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ON VIRGIL'S LIGHTNING, COMETS, AND LIBYAN SHE-BEARS*

The expression *pelle Libystidis ursae*, which occurs at *Aen*. 5.37 and 8.368, has caused a certain amount of puzzlement among scholars. This article will attempt to explain, through Virgil's allusions to Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the function of *Libystis* as a pointer to the motif of the creation of a new homeland within a foreign territory, as is the case with Segesta and Rome. This idea is further developed by the two omens that forebode the foundations of Segesta and Rome, that is, the omen of Acestes' arrow at *Aen*. 5.522–8 and the weapon-omen at *Aen*. 8.524–9, both of which are consistently associated with flames, comets, and lightning. These elements underline the symbolism of destruction, rebirth, and Jupiter's will that characterizes the foundations of Segesta and future Rome.

I. ARCADIAN EXPECTATIONS

The only two occurrences of *Libystis* in Latin literature, as far as we know, are both found in Virgil's *Aeneid*.[1] *Pellis Libystidis ursae* describes both Acestes' garment:

> At procul ex celso miratus vertice montis
> adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes
> horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae (*Aen*. 5.35–7)

and Aeneas' resting place within Evander's house:

> Dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
> ingentem Aeneam duxit stratisque locavit
> effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae (*Aen*. 8.366–8)

In both cases, the choice of a Libyan bear is quite puzzling. Sicily and Latium are unlikely locations for a Libyan bearskin, and the association between Libya and bears is not particularly common in ancient literature.[2] Herodotus might be tentatively regarded as a possible source for the Virgilian passages, since at 4.191 he provides a list of animals that inhabit Libya, which includes bears as well.[3] Otherwise, the

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[1] Though note that Serv. *Aen*. 5.37 and 8.368 twice quotes *Libystidis ursae*.

[2] Cf. Pliny *NH* 8.228.

[3] Herodotus' passage does nothing towards explaining the reasons behind Virgil's choice, since it

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expression *Libystis ursa* is explained as a sort of kenning for 'lioness'.[4] None of the explanations are satisfactory though, and the temptation to classify *Libystis* merely as a decorative epithet is strong.[5]

Given the constant allusions to Hercules throughout *Aeneid* 8, the reader would expect to find in Evander's house, where Hercules had apparently also slept (*Aen*. 8.362–5), some kind of reference to the Tirynthian hero's traditional garment of a lion-skin. This expectation is frustrated, since Aeneas is offered the pelt of a she-bear as a resting place. Furthermore, given the importance of the founding myth of Callisto for the Arcadians, the reader would, as an alternative, expect the skin in the house of Arcadian Evander to be that of an Arcadian she-bear. Significantly, the occurrence of *pelle Libystidis ursae* at *Aen*. 5.37 also plays on the expectation of an Arcadian she-bear skin, although more subtly. Acestes meets Aeneas and his companions while carrying javelins and wearing a Libyan she-bear skin instead of proper armour.

This recalls a passage from Apollonius' *Argonautica*:

> [Ἀγκαῖος]
> βῆ δ' ὅγε Μαιναλίης ἄρκτου δέρος ἀμφίτομόν τε
> δεξιτερῇ πάλλων πέλεκυν μέγαν· (*Arg*. 1.168–9)

Instead of his panoply, which was hidden by his grandfather in order to prevent him from joining the other Argonauts, Tegean Ankaios is wearing the skin of a Maenalian she-bear and wielding a two-edged battle-axe.[6] In the *Argonautica*, Ankaios constantly appears alongside Herakles, since he is paired with Herakles in four out of the six times that he is mentioned, that is, during the assignation of the rowing seats (*Arg*. 1.396–8, 531–2), and when the two heroes perform a joint sacrifice (*Arg*. 1.427, 429). Similarly, Acestes is paired with characters who carry Herculean connotations, thus reinforcing his association to Ankaios. At *Aen*. 5.387–8 he is sitting on a *viridans herbae torus* next to his companion and *aequaevus* (*Aen*. 5.452) Entellus, just as Ankaios and Herakles sat next to each other on the middle bench of the Argo (*Arg*. 1.396–8).[7] Entellus is

lists many animals, including dog-headed men and headless men with their eyes in the middle of their chest.

[4] Serv. Auct. *Aen*. 5.37 says that it stands either for lion or for leopard, while Serv. *Aen*. 8.368 says that we can assume any beast as the meaning of *ursa*. It is unlikely that Virgil is employing the equivalent of a kenning in order to refer to lions: apart from the stylistic improbability, Catullus' *leaena montibus Libystinis* (60.1) provides an example of an equivalent rare adjective, which Virgil appears to be purposefully departing from, since, apart from these two instances of *Libystis*, the adjective for 'Libyan' in Virgil is always *Libycus*.

[5] See P.T. Eden, *A Commentary on Virgil: Aeneid VIII* (Leiden, 1975), 116: 'Virgil, like Milton after him, uses proper names for the sake of their associations – *Libystidis* suggests something remote, exotic and valuable.' But contrast C.J. Fordyce, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos, Libri VII–VIII* (Oxford, 1977), 247: 'the literary epithet is implausible in this context'.

[6] W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley, CA, 1987), 153 n. 21, takes Argus' bull hide at *Arg*. 1.324–5 as the model for Acestes' attire. E.V. George, 'Acestes, Acastus: *Aeneid* 5.35–41', *AC* 47 (1978), 553–6, at 556, links Acestes to both Argus and Akastos, who sided with Jason against his father Pelias; conversely, Acestes is *veterum non immemor … parentum* (*Aen*. 5.39). But *Aen*. 5.39 could equally allude to Ankaios' refusal to obey to his grandsire.

[7] Both Acestes (*Aen*. 5.301 and 573) and Entellus (*Aen*. 5.409) are called *senior*. Cf. *Aen*. 2.561, where *aequaevus* links together old Priam and Anchises. By presenting Dares as having defeated the giant Butes (*immani corpore qui se | Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat*, *Aen*. 5.372–3), and Dares being defeated by Entellus, Virgil seems to be preventing the identification both of Entellus as a new Amycus and of Dares as a new Polydeuces.

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shown as openly scorning the lure of rich gifts at *Aen*. 5.399–40 (*haud … pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco | … nec dona moror*, confirmed by his sacrifice of the *velatum auro vittisque iuvencum*, called again *donum* at 5.478), as Hercules did according to Evander (*Aen*. 8.364–5). Moreover, the way in which Entellus sacrifices the steer by smashing its skull with his fist recalls Herakles' and Ankaios' joint sacrifice at *Arg*. 1.427–8, where Herakles kills his bullock by smashing its skull with his club.[8] Most importantly, in the *Argonautica* Ankaios and Hercules are the only Argonauts who are not involved in the lot for the assignation of the rowing benches:

> ἐκ δ' ἄρα μέσσην
> ᾕρεον Ἡρακλῆι καὶ ἠρώων ἄτερ ἄλλων
> Ἀγκαίῳ, Τεγέης ὅς ῥα πτολίεθρον ἔναιεν· (*Arg*. 1.396–8)

Significantly, Acestes is called *exsors* by Aeneas at the end of the archery contest (*Aen*. 5.534).[9] The term refers to the lots drawn from a helmet for the archery contest at *Aen*. 5.498 but also hints at the special prize given to Acestes, just as the Homeric term ἐξαίρετος (*Il*. 2.227) connotes prizes not included in the lot-drawing system for assigning the booty.[10] *Exsors* is used again in this sense at *Aen*. 8.552:

> ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulva leonis
> pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis. (*Aen*. 8.552–3)

Here, at the climax of the identification of Aeneas with Hercules, Aeneas is given a chosen (*exsors*) steed caparisoned with a lion-skin with gilded claws.[11] For the second time, Acestes is subtly linked to another character who is being given Herculean connotations, as Aeneas is in *Aeneid* 8: the hint at the Ankaios–Herakles pair is reinforced by the use of *exsors* for both Acestes and Aeneas' steed, which recalls the assignation of rowing benches οὔτι πάλῳ to Ankaios and Herakles at *Arg*. 1.396–8.[12]

The characteristics of the Acestes–Entellus pair, and of its Argonautic equivalent, Ankaios–Herakles, are encapsulated and anticipated within the character of Salius, who shares characteristics of both Acestes–Ankaios and Entellus–Herakles. Even though he is not explicitly so described, Salius is an *exsors* as Acestes was at *Aen*. 5.519–40, since he did not qualify for any prizes, having been tripped by Nisus during

[8] Later on, Aeneas, in correctly interpreting the omen of Acestes' arrow, is playing a role similar to that of Jason explaining the dream of Euphemos at *Arg*. 4.1749–54.

[9] *Exsors* is first found in Virgil: see R.G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus* (Oxford, 1977), 155; Eden (n. 5), 152–3. It is used elsewhere only at *Aen*. 6.428 and 8.552, although at *Aen*. 6.428 it is used in a metaphorical sense. It is noteworthy that Entellus' sacrifice (*Aen*. 5.478–81) is shortly followed by the reference to Acestes not having been drawn by lot (*Aen*. 5.498), just as, in the *Argonautica*, Ankaios' and Herakles' joint sacrifice is shortly followed by Ankaios' and Herakles' seats not being drawn by lot.

[10] The archery contest is the only contest where the prizes are left unspecified (*Aen*. 5.486: *praemia dicit*; 543–4: *proximus ingreditur donis … | extremus*): thus Acestes' laurel wreath and golden *patera* are further highlighted as not belonging to the contest prizes.

[11] The steed is definitely not a hospitality gift (it is given long after Aeneas and Evander's meeting), but something intended for the imminent war, like the horses given to the Trojans at *Aen*. 8.551 and the gift of 400 Arcadian horsemen at *Aen*. 8.518–9. Cf. the weapons brought by Venus (called *dona* at *Aen*. 8.609, 617, 721).

[12] Cf. *Il*. 7.175–6. At Aristoph. *Th*. 458 πάλος is 'lot cast from a shaken helmet'.

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the foot-race.[13] The prizes he is given, a *bipennis* (as a participant in the foot-race, *Aen*. 5.307) and a Gaetulian lion-skin, associate him with both Ankaios' weapon and Herakles' garment.[14] The description of Salius' lion-skin (*villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis*, *Aen*. 5.352) also recalls the prize of another character who displays Herculean connotations: Entellus' bullock is *velatum auro vittisque* (*Aen*. 5.366), with the probably gilded horns being the equivalent of the gilded claws of Salius' lion-skin, and the *vittae* being the equivalent of the lion's mane.[15] Like Ankaios, Salius is an Arcadian from Tegea: he is introduced together with the Acarnanian Patron (*hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan | alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis*) at *Aen*. 5.298–9, with the *alter … alter* construction being used in a chiastic fashion (as unequivocally shown at Verg. *G*. 2.226–9).[16]

The hints at the Ankaios–Herakles pairing resurface in *Aeneid* 8: Aeneas is first offered a seat covered with a lion-skin (*Aen*. 8.177–8), and then a couch covered with a Libyan she-bear skin within Evander's house (*Aen*. 8.367–8).[17] Aeneas, who will also ride to war on a steed caparisoned in a lion-skin at *Aen*. 8.552–3, is therefore given the connotations of Herakles, while Evander is meant to recall Ankaios, by means of his Arcadian provenance and the she-bear skin in his house. Evander is further presented as a counterpart to Ankaios at *Aen*. 8.459–60, where he is described as leaving his quarters while clad in an animal skin and carrying a Tegean sword, which is significant, considering that in the *Aeneid* Evander is apparently a native of Pheneus (*Aen*. 8.165). Furthermore, the *gramineo sedili … praecipuumque toro* (*Aen*. 8.176–7) offered to the Trojans recalls a previously mentioned allusion to Ankaios–Herakles, when Acestes is sitting closest to Entellus on a *viridante toro … herbae* (*Aen*. 5.388).[18] Salius provides a further link between the Acestes–Entellus and Evander–Aeneas pairs by sharing characteristics with both Aeneas and Evander: he is an Arcadian like Evander, and the lion-skin with gilded claws which he receives as a specially chosen gift could also be defined as an *exsors* in the same sense as the horse caparisoned with the lion-skin with gilded claws which is given to Aeneas at *Aen*. 8.552–3.[19]

[13] Notice that both Salius and Acestes receive better prizes than the actual winners.

[14] While *Gaetulus* is probably used here as a synonymous of Libyan (as it is at *Aen*. 4.40, 326; 5.51, 192), it does not have any effect on the special function of *Libystis* as a pointer to *Arg*. 4.1753. Virgil is probably depicting Salius as a Herculean counterpart to Ankaios: Salius' prizes – a Libyan animal skin and a *bipennis* – match Ankaios' Arcadian she-bear skin and ἀμφίτομος πέλεκυς. The fact that Salius' lion-skin is appropriately Libyan retrospectively underlines the oddity of the *pellis Libystidis ursae* worn by Acestes.

[15] While Virgil makes Salius a contemporary of those Salii who at *Aen*. 8.285–304 sing the hymn to Hercules (that is, he cannot be their founder), the Herculean connotations which he gives to Salius might allude to an alternative version similar to Serv. *Aen*. 8.285, where he says that the Salii were founded by an Arcadian Salius, a story that Isidore (*Orig*. 18.50) attributes to Varro.

[16] *Rara sit an supra morem si densa requires | altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho | densa magis Cereri, rarissima quaeque Lyaeo*, with the further explication clarifying the chiasmic structure of *alter … alter*. See N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 11: A Commentary* (Leiden, 2003), 374, on *quorum alter … alter*: 'a rare alternative to *hic … ille*'. Moreover, for Salius being Arcadian and Patron being Acarnanian, compare Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.51.2, where Patron is an Acarnanian who accompanies Aeneas, and Serv. Auct. *Aen*. 8.285, who mentions an unnamed tradition about Salius' Arcadian origins.

[17] The two resting places show a similar structure, having both a vegetable base (*solio … acerno*, 178, and *stratis … foliis*, 367–8) and an animal skin padding (*toro et villosi pelle leonis*, 177, and *pelle Libystidis ursae*, 368).

[18] The passage also recalls how Ankaios and Herakles were sitting next to each other in the central rowing bench (*Arg*. 1.396–400, 531–2).

[19] Cf. also *villis* of Salius' lion-skin at *Aen*. 5.352 with *villosi* used of the lion-skin that is offered to Aeneas at *Aen*. 8.177.

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Virgil's effort in linking together Acestes–Entellus and Evander–Aeneas is also underlined by the evident assimilation of the figures of Acestes and Evander. Both kings are without wealth and only able to offer rustic hospitality, and both are depicted while wearing animal skins, she-bear for Acestes (*Aen*. 5.37) and panther for Evander (*Aen*. 8.460).[20] While Evander is so old that he can neither go to war nor take command of the alliance (*Aen*. 8.508–10 and 560–71), Acestes ought not be particularly old, since he is the *aequaevus* of Entellus, who is able to dominate a boxing context against the Trojans' champion. In spite of this, Acestes' presumed old age is constantly emphasized throughout *Aeneid* 5 (*aevi maturus*, 5.73; *senior*, 5.301; *aequaevus*, which recalls Priam, 5.452; *ausus … iuvenum temptare laborem*, 5.498; *senior*, 5.573). Evander's traditional role as a civilizer (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.33; Livy 1.5) is attributed by Virgil to Acestes as well:

> gaudet regno Troianus Acestes
> indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis. (*Aen*. 5.757–8)

Although Aeneas has barely marked out the city boundaries and allotted the houses, Acestes is depicted as already giving laws and assemblies to the citizens of the newly found Segesta.[21] The rusticity of old Acestes and Evander and their civilizing role establish an equivalence between the two figures. Just as the context of *Aen*. 5.37 exploits the reader's expectation for an Arcadian she-bear skin, the more explicit Arcadian context of *Aen*. 8.368 creates an even stronger expectation for an Arcadian she-bear skin, making the second occurrence of *Libystis* appear even more striking.

II. APOLLONIUS' ΛΙΒΥΣΤΙΣ

It should now be clear how Virgil set the Ankaios–Herakles pair from the *Argonautica* as the model for both the Acestes–Entellus and the Evander–Aeneas pairs. Such equivalences further underline the peculiarity of the occurrences of *Libystis* in relation to their contexts, which create the expectation for an Arcadian reference. *Libystis* only occurs at *Aen*. 5.37 and 8.368 within Latin literature, and its Greek equivalent is equally rare. Apart from a few instances in late authors, we find Λιβυστίς only at Call. fr. 676.1, and at *Arg*. 4.1753.[22] The Callimachean fragment describes Aphrodite promising Eros five newly cleaned ἀστράγαλοι of a Libyan gazelle as a reward:

> ζορκός τοι, φίλε κοῦρε, Λιβυστίδος αὐτίκα δώσω
> πέντε νεοσμήκτους ἄστριας

[20] Cf. *fessus opibus solatur amicis* (*Aen*. 5.41) with Evander's offering Aeneas a couch to sleep on, and begging him to scorn *opes* (*Aen*. 8.364).

[21] When Aeneas reaches Carthage, the situation is similar to that of Segesta at *Aen*. 5.755–61: compare especially *Aen*. 5.758, *indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis*, with *Aen*. 1.426, *iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum* (although the line might be out of place) and with 1.507, *iura dabat legesque viris*.

[22] After Callimachus (quoted in Σ Plat. *Ly*. 206e5 and Suet. Περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν 1.77) and Apollonius, the earliest occurrences of Λιβυστίς are App. *B Civ*. 1.9.80.4; Dionys. Per. *Orbis Descriptio* 614; Ps.-Hdn. *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.1.104.17; and Nonn. *D*. 10.230, 13.345.

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In relation to *Aen*. 5.37 and 8.368, the occurrence of Λιβυστίς at the end of the *Argonautica* is probably far more significant than its occurrence in Callimachus' fragment.[23] Λιβυστίς is employed at *Arg*. 4.1753, when Jason is mentioning the clod of earth taken from the Libyan coast that was given explicitly as a surrogate ξεινήιον by Triton to Euphemos (*Arg*. 4.1555):[24]

ἐπεὶ Τρίτων ξεινήιον ἐγγυάλιξεν
τήνδε τοι ἠπείροιο Λιβυστίδος· (*Arg*. 4.1752–3)

Jason is here referring to the episode at *Arg*. 4.1550–63, when Triton appears disguised as Eurypylos, takes Apollo's tripod, and picks up and offers to the Argonauts a clod of earth, which Euphemos readily accepts.[25] The words uttered by Triton when he gives Euphemos the clod are particularly significant:

Δέχθε φίλοι, ἐπεὶ οὐ περιώσιον ἐγγυαλίξαι
ἐνθάδε νῦν πάρ' ἐμοὶ ξεινήιον ἀντομένοισιν. (*Arg*. 4.1554–5)

Triton is only apparently giving Euphemos a worthless gift: the clod of earth, once cast overboard into the Aegean Sea (*Arg*. 4.1755–64), will become the island of Calliste/Thera, a new homeland for Euphemos' descendants.

Significantly, Aeneas' encounters with Acestes and Evander, which are characterized by the two occurrences of *Libystis*, are the only instances in which no precious hospitality gifts are offered, either by the host or by the guest.[26] At *Aen*. 5.40, Aeneas and his companions are welcomed by Acestes with the gift of *gaza agrestis*. The almost oxymoronic expression is not just a hint at Acestes' rusticity. *Gaza* occurs two more times within the *Aeneid*, and in both cases it describes Troy's treasures (*Aen*. 1.119, 2.763), parts of which, significantly, had become the ξεινήια for Dido and Latinus

[23] See E. Livrea, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon Liber Quartus* (Florence, 1973), 479: 'l'agg. è mutuato da Call. fr. 676 Pfeiffer'. Apollonius also uses the more common Λιβυστικός at *Arg*. 4.1233. Were *Arg*. 3.114–48 actually a reference to Call. fr. 676, Apollonius might be underlining the departure from the Callimachean passage by setting a quite different prize for Eros' services: eager to get the infant Zeus's ball, Eros promptly drops his golden ἀστράγαλοι (*Arg*. 3.146). Virgil follows Callimachus only in applying *Libystis* to a female animal rather than to a gazelle (notice that at *Aen*. 1.184, when it would be fitting, context-wise, to mention the Libyan gazelles, Virgil uses instead the term *cervi*).

[24] The earth clod will be once more called a ξεινήιον at *Arg*. 4.1752 (it had already been called ξείνια at Pind. *Pyth*. 4.22).

[25] See E. Livrea, 'L'episodio libyco nel quarto libro delle *Argonautiche* di Apollonio Rodio', *QAL* 12 (1987), 175–90, at 178, on previous versions of the offering of the tripod and the encounter with Triton in Timaeus, Lycophron, and Herodotus. See also Livrea (n. 23), 433, on Triton and Eurypylos.

[26] Poverty can be a reason for Acestes or Evander, but not for Aeneas, who provides lavish prizes for the funerary games. Throughout the *Aeneid*, hospitality gifts are lavish: Aeneas gives Dido a mantle embroidered with gold, Helen's veil, Ilione's sceptre, a pearl necklace, and a golden and jewelled coronet (*Aen*. 1.647–55); Helenus gives Aeneas gold, ivory, silver, *lebetes*, and Pyrrhus' *lorica* and helmet, while Andromache gives Ascanius a Phrygian *chlamys* and *textilibus donis* (*Aen*. 3.464–85); Ilioneus gives Latinus Anchises' golden libation cup and Priam's sceptre, diadem, and robes (*Aen*. 7.245–8); Latinus gives the Trojans horses with embroidered, purple and gold trappings and harnesses, and a chariot with fire-breathing horses (*Aen*. 7.274–83). Anchises' gifts to Evander (*Aen*. 8.166–8), although precious, might not simply be hospitality gifts.

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(*Aen*. 1.652–5 and 7.243–8).[27] The only *gaza* that Acestes can offer to the Trojans is not the usual kind of precious hospitality gift, but simple provisions, a further hint at Triton's gift of a clod of earth in place of noteworthy ξεινήια. The same concept of a simple, rustic gift that symbolizes a new homeland is also present in the encounter with Evander, where there is no exchange of gifts either: the Trojans are simply given bread, offal, and the chine of the sacrificed ox (*Aen*. 8.180–3).

Within both Acestes' and Evander's welcome, we have the complete lack of valuable ξεινήια and the offering of rustic comforts which are subtly presented as the equivalent of Triton's gift of an apparently worthless clod of earth as a substitute for a περιώσιον … ξεινήιον. Just as Triton is giving to Euphemos something apparently trivial, but which will become the new homeland of his descendants, Acestes provides territory for the foundation of Segesta, a new homeland for some of the Trojan refugees, and Evander offers Aeneas a sleeping place on the same Palatine hill that will become the new homeland of his descendants.[28] Virgil's use of *scyphus* (the Latin equivalent of the Homeric *hapax legomenon* σκύφος) as an intertextual pointer in a similar way to that in which he employed *Libistys*, is brilliantly elucidated by Jeffrey Wills, who shows how the Virgilian *hapax scyphus* at *Aen*. 8.278 is to be regarded as an allusion to σκύφος at *Od*. 14.112 and to the context in which the Homeric *hapax* occurs.[29]

Virgil's twofold use of *Libystis* might be meant to provide a further implication. It is possible that Apollonius exploited the two names of the island, Thera and Calliste, for some word-playing. When Triton/Eurypylos gives Euphemos the earth clod, he calls Libya θηροτρόφος.[30] The adjective is a *hapax* in Apollonius, and in previous Greek literature it is never associated with Libya.[31] Although Calliste herself is not explicitly called a nymph, she states that she is the daughter of Triton and Libya, and that she needs to be entrusted to the sea nymphs, daughters of Nereus (*Arg*. 4.1741–4). Since

[27] *Gaza* is a Persian word suggesting oriental luxury, which is slightly out of place with Acestes, especially since *agrestis* connotes it as locally produced: see N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 2: A Commentary* (Leiden, 2008), 529, on *gaza* as 'entirely appropriate to the wealth of a great oriental city like Troy; cf. [*Aen*. 2.] 504 *barbarico … auro*'.

[28] The she-bear skin marks the very spot of the future foundation of Rome, also hinted at by Evander, *Romanae conditor arcis* (*Aen*. 8.313), and by the *Romanoque foro* (*Aen*. 8.361): see S. Papaioannou, 'Founder, civilizer and leader: Vergil's Evander and his role in the origins of Rome', *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003), 680–702, at 695. Pallanteum can be seen as a new homeland for the exiled Evander 'cut out' of a foreign land like Carthage, Segesta, and the future Rome (cf. Evander's *res egenae* at *Aen*. 8.365 and the Sybil saying at *Aen*. 6.91 that Aeneas will reach Italy as a *supplex in rebus egenis*).

[29] J. Wills, '*Scyphus*: a Homeric hapax in Virgil', *AJPh* 108 (1987), 455–7. J. Farrell, 'The Virgilian intertext', in C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge, 1997), 222–38, at 226, further postulates that Virgil probably became aware of σκύφος in his own imitation, in *Eclogue* 3, of a passage from Theocritus' first *Idyll* in which σκύφος occurs (*Id*. 1.143). On the similar use of Homeric *hapax legomena* in Callimachus, see A. Rengakos, 'Homerische Wörter bei Kallimachos', *ZPE* 94 (1992), 21–47; see also A. Rengakos, *Apollonios Rhodios und die antike Homererklärung* (Munich, 1994), *passim*, and M. Fantuzzi, '"Homeric" formularity in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes', in T. Papanghelis and A. Rengakos (edd.), *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius* (Leiden, 2001), 171–92, for the use of Homeric *hapax legomena* in Apollonius.

[30] Strikingly, θηροτρόφος occurs only once in the *Argonautica*, when Triton is helping the Argonauts by showing them a way to safety and giving them ξεινήια, even though it is not long before Mopsos meets a horrible death due to a Libyan snake (*Arg*. 4.1502–36), which provides an ideal context for Libya as 'nurse of wild beasts'. See Livrea (n. 25), 190, on the Libyan episode as a 'metafora di morte'.

[31] Apollonius' departure from καρποφόρου Λιβύας at Pind. *Pyth*. 4.6 and Λιβύας εὐρυχόρου at Pind. *Pyth*. 4.42–3 might be significant in this respect.

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the clod is taken by Triton from Libya, the 'nurse of wild beasts', it is tempting to link the epithet to the transformation of the clod into a nymph, within Euphemos' dream, and then into an island also called Thera, the name of which might almost sound like 'she-beast': therefore, a fitting name for a clod of earth coming from Libya.[32] One might wonder whether Apollonius might also be exploiting the context in order to allude to the almost homophonous Callisto, the ancestor of the Arcadian race and one of the mythological she-beasts *par excellence*.[33] The clod of earth, originating from Libya, the 'nurse of beasts', would then actually be a nymph named Calliste, which would turn into a 'she-beast' island that will be the nurse of Euphemos' descendants.[34]

Granted that we cannot be sure whether Apollonius intended to exploit this kind of word-play, there exists the possibility that Virgil either saw such word-play within the Apollonian text or that he chose to exploit the Arcadian subtext of his own allusions to the *Argonautica* in order to hint at the myth of Callisto.[35] Especially at *Aen*. 8.177, within a clear Arcadian context, the mention of a she-bear would create the expectation of a reference to the founding myth of the Arcadians. Given that both occurrences of *Libystis* are linked to the creation of a new homeland for the descendants of Acestes and Aeneas, such a hint would be particularly appropriate, since the she-bear, within both Greek and Roman literature, was associated with the idea of motherhood. This concept would not be out of place within the *Argonautica* either, as Apollonius refers to both the nymph (*Arg*. 4.1741) and the island (*Arg*. 4.1758) as τροφός of Euphemos' descendants.[36]

III. OMENS OF DESTRUCTION, REBIRTH, AND JUPITER'S WILL

Each of the two foundations which the two occurrences of *Libystis* point to is presaged by an omen which further hints at the motif of the creation of a new homeland as the rebirth of Troy into a new city. The apparition of Acestes wearing a Libyan she-bear skin at *Aen*. 5.37 points to the foundation of Segesta, which is hinted at within the archery contest at *Aen*. 5.485–544: Acestes shoots towards the sky an arrow that bursts into flames, an omen that portends the burning of the ships that will set the scene for the imminent founding of Segesta. Evander's offer of a Libyan she-bear skin for Aeneas to sleep upon in his house on the Palatine hints at the future creation of Rome as a

[32] Apollonius employs the Ionic form θήρη (*Arg*. 3.69), the genitive of which is identical to that of the island. Θήρη occurs earlier, in Homer (*Il*. 5.49, 10.360; *Od*. 9.158, 19.429) with the meaning of 'prey/game' or 'hunt'. See Livrea (n. 23), 480–1, on Fränkel's and Wendel's conjecture of Θήρα in place of θήρης at *Arg*. 4.1763.

[33] As further reinforcement for Callisto being almost equivalent to Calliste, see G. Maggiulli, 'Artemide e Callisto', in M. Untersteiner (ed.), *Mythos: Scripta in Honorem Untersteiner* (Genoa, 1970), 179–85, for the possibility that Callisto is a Homeric duplication of Artemis Calliste.

[34] Significantly, in Apollonius the clod transforms into the island, while in Pindar's account the clod of earth is left unattended and washed overboard by a wave in front of the already existing island of Thera (*Pyth*. 4.43–8). Euphemos' prophetic dream, which introduces the transition from nymph to island, is also an invention of Apollonius: see Livrea (n. 23), 431. See also M. Corsano, 'Il sogno di Eufemo e la fondazione di Cirene nelle *Argonautiche* di Apollonio Rodio', *Rudiae* 3 (1991), 55–72, at 63, on Apollonius' focus on Thera, instead of Cyrene, as the land meant for Euphemos' descendants.

[35] Neither Callisto nor Arcas is mentioned in the *Argonautica*. The corresponding constellation is always referred to as Helice (*Arg*. 2.360, 3.745, 3.1195). Apart from two references to Ankaios' she-bear skin (*Arg*. 1.168, 2.120) and two more to Helice (*Arg*. 2.360, 3.1195), ἄρκτος occurs in relation to the Mount of Bears (*Arg*. 1.941, 1150).

[36] As Libya is Calliste's τροφός, so Calliste will be the τροφός of Euphemos' descendants. Cf. Pind. *Pyth*. 4.20 (ματρόπολις Θήρα).

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new homeland: similarly to Acestes' arrow in relation to Segesta, an omen of weapons appearing in the sky anticipates the upcoming war in Latium, which will lead to the future founding of Rome. As we will see, both omens are characterized by three recurring elements: flames as a symbol of destruction or war, a comet as a symbol of rebirth, and lightning as a symbol of the will of Jupiter. The symbolism of these omens is also anticipated by the twofold portent at *Aen*. 2.682–98, where Troy's future rebirth is clearly foretold:

> ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli
> fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis
> lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci. (*Aen*. 2.682–4)

> vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore
> intonuit laevum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras
> stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit. (*Aen*. 2.692–4)

> tum longo limite sulcus
> dat lucem et late circum loca sulphure fumant. (*Aen*. 2.697–8)

While the comet is the dominant element of the twofold omen, flames and lightning also play a significant role. The snake-like flames are reminiscent of the destruction of Troy, and possibly carry some subtle hints at the civil-war elements that characterize it.[37] This motif appears to be reinforced by the *Argonautica* passage on which *Aen*. 2.693–8 is modelled, which depicts Jason's slaughter of the earth-born after they have started fighting among themselves:

> οἷος δ' οὐρανόθεν πυρόεις ἀναπάλλεται ἀστὴρ
> ὁλκὸν ὑπαυγάζων, τέρας ἀνδράσιν οἵ μιν ἴδωνται
> μαρμαρυγῇ σκοτίοιο δι' ἠέρος ἀίξαντα (*Arg*. 3.1377–9)

The similarities are evident: within the description of the star coming from the sky (*de caelo ... stella* and οὐρανόθεν … ἀστήρ), a first direct reference to fire (*facem ducens* and πυρόεις) is followed by consistent references to light (*sulcus dat lucem* and ὁλκὸν ὑπαυγάζων; *multa com luce cucurrit* and μαρμαρυγῇ … ἀίξαντα).[38] But, instead of finding within the *Aeneid*'s text the blood-filled ὁλκοί of *Arg*. 4.1391–2, we have the comet at *Aen*. 2.692–8 leaving a sulphurous furrow.[39] The reek of sulphur does not

[37] Coroebus' (and Aeneas') choice of 'snake-warfare' by donning Greek weapons at *Aen*. 2.370–401 will be the cause of the Trojans being killed by their fellow Trojans at *Aen*. 2.410–29. This motif is further developed by the snake-simile at *Aen*. 2.379–81, Coroebus' open acknowledgement of their use of *dolus* (*Aen*. 2.390) and, later on, by Pyrrhus' snake-simile at *Aen*. 2.471–4: see B.M.W. Knox, 'The serpent and the flame: the imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*', *AJPh* 71 (1950), 379–400, at 391–2.

[38] The term ὁλκός, when not used for comet-like phenomena (*Arg*. 3.141, 1378, 4.296), always has the sense of 'furrow/trench' (*Arg*. 1.375, 1167, 3.413, 1391). Other similarities are *per umbras* (*Aen*. 2.693) with σκοτίοιο δι' ἠέρος (*Arg*. 3.1379), and *cernimus* (*Aen*. 2.696) with ἴδωνται (*Arg*. 3.1378).

[39] *Sulphur* occurs only here in Virgil. The implications of the allusions to *Arg*. 3.1377–9 will be drawn out at *Aen*. 10.272–3, where Aeneas' frightening appearance is likened to comets that *sanguinei lugubre rubent*, symbolizing the bloodshed that will precede Troy's rebirth into the future Rome.

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seem to be among the usual elements associated with comets: it is instead specifically linked with Zeus's lightning (*Il*. 8.135, 14.415; *Od*. 12.417; Soph. fr. 538.2) or with lightning in general (Lucr. *DRN* 6.219–21).[40] The lightning connotations are emphasized by the thunder that accompanies the shooting star (*subitoque fragore intonuit*, *Aen*. 2.692–3). The destruction motif, symbolized by the flames, and the rebirth motif, symbolized by the comet, is thus enriched by a reference to Jupiter's will, a sign of which had been invoked by Anchises at *Aen*. 2.689–91.

IV. ACESTES' ARROW

The omen of Acestes' arrow, which portends the first rebirth of Troy into a new homeland, as already hinted at by the first occurrence of *Libystis*, is heavily linked with flames. At the end of the archery contest, Acestes' only chance to display his skill is to shoot at the sky, since the dove has already been struck down:

> hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum
> augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens
> seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.
> namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo
> signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit
> consumpta in ventos, caelo ceu saepe refixa
> transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt. (*Aen*. 5.522–8)

The wording of this passage recalls the twofold omen in *Aeneid* 2 that portends the rebirth of Troy: *crinem* is reminiscent of the flames that appeared on Iulus' head, while the falling star simile recalls the comet that shows Aeneas his path away from Troy.[41] The destruction symbolized by the flames proves to be instrumental in the foundation of Segesta: it is because four ships are burnt by the discontented Trojan women that some of the Trojan refugees choose to settle in Sicily.[42] The comet as symbol of rebirth is particularly appropriate: Troy is being, to a lesser degree than in Latium, reborn in Segesta.[43] Lines 525–8 seem to draw on Apollonius' description of another comet-like phenomenon:

[40] Horsfall (n. 27), 493, says that the Latin use of *fulmen* can refer to both lightning and meteors (although Cicero makes a clear distinction between the two, *Cons*. fr. 2.20–2 and 23–32) but concludes that '[Virgil] is quite free, poetically, to blend an alien element into his description of the meteor'.

[41] See S. Lawler, 'The significance of Acestes' arrow', *Vergilius* 34 (1988), 102–11, at 105. Notice how Virgil does not follow *Il*. 23.870–3, where Merion makes a vow to Apollo: at *Aen*. 5.513–18 Eurytion invokes his brother Pandarus instead of Apollo (thus risking the god's displeasure, like Teucer in the *Iliad*), which allows Aeneas to declare that the subsequent omen has been sent by Jupiter (*Aen*. 5.533–4).

[42] Once again, the destruction by fire of the ships carries hints of civil war, since the Trojan women are damaging their own people's chances of fulfilling their destiny. The flames of Acestes' arrow, the *terrifici vates*, and the *exitus ingens* (*Aen*. 5.523–4) could also be seen as hinting at the role that Segesta will play in Rome's future wars. On the *exitus ingens*, see R.D. Williams, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quintus* (Oxford, 1960), 142; also N. Horsfall, '*Aeneid*', in *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (Leiden, 2001), 101–216, at 140–1.

[43] *Aen*. 5.626–34 presents the idea of the Trojans settling for a new Troy in Sicily, instead of pursuing it in Latium. On the rebirth motif being highlighted by the dove's death, see Lawler (n. 41),

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ἀτὰρ εἴ μιν ἑαῖς ἐνὶ χερσὶ βάλοιο,
ἀστὴρ ὣς φλεγέθοντα δι᾽ ἠέρος ὁλκὸν ἴησιν. (*Arg*. 3.140–1)

Acestes' fire arrow recalls the image of the tail of a comet through the use of *crinem*, and is accompanied by a comet simile (*Aen*. 5.527–8), with *ceu ... sidera* being the equivalent of ἀστὴρ ὣς (*Arg*. 3.141). *Signavitque viam flammis* also seems to be a fitting counterpart to φλεγέθοντα … ὁλκὸν ἴησιν, anticipating the comet associations of the arrow omen.[44] The rare term φλεγέθων in Apollonius might also hint at Zeus's lightning (cf. κεραυνοῦ τε φλεγέθοντος, Hes. *Theog*. 846). A trail of flames in the air that burns *liquidis in nubibus* (5.525) may also suggest lightning flashing through the clouds, since lightning is described as a fire trail amid clouds at *Aen*. 8.391–2. Finally, the use of *terrificus* (5.524) provides a further hint at lightning, since *terrifici* is used at *Aen*. 8.431–2 for the *fulgores* that the Cyclopes are mixing together with *sonitus*, *metus*, and *flammae* into the forging of Jupiter's lightning.[45] Like the omen at *Aen*. 2.682–98, that of Acestes' arrow is characterized by three elements that symbolize destruction (flames), rebirth (comet), and Jupiter's will (lightning).

The function of these three elements (flames, lightning, and comet) is further explicated throughout the happenings that take place after the omen and prepare for the foundation of Segesta. The destruction symbolized by the flames of Acestes' arrow is caused by the intervention of Iris, who causes the Trojan ships to be set on fire.[46] The storm that Jupiter sends in order to quench the fire is dominated by allusions to his lightning. Aeneas asks Jupiter to save the ships, or to destroy himself and his fellow Trojans with lightning (*Aen*. 5.687–92). In response to Aeneas' plea, a sudden storm puts out the fire that is consuming the ships (*Aen*. 5.693–9). When Vulcan reaches his forge underneath Aetna, he finds the Cyclopes busy forging Jupiter's lightning, which is made of *imber*, *nubes aquosa*, *ignis*, and *Auster* (*Aen*. 8.424–32).[47]

Such components of Jupiter's lightning are more readily explained when compared to the elemental storm that saves the Trojans' ships.[48] At *Aen*. 5.696 we discover that the storm sent by Jupiter to quench the *ignis* is made of *imber*, *aqua*, and south winds. Thus, the same elemental combination constitutes both Jupiter's lightning at *Aen*. 8.429–30 and the storm and fire scenario at *Aen*. 5.695–9.[49] Jupiter's lightning is capable of both annihilating, as a weapon, and saving, when broken down into its elemental

109–10. G. Galinsky, '*Aeneid* V and the *Aeneid*', *AJPh* 89 (1968), 157–85, at 169, remarks that 'the terminology that is used in describing the foundation of Segesta is specifically Roman'.

[44] See M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica III 1–471* (Leiden, 1994), 130, on φλεγέθοντα. Although Virgil, in the description of Acestes' arrow, does not employ *sulcus* as at *Aen*. 2.697, these two omens are connected by *signantemque vias* (2.697) and *signavitque viam* (5.526).

[45] *Terrificus* is used by Virgil for the third and last time within the bull simile at *Aen*. 12.101–6, when Turnus is said to shoot sparks and fire from his face and eyes. As a verb, *terrifico* is used at *Aen*. 4.210 in relation to Jupiter's lightning.

[46] Iris at *Aen*. 5.609 and 658 is given the connotations of an arrow shot from the bow, thus recalling Acestes' flaming arrow. Compare also *viam celerans* at *Aen*. 5.609 with *signavitque viam* at *Aen*. 5.526, and *attonitis* at *Aen*. 5.529 with *attonitae* at *Aen*. 5.559. At *Aen*. 5.683 and 699 the fire devouring the ships is called *pestis*: cf. *Aen*. 7.505 and 570, where *pestis* and *pestiferus* are used in connection with Allecto.

[47] See P.R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford, 1986), 186–7, on the making of the *fulmen*. Contrast the making of the thunderbolt at *Arg*. 1.730–4.

[48] On the elemental storm, see Hardie (n. 47), 325–7.

[49] The association with lightning is reinforced by the presence of thunder at *Aen*. 5.694 (*tonitru*).

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components.[50] Thus, the flames that bring destruction to the ships are undone by a storm that represents both Jupiter's lightning and his will.[51] Finally, subtle hints at the comet and at the underlying motif of rebirth are provided by Anchises' apparition announcing, among other things, that he is now dwelling in Elysium, and by Anchises' descent being described with the words *caelo facies delapsa parentis* (*Aen*. 5.722), similar to the comet at *Aen*. 2.693–4 (*de caelo lapsa per umbras | stella facem ducens*).[52] The hints at flames, lightning, and a comet that are found within the description of the omen of Acestes' arrow are thus further explicated and contextualized through the interventions of Iris, Jupiter, and Anchises.

V. THE WEAPONS IN THE SKY

As with the omen of the flame at *Aen*. 2.682–98 and that of Acestes' arrow, the references to flames, lightning, and comets also play an important role in the omen of weapons in the sky that forebodes the future foundation of Rome, already hinted at by the second occurrence of *Libystis*:

> namque improviso vibratus ab aethere fulgor
> cum sonitu venit et ruere omnia visa repente,
> Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
> suspiciunt, iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens.
> arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena
> per sudum rutilare vident et pulsa tonare. (*Aen*. 8.524–9)

The lightning undertones are predominant here: *vibratus ab aethere fulgor* can easily be read as 'lightning cast from the sky', as seems to be confirmed by the *tonare* that closes the description at *Aen*. 8.529, and by how *fulgor* seems to become part of the material composition of Jupiter's lightning while it is being forged by the Cyclopes at 8.431–2 (*fulgores ... terrificos ... miscebant*).[53] Virgil emphasizes the concept of a serene sky at *Aen*. 8.523–9 (*caelo ... aperto*, 523; *caeli in regione serena*, 528; *per sudum*, 529), even though the weapons are said to appear *inter nubem* (*Aen*. 8.528). The lightning elements conveyed by *vibratus ab aethere fulgor* thus indicate that the omen is lightning from a serene sky, like the lightning in the *Georgics*:

> non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno
> fulgura nec diri totiens arsere cometae (*G*. 1.488–9)

[50] At *Aen*. 5.697–8, *semusta ... robora* is probably an allusion to ἡμιδαὴς … νηῦς at *Il*. 16.294, where the Greek ships saved by Patroclus are immediately followed by a simile in which the storm clouds are scattered by Zeus, referred to here with the *hapax* στεροπηγερέτα. Virgil is thus alluding to the image of a lightning-wielding Homeric Zeus who brings salvation to the half-burnt ships, as Jupiter does with his storm with lightning undertones in the *Aeneid*.

[51] The *imperium Iovis* will be made explicit by Anchises at *Aen*. 5.726.

[52] See B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1963), 278–9. Notice how Anchises also mentions the flames which were destroying the Trojan fleet and the elemental storm in conjunction with Jupiter, thus further linking the flame, lightning, and comet components of the omen.

[53] *Vibro* is used at *Aen*. 11.606 for javelins being brandished. Thunder accompanies each element of the three omens which hints at Jupiter's lightning: the comet at *Aen*. 2.692 (*subitoque fragore*), the storm at *Aen*. 5.694 (*tonitru tremescunt*), and the arms at *Aen*. 8.527 (*fragor*). A. Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello: effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana* (Pisa, 1984), 82, notes that the apparition of weapons in the sky symbolizes the civil wars, and represents an ill-omened prodigy.

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Here, lightning from a serene sky and comets are presented as the omens *par excellence*.[54]

The expression *vibratus ab aethere fulgor* also shows significant parallels with the comet-like phenomenon at *Arg*. 4.296–7 (ὁλκὸς ἐτύχθη | οὐρανίης ἀκτῖνος): both signs are preceded by a speech (Argus' and Evander's) which relates a distant past; they both are sent by a goddess (a τέρας from Hera, a *signum* from Venus) in order to dispel doubts; and they both carry an ambiguous meaning, especially towards the fate of the youth who had been committed to the main character (Lykos is left behind by the Argonauts, Pallas will die while under Aeneas' tutelage).[55] The comet element of the omen thus emerges by means of an allusion to a passage of the *Argonautica*, as it was for the lightning elements of the omens at *Aen*. 2.268 and 5.525–8.[56]

Finally, flames are subtly hinted at by *rutilare* (*Aen*. 8.529).[57] Both the fire-like gleam of the weapons and the words that describe the clanging that accompanies them closely recall the beginning of Troy's destruction in *Aeneid* 2: compare *exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum* (2.313) with *Tyrrhenus ... tubae ... clangor* (8.526), or *quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor* (2.338) with *vibratus ab aethere fulgor* (8.524).[58] Though in a compressed form, the passage appears to be set within a context that both evokes lightning (*vibratus ab aethere fulgor*) accompanied by thunder) and carries subtle hints at flames (*rutilare*) and comets (*Aen*. 8.524 recalling *Arg*. 4.296–7).

The connotation of the weapons that appear in the sky at *Aen*. 8.608–25 complements that of the weapons carried by Venus at *Aen*. 8.523–9. Flames are being spouted both from Aeneas' helmet (*galeam flammasque vomentem*, *Aen*. 8.620) and from Augustus' temples (*geminas ... flammas ... vomunt*, *Aen*. 8.680–1) within the depiction of the battle of Actium on the shield.[59] The comet is also found on the shield, since above Augustus' head *patrium ... aperitur ... sidus* (*Aen*. 8.681). The lightning connotations are here rather veiled, and (as was the case for *Aen*. 2.268, 5.525–8, and to some extent 8.524) they emerge by means of allusion to an Apollonian passage. *Arma sub*

[54] *Fulgor* is used by Lucretius at *DRN* 6.170 as the visual component of the lightning, complementary to *tonitrus*; at 6.217 and 316 it indicates the lightning by metonymy (a similar use of *fulgur* is found at 6.270 and 6.391).

[55] On the significance of the two omens for Lykos and Pallas, see D. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford, 1991), 181–2; D. Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Leeds, 2001), 364. For *fulgor* meaning 'star', cf. Cic. *Arat*. 57 and *Rep*. 6.17. Cf. Pliny *NH* 2.89.6 on comets: *acontiae iaculi modo vibrantur, atrocissimo significatu*.

[56] In this case, *vibratus ab aethere fulgor* would be replicating the twofold characterization of οὐρανίη ἀκτὶς (*Arg*. 4.297), since ἀκτῖνες are also the main components of Zeus's lightning (*Arg*. 1.730–4). Notice how *Aen*. 5.525–8 is also modelled on a passage of the *Argonautica* that has both comet and (more implicitly) lightning connotations (*Arg*. 3.140–1), just as *Aen*. 2.698 is based on *Arg*. 3.1391, with the furrow filled with sulphur instead of blood drawing attention to Jupiter's lightning.

[57] Compare *arma inter nubem ... rutilare* (*Aen*. 8.528–9) with *loricam ... sanguineam ... caerula nubes* (*Aen*. 8.621–2), which appears to confirm that the weapons in the sky are the same that Venus will bring to Aeneas. A. Barchiesi (n. 53), 81–3, seems to leave the possibility open.

[58] Cf. also *sonitus* at both *Aen*. 2.301 and 8.525. *Rutilo* used of weapons easily recalls the idea of firelight reflected from shields and armour during the destruction of Troy in *Aeneid* 2 (cf. Turnus' *rutilus thorax* at *Aen*. 11.487).

[59] On the assimilation between Cacus *incendia vana vomentem* (*Aen*. 8.259) and Aeneas/Augustus see R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1987), 27–35; L. Morgan, 'Assimilation and civil war: Hercules and Cacus. *Aeneid* 8', in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (London, 1998), 175–97, at 178–9.

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adversa posuit radiantia quercu at *Aen*. 8.616 is modelled on the first appearance of the Golden Fleece:[60]

> φηγὸν ἀπειρεσίην διζημένω ᾗ ἔπι κῶας
> βέβλητο, νεφέλῃ ἐναλίγκιον ἥ τ᾽ ἀνιόντος
> ἠελίου φλογερῇσιν ἐρεύθεται ἀκτίνεσσιν· (*Arg*. 4.124–6)

The simile of the cloud glowing red from the fiery rays of the sun provides the model for the simile of Aeneas' breastplate:

> loricam ex aere rigentem
> sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerula nubes
> solis inardescit radiis longeque refulgent (*Aen*. 8.621–3)

Sanguinea recalls the ἐρεύθεται (*Arg*. 4.126) from the Apollonian cloud-simile, charging it with suggestions of the upcoming bloodshed; *inardescit* shifts the fire connotation of φλογερῇσιν from the sun's rays to the cloud; and *refulget* is the equivalent of μαρμαρυγῇ, which describes the shimmering of the Fleece at *Arg*. 4.173. The Golden Fleece spreads a blush over Jason's brow, with ἔρευθος carrying erotic connotations that are reinforced by the simile of the girl rejoicing in a fine robe (*Arg*. 4.167–70). By contrast, Aeneas' helmet vomits terrifying flames that recall the Homeric expression φλογὶ εἴκελον, which at *Arg*. 4.173 connotes ἔρευθος and its erotic undertones.[61] Virgil reworks Jason's less-than-manly gesture into a proper martial context at *Aen*. 8.731 as well, where Aeneas' shouldering of the shield recalls Jason draping the Golden Fleece over his shoulder (*Arg*. 4.179–80).[62] Finally, the greaves, made of *electrum* and *aurum recoctum* that will cover Aeneas' lower legs, suggest an effect analogous to the ground sparkling from the Golden Fleece at every step taken by Jason at *Arg*. 4.177–8 (ἤλιθα δὲ χθών | αἰὲν ὑποπρὸ ποδῶν ἀμαρύσσετο νισσομένοιο).

The lightning connotation of the arms brought by Venus is particularly subtle: just as Venus descends to Aeneas and presents him with the *arma radiantia*, so Jason reaches his companions and shows them the Golden Fleece, λαμπόμενον στεροπῇ ἴκελον Διός.[63] *Radiantia*, which finds no equivalent in the description of the Fleece hanging from the oak at *Arg*. 4.124–5, is perfectly suited to hinting at Jupiter's lightning, since it had been described as composed of rays (*radii*, *Aen*. 8.429–30). The elements that characterize the description of Aeneas' arms – that is, flames, a comet, and lightning – resurface in the course of the war in Latium. At *Aen*. 10.270–3 a flame spreads from the top of the plume of Aeneas' helmet (similarly to *Aen*. 8.620). Aeneas' shield, which carries Augustus' *patrium sidus* engraved on it, is likened to blood-coloured comets (*cometae sanguinei*, also recalling the *sanguinea lorica* at *Aen*. 8.622). Finally, the

[60] See Nelis (n. 55), 356–7, on the parallels between the similes, the oak tree, Jason and Aeneas' joy, wonder, and handling/shouldering of the Fleece/armour.

[61] The glow 'similar to flame' on Jason's cheeks and brow might be recalled by the flames, equivalent to those on Aeneas' helmet, that spread from Augustus' brow at *Aen*. 8.680 (*cui tempora flammas*).

[62] See Nelis (n. 55), 357.

[63] While Venus lets Aeneas handle the weapons at his leisure, Jason prevents the Argonauts, who are eager to touch and clasp the Fleece in their hands, from doing so. Compare the Argonauts' eagerness to clasp the Fleece with *amplexus nati Cytherea petivit* (*Aen*. 8.615).

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lightning element of the blazing weapons is further exemplified at *Aen*. 12.654, where Aeneas thunders (*fulminat*) in arms.

The symbolism of the omens in relation to the future foundation of Rome is quite evident. The apparition of the weapons in the sky is given the connotations of lightning, thus emphasizing the will of Jupiter, while the reference to the destruction of the upcoming war is more covert, and the rebirth of Troy into Rome is but a veiled hint. Conversely, the description of the actual panoply is dominated by fire connotations, with flames both on Aeneas' helmet, as a foreboding of the war in Latium, and on Augustus' head, as a hint at the future civil war that is depicted on the shield. The comet as a symbol of Troy's rebirth as Rome (in addition to Caesar's apotheosis and Augustus' reign as the return of the Golden Age) only belongs to the future as it is represented on Aeneas' shield, while the lightning as a symbol of Jupiter's receives only a well-disguised allusion within the description of the panoply, and is nowhere to be found within the depiction of Augustus' triumph at the battle of Actium.[64]

VI. FURTHER PARALLELS

As we have seen, the parallels between the two occurrences of *Libystis* include the motif of the creation of a new homeland out of a foreign territory, a context that creates expectations for a reference to Arcadia; the use of Apollonius' *Argonautica* as an intertext; and the omens symbolizing destruction, rebirth, and Jupiter's will which expand the ktistic element already introduced by the occurrences of *Libystis*. But such parallels extend even further. The aftermath of both of the omens that portend the rebirth of Troy into Segesta and the war in Latium as leading to the foundation of Rome share similar structure:

omen of Acestes' arrow	**omen of Venus' weapons**
monstrum (5.523)	*portenta* (8.533)
cecinerunt omina vates (5.524)	*signum cecinit ... diva* (8.534)
omen of rebirth (*caelo ceu saepe refixa | transcurrunt ... volantia sidera*, 8.527–8)	omen of war (*si bellum ingrueret, Volcania arma per auras | latura auxilio arma*, 8.535–6)
Trojans and Sicilians pray to the gods (5.529–30)	Evander and the Trojans sacrifice (8.544–5)
Aeneas does not reject the omen (5.530–1) Acestes is honoured by Aeneas after Jupiter's sign (5.533–5)	Aeneas recognizes the omen (8.532–3) Hercules[65] honoured by Aeneas (8.542–3) after Venus' sign

[64] *Patrium* at *Aen*. 8.681 might also be a hint at Jupiter's will, similarly to *vi patria* at *Aen*. 2.491, where it might refer not just to Achilles but also to Jupiter's role of granting strength to the Greeks (*ipse pater Danais animos viresque secundas | sufficit*, *Aen*. 2.617–8): compare the flames on Iulus' head and Jupiter's comet at *Aen*. 2.682–98, and the flames on Augustus' head together with his *patrium sidus*.

[65] In addition to Hercules, the *hesternus lar* and the household gods (*penates*) are also being honoured.

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Aeneas' gift of a golden bowl as *exsors* (because the bowl is not chosen from the prizes of the archery contest) to Acestes (5.534–8)	Evander's gift of an *exsors* (specially chosen) steed caparisoned with a lion-skin with gilded claws to Aeneas (8.552–3)
Aeneas summons Ascanius (5.545–51)	Aeneas gives orders to warn Ascanius (8.548–50)
The name of young Priam recalls the name of his grandsire (5.564)	Evander recalls his youth (8.560)
Priam and Polites (5.564–5) recall Priam's invocation to the gods in *Aeneid* 2[66]	Evander begs Jupiter either to save Pallas or to kill Evander himself (8.572–83)
Priam, Atys, and Iulus lead the *pueri* on horseback (5.564–70)	Aeneas, Achates, and Pallas lead the horsemen (8.586–7)
The *pavidi pueri* are enthusiastically welcomed by the Trojans (5.575)	The *pavidae matres* sadly watch the horsemen depart (8.592–3)
The boys create an armed mimicry of battle with the Labyrinth dance (5.585–91)	The shield's ineffable fabric depicts Rome's future wars (8.625–731)
Juno sends Iris to stir up the Trojan women (5.605–40)	Juno sends Iris to stir up Turnus (9.2–13)
Iris *ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum* (5.658)	Iris *ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum* (9.15)
The Trojan women set fire to the Trojan ships (5.659–63)	Turnus and his companions set fire to the Trojan ships (9.69–76)
Aeneas asks Jupiter either to save the ships, or to kill him and his companions (5.687–92)	Cybele asks Jupiter to save the ships (9.87–92)[67]

[66] Given that *Aen*. 8.560–67 represents a flashback, the mention of Priam and Polites would provide a matching flashback. The dichotomy at *Aen*. 2.523–4 (*haec ara tuebitur omnes | aut moriere simul*) on the occasion of the killing of Polites (who is mentioned only at 2.526 and 5.564 within the *Aeneid*), and Priam's consequent invocation to the gods (*Aen*. 2.535–9), would thus provide an equivalence with Evander's request to Jupiter either to save Pallas or to kill Evander as well. Further parallels are: Evander wishing to have the strength of his youth in order to be able to protect Pallanteum and Pallas from Mezentius (*Aen*. 8.560–71), and Priam donning his youthful arms in the vain effort to protect Troy and Polites from Pyrrhus (*Aen*. 2.507–46); Evander dragged away having fallen (*con-lapsum*) by his slaves after invoking Jupiter (*Aen*. 8.573–84) and Priam being dragged in a similar state (*lapsantem*) by Pyrrhus after invoking the gods (*Aen*. 2.535–51).

[67] Cf. the parallel between *Aen*. 5.564–5 and 8.572–83, where we have a father's prayer (Priam) to the gods (the reference to *Aen*. 2.535–9) matched with Evander's request for either death or Pallas' salvation at the hands of Jupiter: here the order is reversed, and Aeneas' request for either death or salvation at the hand of Jupiter is matched with Cybele's mother's prayer (*parentem*, *Aen*. 9.90) to Jupiter.

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Jupiter sends a thunder storm which, together with the fire, has the same elemental composition as his lightning (5.693–9)	Jupiter nods his assent (*adnuit*), making Olympus tremble (= thunder), and there appears a strange light and a vast cloud (9.106–11)
The ships are soaked with water and thus saved from the fire (5.697–9)	The ships dive into the sea, escaping the Rutulians' fire, and are turned into nymphs (9.117–22)
Aeneas is torn by doubt (5.719–20)	Messapus and the Rutulians hesitate (9.123–5)
Anchises intervenes to dispel Aeneas' doubts (5.724–39)	Turnus intervenes to dispel the Rutulians' doubts (9.128–58)
Aeneas declares the recently founded Segesta to be Troy (5.756–7)	Turnus will show his enemies that the current war is not the war of Troy (9.150–5)

The structural symmetry extends up to the moment when the outcomes which were portended by both omens are openly declared: at *Aen*. 5.756–7 Aeneas states that the recently founded Segesta and its territory are Troy, and at *Aen*. 9.148–55 Turnus declares that the war in Latium which has just started is not the war of Troy.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the two occurrences of *Libystis*, by means of the network of allusions to Apollonius (and especially to *Arg*. 4.1753), point to the concept of the creation of a new motherland within a foreign territory.[68] The two Libyan she-bear skins become the marker of the two new motherlands for the Trojans, Segesta and the future Rome, which both represent Troy being reborn into a new city. The founding of Carthage, mentioned at *Aen*. 1.367–8, anticipates the theme of an animal skin directly linked to a new homeland for exiles. But, whereas in the *Argonautica* the creation of a new homeland is a painless process, within the *Aeneid*, after the fall of Troy, such a process carries with it, as a necessary premise for Troy's rebirth, some degree of destruction – marginal (the burnt ships) in the case of Segesta, substantial (the war in Latium) for Rome. The triple manifestation of the omens in *Aeneid* 2 as flames (symbolizing the destruction of the city), a comet (foreboding its rebirth), and lightning (exemplifying the will of Jupiter) is mirrored by the other omens of death and rebirth in *Aeneid* 5 and 8, which complement the function of the two occurrences of *Libystis* in characterizing the foundations of Segesta and Rome. Specifically, we have flames and a comet simile for Acestes' arrow (*Aen*. 5.522–8), in addition to lightning for the storm (*Aen*. 5.687–99) and a comet for Anchises' apparition (*Aen*. 5.722–39), and then lightning for the weapon-omen (*Aen*. 8.524–9), in addition to flames and a comet on Aeneas' shield (*Aen*. 8.680–1). In

[68] As if to show that Apollonius is the key to *Libystis*, all three of the omens of Troy's rebirth into new homelands contain allusions to the *Argonautica*.

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Aeneid 5, the destruction wrought by the fire is functional to the rebirth of Troy in Segesta, since the four ships that are not saved by the storm force some of the Trojans to stay and populate the newly founded city.

The omens in *Aeneid* 5 and 8 also show a chiasmic correspondence (foundation–aftermath of war / war–aftermath of foundation): the omen that portends the foundation of Segesta appears to allude to an aftermath of war (*exitus ingens*, *Aen*. 5.523) within the future Punic Wars, while the apparition of the weapons in the sky (*Aen*. 8.524–9) forebodes the imminent war in Latium, which will have its aftermath in the rebirth of Troy into Rome, as represented on the shield of Aeneas itself. The weapon-omen in *Aeneid* 8 is associated with lightning, representing Jupiter's will for the conflict to start, while the actual weapons bear the connotations of the destruction that the war will cause, through the flames of Aeneas' helmet and the blood-like sheen of his cuirass (*loricam ... sanguineam*). On the shield, within the representation of the battle of Actium, the flames on Augustus' brow incarnate the destructive side of the Civil Wars, but they are paired up with the comet over Augustus' head: as the war in Latium was essential for Troy's rebirth into Rome, the Civil Wars create the premises for Rome's Augustan rebirth.

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