

there seems to be no good reason to reopen the question of the date of the altar of the twelve gods: see, e.g., N. G. L. Hammond, "Studies in Greek Chronology of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.," *Historia* 4 (1955): 393. I should like to thank K. R. Bradley and M. F. McGregor for commenting on versions of this paper. The substance of it was read to the Classical Association of Canada in June 1982. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the searching criticisms of my anonymous readers, which resulted in a number of improvements to my argument.

A NOTE ON *AENEID* 1. 613

The first book of the *Aeneid* is carefully constructed to introduce the reader to the crucial issues and the most significant characters of Virgil's epic. In particular, this book points to Dido. The reader's apprehensions of her eventual disaster will lead him to attach special significance to Dido's first sight of Aeneas (*Aen.* 1. 613–14):

obstupuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido
casu deinde uiri tanto.

The passage, of course, has a precedent in the *Odyssey*, but another model, not noted by commentators, is important here. In the third book of the *Argonautica* Apollonius describes the meeting of Jason and Medea. The hero approaches the palace of Aeetes with his crew protected by a cloud (*Argon.* 3. 210 ff.), in a scene which is also informed throughout by reminiscences of the entrance of Odysseus into the city of the Phaeacians in the seventh book of the *Odyssey*.¹ Jason's sudden appearance has a specific precedent in the emergence of Odysseus from his sheltering cloud and the stunned silence of the Phaeacians (*Od.* 7. 144–45):

οἱ δ' ἄνεφ' ἐγένοντο δόμον κατὰ φῶτα ἰδόντες,
θαύμαζον δ' ὀρόωντες.

In the *Argonautica*, after the newcomers have surveyed the palace before them, Medea comes out of her room. But Apollonius has made a significant change (3. 250–53):

Ἥρη γάρ μιν ἔρυκε δόμῳ· πρὶν δ' οὐ τι θάμιζεν
ἐν μεγάροις, Ἐκάτης δὲ πανήμερος ἀμφεπονείτο
νηόν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεῆς αὐτὴ πέλεν ἀρήτειρα.
καὶ σφεας ὥς ἴδεν ἄσσον, ἀνίαχεν.

Medea's sudden, involuntary cry, caused by the sight of Jason, is the first sign of her passion.² This scene serves as a bridge to, and a justification for, the intervention of the god Eros which soon follows (3. 281–84):

αὐτῷ δ' ὑπὸ βαιῶς ἔλυσθεις
Αἰσονίδῃ γλυφίδας μέσση ἐνικάτθετο νευρῇ,
ἰθὺς δ' ἀμφοτέρησι διασχόμενος παλάμῃσιν
ἦκ' ἐπὶ Μηδείῃ· τὴν δ' ἀμφασίῃ λάβε θυμόν.

1. See, conveniently, F. Vian, *Apollonius de Rhodes: "Argonautiques,"* Chant III (Paris, 1980), pp. 118–19, in his notes on *Argon.* 3. 214, 217, 218, 219.

2. Thus Vian, *"Argonautiques,"* p. 39.

The arrow reduces Medea to speechless amazement. The elaborate detail of this scene, with its portrait of the mischievous god of love, is in the best Alexandrian manner. And Apollonius' imagery is striking; he owes it to Sappho (frag. 31. 5–6 L.-P.) τό μ' ἦ μὲν / καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν.³ Medea's passion, which was suggested in her first encounter with Jason, is now explicitly portrayed through the intervention of Eros.

Virgil recasts both these episodes in characteristically purposeful fashion. When Aeneas first appears to Dido, emerging from the cloud in which Venus has enveloped him, the foreign queen is struck dumb (613 *obstupuit*). It is possible to imagine that Dido, like the Phaeacians at the sight of Odysseus, is merely surprised by the sight of a stranger suddenly and miraculously appearing in her city. But the force of *obstupesco* in this context cannot be missed. It did not escape Servius, although he takes no notice of Apollonius: "animo perculsa est, quod iam futuri amoris est signum."⁴ By the time she is set upon by Cupid in Virgil's rendition of the second incident in the *Argonautica*, Dido has already been portrayed as the victim of an overpowering passion. A glimpse of Aeneas has done it.⁵

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3. Cf. A. Turyn, *Studia Sapphica*, Eos Suppl. 6 (Leopoli, 1929), pp. 45–46; G. Privitera, "Ambiguità antitesi analogia nel fr. 31 LP di Saffo," *QUCC* 8 (1969): 71–72 (= *La Rete de Afrodite*, L'Orrizonte 1 [Palermo, 1974], pp. 122–23); and Vian ad loc. Apollonius is not referring only to the loss of speech, although that is implied. Note that in Homer ἀμφασία appears only once in each of the epics (*Il.* 17. 695; *Od.* 4. 704), each time with the complementary genitive ἐπέων. Apollonius recovers the word and uses it four times in the *Argonautica* (2. 409, 3. 284, 3. 811, 4. 3), but without the qualifying complement.

4. Modern commentators are silent, with the exception of Forbiger, who quotes Servius approvingly, and J. Henry, who compares Prop. 4. 4. 21 at *Aeneidea*, vol. 1 (London, 1873), p. 792. Austin may have had this in mind when he noted ad loc.: "Dido found it hard to speak, because it was her first sight of Aeneas." That Virgil has the familiar love-at-first-sight *topos* in mind is specifically denied by R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*³ (Leipzig and Berlin, 1915), p. 122, but he misinterprets the parallels in Apollonius. In Propertius and later in Ovid, *obstupesco* is just the right word for this motif: cf. Prop. 1. 3. 28, 2. 29. 25; Ov. *Am.* 1. 9. 38, *Met.* 2. 726, 10. 580. In the *Aeneid*, the word is used at important moments of recognition, e.g., the appearance of Creusa's ghost at 2. 774, a line repeated at 3. 48 when Polydorus speaks from the grave.

5. This interpretation is apparently older than Servius. In Silius' description of Hannibal's armor this same scene is portrayed (2. 412–15): "has inter species orbatum classe suisque / Aenean pulsum pelago dextraque precantem / cernere erat. fronte hunc auide regina serena / infelix ac iam uultu spectabat amico." Silius' ecphrasis substitutes a rational interpretation of the moment for Virgil's suggestive ambiguity. I am grateful to an anonymous reader for *CP* for several helpful suggestions.

APOTHEOSIS . . . PER SATVRAM

The work that begins *Quid actum sit in caelo* and ends *ut a cognitionibus esset* is attributed by the primary manuscripts to Seneca and called either *Ludus de morte Claudii* (Caesaris) or *Divi Claudii apotheosis per saturam*. The former title, that of the related manuscripts V (Valenciennes 411, saec. ix/x) and L (B.L.