel pecorum cruentator fuit. Qui dum ibi Odiseus cum sociis suis veniret, auditiv opinionem Polifemi. Ad speluncam eius porrexit; et dum eum somno

11-12 III, 601; 606

1 accedere *om. L Ri* | se mittere ad epulum se *L* 2 eas *Ra ei Ri* | supra *Ra* 3 pinna *L* | ei famen fatura *L* famen futuram *Ra* eius famas futuras *Ri* prophetisare] pronuntiare *L* | hoc *om. L eo Ri*
4 eorum *Ra Ri* 5 Inde et *Ra* | mare *Ri* | Ciciliam *Ra* | igeo *L* ego *Ra* | subiit Hetneum montem *Ri*
6 Achimedinis *L* Achemidis *Ra* Achimenidis *Ri* 7 Pulifemo (*et alibi*) *L* Polliferno (*et alibi*) *Ri* 9 vesceretur *Ri* | et *om. Ri* 10 tali *L* etiam altaque *Ri* 11 clamante atque dicente *Ri* atque] et *Ra* | quoscumque *L Ri* 12 adducite *L Ri* | peream *L* | manus perisset *L* iuvabit] *om. L* iuvabis *Ra* 13 audivit *Ra* 14 navem] nave *L* navi *Ri* 15 vel quis fuit *om. Ri* 16 Ulixes *L* 17 nuncupabatur *L* 18 in auxilium *om. Ra* | invitaverant *Ra* 19 excensa *Ri* | omnes ad terram *L* 20 suam provinciam *L* 21 a *om. L* 22 percussus *Ri* 23 Sicilia Ethneo monte *L* Cicilie Ethne monti *Ra* ad Etneum montem *Ri* Vulcanus] vulgatus *L* 25 ferrariorum]gue *L* | Cui *Ri* 26 hominum] omusium *L* 27 xii sociis *Ri* | suis *om. Ri* | suis de navem descendens *L* 28 direxit *L* perrexit *Ri* | dormientem in speluncam vidisset iacere *L* sompnum in speluncam iacentem videret *Ri*

in spelunca iacentem invenit, de lampade ardente oculum eius extinxit. Ille vero, de somno expergefactus ut sensit oculum se amisisse, de spelunca sua egressus cum magno dolore et mugitu in arbore pinus impinxit; et sibi ex ea baculum fecit, et cepit ad litus pertendere ut Odiseum cum sociis captivaret et eum interficeret. Et dum ad litus venisset, Odiseum cum navibus captivare non potuit; sed quoscumque in litore cepit qui se ad naves colligere non potuerunt captivavit et cruentavit. De quorum numero captivorum solus ab eo Achemenides evadere potuit. Et dum memoratus Polifemus, qui est Ciclops, Odiseum capere non valuisset, 10 barritum dedit, et ad eius barritum tres insule expaverunt. Merito, ut superius dictum est, solus Achemenides de eius captivitate evasit, quem Eneas, dum vocem eius audiret, in navem levavit et de captivitate Ciclopum eruit.

Et exinde movens in aliud litus Sicilie devolutus est, videns super ora 15 maris templum mire magnitudinis; et dum ad templum veniret, in eodem templo invenit orantem Andromachen relictam Hectoris, quam sibi Pyrrus filius Achillis concubinam fecerat. Que dum Eneam cum Ascanio filio suo agnosceret, cepit flere et de casu Troie exponere. Et tenens ad se in amplexu Ascanium filium Enee, sic eum cum lacrimis allocuta est: 20 'O lux Dardanie, quem pater Eneas et avunculus excitat Hector.' Et dum flevisset et cum ab ea discedere vellent, munera Ascanio dedit; et flentes amare, abinvicem discesserunt.

Inde egrediens ad aliud litus Sicilie devenit, ubi pater eius Anchises mortuus est. Quem digne sepelivit, et super eum tumulum mire magni- 25 tudinis fecit.

Et dum exinde ad Italiam ad regnum percipiendum vellent pergere, dum naves ascenderent, Iuno iracundia ducta pro iudicio Paridis volens omne genus Troianorum perdere ad Eolum regem ventorum perrexerit, et eum petiit ut ventos excitaret et Eneam cum navibus suis perderet. Cui

20 III, 343

1 lampade] lapide *Ra* | ardentem *L Ri* 3 sua *om. Ra* | cum *om. Ra* 4 ex] de *Ri* | Odiseus *L* 5 sociis suis *Ra* | et Odiseum *Ra* 6 captivare cum navibus *L* capere *Ri* 8 numerum *L* | ab eo] ad'o ad'o *Ri* 10 brarritum *Ri* | brabritum *post* eius *Ri* | exparuerunt *L* 11 solus *om. Ri* | eius *om. Ri* | captivitatem *L* quem] et ipsum *Ri* 12 dum vocem eius audiret *om. Ri* | nave eum *L* nave *Ri* | captivitatem *L* et de captivitate Ciclopum *om. Ri* 13 se eruit *Ri* 14 permovens *Ri* | latus *Ri* | est *om. Ri* super ora maris] ad superiora *Ri* 15 invenit in eodem templo *Ri* 16 orari *L* orare *Ra* Andromachen] sic *L Ra* Andromache *Ri* | relictum *Ra* | sibi *om. Ra* 17 Que] Quem *L* 18 cognosceret *L* casu] causa *Ri* 19 in amplexu] iamplexu *L* | eum *om. Ri* | adloquitur dicens *L* 21 et *om. Ri* 23 ad] in *Ri* 24 Que *L* | granditudinis *Ri* 26 pro regno recipiendo vellet *Ri* 27 vellens *L* 28 Eulum *L* | ventorum *om. Ri* 29 ventus *L* | suis navibus *L*

Eolus obediens acuta cuspidē haste suae speluncam in qua venti inclusi fuerant patefecit. Et venti relaxati ceperunt cum magno impetu per silvas et terras perexire; deinde mare introierunt et naves Eneae per diversa litora fractis arboribus et antennis sparserunt. De quibus ante oculos eius una navis, in qua Palinurus gubernator fuit, mersit; et cepit Palinurus a fluctibus maris iactari, et cupiebat ad navem Eneae natando pervenire. Sed quia vis tempestatis fuit, neque ille ad navem poterat pervenire quia eum unde iactabant, neque Eneas ad eum poterat navem iungere; et natando cum magnis lacrimis Eneam deprecabatur, dicens: 'Per genitorem oro, per spem surgentis Iuli, eripe me his, invicte, malis, aut tu mihi terram inice; namque potes portusque prebere Velinos; aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix ostendit (neque enim, credo, sine nomine divum flumina tanta paras Stigiamque innare paludem), da dexteram misero et tecum me tolle per undas sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.' Et cum has preces explicuisset, ab undis absortus non comparuit. Aliae vero naves, sicut superius dictum est, a vento per diversa litora ob iracundiam Iunonis sparse sunt, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Cum Iuno, eternum servans sub pectore vulnus, Eoliā venit; hic vasto rex Eolus antro et mulcere facit ventos et temperat iras. Cui talia fatur:

9-15 vi, 364-371 17-18 i, 36 18-19 i, 52 19 i, 57; i, 66

1 Elus L | obediens ventos (ventus L) L Ri acuta] adducta L 2 fuerunt L 3 exire Ra | in mare L diversa] deserta L 4 oculis L 5 Planinurus (et alibi) Ra 6 a om. L | natandum L 7 vim L vim unde Ri 8 unda] inde Ri | iactabat L | poterat om. Ra | naves Ri | et sic Ri 9 natandum L 10 invicte] immite Ri 11 namque] micenamque Ra micenam que Ri prebere] require L² vehere Ri | evelinos Ri aut] et Ri 12 quam] qua Ra diva] divina Ri | numine L² 13 para L paras L² parasti Ri | vestigiam que mare Ri | Palinuro da L Ra 14 ut om. L add. L² om. Ra 17 iracundia Ri | describit Ra Cum] Tunc L Dum Ri 18 Eoli iam Ri Eoliā p. 26, l. 6 dicabo] Hec secum: mene incoepo desistere victam nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem? Quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem Argivum atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Olei? Ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus igne(m?) (disiecit?) que rates evertitque aequora ventis, illum expirantem transfixo pec(tore?) flammās turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto. Ast ego que divum incedo regina Iovisque et soror et coniux una cum gente tot annos bella gero. Et quisquam numen Iunonis adoret praeterea aut suplex aris imponet hon(orem?)? Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus austris, Aeoliā venit. Hic vasto rex Eolus antro luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat. Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis circum claustra fremunt. Celsa (sedet?) Eolus arce sceptrā tenens mollitque animos et temperat iras. Ni facias maria ac terras celumque profundum, quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras. Sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris hoc metuens molemque et montes insuper altos inposuit regemque dedit qui foedere certo et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas. Ad quem dum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est: Aeole, namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere ventos, gens (inimica?) mihi Tyrrenum navigat equor, Ilium in Italia portans victosque penates, incute vi(m ven?)tis sumer [Aen. i, 37-69] in rasura et in marg. add. L² 19 facit -iras] dedit fluctus et tellere vento Ri

'Eole, namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex et mulcere dedit ventos et dare laxas iussus habenas. Gens inimica mihi Tirrenum navigat equor, Ilium in Italia portans victosque penates. Incute vim ventis subversasque obrue puppes, aut age diversas et disice corpora ponto.

5 Sunt mihi bis septem prestanti corpore nimfe, quarum que forma pulcherrima, Deiopea, coniugio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo.' Hec cum Eolus audisset, Iunoni respondit: 'O dea, soror Iovis et coniunx, cum hoc regnum a vobis mihi datum est et me in potestate habetis, quantum magis omnes ventos qui sub regimine meo habentur.' Et cum ista

10 omnia Iunoni dixisset, ventos, ut dictum est, relaxavit et naves Enee, sicut superius memoratum est, sparsit.

Eneas vero, dum videret naves suas a vento sparsas fuisse, in medio pelago erexit ad sidera palmas et cepit Iovem deprecari cum magnis lacrimis ut ab eo venti quiescerent. Qui dum Iovem deprecaretur,

15 Neptunus preces eius audivit et erigens caput de sub undis Eurum Zephyrumque ad se vocari iussit. Quibus sic ait: 'Maturate fugam regique vestro hec dicite: "Non illi imperium pelagi seivumque tridentem Iupiter dedit, sed mihi sorte datum est." ' Venti vero, obediens preceptioni eius, ad locum suum reversi sunt, et sic tranquillitas in mari

20 facta est. Et dum ista geruntur, intra duas horas sex naves de navibus suis ad Eneam se congregaverunt; alie vero duodecim per litora incognita sparse sunt.

Et dum Eneas cum septem navibus navigaret ad litus Africanum, devolutus est in partes loci qui Abar vocatur sub monte ubi nunc clipeo

25 civitas facta est. Et dum ad litus iungeret, ignarus provincie ubi fuisset devolutus, insuper et cogitans quia ab eo naves duodecim erraverunt et una in qua Palinurus fuit ante oculos eius mersit, relinquens socios suos

1-6 1, 65-73

16-18 1, 137-139

24 Cf. 1, 365-368

1 et om. Ra 2 dare -habenar] tollere fluctus Ri | Gens 4 ponto] Incute vim ventis, submersasque obrue puppes / Gens inimica mihi Tyrrenum navigat equor / Aut age diversos et disicca corpora ferro / Ylium in Ytalia portans vectosque penates Ri 6 Deiopea Ri coniugio] conubio Ri 7 O dea soror] ut ea soror que L | soror que Ri et] est Ri 8 hec L mihi datum] traditum Ri et] ut L | potestatem habeatis Ri 9 ventus L 11 sicut -est] ut superius dictum est Ri 12 dum] cum Ri | fuisse om. L Ri 13 cum om. Ri 14 ab eo] habeo L 15 eius preces Ri | erigit L | undas L unda Ra 16 et Zephyrum Ra 17 imperio L | pelagis L Ra | eumque L eumque Ra 18 Iupiter dedit om. Ri | preceptis Ri 20 inter Ri naves] rasura L 21 suis -congregaverunt] Enee ad eum se coniunxerunt L | se om. Ri 23 Eneas vero cum vii navibus dum ad litus Africanum denavigaret Ri | Africanus L 24 loci qui] que L Ra | Abarim L | clipea civitas L clipea civitas Ra civitas clipea Ri 25 dum] cum L 26 tredecim L | erraverant L Ra 27 eius oculos Ri | relinquit L Ra

in litore, montem cum Achate armigero suo ascendit, volens de cacumine montis pelagus inspicere ne forte naves suas que ab eo erraverant possit videre. Et dum montem ascenderet, aspexit econtra et vidit gregem cervorum pascentium; et tollens arma ab Achate armigero suo septem cervos sagittis occidit, et singulos per singulas naves distribuit. Qui dum distributi fuissent, tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant. Et dum epulum factum fuisset, Eneas socios suos animare cepit, dicens: 'Forti animo estote, o viri fortissimi; dabit nobis deus adiutorium, et nos ad Italiam pro regno percipiendo, sicut promisit, perducet. Ergo gaude; et in deo sperate.' Et dum eos animaret, iterato cum armigero suo montem ascendit ut pelagus aspiceret, si naves suas posset videre. Ecce Venus mater eius in Arpalice [hoc est, venatrice] ei apparuit in tali cultu venatricis—id est alte cincta (c)alcas in pedibus et armi iuclo arcum portans et in comam capiti vittam habens. Cui sic ait: 'Heus,' inquit, 'iuvenis, aliquamne forte vidisti errantem germanam sororem succinctam faretra et maculose tegmine lincis?' Cui Eneas respondit: 'Nullam me, o virgo, tuarum vidisse germanarum sororum fateor; sed non te video voce humana loqui, sed vox tibi dearum est. Sed si dea es, ostende te nobis ut ne minorem honorem tibi exhibeamus quam aliis diis exhibemus. Et dic nobis in qua provincia sumus devoluti.' Cui Venus respondit: 'Equidem ego dea non sum, sed scias te in provincia Libia esse devolutum. Et consuetudo est virginibus Libicis gestare pharetras. Sed, ut video, navibus que a te erraverunt intendis, quia augurio agimur divum. Aspice bis senos cignos quos Iovis ales atheria plaga secuta est; ipsa sunt signa navium tuarum, quas cito ad te venire spera. Et quia scio te per multa tempora per maria errare, do tibi consilium. Ecce hic proxima est Cartago civitas, que nunc a Sidonia Didone

6 1, 211 12 Cf. 1, 316-317 14 1, 319 14-16 1, 321-323 17-20 1, 326-334 22-23 1, 336 24-25 1, 393-395

1 Agate (et alibi) L | vellens L 2 pelagum Ri ne] nequid L si Ri | possent Ri 3 econtra om. Ri | et ante vidit om. L 4 armigerum suum L 5 occisit L 6 dum] cum Ra | distribuissent L distribuisset Ra | tercora L stercora Ri | costas L costis L¹ 7 animare] armare Ra Ri | cupiens dicit L 8 o om. L deus] dominus L Ri et] ut L 9 perducit L 10 et om. Ra 11 ut] et dum Ri | pelagos L pelagum Ri | inspiceret L si] ut L | possit Ra 13 alto cincta altas L alte cincta alta Ri 14 capitis vinctam Ra Ri | habens om. Ri Heus] Enea Ra 15 iuvenes L om. Ri | vidistis Ri | sorore L -m meam add. L² 16 succincta L | faretram et maculosum L Ri | linceis Ri 17 nulla L o] ego L | tuam Ri | vidissem L | germanam sororem L germanam sororum Ra germanam nec sororem Ri 18 vocem humanam Ri | vox om. L Ra 19 a quo alii dii L 20 dii om. Ri 21 Venus] Enea Ri | provinciam Libicam Ri 22 est om. Ra | libicis L libiacis Ra 23 pharetram Ri quia] et quia nos L³ et qui Ri 24 augurii L auguriis Ri Aspice bis senos cignos] aspicebis se nos centum nos L aspices senas cignos Ri | Ioves alet et aeri L Ioves ales aeri Ra 25 recusata Ri secuta est] sic L secutus es L³ 26 spera L speras L³ Ri | scito Ra | per maria om. Ri 27 hinc Ri | proximum L proxime Ra | Cartago civitas est Ra | Dido L

conditur. Que Dido a viro destituta est, quia vir eius Sicheus a Pigmalione rege Sydoniensium fratre eius volente divitias eius tollere occisus est. Et exinde de Tyro et Sidone huc cum exercitu magno devoluta est; et ibi ab Iarba rege hic sibi solum comparavit, ubi nunc Cartaginem constituit. Quia, ut dixi, a viro destituta est, poterit te suscipere et sibi comparem adoptare.' Et hec cum dixisset, se ab eodem duxit. Et mutato habitu se iterum in similitudinem deorum ostendit. Quam dum Eneas agnosceret, quia mater eius fuit, genibus eius provolutus cum lacrimis sic eam deprecatus est, dicens: 'Dea mater, quid me tantis imaginibus ludificas? Ubi sunt promissa que mihi apud Troiam promiseras, quod regnum Italie poteram suscipere? Ecce per quanta pericula, seu famis sive maris, pervenimus ut et naufragia pertulerimus. Iam miserrere, et nos de tantis periculis libera.' Cui mater respondit: 'Vade, sicut superius dixi, ad Cartaginem, et necesse erit ut a Didone, inmisso ei amore tuo, suscipiaris. Ergo dic sociis tuis ut naves conscendant et ad Cartaginem una cum navibus suis septem iungant. Te subtus nebulam ducam.'

Venit, et ad portum iunxit. Super quem portum templum ingens Iunoni condiderat Sidonia Dido, ubi caput equi appellatur. Et dicere habes: quare caput equi? Respondendum est: quia, quando Cartago a Didone fundari cepit, ut primus lapis in fundamento collocatus est, thura Iunoni a Didone super ipsum lapidem facta sunt, quia in tutela Iunonis Carthago condita est. Et dum sacrificaretur, in igne caput equi apparuit, ut ostenderet Cartaginem semper bellicosam esse, et sine ducibus aut regibus non esse. In quo loco, ut superius dictum est, templum ingens Iunoni condiderat Sidonia Dido. In quo templo omnia regna vel casus Troie pinxerat. Ad quod templum, ut superius dictum est, Eneas tectus

18 Cf. 1, 443-447

1 condita est *Ra* 2 Sydoniensium *om. Ra* | fratrequ *Ri* | eius *post* divitias *om. Ra* 3 Et
om. Ri | de *om. Ri* | Sidonia *Ra* 4 ibi *om. Ra* | solum sibi *Ri* constituit] posuit *L* 5 Et quia
Ri 6 non parem *L* | cum hec *L om. Ri* 7 habito *L* | iterato *Ri* | Que *L* 8 provolutis
Ri 10 letificas *L* | Troia *L* 11 per] a *L* ad *Ri* 12 maris seu famis *Ri* | ut *om. Ri* |
pertulimus *Ri* | miserere] nunc *Ri* 13 pericula *Ra* | mater eius *L* 14 Cartagine *L* 15
tuis] eius *L* suis *Ri* | navibus *L* navim *Ri* | ascendant *Ri* 16 Cartagine *L* septem-18 iunxit] sep-
tem te subtus nebulam veniat et dum exinde movisset et naves ad portum iuncxisset *L* 16 sep-
tem -ducam] septem tectus nebula *Ri* 18 templum ingens] mire magnitudinis templum *L*
19 Sydoni a Didone *Ri* | appellabatur *Ri* 21 prima *L* | conlocata *L* 22 Iunoni *om. Ri*
sunt] est *L Ri* | qui in tutelam Iunoni *Ri* 23 Carthago *om. Ra* 24 Cartagine *L* | superbelligo-
sam *L* superciliosam *Ri* 25 non] nunquam *L* In quo-26 casus] Et fecit mire magnitudinis tem-
plum in quo omnes pugnas et causam *Ri* 25 ingentem *L* 26 templo] templum *L* 27
Troie pinxerat] Troianorum exposuerat atque pingere fecerat *L* Ad quod templum] Et *L*

nebula cum Achate armigero suo, dimissis septem navibus, cum sociis suis ingressus est. Et dum omnes casus Troie in eodem templo pictos videret, animum pictura pascit inani; et repletus lacrimis armigero suo ait: 'O infelicitas vel casus Troie! Non est una regio per omnem orbem ubi non fama de casu nostro peragravit. Et dum ista armigero suo loquitur, subito Dido regina constipata catervis famulorum vel famularum, ornata ex auro et gemmis templum ingressa est. Quam Eneas videns ipse a nemine videbatur. Et dum in trono suo Dido consedisset, cepit leges dare atque sanctum senatum constituere. Et dum leges daret, subito vidit duodecim naves, que ab Enea, quando ei Iuno tempestatem excitaverat, erraverant, ad portum iungere fractis arboribus vel antennis. Ad quas Dido putans inimicorum esse viros armatos direxit, qui omnes qui in eisdem navibus fuerunt vinctos adducerent et postea naves igni concremarent. Et dum aspectibus regine omnes Troiani qui in navibus fuerunt adducerentur, maximus omnium Ilioneus sic regine cum magnis lacrimis fari cepit: 'O regina, cui Iupiter concessit ut talem urbem conderes, miserere nobis et amove infandos a navibus ignes. Miserere nostri, rogamus, et agnosce casus nostros.' Quibus regina iussit vincula solvi et licentiose casus suos exponere.

Tunc Ilioneus sic respondit: 'Dum Troia civitas nostra iracundia deorum faciente a Grecis per noctem intrata fuisset vel incensa, nos quos vides, vel alios quos a nobis tempestas in pelago sparsit, fugientes ad templum Cereris devenimus. Ubi etiam Eneas Veneris et Anchise filius cum patre suo Anchise et filio Ascanio vel cum omni familia fugiens devolutus est, amissa coniuge Priami quondam regis nostri filia. Quem dum videremus, provoluti genibus eius, cum nobis ducem elegimus, quia sic etiam a dea Venere matre sua admonitus est quia regnum Italie

3 I, 464 9 I, 426 17 I, 525

1 navibus septem *Ri* | cum sociis suis *om. Ri* 2 in ea domum *ante ingressus add. L* | omnem *L* | templum *L* | pictum *L* pictos et pugnas *Ri* 3 inania *L* 4 felicitas *L Ra* | Troiane *L* | est *om. Ri* orbem] mundum *L* 5 suo *om. Ra* | loqueretur *L* 7 est et sedit *L* | Quem *L* 8 ipse atque *Ri* | conscendisset *Ri* 9 constitueret *L* | dat *L Ra* 10 ei *om. Ri* 11 erraverunt *Ra* et erraverant *Ri* | portum Iuno *Ri* | iungeret *L* | fractisque *L Ri* 12 Ad *om. Ra* | quos *L* qui] que *L* ut *Ri* 13 eisdem] his *L* eiusdem *Ri* | fuissent *L* 14 aspectus *L* 15 fuerant *Ri* | Elioneos *L* | regine *om. L* | cum *om. Ri* 16 fari] regine fateri *L* fateri *Ra* | regina sublimis *Ri* | cui *om. L* | conderet *L* 17 amove infandos] amoveri iubes *L* | nostris ignem *L* 18 Quorum statim *Ri* 19 licentiose *om. Ri* 20 sic fiducialiter regine *L* 21 per *om. Ri* | nocte *L Ri* | invasa et incensa fuisset *Ri* 22 vel] et *Ri* 23 etiam] iam *Ra* | Anchisae *Ri* 24 vel] et *Ri* 25 est *om. Ri* quondam] quod *L om. Ra* | filia *ante* Priami *Ri* 26 dum] cum *Ra* | viderimus *L* | eligimus *L* quia] cui *Ri* 27 a dea -admonitus] et ad ipsa deam Veneris matrem suam admonitus *L* a dea ipsa matre sua monitus *Ri* | regnum ipsius Ytalie possideret et *Ri*

obtineret—non solum ipse sed et nati natorum et qui nascuntur ab illis. Hoc nos agnoscentes fortunam eius secuti sumus. Et dum Troia incensa fuisset, cum viginti navibus vel ipso Enea duce nostro exivimus; et sunt usque in hunc anni septem ex quo excidium Troie contigit, quo periculo
 5 maris iactamur et nusquam sedes invenimus. Et dum de Sicilia ad Italiam pergeremus, subito vim tempestatis pertulimus. Et a par(t)e exparsi sumus, et nescimus si ipse Eneas dux noster cum aliis navibus evasit aut in procella maris periit. Nos vero miseri fractis arboribus vel
 10 antennis huc devoluti sumus. Merito te, domina regina, rogamus ut des licentiam ut arbores vel antennas navibus nostris preparemus et ad Italiam secundum promissum deorum pergamus. Forsitan ibi poterimus invenire Eneam ducem nostrum.'

Hec cum regina audisset, eis respondit: 'Descendite de navibus vestris et vos cum populo meo commiscete, et uno auspicio nos Iupiter gubernabit.
 15 Et necesse erit ut naves cursorias per omnia litora Africana dirigam, ut ubi Eneas dux vester inventus fuerit huc eum perducant. Et non illi displicebunt connubia nostra. Quia ego etiam peregrina sum in hac provincia, etiam et vos audite casus meos. Nata sum filia regis de Tiro Sidone, et dum ad nubilem venissem etatem, a patre meo, muneribus
 20 magnis acceptis, Sicheo quondam viro illustri et magnifico in coniugio data sum. Et dum pater meus de hac luce migrasset, frater meus Pigmalion regnum eius suscepit. Et cum suis domesticis tractans ad divitias mariti mei, ipsum maritum meum in venatione occidit. Et mihi mors mariti mei ab eo celata est, volens etiam me interficere et divitias meas
 25 tollere. Et dum hec geruntur, per somnos mihi umbra mariti mei locuta est, dicens ut etiam ego, collectis omnibus divitiis, fugerem; etiam divitias avorum et proavorum suorum terra absconditas levarem et tollerem.

16 Cf. I, 575-576

18 seqq. Cf. I, 340 ff.

1 optinere L | natorum suorum Ri 2 Hec L | nos om. Ri eius] suam Ri 3 vel] una cum Ri |
 ipsum Eneam ducem nostrum L | civitatem exivimus Ri et -ex] modo atque septimus annus est Ri
 4 in his annis L | excidium L | periculum L per pericula Ri 5 sedem Ri de] a Ra 6 Italia
 pergitur vim subito tempestates L | tempestates Ri | Et -sumus om. Ri | ab pares exparsimus L
 7 si ipse] an Ri | aliis om. Ri 8 evasit aut] evaserit an Ri | procellis Ri | miseris L | fractis om.
 Ri 9 hic Ra 10 vel] et Ri | antennis Ra | ad naves nostras L-Ra | in Italia secundum
 promissa L 11 invenimus Ri 12 Eneam ducem nostrum invenire L 13 regina cum
 L Ra 14 vos post meo L 15 erit necesse Ra necesse est Ri 16 ut] et Ra 17
 etiam et ego peregrina L etiam peregrina ego Ri 18 casus L 19 Sydonia L Sydonia L² |
 nobilem Ra 20 sic hec viro illustro Ra quondam] quod L 21 Et] ut Ri | migraret L
 22 ut divitias mariti mei acciperet Ri 23 meum om. Ri | occiderunt L 24 velle etiam et L
 etiam] et Ra et] ut L | meas om. Ri 25 Et om. Ri | somnium Ra mihi] me Ri | matris mee
 allocuta Ri 26 divitiis meis L 27 suorum om. Ri | terre Ri

Quod et feci. Et congregans ad me omnem populum, in navibus occulte collectis, ut dixi, omnibus divitiis meis collocavi, et ad Siciliam devoluta sum. Ubi veniens Siracusam civitatem dum condere vellem, mihi populus murmurare cepit. Hoc ego agnoscens, quia non mihi imminebat ibi sedes habere, in navibus cum omnibus sociis meis ascendens, ad hunc locum devoluta sum. Cumque requirerem quisnam esset rex huius provincie, dictum mihi est Getulum Iarbam; ad quem legatos misi ut mihi solum distraheret ubinam cum sociis meis sedes haberem. Et mihi distraxit hunc locum adversus quod ¶corrigia que de corio tauri lineare potuit¶. Et dum hanc urbem perficerem, voluit me in coniugio accipere, cuius connubia despexi. Sed si dux vester talis est, et ad eius imaginem pervenire valuerimus, forsitan, ut superius dixi, non illi displicebunt connubia nostra.

Hec cum Dido sociis Enee locuta fuisset, Achates armiger Enee respondit: 'Quid tardas? Vides reginam nedum te nosse et in amorem tuum incidisse. Ergo rumpe nebulam, et quisnam sis te regine ostende.' Hec cum Achates dixisset, Eneas rupta nebula in medio templo se regine ostendit. Armatus lorica et galea cristata, scutum atque hastam tenens, in similitudinem Martis se regine declaravit: 'Coram,' ait Eneas, 'quem queritis assum.' Et dum eum regina loquentem videret, amore eius incensa dimittens leges quas populo suo dabat, Enee manum tenuit et eum ad aulam regiam ducere cepit. Hoc videntes, socii Enee de navibus duodecim qui vincti a Didone expositi fuerant, provoluti genibus ante Eneam se prostraverunt, dicentes: 'O lux Dardanie, quem nobis Iupiter ducem confirmavit, ubinam te a nobis violentia deorum separaverat?' Quos videns, Eneas lacrimatus est, et eis iussit ut sociis suis qui in aliis septem navibus fuerant iungerent; quod et fecerunt. Hoc dum Dido

19-20 I, 595

1 et om. Ra | Et om. Ri 2 collecti sunt ut dixi omnes divitias meas Ra | collavi L | Sicilia L
3 Ibi Ri | venientes Siracusa civitate L | Siracusa Ra 4 murmurare] morbare Ri | noscens Ri |
ubi sedes haberem Ri 6 Que dum requirerem L Et dum quererem Ri | huius provincie rex L |
provincie huius Ra 7 est mihi Ri | Getholum Inarbam L 8 solum traderet ubinamque
Ri | Et mihi distraxit om. Ri 9 corrigiam quam Ri | liniare L limare Ra 10 potui L |
proficerem L | coniugium Ra 11 cuius] sed eius L et ad eius imaginem] etatem eius indaginem
Ri | imagine L 13 connubia om. Ra 14 respondit] ad eum locutus dixit L 15 Ecce
vides regina L | nec dum L Ri nosse et] nosce Ri 16 incidisset L Ri | sis] es L 17 Et dum
Ri | ruptam L rapta Ra | nebulam L 18 Armatus] amictus L amittus Ri hastam] asta L
19 Coram] Cui sic L Ri 20 queris adsum Ri 21 amittens Ri | Aneam manu Ra 22
Hec Ri | qui ante de navibus Ri 23 provolutis L Ri | se ante Eneam Ri 25 ducem om. L
Ra ubinam] ubi L | violentias L 26 Quod Ra 27 fuerant om. Ri | iungerentur quod
fecerunt Ra | Hec cum Ri

regina videret, sciens eum in templum ducem esse, amore eius incensa, tenens eius manum ad aulam suam regiam eum perduxit, ostendens ei Tunicas opes urbemque paratam. Quem continuo ad cenam petiit. Cui sic ait: 'Communem hunc populum [hoc est, meum ac tuum] pariterque
 5 regamus auspiciis; et liceat Frigio servire marito.' Et continuo iussit mensas tapetis regalibus ornari. Eneas, ut sensit se a regina amari, Achatem armigerum suum alloquitur, dicens: 'Vade ad naves, et tecum Ascanius filius meus ad cenam veniat. Et afferat secum munera que regine per se offerat—id est, cicladem auro gemmisque rigentem, coronam
 10 ex auro et gemmis quam nobis Helena regina donaverat, vel monile [hoc est, adflotitario(?)] quod Andromache dederat. Et dum cum istis omnibus huc veneritis, Ascanius filius meus reginam adoret, et per se ei munera offerat.' Achates vero, iussis Enee obediens, ad navem perrexit.

Hoc dum Venus agnosceret, ad Cupidinem filium suum ait ut se una
 15 nocte in figura Ascanii filii Enee immutaret, et ipse per se munera que Ascanius offerre habuit Didoni offerret, dum per osculum ei amorem Enee iniceret. Cupido vero iussis matris sue obedit, quem sic deprecata est, dicens: 'Nate, mee vires et mea magna potentia solus, ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco. Cognosce Eneam fratrem tuum a Didone
 20 amari. Merito te peto ut transfigures te in faciem nepotis tui Ascanii, et Didoni per te munera offeras; et cum te in gremio acceperit letissima Dido, incendas reginam atque sibi implices ignes.' Cupido vero, ut superius dictum est, iussioni matris sue obedit et per se munera Didoni obtulit, et eam amore Enee per medullam serpivit. Et dicere habes:
 25 quando Cupido se in faciem Ascanii transfiguravit, ubinam Ascanius fuit? Respondendum est: Venus Ascanio in navi soporem immisit, atque eum

3 IV, 75

4-5 IV, 102-103

18-19 I, 664-666

21-22 I, 685

22 I, 660

1 in templum *om. Ra* eius] ei *L Ra* 2 aulam suam regiam] palatium suum *L* | Et dum in aulam regiam intrasset *post* perduxit *add. L* 3 Tunicas] Heliagas *L Tirias Ra* | urbesque paratas *L* petiit] ponit *Ri* 4 commune *L Ri* hunc] nunc *L Ra* est] erit *Ri* ac] ut *L* et *Ri* | tuus *L* | pater quem germanos *L* pater quem germanus *Ra* pariterque regnemus *Ri* 5 liceat] regias *L Ra* | figio *Ra* | serolre *L* 6 Eneas vero *Ra* 7 Agate armigero suo *L* 8 Ascanium filium meum *L* 9 regina *Ra* id est] i *Ri* | de auro *L* | et gemmis *Ri* 11 adflotitario *Ra* affrodicarium *Ri* | quem illi Andromache dedit *L* quem Andromache dederat *Ra* quod tibi Andromacha dedit *Ri* | ista *L* hiis *Ri* | omnia *L* 12 Ascanius *om. Ri* | regina *L* 13 iussioni *Ri* 15 figuram *Ri* | qua *L* 16 habet *L* | offerat *L Ri* dum] et *L om. Ra* et dum ei munera *Ri* | osculo *L* 17 Copito (*et alibi*) *L* iussioni Veneris *Ri* 18 vires] Veneris *L* | et *om. Ri* | magna *om. Ra* | et *om. Ri* 19 numina] munia *Ra* 20 Merito *om. L* | te *om. Ra* | facie Ascanii nepotis tui *L* 21 munera per te *L* | gemio *Ra* | acceperis *L* 22 atque- ignes] adquisivit inpleti signis *L* atque eius ossibus implices ignem *Ri* | 23 iussis *Ra* | Didoni munera *Ra* 24 ei *Ri* | amorem *L Ri* | medulla *L* medullas *Ri* | inserpuit *Ri* | diceres *Ra* 25 facie *L Ri* 26 navem *L* | navis operem misit ad que cum in ipsos opere tulit *Ri*

in ipso sopore tulit, et in Idalio monte, ubi diversa aromata Veneris fuerunt, constituit.

Merito Achates Cupidinem in persona Ascanii in navi invenit. Cui sic ait: 'Pater tuus mandavit ut munera tecum portes et per te regine offeras.' Cupido vero in persona Ascanii munera tulit et ad reginam una cum Achate perrexit; et dum reginam cum muneribus adoraret, eum regina in gremio suo levavit. Et dum eum osculata fuisset, per osculum amore sagittata est, et cepit cenam protrahere atque Eneam de casu Troie requirere, volens se de persona eius satiare, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant. Inde toro pater Eneas sic orsus ab alto: 'Infandum regina iubes renovare dolorem, Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum eruerint Danaï, queque ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui. Quis talia fando Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri milis Ulixi temperet a lacrimis? Et iam nox humida celo precipitat suadentque cadentia sydera sompnos. Sed si tantus amor casusque velis cognoscere nostros et breviter Troie supremum audire laborem, quamquam animus meminisse horret, incipiam.' Et antequam ad cenam introirent, iussit Dido ad naves Enee epulas multas dirigere, viginti tauros ingentes, centum terga suum, centum cum matribus agnos; letitiaque magna fuit. Quid multa? Dum cena perfecta fuisset, leverunt se omnes amici, et 'vale' regine dixerunt. Et dum amici discederent, petiit Dido Eneam ut iterato sibi utrique fialas propinarent, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Postquam prima quies epulis, menseque remote, pateras constituunt et vina coronant. Et Iovem deprecati sunt ut amorem ceptum perficerent. In qua cena fuerunt in ministerio Didonis centum famule ornate auro et gemmis [id est, quinquaginta], que domum omnem regiam aromatibus fumigabant. Quid multa?

10-17 II, 1-13

23-24 I, 723-724

26 I, 703

1 aromata diversa *L* 3 Cupidinem] Copiti ne *L* | nave *L* navem *Ri* 4 tuus tuus *Ra* 5 offerantur *Ri* | munera *om.* *L* *Ra* | regina *L* 6 una *om.* *Ri* | regina *L* 7 in] *om.* *Ra* cum in *Ri* | et per *L* *Ra* 8 cenam] Eneam *Ra* | ab Enea casus *Ri* | casus *L* 9 vellens *L* revolens *Ra* volens *Ra*¹ | describit *Ri* | FINIT post descripsit *add.* *L* 12 eruerint] tulerunt *Ri* | et queque *Ri* 13 fuit *L* | afando *L* 14 mili *L* miles *Ri* | precipita *Ra* 15 somno *L* 16 supremum Troie *Ra* Tidie supremum *Ri* 17 miminisset *Ri* | incipiam *om.* *L* *Ri* (luctu)que refugit (inci)piam *add.* in *marg.* *L*² (10 Conticuere-17 horret manus incerta fortasse *L*² per rasuram *emend.*) 18 introisset *Ri* | Enee socii *Ri* | multa *L* *om.* *Ri* viginti -suum] xx scilicet ingentes tauros centum sues *Ri* 19 ingens *L* | terga *om.* *L* 20 fuisset facta *Ri* 21 valedicentes regine discesserunt et dum omnes descenderent *L* 23 describit *Ra* | quies *om.* *Ra* 24 magnos statuunt *L* | ut vino *Ra* 25 perficeret *L* | Didonis regine *Ri* 26 ex auro *L* *Ra* | id est] et *L* | omnem domum *Ri* | domum regiam omnis aromatum *L* 27 multa] plura *Ri*

Dum cena perfecta fuisset, sibi utrique valedixerunt. Et post disces-
sum Enee cepit Dido tota nocte amore uri; et sompnum non vidit, sicut
scriptum est: Uritur infelix Dido tota(m)que bachatur per urbem fu-
rens, quomodo cerva sagittata veneno, [et] tam diu uritur quam diu
5 se in fontibus exfrigidet. Ita Dido urebatur, atque Annam sororem
suam, virginem sacram, sic alloquebatur, dicens: 'Anna soror, que me
tanta insomnia terrent? Unde Troianus iste ad litora nostra devolutus
fuisset, nimio amore eius sauciata sum.' Et dum ista geruntur, luxit
dies; et iterato Eneam alio die ad epulas petiit, et plus cepit amore
10 eius uri.

Et dum ista geruntur, Iuno contrarium habuit ut Eneas Didonem
acciperet uxorem, et cepit iunctioni Enee obviare. Hoc Venus cum
agnosceret, Iovem deprecata est ut Iunonem peteret ut condiceret iunc-
tionem eorum firmari, sicut scriptum est: Panditur interea domus omni-
15 potentis Olimphi consiliumque vocat divum pater atque hominum rex.
Et dum consilium omnium deorum convocaret, Iunonem petiit ut permit-
teret ut iuncti fuissent. Cui Iuno obediens concessit, et Veneri dixit:
'Habes tota que mente tua petisti.' Cui Venus sic ait: 'Quomodo ipsa
coniunctio poterit celebrari?' Iuno respondit: 'Ego faciam ut utrique
20 ad venationem exeant. Et dum in silvis venantur, erit necesse ut nives
et grandines immittam; et dum a vi grandinis fugiunt, in unam spelun-
cam fugientes veniant, et ibi se coniungant. Illic himeneus erit.' Non
acerba petenti. Quid multa? Luxit alia dies ut impleretur dictum
Iunonis. Dido ad Eneam mandavit ut utrique ad venationem exirent,
25 et utrique ad venationem exierunt. In tali cultu Dido exivit: in Arpalice
vestita [veste virili], calcas in pedibus, ciclade induta, fibulam habens,

3-4 IV, 68-69; IV, 666

6-7 IV, 9

14-15 X, 1-2

22-23 IV, 127

1 Dum -valedixerunt] Dum sibi utrique fialas propinarent vale sibi dixerunt et abinvicem discesserunt
L sibi utrique] adinvicem osculati sunt et Ri 2 nocte cogitare et Ri uri] illius uni Ri
| et om. Ri | videre L Ra 3 bachatur] vacatur L nocte vagatur Ri | urbe L 4 et] ut Ra |
ureretur L Ra 5 exfrigidet L exfrigidavit Ra exfrigidet Ri urebatur] fernebat Ri 6 que]
quare Ra 7 Unde ut L Utinam ut Ri nostra] non Ri 8 nimii amoris L 9 iam die alio
Eneam L | plusquam L 11 contrario habuit ut L nimium doluit et Ri 12 acceperit L | in
uxorem Ri iunctioni] Iuno Ri 13 peteret] precaret L^a | ut concedere L et concederet Ri | iunc-
tionem L 14 impotentis Ra 15 conciliumque (et infra) L Ri hominum] omnium Ra 16
vocaret Ri | permetterent et iuncti fuissent L ut coniungere permetteret Ri 18 qua L quod Ra |
tota mente Ri | tua om. Ra 19 ut om. L Ri | utrosque ad venandum Ri 20 exire L Ri |
venaverint L | erit ut novem (et om.) L | nivem grandinis Ra 21 emittam L Ra | a vim L (m
rasit L^a) a nive Ra ambo Ri | grandines fugerint Ri | una spelunca L Ra 22 fugiens L om. Ri
23 adcerbam L ad cervam Ra | potenti Ri | implerentur Ri | dictu L dicta Ri 24 ad Eneam] ad
Eneam Ra Enee Ri ad venationem] venatui Ri 25 et dum L | tali enim Ri | Dido ante In L | ut
in Ri 26 viri altas L virili artas Ra Ri | ciclades indicta Ri | fibula L Ri

alte cincta; atque vittam ex auro et gemmis super comam capitis sui
constrinxit. Similiter et Eneas zaban indutus, galea cristata, in Martem
una cum Ascanio filio suo et cum Didone exierunt. Et dum in silvam
venerunt, optant aprum aut leonem de monte descendere. Et dum
venantur, subito secundum dictum Iunonis nubes facta est. De qua nube
cepit grando venire. Hec videns, Dido se in speluncam recepit. Eneas
vero nesciens remeando etiam ipse in eandem speluncam receptus est,
ubi Didonem inveniens cum ea concubuit, et utrique se in amorem suum
satiaverunt. Ecce qualiter Dido Enee coniuncta est! Etiam non potuit
Dido furtivum celare amorem; extemplo Libie magna fit fama per urbes,
fama malum qua non aliud velocius ullum (mobilitate viget, viresque
adquirat eundo), que se ad nubila tulit. Quid multa?

Ipsa fama de coniunctione Didonis et Enee ad regem magnum Iarbam
pervenit. Et audito hoc erexit ad sidera palmas, et se ante aras centum
quas Iovi condiderat in facie prostravit; et Iovem tali voce deprecabatur,
dicens: 'Iupiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis gens epulata thoris
Leneum libat honorem, ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.
Audis, genitor qui fulmina torques, ut Dido connubia nostra despexerit,
cui nos solum ut maneret concessimus; atque Eneam advenam in regno
recepit.' Audit omnipotens, et oculos suos ad menia torsit. Et ad se
Quillenium [id est, Mercurium] vocat, quem sic alloquitur atque talia
mandat: 'Vade age, nate, voca tibi Zephiros; Dardaniumque ducem,
Tirie Cartaginis qui nunc arces locat, sic alloquere, atque celerius perferes

10-12 IV, 173-177
23 IV, 260

16-17 IV, 206-208

17 I, 666

20 IV, 220

22-p.36, I IV, 223-226

1 alto *L Ri* | cinctam *L vittam* | victam *Ra* vinctam *Ri* | coma *L om. Ri* | caput eius construxit *Ri*
2 et *om. L* | zaba *Ra* | galeam cristatam *Ri Martem* | Martes figura *L parte Ri* 3 et *om. L Ra* |
silva *L Ra* 4 venirent *Ri aprum* aut] primum *Ra* | descenderent *L* | Et venantes *Ra* 5
venarentur *L facta* | nata *Ri* | De nube grando exivit *Ri* 6 spelunca *Ra* 7 nesciens *om. Ri*
| raniando *L ramando Ra Ri* etiam- est] se in speluncam recepit *Ri* | eadem *L* 8 Didone *L* | eam
L | in *om. L* in -satiaverunt] amore satiaverant *Ra* 9 Et ecce Dido qualiter *Ri* | Et etiam *Ri* |
Et iam Dido non potuit *Ra* 10 exemplum *L exemplo Ra Ri* | Livie dedit *L* | fame *Ri* | orbem
Ri 11 fama que *L famamque Ri* | malum *om. L Ri* qua] quod *L Ra om. Ri* | ullam *L bellum Ri*
12 adquiret et non adquiret *Ri* | eundo *om. L Ri* | cet non adque sese *L* qui se *Ra* que se *om. Ri* |
tollit *Ri* 13 de *om. Ra* | Iarbum *Ra* 14 Ut audiit *Ra* | erigit *L Ri* 15 Iovinus *Ra* |
faciem *Ri* | Iovi *Ri* | vocem deprecatur *L* 16 maioris apictis *Ri* | gens -honorem *post* ad te
-posco *MSS* | epulantur ibi eum libat *L* 17 lieum levat *Ri* | numina] munia *Ra* 18 Audi-
diens ne *L* | despiceret *L connupta Ri* 19 nos] non *Ri* | et manere *L* ut manere *Ri* atque] ut que
Ri 20 Audiens *L omnes Ri* omnipotens] spiritus *Ri* | et *om. L Ri* | ad] a *L* | ad me mator sit *Ra*
21 Quillium *L Quillinum Ra* 22 tibi Zephiros] tibi phiros *L Zephirus Ri* | duce *L Ri* 23
arcus loca *L* | locant *Ri* | perferis *L perferens Ri*

mea dicta per auras. Et dic ei: "Credo quia sic tibi fata censuerunt ut regnum Italiae obtineres, non solum tu sed et nati natorum et qui nascuntur ab illis. Et posuisti te in amorem mulieris, et dimisisti regnum tibi devotum; sed si te tantus habet amor mulieris, vel Ascanium filium tuum
 5 permitte ut regnum sibi devotum obtineat." ' Hec dum Iupiter Mercurio dixisset, Mercurius in acra Cartaginis venit, et Enee singula superius dicta narravit. Cui primo Eneas non obedivit, deinde secundo admonitus neglexit. Tertia vero vice inter ipsum et Didonem odia excitavit, ut diceret Didoni: 'Dimittere te vult Eneas et ducere se.' Et Enee dixit:
 10 'Noli habere fidem Didoni quia cogitat de nece tua, quia varia et mutabilis semper femina est.' Et dum ista geruntur, ceperunt se non integre amare. Et cepit eum Dido increpare, dicens: 'Credo quia te maritum suscepi et semper amavi, atque populo tuo benefeci et in regno meo cum populo meo commiscui; et tu me vis dimittere.' Cui Eneas fincte dicebat
 15 non se eam dimissurum. Quid multa? Eneas occulte sociis suis mandavit ut naves in mare mitterent atque necessarias epulas in navibus imponerent. Quid multa? Dum naves iam preparate fuissent a sociis suis, ei nuntiatum est omnia iam preparata fuisse; et per noctem Didonem in lecto dormientem dimisit, et occulte ad naves ascendit, et spatam
 20 suam ad caput lecti dimisit. Et dum naves ascenderet, navigare cepit. Quid multa?

Illuxit dies, et Dido experrecta in alto se collocavit. Et dum naves Enee exsuperantes iam in longinquo videret, reversa ad lectum suum, Annam sororem suam alloquitur, dicens: 'Vade ad templum Iunonis et
 25 consule si Eneas ad nos revertetur.' Et dum Anna ad templum pergeret, respiciens Dido vidit spatam Enee ad caput lecti sui pendere. Dolore nimio ducta, sic lamentari cepit: 'Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi, et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago. Urbem preclaram

10-11 IV, 569-570

14-15 Cf. IV, 333-361

28-p.37, 3 IV, 653-658

1 aures *L Ri* 2 nascentur *Ra nascutur Ri* 3 amore *L* | et -devotum *om. L Ra* 4 te
om. L Ri | habes amorem *Ri* 5 tibi *Ri* 6 acra] aera *L Ra ara Ri* | Cartaginem *L* 7
primum *L* | Eneas dicto *Ri* 9 Eneas *om. Ri* | dixerunt *Ra* 10 fidem] foede *L* nece tua] tua
nece *L* te *Ra* 11 est *om. Ra* 12 amari *L* 13 suscepit *L* 14 miscui *Ri* | fecte *Ra*
15 se] esse *Ri* occulte] *om. Ra* occulte Eneas *Ri* 16 necessaria *L* 17 Et dum omnia prepar-
assent eis (prepararent ei *Ra*) nuntiatum est *post* imponerent *add. L Ra* | iam] ita *Ra* | preparatas *L*
18 est et *Ri* et *ante* per *om. Ri* | nocte Didone *L* 19 in lecto *alterum add. Ri* | descendit *L* |
spathi sua *L* 20 lectuli *L* | navibus recipit *L* in navibus se recepit *Ra* 22 experrecta] experta
dum Eneas non inveniret navem ascendit et *L* experta *Ri* se collocavit] collavit *L* collabitur *Ri*
23 exsuperans *L Ra* exsuperantes *Ri* | videre *L* | lectulum *L* 24 suam sic *Ri* 25 consulere
L Ri | revertitur *L* | Annam *L* | ad *om. Ri* 26 lectuli *L* 27 se lamentare *L Ra* Vixi et]
Exiet *L* Exiit *Ra* | curso *L* cursu *Ra* 28 magna eis *L* magnam ei *Ra* ibit] sibi *L* | preclara *L*

statui, mea menia vidi. Hoc viro penas inimico a fratre recepi. Felix, eu nimium felix, si litora tantum Dardanie numquam tetigissent nostra carine.' Dixerat, atque illam mediam inter talia ferro conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore spumantem sparsasque manus. It clamor ad alta atria, cum ipsa bachatur fama per urbem. Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu tecta fremunt; resonat magnis clamoribus ether. 5 Non sic, nisi quod immissis hostibus, resonaret omnis Carthago aut antiqua Thiro(s). Quid plura? Dum Anna soror eius ab ea ad templum descenderet, se Dido spata Enee interfecit. Quam Anna soror eius, ut consuetudo antiquorum habuit, incendit, et cinerem eius in 10 Liburno litrino iuxta cinerem Sichei mariti sui posuit.

Eneas vero navigans ad Siciliam iterato devolutus est. Ubi veniens ad tumulum patris sui perrexit, et ei cum magna gratulatione anniversarium celebravit. Et exinde navigans, ad Italiam venit. Et primo ad Hostiam civitatem que iuxta portum urbis est iunxit. Ibi de navibus 15 descendens urbem introivit; et dum eam circuiret, vidit extra urbem aggerem lapideum, super quem castra construere iussit, ubi omnes divitias suas vel sociorum suorum sub tuitione includeret nec non et ubi maneret.

Et dum castra edificantur, Eneas sub castra super ora Tiburini fluminis 20 sub opaca se iactavit. Et dum sub opaca iaceret, cives eiusdem civitatis ad eum accedentes dixerunt: 'Domine rex,' inquit, 'de qua provincia es tu, vel que ratio fecit te huc ad nostram urbem venire?' Quibus Eneas respondit: 'Ego sum Eneas, Veneris et Anchise filius, civis Troianus, gener quondam Priami regis Troianorum; et dum Troia civitas nostra a 25 Grecis expugnaretur et periret, admonitus ex precepto deorum quia hic

3-8 IV, 663-670

1 Hoc vero *L* ut auro *Ri* | inimici *L* | a *om. Ra* | recepit *L* 2 eu] ea *Ra* si] sub *L* | Dardanio *L*
Dardanii *Ri* | nostre *L Ri* 3 illa *L* | mediam *om. L Ra* | taliam *Ri* | conlapsa *L* 4 commi-
tem sensimque *L* | cruorem *L Ri* It] Hinc *L om. Ri* 5 cum- femineo *om. L Ra* 6 ululatus
testa *L Ra* | resonant *Ri* 7 quid *Ra* | immensis hostibus *L* immensi sortibus *Ra* | resonant *Ra* |
omnes *L* 8 Dum *om. Ra* ab ea ad] habea *L* 9 discessisset *Ra* Dido] itaque *L* | de spata *L*
Ra | Quem *L* 10 antiquorum *om. Ri* | habet *L* erat *Ri* cinerem eius] *om. L* cineres eius *Ri*
11 Liburno] urna *Ri* | litrina *L Ra* electrina *Ri* | iuxta *om. L* | cinere eius misit et iuxta cinere *L* cineres
Ri 12 Sicilia *L* Ciciliam *Ra* | iterum *Ra* 13 anniversaria *Ra* 14 Et *om. Ri* 15
Hostiam *om. L Ra* | civitate *L* | orbis *Ra* est urbis *Ri* | Ubi *Ra* 16 ubi eam circuisset *Ri* | vidit
om. Ri 17 aggere *L* | lapideum unum *Ri* construere] constituere *L* ubi] ut *Ri* 18 suas *om.*
L | tuitione] divitione *L Ra* | includuntur *Ri* 20 ista geruntur et ante castra *add. Ri* ora] horam
Ri 21 se iactavit et ante iaceret *add. Ri* 22 ascendentes *L* | dicentes ante dixerunt *add. Ri*
| Domine inquit rex de qua tu es provincia *L Ra* 23 te ratio fecit *L Ra* urbem] provinciam *Ri* |
veniret *L* 24 cives *Ra* 25 quondam] que *Ra* 26 deorum precepto *Ri*

mihi regnum devotum est, de Troia post excidium eius cum viginti navibus vel cum sociis quos mecum videtis exivi. Et huc ad vos secundum preceptum deorum perrexi. Et iracundia Iunonis faciente, in mare per septem annos iactatus sum. Deinde tempestate nimia cogente, ad
 5 Cartaginem iactatus sum, ubi a Didone regina, que ipsam urbem condidit, susceptus sum. Que Dido amore incensa se mihi in matrimonium coniunxit. Et dum cum ea apud Cartaginem essem, nuntio deorum admonitus sum ut eam dimitterem et huc ad Italiam pro regno percipiendo perexirem. Et quia preceptum deorum contempnere non potui, memora-
 10 tam Didonem dimisi et huc ad vos perveni.' Cui cives responderunt: 'Quomodo hic regnum poteris habere, quando Latinus rex noster est, Fauni regis filius, nepos Pici regis? Qui Picus filius fuit Saturni. Et iste Latinus rex noster, super exercitum magnum quem habere videtur, iunxit sibi etiam generum nomine Turnum Dauni regis filium. Qui
 15 Turnus cum exercitu magno pro Lavinia filia eius, ut eam in coniugio accipiat, ad eum venit; et iam duplex factus est exercitus. Quomodo eis poteris prevalere ut regnum obtineas et ipsos de regno pellas?' Et cum hec dixissent, discesserunt.

Eneas vero dum ista a civibus Hostiensibus audiret, in eodem loco
 20 super ora Tiberini fluminis cor eius conturbari cepit. Et dum tribulatur, se ei sopor immisit, et in ipso sopore numen eiusdem fluminis per somnium eum alloquitur, dicens: 'Noli conturbari a dictis que tibi cives huius civitatis dixerunt. Quia regnum tibi promissum non poteris obtinere noli cogitare; regnum enim obtinebis, et Laviniam filiam Latini regis in
 25 coniugio accipies. Sed ne hoc vanum putes, ego huius Tiberini fluminis numen sum qui tecum loquor. Sed vade et constitue Ascanium filium tuum in hac munitione, et dimitte cum eo armatos viros; et ascende per me hic ad Evandrum regem, qui in septem montibus sedes habere videtur, quia hic Evander inimicitias habet cum Latino rege. Sed quia parvulus
 30 est in populo, merito ei non prevalet, et querit sibi auxilium qualiter cum

1 mihi *om. Ra* | devotus *L* | Et de Troia cum xx navibus post excidium *Ri* 2 vel *om. Ri* | vides
L Ra | Et *om. L Ra* 3 precepta *Ra* | perexire *L* | iracundiam *L* 5 Cartagine *L* | urbem et
Ri 6 matrimonia *Ri* 7 eam *L* | Cartaginensem civitatem *Ri* | nuntia *L* 8 sum *om.*
L Ri | adhuc *Ri* | regnum percipiendum *L* 9 pergerem *Ra* perrexi *Ri* 9 memoratum *L*
 10 dimisi Didonem *Ri* | perexivi *L* perrexi *Ri* 11 quando] cum *Ri* | rex noster Latinus sit *Ri*
 14 Drauni *Ri* 15 exercitum magnum *L* 18 hec *om. Ri* 19 cum ista civibus osten-
 20 flulumi *Ri* cor eius] corde *Ra* 21 numen] nomen *MSS* | somnis *L Ra*
 22 ad eum loquitur *Ri* | addicta *L* tibi] isti *Ra* 23 non *om. L Ra* | eum obtinere *L* | regnum
 -cogitare iterum *add. Ri* 24 enim *om. L Ra* 25 Sed- putes iterum *add. Ra* | ne] nec *L* | ego
 sum *Ri* 26 numen sum] nomen *L Ri* 27 per navem per me *Ri* 30 quere *Ri*

eo dimicare possit. Ergo iunge te cum eo, et necesse est ut ambo contra eum dimicetis. Et ut dictis meis credas, cum ceperis navigare, admediato itinere invenes super ora fluminis sub arbore ilicis suam albam iacentem—triginta capitum fetus enixa, alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati. Hic locus urbis est.’ Et dicere habes: qui fuerunt septem montes 5
ubi Evander regnabat, vel qui fuit tipus porce que triginta porcellos generaverat? Respondendum est: septem montes ubi Evander fuit—id est Aventinus, Tarpeius, Vaticanus, Iacolens, vel alii tres—ipsi sunt ubi post multos annos Roma a Romulo de Ilia matre nato condita est. Porca vero que triginta filios procreavit tipum ostendit ubi Albana civitas 10
condita est. Merito Albana cognominata est, quia ubi porca ei apparuit, ibi Albana a Postumo Silvio filio Enee de Lavinia nato post mortem Enee condita est. Et Albana ab alba porca nomen accepit.

Redeamus ad causam. Eneas vero, dum a numine fluminis visitatus fuisset, ad castra introivit, et Ascanium filium suum vel omnes socios 15
suos fortissimos viros ad se vocari iussit. Quos allocutus est, dicens: ‘Commendo vobis castra vel Ascanium filium meum necnon et omnes divitias quas nobiscum portamus, ne hostes subripiant et omnes a nobis diripiant; quia ego ad Evandrum regem pro auxilio ab eo petendo iturus sum.’ Et dum filium vel socios alloqueretur, navem ascendit. Assump- 20
sit secum aliquos de suis fortissimos viros et per Tiberinum fluvium ad Evandrum regem navigare cepit. Qui dum navigaret, admediato itinere navigii invenit sub arbore ilicis suam cum triginta filiis et de ea sacrificium obtulit; et signum in eodem loco posuit ut appareret ubi postea Albana civitas condi deberet. Quid multa? Dum ad sedes Evandri Eneas 25
veniret, vise sunt naves eius venire. Illi vero, videntes naves quas non

3-5 VIII, 43-46

11-13 Cf. VI, 763 sqq.

1 possis dimicare *Ri* | Ergo] illo *L Ra* iunge te cum eo] coniunge tecum *L* | erit *Ri* 2 credatis *L*
admediato] ad me ducto *Ra* 4 fetum enixam *Ra* | albo colore cubans *L Ri* 5 fuerint *L*
6 regnavit *L* regnaret *Ra* 7 genuerat *Ra* fuit] regnabat *Ri* 8 jaculen *Ri* 9 natus *L*
10 Qui vero porca *L* | Albano (*et alibi*) *L Ra* | civitas- Albana *om. Ri* 11 ibi *Ra* | ei porca *Ra*
12 ubi *L Ra* | a *om. Ri add. Ri* | Postumio (*et alibi*) *L Ra* | Silvio *om. Ri* | Lavinia *L* | morte *L* 13
Albana civitas *L* | nomen *om. Ri* 14 causa *L* | redeamus ad causam *iterum add. Ra* | a nomen *L*
ad numen *Ra* anomine *Ri* | invitatus *Ra* 15 castram *L* 16 Quos] Quem omnes viros *L*
Quod sic *Ri* 17 et *om. Ra* 18 portavimus *Ra* | nec per hostes subripiantur *Ri* | obripiant
Ra | omnia *Ri* 19 auxilia ab eo petenda *L* auxiliis ab eo petend(is?) *Ri* 20 assumptis *Ri*
21 fortissimis viris *Ra* | per *om. Ri* fluvium] filium *Ra* 22 navigare cepissent *L Ra* 23
navigii sui *L* | ilice *L* | filios *L* de ea] de *Ri* 24 ut appareret *om. L Ra* 25 condi deberet]
condita est *L Ra* | Et quid *L Ra* 26 venissent *L* properaret *Ri*

cognoverunt, pavore ducti armaverunt se et contra Eneam armati occurrerunt. Quos dum Eneas armatos videret, de nave ipse ramum olive levavit, ostendens se pacatum venire. Hoc dum videret Pallas filius Evandri Enee obvius venit et veneranter eum de nave suscepit; et dum
 5 de nave descenderet, ad Evandrum venit. Qui Evander eadem die cum omni populo suo sacrificium Herculi obtulerat et diem solemnem celebrabat. Illa de causa, quia Cacus filius Vulcani [qui] armenta, dum adviveret, in ipsis montibus devastabat, et eadem die contigit ut eum Hercules occideret, propter quod monstro et devastatore ipsa provincia
 10 caruerat, natalis per singulos annos ibidem in Aventino monte, ubi nunc Roma condita est, Herculi celebrabatur. Et contigit ut, sicut superius dictum est, Eneas eadem die ibidem venit et sic invenit Evandrum regem cum omni populo suo natalem Herculi celebrantem; quem digne suscepit, et eum ad epulum petiit. Cui sic Eneas ait: 'Me meumque obieci caput,
 15 et supplex ad limina veni; hoc est, non ad te legatos direxi sed per me veni, ut mihi auxilium prestes contra Latinum regem Laurentine urbis vel Turnum, quem sibi generum invenit; quia ex admonitione deorum huc devolutus sum, qui hoc me admonuerunt ut regnum huius provincie accipiam et Laviniam filiam Latini in coniugio habeam. Et dum hic in
 20 Hostia civitate cum meis venirem, per somnium a Tiberino flumine commonitus sum ut huc ad te pergam et a te auxilium petam, quia dictum est mihi etiam te cum eo inimicitiam habere. Merito peto ut nos utrique coniungamus et contra inimicos dimicemus.' Evander vero Enee dixit: 'Iube ut epulas consumemus; et hinc ad sedes meas pergamus, et ibi de
 25 eis que postulas ordinabimus.' Quid multa? Dum epulas perficerent, sic Evander cum omni populo suo ad sedes suas se recepit. Cum quo etiam Eneas comitatus est.

1 cognovere *Ra* nunquam noverant *Ri* | pavore -se *om. Ri* | et *om. Ra Ri* | contra Eneam *om. L Ra*
 2 Eneas *om. Ra* | venire vidissent *L* | de nave *om. Ri* | ipse Eneas *L Ra* 3 veniret *L* 4
 obvius Enee *Ra* 5 ascenderet *Ra* 6 suo *om. L Ra* 8 adviverent *L Ri* | et *om. Ri* |
 eandem diem *L Ra* 9 pro quod *L* et pro quo *Ri* | monstrum vel devastatorem *L* monstrum vel
 devastatorem *Ra* 10 caruerat] casum erat *Ri* | natalem *L Ra* 11 celebratur *Ra* | Et ita
 contigit ut superius *Ri* | superius *om. L Ra* 12 eadem *om. Ra* ibidem] ubi *L* ibi *Ri* | veniret *Ri* |
 et *om. L* | regem *om. L Ra* 13 omni *om. Ri* | celebrantes *Ri* quem digne] et tempus *L Ra*
 14 epulas *L* | obici *L* obiecit *Ri* 17 sibi] sivi *L* 18 huc] hic *L om. Ra* | volutus *Ra* | quia *L*
Ra | admoverunt *Ri* 19 accipiam] obtineam *L* | regi Latini *L* | in Hostia civitate] ad eius civi-
 tatem *L* civitatem *Ra* 20 cum meis *om. L* | veniret *L* | per sompni ammonitionem Tiberini
 fluminis *Ri* 21 hic *L Ra* | pergerem *L Ra* | petirem *L* 22 etiam -habere] quomodo tu cum
 eo inimicitias habes *Ri* eo] cum *L* peto ut] est ut *L om. Ra* 23 iungamus *Ri* | inimicos nostros
L | vero vero *Ri* 24 consument *Ra* consumē *Ri* 25 eis] ea *L* ea re *Ra* | ordinemus *Ri* |
 perfecerunt *Ra* 26 se recepit] venit *L* recepit *Ri* Cum quo] Eum *Ri*

Et cum ad sedes Evander veniret et more fuissent de exercitu Enee dando, Iuno, quia Enee inimicabatur ut nosset coram Eneam sibi auxilium contra Turnum ab Evandro petere, ad Turnum Allecto furiam misit. Cui sic ait: 'Posuisti te apud Laurentinam civitatem luxiare inter mulieres; et ecce Eneas Troianus venit, et vult te de regno expellere et Laviniam sponsam tuam a te separare et sibi coniungere. Qui Eneas filium suum Ascanium apud Hostiam civitatem cum paucis viris armatis dimisit, et ipse ad Evandrum regem ad petenda contra te auxilia perexivit. Ergo modo vade celerius; duc tecum exercitum et ad Hostiam perge, et ipso absente filium eius cum omnibus quos secum habere videtur interfice, ne, dum hoc lentaveris, incipias sponsam tuam perdere et de regno exire.' Quid multa? Turnus admonitus a Iunone se armavit et parato exercitu ad filium Enee perrexit.

Et dum ibi veniret, castra ubi filius Enee fuit cum exercitu circumdedit. Et cepit filius Enee a Turno conturbari; et dum iam vellet manus dare

1 Et cum-4 Cui sic ait] Cum atque Eneas ab Evandro discessisset cogitans, cepit requirere oportuna sibi belli auxilia, que plurima ipse a Tuscis accepit. Cui Massicus princeps mille viros cum navibus dedit, quorum pars Clusim, pars Chosas habitabant. Horum etiam alii sagitarii, alii vero optimi erant bellatores. Venit etiam Abas, cuius agmen optimis atque pulcherrimis et decoris armis fulgebat; et in cuius navi Apollo auro depictus erat. Populania vero mater DC fortissimos dedit viros, ut Virgilius ait: Sexcentos illi dabat Populania mater. Ilba insula CCC, ut Virgilius ait: Ast Ilba CCC. Que insula pre ceteris metallis habundat. Pisa atque Tuscie civitas nobilissima dedit ei milites mille bello expertissimos, densos acie atque horrentibus hastis. Quibus Adsiles astronomicus mirabilis et augur futurorumque prescius princeps constitutus est. Que civitas predicta in Tuscia a Pelopide Tantali filio constructa et hedificata est. Apud eam exulans Astur etiam pulcherrimus et equo nobilis sequitur. Preter hos qui habitabant Cerete domo dant CCC viros diversorum colorum armis indutos. Et qui habitabant martus [Aen. in arvis] Mimionis veniunt; et veteres Pirgi et intempeste Gravisie similiter venerunt cum istis. Hos omnes habuit in sui auxilium Eneas a Tuscis. A Liguriis atque hos in auxilium habuit. Cinirus fortissimus bello ductor Ligurum venit, sequiturque Cupavus cum paucis eiusdem Capavi. Filius sequitur comitatus equales catervas classes. Et Ocirus filius Mantos prophetisse qui hedificavit Mantuam imposuitque ei nomen de nomine matris venit. Iuno autem, cum Eneam ab amicis petentem auxilia videret, et tot cum Enea ad dimicandum cum Turno sensisse venire, ad Turni lectum furiam misit, eique sic ait. [cf. Aen. x, 166-200] *Ri* 1 sedes suas *L* | mora *L* | dando Enee *L* 2 quia] que *Ra* | nosse *L* coram] *om.* *L* caro *Ra* 3 contra Turno *L* | furia *L* 4 Laurentina civitate *L* | luxuriari *Ri* 5 et *om.* *Ri* | Eneas autem Troianus ecce venit *Ri* et] ecce *Ra* | vultque te expellere de regno *Ri* expellere] excludere *Ra* 6 Lavinia *L* | iungere *L* *Ra* 7 Arcanum filium suum *Ri* | Hostia *L* 8 ad- perexivit] ad petendum auxilium Evandro aliisque provinciis sicque modo cum omni belli apparatu rever(t)entur *Ri* 9 Ergo vade modo *L* Vade ergo *Ri* | et duc *L* ducque *Ri* | exercitus *L* | et-interfice] eumque patre absente interfice cum omnibus quos secum habet *Ri* 10 videtur habere *Ra* 11 ne] et nec *L* ne- exire] et ne moreris ne sponsam tuam similiter cum regno admittas *Ri* | regnum *L* 12 multum *Ra* | atque monitus *Ri* parato] cum *L* *Ra* 13 ad] contra *Ri* | perexivit *L* surrexit *Ri* 14 Et dum- conturbari] Dumque ad castra filii Enee Ascanii venisset et ea undique circumvenit cepitque eum Turnus fortiter conturbare *Ri* | exercitum *L* 15 dum] cum *Ra* | velit *Ri*

et se Turno tradere, quidam adolescentes, duo amici (id est, Nisus et Eurialus), Ascanio filio Enee dixerunt: 'Noli tam cito festinare te tradere; sed quid nobis daturus eris, si nos per hostes in nocte interrumpimus et post patrem tuum ad Evandrum pergimus, ut cum exercitu superveniat
 5 et nos de manu hostium liberet?' Ascanius vero, ut audivit dicta Nisi et Euriali, eos cum lacrimis precari cepit, ut, si hoc quod locuti sunt perficerent, sibi eos fratres faceret et regnum inter se dividerent atque munera magna eis daret. Et dum hec Ascanius promitteret, patere eis oblate sunt; et se utrique, dum biberent, per sacramenta constrinxerunt
 10 omnia superius memorata se impleturos. Quid multa?

Dum biberent Ascanio valefecerunt, postea vero matribus suis, et nocte silente per muros depositi sunt. Qui dum de muro descenderent, se utrique allocuti sunt, dicentes debere se ad papilionem Turni dirigere et in somnum eum interficere. Et dum hec dixissent, consilium utrique
 15 placuit, et se per medios hostes miserunt; et ceperunt ad papilionem Turni velle pervenire, quia talis fuit in hostibus sopor ut etiam equi eorum solo strati iacerent et nemo fuit qui expergisceretur. Et dum ad papilionem Turni tendunt, venerunt ad papilionem Ramnetis auguris Turni qui ei futura pronuntiabat; et dum ad papilionem venerunt, vident eum cultu
 20 regali fuisse ornatum; estimantes esse ipsum papilionem Turni, super Ramnetem introierunt et invenerunt eum somno vinoque sepultum iacentem in tapetis regalibus nudo pectore, et eum gladio interfecerunt. Et tulerunt arma eius—id est, scutum auro gemmisque rigentem, galeam similiter necnon et vaginam eius vel hastas. Et iam remeantes gaudio
 25 pleni putantes se Turnum occidisse, ceperunt in transitu suo per papiliones quantoscumque potuerunt interficere; et dum iam luciferum oriri viderent, sibi invicem dixerunt: 'Exeamus hinc quia lux inimica propinquat.' Ramnes vero, qui futura pronuntiabat, sibi mortem futuram

27-28 IX, 355

1 amici Enee *Ri* 2 Aurialus *Ri* | te *om. Ra* 3 si] et *L Ra* | in *om. Ri* | interrumpemus *L*
 interrumpamus *Ra* 4 pereximus *L Ra* ut] et *Ri* 5 nos] te *L* | manibus *Ri* | liberaret *Ra* |
 dicto Niso et Eurialo *Ra* 6 deprecari *L* | hec que *Ri* 7 faceret] fateret *L* inter se] in tres *Ri*
 8 eis *om. Ri* dum] cum *Ra* | pateras *MSS* | ei *L* eius *Ri* 9 oblata *MSS* | bibunt *L* per sacra-
 menta] sacramento *Ri* 10 memorata] nominata *Ri* se] esse *L om. Ri* | impleturi *L* 11
 biberunt *Ra* et nocte] enocte *Ri* 12 murum *Ri* | deposite *Ra* expositi *Ri* 14 dixisset *L* |
 utrisque *L Ri* 16 talibus *Ra* solo strati] soporati *Ri* 17 expergiscerent *L* | papilione *L*
 18 Samnitis (*et alibi*) *Ra* 19 venirent *Ri* | eum *om. L Ra* 20 estimans *L Ra* costimantes
Ri | ipsum esse *Ri* 22 interficerunt *Ra* 23 tulerunt] fuerunt *L Ra* | scuto *L Ra* | aureum
Ri | rigente *Ra* | galea *L Ra* 24 vagina *L Ra* | asta *L Ra* 25 occidissent *L* | papilionem *L*
 26 quoscumque *Ra* | potuissent *L* invenerunt *Ra* | interficeret *L* 27 vidissent *L* 28
 Ramnes *L*²

videre non potuit, sicut scriptum est: Non potuit augurio depellere pestem. Nisus vero et Eurialus, dum multos interficerent, de papilionibus exierunt; et dum iter tendunt post Eneam, se de armis Ramnetis ornaverunt, et cepit contra lunam galea dimicare, quia tales gemmas ipsa galea habuit que contra lunam dimicarent. Et dum iter intendunt, contigit ut Vulcens comes Latini regis cum trecentis scutariis post Turnum a Latino directis transiret, sicut scriptum est: Ecce equites properant ab urbe Latina, tercentum scutati omnes Vulcente magistro. Et dum Nisus et Eurialus strepitum venientium sentirent, se de via inter spissa silvarum tulerunt. Illi vero venientes viderunt galeas et scuta contra lunam dimicare. Voce magna clamaverunt: 'Heu,' inquit, 'iuvenes, qui estis, aut quo tenditis iter?' Illi vero eis nullum responsum dederunt. Vulcens vero cum sociis, dum nullum ab eis responsum audiret, ceperunt in equos eos sagittare et eos fibraverunt. Nisus vero inter spissa silve eis de manu exivit, et dum se liberum videret, lunam vel omnia sidera deprecatus est, dicens: 'O Latina, dea omnium siderum, peto a te ut hasta mea quam sub eventu iactavero non cadat vacua in terram sed cum vulnere hostium cadat.' Et dum hastam iactaret, occidit unum. Iterato alium misit et secundum elidit. Tertia vero vice ipsum Vulcentem comitem vulneravit. Et dum ista contingerent, ceperunt plus in Eurialo exardescere et eum velle interficere. Eurialus vero, ut se vidit ab hostibus comprimi, cepit magna voce clamare: 'Nise, bone frater et amice, subveni.' Nisus vero, ut sensit Eurialum amicum suum ab hostibus opprimi, dolens mortem amici [is qui iam evaserat], maluit cum amico suo occidi, seque hostibus obtulit, dicens: 'Me me, assum qui feci;

1-2 IX, 328

8 IX, 370

11-12 IX, 376-377

25 IX, 427

1 sicut -potuit *om. L* | auguri *Ri* 2 Auxialus *Ri* 3 et dum *om. Ri* | Samnitis (*et infra*) *L*
4 luna *L* tales] tele *L* | in ipsa *Ra* 5 qui *L Ra* | contra luna *L* | dum *om. Ra* | intendunt] incedunt *Ri* 6 Vulcens] Uliesses *Ri* | Turno *L* turtum *Ri* 7 directi *L* directis *Ra* directos *Ra*
enletius *Ri* | transire *L Ra* 8 ad urbem Lautinam *Ri* | trecentum scutariorum *Ra om. Ri* | omnes] *om. Ra* omnem *Ri* | Ulscentem (*et alibi*) *Ri* 9 strepitus *Ri* | sentirent] audirent *Ri* | spissas *Ri* 10 videntes et venientes *Ri* | galeam vel scutum *L Ra* 11 luna *L* | iuvenis *Ra*
12 nullum eis responsum *L* nullum responsum ei *Ra* 13 Ulces (*et infra*) *L* | sociis suis *L* | responsum ab eis *Ri* | audire *L* 14 eos] eo *Ra* fibraverunt] sybilaverunt *Ri* | spissas *Ri* | silva *L*
silvarum *Ri* 15 manu] lino *Ri* | se *om. Ra* vel] et *Ri* 16 Latini *L* luna *L* Latinia *Ri* | a dea omniumque sidera peto *L* | a *om. L Ra* 17 astam meam *L Ra* eventu] vento *L Ra* | terra *Ri*
18 asta *L* 19 alio *Ra* | misso iactavit *L Ra* | alidit *Ri* | tertium *L Ra* | vicit et *L* 20 contigerunt *Ra* 22 opprimit *L* | voce magna *L magna om. Ri* | frater bone *L* 23 ome post amice *add. Ri* 24 comprimi *Ra* | invaserat *Ri* | maluit eum *L* 25 suo *om. Ri* | occidere *L* occideri *Ra* seque] se *L om. Ra* | qui assum *Ra*

in me convertite ferrum, o Rutili! Mea fraus omnis; iste nec ausus nec aliquid potuit.' Et dum hec dixisset, se hostibus moriturum obtulit. Et dum ambo ab hostibus caperentur, interfecti sunt, et capit aeorum in hastis posuerunt. Et sic ad Turnum prima luce venerunt. Ubi
 5 venientes luctus magnos in papilionibus de morte Ramnetis vel aliorum invenerunt, et satis inter se musitabant quisnam ausus esset temerarie in papilionibus introire et talia committere. Et dum ista disputantur, Vulcens, ut superius dictum est, cum capitibus eorum qui ista commiserant venit, et dixit: 'Ecce hii sunt qui istud facinus commiserunt.' Et
 10 dum hoc Turnus videret, ipsa capita in hasta secum portans, ad castra Enee venit. Et dum illis capita Nisi et Euriali ostenderet, nuntius ad matres eorum pervenit. Que dum audissent, cum magna lamentatione se per muros proiecerunt et mortue sunt. Quid plura?

Turnus vero cepit ad castra validissime pugnare. Et dum Ascanius
 15 castra turbata videret, voluit se tradere. Et dum ista gererentur, ecce Eneas cum exercitu quem Evander rex dederat supervenit. Et filius eius, videns patrem cum auxilio in navibus venisse, dimisso castro cum exercitu suo ei obviu occurrit. Et Turnus nolebat eum dimittere de navibus descendere. Sed quia Eneas exercitum recentem ducebat et
 20 Turnus iam pugnando debilis fuit, Eneas victor existit. Turnus vero fugiens ab Enea ad Laurentinam civitatem, ubi Latinus rex socer eius fuit, se contulit. Eneas vero de post commissionem pugne vel de post navigium se paucis diebus posuit, cum quo etiam Pallas filius Evandri regis fuit. Qui Evander cum exercitu filium suum Enee dederat; qui

I-2 IX, 427-429

1 o Rutili- potuit *rasit* L³ nec ausus] neci usus *Ra* nec casus *Ri* 2 ab hostibus *Ra* 3 ambo
 post hostibus L 4 luce] albe L *Ra* 5 luctum *Ri* | magnus L magnum *Ri* 7 Et ista
 disputantes *Ri* 8 capita *MSS* | commiserat L 9 hii] qui L | istud *om.* *Ri* Et] Qui *Ri*
 10 ipsas L | astas L | secum in hasta *Ra* | et ad *Ra* 11 ostenderent L 12 perrexit *Ri* dum]
 cum *Ra* 13 per muros se *Ri* 14 castram L castrum *Ri* 15 castram turbata videre L
 | tradere illis *Ri* | Dum atque *Ri* | geruntur *Ra* | ecce *om.* *Ri* 16 exercitus L | quem -dederat]
 accepto ab Evandro et ab aliis civitatibus maritimis et aliis Pisa scilicet et Ilba et ceteris *Ri* Et filius-
 18 obviu] Quem dum Ascanius eiusdem filius venientem videret ei confestim parato exercitu *Ri*
 17 ut vidisset patrem suum L | dimissa castra L 18 obviam L | Turnus atque *Ri* | Turnus *om.*
 L *Ra* 19 descendere] exire *Ri* Sed quia-22 se contulit] Sed nil valuit. Exercitus enim Enee recens
 et fortis erat. Turni autem exercitus pugna multum debilis et fragilis erat. Quapropter Eneas vicit.
 Turnus vero fugam iniens ad socerum eius Latinum morantem in Laurentina civitate velociter et sine
 mora aufugit *Ri* 19 recentum exercitum L 20 pugnandum debiles L | existens *Ra* 21
 Laurentina L 22 de post -posuit] post commissam pugnam ad navigium paucis diebus ire
 proosuit *Ri* 23 cum quo filius Evandri fuit Pallas *Ri* | etiam et L 24 exercitum L | et quia
 ipse Pallas necdum L

Pallas nedum in expeditione exierat, quia puerulus erat et unicus patri. Et dum eum Enee daret, eum cum magnis lacrimis, presente matre, commendaverat ut eum arma doceret; et sic cum Enea exivit, et cum eo in exercitatione esse cepit.

Turnus vero dum ad Latinum socerum venisset, facto consilio ceperunt 5
cogitare ut sibi auxilia peterent. Et petierunt sibi Mezentium; qui Mezentius contemptor divum appellatus est, quia cruentator fuit et tales 10
penas hominibus inferebat ut, quicumque apud eum culpabilis inveniebatur, tale ei supplicium inferebat ut aperiretur tumulus hominis mortui qui recens mortuus fuerat et corpus eius vermibus ebulliens fetebat. Et 10
super ipsum cadaver ligatum hominem vivum imponebat, et sic eum de cooperculo sarcofagi cooperiebat et plumbabat. Et ibi quicumque fuit malam mortem faciebat. Ecce qualia supplicia Mezentius hominibus inferebat; et insuper in prelio non de deo sed de virtute dextere sue 15
presumebat, ut diceret: 'Dextera mihi deus est et telum quod missile libro.' Et quod de dextera sua vel de gladio suo presumebat et non de deo, merito contemptor divum appellatus est. Qui Mezentius petitus cum filio suo Lauso vel cum mille viris armatis electis in auxilio ad Latinum venit. Etiam Camilla regina Amazonum cum exercitu suo magno Latino petita in auxilium venit. Quid multa? 20

Eneas, post quod paucis diebus quievit, se armavit et illuc ad civitatem Laurentinam perrexit. Cui Turnus una cum Mezentio vel Camilla regina obvis venit et cepit pugna acerba exerceri; in qua pugna Pallas filius Evandri, quem sibi Eneas in auxilium petierat, a Turno occisus est. Quem Turnus expoliavit et brachialem eius tulit, et se eo cinxit 25
cepitque plus pugna invalescere. Eneas vero tulit corpus Pallantis et eum diligenter condidit et in papilione suo habuit. Et dum pugnatur, etiam Camilla regina occisa est ab Arronte. Iste Arrons qui eam occidit

7 vii, 647-648

15-16 x, 773

1 expeditionem dederat *Ra* | patri sui *L* 2 eum *om. Ri* 3 commendaverunt *L Ra* ut] et *L* | Enean *L* 4 cepit esse *Ri* 5 Turnus] *L deest ad p. 55, l. 2* | veniret *Ra* 6 auxilium *Ri* 7 fuit] erat *Ri* 8 inferebat *Ri* | culpabiles inveniebantur *Ri* 9 aperiret tumulum *Ri* | mortui *om. Ri* 10 fuit *Ra* 11 ponebat *Ri* 12 Et ubicumque fuerit *Ri* 13 mala morte *Ra* | supplicia] tormenta *Ri* 14 inferebat] faciebat *Ri* 15 deus est *om. Ri* | telum commissibile librum *Ra* celum comisso libro *Ri* 16 de *om. Ra* | de ante gladio *om. Ra* | et *om. Ri* 17 petitus *om. Ra* 18 auxilium *Ri* 19 Etiam Camilla- venit *om. Ra* 21 post -se] per aliquos dies quievit et se *Ri* 22 perduxit *Ra* | cum *om. Ra* 23 pugnare et acerbe *Ri* 25 brachilem (*et alibi*) *Ri* eo] eum *Ri* 26 et cepit *Ri* 27 et *om. Ri* | pugnant *Ri* 28 Arrons] Arontes *Ri*

de populo fuit Turni, et quando vidit Camillam multa prelia facere, dixit: 'Feminis et non nobis virtus habet assignari.' Et surrepticie in loco occulto eam percussit et occidit. Et quia ista Camilla a Diana dea silve de lacte equarum nutrita fuerat, dolens Diana a morte eius Arontem qui
 5 eam occiderat de arcu suo fulmine sagittavit, et Arons percussus a Diana mortuus est. Quid multa?

Dum iam campi ossibus humanis albescerent vel terra sanguine humano satiata fuisset, Iuno, videns partem Turni debilem esse, volens eum de morte liberare, se in cultu Enee transfiguravit et se obviam in cultu Enee
 10 Turno ostendit et cepit contra eum velle dimicare. Turnus vero cepit artificiose velle pugnare. Iuno vero, ut vidit Turnum primum esse, cepit terga dare et se ab ante Turno ac veluti fugiens tollere. Turnus vero, ut vidit Iunonem in similitudinem Enee fugere, cepit eum persequi et eum de pugna expectante populo eiecit, tamquam Eneam fugientem
 15 persequeretur. Quid multa? De pugna ad mare tamquam fugiens eum duxit. Qui dum ad mare venirent, Iuno per fantasiam navem subornavit in qua ascendit tamquam Eneam captivasset. Qui dum Turnus in nave ascenderet, Iuno se ei in figura sua ostendit. Cui sic ait: 'Ego, volens te de morte liberare, merito me in figuram Enee mutavi ut te de
 20 pugna eruerem. Ergo vade ad patrem tuum et ulterius noli ad istam terram venire, quia sic fata censuerunt Enee victoriam imminere, et regnum Italiae obtinere, necnon et Laviniam in coniugio accipere. Ergo perge ad regnum Drauni patris tui, et obtine eum et aliam tibi quere uxorem; et vide ne ad istam pugnam revertaris et malam mortem hic facias.' Et
 25 cum hec dixisset ei, ventos prosperos excitavit qui eum ad patrem suum perducerent; quod et factum est.

Et dum ad patrem suum pervenit, Eneas vero, ut sensit Turnum de pugna fuisse eiectum et non comparuisse, cepit in pugna invalescere; et se ei Mezentius pro Turno ad dimicandum obtulit. Quem Eneas in ilio

18-24 Cf. x, 663-664

1 Turno *Ra* 2 Feminis et non] Forte nimis *Ra* | suberreticia *Ri* 3 occulte *Ra* | occidit *Ri*
 | quia] que *Ra* | Dina *Ra* silve] vel *Ra* 4 a morte] mortem *Ri* | Arontem *om. Ra* 5 fulmi-
 nem *Ri* 7 Dum] Cum *Ri* 8 esse debilem *Ri* | vellens *Ra* | liberare de morte *Ri* 10
 Turno *om. Ra* | et *om. Ri* 12 dari *Ra* | ab *om. Ri* 13 Iunonem] Iovem *Ra* | cepit cepit *Ri*
 eum] iam *Ra* 14 expectanti *Ri* | fugiens *Ri* 15 De] Dum *Ri* 16 perduxit *Ri* | sub-
 ornavit] preparavit *Ra* 18 navim *Ri* 19 vellens *Ra* | a morte *Ri* | figura *Ri* | te *post*
 eruerem *Ri* 20 istam terram venire] ista reverti *Ri* 22 Perge ergo *Ri* 23 Draonis *Ra*
 24 ne ad- facias] ne huc ne istam amplius redeas et moriaris *Ri* 26 quod et- pervenit *om. Ri* *add.*
*Ri*¹ 27 Turnum *om. Ri* | fuisse de pugna *Ri* 28 et se in pugna invalescere cepit *Ri* et se ei
 Mezentius] Mezentius vero se ei *Ri* 29 in ilia asta percussit *Ri*

de hasta subcodavit; et dum [vulnus] acciperet Mezentius, se de pugna eruit, et ad flumen perrexit volens plagam qua ab Enea plagatus fuerat in fluvio lavare. Et dum ad flumen venit, sub arbore quercus se armis expoliavit, et in arbore quercus suspendit, et cepit plagam suam lavare. Post discessum vero Mezentii, Lausus filius eius, volens iniuriam patris sui vindicare, Enee pugnaturum se obtulit. Cui Eneas ait: 'Quo, periture, vadis; et audes contra me manum levare?' Et cum hec dixisset, Eneas eum de hasta percussit et cecidit, et mortuus est. Quem dum Eneas cecidisse viderat, dolens mortem iuvenis [cui mox floribus declarabat lanugo], sociis eius ait: 'Tollite hoc corpus et matri perducite ut a bestiis tale corpus non devoretur.' Quem socii tollentes ad matrem pergere ceperunt. Et ita provenit ut ubi se pater eius fovebat transissent. Quos Mezentius a longe videns, [presens mala mens cor eius indicavit], quia mortem filii eius portabant. Qui, dum ad eum mors filii eius portaretur, eum cum magno dolore planxit et ad matrem eius misit. Ipse vero, dolore filii ductus, plagas suas de farina calcavit et iterato arma induit, et ad Eneam sicut canis rabidus iam moriturus venit. Et sibi imputare cepit, atque equum suum sic alloquitur, ut, si cum capite Enee veniret, torquem auream equo suo imponeret. Quid multa? Ad Eneam venit, sedens equum suum oneratis manibus iaculis acutis; contra quem Eneas ad pedem obvius venit. Et ceperunt utrique expectante exercitu artificiose ut duo artifices pugnare, sicut duo in prelio tauri. Quid multa? Dum artificiose utrique pugnant, Eneas hastam iactavit et fronti equi Mezentii inseruit. Equus vero, ut hastam in fronte accepit,

13-14 Cf. x, 843

17-19 Cf. x, 861-866

1 et dum- eruit *om. Ra* | Mezentium *Ri* 2 vellens *Ra* | qua- fluvio] quam Eneas inicerat in flumine *Ri* 3 dum *om. Ra* | veniret *Ri* armis] areno *Ra* 4 arbore quercus] quercu *Ri* | cepit -lavare] plagam levavit *Ri* 5 Mezentis *Ra* | Lausus *om. Ri* | vellens *Ra* 6 sui *om. Ri* | pugnaturus *Ri* 7 Cumque *Ri* 8 Eneas *om. Ri* de hasta] lancea *Ri* | et cecidit *om. Ri* Quem-10 ait] Ut atque hunc mortuum Eneas videret, dolens propter mortem illius iuvenis cuius adhuc nova lanugo vultus decorabat, comiseris [commiserus?] ad socios ait *Ri* 10 perducite ut] deferte ne *Ri* 11 non *om. Ri* | tollentes socii ad matrem deveniunt *Ri* 12 Et ita provenit ut *om. Ri* ubi] ibi *Ra* | transissent *om. Ri* 13 longe venientes *Ra* | presens-portabant] continuo mens eius et tor quod erat sibi indicavit mortem sui filii *Ri* 14 Qui- misit] Postquam ad eum delatus est, ac magno habito planctu et dolore ad matrem misit *Ri* 16 vero -ductus] etiam dolore motus *Ri* | et sic armis suis induitur *Ri* 17 sicut] ut *Ri* | iam *om. Ri* Et sibi imputare] Eique impropere *Ri* 18 et equo suo multa loquitur *Ri* equum] eum *Ra* ut -imponeret] et torquem aureum in collo eius impositurum se promittit si cum capite Enee veniret *Ri* 20 in equo suo manibus acutissimis iaculis honoratis *Ri* 21 pedester venit obvius *Ri* | Sicque ceperunt artificie utrique spectantes exercitum pugnare ut duo artifices et ut duo in prelio tauri *Ri* 23 Quid multa *om. Ri* | Dumque sic artificiose ambo pugnarent *Ri* | hasta *Ra*

cepit colaphos et calces doloribus iactare et Mezentium dominum suum desuper necare. Et sic etiam ipse cecidit. Eneas vero, ut vidit Mezentium de equo cecidisse, super eum calcavit. Cui sic ait: 'Ubi nunc Mezentius acer?' Mezentius vero, ut se vidit sub Enea iacere, deprecatus
 5 est ut permitteret corpus eius ad uxorem suam tolli et iuxta filium suum poni. Et dum eum deprecaretur, Eneas eum de hasta in pectore fixit et interfecit, et arma expoliavit et se arma eius induit.

Et cepit Eneas iam triumphare quod Turnum et Mezentium qui audaces fuerunt caruerit. Et cepit cogitare qualiter Laurentinam civitatem
 10 adiret et Laviniam sibi iungeret. Et dum ista disputaret, sociis suis ait: 'Quia hostibus caruimus, eamus ad papiliones et corpus Pallantis eius parentibus dirigamus.' Remeante vero Enea ad papiliones, occiso Mezentio, corpus Pallantis filii Evandri parentibus direxit in loculo vimeneo, cum eo etiam centum viros prudentes qui parentes eius consolarentur,
 15 necnon et omnem predam quam fecerat ante corpus eius. Et dum corpus Pallantis ad parentes eius veniret, obviam ei parentes cum omni familia sparsis crinibus occurrerunt. Et lamentatio ingens in domo Evandri facta est. Quid multa? Eneas, postquam corpus Pallantis parentibus direxit, omnes suos admonuit, dicens ut se prepararent ad Laurentinam
 20 civitatem ubi Latinus fuit producere ut eam intrarent et regnum obtinerent.

Et dum ista geruntur, amor Lavinie in cor Turni in domo patris sui, ubi eum, ut superius dictum est, Iuno eruens de pugna produxerat, introiit. Et non sufferens amorem intra se cogitans ad semetipsum ait:
 25 'Et perdere habeo Laviniam sponsam meam quam per multos annos desponsavi?' Et dum hec cogitat, inscio Drauno patre suo, furore acceptus, iterato ad Latinum socerum suum properat; ubi venientem iterato, licet nolens, eum Latinus suscepit, increpans eum et dicens: 'Sunt

3-4 x, 897

14 Cf. xi, 61

1 calce dolori *Ra* 2 necari *Ra* se caruit *Ri* 4 acer] iacer *Ri* 5 ab uxore sua *Ri* 6 deprecatur *Ra*
 8 qui] quia *Ri* 9 caruerunt *Ri* 10 ista] de hiis *Ri* 11 Quia hostibus] Quatenus *Ra* 12 parentibus suis *Ra* 13 corpus -parentibus] corpus parentibus
 Pallantis *Ri* | vimeneo] umenero et *Ri* 14 etiam *om. Ri* | consolarentur eius *Ri* 15 eius] ibat *Ri*
 16 eius *om. Ri* | in obviam *Ra* 17 occurrentes *Ri* 18 postquam] post quod *Ra*
 19 et ad *Ra* 20 producere ut eam] ut pro eo *Ri* | eum *Ra* 23 perduxerat intrasset *Ri*
 24 inter *Ra* | ad semetipsum *om. Ri* 25 Et perdere habeo] Ut puto perdam *Ri* sponsam] uxorem
Ri annos desponsavi] habui *Ri* 26 dum *om. Ra* | cogitaret *Ri* inscio- iterato ad] furore areptus
 patre suo scilicet Drauno ignorante ad *Ri* 27 socero suo repetivit *Ra* ubi- Sunt] quem postquam
 Latinus venientem videret doluit tunc tunc suscepit et increpavit eum dicens sint *Ri* | veniens *Ra*

tibi regna patris tui, sunt oppida; revertere ad regnum patris tui, quia dii nolunt ut filiam meam in matrimonio habeas.' Cui Turnus sic respondit: †'Cur primam gerens an optime precor ut. . . .† Dum Turnus susceptus fuisset, consilium in regno Latini factum est et ordinatum est ut legatos ad Diomedem regem Tracie pro petendo auxilio dirigerent. Et electus est Venulus; et dum Venulus ad Diomedem veniret, ab eo auxilium petiit. Diomedes sic respondit: 'Contra quos pugnatis?' Venulus dixit: 'Contra Eneam Troianum.' Diomedes dixit: 'Non do auxilium, quia bellum inimicum fortissima cum gente deorum geritis. Ego novi qualis fuit Eneas dum ad Troiam pugnaremus. Duo ibi magni fuerunt, Hector et Eneas; si tertium similem habuerant, Troia non destrueretur. Ergo auxilium non do, sed querite vobis remedium qualiter cum eis pacificetis.'

Et dum adhuc Venulus a Diomede rege necdum reversus fuisset, Latinus cum regulis suis consilium fecit, dicens: 'Quam diu Venulus ad nos revertatur, mandemus ad Eneam legatos in quo ab eo duodecim dies pacem petamus, ut omnes seu nostri seu sui ad campum exeant et corpora suorum agnita recolligant.' Et placuit consilium regis, et electi sunt centum viri magni prudentes ducentes secum quod Enee offerrent—centum equos albos cum sellis aureis et frenis; inter quos centum viros fuit quidam vir elegans Drances nomine. Et dum ad Eneam venerunt, ei dixerunt: 'Rex noster Latinus nos direxit ut iubeas concedere bisseos dies quatenus corpora que in campis deiecta sunt colligantur.' Quos Eneas digne suscepit et ab eis munera que ducebant accepit, et duodecim dies quos petierant ut pax esset concessit. Tamen sic ipsis legatis respondit: 'Audite, viri. Non forte mea voluntate huc ad vestram terram pugnare veni; sed admonitus ex precepto deorum, quia mihi regnum

I XII, 22

3 XII, 48-49

1 regna tibi <i>Ra</i> sunt oppida- tui <i>om. Ri</i>	2 filiam meam ut <i>Ra</i> sic respondit] ait <i>Ri</i>	3 pri-
mam gerens] prima ieris <i>Ri</i> ut <i>om. Ri</i>	4 factum] habitum <i>Ri</i> est ut] est et <i>Ra</i> et <i>Ri</i>	5
Trace <i>Ra</i> auxilium <i>Ra</i> dirigeret <i>Ri</i>	6 Venolus (<i>et alibi</i>) <i>Ra</i>	7 pugnatis <i>Ra</i>
fortissima] fratres <i>Ri</i>	10 fuit] sit <i>Ri</i>	11 haberent <i>Ri</i> destrueretur] aditeretur <i>Ra</i>
12		
non do auxilium <i>Ri</i> auxilium et remedium qualiter et cum eo pacem habeatis <i>Ri</i>	14 a] cum <i>Ri</i>	
[rege esset <i>Ri</i> Latinum sub <i>Ra</i>	15 ad nos <i>om. Ra</i>	16 revertetur <i>Ri</i> mandemus ad Eneam]
mittamus Enee <i>Ri</i> diebus <i>Ri</i>	17 ad <i>om. Ri</i>	19 ducentes <i>om. Ra</i> quod] qui <i>Ra</i>
20		
centum scilicet <i>Ri</i>	21 fuit -Drances] fuit inter omnes elegans vir Drancis <i>Ra</i> quidam vir fuit	
elegans Drancens <i>Ri</i> venirent <i>Ra</i>	22 concedas sibi <i>Ri</i>	23 quatenus] qualiter <i>Ra</i> campo
sunt colligatur <i>Ri</i> Quos] Quod <i>Ra</i>	24 que] qua <i>Ra</i> duxerant <i>Ri</i>	25 quos] ut <i>Ri</i> ut pax
esset] in pace <i>Ri</i> Tamen sic] Et <i>Ri</i> legatis] letis <i>Ra</i> respondit] taliter locutus est dicens <i>Ri</i>	26	
forte <i>om. Ri</i> voluntati mee <i>Ra</i> ad vestram terram] vobiscum <i>Ri</i>	27 admonitus ex <i>om. Ri</i> quia	
oportet me hoc regnum retinere sed vellem <i>Ri</i>		

imminivit, merito hic veni. Sed vellem vobis unum consilium dicere ut diceretis regi vestro: "Quid prodest ut se exercitus qui remansit vexet? Videtis campos ossibus hominis albuisset vel terram sanguine humano fuisse satiatam. Sed ego et Turnus exeamus unus ad unum, et nos duo
 5 tum pugnemus; et qui parem suum deiecerit regnum obtineat, et eum omnis exercitus sequatur." ' Et cum hec legatis Eneas dixisset, omnibus propositio Enee placuit, et dimisit eos. Et reversi sunt legati ad Latinum regem, et in consistorio sedes collocata est. Et dum rex in sede sua resedisset, vel omnes, et ista legati retulissent, ecce subito mulieres de
 10 civitate Laurentina pro agnoscendis corporibus suorum ad campum exierunt; et dum corpora iacentia in campo viderent, solutis crinibus in ululatum magnum omnes se dederunt. Et dum ululatus magnus sonuisset, rex vel omnes qui cum eo erant, audientes voces per fenestras domus regie, campos inspicere ceperunt, et dolor magnus in corde omnium introiit. Tunc Drances unus de legatis qui ad Eneam fuerant sic erupit:
 15 'O domine rex, vides campos ossibus humanis albuisset, et nichil tibi exercitus remansit. Quare non cogitas quid fieri debet? Nam vellem, si permissum rex dederit, unam conditionem proponere ut exiguus qui remansit non similiter pereat. Exeat Turnus contra Eneam et unus ad
 20 unum pugnet et nullus de exercitu cum eis sit. Et qui victor inventus fuerit, ipse Laviniam filiam tuam in coniugio accipiat, necnon et ipsum omnis exercitus sequatur.' Et dum hec Drances dixisset, et Turnus econtra turbatus vultu sic respondit: 'Et hoc vobis videtur, quia solus ego pro regno Laurentino potero morti subiacere ut vos vivatis? Non
 25 ita fiet, sed omnes ad dimicandum contra inimicos nostros exeamus.' Et Drances contra sic locutus est, dicens: 'Et ut Turno contingat Lavinia coniunx, nos anime viles.' Quid multa?

Dum ista conflictio ante Latinum regem fieret, subito nuntiatum est

26-27 xi, 371-373

1 vellens *Ra* 2 dicatis *Ri* | vexetur *Ra* vetet *Ri* 3 hominis albuisset vel] plenos ut *Ri* | sanguinem humanum *Ra* humano sanguine *Ri* 4 fuisset satiata *Ra* | unus ad unum *om. Ri* | et -pugnemus *om. Ra* 5 parem suum deiecerit] victor fuerit *Ri* | eum *om. Ra* 6 cum] dum *Ri* | Eneas *om. Ra* 7 propositio Enee] dictum *Ri* 9 consedisset *Ri* | et *om. Ri* 10 pro agnoscenda corpora *Ri* 11 campum *Ra* in] vel *Ra* 12 se *om. Ra* | magnos solvissent *Ri* 14 in campum *Ri* 15 Drancis (*et alibi*) *Ra* Draces (*et alibi*) *Ri* | fuerat *Ra* fuerunt *Ri* 17 in exercitu *Ri* 18 promissum *Ri* | dederat *Ra* | una conditione *Ri* | preponere *Ra* 19 ad] contra(?) *Ri* 21 ipsum *om. Ra* 23 contra se turbatus vultus *Ra* econtra turbido vultu *Ri* 24 subiacere] me morte dare *Ra* 25 exhibimus *Ra* 27 coniunx] uxor *Ri* | animent vires *Ri* 28 regem *om. Ri*

Venulum, legatum ad Diomedem quem direxerant pro auxilio petendo, venisse. Qui nuntium Diomedis Latino regi attulit, in quo se denegavit auxilium contra gentem Troianorum non dare, quia viri fortes sunt, et de gente deorum, et nullus contra eos poterit dimicare. Et dum ista Venulus in conspectu regis vel omnium regulorum suorum in consistorio nuntiasset, virtus Latini regis vel omnium suorum in sensu defecit; et sic utrique dixerunt: 'Alia arma Latino paranda erunt.' Quid multa?

Dum duodecim dies pacis quod secum pepigerant expleti fuissent, tertiadecima die luciscente ante solis ortum Eneas cum omnibus suis se armavit, et ad civitatem Laurentinam, ubi Latinus rex pater Lavinie regnabat, produxit; et ad muros scalas ponere cepit, qualiter urbem ingredi potuisset. Et dum ista Eneas preparat, Turnus contra Eneam obvius cum exercitu foris ab urbe exivit; et utrique se deficientes iterato Turnus urbem petiit, et Eneas ad papiliones suos reversus est. Et dum ista geruntur, tumultatio in regno Latini apud ipsum Latinum ab exercitu nata est. In quo sic mussitabant, dicentes non debere pro una virgine filia regis tantos exercitus perire, sed debere istos duos qui pro ea pugnant secum dimicare: et qui victor extitisset, ipse eam in matrimonio acciperet. Et dum ista inter se tumultuarentur, hoc consilium inventum est, ut Enee mandaretur ut secum ipse et Turnus unus ad unum pugnarent. Quod et factum est. Et dum ad Eneam nuntius venisset ut secum utrique, ipse et Turnus, dimicarent, Eneas concessit. Et diem constituerunt ut ad sacramentum ad aras primo ibi presente Latino occurrerent, ut si quis victor extitisset, dimisso exercitu quem sibi in auxilium petierant, propriam sibi vindicarent. Et diem utrique constituerunt ut sibi iurarent. Quid multa?

Venit dies statutus; et sacerdotes admoniti aras composuerunt et de lauro coronaverunt et hostias pro sacrificio preparaverunt. Et dum singula parata fuissent, exivit Latinus rex de civitate coronam ex auro et gemmis in capite gestans, in quadriga sedens; necnon et Turnus zaba

1 Diomede *Ri* 2 nuntiatum Diomedis regis *Ra* | obtulit *Ri* 5 suorum *om. Ra* | consistorium *Ra* 6 renuntiasset *Ri* | deficit *Ri* 7 Latinis *Ra* | Quid multa *om. et in marg. add. Ri* 11 et *om. Ri* | scalas ibique *Ri* | urbs intrata fuisset *Ra* 12 Eneas ista *Ri* 13 de se facientes *Ra* 14 et *om. Ra* 15 tumultationem *Ri* 16 per unam virginem filiam *Ri* 17 tantus *MSS* | per eam *Ri* 18 secum] inter se *Ri* | in *om. Ra* 19 intra *Ri* | hoc-mandaretur *om. Ra* 20 ut] et *Ra* 21 ut] et *MSS* 22 se cum Turno *Ra* concessit] consensit *Ri* 23 ad ante sacramentum *om. Ra* | primum sibi presentem Latino occurrerunt *Ra* 24 peteriunt *Ra* | proprio *Ra* 27 Venit *om. Ra* | constituta *Ri* | ad aras *Ra* | de ecclesia et lauro atque mirto *Ri* 29 preparata *Ri* | coronatus *Ra* corona *Ri* 30 gestatus *Ra* | sedens *om. Ra*

- deaurata indutus, galea(m) ex auro et gemmis in capite habens, hastam in manu portans, necnon et spatam armi iuclo gestans cum talaribus aureis vel calcis in pedibus, etiam ipse in quadriga fluens exivit. Quibus Eneas de papilionibus suis obuius ad iurandum venit. Et dum ad aras
- 5 utrique accederent, primus Eneas sic iurare cepit, dicens: 'Esto mihi nunc Sol testis et tu mihi Terra precanti penes quam tantos et tales potui ferre labores.' Qui dum iuraret, sic ore proprio prorupit, dicens: 'Si me viceris, auxilium quod mihi petivi dimitte[s] ad regem suum reverti et meos proprios tibi vindica[s]. Sed si ego victor fuero, similiter faciam.'
- 10 Et dum sibi utrique iurarent, contigit ut in ipso iure volucres immunde et innumerabiles (id est, vultures, aquile, vel corvi et milui) involuti super eos excubias facerent. Hoc dum Ioturna soror Turni vidisset, Turnum ad perfidias excitavit ut sibi in ipsa iura perfidaret. Cui Ioturna soror eius ait: 'Adhuc stas! (Vid)es pestes aves que tibi victoriam pronuntiant. Eneam cum sociis suis devorare ostendunt. Mitte te et bellum excita.' Hoc dum Ioturna fratri suo dixisset, erecta hasta Eneam incautum in femore percussit. Hoc videns, Eneas semivivus, asta in femore inserta, de ara fugiens ad exercitum suum pervenit. Et dum se de hasta exuere vellet, lignum haste vix excutere potuit, nam ferrum in
- 20 femore eius remansit. Et dum medici sui ad eum applicuissent, non valuerunt medici de eo ferrum excludere. Et Eneas pro hac causa ad periculum pervenit, ut testamentum fecisset. Et dum filius eius Ascanius vel omnes sui tribularentur, Venus mater eius venit et cepit herbam que dicitur diptamum in silvis requirere; qua reperta malaginavit et super
- 25 vulnus posuit, et continuo ferrum haste quod intra vulnera fuit excedit. Et iam cepit Eneas curari et ad sanitatem pervenit. Qui dum perfecte obtinuisset sanitatem, iterato armavit se (et) cum suis ad Laurentinam civitatem venit, et Turno mandavit ut contra eum ad dimicandum exiret.
- 30 Et dum civitatem obsedit, contigit ut consilium deorum fieret. Et venerunt omnes dii ad Iovem; et quia Iuno inimica fuit Enee vel sociis eius, cepit pro Turno suscipere, necnon et Ioturna soror eius, quia in numero deorum propter quod Iupiter eam stupraverat facta fuit. Et iam ipsa pro fratre suo suscipiebat. Et dum contentio inter Iunonem et Venerem matrem Enee ante Iovem facta fuisset, Iupiter, videns eas con-

5-7 XII, 176-177

16-17 Cf. XII, 266-267; 319-320; 813-815

2 armilugo gestans *Ri* 3 calcis] alca *Ra* altas *Ri* 4 ad ante aras *om. Ra* 6 penes
 quam] penus quem *Ra om. Ri* | tantus *Ra* 7 sic *om. Ri* | vixeris *Ri* 8 regem] honorem *Ri*
 meos proprios] minus *Ra* 9 vindicas] vincam *Ri* | facio *Ra* 10 in] *Ri deest ad p. 54, l. 16* |
 ipsa *Ra* 12 excubias] scubias *Ra*

tendere, Fata venire mandavit; que dum venirent, eis Iupiter dixit ut Eneam et Turnum perpenderent, cui victoria immineret. Et Fata utrumque perpenderunt et invenerunt Enee victoriam vel regnum imminere, non solum ipsi sed et nati(s) natorum et qui nascuntur ab illis. Et dum hec Fata responderent, Iupiter ad se Iunonem venire iussit. Cui dixit: 'Vides Fata respondisse inter Eneam et Turnum, et inventa est Enee victoria et regnum imminere. Ergo a[m]moveatur a te et a Venere contentio, et tollite patrocinia vestra ab utrisque, et quod Fata statuerunt hoc sit stabile.' Et cum hec dixisset, Iuno et Venus ad concordiam pervenerunt. Et Iuno patrocinia Turni tulit. Hoc dum Ioturna soror eius vidisset, etiam ipsa cepit contra voluntatem deorum non posse venire, et se etiam ipsa a fratre suo Turno tulit; et cepit iam Turnus desertus a diis esse.

Et dum ista geruntur, ut superius dictum est, Eneas dum muros Laurentine civitatis obsideret, et ei mandatum est ut diem constituerent quando secum ipse et Turnus mon(om)achia pugnarent, et diem inter se constituerunt. Et quia Amata uxor Latini mater Lavinie vel ipsa Lavinia in amorem Turni fuerant prone cotidianis diebus . . . quam diu die statuta ad dimicandum contra se exirent. Et Turnus ornavit se in cultu Martis, et armatus ad Amatam socrum suam introiit ut pro eo deos rogaret ut ei victoriam condonarent. Et dum cum socru sua loquitur, cepit ei socrus flere et Turno dicere: 'Timeo, fili, ne aliquid tibi proveniat, quia in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit. Quod si tibi aliquid provenit, iam ego non vivo.'

Et dum hec secum utrique loquuntur, cortina subducta est, et apparuit Lavinia virgo ornata ex auro et gemmis. Quam dum Turnus videret, ardet in arma magis figitque in virgine vultum; et cepit sic socru sue dicere: 'Ipsam tenuit mater, et me non ego ei ostendo quia cum iuvene dimicaturus est.' Et dum ista dicuntur, ecce Idmos nuntius venit, dicens: 'Eneas mandavit ut exeas contra eum ad dimicandum.' Et Turnus respondit, dicens: 'Dic Enee: "Non tua me, Enea, turbant dicta, sed dii terrent et Iupiter hostis."' Quid multa? Dum colloquium ipse et socrus sua finirent, valedicens ei ad dimicandum exivit. Et dum a socru sua exiret, continuo socrus sua ad omnes senatrices, tunc plebes, que intra urbem Laurentinam fuerant mandavit ut omnes se ante Mi-

23 xii, 59
894-895

27 xii, 70-71

28-29 Cf. xii, 72-80

29 xii, 75 Idmon

31-32 xii,

nervam prosternerent et deprecarentur pro Turno, ut ei victoriam daret. Quid plura? Ipsa regina cum Lavinia filia sua vel cum omnibus ad templum Minerve venerunt. Et ante aras solutis crinibus se prostraverunt, et ceperunt Minervam deprecari ut Turno victoriam daret. Turnus
 5 dum portas civitatis in curru[m] exivit, omnis populus Laurentine civitatis super muros se collegit ad spectaculum pugne eorum.

Eneas vero, ut vidit Turnum solum contra eum exire, etiam ipse solus de papilionibus suis obvius exivit. Et ceperunt ad se properare sicut duo in prelio tauri. Turnus vero, dum contra Eneam occurreret, aspexit
 10 et vidit limitem in agro positum. Quem non poterant movere duodecim iuvenes, ipse eum de una manu cepit; et dum ad Eneam veniret, ipse eum iactavit. Eneas vero lapidem except[r]avit, sicut Virgilius scripsit: Limes erat agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis, quem vix bis sene manus raptu(m) tenebant, qualia nunc producit corpora tellus. Turnus
 15 manu raptum post Eneam iactavit, et, sicut superius dictum est, ipsum lapidem Eneas except[r]avit. Eneas erecta hasta post Turnum impetum fecit, et hastam post eum iactavit et sub poplite Turno dedit. Et erigens ad sidera palmas, voce magna Eneam deprecatus est, dicens: 'Vicisti, vicisti; et victum tendere palmas. Tua est Lavinia coniunx. Utere
 20 sorte tua. Drauni,' inquit, 'miserere senecte; fuit tibi talis pater Anchises.' Etiam Eneas proximus fuit ei misereri; sed dum eum Turnus deprecabatur, vidit Eneas brachialem Pallantis filii Evandri, quem sibi Eneas in auxilium petierat, et eum Turnus occidit; brachialem eius cingebatur. Et dolore ductus ad Turnum dixit: 'Poteram te patri tuo
 25 vivum dimittere; sed quia adhuc tiranide letaris de spoliis mortuorum, merito dolor Pallantis cuius brachi(a)lem cingeris te occidit.' Et hec dicens, ponens pedem super pectus eum de hasta sub mamilla percussit. Amata vero uxor Latini regis, dum videret Turnum occisum fuisse, dolore ducta se per muros precipitem iactavit et mortua est. Quid multa?
 30 Cives vero Laurentine civitatis vel ipse Latinus rex, dum Eneam victorem viderent, cum magno triumpho ei portas aperuerunt, et in

12 Cf. XII, 906-907
 21 XII, 932-934

13-14 XII, 898-900
 22 Cf. XII, 941-943

17 XII, 926-927

18-19 XII, 936-937

19-

11 ipso post veniret Ra 13 arvis] armis Ra | bisena Ra 14 qualis Ra 15 rapta Ra
 16 erecta] Ri rursus incipit 17 Et] Qui Ri 18 ad sidera -dicens om. Ri 19 evicto
 tenere palmis Ra 20 senectute Ra 21 miserere Ra 22 deprecaretur Ri | braciencilem Ri 23 occiderat Ri | brachilem Ri 24 dixit ad Turnum Ri poteram] posse Ri 25
 tiranide om. Ri 26 occidet te Ri 27 ponens ei Ri 28 fuisse om. Ri 30 vero om.
 Ra | civitatis om. Ra | et ipse rex Latinus Ri 31 cum om. Ri

regno Eneas susceptus est; et Laviniam in coniugio accepit et cum Latino socero suo fuit. Post mortem vero Latini Eneas regnum suscepit et urbem Laviniam condidit. Et dum ad fluvium de equo descenderet, ex precepto deorum appellatus est. Quibus Eneas tribus annis regnavit. Post cuius obitum Ascanius filius Enee regnum suscepit, et derelicta urbe 5
Laurentina in Lavinia, quam pater suus condiderat, regnum obtinuit. Et dum ibi regnaret, Lavinia noverca eius, metuens Ascanium filiastrum suum, de Laurentina urbe patris sui in fugam versa est et in silvis occulte habitare cepit. Et quia Eneas eam pregnantem dimiserat, in silvis natus est de ea Postumus; et adhuc Ascanio regnante, qui viginti duo annis 10
regnavit, Postumus frater eius de Lavinia natus, adolevit. Qui dum adolevisset, Albanam urbem condidit ut impleretur quod antea Enee pronuntiatum fuerat de alba porca que ei in Tiberino fluvio cum triginta filiis apparuerat, quia in eodem loco Albana civitas condebatur. Quod 15
et factum est. Quid multa?

Dum Postumus Albanum condidit, eam civibus decoravit et ibidem una cum Lavinia matre sua habitare cepit. Ascanius vero, completis in regno viginti duo annis, obiit, et post eum Iulus filius eius regnum obtinere voluit. Sed veniente ad eum Postumo cum Albanis vicit et regnum 20
Albanum inchoavit, et Laurentinum regnum finitum est. Ubi primus Postumus Silvius, filius Enee de Lavinia natus, regnavit; et Iulus filius Ascanii apud Lavinium privatizare cepit. Quid multa? Post Postumum diversi reges apud Albanum regnare ceperunt. Que civitas quadringentis triginta annis regnavit; et dum iam ad ultimum regnum veniret, Procax Troiane gloria gentis apud Albanum regnare cepit. Qui in regno 25
suo duos filios procreavit—id est, Amulium et Numitorem. Et dum Procax obisset, testamentum suum duobus filiis suis Amulio et Numitori

1 Eneas *om. Ri* | in *om. Ra* | et urbem Laviniam condidit *post* accepit *add. Ri* 2 Latini | *Lrursus incipit* | Latini regis *Ri* | regnum eius *Ra* 3 urbem Laviniam | Laviniam civitatem *L* Lavinia *Ra* fluvium de equo | fluvio in eo quod *L* fluvium Eneo quod *Ra* | descenderit *Ra* | expreceptum *L* *Ra*
4 Eneas *om. Ri* 5 urbem Laurentinam Laviniam *L* 6 in *om. Ra* | obtineat *L* obtinuerit *Ra*
7 ibidem *Ra* | regnaret et *Ri* 8 Laurentinam urbem *L* | patri suo *L* *Ra* | in fugam *om. L* *Ra* | occulte in silvis *Ra* | occultis *Ri* 9 Et quia | Quia sic *L* Quem sic *Ra* | pregnans *L* | et *add. L* filius *add. Ri* *post* dimiserat 10 de ea *om. Ri* | Postumius (*et alibi*) *L* *Ra* | Ascanium regnantem *L* *Ra* | annos *Ra* 11 adoluit *L* 12 adoluisse *L* | Albano *L* *Ra* | ante *L* *Ra* | Enee *om. Ri*
13 ei *om. Ri* 14 quia *om. Ra* 15 et *om. Ri* 16 Albano (*et alibi*) *L* *Ra* | conderet *Ri* | condidit et de *L* 17 una *om. Ra* | Lavinia *om. Ri* 18 annos *L* | Iulius (*et alibi*) *Ra* *om. Ri* | regno *L* | voluit obtinere *L* *Ra* 19 venientem *L* *Ra* | Postumium *Ra* | in proelio cum *L* | Albano *Ri* 20 Albano iniquavit *L* | regnum *om. Ra* *Ri* 21 Enee filius *L* | Iulus *om. Ri* 22 Laurentinam *L* Lavinum *Ra* | privatizari *Ra* 23 multi diversi *L* | potita quadringentos triginta annos *L* 25 glorie gentes *L* *Ra* 26 duobus filiis *L* *Ra* procreavit | genuit *Ri* | Mimitorem (*et alibi*) *Ri* 27 testamento suo *Ri*

sic dereliquit ut unus pecunia potitus alter regnum obtinuisset. Amulius fratri suo Numitori electionem dedit, quid desideraret, pecuniam aut regnum. Numitor vero pecunia delectatus est, quod et tulit, et Amulius regnum obtinuit. Qui dum regnum obtineret, consuluit; et responsum

5 est ei quia a stirpe Numitoris fratris sui occideretur et regnum perderet.

Et contigit ut Numitori fratri eius duo filii nascerentur—id est, Sergestus et Rea que et Ilia. Et dum adolevissent et Amulius rex filios fratris sui adolescere videret, metuens responsum, filium fratris sui Sergestum ad venationem secum duxit et eum in silva occidit. De Rea vero que et

10 Ilia hoc consilium invenit ut nullus de stirpe fratris sui esset. Eam ad eum templum dedit ut virgo vestalis esset et filium non procrearet, ut nemo esset de stirpe fratris eius qui eum, sicuti ei responsum fuerat, occideret. Et dum in templo Rea que et Ilia serviret, Mars bellipotens in amorem Ilie irruit et eam stupravit. In quo stupro concepit, et nati

15 sunt ex ea Romulus conditor urbis Rome et Remus frater eius. Hoc dum Amulius rex patruus eius cognosceret, ipsos infantes geminos tulit et in fluvio precipitari mandavit. Qui pueri ex providentia divina inter gramina super ora fluminis ceciderunt et ceperunt balare. Lupa vero, veniens ad fluvium pro aqua bibenda, agnovit filios domini sui Martis

20 et eis ubera prebuit. (Quia lupa in tutela Martis condita est, merito hoc fabula iactitat, lupa(m Remum et Romulum uberibus suis nutrisse.) Inde postea a Faustulo pastore qui fuit in septem montibus collecti sunt; et Acce uxori sue eos nutriendos dedit. Que Acca uxor Faustuli de lupanari levata fuerat.

25 Qui pueri dum adolevissent, scientes unde nati fuerant, septem montes obtinuerunt et ceperunt sibi manum vagorum iuvenum colligere, et facta

1 pecunia-obtinuisset] pecuniam protinus tulisset et alter regnum susciperet *L* pecunia potitus fuisset et alius regnum *Ra* | Amulius vero *L* Amilius (*et alibi*) enim *Ri* 2 electionem dedit quid] sic dereliquit et qui *Ri* | desideraret accipere si *L* 3 Numitus *L* | delectatur *L* 4 obtinuit consuluit *Ra* 5 Numitori fratri suo *L* fratris sui Numitoris *Ra* Mimitoris fratris *Ri* | occiditur *Ri* 6 *Et om. L* | nascerent *Ra* 7 fratri *L* 8 fratri *L* 9 silva *L* De Rea] Ream *L* *Ra* 10 consilii *L* *Ra* | fratri *L* | Eam-esset *om. L* *Ra* 11 filios *Ri* | procreare *Ra* procreasset *Ri* | ut et *Ri* 12 non esset nemo *L* | fratri *L* eius qui eum] sui quem ipse *Ri* | ei *om. Ri* 13 occiderat *Ra* | eam tradidit templo Marti ad serviendum castitatis *post* occideret *add. L* | in *om. Ra* | templum *L* *Ra* | deservire et Martis *L* serviret Martis *Ra* 14 amore *L* *Ra* irruit] exarsit *Ri* | stupravit *Ri* | stupro *Ra* *Ri* stupro *Ra*¹ | concipit *L* et nati -frater eius] natiq[ue] sunt ei duo filii Romulus et Remus, qui Romulus conditor urbis Rome fuit *Ri* 16 patruus] patribus *L* 17 ex *om. Ri* | divina providentia *Ri* 18 super ora] superiora *Ri* 19 veniebant ad fluvio *L* | bibendum *L* 20 eis *om. Ra* | docila *Ra* tutelam *Ri* 21 hoc] hec *Ri* | recitat seu iactitat *Ri* | nutrisset *L* 22 et inde *Ra* | Fastulo (*et alibi*) *Ri* | fuit *post* montibus *Ri* 23 Acce] Bacce (*et alibi*) *Ri* | nutriendo *Ri* 24 lupanar *L* *Ri* 26 manum vagorum] manuvagorum *L* *Ra* | colligerent *L* colligerunt *Ra*

est manus non minima cum eis. Hoc dum Amulius rex audisset, exercitum ad eos produxit; et in ipsa productione Amulius a Romulo occisus est, ut impleretur quod ei responsum fuerat, quia de stirpe fratris sui occideretur. Amulio vero occiso, Romulus Numitorem avum suum in regno Albanorum erexit, et ipse in Aventino monte Romam fundavit. 5 Et dum eam fundaret, ceperunt de uxoribus cogitare qualiter acciperent, et dixerunt quia nemo eis dabat. Et inito consilio circumdederunt et civitatem dedicare ceperunt. Ad cuius dedicationem Sabinienses cum uxoribus et filiis suis petierunt. Et dum ibi introissent, filias Sabinorum rapuerunt et sibi eas iunxerunt. Hoc videntes Sabinienses bellum ad- 10 versus eos excitaverunt. Illi vero per legatos eis mandaverunt ut completo anno ad se utrique perducerent; quod et factum est. Et intra anni metas omnibus filii nati sunt, et dum dies statuta venisset, ad se utrique prodixerunt. Romulus vero, congregans ad se omnes suos, sic eos allocutus est, dicens ut omnes infantes ante aciem proicerent; quod et 15 factum est. Sabinienses vero, dum ad eos venirent, viderunt infantes ante aciem in terra iacentes balare. Dolore ducti quia nepotes eorum fuerant, pacem cum eis confirmaverunt; et se utrique commiscuerunt, et sibi Romulum regem levaverunt. Ecce qualiter Roma condita est vel 20 populus Romanus crevit!

Romulo vero a diis rapto, eum Romani deum fecerunt. Post cuius obitum suscepit regnum Numa Populius, et post ipsum diversi reges regnare ceperunt usque ad primum imperatorem Cesarem Augustum, qui Cesar Augustus regnavit annis quinquaginta et septem. Quadrage- 25 simo secundo anno regni eius Christus natus est. Post Cesarem Tiberius regnum suscepit. Octavo decimo anno regni eius Christus passus est. Readeamus ad causam. Post mortem vero Numitoris apud Albanum regnum finitum est, et ad Romanos translatum est; et cepit Albana civitas Rome subiecta esse. Explicit Excidium Troie.

1 exercitum *om. Ra* | ad eos exercitum *L* 2 productionem *L* | occidebatur *Ra* 4 Amilione
Ri 6 fundaret] ceperunt *Ra* 7 nemo *om. Ri* | dabant *L Ra* dat *Ri* 8 cuius] non legi
potest Ra | Sabienses *Ra* Savinienses (*et alibi*) *L Ri* 9 suis *om. Ri* | petierunt inter eos esse *L*
petierunt -ibi] non legi *potest Ra* | Et dum-Sabinienses] Et dum ad dedicationem venissent, vino
inebriati sunt et rapuerunt sibi singuli filias Savinorum in uxores. Et dum hoc cognovissent Savi-
nienses et videssent quia sibi eas iunxissent *L* | filie *Ra* 12 producerent *Ri* 13 die *L* ad
se utrique] seque *Ri* 14 eos *om. Ra* 16 vero *om. Ra* 17 balare] flebant *Ri* 18
firmaverunt *L* 19 in regem *Ri* 21 Romulus *L* Romulum *Ra* | raptum *L* 22 suscipit
L | Neuma Polimius *Ra* Numina Pamfilius *Ri* 23 regnare ceperunt] regnaverunt *Ri* | Cesare
Augusto quia *L* 24 Quadringesimo *L* Quadregesimo *Ri* 25 anno secundo *Ri* | regni eius
om. Ra 26 In cuius octavo *L* 27 Post mortem -finitum] Post vero Mimitoris apud Albanos
civitas subdita est *Ri* 28 et ad- esse *om. Ri* | Albano *L Ra* 29 Explicit Excidium Troie]
Finit expositio deo gratias amen *L* Explicit liber Eneidum *Ri*

CRITICAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY

3, 2 *dicere habes*] This idiom, clearly an example of the combination that led to the Romance future tense, is the redactor's regular formula for introducing, in the popular catechistic form, mythological or biographical material extraneous to his narrative. It occurs in *ET* only in such contexts, except that *Ra* once reads '*perdere habeo*' (48, 25).

3, 4 *Nereo patre et Ida matre*] This seems to be the redactor's original etymology. The Nereids were daughters of Nereus and Doris. Cf. Mythographus Vaticanus I, 208 and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 268-269. 'This absurd etymology, based on a faulty form [*Nereidarum* for *Nereidum*], clearly belongs to the redactor working with an already corrupted text.' Oldfather, 'Notes on the *Excidium Troie*,' *Speculum*, XI, 273.

3, 7 Oldfather ('Notes,' p. 273) proposes '*hec fabula iactitat*,' etc. But all three MSS agree on '*hoc*,' and both its position and its use to anticipate a following subordinate sentence element agree with the redactor's idiom. Cf. '*Hoc dum Thetis mater eius videret quia iam arma poterat tractare*' (II, 1-2).

3, 8-11 Jupiter's love for Thetis and the prophecy which prevented their union are told in Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* IV, 790 ff.; Apollodorus, *The Library* III, xiii, 5; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 54; Myth. Vat. I, 207 and II, 205 (*Supp.*, p. 372); and Fulgentius, *Mithologiae* III, 7. According to Myth. Vat. the *fata* give the warning; in Apollon. it is Themis; in Hyg. it is Prometheus. Apollod. mentions both Prometheus and Themis.

3, 11-16 The wedding of Peleus and Thetis is recounted in Apollod., *Lib.* III, xiii, 5; Apollon., *Argon.* IV, 805 ff.; Hyg., *Fab.* 92; Myth. Vat. I, 208 and II, 205 (*Supp.*); Fulgent., *Mith.* III, 7; and Colluthus, *Rape of Helen* 17 ff. The ancient *Cypria*, according to Proclus (*Chrestomatheia* I), makes this wedding the scene of the first strife.

3, 14 The first of several lacunae in *L*, doubtless due to loss of leaves from the MS (cf. E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* plate xxv), begins at '*Discordia*' and extends through '*descenderet*' on 5, 25.

3, 15-16 The Apple of Discord appears in Myth. Vat. I, 208; Hyg., *Fab.* 92; Colluthus, *Rap. Hel.* 59 ff.; Lucian, *Deorum dialogi* 20, 1 and *Dialogi marini* 5; and Fulgent., *Mith.* III, 7. Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* contains a brief account of the strife in which, however, the apple is not mentioned. Hyg. does

not mention the inscription or the fact that the apple was of gold. Fulgent. says merely: 'Discordia malum aureum iecisse dicitur.' Colluthus has Eris procure the apple from the Garden of the Hesperides; there is no mention of an inscription. The closest parallel to our account seems to be Myth. Vat.: 'Quae [Discordia] irata malum aureum in convivium iecit, inscriptum pulcherrimae deae donum. Quo collecto, inter Iunonem et Minervam, et Venerem certamen est ortum, quae Iovem iudicem petierunt.'

3, 24 'Before *Quibus* some inquiry as to who the judge should be, has obviously been omitted by the redactor.' Oldfather, 'Notes,' p. 274.

4, 1-5 Hecuba's evil dream occurs in Ovid, *Heroides* xvi, 43 ff.; Dictys, *Ephemeridos Belli Troiani* iii, 26; Myth. Vat. ii, 197; Hyg., *Fab.* 91; Servius, *Aen.* vii, 320 and x, 705; Apollod., *Lib.* iii, xii, 5; Tzetzes, *Antehomerica* 39 ff. It is alluded to in Euripides, *Troiaides* 920 ff. In all these accounts except Hyginus and Dictys Priam knows about the dream. Tzetzes gives a fuller account of the interpretation of the dream. Apollo tells Priam that Mars will destroy the city if the lad is allowed to reach the age of thirty. Priam accordingly sends him to the fields to be educated.

4, 2 Cf. Du Cange, *circuo*.

4, 6 Oldfather ('Notes,' p. 274) believes that the text is corrupt, having been patched to accommodate 'augurium,' originally a marginal gloss. But the text, which we take to mean that in the person of Paris the evils prophesied would be removed from Troy, is by no means impossible, particularly to our redactor.

4, 8-9 Hyg., *Fab.* 91: '. . . [eum] pastores pro suo filio repertum expositum educarunt eumque Parim nominaverunt.' According to Apollod., *Lib.* iii, xii, 5 Paris was exposed by the servant Agelaus. Five days later Agelaus found the child being nursed by a bear, took him up, and reared him as his own. Hyg. does not list Paris among those 'qui lacte ferino nutriti sunt' (*Fab.* 252). In Myth. Vat. ii, 197 Paris is not exposed; his mother sends him secretly to a shepherd to be reared.

4, 11-19 Hyg. also mentions Paris' favorite bull: 'habuit taurum in deliciis' (*Fab.* 91)—but here the similarity ceases. Priam, according to Hyg., wants a bull for the celebration of Paris' funeral games; the servants lay hold of Paris' pet and lead him away. On learning this Paris follows them to Troy. We find no classical parallels to the story of the bull fights; yet it seems too closely connected with the rest of the account to have been an invention of the author.

4, 26 The original 'comperendinavit' of *Ra* is clearly correct, although it has been deleted and 'procrastinavit' substituted in the margin. Doubtless the scribe, not knowing the rare 'comperendinavit,' took the easy course of altering the text. Cf., for a similar erroneous 'correction,' the substitution of 'subtulta' for 'sublata' (11, 15).

4, 29 consanctio] Almost certainly the original word, although it is not listed in the standard lexicons.

4, 29-30 The story here agrees with Ovid, *Her.* xvi, 81-82; Colluthus, *Rap. Hel.* 143 ff.; Lucian, *Deor. dial.* 20, 12; and Apollod., *Epitome* III, 2 in having Minerva offer strength in battle. In Myth. Vat. 1, 208 and Hyg., *Fab.* 92 she offers knowledge: 'omnium artium scientiam.'

4, 32-5, 1 This offer by Juno seems to be unparalleled. In Ovid, *Her.* xvi, 81; Hyg., *Fab.* 92; and Apollod., *Epit.* III, 2 she offers kingdoms; in Myth. Vat. 1, 208; Colluthus, *Rap. Hel.* 148 ff.; and Lucian, *Deor. dial.* 20, 11 her bribe is the realm of Asia.

5, 3 Oldfather's emendation is undoubtedly correct. The reading 'dea armorum et pugne' is supported by a number of related vernacular accounts. Cf. especially *Trójumanna Saga* (*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, IV, p. 22): '[Frigg] býðr honum mikla speki ok sigr í orrostum (hon var orrostu guð)'; *Istorietta Trojana* (Gorra, *Testi Inediti*, p. 382): 'Madonna Pallas gli promise, con ciò sia cosa che ella sia dea di battaglie, che gli darebbe senno e vigore.'

5, 5 Cf. Colluthus, *Rap. Hel.* 155 ff., where Aphrodite likewise bares herself before Paris in order to display her beauty. Traditionally, all the goddesses were nude; in Lucian, *Deor. dial.* 20, 9 Paris specifically asks the goddesses to undress. Thus also in Guido, *Historia Destructionis Troiae* VI (p. 62).

5, 6 The most unfeminine promise of *Ri* ('dabo pulchriorem me uxorem') is probably an attempt to make grammatical Latin out of the redactor's regular idiom of using the comparative for the superlative, perhaps a Gallicism parallel to that of 'in parthenos' (9, 20).

In the *Cypria*, according to Proclus, Aphrodite specifically offers Paris the hand of Helen. Such also is her offer in Apollod., *Epit.* III, 2; Colluthus, *Rap. Hel.* 164 f.; Lucian, *Deor. dial.* 20, 13-16; Hyg., *Fab.* 92; and Ovid, *Her.* xvi, 83 ff. In Myth. Vat. 1, 208 she offers whatever woman he wants.

5, 11-13 The original text must have run: '. . . exierunt cum magno dolore. Quod iudicium fecit,' etc. The redactor or a later scribe inserted, not too happily, the Virgilian lines; and *Ra* or his predecessor changed 'exierunt' to 'dixerunt.'

5, 27 ff. This story of the athletic contests is considerably fuller than that given in known classical sources. Servius, *Aen.* v, 370 summarizes the episode thus: 'Sane hic Paris secundum Troica Neronis fortissimus fuit, adeo ut in Troiae agonali certamine superaret omnes, ipsum etiam Hectorem. Qui cum iratus in eum stringeret gladium, dixit se esse germanum: quod adlatis crepundiis probavit qui habitu rustici adhuc latebat.' An almost identical summary is given in Myth. Vat. II, 197. Hyg., *Fab.* 91 gives a brief account in which it is Deiphobus who threatens to slay Paris, and Cassandra who reveals his identity. H. Dunger quotes a marginal gloss which he found in an old edition of Ovid's *Heroides* (Venice, 1482) in which, as in *ET*, it is the shepherd who reveals Paris' identity: 'Paris palaestra et sagittatione valuit: quā Hector superatus: ira percitus Paridem trucidasset: nisi sibi fratrem a pastore regio, qui illum educaret, esse agnovisset.' See *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege* (Leipzig, 1869) p. 47. The story of the plot against Paris and his rescue by his foster-father has, so far as we know, no parallel in extant classical sources.

5, 28 campestriarii] Probably wrestlers. Cf. *campestre*, 'a wrestling apron' (Harper), and the *palaestra* of the preceding note.

6, 1 'Noteworthy is *casa* for the royal box in the circus. The only instance cited for this usage in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* is in Corippus (565-7 A.D.), but the citation is incorrectly given here as *Ioh.* 2, 413 instead of *Iust.* 2, 413.' Oldfather, 'Notes,' p. 275.

6, 21 One is tempted to write 'de agnito filio (a patre) vel a matre.' Perhaps, however, the redactor meant that the son had been recognized *even* by the mother who so unnaturally exposed him after his birth.

7, 7 ff. The whole story of Hesione is found in Dares (*De excidio Troiae*) and his derivatives. Jason and Hercules lay waste the kingdom of Laomedon because he had mistreated them when the Argonauts landed at Troy on the way to Colchis. The unfortunate Hesione is carried away into concubinage and given to Telamon. Dares' version of Priam's attempt to regain her differs from *ET* in having Priam first send the pathetic Antenor to demand her return. After Antenor has been scorned and driven away by the Greeks, Priam sends Paris, not to demand Hesione, but to capture a Grecian lady who may be exchanged for her. Servius, *Aen.* x, 91 gives a short account of Hesione's capture by Hercules. No mention is made of Antenor; but Priam sends Paris to capture a Grecian lady of high birth, 'aut uxorem regis, aut filiam.'

7, 20 ff. The account of Paris' residence in Greece corresponds to Dares, *De excid.* Tr. ix in having Menelaus absent at the time of Paris' arrival. In the *Cypria*, according to Proclus, *Chrest.* i, Menelaus greets his guests, then departs

for Crete, foolishly allowing Helen to take charge of the visitors. In Apollod., *Epit.* III, 3 Menelaus entertains Paris for nine days; on the tenth he goes to Crete to perform obsequies for his mother's father Catreus. Colluthus, *Rap. Hel.* 383-384 and Ovid, *Her.* XVI, 301 likewise place Menelaus in Crete during the abduction.

7, 22 gestatu] 'On an excursion'—cf. Forcellini, *Tot. Lat. Lex.*

7, 25 Cf. Lucian, *Deor. dial.* 20, 15, where Venus (at the judgment) offers to send her two pages, Desire and Love, to insure that Helen fall in love with Paris.

7, 27 Cf. 'serpita amore' (8, 7). Apparently 'stung,' perhaps from *serpens*. Cf. Oldfather, 'Notes,' p. 275. But elsewhere (13, 3; 32, 24) the word must mean 'to crawl.'

8, 7 The conversations attendant upon this too-facile seduction may be an original contribution. Yet they find some curious parallels in Colluthus, *Rap. Hel.* 268 ff., where Helen praises Paris' beauty and asks who he is; he replies that he is a Trojan, son of Priam, and that he has come in accordance with Venus' promise. Helen answers that she is willing to be abducted, since Venus wishes it.

8, 30 ff. In Dares, *De excid. Tr.* x Paris despoils the temple of Apollo but seems to spare the family jewels. This robbery, however, is part of the classical tradition. In the *Cypria* (Proclus, *Chrest.* i) Helen and Paris put great treasures on board and sail away by night. Cf. also Tzetzes, *Antehom.* 129 ff. and Apollod., *Epit.* III, 3, where the guilty pair take stolen treasures with them.

9, 17-18 This prophecy is not related by Statius; the Greeks seek Achilles merely because they have heard of his fame. Cf. Apollod., *Lib.* III, xiii, 8, where Calchas declares that Troy cannot be taken without Achilles.

9, 20 in parthenos] 'In the likeness of a virgin'—cf. 'in Martem' (35, 2) and 'in Arpalice' (27, 12; 34, 25). A strikingly similar phrase is to be found in the title of a fourth-century poem: 'Verba Achillis in parthenone' (see above, p. xviii, n. 38). The lack of inflection in our text is to be expected; cf. 'in Tenedos' (14, 1). It is possible that the redactor thought 'parthenos' to be the name of a place. However, the use of *in* to mean 'in the likeness of' was common in early French. See Godefroy, *Dict. de l'anc. lang. fran.* (Paris, 1881—). Note especially this quotation from Palsgrave, mentioned by Godefroy, where *en* signifies not manner of acting (*parler en ami*) but physical appearance as in *ET*: 'Ulysses se habilla en mercier. Il porte les cheveux en Allemant.' Fred. Shears, *Recherches sur les prépositions dans la prose du moyen fran.* (Paris, 1921),

gives other Old and Middle French examples. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. des langues romanes*, tr. Doutrepont (Paris, 1900), III, 455 and Georg Ebeling, 'Historische französische Syntax,' *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Romanischen Philologie*, v (1897-8), I, 203. According to these scholars the idiom is also Provençal; e.g., *en fol*. Ebeling cites some analogous Latin uses of *in*: Virgil, *Aen.* XI, 771, *in plumam*; Tacitus, *Annal.* 6, 42, *in barbarum*.

With the variant 'parchimos' (*Ri*) cf. 'land of Parchy' in the *Seege of Troye* (cited above, p. xlv, n. 21).

10, 2 ff. The story of the finding of Achilles among the virgins corresponds in a general way to Statius, *Achilleid* 1, *passim*. The conversations may be partly original. The use of the form *Odisseus* seems to point to the use of an unknown and pedantic classical source (cf. Oldfather, 'Notes,' pp. 272 f.). Statius and all other Latin sources we have examined use only *Ulixes*. The finding of Achilles is also related briefly in Hyg., *Fab.* 96; Apollod., *Lib.* III, xiii, 8; and Ovid, *Met.* XIII, 162 ff. In Statius it is *Ulixes* and *Diomedes* who find him; Hyg., Ovid, and Apollod. mention only *Ulixes*.

10, 8 ff. The sound of the horn played an important part in the finding of Achilles; Apollod., in fact, states merely that Achilles was discovered by the blast of a trumpet. Cf. Statius, *Achil.* 1, 875-876: '. . . cum grande tuba sic iussus Agyrtas / insonuit.' Cf. also Hyg., *Fab.* 96: '. . . et subito tubicinem iussit canere armorumque crepitum et clamorem fieri iussit.'

10, 19 Perhaps 'cepit (Achilles) una' should be read; but the abrupt, unindicated change of subject of the original text, apparently, and of *Ri* has parallels in *ET*, although it confused the scribe of *Ra* and perhaps of *L*.

10, 23 Apparently one sheet has dropped out of *L* at this point.

10, 24 ff. There are many widely differing conceptions of Achilles' invulnerability. Homer never mentions the fact that he cannot be wounded, and gives every reason to believe that he can. According to Statius, *Achil.* 1, 269-270; 480-481; Servius, *Aen.* VI, 57; and Myth. Vat. 1, 36, Achilles is dipped in the Styx in order to make him impenetrable to steel. In Apollon. Rhod., *Argon.* IV, 869 ff. and Apollod., *Lib.* III, xiii, 6 Thetis puts Achilles in the fire and anoints him with ambrosia in order to make him immortal. Peleus, seeing the child in the fire, sets up a howl, whereupon Thetis flees and plunges into the sea, to return no more.

10, 25 Achilles' vulnerable heel is not mentioned by Statius or Ovid. Servius, *Aen.* VI, 57 says merely '. . . toto corpore invulnerabilis fuit, excepta parte qua tentus est,' a statement found almost verbatim in Myth. Vat. 1, 36. Fulgent.,

Myth. III, 7 says: 'Denique Achillem natum velut hominem perfectum mater in aquas intinguit Stigias, id est: durum contra omnes labores munit; solum ei talum non tinguit.'

10, 26-27 Cf. above p. xlvī, note 24.

10, 27-28 Statius gives no account of this prophecy, although he hints at some such dark saying uttered by Proteus: 'Agnosco monitus et Protea vera locutum' (*Achil.* I, 32). Hyg., *Fab.* 96 says merely that Thetis knew that her son would perish if he went to Troy. Cf. Catullus LXIV, 323-381, where the Parcae sing the following prophecy of the life and death of Achilles: he would be the greatest of warriors but would one day die in battle.

11, 13 ff. The Briseis episode is to be found in Homer, *Iliad* I, *passim*. Brief accounts are also found in Apollod., *Epit.* IV, 1; Hyg., *Fab.* 106; and *Myth. Vat.* I, 209. The last also contains a seemingly contradictory version in which Achilles refuses to fight because he has been promised Polyxena in marriage (I, 211). So also in Dares, *De excid.* Tr. xxx.

'*pro Breseida* probably represents *propter Briseida*, the Greek form of the accusative (as not uncommonly) retained, and *pro* substituted for *propter*.' Oldfather, 'Notes,' p. 276.

11, 13-14 The story here is hardly understandable. Briseis and Chriseis were taken as spoils from one of the surrounding cities (Proclus, *Chrest.* I mentions Lyrnessus and Pedasus; *Myth. Vat.* I, 209, Thebas and Larnesus; Hyg., *Fab.* 106, merely 'ex Mysia captivam'). Oldfather, 'Notes,' p. 276, suggests that something like 'per munus expositulaverat' would be a more sensible statement.

11, 17-19 In Hyg., *Fab.* 106 and *Myth. Vat.* I, 209 there is a brief account of the slaying of Patroclus, and Achilles' revenge on Hector. There is, however, no mention of the prearranged duel.

11, 19-20 filio Neptunij I. e., Cycnus, who, according to Proclus, was slain by Achilles when the Greeks first landed at Ilium. Ovid, *Met.* XII, 70 ff. gives a fuller account of Cycnus' death. Afterward Neptune, grieving for his son, planned with Apollo to bring about the death of Achilles (580 ff.).

11, 20 ff. The death of Penthesilea is recorded (according to Proclus) in the ancient *Aethiopis* (attributed to Arctinus of Miletus). Accounts are also to be found in Quintus Smyrnaeus, *The Fall of Troy* I; Tzetzes, *Posthomerica* 194 ff.; Apollod., *Epit.* V, 1; Dictys, *Ephem.* IV, II, III; and Dares, *De excid.* Tr. xxxvi. In Dares it is Neoptolemus who kills her. According to the ancient account (Quint. Smyrn. gives the fullest version) Achilles, after striking down the

Amazon maiden, is stricken with remorse. Thersites taunts him with having been in love with her, whereupon Achilles kills him for his foul insinuations. According to Apollod., Achilles actually fell in love with Penthesilea after her death. The author of our story here reveals the mental makeup of a Thersites.

11, 22 Memnon, son of Tithonus and Aurora, is the hero of the *Aethiopsis*. He is represented as having led his Aethiopians into battle in support of Troy after the death of Penthesilea. The story in *ET* is compressed beyond the point of coherence, and the order of events is incorrect: Penthesilea and Memnon were slain after the death of Hector. See Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopsis* (*Chrest.* ii); also Quint. Smyrn., *Fall of T.* II, 452-548; Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 234 ff., etc.

12, 2 ff. The ransom of Hector's body by Priam is told in Homer, *Iliad* xxiv, *passim*. There is no mention, however, of Polyxena's contribution. The story finds an almost exact parallel in Myth. Vat. II, 205: ' . . . rogatus a Priamo est ut sibi liceret exanime filii corpus pensatum recipere. Quo facto, Polyxena Hectoris soror in turre stans armillas et innaures illo quo fratris pensabatur corpus proiecit: qua visa Achilles, si sibi daretur, promisit ut hectorum corpus redderet, et Troianos cum Graecis, reddita tamen Helena, pacificaret.'

12, 13 'Dicens,' although ungrammatical, is probably original. The redactor probably relapsed unthinkingly into his usual formula for introducing a quotation.

12, 14-15 This sentence makes little sense, for the second clause seems to refer logically neither to Hector nor to Achilles. Oldfather ('Notes,' p. 276) prefers to believe that 'dolorere' in *Ra* represents an original 'tolerare' and that the sentence originally applied to Achilles. 'The absurd *dolorere*, taken to be "sorrow for," may have suggested *fratris tui* as a gloss on *taetae iuventutis* . . . and the words *fratris tui* deflect the relative *quem* from its proper antecedent. *Consuetudinem*, or something of the sort, needed to give a construction to *iuventutis* may have dropped out . . . The whole sentence would then have run: "Credimus quod debes tolerare (consuetudinem) *taetae iuventutis* contra quem nec unus hominum manum ausus est levare." ' The present text can be read only if we assume that the redactor thought of *dolere* as governing the genitive, perhaps by analogy with *misereri*, and that the clause 'quem . . . levare' is a bit of parental exaggeration. It is possible, however, that it reflects a pro-Trojan tradition according to which Achilles killed Hector by treachery and, in fact, gained all his victories unfairly. Cf. Guido, *Hist. Destruct. Troiae* xxii (p. 175) and especially xxvi (p. 206): 'Attende, miser Homere, quod nunquam Achilles virum strenuum nisi proditorie interfecit.'

12, 20 ff. The account of Achilles' death resembles a number of classical versions, yet differs from all in having Achilles married to Polyxena and later betrayed by her. In Quint. Smyrn., *Fall of T.* III, 53 ff. Apollo, angered by the audacity of Achilles, envelops himself in a cloud and shoots him in the ankle. In Proclus' account of the *Aethiopis* (*Chrest.* ii) and also in Ovid, *Met.* XII, 604 ff. and Apollod., *Epit.* v, 3 Achilles is killed on the battlefield by Paris and Apollo. In Servius, *Aen.* III, 321; Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 385 ff.; Dares, *De excid.* Tr. xxxiv; and Myth. Vat. II, 205 Achilles promises to make peace if he is given Polyxena in marriage; a meeting in the temple is accordingly arranged, at which Achilles is killed. Tzetzes and Hyg. (*Fab.* 110) say that he is set upon by Paris and Deiphobus, while Myth. Vat. and Servius relate that he was shot by Paris from behind the statue, '... unde fingitur quod tenente Apolline Paris direxerit tela' (*Aen.* VI, 57). In neither of these last two accounts is Achilles shot specifically 'in talo.'

13, 5 This is the first of several short, redundant sentences which may well be the titles of marginal drawings in the archetype or a common ancestor of our MSS. *Ri*, incidentally, has such a drawing at this point, its title being written into the text.

13, 5 Oldfather ('Notes,' p. 273) points out that *Eas* is the other *Aiax*, or *Aiax Oileus*. '*Eas* is merely *Aias* passing through the intermediary form *Aeas*. In *Eace* [above, II, 27] we probably have *Aeace* from *Aiace*, the normal Latin form of *Aias*. The better known Telamonian had his name changed correctly to *Aiax*; in the case of the less prominent Locrian the name was not recognized and the treatment was inconsistent.'

13, 11 ff. Quint. Smyrn., *Fall of T.* VII, 169 ff. gives a full account of the fetching of Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) from Scyros after his father's death.

14, 1 'Tenedos,' like 'parthenos' above, is considered indeclinable by our redactor.

14, 8-9 The building of the wooden horse is, of course, to be found in Virgil and numerous other sources. Most late medieval accounts follow Guido, *Hist. Destruct. Troiae* xxx (p. 230 ff.) in making it a horse of brass. For an extremely ornate horse see Tryphiodorus, *The Taking of Ilium* 57 ff., and Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 631 ff.

14, 11-13 This conversation is not in *Aen.* In some respects, it corresponds to Quint. Smyrn., *Fall of T.* XII, 238 ff. See above, p. lxii.

14, 13 See 14, 16 below.

14, 16 Cf. Du Cange, *pendex*; Forcellini, *Tot. Lat. Lex.*, *pendix*, 'slope of a hill.' Perhaps 'ante pendacem cinctum,' occurring here in the source, was misunderstood by the redactor as a formula describing Sinon and was therefore inserted meaninglessly at 14, 13 above. Note that *L*, which retains 'pendacem' above, here writes 'pendicem' as though the scribe were able to understand the word in this context. This interpretation is supported by *Eneas* (ed. de Grave, Paris, 1925-29), l. 950: 'tot nu lié sor le fossé,' and paralleled by Marlowe, *Dido* l. 445 (*Works*, ed. Brooke, Oxford, 1925): 'Who groveling in the mire of Zanthus banks.' On the other hand, the phrase may possibly represent a popular idiom for 'to blindfold,' or may have been so interpreted. *Ri* at this point has a drawing of a blindfolded figure, presumably Sinon, beside the wooden horse. Cf. also *Tróujmanna Saga* p. 90: 'hann [Sínón] hafði band fyrri augum.' Cf. p. lxvii.

15, 12 The extra sentence in *L* is probably not part of the original text, despite the perfect explanation of a scribal omission it provides by the repetition of 'sanguine meo Apollini.' It is too ungrammatical even for *ET*; and Virgil, who is being followed in this context, writes simply: 'iamque dies infanda aderat' (*Aen.* II, 132).

15, 15-16 This is hopelessly corrupt. Apparently something has dropped out of the text.

15, 18 Obviously a gloss. Servius, *Aen.* III, 3 explains that Troy was Neptune's city because he and Apollo surrounded it with walls.

16, 16 Obviously a gloss on 'leva.' Here, as for the gloss on 'angues' below, the reason for the gloss is made apparent by the confused readings of *L* and *Ri*.

17, 15 On 'somno vinoque' Servius, *Aen.* II, 265, comments: '. . . ostendere vult nihil magnum a Graecis factum quod obtinuerint civitatem'—a pro-Trojan conception certainly not apparent in *ET*.

17, 19 The scribes of *Ra* and *Ri*, although probably not the original redactor, apparently took Pelides and Neoptolemus for different men. *Ra* we take to represent the text of *ET*, *Ri* a correction by reference to the *Aen.*

17, 21 In *Aen.* II, 255-256 the fleet signals to Sinon. *ET* follows most classical accounts in having Sinon lift a signal to the fleet. In Apollod., *Epit.* v, 19 and Tryphiod., *Excid. Il.* 510-511 he lifts his beacon from the grave of Achilles. Quint. Smyrn., *Fall of T.* XIII, 23 merely states that Sinon lifts a torch.

17, 23-24 This, and a similar sentence below (35, 9), may also be titles of

illustrations that have crept into the text. The subject, however, seems unsuitable to a miniature.

19, 26 Note that this title of a miniature, like that of the death of Polyxena below, has twice crept into the text of both *L* and *Ri*.

20, 1-4 The sacrifice of Polyxena at the grave of Achilles is told, as we have stated above (lxii-lxiii), in Apollod., *Epit.* v, 23; Proclus' summary of the *Ilii Persis* 1; Quint. Smyrn., *Fall of T.* xiv, 209-328; Tryphiod., *Taking of Ilium* 686 ff.; Hyg., *Fab.* 110; Ovid, *Met.* xiii, 439-480; Dictys, *Ephem.* v, 13; Myth. Vat. II, 205; and Servius, *Aen.* III, 321. The events which led Pyrrhus to slay her are variously given, but it is agreed that she had betrayed his father, as in *ET*. Servius gives two versions: according to one (also given in Myth. Vat. II, 205) it is Achilles' dying request that Polyxena be killed: 'Achilles moriens petiit, ut evicta Troia ad eius sepulcrum Polyxena immolaretur;' according to the other, when the Greeks are preparing to depart, they hear a voice from the tomb of Achilles 'querentis, quod sibi soli de praeda nihil impertivissent.' Calchas therefore advises that they slay Polyxena so that the dead Achilles will get his share of the spoils. Quint. Smyrn., *Fall of T.* xiv, 185-222, tells that Achilles' ghost speaks to Pyrrhus, and after some fatherly advice tells him that Polyxena must be sacrificed at his tomb as his share of the spoils; otherwise he will stir up storms and prevent their return. The burial of Polyxena in Achilles' tomb is unclassical, and was probably inspired by the description of Mezentius' tortures (45, 8-10). In Quint. Smyrn., *Fall of T.* xiv, 320-326 her body is given back to the Trojans and Antenor buries it near his home.

20, 7 The beginning of a 'liber Eneydum' at this point by *Ri* is a logical division of the story, but the adjoining sentences are inconsistent with this version of Polyxena's death and are clearly an interpolation.

22, 8 *evanuit*] Possibly a gallicism; cf. Fr. *s'évanouir*, 'to faint' (Oldfather).

22, 24 *non parva*] Perhaps a mechanical repetition of the formula used above.

23, 17 Note the reappearance of 'Odiseus' (for Ulixes). On the significance of this form, see p. xviii.

23, 23 ff. In later classical tradition the Cyclopes were associated with Aetna and Vulcan, and were conceived of as smiths. In Apollon. Rhod., *Argon.* I, 509-511 and 730-734 they are given the task of forging the thunderbolts of Zeus. The setting of Euripides' *Cyclops* is in Sicily, just below the volcano.

24, 23-25 There is no account of Anchises' burial in *Aen.*, and Servius (*Aen.* III, 711) expresses wonder that none is given.

25, 5 The scribe of *Ra* has here perhaps been influenced by one of Fulgentius' insane etymologies: 'Palinurus enim quasi planonorus, id est errabunda visio' (*Virgiliana* p. 95). In *Aen.* it is Orontes and the Lycians who are drowned at this point; Palinurus is lost later (v, 833-871).

25, 9-15 In the *Aen.* Palinurus falls off the boat in his sleep during the journey from Sicily to Italy and is carried to Italy only to be killed by savages (v, 833 ff.). Aeneas meets him beside the Styx, and this passage is part of his plea that Aeneas either return and perform burial rites or conduct him personally to the lower world. The transference of these words to the drowning man is perhaps the worst ineptitude in this version of the story (*Aen.* vi, 364-371).

25, 12 The substitution of 'nomine' for 'numine,' almost inevitable where the MSS of *ET* have not been corrected by reference to the *Aen.*, is doubtless a result of Christian phraseology.

26, 24 Abar] Used vaguely to designate a Punic city in Africa; cf. Forcellini, *Tot. Lat. Lex.* vii, 3.

26, 24 Cf. Festus, *De verborum significatu*: 'Clipeum antiqui ob rotunditatem etiam corium bovis appellarunt' (Oldfather). An original 'clipeo' may have been corrupted to 'clipea' to agree with 'civitas.'

27, 8 Note the 'dominus' of *L* and *Ri* as another example of the influence of Christian habits of speech. Cf. also 'Ergo gaudete; et in deo sperate' below.

27, 12 *Aen.* i, 316-317 describes Venus as appearing 'qualis equos Threissa fatigat Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.' The writer apparently thought 'Arpalice' a generic term for huntress. For the idiom 'in Arpalice' cf. 'in parthenos' (9, 20).

27, 14 'Comam capitis vinctam habens' (*Ra*, *Ri*) is grammatically more attractive but contradicts *Aen.* i, 319: 'dederatque comam diffundere ventis.' Perhaps the archetype read 'comam capiti vittam,' and *L*, failing to understand the rare (and here very forced) construction, added 'in.'

28, 19 ff. Although Virgil (*Aen.* i, 443-447) mentions the horse's head, this explanation of it was no doubt taken from other sources. It differs from the accounts of Justin, *Historia Philippicarum* xviii, 5; Myth. Vat. i, 216; and Servius, *Aen.* i, 443 in stating that the horse's head appeared in the sacrificial fire. In all the accounts mentioned the head is dug up during the excavation for the foundations of Carthage.

29, 13 The fettering of the Trojans is not to be found in Virgil.

30, 17 ff. See above, pp. lxx-lxxvi. Dido gives no such account of herself in Virgil, although part of it corresponds to Venus' speech in *Aen.* 1, 340 ff.

30, 23 in venatione] *Aen.* 1, 349 has 'ante aras.' This was probably altered to conform to the later murder of Sergestus (Aegesthus) in a hunting party (56, 9).

30, 26-27 According to Servius, *Aen.* 1, 363 Dido later throws these treasures overboard to avoid pursuit, 'qua re visa sequentes reversi sunt.' Justin, *Hist. Phil.* xviii, 4, however, tells that these were merely sacks filled with sand, which the pursuers took to be the treasures of Acerbas.

31, 3 This attempt to found Syracuse is not to be found in Virgil. Nor is it in Justin or Servius or Myth. Vat., although in Justin (*Hist. Phil.* xviii, 5) she attempts to settle in Cyprus, but leaves because of Pygmalion's pursuit.

31, 9-10 The text seems hopeless here in all MSS, and must have been tampered with in some way. If 'limare' (*Ra*) should be regarded as sound, it would have to represent some such original form as 'limaretur,' which is needed to complete the clause beginning with 'que,' and which could, by scribal inattention, have been assimilated into the immediately following word 'lineare.' The archetype would then have read: 'adversus quod corrigia que de corio tauri limaretur lineare potuit.' On the other hand, 'lineare potui' (*L*) could be read if 'corrigia que' were regarded as an intrusion: '. . . adversus quod [corrigia que] de corio tauri lineare potui.' Thus 'potuit' (*Ra*, *Ri*) could be regarded as an alteration to agree with the intruding 'corrigia.' The fact that Dido cut the bull's hide into a narrow strip ('corrigia') is not stated in the *Aen.*, but is to be found in other sources: Justin, *Hist. Phil.* xviii, 5; Myth. Vat. 1, 214; and Servius, *Aen.* 1, 367.

32, 22 Here *Ra* probably preserves the redactor's version, badly garbled by *L*, although *Ri* follows *Aen.* 1, 660: 'incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.'

33, 26 After 'famule' *L* interrupts *ET* with eight folios (41-48v) of Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae historia* (corresponding to pp. 19, 21-36, 12 of Meister's edition), which must have become separated from the text of Dares (called in *L* *De exitu Troianorum*) that immediately precedes *ET*. Fol. 49 resumes *ET* without interruption.

34, 22-23 See p. lx above for a discussion of the redactor's apparent habit of quoting entire lines regardless of meaning or grammatical structure.

34, 25 in Arpalyce] Cf. the notes to 9, 20 and 27, 12.

35, 16-20 The breaking of the quotation (*Aen.* iv, 206-208) with an extraneous line, common to all three MSS, seems to prove the failure of the redactor to understand the verses he quoted. It should be compared with his habit of writing in meaningless words to complete a verse (cf. p. lx).

36, 6 One is tempted to amend to 'aëre' and read 'Cartaginem' with *L*, *Ri*; but Mercury is said (*Aen.* iv, 260) to find Aeneas 'fundantem arces,' and the occurrence of the Greek form in this text is not improbable.

36, 19-20 Cf. Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women* 1325 ff.

37, 11 'Litrina' (*L*, *Ra*) from 'litrino' (cf. 'Liburno'). See Du Cange, *lutrinus*, from *luter*, 'canthari aquarii,' and cf. Gr. λουτήρ. 'Urna electrina' (*Ri*) must be simply a scribal revision.

37, 22-38, 17 This conversation with the 'cives' is entirely un-Virgilian. Although there are several accounts of Aeneas' arrival in Italy, none is quite like this. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* i, 57-58, says that Latinus marched against Aeneas, but after a parley allowed him to settle and found Lavinium.

39, 2-5 Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* i, 56 and Dio Cassius, *Roman Hist.* (according to Tzetzes on Lycophron's *Alexander* v, 1232) tell that the sow broke from the Trojans' boat on landing, ran to the top of the hill, and there bore a litter of thirty.

39, 8 The Seven Hills are not mentioned at this point in Virgil. Evander's home was, more particularly, the Palatine, where Faunus allowed him to settle when he emigrated from Arcadia before the Trojan War. See Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* i, 31.

39, 9 condita] Here, as above (see 33, 26), two folios (*L* 53, 54) from the text of Dares (containing pp. 9, 11-13, 5) interrupt *ET*. Note that 'condita' is completed on fol. 55 ('condi' 52v, 'ta' 55).

39, 12 According to Livy, i, iii; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* i, 66; Appian, *Rom. Hist.* i; and Myth. Vat. i, 202, it was Ascanius who founded Alba. It is therefore strange that this author should depart from Virgil (i, 267-271) in having Silvius found it.

39, 15-20 This assembly and farewell speech are not in the *Aen.* Cf. p. lxvi.

41, 1 The paraphrase of *Aen.* x, 166-200, which *Ri* adds at this point was doubtless made by the scribe who corrected and enlarged some of the quotations and who must have been familiar with the *Aen.* Note that he has made one extensive change below ('Evandro aliisque provinciis') to support this insertion. He may well be responsible also for the considerable rewriting of the text for which no reason is apparent.

43, 19 There is no third time in *Aen.*, although Nisus later (ix, 441-443) *kills* Volcens. Cf. lxvii above.

43, 24 is—evaserat] Undoubtedly a gloss on Nisus that has crept into the text at the wrong place.

45, 4 After 'cepit' begins the longest of the gaps in *L*, a gap which continues almost to the end of *ET* (55, 2). Apparently eight or nine folios have dropped out of the MS.

45, 23 ff. In Virgil this is the same battle that began upon the return of Aeneas.

46, 23 When the townspeople of Ostia describe Turnus just after Aeneas' arrival in Italy, *L* and *Ra* give the form 'Daunus,' as in Virgil. From this point on both *Ra* and *Ri* call the father, incorrectly, 'Draunus.'

47, 9-10 *Ra* seems to embody a hopelessly corrupt recollection of *Aen.* viii, 160: 'tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas;' and *Aen.* x, 324: 'flaventem prima lanugine malas.' Oldfather proposes 'cui (malas) (or cui (genas)) mox . . .' The text of *Ri* is obviously, we think, a drastic scribal rewriting.

47, 16 plagas—calcavit] This detail is not in *Aen.*

52, 10 *Ri* omits from 'contigit ut' to 'Eneas erecta hasta post Turnum impetum fecit' (54, 16). The gap occurs in the middle of a grammatically complete sentence in the middle of *Ri* 71v. There is therefore no possibility of a loss of leaves from *Ri*, although something of the sort must have happened to a MS from which *Ri* is derived. The alternate hypothesis, that *Ra* transmits a lengthy addition, is possible, but improbable in view of the fact that the passage in question seems to be stylistically consistent with the rest of *ET* and contains important incidents at the very climax of the entire story.

52, 14 <vid> es] A blot makes the first three letters of this word illegible in *Ra*.

53, 18 After 'diebus' something must have fallen out of the text, although *Ra* shows no signs of any omission.

54, 29 Of course the *Aeneid* ends at this point, although some of the following events are forecast in I, 257-296, and VI, 756-853. The facts that Aeneas married Lavinia, obtained the kingdom, and founded Lavinium, are related in a number of sources. According to versions given in Livy, I, i; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 59-63; Tzetzes on Lycoph. v, 1232; Zonaras, *Epit.* 7, 1; and Appian, *Rom. Hist.* I (according to Photius), Aeneas marries and builds the city before the battle with Turnus and the Rutuli. Ovid, *Met.* XIV, 449-451 and Myth. Vat. I, 202 agree with Virgil in having Aeneas first defeat Turnus.

55, 3-4 This is an incoherent reference to the death of Aeneas, concerning which there are several traditions. Livy, I, ii; Appian, *Rom. Hist.* I; and Tzetzes on Lycoph. v, 1232 tell that he was killed in battle with the Rutuli. According to Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 64; Myth. Vat. I, 202; and Servius, *Aen.* I, 259 he disappeared near the river Numicus, and was either drowned or translated into a god. Ovid, *Met.* XIV, 600-608 prefers the latter conception; Venus has his mortal part washed away in the river and receives him into heaven. So also Maphaeus Vegius, in his *Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid*, 623-630.

55, 4 Virgil (*Aen.* I, 261-266) may intimate that Aeneas is to rule but three years. However, Servius (*Aen.* I, 265) prefers to believe that this passage means three years will elapse before Aeneas founds Lavinium. Three years, however, is the length of his reign in Appian, *Rom. Hist.* I, i, Myth. Vat. I, 202, and every other source we have examined.

55, 8 The flight of Lavinia from Ascanius is not related in Livy or forecast in Virgil, although both (Livy I, iii; *Aen.* VI, 765) tell that Silvius was born in the woods. Accounts of her flight and the birth of Silvius are found in Myth. Vat. I, 202; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 70; and Servius, *Aen.* I, 270. In Livy, Silvius is the son of Ascanius, rather than his brother, as in the other accounts.

55, 10-11 In Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 70 Ascanius rules 38 years.

55, 12 Ascanius himself was the traditional founder of Alba. Virgil, *Aen.* I, 267-271; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 66; Livy, I, iii; and Dio, *Rom. Hist.* (Tzetzes on Lycoph. v, 1232) tell that he founded it 30 years after the founding of Lavinium. This, of course, is the significance of the white sow with 30 young.

55, 21 According to most mythographers, Ascanius rather than Postumus Silvius ruled in Alba. Myth. Vat. I, 202 states that he allowed Lavinia to rule Lavinium.

55, 22 Livy, I, iii; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 70; and Dio (according to Tzetzes and Zonaras) all state that Silvius rather than Ascanius' son Iulus was chosen

king. Dionys. relates that although Iulus sought the kingship and was rejected, he was given a certain holy power and honor. It hardly seems that this is implied in 'privatizare.'

55, 23 *diversi reges*] According to Livy, I, iii they were: Aeneas Silvius, Latinus Silvius, Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Romulus Silvius, Aventinus, Proca.

55, 27 ff. This account of the division of Procas' estate is evidently a compressed version of that found in Plutarch, *Romulus* III, in which Amulius gives his brother a choice of riches or kingdom. Numitor chooses the kingdom, but Amulius later takes it away from him. Most versions merely state that Amulius usurped the kingdom, which rightfully belonged to Numitor—e.g., Livy, I, iii; Myth. Vat. I, 30; Ovid, *Met.* XIV, 772–775; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 71.

56, 6–7 *Sergestus*] His correct name is Aegestus. The redactor no doubt confused him with Sergestus, the companion of Aeneas (*Aen.* I, 510, etc.).

56, 7 ff. The mother of Romulus and Remus is variously denominated as Ilia, Silvia, and Rhea. The account here given of the plot against Numitor's offspring is essentially the same as that contained in Servius, *Aen.* I, 273; Myth. Vat. I, 30; Livy, I, iii; Plutarch, *Rom.* III; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 76; Appian, *Rom. Hist.* I; and Dio (Tzetzes on Lycoph. v, 1232). Only the last of these, however, mentions the definite prophecy that Amulius would be killed by Numitor's issue.

56, 13 ff. Livy (I, iv) is very skeptical about the belief that Mars was the father of Ilia's twins. So also are Plutarch (*Rom.* IV), and Dionys. (*Rom. Antiq.* I, 77), both of whom seem to suspect Amulius himself. The account of the infancy of Romulus and Remus is orthodox and practically universal.

56, 20–21 This is distorted, but evidently the remnant of a quite scholarly and critical attitude toward fables. Plutarch at this same point (*Rom.* IV) says that both a she-wolf and a woodpecker were said to have fed the twins; and since both creatures were sacred to Mars, the belief was accepted that Mars was the father of Ilia's children. See also Myth. Vat. I, 30: 'et constat hoc animal esse in tutela Martis.'

56, 23–24 The more skeptical mythographers and historians discredited the she-wolf story by explaining that Acca Laurentia was a whore (called in Latin slang *lupa*, whence *lupanar*, 'brothel'). See Myth. Vat. I, 30; Livy, I, iv; Plutarch, *Rom.* IV; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* I, 84; and Servius, *Aen.* I, 273. Tertullian (*Apologeticus* XIII, 9) deplors the fact that so shameless a creature should be held in high esteem by the Romans.

57, 5 ff. For a great variety of legends concerning the founding of Rome see Festus; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* 1, *passim*; and Plutarch, *Rom.* 1-11. That here given is the most popular, although woefully incomplete.

57, 14-19 This is the most libellous of many cynical passages, and implies that Romulus was a cowardly wretch. In other accounts the Sabine women rush out with their children of their own accord, and plead with the men to desist from the unholy struggle: e.g., Ovid, *Fasti* III, 206-224; Appian (Photius, fragm. v).

57, 22 Numa Populius] I.e., Numa Pompilius.

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Romulus 39, 9; 56, 15, 21; 57, 2, 4, 14, 19, 21.

Rutili (= Rutuli) 44, 1.

S

Sabini 57, 9.

Sabinenses [Savinenses *L Ri*] 57, 8, 10, 16.

Samandradi, gloss on Samothracia 22, 2 (*Ri*).

Samothracia 22, 2.

Saturnus, father of Picus 38, 12.

Sergestus (for Aegestus), son of Numitor 56,
6-7, 8.

Sicheus, husband of Dido 28, 1; 30, 20; 37, 11.

Sicilia [Cicilia *Ra*] 23, 5, 23; 24, 14, 23; 30, 5;
31, 2; 37, 12.

Sidon 28, 3. *Tiro Sidone* 30, 19.

Sidonius (adj.), -ia *Dido* 27, 27; 28, 19, 26.

Silvius (see Postumus Silvius).

Sinon, kinsman of Palamedes 14, 11, 12, 16, 22;
15, 3, 22, 23, 25; 17, 6, 16, 21.

Siracusa 31, 3.

Sol 52, 6.

Stenelus [Stenalus *Ri*], Greek warrior 17, 18.

Stigius (adj.), -iam . . . *paludem* 25, 13 (Virg.
quot.).

Stix [Stigie *L*] 10, 24.

Sydonienses 28, 2.

T

Tarpeius, one of the Seven Hills 39, 8.

Telamonius (see Ajax Telamonius).

Tenedos, island 13, 20, 23, 24, 26; 14, 1, 8;
16, 2, 22; 17, 21.

Tessandrus [Texandrus *Ra*], Greek warrior 17,
18.

Terra 52, 6.

Teucris 16, 11; 18, 5; 23, 11 (Virg. quot.).

Thetis [Tetis *Ra Ri*], a Nereid, mother of
Achilles 3, 1, 8, 11; 9, 18; 10, 22; 11, 1.

Thiro (for Tyros) 37, 8 (Virg. quot.).

Tiberinus, Tiburinus (37, 20) (adj.), -us *fluvius*,
-um *flumen* 37, 20; 38, 20, 25; 39, 21; 40, 20;
55, 13.

Tiberius 57, 25.

Tirius (adj.), -ie *Cartaginis* 35, 23.

Tirrenus [Tyrrenus *Ri*], (adj.), -um . . . *equor*
26, 2 (Virg. quot.).

Tirus (adj.) (see also Thiro and Tyrus), -o *Sidone*
30, 19.

Toas [Thoas *Ri*], Greek warrior 17, 19.

Tracia [Traicus *L*, Traycus *Ri*] 22, 12; 49, 5.

Troes 18, 5 (Virg. quot.).

Troia [Troia *Ri*] 3, 25; 4, 2, 4, 6; 5, 14, 15, 17,
20, 21, 25, 27; 6, 26; 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 25;
10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 20; 11, 9, 11, 13; 13, 11,
14, 18, 19, 21; 14, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 19; 15, 4,
18; 16, 2, 16; 17, 1, 13, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25; 18,
4; 19, 20, 24; 20, 7, 14; 21, 9, 26, 27; 23, 18,
19; 24, 18; 28, 10, 27; 29, 2, 4, 20; 30, 2, 4;
33, 9, 16; 37, 25; 38, 1; 49, 10, 11. *Excidium*
-ae, 3, 1; 57, 29.

Troianus [**Trojanus Ri**], applied to Aeneas 34, 7; 41, 5; 49, 8. **Troiani** 3, 28; 8, 19; 9, 5; 11, 11, 24; 14, 1, 19; 16, 26; 21, 4, 22-23; 24, 28; 29, 14; 37, 25; 51, 3.
Troianus (adj.), *-as opes* 33, 11; *civis -us* 37, 24; *-e . . . gentis* 55, 25.
Tunicus [**Heliagus L, Tirias Ra**] (adj.), *-as opes* 32, 3 (Virg. quot.).
Turnus, ally of Latinus 38, 14, 15; 40, 17; 41, 3, 12, 15; 42, 1, 13, 15, 18, 20, 25; 43, 6-7; 44, 4, 10, 14, 18, 20; 45, 5, 22, 24, 25; 46, 1, 8, 10, 11, 12, 17, 27, 29; 48, 8, 22; 49, 2, 3; 50, 4, 19, 22, 26; 51, 12, 14, 20, 22, 30; 52, 12, 13, 28, 31; 53, 2, 6, 10, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 22, 26, 31; 54, 1, 4, 7, 9, 14, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 28.
Tydides 15, 21 (Virg. quot. *add. L*).
Tyrus (see also **Thiro** and **Tirius**) 28, 3. **Tiro Sidone** 30, 19.

U

Ulixes (also called **Odisseus**) 17, 18; 23, 6, 14, 16; 33, 14.

V

Vaticanus, one of the Seven Hills 39, 8.
Velinus (adj.), *portus . . . -os* 25, 11 (Virg. quot.).
Venulus 49, 6, 7-8, 14, 15; 51, 1, 5.
Venus 3, 15; 4, 23; 5, 4, 10, 17; 6, 28; 7, 1, 11, 25; 8, 2, 20; 9, 2; 17; 25; 27, 12, 21; 29, 23, 27; 32, 14, 26; 33, 1; 34, 12, 17, 18; 37, 24; 52, 23, 34; 53, 8, 9.
Virgilianus (adj.), *-na lingua* 14, 3-4.
Virgilius, citations of, 13, 23; 16, 6; 17, 9; 18, 1; 19, 23; 25, 17; 33, 9, 23; 54, 12.
Vulcanus, 'deus ignis' 23, 23, 25; 40, 7.
Vulcens [**Ulixes, Ulscentes Ri**] 43, 6, 8, 13, 19-20; 44, 8.

Y

Ypolites (= **Polites**), son of Priam 19, 14.

Z

Zephirus 26, 16 (*pl.*, as common noun?) 35, 22.

SUPPLEMENT

[The following names occur in the catalogue of Aeneas' allies found in *MS Ri* only,
41, 1 (cf. *Aen.* X, 166-203)]

Abas, leader of the Populonians.
Adsiles (= **Asilas**), leader of the Pisans.
Astur (= **Astyr**), Etruscan leader.
Capavi (? associated with Cupavo).
Cupavus (= **Cupavo**), Etruscan leader.
Chosae (= **Cosae**), Etruscan city.
Cinirus (= **Cinyras**), leader of the Ligurians.
Ciusim (= **Clusium**), Etruscan city.
Gravisae (= **Gravisciae**), Etruscan city.
Ilba (= **Ilva**, **Elba**), Etruscan island.
Ligures, Ligurians, led by Cinyras.
Manto, prophetess, mother of Ocnus.

Mantua, city, named for Manto.
Massicus, head of the Etruscans.
Ocirus (= **Ocnus**), founder of Mantua.
Pelopis (= **Pelops**; **Pelopide** = **Pelope**), son of
Tantalus; associated with Pisa.
Pirgi (= **Pyrgi**), Etruscan city.
Pisa, Etruscan city.
Populania (= **Populonia**), Etruscan city.
Tantalus, father of Pelops.
Tusci, Tuscans, Etruscans.
Tuscia, Etruria.
Tuscus (adj.), *-ie civitas* (= **Pisa**).