

The single change of *tamen* to *aliqua* clears away all difficulties; the *ut* clause is not epexegetic but (I think) final. As for the corruption⁸), as Winterbottom suggests the first letter of *tamen* is a repetition of the last letter of *habuit*; and the last three letters of *aliqua* have dropped out in front of *quae*.

The Meaning of *interea* in Virgil's *Aeneid*

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It has been maintained that sometimes in the *Aeneid* the word *interea* is used to introduce an event which follows one just mentioned and that in these instances an appropriate translation is the English phrase 'and now'¹). In this paper I argue that the word *interea* in the *Aeneid* may always be taken as indicating that the action it introduces is going on either (i) at the same time as events already alluded to or (ii) in the space of time between two such events or (iii) in the space of time between an event already mentioned and the narrator's own position in time and that the translation 'meanwhile' is always appropriate. Certainly the translation 'and now' sometimes gives as good sense as the translation 'meanwhile', but unless the context leaves no alternative to the translation 'and now' in at least one case, it would seem reasonable not to allow it in any. I have collected all the examples from the *Aeneid* which have either been cited by others in support of the meaning 'and now' or which it seems to me might plausibly be so cited and examined them²). I am only concerned with the *Aeneid*

⁸) At 10.1.130 *si aliqua (contempsisset)* has been the most generally accepted correction of *simile quam*.

¹) O. W. Reinmuth in *Vergil's Use of interea, a Study of the Treatment of Contemporaneous Events in Roman Epic* in *AJP* 54 (1933) pp. 323ff. says, 'Sometimes *interea* is clearly emasculated in meaning and expresses nothing more than "now, moreover, and then, likewise, presently etc."' R. Heinze in *Virgils Epische Technik* (ed. 3, Leipzig 1915) p. 388 says *interea* is often to be understood as 'ein lose verknüpfendes "nun"'. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* s.v., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. and *TLL* VII. i. 2183 all recognise a use of *interea* in narrative but offer no translations.

²) I used M. N. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus* (ed. 2, New Haven 1930 — reprinted Hildesheim 1961) and R. A. B. Mynor's text in *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1969).

but my conclusion in fact seems to hold also for the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Appendix Vergiliana*.

1. *interea magno misceri murmure pontum
emissumque hiemem sensit Neptunus* (i. 124–5).

Virgil has just been describing the storm which drove the Trojan fleet to the coast of North Africa. By *interea* and his use of the perfect tense in *sensit*, he indicates that Neptune's perception occurred whilst the events he has just been describing were going on. Virgil returns to the present tense of an observer reporting what he sees as it takes place in 128³).

2. *Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit et omnem
prospectum late pelago petit* (i. 180–1).

Virgil has just described the Trojans' preparations for a meal and Austin⁴) comments on 180 that *interea* means 'and now' since it does not indicate that Aeneas missed his meal. But *interea* would not imply that if it meant 'meanwhile', Achates got a fire going (174–6) and other Trojans occupied themselves making bread. Achates' fire was needed not only for baking the bread but for roasting the grain (179) before it was ground. Whilst the bread-making is going on (*interea*), Aeneas goes scouting with Achates and shoots seven stags. They then return and have their meal of which the meat from the stags forms part. The actual eating of this meal is not described until 214–5.

3. *corripuere viam interea* (i. 418).

Virgil has been relating the meeting of Aeneas and Achates with Venus. He mentions her leaving them in 406 and in 414–6 he tells of her journey to Paphus and describes her temple there. Then he goes back in time to tell us what Aeneas and Achates have been doing (hence the perfect *corripuere* like *sensit* in i. 125) whilst (*interea*) either (i) Venus has been travelling or (ii) Virgil himself, the observer-narrator, has been telling us about her journey. Virgil returns to the observer's present in 420 after an imperfect in 418.

4. *vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox
involvans umbra magna terramque polumque* (ii. 250–1).

³) R. G. Austin *ad loc.* in *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Oxford 1971) refers the reader to his note on line 180 where he translates *interea* by 'and now'.

⁴) *Op.cit.*

The Trojans have been celebrating the supposed departure of the Greeks from Troy (248–9). The above passage would most naturally mean that whilst they are doing this (*interea*) times passes and the night comes on. However Reinmuth⁵⁾ comments, 'In certain passages *interea* is used in conjunction with a statement marking the passage of time,—the rising or the setting of the sun, the coming on of night, the passage of the year. *interea* often has little or no connection with what precedes or follows as in *Aen.* III. 284.' To deal with this last passage, Virgil has described (iii. 278–83) how the Trojans landed at Actium and held games, glad to have escaped from the Greeks. Then he goes on

interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum.

Here sense surely requires that *interea* has its normal meaning, 'meanwhile'. The meaning 'and now' would imply that the passage of time has stopped and started again. Reinmuth alleges that Ennius employed *interea* with the meaning he would give it in these two passages. In his index, Vahlen lists five occurrences of *interea* in Ennius. In four of them (A 211, 434, 557, Sc 5) *interea* is the first word in its fragment; so it is impossible to determine its meaning and in the fifth (A 89) the meaning 'meanwhile' seems at least as likely as any other⁶⁾.

5. *interea classem velis aptare iubebat*

Anchises (iii. 472–3).

Reinmuth⁷⁾ comments, 'The action expressed by the verb *iubebat* . . . is in its very nature a momentary action and hence *interea* cannot here be used in its strict sense to refer to actions continuing contemporaneously.' But this is exactly what it does do. Helenus has been prophesying to Aeneas and then ordering gifts to be taken to the ships. Whilst this was going on (*interea*), Anchises, eager as always so pursue their mission, was issuing the necessary series of orders. The imperfect *iubebat* cannot refer to a single momentary action.

⁵⁾ *Op.cit.* p. 331. R. G. Austin in his note on line 250 in his *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus* (Oxford 1964) seems to agree with Reinmuth when he says that *interea* marks the passage of time as in iii. 284.

⁶⁾ It is so translated by E. H. Warmington in *Remains of Old Latin* (London 1956) vol. i, p. 30.

⁷⁾ *Op.cit.* p. 328.

6. *interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit* (iii. 568)⁸).

The Trojans have been struggling to escape from Charybdis. During the course of their struggles (*interea*) the wind has dropped and the light has gone. The wind was not the cause of their troubles since the Trojans were making use of it (563) to get away.

7. *Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit* (iv. 129).

Virgil has just been describing a conversation between Juno and Venus. *interea* here means 'meanwhile' but that does not imply that the conversation took place during the night and that the dawn broke as they were talking⁹). In 130, as the Historic Presents *it* (130) and *ruunt* (132) indicate, Virgil adopts the standpoint of an observer watching the huntsmen coming from the gates. As the ablative absolute *iubare exorto* (130) shows, dawn broke before this, so Virgil moves back in time and describes the dawn by the perfect *reliquit*. *interea* indicates that the dawn broke between the time of the last event mentioned in 128, whenever that was, and the event he is watching in 130.

8. *interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta*

seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae (vi. 703–4).

Aeneas has just tried vainly three times to embrace Anchises. Austin¹⁰) translates *interea* by 'and now'. This produces anticlimax. The reason why Aeneas went to the Underworld was to see his father¹¹). Are we to suppose that after he has tried in vain three times to embrace him he just gives up and goes off on a sight-seeing tour¹²)? Rather lines 699–702 do not tell us what Aeneas did after his speech of 695–8. Otherwise why should Aeneas be already weeping in 699? The tears are the result of the vain attempts to clasp Anchises which were going on whilst Aeneas was speaking. This is shown by the repeated *da* of 698 and the words *teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro* in the same line. *ibi* in 700, like

⁸) Cited by Heinze, *loc.cit.*

⁹) So A. S. Pease *ad loc.* in *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1935—reprinted Darmstadt 1967). Pease follows A. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide* (Paris 1926) p. 809.

¹⁰) In *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus* (Oxford 1977). Heinze, *loc.cit.*, comments 'ist sicher nicht gemeint, daß Aeneas den lethäischen Hain erblickte, während er vergeblich den Vater zu umarmen suchte'.

¹¹) This is made clear in vi. 108ff.

¹²) It may be conceded that the device of the vain embrace presents Virgil here with a problem he did not have to face in ii. 792–4 where the shade of Creusa conveniently disappeared.

simul in 699, refers to the time of Aeneas' speech and Virgil's words do not necessarily imply that Aeneas has finally given up after his three attempts. It is whilst he is in this position (*interea*), perhaps about to try again to embrace his father, that he is diverted by a sudden, startling sight (710: *horrescit visu subito*) which causes him to forget his disappointment with Anchises. The shade of Anchises as it fled before him has perhaps deliberately drawn him towards this sight. Anchises used his son's *pietas* to draw him into the Underworld and once he is there he uses it again to draw him towards the great revelation of Rome's future.

9. *nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello
imponit regina manum* (vii. 572–3).

According to Reinmuth¹³) *interea* cannot mean 'meanwhile' here because Allecto's efforts cease before Juno begins. But the last event Virgil narrated (561–71) was Allecto's return to the Underworld and Juno's efforts can surely begin whilst this is taking place.

10. *cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum*¹⁴)
*indiciis raptor saxo occultabat opaco;
quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.
interea, cum iam stabulis saturata moveret
Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet,
discessu mugire boves* (viii. 210–15).

Cacus was trying to keep the cattle hidden in his cave (*occultabat* is both frequentative and imperfect) and did not in the end succeed. At some point during this period (*interea*) the cattle with Hercules began to bellow.

11. *interea vigilum excubiis obsidere portas*¹⁵)
cura datur Messapo et moenia cingere flammis (ix. 159–60).

Turnus has just made a speech and ended by telling his men to expect a battle. In the meantime, i.e. in the time between the last event, Turnus' speech, and the future event referred to¹⁶), the battle, Messapus is given the job of posting guards.

12. *panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi*¹⁷) (x. 1).

The house of Olympus is opened during the events described in the latter part of Book ix. Lines 20–2 of Book x describe the stage

¹³) *Op.cit.*, p. 328. ¹⁴) Cited by Heinze, *loc.cit.* ¹⁵) Cited by Heinze, *loc.cit.*

¹⁶) *interea* is here used *de eis quae aguntur, antequam alia fiunt* (TLL VII. i. 2183). Reinmuth does not mention this use.

¹⁷) Cited by Heinze, *loc.cit.*

in the battle after the gates of the Trojan camp have been opened (ix. 675) but before Turnus himself has entered. He is still in his chariot at x. 21 whereas once he is in the camp there is no mention of horses. Lines 118–45 in which there is no mention of Turnus describe the fighting on the same day after Turnus has left the camp¹⁸).

13. *interea Rutuli portis circum omnibus instant* (x. 118).

This stage of the fighting takes place whilst the Council of the Gods is still going on¹⁹).

14. *Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit* (xi. 1).

Reinmuth²⁰) says that we cannot suppose that the fighting described in the latter part of Book x took place during the last hours of darkness and that dawn broke during that period. No indeed! But that is not a necessary consequence of taking *interea* in the sense of 'meanwhile'. Virgil at xi. 6 adopts the stance of an observer watching Aeneas setting up a trophy. True, Aeneas began to fulfil his vows to the gods at dawn (4) but he began before the observer begins reporting as the imperfect *solvebat* shows. Before Aeneas actually sets up the trophy, he has to prepare the oak tree (5). Therefore from the temporal standpoint of line 6, Virgil has to move back in time to describe the dawn which he accordingly refers to by the perfect *reliquit*. *interea* indicates that the dawn took place between the time of the last event of Book x and that of the events of line 6 of Book xi.

15. *Aurora interea miseris mortalibus aliam*²¹)

extulerat lucem referens opera atque labores (xi. 182–3).

Two explanations of *interea* in the sense of 'meanwhile' are here possible. (i) As in i. 128 and 418, iv. 129 and xi. 1, Virgil is moving

¹⁸) Heinze (*op.cit.*, p. 342) argues that the events of x. 1–145 occur on the day after those of ix. 459–818. He has been followed by e.g. M. M. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1920) pp. 98ff., K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro* (Stuttgart 1966) p. 390 and W. Kühn, *Götterszenen bei Vergil* (Heidelberg 1971) p. 131, though Kühn does deprecate the attempt to pin the poet down. On the other hand Cartault, *op.cit.*, p. 640, and R. Mandra, *The Time Element in the Aeneid of Vergil* (Williamsport 1934) pp. 167ff. place the events of ix. 459–818 and x. 1–145 on the same day. The latter view has been argued for, to my mind convincingly, by G. E. Duckworth in *AJP* 59 (1936) pp. 135ff. If Heinze's view is to be accepted, to leave aside Duckworth's arguments, a convincing parallel for the sense Heinze wants to give to *interea* here is needed.

¹⁹) So all the scholars referred to in Note 18.

²⁰) *Op.cit.*, pp. 328–9. ²¹) Cited by Heinze, *loc.cit.*

back in time from the present of the observer-reporter in line 187. (ii) Evander has just made a speech at the end of which he sent messengers to Aeneas and asked for Turnus' death. *interea* then refers to the time between the end of Evander's speech and either the arrival of the messengers or the death of Turnus.

16. *adnuat his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit*²²);

interea excedit caelo nubemque relinquit (xii. 841–2).

Jupiter has just told Juno that he will meet her conditions for ceasing to oppose the Trojans; they will be submerged in the Latins and the Latins will honour her more than any other people. Juno agrees to these terms and meantime (*interea*), i.e. in the time before this happy state of affairs comes to pass, she leaves the cloud. This explanation is the same as explanation (ii) of xi. 182–3.

There are not then in the *Aeneid* any passages which require *interea* to be given the meaning 'and now', but some in which it would make good enough sense if it were given that meaning. Is it possible that Virgil's successors as writers of epic, misled by such examples, used *interea* in passages where it indubitably has the sense 'and now'? In fact Ovid (*Metamorphoses*), Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Statius and Silius Italicus do not appear to provide such examples²³). The instance where the sense 'and now' can most plausibly be argued for is Sil. i. 114. Hamilcar's death is reported and then Silius goes on

interea rerum Hasdrubali traduntur habenae.

Hasdrubal was not given the government of Spain until after Hamilcar's death (Polyb. iii. 13.3). But Silius has just been describing the vow taken by Hannibal and the prophecy of his future exploits. *interea* may loosely refer to the period between Hamilcar's death and Hannibal's assumption of the command. This interpretation is supported by Liv. xxi. 2.3: *medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit.*

²²) Cited by Heinze, *loc.cit.*

²³) I considered the examples listed by R. J. Deferrari, N. W. Fanning and A. S. Sullivan, *A Concordance of Lucan* (Washington 1940), N. D. Young, *Index Verborum Silianus* (Iowa 1939—reprinted Hildesheim 1964), W. H. Schulte, *Index Verborum Valerianus* (Iowa, 1935), R. J. Deferrari and C. Eagen, *A Concordance of Statius* (Washington 1943—reprinted Hildesheim 1966) and R. J. Deferrari, M. I. Barry, M. R. P. McGuire, *A Concordance of Ovid* (Washington 1939). Heinze, *loc.cit.*, gives two examples from Ovid (*Fast.* iii. 39 and 465) but in both passages *interea* seems to mean 'meanwhile'.