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Gerhard Binder's Commentary to the *Aeneid*[1]

Gerhard Binder writes that a century has passed already since the last comprehensive commentary to the *Aeneid* was published by T. Ladewig *et al.* (1912, repr. 1973), and observes that it is time to supplement it with new research results. It is impossible to grasp Binder's monumental commentary within the framework of a standard academic review. In my evaluation, I am going to discuss a number of problems selected from Binder's voluminous, exhaustive and erudite commentary, in which his Latin literary and linguistic expertise is the predominating feature. My perspective is not that of a Latinist and Vergilian scholar. I am essentially a classical archaeologist and a Classic Greek scholar. I would like to begin with an overview of Volumes 1–2, and next focus on some problems which certainly attracted my attention my attention in Volumes 1–3: 1. The Trojan Book (2) with references to the Odyssean Book (3), the Katabasis Book (6) and the Camilla Book (11) (the *Ilioupersis*, *Aethiopis*, the Greek cyclic epics); 2. Art description and classical archaeology; 3. The early history of Rome (Greek mythology, Etruscan history, Roman archaeology); 4. Augustus (the Late Republican and Augustus' contemporary history).

[1] Gerhard Binder, *P.Vergilus Maro. Ein Kommentar, Band 1. Einleitung, Zentrale Themen, Literatur, Indices*. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 104, pp. 1–430, ISBN 978-3-86821-784-1; *Band 2. Kommentar zu Aeneis 1-6*, BAC 105, pp. 1–648, ISBN 978-3-86821-785-8; *Band 3. Kommentar zu Aeneis 7-12*, BAC 106, pp. 1–682, 978-3-86821-786-5, WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2019.

Binder arranges his explanatory material in four categories: (A) language, style, metre; (B) proper names, and historical, mythological, and geographic material; (C) interpretation, specialist commentary; (D) bibliography. Reading the Latin *Aeneid* with Binder's commentary has been a true *gaudium de veritate* for me. He leads the reader wisely between the linguistic, stylistic, rhetorical and historical Scyllae and Charybdes. The reader can either read selected longer passages or entire books. He can also develop his knowledge of details: gods, heroes, character studies, places, religious rites, archaeology, alternative interpretation. Let me begin with an overview of the linguistic and philological chapters.

Volume 1. Introduction: Binder discusses Vergil's biography, which is either mostly legendary or shaped by later literary fiction (pp. 24ff.). He adduces a newly found papyrus from Herculaneum, which has shown us Vergil in the circle of Philodemus of Gadara. This papyrus adds an interesting new point to Suetonius-Donatus' Vergilian biographies (p. 25). Binder also discusses Vergil's intention to burn the *Aeneid*: "Sicherheit über Vergils mögliche Motive oder die ihm unterstellten Motive ist nicht zu gewinnen" (p. 40). W. Speyer's opinion deserves to be mentioned here:

Über die wahren Gründe, die dem Dichter zu diesem verzweifelten Entschluß bestimmten, sind nur Vermutungen möglich. Vielleicht war es sein überaus empfindliches künstlerisches Gewissen, das ihm die Vernichtung der Aeneis nahelegte (Speyer 1981: 93f.).

The reader will also find valuable information on the poet's life and the origins of the *Aeneis*, e.g. in Propertius' praise of the *Aeneid*: *cedite Grai: nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade* (p. 36). It has crossed my mind that Propertius' words could have sounded ambiguous, if not ironical in Augustan times. Binder also refers to Book 6, which is chronologically related to the death and funeral of Marcellus (summer 23 BC) (Binder 1995: 38). Next, the reader will find an interesting chapter on Vergil's public readings of the *Aeneid* and his *Bucolics* (cf. Binder 1995: 38f.), and Binder's discussion on chronological discrepancies in Vergil's Odyssean Book 3:

> Sie tun der Leistung decys Autors ebensowenig Abbruch wie dem ästhetischen Genuss des Lesers (1995: 43),

he observed with his usual common sense. Binder has also contributed to a long-standing discussion on an imaginary ideal edition of the *Aeneid*, citing Horsfall's words (2016): "a formally flawless, but pale, dull, sterile poem". I think that the compositional discrepancies and inconsistencies might have sometimes reflected Vergil's developing studies on Homer's *Odyssey*, Timaeus' western Greek history and Stesichorus' poem, which is no longer extant. L. Pearson's monograph on Timaeus has shown how little we know of that learned chronologist and historian of the Greek West. All in all, Binder's *Vollendet unvollendet* chapter is instructive both in the Vergilian and generally philological terms. Perhaps the *Kommentar* should have been adorned with a number of illuminated pages from the gorgeously illustrated *Codex Romanus* ("eindrucksvoll bebildert" (!), p. 48f.) and the *Vaticanus Latinus* ("hervorragende spätantike Illustrationen" ibid.), which make up a chapter in Late Antique art history (5/6 cent. AD). I also think that Vergil between two Muses with a scroll of the *Aeneid* in his hands from the mosaic of Sousse/Hadrumetum, the Bardo Museum, would also be worth reproducing (L. Foucher, *Inventoire*, 57, 1960, pl. XXV; Dunbabin, *MNRA* 131, pl. 130).

Binder frequently emphasises the influence of the Hellenistic epics on the *Aeneid*, e.g. in Dido's portrait, which was strongly influenced by the portrait of Medea pictured in Apollonius' *Argonautika* (p. 58). He also recalls a long-standing discussion on the *Aeneid*'s literary models. He points to an essential difference between the Homeric epics which originated from the oral poetry and the *Aeneid*, which was the work of a developed literary culture (p. 84). The reader will come across a synthetic and erudite chapter on the Hellenistic inspirations in the *Aeneid* (Apollonius' epics, and the Alexandrian poets of small forms) (pp. 87ff.). The panorama of Vergil's Hellenistic poetic inspirations envelops *aetiologies*, Apollonius's styled catalogue (*Aen*. 7), the Dido-Aeneas love story, and the bucolic, hymnic and elegiac components, as well as the Hellenistic styled *epyllia* set in the large-scale epos (Nisus and Euryalus in *Aen*. 9, Camilla in *Aen*. 11). In this part of the

Kommentar, the reader may also read an accomplished chapter on the Latin neoteric poets in the *Aeneid* context (pp. 93ff.). Binder observes that

> Vergil, dem man zu viel Homer-Nachahmung vorwarf, zeigt sich in der Aeneis nicht nur den poetischen Grundsätzen des Hellenismus verpflichtet; er hat vielmehr die genannten Neuerungen ausnahmslos aufgegriffen (p. 89).

On p. 96ff. Binder discusses different forms of narrative, e.g. the report, description, oration (p. 129f. based on R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik,* 1903/1915), image, and comparison. Next, he focuses on conventional language structures such as the introduction, formular language, epithets, ritual scenes (sacrifices, prayers), the *proemium*, invocations to the Muses, *aristeia*, catalogues, and typical scenes such as prophecies, oracles, and speeches (G. Highet, *The Speeches of Vergil's Aeneid*), and *omina* (p. 106f.). Binder holds that Vergil's diction only reflects "eine dichterische Sprache" and not real ritualistic incantations. Consequently it cannot be of any use in religious studies. He also discusses augural signs in an informative and interesting chapter supplied with a relevant catalogue (p. 107f.). In his analysis, he also considers dreams (his catalogue of dreams is on p. 105f.), oracles, and descriptions discussed in more detail, such as a coastal landscape, rocks, valleys, sea storms and calm sea seascapes, art works etc. Binder illustrates Vergil's art of comparison with the image of Pyrrhus during the night of the sack of Troy (*Aen*. 2, 469f.). Vergil compared him to a snake, its slough cast off, fresh and glistening, its three-forked tongue madly darting about. In this context, Binder recalls Fränkel's *Homerische Gleichnisse* (1921; cf. *Homer. German Scholarship in Translation* 1997, p. 103ff.) and enriches his text with a catalogue of comparisons from the *Aeneid* (p. 116f.). The gods and minor divinities are also specified and characterised (p. 145f.: the catalogue of the scenes with gods appended). Volume 1 comprises an interesting section on the *Penates* (p. 159f.), demons, personifications, Fortuna and *Manes* (p. 162f.).

In his chapter on Aeneas, Binder collects up alternative versions of the hero's biography. One of the narratives pictures Aeneas' alleged

withdrawal to Ida before the sack of Troy (according to Arctinos, 8th cent. BC?). In my opinion, the date is too early. The Greek vases testify that the *Ilioupersis* could not have been composed before 600–550 BC. According to Simias (c. 300 BC), Aeneas was Neoptolemos' captive, while Hellanikos held that Aeneas was pardoned by the Greeks (p. 180). Binder also adduces alternative, intriguing mythological material referring to Dido, attested in Iustinus' epitome of Pompeius Trogus, and in all likelihood older than Vergil's story (the Dido chapter, p. 184f.). According to Iustinus, Dido was involved in a conflict between three men: Pygmalion, Sychaeus and Hiarbas (Iust. 18, 4, 1–7), but he knew nothing of Aeneas' involvement. Binder argues that Vergil's Dido-Aeneas love story was modelled on Apollonius' *Argonautika* and successively blended with Iustinus' story of Dido's suicidal death after her rejection of Hiarbas. Binder's chapter on Dido (p. 184f.) is adorned with carefully selected, sparkling samples of Vergil's Latin. "Keine andere Gestalt der Aeneis erhält so zahlreiche Epitheta wie Dido" (p. 231). Binder's commentary on the literary portrait of Dido's sister Anna, inspired by Apollonius Rhodius' heroine Chalkiope, also deserves to be mentioned (p. 206f.).

Binder reviews key words and epithets in a separate chapter (p. 224f.). The Virgilian *furor* and *ira* are presented in the light of the Stoic ethics (Heinze 1915, Lyne 1990), or interpreted as Peripatetic and Epicurean ideas (Thornton 1976). The latter have been discussed with reference to Philodemus' *de ira*. Here, Binder draws on Rieks' book (1989): "Der einzige Begriff, den Vergil als Wertkriterium exakt im stoischen Sinn gebraucht, ist *insania*." Binder's *lexiculum* also has entries for *labor* (in particular *labor ingens*, p. 234f.), *laetus* and *mirari*, *nepotes* and *pater* (cf. *patres Albani* below), *pietas* (p. 249), *saevus*, *violentus* (p. 255f.), and *religio* (p. 260f.).

> *Pietas* kann – ähnlich wie *religio* – im Deutschen nicht durch eine einzige Übersetzung wiedergegeben werden (p. 249).

Polish interpreters face similar problems. Binder carefully analyses the etymology of *pietas* (*expiare, piaculum*) and contends that this idea originated in the sacred sphere (p. 251). "Pietas erhielt einen Kult wie

concordia, *fides*, *salus*," he observes and refers to the Pietas sanctuary on the Forum Holitorium. Binder knows how to relax and amuse his readers. Having discussed Servius' and Donatus' praise of Virgilian *pius Aeneas*, he quotes Lactantius' relevant opinion: *ob hoc unum pius vocatur, quod patrem dilexit!* (p. 289f.). J. Korpanty examined the Roman idea of *pietas* in his brilliant book *Rzeczpospolita potomków Romulusa*, one of the best Polish studies on Late Republican politics, oratory, literature and culture (cf. S. Stabryła 1987: 182f. on the related meanings of *pietas/officium/virtus/iustitia*). Binder's *religio* entry is supplemented with an invaluable catalogue of textual contexts, e.g. *religio* with reference to the Trojan horse, to the Palladium, the cypress wood in Ceres' sanctuary, to the Temple of Janus and the Capitoline Hill (p. 261f.).

In a separate, synthetic chapter Binder reviews different interpretative models of the *Aeneis* (p. 296f.). He begins with the allegorical interpretation (Servius, Macrobius, Cristoforo Landino). Next, he turns to symbolic meaning, drawing on Pöschl's book (1950) (p. 298f.). Binder's discussion of the biblical and patristic typology (G. von Rad) and the Homeric and Virgilian model (G. Knauer) constitutes a separate, impressive article in his *Kommentar* (p. 300f.). Knauer, who carefully studied all the parallels, demonstrated that the *Aeneis* was an inverted imitation of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Aeneas/Odysseus, the Trojan/Italian wars: p. 301). Knauer also held that the *Aeneis* was imbued with eschatological inspirations, which let Vergil "auch die mythische Vergangenheit als die Folge historischer Ereignisse aufzufassen, so, wie vergleichsweise das Alte Testament Vorläufer des Neuen Testaments ist" (*Pax Saturnia – Pax Augusta*; typological chains as Saturnus – Latinus – Hercules – Aeneas; the parade of heroes in *Aen*. 6 with Augustus: p. 301). Incidentally, I would like to cite one more of Binder's good-humoured quotations from the Old German classic. O. Seeck, the appreciated author of the *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, once labelled Vergil Homer's *römischer Affe* (p. 311). I also commend the chapter on *Historismus* (Historicism): "Die Aeneis im 19. Jahrhundert" (p. 310f.), and his discussion of Vergil in the Third Reich (p. 331f.) as well. Binder once compiled an inspiring paper on the "Augusteische Erneurung" in the German and Italian humanities of

the 1930s and 1940s (1993). Binder specialises in the subject of literary censorship in the totalitarian states. He represents a small but noble gallery of authors who have thoroughly analysed the cultural residue of the modern totalitarian systems (T. Schneider, P. Raulwing 2013, W. Speyer 1981, P. Kohl, C. Fawcett eds. 1995). As an Eastern European, I am putting particular emphasis on this point. The Polish and Eastern European humanities are still suffering from the post-totalitarian burden of censorship and ideologised arts, sciences and humanities. In this respect, Binder seems to breathe a refreshing air of intellectual inspiration.

Let me conclude my review of Vol. 1 with a relaxed and optimistic remark on the chapter on Language and Metre (p. 337f.). It is a pleasure for a Classics scholar to analyse Vergil's perfect Latin hexameters with their rich, rhythmical development, and with Binder as a guide.

Volume 2 (*Aeneis* 1–6). Binder's minute metrical analyses help the reader with the correct rhythmic pronunciation of different hexameters. Here are one or two examples to present Binder's art of commentary. In the passage on Juno and Aeolus (*Aen*. 1, 50–80) the bound winds are pictured in a spondaic verse (v. 53), and their anger is given through alliteration (v. 55). The poetic expression is additionally intensified by the Greek Homeric *mimesis* (Greek τε in *nimborumque* [...] *tempestatumque*, v. 80) and by the anaphoric verse (v. 78ff.) (p. 21f.). Binder's explication of the sea storm *mimesis* (*Aen*. 1, 102–123) constitutes an impressive short article on the Vergilian style: active predicates are employed for the raging winds, and passive predicates to show the sailors perishing in the waves (p. 28f.), while at the same time the cosmic hyperbole accentuates the terrifying and hopeless situation: *fluctus ad sidera*, *terram inter fluctus aperit* etc. In *Aen*. 1, 157f. the Trojan sailors arrive in a hospitable-looking bay on the African coast. The scene is adorned with a charming *ecphrasis* of a bucolic landscape modelled on Homer's Phorcys Cave. However, Vergil repainted the Odyssean *locus amoenus* with shady overtones cast by the imminent danger lurking behind the scene. In the Song of Iopas (*Aen*. 1, 740f.) Vergil was again drawing on Apollonius' *Argonautica,* and this time also on a selection of auto-thematic quotations from the *Georgics* and *Eclogue* 6 (The Song of Silenus), rather than on Homer's parallel songs of Phemius

and Demodocus. The Homeric *aoidoi* of the *Odyssey* sing of Troy and of Ares and Aphrodite's love, which became a standard in the Greek epic poetry, while Vergil styled his Iopas' song on the Alexandrine and Lucretian patterns (the map of celestial constellations: p. 90f.).

Reading the well-known passages from the Dido Book (4) is always a philological adventure. It is worth doing once again with Binder's erudite linguistic and mythological commentary (p. 281f.), e.g. on Dido's growing love for Aeneas (*Aen*. 4, 1f.), changing into an uncontrolled passion (*Aen*. 4, 78f.), on Dido's beauty and the Apollinic handsome Aeneas during their hunting expedition (*Aen*. 4, 129f.), and certainly on the reticent and masterly impressive love scene (*Aen*. 4, 160f.). The comparison of Aeneas with an Alpine oak in the strong wind (*Aen*. 4, 437f.: p. 346f.) has been replenished with interesting references to similar comparisons in Apollonius' *Argonautika* (the Jason-Medea love story), the *Iliad* and the *Georgics*. The chapter ends with a fine reflection on the nature of Aeneas and Dido's relationship:

> Die *Aeneis* ist anders als die homerischen Epen ein subtil komponiertes, ja konstruiertes Buchgedicht […] Es ist nicht auszuschliessen, dass Vergil eine Festlegung auf Dido oder Aeneas vermieden hat und dem Leser […] Gedankenfreiheit zubilligt (p. 348).

Dido's hallucinations and ominous visions (*Aen*. 4, 450f.) have been inspired respectively by Ennius' and Lucretius' patterns (p. 349f.). Binder pointed to a cascade of fatal omens predicting Dido's imminent death: "Die Nachfolgende Prodigienhäufung ist in der *Aeneis* einmalig" (p. 350). Binder draws the reader's attention to Vergil's metaphors inspired by Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Euripides' *Bacchae* (Pentheus' madness), aptly quoting Mackail: "This passage is remarkable as the only direct allusion in the *Aeneid* to stage representations" (Pacuvius' *Pentheus* also mentioned: p. 352).

In Binder's impressive and erudite article the reader will also discover references to Pentheus from the *Casa dei Vetti* and to Ovid's *Letter of Dido*. In the wide range of resources employed for his commentary, Binder occasionally recalls Latin funerary inscriptions, as is the case e.g. in Dido's suicide scene (*Aen*. 4, 642f.). The words of the

dying Dido might actually have been modelled on a Latin epitaph in stone: *vixi, et quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi* (v. 653: p. 377: cf. Palinurus' words, *Aen*. 6, 362, styled on a standard funeral inscription incised on a sailor's cenotaph: *nunc me fluctus habet*, Vol. 2, p. 543). Next Binder writes about the mutually antithetical drifts in Dido's emotions, and makes an explicit reference to Austin (1955): "Aeneas is her last thought, 'death' her last word" (p. 377). Dido's death is compared to the fall of a great city, Carthage or Tyre (Servius: *non minorem luctum fuisse ex unius morte quam si tota urbs* [...] *ruisset*), which is essentially Homeric (Hector's death compared with the fall of Troy), Binder aptly observes. *Nox erat*… (*Aen*. 4, 522f.), these memorable words open one of the most charming bucolic passages: the whole of Nature gradually lulled by the approaching night. Binder remarks that Vergil styled his impressive *ecphrasis* on Apollonius' night description.

In his chapter on the catalogue of ill-fated loves (*Aen*. 6, 440f.), styled on the similar Odyssean catalogue of heroes and heroines, Binder examines Vergil's exchange of the Odyssean Ajax, a hero from the Greek tragedy, with Dido, the founder of a state like Aeneas. Like Ajax Dido has been modelled on a figure from the Greek tragedy (p. 560). Binder's grammatical, phraseological and philosophical commentary on Anchises' story of purification and reincarnation of souls (*Aen*. 724f.), has a special value as a guidebook, because the reader is facing a challenging philosophical and visionary text, coined in hexameters and installed within the framework of the heroic epics. The passage looks strikingly Lucretian and Platonic. Binder argues that the Stoic idea of the soul of the world is central for a correct understanding of this minor philosophical treaty. Binder explains Anchises' description of human passions and emotions, and the human souls' millennial purification in the Underworld in the Platonic terms (*Phaedo*: cf. Stabryła 1987: 179f.). This chapter is one of the finest articles in the commentary (p. 606f.).

Now I would like to discuss Vergil's **Trojan Book (2)** (Vol. 2, p. 96f.). I think the Trojan Book may be the most interesting of all the 12 Books of the *Aeneid* for the Greek scholar interested in the reconstruction of the Greek epic cycle. The Vergilian Book 2 is certainly not like an Italian or African adaptation of parallel Homeric epic patterns

in other books. It tells the story of the sack of Troy in Asia Minor. The Greek literary tradition has left us only with Proclus' short summary and Apollodorus' encyclopaedic entry on this subject. In his captivating chapter on Aeneas' escape from Troy to Hesperia as related before Vergil (Vol. 1, p. 52f.), Binder emphasises its early origins. He points to the *Aphrodite Hymn* and the *Iliad* as the earliest source (cf. Vol. 2, p. 177f. on Aeneas, Anchises, Creusa and Ascanius). Unfortunately, Stesichorus and Hellanikos are merely names for us (cf. Stabryła 1987 171f. on Aeneas' landing in Italian Siris in Stesichorus' poem, an alternative destination to Latium). However, with the images on Greek vases (Binder's "aus Griechenland stammende Darstellungen, besonders Vasenbilder", cf. his bibliography in Vol. 2, p. 182f.) we are on firmer ground (cf. K. Schefold's brilliant paper on the Archaic epics and Greek vases – Schefold 1991). Aeneas' escape with his father and son actually appears very early on in the Greek arts and letters. We know Greek vases picturing Aeneas carrying Anchises, accompanied by Aphrodite (Attic BF, 510–500 BC, Woodford 37). Aeneas carrying Anchises, with his wife and child at his side were painted on a vase from Tarquinia (!) (BF 520–10 BC, Woodford 109; the same scene in BF, the Leagros Group, Munich, c. 520–500 BC, Woodford 110). The observer believes he can hear Vergil's *dextrae se parvum Iulus/implicuit* […] *pone subit coniunx* (*Aen*. 2, 722f.). Does this not point to a cyclic narrative adapted by the Latin epics? (cf. Vol. 2, p. 181 on the Homeric-styled Latin verse: *comitique onerique*; numerous Greek accusatives and genitives *passim*, conspicuous in Vergil's Greek imitation).

A Hellenist analysis of the **"Vergilian *Ilioupersis*"** brings more new intriguing questions. Now let us address some of them. *Est in conspectu Tenedos* (*Aen*. 2, 21). In fact, even if you try as hard as you can, all you see is the top of Tenedos from Hissarlik, and there is still a long distance from Hissarlik to the cliffs below the Achilles tumulus, from whence the visitor can admire the island's breath-taking panorama. And now the monster snakes *a Tenedo incumbunt pelago* (*Aen*. 2, 203f.: Binder's captivating chapter on Laocoön and the marine dragons, Vol. 2, p. 120f.). How, if they could not be seen from Troy, however big the span of Troy you can imagine (E. Zangger 2017)? The Trojans could not see them either, "breasting the sea" on the beach of

Tenedos. However, the Vergilian heroes did see them (*horresco referens*) and hear them (*fit sonitus spumante salo*). I wonder whether Vergil's description perhaps resulted from his misunderstanding of the original? I do not think that he was inspired by Demodocus' song of the Wooden Horse (*Od*. 8, 492f.) as argued by Binder, but rather by the *Ilioupersis* cyclic poem. Thymoetes, Capys, Laocoön, and Sinon are not in the Odyssean version.

Manibus tendit divellere nodos (*Aen*. 2, 220 *et alii*). That is how Vergil describes Laocoön struggling with the marine snakes (Vol. 2, p. 120f.). Wasn't Vergil directly inspired by the Laocoön group (the Vatican Laocoön)? Binder aptly analyses the acoustic effects and imitation of the winding movement in Vergil's description of slithering and hissing snakes (ibid. *lautmalerisch*, assonant, hyperbaton, alliteration). A fine linguistic and rhetorical exposition. "Die Darstellung wirkt wie eine Bildbeschreibung" (Vol. 2, p. 121f.), which certainly reminds him of the Vatican Laocoön group "die Vergil gekannt haben könnte". In this way Binder makes a contribution to the debate on the date of the Laocoön group, a Late Hellenistic art work, in general dated to c. 50–25 BC (G. Bröker, Athanadoros, Vollkommer, *Künstlerlexikon*).

Vergil's Cassandra is represented with tied hands, while Corebus is fighting to liberate her from Achaean hands. However, the Greek vases show us a different picture: Ajax drags Cassandra away from the statue of Athena, where she sought sanctuary. Her naked image is suggestive of rape (e.g. the *Ilioupersis* hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, c. 490 BC; cf. the Altamura Painter, c. 465 BC, Woodford 102; Casa di Menandro, Pompeii). In the Aeneid we do not have the sacrifice of Polyxena butchered by the Achaeans at Achilles' tumulus, either. In this context, Binder adduces Hector's ominous words to his wife, and adds some grim passages drawn from Euripides' *Trojan Women*. Vergil is reticent. Andromache does not tell Aeneas of the death of Polyxena until they are in Butrotum (*Aen*. 3, 294f.; Vol. 2, p. 228f.), but her words about Polyxena *hostilem ad tumulum* [...] *iussa mori* sound strikingly euphemistic if confronted with the Greek imagery, which, I believe, must have reflected some hexameters from the *Ilioupersis*. Polyxena killed by Neoptolemos' sword at the tomb of his father painted on the amphora c. 570 BC (BF, the Tyrrhenian Group, Woodford 105), and

especially the Polyxena sarcophagus in the Museum of Çanakkale represent a clear instance of a radical and rare violation of the principle of *decorum* in the Greek art. Vergil probably wanted to avoid showing brutality, which was symptomatic for the Late Archaic Greek cyclic epics. The *Ilioupersis* must have contained some of the most brutal descriptions in the Greek epic tradition, as probably matched only by the *Thebais*. The horrific story of the small child Astyanax being executed by Neoptolemos makes up another grim narrative component of the same kind in the *Ilioupersis*. There are two traditions of the boy's death: according to one, Astyanax was hurled down from the walls of Troy ("Die Griechen stürzten Astyanax nach Troias Zerstörung von der Mauer", Vol. 2, p. 152). According to an alternative version, he was battered to death against Priam, who was also killed (the Persephone Painter, BM, c. 550 BC; the Altamura Painter, c. 465 BC; the Kleophrades Painter's hydria, c. 490 BC). The latter is one of the most impressive testimonies which document the inspiration of the *Ilioupersis* in the Greek fine arts. The Astyanax-Priam-Neoptolemos episode certainly originated from the cyclic poem, which can be dated to c. 600 BC on the evidence of the Greek vases. Astyanax is recalled by Aeneas later during his travels (*Aen*. 2, 457, Vol. 2, p. 151f.): Andromache *avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat*. These words sound not only euphemistic, but also intriguing. In fact, Vergil describes the death of Polites killed before his father Priam (Pyrrhus, Priam, Polites, *Aen*. 2, 526f., Vol. 2, p. 160f.). However, Polites was a warrior, and he died in armour like a warrior. He was not a child. I wonder whether it was not the *Aeneid*'s surrogate death for Astyanax, who is almost absent from the Vergilian *Ilioupersis*? Why was Vergil so reticent about the killing of Astyanax? Was it not a delicate issue in Rome c. 20 BC, when Marcellus died? And even more so somewhat later after the death of Augustus' grandsons Lucius and Caius? Neoptolemos kills Priam: *implicuit comam laeva, dextraque coruscum / extulit* (*Aen*. 2, 552f.). Vergil's words mirror the scene depicted by the Kleophrades Painter. Let us read the poet's reflection on Priam, who was killed by Neoptolemos: *tot quondam populis terrisque superbum / regnatorem Asiae* (*Aen*. 2, 556). If a Roman reader referred them to Mark Antony – and why should he not have? – then the death of Astyanax might have alluded to Augustus.

Very risky. "Antyllus, Caesarion and also probably both of Antony and Cleopatra's sons were executed on Octavian's order" (Piotrowicz, *Dzieje*, p. 510). Alexander Helios (born 40 BC) was "present in the triumphant procession of Octavian. Further life uncertain" (W. Ameling, 1 *NP*). Ptolemy Caesar (born 47 BC) attempted to flee to India. He was caught and killed (id. 12 *NP*). Then there was Ptolemy Philadelphos (born 36 BC): after 30 BC "the sources make no more mention of him" (id. 12 *NP*). Those cold-blood child murders must have resounded ominously to many of Augustus' contemporaries. And perhaps to Octavian himself after the subsequent deaths of his two beloved grandsons.

It cannot be incidental that some of Vergil's hexameters from the scene of Priam in armour (*Aen*. 2, 506f., B. 2, p. 157f.) give an exact description of a number of details pictured in the sack of Troy by the Kleophrades Painter: *ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterrima laurus incumbens arae* […] *hic Hecuba et natae* [...] *altaria circum* [...] *amplexae simulacra sedebant* (v. 513f.). The *Ilioupersis* cyclic epos also seems to resound in the Katabasis Book (6), when Aeneas meets Deiphobus (*Aen*. 6, 494f., Vol. 2, p. 569). "Deiphobus ist noch grässlicher zugerichtet als der von Achill […] gemordete Hector". Binder's words are illustrative of essential differences between "Homeric cruelty" and the air of shocking atrocity symptomatic of the cyclic epics.

I also commend Binder's chapter on Vergil's Penthesilea/Harpalyke-Camilla, *venatrix et bellatrix* (*Aen*. 7, 803f., Vol. 3, p. 108f.): "eine faszinierende Mischung aus Nymphe, Zauberfee, harter Amazone und unnahbarer Prinzessin" (Vol. 1, p. 204; Vol. 3, p. 109). Camilla's fine portrait pictured by Binder reflects the original Vergilian characteristic of the heroine certainly inspired by the cyclic Penthesilea, but not imitated in the *Aeneid* (cf. a Late Roman mosaic newly discovered in Urfa with beautiful Amazons on horseback. They look charming and young, as if directly inspired by Camilla and her female entourage in the *Aeneid*, M. Önal, *Mozaikleri*). Binder gives a similar account of the difference between Homer's portrait of Achilles and Priam in their Iliadic secret meeting on the one hand and Vergil's confrontation of Priam with Neoptolemos on the other hand. However, it was the *Iliad* and the *Aethiopis* with Penthesilea and Memnon, and not the *Ilioupersis*, which was one of the most popular epic poems in Late Archaic and Early

Classical Greece. The impact of the *Aethiopis* on the *Aeneid* does not emerge as clearly as that of the *Ilioupersis*.

At the conclusion of this section of my review, I would like to cite two important statements from the *Kommentar*. Laocoön is pointing to the Wooden Horse and saiyng: *sic notus Ulixes? Aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi* (*Aen*. 2, 44f.). "Unwissend spricht er die Wahrheit an – dramatische Ironie" (Vol. 2, p. 103). Old Priam is facing Pyrrhus, the young and ruthless killer:

> Die beiden Schmähreden, die schwächliche Lanzenwurf des Priamus und die „Opferung" des Königs kündigen zugleich das Ende des homerischen Heroentums an.

In his commentary to *Aen*. 2, 554 (*haec finis Priami fatorum*), Binder correctly labels the scene as "der Höhepunkt und Abschluss der *Iliupersis*" (Vol. 2, p. 162).

Ecphrasis is one of the traditional components of the Graeco-Roman *ars poetica* and *rhetorica*. Vergil's Shield of Aeneas (*Aen*. 8, 626f., Vol. 3, p. 192f.) makes up a model poetic *ecphrasis* of artwork and craftsmanship, a Latin rival to Homer's Shield of Achilles (cf G. Downey, Ecphrasis, *RACh* 4; Hesiod's Shield of Heracles, J.L. Myers 1941). However, Vergil's shield is very different from Homer's, because it is adorned with historical events and persons (*pugnata in ordine bella*), an idea unknown to the Homeric and cyclic epics. Binder aptly remarks that the history of Rome represented on the shield is devoid of any reasonable proportions in Vergil's description: 22 verses for the Kings, 19 for the Republic and 58(!) for Augustus (Vol. 3, p. 193). I would like to point to some minor archaeological details in the Vergilian *ecphrasis*: *Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo*, on Romulus' apparently new thatched (!) royal dwelling on the Capitoline Hill (see Vol. 3, p. 197, on v. 654: "zur Zeit des Manlius restauriert (!)", "frisch (gedeckt)": see below). The reader should not forget that Vulcan cast the shield in bronze and gold (!); the Celtic warriors *colla auro innectuntur* (*Aen*. 8, 660), which is correct even if ordinary soldiers actually wore bronze torques. Vergil's description of Brennus' warriors ascending the Capitoline Hill is gorgeous! Porsenna's image was also wrought by Vulcan

(Vol. 3, p. 195) (see below). Binder gives an informative commentary to elucidate the fine, short *ecphrasis* of Turnus' shield (*Aen*. 7, 789f.: Vol. 3, p. 107). Turnus' shield pictured Io, Argus and Inachus (see also Io's *ecphrasis* cast in Europa's *calathos*, by the Alexandrian (!) poet Moschus). The choice of the subject was not incidental. The imagery of Io was well represented in the Roman painting galleries (Plin. *HN* 35, 132, by Nicias of Athens; Polański 2002, p.70f., 80f.), and consequently popular in the late Republican and Julio-Claudian period in Rome and Italy, a phenomenon well attested by numerous Pompeian and Roman frescos, as for example in the Casa di Livia (!), and in the Pompeian painting as well: Io as Isis (!) in the Temple of Isis, and Io with Argus in the Macellum.

In the temple of Juno in Carthage Aeneas *animum pictura pascit inani*. These words open a fine description of a cycle of paintings, the true *tabulae Iliacae*, which showed Rhesus' horses and Diomedes, the escape of Troilus, the suppliant Trojan women, the dragging of Hector, the meeting of Priam and Achilles, and black Memnon (*niger Memnon*). In the same book Vergil reminded his readers of the old Temple of Janus in Rome (*Aen*. 1, 291f., cf. Vol. 2, p. 40f., where the reader will also find an interesting chapter on Jupiter's prophecy about the future Roman *imperium sine fine*). Vergil's reader will once again have the opportunity to visit the same temple with Latinus in Laurentum (in fact in the City of Rome) in the Latium Book (*Aen*. 7, 601f.), and once again when Juno opens the gates of war (Vol. 3, p. 75f.). The gates of war looked "grim with iron and close fitting bars" (trans. H. Rushton Fairclough *LCL*) (*Aen*.1: *dirae ferro et compagibus artis claudentur Belli portae*; *Aen*. 7: *centum aerei claudunt uectes aeternaque ferri robora*). In *Aen*. 7 the visitor to the ancient City of Rome on a guided tour with Latinus and Binder is also expected to take a snapshot of the horrific idol of Janus Geminus: *nec custos absistit limine Ianus* (cf. "In der Mitte des merkwürdigen Bauwerks stand, unter freiem Himmel, der Gott, mit seinen zwei Gesichtern durch die beiden Tore hinausschauend", Neumeister 2010, p. 66). I am sure that Vergil's *Furor impius* sitting in the temple with his hands tied was not just a poetic metaphor. Vergil must have referred to a personified Furor, probably a painted image (*Aen*. 1: *Furor impius intus/ saeua sedens super arma et centum*

uinctus aënis/ post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento). Binder focuses on Vergil's *furor impius* in his chapter on the *Aeneid*'s vocabulary for the key ideas and related adjectives, in the context of Augustus' mission of peace after the prolonged period of the civil wars (Vol. 1, p. 224, cf. Glei 1991). Pliny the Elder described Apelles' painting which showed *Belli imaginem restrictis a terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante* (Plin. *HN* 35, 93: with his hands bound behind his back, and Alexander riding in triumph in a chariot, trans. K. Jex-Blake), which Augustus put on display in his Forum (!). We know what the Temple of Janus Geminus looked like from the coins of Nero (Neumeister, p. 66 f., Plate 16). The temple's location in Rome has not been identified ("in oder unmittelbar vor der Einmündung des Argiletum ins Forum, ad infimum Argiletum", Neumeister 2010, p. 66).

Binder gives a short and precise article listing a number of *ecphraseis* of artworks in the Graeco-Roman literatures (Vol. 2, p. 61f.), e.g. Vergil's chalices (*Aen*. 3, 35f.) apparently inspired by Theocritus' wooden chalice (*Id*. 1), and other analogous artefacts like Catullus' carpet in the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, Athena's gift for Jason in Apollonius' *Argonautika* etc. In the Katabasis Book (6), Aeneas admires the gilded gates (*auro*) of the Temple of Apollo in Cumae (*Aen*. 6, 143f., Vol. 2, p. 492f.). Binder recalls the Trojan war paintings in Carthage viewed by Aeneas on his way to Italy. The painted images in Carthage correspond well with the narrative. Binder asks what reason can be adduced for the Minos-Pasiphae-Daedalus-Icarus story in a temple in Cumae, where Aeneas paid a short visit? Pöschl believed that the stories of Daedalus and Aeneas were essentially similar (?) (Vol. 2, p. 495). "Solche zwischen Pasiphae und Dido weniger überzeugend", Binder aptly remarks. The story simply does not fit in with the narrative. Speaking in literary terms, they do not conform to one another. However, the Pasiphae-Daedalus story is a perfect reflection of the Late Republican and Julio-Claudian artistic culture, with its predilection for the imagery of the Trojan war, the Odyssey, Hercules, and Daedalus/Pasiphae/Theseus/Ariadne myth. Vergil's *ecphrasis* sounds as if cited from Pliny the Elder's art history, a compilation from the Hellenistic art books: *elata mari Gnosia tellus* (cf. the Odyssean landscapes in the Vatican), *crudelis amor tauri* (C. dei Vetti), *caeca regens filo vestigia*

(Theseus Liberator? Pompeii; Villa Imperiale; C. di Gavius Rufus; the Basilica, Herculaneum). Vergil ends his Cumean *ecphrasis* with a fine anecdote, which looks as if quoted from Duris of Samos' lives of the famous artists: *bis conatus erat* (sc. Daedalus) *casus* (sc. Icari) *effingere in auro, bis patriae cecidere manus*, and eventually left the panels unfinished (cf. a mythological landscape painting picturing the fall of Icarus in C. di Sacerdote Amando, Pompeii).

Now for a juxtaposition of the *Aeneid* and **early Roman history** with archaeological findings and Etruscan history. A traveller who has admired the panorama of the City of Rome from the top of the Toscolano in Frascati, crowned with still visible traces of an Etruscan castle, and has also visited the archaeological museums of Florence, Bologna, the Museo Etrusco in the Vatican, Villa Giulia, and Tarquinii with their abundance of impressive fresco paintings, and seen the Etruscan bronzes of supreme quality, Greek vases, fine terracotta figures – always looks for a trace of "Roman archaeology," but always in vain. He wonders how he might have harmonised Livy's *Archaeology* of Rome (Book 1) and Vergil's image of the early Roman history with the archaeological evidence. In fact, the final blow to the traditional early history of Rome had already been given by E. Gjerstad in his epoch-making Roman excavations in the 1950s. In c. 800–575 BC the future Rome (the Palatine and the Quirinal) was inhabited by poor shepherd communities who dwelled in modest cottages made of branches (see an impressive reconstruction of them, Euander's Pallanteum in the 7th cent. BC, in Heurgon 1973: il. 12). Before the coming of the Etruscans, c. 700 BC, they had been moulding vessels without the use of a potter's wheel. Jan Gancarski, a prominent Polish archaeologist, used to say that the earth does not lie, if we are able to read its testimony properly. Gjerstad dated the foundation of Rome to c. 575, when the future Forum Romanum was changed into a market (earlier it was an *Urnenfeld*). The work was accomplished by the Etruscans, who were already living in their towns built of stone, while their Italian neighbours, except for the Greeks, dwelled in poor villages. At that time, the Etruscans controlled the Valley of the Tiber, the west coast and Campania. This situation lasted until the fatal battle of Kyme (474 BC) and their ensuing loss of Campania (c. 445 BC). Earlier, there had been no room for any independent

Roman or Latin statehood. In fact, Rome was a vassal tribal organisation (probably a component of the Latin Federation of Aricia) and was ruled by Etruscan kings from Vulci, Veii, Tarquinii, Clusium, who have gradually been emerging from the epigraphic and archaeological sources: Mezentius of Caere (c. 650 BC ?), Coelius and Aulus Vibenna, Mastarna of Vulci (the Tomba François c. 330 BC), Porsenna of Clusium (cf. Vol. 3, p. 195, on the Shield of Aeneas; Porsina *CIL* VI 32919), Tarquin or the Tarquini. "Although Tarquinius Priscus is an essentially historical figure, dates, numbers and the particular character of the Tarquins are later additions" (J. Fündling, 14 *NP*). Did Tarquin the Proud die in 495 BC in Tusculum, that is on the outskirts of Rome, after he had been removed from power in 509 BC, or rather c. 475/450 BC? *La grande Roma dei Tarquinii* was created by the Annalists and modern historiography (Alföldi 1965). As regards Tullus Hostilius, there are "no arguments for his historicity" (F. Graf, 6 *NP*) etc. In his great book *Rome: The Centre of Power. Roman Art to AD 200*, R. Bianchi-Bandinelli claims that Rome developed from a market located at the ford on the future Forum Boarium and only later spread eastward (cf. Heurgon 1973: 37f.). Bianchi-Bandinelli put it bluntly: we are not on firm ground with the history of Rome until c. 300 BC (H. Bengston shared the same view). If linguists eventually find a key to Etruscan grammar, we will learn more and more about the true history of Italy c. 700–300 BC. The aristocracy of the new world power in the 2nd/1st cent. BC desperately wanted a mythology and a sufficiently long and glorious history. How could they feel inferior to Carthage (founded in 814 BC) or Athens and its democratic revolution in 510 BC, with their poor historical shepherd village? The history of Rome was almost unknown to the founders of the great Empire, and even if they knew something about it, their knowledge was strikingly poor, unimpressive and entirely dominated by Greeks, Etruscans, and Kelts. Shepherd villages have no history. It was unthinkable that Carthage could have enjoyed a longer history than their Rome. But in fact it did. "Rom hat die Aeneas-Sage sehr wahrscheinlich durch Vermittlung der Etrusker erhalten" (Vol. 1, p. 78) (cf. Timaeus "in dem vermutlich die Aeneas-Sage ihre vorläufig gültige Ausformung erhielt" Vol. 1, p. 160; cf. an erudite chapter on the legend of Aeneas before Vergil in Stabryła

1987: 171f.). Even the very name Rome was Etruscan. The powerful republican senators and generals were unable to accept the facts. The history of Rome had to be created and in fact it was, by patriotic Latin historians and complaisant Greek intellectuals. They invented and adjusted it to Greek history. To fill up a tremendous gap of c. 500 years between the fall of Troy (1186 BC) and a calculated, fake date for the foundation of Rome by Romulus (c. 750 BC), they invented the Alban kings (Vergil's *Albani patres et alta moenia Romae*, *Aen*. 1, 7, Vol. 1, p. 12f.; *Aen*. 6, 756f., Vol. 2, p. 611f.; cf. Vol. 1, 245f.), and in this way managed to meet the chronological cultural standards demanded by their more civilised neighbours (cf. Vol. 2, p. 614. Binder quoted Livy's list of Alban kings). The oldest artefacts from the settlements in Latium, including Alba Longa, come from the same period as the materials from the Forum Romanum and the Palatine (Heurgon 1973: 34). Consequently, "you cannot imagine Rome as a colony of Alba Longa" (Heurgon 1973: 43). The invented Alban kings and the first kings of Rome were actually compatible with the Land of Souls in the Book of Katabasis (6). They still appear to us as spirits devoid of any tangible shape. Whatever really happened to Brutus, Lucretia and Tarquin, the Roman intellectuals contrived a story to coincide with the overthrow of the Pisistratids and Cleisthenes' subsequent revolution − events the history of Athens was proud of. Their efforts to patch together a Roman history out of dispersed, imaginary and hardly fitted components still look suspicious and artificial. However, Vergil succeeded in composing a great epic out of all that fiction, and his poem immediately achieved the status of the Roman foundation myth. The chaotic conglomerate of the early Roman history sounds clear and impressive only thanks to Vergil's poetic genius. Otherwise it would never have worked. Binder does not pay much attention to archaeological and historical problems, which is understandable in a philological commentary. He focuses predominantly on the linguistic and literary matters. However, he is well aware of the historical controversies. "Ein „historisches" Bild des zweiten Königs (sc. of Numa), wenn es ihn überhaupt gab, ist nicht zu ermitteln" (*Aen*. 6, 808f., Vol. 2, p. 622). He writes of Silvius as a "Begründer der (fiktiven) Königsreihe von Alba Longa" (Vol. 2, p. 612). In his commentary on Jupiter's prediction of Aeneas' historical destiny,

Binder remarks that Romulus, who originally appeared as Aeneas' son, was later replaced by Silvius (3rd/2nd cent. BC), the founder of the Alban dynasty (Vol. 2,p. 44; *Aen* 1, 254f., p. 40f.).

Now let me go on a guided tour of the most ancient Roman antiquities with Vergil and Binder, and begin with Latinus' palace in Laurentum (*Aen*. 7, 170f., Vol. 3, p. 30f.). "Ein imposantes Bild von der Herrschaftsstätte des Latiums, in der augenscheinlichen Absicht der Idealisierung." The virtual visitor is facing a kind of "open-air museum" which looks as if it were constructed according to the principles of experimental archaeology. Conington labelled it a gallery of anachronistic artefacts: *fasces, rostra, lituus, trabea*, and *veterum effigies ex ordine avorum antiqua e cedro*, a row of cedar images of the royal ancestors. Vergil's description referred in all likelihood to the ancestral gallery of sculpted images located in front of the Temple of Mars on the Forum Augusti (under construction in Vergil's time). The Forum was finely described by Ovid (*Fasti* 5, 563f.). Binder's paper is captivating. He has managed to show Vergil's science of historical fiction in the making. Euander is guiding Aeneas around the archaeology of the most ancient City of Rome (*Aen*. 8, 337f., Vol. 3, p. 156f.), pointing to the Porta Carmentalis (so far not identified on the archaeological map of Rome), the Lupercal grotto (mentioned by Augustus in *RG* 19) (not yet identified), to the Capitoline Hill *silvestribus horridum dumis* (in fact not inhabited until the 6th cent. BC, Heurgon 1973: 42), the Pallanteum with its *lucus ingens*, and the *nemus Argileti*, with *armenta Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis*. As if confronting Euander, Binder aptly remarks: "Die Besichtigung der Stätten ist stark anachronistisch: viele Orte und Namen stammen aus späterer Zeit" (Vol. 3, p. 157). In the Book of Katabasis (6) we also read of Aeneas' visit to *Euboicis Cumarum oris* (*Aen*. 6, 1f., Vol. 2, p. 489f.). Vergil's presentation is certainly anachronistic. Cumae was founded in the 8th cent. BC, and the Temple of Apollo in the 5th cent. BC.

The new lords of the Mediterranean had no history in provoking contrast to their subjects: Greeks, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Hebrews and Etruscans. They trampled down and successively managed to destroy the Etruscan and Phoenician history, but were eventually unable to do the same with the Greek, Egyptian and Hebrew histories. The

powerful Roman clans modelled their past on and interwove it into the Greek mythology and history. They had gradually managed to suppress the Etruscan historical tradition. If Etruscan were not a forgotten language, we could have reconstructed the real Italian history, c. 700–300 BC, from Etruscan written sources, which would probably have changed the oldest Roman respectable tradition into a mere fake. However, there were some intellectuals who knew the alternative authentic history. We can still identify some traces of their historical expertise. Pliny the Elder (*HN* 34, 139) and Tacitus (*Hist*. 3, 72) asserted that Porsenna's rule over Rome was genuine. Justin's story of Queen Dido based on the authority of Pompeius Trogus can also be added to the list. Emperor Claudius joined their learned society. He studied Etruscan and could read it, as we learn from his *Tabula Lugdunensis* (*CIL* XIII, 1668). We have learnt from him that Servius Tullus was a later name of Mastarna; Tarquin came to Rome from Etruria, while Caelius Vibenna conquered Rome. I am sure Claudius did not share the Roman senators' inferiority complex. He was too powerful to be ashamed of something like a paltry historical tradition. If Emperor Claudius drew on independent Etruscan sources, one or two Roman historians in Augustan time must have also been endowed with the same expertise. There are some traces of cultural dissent from the senatorial mythomania among the young Latin poets. Propertius referred to the Palatine where once *Euandri procubuere boves* (Prop. 4,1; Vol. 3, p. 208). Tibullus ridiculed the Rome of the venerable ancestors, where *pascebant herbosa Palatia vaccas* and *stabant humiles casae* (Tib. 2, 5) (one of those cottages were carefully restored by the archaeologists and called the House of Romulus with the true Italian feeling for irony, see above). Propertius was convinced that his Roman ancestors used to sail in boats across the Velabrum, which is practically across from what was later the Forum Romanum (Prop. 4, 9): *nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas*. The young poets must have known some well-informed individuals who shared with them their unpopular scholarship. The question is if Vergil was aware of this. I think he was too intelligent, and acquainted with too many erudite men of letters not to be aware of the historical truth.

Now I would like to discuss some archaeological and historical aspects of Vergil's great catalogues inspired by the Homeric catalogue of

ships in the *Iliad*, Book 2 (Vol. 1, p. 97). There are two of these: the great catalogue of the Italian tribes and their leaders, allies of Turnus (*Aen*. 7, 647f., Vol. 3, p. 82f.) (about 160 lines), and the lesser catalogue of the Etruscan ships allied with Aeneas (*Aen*. 10. 160f.) (about 50 lines) (Vol. 3, p. 342f.). The Etruscan chieftain Mezentius and his son Lausus open the great catalogue of the Latin warriors. Their fight and death make up the terrifying and memorable cadence of Book 10. Mezentius takes over the command from Turnus, fights fiercely, is wounded, survives thanks to his son's assistance, laments desperately over the body of Lausus, and subsequently dies fighting. Who was Mezentius, one of the bravest heroes of the *Aeneid*? Vergil's Mezentius came from Agylla, which was Etruscan Caere, one of those Etruscan settlements which still shows the Etruscans as brave seafarers, their world as opened up to the sea, as perhaps only Tarquinii. He was a political migrant, say a Renaissance – style *condottiere*, a mediaeval *Raubritter*. Vergil apparently modelled Mezentius, a *contemptor divum*, on Ajax son of Oileus, and as "besonders grausam" (Vol. 3, p. 84; Vol. 1, p. 202), on Homer's Cretan heroes Idomeneus and Meriones who were conspicuous for their cruelty on the battlefield. Mezentius is gradually emerging as a historical figure from Etruscan inscriptions and the Roman historiography (Livy and Cato the Elder). There was a Mezentius who was king of Caere c. 650 BC, a member of a royal aristocratic family prominent in the 5th–4th centuries BC, a family or local dynasty which challenged the Romans and lost their kingdom (L. Aigner-Foresti, 8 *NP*). Although he is still an evanescent figure, Vergil's Mezentius mirrors a historical reality. How did he stray into the horrific battlefields which concluded the flourishing age of the Late Bronze Period in the Mediterranean c. 1200 BC? I would like to ask Vergil. I emphasise this point, because "Anders als im Italerkatalog sind die Namen der Etruskerführer fast alle von Vergil erfunden" (Vol. 3, p. 344; Massicus, Abas, Aulestes, Lignus *et alii*). Aventinus son of Hercules, who commanded a Latin unit, was clad in a *leontis*, a lion skin. "Der gleichnamige Hügel Roms hat seinen Namen […] in Vergils Version […] oder umgekehrt dieser nach jenem," Binder remarks (Vol. 3, p. 85).

> Nur bei ihm ist Aventinus ein Sohn des Hercules […] Vergils Aventinus ist ebenso erfunden, wie ein anderer, der […] in der fiktiven albanischen Königsreihe steht.

Another Aventinus was a king of the *Aborigines* ("Servius zu unserer Stelle"). Binder has successfully disclosed Vergil's manipulations with the historical and mythological material, blended with sheer fiction. Aventinus' case resembles that of Palinurus. They show Vergil's mistakes in the composition of the poem: two different Palinuri and two different Aventini. "Eine Lösung wurde nicht gefunden" (Vol. 3, p. 86). Binder's chapter on Aventinus is one of his most interesting and captivating analyses. The leaders of the Tiburtini, Tiburtus, Catilus and Coras (*Aen*. 7, 670f., Vol. 3, p. 87f.) appear as Amphiaraus' sons, which is a risky mythological transplantation. Amphiaraus, a hero from the Theban cycle with his influential oracular sanctuary Amphiareion over Oropos in Attica, with his wife Erifyle and her proverbial fatal necklace, his son Alkmeon, one of the Epigones, and Amphilochus' oracle in Mallos, one of the most famous sanctuaries in the Graeco-Roman world, could never, and did not work in the non-heroic pastoral Italian mythology. However, Vergil's comparison of Tiburtus and his brothers to the Centaurs running down the slopes of the Thessalian mountains is truly magnificent (*Aen*. 7, 674f.). This is Vergil, the great Latin poet. Binder is cautious writing about Tiburtus and his brothers "mit denen er Tibur gegründet haben soll" (Vol. 3, p. 87). Incidentally, the Hernici of Caeculus (*Aen*. 7, 678f., Vol. 3, p. 88f.) are pictured as what the Latins probably looked like in the 8th–5th cent. BC: *lupi de pelle galeros tegmen habent capiti*, with their left foot bare. Caeculus, *Volcano genitus*, was found and rescued by shepherds (the ancestor of the *gens Caecilia*), "weist Parallelen zum römischen Stadtgründungmythos auf" (Vol. 3, p. 89; see Stabryła 1987: 175 on M. Terrentius Varro's *de familiis Troianis*). An adulatory motif and a mythological fake. Messapus, yet another Etruscan commander, *Neptunia proles*, also seems to appear as "eine von Vergil erfundene Sagenfigur" (Vol. 3, p. 90). Vergil's comparison of the Latin warriors with swans in the Kaystros Delta reminds Binder of the Iliad's catalogue of ships, and of the swans in Apollonius' *Argonautika* (Vol. 3, p. 92). The Kaystros Delta has preserved its wild

and nostalgic beauty. Clausus was invented for the founder's role of the *gens Claudia*. "Starkes Hyperbaton betont die Bedeutung der Claudier" (Vol. 3, p. 92). Binder is certainly right. Rhetoric is crucial for the success of propaganda. Attius Clausus, a Republican politician, appears in Livy's narrative in 504 BC. Clausus' passage "ist geprägt von mehreren Anachronismen" (Vol. 3, p. 94). However, it has been embellished with a great marine panorama of the stormy sea (*multi Libyco volvuntur marmore fluctus saevus ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis*, *Aen*. 7, 718f.), and two impressive landscapes from Asia Minor: the cultivated fields in the Valley of the Xanthus in Lycia and along the River Hermos (*densae aristae aut Hermi campo aut Lyciae flaventibus arvis*). The real places look exactly like their literary counterparts in the *Aeneid* – I have seen them.

All those members of the Augustan clans, greedy nouveaux-riches, cynical politicians, aristocrats of low or suspicious origin, should have filled up Vergil's purse with gold for the *Aeneid*. They did not deserve such ingenious poetry. The Campanian soldiers under the command of Oebalus ("eigentlich ein König von Sparta" (?), Vol. 3, p. 97) were equipped with *cateiae* (*Wurfkeulen*), which is anachronistic: "Sie könnten den Römern aus den Kämpfen gegen die Teutones aus Ende des 2. Jh. bekannt gewesen sein" (Vol. 3, p. 98). The *Marsi* were named after Marsyas, in "eine gelehrte, aber unhaltbare Etymologie des Namens" (Vol. 3, p. 100). A metamorphosis of Theseus' son Hippolytus, a popular hero from the Greek mythology, drama and art into the Italian Virbius, who lived incognito in Italy miraculously saved by Asclepius, sounds naïve and artificial. "Vergils Geschichte gilt als älteste Quelle" (Vol. 3, p. 104). I think that the old Latin centre of religious worship for Egeria, a local female deity, did not necessarily need Hippolytus.

Vergil's catalogue of Turnus' Latin coalition makes up a bizarre conglomerate of historically contradicting elements: Mezentius and his Etruscan warriors (c. 500 BC) are fighting arm in arm with Agamemnon's warrior Halezus (c. 1200 BC), the founder of the *gens Claudia*. Probably only the shepherds from the Apennines led by Caeculus are generally speaking authentic, with their wolf furs (cf. the primitive life of the Italian Equi mountaineers, may also mirror the living conditions

in the Italian interior in the neighbourhood of the Greek and Etruscan Italy, *Aen*. 7, 749f., Vol. 3, p. 99).

Binder argues that Vergil did not model his catalogues on their Iliadic counterparts, but rather on Apollonius Rhodius' epics (Vol. 3, p. 83).

> Er vermeidet (sc. Vergil) die […] monotone Aufzählung der Danaerführer des homerischen Schiffskataloges (*Ilias* 2, 494-760), indem er die Aufzählung auf 14 Bündnispartner verkürzt, diesen aber individuellere Züge verleiht (Vol. 3, p. 83).

Binder takes a literary perspective on these things. What he says is certainly true in a sense. However, the case of the Homeric catalogue of ships is more complicated. In fact, the boring Homeric catalogue is a very ancient document of great historical value. It presents us with a political map of the Late Mycenaean world, which is still recognisable in the imposing ruins of Tiryns, Mycenae and Orchomenos, and the economic accounts of "Pylos." Homer and the other *aoidoi* drew their knowledge from inexhaustible resources of the authentic Peloponnesian, Argolid, Theban, Aeolic, Lycian, and Cretan mythologies with their original local epic traditions. A traveller who visits Mycenae, Orchomenos, Hissarlik, or Hattushas, and the archaeological museums of Istanbul and Ankara gradually becomes more confident that he is standing on firm historical ground with the Iliad, even if the history has been reshaped and turned into literature by the Archaic poets. Vergil and other Greek and Roman intellectuals invented the early Roman history from mere scraps. That also applies to the newly coined Roman/Italian mythology. They were eventually successful thanks to Vergil's poetic genius and his inexhaustible creativity.

In the last chapter of my review, I would like to give a brief discussion of some selected historical figures from the time of **the Late Republic and Augustus** recalled by Vergil.

> Der Dichter hat sich das Instrument historischer Vorschau geschaffen – in Form der Prophezeiung (Buch 1), einer „Parade" künftiger Helden der römischen Geschichte im Wartestand (Buch 6) und der Beschreibung des

Aeneasschildes mit Bildern aus der Geschichte Roms (Buch 8*)* (Vol. 1, p. 214f.).

In Elysium Aeneas meets L. Mummius, who took and destroyed Corinth in 146 BC (Vol. 2, p. 630f.). Mummius' distich was composed in a pompous style, as if destined for a honorific inscription: *ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho/ uictor aget currum caesis insignis Achiuis* (*Aen*. 6, 836f.). His glorious capture of Corinth was no more than the ruthless execution of the already vanquished. The destruction of the great art and architectural gallery of Greece was described by E. Wirbelauer as "the most terrible catastrophe in its history, complete destruction by the Romans […] the population was put to death or sold into slavery" (id., 3 *NP*). In M. Pape's masterly book *Griechische Kunstwerke* the reader can consult an extensive list of Mummius' art robberies carefully documented after the lapse of over two millennia (Pape 1975: 16–19). L. Mummius may be safely placed on the top of the list of ancient war criminals. In a way, Vergil was right when he labelled him as the *insignis caesis Achivis*. He was indeed a "prominent" killer. Next, Anchises points to L. Aemilius Paulus who *eruet Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenas/ ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,/ ultus auos Troiae templa et temerata Mineruae* (*Aen*. 6, 838f., Vol. 2, p. 630f.). This Roman general does not deserve a better opinion for his barbarous devastation of the Northern Balkans (e.g. the ancient sanctuary of the dead Nekyomanteion in Ephyra, Dodona) either, or for the robbery of the art works and libraries of Macedon (e.g. Dion, the royal library of Pella: Pape 1975: 14–15). The plundered art works were piled up in Amphipolis, at the mouth of the Strymon, and later dispatched for Rome (incidentally, the Hebros is not the River Strymon, Ainos is at the mouth of the Hebros/Marica, Amphipolis is not far from the mouth of the Strymon, and Eion, the harbour, Vol. 2, p. 196). K.-L. Elvers' words on Paulus as a connoisseur "leaning towards Greek art and literature" sound sarcastic (1 *NP*, p. 214). Vergil's metaphoric prophesy that Paulus would uproot Agamemnon's Mycenae is remarkable for its unintentional irony. By Paulus' times, Mycenae had already been in ruin since time immemorial (c. 1200 BC).

Now let me turn to Binder's interesting examination of Vergil's *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera* […] *tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento* "die wohl am häufigsten (und am häufigsten falsch) zitierten Verse der Aenes" (*Aen*. 6, 847f., Vol. 2, p. 633f.). In his commentary Binder recalls Horace's *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*, and Cicero's *De officiis*, where he approves of the utter destruction of Carthage and Numantia, however, at the same time he seems to be full of remorse for the Roman destruction of Corinth. I hope his *nollem Corinthum* was not hypocritical. It is always intriguing when we meet intellectuals who seem to be in a fit of remorse (cf. M. Pape on Cicero's and Livy's attitude towards art robbery, Cicero 75f.).

Now let me focus on some sportsmen and a few minor figures from the Republic, selected from the Vergilian list of naval champions in the Trojan contests in Sicily, and styled on the funeral games in honour of Patroclus (*Aen*. 5, 64f., Vol. 2, p. 394f.). One of the contestants was Cluentius, his name derived from the Trojan hero Cloanthus, founder of the *gens Cluentia* (*Aen*. 5, 122). A. Cluentius Habitus was a party in a criminal case (Cicero, *pro Cluentio*). His mother Sassia held him responsible for her second husband's murder (Elvers, 3 *NP*). Next, we have Mnestheus, *genus a quo nomine Memmi* (*Aen*. 5, 117). The Memmi were a plebeian gens with a name "of little political significance" (K.-L. Elvers, 8 *NP*). Vergil's contemporary C. Memmius caused a scandal as the lover of the wives of both the Luculli brothers. He also became notorious for his corrupt campaign for the consulship (53 BC), and was convicted for *ambitus* (52 BC). A *bon vivant*, he "liked to surround himself with artists" (T. Frigo, 8 *NP*). Was Vergil thinking of him? C. Memmius liked artists. *Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini* (*Aen*. 5, 568). Atia was Augustus' mother (C. Octavius). Suetonius referred to her lowly origins (*Aug*. 4, 2) (H. Stegman, 2 *NP*). In fact, it was a plebeian *gentilicium* verifiable since the 2nd cent. BC (Elvers, 2 *NP*). I must admit that at least in this case Vergil's intention is clear.

Now let me return for a while to the Netherworld, and its gallery of the Latin kings, where Aeneas could certainly see Ancus Marcius as well (*Aen*. 6, 812bf.). Binder remarks that Marcia was Caesar's grandmother (Vol. 2, p. 623) (cf. C. Frateantonio 8 *NP*, on Ancus Marcius

"the 4th of the seven mythical kings of Rome"; compare also Binder's comment on Rhea Silvia, a new mother for Romulus, whom Vergil named "Ilia, um die genealogische Verbindung zum Aeneassohn Ilus/Iulus wieder zu aktivieren": Vol. 2, p. 614). In his reference to the foundation of Acesta/Segesta, which was the centre for the cult of Venus Erucina ("ursprünglich einer phönikischen Göttin geweiht" Vol. 2, p. 473), Binder remarks that Sicily became a "Brückenkopf (Roms) für den Kampf gegen Karthago" (Vol. 2, p. 472), and appended an important statement:

> Aitiologien transportieren häufig zeitgenössische Ideen und Ereignisse. Schon Apollonios von Rhodos hat sie ins mythologische Epos eingeführt, Vergil verknüpft in ihnen jedoch häufig gezielt troianische Vergangenheit und römische Gegenwart (Vol. 1, p. 266).

In the last section of my review, I would like to focus on Octavian Augustus, beginning with two important opinions selected from Binder's Augustan analyses (*Aen*. 1, 254f., the prophecy of Jupiter, Vol. 2, p. 40f.; *Aen*. 6,791f., in the Netherworld, Vol. 2, p. 618f.; Vol. 1, Historical persons in the *Aeneid*, p. 214f.; *Aen*. 8, 671f. Actium, the Shield of Achilles, Vol. 3, p. 200f.). "Vergil hat das Bild seinen Helden zumindest partiell nach dem des Augustus geformt" (Vol. 1, p. 270). "Mit Aeneas beginnt, was sich in Augustus erfüllt" (Vol. 1, p. 182).

Vergil adorned the original edition of Book Four of his *Georgics* with legendary praise of his friend Cornelius Gallus, a prominent elegiac poet, a homage to Gallus: *laudes Galli* (Stabryła 1987: 109). If the reader projects the chronology of the edifying Augustan epics of the *Aeneid* (29–19 BC) on Cornelius Gallus, who committed suicide when threatened with a political trial and death sentence (27/26 BC) (W. Stroh, 3 *NP*), he will not fail to reflect on Vergil's relations with Augustus. "Die erste Ausgabe der *Georgica* mit dem Lob des Gallus [a large part of Book 4, published in 30 BC] wird wohl aufgrund eines kaiserlichen Befehls eingezogen und beseitigt worden sein." "Uns ist nur diese Neubearbeitung erhalten geblieben, die wohl 26 v. Chr. gedichtet wurde" (Speyer, *Büchervernichtung*, p. 59). Vergil renounced his friend. He turned out to be malleable and compliant. His good relations

with Augustus were saved. Ovid had a better memory. In one of his elegies he unambiguously expressed his doubts about the real cause of Gallus' accusation: *si falsum est temerati crimen amici* (*Amores* 3, 9). Propertius was more cautious. However, he decided to include Gallus in his moving poetic homage to the best Latin poets of his time, and placed Gallus side by side with Tibullus and Catullus (Prop. 2, 34).

> In diesem Bild hätte das historische Faktum, daß Antonius starke römische Legionen aufbot, neben denen die – angeblich ungeheuren – Kontingente der orientalischen Vasallenfürsten geringe Bedeutung hatten, erheblich gestört" „Das Cleopatra patrio sistro das Zeichen zum Kampf gegeben habe, entspricht nicht den historischen Tatsachen; denn die Ägypterin hielt sich offiziell hinter den Linien auf: Vergil vermengt die „neue Isis" und das Kommando von Actium im Sinne augusteischer Propaganda.

Binder gives a sober comment on the Battle of Actium (The Shield of Achilles: Vol. 1, p. 222). Octavian's portrait in the Battle of Actium can raise eyebrows, because of its unconstrained adulatory and servile tones: *stans celsa in puppi* (!), with *sidus Iulius* over his head (!) (cf. *sidus Iulius* on denarius, 17 BC, Sutherland 46f.). Suetonius shared with his contemporaries information on Octavian's unheroic role in the Battle of Philippi, which was actually won by Mark Antony, while the Battle of Actium should be credited to Agrippa, as Binder recognises ("wesentlich Agrippas Sieg," Vol. 1, p. 220). In all likelihood, C. Sosius, who commanded a large part of Antony's fleet, had already defected to Octavian some time earlier some time earlier, helping Agrippa win. One more point in the distorted perspective of the Late Republican history. Later, Sosius certainly enjoyed the friendship of Augustus and significantly added to his construction projects in the City of Rome (The Temple of Apollo Sosius). Binder reflects on the brutal law of civil war (Vol. 1, p. 292f. *Die Spielregeln des Bürgerkriegs*), when he writes about the wounded and dying Turnus, who was eventually mercilessly finished off by Aeneas (*Aen*. 12, 938b f.). Binder asks an important question: "Kann man die epische Situation auf die historische der Bürgerkriege übertragen?" (Vol. 1, p. 292). As if to answer this

difficult question, he adduces Augustus' own words incised in numerous slabs of the *Res Gestae* 3: *victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci*. The truth was completely different. Binder cites Cassius Dio who put it bluntly: Octavian punished many of his enemies with fines, killed many others, and pardoned only a few of them. He also comments on the death of Turnus with some meaningful words:

> für Marius ist neben Sulla, für Pompeius neben Caesar, für Antonius neben Augustus kein Platz (Vol. 1, p. 293).

Anchises' praise of Augustus in his pompous "Heldenschau" in the Netherworld (*Aen*. 6, 791f.) is remarkable for its extremely adulatory and propagandist air (Vol. 2, p. 618f.). I think Vergil's laudation of Augustus as superior to Heracles and Dionysus was not just a risky complement ventured by a servile courtier. It might have been received by some as blasphemous as well. Norden showed that Vergil modelled the Augustan paean of praise on the "Schema des Panegyrikus auf Könige" (Vol. 2, p. 619). In the Vergilian epics, Augustus manifests himself "als Beherrscher des Erdkreises, als Kosmokrator" (Vol. 2, p. 620). Binder might be right that Vergil occasionally made a deliberate effort to soften the overwhelming adulatory tones of his Augustan portrait e.g. by his expression of "Sympathie für Cato und seine indirekte Kritik an Caesar" (Vol. 1, p. 220).

Aeneas and the Trojan exiles celebrate the games of Ilium (*ludi Iliaci*) at Actium on their way to Italy (*Aen*. 3, 278, Vol. 2, p. 228f.; Vol. 1, Myth and history. On the teleology of the *Aeneid*, p. 267). The Actia were "revived" in 28 BC by Octavian. Binder's words applied to Dido may also be quoted here: "Der Mythos (oder seine römische Konstruktion) wird auch hier zu fernsten Vergangenheit der eigene Geschichte" (Vol. 1, p. 185). Nicopolis was adorned with a spacious theatre and a stadium. Currently, reconstruction work is being carried out there. The Augusteum with a loggia for the princeps located over the town of Nicopolis (some remnants still preserved *in situ*) offers a broad panorama of Actium.

In his *Archaeology of the City of Rome*, Suetonius documented Augustus' large scale construction programme (*Aug*. 29–30). Binder has

chosen to describe some Augustan monuments and images which directly refer to the *Aeneid*. One of them is the Ara Pacis Augusti (Vol. 1, 271f.). Binder may be right when he observes, that "Ohne Zweifel sind diese Reliefs eine bildliche Darstellung oder öffentlich zugängliche Interpretation der Dichtung Vergils" (cf. Binder on the Forum Augustum). Both monuments are supplied with fine, vivid descriptions by Ovid (*Fasti* 1, 709f.; 5, 545f., Vol. 1, p. 274f.). One more Latin inscription: in 27 BC the senators awarded Augustus with the *clipeus virtutis* to praise his *clementia, iustitia* and *pietas*. The inscription was located in the Curia Iulia (Vol. 1, p. 269f.; *CIL* IX 5811). Consequently, the *virtutes Augusti* must have sounded familiar to many Romans. They emerge in Ilioneus' speech before Dido (*Aen*. 1, 544f., Vol. 2, p. 71f.). And now for one or two interesting archaeological and historical details in the representation of Augustus' triumphal procession in Rome, selected from the Shield of Aeneas: the Araxes (*Aen*. 8, 728), "den Augustus nie gesehen hat; der "Brückenbau – *pontem indignatus* – ist Fiktion" (Vol. 3, p. 208); the *bicornis* of the Rhine (*Aen*. 8, 727), "zweifach mündend" (Vol. 3, p. 206). The river gods were usually represented as bulls (the water's raging force), half-human, half-bovine or men with horns (cf. F. Graf, 12 *NP*; cf. J .Ostrowski 1991).

Hic vir, hic est […] *Augustus Caesar, aurea condet / saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva / Saturno quondam* (*Aen*. 6, 791f.). Augustus shall again set up the Golden Age amid the fields where Saturn once reigned (trans. H. Roushton Fairclough) (Vol. 1, p. 217; Vol. 2, p. 618f.). "Die 4. Ekloge klingt unüberhörbar nach." How could these words be received by the veterans of Cassius and Brutus, Sextus Pompeius and Antonius? C.H.V. Sutherland wrote the following meaningful words in his brilliant book, when he reconstructed Augustus' propaganda from the numismatic evidence: "The leading writers of the age, continuing the work so well begun in the years of victory, succeeded in clothing the subsequent years of slow and deliberate experiment with a tranquil, golden air of predestined glory and order," and added: "Where formerly there had been faction and crisis, the dust had settled in the tranquillity of retrospect" (Sutherland, *Coinage*, p. 23).

I would like to offset some of my opinions on Vergil's attitude to Augustus and the Roman senators with references to Stabryła's book,

which emphasises that Vergil did not glorify the brutal Roman imperialism, and argues that Vergil truly believed in Rome's civilising mission and ability to rule over the Empire based on law and order (Stabryła 1987:158). Vergil was also convinced that it was Rome's historical destiny to bring peace and security to the world. His patriotism was authentic and sincere, Stabryła declares (1987: 167).

Euander told Aeneas the story of the most ancient times in Latium (*Aen*. 8, 314, Vol. 3, p. 150f.). The Fauns and Nymphs lived a primitive life (*quis neque mos neque cultus erat*). One day, Saturn came down from Olympus and *genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis composuit legesque dedit*. The story goes that *primus ab aetherio uenit Saturnus Olympo. aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat*. It is the old myth of mankind incarnated in the *Aeneid*, in the Franciscan myth, in the rococo style and modern ecological movements. In one of his finest articles in the *Kommentar*, Binder recalls Lucretius' description of the earliest primitive representatives of mankind (*de rerum natura* 5, 953f.) and Juvenal's *Satire* 6.

> Der Gegensatz lautet bei Juvenal nicht Kulturlosigkeit und Kultur, sondern Keuschheit/Gerechtigkeit der Frühzeit und Sittenlosigkeit/ Ungerechtigkeit der Gegenwart (Vol. 3, p. 151).

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