'vocalem ... Orphea',[18] 'vocalis nymphe ... | ... resonabilis Echo',[19] 'Mercuri, dei vocalis' (the divine herald),[20] and, strikingly, Ovid's 'vocalis Arion',[21] of Arion the lyric poet, not the horse. This last may be a deliberate echo of Propertius' phrase, despite the different Arion, but it is hard to judge whether or not it indicates that Ovid read Propertius' 'vocalis' as a nominative or, if he did, that he was right. Propertius himself, in his only other example of the word, uses it of dogs simply barking (4.4.84), but Tibullus, in a list of portents, does tell of cattle apparently speaking, 'fataque vocales praemonuisse boves' (2.5.78).[22]

The only Roman poet to mention the horse Arion is, not surprisingly, Statius, but in his fullest description (*Theb.* 6.30ff.) he does not say that the horse had the ability to speak (nor does he at *Silv.* 1.1.52). When describing Adrastus' escape from Thebes, however, he says 'fata monentem | conversumque iugo propellit Ariona' (11.442–3). The words 'fata monentem' would seem to imply speech, cf. Tibullus' words quoted above. But rather than treat this as a sign that Statius perhaps interpreted Propertius' 'vocalis' as a nominative, it is better to view his passage as modelled directly on the Homeric one about Xanthus warning Achilles of his fate.[23]

The close relationship between horse and hero-master evident in both epics makes this occasion of Adrastus' escape a much more suitable one than the funeral of Archemorus to have Arion break into speech. In each epic the faithful horse speaks only in his master's great crisis. The tradition is emphatic about the crucial role of Arion in Adrastus' escape,[24] but even in regard to that episode there is no sign of the 'speaking horse' motif before Statius.

To return to Propertius 2.34.37, I would suggest that, in the context of a theme taken from Greek epic, it is surely preferable, given the choice of two proper names with which an epithet might agree, to choose the interpretation which is most in keeping with poetic tradition, in this case 'Adrasti ... vocalis' rather than 'vocalis Arion'. There is a saying about jumping to conclusions which we might adapt to the present context: 'When you hear hoofbeats, think of horses, not zebras.' Let me suggest: 'When you hear speech, think of humans, not horses.'

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[18] Hor. *Od.* 1.12.7–8; cf. 'ille vocali genitus Camena' (i.e. Orpheus), Sen. *Med.* 625.
[19] Ovid, *Met.* 3.357–8. [20] Apul. *Met.* 6.7. [21] Ovid, *Fasti* 2.91.
[22] The speaking cow or ox is a commonplace in such lists, e.g. Livy, 3.10.6; Val. Max. 1.6.5. Pliny (*H.N.* 8.183) says 'est frequens in prodigiis priscorum bovem locutum'.
[23] *Il.* 19.404ff.; cf. especially 'fata monentem | conversumque iugo' with ὑπὸ ζυγόφι προσέφη, 404. Cf. H. Juhnke, *Homerisches in römischer Epik flavischer Zeit* (*Zetemata*, Heft 53, München, 1972), p. 368.
[24] Cf. Cyclic *Thebaid* F6[A] Davies *EGF*; Paus. 8.25.7; Apollod. 3.6.8; Hygin, *Fab.* 70.

TURNUS AND HIS ANCESTORS

In Book 6.88–94 of the *Aeneid* reference is made by the Cumaean Sibyl to the fact that there will be terrible wars on the Trojans' arrival at Lavinium. The details given by the Sibyl evoke the war at Troy; there will be a Simois, a Xanthus, and a Greek camp. Moreover, there will be another Achilles in Latium and the war will again be fought over a woman. Aeneas, when he hears this, has just arrived in Italy after the war at Troy and a gruelling seven-year journey. The prophecy is therefore the last thing that he wants to hear, but he responds very stoically and then proceeds to ask the Sibyl's permission to enter the Underworld (6.103ff.). Aeneas' filial *pietas* is therefore

stressed by his determination to meet with his father's shade in the face of forthcoming adversity.

The reference to the wars is important for a number of reasons, one of which is that it draws the reader's gaze forward to the second half of the poem, the so-called Iliadic *Aeneid*.[1] Just as importantly, it encourages the reader to see events in Italy both as a repetition of the war at Troy and as part of the historical continuum arising from it. Moreover, we are reminded, if we have ever forgotten, that the *Aeneid* is written partly in imitation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and that echoes and allusions to the Homeric poems characterise Vergil's poem. Voluminous research over the past forty years has focused on revealing this aspect of Vergil's creative skill.[2] There is no doubt that such a specific focus on the Homeric elements in Vergil's poem has brought with it great benefits, yet we may feel on occasions that such an approach can cloud the waters rather than clear them. The sheer extent of Vergil's commitment to Homer, the multiplicity of parallels and allusions, can make a precise reference within the text very imprecise when examined in a Homeric context. The reference to the 'other Achilles' (6.89) is one such case. In the context of the *Aeneid* this is our first reference to Turnus. Yet students of the passage, with Homeric allusions in mind, have argued variously for Turnus, for Aeneas, and for Turnus and Aeneas as the subjects of the reference.[3]

The intention in this brief article is to look at Vergil's Italian wars not so much as a re-enactment of the Trojan war of the *Iliad*, but primarily as the renewal of an old conflict in a new land with new circumstances at work. This conflict, between Greeks and Trojans, spills into Italy as part of a fated historical continuum into which the main characters fit. The stress laid in the poem on the ancestry of the two main combatants (i.e. Turnus' Argive/Italian ancestry and Aeneas' Trojan/Etruscan) indicates that we are dealing here with the re-emergence of an old and natural enmity. We first see this in the initial reference to Turnus as 'another Achilles'; Aeneas, the Trojan, having just arrived in Italy, will have to deal in war with another great champion in the Achilles mould. The young Rutulian prince is, in a literary sense, the dominant figure in the poem's second half, and it is therefore entirely appropriate that his role should be foreshadowed here. We soon learn that Turnus has the appearance, attributes and ancestry appropriate for a major epic hero. He is youthful,[4] notably attractive,[5] and bold,[6] but it is also his divine and noble lineage that is stressed in the

[1] This is reinforced by the fact that the Sibyl's reference to *horrida bella* (6.86) in Italy is repeated by the poet at 7.41.

[2] For some of these see G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen, 1964); K. W. Gransden, *Vergil's Second Iliad* (Cambridge, 1984); R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1987); C. J. Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas* (Edinburgh, 1988); F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge, 1989).

[3] For some different views on the significance of the reference see E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Aeneis Buch VI* (Stuttgart, 1957), ad loc.; W. S. Anderson, 'Vergil's Second *Iliad*', *TAPA* 88 (1957), 17–30; Thomas Van Nortwick, 'Aeneas, Turnus and Achilles', *TAPA* 110 (1980), 303–14; A. J. Boyle, *The Chaonian Dove* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 154ff.; Lyne (above, n. 2), pp. 107ff.

[4] For Turnus as a *iuvenis* see 7.420; 7.435; 7.446; 7.456; 9.16; 9.806; 10.623; 10.686; 11.123; 11.530; 11.897; 12.19; 12.149; 12.598: cf. 12.216ff.

[5] For this aspect see especially 7.55 where he is *ante alios pulcherrimus omnis* (cf. Aeneas at 4.141 and Dido at 1.496); his beauty is re-affirmed at 7.649–50. When Turnus exhorts his men into battle his *decus egregium formae* is one of the three characteristics that impresses them (7.472–4).

[6] *Audax* seems to be the characteristic adjective for Turnus when he is not in the mad rage (*furor*) that afflicts him throughout much of the poem; see 7.409; 9.3. Servius, ad 8.110, makes some pertinent comments on the subject of Vergil's use of *audax* to describe Turnus and Pallas: contrast P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis* (Königstein/Ts., 1984), pp. 27ff.

early references to him.[7] The Sibyl's point (6.89f.) is that like Achilles (and Aeneas) he too is born from a goddess. At 10.76 we learn that Turnus' mother is Venilia, an obscure goddess, who, according to Servius, is a nymph perhaps associated with Salacia, wife of Neptune.[8] As a sea-nymph she is a clear parallel to Thetis, mother of Achilles. According to another source, Venilia is wife to Janus and mother of Canens.[9] In the *Aeneid* she is, or was, the wife of Daunus, king of Ardea. Servius tells us that she is the sister of Amata, and hence we might read the latter's strong support for Turnus as arising from her consanguinity with him.[10] Venilia herself does not feature in the *Aeneid* as such, and thus Turnus never really receives the kind of divine, maternal support given to Achilles (from Thetis) and to Aeneas (from Venus).[11] Moreover, as the poem progresses, Turnus is an increasingly lonely figure.[12] The 'assistance' rendered to him by his sister Iuturna in Book 12 is a desperate last-ditch attempt by Juno to stave off his inevitable defeat.[13]

Similarly, the relationship between Turnus and his father Daunus is never given anything like the same prominence as that between Aeneas and Anchises in Books 1–6.[14] Aeneas is characterised in these books by his filial *pietas*, and there is some suggestion in the poem's second half that Turnus, as a direct contrast to Aeneas, has a more independent approach to life. Throughout much of Books 7–12 Turnus appears to forget about his father; but, significantly, his name is mentioned at important points in the narrative.[15] Daunus, like Anchises and Peleus, is therefore a mortal who marries an immortal. Similarly, his is a very distinguished ancestry. His earliest ancestor is Inachus, the river god and first king of Argos. In Vergil's version of the story, as told by Servius, Danae, daughter of Acrisius (7.410), king of Argos, is cast out by her father after being violated by Jupiter; she then marries Pilumnus,

[7] For some of the major references to his ancestry (in addition to 6.90) see 7.56; 7.371–2; 7.409–10; 7.473–4; 9.3–4. Turnus is a very Roman figure when he passionately tells the Latins (11.440–2) that he, second to none of his forefathers in *virtus*, has devoted his life to the Latins and to Latinus.

[8] See Servius, ad 10.76. On Venilia see L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie* (Berlin, 1865), pp. 158, 163, 503 and 581; and G. Radke, *RE* VIIIA, s.v. 'Venilia', cols. 787–8.

[9] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 14.332ff.; see too Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5.72. *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982) s.v. 'Venilia', mistakenly cites Faunus as the husband of Venilia (Daunus?); cf. Preller (above n. 8), p. 163.

[10] Servius ad 7.366. See too Latinus' statement (12.29–30) that he supported Turnus out of love for him, and because of kindred blood and the tears of his wife. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.64.2, also makes Turnus the nephew of Amata.

[11] For Thetis' support for Achilles in the *Iliad*, see 1.357ff.; 8.371ff.; 15.75ff.; 18.50ff.; 18.368ff.; 19.3ff.: for Venus' support for Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, see 1.314–414; 2.588–621; 8.530ff.; 12.411ff.; and *passim*.

[12] For some key moments in this process, see 10.653ff.; 11.215–24; 11.378–444; 12.1–106; 12.216ff.; 12.632–49; and *passim*. For a related discussion on Aeneas see D. Feeney, 'The Taciturnity of Aeneas', *CQ* 33 (1983), 204–19.

[13] See Juno's speech to Iuturna at 12.142–53.

[14] Nor indeed does Daunus in the *Aeneid* have the same prominence as Peleus in the *Iliad*, who belongs to a great earlier generation of heroes whose feats are related in the course of the poem (e.g. 7.124ff.; 11.769ff.; 16.571ff.; 18. 84ff.; 18.429ff.; 19.334ff.). At *Iliad* 20.200ff. Aeneas compares his lineage with that of Achilles.

[15] 10.688; 12.22; 12.90; 12.723; 12.785. Turnus eventually pleads to Aeneas for the sake of his father Daunus (12.932ff.). There is an irony that Latinus urges Turnus to pity his father (*miserere parentis | longaeui* 12.43–4) and that Turnus ignores the plea and ends up pleading himself to Aeneas on much the same basis (*Dauni miserere senectae* 12.934): cf. the taunt of Drances (*miserere tuorum* 11.365) repeated at a critical moment by Saces (*miserere tuorum* 12.653).

an agricultural deity and founds Ardea with him.[16] In the *Aeneid* Pilumnus is probably Daunus' father, Turnus' grandfather; but he may be one further generation back (cf. 10.76 and 10.619). Regardless of Pilumnus' precise position in the genealogy, Turnus, like Aeneas (7.219–21; 8.138–42), has divine ancestry on both his mother's and his father's sides. Juno, when it suits her, is not slow to advertise this fact (10.76; 10.618–20).[17]

Turnus' Argive connection is of prime importance in the *Aeneid* and one which is evoked regularly in Book 7.[18] Similarly Io's descendants, the Danaids, are introduced at two key moments in the poem.[19] It is important that the treatment afforded by the gods to Turnus and his family in the *Aeneid* has important parallels among his ancestors.[20] Yet the fact that Turnus' ancestry should be specifically Argive has other important implications for the way that we may read the poem. Vergil is our only source for this specific Argive ancestry (Inachus/Acrisius) for Turnus.[21] Turnus' name and indeed the name of his tribe (the Rutuli) suggest an Etruscan origin.[22] In fact Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes Turnus' name as Tyrrhenus – the same form as the eponymous founder of the Etruscan (Tyrrhenian) race.[23] The sources for Turnus, other than Vergil himself, concentrate on his part in the war, but give no clue to his ancestry.[24] Despite the comparative lack of detail in these sources we see fundamental differences in Vergil's version which centre upon the role of the Etruscans.[25] In the first place, the Etruscans in the other versions are a united, potent threat to the Trojans. It can easily be argued that Mezentius is the important anti-Trojan figure in these sources: Turnus is a prominent figure who is the prime mover of the war but, in terms of his power, he is a secondary threat to the Trojans. Thus, whereas Turnus more often flees to Mezentius (Cato, Livy), Vergil has Mezentius run to Turnus for asylum, thereby arousing the rancour of the Etruscans (8.492–5). All the Etruscans, apart from Mezentius and his men, are shown to support the Trojan side.[26] In the same way, the emphasis given in Vergil to the Trojans' origins in Etruria

[16] Servius, ad 7.372. The story of Danae as a woman who escapes from unhappiness and founds a new city in a new land has certain parallels with the story of Dido.

[17] Cf. Hera's boast (*Il.* 24.56ff.) that whereas Hector has two mortal parents, Achilles has a goddess mother.

[18] See 7.286–7; 371–2; 789–92. Much is written on this aspect; see W. Ehlers, *R.E.* VIIA, s.v. 'Turnus', cols. 1409–13; S. G. P. Small, 'The Arms of Turnus', *TAPA* 90 (1959), 243–52; J. C. B. Foster, 'Divine and Demonic Possession in the *Aeneid*', *LCM* 2 (1977), 117–28.

[19] See 10.497–8 and 12.942ff. See K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid, A Critical Description* (London, 1968), pp. 274–5; C. C. Breen, 'The Shield of Turnus, the Swordbelt of Pallas, and the Wolf. *Aeneid* 7.789–92; 9.56–66; 10.497–99', *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 63–71. The blood-stained *thalamus* seems to be a favourite Vergilian motif; cf. the Sibyl at 6.93–4, and Deiphobus and Helen at 6.509ff.

[20] Jupiter's stealing of Iuturna's virginity (12.140–1; 12.878ff.) is one such case: cf. Io (7.789ff.) and Danae (Servius, ad 7.372). See D. Fowler, 'Vergil on Killing Virgins', in *Homo Viator, Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. M. Whitby, P. Hardie and M. Whitby (Bristol, 1987), pp. 185–98.

[21] See W. Ehlers (above, n. 18), 1412. Pliny, however (*Ardea a Danae Persei matre condita N.H.* 3.56), suggests an Argive tradition for Ardea which may have been independent of Vergil.

[22] H. L. Stoltenberg, *Etruskische Gottnamen* (Leverkusen, 1957), pp. 36–7; contrast Cairns (above, n. 2) p. 67.

[23] Dionysius, 1.27ff. and 1.64.

[24] Cato (W. A. Schröder, *M. Porcius Cato, Das erste Buch der Origines* [Meisenheim am Glan, 1971] frs. and commentary 9a, 10, 11, 12); Dionysius, 1.64–5; Livy, 1.2.3.

[25] See, *inter alia*, J. Gagé, 'Les Étrusques dans L'Énéide', *MEFR* 46 (1929), 115–44.

[26] The troops who support Mezentius (7.647–54) are those presumably who followed him into exile.

means that Aeneas is now based firmly in his *mater antiqua* (cf. 3.96). He is linked to a people, the Etruscans, who, because of the ancestral connection, are his natural allies. The journey of the Trojans to Italy in the *Aeneid* is as much a return, a *nostos*, as it is a new journey. They are Dardanians, and Aeneas is the new Dardanus.[27]

Thus, Vergil's version of events in Italy amplifies the stature and prominence of Turnus. At the same time it stresses Turnus' hostility to the Etruscans, and Aeneas' ancestral links with them. Turnus' Argive ancestry and Aeneas' Etruscan are different sides of the same coin. There is a natural enmity between them in the old world (i.e. Argive [or Danaan] v. Trojan) just as there is in the new world (i.e. Argive/Italian v. Trojan/Etruscan). Vergil establishes a historical continuum in which a new conflict arises almost naturally (with Juno's help) from an old one. Given the different ancestries emphasised within the poem, the 'other Achilles' (6.89) is clearly Turnus, whose Greek connections make the reference all the more pertinent. In the Iliadic context Turnus ends his life like Hector, slain by an Achillean Aeneas; but in the context of the web of racial links which extend throughout the poem itself, Turnus is the new Achilles.

A final and important reference. Aeneas is of course the major figure in Italy who experiences the earlier war at Troy. But another hero in the vicinity endured the Trojan war, and is not keen to go through it all again. This is Diomede, a Greek champion at Troy now dwelling in Argyripa in Daunia. Diomede, an Argive, might have been expected to assist the Rutuli against an old enemy as requested (8.9–10); but he rejects the appeal out of hand (11.252–95). He curses the war at Troy and its aftermath, and praises Aeneas' strength in war. If there were two warriors like Aeneas, says Diomede, the Trojans would have attacked the cities of Inachus, not vice versa:

> si duo praeterea talis Idaea tulisset
> terra uiros, ultro Inachias uenisset ad urbes
> Dardanus, et uersis lugeret Graecia fatis.
>
> (11.285–7)

There is an irony in Diomede's reply; for this is in fact the story of what is happening in Italy. The descendants of Dardanus now come and, in a reversal of their fate at Troy, threaten the descendants of Inachus. Aeneas, the new Dardanus, 'returns' to Corythus (7.205–11; 9.10–11) leading the charge against Turnus, the proud descendant of Inachus.[28]

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[27] See 3.94–8; 3.167ff.; 7.205ff.; 9.10: on the Etruscans and the *Aeneid*, see J. N. Bremmer and N. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, B.I.C.S. Supplement 52 (London, 1987), 89ff.

[28] I should like to thank the anonymous *CQ* referee for helpful criticisms.

OVID, *ARS AMATORIA* 3.653–6[1]

> munera, crede mihi, capiunt hominesque deosque:
> placatur donis Iuppiter ipse datis.
> quid sapiens faciet? stultus quoque munere gaudet:
> ipse quoque accepto munere mutus erit.

The aim of these lines seems to be to demonstrate that everyone has his price. Even Jupiter can be bribed. According to the text as printed above (= O.C.T.), the sequence would then continue: 'What can a wise man do (*sc.* but submit to bribery) when even foolish ones willingly contract to keep quiet?'

[1] In preparing this note I have benefited a very great deal from the suggestions made by the referees appointed by *CQ*.