

**Eduqas Support Materials:
Notes and Commentary**

**Eduqas GCSE Latin
Component 2**

**Latin Literature and Sources (Themes)
Theme A: Heroes and Villains**

For examination in 2027–2029

Acknowledgements – Images

Figure 1: Aeneas flees Troy with his father and son. Photo credit: Photograph by Maria Daniels, courtesy of the Museum of Fine ARTS, Boston, September 1997 - May 1998 / Boston 1983.7 Perseus Digital Library Image.

Figure 2: The Capitoline Wolf suckles Romulus and Remus. Photo Credit: Adam Eastland Art + Architecture Alamy ID: F340TK.

Figure 3: Prima Porta Statue of Augustus. Photo credit: Heritage Image Partnership Ltd Alamy ID: MPTKK3.

Figure 4: Servia Tullia drives her chariot over her father's body. Bas Relief. Photo credit: Ivy Close Images Alamy ID: 2CE2702.

Figure 5: Cicero addresses the Senate as Catiline sits alone. Photo credit: Danvis Collection Alamy ID: 2HG620X.

Figure 6: Ides of March coin. Photo credit: The British Museum Museum ID: 1855,0512.40.

Figure 7: Mark Anthony. Photo credit: Chronicle Alamy ID: A30PNE.

Figure 8: Horatius defends the Bridge. Photo credit: Ivy Close Images Alamy ID: C4DX5K.

Figure 9: Map of the site of Actium showing the forces of Octavian vs Mark Antony and Cleopatra - produced by WJEC for the purposes of this booklet.

Figure 10: Roman Warships. Photo credit: Jose Lucas Alamy ID: E75F2X.

Figure 11: Suggested Portrait of Sallust. Photo credit: Vinyard Collection Alamy ID: 2HE8HG7.

Figure 12: The Arrest of Sejanus. Photo credit: Danvis Collection Alamy ID: 2HG5NMG.

Figure 13: The wounded Mezentius is protected by his son, Lausus. Photo credit: The History Collection Alamy ID: J4BBB2.

Figure 14: Late medieval woodcut of Metabus and the infant Camilla fleeing the Volscians. Photo credit: piemags/ABTB Alamy ID: 2T7M1E.

Figure 15: Diana, goddess of hunting. Photo credit: Peter Horree Alamy ID: CFGMC4.

Acknowledgements – Texts

CICERO, *Philippic* 2.118 – 119

Perseus Digital Library:

<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0021%3Aspeec%3D2%3Asection%3D118>

M. Tullius Cicero. M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes: Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Albertus Curtis Clark Collegii Reginae Socius. Albert Curtis Clark. Oxford. e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1918. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.

LIVY, *History* 2.10

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<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0145%3Abook%3D2%3Achapter%3D10>

Livy. Ab urbe condita. Robert Seymour Conway. Charles Flamstead Walters. Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1914. 1.

PROPERTIUS, *Elegy* 4.6 37-46, 53-60

Perseus Digital Library:

<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0494%3Abook%3D4%3Apoem%3D6>

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SALLUST, *Bellum Catilinae* 25

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Vergil. Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics Of Vergil. J. B. Greenough. Boston. Ginn & Co. 1900

VIRGIL, *Aeneid* 11, 648-658, 664-665, 676-689

Perseus Digital Library:

<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0055%3Abook%3D8%3Acard%3D470>

Vergil. Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics Of Vergil. J. B. Greenough. Boston. Ginn & Co. 1900

NOTES FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

A note on the use of these resources

The notes and commentaries presented here have been designed to support both teachers in preparing their students for Eduqas GCSE Latin, component 2, and potentially the learners themselves during their initial reading and subsequent revision. The extent to which these notes are made available to the learners is left to the individual preference of the teacher: there is no expectation that all or even some of these notes need to be learned. The examination requires no knowledge outside the text except when it is needed in order to understand the sources and texts.

The notes will provide help with linguistic complexities, which should be of particular assistance to those teachers new to Latin Literature. Learners may also find such notes helpful, though they will not be required to comment in the examination on matters of syntax or grammar, unless they are relevant to the discussion of a particular stylistic feature that the learner may choose to comment upon. If an examination question does ask for discussion of the language of a piece of Latin, there is no expectation that an answer will include comments on syntax, but rather choice of words and word order, along with any wordplay.

The notes will also cover contextual matters, which are considered helpful for the development of a full understanding of any references to people, places and events that are not immediately contextualised. Because the passages are all discrete and usually plunge *in medias res*, each one requires a substantial introduction and detailed comments to enable teachers and learners to grasp the full context.

Finally, the notes will mention important stylistic features, since the examination will test learners' ability to handle these in a meaningful way. It is important to point out that there will be no attempt to include every instance of alliteration or other minor stylistic devices; the expectation is that students will be encouraged to identify and evaluate these for themselves as they encounter them during their reading.

The notes for each section will conclude with a series of questions on context and style, which may be used by the teacher. Their aim is to test the student's understanding and appreciation of what has been read, while at the same time giving practice in handling the sort of questions that will be encountered in the examination.

Amendment – December 2025: Please note an amendment has been made to the description of Source 1 on page 6.

Theme A: **Heroes and Villains**

Candidates are expected to be familiar with the following aspects of the theme:

- the characteristics of a Roman hero
- can women be heroes?
- Roman anti-heroes.

Candidates will be expected to answer questions on the following texts:

CICERO	A Politician Recalls His Own Bravery	<i>Philippic 2.</i> 118-119
LIVY	Horatius Saves Rome	<i>History 2.</i> 10
PROPERTIUS	Divine Support for Augustus	<i>Elegy 4.6</i> 37-46, 53-60
SALLUST	A Badly Behaved Woman	<i>Bellum Catilinae</i> 25
TACITUS	A Hero or a Villain?	<i>Annals 4.1,</i> 59
VIRGIL	A King's Gruesome Behaviour	<i>Aeneid 8</i> 478-495
VIRGIL	The Volscian Warrior, Camilla	<i>Aeneid 11</i> 648-58, 664-665, 676-689.

Candidates should also study the following pictures, one or more of which will be used as a basis for questions in each question paper.

Eduqas has prepared a Resource Booklet containing the prescribed pictures and texts, together with a list giving the meanings of all the Latin vocabulary used in the texts. To assist with preparation for the examination, this booklet is available as a download from the Eduqas website. In the examination itself a copy of the Booklet (omitting the captions to the pictures) will be provided to each candidate.

Introduction

There are six picture sources which show representations of heroes or villains in Roman history and specific artefacts such as coins which have been issued, probably, with an eye to propaganda.

The seven extracts from Latin texts deal with three 'heroes' and four 'villains'. Two are women (one of each type), the rest are men. Some are historical, others legendary or mythical. In most cases the descriptions of the good or bad characters reveal as much about the writers as about the characters themselves; that is, their approaches to historiography, the motives behind their writings, and underlying prejudices all become clear.

Source 1

This coin issued during the reign of Lucius Verus (AD 161-169) shows Aeneas leaving Troy, leading his son Ascanius (Iulus) by the hand and carrying his father, Anchises on his back. Anchises himself carries the household gods (Penates) of their family. Aeneas, son of Venus, was seen as the founder of the Roman people and the ancestor of Julius Caesar and Augustus and his importance clearly continued to be recognised by later emperors. Aeneas' strength of character and heroism in leaving his homeland and travelling to Italy, although he did not fully understand his destiny, was seen as an example of Roman heroism as he put the destiny of his descendants ahead of his own desires.



Figure 1 Aeneas flees Troy with his father and son.

Aeneas' story was told by Virgil in the *Aeneid* and depictions of Aeneas and his family were often used to show how the gods had guided the ancestors of the Roman race, and therefore how the Roman empire was favoured by divine power. Augustus put a statue of this scene in his Forum in Rome, which was completed in 2 BC.

Source 2



Figure 2 The Capitoline Wolf suckles Romulus and Remus.

The Capitoline Wolf showing the twins, Romulus and Remus, being suckled by the she-wolf after they were abandoned by the Tiber after their grandfather, Numitor was overthrown by his brother, Amulius, who ordered their death. Numitor's daughter, Rhea Silvia, had given birth to the twins after Mars visited her in a grove sacred to him. Rhea Silvia had been enrolled as a Vestal Virgin by Amulius in order to ensure she would not have any children who might challenge him to the crown, but his plan failed. You can read more about this in Livy's history – *From the Foundation of the City* – book 1, and the story of Romulus can be read in Plutarch's *Life of Romulus* chapters 2-10.

Despite being the founder of Rome, Romulus was not, to our eyes, entirely heroic. He killed his brother, Remus, in a conflict over the foundation of the city and was responsible for the capture of the Sabine women when he needed to increase the population of the fledgling Rome. His death was mysterious. Livy tells us that he either died in a whirlwind while reviewing his troops

and was raised to heaven by his father, Mars, or he was murdered by senators. The first version allowed Romans to believe that the gods were on their side in their campaigns of expansion.

Source 3



Statue of Augustus from his wife, Livia's, house at Prima Porta, to where she retired after Augustus' death in AD 14. It appears to be based on a bronze sculpture by the 4th century BC Greek sculptor, Polykleitos, and was originally believed to have depicted Achilles. It shows Augustus in an heroic pose as *imperator*, possibly addressing his troops. He wears a decorated breastplate which has scenes of the return of Roman standards (eagles) in 20BC. These standards had been captured by the Parthians on three occasions – 53 BC from Crassus, 40 BC from Decidius Saxa and 36BC from Mark Antony. The return was presented as Parthia submitting to Roman power and was hailed as a political victory by Augustus. The breastplate also has depictions of Mars, god of war, and personifications of other provinces captured by Augustus, thus showing the favour of the gods towards Augustus and Rome.

Figure 3 Prima Porta Statue of Augustus.

Augustus is shown in mid-speech with an arm raised in the fashion typical of an orator. Augustus' features are idealised and his bare feet and Cupid riding a dolphin (necessary for structural support in a marble statue posed like this) reinforce his connection to the gods and to Venus in particular, as Cupid was her son. Statues like this, were, until relatively recently, thought to have been plain marble-coloured, but modern technology has allowed archaeologists to see traces of colour in such statues and this version is a cast coloured to demonstrate this.

Source 4



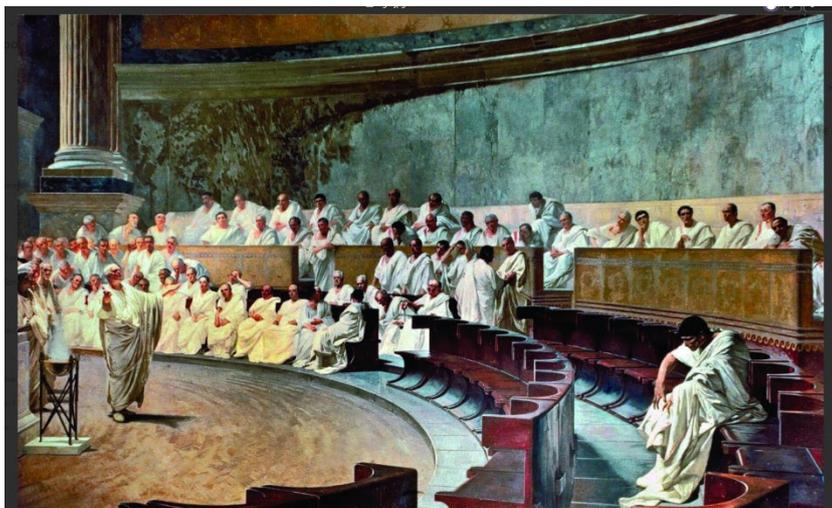
Figure 4 Servia Tullia drives her chariot over her father's body. Bas Relief.

A bas relief (shallow relief where figures do not project far from the main block) showing Servia Tullia driving her chariot over the body of her father, Servius Tullius, the seventh king of Rome.

Servius Tullius had been a slave adopted by the sixth king Tarquinius Priscus, after the boy was seen sleeping with a flame burning harmlessly on his head. Following Priscus' assassination in around 579 BC, Servius Tullius, who had married Priscus' daughter, took the throne. He was

said to have been the first king not elected by the senate. It seems he was a competent monarch who upset the patricians by his support of the rights of the poor, but he also reorganised the army, divided the Roman people into classes and centuries and built the Servian Walls which protected the city. According to Livy (1.48), his son-in-law, Tarquinius Superbus (who was the last king of Rome), derided his father-in-law's origins as a slave and threw Servius down the steps of the Senate house. Livy lays the blame for this on Servia and tells us that after she had driven in a chariot to the Forum to proclaim her husband king, on her return home, she deliberately drove over the corpse of her father to the horror of her household gods and that this was the bloody beginning to a reign which was brought to an equally bloody ending.

Source 5



In this 19th Century painting by Cesare Maccari, we see Cicero, as consul, addressing the Senate on the iniquities of Lucius Sergius Catilina (known to us as Catiline), seen sitting alone in the foreground.

Figure 5 Cicero addresses the Senate as Catiline sits alone.

Cicero delivered four orations against Catiline, alleging that he was plotting to overthrow the Republic and take control himself. They are some of the most powerful speeches we have from antiquity. The suppression of the conspiracy and execution of the alleged conspirators without trial and exile and later the death of Catiline, allowed Cicero to claim that he had saved the republic for which he was awarded the title *Pater Patriae* (one of only two such awards during the Republic). It also led to Cicero's brief exile (58-57 BC) at the hands of Clodius, because of the lack of trial of some of the alleged conspirators. Catiline was only present at the first Catilinarian oration, as he fled the city shortly afterwards and was killed fighting in the front lines of his army at Pistoria in early 62 BC.

Source 6

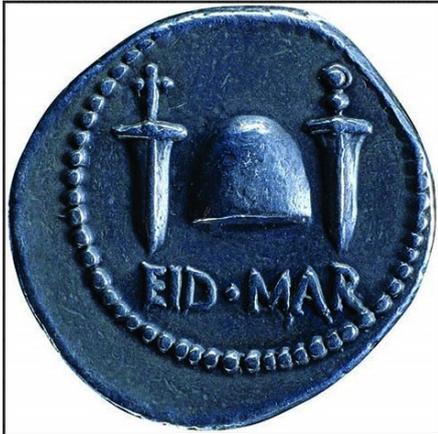


Figure 6 Ides of March coin issued by Brutus and Cassius after the assassination of Julius Caesar.

An Ides of March coin. This appears to be one of those struck by Marcus Junius Brutus, one of the assassins of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March 44 BC. (15th March). It is also known as the denarius of Brutus and was minted between 43-42 BC. On one side (not pictured here) it shows a bust of Brutus and on this side it shows a *pileus* cap (given to former slaves to symbolise their freedom) set between two daggers (representing the weapons used against Julius Caesar). Very few of these coins were minted and Brutus and his co-conspirator, Gaius Cassius Longinus, took their own lives after their defeat by Octavian (later known as Augustus) at Philippi in 42 BC. The coins were thought to be issued by a 'military mint' to pay Brutus' army. The issuing of coins such as these could have been used as propaganda to suggest that Caesar's assassination was supported by the state. The irony of Caesar's assassination was that it was presented as protecting the Republic from a man who wanted to be king and was already

dictator in perpetuo, when in reality it opened the way for Caesar's adopted son, Octavian, to take control leading to the rule of emperors.

Cicero, *Philippic* 2. 118-119

A Politician Recalls His Own Bravery.

Introduction

Marcus Tullius Cicero, who lived from 106-43 BC, was one of the greatest statesmen and lawyers of the Late Republic. We know more about him than about most other ancient Romans, because his letters, speeches and philosophical works have survived.

In 63 BC he reached the pinnacle of his political career by being elected consul. During his year of office, he was responsible for crushing an attempted coup against the state by a disaffected nobleman called Catilina; in so doing he aligned himself clearly with the moderate, senatorial party. In the years that followed, during which he met strong opposition from leading members of the popular party, led by Julius Caesar and Crassus, Cicero never allowed the senate and people of Rome to forget his role in saving the republic.

During the political ascendancy of Julius Caesar (from 49-44 BC), Cicero's political voice was muted; after the assassination of Caesar in 44 BC, however, Cicero once again found his voice, speaking out to support the senate against those individuals who were perceived to threaten it. Chief among these was Mark Antony, who had been Caesar's second-in-

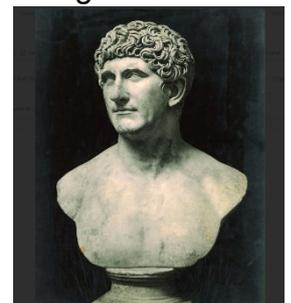


Figure 7 Mark Antony

command; he won popular support immediately after the assassination and became the most powerful man in Rome. Cicero, who had loathed what he saw as the tyranny of Caesar, hated the threat posed by Antony even more, and over the course of about a year delivered fourteen speeches attacking Antony.

These speeches were called '*Philippics*', because they resembled three speeches with that name delivered by the Athenian orator Demosthenes in the 340s BC against the threat posed to Greece by Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. Some of Cicero's *Philippics* were delivered to the senate, others directly to the people, assembled in the forum. The speeches did not have their desired effect, however, as Antony formed an alliance with Octavian (the future emperor Augustus) and a general named Lepidus. Their alliance, known as the Second Triumvirate, enabled the three men to take full control of Rome. One of their first acts, demanded by Antony to gain revenge, was to establish a proscription, a list of names of citizens considered by the three triumvirs to be enemies; these men could be killed on sight and their property confiscated. At the head of the list was Cicero, and he was killed by Antony's agents on the 7th December 43 BC.

The *Second Philippic*, by far the longest of the fourteen, was composed in November 44 BC as a pamphlet rather than a speech to be delivered. His aim was to attack the character of Antony. The extract in the prescription is the very end of the speech.

Commentary

1 defendi rem publicam: Cicero is referring to his defence of the constitution against the rebellion of Catilina during his consulship of 63 BC. It should be kept in mind that, whenever Cicero talks about the *res publica*, he really means maintaining the power of the senate, which had been pre-eminent in power for nearly five hundred years.

adulescens: Cicero was 43 at the time of his consulship. Normally *adulescentia* was considered to end at the age of 30. Cicero describes himself as an *adulescens* here to provide the contrast with *senex*.

non deseram: supply *rem publicam* as the object. Cicero is arguing that his policy of defending the republican constitution against all threats has remained constant throughout his active life. The senate and people believed in him before, and so they should do so again.

2 gladios: the swords stand in for all the weapons of the armed rebellion.

tuos: supply *gladios*; Cicero uses the rhetorical device of apostrophe to address Antony as if he were present. Note the way these two clauses exactly parallel the preceding two: the argument is simple but compelling. In 63 BC Catilina did pose a physical threat to Cicero, as he plotted to have him killed. Of course the swords of Catilina were aimed at the whole Republic, not just Cicero; in the same way Antony's weapons threaten the whole state.

quin etiam: a rhetorical phrase used to introduce a climax.

3 obtulerim: the perfect subjunctive is used in the apodosis (i.e. the main clause) of a conditional sentence to represent a hypothetical future; it is, however, simplest to translate it as 'I shall offer'. He is suggesting that his own death would be a worthwhile sacrifice if it brought about the liberty of the state.

3-4 ut ... pariat: purpose clause.

4 dolor populi Romani: *dolor* is physical or mental pain, and so ‘anguish’, ‘sorrow’ or ‘indignation’. Presumably Cicero is referring to a supposed long-suppressed anguish of a people powerless in the face of Antony’s coup d’état. The *populus Romanus* included all classes of citizens, with the lower classes numerically predominant. Cicero is being disingenuous in claiming that the citizens were all hostile to Antony. In fact, Caesar had been very popular with the people, and there was widespread remorse at his murder. This affection for Caesar was, at least for a good while, transferred to Antony, who claimed to be Caesar’s executor and natural successor.

pariat, parturit: these verbs literally refer to giving birth and being pregnant respectively; Cicero clearly has these literal meanings in mind, though he is also using them with the more general secondary meanings of ‘accomplish’ and ‘meditate’. After *iam diu* Latin uses the present tense (*parturit*) where English would use the continuous perfect. As for what it is that the Roman people (i.e. the senate) have been meditating, we must assume that Cicero means declaring Antony an outlaw, an essential step if the constitution were to be salvaged.

5 abhinc annos prope viginti: i.e. 63 BC, when Cicero as consul dealt with the conspiracy of Catilina.

hoc ipso in templo: this was the temple of Concord, at the western end of the Forum. It was regularly used by the senate as an alternative meeting place to the nearby *curia* (senate house). When Cicero composed this speech, he presumably assumed that he would be delivering it in this temple, in which the senate had recently been holding its meetings. In his fourth speech against Catilina, delivered in the temple of Concord, Cicero said these very words (*in Catilinam* IV.2.3).

6 quanto verius nunc negabo seni: in full this would be *quanto verius nunc negabo posse mortem immaturam esse seni*. *seni* is parallel to *consulari*; the argument is that, if death could not be too early for me when I had just been consul, now that I am twenty years older, it must be even more true.

6-7 mihi ... optanda mors est: lit. ‘death is to be wished for by me’: gerundive of obligation taking a dative of the agent.

7 perfuncto: dative agreeing with *mihi*; being a deponent verb, the participle is active in meaning.

7-8 rebus eis: ablative dependent on *perfuncto*; *rebus* carries two meanings here: the ‘things I received’ are the honours awarded to him, which would include the magistracies to which he was elected, culminating in the consulship; he was also given the title *pater patriae* by the senate for crushing the conspiracy of Catilina, and for his opposition to Antony he was awarded the title *princeps senatus* (‘leader of the senate’). The second meaning of *rebus* is ‘the things I achieved’, i.e. his suppression of the conspiracy and subsequent championing of the senate against those who would undermine it.

8 duo modo haec opto: i.e. *unum* and *alterum*.

9 liberum: i.e. free from the deprivations of Antony.

hoc: ablative of comparison after *maius*.

relinquam, eveniat (10): subjunctives expressing the two wishes.

10 ut ita ... ut: the first *ut* (‘that’) introduces the second wish, while the second balances *ita*: ‘in such a way ... as’.

11 quisque mereatur: '(as) each person may deserve'; the subjunctive is potential. Note the polyptoton of *cuique ... quisque*, making a neatly balanced pair of clauses to end the speech. Cicero's language is obscure here: does 'each person' include both Antony and his supporters, and the senatorial party? Or is he referring only to the latter? Does 'from the state' really mean 'from the senate', i.e. from the hoped-for active opposition of the senate towards Antony?

de re publica: 'from the state'.

Discussion

In this passage Cicero concludes his attack on Antony by, firstly, reminding the senate of his achievements over a long political career and, secondly, by stressing the threat to his own life that Antony poses (a threat that was soon to prove all too real). He hopes the senate will realise that, if his own life is threatened, then so too are the lives of all the rest of the conservative senators. His comments about his own mortality foreshadowed what would happen just a year later.

Questions

1. What can we learn from this passage about Cicero's earlier political achievements?
2. What are his main arguments?
3. How far do you think this passage makes an appropriate conclusion to the speech?

Livy, *The History of Rome* 2.10

Horatius Saves Rome.

Introduction

Titus Livius (59 BC - AD 17) was the greatest prose writer of the Augustan age. Born at Patavium in North Italy, he moved to Rome sometime around 30 BC, at about the time Octavian (later to become the first emperor, Augustus) was defeating Mark Antony and his lover, Cleopatra, and so becoming the sole possessor of political power. In Rome, Livy became a teacher of rhetoric and wrote several works on that and related topics, none of which have survived. Soon after 27 BC (the year Octavian officially became emperor with the name Augustus), Livy began his great work, *The History of Rome*, embracing the whole period from Rome's origins to his own time. Originally the work was comprised of 142 books, but only thirty-five have survived.

Book 1 covered the period of the kings: 753-509 BC. Book 2 deals with the period from 509 to 468 BC. The sources available to Livy for this early period were few: all official records had been destroyed in the sacking of Rome by the Gauls in 390 BC. He was left with the works of annalists, who simply recorded events year by year without analysis. It is impossible for us today to verify Livy's accounts of the events of this period, as he is our only surviving source.

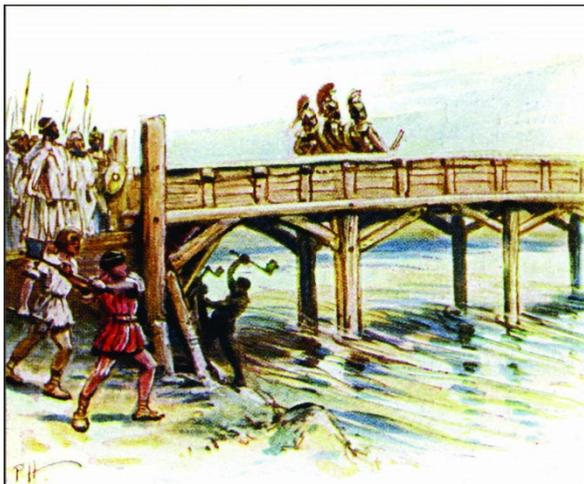


Figure 8 Horatius defends the Bridge

The passage in the prescription (2.10) recounts the exploit of Horatius single-handedly saving Rome from an Etruscan attack. This supposedly happened in 508 BC, the year after the establishment of the Roman Republic. For much of the preceding regal period, Rome had been ruled by a succession of Etruscan kings, the last of whom, Tarquin the Proud, had reigned with such ruthlessness that an uprising threw him and his retinue out. (The Etruscans inhabited the region to the North of Rome and the river Tiber.) The expelled Etruscans, desperate to win back control of Rome, persuaded another Etruscan king, Lars Porsena, to lead an attack upon the city. The Etruscans captured the Janiculum hill, overlooking the west bank of the Tiber. Their only

way across the river and into the city (which at that time lay entirely on the eastern side of the river) was by the Pons Sublicius, the only bridge, made of wooden piles supporting a wooden superstructure.

Commentary

1 iter: a path or route, and so 'access' or 'entry'.

dedit: the indicative is used instead of the pluperfect subjunctive (to match *fuisse*), because the addition of *paene* turns the apodosis (i.e. the main clause of the conditional sentence) into a factual statement, whereas the protasis (i.e. the if/unless part) remains a past unfulfilled condition.

Horatius Cocles: Publius Horatius Cocles was an aristocrat and nephew of one of the consuls. A junior officer, he was one of the few Roman soldiers who stood their ground after the

Etruscans routed the Roman army just to the west of the bridge. Most of the surviving Romans fled across the bridge into the city.

2 id munimentum: the object of *habuit*; 'this defence' is an alternative for *eum pro munimento*: 'him as a defence'.

fortuna: 'fortune', i.e. 'fate': the subject of *habuit*.

2-3 positus forte in statione pontis: lit. 'positioned by chance on guard of the bridge', and so 'happened to be on guard duty at the bridge'. It would have been essential to have the bridge guarded while the rest of the army was operating outside the bounds of the city.

3 captum ... Ianiculum: supply *esse*; this, together with *hostes decurrere* and *turbam relinquere*, make a triple indirect statement, introduced by *vidit*.

4-5 arma ordinesque relinquere: using a single verb with two different types of direct object is an example of zeugma (cf. 'he took his hat and his leave'). When soldiers fled terrified, they abandoned their spears and shields, because keeping them would slow them down.

6 deorum et hominum fidem testabatur: a difficult phrase to translate, as shown by the widely different versions in various editions. The deponent verb's basic meanings are (1) to bear witness to (something), and (2) to call upon (someone or something) to witness: two very different meanings. Added to this difficulty is the wide range of meanings of *fides*: trust, confidence, truth, honesty, faith, promise, etc. 'He called to witness their trust in gods and men' is as good a translation as any, taking *deorum* and *hominum* as objective rather than subjective genitives. There is a neat play on words with the verbs, with two beginning with the strong prefix *ob-* (*obsistens obtestansque*), and two being variations on *testor* (*obtestansque ... testabatur*); these three verbs neatly enclose the rest of the phrase; the overall effect is to stress the energy and urgency with which Horatius attempted to stop his fellow-soldiers from fleeing.

7 quacumque vi possint: 'and with whatever force they could', and so 'and with whatever violent means they could'.

7-8 se ... excepturum: supply *esse*; this is a second indirect statement, using a future active infinitive (future participle + *esse*) dependent on *praedixit*.

8 quantum: 'as much as', 'as far as'.

obsisti: *obsisto* is an intransitive verb (often taking a dative instead of a direct object); the passive infinitive, therefore, must be impersonal: 'it can be resisted', i.e. 'there can be resistance'.

9-10 inter conspecta ... terga: 'among the observed backs', i.e. 'among the clearly-visible backs'.

cedentium pugna: 'of those fleeing from the battle'.

ipso miraculo: causal ablative: 'by the very marvel'; *ipso* simply emphasises the marvel.

11 duos ... pudor tenuit: inverted word order, to place emphasis on *duos*.

genere factisque: ablatives of respect.

13 pugnae: partitive genitive.

eos ipsos: as with *ipso* above, the adjective has the effect of emphasising the fact that it was the same two men, the only ones assisting him, that he drove away; translate as 'even them'.

13-14 exigua parte pontis relicta: ablative absolute.

14-15 circumferens ... truces ... oculos: a strong image, lit. 'carrying his fierce eyes around', i.e. 'casting fierce glances around'.

15 provocare, increpare (16): historic infinitives, which can usually (as here) be translated 'began to...'. Note the chiasmus of *singulos provocare ... increpare omnes*.

16 cunctati ... sunt: the subject is the *proceres Etruscorum*.

16-17 commovit aciem: 'stirred the battle-line', and so 'stirred them to battle'.

17 clamore sublato: ablative absolute; *sublato* is the perfect passive participle of *tollo*.

undique in unum: a variation on *omnes in unum*, giving scope for the assonance of *un-*.

18 quae: connecting relative, referring to *tela*; translate as 'they'.

in obiecto cuncta scuto: lit. '(they) all ... on the held-out shield'. Note the enclosing word order, more common in poetry than prose: *cuncta* (the spears) are enclosed within *obiecto ... scuto*, reflecting the reality.

impetu: instrumental ablative: 'by means of an attack'. Note the word order, with *hostes* at the start and *virum* at the end, reflecting the direction of the attack.

19 cum ... erat: the indicative shows that this is the so-called 'inverse *cum*' construction, when the preceding main clause (usually in the imperfect tense) is considered less important than the following temporal clause. (An example in English might be 'It was raining when the child fell in the river'.)

simul ... simul: the anaphora emphasises how the two events happen simultaneously. While Horatius has been keeping the Etruscans at bay, his fellows have been doing as he ordered them, breaking apart the bridge.

20 clamor: supply *erat*.

Tiberine pater: in Graeco-Roman mythology, all rivers were inhabited and protected by a god.

21 haec arma ... accipias: jussive subjunctive, omitting *ut*, which would usually introduce an indirect command; translate as if a direct command.

propitio flumine: local ablative.

ita sic: take *ita* with *desiluit* and *sic* with *armatus* ('armed as he was').

22 multisque superincendentibus telis: ablative absolute.

Discussion

This was (and still is!) one of the most famous tales from Roman history (though the historicity of it cannot now be substantiated). All Roman children would have been taught the story, because it showed how the courage of one individual could save the country against seemingly impossible odds. Any young Roman male intending to join the army would be encouraged to be ready to follow Horatius' example. Livy's account focuses on the heroic elements of the story, treating the destruction of the bridge almost as incidental.

Questions

1. Why do you think Horatius became a hero-figure in later Roman times?
2. How effective is Livy's language in making this a dramatic episode?

Propertius, *Elegy* 4.6, 37-46, 53-60,

Divine Support for Augustus

Introduction

Sextus Propertius was born in about 50 BC and died in 16 BC or shortly after. A native of Umbria, he was educated in Rome, where he developed a love of poetry. He dedicated his first book of elegies to a woman he fell in love with, whom he named 'Cynthia'. His later books also bear testament to their, at times, tempestuous relationship. His final book, Book 4, followed the end of his love for Cynthia and was devoted to other themes. Like Virgil, Propertius earned the friendship and patronage of Maecenas, the wealthy friend of Augustus.

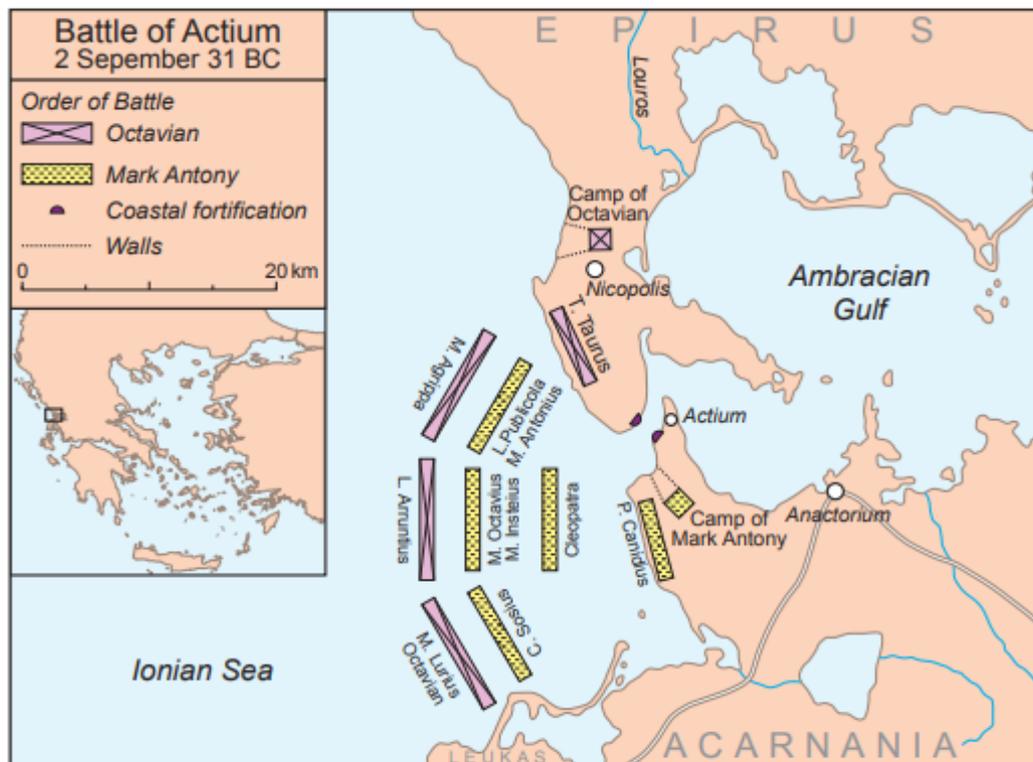


Figure 9 Map of the Site of Actium showing the forces of Octavian vs Mark Antony and Cleopatra

The central theme of *Elegy* 4.6 is the naval battle of Actium (2nd September, 31 BC), fought between the forces of Octavian (soon to become the first emperor, Augustus), and those of his political foe Mark Antony, aided by his ally and lover, Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt. The battle took place near Actium, on the western coast of Greece. Antony's fleet was defeated, but he and Cleopatra managed to escape to Egypt, where they were defeated again by Octavian's forces. With no hope of salvation left, both Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide, leaving the way clear for Octavian to assume absolute power over the Roman empire.

Commentary

1 mox ait: Propertius imagines the god Apollo flying to look down upon the scene of the battle and declaring his support for Octavian, whom he sees as the true champion of Rome against a largely foreign foe. **Longa ... ab Alba:** 'from Alba Longa'; according to the mythological tradition, Rome was founded by Romulus, who was a member of the ruling family of the city of

Alba Longa, which lay about twelve miles south east of Rome. According to the poet Virgil, Romulus could trace his ancestry back to Iulus, the son of Aeneas, and Iulus gave his name to the Julian *gens*, of which Julius Caesar was a member. Caesar had adopted Octavian some years previously, making him too a member of the Julian *gens*. Propertius (like Virgil) therefore claims that Octavian could trace his ancestry back to the kings of Alba Longa.

2 Auguste: by the time Propertius composed this elegy, Octavian had taken the name 'Augustus' and become established as emperor. **cognite:** vocative, agreeing with *servator* and *Auguste*; it is a perfect passive participle, meaning 'known'. **maior:** i.e. 'known to be greater'. The direct address to Octavian is imaginary, in that Octavian would not have heard or responded. **Hectoreis ... avis:** 'than your Trojan ancestors' (ablative of comparison); *Hectoreis* means literally 'of Hector', who was the Trojan prince and champion in the war against Greece; thus, his name stands for the whole country (an example of synecdoche, where a part of something stands for the whole). After their defeat and the destruction of their city, the surviving Trojans, led by Aeneas, sailed west to find a new home by the mouth of the river Tiber, downstream from the future Rome. Propertius, like Virgil, therefore considers all members of the Julian *gens* to be of Trojan ancestry.

3 mari: ablative, meaning 'at sea' or 'by sea'. **terra:** contrasted with *mari* but nominative; note the chiasmic word order of the first six words of the line: verb - sea - land - verb. **iam tua est:** probably Propertius means that Octavian was already in possession of Rome and Italy, as all the soldiers and senators who were still in the homeland were his supporters; a third of the senate had left Italy to join Antony in Greece. **tibi:** to be taken with both *militat* and *favet*. **arcus:** Apollo was the god of archery; Propertius imagines him firing off his arrows in support of Octavian.

4 hoc onus omne: 'all this burden', i.e. his quiver full of arrows. **ex umeris ... meis:** note the enclosing word order: the burden lies between his shoulders both verbally and actually.

5 metu: 'from fear' (ablative of separation). **te vindice freta:** 'relying on you as protector', and so 'relying on your protection'; *freta* takes an ablative.

6 imposuit prorae publica vota tuae: lit. 'has set public prayers on your prow', the idea being that Rome has fixed all her people's prayers for deliverance upon Octavian's ship. *prorae* (dative dependent on the compound verb) is another example of synecdoche, the prow standing for the whole ship. Note again the enclosing word order and the alliteration.

7-8 quam: connecting relative, referring to *patriam*; translate using a personal pronoun. **defendes ... vidit:** a mixed open condition, with the protasis (*nisi defendes*) referring to a potential future action, while the apodosis (the main clause) refers back to an event in early Roman history. **murorum Romulus augur:** an *augur* was from the earliest times a priest who supposedly foretold the future by observing and interpreting the flight of birds. When Romulus and his twin brother Remus set about building a new city (which would be Rome), in competition with each other, they each built foundations for the defensive city walls, Romulus on the Palatine Hill, Remus on the Aventine. To determine which one would win the contest, they chose augury, each brother counting the number of auspicious birds that they saw. Remus saw six, but Romulus saw twelve, and so Remus lost the contest; in a fit of pique, he derisively leapt over Romulus' foundations, only to be killed by his angry brother. Thus, the Palatine Hill became the focal point of the new city, with Romulus as its first king. **Palatinas aves:** i.e. the twelve birds that Romulus saw flying over the Palatine. **non bene:** 'not well', and so 'to no avail'. His argument is that it was a waste of time founding Rome if it can't be adequately defended now.

9 et: marks a change of subject. **nimum remis audent prope:** lit. 'they dare too near with their oars', and so 'they venture too close with their oars'; he is saying that Antony and his supporters have brought their ships too close to Italy, escalating the threat they pose.

9-10 The order for translation is: *(est) turpe Latinos fluctus pati regia vela te principe*. **turpe:** 'it is shameful', followed by an accusative and infinitive construction, imitating an indirect statement. **Latinos fluctus:** 'Latin waves', and so 'the seas around Latium'; since Rome was the capital of Latium. Latium was the principal region of Italy, and so stands for the whole of Italy. Antony's fleet was at Actium, which was almost the closest point of the western coast of Greece to the heel of Italy. **regia vela:** 'royal sails', either by synecdoche meaning 'royal ships', or suggesting that the sails of Cleopatra's ships bore royal insignia; Rome had a traditional fear of royalty, ever since the days of the Etruscan kings of Rome (cf. the Livy passage). **principe te:** ablative absolute: 'with you as leading citizen'; a *princeps* was a leading person, whether a royal prince or a political leader; when Augustus became emperor in 27 BC, he took the title *princeps*, which is translated as 'emperor'. At the battle of Actium, of course, he was not yet emperor, and so *princeps* here means 'leading citizen'.

11 tempus adest: i.e. the time for the battle to decide the future of Rome. **rates:** an example of metonymy, 'rafts' standing for 'ships'.

11-12 ego temporis auctor: lit. 'I, the author of the time', i.e. 'I, who am responsible for determining the time (of the battle)'. **Julia rostra:** 'the Julian prows', and so 'the Julian ships'; *rostra* are the 'beaks' or 'prows', making this another example of synecdoche. **laurigera ... manu:** lit. 'with (my) laurel-bearing hand'; Apollo was traditionally depicted in art wearing a laurel wreath, a symbol of victory throughout the ages (as god of music and archery, he was unbeatable in both disciplines). Here the symbolism has been transferred to his hand, which he will use to guide Octavian's fleet to victory. Note the enclosing word order: his laurel-wreathed hand wraps around the Julian ships.

13 dixerat: Latin poetry regularly marks the end of a speech with the pluperfect tense, which is often translated as 'he finished speaking'. **pharetrae pondus:** 'the weight of his quiver', i.e. the full complement of arrows in his quiver; note the alliteration. **consumit in arcus:** plural for singular; when *in* + accusative follows *consumo*, the verb means to 'bestow upon'. As frequently, when Roman poets describe battle scenes, they attribute the use of particular weapons to the god responsible; because Apollo was the god of archery, the poet imagines him loosing all the arrows that marked the start of the battle, when in reality, of course, it was the soldiers on the ships who fired. As the two fleets closed for battle, the archers were the first to use their weapons; as they drew closer, the ships came within javelin-range. Finally, the ships would try to ram each other with their reinforced prows, and then hand-to-hand fighting with swords would end the battle.

14 proxima ... hasta fuit: 'next was the spear'. **Caesaris hasta:** 'Caesar's spear': Octavian, because he had been adopted by Julius Caesar, regularly used the name 'Caesar', because a very high percentage of the soldiers in the Roman army had fought under Julius Caesar and remained loyal to the name. Just as Propertius imagined Apollo being singularly responsible for the arrows, so he now imagines Octavian to be responsible for the javelins.

15 vincit Roma: historic present, as also is *dat*; Propertius is not interested in the detail of the battle, being content with the barest summary. He is more interested in the broad sweep of history and the inevitable rise to supreme power of Octavian. **fide Phoebi:** lit. 'with the trust of Phoebus'; Apollo was regularly called Phoebus Apollo, because *phoebus* means 'bright' and Apollo was also the god of the Sun. The phrase *fide Phoebi* is ambiguous: either it means 'placing their trust in Apollo' or 'with Apollo keeping his word (to help Octavian)'; both meanings

have their supporters. **dat femina poenas:** the *femina* is Cleopatra, whom Propertius studiously avoids naming at any point in the poem, alluding to her dismissively as *femina*, *regina* or simply *illa*. Whether Propertius intended the alliteration and assonance of *Phoebi ... poenas* is debatable.

16 sceptrā ... fracta: 'broken sceptres' symbolise the end of a reign: Cleopatra would be dead within a few months. **per Ionias ... aquas:** the Ionian Sea separated the foot of Italy from Greece.

17 at pater ... Caesar: *at* introduces a change of subject. 'Father Caesar', i.e. 'Octavian's father, Julius Caesar', upon death and deification became, in the minds of poets and believers, a star; the particular heavenly body associated with him was actually a comet, which appeared shortly after his death. **Idalio ... ab astro:** 'from the Idalian star', i.e. 'from Mt. Ida's star'; Mt. Ida was a mountain close to Troy, from where Caesar's supposed ancestor, Aeneas, came.

18 sum deus: Caesar was deified after his death, setting a precedent for all subsequent emperors. **ista:** supply *victoria*. **fides:** here 'proof'. **nostrī sanguinis:** 'of our blood', and so 'of our shared blood'. The suggestion is that, by winning the battle, Octavian was as worthy of divinity as his adoptive father.

Discussion

This poem is from Propertius' last book of elegies, when he had turned away from the theme of love to explore other themes. He clearly wrote it sometime after Octavian became emperor, taking the name Augustus, in 27 BC. This central part of the poem from which this extract is taken, is devoted to the battle of Actium and imagines that the god Apollo is taking an active role in supporting the forces of Octavian. Propertius makes many references to the origins of both Rome and the Julian *gens*, building up to the glorious climax of contemporary Rome under Augustus.

Questions

1. What can we learn from this poem about the previous history of Rome and its leaders?
2. Do you think this poem goes too far in praising Octavian / Augustus?
3. How important is Propertius' use of enclosing word order? Explain the nature and significance of the examples in this extract.
4. What do you think Propertius' purpose was in writing this poem?



Figure 10 Roman Warships

Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 25 Sempronia A Badly Behaved Woman.

Introduction

C. Sallustius Crispus (Sallust) lived from 86 to 35 BC. Brought up in Central Italy, he soon moved to Rome, where, being of plebeian birth, he joined the popular party. After a successful if scandal-ridden political career, he retired and took up the writing of historical works, of which the two main ones are *The War against Jugurtha* and *The War against Catilina*.

He is generally considered a rather poor historian, because he was fond of sacrificing historical accuracy in order to make events and personalities more colourful and also to reflect his own biases. However, the *Bellum Catilinae* is very readable and interesting throughout. This work recounts the career of L. Sergius Catilina, a renegade aristocrat who, denied legitimate political power, resorted to violence, threatening to overthrow the state (63 BC). Fortunately for Rome, the consul Cicero withstood the threats and crushed the conspiracy (cf. the Cicero passage).

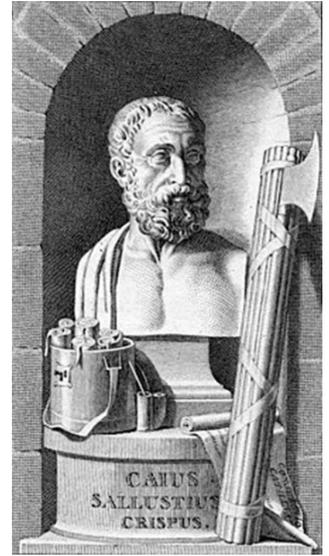


Figure 11 Suggested Portrait of Sallust.

Catilina of course did not act alone: there were many men of all classes and even some women, who, unable for whatever reason to lead successful lives within the constraints of the law, believed that Catilina offered them a path to power or riches. Among the women was Sempronia. Why Sallust singled her out for such a detailed biographical sketch is unclear; she is only mentioned once more in the book, and then only in passing. If his aim was to draw moral lessons from her character, he might well be called hypocritical, because his own adult life and career were notorious for their moral shortcomings.

Sempronia was from an ancient aristocratic family and married to Decimus Iunius Brutus (consul in 77 BC). She was probably the mother of another Decimus Brutus, who was one of the assassins of Julius Caesar.

Commentary

1 erat Sempronia: 'There (i.e. among the women conspirators) was Sempronia'.

multa ... facinora: unfortunately Sallust does not state what these crimes were, making it difficult to accept the statement at face value.

virilis audaciae: i.e. her crimes were committed with an audacity more befitting men than a woman. Sallust had what was slowly becoming an old-fashioned view of the role and status of women in society. The traditional, conservative view, which he shared, was that women should have no public presence, but remain restricted to looking after the home and family; for that they did not need much education or artistic accomplishments, and certainly they had no role in politics. Gradually, however, this attitude was becoming dated, so that women (at least, those at the upper end of the social scale) were beginning to enjoy more independence and control over their interests and activities. Inevitably the pioneers of this growing freedom were the targets of much criticism from men, especially those of high birth, who saw such women as a threat to traditional values.

2 genere, forma, viro, liberis: all ablatives of respect, listing the attributes that made Sempronia fortunate. **genere:** she is thought by some to have been the daughter of Gaius

Sempronius Gracchus, a populist politician who was murdered for his attempts to introduce much-needed social and economic reforms. However, her parentage cannot now be ascertained with any certainty. **viro**: her husband was Decimus Iunius Brutus, who had been consul and was currently out of Rome. **liberis**: the only child known about is Decimus Iunius Brutus Albinus, who served under and supported Julius Caesar, before joining the conspiracy to murder him.

3 litteris Graecis et Latinis docta: she was 'learned' or 'educated'. *litteris*: ablative of respect. It was unusual for a woman to be educated to such a high level, as girls were normally taught at home, concentrating on gaining the skills necessary for running a successful home and raising a family. We have the impression that many men of the time were uncomfortable in the presence of women of obvious high intelligence and learning.

psallere et saltare: historic infinitives, indicative of things she was accustomed to do (cf. *posse* below); music and dancing were more associated with slaves than women of noble birth; a modest ability, however, was not unacceptable.

4 elegantius quam necesse est probae: the implication is that, because of the elegance of her performances, Sempronia could not be considered *proba*.

multa alia: as with the previous *multa*, Sallust leaves it unsaid what these other accomplishments were. A phrase such as *inerant illi* needs to be supplied, lit. 'were in her', and so 'she possessed'.

5 instrumenta luxuriae: strong words; *luxuria* means 'extravagance' or 'extravagant living', implying an excess of everything, often coupled with wanton behaviour. For Roman men of traditional moral outlook, usually grounded in the philosophical principles of Stoicism, *luxuria* was a charge of degeneracy hurled at anyone who enjoyed a more extravagant lifestyle.

ei cariora semper omnia: supply *erant* (*erat* doubles for both halves of the sentence). **decus atque pudicitia**: two of the principal virtues expected of good women.

6 pecuniae an famae: supply *utrum* before *pecuniae*, introducing alternatives in an indirect question. *fama* has many meanings, but here 'reputation'.

parceret: 'she spared', and so 'she was sparing of', and then 'she cared less for'; *parco* takes a dative.

7 discerneres: 'you would determine', a potential subjunctive.

libido tam accensa: supply *erat*. *libido* is sexual desire.

7-8 saepius peteret viros quam peteretur: in the eyes of Sallust and other conservatives, it was never acceptable for a woman of good repute to go chasing after men.

ea saepe ... fidem prodiderat: 'she had often betrayed trust', and so 'she had often broken her word'. Again, Sallust levels this sweeping charge against her without backing it up with specific instances - unless he intends the two subsequent clauses to be the examples; however, the structure of the sentence precludes this, as the three clauses form a tricolon with asyndeton, indicating that the three are all parallel to each other.

creditum: lit. 'a loan', and so 'a debt'.

9 caedis conscia: *conscia* is literally 'having knowledge of', and so 'being an accomplice in', taking an objective genitive. Note the alliteration. Again, Sallust is not specific.

luxuria atque inopia: causal ablatives.

9-10 praeceps abierat: 'she had gone away headlong', and so 'she had strayed headlong from the right path (i.e. the path of virtue)'.

10 verum: adverbial: 'but nevertheless', introducing a contrasting statement.

haud absurdum: supply *erat*. The phrase means 'not unpraiseworthy', an example of litotes, in which a double negative makes a strong affirmative. This time he does give specific examples to support his general statement.

posse: treat as a historic infinitive, like *psallere* and *saltare* above.

11 sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci: the infinitive *uti* (taking the ablative, *sermone*) depends on *posse* (as does *movere*). The anaphoric tricolon of *vel ... vel ... vel* allows any combination of the three forms of speech. *procax* is opposite in meaning to *modestus*. The first two adjectives, linked by alliteration and assonance, are the ones associated with 'good' women, the third is associated with 'bad' women. Note the alliteration and assonance with the following *prorsus*.

12 inerat: supply *ei*; the verb is singular, despite having two subjects, because it is attracted into the number of the nearer subject. This final sentence is a sort of summing up of her character, the important point being that both *facetiae* and *lepos* can be interpreted as positive or negative attributes; in a man they would have been seen as positive, more likely negative in a woman.

Discussion

This chapter in Sallust's book has the appearance of a digression, being surrounded by the narrative account of the actions of Catilina and his male conspirators. Whether Sallust saw Sempronia as a model of depravity, and so ideally suited to being part of a conspiracy, or whether he was simply fascinated by her, *haud facile discerneres*. If Sallust were a paragon of virtue himself, we might more easily suppose that he found Sempronia to be everything a good wife should not be, presenting her as an example of increasing moral corruption in society.

Her accomplishments are listed in detail, whereas her vices, including criminality, are only alluded to. Perhaps this is simply because her positive attributes were apparent to all who knew her, whereas her underhand dealings would have been concealed, generating more speculation than definite knowledge.

Questions

1. What makes Sempronia such an interesting character?
2. How persuasive do you find Sallust's description of her?
3. What can we learn from this passage of traditional Roman male attitudes towards married women?
4. How does Sallust enliven his character portrait of Sempronia?

Tacitus, *Annals* 4.1 and 59

A Hero or a Villain?

Introduction

Publius Cornelius Tacitus was born in c. AD 55 and died probably around AD 117. He came from a good family, though their place of residence is unknown. He had a conventional upper-class career, working his way up the *cursus honorum* to the highest office of consul. In AD 78 he married the daughter of Cn. Julius Agricola (famous for his governorship of Britain).

After writing several minor works, he spent about five years composing his *Histories*, covering his own lifetime; unfortunately, only the first few books have survived. Then he embarked upon the *Annals*, covering the half century preceding the period covered by the *Histories*. Only two-thirds of these survive.

Although his works reveal a political bias against the imperial system (largely because he lived through the reign of the tyrannical emperor Domitian), he is nevertheless regarded as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the ancient historians. His style is noteworthy for its brevity, managing to express complex ideas in remarkably few words.



Figure 12 The Arrest of Sejanus

The prescribed passage focuses on Lucius Aelius Sejanus, who was Prefect of the Praetorian Guard under the emperor Tiberius. Having gained the emperor's trust, his influence grew until he became the most powerful and feared man in Rome, especially after Tiberius withdrew from public life to his villa on Capri. Such was his ambition that he started plotting to become the next emperor. Tiberius eventually became suspicious of his intentions and denounced him to the senate, who condemned him to death.

Commentary

1 originem, mores: both are the direct objects of *expediam*.

genitus: supply *est*; parts of the verb *esse* are regularly omitted by Tacitus, and their omission will not be commented on further.

Vulsiniis: local ablative; modern Bolsena, in Tuscany (ancient Etruria). The date of his birth is not known.

1-2 patre Romano: ablative of origin. His father was Roman, not Etruscan.

2 divi Augusti nepotem: Augustus was the first emperor, reigning from 27 BC to AD 14; after his death he was deified, like his adoptive father, Julius Caesar.

Augustus' grandson (**nepotem**) was Gaius Caesar: the son of Augustus' daughter, Julia and Marcus Agrippa. Gaius and his younger brother, Lucius, were adopted as sons and joint heirs by Augustus. Lucius died in Massilia (Marseilles) in AD 2 and Gaius died of illness in Lycia (Turkey) in AD 4. Sejanus seems to have accompanied Gaius to Armenia in 1 BC. Sejanus had a promising military career.

3 variis artibus: 'by a variety of skilful measures': ablative of instrument.

4 *obscurum adversum alios*: ‘inscrutable to others’, i.e. he did not reveal his thoughts and feelings to others. *adversum* here is a preposition, meaning ‘towards’.

***alios sibi uni*:** note the antithesis for maximum contrast.

4-5 *incautum intectumque*: ‘incautious and unguarded’. The two adjectives have similar meanings: *incautus* means not being careful about what one says; *intectus* means literally ‘uncovered’ and so ‘unprotected’ or ‘unguarded’ (this is the only instance in Latin literature of this secondary meaning). Note the chiasmic word order of *obscurum adversum alios / sibi uni incautum intectumque*, only slightly diminished by the fact that *adversum*, although it looks like an accusative adjective, is in fact here a preposition.

5-6 *non tam ... quam*: ‘not so much ... as’.

5 *sollertia*: ablative of instrument, qualifying *efficeret*. The word implies a calculating sort of cleverness rather than natural intelligence.

***isdem artibus*:** i.e. by the same shrewdness, when Tiberius eventually used clever arguments to persuade the senate of Sejanus’ treason.

6 *deorum ira*: ablative, parallel to *sollertia*. This is a surprising claim that the gods were angered by the moral turpitude of the emperors and so caused Tiberius to be snared by Sejanus. Tacitus frequently reports supernatural events, such as omens and portents, and appears to have believed in divine intervention in human affairs when there was due cause.

***in rem Romanam*:** ‘against the Roman state’; Tacitus uses *res Romana* as the imperial equivalent of the republican *res publica*.

6-7 *cuius pari exitio viguit ceciditque*: a difficult clause: lit. ‘with whose equal ruin he flourished and fell’, and so ‘of which (the state) his rise and fall caused equal ruin’. The meaning is that Sejanus was just as destructive of the state when his power was in its ascendancy as he was during (and possibly after) his downfall. *pari exitio* is ablative of attendant circumstances.

***laborum*:** objective genitive.

***animus audax*:** *animus* is opposed to *corpus*, indicating mental as opposed to physical characteristics. *audax* suggests a disregard for the law and the constitution.

***sui obtegens*:** ‘covering up of himself’, and so ‘secretive about himself’; *sui* is an objective genitive.

8 *in alios criminator*: ‘an accuser towards others’; *criminator* is a very rare word. *in alios* is an example of *variatio*, i.e. is parallel to *sui* but expressed differently; similarly *obtegens* and *criminator* provide a further example.

***iuxta adulatio et superbia*:** *iuxta* is here an adverb: ‘side by side’ or ‘together’ (in him). *adulatio* and *superbia* are apparently opposites, and Tacitus is fond of linking opposites in this way; what he means, though, is that Sejanus was fawning towards his superiors and arrogant towards his inferiors; thus the two qualities are two sides of the same coin. Here Tacitus changes the grammatical subject from Sejanus to two abstract qualities, the first of a string (*pudor, libido, largitio, luxus, industria, vigilantia*), all to be supplied with *erat ei* or *inerat ei*.

8 *palam*: contrasted with *intus* (9) below.

8-9 *compositus pudor*: *compositus* has several possible meanings, all of which could be appropriate here: ‘regular’, ‘appropriate’, ‘calm’, ‘contrived’. Because of the presence of *palam*, it

would be logical to dismiss the negative connotation of 'contrived', but any of the others would fit.

9 summa apiscendi libido: lit. 'a strong desire of acquiring the greatest things'. *libido* is a strong word, implying uncontrolled lust. *apiscendi* is objective genitive of the gerund; the basic verb is much rarer than its compound *adipiscor*. *summa* is the neuter plural object of *apiscendi*, meaning probably 'the highest position', i.e. 'supreme power', though Tacitus uses it rather vaguely.

9-10 eiusque causa modo largitio et luxus: 'and only for the sake of that (gaining supreme power) were there lavishness and extravagance', i.e. he was only generous towards others when being so might help his supreme ambition. Again, both *largitio* and *luxus* can carry both positive and negative connotations, but the presence of *modo* suggests that here Tacitus is using them positively, however with the underlying implication that his sole use of them for personal gain made them negative. Some editors take *modo* to mean 'now (and again)', i.e. 'occasionally', as opposed to *saepius*. Both interpretations make good sense.

10 saepius industria ac vigilantia: these were normally considered positive qualities, but Tacitus is quick to turn them negative with *noxiae*.

haud minus noxiae: 'no less harmful', feminine plural to agree with the two preceding nouns. They are no less harmful than the other qualities previously listed, because they are abused.

10-11 quotiens parando regno finguntur: Tacitus at his best! Each word carries implications. *quotiens* indicates repeated instances of this behaviour. *finguntur* indicates that the qualities were feigned, contrived, not genuine. *parando regno* (dative of the gerundive expressing the purpose of *finguntur*) implies the highest and, in the minds of many traditionalists, the worst ambition. *finguntur* is present, to make it apparently a general statement, applicable to any behaviour of this kind; but of course he intends the reader to see the damning phrase as summarising the character of Sejanus specifically. Using few words to make a powerful verbal attack at the end of a section is one of Tacitus' specialities; such phrases are often called 'epigrammatic', because of the similarity with the short pithy poems of Martial and other poets.

12 ac forte illis diebus: Tacitus has just described the departure from Rome of Tiberius, to begin his eleven-year self-imposed exile in Campania. The year is AD 26.

anceps periculum: 'a critical danger'.

12-13 oblatum est praebuitque: the two verbs have identical meanings, and so provide an example of *variatio*, as does the change of voice.

13 materiem: lit. 'opportunity' or 'occasion', and so 'reason'.

14 fideret: potential indirect question: 'he might trust' or 'he should trust'.

cui vocabulum Speluncae: 'the name of (lit. 'for') which (was) '(The House) of the Cave'; whether *Speluncae* is genitive because it was part of the name, or because it is a genitive of definition dependent on *vocabulum* is uncertain. The name Spelunca is the origin of the modern Spelunca, a town half-way between Rome and Naples. The area was noted for its caves.

14-15 mare Amunclanum inter: *inter* unusually follows its noun; the 'Amyclan Sea' is really no more than a long, shallow bay, more usually known as the *Sinus Amyclanus* (Bay of Amyclae). Amyclae was a town already long deserted in Tacitus' time, but it gave its name to the bay.

Fundanos montes: lit. 'the mountains of Fundi', but these are only hills. Fundi (modern Fondi) lies a little way inland from the villa, surrounded by an arc of hills.

nativo in specu: like all the caves in the area, it was natural. The cave was used to create a very unorthodox *triclinium* for the villa, which lay uphill from the cave.

eius os: we would expect a prepositional phrase: 'at the mouth of the cave', with the rock fall the subject, but Tacitus instead opts to surprise us (as he frequently does) by making the mouth of the cave the subject and the rock fall an ablative absolute.

16-17 metus in omnes et fuga: this time a verb such as *incidit* needs to be supplied for *metus* and *fuit* for *fuga*. Simpler would have been *omnes metuerunt et fugerunt*, but Tacitus is too fond of abstract nouns to be content with such.

17-18 genu utroque et manibus: ablatives of instrument: lit. 'suspended by each knee and his hands', and so 'supporting himself on both knees and hands'.

opposuit sese incidentibus: supply *saxis*; 'set himself against the falling (rocks)'. *sese* is an alternative to *se*.

19 habitu tali: local ablative: lit. 'in such an attitude', and so 'in such a position'.

subsidio: predicative dative, expressing the purpose of the soldiers' arrival.

19-20 maior ex eo: typical Tacitean brevity; in full this would be something like *Seianus ex eo discrimine maior factus est*. Sejanus became 'greater' in the sense of 'more influential', because he had apparently proved his loyalty to the emperor.

quamquam exitiosa suaderet: 'although he was urging deadly things', i.e. he repeatedly gave advice to the emperor which was designed to bring about his downfall — another example of Tacitean brevity. Tacitus regularly used *quamquam* with the subjunctive, whereas earlier writers preferred the indicative.

20 ut non sui anxius: 'as being not anxious for himself', i.e. 'he was not concerned for his own ambition'. *sui* is an objective genitive dependent on the verbal notion behind *anxius* (cf. *sui obtegens* above).

20-21 cum fide audiebatur: supply a Tiberio to complete the idea.

Discussion

This passage has two halves: the first gives a summary of Sejanus' character, though no specific evidence is provided in support of the claims Tacitus makes; the second half details one specific episode that appears to belie the negative portrait in the first half. The final sentence of the second half, rather epigrammatic in character, reminds us, however, that underlying Sejanus' apparently altruistic act was a driving ambition, momentarily set aside for long-term gain.

In both halves we see typical examples of Tacitus' style: omission of verbs, the use of *variatio*, his fondness for abstract nouns, especially as subjects, often epigrammatic brevity. These all make a clear contrast with the writings of Cicero and Livy.

Questions

1. What kind of man emerges from Tacitus' description of Sejanus in the first paragraph?
Answer in your own words.
2. How convincing is Tacitus' description of Sejanus?
3. How does Tacitus avoid undue repetition in this passage?
4. How dramatic is Tacitus' account of the rock fall?

Virgil, *Aeneid* 8 478-495

A King's Gruesome Behaviour

Introduction

Publius Vergilius Maro, or Virgil as he is now generally known, was born near Mantua in Cisalpine Gaul (now Northern Italy) on October 15th, 70 BC. Although he probably came from a poor background, he was provided with a full education, firstly in the North of Italy and then in Rome. There he befriended many leading figures, who later proved to be helpful to his chosen career as a poet and aided his prosperity.

His first significant poems were the pastoral *Eclogues*, followed by the *Georgics*, a set of didactic poems about farming techniques. He dedicated the work to Maecenas, who was a close friend of Octavian; as a result, he enjoyed Maecenas' patronage for the rest of his life.

Virgil devoted the rest of his life to composing the *Aeneid*. The emperor Augustus (as Octavian styled himself from 27 BC) certainly supported him in this project and possibly even commissioned the poem. When the *Aeneid* was more or less complete in 19 BC, Virgil died following a fever. He had intended to spend the next three years revising the work, and so, at his death, it was largely unrevised. Dissatisfied with its imperfections, he left instructions in his will for the manuscript of the *Aeneid* to be destroyed; Augustus, however, overrode the will.

Virgil devoted the first six books of the *Aeneid* to the destruction of Troy by the Greeks at the end of the Trojan War, and the escape from the burning city of Aeneas and his people. They voyaged westwards, in search of a site suitable for a new home. After several unsuccessful attempts to settle, they eventually reached the mouth of the river Tiber near the site of the future Rome.

The second half focuses on warfare, because the Trojans' request for permission to build a city was rejected by the local king, Latinus; this led to open and ever more bitter hostility, culminating in the death of Turnus, the Latins' principal ally and champion, at the hands of Aeneas.

In Book 8 Aeneas, in search of allies, sails to Pallanteum (a settlement on the Palatine Hill in what would later become Rome). There he is welcomed by the king, Evander, who promises help and also recommends that Aeneas visit the Etruscans, who live to the north of the river Tiber; They have recently driven out their despotic king, Mezentius, who has successfully sought refuge among the very people that have declared war on the Trojans.



Figure 13 The wounded Mezentius is protected by his son, Lausus

Commentary

The whole of this passage is spoken by king Evander, addressing Aeneas.

1-3 haud procul hinc: i.e. not far from Rome. **saxo ... vetusto:** local ablative. **urbis Agyllinae sedes:** 'the site of the city of Agylla'; the city was more commonly known as Caere, about ten miles north west of Rome. **Lydia ... gens:** 'the Lydian people'; this follows the tradition, widely held in the ancient world and now given some support by archaeology, that the Etruscans originally came from Lydia in Asia Minor. **bello:** ablative of respect. **iugis ... Etruscis:** local ablative; Etruria (modern Tuscany) is a hilly region.

4-5 hanc: supply *urbem*; it is the object of *tenuit*, with *florentem* in agreement and *rex Mezentius* as the subject. **deinde:** 'then', i.e. after the long period of flourishing. The rhythm of line 4 is highly spondaic, (i.e. with long syllables) emphasising how long the city flourished. **Mezentius:** king Mezentius was exiled by his own people because of his cruel tyranny; in Book 10 Mezentius fights fiercely against the Trojans but is killed by Aeneas. **superbo imperio, saevis armis:** both are instrumental ablatives, explaining how Mezentius was able to maintain his tyranny.

6-7 quid memorem: 'why should I relate' (deliberative subjunctive); the verb has two objects, *caedes* and *facta*, with anaphora of *quid* for extra emphasis; *quid memorem* is a rhetorical device: it suggests that there is no need to give details of Mezentius' crimes because they are well known; but then he goes on to provide those details. **effera:** note the enjambement of this strong word, giving it even greater emphasis.

7 di ... reservent: 'may the gods reserve (such wickedness)'. **capiti ipsius:** 'for his own head'. **generique:** lit. 'and for his son-in-law's (head)'; Virgil goes on to mention only a son, Lausus, rather than a son-in-law; possibly Virgil is using the word loosely. Evander's words are a formulaic plea to the gods to punish Mezentius and his son with cruelty equal to theirs.

8 quin etiam: 'yes indeed, he even ...'. **vivis:** supply *corporibus*. Note how *mortua* and its opposite, *vivis* sit at opposite ends of the line, emphasising both words.

9 manibusque manus: '(binding together) both hands to hands and ...'. Note the polysyndeton.

10-11 genus: accusative in loose apposition to the action. (Apposition is when two words or phrases are grammatically parallel, e.g. that dog, the brown one, ...) **fluentes:** supply *eos*. **longa ... morte:** 'in a long-drawn-out death' (ablative of manner). Note the chiasmus in line 11 of noun - adjective - adjective - noun.

12-13 infanda furem ... ipsumque: 'both the man himself, raging atrociously' (lit. 'unspeakable things'). Note the *f*-alliteration. Both lines are spondaic (i.e. with more long syllables than short), marking the long suffering of the people (also shown by *tandem*). Note also the polysyndeton. Note also the switch to historic present, to give dramatic impact.

14 ignem: 'fire' in the form of fire-brands. Note the chiasmus: verb - object - object - verb.

15 Rutulorum: this belongs with *agros*, not *caedem*.

16 confugere, defendier: historic infinitives; *defendier* is an archaic form of the passive infinitive. **armis:** 'by the weapons' (instrumental ablative). **Turni ... hospitis:** 'of his host, Turnus'; Turnus was the leader of the Rutuli, a tribe living close to the borders of Latium and allied to king Latinus; it was Turnus who took the lead in opposing the request for land of the Trojans, and he immediately established himself as their champion warrior, superior to all the Trojans except for Aeneas. It was because he gave refuge to Mezentius that the rest of the Etruscans were hostile to the Latins and Rutuli, and would be quick to accept an alliance with the Trojans under the leadership of Aeneas. Note the enclosing word order: *defendier* is surrounded by *Turni ... hospitis*: reflecting the reality of the protection given.

17 furiis ... iustis: 'in righteous fury' (ablative of manner).

18 praesenti Marte: probably ablative absolute: 'with present war', i.e. 'threatening immediate war'. **Marte:** war is personified as the god of war, as often in the *Aeneid*.

Discussion

This long digression is intended by Evander to convince Aeneas of the loyal alliance that he was sure the Etruscans would readily accept. His certainty is well-founded: the Etruscans prove to be staunch allies and capable fighters. As for Mezentius, in Book 10 he fights successfully against the Trojans until he comes face to face with Aeneas, who kills him, having already reluctantly disposed of Mezentius' son, Lausus, who would not back down from trying to defend his father.

Here Evander gives a detailed account, abundantly infused with stylistic devices, presenting Mezentius as a sadistic tyrant and cataloguing his crimes in gory detail. By characterising Mezentius in this way, Virgil is able to provide a convincing motive for the alliance between the Trojans and the Etruscans; it also makes his killing (in Book 10) more acceptable.

Questions

1. What makes this a vivid and entertaining piece of writing?
2. Do you think Virgil goes too far in describing Mezentius' crimes in such detail?
3. As a speech to convince Aeneas of the likelihood of an alliance with the Etruscans, how well constructed is it?

Virgil, *Aeneid* 11 648-658, 664-665, 676-689

The Volscian Warrior, Camilla

Introduction

After forging the alliances with Evander's Pallanteans and the Etruscans (as discussed above), Aeneas faced a series of increasingly bitter battles against the Latins, Rutuli and the other local tribes that were allied to them. During the course of these battles we see various prominent individuals on both sides meet their deaths, usually after winning a number of heroic one-to-one combats.

By the time Book 11 begins, both sides have lost a huge number of men, and a truce is agreed to enable the collection of bodies from the battlefield. A peace treaty is almost at the point of being agreed, when Turnus, angered by the sight of the Trojan army approaching king Latinus' city, renews the hostilities. To his aid comes Camilla, a young princess from the Volsci, an allied tribe; a seasoned warrior, she heads an army that she hopes will help Turnus to achieve a final victory.



Figure 14 Late medieval woodcut of Metabus and the infant Camilla fleeing the Volscians

This woodcut shows a dramatic event in Camilla's infancy, when she and her father, the arrogant king Metabus, had to flee his people, the Volscians. Metabus saved his daughter's life from their pursuers by tying her to a spear and casting it across a river. As he did this, he dedicated her to Diana, the goddess of hunting. After father and daughter escaped from the Volscians, they lived in the countryside and Camilla was brought up as a huntress.

Commentary

1-2 at: Virgil regularly uses this word to introduce a change of topic (cf. line 8). **exultat**

Amazon: 'the Amazon runs wild'; the verb is a historic present, like most of the narrative verbs in this passage; they may be translated by past tenses. Virgil calls Camilla an Amazon, as she fights like one; the Amazons were a mythical race of female warriors who fought fearlessly from horseback, mainly using bows and arrows; they despised men and did their best to avoid or, when necessary, kill them. Virgil defers her actual name, *Camilla*, till the end of the second line, turning it into a climax. **unum exserta latus:** lit. 'bared with respect to one side', and so 'with one side (i.e. breast) bared'; the construction is modelled on the Greek middle voice and is one of Virgil's favourites. Amazons supposedly cut off one breast so as not to hinder bowshots. Camilla merely bares her breast. **pugnae:** dative of purpose.

3-4 lenta ... hastilia: either 'tough' or 'flexible' javelins (the meaning of *lenta* is unclear).

spargens ... denset: lit. 'scattering (the javelins), she makes (them) thick', i.e. 'she hurls (them) thick and fast'; this is an example of hyperbole, as she cannot have been able to carry more than a few spears. **manu, dextra:** ablatives. Camilla's *aristeia* is introduced with the mention of three distinct weapons, indicating her versatility as a warrior. (The *aristeia* is modelled on those

of Homer's *Iliad*, where individual champions go on a successful killing spree, usually including at least one illustrious enemy among their victims. The deaths are usually described in gory detail. Virgil includes several such episodes in the second half of the *Aeneid*.)

5 aureus ... arcus: the bow is 'golden' either because it is gilded or because it is made of gold-coloured or gold-painted wood; the adjective should be taken with both *arcus* and *arma*. **sonat:** Virgil is fond of referring to the sound effects of weapons, whether javelins or arrows, as they fly through the air; the verb is singular despite having two subjects (*arcus* and *arma*). **arma:** plural to signify the arrows. **ex umero:** 'from her shoulder' because the bow-string was pulled back to her shoulder and the arrows sped forth from there. **Dianae:** Diana was the goddess of hunting, and so the bow was her natural weapon; by extension, all female archery could be said to be under her remit (cf. male archery and Apollo in the Propertius passage); Diana is also especially relevant here because Camilla had devoted her life to the worship and service of the goddess.

6-7 illa: i.e. Camilla. **in tergum:** 'backwards'. **pulsa recessit:** 'withdrew after being driven back'. **spicula ... fugientia:** 'fleeing arrows', i.e. 'arrows as she flees' (an example of hypallage). **converso ... arcu:** ablative absolute: 'with her bow turned back'. In Virgil's day, the cavalry of Parthia (close to the traditional home of the Amazons) were famous for shooting backwards from their horses.

8: lectae: Virgil is very fond of this word when describing people given a particular job to do.

8-9: Larina ... Tulla ... Tarpeia: supply *erant*; these names are all invented by Virgil, but they are names that readers would be expected to associate with well-known places or people of their own time. Note the polysyndeton.

10-11 Italides: a word coined by Virgil. **decus sibi:** 'as a guard of honour for herself'; *decus* is accusative in apposition to *quas*. **bonas ... ministras:** like *decus*, *ministras* is predicative and in apposition: 'and to be her good attendants'. **pacisque ... bellique:** unusual genitive usages, probably modelled on objective genitives; note the polysyndeton.

12-13 quem, quot: these rhetorical questions have the effect of emphasising the number of men that Camilla killed. **deicis:** note the enjambement. **aut:** Latin prefers to introduce a second question with *aut*, even when the sense requires that it is not an alternative to the first question. The use of the second person is an example of apostrophe, when a speaker or, as here, the poet himself, addresses someone or something not present, often to suggest admiration.

14-15 quot ... tot: 'as many (men fell) as (the javelins she threw)'. **emissa** 'after releasing them'. **cecidere:** an alternative form of *cecidierunt* often used in poetry.

15-16 Ornytus: not mentioned elsewhere in the *Aeneid*. **armis ignotis:** ablative of attendant circumstances: 'with unfamiliar arms' (because he was a hunter rather than a warrior). **et:** joins two strange features of the man: he is riding (*fertur*) with unfamiliar arms and on an lapygian horse. **equo ... lapyge:** lapygia was an alternative name for Apulia, modern Puglia, in the heel of Italy. The point here is that Ornytus stood out from the rest because he was clearly not a standard local warrior. Note the enclosing word order, with *venator* sandwiched between *equo* and *lapyge*.

17-18 cui: dative of the person interested, but translatable as if genitive: 'whose (shoulders)'. **iuvenco pugnatori:** '(stripped) from a fighting (i.e. wild) bullock' (dative of disadvantage); some editors take *pugnatori* with *cui*, lit. 'to him as a fighter', i.e. 'when he became a fighter'; the word order allows both interpretations. Note the enclosing word order of *pellis latos umeros erepta*: the stripped skin encloses the broad shoulders as in reality.

18-19 ingens oris hiatus et malae: ‘the huge gape of the mouth and jaws (of a wolf)’, i.e. ‘the huge gaping mouth and jaws’; he had made the wolf’s head into a helmet. **caput ... texere:** ‘covered his head’; *texere* = *texerunt*.

20 agrestis ... sparus: ‘a rustic hunting-spear’. **manus armat:** ‘arms his hands’.

20-21 vertitur: ‘he turns’ (in retreat). **toto vertice supra est:** ablative of measure of difference: lit. ‘is above by a whole head’, i.e. ‘he is a whole head taller than the rest’. His height and strange garb make him conspicuous.

22-23 hunc illa exceptum ... traicit: ‘this man she intercepts and transfixes’. **labor:** supply *erat*: ‘there was no toil’, and so ‘it was not difficult’. **agmine verso:** ablative absolute: ‘with the army (being) in retreat’. **super:** ‘(standing) over him’. **haec:** supply *verba*. **inimico pectore:** ablative of origin: ‘from her hostile heart’.

24 silvis: ‘in the woods’ (local ablative); note the emphasis on the word because of being placed first. **Tyrrhene:** Camilla assumes he is Etruscan, because he does not resemble a Trojan or Pallantean. **putasti** = *putavisti*: ‘did you think’.

25-26 The order is *dies advēnit qui redargueret vestra verba muliebribus armis. qui ... redargueret:* potential subjunctive: lit. ‘which might refute’, i.e. ‘to refute’. **vestra ... verba:** *vestra* refers to the boasts and taunts of the Etruscans generally. **muliebribus armis:** ‘by means of a woman’s arms’ (instrumental ablative).

26-27 nomen ... haud leve ... hoc: most editors take *nomen* to mean ‘glory’, i.e. the glory of having been killed by someone as famous as Camilla; an alternative interpretation is to take it literally: ‘this is no insignificant name you will report: that you fell to the weapon of Camilla’. **patrum manibus:** ‘to the shades of your forefathers’, in the Underworld. Note the climactic position of *Camillae*. **cecidisse:** supply *te* (indirect statement).

Discussion

This passage forms the first half of Camilla’s *aristeia*; she subsequently killed a number of other men before meeting her own death at the hands of cowardly Arruns, who himself was killed in revenge by the goddess Opis, an attendant of Diana.

Camilla is modelled on Penthesilea, the legendary queen of the Amazons, who in a lost part of the myth cycle joined the Trojan War towards its end. She fights every bit as well as most men and is only killed by a javelin thrown unseen from a distance (this was judged to be a cowardly act, as heroic combat required the two opponents to face each other before throwing). Virgil follows Homer closely in the way he handles the *aristeia*: each of her victims is named and given some description, so that her contribution to the battle and to her own renown is so much greater than it would have been had she merely killed unidentified non-entities. The individualised descriptions also have the effect of adding colour and drama to the narrative, preventing it from becoming a repetitive list. Camilla’s address to the dying Ornytus makes her more real to us: we get a glimpse into her character, making her something more than a simple killing machine.



Figure 15 Diana, goddess of hunting

Why Virgil chose to include this episode, in which he presents the *aristeia* and death of a female warrior (and one he has apparently invented for the purpose), is a matter for discussion. Perhaps he wanted to provide a Roman epic equivalent of the Greek Amazons, just as he wished to match the struggle between Achilles and Hector, for example, with the one between Aeneas and Turnus. It is also possible that he wanted another female character, to try to match the huge part played by females (both human and divine) in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Perhaps his idea was simply to create more variety: the *aristeia* and death of a woman might enliven a narrative largely devoted to the fighting and killing of men; it could also cause a contemporary reader to pause for thought, and appreciate that the sacrifices made in laying the foundations of Rome affected not just men, but their families and womenfolk too. Perhaps too, Virgil's intention was to shock: in his day the very idea of a female fighter would have been considered with horror by conservative males (cf. *Sempronia*). The name 'Camilla' would immediately remind a contemporary reader of Camillus, a semi-legendary statesman and general who saved Rome from being sacked by the Gauls in the fifth century BC.

Questions

1. What impression do you get of Camilla from this passage?
2. How does Virgil make this passage dramatic and exciting?