

## THE KING OF PAIN: AENEAS, ACHATES AND 'ACHOS' IN *AENEID* 1\*

Achates is two things in the *Aeneid*: he is Aeneas' faithful comrade, and he is a name. 'Achates is Aeneas' inseparable *comes*, his *alter ego*, his counsellor, and above all his confidant, to the point that his faithfulness has become proverbial'.<sup>1</sup> In this paper I would like to ask, once again, why Aeneas is given an *alter ego* in Virgil's poem, and also why this *alter ego* is called 'Achates'. As we shall see, the two issues converge: what is contained in the name 'Achates' makes him an apt *alter ego* for Aeneas.<sup>2</sup>

### SERVIVS' EXPLANATIONS OF THE NAME 'ACHATES': 'AGATE' AND ἄχος

Looking at the etymology of Achates for a clue to understanding the meaning of his presence in Virgil's poem is an old exercise. In fact, in my view, the correct explanation of Achates' name is already attested in Servius' commentary. But both Servius' note, and the elaborations on it made by modern scholars, as we shall see, have not properly considered some fundamental aspects, to which I would like to draw the attention here.

\* I wish to thank my friends Joe Farrell, John Miller, Fabio Stok and Richard Thomas, as well as *CQ*'s anonymous reader, for many useful comments and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> F. Speranza, *Enc. Virg.* 1 (1984), 8, s.v. Acate. Just a brief catalogue of Achates' appearances in the poem: his ship nearly sinks in the opening storm (1.120); he kindles the fire for the meal on the Libyan shore (1.174); he accompanies Aeneas in the deer hunt (1.188) and the day afterwards in his exploration, his meeting with Venus, and his visit to the temple of Juno (1.312, 459, 513, 579, 581); Aeneas sends him to bring Ascanius and the gifts for Dido (1.644, 656, 696); during the voyage, he is the first to see Italy (3.523); he accompanies Aeneas on his visit to the Sibyl (6.34, 158) and, during the second day at Pallanteum, in his meeting with Evander and Pallas, during which he witnesses the prodigy of Venus' weapons in the sky (8.466, 521, 586); he supplies weapons to Aeneas in the battle, and is lightly wounded by a spear aimed at Aeneas himself (10.332, 344); together with Mnesteus and Ascanius, he holds up the wounded Aeneas (12.384); and finally he kills in battle an enemy called Epulo (12.459). On the figure of Achates, besides Speranza and the bibliography quoted there, see M.B. Révész, 'Fidus Achates', *AUB(Class)* 1 (1972), 53–8 (we should be thinking 'Agrippa' when we read 'Achates': hardly relevant; cf. also D.L. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Oxford, 1927), 85–7); L.E. Eubanks, 'The role of Achates: *Comes fidus Achates*', *Virgilius* 28 (1982), 59–61; M. Lossau, 'Achates, Symbolfigur der Aeneis', *Hermes* 115 (1987), 89–99 (Achates is the *Iliad* to Palinurus' *Odyssey*); I. Opelt, 'Fidus Achates', *GB* 14 (1987), 187–98; T. Weber, *Fidus Achates. Der Gefährte des Aeneas in Virgils Aeneis*, Studien zur klassischen Philologie 37 (Frankfurt am Main, 1988) (review of scholarship at 11–19); C. Santini, 'Il comitato di Enea', in C. Santini and L. Zurli (edd.), *Ars narrandi. Scritti di narrativa antica in memoria di Luigi Pepe* (Naples, 1996), 209–24 (see 210–12 for a brief sketch of the theme of the hero and his faithful comrade in Western epic; cf. also M. Owen Lee, *Fathers and Sons in Vergil's Aeneid* (Albany, NY, 1979), 107–9).

<sup>2</sup> Achates is not attested in earlier epic poetry; Eust. *Il.* 2.701 (1.508.6–7 van der Valk) mentions him as the killer of Protesilaos; but this may refer to a post-Virgilian source (O. Rossbach, *RE* s.v. Achates, 212; Speranza [n. 1], 9). Under Virgilian influence, he appears in Ovid *Fast.* 3.603 and 607, where, ironically, sidekick Achates recognises sidekick Anna ('*Anna est!*' exclamation *Achates*); cf. also Weber (n. 1), 124, n. 2 (Achates' recognition might be ironic also because in *Aeneid* 4 he never appears).

Servius devotes two notes to two different explanations of the etymology of 'Achates'.<sup>3</sup>

(i) On 1.174 Servius connects Achates' name with ἀχάτης, 'agate'. In 1.174–6, when Aeneas and his shipwrecked comrades have just landed on the Libyan shores, Achates starts the preparations for their meal by striking a spark from flint: *ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates / suscepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum / nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam*.

Servius says:

adludit ad nomen, nam achates lapidis species est: bene ergo ipsum dicit ignem excussisse. unde etiam Achaten eius comitem dixit. lectum est enim in naturali historia Plinii [cf. Plin. *NH* 37.5; also 37.139–40], quod si quis hunc lapidem in anulo habuerit, gratiosior est.

Since both *achates* and *silex* are stones, it might be possible that some kind of pun is intended here,<sup>4</sup> especially since, as Paschalis suggests, when Achates is sent by Aeneas to carry Ascanius and the gifts for Dido, 'the cluster "bacatum...gemmis auroque...Achates"' (*Aen.* 1.655–6; cf. 119–20 "gaza...Achatae") may evoke this same etymology.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the more general implication suggested by Servius – that 'Achates'/agate, a precious stone, is attached to Aeneas as a gem adorning him and enhancing his majesty – does not seem strong enough to carry much conviction (*pace* La Cerda [Lugduni, 1612], 63, on 1.316 [=312]): even if Virgil may allude to 'Achates' as a precious stone in the quoted passages, it is hard to believe that he chose (or invented) that name with the idea of the faithful companion as a gem in his mind.<sup>6</sup>

(ii) On 1.312 Servius connects 'Achates' with ἄχος, 'grief':

diximus quaeri, cur Achates Aeneae sit comes. uaria quidem dicuntur, melius tamen hoc fingitur, ut tractum nomen sit a Graeca etymologia. ἄχος enim dicitur sollicitudo, quae regum semper est comes.

This second explanation deserves much more attention than the first. According to the anonymous critic whose opinion is reported in Servian commentary, there is an etymological connection between 'Achates' and ἄχος, which Servius glosses as *sollicitudo*, 'anxiety'.<sup>7</sup> This etymology – in contrast to the 'agate' one – is not closely

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (Leeds, 1991), 5.

<sup>4</sup> 'Perhaps', J.J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 119, with further references; see esp. O.S. Due, 'Zur Etymologisierung in der Aeneis', in *Classica et Mediaevalia Francisco Blatto Septuagenario Dedicata* (Gyldenhal, 1973), 270–9, at 271–3. Opelt (n. 1), 188 expresses some appreciation for Servius' idea. See also Weber (n. 1), 23–5; Santini (n. 1), 217–18.

<sup>5</sup> M. Paschalis, *Vergil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names* (Oxford, 1997), 49; cf. also 58.

<sup>6</sup> Achates is also a river in Sicily, which Pliny associates with agate (*NH* 37.139). It is in fact quite possible, as S.J. Harrison on *Aen.* 10.332 suggests, that it was from the name of the river that Virgil took the *form* of the name 'Achates' (for river-names becoming hero-names in the *Aeneid*, cf. e.g. Caicus (1.183), Hypanis (2.340), Almo (7.532, with Fordyce and Horsfall ad loc.), Galaesus (7.535), Ufens (7.745), Umbro (7.752), Thymbris (10.124)) – even if what mainly interested him, as we shall presently see, was not the river nor the gem, but other associations.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Fulg. *Virg. cont.* p. 92.15–16 Helm, *Acates enim Grece quasi aconetos* (= ἀχὼν ἔθος), *id est tristitiae consuetudo*, followed by Bernardus Silvestris (1100–60 ca.), but with reference to a

connected with the specific passage Servius is commenting upon, but is given as a general explanation of the meaning of Achates as a character: Achates/*ἄχος* as the faithful companion of Aeneas symbolically represents the 'anxiety' which is the companion of kings. In my view, this catches the most important point, but needs further elaboration to be fully convincing.<sup>8</sup>

In his catalogue, O'Hara marks this etymology with a question mark, and comments 'I see little or no allusion to the etymology in the *Aeneid*'.<sup>9</sup> But with his further annotation, almost inadvertently, he touches on the fundamental point: 'Schol. II. 1.1.h connects the name Achilles with *ἄχος*, and Callimachus seems to have given this derivation as well (fr. 624...). A *Homeric Hymn* [Hom. h. 5.196–9] derives the name Aeneas from *αἰνόν* *ἄχος* (see on A. 12.945–7)<sup>10</sup>, but there *αἰνόν* is the important element'.<sup>11</sup>

This is exactly the point, and is also the reason why this etymology can be seen as providing a solid motivation for the attribution of the name of Achates to Aeneas' *alter ego*, or even for the very introduction of an *alter ego* for Aeneas into the poem.<sup>12</sup>

The only ancient etymology we have of the name of Aeneas is attested in a poem of great importance for the *Aeneid*, the fifth Homeric hymn to Aphrodite. After her sexual encounter with Anchises, the goddess addresses to him the second prophecy in Homeric poetry concerning the destiny of Anchises' descendants as rulers of the Trojans after that in Poseidon's speech in *Iliad* 20.306–8, which is joined to an etymological explanation of the name of the son whom she has just conceived (*Hom. h. 5.196–9*):

σοὶ δ' ἔσται φίλος υἱὸς ὃς ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει  
καὶ παῖδες παῖδεςσι διαμπερές ἐκγεγάνονται  
τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται οὐνεκα μ' αἰνόν  
ἔσχεν ἄχος ἔνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἐμπεσον εὐνή.

You will have a son who will reign over the Trojans, and from his sons other sons will be born endlessly; his name will be Aineias, because a terrible grief (*αἰνόν...ἄχος*) seized me when I descended into the bed of a mortal man.

different etymology (*α* - *χαίρε* - *ἔθος*): cf. J.W. Jones and E.F. Jones (edd.), *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Vergil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris* (Lincoln and London, 1977), 31.17–22.

<sup>8</sup> As Due (n. 4), 271 observes, against Servius' allegorical interpretation there is the fact that 'Achates in the *Aeneid* is not a source of anxiety, but a source of confidence for Aeneas'.

<sup>9</sup> O'Hara (n. 4), 124, with further references to previous expressions of scepticism; cf. also Speranza (n. 1), 9; Opelt (n. 1), 187 ('Diese Etymologie ist abzulehnen'). See also, more neutral, Santini (n. 1), 218. The notion of *ἄχος* in 'Achates' is accepted (not surprisingly) by Paschalis (n. 5), for example 42: 'The arrows are supplied by "Achates", whose name suggests *ac(h)*- ("sharp point") and, in addition, encapsulates Aeneas' suppressed "dolor" (*ἄχος*) for the companions he fails to see from the "scopulus"'; p. 49: 'Aeneas' anxious thoughts and paternal care for Ascanius evoke the etymology from *ἄχος* (here in the sense of 'sollicitudo')...'; see also below. For 'Achaemenides', 'infelicitis Vlixii' and *ἄχος* see Paschalis, 140 and n. 109 (and cf. below, n. 23).

<sup>10</sup> In 12.946–7, as DuQuesnay suggested (*LCM* 2 (1977), 139), Aeneas *ira / terribilis* may allude to the *αἰνόν* etymology.

<sup>11</sup> O'Hara (n. 4), 124.

<sup>12</sup> Apart from O'Hara, I have found a hint at the *achos*-etymology for Achates in association with Aphrodite's prophecy only in A. Barchiesi, 'Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'Eneide', *AuA* 40 (1994), 109–24, at 109 n. 1: 'Il "terribile dolore" da cui nasce Enea potrebbe essere iscritto anche nel nome del suo accompagnatore Achates: Richard Thomas mi fa notare Serv. ad Aen. 1.312, secondo cui Achates viene dalla parola greca *achos*, *sollicitudo*, perché le cure sono compagne perenni dei re'.

Aphrodite gives an etymology of 'Aineias' from αἰνῶν ἄχος, 'terrible grief', 'terrible pain'. This is quite a strange etymology, because in the phrase which should explain the name Aineias only the adjective is actually 'connected' to it, whereas the substantive is left completely out of consideration. 'Aineias' should involve ἄχος – after all the most important concept in the phrase – but instead it contains only αἰνός.<sup>13</sup> Where is the ἄχος in 'Aeneas'? Virgil supplies the answer: his Aeneas is a double figure, he is αἰνός + ἄχος. While he contains αἰνός in his proper name, the ἄχος of his maternal etymology does not go wasted, but is transferred to his *alter ego*, to the man who accompanies him as a silent but assiduous comrade, 'Achates'. This is why Achates is just a name; because exactly another name – a name with ἄχος inside – is what is needed to fulfil Aphrodite's etymological prophecy.

### THE HOMERIC HYMN TO APHRODITE IN *AENEID* 1

The importance for the reader of the *Aeneid* of Aphrodite's prophecy about the name of her son is quite clear in itself, but it will appear even more clearly if we consider that this very hymn is a fundamental model for one of the epic's first scenes (after the storm), that is the encounter of Aeneas with Venus in the woods near Carthage – or better, the encounter of Aeneas and Achates with Venus. Achates is named eleven times in Book 1, but only ten times in the remaining books. His name comes first during the storm (1.120); then he kindles the fire on the Libyan shore (1.174–6); and then he is at Aeneas' side during the deer hunt (1.188).<sup>14</sup> The day after Aeneas goes exploring the area with Achates, and they meet Venus (1.310–4):

classem in conuexo nemorum sub rupe cauata  
arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris  
occulit; ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate  
bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.  
cui mater media sese tulit obuia silua...

Venus comes to meet Aeneas and Achates, in a scene which is, among other things, a reworking of the meeting of Aphrodite and Anchises in the fifth Homeric Hymn. The connections between the two scenes, and their implications, have been analysed by Kenneth Reckford in a brilliant paper.<sup>15</sup> I briefly recapitulate the main analogies, adding some further observations. In the Hymn Aphrodite approaches Anchises disguised as a beautiful young woman (*Hom. h.* 5.81–90); Anchises understands she must be a goddess: his words and his prayer (*Hom. h.* 5.92–106) are the precise model of Aeneas' reply to Venus in 1.325–34 (Reckford, 20–1). Aphrodite's reply to Anchises, in which she denies her divinity and tells a false story (5.107–42) corresponds to Venus' reply in 1.335–7, while – we may add – the invented detail

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the wordplay at *Il.* 13.481–2 δειδία δ' αἰνῶς / Αἰνείαν, discussed by L.P. Rank, *Etymologiseering en verwante verschijnselen bij Homerus* (Assen, 1951), 37; cf. O'Hara (n. 4), 242.

<sup>14</sup> In 1.180–7, apparently, Aeneas alone seems to climb the rock to get a view over the sea, and to see the stags (*conscendit, petit, prospicit, constitit*); Achates appears all of a sudden in 1.188 (see Weber [n. 1], 48–59). Similarly, in 1.410 Aeneas alone is attacking his mother and heading towards the city (*incusat, tendit*), while in 1.411 there are two of them to envelop in the divine cloud (*gradientis*; cf. Weber [n. 1], 78). This kind of shifting strongly underlines the *alter ego* nature of Achates, and it may even support an argument that Achates is to be thought of as always being there with the hero, even when it seems he is acting singly.

<sup>15</sup> K. Reckford, 'Recognising Venus (I): Aeneas meets his mother', *Arion* 3 (1995–6), 1–42, esp. 16–22.

Aphrodite gives about her comrades and their association with Artemis (5.117–20) is transposed in Venus' first speech, and in her own disguise as a huntress modelled on the type of the follower of Artemis (1.321–4). Venus' epiphany in 1.402–5 recalls Aphrodite's in *Hom. h.* 5.172–5 (Reckford, 21–2). And the very fact that Venus' encounter with Aeneas closes with the prophecy related to the omens of the swans recalls the prophetic closure of Aphrodite's encounter with Anchises in the Hymn. The influence of *Hom. h.* 5 extends over the whole action of Venus in Book 1, even after her epiphany and disappearance from Aeneas' (and Achates') eyes. Not only what happens in the *Aeneid* immediately *after* the meeting (1.415–7, Venus retires to Paphos) recalls what happened in the Hymn immediately *before* the Aphrodite-Anchises meeting (5.59–63),<sup>16</sup> but when Venus, in her last intervention in Book 1, snatches Ascanius away and lifts him 'into the high Italian woods', in a wholly 'bucolic' setting (1.691–4), she is just repeating what she did at the end of the Hymn. In *Hom. h.* 5.256–77 she announces to Anchises that *she* will take the conceived baby with her, and that he will be raised in the woods by the nymphs, again in a very 'bucolic' setting (cf. the mention of the Sileni, 262). At the very end of the episode, she takes away, and brings into the woods, Aeneas' son, just as in the Hymn she had taken away, and brought into the woods, Anchises' son, namely Aeneas himself.

The reader of the *Aeneid* is constantly referred to the context of the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite during the meeting of Venus and Aeneas. The meeting of Anchises and Aphrodite was a sexual encounter, and Aeneas was conceived on just that occasion;<sup>17</sup> now Venus meets Aeneas – the same Aeneas about whom she prophesied at the end of the Hymn. There she made two prophecies: the first, about his destiny as the ruler of the Trojans, has been fulfilled after the fall of Troy; the second about his name, Aineias, has also been fulfilled – completely fulfilled, even more precisely than the Homeric goddess could ever imagine: now she meets not only 'Aineias', with *αἰνός* inside; she meets Aeneas and his *alter ego* 'Achates', with *ἄχος* inside: *αἰνός* and *ἄχος*, side by side.

Achates speaks only once in the *Aeneid*. After he and Aeneas have witnessed the encounter of Ilioneus and Dido at the temple of Juno, Achates addresses Aeneas, urging him to reveal himself (1.579–85):

His animum arrecti dictis et fortis Achates  
et pater Aeneas iamdudum erumpere nubem  
ardebant. prior Aeneas compellat Achates:  
'nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?  
omnia tuta uides, classem sociosque receptos.  
unus abest, medio in fluctu quem uidimus ipsi  
submersum; dictis respondent cetera matris.'

Achates' brief speech is framed by two references to Venus: *nate dea, matris*. His final reference to the fact that 'everything else corresponds to your mother's words' sounds ironically appropriate in his mouth. As the embodiment of the second element in Aphrodite's etymologisation of her son's name, he is the living incarnation of the

<sup>16</sup> *Od.* 8.363–5, on which Reckford (n. 15), 15 especially focusses.

<sup>17</sup> Of course, this gives many incestuous resonances to the encounter in *Aen.* 1, on which I will not dwell here; for the strong eroticisation of the *Aeneid* meeting see the fine observations of Reckford (n. 15), *passim*.

truthfulness of Venus' *dicta*. Now, he is remarking upon the fulfilment of Venus' prophecy about the ships' return as given in her interpretation of the omen of the swans (1.390–400); but his remark might also be appropriate if referred to Aphrodite's etymological prophecy in *Hom. h.* 5, that is in the model scene of Aeneas' encounter with his mother in *Aen.* 1, and specifically of the Hymn's final prophecy. When Achates says *dictis respondent cetera matris* he means obviously 'your mother'; but for a moment the suggestion of Venus as mother of both the men ('my mother', 'our mother') is lingering in the air, for in a sense Achates, as the other half of Aphrodite's 'Aineias' < αἰνὸν ἄχος, is in fact a kind of 'twin brother' of Aeneas.<sup>18</sup>

It comes as no surprise, then, that 'there seems to be some connection between Achates and the influence of the mother-figure in the poem'.<sup>19</sup> In addition to 1.643–6 (and 695–6), where Achates is sent by Aeneas to bring (ominous) gifts to Dido, and fetch Ascanius (Cupid) from the ships, becoming an instrument of Venus' action, and bringing ἄχος to Dido (and Aeneas too), we may find connections between Venus, 'pain', and Achates also in other appearances of Achates in the poem: (i) in 8.520–3, ...*defixique ora tenebant* / Aeneas *Anchisiades et fidus* Achates, / *multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant*, / *ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto*. (ii) In the battle of *Aeneid* 10, Aeneas addresses Achates, asking him for spears, just after a mention of Venus as acting in defence of the Trojans (10.330–6); the section closes with Achates wounded in Aeneas' place (344) – a significant instance, by the way, of Achates being a 'double' of Aeneas. (iii) In his next appearance, Achates is holding up Aeneas wounded and suffering (12.384)<sup>20</sup>; he will be cured only by Venus' intervention.<sup>21</sup>

### ACHATES, ACHILLES, AND PAIN

By creating a new 'character' Aeneas + Achates Virgil not only alludes to the etymology of Aeneas' name given by the Homeric Aphrodite. By recuperating, and by emphasising, through the figure of Achates, Aeneas' *alter ego*, the ἄχος element in the etymology of Aeneas, he is able to establish an etymological connection linking the hero of his poem to both the heroes of the two main Homeric poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Virgil's couple 'Aeneas + Achates' reproducing αἰνὸν ἄχος recuperates for the hero of the *Aeneid* the etymology from ἄχος that had been assigned to the hero of the *Iliad*, Achilles. Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) was read as the man who caused grief (ἄχος) to his

<sup>18</sup> This is further highlighted by passages such as *Aen.* 1.513 (*obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates*) and 6.158–9 (*cui fidus Achates / it comes et paribus curis uestigia figit*) which stress Achates' mirroring of Aeneas' actions.

<sup>19</sup> Lee (n. 1), 107. See also Weber (n. 1), 153–5.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Paschalis (n. 5), 387: 'The presence of "Achates" encapsulates Aeneas' ἄχος'.

<sup>21</sup> I am not sure about any possible meaning in Achates' killing 'Epulo' in 12.459. The name Epulo clearly suggests that of the priests who organised and supervised the *epulum Iovis* (M. Scarsi, *Enc. Virg.* s.v. Epulone). Is there any significance in Achates killing a 'glutton'? After all, this is his last action in the poem, while in his first action he was in charge of the very sober meal of the Trojans. But maybe it is more meaningful that Achates has become part of the Trojan pack at this point while Aeneas presses on alone after Turnus (*solum densa in caligine Turnum / uestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit*, 12.466–7) – there is also some ring-composition with Achates' first appearance in Book 1 where he is also one of several Trojan leaders riding out the storm.

mother (*Etym. Magn.* 181.26–7; *Etym. Gud.* 1.250.2), and/or to the Ἰλιδίς (schol. AT II. 1.1, p. 6 Erbse; Callimachus, fr. 624 Pf.).<sup>22</sup>

The first of these two ancient explanations of Achilles' name as derived from ἄχος, according to which Achilles is the man who gives ἄχος to his mother Thetis, is especially interesting from an Aeneadic point of view.

Until now, we have considered the invention of an *alter ego* of Aeneas named 'Achates' on Virgil's part as a way of 'improving' on Aphrodite's prophecy from the 'technical' point of view of etymological accuracy: in *Aeneid* 1, Venus meets in the couple 'Aeneas + Achates' the accurate embodiment of both elements of her etymologising, both the αἰνός and the ἄχος. But what about the *meaning* of that etymology? The name of Aeneas in *Hom. h.* 5 meant the 'terrible grief' Aphrodite experienced for having been humiliated to the point of sharing her bed with a mortal. In a sense, Aeneas has a name associated with 'grief' because he himself is a source of grief for his mother.

By presenting Aeneas as accompanied by Achates from the very beginning of *Aen.* 1, Virgil fulfils also the meaning of Aphrodite's etymologising, since the *dolor* = ἄχος of shipwrecked Aeneas (1.209) causes in its turn the grief of Venus herself, and makes her lament to Jupiter (1.228–9 *tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis* / *adloquitur Venus...*). Among that scene's intertextual models is Thetis lamenting to Zeus about Achilles' disgrace in *Iliad* 1. And it is because Aeneas is a source of grief for her that Venus, even after Jupiter's consolation, intervenes in the Libyan woods.

Aeneas (+ Achates) is a 'man of pain' both because he experiences pain, and because he is a source of pain for his mother. The 'Achates' element in Aeneas, then, *etymologically* links the hero of the *Aeneid* to Achilles, the hero of the *Iliad*. We may think that already the poet of *Hom. h.* 5 was conscious of the fact that by assigning an ἄχος etymology to Aeneas he was giving to the hero an 'Achillean' etymology. He gives in an *Odyssean* way (*Od.* 19.406–9, Autolycus indicates an etymologically motivated name for his grandson Odysseus) an *Iliadic* etymology for Aeneas. But what interests us more is the possibility that Virgil might have sensed the possibility of that connection. In fact, a line such as *Iliad* 16.55 (Achilles speaking) αἰνὸν ἄχος τό μοι ἔστω, ἐπεὶ πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ, 'the terrible grief (αἰνὸν ἄχος) which I have, since I suffered pains in my heart', could be seen, from a Virgilian point of view, as indirectly pointing towards an *etymological* association of Aeneas and Achilles as 'men of pain' – an etymological association which just needed an ἄχος element in connection with 'Aeneas' to become clearly visible. In giving an ἄχος-related *alter ego* to Aeneas, then, Virgil may intend to develop and elaborate on a connection, which in

<sup>22</sup> On the etymology of Achilles both as really connected with ἄχος, and as consciously explored in its implications by the poet of the *Iliad*, see G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore, 1979), 69–83 (Achilles is the man 'whose λᾶός has ἄχος': 'the word *ákhos* signals *le transfert du mal*: the *ákhos* of Achilles leads to / the *ménis* of Achilles leads to / the *ákhos* of the Achaeans', 80); and e.g. R. Janko (Cambridge, 1992) on II. 16.21–2, where 'the word-play Ἀχιλεῦ-Ἀχαιῶν-ἄχος reflects the etymology of Akhilleus' name'. For a history of the question, and a different approach see G.B. Holland, 'The name of Achilles: a revised etymology', *Glotta* 71 (1993), 17–27. Other ancient etymologies explained the name of Achilles as variously connected to his peculiar nutritional habits as a baby: α + χυλός, the man who had never tasted 'fodder' (cf. Euphor. fr. 57 Powell); α + χείλος, the man who did not bring his 'lips' to his mother's breast (probably alluded to in Ap. Rh. 4.812–3; cf. e.g. Tert. *Pall.* 4 (Achilles), *ferarum medullis educatus, unde et nominis concilium, quandoquidem labiis uacuerat ab uberum gustu*); see O'Hara (n. 4), 27 with n. 113, and 37 with n. 196; Maltby (n. 3), 5, s.v. Achilles.

Homer was only latent, between the hero of the *Iliad* and the future hero of post-Iliadic Trojan adventures.<sup>23</sup>

I will conclude with a last comment on Virgil's self-conscious etymological connection of his Aeneas + Achates with Achilles.

The fifth mention of Achates' name in the poem occurs when Aeneas sees the Trojan War depicted in the pictures of the temple of Juno (*Aen.* 1.456–60):

uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas  
bellaque iam fama totum uulgata per orbem,  
Atridas Priamumque et saeuum ambobus **Achillem**.  
constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus', inquit, '**Achate**,  
quae regio in terris nostri non plena **laboris**'?

The context is centred on the notion of grief and compassion. Virgil gives a sequence of three final words *Achillem* – *Achate* – *laboris*. ἄχος connects all the three words.<sup>24</sup> The juxtaposition of *Achillem* and *Achate* emphasises the common element of ἄχος which unites the two names,<sup>25</sup> and which connects the etymology of Achilles with that proposed by Aphrodite for Aeneas (αἰνὸν ἄχος) in *Hom. h.* 5. The ἄχος connecting *Achilles* and *Achates* is then glossed by *laboris* (*OLD* s.v. 6: 'toil, hardship'; 'physical pain, distress'). The reference to the ἄχος-etymology in 'Achilles' may also suggest that *saevum ambobus* is in its turn a gloss of Achilles' name, alluding to Ἀχιλλ(λ)εύς as the bringer of ἄχος both to his own people (ἄχος + λαός, in an anticipation of modern etymological speculations on 'Achilleus' which were in any case already foreshadowed by the ancient idea about Achilles as a source of ἄχος for his own mother)<sup>26</sup> and to the Trojans (ἄχος + Ἰλιεῖς).

<sup>23</sup> That Virgil could have been interested in underlining the 'pain' in Aeneas' name is all the more probable if we recall that also Odysseus was 'the man of pain' in at least one, very natural, interpretation of the etymology Homer himself explicitly indicates: in *Odyssey* 19 Autolycus is reported having said that because he himself has come to Ithaca 'full of hate', or as a 'source of pain' (ὀδυσάμενος) to many, his grandson should be named 'Odysseus' (*Od.* 19.407–9). Even if the meaning of Autolycus' etymologisation is uncertain, both the heroes of the two Homeric poems could be seen as bearing names qualifying them as 'men of pain' (ὀδυσάμενος ~ ὀδύνη); the Aeneas of the fifth Homeric Hymn was a 'man of pain' too, but only in an imperfect way. Virgil, by re-establishing Aeneas as 'the man who has pain as his comrade', puts his hero in a Homeric line of 'kings of pain'. On the etymology of Odysseus see the references in O'Hara (n. 4), 9 and n. 16, and also S. West on *Od.* 1.62; J. Russo on *Od.* 19.407; W.B. Stanford, 'The Homeric etymology of the name Odysseus', *CP* 47 (1952), 209–13; J.S. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena: Gods and Men in the Odyssey* (Princeton, 1983), 54–68 (see 64–5 on the symmetry between the etymologies of Achilles and Odysseus). The etymologisation of 'Odysseus' as 'the man of pain' adds further meaning to the juxtaposition of 'Achaemenides' and *infelicitis Vlix* in both the occurrences of Achaemenides' name in the *Aeneid* (3.613–4 and 691): '[Achaemenides] "shares" Ulysses' ἄχος, just as "Achates" (<ἄχος) shares Aeneas' (Paschalis [n. 5], 140) – all the more so, since (i) 'Achaemenides', *comes infelicitis Vlix* (3.691) embodies the 'grief' (ὀδύνη) in the etymology of 'Odysseus' (<ὀδυσάμενος), just as 'Achates' embodies the 'grief' (ἄχος) in the etymology of 'Aeneas' (<αἰνὸν ἄχος); and (ii) Odysseus' name itself was already connected to Achilles' ἄχος-etymology via the parallelism according to which both the protagonists of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are 'men of pain'.

<sup>24</sup> On Virgil's etymologising technique of 'vertical juxtaposition in consecutive lines', see O'Hara (n. 4), 86–8.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Paschalis (n. 5), 67–8: 'The whole *ekphrasis* is preceded by the presentation of Aeneas' ἄχος at the sight of the pictures, which is shared by his trusted "Achates" (<ἄχος); the first hero mentioned is "Achilles" (<ἄχος), who in the succeeding scenes provokes 'grief' in Troy (cf. 481) and in the heart of Aeneas observing the pictures (485)'.

<sup>26</sup> There is no explicit ancient testimony linking ἄχος and λαός for Achilles' etymology, but a connection of this kind seems presupposed in the *Iliad* – cf. e.g. 16.237 (Achilles to Zeus) 'having



There is no need, I think, to insist further on the thematic relevance for the *Aeneid* of Aeneas as the 'man of grief' who is also a 'source of grief' both for his enemies and his own people in the Achillean way. Consider, for example, the already mentioned, and very Iliadic, sequence of *le transfert du mal* in *Aeneid* 1: Aeneas' and Achates' 'grief' leads to Venus' 'grief', and then to her intervention, which leads to Aeneas' sending of 'Achates' to bring both the ominous gifts for Dido, and the false Ascanius/Cupid, which leads in its turn to Dido's 'grief'. In 1.695–6, *Iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido / regia portabat Tyriis duce laetus Achate*, the juxtaposition *laetus Achate* is strikingly paradoxical, and underlines the contrast between Cupid's indifference to Dido's future sufferings and the ἄχος Aeneas is just about to bring to the queen. In a sense, the ἄχος in Achates is also the tortured cry of a 'further voice'. So, when Achates is the first to shout 'Italy!' in Book 3 (523, *Italiam primus conclamat* Achates), and Aeneas' comrades take up his cry in joyful salute (3.524, *Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant*), there is a latent tragic irony lurking in the joy of this first sighting:<sup>27</sup> the juxtaposition of *Achates* and *laeto... clamore* is again paradoxical, and the choice of 'Achates' as the first one to sight Italy foreshadows both the ἄχος which Aeneas is about to experience again in the 'promised land', and, even more disquietingly, the ἄχος he is about to bring to the Trojan, and the Italian, people.

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honoured me, you greatly harmed the λαός of the Achaeans'; ἄχος + λαός was first proposed as an etymology of Achilles by L.R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (Oxford, 1963), 79, and it has been elaborated especially by Nagy (n. 22), who fully investigates the Iliadic occurrences of the relevant words.

<sup>27</sup> Differently Paschalis (n. 5), 134: 'Achates' "shout" is a projection of the joyful sight; the cluster "conclamat Achates" suggests ἡχέω / ἄχέω ("sound").