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Troy in Latin Literature

Michael C. J. Putnam
Brown University

Among the Latin poets Troy is persistently depicted as a place of reverberating sorrow.¹ This essay will examine, in particular, the way that Naevius, Catullus, Virgil and Ovid associate the city with notions of loss and exile. Let me preface this discussion, first with a glance at the linkage between Roman poetic aspiration and past poetry dealing with Troy. I will also make brief mention of the motif of the wooden horse, powerful symbol of the nocturnal destruction that made the city the place of the most public and, at the same time, most personal of griefs.

Let us begin with one of Lucan's greatest inventions: Caesar's visit to the site of Troy, on his way to Egypt after the victory at Pharsalus.² Caesar, *famae mirator* (9. 961), mindful of his own repute as he is reminded of the Trojan past, ponders the "shades that owe much to poets" (*multum debentes vatibus umbras*, 963). But, after Lucan's protagonist passes by memorials of the burnt city and its walls, of Ajax, Paris, Hector and Priam, the poet turns to himself and to his own power to immortalize. Exclaiming on the enormity of the sacred task entrusted to poets (*O sacer et magnus vatium labor*, 980), he apostrophizes Caesar, commanding his general not to be jealous of holy fame (*sacrae fama*). There will be a symbiosis, he proclaims, between Caesar and poet. *Pharsalia nostra* is a joint production, consequential deeds eternalized in deathless words.

Caesar's self-consciousness about his repute vis-à-vis the heroes of the past finds analogy in Lucan's own conditional complementarity between himself and Homer, "if it is right for the Muses of Latium to promise anything" (*si quid Latiis fas est promittere Musis*). The plurality of poets that Lucan has mentioned twice before becomes the singular *Zmyrnaei . . . vatis*, the blind bard of Smyrna, author of the *Iliad* who continues to animate

¹ This paper was delivered on January 5, 2007, in San Diego, at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association, as part of a panel, organized by President Jenny Strauss Clay, devoted to Troy.

² *De Bello Civili* 9. 963-99. For sensitive readings of this extraordinary episode see F. Ahl *Lucan: An Introduction* (Ithaca, 1976), 214-22; S. Bartsch *Ideology in Cold Blood* (Cambridge, 1997), 131-37. Dio (42. 6) has Caesar crossing the Hellespont to the province of Asia where he briefly remains to settle affairs, but he makes no mention of a specific visit to Troy. The decision to restore the city, that Lucan puts into the mouth of Caesar (9. 997-99), may be in part a bow to one of the other great appearances of Troy in Latin letters, Horace *c.* 3. 3. 60-61.

the heroes past whose palpable but decaying monuments Caesar has just traveled.

We may remark on the immediate absence of Virgil here—Rome’s own greatest purveyor of Troy and its demise. But the thoughtful reader will have sensed a parallel between Lucan’s address to Caesar and the extraordinary moment in the ninth book of the *Aeneid* where the first-person speaker—let’s call him Virgil—apostrophizes Nisus and Euryalus whose (very Homeric) adventures he has just described.³ Again we have a conditional clause that averts hubris: “if my songs have any potency” (*siquid mea carmina possunt*). But the clear implication is that Virgil, too, can immortalize through his verse, whose endurance surmounts time’s inroads. Nor is the author of the second book of the *Aeneid* absent from Lucan’s inspiration. The very next episode in *De Bello Civili* finds Caesar, as he continues his journey, reaching Egypt. There, fearing to put in because of a commotion on the shore, he is greeted by a minion of Ptolemy who rows out from the land to present him with the head of Pompey.⁴ Again, the perspicacious reader of Virgil will recall the *Aeneid*’s most surreal moment where we find Priam, killed in his palace not long before, now suddenly a huge, nameless corpse, head wrenched from trunk.⁵ Servius, noting the difference between Virgil’s *ingens* and *magnus*, comments succinctly: “he touches the tale of Pompey.”⁶ Lucan follows suit.

Let us turn now, for a moment, to one of the most salient episodes in the history of Troy’s final demise: the tale of the wooden horse.⁷ We know that Livius Andronicus and Naevius each wrote a play entitled *Equus Troianus*,⁸ and the language of two lines in Ennius’s *Alexander* is so close to that used by Virgil to describe the horse, in its second appearance during the *Aeneid* (6. 515-16), that they are quoted by Macrobius as Virgil’s model.⁹ There is

³ *Aen.* 9. 446-49.

⁴ 9. 1007-1012.

⁵ *Aen.* 2. 557-58:

... iacet ingens litore truncus
avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.

He lies, a huge trunk upon the shore, head wrenched from shoulders, body without a name.

⁶ Servius on *Aen.* 2. 557.

⁷ For an expansive history of the creature’s story as it appears in Latin letters, see R. G. Austin “Virgil and the Wooden Horse,” *JRS* 49 (1959), 16-25, summarized in, R. G. Austin, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis: Aeneidos: Liber Secundus* (Oxford, 1964), on *Aen.* 2. 15 (pp. 34-6).

⁸ Cicero twice mentions a play by that name, once with a quotation (*ad Fam.* 7. 16. 1), once by title alone (*ad Fam.* 7. 1. 2). Whether or not this is the same play as that of Livius or Naevius is unknown.

⁹ Ennius *Sc.* 72-3Jocelyn (quoted at *Macr. Sat.* 6. 2. 25):

Nam maximo saltu superavit gravidus armatis equus
qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama.

For with an enormous leap the horse, pregnant with armed men, has passed over, that by its brood it might destroy the heights of Pergama.

a witty elaboration of the tale of the horse and its entrance into Troy put by Plautus, at *Bacchides* 925-77, into the mouth of the slave Chrysalus as analogy for the clever machinations that he is about to implement.¹⁰

Cicero delights in drawing on the creature as a symbol of trickery and treachery, whether tragic (*Verr.* 2. 4. 52; *Mur.* 78) or comic (*Cael.* 67), and twice sees it as emblematic for the gathering place for a cluster of worthies (*de or.* 2. 94; *Phil.* 2. 32).¹¹ Lucretius (*DRN* 1. 471-77) uses his summary of the events at Troy to show off his ability to absorb Greek into Latin—the horse is *durateus*, not *ligneus*—but also brilliantly elaborates Ennius’s *suo partu* into *partu nocturno* (476-77), adding to the horse’s deadly, deceitful birth the element of night’s darkness, a motif to which I will return. But the horse receives prominent mention not only in its most famous appearance, in the second book of the *Aeneid*, but also in Horace, Propertius and Ovid.¹² It is a major protagonist in Seneca’s *Agamemnon*, as a chorus of Trojan women lament the demise of their homeland,¹³ as it is in a precis, in *senarii*, of the opening segments of the *Aeneid*, that Petronius puts into the mouth of the poetaster Eumolpus.¹⁴

Finally, in classical Latin, Statius offers a comparison of the gigantic, but benign, equestrian statue of Domitian with the huge, but destructive, *equus* of the *Aeneid*.¹⁵ Let me end this equine segment, as I will my discussion as a whole, with St. Augustine. The great father of the Church will maintain a creative dialogue with Virgil for his whole career, but the first book of the *Confessions* tells of the necessary renunciation of his delight in the tragedy of Dido and of that “sweetest image of the illusory” (*dulcissimum spectaculum vanitatis*) which, to him, is the extraordinary sweep of events in *Aeneid* 2. It is natural that Augustine begins his eleven word condensation of the book as a whole with “the wooden horse, filled with warriors” (*equus ligneus plenus armatis*).¹⁶

Let us turn now to an examination of Troy as a locus of sorrow. We begin at the beginning of Latin letters with the fragment from Naevius’s *Bellum Punicum* that Servius quotes in his comment on *Aeneid* 3. 10:

¹⁰ For discussion see E. Fraenkel *Plautinischen im Plautus* (Berlin, 1922), 61-72 (trans. as *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* [Florence, 1960], 57-67). Plautus makes direct or indirect reference to the story of the horse also in *Pseudolus* (1063 and 1244) and *Rudens* (268).

¹¹ For further detail see R. G. Austin, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis: Pro M. Caelio: Oratio* (Oxford, 1960), additional notes, pp. 171-72 (on 67. 12).

¹² Horace *c.* 4. 6. 13; Propertius 3. 1. 25 (with which compare Pliny *HN* 7. 202), 3. 9. 41-42, 3. 13. 64, 4. 1. 42 and 53; Ovid *AA* 1. 364, *Ibis* 569.

¹³ Lines 611-48 (the horse appears at 627).

¹⁴ Petronius *Sat.* 89, lines 1-65 (we find the *minacem equum* at 6).

¹⁵ Statius *Sil.* 1. 1. 9.

¹⁶ Augustine *Conf.* 1. 13. 22. The saint famously expresses his sadness over the suffering of the Carthaginian queen at *Conf.* 1. 13. 20-21.

Amborum uxores
noctu Troiad exhibant capitibus optertis
flentes ambae, abeuntes lacrimis cum multis.¹⁷

The wives of both were departing by night from Troy,
their heads covered, both weeping, leaving with many
tears.

We find here concentrated together many of the elements that will recur in later treatments of the city's final moments. The act of withdrawal is emphasized (*exibant, abeuntes*), with motion away from a beloved homeland anticipating both exile and a spate of wandering. That the departure from Troy takes place at night, after the city's fall, will become a standard *topos* in subsequent renderings of the tale. Likewise mourning is paramount, conveyed forcefully by Naevius not only in its physical manifestation through weeping (*flentes, lacrimis cum multis*), but also in the covered heads of the women, a gesture closely associated with the imminent presence of suffering and death.¹⁸ Finally the protagonists, the wives presumably of Anchises and of Aeneas, will have their surrogates in two of the later texts to which I will shortly turn.

My second example of Troy as a locus of personal hurt is the 68th poem of Catullus. As this complex masterpiece evolves, the speaker offers Laodamia's marriage to, and loss of, Protesilaus as an analogy for his relationship with Lesbia. The myth's topography leads readily to a denunciation of Troy itself (89-90):

Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque,
Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis, . . .

Troy—the horror!—common grave of Asia and Europe, Troy,
cruel tomb of all heroes and heroism, . . .

This outburst in turn serves as a reminder that his brother, for whose loss he deeply grieves,¹⁹ is also buried at the site of Troy (97-100):

quem nunc tam longe non inter nota sepulcra
nec prope cognatos compositum cineres,
sed Troia obscena, Troia infelice sepultum
detinet extremo terra aliena solo.

¹⁷ Naevius *BP* fr. 4 Morel. For valuable commentary, see M. Barchiesi *Nevio Epico* (Padua, 1962), 349-58.

¹⁸ Barchiesi (op. cit. 354) refers to Val. Max. 3. 8 ext. 4 and Q. Curt. Ruf. 4. 10. 34. For further detail see R. Waltz "Autour d'un Texte de Sénèque," *REL* 17 (1939), 292-308, especially 299-308.

¹⁹ The intervening lines, 91-98, largely recapitulate the earlier 19-24, but are no less powerful for so doing.

. . . whom now so far away, laid to rest not among familiar graves or near the tombs of kinsfolk, but buried in ugly Troy, Troy the misfortunate, a foreign soil claims in the farthest land.

The setting of the Trojan War—that grand cemetery cluttered with the results of an encounter between two clashing continents—is also the spot where Catullus’s own private, individual suffering is focused, and which elicits from him a moving, elegiac response. We here join the poet in lamenting a double distancing, of the speaker from his brother’s gravesite and of the brother from the ancestral burial place that by rights should be his, and whence Catullus is speaking. This distance is partially bridged in one of Catullus’s most moving poems, 101, likewise addressed by the poet to his departed brother. There is no mention of Troy but we presume the speaker’s presence there. I quote the initial four lines:

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus,
advenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias,
ut te postremo donarem munere mortis
et mutam nequiquam alloquerer cinerem,. . .

Having traveled through many peoples and over many seas,
I arrive, brother, at these sad obsequies, that I might offer
you the last gift in death and that I might address, in vain,
your silent ashes,. . .

A merger of these two poems, as combined influences, with the second strand about Troy that we have been tracing beginning with Naevius, takes place where we expect it: in the *Aeneid*, especially in book 2. Some form of the word *nox* appears nine times during the course of Aeneas’s narrative of Troy’s final, dark hours. Tears both initiate and permeate his telling of the tale, from the *lacrimae* that he believes even hostile Greeks would shed on hearing his story (*Aen.* 2. 8) to Aeneas himself weeping (*lacrimans*, *Aen.* 3. 10), as he leaves his city. And of course there is the negative turn, in relation to Naevius’s treatment of the story, that Virgil adopts, and adapts, about the disappearance of Aeneas’s wife.²⁰ Though she is never called *uxor* (Virgil is not partial to the word), she is entitled *coniunx* on seven occasions, and it is her loss that most readers remember as the salient event in the concluding moments of Troy’s demise, as told by Aeneas in Virgil’s masterly words.

Catullus 68 and 101 often recur to Virgil whenever the subject of Troy arises. Line 90 of poem 68, for instance

Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis

²⁰ For a discussion of the two traditions about Aeneas’s wife, see R. G. Austin, *op. cit.* note 7 above), on *Aen.* 2. 795 (pp. 286-89).

is absorbed and varied by Dido as she receives the Trojans at Carthage (*Aen.* 1. 565-66):

quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem
virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli?

Who is ignorant of the race of the sons of Aeneas, who of the city of Troy, and of the heroism, and heroes, and of the conflagration of so great a war?

And the conclusion of the first line of 101

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus

makes no more striking appearance in the *Aeneid* than when Anchises addresses his son who has sought him out in the world of the dead (*Aen.* 6. 692-93):

quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum²¹
accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!

Having travelled over what lands and over what great seas,
do I receive you, buffeted by what great perils, my son!

Catullus is replaced by Anchises, brother by son. As we move from our sublunar existence to the world of ghosts, conversation suddenly becomes miraculously feasible between living and dead. But there is a special poignancy here, too, as Virgil replaces the inability of his brother to respond to the poet's words with Aeneas's futile attempt to embrace his father. For a moment words can be exchanged but touch is impossible.

On three occasions Virgil blends both Catullus poems together for a particularly powerful effect. The first is the moment in *Aeneid* 1 where Aeneas, ignorant that he is addressing his mother, describes his plight to Venus.²² His last, self-descriptive words, *Europa atque Asia pulsus* (driven from Europe and from Asia), are a reminiscence of line 89 from Catullus 68 where, we recall, Troy was called the common grave of Asia and Europe.²³ That same Catullan verse and its neighbor, where the word *Troia* begins each line in anaphora, also figure earlier in Aeneas's speech where *Troia* is likewise repeated (375-77):

²¹ Virgil is fond of the ending of Catullus 101. 1. Besides the instances I quote see also *geo.* 1. 206, *Aen.* 3. 325, 6. 335, 7. 228. For commentary see R. G. Austin, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis: Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Oxford, 1971), on *Aen.* 1. 376.

²² *Aen.* 1. 385.

²³ Virgil has *Europamque Asiamque* at *Aen.* 10. 91. For further parallels see S. J. Harrison, ed., *Vergil: Aeneid 10* (Oxford, 1991), ad loc.

nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per auris
Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos
forte sua Libycis tempestas appulit oris.²⁴

From ancient Troy, if by chance the name of Troy has
reached your ears, a storm by its own whim drove us, as
we journeyed over various seas, to the shores of Libya.²⁵

The dual reminiscences of Catullus thus recall for the reader not only the lengthy travel that Aeneas has experienced since his departure from Troy—and therefore the extent of space hitherto covered in his itinerary of exile from his homeland—but the sufferings that he underwent there, that remain a profound part of his heritage.

A further, third, recollection of both Catullus's poems occurs in Dido's first speech to Aeneas after she apprehends his preparations for departure (*Aen.* 4. 311-13):²⁶

. . .quid, si non arva aliena domosque
ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,
Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?

What, if you were not in search of foreign fields and
unknown homes, and ancient Troy yet remained, would
Troy be sought by your fleet through the wave-rich sea?

With the help of Catullus, Virgil has Dido remind her absconding lover both of the "foreignness" of the unknown lands that lie in his future—the world of Catullus's dead brother as contrasted to that of Rome—and of the distance that he has already journeyed away from his beloved home country as well as of the difficulties of that journey. It also would serve as a reminder that ancient Troy, the city of death from which Aeneas and company have escaped, exists only as a ruin.

We should note that all the passages I have just quoted from the *Aeneid*, though parts of a grand scheme, are from speeches embedded in

²⁴ The word *diversa* looks in two directions. It absorbs Catullus's *multa* to express variety. But it also claims kinship with a use of the adjective at *Aen.* 3. 4 (*diversa exilia*) where, according to Servius, it means, distant, far off. Aeneas thus suggests to his mother both the motley aspect of the experiences that he has endured but also the time that he has spent and the distance in space that he has covered.

²⁵ I adopt the word "whim" from Austin's comment (op. cit., note 21 above, ad loc.).

²⁶ In common between the two passages are the repetitions of *Troia* (in adjacent lines) and of *aliena* (68. 100; *Aen.* 4. 311). *Non nota* and *cognatos* (68. 97-8) become *ignotas* (*Aen.* 4. 312) and *per undosum aequor* (*Aen.* 4. 313) varies *multa per aequora* (Cat. 101. 1). With *inter nota sepulcra* also cf. *inter flumina nota* (Virgil *ecl.* 1. 51), also a poem where distance and loss are critical factors.

the narrative.²⁷ Virgil thus absorbs and extends the rich personal response of Catullus's speaking "I" in one of the most forceful ways that epic can, through the direct utterance of characters within the story who are granted by the poet the opportunity to give vent to the intensity of their feelings through first-person expression. There is one exception to this pattern in Virgil's allusions to Catullus 101, namely *Aen.* 6. 335 where, among the dead that Aeneas sees waiting to be rowed across the Styx, are Leucaspis and Orontes who "with him traveled from Troy through the windy waves" (. . . *simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos*). Even though Aeneas is not actually speaking, the reader senses the depth of his feelings as he pities the two (*miseratus*, 332), and beholds them sad and "lacking the office due to the dead" (*mortis honore carentis*, 333). The moment is especially intense. By means of this rich allusion to Catullus, we remember that the poet, through the ritual of his song, can at least offer to his dead brother *postremo munere mortis* (101. 3), the funeral ceremony that is the last dutiful gift of an officiant who happens to be also a wordsmith. Of even this gesture toward his dead comrades Aeneas is incapable.

My last example of the appearance of Troy in Latin literature as a symbol of sorrow is *Tristia* 1. 3, one of Ovid's consummate masterpieces.²⁸ From distance in space (Tomis on the Black Sea) and time (at least one year of exile), the elegy describes the poet's last night in Rome before his relegation. The presentation of the speaker, whom we have every reason to call Ovid, would seem on first reading to be a spontaneous, immediate reflection on his fate.²⁹ It is in fact one of the most subtly contrived poems in classical Latin, with a literary heritage through allusion embracing Catullus, Lucretius, Horace, Tibullus and the earlier Ovid that permeates and enriches the text. The chief of these influences, as Ovid himself makes directly clear and has often been noted by critics, is Virgil, especially the Virgil of the second book of the *Aeneid*.³⁰ Ovid draws the parallel between his own misfortune and the sufferings of Troy's final night at lines 25-26:

si licet exemplis in parvo grandibus uti,
haec facies Troiae, cum caperetur, erat.

If I can adopt illustrious examples for an inconsequential occasion, this was the appearance of Troy when it was seized.

²⁷ Except for *Aen.* 6. 335, on which see below, the same holds true for the passages from the *Aeneid* enumerated in note 21 above.

²⁸ It is my hope to examine *Tr.* 1. 3 in detail elsewhere.

²⁹ A recent editor (*P. Ovidius Naso: Tristia*, ed. G. Luck [Heidelberg, 1977], vol. 2, p. 36) says that the poem "wirkt...nicht 'literarisch' "

³⁰ See most recently S. J. Huskey, "Ovid and the Fall of Troy in *Tristia* 1. 3," *Vergilius* 48 (2002), 88-104, with full bibliography.

The “illustrious examples” are, of course, drawn from the saga of Troy’s downfall and of the tragedy’s *dramatis personae*, in Ovid’s case particularly of Aeneas and his wife Creusa. With mock modesty the poet moves from epic to elegy, from the stuff of myth, given form in one of Rome’s greatest acts of the poetic imagination, to the private, personal autobiography of an individual who happens also to be a master poet, forcibly expelled from his homeland. Ovid thus returns us to Catullus’s vision of the writer whose loss is associated with Troy. In fact his lament gains much of its emotional power from its deliberate comparison with, and from the brilliant turns that it makes on, the literary tradition that we have been tracing.

The poem’s opening six lines help us at the start trace some of these themes:

Cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago
 quae mihi supremum tempus in urbe fuit,
cum repeto noctem, qua tot mihi cara reliqui,
 labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis.
iam prope lux aderat, qua me discedere Caesar
 finibus extremae iusserat Ausoniae.

When the saddest image of that night recurs which was for me the final moment in the city, when I recall the night in which I left behind so much dear to me, a tear now also glides from my eyes. Now the day was nearly at hand in which Caesar had ordered me to depart from the bounds of farthest Ausonia.

The reader need not have waited for the explicit mention of Troy at line 26 to realize that from the start we are reliving a version of *Aeneid* 2. The first verse itself looks back to Aeneas’s words to Dido summarizing the initial effect of the battle just begun (368-69):

. . . crudelis ubique
luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.

There was cruel grief everywhere, everywhere fear and the boundless specter of death.

Virgil’s use of the superlative *plurima* becomes Ovid’s more emotional *tristissima*; next, his *supremum* and *extremae* stress the moment’s finalities—one cannot supercede its sadness nor the ultimates in time and place that it projects.³¹ Equally powerful is Ovid’s replacement of *mortis* with *noctis*.³² In

³¹ *Extremae* is particularly affecting. It takes us to Ovid’s perspective as he ponders the enormity of his remoteness from Rome.

³² Virgil uses forms of the word *nox* nine times in *Aeneid* 2 (250, 260, 361, 397, 420, 590, 621, 754, 795).

fact the chain that takes us, within these lines, from *noctis* to *noctem* to *lux* is bitterly ironic. The light that follows this night means not life or its renewal, but merely the confirmation of what the poem itself makes patent: that we are present at Ovid's symbolic obsequies (*funeris . . . funere*, 22-3; *funere*, 89). The day that dawns after the dark night of death merely confirms the notion of exile as a form of animate, continuous death.³³ The phrase *supremum tempus*, though its immediate reference is to the poet's last moments in Rome, in fact adumbrates death itself.³⁴

If night takes us back via Virgil to Naevius, so does the omnipresence of sorrow.³⁵ Ovid's own tearful mourning in recollection leads us in two directions. In the poem itself we have several manifestations of grief, in particular the astonishing line 17:

uxor amans flentem flens acrius ipsa tenebat.

My loving wife, herself weeping quite bitterly, was
clutching me as I wept.

But again we turn back, via Virgil and Catullus, to Naevius's lamenting women. And we need no reminding that, in the tradition from Naevius on, we are dealing with departure from Troy, literally for Naevius's protagonists and Aeneas, metaphorically for Ovid, as he imagines his withdrawal from Rome.

I must be more specific about one character, namely Ovid's wife. She enters the poem three times as *uxor*, twice as *coniunx*, and plays a major role as foil for her departing consort.³⁶ It is perhaps Ovid's greatest irony that, while he suggests a reverse Aeneas, leaving Augustus's well-established Rome for a world of barbarism, his wife must, in this revived but symbolic Troy, suffer her own form of exile, a living-death on a par with that which her husband must endure. We glance backward first to the loss of Creusa in *Aeneid* 2, then to the *uxores* of Aeneas and Anchises in Naevius. Ovid's woe

³³ Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is, from one angle, an extended meditation on change as a form of exile and living death.

³⁴ For *supremum tempus* as the equivalent of death, see, among other examples, Lucr. 1. 546, 3. 595, 6. 1192; Cat. 64. 151; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 98; Ovid *e. p.* 2. 3. 4.

Virgil puts versions of a parallel phrase, *suprema nox*, twice into the mouth of Deiphobus as he describes Troy's final night which was also the night of his mutilation and death (*Aen.* 6. 502-3, 513). The notion of departure (*discedere*) is picked up by *abiturus* (15) and *abeuntes* (79) which is also Naevius's word (*abeuntes*, fr. 4. 3).

³⁵ Cf. also the uses of *lacrimas* (24) and *lacrimis* (80). For instances of grieving in *Aen.* 2 see 8 (at Aeneas's tale), 362 (for the fall of Troy), 651 (at the refusal of Anchises to depart), 784 (tears for Creusa), 790 (*Creusa lacrimantem*). At the beginning of book 3 Aeneas describes himself, at his departure from Troy, as *lacrimans* (10).

³⁶ *Uxor* occurs at 17, 41, 63; *coniunx* at 79 and 82. Virgil never uses *uxor* of Creusa, but she is referred to as *coniunx* seven times (597, 651, 673, 678, 711, 725, 738). Creusa uses the word of Aeneas at 2. 777.

is as culminative as it is climactic. Naevius's wives may grieve for Troy's dark night, but they leave, we presume, with their husbands. Catullus's brother dies (but, we assume, the poet ultimately remains in Rome, or Verona). Aeneas loses a wife (but he will gain a new one in Italy). For Ovid, the same husband and wife both live on, but each in a form of exile, each dead to the other. As the poet so movingly puts it (63):

uxor in aeternum vivo mihi viva negatur.

my wife, though alive, is forever denied to me, though I live.

Let me end with a final glance at St. Augustine, that repentant lover of Virgil. Here in full is his summary of *Aeneid* 2 which closes his acknowledgement of that poet's supposedly former seductive hold over him:

equus ligneus plenus armatis et Troiae incendium, atque ipsius umbra Creusae.

. . . the wooden horse filled with warriors and the conflagration of Troy and the shade of Creusa herself.

The last three words, *ipsius umbra Creusae*, that also bring Augustine's paragraph to an end, are also the final words of line 772 of the second book of the *Aeneid*. It is with the recollection of the shade of Aeneas's lost wife, with the poetry of loss, exile and death, that the saint concludes his renunciation. But both placement and exactitude of iteration suggest that the memory of Creusa stayed with him, as it does with us, along with the great poetry that influenced, or that drew sustenance from, Virgil's masterpiece.

