which strictly speaking is superfluous to the description of the time of year. As scholars have often noted, the *Georgics* is strongly marked by recurrent clusters of language and imagery.[13] A reference to Hydra would look back to Virgil's disquisition on snakes in *G.* 3 (414–39; cf. esp. *pestis acerba boum*, 419), and his marked interest in serpentine constellations in *G.* 1 (cf. *lucidus Anguis* 205, *maximus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis/ circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos* 244–5). And turning forward to the epyllion in the second half of the fourth *Georgic*, we discover this crucial scene, where again a nymph fleeing on foot through a riverine landscape plunges into the underworld after an unhappy encounter with a watersnake:

> illa quidem, dum te *fugeret* per *flumina* praeceps,
> immanem ante *pedes* hydrum moritura puella
> servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba.

Compare:

> bis gravidos cogunt fetus, duo tempora messis:
> Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum
> Pleas et Oceani spretos *pede* reppulit *amnis*,
> aut eadem sidus *fugiens* ubi Pestis aquosae
> tristior hibernas caelo descendit in undas.

The *pestis*/Hydra hypothesis must stand or fall on the technical merits outlined above; but if it is correct, then we may assert that the vignette of Taygete and Hydra is a stellar foreshadowing of the tragic incident that sets the events of the epyllion in motion.

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[13] See e.g. D. O. Ross, *Virgil's Elements. Physics and Poetry in the Georgics* (Princeton, 1987), *passim*, and for further bibliography, L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge, 1969), 314–15.

CALLIMACHUS' *AETIA* AND AENEAS' SICILY

Near the end of *Aeneid* 3, after recounting his rescue of the suppliant Achaemenides and their escape from the approaching flock of Cyclopes, Aeneas narrates his voyage around the coast of Sicily, pointing out to his audience the various cities he passed until he eventually landed at Drepanum. An obvious model for this passage is the historical catalogue of Sicilian settlements in Callimachus' *Aetia,* but the fragmentary nature of the *Aetia* and the lack of entirely reliable information about its general structure and thematic coherence have, until recently, discouraged detailed analysis of the relationships that may exist between the two Sicilian catalogues.[1] In a

[1] While there have been important studies of Callimachus' influence on Latin poets and on Virgil in particular, more remains to be done, especially in the line of detailed examinations of specific Virgilian citations of Callimachean texts (of many examples, see especially W. Clausen, 'Callimachus and Latin poetry', *GRBS* 5 [1964], 181–96 and R. F. Thomas, 'Callimachus back in Rome', *Hellenistica Groningana* 1 [1993], 197–215, especially 205–9). Demonstrating Callimachean influence on the *Georgics* is a major accomplishment of Thomas's commentary on Virgil's *Georgics* (Cambridge, 1988); see especially vol. 1, p. 7. Extensive allusion to the *Aetia* in

stimulating article, Geymonat has explored Callimachean influence on the end of *Aeneid* 3, concerning himself especially with more general aspects of such influence and making it clear that Virgil's passage has numerous connections to Callimachus and especially the *Aetia*.[2] Here I would like to expand on Geymonat's work and address two specific examples of poetic reference in detail.

Admittedly, the fragments of *Aetia* 2 do not immediately seem to show much close similarity to Virgil's text, but there are significant points of contact between the two. For example, Callimachus' *De Siciliae urbibus* is probably narrated by the speaker at a banquet, just as *Aeneid* 3 forms part of Aeneas' own banquet narrative, and just as Callimachus' aetiological focus manifests itself at least partly in the foundation narratives of the Sicilian cities, Virgil's third book consists of a series of foundations, albeit mostly abandoned ones, as well as numerous Aetia of Roman customs.[3] The framework of *Aetia* 1 and 2, furthermore, is likely to consist of Callimachus' interview with the Muses, in which they answer his questions on various erudite topics, and *Aeneid* 3 similarly is concerned with information: the whole book is part of Aeneas' answer to Dido's questions at the end of Book 1, and his narrative constantly focuses on information from the gods about the foundation of one particular city.[4]

I. GELA

At *Aeneid* 3.702 a number of anomalies have been identified by commentators.[5] The final vowel in *Gela* must be counted long, while normal Latin practice would count it short, and Silius' imitation of the line (14.218) follows normal Latin practice.[6] Commentators note that Virgil's usage here is unusual, but it may yet be possible to see why: at *Aetia* 2, fr. 43.46 Callimachus' reference to Gela may well be the model for Virgil's.[7] Before describing Gela's foundation, Callimachus locates it at the mouth of the river Gelas: οἶδα Γέλα ποταμοῦ κεφαλῇ ἔπι κείμενον ἄστυ . . . ; here Γέλα is a Doric genitive in long alpha in apposition to ποταμοῦ. Virgil offers *immanisque Gela*

particular has been postulated for *Aeneid* 8: see E. V. George, *Aeneid VIII and the Aitia of Callimachus*. *Mnemos.* Suppl. 27 (Leiden, 1974). The most thorough examination of Callimachean influence on Virgilian etymologizing is J. J. O'Hara, 'Callimachean influence on Vergilian etymological wordplay', *CJ* 96 (2001), 369–400.

[2] See M. Geymonat, 'Callimachus at the end of Aeneas' narration', *HSCP* 95 (1993), 323–31.

[3] On the setting of *Aetia* 2, see G. Massimilla, *Callimaco: Aitia libri primo e secondo* (Pisa, 1996), 320–1 and J. E. G. Zetzel, 'On the opening of Callimachus *Aetia* II', *ZPE* 42 (1981), 31–3. Whether the banquet at which the *De Siciliae urbibus* is set is co-extensive with the interview with the Muses or a separate event set in Egypt at the house of Pollis the Athenian, as Zetzel has plausibly argued, it remains clear that Callimachus' narrative takes place in a sympotic setting.

[4] See Massimilla (n. 3), 29.

[5] For various enumerations of problems at 3.702, see A. Forbiger (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis opera* (Leipzig, 1873[4]), 2.420–1; J. Conington and H. Nettleship (edd.), *The Works of Virgil with a Commentary* (London, 1844[4]), 2.244; and R. D. Williams (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber tertius* (Oxford, 1962), 208–9 for various enumerations of problems. Williams's attempt to dismiss the anomalies is unconvincing, though he is right that none of these usages is in itself bizarre. J. Henry (ed.), *Aeneidea* (Dublin, 1878), 2.530 gives some idea of the textual history of the passage up to his time; now, however, the lines are generally considered genuine and the readings secure, *pace* B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*. *Philologus* Supplementband 24.2 (Leipzig, 1932), 38.

[6] Geymonat (n. 2), 326–7 lists examples of metrical/prosodic anomalies 'attributable to Hellenistic preciosity . . .'. This list includes *Gela* at 3.702.

[7] See most recently O'Hara (n. 1), 380–1.

fluuii cognomine dicta (3.702).[8] The use of *cognomine* and similar phrases to signal allusion is well documented.[9] Here it may well play two roles at once: it marks a reference to a model, while also reproducing part of a model, Thucydides 6.4.3: τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποταμοῦ τοὔνομα ἐγένετο . . .[10] Yet if *cognomine* suggests both an allusion and Thucydides' τοὔνομα in particular, the Greek-sounding scansion points to a poet, and Callimachus' catalogue is the obvious model. In fact, it is likely that we have here the conflation of both sources: while Thucydides is a likely source for *cognomine*, and for that matter, *Gela fluuii,* the Callimachean line dispenses with some of Thucydides' prose verbiage and models a second and third foot identical to Virgil's (two dactyls and masculine caesura).[11] Virgil's anomalous nominative in long *a* reflects Callimachus' Doric genitive, though obviously it does not translate it.[12] Furthermore, *Gela fluuii,* the phrase that precedes the allusive marker *cognomine dicta,* comes at the same position in the hexameter word order as Callimachus' Γέλα ποταμοῦ, and Virgil's *fluuii,* the next anomalous word according to some commentators, preserves the anapaestic shape of ποταμοῦ.[13] None of Virgil's anomalies is particularly implausible linguistically—such would have made his allusion merely bizarre, if still intelligible—but the conglomeration of these unusual linguistic features is an effective signpost of allusivity.

One final puzzling element of the *Aeneid* passage may have its origin in the Callimachean model: why is Gela *immanis,* a word commentators have not been able to explain?[14] Here are the relevant lines of Callimachus (*Aetia* 2, fr. 43.46–7):

[8] While it is possible to scan a final short vowel long before two consonants which begin the following word, this practice is avoided by Virgil; when he does admit it, it is almost always a case of *-que.* See R. G. Austin (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis liber quartus* (Oxford, 1955) on *Aeneid* 4.146 (64–5).

[9] See, for example, E. Norden (ed.), *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig, 1927³) on *Aeneid* 6.14 (123–4), as well as D. O. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy, and Rome* (Cambridge, 1975), 78 and S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998), 1➞ R. F. Thomas, 'Gadflies (Virgil *Georgics* 3.146–48)', *HSCP* 86 (1982), 81–5 highlights the (admittedly more explicit) use of such markers in his discussion of *G.* 3.146–8.

[10] See, for instance, Geymonat (n. 2), 330. H. W. Parke, 'The sources of Vergil, *Aeneid,* III, 692–705', *AJP* 62 (1941), 491 suggests instead the oracle quoted by Diodorus Siculus 8.23, as does Rehm (n. 5), 38–9 who quotes Callimachus' line but apparently only as a *comparandum.*

[11] Perhaps Virgil noted that Callimachus' line happened to show a metrical structure much more typical of Latin, since the masculine caesura is distinctly less common than the feminine in the hexameters of the *Aetia.* See Massimilla (n. 3), 40–1.

[12] Despite the suggestion of Rehm (n. 5), 38.

[13] The supposed anomaly of *fluuii* is that Virgil employs the genitive in *-ii*, whereas his usual preference is for *-i.* This is certainly not conclusive, yet it is also true that *fluuii* maintains the metrical shape of ποταμοῦ, whereas neither *amnis* nor *fluminis* would. *Fluuius* is the least common of the three words for river in Virgil, and the genitive *fluuii* occurs only here: forms of *flumen* occur 94 times in the text of Virgil, those of *amnis* 61, and those of *fluuius* 38 (figures from M. N. Wetmore, *Index verborum Vergilianus* [New Haven, 1930]). For the double-i genitive of *fluuius* in particular, see W. F. J. Knight, *Roman Vergil* (New York, 1966³), 360.

[14] For difficulties with *immanis*, see already C. G. Heyne (ed.), *P. Vergilius Maro*⁴, revised by G. P. E. Wagner (Leipzig, 1832), 2.552–3. Wagner, revising Heyne, thinks the difficulties disappear if we take the adjective to be modifying *fluuii* instead of *Gela.* Wagner hints that the dangerousness of the river, not the size of the city, lies behind Virgil's use of the word here. This view has been most explicitly articulated by Henry (n. 5) 2.532–3. Rehm (n. 5), 38, n. 83 suggests that *immanis* is an etymological reference to the tendency of the Gelas to become packed with ice. See J. S. Th. Hanssen, 'Virgilian notes', *SO* 26 (1948), 119, however, for a refutation of Rehm and for other views of the line as well; see also G. J. M. Bartelink, *Etymologisering bij Vergilius* (Amsterdam, 1965), 46–7 and most recently O'Hara (n. 1), 380–1.

οἶδα Γέλα ποταμοῦ κεφαλῆ ἔπι κείμενον ἄστυ
Λίνδοθεν ἀρχαίῃ [σ]κιμπ[τόμενο]ν γενε[ῇ]

I know the city that sits at the head of the river Gela,
boasting its ancient lineage from Lindos . . .

I would like to offer the tentative, and obviously speculative, suggestion that *immanis* represents σκιμπτόμενον; based on this verse of the *Aetia,* LSJ assigns σκίμπτομαι the meaning 'boast', but it is possible that Virgil's *immanis* hints at the literal meaning of the word ('to press forward and fall upon') with its suggestion of physical strength and even violence.[15] Forms of the related compound ἐνσκίμπτω occur in contexts surely known to Virgil, and in these instances violence, albeit sometimes metaphorical, is the dominant idea.[16]

Immanis is a word frequently used to suggest violence and menace as much as size, and it seems reasonable to combine Henry's idea that the river Gelas is dangerous with Callimachus' suggestion that Gela is a city that boasts of its heritage in an almos violent way.[17] Significantly, Virgil's *immanis . . . Gela fluuii* ambiguously offers two possibilities: that we have two nominatives (*immanis Gela*) or two genitives (*immanis fluuii*), perhaps suggesting both Callimachus' Γέλα ποταμοῦ and his ἄστυ σκιμπτόμενον.

II. DREPANUM AND THE DEATH OF ANCHISES

The most significant Sicilian stop for Aeneas personally is the last, Drepanum, where Anchises dies:

hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora
accipit. hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actus
heu, genitorem, omnis curae casusque leuamen,
amitto Anchisen. (3.707–10)

From here the port of Drepanum and its unhappy shore
received me. Here, harried by so many storms at sea
I lost, alas, my relief in every anxiety and misfortune,
my father Anchises.

An obvious model for this passage is Apollonius' *Argonautica* 4.982–92:

ἔστι δέ τις πορθμοῖο παροιτέρη Ἰονίοιο
ἀμφιλαφὴς πίειρα Κεραυνίῃ εἰν ἁλὶ νῆσος,
ἣ ὕπο δὴ κεῖσθαι δρέπανον φάτις (ἴλατε Μοῦσαι,
οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος) ᾧ ἀπὸ πατρὸς
μήδεα νηλειῶς ἔταμε Κρόνος (οἱ δέ ἑ Δηοῦς
κλείουσι χθονίης καλαμητόμον ἔμμεναι ἅρπην·
Δηὼ γὰρ κείνῃ ἐνὶ δή ποτε νάσσατο γαίῃ,
Τιτῆνας δ' ἔδαε στάχυν ὄμπνιον ἀμήσασθαι,
Μάκριδα φιλαμένη)· Δρεπάνη τόθεν ἐκλήισται

[15] See LSJ[9] s.v. σκίμπτομαι and especially the supplement under the same lemma, where the initial entry has been corrected.

[16] See Apollonius 3.153, 3.765, and 4.113 and Nicander, *Ther.* 336. Nicander's passage—the discussion of the Dipsas snake—is certainly known to Virgil, as *G.* 3.414–39 shows.

[17] In fact, though Virgil often uses *immanis* with a connotation of magnitude, the word's root meaning merely indicates brutality or menace; see *OLD* s.v. *immanis* 1–2 as well as Austin (n. 8) on *Aeneid* 4.199 (75) and C. J. Fordyce (ed.), *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos libri VII–VIII* (Oxford, 1977) on 7.305 (119).

οὔνομα Φαιήκων ἱερὴ τροφός· ὣς δὲ καὶ αὐτοί
αἵματος Οὐρανίοιο γένος Φαίηκες ἔασιν.

On the Ionian Strait there is an island, broad and fertile in the Ceraunian sea under which, the story goes, lies a sickle (be gracious, Muses, not willingly do I sing my predecessors' tale!) with which Cronus pitilessly cut off his father's genitals. (But others say that it is the reaping sickle of Demeter of the Earth: for Demeter once dwelt in that land, and she taught the Titans to harvest the ear of grain in her love for Macris.) From this it is called Drepane, holy nurse of the Phaeacians, and so by descent the Phaeacians themselves are of Uranus' blood.

The Apollonian passage provides a parallel locale, Phaeacian Drepane, also named for a famous sickle.[18] In explaining the name, however, Apollonius introduces a *ζήτημα*: does the island take its name from the sickle used to castrate Cronus or the one used by Demeter for harvesting ripe grain? The poet's interjected prayer to the Muses (984–5) suggests that he is unwilling to lend authority to the first possibility, which he explicitly calls 'my predecessors' tale' (*προτέρων ἔπος*). Phaeacian Drepane is also called the nurse, *τροφός*, of the Phaeacians, and so, perhaps, we might see a reconciliation of the two stories: the people of the island trace their descent from the blood of Uranus, but the poet acknowledges the fertility implicit in Demeter's agricultural activities.

This works well for Sicilian Drepanum generally, since Sicily was well known as a producer of grain and since the story of Cronus' sickle could provide a name for this place too. Yet there is reason to suspect Callimachus' presence in Virgil's passage as well. The passage in question comes from the best preserved part of the *De Siciliae urbibus:*

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μόσσυνας ἐπάλξεσι καρτυνθέντας
οἱ κτίσται δρέπανον θέντο περὶ Κρόνιον,
–κεῖθι γὰρ ᾧ τὰ γονῆος ἀπέθρισε μήδε' ἐκεῖνος
κέκρυπται γύπῃ ζάγκλον ὑποχθονίῃ–
ϵ[ ]τισαν ἀμφὶ πόληος . . . (*Aetia* 2, fr. 43.68–72)[19]

But when the founders put up the towers strengthened with battlements, around the sickle of Cronus (for in a cave under the earth there is hidden the sickle with which he removed his father's genitals), they [?fought] about the city . . .

Whereas Apollonius apologizes for the story that Drepane is the site of Cronus' sickle, Callimachus definitely locates it in Sicilian Zancle.[20] While Servius Danielis does mention the possibility that the sickle referred to in the name of Drepanum is one lost by Demeter when she was searching for her daughter, this idea seems absent

[18] On the Apollonius passage and its connections to Virgil and Callimachus, see D. Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Leeds, 2001), 58–9.

[19] I have slightly altered the presentation of the text of Pfeiffer, since the precise restoration of individual letters is irrelevant to my argument here.

[20] Cf. Servius ad loc.: *Drepanum civitas est non longe a monte Eryce, trans Lilybaeum, dicta vel propter curvaturam litoris, in quo sita est, vel quod Saturnus post amputata virilia Caelo patri illuc falcem proiecit, quae Graece δρέπανος dicitur: quod verisimile putatur propter vicinitatem Erycis, consecrati Veneri, quae dicitur nata ex Caeli cruore et spuma maris.*

from Virgil's text and perhaps draws ultimately, though indirectly, on Apollonius' version.[21]

Indeed, the adjective *inlaetabilis* suggests that Callimachus' location of the sickle in Sicily, even if at Zancle and not Drepanum, is correct: *laetus* is not only an emotional adjective but an agricultural one as well, meaning 'fertile' or 'prosperous'. Famously it is Virgil's choice for crops at the opening of the *Georgics*: *quid faciat laetas segetes* (*G.* 1.1). Drepanum is not *inlaetabilis,* then, only because of its association with the death of Anchises, as Servius notes, but also because the name and site both evoke the sterility Cronus induced in his father.[22] It is perhaps significant too that Aeneas refers to Anchises at 3.709 as *genitorem,* a common enough word for 'father' but also one which perhaps better announces the father's progenitive role than does *pater*. Highlighted as it is by Virgil's placement (separated from *Anchisen* by five intervening words), it perhaps refers obliquely to Callimachus' phrase γονῆος μήδεα, especially since *genitor* is a calque for γονεύς. Virgil's brief allusion, then, calls to mind Apollonius and Callimachus, chooses Callimachus' location of Cronus' sickle in Sicily, but corrects Callimachus too in suggesting that the sickle lies not in Zancle but in Drepanum.[23]

Drepanum is, of course, a site significant in the succession myth related in *Aeneid* 2 and 3 as well, for, as Putnam has pointed out, it is only at the end of Book 3 that Aeneas truly becomes *pater Aeneas*.[24] The Cronus myth may seem a dark model for Aeneas and Anchises, as they approach for the first time Cronus' own land (*Saturnia tellus*), but is this really inappropriate? At the end of this book Aeneas takes his father's place as the moral and spiritual leader of the Trojans. That a brutal and sinister model for the succession of Aeneas is fulfilled by a less brutal and sinister reality is in keeping with the themes of Book 3. Like the *Aeneid* in general, this book may be said to demonstrate the common humanity of rich and poor, refugee and pursuer, victor and vanquished. In the story of Achaemenides, for instance, distinctions between Greek, Trojan, Persian, and even Roman are blurred. The *saeuus Vlixes* of tragedy becomes not only the heroic Ulysses of epic, but *infelix Vlixes,* as even Aeneas can finally call

[21] See Servius Danielis ad loc.: *quidam 'Drepana' dictum uoluit a falce Cereris, quam ibi, cum filiam suam Proserpinam quaereret, amisit*. See also M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names* (Oxford, 1997), 146.

[22] On the Drepanum passage generally, see O'Hara (n. 1), 381–4 and Paschalis (n. 21), 145–7. O'Hara's stimulating discussion is a useful examination of Ovid's allusions to Virgil and Callimachus in order to explore the Callimachean possibilities in Virgil's text, rather than an interpretation of Virgil's use of Callimachus in the thematic development of *Aeneid* 3.

Paschalis (n. 21), 146 notes that 'The cluster "Drepani . . . inlaetabilis" suggests interaction of "inlaetabilis" ("joyless") with "laetus" ("fertile").' He sees not only a possible reference to Cronus' sickle but also that used by Demeter for mowing and teaching agriculture. Paschalis does not, however, connect a possible reference to the succession myth with the relationship between Aeneas and Anchises, nor does he cite the *Aetia* as a possible model for the passage. He does see sterile or improper vegetation as a motif in *Aeneid* 3 (see 410–11). Heyne (554) thought that *inlaetabilis* here referred simply to the barrenness of the coast.

[23] On references that correct models, conflate models, or both, see R. F. Thomas, 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the art of reference', *HSCP* 90 (1986), 185–8 and 193–8 (= R. F. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and His Texts: Studies in Intertextuality* [Ann Arbor, 1999], 127–30 and 135–40).

[24] M. C. J. Putnam, 'The third book of the *Aeneid:* from Homer to Rome', *Ramus* 9 (1980), 15. The somewhat competitive relationship between Aeneas and Anchises in Book 3 has also been analysed—less persuasively—by G. Sanderlin, 'Aeneas as apprentice—point of view in the third *Aeneid*', *CJ* 71 (1975–6), 53–6. Like Putnam, Sanderlin sees the death of Anchises as a crucial turning point in Aeneas' development as head of the Trojan band.

him.[25] Earlier in the book, too, Aeneas had become a violator of the body of Polydorus (3.22–48), his violence recapitulating that of the treacherous king Polymestor and even of the Greeks themselves. By the end, however, the unthinking violence of the rash young man gives way as he steps into his father's position, as he, not Anchises, must guide his people.[26]

Helenus, the Trojan prince and prophet who gives Aeneas so much specific information about his journey and his destiny, seems to hint at Anchises' death in words that may also recall the underlying tension between the leadership roles of father and son that manifests itself throughout Book 3:

> 'coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo,
> cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis,
> ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus: hanc arripe uelis.
> et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare necesse est:
> Ausoniae pars illa procul quam pandit Apollo.
> uade', ait 'o felix nati pietate. quid ultra
> prouehor et fando surgentis demoror Austros?' (3.475–81)

> 'Anchises, deemed worthy of Venus' proud marriage, dear to the gods, and twice rescued from Troy's destruction, behold your Ausonia: take it under sail. And yet it is necessary that you pass it by on the sea—that part of Ausonia which Apollo reveals is the farther side. Go', he said, 'you who are happy in your son's *pietas*. Why should I be carried on further and delay the rising winds by speaking?'

Aside from the suggestion that Anchises himself will know very little of Ausonia, there is also the last address Helenus makes to him: *o felix nati pietate,* 'you who are happy in your son's *pietas*'. *Felix,* like *laetus,* has associations of fertility as well as emotional happiness: Anchises may indeed be *felix* in his son's *pietas,* while Uranus was *infelix* (in both senses of the word) in the *impietas* of his, but ultimately both their sons have succeeded because of τὸ δρέπανον.

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[25] For this aspect of *Aeneid* 3, see Putnam (n. 24), 13.
[26] This does not, of course, imply that violence is gone hereafter from the character of Aeneas, whose blind violence manifests itself most strongly in Books 10 and 12.

ITALIAM CONTRA TIBERINAQUE LONGE/OSTIA: VIRGIL'S CARTHAGO AND ERATOSTHENIAN GEOGRAPHY

The phrase cited above, used by Virgil to characterize the location of Carthago as the city makes its first appearance in the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 1.13–14), is seen as calling for explanation already in Servius' commentary: *Constat tria latera habere Italiam, superi maris, inferi, Alpium: unde tollendi erroris causa adiecit 'contra Tiberina ostia', quae in infero mari sunt.* The meaning of *contra* would thus be geographic, *Tiberina ostia* would specify the Italian coast facing which Carthago is situated. A