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VIRGIL

The Story of Camilla

Aeneid XI. 532–915



Text · Translation · Vocabulary · Notes

EDITED BY PETER HULSE

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Volume I

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Introduction

Draft

Who she is

Camilla appears only twice in the *Aeneid*, and both appearances are endings. She closes the catalogue of Italian forces in Book 7 (7.803–17), the last and most dazzling name on the list: a girl who could run over the tops of standing corn without bruising the ears, while the young men and the mothers crowd the doorways to stare. Then she vanishes for four books, and returns in Book 11 to fight, to dominate the battle before Laurentum, and to die. Virgil invented almost everything about her. There is no Camilla in earlier legend that we can trace; her father, her river, her childhood and her death are his, dressed in enough Volscian local colour to look like antiquarian tradition.

The shape of the story

The story told in this volume runs from 11.532 to the end of the book, and falls into four movements. **Diana's Story** (532–596) stops the war at the moment the cavalry are about to engage, and lets a goddess tell her favourite's childhood: the flight from Privernum, the baby bound to a spear and hurled across a river in flood, the wild upbringing on mare's milk. It ends with an order for vengeance on whoever kills her. **The Aristeia** (597–724) is the battle itself, and Camilla's hour in it. **The Death of Camilla** (725–867) is the hunt of the huntress: Arruns, the gold of Chloreus, the spear, and Opis' arrow. The **Coda** (868–915) carries the rout to the walls of Laurentum and brings Turnus out of his ambush too soon — the last consequence of her death.

Hellenistic craft

Diana's narrative reads like a Hellenistic epyllion set inside an epic, and that is what it is: not a translation of some lost Greek poem, but Virgil writing the poem that ought to have existed. Its fingerprints are Alexandrian — the divine narrator, the votive child, the folk-tale kernel, the close-focus tenderness of the nursery, the learned ornament of Strymonian cranes — and its clearest single debt is to Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, whose child-goddess asks her father for exactly what Camilla is given: perpetual maidenhood, and a bow. The battle that follows is Homeric in frame and Roman in substance, and the death is shaped on the deaths of Patroclus and Sarpedon. Readers will meet all three registers in the notes.

How to use this book

Each section gives the Latin, a literary translation, a selective vocabulary, and a few notes. The vocabulary assumes a reader who has some Latin but does not carry the whole of Virgil's lexicon in the head; it glosses the rare, the poetic and the misleading, and leaves out what any reader of the *Aeneid* will know. The notes are meant to be read, not consulted: they point to how the poem works, and they try to send the reader back into the text rather than out into the secondary literature. Questions are left open where the poem leaves them open.

The text

The Latin is J. B. Greenough's (Boston, 1881), from the digital text of the Perseus Project, which is free of copyright. Spelling has been normalised (*vulnere* for *volnere*, *aevum* for *aevom*), quotation marks added, and one error of transcription corrected at 588 (*labere*). The line-numbering is the standard one. Companion pages for several sections, with fuller commentary, are in the Sheffield Florilegium (thesheffieldflorilegium.netlify.app).

PART I

Diana's Story

Aeneid XI. 532–596

Turnus has gone to lay an ambush in the hills above the pass (11.522–31), and the cavalry battle is about to begin, when Virgil cuts away to heaven. Diana's speech to her nymph Opis is the only full account of Camilla's life, and it is given before we have seen her fight. Everything in it is shadowed by what Diana already knows: that Camilla will die, and that her death must be avenged.

1 *Aeneid* 11.532–543

Diana and Opis; the flight from Privernum

Velocem interea superis in sedibus Opim,
unam ex virginibus sociis sacraque caterva,
compellabat et has tristis Latonia voces
ore dabat: ‘Graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla,
O virgo, et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis,
cara mihi ante alias. Neque enim novus iste Dianae
venit amor subitaque animum dulcedine movit.
Pulsus ob invidiam regno viresque superbas
Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe,
infantem fugiens media inter proelia belli
sustulit exsilio comitem matrisque vocavit
nomine Casmillae mutata parte Camillam.

Meanwhile, in the dwellings of the gods above, Latona’s daughter was calling to swift Opis, one of the maidens of her company and her holy band, and these were the sorrowful words she spoke: ‘Camilla is marching to a cruel war, maiden, and in vain she girds herself with our arms — she who is dear to me above all others. For this is no new love that has come to Diana, nor has it moved her heart with sudden sweetness. When Metabus, driven from his kingdom by hatred and by his own overbearing power, was leaving the ancient city of Privernum, he took up his infant daughter as he fled through the thick of the fighting, to be the companion of his exile, and named her after her mother Casmilla, with one part of the name changed: Camilla.

Vocabulary

532	**velox, -ocis**	swift
532	**Opis, -is (acc. Opim)**	Opis, a nymph of Diana’s train
533	**caterva**	band, company
534	**compello, -are**	call to, address
534	**tristis … voces**	sorrowful words (*tristis* = *tristes*)
534	**Latonia**	Latona’s daughter, Diana
535	**gradior, gradi**	step, march
536	**nequiquam**	in vain

536	**cingor + abl.**	gird oneself with
537	**neque enim**	for … not
538	**dulcedo, -inis**	sweetness
539	**ob invidiam**	because of hatred, unpopularity
539	**vires superbas**	his arrogant power — the cause of the hatred
540	**Privernum**	a Volscian town south-east of Rome
540	**excedo + abl.**	leave, withdraw from
542	**exsilio comitem**	as a companion for his exile (dative)
543	**Casmilla**	her mother's name (see note)
543	**mutata parte**	ablative absolute: with one part changed

Notes

The war stops. The cavalry are about to engage when Virgil cuts to Olympus, and a goddess tells the life of the heroine before we have seen her fight. The shape is Homeric — Zeus on Olympus foreseeing the death of his son Sarpedon and arranging for his body (*Il.* 16.431–61) — and Diana's speech will end, like that scene, with provision for burial.

Nostris nequiquam cingitur armis. The first thing Diana tells Opis is that Camilla will die; the second, that she will die in Diana's own weapons. *Nequiquam* hangs over the whole story before it has begun. The point returns when Camilla takes the field with *arma Dianae* sounding on her shoulder (652).

Cara mihi ante alias. The phrase is answered at the end of the speech, *cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una mearum* (586), and echoed in the death scene, where Acca is *fidam ante alias* (821). It is the formula of the women closest to Camilla.

A tyrant's daughter. Virgil does not hide what Metabus was: a king expelled *ob invidiam … viresque superbas*. He is a smaller Mezentius, driven out of Caere for his cruelty and now fighting for Turnus (8.481–95). His *feritas* (568) will pass to his daughter with the mare's milk.

Casmilla, Camilla. Varro (*On the Latin Language* 7.34) records that *camillus* and *camilla* were the words for a boy or girl who served at a sacrifice, and connects them with *Casmilus*, an attendant of the Great Gods of Samothrace. Virgil's little etymology makes her a temple-servant by name — and in fifteen lines her father will vow her to Diana as *famula*, a handmaid (558).

2 *Aeneid* 11.544–555

The Amasenus in flood

Ipse sinu prae se portans iuga longa petebat
solorum nemorum: tela undique saeva premebant
et circumfuso volitabant milite Volsci.
Ecce fugae medio summis Amasenus abundans
spumabat ripis: tantus se nubibus imber
ruperat. Ille, innare parans, infantis amore
tardatur caroque oneri timet. Omnia secum
versanti subito vix haec sententia sedit.
Telum immane manu valida quod forte gerebat
bellator, solidum nodis et robore cocto,
huic natam, libro et silvestri subere clausam,
implicat atque habilem mediae circumligat hastae;

He himself, carrying her before him in the fold of his cloak, made for the long ridges of the lonely woods; savage weapons pressed on him from every side, and the Volscians swarmed about him with soldiers poured all round. Look! — in the middle of his flight the Amasenus was foaming, brimming over the tops of its banks, so great a rain had burst from the clouds. He, making ready to swim across, is held back by love of the child, and fears for his precious burden. As he turned everything over in his mind, suddenly, and only just, this plan settled. To the huge spear which, warrior that he was, he happened to carry in his strong hand — solid with knots and seasoned oak — he binds his daughter, wrapped in bark and the cork of the woods, and fastens her, well balanced, to the middle of the shaft.

Vocabulary

544	**sinus, -us**	fold of the garment, the bosom
544	**iugum**	ridge
545	**solus**	lonely, deserted
546	**circumfuso … milite**	ablative absolute: with soldiery poured all round
546	**volito, -are**	fly about, swarm
547	**Amasenus**	a river of the Volscian country
547	**abundo, -are**	overflow, brim

548	**spumo, -are**	foam
548–9	**se … ruperat**	had burst (from the clouds)
549	**inno, -are**	swim (across)
550	**tardo, -are**	hold back, check
550	**caro oneri timet**	fears for his dear burden (*timeo* + dat.)
550–1	**omnia secum versanti**	to him as he turned everything over (dative)
551	**sententia sedit**	the decision settled, was fixed
552	**telum immane … quod**	the huge spear which … (see note)
553	**nodus**	knot
553	**robore cocto**	of seasoned (fire-hardened) oak
554	**liber, libri**	inner bark — not ‘book’
554	**suber, -eris**	cork-oak, cork
555	**implico, -are**	wind round, fasten
555	**habilis**	handy, well balanced (for throwing)
555	**circumligo, -are**	bind round (+ dat. *hastae*)

Notes

Ecce. Diana tells the story like a storyteller. *Ecce* is the narrator’s finger pointing; the pluperfect *se … ruperat* explains the flood after we have seen it. The river in spate across the fugitive’s path is a folk-tale obstacle, and it gives the scene the quality of legend that Virgil wants for his invented heroine.

A father in flight. *Infantis amore tardatur caroque oneri timet*: for a moment the hated tyrant is Aeneas leaving Troy with his father on his shoulders and his son at his side (2.707–29), slowed by what he carries and afraid for it. Virgil gives even Metabus his hour of *pietas*.

Telum immane … huic natam. The syntax enacts the improvisation. The spear comes first, ahead of its clause (*telum immane … quod forte gerebat*), and is only then picked up by *huic*: Metabus’ eye falls on the weapon before he knows what to do with it. The construction — the antecedent drawn into the relative clause — is the one in Dido’s *urbem quam statuo vestra est* (1.573).

Bark and cork. *Libro et silvestri subere clausam*: the baby is packed like something precious, in the materials of the forest. It is a woodsman’s craft, and the woods are where she will grow up. The poet seems to enjoy the joke that *liber* (bark) at 554 is followed by *librans* (balancing) at 556.

3 *Aeneid* 11.556–566

The vow and the throw

quam dextra ingenti librans ita ad aethera fatur:
“Alma, tibi hanc, nemorum cultrix, Latonia virgo,
ipse pater famulam voveo; tua prima per auras
tela tenens supplex hostem fugit. Accipe, testor,
diva tuam, quae nunc dubiis committitur auris.”
Dixit et adducto contortum hastile lacerto
immittit: sonuere undae, rapidum super amnem
infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla.
At Metabus, magna propius iam urgente caterva,
dat sese fluvio atque hastam cum virgine victor
gramineo donum Triviae de caespite vellit.

Balancing it in his mighty right hand, he speaks thus to the sky: “Kindly one, dweller in the groves, maiden daughter of Latona, I, her father, vow this child to you as your handmaid. Holding your weapon, her first, she flees the enemy through the air, a suppliant. Receive her, goddess, I call you to witness, as your own — she who is now entrusted to the uncertain breezes.” He spoke, and drawing back his arm he let fly the whirling shaft: the waters roared; over the racing river unhappy Camilla fled on the whistling javelin. But Metabus, as the great band now pressed closer, gives himself to the flood and, victorious, plucks from the grassy turf the spear with its maiden — his gift to Trivia.

Vocabulary

556	**libro, -are**	balance, poise
557	**alma**	kindly, nurturing
557	**cultrix, -icis**	(female) dweller, tender
558	**famula**	handmaid, servant
558	**voveo, -ere**	vow, dedicate
558–9	**tua prima … tela tenens**	holding your weapon as her first (see note)
559	**supplex**	as a suppliant
559	**testor, -ari**	call to witness, implore
560	**dubius**	uncertain, wavering

560	**committo, -ere**	entrust (and: join battle — see note)
561	**adducto … lacerto**	ablative absolute: with arm drawn back
561	**contortus**	whirled, hurled with a twist
561	**hastile, -is**	spear-shaft
562	**immitto, -ere**	let fly
563	**strideo, -ere**	whistle, hiss
564	**urgeo, -ere**	press on
565	**victor**	victorious, in triumph (in apposition)
566	**gramineus**	grassy
566	**Trivia**	Diana, goddess of the crossroads
566	**caespes, -itis**	turf
566	**vello, -ere**	pluck, pull up

Notes

Accipe, testor, / diva, tuam. The vow is compressed almost to breaking point, with *tuam* held back for the end: the child is Diana's before she leaves her father's hand. *Dubiis … committitur auris* is a fine double play. She is literally entrusted to the breezes, but *committere* is also the vox propria for joining battle — and Diana will close the ring at 589, *tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna*. Camilla's life is framed between two *committitur*s.

Tua prima … tela. The spear is already Diana's, because it now carries her votary; and the first thing the baby ever holds is a weapon. She is a huntress before she can walk.

Infelix … Camilla. The epithet arrives at the very moment of her rescue: she survives the river, but the poem has already named her unhappy. *Fugit in iaculo stridente* is daring — she 'flees on the javelin' as if it were a mount.

Hastam cum virgine. The *v*-alliteration is thick (*virgine victor … vellit*), and the phrasing makes the girl an accessory of the weapon: spear and maiden are one dedicated object, *donum Triviae*. The spear is missile, cradle and votive gift at once.

Spear and spear. Camilla's story begins with a spear in flight and a roar of water — *sonuere undae*. It will end with another: *ut missa manu sonitum dedit hasta per auras* (799), Arruns' spear, which she does not hear coming.

4 *Aeneid* 11.567–580

A wild childhood

Non illum tectis ullae, non moenibus urbes
accepere neque ipse manus feritate dedisset:
pastorum et solis exegit montibus aevum.
Hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra
armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino
nutribat, teneris immulgens ubera labris.
Utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis
institerat, iaculo palmas armavit acuto
spiculaque ex umero parvae suspendit et arcum.
Pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae
tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.
Tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit
et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena
Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit olorem.

No cities received him within their houses, none within their walls — nor, in his wildness, would he himself have submitted; he passed his life among shepherds on the lonely mountains. Here, in the thickets and among the bristling lairs of beasts, he nursed his daughter at the udders of a mare from the herd, on wild milk, squeezing the teats into her tender lips. And as soon as the infant had planted her first footsteps on the soles of her feet, he armed her hands with a sharp javelin and hung arrows and a bow from the little one's shoulder. In place of a gold clasp for her hair, in place of a long trailing mantle, a tiger's skin hangs down her back from the crown of her head. Even then with her tender hand she hurled a child's darts, whirled the sling round her head on its smooth thong, and brought down the Strymonian crane or the white swan.

Vocabulary

567	**tectum**	roof, house
568	**manus do, dare**	submit, surrender
568	**feritas, -tatis**	wildness, savagery
569	**aevum exigo, -ere**	spend one's life
570	**dumus**	thicket, bramble

570	**lustra, -orum**	dens, lairs
571	**armentalis**	of the herd — a very rare word
571	**mamma**	teat
571	**ferinus**	of wild beasts
572	**nutribat**	= *nutriebat*, an archaic form
572	**immulgeo, -ere**	milk into (+ dat. *labris*)
572	**uber, -eris**	udder, teat
573	**ut … institerat**	as soon as she had set
573	**planta**	sole of the foot
574	**palma**	palm, hand
575	**spiculum**	dart, arrow
576	**crinalis**	for the hair
576	**tegmen … pallae**	the covering of a mantle; *palla*, a woman's long robe
577	**tigris, -idis**	tiger
577	**exuviae, -arum**	skin, spoils
578	**puerilis**	childish, a child's
579	**funda**	sling
579	**teres, -etis**	smooth, rounded
579	**habena**	thong (of the sling)
580	**Strymonius**	of the Strymon, a river of Thrace
580	**grus, gruis**	crane
580	**olor, -oris**	swan

Notes

Feritas. *Neque ipse manus feritate dedisset*: the parenthesis is doing real work. Metabus' wildness is the inheritance, and it is passed on with the milk. *Pastorum et solis exegit montibus aevum* has a Lucretian ring, suiting a picture of primitive life.

Lacte ferino. The exposed child nursed by a beast is the stuff of founders — Romulus and the wolf, Cyrus and the bitch — but here the child is a girl, and the beast a mare. She is suckled on the horse she will fight from. *Immulgens ubera labris* is a detail of Hellenistic closeness: one sees the father's hands.

Pro crinali auro. The anaphora sets out what she does not have — the gold hair-clasp and long *palla* of an Italian girl of good family — and what she has instead: a tiger's skin. The tiger is an Indian or Hyrcanian beast with Bacchic associations, splendidly out of place in Latium. Is it a slip, or a pointed exoticism marking her as foreign from the start to the world of Italian mothers?

Crane and swan. The toddler's targets come with a learned epithet. *Strymoniae … grues* have appeared before, in a battle simile at 10.265, which itself looks back to

the cranes of the *Iliad*'s first great simile of armies (*Il.* 3.3–7). They are also large, beautiful birds brought down by a missile — as she will be.

5 *Aeneid* 11.581–596

No bride for the Tyrrhenian mothers; Opis sent down

Multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres
optavere nurum: sola contenta Diana
aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem
intemerata colit. Vellem haud correpta fuisset
militia tali, conata lacessere Teucros:
cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una mearum.
Verum age, quandoquidem fatis urgetur acerbis,
labere, nympha, polo finisque invise Latinos,
tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna.
Haec cape et ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam:
hac quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus,
Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas.
Post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma
inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam.'
Dixit; at illa levis caeli delapsa per auras
insonuit, nigro circumdata turbine corpus.

Many a mother in the Tyrrhenian towns longed for her, in vain, as a daughter-in-law; content with Diana alone, she cherishes, inviolate, an everlasting love of weapons and of maidenhood. I could wish she had not been swept up into such warfare, trying to provoke the Trojans: she would be dear to me now, and one of my companions. But come, since she is hard pressed by bitter fates, glide down from the sky, nymph, and visit the Latin borders, where under an evil omen the grim battle is being joined. Take these, and draw from the quiver an avenging arrow: with it, whoever violates her sacred body with a wound, Trojan or Italian alike, shall pay me the penalty in blood. Afterwards I myself, in a hollow cloud, will carry the body and the arms of the pitiable girl, unstripped, to the tomb, and lay her to rest in her homeland.' She spoke; and the other, gliding lightly down through the airs of heaven, went sounding on her way, her body wrapped in a black whirlwind.

Vocabulary

581	**frustra**	in vain

582	**nurus, -us**	daughter-in-law
582	**contentus + abl.**	content with
584	**intemeratus**	undefiled, inviolate
584	**colo, -ere**	cherish
584–5	**vellem haud correpta fuisset**	I could wish she had not been swept up (unfulfilled wish)
585	**militia**	warfare
585	**lacesso, -ere**	provoke, challenge
586	**foret**	= *esset*
587	**quandoquidem**	since
587	**acerbus**	bitter
588	**labor, labi**	glide, slip down
588	**polus**	sky, heaven
588	**inviso, -ere**	visit; *finis* = *fines*
589	**infaustus**	ill-omened
590	**depromo, -ere**	draw out
591	**violarit**	= *violaverit*
592	**Tros Italusque**	Trojan or Italian (*-que* = ‘or’)
593	**miserandus**	pitiable
594	**inspoliatus**	unstripped, not despoiled
594	**tumulus**	burial mound, tomb
594	**repono, -ere**	lay to rest
596	**insono, -are**	resound
596	**turbo, -inis**	whirlwind
596	**circumdata corpus**	her body wrapped (retained accusative)

Notes

Telorum et virginitatis amorem. Here is the clearest debt of the whole story. In Callimachus’ *Hymn to Artemis* the child-goddess sits on her father’s knee and asks for perpetual maidenhood and a bow and arrows (3.6–10). Camilla is a mortal copy of Callimachus’ little Artemis, and the goddess narrates her votary in the language of her own childhood.

Vellem. The unfulfillable wish of a god. *Correpta* is well chosen: Camilla has been snatched up by this war as she was once snatched up on the javelin. *Cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una mearum* — the imperfect subjunctive of present unreality mourns her while she is still alive.

Tros Italusque. Diana’s even-handedness echoes Jupiter’s *Tros Rutulusne fuat, nullo discrimine habebo* (10.108). The gods keep declaring neutrality while they

intervene; the effect is to make Camilla's death a matter of fate rather than of sides. The arrow is drawn now; it will be loosed at 858.

Inspoliata. The model is Sarpedon, whose body Apollo washes and Sleep and Death carry home to Lycia (*Il.* 16.666–83). *Inspoliata* answers the epic dread of being stripped — and it is ironic, for it is Camilla's own desire for spoils, the gold of Chloreus (768–82), that kills her.

Insonuit. The story opened on a sound, *sonuere undae* (562), and closes on one. Opis goes down not in light but in a black whirlwind, because her errand is vengeance, not rescue.

A question for the group. Would this passage have survived Virgil's revision? It is finished work — no half-lines, no scaffolding — and it carries weight: without it Camilla would be a picturesque casualty, not a figure with divine patronage and a death foretold. But the narrative pause, with the cavalry waiting, has struck some readers as clumsy. Is it clumsy, or is it the camera lingering on the victim before the battle?

PART II

The Aristeia

Aeneid XI. 597–724

The cavalry battle before Laurentum is Virgil's set piece of Roman horsemanship in a Homeric frame: squadrons, feigned withdrawals, a tide that ebbs and flows twice before the lines lock. Camilla enters at 648, an Amazon before she is a woman, and from 664 the battle is hers. Her victims die in a widening range of ways — a long roll of names, a hunter in his costume, a trickster outrun on foot — and the movement closes on the hawk and the dove.

6 *Aeneid* 11.597–607

The armies close

At manus interea muris Troiana propinquat
Etruscique duces equitumque exercitus omnis,
compositi numero in turmas. Fremit aequore toto
insultans sonipes et pressis pugnat habenis
huc conversus et huc; tum late ferreus hastis
horret ager campique armis sublimibus ardent.
Nec non Messapus contra celeresque Latini
et cum fratre Coras et virginis ala Camillae
adversi campo apparent hastasque reductis
protendunt longe dextris et spicula vibrant,
adventusque virum fremitusque ardescit equorum.

Meanwhile the Trojan force draws near the walls — the Etruscan captains and the whole army of horse, marshalled by number into squadrons. Over the whole plain the hoof-loud horse snorts and prances, fighting the tightened rein as he wheels this way and that; then far and wide the field bristles, iron with spears, and the plains blaze with lifted arms. Against them Messapus too and the swift Latins, Coras with his brother, and the squadron of the maiden Camilla appear on the field, facing them; drawing back their right arms they thrust their spears far forward and brandish their javelins, and the advance of the men and the snorting of the horses blaze up together.

Vocabulary

597	**propinquo, -are**	draw near (+ dat. *muris*)
599	**compositi numero**	marshalled by number
599	**turma**	squadron of cavalry
599	**fremo, -ere**	snort, roar
599	**aequor, -oris**	level surface; here the plain (see note)
600	**insulto, -are**	prance, leap about
600	**sonipes, -pedis**	horse — ‘sounding-foot’, a high-style compound
600	**pressis … habenis**	with tightened reins
601	**ferreus**	iron — agreeing with *ager*
602	**horreo, -ere**	bristle

602	**sublimis**	raised aloft
603	**nec non**	and also
604	**ala**	squadron, wing (of cavalry)
605	**reductis … dextris**	with right arms drawn back
606	**protendo, -ere**	stretch forward, level
606	**vibro, -are**	brandish, shake
607	**virum**	= *virorum*
607	**ardesco, -ere**	blaze up, kindle

Notes

Ferreus … ager. The adjective belongs to the field, not the spears: the field itself has turned to iron. The line remembers an Ennian battle-field, *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret*, which Virgil has already drawn on in Book 7. *Horret* means both ‘bristles’ and ‘shudders’, and it will come back, diminished, as one man’s funk at 636.

Aequore toto. *Aequor* of a plain is bold, and not idle: it plants the sea in the reader’s mind thirty lines before the tide simile at 624–8. We are made to see the battle as water before Virgil says so.

Virginis ala Camillae. Camilla enters the battle as an order of battle — a squadron with a genitive attached, her name held to the end of the line. When she re-enters at 648–9, *Amazon* comes a full line before *Camilla*: the type before the person, twice over.

Men and horses. *Adventusque virum fremitusque ardescit equorum* interlocks the two pairs, men and horses, in one line, and gives them one verb. The grammar fuses them before the fighting does (634–5).

A fuller commentary on 597–663, with notes on metre, syntax, structure and models, is in the Sheffield Florilegium (thesheffieldflorilegium.netlify.app).

7 *Aeneid* 11.608–617

First shock

Iamque intra iactum teli progressus uterque
substiterat: subito erumpunt clamore furentisque
exhortantur equos; fundunt simul undique tela
crebra nivis ritu caelumque obtexitur umbra.
Continuo adversis Tyrrhenus et acer Aconteus
conixi incurrunt hastis primique ruina
dant sonitum ingenti perfractaque quadrupedantum
pectora pectoribus rumpunt: excussus Aconteus
fulminis in morem aut tormento ponderis acti
praecipitat longe et vitam dispergit in auras.

And now each side had advanced within a spear's cast and halted: suddenly they burst out with a shout and urge on their maddened horses; from every side at once they pour their weapons, thick as snow, and the sky is covered with shadow. Straight away Tyrrhenus and fierce Aconteus charge each other with all their weight behind their spears, and are the first to go down, with a huge crash, breaking breast against breast of their horses and shattering them. Aconteus, thrown, like a thunderbolt or a weight shot from a siege-engine, is hurled headlong far away and scatters his life into the air.

Vocabulary

608	**intra iactum teli**	within a spear's throw
609	**substiterat**	had halted (pluperfect)
609	**furentis**	= *furentes*, maddened
611	**crebra nivis ritu**	thick, in the manner of snow
611	**obtexo, -ere**	cover over
613	**conixi … hastis**	straining with their spears
613–14	**ruinam dant**	fall with a crash
614	**quadripedans, -antis**	galloping; as a noun, horse (gen. pl. *-um*)
614	**perfringo, -fractus**	shatter, smash
615	**excutio, -cussus**	throw (from the saddle)
616	**in morem + gen.**	like
616	**tormentum**	siege-engine, catapult

617	**praecipito, -are**	fall headlong (intransitive)
617	**dispergo, -ere**	scatter

Notes

Nivis ritu. The volley falls like snow, as stones do in the *Iliad*'s battle at the Achaean wall (Book 12). *Ritu* + genitive is a prosaic, Lucretian turn, a deliberate roughness; and three spondees in the middle of 611 hold the volley in the air.

Pectora pectoribus. The two forms of the word meet across the caesura, and the collision is enacted in the words. *Quadripedantum* is Ennian, a word shaped to fill the end of the line with the beat of hooves.

Thunderbolt and catapult. Two comparisons for one fall: a Homeric thunderbolt and a Roman siege-engine. The *tormentum* is a frank anachronism, and Virgil does not soften it — the heroic body is measured against artillery.

Vitam dispergit in auras. The sharpest phrase in the passage. Not the epic *vita … fugit sub umbras* — which will be Camilla's own death-line (831) — but a scattering, in the vocabulary of Lucretius' dispersing soul. Aconteus dies an Epicurean death, with no underworld to receive him.

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8 *Aeneid* 11.618–635

The tide of battle

Extemplo turbatae acies, versique Latini
reiciunt parmas et equos ad moenia vertunt.
Troes agunt, princeps turmas inducit Asilas.
Iamque propinquabant portis, rursusque Latini
clamorem tollunt et mollia colla reflectunt:
hi fugiunt penitusque datis referuntur habenis.
Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
nunc ruit ad terram scopulusque superiacit unda
spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit arenam,
nunc rapidus retro atque aestu revoluta resorbens
saxa fugit litusque vado labente relinquit:
bis Tusci Rutulos egere ad moenia versos,
bis reiecti armis respectant terga tegentes.
Tertia sed postquam congressi in proelia totas
implicuere inter se acies legitque virum vir:
tum vero et gemitus morientum et sanguine in alto
armaque corporaque et permixti caede virorum
semianimes volvuntur equi, pugna aspera surgit.

At once the lines are thrown into confusion; the Latins turn, throw their shields onto their backs and wheel their horses towards the walls. The Trojans drive them; Asilas leads the squadrons at their head. And now they were nearing the gates, when the Latins raise the shout again and turn their horses' supple necks; the others flee and are carried far back with the reins let go. As when the sea, running forward in alternating flood, now rushes to the land, flings its wave in foam over the rocks and drenches the furthest sand with its curve; now runs swiftly back, sucking down the stones rolled in its surge, and leaves the shore as the shallows slip away: twice the Etruscans drove the Rutulians to the walls in flight; twice they were thrown back, and look behind them, covering their backs with their shields. But when they met a third time in battle and locked their whole lines together, and man picked out man, then indeed come the groans of the dying, and in deep blood arms and bodies and half-dead horses, mixed with the slaughter of men, roll over; the fighting grows savage.

Vocabulary

618	**turbo, -are**	throw into confusion
619	**reicio, -ere**	throw back (shields over their backs)
620	**princeps**	at the head, first
622	**reflecto, -ere**	turn back
622	**mollis**	supple
623	**penitus**	far, deep
623	**datis … habenis**	with reins let go
624	**qualis ubi**	as when
624	**alternus**	alternating
624	**gurges, -itis**	flood, surge
625	**superiacio, -ere**	throw over
626	**spumeus**	foaming
626	**sinus, -us**	curve, swell (of the wave)
627	**resorbeo, -ere**	suck back
628	**vado labente**	ablative absolute: as the shallows slip away
629	**Tusci**	Etruscans
630	**respecto, -are**	look back
631	**congredior, -i**	meet in battle
632	**implico, -are**	entangle, lock together
632	**lēgit**	perfect of *lego*: picked out
633	**morientum**	= *morientium*
635	**semianimis**	half-dead (scanned as four syllables)

Notes

Pressis … datis habenis. *Datis … habenis* (623) answers *pressis … habenis* (600): the reins checked, the reins let go. The swing of the tide is marked in the vocabulary before the simile explains it.

Nunc … nunc. The simile has two movements because the action has two: advance and suck-back, *bis … bis*. Homer's wave similes go one way; Virgil's tracks a process and is shaped to fit its tenor exactly.

A model in Apollonius? A possible source, not recorded in the commentaries, is Apollonius' description of the tide in the Syrtes (*Arg.* 4.1237–44), where the sea ἀναχάζεται, 'gives ground' — a Homeric word for warriors retreating — and then surges back over the shore. A narrative aside in Apollonius would have become a battle simile in Virgil, which is just what one would expect him to do with it. [The editor's suggestion: to be checked against Nelis.]

Legitque virum vir. The line ends on a monosyllable, a rhythm Virgil keeps for shock; it stops dead on *vir* as single combat cuts across the mass. The Homeric tag is *Il.* 4.472, ‘man grappled man’; Virgil’s polyptoton is tighter than the Greek.

Men, arms, horses. *Armaque corporaque et … semianimes volvuntur equi*: the delayed *equi* completes what 607 began. Men, arms and horses now roll in one mass, and the horses have the emphatic place. Cavalry warfare dissolves the individual body.

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9 *Aeneid* 11.636–647

Single combats

Orsilochus Remuli, quando ipsum horrebat adire,
hastam intorsit equo ferrumque sub aure reliquit.
Quo sonipes ictu furit arduus altaque iactat
vulneris impatiens arrecto pectore crura:
volvitur ille excussus humi. Catillus Iollan
ingentemque animis, ingentem corpore et armis
deicit Herminium, nudo cui vertice fulva
caesaries nudique umeri, nec vulnera terrent:
tantus in arma patet. Latos huic hasta per armos
acta tremit duplicatque virum transfixa dolore.
Funditur ater ubique cruor; dant funera ferro
certantes pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem.

Orsilochus, since he shrank from facing Remulus himself, hurled his spear at Remulus' horse and left the iron under its ear. At the blow the charger rears in fury and, unable to bear the wound, chest flung up, tosses its legs high; its rider is thrown and rolls on the ground. Catillus brings down Iollas, and Herminius, huge in spirit, huge in body and in arms, whose head is bare, his tawny hair loose, his shoulders bare too; wounds do not frighten him, so vast is the target he offers. The spear, driven through his broad shoulders, quivers there, and, transfixing him, doubles the man up with pain. Everywhere dark blood pours out; vying with the sword they deal out death, and seek a glorious death through wounds.

Vocabulary

636	**Remuli**	of Remulus — it depends on *equo* (637)
636	**horreo, -ere**	shrink from, dread
637	**intorqueo, -ere**	hurl
638	**arduus**	rearing up, towering
639	**impatiens + gen.**	unable to bear
639	**arrectus**	raised, flung up
640	**humi**	on the ground
641	**ingens + abl.**	huge in
642	**vertex, -icis**	head, crown

643	**fulvus**	tawny
643	**caesaries**	hair, locks
644	**pateo, -ere**	lie open, be exposed
644	**armi, -orum**	shoulders — properly an animal's
645	**duplico, -are**	double up
646	**ater**	black, dark
646	**cruor, -oris**	blood, gore
647	**pulcher**	glorious, noble

Notes

Orsilochus Remuli. Violent word order: *Remuli* ends 636, its *equo* begins 637, the man and his horse split across the line-break as the spear swerves from one to the other. Remember this Orsilochus, who would not face his man: Camilla will undo him with a horsewoman's trick at 694–8.

Tantus in arma patet. The finest half-line in the passage: 'so vast a target does he offer to weapons'. Herminius' size and his exposure are one fact. The repeated *nudo … nudi* has set it up — bare head, bare shoulders, the unarmoured barbarian whose courage cannot be told apart from his vulnerability.

Pulchram … mortem. The *beautiful death* of Greek martial poetry. Inside the *Aeneid* it answers Aeneas' *pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis* (2.317) — a young man's fantasy in a burning city. Here it is the narrator's phrase for anonymous mutual slaughter. Is Virgil endorsing the formula, ironising it, or simply letting it stand, exhausted?

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10 *Aeneid* 11.648–663

Camilla

At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon,
unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset,
nunc validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem;
aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.
Illa etiam in tergum, siquando pulsa recessit,
spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu.
At circum lectae comites, Larinaque virgo
Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securem,
Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras:
quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis
seu circum Hippolyten, seu cum se Martia curru
Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.

But in the midst of the slaughter the Amazon exults, one side bared for the fight — Camilla, with her quiver. Now she showers tough javelins thick from her hand, now, unwearied, she snatches up the strong axe in her right; the golden bow sounds from her shoulder, the arms of Diana. And if ever she is driven back and gives ground, she turns her bow and aims her arrows as she flies. Around her are her chosen companions, the maiden Larina, and Tulla, and Tarpeia brandishing a bronze axe — daughters of Italy, whom godlike Camilla herself chose to be her glory, good attendants in peace and in war: like the Thracian Amazons when they pound the streams of the Thermodon and make war in painted armour, whether round Hippolyte, or when Penthesilea, daughter of Mars, rides back in her chariot, and with a great howling uproar the women's columns exult with their crescent shields.

Vocabulary

648	**exsulto, -are**	leap, exult
649	**unum exserta latus**	with one side bared (see note)

649	**pharetratus**	wearing a quiver
650	**lentus**	tough, pliant
650	**denseo, -ere**	make thick, shower thick
651	**bipennis, -is**	double-headed axe
651	**indefessus**	unwearied
653	**si quando**	whenever, if ever
654	**dirigo, -ere**	aim
656	**aeratus**	of bronze
656	**quatio, -ere**	shake, brandish
656	**securis, -is**	axe
657	**Italides**	women of Italy — a Greek-style coinage
657	**dius**	godlike, divine — an Ennian word
658	**ministra**	attendant, helper
659	**Thermodon, -ontis**	river of the Amazons, in Pontus
660	**pulso, -are**	beat, pound
660	**pictus**	painted
661	**Martius**	daughter of Mars, warlike
662	**se refero**	return, ride back
662	**ululo, -are**	howl, ululate
663	**lunatus**	crescent-shaped
663	**pelta**	light shield

Notes

Unum exserta latus. The showpiece phrase: a Greek-style accusative with a participle of middle sense, ‘having bared one side’ — compare Venus disguised as a huntress, *nuda genu* (1.320). The harsh elision at the start of the line opens it on a stumble. *Amazon*, a Greek nominative, holds the end of 648: the type is named before the woman.

Arma Dianae. *Aureus ex umero sonat arcus*: the sound is Apollo’s, whose arrows rattle on his shoulders as he comes down in anger in the first book of the *Iliad* (1.46). A god’s signature is transferred to a mortal woman. The arms are literally Diana’s — which is what Diana feared at 536.

The Parthian shot. *Spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu*: the arrows don’t flee, she does. Shooting backwards in retreat was the signature tactic of the Parthians, Rome’s eastern enemy, and in the years when Virgil was writing it was not a neutral image. Camilla is Italy’s great heroine, assembled out of what Rome defines itself against: the Amazon, the Parthian, the unarmoured barbarian.

Tarpeia. Her guard have Roman names, and one is Tarpeia — the girl who betrayed the Capitol to the Sabines. Propertius was writing her story at almost the same moment (4.4). *Pacisque bonas bellique ministras* is a balanced pair whose first half is a fiction: nothing in this book has to do with peace.

Penthesilea. The simile closes a ring that opened in Book 1, where Penthesilea was the last figure Aeneas saw on Juno's temple, just before Dido entered: *audetque viris concurrere virgo* (1.493). The poem's two great women are bracketed by the same Amazon. And *exsultant* (663) answers *exsultat* (648): the vignette begins with the woman and ends with the plural type.

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11 *Aeneid* 11.664–677

The roll of the slain

Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera virgo,
deicis? Aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis?
Eunaeum Clitio primum patre, cuius apertum
adversi longa transverberat abiete pectus:
sanguinis ille vomens rivos cadit atque cruentam
mandit humum moriensque suo se in vulnere versat.
Tum Lirim Pagasumque super; quorum alter habenas
suffosso revolutus equo dum colligit, alter
dum subit ac dextram labenti tendit inermem,
praecipites pariterque ruunt. His addit Amastrum
Hippotaden, sequiturque incumbens eminus hasta
Tereaque Harpalycumque et Demophoonta Chrominque;
quotque emissa manu contorsit spicula virgo,
tot Phrygii cecidere viri.

Whom first, whom last, fierce maiden, do you bring down with your spear? How many dying bodies do you strew on the ground? First Eunaeus, son of Clytius: as he faces her, she drives her long fir shaft through his unguarded chest; vomiting rivers of blood he falls, bites the bloody ground, and dying writhes upon his wound. Then Liris and Pagasus besides: the one, thrown when his horse was stabbed from under him, was gathering up the reins; the other, coming up, was stretching out his unarmed hand to the falling man — headlong, and together, they go down. To these she adds Amastrus, son of Hippotas; and leaning into the throw she pursues from a distance with her spear Tereus and Harpalycus and Demophoon and Chromis; and for every dart the maiden sent spinning from her hand, a Phrygian man fell.

Vocabulary

664	**asper**	fierce, harsh
665	**deicio, -ere**	bring down
665	**fundo, -ere**	strew, lay low
666	**apertus**	open, unguarded
667	**adversus**	facing her

667	**transverbero, -are**	pierce through
667	**abies, -etis**	fir — the spear-shaft; here three syllables
668	**vomo, -ere**	vomit, spew
668	**rivus**	stream
669	**mando, -ere**	chew, bite
669	**verso, -are**	turn, writhe
670	**super**	besides (adverb)
671	**suffosso … equo**	ablative absolute: his horse stabbed from beneath
671	**revolutus**	rolled back, thrown
671	**colligo, -ere**	gather up
672	**subeo, -ire**	come up (to help)
672	**inermis**	unarmed
673	**praeceps, -cipitis**	headlong
673	**pariter**	together, alike
674	**Hippotades**	son of Hippotas
674	**incumbo, -ere**	lean (into the throw)
674	**eminus**	from a distance
676	**quot … tot**	as many … so many

Notes

Quem telo primum, quem postremum? The poet turns to address his heroine, and the question is Homer's to Patroclus at the height of his aristeia: 'Whom first, whom last did you slay, Patroclus, when the gods called you to your death?' (*Il.* 16.692–3). The borrowing tells us what kind of glory this is: Patroclus' hour ends in his death, and so will hers.

Mandit humum. Eunaeus 'bites the earth', the Homeric death-formula, and *suo se in vulnere versat* turns him on his own wound. *Abiete*, three syllables by synizesis, gives the long fir shaft a long word.

Liris and Pagasus. The pathos of the helper: one man is down, tangled in the reins; the other comes up and holds out his hand — *dextram … inermem*, unarmed because it is offering help. They die together. Camilla does not distinguish.

A roll of names. Tereus, Harpalycus, Demophoon, Chromis: Greek names, Thracian echoes, men who exist only to fall. *Harpalycus* may wink at Harpalyce, the Thracian huntress to whom Venus compared herself in Book 1 (1.317) — one huntress killing a man named for another. And *quotque … tot* pivots the list into the next movement: the half-line *tot Phrygii cecidere viri* ends the count and begins Ornytus.

12 *Aeneid* 11.677–689

Ornytus the hunter

Procul Ornytus armis
ignotis et equo venator Iapyge fertur,
cui pellis latos umeros erepta iuvenco
pugnatori operit, caput ingens oris hiatus
et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis,
agrestisque manus armat sparus; ipse catervis
vertitur in mediis et toto vertice supra est.
Hunc illa exceptum, neque enim labor agmine verso,
traicit et super haec inimico pectore fatur:
‘Silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?
Advenit qui vestra dies muliebribus armis
verba redarguerit. Nomen tamen haud leve patrum
manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae.’

Some way off, Ornytus the hunter rides on an Iapygian horse in outlandish armour. The hide stripped from a fighting bullock covers his broad shoulders; his head is cased in a wolf’s vast gaping mouth and jaws, white teeth and all; a countryman’s hunting-spear arms his hands. He wheels about in the thick of the squadrons, taller than all of them by a whole head. Him she catches — no hard task, now that the column has turned to flight — and runs him through, and stands over him speaking these words from an enemy’s heart: ‘Did you think, Etruscan, you were out in the woods driving game? The day has come to refute your people’s boasting — with a woman’s weapons. Still, it is no slight name you will carry down to the shades of your fathers: that you fell by the spear of Camilla.’

Vocabulary

677	**procul**	some way off
677–8	**armis ignotis**	in strange arms — outlandish, not a soldier’s kit (see note)
678	**venator**	a hunter — by trade, not a warrior
678	**Iapyx, -ygis**	Iapygian, i.e. Apulian; adjectival with *equo*
679–80	**pellis … erepta iuvenco pugnatori**	the hide torn from a fighting bullock; *iuvenco* dative of separation

680–1	**caput … texere**	*texere* = *texerunt*; subjects *hiatus* and *malae*
680	**oris hiatus**	the gape of a mouth
681	**malae, -arum**	jaws
682	**sparus**	a hunting-spear, a rustic weapon
682–3	**catervis … in mediis**	in the middle of the troops
683	**toto vertice supra est**	stands out by a whole head (ablative of the measure of difference)
684	**exceptum**	caught — the hunter's word for taking game as it comes on
684	**neque enim labor**	'for it was no labour' (supply *erat*)
684	**agmine verso**	ablative absolute: the column having turned (to flight)
685	**super**	adverb: standing over him
686	**Tyrrhenus**	Etruscan (vocative)
686	**agito, -are**	drive, hunt (game)
687–8	**qui … redarguerit**	relative clause of purpose: 'a day to refute …'
688	**haud leve**	litotes: no light (name)
689	**telo cecidisse Camillae**	spells out the *nomen*: 'namely, that you fell …'

Notes

The hunter hunted. Ornytus comes dressed for the chase — bull's hide, wolf's head for a helmet, a countryman's spear — and Camilla, raised a huntress in the woods (570–80), turns his costume against him. *Exceptum* is the hunter's verb for a beast that runs onto the spears, and her taunt says it outright: he thought he was the hunter; he is the game.

Armis ignotis. 'Strange, outlandish arms' — hide and wolf-skull instead of bronze — or arms unknown to the battlefield, never seen in war? The description supports the first; the second gives extra pathos to a man who should never have been there.

'With a woman's weapons.' Camilla knows the disgrace of being killed by a woman, and uses it: *muliebribus armis* is placed to sting. Then the swerve — yet it is a famous death. The consolation is heroic commonplace (Aeneas to the dying Lausus, *Aeneae magni dextra cadis*, 10.830), here turned to scorn, and Camilla names herself in the last word.

Tyrrhene … vestra verba. Ornytus is an Etruscan, one of Aeneas' allies, and her contempt is for the whole people's boasting. It is answered in Part III, when Tarchon rounds on his own Etruscans for running from a woman (732–40).

13 *Aeneid* 11.690–698

Butes and Orsilochus

Protinus Orsilochum et Buten, duo maxima Teucrum
corpora, sed Buten aversum cuspide fixit
loricam galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis
lucent et laevo dependet parma lacerto,
Orsilochum fugiens magnumque agitata per orbem
eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem,
tum validam perque arma viro perque ossa securim
altior exsurgens oranti et multa precanti
congeminat: vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro.

Next Orsilochus and Butes, the two mightiest frames among the Trojans. Butes she pierced from behind with her spear-point, between corslet and helmet, where a rider's neck shows bare and the shield hangs from the left arm. Orsilochus she runs from, and, chased round a wide circle, she slips him by cutting inside on the turn, and becomes the pursuer of her pursuer; then, rising high, she brings her heavy axe down again and again through the man's armour and through his bones, as he begs and prays and pleads. The wound floods his face with warm brain.

Vocabulary

690	**protinus**	next, straight on
690	**Teucrum**	= *Teucrorum*, of the Trojans
691	**aversus**	turned away — struck from behind
691	**cuspis, -idis**	point (of a spear)
692	**qua**	where
692	**sedentis**	of one sitting (on horseback), the rider
693	**luceo, -ere**	gleam — the bare neck catches the light
693	**parma**	small round shield
693	**lacertus**	upper arm
694	**Orsilochum**	object of *eludit*; *fugiens* and *agitata* describe Camilla
694	**agitata**	chased, driven
695	**eludo, -ere**	give the slip, dodge
695	**gyro interior**	inside on the circuit: she cuts inside his turn
695	**sequitur sequentem**	follows her follower

696	**securis, -is (acc. -im)**	axe
696	**viro**	dative of disadvantage: ‘through the man’s armour’
697	**altior exsurgens**	rising higher, standing in the saddle
697	**oranti et multa precanti**	dative with *viro*: as he begs and prays
698	**congemino, -are**	redouble (the blows)
698	**rigo, -are**	wet, drench

Notes

Two names, reversed. Virgil announces *Orsilochum et Buten* and then deals with them in the opposite order — Butes first and fast, in two and a half lines, Orsilochus at length. The chiasmus lets the quick kill clear the stage for the showpiece.

The gap at the neck. Butes dies by anatomy: the spear finds the one place a mounted man is exposed, between corslet and helmet, on the shieldless side. It is the Homeric eye for the vulnerable spot — Achilles finding the bare place at Hector’s collarbone (*Il.* 22.324–5) — and *lucent* makes the target glint.

Sequiturque sequentem. A horseman’s trick: feigned flight, a wide circle, a cut inside the turn, and the hunted becomes the hunter. This is the Orsilochus who would not face Remulus and speared his horse instead (636–7); now a rider’s manoeuvre undoes him. Notice what follows: the son of Aunus will try his own feigned move, and Camilla will turn that too.

No mercy. *Oranti et multa precanti* — Orsilochus pleads, and she strikes again. Virgil does not soften Camilla: the axe (*validam … bipennem*, 651) and the warm brain on the face are as hard as anything in the war books. Compare Aeneas cutting down the suppliant Magus (10.521–36): she fights as the men fight.

14 *Aeneid* 11.699–711

The son of Aunus tries a trick

Incidit huic subitoque aspectu territus haesit
Appenninicolae bellator filius Auni,
haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant.
Isque ubi se nullo iam cursu evadere pugnae
posse neque instantem reginam avertere cernit,
consilio versare dolos ingressus et astu
incipit haec: ‘Quid tam egregium, si femina forti
fidis equo? Dimitte fugam et te comminus aequo
mecum crede solo pugnaeque adcinge pedestri:
iam nosces, ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem.’
Dixit, at illa furens acrique adcensa dolore
tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis,
ense pedes nudo puraque interrita parma.

Into her path came the warrior son of Aunus, who lived in the Apennines, and froze in terror at the sudden sight of her — not the least of the Ligurians, so long as the fates allowed him to deceive. When he sees that no running now can carry him clear of the fight, nor turn the queen from her attack, he sets about contriving a trick by calculation and cunning, and begins: ‘What is so remarkable, if you are a woman and trust to a strong horse? Give up your means of escape; trust yourself to me hand to hand, on level ground, and gird yourself to fight on foot. You will soon learn which of us windy boasting brings to ruin.’ So he spoke. But she, furious, burning with bitter resentment, hands her horse to a companion and stands to face him in equal arms — on foot, with a naked sword and a plain shield, undaunted.

Vocabulary

699	**incidit huic**	came upon her, fell in her way
699	**haereo, -ere**	stick fast, freeze
700	**Appenninicola**	dweller in the Apennines — a grand compound
700	**bellator**	warrior; here almost adjectival
701	**Ligures, -um**	the Ligurians, of north-west Italy
701	**haud extremus**	litotes: not the least

701	**dum fallere fata sinebant**	while the fates let him deceive (see note)
702–3	**se … evadere pugnae posse**	that he can escape the fight
703	**instantem**	pressing on, bearing down
703	**regina**	Camilla is queen of the Volsci
704	**versare dolos ingressus**	having set about turning tricks over
704	**astus, -us**	cunning
705–6	**si femina forti fidis equo**	if you, a woman, trust in a strong horse (*fido* + dat.)
706	**dimitte fugam**	send away your means of flight — dismount
706–7	**comminus aequo … solo**	at close quarters, on level ground
707	**adcingo, -ere**	gird; *pugnae pedestri* dative
708	**ventosa gloria**	windy boasting, empty vainglory
708	**fraus, -dis**	here ‘harm, ruin’ — an old sense (see note)
710	**comes, -itis**	companion
710	**paribus … in armis**	on equal terms
711	**pedes, -itis**	on foot (in apposition)
711	**pura parma**	a plain shield, without device

Notes

A Ligurian. The son of Aunus is the only one of Camilla’s victims given a speech, and he is given it because of where he comes from: the Ligurians had a proverbial name for trickery, and Servius cites Cato’s *Origines* to that effect. Virgil makes the stereotype do narrative work.

Dum fallere fata sinebant. *Fallere* is the hinge of the episode. ‘While the fates allowed him to deceive’ tells us at once what kind of man he is and that his deceiving is about to stop. There may be a play on the other sense of *fallere*, ‘escape notice’: he survived as long as he could slip by.

Fraus. In *ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem* the word has its archaic sense, ‘harm, ruin’ — but no reader can miss the other sense, ‘deceit’. The man speaks of his own fraud without knowing it, and the joke is on him.

Camilla’s honour. His appeal works because it is an appeal to the code of fair single combat, and she is proud enough to accept it at once. *Pura parma* is usually taken as a plain, unblazoned shield, like the *parma alba* of the untried Helenor (9.548); here it may say more about the huntress’s austerity than about inexperience. The commentaries divide.

15 *Aeneid* 11.712–724

The chase, and the hawk

At iuvenis, vicisse dolo ratus, avolat ipse,
haud mora, conversisque fugax aufertur habenis
quadrupedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat.
‘Vane Ligus frustraque animis elate superbis,
nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artis,
nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet Auno.’
Haec fatur virgo et pernicibus ignea plantis
transit equum cursu frenisque adversa prehensis
congreditur poenasque inimico ex sanguine sumit:
quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam
comprensamque tenet pedibusque eviscerat uncis;
tum cruor et vulsae labuntur ab aethere plumae.

But the young man, thinking his trick has won, is off himself without a moment’s delay; he wrenches round the reins and is carried away in flight, driving his swift horse hard with an iron-shod heel. ‘Foolish Ligurian, puffed up for nothing with your proud spirit — in vain, you slippery creature, have you tried your father’s arts; and trickery will not carry you home safe to Aunus the trickster.’ So the maiden speaks, and like fire on her flying feet she outruns the horse, seizes the reins, faces him, closes, and takes her revenge from his hated blood: as easily as the hawk, the sacred bird, swooping from a high rock, overtakes on the wing a dove far up in a cloud, catches and holds her, and tears out her entrails with hooked talons; then blood and plucked feathers come drifting down from the sky.

Vocabulary

712	**ratus**	thinking (perf. part. of *reor*)
712	**avolo, -are**	fly off
713	**haud mora**	without delay (supply *est*)
713	**conversis … habenis**	with reins turned, wheeling round
713	**fugax**	in flight, fleeing
714	**quadrupes, -pedis**	a horse
714	**ferrata calce**	with iron-shod heel — he spurs the horse

714	**fatigo, -are**	wear out, drive hard
715	**vane … elate**	vocatives: foolish … puffed up
716	**patrias … artis**	= *artes*: your father's (or forefathers') arts
716	**lubricus**	slippery
717	**fallaci … Auno**	dative: to Aunus the deceiver
717	**perfero, -ferre**	bring through, bring home
718	**pernicibus … plantis**	on swift soles
718	**igneus**	fiery, like fire
719	**transit equum cursu**	passes the horse running — she is on foot
719	**frenis … prehensis**	ablative absolute: seizing the bridle
719	**adversa**	face to face
720	**poenas sumo, -ere**	exact the penalty
721	**quam facile**	as easily as
721	**accipiter, -tris**	hawk
721	**sacer ales**	the sacred bird — the hawk is Apollo's
722	**sublimis**	high aloft
723	**eviscero, -are**	disembowel
723	**uncus**	hooked
724	**vulsus**	plucked, torn out

Notes

Outrunning a horse. *Transit equum cursu* is not to be rationalised: Camilla on foot overtakes a spurred horse. It looks back to her first appearance in the Catalogue, where she could skim over standing corn without bruising the ears (7.808–9). *Ignea* and *pernicibus plantis* keep the superhuman note.

Her second taunt. Twice in the aristeia Camilla speaks over her victim, and this is the more elaborate of the two: abuse, a sneer at his ancestry (*patrias artis*, *fallaci Auno*), and a prophecy fulfilled in the next line. *Fraus* picks up his own word from 708, now in its plain sense.

The hawk and the dove. The simile reworks *Iliad* 22.139–42, where Achilles chases Hector like a hawk after a dove. There the hunt goes on round the walls of Troy; here it is over in a line — *comprensamque tenet* — and the woman takes Achilles' part.

Sacer ales. The hawk is Apollo's bird (compare *Od.* 15.526). It is Apollo to whom Arruns will pray for Camilla's death (785), and Apollo who grants it. At the height of her triumph Virgil gives her the emblem of the god who will destroy her.

The last line. After *eviscerat*, a slow, almost weightless close: blood and feathers drifting down out of the sky. The violence is over before the line begins; what remains is the aftermath, seen from below. It is the last image of Part II, and the last moment of Camilla's unbroken success.

PART III

The Death of Camilla

Aeneid XI. 725–867

The battle turns in heaven, as it began there. Jupiter rouses the Etruscan Tarchon, who shames his men back into the fight, and from 759 the story narrows to two figures: Camilla, blind to everything but a priest's gold, and Arruns, who has been tracking her like game. His prayer is half granted; her death is told slowly, line by line, and her last breath is the line with which Virgil will end the whole poem. Then Opis, who has been watching from the mountain since Diana sent her, carries out her orders to the letter.

16 *Aeneid* 11.725–740

Jupiter stirs Tarchon; ‘A woman drives you!’

At non haec nullis hominum sator atque deorum
observans oculis summo sedet altus Olympo:
Tyrrhenum genitor Tarchonem in proelia saeva
suscitat et stimulis haud mollibus incitat iras.
Ergo inter caedes cedentiaque agmina Tarchon
fertur equo variisque instigat vocibus alas,
nomine quemque vocans, reficitque in proelia pulsos.
‘Quis metus, O numquam dolituri, O semper inertes
Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignavia venit?
Femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit!
Quo ferrum quidve haec gerimus tela inrita dextris?
At non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella
aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi,
exspectate dapes et plenae pocula mensae,
hic amor, hoc studium, dum sacra secundus haruspex
nuntiet ac lucos vocet hostia pinguis in altos!’

But the father of men and gods, sitting high on the summit of Olympus, is not watching these things with unseeing eyes. He rouses the Etruscan Tarchon to the cruel fight, and goads his anger with no gentle spurs. So, through the slaughter and the giving ranks, Tarchon rides, and urges on his squadrons with every kind of call, naming each man, and rallies the routed to the fight. ‘What fear is this, Etruscans — you who will never feel the sting of shame, you idlers for ever? What great cowardice has come into your hearts? A woman drives you scattering, and turns these columns back! What are we carrying steel for, these useless weapons in our hands? But you are not slow for Venus and the battles of the night, or when the curved pipe calls the dances of Bacchus — then look forward to the feast and the cups of a laden table (that is your love, that your devotion) until the favouring soothsayer announces the sacrifice and a fat victim calls you into the deep groves!’

Vocabulary

725	**nullis … oculis**	with no (seeing) eyes — litotes: he is watching closely

725	**sator, -oris**	begetter, father
728	**stimulus**	goad, spur
729	**cedo, -ere**	give way
730	**instigo, -are**	urge on, incite
731	**reficio, -ere**	restore, rally
732	**numquam dolituri**	who will never feel the smart (of disgrace)
732	**iners, -ertis**	idle, sluggish
733	**ignavia**	cowardice
734	**palantis**	= *palantes*, scattering
735	**quo**	to what end?
735	**inritus**	useless, vain
736	**segnis**	slow, sluggish
736	**nocturna bella**	the battles of the night — love-making
737	**tibia**	pipe, flute
737	**indico, -ere**	proclaim, summon to
738	**exspectate**	imperative: look forward to (sarcastic)
738	**daps, dapis**	feast
739	**haruspex, -icis**	soothsayer, reader of entrails — an Etruscan art
739	**secundus**	favourable
740	**hostia**	sacrificial victim
740	**pinguis**	fat

Notes

Hominum sator atque deorum. The title is the one Jupiter bears when he smiles on Venus in Book 1 (1.254). Diana's intervention began Camilla's story in heaven; Jupiter's begins its end there. *Haud mollibus* stimulis: the goad is not gentle, and nor is the speech it produces.

Femina palantis agit. This is the answer to Camilla's taunt over Ornytus, *advenit qui vestra dies muliebribus armis / verba redarguerit* (687–8). She shamed the Etruscans with a woman's weapons; Tarchon throws the shame back at his own men in four words, *femina* first.

Etruscan softness. Tarchon's catalogue of vices — love-making, pipes, Bacchic dances, banquets, the soothsayer and the fat victim — is the Roman picture of the Etruscans: luxurious, musical, devoted to divination. It is also the list Numanus Remulus hurled at the Trojans in Book 9 (9.614–20): Phrygian pipes, dances, feasting. A leader turns the enemy's abuse on his own side.

Dum … nuntiet. The sting is in the tail: the only call to arms these men answer is the haruspex announcing a sacrifice, because a sacrifice means a meal. *Lucos … in altos* gives the greedy procession a mock-solemn close.

17 *Aeneid* 11.741–759

Tarchon and Venulus: the eagle and the snake

Haec effatus equum in medios, moriturus et ipse,
concitat et Venulo adversum se turbidus infert
dereptumque ab equo dextra complectitur hostem
et gremium ante suum multa vi concitus aufert.
Tollitur in caelum clamor, cunctique Latini
convertere oculos. Volat igneus aequore Tarchon
arma virumque ferens; tum summa ipsius ab hasta
defringit ferrum et partis rimatur apertas,
qua vulnus letale ferat; contra ille repugnans
sustinet a iugulo dextram et vim viribus exit.
Utque volans alte raptum cum fulva draconem
fert aquila implicuitque pedes atque unguibus haesit,
saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat
adrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore,
arduus insurgens; illa haud minus urget obunco
luctantem rostro, simul aethera verberat alis:
haud aliter praedam Tiburtum ex agmine Tarchon
portat ovans. Ducis exemplum eventumque secuti
Maeonidae incurrunt.

So saying, he spurs his horse into the thick of them, ready to die himself, and charges in a fury straight at Venulus; tearing his enemy from his horse, he clasps him with his right arm and with great force carries him off on his lap. A shout goes up to the sky, and all the Latins turn their eyes. Tarchon flies like fire across the plain, carrying arms and the man; then he breaks the iron from the tip of the man's own spear and searches for an opening where he may deal a fatal wound; the other, fighting back, holds the hand off from his throat and meets force with force. And as when a tawny eagle, flying high, carries off a snake it has seized, has wound its feet round it and clings with its talons, but the wounded serpent writhes its winding coils, bristles with raised scales and hisses, rearing up; the eagle presses the struggling creature none the less with its hooked beak, and all the while beats the air with its wings: just so Tarchon carries his prey from

the ranks of Tibur in triumph. Following their leader's example and success, the Etruscans charge.

Vocabulary

741	**moriturus**	ready, or destined, to die (see note)
742	**Venulus**	a Latin from Tibur, the envoy sent to Diomedes
742	**turbidus**	wild, in turmoil
743	**dereptus**	torn down
744	**gremium**	lap
746	**igneus**	fiery
746	**aequor**	the level plain
747	**ipsius**	his own — most naturally Venulus'
748	**defringo, -ere**	break off
748	**rimor, -ari**	search, probe
748	**partis … apertas**	exposed parts (*partis* = *partes*)
749	**letalis**	deadly
750	**iugulum**	throat
750	**vim viribus exit**	evades force with force
751	**fulvus**	tawny
751	**draco, -onis**	serpent
752	**unguis, -is**	talon, claw
753	**saucius**	wounded
753	**sinuosa volumina**	winding coils
754	**squama**	scale
754	**sibilo, -are**	hiss
755	**obuncus**	hooked
756	**verbero, -are**	beat
757	**Tiburtes, -um**	men of Tibur
758	**ovans**	exulting, in triumph
759	**Maeonidae**	the Etruscans, supposed to be of Lydian (Maeonian) descent

Notes

Moriturus et ipse. Tarchon does not die in the poem. The phrase may mean 'ready to die himself', a man who has stopped calculating; or 'he too must die one day', the narrator's reminder of common mortality at the moment of triumph. Which do you hear?

Arma virumque ferens. The first words of the *Aeneid*, *arma virumque cano*, turn up as a wrestling hold: Tarchon carries ‘arms and the man’ across the plain. It is hard to believe that Virgil did not smile.

The eagle and the snake. The simile reworks an omen in the *Iliad*: an eagle carrying a bleeding snake, which writhes round and bites it, so that the eagle drops it among the Trojans (*Il.* 12.200–7). In Homer the snake wins its freedom; in Virgil the eagle holds on. The eagle is Jupiter’s bird, and Jupiter has just roused Tarchon.

Birds of prey. Twenty-five lines ago Camilla was the hawk, Apollo’s bird, tearing a dove. Now the Etruscan is the eagle. The birds of prey have changed sides, and the next movement turns the huntress into game.

18 *Aeneid* 11.759–767

Arruns stalks

Tum fatis debitus Arruns
velocem iaculo et multa prior arte Camillam
circuit et quae sit fortuna facillima, temptat.
Qua se cumque furens medio tulit agmine virgo,
hac Arruns subit et tacitus vestigia lustrat;
qua victrix redit illa pedemque ex hoste reportat,
hac iuvenis furtim celeris detorquet habenas.
Hos aditus iamque hos aditus omnemque pererrat
undique circuitum et certam quatit improbus hastam.

Then Arruns, owed to the fates, gets ahead of swift Camilla with his javelin and much cunning, circles her, and tries which chance may be easiest. Wherever the maiden in her fury has carried herself through the middle of the ranks, there Arruns follows and silently tracks her footsteps; wherever she comes back victorious and brings her foot away from the enemy, there the young man stealthily turns his swift reins. Now this approach, now that, the whole circuit round about he tries, and, relentless, shakes his unerring spear.

Vocabulary

759	**fatis debitus**	owed to the fates, doomed
760	**prior**	ahead, beforehand — anticipating her
761	**circueo, -ire**	circle round
761	**facillimus**	easiest
762	**qua … hac**	wherever … there
763	**vestigia lustro, -are**	scan, follow her tracks
764	**reporto, -are**	bring back
765	**furtim**	stealthily
765	**celeris … habenas**	his swift reins (*celeris* = *celeres*)
765	**detorqueo, -ere**	turn aside
766	**aditus, -us**	approach
766	**pererro, -are**	wander over, try every part of
767	**improbus**	relentless, shameless
767	**certus**	sure, unerring

Notes

Fatis debitus. Arruns is doomed in the act of being named. He is the man Diana's arrow was drawn for at 590–2, and the reader knows it before he has thrown.

The hunter's craft. *Vestigia lustrat, furtim, circuit*: this is the vocabulary of the hunt, and Camilla is now the quarry. The huntress who caught Ornytus *exceptum* (684) is being tracked by a man who keeps to her blind side and waits.

Hos aditus iamque hos aditus. The repetition circles as Arruns circles. *Improbus* is Virgil's word for an unrelenting force (*labor omnia vicit / improbus*, *Georgics* 1.145–6); here it carries a hint of the shameless, for this is not how heroes fight.

19 *Aeneid* 11.768–782

Chloreus and his gold

Forte sacer Cybelo Chloreus olimque sacerdos
insignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis
spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis aënis
in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat.
Ipse, peregrina ferrugine clarus et ostro,
spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu;
aureus ex umeris erat arcus et aurea vati
cassida; tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis
carbaseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro
pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum.
Hunc virgo, sive ut templis praefigeret arma
Troïa, captivo sive ut se ferret in auro
venatrix, unum ex omni certamine pugnae
caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen
femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore,

It happened that Chloreus, sacred to Mount Cybelus and once a priest, was gleaming far off, conspicuous in Phrygian armour, and spurring a foaming horse covered by a hide sewn with bronze scales overlapping like feathers, and with gold. He himself, brilliant in foreign rust-red and purple, was shooting Cretan arrows from a Lycian bow; the bow on his shoulder was gold, and gold was the seer's helmet; his saffron cloak and its rustling linen folds he had gathered into a knot with tawny gold, his tunic and the barbarian coverings of his legs embroidered with the needle. Him the maiden — whether to fix Trojan arms on temple doors, or to parade herself, a huntress, in captured gold — singled out from all the fighting, followed him blindly, and through all the ranks, reckless, burned with a woman's love of plunder and spoils —

Vocabulary

768	**sacer + dat.**	sacred to
768	**Cybelus**	a Phrygian mountain sacred to Cybele
769	**insignis**	conspicuous
770	**spumo, -are**	foam

770	**aënus**	of bronze (three syllables)
771	**in plumam**	like feathers, overlapping
771	**consertus**	sewn, joined
772	**peregrinus**	foreign
772	**ferrugo, -inis**	rust-red, a dark dye
772	**ostrum**	purple
773	**Gortynius**	Cretan (from Gortyn)
773	**Lycius**	Lycian
774	**vates, -is**	seer, priest
775	**cassida**	helmet (a Greek form)
775	**croceus**	saffron
775	**chlamys, -ydis**	cloak
775	**crepans, -antis**	rustling
776	**carbaseus**	of fine linen
777	**pictus acu**	embroidered with the needle
777	**tegmina crurum**	coverings of the legs — trousers
778	**praefigo, -ere**	fix in front, nail up
779	**Troïa**	Trojan (three syllables)
779	**captivus**	captured
781	**caecus**	blind
781	**incautus**	heedless, reckless
782	**femineus**	of a woman
782	**praeda**	plunder, booty

Notes

Gold, and more gold. *Auro … aureus … aurea … auro*: four golds in nine lines, with purple, saffron and rust-red besides. Chloreus is a walking display of Eastern luxury — an ex-priest of Cybele, whose priests Romans knew as eunuchs, in embroidered trousers. Everything about him invites contempt, and everything about him glitters.

Sive … sive. Virgil gives two motives and does not choose. To dedicate Trojan arms in a temple would be pious; to wear the captured gold herself, *venatrix*, would be vanity. The doubled *sive* leaves the reader to decide what kind of heroine Camilla is at the moment of her death.

Femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore. The line on which the interpretation of Camilla turns. *Femineo* is the narrator's word: is it a slur, a woman's weakness for finery, or a reminder that the warrior is still a girl who grew

up in a tiger-skin without a gold hair-clasp (576)? Diana promised that her body would be *inspoliata* (594); she dies for spoils.

Spoils that kill. She is not the first. Euryalus' captured helmet catches the moonlight and betrays him (9.365–74), and Turnus' seizure of Pallas' belt (10.495–505) will cost him his life in the last lines of the poem. In the *Aeneid* the desire for spoils is a death sentence.

Caeca … incauta. The huntress has gone blind. All her attention is on one target, which is exactly the condition in which a stalked animal is taken.

20 *Aeneid* 11.783–798

Arruns prays; Apollo grants half

telum ex insidiis cum tandem tempore capto
concitat et superos Arruns sic voce precatur:
‘Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
pascitur et medium freti pietate per ignem
cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna,
da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis,
omnipotens. Non exuvias pulsaeve tropaeum
virginis aut spolia ulla peto (mihi cetera laudem
facta ferent): haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis
pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes.’
Audiit et voti Phoebus succedere partem
mente dedit, partem volucris dispersit in auras:
sterneret ut subita turbatam morte Camillam,
adnuit oranti; reducem ut patria alta videret,
non dedit, inque Notos vocem vertere procellae.

— when at last, seizing his moment, Arruns from his ambush poises his spear and prays aloud to the gods above: ‘Highest of gods, Apollo, guardian of holy Soracte, whom we worship before all others, for whom the blaze of pinewood is fed on the heap, and we your worshippers, trusting in our piety, plant our steps through the middle of the fire on the deep embers: grant, father, that this disgrace be wiped from our arms — grant it, almighty. I seek no spoils, no trophy of the routed maiden, no plunder; other deeds will bring me praise. So long as this dread plague falls, struck down by a wound of mine, I will return to the cities of my fathers without glory.’ Phoebus heard, and in his mind granted that part of the prayer should succeed; part he scattered to the flying winds. He granted the suppliant that he should lay Camilla low, confounded by sudden death; that his high homeland should see him return he did not grant, and the gales turned his words into the South Winds.

Vocabulary

783	**ex insidiis**	from ambush

783	**tempore capto**	ablative absolute: seizing his moment
784	**concito, -are**	poise, rouse (the spear)
785	**Soracte**	a mountain north of Rome, sacred to Apollo
786	**pineus ardor**	the blaze of pinewood
786	**acervus**	heap, pile
787	**fretus + abl.**	trusting in
788	**cultor, -oris**	worshipper
788	**pruna**	live coal, ember
789	**aboleo, -ere**	wipe out, abolish
789	**dedecus, -oris**	disgrace
790	**exuviae**	spoils stripped from the body
790	**pulsae**	routed, struck down
790	**tropaeum**	trophy
792	**pestis, -is**	plague, bane
792	**dum**	so long as, provided that
793	**remeo, -are**	return
793	**inglorius**	without glory
794	**succedo, -ere**	succeed, come to pass
795	**volucris**	flying, swift (with *auras*)
796	**sterno, -ere**	lay low
797	**adnuo, -ere**	nod assent, grant
797	**redux, -ucis**	returning
798	**Notus**	the South Wind
798	**procella**	gale

Notes

Apollo of Soracte. Arruns belongs to a real Faliscan cult. At the festival on Soracte certain families walked unharmed over burning embers, and were excused military service for it (Pliny, *Natural History* 7.19). Camilla's killer is a devout man, and his prayer is properly made: titles, cult, request.

Non exuvias … peto. He renounces exactly what she is dying for. In the same breath that Camilla burns *praedae et spoliorum … amore*, Arruns asks for no spoils, no trophy, no plunder. The contrast is clean, and it does not make him the more heroic of the two.

Half a prayer. Apollo grants one half and scatters the other to the winds, as Zeus grants Achilles' prayer for Patroclus: that he should drive the Trojans from the ships, yes; that he should come back safe, no (*Il.* 16.249–52). We met Camilla as a Patroclus at 664; her killer's prayer is shaped on Achilles' prayer for him.

Dispersit in auras. The rejected half of the prayer is scattered to the air, as Aconteus' life was at 617 (*vitam dispergit in auras*). And Arruns gets what he asked for, in a sense he did not intend: he wanted to go home *inglorius*, and he will die without glory, forgotten in the dust (866).

21 *Aeneid* 11.799–815

The spear; the wolf

Ergo ut missa manu sonitum dedit hasta per auras,
convertere animos acris oculosque tulere
cuncti ad reginam Volsci. Nihil ipsa nec aurae
nec sonitus memor aut venientis ab aethere teli,
hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam
haesit virgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem.
Concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem
suscipiunt. Fugit ante omnis exterritus Arruns,
laetitia mixtoque metu, nec iam amplius hastae
credere nec telis occurrere virginis audet.
Ac velut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,
continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos
occiso pastore lupus magnove iuvenco,
conscius audacis facti, caudamque remulcens
subiecit pavitantem utero silvasque petivit:
haud secus ex oculis se turbidus abstulit Arruns
contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis.

So, as the spear, sent from his hand, gave its sound through the air, all the Volscians turned their eager minds and carried their eyes to the queen. She herself takes no heed of the air or the sound or the weapon coming down from the sky, until the spear, carried home beneath her bared breast, stuck fast and, driven deep, drank her virgin blood. Her companions run together in alarm and catch their falling mistress. Arruns, terrified, flees before them all, joy mixed with fear, and no longer dares to trust his spear or to face the maiden's weapons. And as the wolf, before hostile weapons can follow him, having killed a shepherd or a great bullock, at once hides himself off the path in the high mountains, knowing what a reckless deed he has done, and, drawing in his tail, tucks it trembling under his belly and makes for the woods: just so Arruns, in turmoil, took himself out of sight and, content to escape, lost himself among the soldiers.

Vocabulary

799	**sonitum do, dare**	give out a sound

800	**acer, acris**	keen, eager (*acris* acc. pl. with *animos*)
801–2	**nihil … memor + gen.**	heedless of
802	**aether, -eris**	upper air, sky
803	**exsertus**	bared (compare 649)
803	**papilla**	breast
803	**perfero, -ferre**	carry through, home
804	**bibo, -ere**	drink
805	**trepidus**	alarmed
806	**suscipio, -ere**	catch, support
806	**exterritus**	terrified
808	**occurro + dat.**	face, meet
809	**prius quam**	before
810	**avius**	off the path, pathless
810	**abdo, -ere**	hide
812	**conscius + gen.**	aware of, guilty of
812	**remulceo, -ere**	draw back (the tail)
813	**subicio, -ere**	tuck under
813	**pavito, -are**	tremble
813	**uterus**	belly
815	**immisceo, -ere**	mingle, lose oneself among

Notes

She does not hear it. Everyone else turns to look; Camilla alone, intent on her gold, notices neither the air nor the sound. The child who flew over the Amasenus on a whistling javelin (563) dies by a spear she cannot hear.

Sub exsertam … papillam. The bared breast was the Amazon's badge (649); it is where the spear goes in. *Virgineum … bibit … cruorem*: the spear drinks, and the adjective — *virgineum* — puts the whole of Diana's story into the blood.

The wolf. The simile adapts the *Iliad*'s Antilochus, who runs 'like a beast that has done some harm, killed a dog or a herdsman by the cattle', before the crowd can gather (*Il.* 15.586–8). Virgil adds the tail tucked under the belly — the guilty dog's posture.

A wolf of Soracte. There is a further point. The fire-walkers of Soracte were called *Hirpi Sorani*, and Servius explains that *hirpus* was the Sabine word for a wolf. Arruns, a worshipper among the 'wolves of Soracte', runs from his kill like a wolf.

Laetitia mixtoque metu. Joy and fear together: he has done the thing he prayed for, and he knows what it is. *Conscius audacis facti* in the simile says the same of the wolf.

22 *Aeneid* 11.816–831

Camilla dies

Illa manu moriens telum trahit, ossa sed inter
ferreus ad costas alto stat vulnere mucro:
labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto
lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit.
Tum sic exspirans Accam ex aequalibus unam
adloquitur fidam ante alias, quae sola Camillae,
quicum partiri curas; atque haec ita fatur:
‘Hactenus, Acca soror, potui: nunc vulnus acerbum
conficit, et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum.
Effuge et haec Turno mandata novissima perfer:
succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe.
Iamque vale.’ Simul his dictis linquebat habenas,
ad terram non sponte fluens. Tum frigida toto
paulatim exsolvit se corpore lentaque colla
et captum leto posuit caput, arma relinquens,
vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

She, dying, tugs at the weapon with her hand, but the iron point stands fast between the bones at the ribs, deep in the wound. Bloodless she sinks; her eyes sink, cold in death; the colour that once glowed has left her face. Then, breathing her last, she speaks to Acca, one of the girls of her own age, faithful beyond the rest, the only one with whom Camilla used to share her cares; and these are her words: ‘Thus far, Acca, my sister, I have had strength; now the bitter wound is finishing me, and everything around grows black with darkness. Get away, and carry this last charge of mine to Turnus: let him take my place in the fight and keep the Trojans from the city. And now, farewell.’ As she spoke she let the reins go, and slid to the ground, not of her own will. Then, growing cold, little by little she freed herself from the whole of her body, laid down her drooping neck and her head, taken by death, and let her weapons fall; and her life with a groan fled resentful to the shades below.

Vocabulary

816	**traho, -ere**	drag, tug at

817	**mucro, -onis**	point
818	**exsanguis**	bloodless
818	**frigidus leto**	cold in death
819	**purpureus**	bright, glowing (of the colour of life)
820	**exspiro, -are**	breathe one's last
820	**aequalis, -is**	companion of the same age
821	**quae sola Camillae**	who alone was Camilla's (supply *erat*)
822	**quicum**	= *quacum*, with whom
822	**partiri**	historic infinitive: she used to share
823	**hactenus**	thus far
824	**conficio, -ere**	finish off
824	**nigresco, -ere**	grow black
825	**mandata, -orum**	instructions, a charge
825	**novissimus**	last
826	**succedo + dat.**	take one's place in, come up to
826	**arceo, -ere**	keep away
828	**non sponte**	not of her own will
829	**exsolvo, -ere**	free, release
829	**lentus**	drooping, limp
831	**indignatus**	resentful, unwilling

Notes

Labitur … labuntur. The death is told slowly, in a series of small failures — the hand on the shaft, the body, the eyes, the colour — and the repeated *labitur … labuntur* makes it a sinking rather than a fall. For the fastest figure in the poem, everything now happens *paulatim*.

Acca. *Fidam ante alias* echoes Diana's *cara mihi ante alias* (537): the formula of the women closest to her. *Acca soror* — sister in arms, not by blood.

Her last words. They are not about herself. *Hactenus … potui* is a soldier's report, and the rest is an order: Turnus must come down and hold the city. It is a sound order, and it will be obeyed — and Turnus' leaving the ambush at 896–902 is what lets Aeneas through the pass.

Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras. This line will return as the last line of the whole *Aeneid* (12.952), for the death of Turnus. Virgil ends his poem with Camilla's death-line, and binds the two great Italian defenders together in the same unwilling descent.

Text. At 830 Greenough prints *arma relinquunt*, ‘her weapons leave her’; most modern editors read *arma relinquens*, ‘letting her weapons fall’, and that reading is adopted here. Both make sense; the participle keeps Camilla the subject to the end.

23 *Aeneid* 11.832–849

Opis on the mountain

Tum vero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor
sidera: deiecta crudescit pugna Camilla,
incurrunt densi simul omnis copia Teucrum
Tyrrhenique duces Evandrique Arcades alae.
At Triviae custos iamdudum in montibus Opis
alta sedet summis spectatque interrita pugnas.
Utque procul medio iuvenum in clamore furentum
prospexit tristi multatam morte Camillam,
ingemuitque deditque has imo pectore voces:
‘Heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti
supplicium, Teucros conata lacessere bello!
Nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam
profuit aut nostras umero gessisse sagittas.
Non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit
extrema iam in morte, neque hoc sine nomine letum
per gentis erit aut famam patieris inultae.
Nam quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
morte luet merita.’

Then indeed a vast shout rises and strikes the golden stars; with Camilla thrown down, the fighting grows fiercer; they charge in a mass, the whole host of the Trojans together, the Etruscan captains and Evander’s Arcadian squadrons. But Opis, Trivia’s sentinel, has long been sitting high on the mountain-tops, watching the battle undismayed. And when, far off, amid the shouting of the raging young men, she saw Camilla punished with grim death, she groaned and uttered these words from the depths of her heart: ‘Alas, maiden, too cruel, too cruel the penalty you have paid for trying to provoke the Trojans to war! It has not helped you that you worshipped Diana, alone in the thickets, or carried our arrows on your shoulder. Yet your queen has not left you without honour, now at death’s very end; nor shall this death of yours be without a name among the nations, nor shall you bear the reproach of one unavenged. For whoever has violated your body with a wound shall pay with the death he deserves.’

Vocabulary

832	**ferio, -ire**	strike
833	**crudesco, -ere**	grow fiercer
834	**densus**	in a mass
834	**copia**	host, forces
835	**Arcades, -um**	Arcadians
836	**custos, -odis**	guardian, sentinel
836	**iamdudum**	for a long time now
837	**interritus**	undismayed
839	**multatam morte**	punished with death
840	**ingemo, -ere**	groan
841	**luo, -ere**	pay (a penalty)
842	**supplicium**	punishment, penalty
843	**desertae**	alone, solitary (agreeing with *tibi*)
844	**prosum, prodesse**	help, profit
845	**indecoris**	without honour
846	**letum**	death
847	**famam … inultae**	the name of one unavenged
849	**luo morte**	pay with death
849	**meritus**	deserved

Notes

Iamdudum. Opis has been on the mountain since Diana sent her at 595–6, through the whole of the aristeia, able to watch and not to intervene. *Interrita* sets the goddess's calm against the mortal clamour below — until she sees Camilla fall.

Orders carried out. Her lament repeats Diana's words almost exactly: *Teucros conata lacessere bello* answers *conata lacessere Teucros* (585), and *quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus* answers *quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus* (591). The future of the order has become the perfect of the deed.

Nec … profuit. 'It did not help you': the old lament for a skill that could not save its owner. In the *Iliad* the hunter Scamandrius, whom Artemis herself had taught to shoot, falls to Menelaus, 'and Artemis did not help him then' (*Il.* 5.49–54). Virgil gives the Homeric lament to the goddess's own nymph.

Non tamen indecorem. What remains is fame and vengeance, the two consolations of epic. *Neque hoc sine nomine letum / per gentis erit* — the volume in your hands is part of the fulfilment.

24 *Aeneid* 11.849–867

The tomb of Dercennus; the death of Arruns

Fuit ingens monte sub alto
regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum
antiqui Laurentis opacaque ilice tectum:
hic dea se primum rapido pulcherrima nisu
sistit et Arruntem tumulo speculatur ab alto.
Ut vidit laetantem animis ac vana tumentem,
'Cur', inquit, 'diversus abis? Huc dirige gressum,
huc periture veni, capias ut digna Camillae
praemia. Tune etiam telis moriere Dianae?'
Dixit, et aurata volucrem Threissa sagittam
deprompsit pharetra cornuque infensa tetendit
et duxit longe, donec curvata coirent
inter se capita et manibus iam tangeret aequis,
laeva aciem ferri, dextra nervoque papillam.
Extemplo teli stridorem aurasque sonantis
audiit una Arruns, haesitque in corpore ferrum.
Illum exspirantem socii atque extrema gementem
obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linquunt,
Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum.

Under the high mountain stood the great tomb of Dercennus, an ancient king of Laurentum, a mound of heaped earth shaded by dark holm-oak. Here the goddess, most beautiful, first settles with a swift swoop, and watches for Arruns from the high barrow. When she saw him exulting in spirit and swelling with vanity, 'Why are you going the other way?' she said. 'Turn your steps here; come here, you who are about to die, to receive the reward Camilla deserves. Shall even you die by the weapons of Diana?' She spoke, and the Thracian nymph drew a winged arrow from her golden quiver, stretched the bow in anger, and drew it far, until the curved tips met, and with level hands she touched the iron point with her left, and with her right, and the string, her breast. At once Arruns heard together the whistle of the weapon and the sounding air, and the iron stuck in his body. As he breathed his last and groaned his end, his comrades

forgot him and left him in the unknown dust of the plain; Opis is borne on her wings to high Olympus.

Vocabulary

849–50	**bustum**	tomb, burial mound
850	**Dercennus**	an ancient king of Laurentum, known only from here
850	**terreno ex aggere**	of heaped earth
851	**opacus**	shady, dark
851	**ilex, -icis**	holm-oak
852	**nisus, -us**	swoop, flight
853	**sisto, -ere**	set (oneself) down
853	**speculor, -ari**	watch for, spy out
854	**tumeo, -ere**	swell (with pride)
855	**diversus**	in another direction
856	**periture**	vocative: you who are about to die
856–7	**digna Camillae praemia**	the reward Camilla deserves
858	**Threissa**	Thracian woman
859	**infensus**	hostile, angry
860	**coeo, -ire**	come together, meet
861	**capita**	the tips (of the bow)
861	**aequis**	level, evenly matched
862	**acies ferri**	the point of the iron
862	**nervus**	bowstring
863	**stridor, -oris**	whistle, hiss
865	**extrema gemo, -ere**	groan one's last
866	**obliviscor, oblitus**	forget
866	**ignotus**	unknown
867	**aetherius**	of the upper air, heavenly

Notes

A king's barrow. Dercennus exists only in this line, a piece of antiquarian colouring like Metabus and Privernum. The goddess sits on a dead king's tomb to watch the living man: archers shoot from barrows in Homer too, as Paris does from the tomb of Ilus when he wounds Diomedes (*Il.* 11.369–72).

Tune etiam …? 'Shall even you die by the weapons of Diana?' Diana's arrow is an honour, and Opis grants it to a man who does not deserve it. The sarcasm is a goddess's.

Drawing the bow. The slow, technical description — the tips of the bow meeting, the left hand at the arrowhead, the right hand and string at the breast — is Homer's Pandarus drawing on Menelaus, 'the string to his breast, the iron to the bow' (*Il.* 4.123). *Papillam* (862) recalls the breast where Arruns' spear went in (803).

He hears it. *Teli stridorem aurasque sonantis / audiit*: Arruns hears the arrow that Camilla never heard (801–2). And his prayer is answered in full: he wanted to go home *inglorius* (793), and he dies unmourned, forgotten by his comrades in the *ignotus pulvis* of the plain.

Opis departs. *Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum* closes the divine frame that opened when Diana called her at 532. The goddess who came down in a black whirlwind (596) goes back on wings.

PART IV

Coda

Aeneid XI. 868–915

Camilla's death breaks the Latin line. Her squadron is the first to run, and the rout carries to the gates of Laurentum, where the defenders shut out their own men and the mothers take to the walls with stakes and poles, as they had seen Camilla fight. Her last order reaches Turnus, and he obeys it: he leaves his ambush in the hills moments before Aeneas comes through the pass he was guarding. Only nightfall postpones the meeting of the two leaders, and the book ends with both armies digging in.

25 *Aeneid* 11.868–895

The rout to the walls

Prima fugit domina amissa levis ala Camillae;
turbati fugiunt Rutuli, fugit acer Atinas
disiectique duces desolatique manipli
tuta petunt et equis aversi ad moenia tendunt.
Nec quisquam instantis Teucros letumque ferentis
sustentare valet telis aut sistere contra,
sed laxos referunt umeris languentibus arcus,
quadrupedumque putrem cursu quatit ungula campum.
Volvitur ad muros caligine turbidus atra
pulvis, et e speculis percussae pectora matres
femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt.
Qui cursu portas primi inrupere patentis,
hos inimica super mixto premit agmine turba;
nec miseram effugiunt mortem, sed limine in ipso,
moenibus in patriis atque inter tuta domorum
confixi exspirant animas. Pars claudere portas:
nec sociis aperire viam nec moenibus audent
accipere orantis, oriturque miserrima caedes
defendentum armis aditus inque arma ruentum.
Exclusi ante oculos lacrimantumque ora parentum
pars in praecipitis fossas urgente ruina
volvitur, immissis pars caeca et concita frenis
arietat in portas et duros obice postis.
Ipsae de muris summo certamine matres,
monstrat amor verus patriae, ut videre Camillam,
tela manu trepidae iaciunt ac robore duro
stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur obustis
praecipites primaeque mori pro moenibus ardent.

First to flee, its mistress lost, is Camilla's light squadron; the Rutulians flee in confusion, fierce Atinas flees, and the scattered captains and leaderless companies make for safety and, turning their horses, head for the walls. No one can hold back the Trojans as they press on bringing

death, or stand against them with weapons; they carry their unstrung bows on drooping shoulders, and the hooves of the galloping horses shake the crumbling plain. The dust rolls towards the walls, thick with black murk, and from the watch-towers the mothers, beating their breasts, raise the cry of women to the stars of heaven. Those who first burst through the open gates in their flight are overwhelmed by the hostile crowd that comes in with them, mixed in one column; they do not escape a wretched death, but on the very threshold, within their fathers' walls and in the safety of their homes, they are run through and breathe out their lives. Some shut the gates: they dare not open a way to their comrades or let them inside the walls for all their pleading, and there follows the most pitiful slaughter, of those defending the entrance in arms and those rushing upon the arms. Shut out before the eyes, before the very faces of their weeping parents, some roll into the steep ditches under the crush of the rout; some, blind, with reins let loose, batter like rams at the gates and the doorposts hard with their bars. The mothers themselves, in the utmost struggle on the walls — true love of country shows them the way — as they had seen Camilla do, hurl weapons with trembling hands, make hard oak, stakes and fire-hardened poles do the work of iron, and burn, headlong, to be the first to die for their walls.

Vocabulary

868	**levis**	light, light-armed
868	**domina amissa**	ablative absolute: their mistress lost
869	**Atinas, -atis**	Atinas, a Rutulian captain
870	**disiectus**	scattered
870	**desolatus**	abandoned, leaderless
870	**manipli**	= *manipuli*, companies
871	**tuta, -orum**	safety, safe places
871	**aversi**	turned away, in retreat
873	**sustento, -are**	hold back, withstand
874	**laxus**	slack, unstrung
874	**languens, -entis**	drooping, weary
875	**puter, -tris**	crumbling, loose
875	**ungula**	hoof
876	**caligo, -inis**	murk, darkness
877	**specula**	watch-tower
877	**percussae pectora**	beating their breasts (retained accusative)
879	**inrumpo, -ere**	burst in

880	**mixto … agmine**	in a mingled column — pursuers and pursued together
882	**tuta domorum**	the safety of their homes
883	**configo, -ere, -fixus**	pierce, run through
883	**pars claudere**	historic infinitive: some shut
885	**orantis**	= *orantes*, pleading
886	**defendentum**	= *defendentium*
886	**aditus, -us**	entrance
887	**lacrimans, -antis**	weeping
888	**praeceps, -cipitis**	steep, sheer
888	**ruina**	crush, collapse
889	**immissis … frenis**	with reins let loose
889	**concitus**	driven on
890	**arieto, -are**	butt like a ram
890	**obex, -icis**	bar, bolt
890	**postis, -is**	doorpost
893	**trepidus**	trembling, anxious
893	**robur, -oris**	oak, hard wood
894	**stipes, -itis**	stake
894	**sudis, -is**	pole, pike
894	**obustus**	fire-hardened
894	**imitor, -ari**	imitate, stand in for

Notes

Prima fugit … ala Camillae. The squadron that entered the battle as *virginis ala Camillae* (604) is the first to leave it, *domina amissa*. Her name is still in the genitive, but she is no longer there. *Fugit … fugiunt … fugit*: the verb runs through the ranks as the panic does.

Quatit ungula campum. The line plays on one of the most famous sound-effects in Virgil, *quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum* (8.596), the galloping rhythm of the Arcadian cavalry. Here it is the sound of retreat.

Shut gates. The cruellest moment of the rout: the defenders close the gates on their own men and kill those who try to force them, while the shut-out die in the ditches *ante oculos … parentum*. The scene remembers the Trojans streaming into their city before Achilles in *Iliad* 21–22, with Hector left outside the gates.

Ut videre Camillam. Diana spoke of mothers who wanted Camilla as a bride for their sons (581–2); now the mothers of Latium follow her into battle. *Monstrat amor verus patriae*: the narrator's parenthesis answers *femineo … amore* (782). The

femineum clamorem of 878 has become action, and the love that drives these women is not for spoils.

Imitantur ferrum. Stakes and fire-hardened poles stand in for iron, as the child's first weapons were improvised in the woods. *Primaeque mori … ardent* picks up *ardebat* (782): the mothers burn to die first, as Camilla burned for gold.

26 *Aeneid* 11.896–915

Turnus leaves the ambush; nightfall

Interea Turnum in silvis saevissimus implet
nuntius, et iuveni ingentem fert Acca tumultum:
deletas Volscorum acies, cecidisse Camillam,
ingruere infensos hostis et Marte secundo
omnia corripuisse, metum iam ad moenia ferri.
Ille furens, et saeva Iovis sic numina pellunt,
deserit obsessos collis, nemora aspera linquit.
Vix e conspectu exierat campumque tenebat,
cum pater Aeneas saltus ingressus apertos
exsuperatque iugum silvaque evadit opaca.
Sic ambo ad muros rapidi totoque feruntur
agmine nec longis inter se passibus absunt;
ac simul Aeneas fumantis pulvere campos
prospexit longe Laurentiaque agmina vidit,
et saevum Aenean adgnovit Turnus in armis
adventumque pedum flatusque audivit equorum.
Continuoque ineant pugnas et proelia temptent,
ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hibero
tinguat equos noctemque die labente reducat:
considunt castris ante urbem et moenia vallant.

Meanwhile the grimmest news fills Turnus in the woods, and Acca brings the young man word of the great disaster: the Volscian ranks destroyed, Camilla fallen, the enemy bearing down in fury and, with Mars on their side, sweeping all before them, the panic already reaching the walls. He, raging — so Jupiter's stern will drives him — abandons the hills he had beset and leaves the rough woods. Scarcely had he passed out of sight and reached the plain when father Aeneas, entering the pass now left open, crosses the ridge and comes out of the dark forest. So both are carried swiftly to the walls with all their columns, and are not many paces apart. At one and the same moment Aeneas saw far off the plains smoking with dust and caught sight of the Laurentine columns, and Turnus recognised fierce Aeneas in arms and heard the tread of feet and the snorting of horses. And at once they would be entering battle and trying the fight, did

not rosy Phoebus now bathe his weary horses in the Iberian flood and bring back the night as the day slips away. They camp before the city and fortify the walls.

Vocabulary

896	**saevissimus**	most grim, cruellest
896	**impleo, -ere**	fill
896–7	**nuntius**	news, message
897	**tumultus, -us**	uproar, disaster
898	**deleo, -ere**	destroy
899	**ingruo, -ere**	bear down, rush upon
899	**infensus**	hostile, furious
899	**Marte secundo**	with Mars favouring them
900	**corripio, -ere**	seize, sweep up
901	**numen, -inis**	will, divine power
901	**pellunt**	drive (him) — see note
902	**obsessos collis**	the hills he had occupied (*collis* = *colles*)
903	**conspectus, -us**	sight, view
904	**saltus, -us**	pass, wooded defile
904	**apertus**	open — now unguarded
905	**exsupero, -are**	cross over, surmount
905	**evado, -ere**	come out of
907	**passus, -us**	pace
908	**fumo, -are**	smoke
910	**adgnosco, -ere**	recognise
911	**flatus, -us**	snorting
912	**ineant … temptent**	present subjunctive in an unreal condition (see note)
913	**roseus**	rosy
913	**gurges Hiberus**	the Iberian flood — the western ocean
914	**tinguo, -ere**	dip, bathe
915	**considunt castris**	they encamp
915	**vallo, -are**	fortify with a rampart

Notes

Acca. Camilla's *mandata novissima* (825) are delivered. The order was sound — the city needed Turnus — but its effect is fatal to his plan. *Saevissimus … nuntius* gives the news its proper weight: for Turnus nothing in the book is worse.

Ille furens. Turnus acts in *furor*, as he does at every crisis, and the narrator adds that Jupiter's will is behind it. Greenough prints *pellunt*, 'drives him'; other editors read *poscunt*, 'demands'. Either way, the ambush is given up because heaven wants it given up.

Vix … cum. The timing is exact and cruel. Turnus has scarcely left the hills when Aeneas comes through the pass that Turnus was holding for him (11.511–31). Camilla's death has undone the plan without anyone touching it.

Ineant … ni … tinguat. The present subjunctives in the unreal condition put the reader on the edge of the moment: they *would be* fighting now. Then the sun goes down. The god who drives the horses into the western sea is Phoebus — the god who granted Camilla's death closes the day of it.

Adventumque pedum flatusque … equorum. The battle began with the snorting of horses, *fremitusque … equorum* (607); the book ends on the same sound, heard by Turnus as Aeneas' army comes on. The duel is postponed to Book 12, where Camilla's death-line will be heard once more (12.952).

The Story of Camilla

Camilla, warrior-queen of the Volsci, is one of Virgil's boldest inventions. Vowed to Diana as an infant and raised as a huntress in the woods, she rides into the war of *Aeneid* XI and dominates it, until a single spear, granted by Apollo, finds her.

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