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SERGESTUS AND TARCHON IN THE *AENEID*

Early in Book 10 of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas sails down the coast of Italy with his Etruscan allies to relieve the Trojans, who are besieged in Latium by the armies of the Rutulians and the Latins. Virgil glorifies the Etruscan allies in a catalogue of the captains and their ships that links them with important Etruscan cities (10.163–214). Conspicuously omitted from the catalogue is the leader of the Etruscan alliance himself, Tarchon.

Tarchon's entrance is delayed until the landing of the ships near the field of battle. Aeneas and his men land safely and disembark without incident (10.287–90):

> Interea Aeneas socios de puppibus altis
> pontibus exponit. multi servare recursus
> languentis pelagi et brevibus se credere saltu,
> per remos alii.

In the meantime Aeneas disembarks his allies on gangways descending from the high sterns. Many of them wait for the ebb of the weary sea and with a leap entrust themselves to the shallows, while others slide down their oars.[1]

Next come Tarchon and his Etruscans (10.290–307):

> speculatus litora Tarchon,
> qua vada non spirant nec fracta remurmurat unda,
> sed mare inoffensum crescenti adlabitur aestu,
> advertit subito proras sociosque precatur:
> 'nunc, o lecta manus, validis incumbite remis;
> tollite, ferte rates, inimicam findite rostris
> hanc terram, sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina.
> frangere nec tali puppim statione recuso
> arrepta tellure semel.' quae talia postquam
> effatus Tarchon, socii consurgere tonsis
> spumantisque rates arvis inferre Latinis,
> donec rostra tenent siccum et sedere carinae
> omnes innocuae. sed non puppis tua, Tarchon:
> namque inflicta vadis, dorso dum pendet iniquo
> anceps sustentata diu fluctusque fatigat,
> solvitur atque viros mediis exponit in undis,
> fragmina remorum quos et fluitantia transtra
> impediunt retrahitque pedes simul unda relabens.

Surveying the shore where neither the shallows heaved nor broken waves resounded, but where the sea was gliding forward unobstructed with the rising tide, Tarchon suddenly turned his prows toward the shore and exhorted his allies, 'Now, my chosen men, lean upon your stout oars, raise, propel your ships, split this hostile land with your prows, let the keel itself make a furrow. I do

[1] Text of Virgil throughout is from R. A. B. Mynors's Oxford edition (1969). Unattributed translations are my own. The phrase *per remos* (10.290) is a hapax. Servius suggests that Virgil is referring to the oars of rowboats (*id est scaphis*); Servius Danielis views the oars here as instruments of descent from the ships (*et deest 'descendunt'*). Given the proximity to shore implied in the rest of the description, I have accepted the suggestion of Conington and Nettleship (London, 1883), 3.263 ad loc., offered as well by S. J. Harrison, *Vergil: Aeneid 10* (Oxford, 1991), 150 ad loc., that Virgil envisions the crewmen sliding down the oars of the ship into shallow water.

not shrink from breaking a ship at such an anchorage, once the land is seized.' And when Tarchon had uttered these words, his allies rose upon their oars and conveyed their foaming ships onto the Latin soil until the prows occupied dry land and all of the hulls were resting unharmed. **But not your ship, Tarchon**. For dashed against the shoals, while hanging on an uneven sandbar it was held precariously suspended for a long time and wearied the waves, and then it broke up and amidst the waves disembarked the men, whom the splinters of oars and the swirling cross-benches entangled, while the ebbing tide dragged back their feet.[2]

Tarchon's entrance onto the epic stage is a debacle. Why? Part of the answer has rightly been seen in the juxtaposition of Aeneas' orderly landing with Tarchon's wreck—Aeneas shows us how to lead, Tarchon how not to.[3] Aeneas disembarks his men (*exponit*) on gangways (*pontibus*) from sterns that have been backed up toward the shore (*de puppibus altis*). Tarchon throws caution to the wind and rams the prow of his ship into the shore. As a result, Tarchon's ship breaks up and 'disembarks' (*exponit*) his men into the water.[4] The contrast between Tarchon and Aeneas could not be clearer. But why Tarchon? Is Virgil's desire to show Aeneas a model of prudence in war a sufficient motivation for wrecking his chief ally in the process?

Tarchon is a prominent name in the legends of the foundation of Etruscan civilization. According to Lycophron, Tarchon was a son of Telephus and a brother of Tyrrhenus.[5] By a different genealogy, reflected in Cato's *Origines*, he was Tyrrhenus' son.[6] According to Strabo, Tyrrhenus appointed Tarchon οἰκιστήϛ in the founding of the twelve cities of Etruria, and Tarquinia was named for him.[7]

Tarchon also plays a role in the myth of the miraculous boy Tages and the origins of the *Etrusca disciplina*.[8] While plowing in a field, Tarchon turned up a clod of earth

[2] At 10.291 I have preferred the alternative reading *spirant* in place of *sperat* (Mynors prints the latter). *Tollite, ferte rates* (10.295) is a striking conceit. I agree with the interpretation, most recently espoused by Harrison (n. 1), 151 ad loc., that Tarchon is asking his men in effect to strain so hard that they 'lift their ships bodily on to the shore with their oar–stroke'; hence my rendering 'raise, propel'. See also J. Henry, *Aeneidea* (Dublin, 1889–92), 4.51–2 ad loc. Conington and Nettleship (n. 1), ad loc., compare Val. Fl. 1.339 (*concussoque ratem gauderem tollere remo*), and V. Hunink, *M. Annaeus Lucanus Bellum Civile Book III: A Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1992) compares our passage with Luc. 3.526–7 (*hinc Graio remige classis tollitur*); I agree with A. J. Kleywegt, *Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, Book 1: A Commentary* (Leiden, 2005), 196 *ad* Val. Fl. 1.340, that Virgil's wording is meant to reflect that the ships 'have to be set ashore', whereas Lucan seems to have generalized the verb for rowing generally, with Valerius Flaccus imitating this latter usage.

[3] See the brief remarks of K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description* (London, 1968), 219. R. D. Williams, *Virgil: Aeneid* (London–Basingstoke, 1972–3), 2.341 *ad* 10.287ff. writes, 'The wild impetuosity of Tarchon ... stands in marked contrast with the purposeful and calm leadership of Aeneas.' See also J.-L. Pomathios, *Le pouvoir politique et sa représentation dans l'Énéide de Virgile* (Brussels, 1987), 55.

[4] On *exponit* in 10.305 as an 'ironic reminiscence' of the same verb at 10.288, see Harrison (n. 1), 153 ad loc. For backing up sterns to shore as the proper manoeuvre here, see Henry (n. 2), 4.51–2 ad loc.

[5] Lycoph. *Alex*. 1245–9; Servius (*ad Aen*. 10.198) likewise calls him *Tyrrheni frater*.

[6] Cato the Elder, *Origines* F45 Peter (Book 2 F15 in Chassignet's Budé edition) = Servius Danielis *ad Aen.* 10.179 (*Tyrrheno oriundus*).

[7] Strabo, *Geogr*. 5.2.2. Strabo does not make Tarchon's relationship to Tyrrhenus explicit; Tarchon certainly cannot be a brother here, since Tyrrhenus' only brother in Strabo's telling is Lydus. Servius Danielis (*ad Aen.* 10.198) mentions a tradition that Tarchon founded Mantua, and elsewhere cites Cato's *Origines* on Tarchon as the founder of Pisa (*ad Aen*. 10.179 = *Origines* F45 Peter).

[8] For a recent summary of the evidence, see R. Leighton, *Tarquinia: An Etruscan City* (London, 2004), 75–8; for a detailed reconstruction and analysis of the myth, see J. R. Wood, 'The myth of Tages', *Latomus* 39/2 (1980), 325–44; see also *OCD*[3] s.v. 'Tages' and 'Tarchon'

that metamorphosed into a boy, Tages. Aging quickly, Tages taught Tarchon the arts of divination, which were recorded in the 'Tagetic books'.[9] There may have been an alternate version of this myth in which Tarchon was the inventor of Etruscan divination—Strabo tells us that because of the intelligence he displayed from childhood on, Tarchon was said to have been born with grey hair.[10]

Important for Virgil's purposes would have been the tradition linking Tarchon with Aeneas. Lycophron has Tyrrhenus and Tarchon join an alliance of Aeneas and Odysseus.[11] Virgil of course does not upstage Aeneas by introducing Odysseus into his tale, nor does he complicate matters by putting Aeneas' arrival in close temporal proximity with the founding of Etruscan cities.[12] Aeneas will instead find Etruria ready-made and in turmoil. He and Tarchon will be joined together by prophecy and a common enemy.

(Linderski), and J. Linderski, *Roman Questions: Selected Papers* (Stuttgart, 1995), 590–1, 595–6, 676, 677–8.

[9] For a reconstructed narrative, see Wood (n. 8), 328–38. Among the most important sources are Lydus, *De Ostentis* 2–3; Cic. *Div*. 2.50–1; Ov. *Met*. 15.553–9. Tarchon's original role in the myth has been doubted on the grounds that he goes unnamed in our earliest accounts. In Cicero's telling (*Div*. 2.50–1), Tarchon is downgraded to an anonymous *bubulcus*; in Ovid's version, he is simply a Tyrrhenian plowman (*Met*. 15.553, *Tyrrhenus arator*). Nevertheless, we should not be hasty in doubting Lydus' identification of the plowman with Tarchon (Wood [n. 8], 340–2); as Wood points out, Cicero is making fun of the myth, and therefore 'has simply stripped the characters of both Tages and Tarchon of all their exalted attributes', including Tarchon's name, substituting the sarcastic *bubulcus* (Wood [n. 8], 341). Wood is certain that the Etruscan bronze mirror from Tuscania is a depiction of Tarchon and Tages (n. 8), 342; more recently, an alternative view is preferred whereby the older man depicted, 'Avle Tarchunus', a son of Tarchon, is a haruspex supervising 'Pavatarchies', perhaps a 'young' member of Tarchon's *gens*; on the meaning of *pava*, see L. Agostiniani and F. Nicosia, *Tabula Cortonensis* (Roma, 2000), 101; for the interpretation of the mirror, see M. Torelli, ' "Etruria principes disciplinam doceto". Il mito normativo dello specchio di Tuscania', in *Studia Tarquiniensia, Archaeologia Perusina*, 9 (Rome, 1988), 109–18; the latter's reading is endorsed by Linderski (n. 8, 1995), 678; see also *OCD*[3] s.v. 'Tarchon'; and by Leighton (n. 8), 76–7 (with notes and other literature). Nevertheless, there are good indications that Tarchon was linked with Tages before Lydus got hold of the tale; a scholiast of Lucan (*Scholia Bernensia*, *ad BC* 1.636) calls Tages' discoverer by a Latinized form of his name: *Tarquinius*, *flamen Dialis*. In lines on protecting crops from natural disaster by means of *Tuscis sacris*, Columella seems to associate Tages and Tarchon (*Rust.* 10.344–7; cf. Wood [n. 8], 336): *Hinc caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur aselli* / *Tyrrhenus fixisse Tages in limite ruris*. / *Vtque Iouis magni prohiberet fulmina Tarchon*, / *Saepe suas sedes praecinxit uitibus albis.*

[10] Strabo *Geogr*. 5.2.2: ὃν διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων σύνεσιν πολιὸν γεγεννῆσθαι μυθεύουσι. Cf. Wood (n. 8), 337.

[11] Lyc. *Alex*. 1242–3. Odysseus is not named in the passage, but is surely meant, as the scholiast says (*ad* 1242): *'Οδυσσέα φασὶν ἐν 'Ιταλίᾳ συντυχεῖν Αἰνείᾳ καὶ συνθήκας μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ εἰρήνην ποιῆσαι*. The text of the scholiast is from E. Scheer (ed.), *Lycophronis Alexandra* (Berlin, 1958; repr. of 1908 edn.), 2.356–7; for the tradition of an alliance between Aeneas and Odysseus, see Hellanicus F84 (Jacoby) = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2. For an aetiological myth involving Aeneas and Odysseus that purports to explain the Italian ritual of sacrificing with the head covered, see Festus s.v. *Saturnia* in the edition of W. M. Lindsay, *Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu Quae Supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* (Leipzig, 1913), 432.

[12] On Virgil's separation of Aeneas and Odysseus see N. Horsfall, 'Mr. Harrison and Corythus: a reply', *CQ* 26 (1976), 296–7. The chronological difficulties explain why Lydus distinguishes the Tarchon of the Tages myth from a supposedly later Tarchon of the Aeneas story (*De Ostentis* 3: *Τάρχων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος* (*γέγονε γὰρ δὴ καὶ νεώτερος, ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰνείου στρατευσάμενος χρόνων*) κτλ.). See N. Horsfall, 'Corythus: the return of Aeneas in Virgil and his sources', *JRS* 63 (1973), 68–79, at 74; and N. Horsfall, 'Corythus re-examined', in J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall (edd.), *Roman Myth and Mythography* (London, 1987), 89–104, at 97–8.

As Aeneas learns from Evander, Tarchon is the chief of an Etruscan alliance that has armed itself against Mezentius, the murderous king of Caere.[13] Tarchon cannot lead the alliance into battle himself because, as an old haruspex has declared, 'it is forbidden for an Italian to conquer so great a people: seek foreign commanders'.[14] Tarchon therefore has offered command of the allies to Evander (8.505–7). Pleading old age, Evander has declined (8.508–9), but now encourages Aeneas, who fulfils the requirement of being a foreigner, to seek the command from Tarchon. Since Mezentius has fled into exile with Turnus and the Rutulians, Aeneas and Tarchon are natural allies.

Rather than emphasize Tarchon's role in Aeneas' fate, Virgil swiftly summarizes the meeting of the heroes and their pact, of which we learn in a flashback that takes place as Aeneas is sailing down the coast with his new allies. In a space of nine lines we are told that after leaving Evander, Aeneas went to the Etruscan camp, introduced himself, explained his mission and what he could offer to the alliance, and that Tarchon made a pact with him without delay (10.148–56). We may reasonably chalk up this compression of significant events to Virgil's simply wanting to move the narrative along, especially since any extended treatment of the encounter between Tarchon and Aeneas would unnecessarily recapitulate the meeting between Aeneas and Evander. Yet, in the naval catalogue of Etruscan allies that immediately follows the flashback, a catalogue rich with Italic lore and where a few lines in honor of Tarchon would be unobtrusive, Virgil makes no use of the available legends: neither Tarchon nor the city for which he is the eponym, Tarquinia, is mentioned in the catalogue at all.[15]

Tarchon's nautical stunt has literary precedent. As Heinze suggests, the Etruscan king's bravado is likely intended to recall Thucydides' description of the attempt of Brasidas to land a force of Peloponnesian allies at Pylos (4.11–12):[16]

> Most conspicuous of all was Brasidas. For while commanding a ship he saw that on account of the place being treacherous, the captains and steersmen were hesitating and being careful not to wreck their ships, even where it seemed possible to land; he began shouting, saying that it was not right for them to spare their ships while the enemy was constructing a fort on their territory. He ordered them instead to break their ships and force a landing; and he bid the allies not to hesitate in the present circumstance to give their ships to the Spartans in exchange for their great

[13] In earlier versions of the story it appears that Turnus fled to Mezentius for help (Liv. 1.2.3; Cato F9–11 [Peter]). By allying Etruscan forces with Aeneas against Mezentius, Virgil provides Aeneas with a credible army for the war to come, and also foreshadows an eventual Italic unity; Virgil's twist need not be surprising in light of the alternative legends reported by Greek sources (see n. 11) that Aeneas joined forces with Tyrrhenus and Tarchon. For discussion and references see N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 7: A Commentary* (Leiden, 2000), 425 *ad* 7.647–54.

[14] *Aen*. 8.502–3, *nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem*: / *externos optate duces.*

[15] The omission of Tarquinia is discussed by J. Gagé, 'Les étrusques dans l'Énéide', *MEFR* 46 (1929), 114–44, at 123–5; see also Horsfall (n. 8), 77. If, in Virgil's thinking, Tarchon has not yet founded the city, it is still odd that he is not mentioned as its future eponym. The explanation of Servius Danielis (*ad* 10.213) for Tarchon's absence from the catalogue does not convince: *quare Tarchonem praeteriit: an quia illi omnes sub imperio eius fuerunt?* Throwing up his hands, W. P. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid* (Amsterdam, 1975), 189, falls back upon this suggestion.

[16] R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (Leipzig, 1915), 228, n. 1; cf. Harrison (n. 12), 152 *ad Aen*. 10.297–8. Conington and Nettleship (n. 1), 3.264 *ad* 10.297 note the parallel, but do not discuss it. J. G. Howie, in a recent and detailed analysis of Thucydides' depiction of Brasidas, 'The Aristeia of Brasidas', in *Papers of the Langford Latin Seminar* (Cambridge, 2005), 12.207–84, at 213 also considers the Thucydides passage a probable model for Tarchon's shipwreck scene, but slips in thinking that Tarchon is killed in the incident.

services, and by every means to land and take control of both the men and the place. As he was urging the others to act in this way, having compelled his own helmsman to run the ship aground, he made his way to the gangway. But when he tried to disembark he was driven back by the Athenians and, wounded many times, he fainted; he fell back into the outrigger and his shield slipped off his arm into the sea. When the shield washed up on shore, the Athenians took it up and later used it as a trophy that they set up in memory of this attack. The others, despite their great zeal, were unable to land on account of the difficulty of the terrain and the fact that the Athenians were holding fast and giving no ground.[17]

The admiration in antiquity for Thucydides' description of this episode might in itself seem a sufficient motivation for Virgil to use it.[18] Yet contrasts between the two narratives would suggest that Virgil is doing more than paying tribute to Thucydides. In Thucydides' account the hesitation of the allies implies a treacherous shoreline that requires the sort of daring maneuver that Brasidas proposes. What impels Tarchon to give the same order? The landing spot, by all appearances, is calm (*Aen.* 10.291–2). There are also striking contrasts in the outcomes of the attempted landings. None of Brasidas' ships lands, and only Brasidas gets close to reaching shore, though he too is unsuccessful. Like Brasidas, Tarchon stands out in contrast with his allies, but not in having a near success—Tarchon is unique in his utter failure. All of the other Etruscan ships perform the manoeuvre without any difficulties at all. Tarchon's ship alone does not make land, as Virgil emphasizes in a direct address (10.302): *sed non puppis tua Tarchon*. Moreover, Tarchon's action is not only completely ineffectual, it does not even afford him an opportunity to make a gallant attempt to fight his way onto shore. The poet chooses instead to draw our attention to the consequences of Tarchon's zeal on his ship and his men, lingering for several vivid lines on the disintegrating vessel and its flailing crew. Giving no indication of Tarchon's response to this disaster, Virgil abruptly shifts his gaze to Turnus and Aeneas as the battle is joined on shore. Tarchon is not mentioned again until he and Aeneas bury their dead in the following book (11.184).

The significant departures from the Thucydidean model only reinforce the impression that Tarchon's shipwreck is a peculiar mishap. Rightly viewing the contrast of the generalship of Aeneas and Tarchon as an insufficient motivation for this scene, Block is one of the few to comment on the ominous nature of Tarchon's shipwreck, deeming it 'the maritime equivalent of stumbling on the threshold'.[19] To what does the omen

[17] Thuc. 4.11.4–12.2 (text from H. S. Jones' 1942 Oxford edition): *πάντων δὲ φανερώτατος Βρασίδας ἐγένετο. τριηραρχῶν γὰρ καὶ ὁρῶν τοῦ χωρίου χαλεποῦ ὄντος τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ κυβερνήτας, εἴ που καὶ δοκοίη δυνατὸν εἶναι σχεῖν, ἀποκνοῦντας καὶ φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ ξυντρίψωσιν, ἐβόα λέγων ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη ξύλων φειδομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους, ἀλλὰ τάς τε σφετέρας ναῦς βιαζομένους τὴν ἀπόβασιν καταγνύναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἀποκνῆσαι ἀντὶ μεγάλων εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς ναῦς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιδοῦναι, ὀκείλανταςδὲ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀποβάντας τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ χωρίου κρατῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τούς τε ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐπέσπερχε καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην ἀναγκάσας ὀκεῖλαι τὴν ναῦν ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν· καὶ πειρώμενος ἀποβαίνειν ἀνεκόπη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τραυματισθεὶς πολλὰ ἐλιποψύχησέ τε καὶ πεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν ἡ ἀσπὶς περιερρύη ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐξενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν γῆν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνελόμενοι ὕστερον πρὸς τὸ τροπαῖον ἐχρήσαντο ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προὐθυμοῦντο μέν, ἀδύνατοι δ' ἦσαν ἀποβῆναι τῶν τε χωρίων χαλεπότητι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων καὶ οὐδὲν ὑποχωρούντων.*

[18] Heinze notes that Thucydides' narrative of Brasidas' attempt to land was 'als Meisterstück anschaulicher Darstellung berühmt' (n. 16), 228, n. 1, citing Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 3 and Lucian, *De conscr. hist.* 49.

[19] E. Block, *The Effects of Divine Manifestation on the Reader's Perspective in Vergil's Aeneid*

pertain? According to Block, Tarchon's wreck portends the horrors to come in the rest of the poem, 'the destructive, the unpropitious, aspects of war in Latium'.[20] As often, however, Virgil's art also points beyond the immediate context. The thesis of this article is that Tarchon's shipwreck is a foreboding of a dark chapter in Roman history. An examination of an earlier episode in the *Aeneid* will help us to understand Tarchon's debacle. The only other mortal to cause a shipwreck in Virgil's epic is one of Aeneas' captains, Sergestus, in the boat race of the funeral games for Anchises in Book 5. Although Sergestus' folly has received a good deal more attention than Tarchon's, in his case as well there is more to say.

THE SHIPWRECK OF SERGESTUS

The ship race in Book 5 is Sergestus' only major appearance.[21] As several critics have noted, we do not have the same familiarity with Aeneas' companions that we do with the participants in Homer's chariot race in *Iliad* 23.[22] One of the ways Virgil elicits our interest is by naming Roman clans that will descend from the contestants. He tells us that Sergestus, named third and riding in a ship called *Centaur*, will be the founder of the *gens Sergia* (5.116–23):

> velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim,
> mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,
> ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
> urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu
> impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi;
> Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,
> Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
> caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.

Mnestheus with a sharp crew rows the swift *Leviathan*, soon to be the Italian Mnestheus, the name from which the clan of the Memmii will descend; and Gyas commands the gigantic *Chimaera* with its huge bulk, as large as a city, propelled by Trojan youths in three tiers, with oars rising in three banks; and Sergestus, from whom the house of the Sergii has its name, rides in the great *Centaur*; and in the blue *Scylla* is Cloanthus, whence comes your race, Roman Cluentius.

Commentators since Servius have noted in their glosses on this passage the most infamous member of the *domus Sergia*, Lucius Sergius Catilina.[23] It is likely that

(New York, 1981), 103–4. I thank James O'Hara for drawing my attention to Block's comments on Tarchon. Block does not cite an important parallel that includes both stumbling and disembarkation, namely, Suetonius' anecdote about Julius Caesar's tripping as he lands in Africa. Caesar himself was not superstitious, but his attempt to put the mishap into a better light for his less enlightened subordinates is characteristically shrewd image management: *Prolapsus etiam in egressu navis verso ad melius omine*: '*Teneo te*', *inquit*, '*Africa*' (*Jul.* 59.1). *A fortiori*, an actual shipwreck such as Tarchon's would be especially ominous. On shipwreck and divine displeasure, see D. Ladouceur, 'Hellenistic preconceptions of shipwreck and pollution as a context for Acts 27–28', *HThR* 73 no. 3/4 (1980), 435–49, *passim*. Harrison calls Tarchon's shipwreck 'dramatic' (n. 1), xxvi; cf. also 153 *ad* 10.301–2, but does not discuss its motivation.

[20] Block (n. 19), 104.

[21] Sergestus is one of Aeneas' main Trojan companions. He appears for the first time, together with Antheus and Cloanthus, when Aeneas watches the captains he had feared lost in the storm approach Dido as supplicants (1.510). At 4.288 Aeneas gives orders to Sergestus, Mnestheus and Serestus to make secret preparations for leaving Carthage, and the line is repeated at 12.561 as Aeneas prepares to assault Laurentum.

[22] Heinze (n. 16), 152; H. W. Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (Chicago, 1927), 214; R. D. Williams, *Aeneidos Liber Quintus* (Oxford, 1960), xiv.

[23] Servius *ad* 5.121; Juan Luis de La Cerda, *P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos, Libri Sex Priores*

Virgil found the link between the eponym Sergestus and the *gens Sergia* in an antiquarian work, such as Varro's *De familiis Troianis*.[24] If we assume that Virgil did not invent the name, we may nonetheless safely posit that the decisions to include Sergestus in the epic, to draw attention to his link with the *gens Sergia*, and to have him participate in the ship race are undoubtedly the poet's own.

There can be no doubt that Virgil thought Catiline to have played a pivotal role in Roman history. On Aeneas' shield Vulcan depicts Catiline suspended from a rock in Tartarus, terrorized by the Furies (8.666–9):

> hinc procul addit
> Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
> et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
> pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem;

Far from here he adds the realm of Tartarus, the high doors of Dis, and the punishments for crimes, and you, Catiline, he shows hanging from a menacing rock, aghast at the faces of the Furies.

Catiline occupies a prominent position in Virgil's hell.[25] It is natural, therefore, that we look closely at his ancestor's performance in the ship race; that Sergestus wrecks his ship is no surprise.

Sergestus' shipwreck occurs in the middle of the race at a boulder in the sea where Aeneas has placed a green bough to signal the turning-point. One of the other contestants, Mnestheus, has just prayed that his ship not suffer the indignity of finishing last. Sergestus, in a frenzied state of mind, *furens animi*, steers too close to the rock. His ship crashes, and his men struggle to get underway again (5.201–9):

> attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem.
> namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget
> interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
> infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.
> concussae cautes, et acuto in murice remi
> obnixi crepuere, inlisaque prora pependit.
> consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur
> ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos
> expediunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.

(Cologne, 1642; for details on earlier printings of this commentary, see Valpy's recensus editionum in vol. 9 of the Delphin Classics edition of Virgil, ad loc.; the commentary is now available online at http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~jfarrell/); T. Plüss, 'Ein neuer römischer Geschichtschreiber', *Neues Schweizerisches Museum* 6 (1866), 36–64, at 41; Prescott (n. 22), 214; J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 109, 160.

[24] Servius *ad Aen.* 5.704; Hyginus also composed a work by the same title (Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.389); cf. T. P. Wiseman, 'Legendary genealogies in late-Republican Rome', *G&R*, 2nd ser., 21.2 (1974), 153–64, at 157.

[25] D. H. Berry, 'The criminals in Virgil's Tartarus: contemporary allusions in *Aeneid* 6.621–4', *CQ*, n.s., 42.2. (1992), 416–20, has made a persuasive case that Virgil is alluding to Catiline in the Sibyl's description of criminals in Tartarus (6.623 *hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos*), citing contemporary charges by Cicero and L. Lucceius that Catiline entered an incestuous marriage with his daughter (at 419–20). Berry also endorses Servius' suggestion that in the two preceding lines Virgil is making reference to another villainous contemporary, Antony (6.621–2): *vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem/ imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit* (cf. 417–19, for the evidence). See n. 54 below for further evidence of the juxtaposition of Antony and Catiline in Virgil's thinking.

Chance itself brought to the men the distinction they desired. For in a frenzied state as he steered his prow toward the rocks and approached the perilous zone on the inside, Sergestus, unlucky, got stuck on the jutting rocks. The crags were struck, the oars creaked as they strained against the jagged boulder, and the stove-in prow hung suspended. The crew leapt up, and with a great shout they backed water, and hauling out ironclad pikes and sharp poles they gathered their shattered oars from the sea.[26]

From at least the mid-nineteenth century onward it has been suggested that Sergestus' mishap is an allusion to the failure of Catiline's conspiracy.[27] Sergestus' ship hanging on the rock parallels Vulcan's depiction on Aeneas' shield of Catiline hanging on a rock in Tartarus.[28] The name of Sergestus' ship, *Centaur*, has connotations of the unrestrained appetites and impulses associated with Catiline.[29] The verb *invehitur*, which refers to Sergestus riding in his ship (5.122), recalls Catiline's penchant for verbally abusing his opponents.[30] The rock on which Sergestus wrecks is elsewhere in the narrative referred to as a *scopulus* (5.159, 5.180, 5.185) or with the plural *scopuli* (5.169) or *saxa* (5.166). When Sergestus wrecks on the rock, Virgil calls it a *murex*, a word that normally refers to a variety of shellfish. This passage is the earliest of our handful of attested instances of *murex* designating the jagged edge of a rock.[31] Kraggerud has recognized symbolism here.[32] Murex shells were the source of precious purple dye. Gracing the toga of the Roman high magistrate, purple became a metonym for the distinction of high office.[33] Catiline's conspiracy evolved out of his frustrated attempts to attain the consulship: we might say that Catiline wrecked his career on his lust for purple.[34] In support of Kraggerud's interpretation we should also note the other appearances of purple in the race. Purple garments are among the prizes laid out for the contest (5.111–12 *ostro* / *perfusae vestes*). As the Trojans line up

[26] My translation here draws on interpretations offered in the acute commentary of Williams (n. 22), 86–7. A woodcut from an edition of Virgil published by Johann Grüninger in Straßburg (1502) nicely illustrates Sergestus' ship aground on the rocks. The woodcuts from this edition are reprinted with commentary by M. Lemmer (ed.), *Vergil: Aeneis* (Leipzig, 1984); see p. 121 for the ship-race woodcut. Simplified versions of the woodcuts, drawn from an edition published in Venice in 1536, are reprinted in G. Monaco's narrative commentary on *Aeneid* 5, *Il libro dei ludi*[2] (Palermo, 1972), with the ship-race woodcut on p. 87.

[27] Plüss (n. 23), 41. Prescott (n. 22), 214, deems this episode 'the prototype of Catiline's experience and the explanation of his reckless nature'.

[28] Plüss (n. 23), 42; T. Plüss, *Der Reiz erzählender Dichtung* (Basel, 1882), 20; E. Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien* (Oslo, 1968), 177; H. Mørland, ' "Horaz", "Virgil" und andere Gestalten in der *Aeneis*', *SO* 43 (1968), 57–67, at 67.

[29] Plüss (n. 28), 18; H. Mørland, '*Nisus*, *Euryalus* und andere Namen in der *Aeneis*', *SO* 33 (1957), 87–109, at 107. See also W. S. M. Nicoll, 'Chasing chimaeras', *CQ*, n.s., 35.1 (1985), 134–9, at 134–5.

[30] Mørland (n. 29), 106; see also Kraggerud (n. 28), 176, n. 177, and P. Hardie, 'Ships and ship-names in the *Aeneid*', in M. Whitby, P. Hardie and M. Whitby (edd.), *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Oak Park, 1987) 163–71, at 165.

[31] *OLD* s.v. *murex* 2b. The parallels catalogued in *TLL* (s.v. *murex* 2.2) consist of late glosses on Virgil's usage in this passage and, arguably, of imitations by later poets (e.g. Sil. Ital. 17.276).

[32] Kraggerud (n. 28), 177, n. 179: 'Möglich, dass Virgil dabei an die Wahlen, die Catilina verlor, gedacht hat'.

[33] See *OLD* s.v. '*purpura*' 3c for its use in reference to the high magistracies; the word is also used of the murex shell and its dye (*OLD* s.v. 1 and 2).

[34] Kraggerud (n. 28), 177: 'Virgil scheint auszudrücken, dass "der Purpur" ihn zum Fall gebracht hat'. As R. Meyer has pointed out in *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels, 1970), 37–47, the donning of purple was not restricted to Roman magistrates. Nevertheless, purple retained symbolic associations with high office. Its wearers were liable to the charge of ambitious affectation. As Meyer notes (p. 43), Cicero inveighs against followers of Catiline *qui fulgent purpura* (*Catil*. 2.5).

for the race, Virgil says that they are resplendent in gold and purple (5.132–3 *ipsique in puppibus auro / ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori*). Cloanthus, the winner of the race, receives as first prize a cloak with a purple border (5.250–1 *victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum / purpura maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit*), arguably another allusion to consular purple, the first prize in the historical contest of Roman clans.

In sharp contrast to his comrades, their temples bound with purple fillets (5.268–9 *iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi / puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis*), Sergestus returns to shore too late for the awards ceremony (5.270–2):

> cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revulsus
> amissis remis atque ordine **debilis** uno
> inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.

Sergestus, having barely and with much skill torn himself from the cruel rock, with oars missing and crippled in one tier, was steering his ship, a laughing-stock, without glory.

There is an interpretation of this passage that deserves more notice than it has received. In a brief article Davison examines a denarius minted by the quaestor Marcus Sergius Silus in 116 or 115 B.C.[35] The coin depicts Silus' grandfather of the same name astride a horse, brandishing a sword and a severed head in his left hand. This Marcus Sergius Silus, the great-grandfather of Catiline by a different branch of the *gens Sergia*, was likely the most famous member of the *gens* before Catiline.[36] Pliny the Elder, probably using Varro as his source, writes with great admiration of Silus' exploits in the Second Punic War.[37] Pliny tells us that Silus lost his right hand on his second military campaign and was wounded twenty-three times in two campaigns. He fought four times with only his left hand, and two of his horses were stabbed from under him. With an iron prosthesis tied to his right arm, he rode into battle, raised the siege of Cremona, saved Placentia, and captured twelve enemy fortifications in Gaul. Pliny says that Silus himself recounted these accomplishments in a speech he gave during his praetorship (197 B.C.) when defending himself against an attempt of his colleagues to prevent him from performing sacrifices on account of his disability (*HN* 7.105, *cum in praetura sacris arceretur a collegis ut debilis*).[38]

[35] B. Davison, 'Sergestus, called Sergius', *SAN* 1.1 (1969), 12; Davison's article, not cited by M. Beagon, 'Beyond comparison: M. Sergius, *Fortunae Victor*', in G. Clark and T. Rajak (edd.), *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Miriam Griffin* (Oxford, 2002), 111–32, is noticed in *Enc. Virg.* s.v. 'Sergesto' (Polverini), 4.793. The quaestor is listed in *RE* s.v. 'Sergius' 42 (Münzer). For the coin, see E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952), no. 544, and M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*. 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1974), no. 286, where the coin is assigned to 116 or 115 B.C.; cf. *MRR* 3.193.

[36] On this M. Sergius Silus, *praetor urbanus* in 197 B.C., see *MRR* 2.333 and *RE* s.v. 'Sergius' 40 (Münzer).

[37] Plin. *HN* 7.104–6. See now M. Beagon's detailed commentary, *The Elder Pliny on the Human Animal: Natural History Book 7* (Oxford, 2005), 293–8. Cf. also *RE* s.v. 'Sergius' 40 (Münzer). Varro's authorship has been deduced from the fact that Valerius Maximus cites Varro for the exploits of L. Siccius Dentatus (3.2.24), which are recorded also by Pliny, without attribution, immediately before those of M. Sergius Silus (*HN* 7.101–3). Beagon is cautious on this point, since Valerius Maximus does not mention Silus at all (n. 35), 120, n. 12, 124–5.

[38] As Beagon notes (n. 35), 112, Pliny gives us no indication of whether Silus was successful in defending his right to participate in sacrifices. M. G. Morgan, 'Priests and physical fitness', *CQ*, n.s., 24.1 (1974), 137–41, at 139 (not cited by Beagon) is too quick to infer that Silus overcame his colleagues' objection. We need not assume, as Morgan does, that Silus would have to have been removed from office to be kept from the sacrificial altar.

Davison suggests that Virgil's depiction of Sergestus' ship hobbling to shore is a tribute to Silus' indomitable spirit. Although she does not compare in detail Pliny's description of Silus with Virgil's description of Sergestus salvaging his ship, evidence supporting Davison's interpretation is easy to see. Silus is twice described in Pliny's account as *debilis*, the same word applied to Sergestus in *Aen*. 5.571. The loss of a tier of oars from Sergestus' ship represents Silus' lost arm. When Sergestus' men resort to ironclad poles (*ferratae trudes*, *Aen*. 5.208) to free the ship, the poet may have in mind Silus' iron prosthetic hand (*dextra ferrea*); it is worth noting that one of the standard terms for a grappling iron in Virgil's time was *manus ferrea* (cf. *OLD* s.v. *manus* 2d; compare χεὶρ σιδηρᾶ in Thucydides, e.g. 4.25, 7.62). One might be tempted to stop here, then, and say with Davison that Sergestus' determined crawl with his crippled ship is a tribute to the toughness displayed by his famous Roman descendant.

But Virgil's mention of the *gens Sergia* also calls Catiline to mind. The poet's contemporaries would have been primed by this cue to seek allusions in the ensuing narrative to the most recent and most notorious representative of the *gens Sergia*. They would have seen such allusions both in the shipwreck itself and in the simile in which Sergestus' grim determination to salvage his ship is compared to the struggle of a half-dead snake on a road (5.273–80):[39]

> qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,
> aerea quem obliquum rota transiit aut gravis ictu
> **seminecem** liquit saxo lacerumque viator;
> nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus
> parte **ferox ardens**que oculis et sibila colla
> arduus attollens; pars vulnere clauda retentat
> nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem:
> tali remigio navis se tarda movebat;

Just as often happens when a serpent has been caught on the shoulder of a road and a bronze wheel has run over it as it comes from the side, or a traveler has struck it with a heavy stone and left it half-dead and mutilated; in vain, as it tries to flee, it makes long coils with its body, in part fierce and with eyes ablaze and holding up straight its hissing neck; part is maimed by the wound and holds it back weaving in knots and folding back onto itself. With such rowing did the ship creep slowly along.

The simile of the crippled snake well illustrates the fierce vitality we see in Pliny's description of the crippled Marcus Sergius Silus. But the comparison has a sinister dimension as well. *Ferox* and *ardens* recall the phrase *furens animi* (5.202) used to describe Sergestus at the moment of the shipwreck.[40] Although it is rightly pointed out that Sergestus redeems himself by saving his ship,[41] the simile casts a shadow on

[39] Strictly speaking, the description of the snake as *parte ferox . . . arduus attollens* corresponds to Sergestus' ship under sail; see D. A. West, 'Multiple-correspondence similes in the Aeneid', in S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1990), 429–44, at 437–8. Yet, as J. Gíslason, *Die Naturschilderungen und Naturgleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis* (Diss., Münster, 1937), 84, observes, the simile applies to Sergestus as well: 'Offenbar gilt das Gleichnis nicht nur dem erlittenen Schiffbruch an sich, sondern gerade diese nähere Schilderung der unbändigen Wut der Schlange, die auch nach der Katastrophe mit den Augen funkelt und "ihren zischenden Rachen steil in die Luft emporrichtet", soll eine Parallele zu der Haltung des Sergestus sein, der in V 202 als "furens animi" bezeichnet wird.' In a similar vein West points out that there is 'clear responsion between *seminecem liquit saxo* in the simile and *infelix saxis haesit* in the narrative at line 204'.

[40] Kraggerud (n. 28), 175; Gíslason (n. 39), 84.

[41] Monaco (n. 26), 98; Hardie (n. 30), 166.

this redemption. The comparison of Sergestus' ship to a serpent struggling for its life on the side of the road is a dubious compliment at best. It has been suggested that the wounding of the snake in the simile alludes to the crushing defeat of Catiline's conspiracy.[42] But the snake is half-dead (*seminex*), not annihilated. The simile is better explained as a precise allusion to Catiline himself. Again, physical resilience is the key. In his biography of Catiline, Sallust juxtaposes Catiline's depraved moral character with his physical strength and stamina (*Cat.* 5.1–7):

L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, **fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque**. Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina caedes rapinae discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique iuventutem suam exercuit. **Corpus patiens inediae algoris vigiliae supra quam quoiquam credibile est**.

Lucius Catiline, born of a noble family, was a man of great strength, both of mind and body, but his character was evil and depraved. From his youth onward he revelled in internal wars, murder, theft, and civil discord. It was in these that he spent his formative years. He had a body that could withstand hunger, cold, and sleep-deprivation to an unbelievable extent.[43]

It is difficult to imagine that Catiline did not invoke his indefatigable ancestor Silus in cultivating his own reputation for endurance, which was so well ingrained in his popular image that Cicero could refer to it sarcastically when urging Catiline to leave Rome and take the field (*Catil.* 1.26): *Habes ubi ostentes tuam illam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties*.[44] Catiline's death likewise suggests a sort of sinister resilience. The discovery of his body on the battlefield where he and his followers fought to the death is described thus (Sal. *Cat.* 61.1–5):

Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, **paululum etiam spirans ferociamque animi quam habuerat vivos in voltu retinens.**

Catiline was found far from his comrades amidst the bodies of his enemies, even then still breathing a little and maintaining in the expression of his face that ferocity of spirit that he had when he was alive.

A memorable end. Catiline is resilient in death, still breathing, just as the snake in Virgil's simile is only half-dead. He retains his *ferocia animi*, just as the mutilated snake remains *ferox* (5.277). Likely inspired by his ancestor Silus, Catiline projected an aura of indomitability that surrounded him even as he lay dying on the battlefield. Virgil's description of Sergestus' crippled ship is an allusion to an innate trait of persistence exhibited by both of the famous members of the *gens Sergia*, combining in one image admiration, derision, and foreboding.

[42] R. A. Hornsby, *Patterns of Action in the Aeneid: An Interpretation of Vergil's Epic Similes* (Iowa City, 1970), 63, writes, 'The fact that it is Sergestus' ship which was broken may allude to the scotching of Catiline, Sergestus' descendant'; Hornsby is anticipated by Kraggerud (n. 28), 177: 'Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass das Bild des malträtierten Tieres zugleich die schwere Niederlage und den Tod des Staatfeindes Catilina andeuten soll.' Rose's suggestion that 'the image says something about Aeneas, his change of fortune since the night of Troy's fall, and his new situation after separation from Dido' is far-fetched. A. Rose, 'Virgil's ship-snake simile (*Aeneid* 5.270–81)', *CJ* 78.2 (1982–3), 115–21, at 115.

[43] The text of Sallust is taken from L. D. Reynolds's Oxford edition (1991).

[44] Beagon compares the references by Cicero and Sallust to Catiline's endurance with the vigour of M. Sergius Silus (n. 35), 128–9, but does not consider Virgil's treatment of Sergestus (the latter mentioned only in passing, 112, n. 4).

Sergestus is not, of course, the evil Catiline. The episode has a happy ending (*Aen.* 5.281–5):

> vela facit tamen et plenis subit ostia velis.
> Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat,
> servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.
> olli serva datur, operum haud ignara Minervae,
> Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati.

But he hoists his sails anyway, and with full sails he approaches the harbor. Aeneas, happy that the ship has been saved and his comrades have been brought back, gives Sergestus the promised prize. He is awarded a slave woman, one not unskilled in the works of Minerva, a Cretan by birth, Pholoe, with twin sons at her breasts.

On the surface, the return of Sergestus and the awarding of his prize mark a happy and harmonious conclusion to the boat race.[45] But has the shadow of Catiline been fully cast off? Although on one level the awarding of the Cretan slave woman is a light, happy gesture,[46] her association with Crete adds a discordant note.[47] Moreover, Virgil has likely chosen her name, Pholoe, for its significant associations with Sergestus' shipwreck. As critics have pointed out, Pholoe recalls the creatures for which Sergestus' ship is named. Pholoe was the name of a mountain in Arcadia famous as a home to the Centaurs. Among the latter was Pholos, a rather civilized creature who played host to Heracles.[48] Does the name of Sergestus' prize, echoing the name of a gentle Centaur, mean that Sergestus' 'Centaur-nature' has been tamed?[49]

Perhaps. But lurking here may be another, hitherto unnoticed touch of Virgilian ingenuity. Noting that Pholoe is often applied to females who resist love (Horace, at

[45] Monaco (n. 26), 98, rightly emphasizes 'la felice conclusione degli sforzi di Sergesto e la gioia con cui Enea gli offre un ricco dono di consolazione'.

[46] In the words of H. T. Plüss, 'eine Gabe, die im Vergleich mit den vornehmeren, idealeren Preisen der andern etwas Niedrigeres, aber Erheiterndes hat'; *Vergil und die epische Kunst* (Leipzig, 1884; repr. Aalen, 1980), 151.

[47] We are to infer that she has been brought along by the Trojans after they abandoned that disastrous island. *Aen.* 3.137–42; for a discussion of the negative associations of Crete in the *Aeneid*, see R. Armstrong, 'Crete in the *Aeneid*: recurring trauma and alternative fate', *CQ* 52.1 (2002), 321–40, *passim*. The island has proverbial associations in Greek and Roman literature with deception, as observed by Plüss (n. 23), 41; see also S. J. Heyworth, 'Deceitful Crete: *Aeneid* 3.84 and the *Hymns* of Callimachus', *CQ*, n.s., 43.1 (1993), 255–7, at 256–7. Epitomizing the ancient stereotype is Zenobius' explanation of the verb κρητίζειν (in Leutsch and Schneidewin's *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*) and Schneidewin's note ad loc.; cf. also A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), s.v. 'Creta' (p. 98). Crete is a false home to the Trojans, a place of pestilence; see Armstrong (above), 339, n. 86: 'A similar cloud often seems to hover over gifts with Cretan connections. A Cretan slave woman is given to Sergestus, whose ship is broken in the race (5.281–4), Ascanius gives the doomed Euryalus a Cretan sword (9.303–5), and part of Chloreus' equipment which fatally attracts Camilla is a Lycian bow with Cretan arrows (11.772–3).'

[48] See Kraggerud (n. 28), 178–9, anticipating M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names* (Oxford, 1997), 205. The story of Pholos and Heracles is told most fully by Apollodorus (2.5.4–5). When Pholos opens some wine for his guest, the neighbouring Centaurs are attracted by the scent, and in the ensuing melee Heracles shoots them dead with poisoned arrows (see also Eur. *Her*. 364–74). Pholos, pulling an arrow from a corpse out of curiosity, drops it on his hoof and dies.

[49] Kraggerud (n. 28), 179, 'am Ende ist aber diese Natur gebändigt und friedlich geworden'. But Virgil never alludes to the tradition of Pholos' 'peaceful' or hospitable nature. At *Georgics* 2.456 Pholos is killed in the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. At *Aen*. 8.294 he appears in an Arcadian hymn as one of the creatures that Hercules has heroically subdued.

Carm. 2.5.17 calls her *Pholoe fugax*; Statius' *Silv*. 2.3 tells of how a nymph named Pholoe eluded Pan), Nisbet and Hubbard suggest that Pholoe was the subject of a now lost Hellenistic poem in which she, like the rugged Arcadian mountain of the same name, had, in effect, a heart of stone.[50] The associations of the name Pholoe with stone are indeed impressive. Tibullus tells Marathus not to weep because she cannot be broken (1.8.67 *desistas lacrimare, puer.* ***non frangitur*** *illa*).[51] In a poem addressed perhaps to Tibullus himself (*Carm*. 1.33, *Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor* / *immitis Glycerae*), Horace makes Pholoe hard-hearted to the love of Cyrus (1.33.6–7): *Cyrus in* ***asperam*** / *declinat Pholoen*. The mountain is described in similar language. Cataloguing the Centaurs, Lucan says of Monychus: ***Aspera*** *te Pholoes* ***frangentem****, Monyche,* ***saxa***.[52] The link between the name Pholoe and stone adds further irony to the conclusion of Sergestus' mishap on the rock: as a consolation prize he is awarded a woman whose name connotes the unyielding material itself.[53] The uninitiated will have seen only a happy ending in Sergestus' consolation prize. The learned would have seen the shadow as well.[54]

[50] R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *Horace: Odes Book I* (Oxford, 1970), 373 *ad* Hor. *Carm*. 1.33.7.

[51] R. Maltby, *Tibullus: Elegies* (Cambridge, 2002), 47.

[52] *BC* 6.391. As if to underline the harshness of the place, Statius (*Ach*. 1.168) says that Achilles killed a lioness under a crag on Mt Pholoe (*Pholoes sub rupe*); one thinks of Dido's reproach of Aeneas' hard-heartedness (*Aen*. 4.465–7).

[53] The anonymous reviewer has suggested to me that the depiction of Pholoe as a mother is perhaps to be interpreted as an allusion to Crete's role as an *antiqua mater* (3.96) to the Trojans (the wrong one, as it turns out); the mention of children at her breast, *sub ubere*, recalls the description of Crete, *uberrima regna*, in 3.106. One can only wonder what lies behind Virgil's making Pholoe appear with twin boys. Are they doublets for Romulus and Remus, i.e. negative counterparts to the founding twins, sprung from a 'false' mother? Perhaps other associations are at play. In his *Argonautica*, Valerius Flaccus compares Cyzicus' rushing headlong into battle against Jason with the Centaur Rhoetus' rushing madly against Heracles and Theseus (3.65–7): *qualis in Alciden et Thesea Rhoetus iniqui* / *nube meri* ***geminam Pholoen*** *maioraque cernens* / *astra ruit*. Seeing double is a feature of madness in Euripides' *Bacchae* (imitated by Virgil at *Aen*. 4.470); for parallels, see F. Spaltenstein's comment ad loc. in *Commentaire des Argonautica de Valérius Flaccus (livres 3, 4 et 5)* (Brussels, 2004), 26. There may be some further significance in Valerius' 'twin Pholoe'. Perhaps both he and Virgil are simply alluding to the dual nature of the Centaurs; cf. Ov. *Met*. 12.502–3 (*geminae vires . . . duplex natura*); for parallels cf. F. Bömer's commentary (Heidelberg, 1982) *ad Met*. 12.502–3 and 12.449; cf. also A. S. Hollis, *Ovid: Metamorphoses VIII* (Oxford, 1970), *ad* 8.133 and 8.155. Ovid's *duplex natura* recalls Euripides' description of the Minotaur in the *Cretans*: ταύρου μέμικται καὶ βροτοῦ διπλῇ φύσει (F472b 29, Kannicht). Perhaps the Cretan Pholoe and her twins suggest a link to this other *monstrum biforme* as well (*Met*. 8.156; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6.25). Lest I begin to see double myself, I will stop this note here.

[54] I have necessarily limited my attention to Sergestus—an attempt to interpret the rest of the race would have carried me far beyond my immediate purpose. The interested reader will want to note the following points. Virgil's list of contestants at the opening of the race bears a chiastic relationship to the outcome; the first and last contestants catalogued will finish second and first; Sergestus and Gyas, listed second and third, and coming in last and third, respectively, both lose because of fits of passion, Gyas angrily hurling overboard his pilot Menoetes for steering too far away from the turning-point (5.159–82). On the chiasmus see Plüss (n. 28), 16 and Kraggerud (n. 28), 135. Plüss (n. 23), 42–3, makes the intriguing suggestion that the mishaps of Sergestus and Gyas are a critique of the patrician class, with Gyas representing the old patrician order (Virgil leaves Gyas without descendants; Servius supplies the ancient patrician *gens Gegania*, which apparently had died out by Virgil's day; cf. Kraggerud [n. 28], 133, n. 47) and Sergestus embodying, as Plüss would later phrase it 'den entarteten Adel, welcher mit der Verschwörung des Sergiers Catilina, durch finstre, blinde Leidenschaften verführt, sich in Schimpf und Schande gestürzt habe' (n. 28), 11–12. In Plüss's view, Gyas' lack of respect for the elder steersman Menoetes reflects, in the language appropriate to the place and time in which Plüss wrote, an

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TARCHON'S SHIPWRECK

We may now return to Tarchon's shipwreck. As noted above, Sergestus and Tarchon are the only mortals in the epic who cause shipwrecks. Aside from passing notices of the similarities in the wording of the two passages, the episodes have not received detailed comparison.[55] Both shipwrecks are the result of sudden and dangerous manoeuvres. Desperate for the lead in the boat race, Sergestus attempts in a fit of madness (*furens animi*) to make a close turn around the rock. In a similar passion Tarchon, when the allies of Aeneas are about to land, suddenly (*subito*) decides to ram the prow of his ship into the shore. In both cases the results are for the moment disastrous. Yet neither episode has practical consequence for the rest of the narrative. Sergestus returns to shore and receives a consolation prize. Tarchon himself reappears unscathed in Book 11. The peculiar isolation of these incidents compels us to ponder them. To make sure that we pay attention, Virgil indicates at the opening of the race that Sergestus is the founder of the *gens Sergia*. In Tarchon's case, Virgil needs no antiquarian aside to bring out the sinister associations. Tarchon is the eponym of Tarquinii, the home city of the tyrant-clan driven from Rome after the harsh rule of Tarquinius Superbus and the rape of Lucretia by his son Sextus.

As with Catiline, Virgil acknowledges within the poem the prominent role of the Tarquins in Roman history. Anchises names them and alludes to their ultimate crime in the next line when he singles out 'Brutus the Avenger' (*Brutus ultor*; 6.817–18). In the ecphrasis of Aeneas' shield, twenty lines after we see Catiline dangling from a rock

aristocratic temper akin to Prussian haughtiness, *junkerlichen Uebermuth* (n. 23), 43. Plüss links the luckier contestants to Augustan political thought, which stressed the 'Allgemeinheit des römischen Bürgerrechtes, Gleichstellung Italiens und der Provinzen mit Rom und also Identificierung von Römern und Italikern' (n. 23), 42. The winner, Cloanthus, is the forerunner of the plebeian Cluentius, addressed by the poet as *Romane*, while Mnestheus, forefather of the Memmii, is given the honorific epithet *Italus*, a celebration of the Augustan ideal of *tota Italia*; on the propaganda value of the concept, see R. Syme's chapter in *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), 276–93; compare Virgil's depiction of Augustus at Actium (8.678): *Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar*. Sergestus and Gyas are not linked with such positive epithets. This is easy to understand in the case of Sergestus; see Kraggerud (n. 28), 134. But what about Gyas? Actium may be the key. Nicoll has gathered evidence suggesting that Gyas is in fact a 'minor, less serious version of Antony' (n. 29), 138; again, one notes that Gyas is the only figure that Virgil does not link with a family. Finding him in Varro or Hyginus, Virgil may well have been more interested, *pace* Plüss, in the mythic possibilities of the name Gyas than in the patrician *Geganii*. In myth Gyas was a hundred-handed giant; when Augustus fought Antony at Actium, therefore, he took the role of Apollo in a Gigantomachy. If Nicoll is correct, by making both Gyas and Sergestus have mishaps, Virgil is implicitly comparing Antony and Catiline (as did Cicero explicitly in the *Philippics*). This is consistent with Berry's suggestion that Virgil purposely juxtaposes allusions to Antony and Catiline in the Sibyl's description of criminals in Tartarus (6.621–4; see my n. 25 above), and accords as well with the observation that Catiline and Antony are given prominence just a few lines apart in the ecphrasis of Aeneas' shield—Catiline at 8.666–9 and Antony at 8.685–8; Berry (n. 25), 420. On Catiline and Antony in Augustan propaganda and their placement in the Underworld, see also A. Powell, 'The peopling of the Underworld', in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (London, 1998), 85–100, esp. 89–92.

[55] The verbal echoes are noted, without further comment, by Williams (n. 22), 87 *ad* 5.206, and Harrison (n. 1), 153 *ad* 10.303. In a useful summary of the symmetries between Books 5 and 10, W. Wimmel, in a review of Monaco, *Il libro dei ludi*, *Gnomon* 33.1 (1961), 47–54, at 51, points out that each book offers two examples of 'Komik zu Schiff': in Book 5 Gyas throws Menoetes overboard and Sergestus wrecks; in Book 10 Tarchon wrecks and Turnus is carried off by a ship in a manner that makes him look the fool. Wimmel notes briefly that Tarchon's ship resembles (*ähnelt*) the wreck of Sergestus, but offers nothing further. Pomathios (n. 3), 55, points out the

in hell, Vulcan depicts the siege of Rome by Lars Porsenna (8.646–7), the Etruscan king of Clusium who tries to restore to power the exiled Tarquin (*Tarquinius eiectus*). Harrison has tentatively suggested that the infamy of the Tarquins created a special problem for Virgil's Etruscan catalogue, and that this negative association might explain Tarchon's omission.[56] While Tarchon's absence from the catalogue conceivably reflects nothing more than the unfinished state of the poem, Harrison's suggestion gains considerable force if we apply it to Tarchon's strange and remarkable shipwreck. The ship race of Book 5 provides the logic of an analogy: Tarchon is to the Tarquins as Sergestus is to Catiline. Because his descendants will be infamous tyrants, Tarchon must wreck.

We have no direct genealogy linking Tarchon with the Tarquins. The father of Tarquinius Superbus, Tarquinius Priscus, was a foreigner of Corinthian extraction;[57] yet the mother of Superbus was Tanaquil, a high-born woman from Tarquinia.[58] The name is arguably more important than the lineage, however. Tarchon is the traditional eponym of Tarquinia. That Tarchon would have suggested Tarquin to a Roman ear is beyond doubt. The link between Tarchon and Tarquinius Superbus is implicitly acknowledged in the epithet that Silius Italicus applies to Tarchon in the catalogue of the Roman allies facing Hannibal at Cannae. Among them are Etruscan contingents: 'Caere sent a select force, as did Cortona, the house of proud Tarchon, and ancient Graviscae' (*lectos Caere viros, lectos Cortona, superbi / Tarchonis domus, et veteres misere Graviscae*).[59] As noted earlier, in a brief narration of the myth of Tages the *Scholia Bernensia* on Lucan 1.636 calls Tarchon *Tarquinius, flamen Dialis*.[60]

The name Tarchon, therefore, evokes the Tarquins. The shipwreck itself, an ill-omened arrival of an Etruscan chief on the threshold of Latin soil (to borrow Block's insight), is a foreboding of the reckless passion that will lead to the Tarquins' departure from Rome. Tarchon's wreck is the result of a sudden impulse to attack the land itself, which he terms *terra inimica*.[61] The immediate cause for this enmity between Tarchon and the land would be the presence of Mezentius on the territory; if

similarity in the recklessness of these two characters, but only in passing, and with no notice of the significance of their names.

[56] Harrison (n. 1), 108; he cites Gagé here, who suggests that both Tarquinia and Veii go unmentioned in the catalogue because they were famous for their enmity toward Rome. This would explain why, as Gagé notes, 'Son Tarchon, chef de tous les Étrusques, n'a d'attaches précises en nul endroit' (n. 15), 125; cf. also 129 and 141, and Horsfall (n. 12), 77. The associations of Tarchon's name with the Tarquins may also explain why Virgil ignores the tradition that made Tarchon the founder of his beloved Mantua, favouring the alternative tradition that gave Ocnus this role; see Gagé (n. 15), 123; for references on Ocnus, see Harrison (n. 1), *ad* 10.198.

[57] Livy 1.34; cf. R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy: Books 1–5* (Oxford, 1965), 140–5 ad loc.

[58] Livy 1.34.4: *summo loco nata*.

[59] Sil. Ital. *Pun*. 8.472–3. As Horsfall has suggested, Cortona may have displaced Tarquinii as Tarchon's home via ancient speculation on the location of Corythus (n. 12, 1973), 71. It should be noted, however, that Horsfall has recently retreated from the identification of Corythus with Tarquinii (n. 13), 168 *ad* 7.209. It is remarkable that Virgil leaves Tarchon without any clear home city—Aeneas meets him near Caere. Cf. Horsfall (n. 12, 1973), 77; see also n. 56, above.

[60] *Nam Tarquinius flamen Dialis cum sementis causa araret, puerum dicitur exarasse Iovis nepotem filium Genii*. Text from the edition of H. Usener, *M. Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia* (Leipzig, 1869).

[61] Tarchon's enmity toward the land turns out to be mutual: his ship runs aground on a *dorsum iniquum* (10.303). As Harrison points out (n. 1) ad loc., *iniquus* here suggests both 'uneven' and 'hostile'. The wording of 10.303 is very similar to the description of the wreck of Aeneas' comrades in the storm of *Aeneid* 1 (cp. *pendet* in 1.106 *dorsum* at 1.110, and *vadis* in 1.112). The

we extend our gaze to the horizon of Roman history, however, Tarchon's words take on a prophetic significance. The story of Lucretia embodies political and ethnic conflict, a tyranny by a decadent foreign aristocracy over virtuous Romans and their Latin neighbors (e.g. Gabii).[62] Tarchon's failure to land safely foreshadows the failed rule of the Tarquins.

Tarchon's exhortation to the Etruscan allies to plough furrows into the land with the keels of their ships is loaded with irony (10.296). The image of ships ploughing the water is a common enough poetic conceit (see 10.197).[63] But a ship ploughing into land is out of its element. As noted earlier, Tarchon was the legendary farmer who happened upon Tages while ploughing, thereby gaining for his people the boon of divination. Here Tarchon's ploughmanship brings bad luck.

The ultimate outrage of the Tarquins, the rape of Lucretia, is evoked by Tarchon's language. The reckless attitude of a Sextus Tarquinius is discernible in Tarchon's sudden fixation on a violent landing and his flagrant disregard for the consequences. While Tarchon's exhortation that the allies plough the shore (*sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina*) points ironically to his role in Etruscan myth, the metaphor is also suggestive of sexual violence.[64] Turning back to Virgil's model, Thucydides, we see that Brasidas' command, rendered in indirect discourse and without metaphor, is nevertheless similarly vivid and harsh. Although Brasidas' verb for exhorting his allies to 'force' a landing, βιάζεσθαι, is used in a technical sense and is unremarkable in a military context, the other major meaning of the word may well have been on Virgil's mind when developing a scene of futile recklessness for the ancestor of the Tarquins.

The case for viewing Tarchon's shipwreck in Book 10 in terms of sexual violence is bolstered by an examination of how Virgil depicts his remarkable departure from the poem in Book 11, the Etruscan commander's only other major appearance. Raging invincible in her *aristeia*, Camilla has demoralized the Etruscan allies. At the beginning of the fatal turn of the tide against her, Jupiter inspires Tarchon with indignation at the cowardice of his men (*A.* 11.727–31).

anonymous reviewer, emphasizing this, rightly notes that Tarchon 'succeeds in causing the same damage as Juno'.

[62] I. Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformations* (Oxford, 1982), 9.

[63] Isidore (*Etym*. 1.37.3) preserves a line by an unknown author that may have been Virgil's model: *pontum pinus arat, sulcum premit alta carina*. Varro of Atax and Ennius have been suggested as possible sources of the line; see Conington and Nettleship (n. 1), 3.264 *ad* 10.296 and Harrison (n. 1), ad loc. Coincidentally, Virgil employs the metaphor in the ship race of Book 5: (5.142) *infindunt pariter sulcos*; (5.158, of Sergestus' *Centaur* and Menestheus' *Pristis*) *longa sulcant vada salsa carina*; cf. also *TLL* s.v. *findo* I A 4 (e.g. Ov. *Ars Am.* 2.671, *aut mare remigiis aut vomere findite terras*).

[64] Ploughing is commonplace as a metaphor for sexual intercourse in Greek tragedy; cf. Soph. *Ant*. 569; *OT* 1256, 1485, 1497; Aesch. *Sept*. 753. For a discussion of the Greek evidence, see P. duBois, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago, 1988), esp. 65–85. The verb *premo* is also used of the embrace of copulation. See J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London, 1982), 182, and *OLD* s.v. 'premo' 2b. On *sulcus* see Adams s.v. (p. 83–4), *OLD* s.v. 'sulcus' 1, and Lucr. 4.1272. Virgil uses *sulcus* in the *Georgics* (3.136) to refer to the genitalia of mares. *Arripio* is not, to my knowledge, attested as a word for rape; Virgil may have been the first to use the verb of 'seizing' land; it appears in reference to landfall in Helenus' punning (*eripio* / *arripio*) instructions to Anchises (*Aen.* 3.476–7): *bis Pergameis erepte ruinis*, / *ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus: hanc arripe velis*. From Tarchon's mouth, however, and in this context, the verb is suggestive. R. Jenkyns, *Virgil's Experience* (Oxford, 1998), 571, without reflecting on Virgil's intentions here, rightly perceives a sensual quality in Tarchon's words: 'he intensely feels the soil: he wants to cleave the land, to cut a furrow in it, to grasp it (arrepta tellure)'. The anonymous reviewer points out to me that a similar erotic meaning has been suggested for Juno's opening of the Gates of War in *Aeneid* 7; see D. Fowler, 'Opening

> Tyrrhenum genitor Tarchonem in proelia saeva
> suscitat et stimulis haud mollibus inicit iras.
> ergo inter caedes cedentiaque agmina Tarchon fertur
> equo variisque instigat vocibus alas
> nomine quemque vocans, reficitque in proelia pulsos.

Father Jupiter spurs Tarchon the Etruscan into the savage battle and with no soft goads inspires anger in him. And so amid the slaughter and retreating lines Tarchon rides on horseback and urges his men in the flanks with various words, calling each by name, and revives for battle his dispirited troops.

Tarchon upbraids his men with biting sarcasm, contrasting their cowardice on the field with their eagerness for the pleasures of the bed and the banquet table (11.732–40):

> 'quis metus, o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes
> Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignavia venit?
> femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit!
> quo ferrum quidve haec gerimus tela inrita dextris?
> at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella,
> aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi.
> exspectate dapes et plenae pocula mensae
> (hic amor, hoc studium) dum sacra secundus haruspex
> nuntiet ac lucos vocet hostia pinguis in altos!'

What fear, my ever shameless, ever lazy Etruscans, what great sloth has come into your hearts? A woman is driving you back in confusion and has turned these lines onto their heels! Why do we carry a sword or these spears, mocked as they are, in our right hands? But you are not slow when it comes to Venus and her nighttime skirmishes, or when the curved pipes signal the dances of Bacchus. You are waiting for feasts and cups arrayed on a full table—that is your love, that is what you are eager for—until a haruspex makes a favorable pronouncement and a rich sacrifice calls you to the lofty groves!

Tarchon here disparages the same lascivious tendencies that in the story of Lucretia will signify the decadence of Etruscan rule. Sextus Tarquinius and his comrades are dining and drinking (*incaluerant vino*) when the fatal bragging over wives takes place,[65] and it is in debauchery that the Etruscan nobles find their wives (*quas in convivio lusuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes*).[66] Livy (1.57.9–10) and Ovid (*Fasti* 2.741ff.) contrast Lucretia's sobriety and chastity. Camilla, of course, is a paragon of chastity that has the Etruscans running for their lives, adding another layer of irony to Tarchon's diatribe.[67]

the gates of war', in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (London, 1998), 155–74, at 162.

[65] Livy 1.57.6–8. Ovid's account follow's Livy's closely; compare *Fasti* 2.725–6, *Tarquinius iuvenis socios dapibusque meroque / accipit*.

[66] Livy 1.57.9; Ogilvie prefers Gronovius' *lusuque* for *luxuque*; the essential point is unaltered: compare Ov. *Fasti* 2.738–40: *custos in fore nullus erat. / ecce nurus regis fusis per colla coronis / inveniunt posito pervigilare mero*. Ovid has embellished Livy's narrative. We do not know whether Livy's suggestions of Etruscan *luxuria* are his own touch. As Ogilvie points out, the account provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4.64ff.) is devoid of such dramatic colours (n. 57, 219). Virgil may well have known Livy's first pentad, probably completed by 25 B.C. (Ogilvie [n. 57], 2), by the time he composed *Aeneid* 11, and so direct influence here from Livy is possible. On the other hand, Tarchon's reproach of his Etruscan warriors would seem more effective if it is designed to resonate with a well-established stereotype of Etruscan decadence. One can easily imagine such a preconception being exploited by Roman dramatists who dealt with the Lucretia

With striking irony Virgil describes Tarchon's stunning display of valour that follows in erotic terms. As if to show his men how to fight, Tarchon suddenly grabs the Latin warrior Venulus from his horse and rides off with him (11.741–4).

> haec effatus equum in medios moriturus et ipse
> concitat, et Venulo adversum se turbidus infert
> dereptumque ab equo dextra complectitur hostem
> et gremium ante suum multa vi concitus aufert.

Having said this he spurs his horse into the thick of battle, and is himself bent on death; and charging in a fury at Venulus he snatches his enemy from his horse, embracing him with his right hand, and rushing headlong with great violence bears him away in front of his lap.

Although Tarchon's manoeuvre may derive some plausibility from the behaviour of cavalrymen at unusually close quarters,[68] it is nevertheless quite odd.[69] Venulus' name has rendered him ironic prey for Tarchon, echoing as it does Tarchon's sneering reference to Venus in his reproach of the Etruscans just a few lines before (11.736 *at non in Venerem segnes*).[70] Lyne has pointed out the symmetry: after berating the Etruscans for preferring Venus and the warfare of sex, Tarchon in effect turns war into sex, and embraces (*complectitur*) Venulus in his lap (*gremium ante suum*).[71] Though he does not know it, Tarchon's reproach of the Etruscans is prophetic, and his own valour is writ in language that foretells a fatal crime. For his descendants, the metaphor will be transformed again, with sex becoming an act of war and passion destroying the ruler. Virgil is recapitulating a theme here: consider the fatal embrace in the first book of the poem, where a queen is entranced by the poison of a sinister 'little Venus' in her lap.[72]

Venulus' nationality is also significant: the Etruscan king has directed his ardour towards his Latin enemy, and the Latins react collectively: *tollitur in caelum clamor / cunctique Latini convertere oculos*. Horsfall notes the strange uniqueness of *cunctique Latini* to this passage.[73] The phrase is an effective emphasis, however, if Virgil is foreshadowing the rape of Lucretia with a 'rape' of Venulus that, significantly, stuns the Latins as a whole.

Despite the apparent success of Tarchon's stunt, it is not a glorious scene. As in the shipwreck of Book 10, Tarchon's daring suggests an impulsive tunnel vision.[74] From

story (e.g. Accius) and by annalists (e.g. Valerius Antias) long before Livy took up his pen; on these and other precursors to Livy's account, see Ogilvie (n. 57), 218–20.

[67] For Camilla's *amor virginitatis*, see *Aen*. 11.583.

[68] J. Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion* (Oxford, 1996), 199, n. 29 (cited by N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 11: A Commentary* [Leiden, 2003], 401 *ad* 11.743) compares Livy's account of the tumultuous cavalry engagement at Cannae (22.47.3): *stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo*.

[69] See the visualization in a woodcut from Grüninger's edition (Lemmer 1984, 317), which strangely mislabels Venulus as 'Vemil' and Tarchon as 'Tarthon'.

[70] Cf. R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Words and the Poet: Characteristic Techniques of Style in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1989), 37; Paschalis (n. 48), 362–3; Horsfall (n. 68), 402 ad loc. (citing Lyne).

[71] Lyne (n. 70), 37, writes, 'Some might like to make something of "gremium"—and indeed much other detail in this section of text.'

[72] *Aen.* 1.683–8, 718–19.

[73] Horsfall (n. 68), 402 *ad* 11.745.

[74] Pomathios (n. 3), 55, rightly senses that both of Tarchon's scenes are 'disquieting': 'A l'occasion des combats, des indications sont fournies sur son caractère qui ne manquent pas d'inquiéter.' He calls Tarchon's attempt to rally his men 'Conduite louable', but, as he perceptively notes, 'cette virtus guerrière n'est pas exempte de sauvagerie et de démesure, comme le montre son acharnement contre Vénulus . . . C'est la seconde fois qu'on le voit manifester, pour

the simile that follows, in which the Etruscan commander is compared to an eagle carrying a snake, Tarchon is locked in a deadly struggle, the outcome of which is left ambiguous.[75] Tarchon's men rally, following his example (11.758–9)—perhaps too closely, for in the next breath the poet turns to Arruns, who has the same name as the other son of Tarquinius Superbus, as he stalks the chaste Camilla. Marked by fate, Arruns will pay with his life for destroying Diana's favorite.

CONCLUSION

What traits put the Tarquins and Catiline on a par in Virgil's thinking? Arrogance, intemperance, and overreaching are their downfall. They are also bookends for the history of the Republic. The crime of Sextus Tarquinius leads to the end of monarchy in Rome and to the founding of the Republic. Catiline's conspiracy, exposed, significantly, in the year of Octavian's birth, signals the fall of the Republic—the ensuing struggle ends in Octavian's naval victory at Actium.[76]

Why has Virgil used shipwrecks to make these allusions? The descendants of Tarchon and Sergestus will wreck the ship of state.[77] The metaphor of the ship of state guided by a ruling captain is a commonplace of Greek and Roman literature, and is often seen in Roman oratory.[78] Virgil's direct address to Tarchon, *sed non puppis tua, Tarchon* (10.302), echoing the reproachful tone of the apostrophe to Catiline (*et te, Catilina*, 8.668), is particularly apt, since the ancient ship was steered from the stern.[79] As he approaches the Trojan camp, Aeneas is, like his descendant at Actium, a

encourager ses hommes, un enthousiasme et une ardeur excessifs et hors de proportion avec leur objet.' Suicidal charges at the enemy run in the family; compare Livy's account of the mutual destruction of Tarquin's son Arruns and Brutus (2.6.7–9).

[75] If we assume, as Horsfall suggests, that *moriturus* in line 11.741 means 'ready to die' or 'determined to die', and not 'about to die' (n. 68), 401 *ad* 11.741. The description of the snake resembles the simile applied to Sergestus and his ship, as K. W. Gransden, *Virgil: XI* (Cambridge, 1991), 133 *ad* 11.751–4, points out, 'Some of the phrasing resembles that at 5.273–9, another snake-simile, cf. especially *sibila colla* / *arduus attollens* with *sibilat ore* / *arduus insurgens*' (Horsfall omits this parallel). But Tarchon is the eagle, not the snake. How are we to read the snake here? If Venulus represents the criminal passion that will be fatal to the Tarquin clan, then the snake, bearer of *venenum*, naturally represents the danger of lust. Another, and not necessarily mutually exclusive possibility, is that Venulus represents Lucretia and the Latins generally—Lucretia could not resist Sextus Tarquinius at the moment of the rape, just as Venulus has found himself snatched away (11.743 *dereptum ab equo*; 11.751 [of the snake snatched by an eagle] *raptum*; cp. 10.290 *arrepta tellure semel*). Like his command to his allies before the shipwreck in Book 10, Tarchon's struggle with Venulus has sexual undertones: *tum summa ipsius ab hasta* / *defringit ferrum et partis rimatur apertas* / *qua vulnus letale ferat*. Nevertheless, Venulus does strike back (*contra ille repugnans* / *sustinet a iugulo dextram et vim viribus exit*), as Lucretia does by means of her suicide.

[76] Though his numerological calculations may not withstand scrutiny (see criticisms by H. Georgii, 'Die politische Tendenz der Äneide Virgils', *Programm des Königlichen Real-gymnasiums in Stuttgart* [1880], 1–34, at 8–10), Plüss's discussion of the likely significance of the year 63 B.C. in Augustan propaganda is worth pondering: see T. Plüss, 'Wunder und Zeichen in der römischen chronologie', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 6 (1871), 385–97, at 388ff.

[77] See Hardie (n. 30), 165–6 on Sergestus and Catiline; Nicoll, arguing for an allusion to Antony in the shipwreck of Gyas, likewise suggests that Antony endangered the ship of state (n. 29), 139.

[78] E. Fantham, *Comparative Studies in Republican Latin Imagery* (Toronto, 1972), 23–4; J. M. May, 'The image of the ship of state in Cicero's *Pro Sestio*', *Maia*, n.s., 32.3 (1980), 259–64, *passim*.

[79] Cicero, for example, uses the term *puppis* in the ship-of-state metaphor twice in his letters;

commander in full control, *stans celsa in puppi*.[80] The contrast between the landings of Aeneas and Tarchon is intentional, as critics have long sensed, but is fully understood only against the background of history. Leaders must be cautious and contemplate the consequences of their actions. The Tarquins and Catiline failed to control their passions, with disastrous consequences for themselves and the state.

Rich though these scenes are with allegorical significance, the poet's touch is light. Sergestus and Tarchon are not evil.[81] Sergestus is a trusted companion of Aeneas. Tarchon is a key ally, a 'good' Etruscan who offsets the treacherous Mezentius.[82] Upon these two captains, however, Virgil has allowed the future to cast a distinct shadow. The nautical follies of Sergestus and Tarchon are adumbrations of traits that will emerge catastrophically when their villainous descendants wreck the ship of state.[83]

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see Cic. *Fam*. 9.15.3, 12.25.5 (quoted by Fantham [n. 79], at 23); cf. also *OLD* s.v. *puppis* 1 'ship of state metaphor'. For Aeneas steering the ship, see *Aen.* 5.868 and 10.217–18; cf. Hardie (n. 30), 168–9.

[80] 10.261. The same phrase is used of Augustus at 8.680. See Harrison (n. 1), 142 *ad* 10.261–2.

[81] We are not talking here about simple pre-incarnations. Compare Hardie's comment on Sergestus: 'if Sergestus starts to remind us of Catiline running the ship of state on to the rocks, he nevertheless redeems himself by bringing his crippled boat into harbour and is rewarded' (n. 30), 165–6. A similar sense of the subtlety of Virgil's artistry leads Kraggerud, in an insightful discussion of the links between Sergestus and Catiline, to caution against oversimplifying Virgil's intentions: 'Es ist kaum die Absicht des Dichters, in Sergestus eine allegorische Gestalt, die die Maske Catilinas trägt, zu schaffen' (n. 28), 176. Yet 'kaum' is too strong, belying Kraggerud's own analysis. While the ship race of *Aeneid* 5 is not *merely* an allegory, it has an unmistakable allegorizing tendency.

[82] Gransden (n. 75), 131 *ad* 11.725–67; Harrison (n. 1), 102, *ad* 10.153–4. Gagé makes a similar antithesis between the two Etruscan kings; in doing so, however, he pairs Tarchon with Tarquinius Priscus, making Mezentius the forerunner of the wicked Tarquinius Superbus (n. 15), 133. This would be an attractive schema were it not for Tarchon's ominous shipwreck.

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