

UNIVERSIDAD DE GRANADA

FLORENTIA ILIBERRITANA

REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS DE ANTIGÜEDAD CLÁSICA



Nº 34 / 2023

eug

FLORENTIA ILIBERRITANA (Flor. Il.)

ISSN: 1131-8848

Nº. 34, 2023, pp. 240

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Lycia and the Lycians in the *Aeneid*: Virgil's Herodotus

<https://doi.org/10.30827/floril.v34.27704>

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Recibido el 27-03-2023

Aceptado el 10-08-2023

Abstract

Close reading of Virgil's references to Lycia and the Lycians in his *Aeneid* reveals the influence of Herodotus' account of the early history of the people, notably the Lycian migration from Crete to Asia Minor. Virgil's employment of Lycian lore and Herodotean allusions serves to highlight certain developments in the Roman civil wars, not least the Lycian help afforded to Octavian at Philippi.

Keywords: Virgil; Herodotus; Lycia; Lycians; *Aeneid*.

The region of Lycia in southern Asia Minor is referenced several times in Virgil's *Aeneid* (never in the *Georgics* or *Eclogues*)¹. We shall trace all of the citations of Lycia and the Lycians in Virgil's epic, with a view to exploring the poet's purpose in evoking the storied eastern land². Along the way, we shall find evidence of Virgil's use of the historian Herodotus as a source for his evocation of Lycia, as

1. Cf. G. Bonamente (in Della Corte 1996: 212-213) and Secci (2014: 768). I am grateful to the help of the editor, and for the helpful suggestions of the two referees that greatly improved this study; all errors that remain are my own.

2. There are a dozen citations to Lycia by name, balanced fairly evenly through the epic (5x in the first half, 7x in the second); the breakdown = Book 1 (1), Book 4 (3), Book 6 (1), Book 7 (1), Book 8 (1), Book 10 (2), Book 11 (1), Book 12 (2).

well as some hint of Lycia's memorable handling of complicated, shifting alliances during the Roman civil wars³.

The first mention of Lycia in Virgil comes in a dramatic description of marine peril amid the storm scene from Book 1:

unam, quae Lycios fidumque vehebat Orontem,
 ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
 in puppim ferit: excutitur pronus magister
 volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
 torquet agens circum et rapidus vorat aequore vertex.
 apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,
 arma virum tabulaeque et Troïa gaza per undas. (1.113-9)⁴

The passage is noteworthy not least for its reworking of the first line of the poem in a decidedly grim context, as we hear not some triumphant epic allusion to “arms and the man,” but a reference to the “arms of men” that are scattered amid the waters in the aftermath of the crashing, catastrophic action of the storm swept sea⁵.

The Lycian ship captain Orontes has the dubious distinction of being the first casualty in the narrative of the *Aeneid*⁶. He is one of five captains Aeneas assumes were lost in the storm, but the only one actually to be drowned⁷. At 1.220-2 *Praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti, / nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum / fata Lyci fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum*, Aeneas ponders the list of these presumably lost seamen. The group meets with interesting and diverse fortunes. Gyan and Cloanthus recur in the boat race in Book 5. Lycus is slain by Turnus at 9.545-66⁸. One Amycus is killed (again by Turnus) at 9.771-3, and another casualty of the Rutulian shares the same name (12.509-12)⁹. Cloanthus is never mentioned after the Sicilian games: rather fittingly, we might think, the victor in the regatta may be imagined to have survived the Latin war. Gyan kills Ufens at 12.460; Virgil does not record his own fate. There is a homonymous Latin, the brother of Cisseus and the

3. A useful survey of the relevant history may be found at Bryce 1986.

4. Passages from the *Aeneid* are cited from Conte 2019.

5. For commentary here see Austin 1971 and Stégen 1975, *ad loc.*

6. Cf. Thomas 2014: 946.

7. On the question of the size of the initial fleet and its complements of crewmen, see Schauer 2007: 69, n. 155.

8. The standard commentaries are those of Hardie 1994 and Dingel 1997.

9. Amycus and his brother Dioces are decapitated, their heads fixed on Turnus' chariot as he exults in sanguinary excess, as if he were a Scythian (cf. Herodotus 4.64).

son of Hercules' companion Melampus; he is a victim of Aeneas (10.317-22). But as for the storm sequence of Book 1, only Orontes and his crew are lost¹⁰.

The loss of Lycian Orontes is depicted as a baleful moment of Teucric destruction. Trojan wealth (1.119 *Troia gaza*) is left scattered on the waves. If the Lycians were noted historically for a respectable navy, the marine calamity would be even more noteworthy¹¹. The name of the Lycian captain Orontes has impeccably eastern associations: it is shared by a Syrian river, and an Armenian king. In the context of the tempest in Book 1, there is no ambiguity as to the image presented by this Lycian *ductor*: he incarnates the ruin of Trojan dreams in consequence of Juno's rage against the Trojans and (by extension) those who would ally with them.

There are no allusions to Lycia in *Aeneid* 2 or 3, the books wherein Aeneas recalls the past history of Troy's fall and his westward journey. In Book 4, there are three citations of the locale, all in connection to the god Apollo¹². The first comes in the celebrated simile in which Aeneas is compared to the god as he makes his entrance at Dido's Carthaginian hunt:

qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
deserit ac Delum maternum invisit Apollo
instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;
ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem
fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
tela sonant umeris: haut illo segnior ibat
Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore. (4.143-50).

10. We may note here that the aforementioned Trojan Lycus may make us think of the Lycians (both because of the similar name, and the shared peril of the storm), though he is not from that region. His name means "wolf," and Turnus is compared to an eagle or a wolf as he kills him, in a touch of grim irony that reflects also the pervasive atmosphere of internecine strife in the epic (given that the diverse peoples are destined to be united in a Roman future): a wolf slays a wolf. We shall consider relevant Lycian lupine lore below.

11. And note Keen (1998: 140), for the strategic significance of Lycia for controlling sea routes from the eastern Mediterranean into the Aegean.

12. Several commentaries on *Aeneid* 4 offer annotation here; note especially *ad loc.* Buscaroli 1932, Pease 1935, Austin 1955, Tilly 1968 and Fratantuono & Smith 2022. For a detailed study, see Siles Ruiz 2021 (a valuable and detailed study, arguing that Aeneas-Apollo cannot marry Dido-Diana and that Aeneas cannot be *uxorius* to Dido like Antony with Cleopatra). Note also the analysis of Villalba Saló 2021: 61 ff.

Here we are immersed in the reminiscence of the lore that associated Apollo with the region of Lycia¹³. Etymologically, “Lycia” is of uncertain origin; the name probably derives from some Anatolian origin. For a Greek or a Roman, like the name Lycus, so the name Lycia would evoke wolves (in this case a good example of a false etymology), and certainly lupine lore developed around Lycian environs. Lycia was one of the locales visited by Leto in connection with the birth of her divine twins¹⁴. The story was told at least by some that wolves had displayed more hospitality to Leto than did the local inhabitants¹⁵. In addition to wolfen connections, scholars have observed that the name Lycia would also evoke the image of light and brightness (with obvious connection to Apollo as a god with solar associations)¹⁶.

In Virgil’s simile, Apollo is depicted as departing from his winter haunts at Lycia and the river Xanthus, and proceeding to his natal Delos (in at least a general sense, the Apollo of the simile fittingly enough follows the same itinerary as Aeneas). The simile is a seemingly happy one, depicting Aeneas as he enters the scene at the commencement of Dido’s hunt. Lycia appears as part of a veritable itinerary of the god’s favorite haunts. The hunt will be the occasion for the consummation of the passion of the Trojan hero and the Carthaginian queen. Any ominous associations of the image of Aeneas as Apollo come in remembrance of how Dido was compared to Diana on her entrance to Juno’s temple in Book 1 (494-504); the passage evokes the disturbing image of sibling incest, of particular relevance to the propaganda of the Augustan regime against Ptolemaic Cleopatra.

The ill-advised, ill-fated affair is brief in duration and long in consequence. The remaining Lycian references in *Aeneid* 4 relate to the end of the relationship. First in sequence is Aeneas’ reference to the “Lycian lots” that ordered him to pursue his Italian destiny:

Sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;
hic amor, haec patria est. (4.345-7)

13. For the depiction of the great Trojan and Augustan patron deity in Virgil see especially Miller 2009; note also Bailey (1935: 163-172), Unte (1994) and Fratantuono (2017).

14. On this mythology see Bryce 1983.

15. The story is known best to us from Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 6.313-81), though without mention of the wolves. «A una tradizione locale della Licia doveva in effetti collegarsi Menecrate di Xanto (IV sec. a.C.), autore di una storia della regione ... da cui è verisimile che abbia tratto il racconto Nicandro (come si ricava da Antonino Liberale, 35)» (Rosati 2009: 297).

16. See Paschalis (1997: 57 n. 89) for the association of “Lycia” with “Sight and Light”; cf. Chant-raine 1968, s.v. *λυκη-γενής*.

The mention of the *Lyciae sortes* is an allusion to the celebrated Apollonian oracle at Patara mentioned by Herodotus (1.182). According to the historian, the Patarian oracle was not always open (Apollo is only in Lycia in the winter, since he spends the summer in Delos); when a prophetess of the god was appointed, she was shut up in the shrine during the night. The woman was a virgin, implicitly set aside for intercourse with the deity. Apollo's message is clear: Italy is the destined homeland for Aeneas, and the hero's new *amor*; there is deliberate wordplay in how *amor* is *Roma* in reverse. We did not hear of these Lycian lots in the narrative of Aeneas' journey from Books 2-3; the two books that had no mention of Lycia would have been the natural place for Aeneas to have mentioned receiving these *Lyciae sortes*.

Aeneas had been compared directly to Apollo, as Dido was to Diana before him¹⁷. Now Aeneas invokes an alleged oracular pronouncement of Apollo as his rationale for having to leave his Carthaginian paramour.

Dido recalls these words about Apollo's oracle when she launches into her scathing oratory against the man she considers to be a perfidious Trojan:

... nunc augur Apollo,
nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
interpres divom fert horrida iussa per auras. (4.376-8)

Dido's statement about *augur Apollo* takes on special import in view of Virgil's association of Aeneas with the god¹⁸.

In Book 6, we find something of the closing of a ring in Aeneas' glimpse of the shade of the drowned Lycian ship captain Orontes in the underworld:

Cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis
Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
quos simul ab Troia ventosa per aequora vectos
obruit auster aqua involvens navemque virosque. (6.333-6)

This passage comes in frame with the storm scene from Book 1, with Lycian Orontes thus being mentioned in the first and last books of the first, Odyssean half of the epic. The Leucaspis recalled here with Orontes does not appear anywhere

17. Essential reading here is Hardie 2006).

18. The queen works a change on Aeneas' reference to *Gryneus Apollo*; where Aeneas had alluded to the unsavory story of Apollo's rape of the Amazon Gryne, Dido introduces a term from augural practice. If we read *actor* for *augur*, the point remains: Dido does not repeat the mention of Gryne.

else in the *Aeneid*¹⁹. The name of this mysterious, apparently Lycian figure has been associated with a formation of the Macedonian military mentioned by Livy (44.41.2), the so-called White Shields²⁰. According to Diodorus Siculus (4.23.5), Leucaspis was a Sicani general who was among the opponents of Hercules as the hero traversed the island with the cattle of Geryon. The significance, if any, of the semantic reference in his name to the color white has not been considered closely²¹. There is a “white shield” in the *Aeneid*: at 9.548, the Trojan warrior Helenor is said to wield a *parma alba*, “white” in this case because he is undistinguished (*inglorius*) in battle²². He survives the tower collapse when Turnus assaults the Trojan camp, only to be slain at once when he rushes into combat. More significantly, we may note that Camilla is depicted with a *pura parma* at 11.710-1, as she leaps from her mount to face the mendacious and haughty Ligurian Aunides²³. Lycian Leucaspis thus prefigures not only the minor character Helenor, but also Camilla with her own white shield.

Both Leucaspis and Orontes are prelude to Aeneas’ encounter with the shade of Palinurus²⁴. All are figures who die before the commencement of the Trojan war in Latium. Leucaspis never arrives at the battlefield, as it were, but his “white shield” associations link him to those who will find doom in their first battle: Helenor certainly, but also the far more noteworthy warriors Camilla and (implicitly at least) Pallas²⁵. Subtly, Virgil prepares us for the transition from the Odyssean to the Iliadic modes of his epic, as we move from shipwreck and hazards at sea to the reality of war, and its cost for those who would enter battle as novices, white shields and all.

Thus the five explicit Lycian references of the first half of the *Aeneid* are neatly balanced, in ABBA chiasmus: the framing allusions are to shipwreck and the peril of death at sea, with the other three coming in connection to Apollo and to the god’s oracular pronouncements about the Aeneas’ Italian destiny. There is one other Lycian allusion in the Odyssean *Aeneid* that must be noted: the celebrated bowman Pandarus’ brother Eurytion (both the sons of Lycian Lycaon) is the dove slayer in the archery contest of Book 5. Neither Pandarus nor his father figure in the epic (indeed,

19. Cf. Morgan 2014: 744.

20. See here *ad loc.* J. Briscoe 2012.

21. The chromatic etymology of Leucaspis’ name is not considered by Edgeworth (1992).

22. Edgeworth (1992: 68) argues that the shield is not necessarily white in color, but only “blank.”

23. In the adjective *pura* the notion of virginity as well as of inexperience in battle may be connoted.

24. One may note here the insightful study of Paschalis (2015).

25. The Latin war is his first (and last) experience of combat.

Lycian Lycaon is not even mentioned)²⁶. The Lycian archer and dove slayer Eurytion connects directly with our next explicit Lycian reference²⁷.

In Book 7 (the first of the Iliadic half of the *Aeneid*), Lycia figures prominently in the closing verses, where the lovely Volscian heroine Camilla is portrayed as carrying a Lycian quiver:

... Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspidē myrtum. (7.816-7)²⁸

Camilla does not reappear in the narrative until Book 11²⁹. The backstory we learn there traces her history from huntress to warrior, with the implication that the Latin war is her first experience of battle. The Book 7 passage in question is the enigmatic pendant to the catalogue of heroes in alliance with Turnus³⁰. Here we find a curious juxtaposition: a Volscian girl somehow has acquired a Lycian quiver (the Lycians were noted for excellence in archery, a quality observed by Herodotus)³¹. Later we learn that Camilla is a devotee of Diana; in that sense, it is appropriate that she bears an Apollonian archery accoutrement, and the Lycian quiver may have been a gift of the goddess. *Lyciam* of the quiver and *pastoralem* of the myrtle work together to evoke the world of pastoral defense of flocks against lupine marauders³².

26. We may distinguish Lycian Lycaon from the notorious Arcadian Lycaon (*Georgica* 1.138), and from Cretan Lycaon who crafted the sword Ascanius gives to Euryalus before the night raid (9.303-5), one of the many ominous objects in the epic. Lycian Lycaon was the father of Callisto, the mother of the eponymous Arcas. «Murderer, cannibal, werewolf: this is not a good start for the nation» (so Fowler 2013: 105).

27. *Aeneid* 5 has significant affinities with its sister “penultimate” book; it is noteworthy that in the former, Lycian Eurytion prefigures Camilla with her Lycian quiver (at least with respect to archery and doves). On heroic archery (and its occasionally negative connotations) note especially Reboreda Morillo 1988.

28. See here *ad loc.* Horsfall 2000.

29. For a start to a burgeoning bibliography, note Bruzzone 2019, Bruzzone 2019 and Villalba Saló 2021: 262-264; *cf.* too the divergent perspectives of Horsfall (1988) and Fratantuono (2007). The sources of such mysterious Virgilian characters is addressed *inter al.* by Horsfall (2016).

30. Basson 1975 offers useful commentary here.

31. 7.77.

32. For the significance of the *myrtus* see Fratantuono 2021. On Virgilian botany see Armstrong 2019; *cf.* Maggiulli 1995 (dense and insightful), Abbe 1965 (with helpful illustrations), and Sargeant 1920 (still useful). Opis’ comment on Camilla’s quiver may point to Diana as the source: ... *aut nostras umero gessisse pharetras* (11.844).

In the Book 7 pendant she has pastoral accoutrements; in Book 11, her killer Arruns will be compared to a wolf who has slain a shepherd (809-15)³³.

Camilla is not the only fighter in the Latin war to be outfitted with Lycian arms. In neat balance and order, our next Lycian reference comes in the next book, of a similar hero. Soon after his arrival at Evander's Pallanteum in his quest for allies in his war with Turnus, Aeneas learns that his father Anchises had presented his Arcadian host with Lycian arrows, weapons now wielded by his son Pallas:

Ille mihi insignem pharetram Lyciasque sagittas
discedens chlamydemque auro dedit intertextam
frenaque bina manu quae nunc habet aurea Pallas. (8.165-7)³⁴

Like Camilla, Pallas' doomed initiation into the arts of war will come amid Aeneas' struggle against Turnus. The provenance of Pallas' noteworthy quiver (*in-signem pharetram*) is not specified; it may also be Lycian, like Camilla's. The source of the Volscian girl's Asian quiver is unknown; in the case of the Arcadian Pallas, it is a gift that Anchises had bestowed on Evander, in foreshadowing, we might think, of the Arcadian alliance with the Trojan immigrants. From the mimicry of war that unfolded in the sequence of games in Sicily, we have moved to the commencement of the all too real conflict in Latium. From Lycian Eurytion, we have moved to Volscian Camilla and Arcadian Pallas, with their Lycian arms. Pallas has Lycian archery equipment because Anchises bestowed the gifts on Evander; Camilla has her Lycian quiver likely because Apollo's sister Diana gave it to her. Camilla and Pallas balance each other: neither is Trojan, though both wield arms of a Trojan ally; one serves under Turnus, and the other under Aeneas³⁵.

There are no explicit references to Lycia in Book 9, though at 9.696-701 we read of the gory, fatal pulmonary wounding of Sarpedon's illegitimate son Antiphates by Turnus. Antiphates is the first of five Lycians who are slain by the Rutulian: the casualties include two sets of Lycian brothers in Book 12 (Glaucus and Lades, and one unnamed pair), and one illegitimate Lycian in 9.

33. Camilla has her own lupine associations (*cf.* Servius *ad* 11.785; Fratantuono 2018). The fact that she is cast deliberately both as wolf and shepherd, alongside her killer Arruns as both wolf and wolf-slayer, in itself is indicative of the decidedly civil nature of the war in Latium.

34. For commentary see especially *ad loc.* Eden 1975, Gransden 1976, and Fratantuono & Smith 2018.

35. Gold features prominently in the depiction of Pallas here; we may compare Dido at the hunt, where she has a Sidonian *chlamys* and a golden quiver (4.137-9). Pallas' *chlamys* is highlighted again, as he departs Pallanteum (8.587-8). Dido is not without connection to Pallas; the queen's memory will be evoked at the Arcadian's requiem.

Indeed, there is a striking emphasis on Lycian fraternities in Virgil: Pandarus and Eurytion are mentioned in Book 5, and there are in sum three additional sibling pairs from the region. In *Aeneid* 10, two Lycian brothers (siblings of Sarpedon) are identified among the few defenders of the Trojan camp in the wake of Turnus' ferocious onslaught. They stand with a group of other warriors, among whom is one Asius, a son of Lycian Imbrasmus³⁶:

... Miseri stant turribus altis
 neququam et rara muros cinxere corona:
 Asius Imbrasides Hicetaoniusque Thymoetes
 Assaracique duo et senior cum Castore Thymbris,
 prima acies; hos germani Sarpedonis ambo
 et Clarus et Thaemon Lycia comitantur ab alta. (10.121-6)³⁷

The *rara corona* of Trojan warriors recalls 1.118 *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, of Orontes' Lycians bobbing in the water in the aftermath of the submerging of their vessel³⁸. The reference to Sarpedon recalls the Homeric hero, and his father Zeus' confrontation with the problem of immortals saving their favorites. This same motif recurs in the Camilla narrative, where Diana will lament the fate of her devotee. The Homeric Sarpedon was slain by Patroclus in single combat (*Iliad* 16.419-507). The Virgilian engagement between Pallas and Turnus is a recasting of that earlier epic bout, complete with Hercules taking the role of Jupiter in lamenting his doomed favorite. Both Camilla and Pallas have affinities with Sarpedon, and both have connections to Lycia via the weapons they carry³⁹.

Both Camilla and Pallas also elicit the memory of Homer's Patroclus, which creates an interesting, seemingly discordant set of associations given Patroclus' aforementioned killing of Sarpedon. Homer's Apollo assisted in the destruction of Patroclus, just as he does with Virgil's Camilla. Apollo is not involved in the death of the Trojan ally Pallas, though it is noteworthy that in Aeneas' enraged battlefield slaughter in the wake of the death of his young friend, one of his more prominent

36. Imbrasmus is also the father of Glaucus and Lades (*cf.* below on 12.342-5). There are thus three pairs of brothers in total who are depicted together, with an additional son of Imbrasmus depicted separately from his siblings.

37. See here Harrison 1991.

38. For good schematization and analysis of the concentric arrangement of the defenders of the camp, see Quint 2018: 179 n. 30 (following Quint 2001).

39. For an extended discussion of the parallels between Camilla and Sarpedon, see Rohman 2022: 79-84.

victims is Haemonides, a priest of Apollo and Trivia (10.537-42)⁴⁰. Wrathful Aeneas' killing of Haemonides in the wake of Pallas' death is a nod to the Homeric depiction of the god's central role in the slaying of Patroclus. In the *Iliad* Patroclus had slain Sarpedon; in Virgil, the depiction of Hercules with Jupiter before Pallas' death recalls Homer's narrative of Zeus' sadness on account of the loss of Sarpedon (and we may compare Diana's inability to save Camilla; like Homer's Apollo with Sarpedon, she will see to the honorable burial of the heroine).

Fittingly, then, from the Lycian associations of Camilla and Pallas, we move next to Clarus and Thaemon, the Lycian brothers of Sarpedon in *Aeneid* 10. The picture painted by Virgil is grim: the camp guards are *miseri*, and their girding of the walls with so few men is in vain (*nequiquam*). They are in the company of none other than Aeneas' son, and his officer Mnestheus.

The Lycian Clarus recalls another Asian shrine of Apollo, situated at the homonymous Lycian city. The name Thaemon is more difficult to explicate; some have seen a connection to sight, balancing the similar semantic register of "Clarus"⁴¹. This pair constitutes what will be the first of three sets of Lycian brothers; significantly, it is the only pair to survive, given that Aeneas lands imminently with his new Etruscan allies to relieve the beleaguered camp defenders. Clarus and Thaemon do not die in part because they are part of the guard with Ascanius, who embodies the image of the Augustan succession, and whose survival must remain assured⁴². Two brothers of Sarpedon will be saved; two Sarpedon-like figures – Pallas and Camilla – will soon die.

Pallas is slain by Turnus, one of the set piece duels in the narrative of battle. Later in the same book, a Lycian infantryman named Agis is slain by an Etruscan:

... Pedes et Lycius processerat Agis,
quem tamen haud expers Valerus virtutis avitae
deicit ... (10.751-3)

"Valerus" appears only here; his own destiny is left unrecorded. His name evokes the *gens Valeria*, whose most famous member in Virgil's day was the consul and poetic patron Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus. Valerus' victim Agis is the first Lycian whose death is recorded in the Latin war. Valerus apparently is experienced

40. There is a Rutulian son of Mars named Haemon (9.685-7), who may be related to Haemonides (certainly this would be the natural way to interpret the sanguinary names, though Virgil does not make the connection explicit).

41. So Paschalis 1997: 348 n. 88.

42. On Aeneas' son see especially Rogerson 2017.

in martial valor (*haud expers ... virtutis avitae*). An Etruscan ally of Turnus slays a Lycian: the vignette anticipates the Etruscan Arruns' killing of Camilla in the next book⁴³.

Book 10 thus introduces interesting developments in the poet's use of Lycian allusions. First Virgil had presented Camilla and Pallas in successive books as wielders of Lycian armaments. By the respective conclusions of their stories, both youths will have associations with both Patroclus and Sarpedon⁴⁴. Introduced in respective books, they will die in respective books. In Book 10, we meet a pair of Lycian brothers of Sarpedon, who (apparently) survive the siege of the Trojan camp, though without any noteworthy accomplishments. Later in the same book, not only does Pallas die, but a Lycian warrior Agis (who bears a name associated with four Spartan kings) is slain by an Etruscan whose name evokes the eminent patrician Valerian *gens* – truly a pair of fighters with names of impressive pedigree, not least in the military histories of Greece and Rome. Sarpedon's Lycian brothers may survive, but the Arcadian Pallas and Volscian Camilla certainly will not, (borrowed) Lycian arms notwithstanding. Both their deaths (especially Pallas') will come with reminiscences of the death of the Homeric Sarpedon, even as both serve also as Patroclus figures, for Aeneas and Turnus respectively. Pallas dies in Book 10; Camilla will fall to an Etruscan weapon in Book 11, her death distantly presaged in the Etruscan Valerius' killing of Lycian Agis. We may note, too, the regal onomastic associations of not only Lycian Agis, but of Lycian Orontes.

In *Aeneid* 11, Camilla enters battle and enjoys a brilliant series of savage and violent exploits before Apollo aids Arruns in seeing to her demise. Her Lycian quiver is recalled at the dramatic moment when she enters the fray, where extraordinarily the quiver almost becomes one with the girl:

At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon
unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla (11.648-9)

And a quiver will play a key role in the vengeance for Camilla that is wrought by Diana's nymph Opis, both in the goddess' instructions to her acolyte, and in her action (11.590, 859).

Significantly, Camilla's final prey Chloereus also carries a Lycian bow, as but one accoutrement of his noteworthy (not to say outlandish) costume:

43. Arruns' provenance has been disputed by scholars; it is possible that he slays his own ally. Any ambiguity is deliberate.

44. On the topos of the premature death of the young note Sisul 2018.

Ipse peregrine ferrugine clarus et ostro
 spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu;
 aureus ex umeris erat arcus et aurea vati
 cassida; tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis
 carbaseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro,
 pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum (11.772-7)⁴⁵

Chloereus' Lycian bow recalls his hunter Camilla's Lycian quiver, and Pallas' Lycian arrows. Together, one might think that the three characters present a complete set of Lycian archery implements. Chloereus is Camilla's last target before her sudden death; at this crucial juncture, Virgil reintroduces Lycia, once again in the context of the bow.

The juxtaposed collocation *Lycio Gortynia* offers a striking geographical localization of Chloereus' weapons, and it is here that Virgil may give an allusion to lore discussed at length by Herodotus. Virgil's details are not merely poetic ornament; they evoke an important account from Herodotus' histories. Chloereus' bow is Lycian, while the shafts are "Gortynian," named after the celebrated Cretan city of Gortyna; this is the only citation of the locale in the epic⁴⁶. Significantly, Herodotus associates Crete with Lycia in his pithy summation of the history of the legendary eponymous girl Europa, noting that she came in a circuit from Phoenicia to Crete, and then to Lycia – never, he notes, visiting what the Hellenes would call "Europe." Further (and at length) Herodotus reports that anciently, the Lycians were of Crete, noting that originally, Crete was barbarian and not Greek (1.173)⁴⁷.

Herodotus provides interesting details, of relevance to a fuller appreciation of Virgil's depiction of the Lycians, and of those with Lycian associations. He relates (1.173) that Europa's sons Minos and Sarpedon fell into dispute. Minos prevailed and expelled Sarpedon and his supporters. They voyaged to Asia Minor, where Sarpedon ruled his faction. The name "Lycia" arose from Lycus, an Athenian exile who came to join Sarpedon's settlement after his own fraternal troubles.

In the dissension of Europa's sons Minos and Sarpedon we are offered a glimpse of yet another pair of brothers of relevance to a discussion of Lycia, indeed in some sense the prototypical siblings of what would become Lycian lore. Not one but two stories of brotherly strife lie at the origins of Lycia.

45. For commentary see especially Gransden 1991, Horsfall 2003, Fratantuono 2009, and McGill 2020.

46. Cf. *Eclogue* 6.60.

47. For commentary here, note Dewald & Munson 2022.

Herodotus notes that while the Lycians have customs inherited both from Crete and Caria, they have one practice that is uniquely theirs: Lycian names are taken from mothers and not fathers. This detail may lurk behind Virgil's reflection on the name of the Volscian Camilla, which she took from her mother Casmilla (11.542-3). Alongside the maternal name convention, the Lycians also accord women the higher status in legitimacy of children: if a Lycian woman has a child with a slave, the children are considered noble, while if a Lycian man of even the highest rank has servile offspring, the child is without honor. Virgil may allude to this lore, too, in his mention of Turnus' victim Antiphates (9.696-701). The bastard son of Sarpedon and a Theban woman, he is not accorded any mention of his Lycian origin.

Chloreus is a Phrygian with associations with the Trojan mother goddess Cybele⁴⁸. Of the trio Camilla, Pallas, and Chloreus, in some sense he has the most claim to be wielding Lycian arms. His weapons may seem to be curiously blended and mixed (he strings Cretan arrows on a Lycian bow), but the detail reflects lore about Lycian origins in Crete. Camilla and Pallas are associated with Lycia in part because of Virgil's wish to evoke Sarpedon lore, and also in the case of his Volscian heroine to associate her with a people celebrated for according a high status in society to women⁴⁹.

Via his armaments, Chloreus in some sense offers a summary of relevant ancient Lycian history, at least with respect to the migration of one faction of the Lycians with Sarpedon from Crete to Asia Minor. Chloreus is a devotee of Cybele; in his misinterpretation of Apollo's Delian oracle about the Trojans' *antiqua mater* (3.96), Anchises claims that Crete is (Anatolian) Cybele's homeland (3.111-3). Chloreus incarnates the worst of the stereotypical excesses of luxury and effeminacy for which the Phrygians are castigated by Numanus Remulus and Turnus⁵⁰. Virgil underscores this connection of Chloreus to decadence in the undistinguished death line accorded to the hero; in *Aeneid* 12 Turnus slays him alongside one Sybaris, whose name evokes the same sort of love of luxury associated with Phrygia⁵¹.

We may turn to this last book of the epic. The second of the epic's three pairs of Lycian brothers appears in one of its battle scenes, where Glaucus and Lades are listed among casualties of Turnus:

48. On Chloreus see further West 1985.

49. There is also the relevance of the god Apollo both to Camilla and to Pallas: both young heroes recall Homer's Patroclus, and Apollo orchestrates Camilla's death, since in the case of Pallas' end the epic context would not countenance his involvement.

50. Cf. 9.617 and 12.99.

51. 12.363. We may note also that Chloreus' name is followed at once by Asbytes; cleverly, Silius Italicus uses the name Asbyte for his Camilla-like North African heroine in *Punica* 2.

Iamque neci Sthenelumque dedit Thamyrumque Pholumque,
 hunc congressus et hunc, illum eminus; eminus ambo
 Imbrasidas, Glaucum atque Laden, quos Imbrasus ipse
 nutrierat Lycia paribusque ornaverat armis,
 vel conferre manum vel equo praevertere ventos. (12.341-5)⁵²

This passage recalls the scene with the brothers of Sarpedon from Turnus' battle engagement in Book 10. Here there is no doubt: these siblings are slain. Glaucus and Lades are identified as *Imbrasides*; the patronymic recalls the allusion to their brother at 10.123 *Asius Imbrasides*, where he is one of the defenders of the Trojan camp in the cordon that included the Lycian sons of Sarpedon. In the mention of the brothers' outrunning of the winds we find a direct reminiscence of Camilla: 11.345 ... *vel equo praevertere ventos* recalls 7.806-7 ... *sed proelia virgo / dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos*, of the swift girl (who later would excel in an equestrian engagement). The ability of the Imbrasides to excel both in cavalry and infantry pursuits (another hallmark of the depiction of Camilla) is of no help in the face of Turnus' onslaught. The recollection of Camilla's speed and of cavalry exploits serves to draw together more closely the disparate scenes. And not long after these Lycians die, Chloereus with his Lycian bow will also meet his end, his escape from Camilla ultimately of no avail.

Glaucus' name poses interesting and diverse connections. Another doomed ally of Aeneas shares the name: Antenor's son Glaucus is one of the shades the Trojan hero sees in the underworld (6.483). The homonymous prophetic old man of the sea is part of the escort of marine deities that accompanies Aeneas' fleet from Acesta to Cumae (5.822-6); significantly, he is the father of the Cumaean Sibyl (6.35-6)⁵³. The Corinthian king Glaucus (son of Sisyphus and father of Bellerophon) was torn apart by his own mares at the behest of an angry Venus (*Georgic* 3.266-8). A sea deity and a number of doomed figures thus share the name⁵⁴. The name of Lades is simpler to explicate: it recalls the island of Lade, the site of a famous naval battle in 494 B.C., during the Ionian Revolt⁵⁵.

The last mention of Lycia in the *Aeneid* offers yet another pair of Lycian brothers, the third such fraternity to be mentioned in the battle scenes of the epic⁵⁶.

52. For annotation *cf.* Tarrant 2012, and Traina 2017.

53. The standard commentaries here are those of Williams 1960, and Fratantuono & Smith 2015.

54. For the chromatic connotations of the name, see Edgeworth 1992: 133. In Virgil it is employed both with connection to water, and to death.

55. *Cf.* Herodotus 6.7.

56. The Latin does not specify the exact number of brothers, but it is most natural to assume another pair.

The carnage sequence is now a balanced one, as Aeneas and Turnus both deal death across the plain. Turnus slays two siblings from Lycia and the fields of Apollo, as well as a memorable Arcadian angler named Menoetes:

hic fratres Lycia missos et Apollinis agris
 et iuvenem exosum nequiquam bella Menoeten,
 Arcada, piscosae cui circum flumina Lernae
 ars fuerat pauperque domus nec nota potentum
 munera conductaque pater tellure serebat. (12.516-20)

It is noteworthy that this third and final pair of Lycian brothers is left unnamed; the brief mention of their deaths is connected only with their provenance, and with Apollo's association thereto. But what of Menoetes? The passage brilliantly evokes several previous scenes and parallel references, as it mentions or recalls Lycian battle casualties, the god Apollo, deaths at sea, and the loss of the Arcadian Pallas. The name "Menoetes" recalls Gyas' helmsman from Book 5 (160-82), who was cast overboard during the ship race, in foreshadowing of the deadlier circumstances of the loss of Palinurus⁵⁷. In the reference to Arcadia we recall Evander's ill-fated son Pallas, Turnus' most notorious casualty. The first pair of Lycian brothers in Book 12 recalled Camilla via the reminiscence of horses and outrunning even the winds; the second pair is associated with a doomed Arcadian youth, which serves to evoke the memory of Pallas. The detail about Menoetes' *pauper ... domus* (12.520) recalls the mention of *pauperis Evandri* of 8.360, in Virgil's emphasis on the humble circumstances of the Arcadian settlement at Pallanteum (8.359-69).

The fisherman Menoetes loathed battle and wished to have nothing to do with it; his pacifism was of no avail (12.517 *et iuvenem exosum nequiquam bella ...*). Camilla offers the opposite image, of a youth eager for battle (so too Pallas); in her case (as Diana ruefully comments), her advance to battle will be to no avail: 11.535-6 ... *Graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla, / ... et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis*.

Menoetes is from Lerna; the area was connected both to the underworld and to the eponymous Hydra slain by Hercules⁵⁸. The brief vignette of Lernaean Menoetes thus recalls the Salian song of Hercules' labor that Aeneas heard while he was a guest of Evander's Arcadians (8.299-300). The reminiscence of Hercules is purposeful in context, as we recall the Arcadian Pallas, the hero whose impending death the storied hero lamented, as if he were Homer's Zeus, in sadness on account

57. In a sense we thus cycle back to where we started the Virgilian Lycian lore, with shipwreck.

58. Pausanias 2.36.6.

of Sarpedon. We may note also that in Homer, Patroclus' father is "Menoetius"; it is appropriate that the Arcadian Menoetes should make us think of Pallas, who plays a Patroclus role in the *Aeneid*.

We may summarize the course of our investigation into Virgil's engagement with Lycian lore. Who are the Lycians of the *Aeneid*? 1) Orontes and Leucaspis, who die in the storm off North Africa; 2) the Trojan camp defenders Asius (the son of Imbrasmus) and Clarus and Thaemon (the sons of Sarpedon), whose fate is left unspecified, though likely they survive; 3) Agis, who is slain by the Etruscan Valerus; 4) the brothers Glaucus and Lades (additional sons of Imbrasmus), who are killed by Turnus; 5) unnamed brothers, additional victims of Turnus alongside the Arcadian Menoetes. To this number we may add two figures: 6) Eurytion, the competitor in the Sicilian archery contest (5.495-7), who shoots the target dove once it has been released from the mast (5.513-8), and 7) Antiphates, the bastard son of Sarpedon and a Theban woman, who has the misfortune to be the first casualty of Turnus' slaughter in the Trojan camp (9.696-701). As we have noted above, this Lycian of illegitimate birth is not explicitly associated with his father's homeland, but rather with his mother's⁵⁹. Eurytion deserves special note. The brother of Pandarus and son of Lycian Lycaon, he slays a dove during the archery contest, in prefiguring of how Camilla (who wields Lycian archery implements) slays a Ligurian as if she were an accipiter bringing down a dove (11.718-24): the Lycian archery succeeds in shooting a dove, while the Volscian bearing Lycian arms kills a metaphorical dove. In addition, Eurytion's father Lycaon, we may note, has a name with decidedly lupine associations⁶⁰.

Who carries Lycian armaments? 1) Camilla (quiver); 2) Pallas (arrows); 3) Chloereus (bow). Of these three, Camilla is Volscian and Pallas is Arcadian; only Phrygian Chloereus has any plausible geographical connection to Lycia. All three of these figures die: Camilla falls at the hands of the Etruscan Arruns (though with Apollonian aid), while Pallas and Chloereus are the prey of Turnus.

Who kills Lycians? Leaving aside the Junonian storm that causes the deaths of Lycian Orontes and Leucaspis, 1) Turnus slays four legitimate Lycians and one illegitimate; he also kills Pallas and Chloereus, who wield Lycian weapons. 2) The Etruscan Valerus kills Lycian Agis, and the Etruscan Arruns slays Volscian Camilla, who carries Lycian arms.

59. On the theme see further Ebbott 2003.

60. For the possible implications of the archery contest (with consideration of parallels between the end of the sequence and the loss of Pallas), see Fratantuono 2010.

Lycia was of historical relevance in the rise of Augustus. «The appalling scenes of slaughter and mass suicide in Lycian Xanthus became famous»⁶¹. Lycia paid a heavy price for remaining loyal to Octavian and Antony in the face of Brutus' threats in the preliminary maneuvering to the decisive engagement at Philippi in 42 B.C.⁶². Lycia sided with Octavian and his ill-fated triumviral colleague, and the locale had a strong connection to Apollo, the god who would become a veritable patron of the Augustan regime in the wake of Octavian's victory at Actium. In mytho-history, Lycia was connected to Sarpedon's immigration from Crete after dissension with Minos, as well as with stories surrounding the pregnancy of Leto with the divine twins Apollo and Diana. Lycia was thus relevant both to the history of how Octavian came to power amid the shifting winds of the Roman civil wars, and to the mythology of Troy, Crete and Asia Minor, in particular the story of Sarpedon.

In Virgil, Lycian allusions reflect the Sarpedon story, with strong emphasis on the premature death of heroes in battle (notwithstanding the divine favor they enjoy). Lycia's connection to Apollo is highlighted too, with relevance both for the prophecies and oracles that guide the Trojans to Italy, and the role of the god in the sudden death of the young. Lycia is linked closely both to Volscian Camilla and to Arcadian Pallas, both of them filling the roles of both Sarpedon and Patroclus in the *Aeneid*, as part of the poet's complex portrayal of shifting and overlapping reminiscences, itself a device to convey something of the nature of civil war. The repeated emphasis on Lycian brothers further evokes the theme of internecine conflict.

Camilla with her Lycian quiver pauses fatefully at the sight of Chloereus with his Lycian bow and Cretan shafts. Volscian, Hesperian Camilla has no connection to Asia except via the *pharetra* she was likely given by Diana. In her doomed encounter with Chloereus she is depicted as gazing at nothing less than a reflection of the Cretan origins of the Lycians as reported by Herodotus, complete with not only Apollonian resonances, but also an evocation of Phrygian (originally Cretan) Cybele. This is the past that will not have a place in the future Rome, as agreed in the solemn colloquy of Jupiter and Juno in the final divine interlude of the epic (12.791 ff.), the agreement whereby the Ausonian element will dominate the Teucric in the blended new people.

Herodotus related a story of fraternal dissension that resulted in a Cretan migration under Sarpedon to Asia Minor, thus offering a myth-history for the origins of Lycia. Virgil's *Aeneid* presents a range of allusions to Lycia, including with

61. So Pelling 1996: 7.

62. The ancient attestations include Velleius Paterculus 2.69.6, Plutarch 30.6-31.7, Appian 4.76-80, and Dio 47.34.1-6.

respect both to those who traveled from Lycia to Hesperia, and to those Greeks and Italians who wielded Lycian arms. For Virgil, Lycia offered a rich palette of relevant material: connections 1) to Apollo, the great patron of Troy and of the Augustan regime, 2) to Crete and the Trojan mother goddess Cybele, 3) to the theme of civil war and fraternal discord, 4) to lupine lore, 5) to Sarpedon and the theme of the premature death of the young in battle, notwithstanding the divine favor they enjoy, and 6) to the sometimes grim fate of loyal allies. By the close of the *Aeneid*, most of the poem's Lycians would be slain, and all of those foreigners who took up Lycian armaments would also be killed.

Herodotus' Lycians had traveled from Crete to Asia in the wake of civil war. Virgil's Lycians left Asia in the aftermath of the conflict at Troy, and found death and destruction both at sea and in the *de facto* civil war that erupted in Latium between the diverse and divided peoples who were destined to be united corporally and culturally in the future Rome. That future Rome would be Ausonian and not Teucric, Italian and not Phrygian. In this posthumous victory for those like Camilla who lost the war, but in an important sense won the peace, there would be a place of honored memory for Lycia. It was a region that was connected in alliance to Trojan Aeneas, and to both Aeneas' Arcadian allies in the person of Pallas, and to his Volscian opponents in the person of Camilla. For Virgil's Augustan audience, it was a region that had displayed its loyalty to Octavian and Antony in a moment of significant peril, and at great personal cost. And above all, it was a region intimately associated with Apollo, the god who had transitioned more or less seamlessly from divine patron of the dead Troy, to immortal protector of the very much alive and indeed triumphant Augustan regime.

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FLORENTIA ILIBERRITANA

REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS DE ANTIGÜEDAD CLÁSICA



Nº 34/2023



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ISSN: 1131-8848

