THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA
PUBLICATION No. 44

EXCIDIUM TROIAE
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with Mr O. T. Holloway of the Bodleian Library he was able to determine that this manuscript contained a hitherto unpublished Latin version of the Trojan War, and to obtain an excellent photostatic copy of the entire text.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to prepare an edition, complete with introduction, variants, and notes, of the entire text, and not merely of the unpublished portion.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 cooperation 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
Preface

We are indebted to a number of libraries for their courteous cooperation: 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.
CONTENTS

PREFACE .................................................. v

INTRODUCTION .......................................... xi
  I. Nature and Probable Origin of the *Excidium Troiae* ........ xi
  II. The Troy Story in the *Excidium Troiae* and the Problem of an "Enlarged Roman de Troie" ........ xxi
  III. The Troy Story: Further Literary Relationships .......... xxxi
  IV. The Troy Story: Analysis of Episodes ................ xlii
  V. The Redaction of Virgil ........................... lix
  VI. The History of Rome ................................ lxxii
  VII. Literary Characteristics of the *Excidium Troiae* .... lxxv
  VIII. Manuscripts and Text ................................ lxxvii

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANALOGOUS TEXTS ................. lxxxvii

*Excidium Troiae* ........................................ 3

CRITICAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY ..................... 58

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES ................................ 77

PLATES
(with page to line references to the text)

I Florence, RICCARDIANA 881, fol. 59r (pp. 16, 11–17, 11) [frontispiece]
II Florence, RICCARDIANA 881, fol. 61v (pp. 23, 2–24, 16)
III Florence, LAURENTIAN LXVI, 49, fols. 35v–36r (pp. 26, 25–28, 4)
IV Oxford, RAWLINSON D 893, fol. 83v (pp. 19, 26–23, 1)
INTRODUCTION

I. NATURE AND PROBABLE ORIGIN

THE ANONYMOUS *Excidium Troiae* (*ET*), contained in three known manuscripts, may conveniently be divided, with regard to its content, into three parts. 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; 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, 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 suks 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, 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 Paris omits Discordia and the apple entirely. Moreover, the order of events could surely not have come from those sources. 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. The account of Hecuba's sinister dream agrees rather closely with that of Ovid; 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; yet ET disagrees with Hyginus and agrees with Apollodorus of Athens 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. 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. 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. 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 Odисseus 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 rewriting.

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 naive 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
Introduction

‘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,’ 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, 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. The mannerism of asking questions and then answering them is characteristic of Servius and his age, 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’—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, 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); Venus’ promise ‘Ego tibi dabo pulchrior-rem 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). 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.

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.

As in the case of Dares and Dictys, 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. 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. 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:
Introduction

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 'Odisseus.' 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. Most of those which survive from the original author may be taken to mean merely that he had a knowledge of Greek, and (as Oldfather points out) 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' 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. But probably the most significant of the Grecisms is the name 'Odisseus,' 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 'Odisseus' 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 Odisseus 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. 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 naïve 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 923 (Ra); Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 88r (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 Troiana (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 Fabulæ, no. 92.

6 Heroïdes, xvi.
Introduction

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), 1, 661 ff. Proclus' summary of the *Cypris* begins with the wedding of Peleus.

9 *Heroides*, xvi, 43 ff.
10 *Fabulae*, no. 91.
11 *The Library*, iii, xii, 5.
13 See the discussion below, p. xviii.
15 *ET*, p. 52, 16-17; *Aen.*, xi, 813-815 (ed. H. R. Fairclough, London, 1930), Juno says:

> iuturnam misero (fateor) succurrere fratri
> suasi et pro vita maior aude 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 Troi*', *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.

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.'

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 *eicere* 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.

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

26 Other Latin accounts besides *ET* used the comparative form in this inscription; the *Compendium Historiae Troianae-Romanae* has 'pulcriori debitetur'; in the *General Estoria* of Alfonso el Sabio and in the anonymous *Istorietta Troiana* the inscription reads 'pulchriori debitur'—evidently quoted from
Introduction

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.

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

See the note to p. 9, 20 below.

These episodes are analyzed in section IV below.

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. Körtig, Dictys und Dares (Halle, 1871); N. E. Griffin, Dares and Dictys (Baltimore, 1907) and 'The Greek Dictys,' Amer. Journ. Phil., xxix (1908), 329-335.

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.

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, xxiv (1912), 71-165.

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 λαμαρισμα formula of New Testament Greek. One might also note the often recurring κεπιν infinitive to form what amounts to an ingressive aorist: 'cepit eum velle revocare' (6, 4), etc. This corresponds to the Greek idiom involving ἅρπασαι, and may have some connection with it. Also interesting is εἰκερε with the meaning of ἐδεικε: 'reginam de palatio . . . fuisse iectam' (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 (ἐκεβάλλεν, ἐκεβάλε). 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 εἰκερε see H. Rönsch, Italia und Vulgata (Marburg, 1875), pp. 361-362; E. Löststedt, 'Lateinisch-Griechische Parallelen,' Symbolae Philologicae O. A. Danielstob Octogenerio Dicatae (Upsala, 1932), pp. 179 ff., and Syntaxica (2 vols., Lund, 1928-33), 11, 445 ff. On εἰκερε see ibid., 11, 450 ff.


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

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. Bahrens (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?

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 (j, 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), 11, 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 Sege or Batayle of Troye. A. Zietsch, 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, observing numerous correspondences between the Sege 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, 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, 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, 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 top-heavy, was valiantly attacked by Miss M. E. Barnicle in her edition of the Sege. 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 relates 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* 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, 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. 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. 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 wi> 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. 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, as well as in the other two versions, 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, while in the Seege and the Trójumanna Saga Hecuba sends him directly into the keeping of a herdsman; 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. The Seege agrees with the Trojanska Priča that Paris was seven years old when sent to the fields. 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.

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
Introduction

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. 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.

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, of his enchantment in magic waters, 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, 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, Priami, and Priamō, while in the portion
drawn from the Roman he usually uses Priant, which is in turn verdeutscht to Priandes, neither of which forms appears toward the beginning of the poem. In the Saga such forms as 'til Thetidem,' 'var sagoir Priamó,' 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 Benoit, 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 Apollodorus 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. 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, and when the former makes
mention of the vulnerable spot of Achilles, where he is later slain. 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, 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, Jupiter, 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 herdsman 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 saw & fyȝte bole or bor,
Or any oþir best, lasse or more,
He hadde gret ioye heom to by-holde
Whiche of heom oþir overcome scholde;
þeo child wolde do ilke best to fyȝte
And hade gret ioye of þat syȝte;
Wilke best wolde fyȝte & stande
He wolde him coroun þip a garlande

(MSL, 281–288).
Konrad von Würzburg:

sō vremde pfarren dicke striten
mit den sinen von geschiht,
son lie3 er sin engelten niht,
da3 si dā fremde wāren.
er wolte rehtes vären
und tet in guot gerihte kunt.
swa3 dā gesigte bi der stunt:
e3 wäre ein ohse, e3 wäre ein wider,
da3 reht enleit er dō niht nider,
wan er im eine cröne
sazt ūf sin 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 sét, ok barðist við einn af hans griðúngum, ok varð og sigraðr er Alexandr átti, þá setti þórr kórónu af dýrlegum blómum yfir höfuð hans; ok annan dag kom griðúngr, ok fór sem hinn fyrra dag; ok hinn þríðja dag komm hinn sami griðúngr, ok mátti sá minna fyrst, er Alexandr átti, ok þá batt hann brodd einn mikinn í enní 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 svá fyrri sigri 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 griðungr 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 mittelenglischen Gedichtes 'Seige 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).
5 Hamilton, 'Gower's Use of the Enlarged Roman de Troie,' PMLA, xx (1905), 179-196.
8 Lincoln's Inn MS (L) (Miss Barnicle's edition):
   And si þen he made his parlement
   And after al his kyndam sent . . .
   først þenne saide Priamus . . .
   'y schal heom þeue a newe bataile
   And weorre on heom boþe ny3t 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 messender 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 Literarischen Vereins, xlv, 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 fyþte & stande
   He wolde him coroune wiþ a garlande.
Introduction

Of alle dedis þe child was wis; for-þy he was called child Parys

(287–290).

12 Trojanische Krieg:

und seit in dō ze mēre
dem werden kūnege Prīamō

(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 eina logbrandr liði fram af munn hennar, þar fyri þótti henni öll Trójuborg brenda; hon var þætt mjök og sagði Prîamó drauminn' (p. 18). The Trojanska Priða is published in Starine (Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti), iii (1871), 156–187, with a Latin translation: 'et auditis his Prējumus rex secum reputabat, quid haec futura essent,' etc. (p. 159).

18 Konrad and the Trojanska Priða further agree in telling that the herdsman’s wife had just borne a son. Konrad:

And whan þe child was seoue þer old . . .
His modir þouȝte on hire dremyng . . .
And made him to þeo feld to gon
To kepe swyn wip staf and ston
Vndur a mon þat better couȝpe

(261; 263; 269–271).

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

18 Seege, MS L:

And whan þe child was seoue þer old . . .
His modir þouȝte on hire dremyng . . .
And made him to þeo feld to gon
To kepe swyn wip staf and ston
Vndur a mon þat better couȝpe

(261; 263; 269–271).

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

17 Konrad:

daȝ er geheizen Pārls
wart dur sin gelicheȝ reht

(662–663).

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

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

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

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, elskæði hann mjök Freyjju, en sifjan, er hann vissi um sæt sña ok hann gærði brullaup sitt til Thetidem, þá bauð hann þángat öllum guðum; hon tók upp eitt gullepli, á þvi var þat rítäð, at só skyldi eignast er fegrí væri . . .' (pp. 18, 20).

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

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

'ðer wirt só wol versunnen,
daȝ Troye noch gewunnen
wart von siner kreftex.
mit siner meisterschefte
Apon a day Dame Tetes
To þe firmament heo lokid, wiþ-oute les,
And þer heo saw, saun faile,
Hire sone scholde beo slayn in bataile
(1234–1237).

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

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

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.

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-Romanæ.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 fights 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.5 Finally, there is Paris’ ruse of pretending to be a merchant when he came to Greece and abducted Helen.6
Introduction

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*. 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, 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.

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. 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 'pré wicches,' who 'in þe cyr 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 narratives 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. 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, 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-
Introduction

Professor 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* 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. 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. At this point the author breaks off to tell of the early life of Paris. Before his birth Hecuba had seen a horrible thing in her sleep:

\[
\text{que salie de su cuerpo } || \text{ una flamma yrada}
\]
\[
\text{quemaua toda Troya } || \text{ tornaua la en nada.}
\]

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. 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. He proceeds to Greece and steals Helen while Menelaus is absent 'en una caualgada.'

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.' Then, still fearing an evil fate, she places him among the nuns in a monastery. 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.' 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 wor-
shiping 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 Odisseus. 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
Paris—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 inter-
preted 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 mater-
rial from the same version of the Troy story is that contained in the
General Estoria of Alfonso el Sabio. Solalinde has already pointed
out that the story of the judgment of Paris, especially the part con-
cerned 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, and
that Paris shot him while he was kneeling in prayer. Yet the
Estoria is much more complete than Alexandre in telling that Achilles
was definitely dipped in the Styx by Thetis rather than merely en-
chanted. It also contains an account of Paris' judgment of the bulls, which
could not have come from the Alexandre. Although Alfonso in-
cludes 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. Although in large part Leo-
marte'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.

Two of the Italian texts published by Gorra should likewise be taken into consideration in connection with ET. One of these, the Istorietta Trojana, 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, 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. 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, 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.

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.
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, 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 hoptt 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*, a twelfth century romance drawn from Virgil and a number of other sources. The interpolation regarding Paris is the same in all essentials as that found in ET: the three goddesses are at a ‘parlement’ (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; during this time the three goddesses come to him separately and offer him wealth, strength in battle, and the fairest lady respectively. 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, 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:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{plus que ses pere ne avoit,} \\
\text{et molt par lo feroit riche home}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{(140–141).}\]

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 4 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*. 
Introduction

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, 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, from some fragments attached to the *Repgauische Chronik*, and from the *Confessio Amantis* of John Gower. A few references will also be made to three other accounts: the Old French *Floire et Blanceflor*, the *Historie van Troyen* of Jakob Maerlant, and the *Liet von Troye* of Heribert von Fritslär.

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 quandam facem concepisse, cuius igne totam civitatem videbat ardere. Que retulit Priamo* (p. 242). Cf. ET, p. 4, 1-5.

3 *... et oculte 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*, 11, 87 ff.

6 *Compendium*: *... se nudam Paridi presentavit: quam ut vidit, in eius amore exarist et illam victricem 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.


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

11 In the *Seige*, 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*, 1x-x.

14 Harley MS, ll. 6542-6544.

Introduction

Parallels for part of the story have been pointed out in Dares and the pseudo-Pindarus Theron. 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 'Alexandres' 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).

Stanzas 335-345. Citations are from MS O.

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

Stanza 348. Cf. ET, p. 4, 2.

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

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

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.


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

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. 1; iv, n. 22.

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

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.

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

'... 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, 1, r* (a photostatic copy of which Professor Solalinde very kindly lent me), fol. 64'.

Fols. 51r., 62r.

'... quando vinien toros ajenos e lidiavan con los suyos e vencien los suyos a los ajenos, coronaue el de guirlandas de ramos e de flores a los suyos, e si vencien los ajenos, coronaue a los ajenos e non a los suyos; e por esta derechura que fazie, pues que el fue sonando por las tierras, vinien muchos a el con sus pleitos' (fols. 45v, 45r).


Ibid., p. 150. This detail, as Greif (pp. 93-96) points out, may have been due to the influence of the *Ilias* of Simon Capra Aurea (Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completes*, series Latina, clxxxi, 1447 ff.). But Leomarte attributes the detail to Virgil!

E. Gorra, *Testi inediti di Storia Trojana* (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.
Introduction

**Testi inediti**, pp. 532-561.

**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.'

**Commentarii, Aen.,** v, 370: '... in Troiae agonali certamine [Paris] superaret omnes, ipsum etiam Hectorum, 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.

H. Dünger 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 Dünger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Krieg in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihre antiken Quellen* (Leipzig, 1869), p. 47.

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.

**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 Gottweiger 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.).

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 als Nysomèdes* (l. 18492).

**L. 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.).

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


**ET, p. 4, 45-26:** '... iudicium comperendinavit'—certainly the correct reading, although the word has been altered to 'procrastinavit.' Cf. the quotation from *Eneas* below, p. liv, n. 12.

On the offers of the goddesses see p. xlv.

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

**Viz.,** Konrad, Enikel, Alfonso, Leonarte, Manynge, *Alexandre, the Trojanska Priča, the Götzeiger Trojanerkrieg, and the Isorietta Trojana.*


Ed. W. Toischer (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, clxxxiii, Tübingen, 1888).


Ed. É. du Méril (Paris, 1856).

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

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 TP³ 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 'hochztt' 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
Introduction

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. In JE and Alex, Paris is stolen away from his mother by servants. 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. 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. In K and Alf, Paris wins such a reputation
Introduction

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. He postpones the judgment in order to listen to their bribes. 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 ff.), 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, Jupiter, 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. 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. 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. In ET and C, Venus appears nude to Paris and warps his judgment; 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,’ 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.  

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. 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. 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).

Found in S (1200 ff.), K (4496 ff.; 5758 ff.; 13402 ff.), Alex (410 ff.), Leom (179), Alf (64'), 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
Introduction

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

8. Finding of Achilles

Because of a prophecy that Troy can be conquered only with the help of Achilles, Odisseus 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.).

In no other account besides ET is Ulixes called Odisseus. 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 (817), and JE (16456 ff.).

The principal difference from the Dares accounts is the utilizing of Achilles' vulnerable point, which in S, Alex, and Alf 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; 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 Odiseus 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, 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 Þorr, Freyja, Sif, etc. The fact that the authors of the Seege, the Saga, and the Istorietta 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, and the accounts of Oenone found in Konrad and the Trojanska Priča were very likely taken directly from the same source. Konrad may have made use of the Ilias of Simon.
Capra Aurea, and, it is quite probable, knew something of Statius as well.

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 'höchzit' 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. This is not at all surprising—in fact, a very similar notion is found in the slightly insane French poem *Ovide Moraliste*, 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 Greif 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, 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. Hyginus lists ten infants who were so nursed, among whom, however, Paris is not included. But since Apollodorus of Athens 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 Æðries Saga 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.

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 Weltchronik 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 Priam wants to expose the infant but Hecuba sends him secretly to a foster. This variation may have been due to the influence of Gunnlaugs Saga, 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 Æge 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 worshiping. 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, 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.

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. 51 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
Introduction

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 Dictys 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-xl; 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, I, 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 Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg. C. 1300 (line)

Herbert: the Liet von Troye of Herbot von Fritslâr. Second decade of xiii (line)

IT: La Istorietta Troyana. xiii or xiv (page)

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

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

Leom: Leomarte, Sumar 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: Siege or Batayle of Troye. Early or mid-xiv (line)

TP: Trojanska Priša. xiv (?) (page)

TS: Trjumanna Saga. Mid-xiii (page)

TT: Topal 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 Sege of Troye, MS G of the Roman de Troie, the Trojaniska Prixa, 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 Venetur). He personally pointed out the close relation of some of the Spanish accounts to the ET narrative.

* ET: ‘Pulchriori dee donum.’ Cf. En:

\[
\text{il i ot escrit an grezois} \\
\text{qu’a la plus bele d’eles trois} \\
\text{faisoit de la pome lo don}
\]

(107–109).

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

* The names, however, appear as *Felie* and *Titom.*

1 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 vp 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 mûgent iuwer kriegen lân,
ich wil den apfel selbe hân,
wân er ist mîn von rehte:
an liebe und an geslehte
kan mir kein vrouwe sin gelich

(2099–2103).

S:

Dame venesse seyd, ‘Now be stytle;
That apple is myn be ryght skylle,
ffor I am, without lees,
The fayrest that euer 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 sofciente acciò giudicare’ (382).

1 Alf (26): ‘. . . vos, donna Juno, sodes mi hermana e muger linda, e regnades comigo; e vos, donna Pallas, sodes mi fija que nasçistes 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:

Vénus diu was sin swester
und frô Pallas sin tohter . . .
sô was Jûnô sin selbes wîp
und dar zuo diu swester sin

(1598–1599; 1602–1603).

* Cf. ET, p. 4, 2: ‘. . . totam Troiam circuit,’ etc.; JE:

\[
\text{. . . daz fiur heiz} \\
\text{brunn einen witen kreiz} \\
\text{umb di stat, diu Troy hiez}
\]

(13521–13523).
Introduction

Leom: '... mucho mejor sera que perdades vn fijo que non tal cibdat 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:
'es ist vil besser, wigge Krist,
dag es gelige aleine tôt,
dan dag ich von im kæme in nôt
und allez mln geslehte'
(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).

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

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:

dag er geheisen Pàris
wart dur sin geliche3 reht.
'pàr' und 'gelich' sint ebensleht
(662-664).

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

Of alle dedis [H domes] pe child was wis;
for-by 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 fazia || de los otros & par' (360).

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

La parole li unt mostree
de la pome, qui ert donee
to la plus bele d’eles trois
(117-119).

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

And 3eue pe bal jer corteselys,
As þeo lettres spak, to þeo faireste lady
(545-546).

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.

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

ich hän in minner werden hant
größlichen hort und allen schaz'

(1940–1941).

S:

‘ffor y haue myȝt to ȝee 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’

(593–594).

JE:

‘sag mir, lieber friunt guot,
zuo welher froun stë dir der muot’

(13917–13918).

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

14 Alf shows that Pallas is mistress of two accomplishments; and this is his explanation of her two names: ‘. . . en lo que me dizên Pallas so deesa delos saberes liberales, et Minerua deesa de batalia’ (39).

15 IT: ‘. . . io ti donerb bello dono. Ciô fia chetuttue le donne chetti vedranno t’amaranno e qualunque tue vorrai, sitti darô’ (382); TP: ‘. . . te amabunt pulchrae dominæ’ (161); S:

‘Alle wymmen þat þe seon wiþ syȝt
Scholte þe loue wiþ al heore myȝt’

(392–394).

17 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 PræjanuS rex et mater Jakupa domina Troiae urbis’ (163). In TS (20) and S (319–324) 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 (3051 ff.).

18 See above, p. xxxiii.

19 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): ‘Ouol rey a yr || en una caulalgada.’

20 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 (1440) Achilles is sent to the ‘lond of Parchy’ to live with the maidens.

21 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 ingredièbatur.’ 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.

22 Also called in S, ‘water of helle’:

His modir him bajiede in þe water of helle,
And was honged by þe feet & pries deopped adoun
Introduction

Body and blod, hed and croun,
Bote pe soles of his feet
Per 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.

S:

To he firmament heo lokid, wi-p-oute les,
And 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 Siege . . .' (p. 202).

* 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: '[Schrone] 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 vii halp man' (291); K:

daz oberteil der forme sin
was gestellet als ein man
und stie3 eis undeit dar an,
daz eime rosse was gelich

(5854-5857).

* In ET the Greeks obtain their information at the temple of Minerva, outside the walls of Troy; in Icom (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 vttterly
In a planete, verement,
He [Achilles] shall him [Hector] slene
with dolfull dynte'

(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 constellacion' to determine how Troy can be taken; in GT Media is said to be so wise

Daz sy an dem gestirnne kos
Waz wunders sölte geschechen

(14916-14917).

In K Proteus is said to know the heavens:

den louf an dem gestirne
bekande der prophete

(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.
Introduction

Ivii

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

Cf. also GT (18891), where Achilles is said to be invulnerable except 'undan durch die fusse.' 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.

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

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 Siege of Troy, in which the relationship of ET to the English poem is more fully traced. See 'The Youth of Paris in the Siege of Troy,' University of Texas Studies in English, 1941, 7-23; 'The Judgment of Paris in the Siege of Troy,' PMLA, lvi (June, 1942), 343-353; and 'The Story of Achilles in the Siege of Troy,' Studies in Philology xxxix (July, 1942), 489-501.

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

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 recurrere aqua.

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

Evidence of this is found in the detail of the inscription in which Paris plights his troth.

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

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.

Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojenerzgebung, p. 95. See above, p. xl, n. 34.

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

Fabulac, no. 252.

The Library, iii, xii, 5.

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

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 (Sege, 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.

Ll. 13619 ff.

P. 18.


Ll. 261-272.
"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. 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 shown\(^1\) 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 mem-
ory 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 comissio libro'; both scribes obviously
had a faulty quotation before them and can hardly be blamed for making
it worse. 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 hymeneus erit.' Non acerba
petenti. Quid multa?' (34, 22–23).\footnote{1°} In the \textit{Aeneid} the passage runs
thus:

\begin{quote}
'hic hymeneus erit.' non adversata petenti
adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis
\end{quote}
(iv, 127–128).

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

\begin{quote}
'vicisti et victum tendere palmas
Ausonii videre'
\end{quote}
(xii, 936–937).

Such quotations as those noted certainly indicate no great understanding
of the \textit{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 \textit{ET} and the \textit{Aeneid} can easily be followed from the \textit{testimonia}
which accompany the text, and so it will not be necessary to give a com-
plete comparison at this point. The details of the story are actually
quite close to those of the \textit{Aeneid}, and it is seldom that we find a com-
pletely 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. 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. 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.

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 \textit{Aeneid}, being, on the whole, much more simple and direct. In many cases speeches and conversations appear which do not occur in the \textit{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 \textit{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 Posthomerica 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 'Odisseus' rather than 'Ulixes,' which is used by Virgil. 'Odisseus' is used throughout the story of the Trojan War, whereas 'Ulixes' is used where the story follows the Aeneid. The change back to 'Odisseus' 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. 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.

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. The same is true of Macrobius; there is no valid evidence of direct dependence, although the explanatory method is sometimes similar.

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, 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. 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. 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 ('brachiale'; p. 54, 22). Such correspondences are baffling, and in the absence of other and more extensive similarities are well-nigh impossible to account for. Parodi 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; xliv), 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 lone tens,
que Greu furent vers Troïens;
astrent la vile et trebucherent ..
De la celestial ligniee
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 asanbé.
Por lor comandement vait querre
Itaille, une loigtaine terre;
quise l'avons set anz par mer,
ze 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,
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 aseguer . . .
Venus ma mere m'a mandé
que ci pres a une cite,
dun Evander est rois et sire . . .
El me mande que quiere aie . . .'
(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, the *Chronicon* states merely that Aeneas departed from Troy with Ascanius and Anchises; that he arrived in Sicily, where Anchises died; that he was driven by a tempest to Africa, where he was loved by Dido, the founder of Carthage; 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 somnis: *Vade ad regem Evandrum, qui regnat in 7 montibus*—scilicet in eo loco ubi postea Roma condita est—*et pugnat contra Latinum regem, et tu iuvabis eum, quia tibi debetur regnum Ytalie*. *Et ut credas, do tibi istud signum: Quando processeris invenies sub arbore ylice suem vel porcam albam cum filis albis*. Et ibi ex hoc eventu post civitas edificata est que usque hodie Albanum nomen accept

(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. 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. 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:

\[
\text{For on a night, slepinge, he let her lye,} \\
\text{And stal a-vey un-to his companye,} \\
\text{And, as a traitour, forth he gan to saile} \\
\text{Toward the large contree of Itaile} \\
\text{(1326–1329).}
\]

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 co-
incidence. 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 cloth\textsuperscript{11} he lafte, and eek his swerd stonding
When 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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{1} Above, pp. xiii–xiv.

\textsuperscript{2} On the Virgilian quotations see E. G. Parodi’s discussion of the Riccardian MS: ‘I Rifacimenti
e le Traduzioni Italiane dell’Enide di Virgilio,’ \textit{Studi di Filologia Romanza}, 11 (1887), 97–368. He
comments, p. 193, on the passage referred to above.

\textsuperscript{3} E.g., the scribe of \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{4} The passage is missing in \textit{MS L}.

\textsuperscript{5} On the MS readings see the note on p. 34, 23. Possibly the interpolator supplied the quotation
from memory, giving \textit{acerb\textsuperscript{a}} as a loose synonym for the Virgilian \textit{advers\textsuperscript{a}}.

\textsuperscript{6} See pp. lixi f.

\textsuperscript{7} See p. 25, 4–16. \textit{Aen.}, 1, 113–115; v, 835–871.

\textsuperscript{8} P. 36, 15–20. \textit{Aen.}, iv, 305 ff.

\textsuperscript{9} Quintus Smyrnaeus, \textit{The Fall of Troy}, xi, 238–374. For editions of this and following works
see Bibliography pp. 339–340 below.

\textsuperscript{10} Ll. 680–681.

\textsuperscript{11} Ll. 260–261.

\textsuperscript{12} See above, p. xvi.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Epitome}, v, 23.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{The Fall of Troy}, xiv, 304–319.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Fabulae}, no. 110.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Metamorphoses}, xiii, 439–480.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ephemeridos Belli Troiani}, v, 13.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Commentarii, Aen.}, iii, 321.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Mythographi Vaticani}, ii, 205.
Introduction

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

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

In Euripides (Cyclops, 455) Odysseus uses a stake of olive; Apollodorus (Epilem., 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.

In Euripides (Cyclops, 455) Odysseus uses a stake of olive; Apollodorus (Epilem., 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.

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.).

See above, p. xv.

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

Fasti, iii, 543 ff.


In his article in Studi di Filologia Romana, xi, 97-368, passim.

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.

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).

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.


Studi di Filologia Romana, xi, 151-192.

Ed. Weiland, p. 398.


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

P. 399.

This is the explanation favored by Parodi in Studi di Filologia Romana, xi, 192.


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-Romanæ,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
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, 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 reliquid, ut unus pecuniam protinus alter regnum susciperet. Amulius vero fratri suo Numitori electionem dedit, quid desiderat, acciperet. Numitor vero pecuniam tulit, Amulius autem regnum optimuit, in quo regnavitannis 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

As has been indicated (p. lxxii), this material probably derives ultimately from Plutarch; it seems not to have been well known, 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 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, Ascanyus, or elles Syluyus postunus his brother

(p. 164).

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.
4 See pp. xxxviii; lxiv-lxvii.
Introduction

* The passage in question seems to have that meaning, although it is not entirely clear (55, 3-4).
* Below, p. 55, 7-10.
* P. 55, 26-56, 4.
* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, i, 64 and i, 70 (ed. E. Cary, vol. i.)
* Commentarii, Aen., i, 259; i, 270.
* Mythographi Vaticanii, i, 202.
* III, 2.
* P. 227. The italicised phrases represent passages in Paulus' Historia Romana to which the annotations are supposed to apply.
* Only one other mention of the episode in Latin has been discovered; that is in the Origo Gentis Romanae, pp. 155 f.
* 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.
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 mediæval 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 mediæval, 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 mediæval stories of Troy. Nor do we find the common mediæval tendency toward allegory and moral interpretation from which few writers entirely escaped. The type of Christian mythography represented by Fulgentius, 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; 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' (11, 770); in the prose story his very words are given: 'Creusa, Creusa, ubi es?' (21, 10). Similar colloquial vim is shown when Venolus approaches Diomedes in order to ask his support in battle. 'Contra quos pugnatis?' asks Diomede, shrewdly. 'Contra Eneam Troianum,' replies Venolus; and Diomedes'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 Polypheum 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\(^v\).

**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. It is described briefly in Meister’s edition of Dares and at some length in Mommsen’s edition of the *Exordia Scythica*; Ludwig Traube gives an elaborate outline of its contents; and E. A. Lowe alludes to it frequently in his book on the Beneventan hand. 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: ‘EXPAICT JnHANNES SUBDIAC. SCRIPSIT’ with its Greek letters (Δ, ω) and its rectangular capitals (Ϲ, Φ) 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 and the top of f. 35, and shorter additions elsewhere in the MS.  

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 saecc. x-xvn. 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.

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.’ 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 (the I lean strongly to the latter), I am very confident it is mid-xivth [century].’

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

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

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

According to Gorra, Ri is 'di fogli 467 e contiene scritture di vario argomento' and ET follows a text of Dares. 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.'

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 Pria dedit mo rege . . .

(Ri 57°; 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
Introduction

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 Populus' 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. 11, 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' \( Ra \), '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 \( Ra \), he 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); 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
Introduction

It appears. 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 α and υ 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
Introduction

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 ei 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, Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia (Leipzig, 1873), p. iii: 'F. Florentinus Laur. LXVI. 40 f. 6th Sec. x . . . scriptus est a Johanne Subdiacono.'


Introduction

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

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

* *Ibid.*, col. 80.

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

* 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.

* E. G. Parodi, 'I Rifacimenti e le Traduzioni Italiane dell'Eneide di Virgilio,' *Studi di Filologia Romana*, ii (1887), 182.


* 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.

* 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.

* 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*.

* Cf., however, p. 17, 21, where the ablative absolute is certainly the better reading and has been adopted.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANALOGOUS TEXTS

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.

CLASSICAL VERSIONS


lxxxvii
Bibliography of Analogous Texts


Bibliography of Analogous Texts


Zonaras. See Dio Cassius.

MEDIAEVAL VERSIONS


Bibliography of Analogous Texts


Bibliography of Analogous Texts


EXCIDIUM TROIAE
EXCIDIUM TROIAE


Merito cena deorum appellata est; in qua cena fuerunt Iuppiter, Neptunus, Apollo musarum deus, et Mercurius; necnon et tres deae, id est Iuno, Minerva, et Venus. Discordia vero, dea litis, ad ipsas nuptias vocata non est. Hec, dolore ducta, malum aureum subornavit, in quo scrispsit: 'Pulchriori deo donum.' Et dum malum tres deae superius memorat volventem 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 deo donum,' de pulchritudine sua contendere ceperunt. Et Iovem petierunt ut inter eas iudicaret que earum pulchrior esset. Iuppiter ergo, positus in ambiguo, nolens aliquam earum ledere, eis respondit: 'Ego inter vos iudex esse non possum; sed dabo vos 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 Trojanorum, de
Excidium Troiae

Hecuba regina natus; quem dum regina adhuc pregnans in utero haberet per somnium vidit se peperisse flamam, quae totam Troiam circuit et eam incendit. Quem dum templo consuleret, quidnam talis visio esset, responsum est ei quia si quis de ea nasceretur, per ipsum Troia periret—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 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, 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 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. Quia multa? Primum Minerva ingressa est et Paridi dixit: 'Ego consanctio arma tua ut quotienscumque cum aliquo dimicare volueris te victorem faciam et me iudica pulchriorem.' Cui ille ita promisit et discessit, promissum ei retinens. Accedens deinde Iuno ad eundem Paridem ingressa est. Et ipsa iam ei promissum duplicari fetus

1 Heccuba Ri 2 sompniun Ri | flamma post que add. Ra 3 quae nunc visio talis Ri 4 quis] quid Ra 7 montibus prohicerent 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 | oppinio Ri 21 ipsum] eum Ri | quesuit Ra 24 aureum om. Ri | offerrent Ra 25 comperendinavit Ra procrastinavit Ra1 | competenter ordinavit Ri | Quia 'dum] Qui cum Ri | iudicium delatum Ra | dilatum iudicium Ri | vincas] unicas Ri 28 multum Ra | Primo Ri 29 consencio ut arma tua Ri 31 promissum eil per promissum eius Ri | Secessens Ri 32 eundem] eum Ra Et ipsa iam] Etiam ipsa ei Ri | duplicare Ri
Excidium Troiae


Et dum hoc 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 descendeter. Nutritor vero, metuens ne eum perdeteret, cepit eum ab intentione revocare. Cui sic dicebat: 'Habes spectacu-lum armentorum tuorum. Quid desideras quod nunquam nosti videre?' Ille vero magis magisque imminebat ut ad Troiam descendeter. Quem dum nutritor suus ab intentione non valuisset revocare, cum eodem ad Troiam ad spectaculum in circum descendit. Qui dum aurige cucerissent, complentes sextum emissum, campestriarii, ut consuetudo habet,
Excidium Troiae

ante casam regis ad dimicandum descenderunt. Quos dum Paris dimicantes videret, presumens de iuventute sua se ad dimicandum cum eis cepit petere. Quem dum nutritor suus videret, metuens ne eum perdere, cepit eum velle revocare. Ille vero non obediens nutritori suo, sed presumens de iuventute sua, se in arenam iactavit et cum campestriariis non arte sed virtute dimicavit et coronam accepit. Discendentibus vero campestriariis iuvenculi cursores qui de meta in metam currebant exierunt. In quibus cucurrit et ipsos vicit et coronam accepit. Deinde filii regis fratres eius furore ducti ad arenam descenderunt et eum ad cursum provocaverunt, etiam et ipsos vicit et tertio coronatus est. Hoc videntes, filii regis qui ab eo vici sunt, dolore coacti quia eos inter tantum agonem populi confuderent, ceperunt de nece eius cognitum ut eum interficerent; et iussuerunt vomitoria circi a militibus custodiri ut dimisso circo comprimetur, et desiderium suum in eum completerent. Hoc dum nutritor 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 regiam matrem eius mandatur si ita factum esset ut nutritor eius suggessit. 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 anteater eius per somnium visitata fuerat, periret. Hoc dum ad regem perferretur, dixit: 'Melius est ut civitas pereat, dum tamen filius noster non interficiatur.'

Et cum hac apud Troiam geruntur, fratres eius maiores vel iuniores qui iam uxores habebant eum cogeabant uxorem ducere. Ille vero ita eis respondit: 'Promissum teneo dea Veneris; ipsa mihi dabit uxorem.' Et

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 contiguit ut rex Priamus pater eorum in consistorio
suo cum filiis suis—id est, Hector, 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 hue 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 prepare sunt.

Paris vero cum exercitu in navibus ad Greciam perrexit, in qua pro-
vincia codem tempore regnabant Agamemnon et Menelaus. Qui Mene-
laus habuit uxorem nimium pulcherrimam nomine Helenam quam
Jupiter in similitudinem cigni amavit et de eo concepit, et de ipso con-
ceptu nati sunt Castor et Pollux, vel memorata Helena Menelai regis
uxor. Qui dum ibi Paris in eadem provincia venisset, ita contiguit 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 familiae suis super ora mans exierunt. In
quibus locis ita provenit ut Paris cum suis de navibus ad terram descende-
ret, quia iam eum nuntius Veneris precesserat et Helenam reginam furore
amoris sagittaverat. Contiguit 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
Excidium Troiae

 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 suae iecitam. Que opinio ad Agamemnonem regem et Menelaum maritum eius ubinam fuerunt pervenit. Hoc audientes furore magno accensus utrique ad urbes suas venerunt. Et congregatis mille navibus et decem ducibus cum exercitu magno, postibus eius Iunone et Minerva, quia dolebat 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 consulerunt 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: 'Pretum 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 quae virginibus competunt composue-
Excidium Troiae

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 ad matre sua commendatus fuerat. Quas Odisseus et Diomedes cum muneribus salutaverunt; et dum singule virgines unaqueque ad ornamenta manum mitterent, Achilles vero non tuli nisii tantummodo sagittam, quam digitis repercusiens ab Odisseo et Diomede agnitus est. Et continuo Diomedes tuba ceceint. Achilles vero dum tubam canere audivit, furia armorum invasus, scutum et astam in manu cepit, calce repercuiens tunicam muliebrem qua vestiebatur concidit, et caligam de pede eius exuit. Cui Odisseus et Diomedes dixerunt: 'Iussurunt 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 Achilles ad Troiam ducitur, ad pedes eius cum filio suo Pyro se prostravit. Que ita deprecatा est ne eam dimitteret. Achilles vero Didamiam vel Pyrrum filium suum Licome di 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 Troiam obsidere.

Et dicere habes: quare Achilles inter virgines inventus est? Iste Achilles Pelei et Tatio 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, propter ea eum ferrum nullo modo adiri poterat, nisi tantummodo in talo ubi digitis 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 laudior esse, eum Chironi pro docendis armis vel litteris discipulum obtulit; et dum a Chironi litteris vel armis doctus fuisset, se in Chironem
Excidium Troiae

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 Chironi tulit et illum in cultu virginis aptavit, et ad domum Licomedis regis duxit et eum petivit ut cum filiabus suis disciplinose erudiretur. Quem rex estimans esse virginem suscepit et cum Didamia filia sua vel cum alis, 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 nutritiebatur. Quid multa?

Dum Achilles Troiam veniret, Hector filius Priami regis Trojanorum petivit monomachiam cum Achille pugnare. Et quia Achilles ab Agamemnone et Menelao leesus fuerat pro Briseida quam apud Troiam per muros exposuerat, et eam sibi coniunxerat, et postea eam ab Agamemnone sublata est. Ipse dolor fecit eum contra Hectorem nolle exire. Sed Patroclum Hector occidit; dum hoc Achilli nuntiatum fuisset, dolore nimi 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 Pentesilea regina Amazonarum, etiam et ipsam sub mamilla percutiens de equo iactavit, cum qua dum exanime concubuit. Postea vero cum Memnone Ethiope filio Aurore pugnavit, et eum in fronte percutiens interfecit. Istiti omnes quos memoravimus a Trojanis in auxilium petiti fuerant. Quid multa?

Venit dies statuta ut contra Hectorem ad dimicandum exiret; quem 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

2 quia -tractare om. Ri 3 cadit Ra 4 cultum Ra Licomedis Ra 5 disciplinas ei Ri 6 cum om. Ri 7 cum om. Ri 9 filius a Licomede regis Ri 11 Priami om. Ra 12 petit monarchiam cum Achille pugnaret Ri 13 Breseida Ra 14 murum Ri | iunxerat Ri 15 sublata Ra substulta Ra1 exusa Ri 17 nimo amici percussus petit Ra 18 ad post se om. Ri 19 primo Ri 20 petente silea Ra Pentesilea Ri | Amazonarum Ri 21 ipsa Ri | mamillam Ri 22 quadam exanime Ra qua dum examinis Ra1 qua iam ipse Ri Memnone | Agamemnone Ri | thepe filio et Ra 23 in om. Ri 24 fuerunt Ra 26 super eum om. Ra 27 Eas (Eace Ra1) et Aiace Dedamonio Ra Eas dias et Telamonio Ri armis exui| om. Ri examarni Ri 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 virginis Ri
Excidium Troiae

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 muros iecta 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 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 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. Et quia nichil est quod mulieres non extorqueant de viris ut eis fateantur ut coniuges scribant, secretum locum in tali nervo ubi a ferro adiri poterat ei ostendit. Hoc dum Polixena agnoscerat parentibus suis nuntiavit, qui dum audissent finxerunt se devotionem in templo Apollinis habere et ei sacrificium offerre, ad quam devotionem petierunt Achillem una cum Polixena filia eorum interesse. Quibus Achilles consensum prebuit et ad devotionem templi Apollinis venit. Quia mos erat ut quando unusquisque ad sacrificandum templo ingrediebatur, inermis et nuda planta ingrediebatur, hoc etiam Achilles fecit. Et dum ad templum veniret, arma depositit et caligam ferream de pede eiecit, et inermis nuda planta templum ingressus est. Et cum thura Apollinis offerret, Alexander
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 serpuit. Et dum se Achilles male cepisset sentire, titones de ara tollens, quantoscumque in templum invent interfecit, et sic mortuus est. [Ecce qualiter Achilles mortuus est.] Eas vero et Aiak Telamonius amici Achillis venerunt et corpus eius a Priamo rege petierunt. Et eis concessum est. Quod corpus foras ab urbe tulerunt, et super cum planctum magnum fecerunt.

Nuntiatum est Agamemnoni et Menelao Achillem occisum fuisse; nimie contristati sunt; et iterato templo consuluerunt, et eis responsum est quia per stirpem Achilli 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 suisset, 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 extendantes 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 descriptis: 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 constituerebat.

24–26 Aen. 11, 21–23
Excidium Troiae

Et dum hoc 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 sevus tendebat Achilles; classibuscic 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 perducetur. Tunc unus de genere Palamedis Sinon nomine dixit: 'Ego faciam ut equus ad Troiam ducatur.' Cui dixerunt: 'Quo ordine?' Sinon respondit: 'Fusticate me fet 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 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 Trojanorum ante regem facta est. Quem rex presentibus turbis interrogare cepit. Cui sic ait: 'Dic nobis, de qua origine es tu, vel qu est cognatio tua.' Cui Sinon sic respondit: 'De genere Palamedis regis, quem Greci interfecerunt; et dum pro morte eius vellem aliquid assumere, inter Grecos inimicitias concepi. 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 esquesque nefandi.' Cumque sic sacramentum dedisset, rex accepto sacramento

4-5 11, 29-30 27-28 11, 154-155

27 vox Ri | ignis Ra | quos acresseque nefandi Ri
Excidium Troiae

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 hic de provincia nostra ad vos exivimus, sacrificatum est de sanguine virginis, quem sic poposcit Apollo. Et iam nunc pro reditu nostro dum Apollinem deprecati fuissemus, sic respondit: "Quando hic 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 fuisse, super me cecidit ut de sanguine meo Apollini offeretur. Et sic invento loco fugiens hue ad regnum tuum devolutus sum. Interea secerunt 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 hic 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...
Excidium Troiae

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 fuisse, cepit populus pro videndo equo catervam de civitate exire. Inter quos etiam Laucoon sacerdos Neptuni egrediebatur et populum increpatab dicens, sicut Virgilius descriptis: 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, 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 hostibus astam et in illum equum dedit, et qui intra eum inclusi fuerant strepitum dederunt, sicut scriptum est: Intonuere cave gemitumque dedere caverne. Et iam Laucoon proximus fuit Argolicas fedare latebras si mens non leva fuisse. [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, sacrifica Neptuno; et si hoc respondenter 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 taurum maclare, ecce a Tenedos super aquas maris immensis orbibus angues [hoc est, dracones] sibilabant linguis atque spumam per ora iactabant. Qui venientes filios Laucoontis subligavit et eos morsibus occiderunt; cumque Laucoon filios suos eruere vellet, etiam ipse cum filiis suis a serpentinibus devoratus est. Hec cum Troiani viderent, quibus iam dii irasce-

7-16 ii, 40-56
Excidium Troiae

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

Et dum regi Priamo singula nuntiata fuissent, iussit iuvenes vel in-nuptas puellas congregari cum lampadibus et equum intra urbem (sicut Sinon per dolos dixerat) ad templum Neptuni perduci. Cum ad portam venisset et equus intrare non posset 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 stuppea vincula collo intendunt, scanditque fatalis machina muros. Quid multa?

Dum equus in Troiam mitteretur, per sollemnitate quia donum inimicorum Minerve oblatum Neptuno datum est. Epulum magnum fecerunt, et iacuit Troia somno vinoque sepulta. Et dum iam nox veniet, Sinon, videns Troiam vino sepulta, a portas circumierit. Et hostes Grecorum qui apud Tenedos fuerunt, levatis a Sinone signis de Troia, continuo in navibus venerunt. Et dum portas omnes patentes inveniretur, urbem per noctem introierunt et eam igne vel gladio cremaverunt. Ecce qualiter Troia ab inimicis adita vel interfecta est!

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

Hectoris admonitus est, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Ecce mihi ante oculos mestissimus Hector visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus, squalente barba atque horrida, lora tumentium pedum habens. Sic talia fatur: 'Dormis, nate dea; hostis habet muros, ruit alto a culmine Troia. Fuit patria Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuisse.'

Hec cum ei umbra Hectoris alloqueretur, Eneas expergefactus, in turrem quam in superioribus domus sue habuit ascendens et auresque ipponens, audivit strepitum armatorum atque flammarum sicut stuppe vel segetis quando in furnum mittitur. Et passus manian se armavit, et de domo sua armatus dum vellet exire eum uxor sua tenuit. Cui sic ait: 'Hanc primum tutare domum.' Ille vero uxorum 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 eam in coniugio acciperet, et ibi eum excidium invenit.

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

1-5 11, 270-273; 277; 289-290 15-16 cf. 11, 370-371

1 monitus Ri | descripsit ait Ri | Ecce mihi ante oculos mestissimus Hector / Visus est adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus, / Squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crines / Vulneraque illa gerens que circa plurima muros / Acceptit patrias. Vel ultra 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, / Hostis habet muros; ruit alto acumin Troya. / Stat patrie Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra / Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuisse. / Sacra suoque tibi commendat Troya penates; / Hos cape fatorum comites, his menia quere / Magnaque pererrato statuesque denique ponto.' [Aen, 11, 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. Ra1 | fator L / hostes habens et L | culminem Troiae Ra / 6 Dum hec Ri ei] eum L eo Ra om. Ri | loqueretur Ri / 7 sue domus Ri | ascendit auresque ipones Ri / 8 armorum Ra | stuppa L stuppam Ra | segetes L Ra / 9 furno Ri | passos L | manian] sic L Ra mania Rig | et dum Ri / 10 dum om. Ri | uxor sua eum / 11 arma tuus L / 12 se post multi Ra / 13 etiam fuit et L | Corevius L Coreph Ri / 14 ad] ut L | cum Ri ut om. L | cum om. Ri | Supervenit Ri / 15 dum] cum / 16 et -occurrent Et sibi in nocte obscura occurraret Ri | obscura L / 17 Eneas L / 18 ei L et sic eos Ri | Eu | O L eus Ri | 19 descenditis Ra | 20 suis inimicum] inimices 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 quantoscumque impergerunt 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 interfactus est.

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 defense nibus istis hoc tempus erit. Quod si vellent dii ut Troia defensa fuisset, Hector non occideretur.' Priamus vero, dum videret filium suum a Pyrro ante oculos suos interfici, Pyrrum increpare cepit atque ei maledicere, quem Priamum similiter Pyrrus super aram interfecit, sicut Virgilius descriptis: Hec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem Pergama, totque populis terrisque superbum regnatorem Asie. Iacet ingens litore truncus avulsumque humeris caput absque nomine corpus. [Hic finis Priami.]
Excidium Troiae

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 plumbum ligavit. [Ecce qualiter Polixena occisa est.]

Eneas vero, dum regem interfecerat, cepit cogitare qualiter se de Troia erueret. Et dum ad domum suam revertetur, 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 respondere, quod te oportet regnum apud Italiam optimem—non solum tu sed et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.’ Et cum eum allocuta fuisset, subito non comparuit. Discendente 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 occurrit, necnon et cum omni ornato 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
Excidium Troiae

exiens, ad templum Ceres 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 Ceres 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 necon et Anchisen patrem tuum ut eos in aliquo non contristes. Et noli oblivisci Creusam tuam.' Et cum hec dixisset, Eneas volens eam amplexam tenere eam vivam esse, ab oculis eius subito sublata est. Hec videns Eneas cum magnis lacrimis iterato ad templum Ceres 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 necon et cum familia ascendit.

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

---

11-17 Cf. 11, 776-789
Excidium Troiae

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 querere laurum aut mirtum unde ara coronaretur. Et respiciens inter spissa silvarum vidit arbores mirteas; ad quas dum veniret et exinde virgas abscideret, ceperunt ipse virgule guttas sanguinis distillare. Quod dum Eneas videret, evanuit; et cepit secum cogitare quidnam hoc esset, et consideravit nimfas esse agrestes. Et aurem humo ponens, vox ei 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 Traicie furtim mandavit alendum. Ille vero, volens divitas quas portabam lucrari, me in isto loco lanceis interfici mandavit. Et qui me interfecerunt super tumulum meum lanceas fixerunt, et ipse lanceae fronduerunt 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 suis descenderat, silvam ascenderunt ubi armenta non parva vel pecuaria invenerunt, quod armentum vel egreges Arphiarum avium fuerunt. Qua rum avium Celeno regina fuit. Et dum de armento ipso vel de pecoribus [non parva] mactarent, sibi epulum in silva fecerunt. Ecce subito agmen Arphiarum avium venit; et dum egreges 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
Excidium Troiae

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 iungenter 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, Teuci, 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, Odisseus cum suis ad provinciam suam remeans, a vento repercussus, 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 Ciclopes fuerunt; et potentior omnibus Polifemus fuit, qui Polifemus hominum vel pecorum cruentator fuit. Qui dum ibi Odiseus cum sociis suis veniret, audivit opinionem Polifemi. Ad speluncam eius porrexit; et dum eum somno

11-12 III, 601; 606
Excidium Troiae

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 arbre pinus impinxit; et sibi ex ea baculum fecit, et cepit ad litus pertendere ut Odisseum cum sociis captivaret et eum interficeret. Et dum ad litus venisset, Odisseum 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, Odisseum capere non valuisset, 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 aliius litus Sicilie devolutus est, videns super ora 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: '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 aliius litus Sicilie devenit, ubi pater eius Anchises mortuus est. Quem digne sepelivit, et super eum tumulum mire magnitudinis 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 perrexit, et eum petiit ut ventos excitaret et Eneam cum navibus suis perderet. Cui

Excidium Troiae

Eolus obediens acuta cuspidis haste sue speluncam in qua venti inclusi fuerant patefecit. Et venti relaxati ceperunt cum magno impetu per silvas et terras perexire; deinde mare introierunt et naves Enee per diversa litora fractis arboribus et antennis sparsuerunt. De quibus ante oculos eius una navis, in qua Palinurus gubernator fuit, mersit; et cepit Palinurus a fluctibus maris iactari, et cupiebat ad navem Enee 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 inicite; namque potes portusque prebere Velinos; aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva crearex ostendit (neque enim, credo, sine nomine divum flumina tanta paras Stigiamque innare paludem), da dexteram misero et tecum me tolle per undas sedibus ut saltern placidi in morte quiescam.' Et cum has preces explicisset, ab undis absortus non comparuit. Alie vero naves, sicut superius dictum est, a vento per diversa litora ob iracundiam Iunonis sparse sunt, sicut Virgilius descripsit: Cum Iuno, eterno servans sub pectore vulnus, Eoliam venit; hie vasto rege Eolus antro et mulcere facit ventos et temperat iras. Cui talia fatur:

9-15 vi, 364-371 17-18 1, 35 18-19 1, 36 19 1, 51; 1, 66

Excidium Troiae

'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. Sunt mihi bis septicm prestanti corpore nimfe, quamque 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, quantomagis omnes ventos qui sub regimine meo habentur.' Et cum ista omnia Iunoni dixisset, ventos, ut dictum est, relaxavit et naves Enee, sicut superius memorandum 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, Neptunus preces eius audivit et erigens caput de sub undis Eurum Zephirumque ad se vocari iussit. Quibus sic ait: 'Maturate fugam regique vestro hec dicite: "Non illi imperium pelagi sevque tridentem Iupiter dedit, sed mihi sorte datum est."' Venti vero, obedientes precepti eius, ad locum suum reversi sunt, et sic tranquillitas in mari 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 Africam, devolutus est in partes loci qui Abar vocatur sub monte ubi nunc clipea civitas facta est. Et dum ad litus iungeret, ignarus provincie ubi fuisse devolutus, insuper et cogitans quia ab eo naves duodecim erraverunt et una in qua Palinurus fuit ante oculos eius mersit, relinquens socios suos
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 gaudete; 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 deearum 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 agimus divum. Aspice bis senos cignos quos Iovis ales atheria plagata 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...
Excidium Troiae

conditur. Que Dido a viro destituta est, quia vir eius Sicheus a Pigmalione rege Sydoniensi fratre eius volente divitis eius tollere occisus est. Et exinde de Tyro et Sidone hoc cum exercitu magno devoluta est; et ibi ab Iarba rege hic sibi solus 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 eadem duxit. Et mutato habito se iterum in similitudinem deorum ostendit. Quam dum Eneas agnoseret, quia mater eius fuit, genibus eius provoluitus 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 conderat 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 Cartagho 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 conderat Sidonia Dido. In quo templum omnia regna vel casus Troie pinxerat. Ad quod templum, ut superius dictum est, Eneas tectus

18 Cf. 1, 443-447
nebula cum Achate armigero suo, dimissis septem navibus, cum sociis suis ingressus est. Et dum omnes casus Troie in eodem templo pictos videret, animum picturae picta in anidi; 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 familiarum, 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 fracist arboribus vel antennis. Ad quas Dido putans inimicorum esse viros armatos direxit, qui omnes qui in eisdem navibus fuerant 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 conderet, 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, proculi genibus eius, eum nobis ducem elegimus, quia sic etiam a dea Venere matre sua admonitus est quia regnum Italie
Excidium Troiae

obtineret—non solum ipse sed et nati natorum et qui nascentur 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 annis septem ex quo excidium Troie contigit, quo periculo maris iactamur et nusquam sedes invenimus. Et dum de Sicilia ad Italiam pergeremus, subito vim tempestatis pertulimus. Et a par(ve) exparsi sumus, et nescimus si ipse Eneas dux noster cum aliis navibus evasit aut in procella maris perit. Nos vero miseri fractis arboribus vel 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. 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, munere 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 divitiis meas tollere. Et dum huc geruntur, per somnos mihi umbra mariti mei locuta est, dicens ut etiam ego, collectis omnibus divitiis, fugerem; etiam divitiias avorum et proavorum suorum terra absconditas levarem et tollerem.'

Excidium Troiae

Quod et feci. Et congregans ad me omnem populum, in navibus occulte collectis, ut dixi, omnibus divitis meis collocavi, et ad Siciliam devoluta sum. Ubi veniens Siracusam civitatem dum condere vellem, mihi populus murmurare cepit. Hoc ego agnosce, quia non mihi imminebat ibi sedes habere, in navibus omnibus sociis meis ascendens, ad hunc locum devoluta sum. Cumque requirerem quinsum 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 distrahit hunc locum adversus quod corrigiam quem liniare potuit. Et dum hanc urbeam perficerem, voluit me in conjiugio 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.'


19-20 1, 595
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 petuit. Cui 
sic ait: 'Communem hunc populum [hoc est, meum ac tuum] pariterque 
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 
ex auro et gemmis quam nobis Helena regina donaverat, vel monile [hoc 
est, adflotitario(?)] quod Andromache dederat. Et dum cum istis omni- 
bus 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 
nocere 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 obedivit, quern 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 
amari. Merito te peto ut transfigures te in faciem nepotis tui Ascanii, 
et Didoni per te munera offers; et cum te in gremio acceperis Didoni 
obtulit, et eam amore Enee per medullam serpivit. Et dicere habes: 
quando Cupido se in faciem Ascanii transfiguravit, ubinam Ascanius fuit? 
Respondendum est: Venus Ascanio in navi soporem immisit, atque eum

Excidium Troiae

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 reginam 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 prothahere 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 Danai, 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, levaverunt se omnes amici, et 'vale' regine dixerunt. Et dum amici discederent, petit 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 ceperent. In qua cena fuerunt in ministerio Didonis centum famule ornate auro et gemmis [id est, quinquaginta], que domum omnem regiam aromatibus fumigabant. Quid multa?
Dum cena perfecta fuisset, sibi utrique valedixerunt. Et post discussum Enee cepit Dido tota nocte amore uri; et somnum non vidit, sicut scriptum est: Uritur infelix Dido tota(m)que bachatur per urbem funens, quomodo cerva sagittata veneno, [et] tam diu uritur quam diu 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 littora nostra devolutus fuisset, nimio amore eius sauciata sum.' Et dum ista geruntur, luxit dies; et iterato Eneam alio die ad epulas petitit, et plus cepit amore eius uri.

alte cincta; atque vittam ex auro et gemmis super comam capsit 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 amore suum satiaverunt. Ecce quodam Dido Enee coniuncta est! Etiam non potuit Dido furtivum celare amorem; exemplum Libie magna fit fama per urbes, fama malum qua non aliud velocius ullum (mobilitate viget, viresque adquirit eundo), quae se ad nubila tulit. Quid multa?

Ipsa fama de coniunctione Didonis et Enee ad regem magnum Iarbat pervenit. Et audito hoc erexit ad sidera palmas, et se ante aras centum quas Iovi conderit in facie prostravit; et Iovem tali voce deprecabatur, dicens: 'Jupiter 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, quern sic alloquitur atque talia mandat: 'Vade age, nate, voca tibi Zephiros; Dardanumque duce, Tirie Cartaginis qui nunc arces locat, sic alloquere, atque celerius perferes.
mea dicta per auras. Et dic ei: "Credo quia sic tibi fata censuerunt ut regnum Italie obtineres, non solum tu sed et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis. Et posuisti te in amorem mulieris, et dimisi regnum tibi devotum; sed si te tanta habet amor mulieris, vel Ascanium filium tuum 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: '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 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 nuntiant omnia iam preparata fuisse; et per noctem Didonem in lecto dormientem dimisit, et occulte ad naves ascendit, et spatam 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 unoque, dicens: 'Vade ad templum Iunonis et consule si Eneas ad nos revertetur.' Et dum Anna ad templum pergeret, respiciens Dido vidit spatam Enee ad caput suum pendere. Dolore nimio ducta, sic lamentari cepit: 'Vixi, et quern dederat cursum fortuna peregi, et nunc magna eis sub terras ibit imago. Urbem preclaram...
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 medium inter talia ferro conlapsam aspiciebat comites, ensemque cruore spumantem sparsaque manus. It clamor ad alta atria, cum ipsa bachatur fama per urbem. Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu tecta fremunt; resonat magnis clamoribus ether. Non sic, nisi quod immissis hostibus, resonaret omnis Carthago aut antiqua Thiro(s). Quid plura? Dum Anna soror eius ab ea ad templum descendeter, se Dido spata Enee interfecit. Quam Anna soror eius, ut consuetudo antiquorum habuit, incendit, et cinerem eius in Liburno litrina 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 descendens urbem introivit; et dum eam circuiret, vidit extra urbem aggerem lapideum, super quern castra construere iussit, ubi omnes divitias suas vel sociorum suorum sub tutione includeret nec non et ubi maneret.

Et dum castra edificantur, Eneas sub castra super ora Tiburini fluminis 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, quondam Priami regis Troianorum; et dum Troia civitas nostra a Grecis expugnaretur et periret, admonitus ex precepto deorum quia hic 3-8 iv, 663-670
mihi regnum devotum est, de Troia post excidium eius cum viginti navibus vel cum sociis quos mecum videtis exivi. Et hoc ad vos secundum preceptum deorum perrexi. Et iracundia Iunonis faciente, in mare per septem annos iactatus sum. Deinde tempestate nimia cogente, ad 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 essem, nuntio deorum ammonitus sum ut eam dimitterem et hoc ad Italiam pro regno percipiendo perexirem. Et quia preceptum deorum contempnere non potui, memora-tam Didonem dimisi et hoc 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 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 super ora Tiberini fluminis cor eius conturbari cepit. Et dum tribulatur, se ei sopor immisit, et in ipso sopore numerus eiusdem fluminis per somnum 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 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 dimittte cum eo armatos viros; et ascendes per me hic ad Evandrum regem, qui in septem montibus sedes habere videtur, quia hic Evander inimicitias habet cum Latino rege. Sed quia parvulus est in populo, merito ei non prevaleat, et querit sibi auxilium qualiter cum
Excidium Troiae


Redeamus ad causam. Eneas vero, dum a numine fluminis visitatus fuisset, ad castra introivit, et Ascanium filium suum vel omnes socios suos fortissimos viros ad se vocari iussit. Quos allocutus est, dicens: 'Commendo vobis castra vel Ascanium filium meum necnon et omnes divitiias 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. Assumpsit secum aliquos de suis fortissimos viros et per Tiberinum fluvium ad Evandrum regem navigare cepit. Quo dum navigaret, admediato itinere navigii sui invenit sub arbore ilicis 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 Evandi Eneas veniret, vise sunt naves eius venire. Illi vero, videntes naves quas non

3-5 viii, 43-46 11-13 Cf. vi, 763 sqq.
Excidium Troiae

cognoverunt, pavore ducti armaverunt se et contra Eneam armati occurrerrunt. 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 suscipit; et dum de nave descenderet, ad Evandrum venit. Quo Evander eadem die cum omni populo suo sacrificium Herculi obtulerat et diem solemnem celebrat. 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 caruerat, natalis per singulos annos ibidem in Aventino monte, ubi nunc Roma condita est, Herculi celebratur. 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 petit. Cui sic Eneas ait: 'Me meumque obieci caput, et supplex ad limina veni; hoc est, non ad te legates direxi sed per me veni, ut mihi auxilium pretest contra Latinum regem Laurentine urbis vel Turnum, quem sibi generum invent; quia ex admonitione deorum huc devolutus sum, qui hoc me admonuuerunt ut regnum huius provincie accipiam et Laviniam filiam Latini in coniugio habeam. Et dum hic in Hostia civitate cum meis venirem, per somnium a Tiberino flumine communitus sum ut huc ad te pergam et a te auxilium petam, quia dictum est mihi etiam te cum eo inimicitiem habere. Merito peto ut nos utrique coniunagamus et contra inimicos dimicemus.' Evander vero Enee dixit: 'Iube ut epulas consumemus; et hinc ad sedes meas pergamus, et ibi de eis qua postulas ordinabimus.' Quid multa? Dum epulas perficerent, sic Evander cum omni populo suo ad sedes suas se recept. 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 | ascenderet Ra | 6 suo om. L Ra | 8 adiverent L Ri | et om. Ri | eandem diem L Ra | 9 pro quod L et pro quo Ri | monstrum vel denavastorem 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 | voluus Ra | quia L
15 Ra | admoveverunt Ri | 19 accipiam obtineam L | regi Latinu L | in Hostia civitate ad eius civitatem L civitatem Ra | 20 cum meis om. L | veniret L | per sompii ammoniaonem Tiberini
16 fluminis Ri | 21 hic L | 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
24 consuntam Ri | consumê Ri | 25 eis] ca L ca re Ra | ordinemus Ri | perfecerunt Ra | 26 se recept] venit L recept Ri Cum quo] Eum Ri
Excidium Troiae

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 perexit.

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 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.'

2 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.'

3 Quid multa? Turnus admonitus a Iunone se armavit et parato exercitu ad filium Enee perexit.

4 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.'

5 Quid multa? Turnus admonitus a Iunone se armavit et parato exercitu ad filium Enee perexit.

6 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.'

7 Quid multa? Turnus admonitus a Iunone se armavit et parato exercitu ad filium Enee perexit.

8 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.'

9 Quid multa? Turnus admonitus a Iunone se armavit et parato exercitu ad filium Enee perexit.

10 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.'

11 Quid multa? Turnus admonitus a Iunone se armavit et parato exercitu ad filium Enee perexit.

12 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.'

13 Quid multa? Turnus admonitus a Iunone se armavit et parato exercitu ad filium Enee perexit.
Excidium Troiae

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 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 dividèrent atque munera magna eas daret. Et dum hec Ascanius promitteret, patere eis oblate sunt; et se utrique, dum biberent, per sacramenta constrinxerunt 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 interficerent. Et dum hec dixissent, consilium utrique 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 regali fuisse ornatum; estimantes esse ipsum papilionem Turni, super Ramnetem introierunt et invenverunt eum somno vinoque sepultum iacentem in tapetis regalibus nudo pectore, et eum gladio interficerunt. Et tulerunt arma eius—id est, scutum auro gemmisque rigente, galeam similiter necnon et vaginam eius vel hastas. Et iam remeantes gaudio pleni putantes se Turnum occidisse, ceperunt in transitu suo quoscumque potuerunt interficere; et dum iam luciferum oriri viderent, sibi in vicem dixerunt: 'Exeamus hinc quia lux inimica propinquat.' Ramnes vero, qui futura pronuntiabat, sibi mortem futuram

27-28 ix, 355
Excidium Troiae

videre non potuit, sicut scriptum est: Non potuit augurio depellere peste.

Nisus vero et Eurialus, dum multos interficerent, de papilionibus exierunt; et dum iter tendunt post Eneam, se de armis Samnitibus ornaverunt, et cepit contra lunam galeam dimicare, quia tales gemmas ipsa galea habuit qua 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 propter ab urbe Latina, tercentum scutati omnes Vulcense 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 et omnia sidera deprecatus est, dicens: 'O Latina, dea omnium siderum, peto a te ut hastinga quum 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 Vulcensem comitem vulneravit. Et dum ista contingerent, ceperunt plus in Eurialo exardescere et eum velle interficere. Eurialus vero, ut se vidit ab hostibus comprimi, dolens mortem amici [is qui iam evaserat], maluit cum amico suo occidi, seque hostibus obtulit, dicens: 'Me me, assum qui feci;'
Excidium Troiae

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, interfeci sunt, et capit aorum in hastis posuerunt. Et sic ad Turnum prima luce venerunt. Ubi venientes luctus magnos in papilionibus de morte Ramnetis vel aliorum invenerunt, et satis inter se musitabant quisnam ausus esset temerarie in papilionibus introire et tali 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 dum hoc Turnus videret, ipsa capita in hasta secum portans, ad castra Enee venit. Et dum illis capita Nisi et Euriali ostenderet, suntius ad matres eorum pervenit. Que dum audissent, cum magna lamentatione se per muros proierunt et mortue sunt. Quid plura?

Turnus vero cepit ad castra validissime pugnare. Et dum Ascanius castra turbata videret, voluit se tradere. Et dum ista gerentur, 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 obvius occurrit. Et Turnus nolebat eum dimittere de navibus descendere. Sed quia Eneas exercitum recentem ducerebat et Turnus iam pugnando debeat sui, Eneas victor existit. Turnus vero fugiens ab Enea ad Laurentinam civitatem, ubi Latinus rex socius eius fuit, se contulit. Eneas vero de post commissionem pugne vel de post navium se paucis diebus posuit, cum quo etiam Pallas filius Evandri regis fuit. Qui Evander cum exercitu filium suum Enee dederat; qui

1-2 IX, 427-429
Excidium Troiae

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 cogitare ut sibi auxilia peterent. Et petierunt sibi Mezentium; qui Mezentius contemtor divum appellatus est, quia cruentator fuit et tales 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 verminibus ebulliis fetebat. Et super ipsum cadit 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 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 contemtor 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?

Eneas, post quod paucis diebus quievit, se armavit et illuc ad civitatem Laurentinam perrexit. Cui Turnus una cum Mezentio vel Camilla regina obvius 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 brachilem eius tulit, et se eo cinxit 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.
Excidium Troiae

de populo fuit Turni, et quando vidit Camillam multa prelia facere, dixit: 'Feminis et non nobis virtus habet assignari.' Et surreptice 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 eam occiderat de arco suo fulmine sagittavit, et Arons percussus a Diana mortuos 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 Turno ostendit et cepit contra eum velle dimicare. Turnus vero cepit artificioso velle pugnare. Iuno vero, ut vidit Turnum pronum esse, cepit terga dare et se ab ante Turno ac veluti fugiens tollere. Turnus vero, ut vidit Iunonem in similitudinem Enee fugere, cepit eum persequeri et eum de pugna expectante populo eiecit, tamquam Eneam fugientem persequebatur. 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 pugna eruerem. Ergo vade ad patrem tuum et ut 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
Excidium Troiae

47.

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 arbo re quercus se armis expoliavit, et in arbo re quercus suspendit, et cepit plagam suam lavare. Post discessum vero Mezentii, Lausus filius eius, volens injuriam 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 iuvenis etiam floribus declarabat lanugo, sociis eius ait: 'Tollite hoc corpus et matri perducite ut a bestiis tale corpus non devoretur.' Quem soci 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 armis 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 equo suo manibus acutis; contra quem Eneas ad pedem obvius venit. Et ceperunt utrique expectante exercitu artificiosae ut duo artifices pugnare, sicut duo in prelio tauri. Quid multa? Dum artificiosae utrique pugnante, Eneas hastam iactavit et fronti equi Mezentii inseruit. Equus vero, ut hastam in fronte accept,
Excidium Troiae

cepit colaphos et calces doloribus iactare et Mezentium dominum suum desuper necare. Et sic etiam ipse ceccidit. 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 est ut permitteder corpus eius ad uxorem suam tolli et iuuxa filium suum ponere. 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 adiret et Laviniam sibi iungeret. Et dum ista disputaret, sociis suis ait: 'Quia hostibus caruimus, eamus ad papilionem, eamus ad papilionem, occiso Mezentio, corpus Pallantis filii Evandri parentibus direxit in loculo vimeneo, cum eo etiam centum viros prudentes qui parentes eius consolarentur, necnon et omnem predam quam secerat ante corpus eius. Et dum corpus Pallantis ad parentes eius veniret, obviam ei parentes cum omni familia sparsis crinis 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 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, intimoravit. Et non sufferens amorem intra se cogitans ad semetipsum ait: 'Et perdere habeo Laviniam sponsam meam quam per multos annos despansavi?' Et dum hec cogitator, inscio Drauno patre suo, furore acceptus, iterato ad Latinum socerum suum; ubi venientem iterato, licet nolens, eum Latinus suscepit, increpans eum et dicens: 'Sunt
Excidium Troiae

49

tibi regna patris tui, sunt oppida; revertere ad regnum patris tui, quia
dii nolunt ut filiam meam in matrimonio habeas." Cui Turnus sic re-

spondit: "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 dirigere.
Et electus est Venulus; et dum Venulus ad Diomedem veniret, ab eo
auxillium petit. Diomedes sic respondit: 'Contra quos pugnatis?' Ven-
ulus dixit: 'Contra Eneam Troianum.' Diomedes dixit: 'Non do auxi-
lium, 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 vos remedium qualiter
cum eis pacificetis.'

Et dum adhuc Venulus a Diomede rege necdum reversus fuisset, Lat-
inus 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 exequant et corpora
suorum agnita recolligant.' Et placuit consilium regis, et electi sunt
centum viri 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 bissenos
dies quatenus corpora que in campo dejecta sunt colligantur.' Quos
Eneas digne suscepit et ab eis munera que ducebant accepit, et duodecim
dies quo petierant ut pax esset concessit. Tamen sic ipsis legatis re-

spondit: 'Audite, viri. Non forte mea voluntate hue ad vestram terram
pugnare veni; sed admonitus ex precepto deorum, quia mihi regnum

1 xii, 22 3 xii, 48-49
imminivit, merito hic vēni. Sed vellem vobis unum consilium dicere ut diceretis regi vestro: "Quid prodest ut se exercitus qui remansit vexet? Videtis campos ossibus hominis albusse vel terram sanguine humano fuisset satisam. Sed ego et Turnus exeamus unus ad unum, et nos duum pugnemus; et qui parem suum diecerit 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 civitate Laurentina pro agnosendis corporibus suorum ad campum exierunt; et dum corpora iacentia in campo viderent, solutis crinibus in ululatum magnum omnes se dederunt. Et dum ululatus magnus sonuis-set, rex vel omnes qui cum eo erant, audientes voces per fenestras domus regie, campos inspicere ceperunt, et dolor magnus in corde omnium in-troit. Tunc Drances unus de legatis qui ad Eneam fuerant sic erupit: 'O domine rex, vides campos ossibus humanis albuisse, 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 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 Turnuscontra turbatus vultu sic respondit: 'Et hoc vobis videtur, quia solus ego pro regno Laurentino potero morti subiacere ut vos vivatis? Non 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
Venulum, legatum ad Diomedeum 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 potuisse. Et dum ista Eneas preparat, Turnus contra Eneam obviā cum exercitu foris ab urbe exivit; et utrique se deficientes iterato Turnus urbem petīt, 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 pugnānt secum dimicare: et qui victor extīsset, 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 pugnaret. 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 prima sibi presente Latino occurrerent, ut si quis victor extīsset, dimisso exercitu quem sibi in auxilio 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...
Excidium Troiae

deaurata indutus, galea(m) ex auro et gemmis in capite habens, hastam in manu portans, necon et spatum armi iuclo gestans cum talaribus aureis vel calcis in pedibus, etiam ipse in quadriga flues exivit. Quibus Eneas de papilionibus suis obvius ad iurandum venit. Et dum ad aras utrique accederent, primus Eneas sic iurare cepit, dicens: 'Esto mihi nunc Sol testis et tu mihi Terra precanti penes quam tantos et tales potuit ferre labores.' Qui dum iuraret, sic ore proprio prorupit, dicens: 'Si me viceris, auxilia quod mihi petivi dimitte[s] ad regem suum reverti et meos proprios tibi vindica[s]. Sed si ego victor fuero, similiter faciam.'


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.

Et dum contentio inter Iunonem et Venerem matrem Enee ante Iovem facta fuerat, Iupiter, videns eas con-

5-7 xii, 176-177 16-17 Cx. xii, 266-267; 319-320; 813-815
tendere, Fata venire mandavit; que dum venirent, eis Iupiter dixit ut Eneam et Turnum perpenderent, cui victoria imineret. Et Fata utrumque perpenderunt et invenerunt Enee victoriam vel regnum immi-
nere, non solum ipsi sed et nati(s) natorum et qui nasceunter 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 iminerere. 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 tult. 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 matrem 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 suum 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 prove-
erit, iam ego non vivo.'

Et dum hec secum utrique loquuntur, cortina subducta est, et appa-
ruit Lavinia virgo ornata ex auro et gemmis. Quam dum Turnus videret, ardet in arma magis fitigique in virgine vultum; et cepit sic socius sue dicere: 'Ipsum 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 exaeas 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-
Excidium Troiae

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 dum portas civitatis in curru[m] exivit, omnis populus Laurentine civitatis super muros se collegit ad spectaculum pugne eorum.


Cives vero Laurentine civitatis vel ipse Latinus rex, dum Eneam victorem viderent, cum magno triumpho ei portas aperuerunt, et in

\[\text{12 Cf. xii, 906-907} \quad 13-14 \text{xii}, 898-900 \quad 17 \text{xii}, 926-927 \quad 18-19 \text{xii}, 936-937 \quad 19-21 \text{xii}, 932-934 \quad 22 \text{ Cf. xii}, 941-943\]

\[11 \text{ ipso post veniret Ra } \quad 13 \text{ arvis} | \text{armis Ra } | \text{bissena Ra } \quad 14 \text{ qualis Ra } \quad 15 \text{ rapta Ra }\]
\[16 \text{ erecta} | \text{Ri rursus incipit} \quad 17 \text{ Et} | \text{Qui Ri } \quad 18 \text{ ad sidera -dicens om. Ri } \quad 19 \text{ evicto}\]
\[16 \text{ tenere palmis Ra } \quad 20 \text{ senectute Ra } \quad 21 \text{ miserere Ra } \quad 22 \text{ deprecacetur Ri } | \text{bracielci-lem Ri }\]
\[23 \text{ occiderat Ri } | \text{brachilem Ri } \quad 24 \text{ dixit ad Turnum Ri poteram} | \text{posse Ri } \quad 25 \text{ tiranide om. Ri } \quad 26 \text{ occidet te Ri } \quad 27 \text{ ponens ei Ri } \quad 28 \text{ fussae om. Ri } \quad 30 \text{ vero om. }\]
\[\text{Ra } | \text{civitatis om. Ra } | \text{et ipse rex Latinus Ri } \quad 31 \text{ cum om. Ri}\]
Excidium Troiae

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 Laurentina in Lavinia, quam pater suus considerat, 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 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 et factum est. Quid multa?

Excidium Troiae


Et contigit ut Numitori fratri eius duo filii nascerentur—id est, Sergestus et Rea que et Ilia. Et dum adolevisserat et Amulius rex filios fratris sui adolescere videret, metuens responsum, filium fratris sui Sergestum ad venationem secum duxerat et eum in silva occidit. De Rea vero que et 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 amore Ille irruit et eam stupravit. In quo stupro concepit, et nati 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 et eis ubera prebuit. (Quia lupa in tutela Martis condita est, merito hoc fabula iactatat, lupa[m Remum et Romulum uberibus sustinisse.) Inde postea a Faustulo pastore qui fuit in septem montibus collecti sunt; et Acce uxor Faustuli de lupanari levata fuerat.

Qui pueri dum adolevisserat, scientes unde nati fuerant, septem montes obtinerunt et ceperunt sibi manum vagorum iuvenum colligere, et facta

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. Et dum eam fundaret, ceperunt de uxoribus cogitare qualiter acciperrer, et dixerunt quia nemo eis dabat. Et inito consilio circumdedeurunt et civitatem dedicare ceperunt. Ad cujus dedicationem Sabinienses cum uxoribus et filiis suis petierunt. Et dum ibi introissent, filias Sabinorum rapuerunt et sibi eas iunxerunt. Hoc videntes Sabinienses bellum adversus eos excitaverunt. Illi vero per legatos eis mandaverunt ut completo anno ad se utrique perducerent; quod et factum est. Et intra annis metas omnibus filii nati sunt, et dum dies statuta venisset, ad se utrique produserunt. Romulus vero, congregans ad se omnes suos, sic eos allocutus est, dicens ut omnes infantes ante aciem proicerent; quod et factum est. Sabinienses vero, dum ad eos venirent, viderunt infantes ante aciem in terra iacentes. 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 populus Romanus crevit!

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 (Chrestomathiea 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, *Anthomerica* 39 ff. It is alluded to in Euripides, *Troïades* 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.
Critical Notes and Commentary

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, 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 armarum et pugne' is supported by a number of related vernacular accounts. Cf. especially *Trójumanna Saga* (*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, iv, p. 22*): '[Frigg] bydr honum mikla speki ok sigr i orrostum (hon var orrostu gutö); *Istorietta Trojan* (Gorra, *Testi Inediti,* p. 382): 'Madonna Pallas gli promise, con ciò sia cosa che ella sia dea di battalglie, 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).


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 crepundii 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: qua 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. *campestr*, '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, 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.


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 cheveulx en Allemant.’ Fred. Shears, Recherches sur les prépositions dans la prose du moyen fran. (Paris, 1921).

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 Agyrtes / 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,
Critical Notes and Commentary

*Mith.* 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, 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. 1, 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 Briseida' 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. 1, 209, Thebas and Larnesus; *Hyg.*, *Fab.* 106, merely 'ex Mysia captivam'). Oldfather, 'Notes,' p. 276, suggests that something like 'per munus expostulaverat' would be a more sensible statement.

11, 17-19 In *Hyg.*, *Fab.* 106 and *Myth.* Vat. 1, 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 Neptuni] 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 Aethiopis. 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 Aethiopis (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 inaures illo quo fratris pensabatur corpus proiectit: qua visa Achilles, si sibi daretur, promisit ut hectoreum corpus redderet, et Troianos cum Graecis, reddit a 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 tantae iuventutis ... and the words fratris tui defect 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) tantae 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 pre-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): 'Attendite, miser Homere, quod nunquam Achilles virum strenuun nisi proditorie interfecit.'
Critical Notes and Commentary

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, 11, 27] we probably have Aecae 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), 1. 950: 'tot nu lié sor le fossé,' and paralleled by Marlowe, *Dido* I.445 (*Works*, ed. Brooke, Oxford, 1925): 'Who groveling in the mire of Zanthus bankes.' 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 *Trümmanna Saga* p. 90: 'hann [Sinon] haftSi band fyri 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.* 11, 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, 23-24 This, and a similar sentence below (35, 9), may also be titles of
Critical Notes and Commentary

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. 11, 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. 11, 205) it is Achilles’ dying request that Polyxena be killed: ‘Achilles moriens petit, 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 ‘Odisseus’ (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 Cf. Festus, De verborum significatu: ‘Clipeum antiqui ob rotunditatem etiam corium bovis appellantur’ (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. 1, 316-317 describes Venus as appearing ‘qualis equos Threissa fatigat Harpalyce volucrumque fuga praeventitur 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. 1, 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. 1, 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. 1, 216; and Servius, Aen. 1, 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.
Critical Notes and Commentary

29, 13 The fettering of the Trojans is not to be found in Virgil.

30, 17 ff. See above, pp. lxv-lxvi. 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. xvi, 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 Trojanorum) 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.


37, 11 ‘Litrina’ (L, Ra) from ‘litrino’ (cf. ‘Liburno’). See Du Cange, lurinus, from luter, ‘canthari aquarii,’ and cf. Gr. λουρή. ‘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 1, 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. 1, 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. 1, 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, 1, iii; Dionys., Rom. Antiq. 1, 66; Appian, Rom. Hist. 1; and Myth. Vat. 1, 202, it was Ascanius who founded Alba. It is therefore strange that this author should depart from Virgil (1, 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 alisque 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.
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.* 1, 59–63; Tzetzes on Lycoph. v, 1232; Zonaras, *Epit.* 7, i; and Appian, *Rom. Hist.* 1 (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. 1, 202 agree with Virgil in having Aeneas first defeat Turnus.

This is an incoherent reference to the death of Aeneas, concerning which there are several traditions. Livy, i, ii; Appian, *Rom. Hist.* 1; and Tzetzes on Lycoph. v, 1232 tell that he was killed in battle with the Rutuli. According to Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* 1, 64; Myth. Vat. 1, 202; and Servius, *Aen.* 1, 259 he disappeared near the river Numeius, 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.

Virgil (*Aen.* 1, 261–266) may intimate that Aeneas is to rule but three years. However, Servius (*Aen.* 1, 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.* 1, i, Myth. Vat. 1, 202, and every other source we have examined.

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. 1, 202; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* 1, 70; and Servius, *Aen.* 1, 270. In Livy, Silvius is the son of Ascanius, rather than his brother, as in the other accounts.

In Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* 1, 70 Ascanius rules 38 years.

Ascanius himself was the traditional founder of Alba. Virgil, *Aen.* 1, 267–271; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* 1, 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.

According to most mythographers, Ascanius rather than Postumus Silvius ruled in Alba. Myth. Vat. 1, 202 states that he allowed Lavinia to rule Lavinium.

Livy, i, iii; Dionys., *Rom. Antiq.* 1, 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 re-
jected, 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 com-
pressed 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. 1, 30; Ovid, Met. xiv, 772-775; Dionys., Rom. Antiq. 1, 71.

56, 6-7 Sergestus] His correct name is Aegestus. The redactor no doubt con-
fused him with Sergestus, the companion of Aeneas (Aen. 1, 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 off-
spring is essentially the same as that contained in Servius, Aen. 1, 273; Myth.
Vat. 1, 30; Livy, i, iii; Plutarch, Rom. iii; Dionys., Rom. Antiq. 1, 76; Appian,
Rom. Hist. 1; 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.
1, 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. 1, 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. 1, 30; Livy, i, iv;
Plutarch, Rom. iv; Dionys., Rom. Antiq. 1, 84; and Servius, Aen. 1, 273. Ter-
tullian (Apologeticus xiii, 9) deplores 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.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

References are to page and line; numbers in bold-face type indicate pages.

A

Abar [Abarim L], city in Africa 26, 24.

Acamas [Acgamasto L, Achemas Ri], Greek warrior 17, 19.

Acca, wife of Faustulus, formerly a courtesan 56, 23.

Achates [Agates L], Aeneas' armiger 27, 1, 4; 29, 1; 31, 14, 17; 32, 7, 13; 33, 3, 6.

Achemenides [Achmedines L, A_evmenldes Ri], one of Odysseus' band 23, 6, 13, 14, 16; 24, 8, 11.

Achilles [Achillis L], son of Peleus and Thetis 3, 1; 9, 18, 19; 10, 2, 6, 8, 15, 16, 21, 22; 11, 7, 11, 12, 16, 19, 26; 12, 4, 8, 11, 12, 15, 18, 24, 25, 28; 13, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13; 14, 4; 19, 13; 20, 1; 24, 17.

Africanus [Affricanus Ri] (adj.), litus -urn 26, 23; litora -a 30, 15.

Agamemnon [Agamenon Ri], co-ruler with Menelaus 7, 16, 21; 9, 6, 15, 23, 24; 10, 11, 19; 11, 12-13, 14; 13, 9, 17; 23, 18.

Ajax Oileus (see Eas).

Aiax Telamonius [Alas et Tel-, Alaz et Tel-, Alaz Dedamonius Ra], friend of Achilles 11, 27; 13, 6.

Alba, Albana (see Albanus).

Albani 55, 19; 57, 5.

Albanum, the Alban kingdom 55, 23, 25; 57, 27.

For Alba 55, 16.


Alexander (also called Paris) 12, 30.

Allecto, Fury 41, 3.

Amata, wife of Latinus 53, 17, 20; 54, 28.


Amulius [Amlius L], son of Procas 55, 26, 27; 56, 1, 3, 7, 16; 57, 1, 2, 4.


Androgeus, Greek 18, 16, 17, 19.

Andromache [Andromac L, Andromacha Ri], wife of Hector 24, 16; 32, 11.

Anna, Dido's sister and confidante 34, 5, 6; 36, 24, 25; 37, 8, 9.

Apollo [Appollo Ri], 'musarum deus' 3, 14; 12, 23, 26, 30; 13, 2; 15, 6, 7, 11, 12, 19.

Argivi 25, 18 (Virg. quot. add. L).

Argolicus (adj.), -as . . . latebras 16, 15 (Virg. quot.).

Atria, Arrons, one of Turnus' band 45, 28; 46, 4, 5.

Arpalice (=Harpalyce), apparently taken for common noun, 'huntress' 27, 12; 34, 25.

Arphie [Almte L, Alphie Ra] (=Harpyias) 22, 22, 25.

Ascanius, Aschanius (20, 20), son of Aeneas 20; 20, 21, 15, 24; 24, 17, 19, 21; 29, 24; 32, 8, 12, 15, 16, 20, 25, 26; 33, 3, 5, 35, 3; 36, 4; 38, 26; 39, 15, 17; 41, 7; 42, 2, 5, 8, 11; 44, 14; 52, 22; 55, 5, 7, 10, 17, 22.

Asia [Asya Ri], 19, 25 (Virg. quot.).

Augustus, Caesar, first emperor 57, 23, 24.

Aurora, mother of Memnon 11, 23.

Aventinus (adj.), -us mons, one of Seven Hills 39, 8; 40, 10; 57, 5.

B

Briseida [Breseida Ra], concubine of Achilles 11, 13.

C

Cacus, son of Vulcan 40, 7.

Camilla, queen of the Amazons 45, 19, 22, 28; 46, 1, 3.

Cartago, Carthago (37, 7), city founded by Dido 27, 27; 28, 4, 14, 16, 20, 23, 24; 35, 23; 36, 6; 37, 7; 38, 5, 7.

Cassandra, daughter of Priam 18, 13; 19, 8.

Castor, brother of Pollux and Helen 7, 19.

Celeno, queen of the Harpies 22, 23; 23, 2.

Ceres, 20, 17; 21, 1, 9, 19; 29, 23.

Cesar (see Augustus).

Chiron 10, 29, 30; 11, 4.

Christus 57, 25, 26.

Ciclops, designation of Polyphemus 23, 7; 24, 9; pl., discipuli of Vulcan 23, 8, 25; 24, 12-13.

Climp (Climpsia L) 26, 24.

Corebus [Corevius L, Coreph, Coreb Ri], Trojan, betrothed to Cassandra 18, 13; 19, 9.

Creusa, wife of Aeneas 20, 21; 21, 10, 17.

Cupido [Copito L] 32, 14, 17, 22, 25; 33, 3, 5.

Cyllenius (see Quillenius).

D

Danai, 16, 9, 10; 19, 4; 33, 12 (Virg. quot.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper Name</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dardania, lux -it (=Ascanius)</td>
<td>24, 20</td>
<td>(= Aeneas) 31, 24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dardania (adj.), -um . . . ducem (=Aeneas)</td>
<td>35, 22; -it carine 37, 2 (Virg. quot.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daunus (38, 14), Draunus, father of Turnus</td>
<td>38, 14; 46, 23; 48, 26; 54, 20.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deiopea [Deioppena Ri], nymph</td>
<td>26, 6 (Virg. quot.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>46, 3, 4, 5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didamia [Didemla Ri, Diademia Ri Li], daughter of Licomedes</td>
<td>9, 20-21; 10, 13, 16; 11, 6; 13, 12.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dido, founder and queen of Carthage</td>
<td>27, 27; 28, 1, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26; 29, 6, 8, 12; 31, 14, 22, 27; 32, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23; 33, 18, 22, 25; 34, 2, 3, 5, 11, 24, 25; 35, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 18; 36, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18-19, 22, 26; 37, 9; 38, 5, 6, 10.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diomedes [Djomedes Ri], with Odysseus</td>
<td>9, 21, 29; 10, 4, 7, 8, 11, 18; 49, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14; 51, 1, 2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discordia, goddess of strife</td>
<td>3, 15.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolopes</td>
<td>14, 4; 33, 13 (Virg. quot.).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drances [Dracens, Draces Ri], ambassador sent to Aeneas</td>
<td>49, 21; 50, 15, 22, 26.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draunus (see Daunus).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epeos [Ebleus, Egbeus Ri].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eolio, home of Eolus 25, 18.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eoleus [Eulus, Elus L], ruler of the winds</td>
<td>24, 28; 25, 1, 19; 26, 1, 7.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epeos [Ebleus L, Eblebeus Ra], maker of the wooden horse 17, 19.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esonie (see Hesione).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia [theupe Ra] (adj.), -e . . . Aurore</td>
<td>11, 22.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurialus [Aurialus, Auxialus Ri], friend of Ascanius 42, 2, 6; 43, 2, 9, 21, 23; 44, 11.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evander, ruler in the Seven Hills 38, 28, 29; 39, 6, 7, 19, 22, 25; 40, 4, 5, 12, 23, 26; 41, 1, 3, 8; 42, 4; 44, 16, 23, 24; 45, 24; 48, 13, 17; 54, 22.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezddium Troiae [Liber Ezitium Troye Ri], incipit— 3, 1; explicit— 39, 27 (Ra).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fata, the Fates</td>
<td>53, 1, 2, 5, 6, 8.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faunus, father of Latinus 38, 12.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faustulus [Fastulus Ri], shepherd 56, 22, 23.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frigius (adj.) (=Phrygius). -io marito (= Aeneas) 32, 5 (Virg. quot.).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganimedes, 'rapti-is honores' 5, 13 (Virg. quot.).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getulus [Getholus L], -urn Iarbam 31, 7.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gred 7, 8, 9; 14, 2, 22, 23; 15, 2, 24; 17, 20; 23, 6; 29, 21; 37, 26.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greda 7, 4, 11, 15.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grecia, city in Italy 37, 15; 40, 20; 41, 7, 9.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostia, city in Italy 37, 15; 40, 20; 41, 7, 9.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostiensis, civibus -ibus 38, 19.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iacolens [Jaculen Ri] (=Ianiculum), one of the Seven Hills 39, 8.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iarbas [Inarbas L, Iarbus Ra], African king 28, 4; 31, 7; 35, 13.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida [Ita L, Ydai Ra], mother of the Nereids; apparently an invented name, from which Nereidas is supposed to derive 3, 4, 5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida (see Ideus).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaius (adj.), -io monte 33, 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index of Proper Names

Ideus (adj.), -eum montem, Mount Ida 3, 25.
Idmos (=Idmon), messenger of Aeneas 53, 29.
Ilia (also called Rea), daughter of Numitor 39, 9; 56, 7, 10, 13, 14.
Ilioneus [Ilioneus L], companion of Aeneas 29, 15, 20.
Ilum [Ylum Ri] 18, 5; 26, 3 (Virg. quot.).
Ioturna, sister of Turnus 52, 12, 13, 16, 31.
Iovis (also called Iupiter) 3, 10, 21; 26, 7, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19; 29, 16; 30, 14, 15, 17, 19; 33, 24; 34, 13; 35, 5; 36, 3, 7, 10, 14, 18, 36, 8; 46, 22.
Iulus (=Ascanius) 25, 10 (Virg. quot.).
Iulus [Iulius Ra], son of Ascanius 55, 18, 21.
Italia [Ytalia Ri] 20, 10; 24, 26; 26, 3; 27, 9; 28, 11; 29, 27; 30, 6, 11; 36, 2; 37, 14; 38, 8; 46, 22.
Iulus [Iulius Ra], son of Ascanius 55, 18, 21.
Iulus (adj.), -na urbs 43, 8.
Iova (also called Iupiter) 3, 9, 11, 13, 22; 4, 21; 7, 18; 20, 9; 26, 18; 29, 16; 30, 14; 31, 24; 35, 16; 36, 5; 52, 32, 34; 53, 15.
J (see I)
Laomedon [Laodomedon L, Laumedon Ra], father of Priam 7, 7.
Latinia [Latinia Ri] (for Latona) 43, 16.
Latinus, king in Italy 38, 11, 13, 24; 29, 40, 16, 19; 43, 6, 7; 44, 21; 45, 5, 19; 20; 48, 20, 27, 28; 49, 4, 14–15, 22; 50, 7, 28; 51, 2, 6, 7, 10, 15, 23; 53, 17; 54, 28, 30; 55, 1, 2.
Latinus (adj.), -na urbs 43, 8.
Laocoön [Laocoön L, Laucan Ri], priest of Neptune 16, 5, 7; 14–15, 22; 20, 27, 24, 25.
Laurentius (adj.), -a civitas 41, 4, 44, 21; 45, 21–22; 48, 9, 19–20; 50, 10; 51, 10, 52; 27–28; 53, 15; 54, 5, 30; -a urbs 40, 16; 53, 35; 55, 5–6; 8. -um regnum 50, 24; 55, 20.
Lausus, son of Mezentius 45, 18; 47, 5.
Lavinia, daughter of Latinus and Amata 38, 15, 24; 39, 12; 40, 19; 41, 6; 46, 22; 48, 10, 22, 25; 50, 21, 26; 51, 10; 53, 17, 18, 26; 54, 2, 19; 55, 1, 7, 11, 17, 21.
Lavinium (for Lavinia, q.v.).
Lavinium, city 55, 22. Urbem -iam, 55, 3.
Lavinia, 55, 6.
Ledo, mother of Helen, Castor, and Pollux 7, 17.
Leneus (adj.), -eum . . . honorem 35, 17 (Virg. quot.).
Libia 27, 22; 35, 10.
Libicuus [Libicius L, Libiacus Ra] (adj.), virgini-bus -cis 27, 22.
Liburnus (adj.), -no livino, vessel in which Dido is buried 37, 11.
Libyces [Licymedes L, Ligyomedes, Nichyomedes Ra], king 9, 20, 22; 10, 17; 11, 4, 9; 13, 11.

M
Macaon [Magaon L, Machaon Ri], Greek warrior 17, 19.
Mars 4, 15, 16, 17, 19; 31, 19; 35, 20, 32; 56, 13, 19, 20.
Maurusius (adj.), -sia . . . gent, Iarbas' people 35, 16. (Virg. quot.).
Memnon [Agamemnon Ri], son of Aurora 11, 22.
Menelaus [Melaus Ra, Menlaui Ri], co-ruler with Agamemnon 9, 16, 17, 19, 21; 9, 6, 15, 23, 24; 10, 12, 19; 11, 13; 13, 9, 17, 19, 23, 18.
Mercurius 3, 14; 35, 21; 36, 5, 6.
Mezentius, ally of Turnus 45, 6, 7, 13, 17, 22; 46, 29; 47, 1, 5, 13, 24; 48, 1, 2–3, 4, 8, 12–13.
Minerva 3, 15; 4, 23, 28; 5, 3, 16; 9, 6, 16; 13, 17, 21, 22; 15, 14, 16, 19, 16, 3, 4, 17, 14; 53, 35; 54, 3, 4.
Myrmidones 33, 13 (Virg. quot.).

N
Neoptolimus [Neoptolimus L, Neobtolimus Ra] (also called Pyrrhus and Pelides, q.v.), son of Achilles 17, 19.
Neptunus 3, 13–14; 11, 20, 15; 17, 16, 5, 19, 21; 17, 2, 6, 14; 26, 15.
Nereide [Nereite, Nereides L, Nereyde Ra] (=Nereides), supposed (by false etymology) to be daughters of Nereus and Ida 3, 2, 3, 5, 7.
Nereus 3, 4, 5.
Nisus, companion of Ascanius 42, 1, 5; 43, 2, 9, 14, 22, 23; 44, 11.
Numa Popiliius [Neuma Polimius Ra, Numina Pamfliius Ri] (=Numa Pomphilus) 57, 22.
Numitor [Numitus, Numiter Ri], son of Procas 55, 26, 27; 56, 2, 3, 5, 6; 57, 4, 27.

O
Odysseus [Odiseus Ri] (also called Ulixes, q.v.) 9, 21, 28; 10, 4, 7, 11, 18; 23, 17, 22, 27, 24, 4, 5, 9.
Olimphus 34, 15.

P
Palamedes, king 14, 10–11, 22.
Palinurus [Platinurus Ra], pilot 25, 5; 26, 27.
Pallas, son of Evander 40, 3; 44, 23; 45, 1, 23, 26; 48, 11, 13, 16, 18; 54, 22, 26.
Index of Proper Names

Pallas [Palamedes L] (also called Minerva), divina -idis arte 14, 8 (Virg. quot.).

Panthus, Trojan priest 20, 12.

Paris [Pares L] (also called Alexander), son of Priam and Hecuba 3, 25, 27, 28; 4, 11, 13, 15, 17, 23, 27, 28, 32; 5, 6, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19; 6, 1, 23, 7, 6, 10, 15, 20, 24, 26, 29; 8, 4, 6, 10, 20, 22, 25, 29, 30, 33; 9, 2, 9, 11, 12; 13, 1; 24, 27.

Patoclus, friend of Achilles 11, 16, 17.

Pelides (see also Neoptolimus), Pelides Neoptolimius 17, 19.

Pentasilea [Pentente Silea Ra], Amazon queen 11, 20.

Pergama, prolapsa -ma 19, 24 (Virg. quot.).

Picus, son of Saturn 38, 12.

Pigmalion, Dido's brother 28, 1-2; 30, 21-22.

Polidorus [Polidurus L, Polidarius R], son of Priam 22, 11.

Polifemus [Polifemus L, Pollifernus R], Cyclops 23, 7, 15, 26, 28; 24, 9.

Polites (see Ypolites).

Polixena, daughter of Priam 11, 30; 12, 7, 12, 18, 22, 25; 20, 1, 4. 

Pollux, brother of Castor and Helen 7, 19.

Postumus Silvius [Postumius L Ra], son of Aeneas and Lavinia 39, 12; 55, 21. Postumus (alone) 55, 10, 11, 16, 19, 22-23.

Priamus, king of Troy, son of Laomedon 3, 28; 7, 5; 8, 13; 9, 13; 11, 11, 30; 12, 9, 10, 13; 13, 6, 25; 14, 18; 17, 4, 25; 19, 14, 16, 20, 22, 23, 26; 20, 21; 22, 11, 29, 25; 37, 25.

Procax, Alban king 55, 25, 27.

Pyrrus [Pirus Ra, Pirus R], (see also Pelides and Neoptolimus), son of Achilles 10, 14, 15, 17, 11, 9; 13, 12, 13; 19, 13, 14, 21, 22, 20, 2; 24, 17.

Quillenius [Quilius L, Quilinus Ra] (-Cylle- nius, also called Mercurius, q.v.) 35, 21.

Rames [Samnes Ra], Turnus' soothsayer 42, 18, 21, 28; 43, 3; 44, 5.

Rea (also called Ila), daughter of Numitor 56, 7, 9, 13.

Remus, brother of Romulus 56, 15, 21.

Roma 39, 9; 40, 11; 58, 15; 57, 5, 19, 29.

Romani 57, 21, 28.

Romanus (adj.), -us populus 57, 20.

Romulus 39, 9; 56, 15, 21; 57, 2, 4, 14, 19, 21.

Rutilis (=Rutuli) 44, 1.

Sabini 57, 9.

Sabinensae [Savinenses L Ra] 57, 8, 10, 16.

Sancandrada, 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.

Sicenus, husband of Dido 28, 1; 30, 20; 37, 11.

Sicilia [Cidlia Ra] 23, 5, 23; 24, 14, 23; 30, 5; 31, 2; 37, 12.

Sidon 28, 3. Tiro Sidone 30, 19.

Sidonius (adj.), -iam . . . paludem 25, 13 (Virg. quot.).

Siro (see also Thiro and Tyrus), -o Sidone 30, 19.

Stenelus [Stenalus R], Greek warrior 17, 19.

Stigius (adj.), -iam . . . paludem 25, 13 (Virg. quot.).

Tiberius 57, 25.

Tirius (adj.), -ie Carthaginis 35, 23.

Tirrenus [Tyrrenus R], (adj.), -um . . . equor 26, 2 (Virg. quot.).

Tirus (adj.) (see also Thiro and Tyrus), -o Sidone 30, 19.

Toas [Thoas R], Greek warrior 17, 19.

Tracia [Traucus L, Traucus R] 22, 12; 49, 5.

Troas 18, 5 (Virg. quot.).

Troia [Troya R] 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, 15, 11, 14, 18, 19, 21; 14, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 19, 18, 4, 18, 16, 2, 16, 17, 1, 13, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 16, 18, 19, 20, 24, 20, 19, 4, 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.
Index of Proper Names

Troianus [Troyanus Ri], applied to Aeneas 34, 7; 41, 5; 49, 8. Troianl 3, 28; 8, 19; 9, 5; 11, 14; 16, 26; 21, 4, 22-23; 34, 28; 29, 14; 37, 25; 51, 3.

Troianus (adj.), -as opes 33, 11; civis -us 37, 24; -e. . . . genis 55, 25.

Tunicus [Heliaguas L, Tiras 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 Tirus) 28, 3. Tiro Sidone 30, 19.

U

Ulixes (also called Odisseus) 17, 18; 23, 6, 14, 16; 33, 14.

Y

Ypolites (=Polites), son of Priam 19, 14.

Z

Zephyrus 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.
Adiles (= 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 (= Graviscae), Etruscan city.
Ilba (= Ilva, Elba), Etruscan island.
Ligures, Ligurians, led by Cinyras.
Manto, prophetess, mother of Ocnus.
Mantua, city, named for Manto.
Masaricus, head of the Etruscans.
Ocrus (= Oenus), 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.
Tuscius (adj.), -is civitas (= Pisa).