“HOPEFUL JOY”: A STUDY OF \textit{LAETUS} IN VERGIL’S \textit{AENEID}

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ABSTRACT
DAVID C. ANDERSON WILTSHIRE: “HOPEFUL JOY”: A STUDY OF LAETUS IN VERGIL’S AENEID
(Under the direction of James J. O’Hara)

In this dissertation I examine Vergil’s use of laetus (and laetitia, laetor, and inlaetabilis) in the Aeneid; for context, I also present the use of the laet- stem in earlier poets and in the Georgics and Eclogues. The two basic uses of laetus in Latin literature indicate human emotion (“joyful”) and agricultural lushness (“fertile”).

I argue that the laetus-emotion in the Aeneid is one of “hopeful joy”: “joy” in that the emotion is vivid, positive, and thrilling, and “hopeful” in that the source of the joy is hope for the future. This hope is usually created by a reversal (or perceived reversal) of fortune; an event (like an omen, victory in battle, etc.) causes an individual with low expectations of success to have high expectations of success. Nevertheless, this hope may be “disaster-prone,” as Lyne argues: this “hopeful joy” often results in disaster. The laetus-emotion is a thrill, a shock of sensation, and it does not refer to long-term “contentment.” In addition, this thrill of sensation is often accompanied by physical excitement: a laetus individual is often loud and jubilant in his physical exultation.

In my introduction, I offer background information on other scholars’ studies of laetus and on the use of the word in other Latin authors. In Chapter Two, I treat the instances of laetus in the Aeneid outside Book 5 that express human emotion, in the context of “fields” that I identify (setting out, arrival, battle, prayer, founding). In Chapter
Three I discuss the uses of *laetus* in Book 5 of the *Aeneid*; I separate them in this way because the uses in Book 5 neatly demonstrate my arguments regarding *laetus* in the eleven other books. In Chapter Four I discuss all the instances of *laetitia, laetari,* and *inlaetabilis* in the *Aeneid.* In Chapter Five I treat the *laet-* stem in the *Georgics* and *Eclogues,* and in Chapter Six, the analogous “agricultural” use in the *Aeneid.* In Chapter Seven I discuss the uses of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* that do not neatly conform to any of my categories, and I offer suggestions as to their interpretation.
for Dr. Kaye Warren

dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis
Aen. 2.723-724
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I decided I wanted to get a PhD in Classics when I was in tenth grade. I’m sure I had no idea what sort of work that decision would entail. But I had an amazing Latin teacher, and she had her PhD in Latin—which meant, to my fourteen-year-old brain, that in order to be the kind of graceful, selfless, humane, and loving person that she is, and in order to care for others as she does, I would also need a PhD in Latin.

My teachers and professors in college and graduate school have only strengthened this association, for me. I thank my advisor, Prof. Jim O’Hara, not only for his attentive and thoughtful help and criticism in the writing of this dissertation, and not only for his insights and deep love of Vergil, but also for his mentorship and guidance of me over the course of this graduate program. I have learned much about classical philology from him and from the whole UNC Classics department, but I have learned even more about *humanitas*, maturity, discernment, and concern for others. I am deeply grateful for all of it.

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Speaking of homines Vergilianissimi, to use Nikolas Holzberg’s compliment of Philip Hardie and Stephen Harrison—I have been wonderfully supported, educated, and molded by my fellow graduate students in the UNC-CH Classics program. Arum Park, David Carlisle, Ted Gellar-Goad, John Henkel, Chris Polt, Derek Smith Keyser, Elizabeth Thill, Erin Galligan, Patrick Dombrowski, Serena Witzke, Rebecca Worsham, Hans Hansen, Zack Rider, and Andy Spencer, to name a few—I have looked to your good example for many years now, and my life has been enriched by yours. Thank you.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE USE OF LAETUS

I.1: General Information

In this dissertation, I examine the use of the laet- stem in the Aeneid. Of that stem, in this work, are present forms of laetus, laetitia, laetari, and inlaetabilis.¹

In this introduction I present information from various dictionaries and other resources in order to set out the ground from which I begin, but in the course of the dissertation I refrain from offering a definition for laetus in the Aeneid. I do so because I believe that too strong an association of one Latin word with one English word (or even several) dulls my reader’s sensitivities to nuances of the Latin word that the English word does not share. Likewise, with such an association, the reader may impute uses of the English word that are inappropriate for the Latin word.

The English word I use most often to refer to the emotion expressed by laetus is “joy”; the first definition of that word in the Oxford English Dictionary (1989) is, “A vivid emotion of pleasure arising from a sense of well-being or satisfaction; the feeling or

¹ This dissertation considers all four words in the Aeneid, and I often refer to them as a group, using only laetus as a placeholder for all four (e.g., “The use of laetus in the Aeneid is...”). If I am distinguishing between the parts of speech, and mean to refer only to laetus itself, I refer to it as “the adjective laetus.”
state of being highly pleased or delighted; exultation of spirit; gladness, delight.”

I emphasize here the characterization of the emotion as vivid, as one of pleasure, as one of high delight, and as associated with exultation of spirit. The emotion expressed by laetus in the Aeneid, as we will see, is vivid as opposed to dull, one of pleasure as opposed to pain, particularly as one of deep pleasure, and manifest as excitement or exultation. A physical response (shouting, etc.) often accompanies the description of an individual as laetus. The laetus-emotion “arises from a sense of satisfaction,” perhaps, but less so one of “well-being”; the laetus-emotion in the Aeneid is prompted by a specific act or event (consider the verbal root of “satisfaction”), and it does not refer to a longstanding state of being.

I also argue that the laetus-emotion is one of “optimism,” or “hopeful joy,” and that the specific act or event that prompts a person to be laetus inspires him or her with hope. Throughout this dissertation, as I consider each instance of the laet-stem, I draw

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2 I specifically reject “happy” as a translation for laetus in this project. I consider “happy” and “happiness” for laetus/laetitia not to be incorrect, but to be insufficient. The range and use of “happiness” in English is too broad; “defining” a Latin word with that English one would produce a result so nonspecific as to be unhelpful. There is a diversity of explanations of “happy” in the Oxford English Dictionary (1989): from “lucky” (as in, the “happy,” fortunate individual) to “propitious” (the “happy” auspicious day) to “contented” to “appropriate,” etc. I find the range of “joyful” and “joy” (a word, amusingly, derived from gaudium; see below) much more simple and narrow, and therefore more functional for my purposes here. Of course, the English “happy” derives from “hap,” which the OED defines as “chance,” “fortune,” or “lot.” The third OED definition for “hap” is, enticingly, “good fortune,” “good luck,” “success,” or “prosperity,” but that use is also labeled obsolete.

3 Cf. the association of exsultare with laetitia, which I discuss in my chapter on laetitia (Chapter IV.1).

4 In this lies my primary contention with the meanings of “happiness”: “happiness,” unlike “joy,” may refer to a state of contentment that is long-term, not vivid, and that is characterized by rest. The laetus-emotion in the Aeneid has very little in common with the English “contentment.”
attention to the ways in which various English words in this range are inappropriate, insufficient, or misleading in translation. I do so to help my readers remain sensitive to the nuances of the Latin words.

What is not in this dissertation? This is not a technical linguistic or semantic study; it is a study of the use of laetus and related words in the Aeneid. This study is based on a reading of the Aeneid as literature, and its interpretation as literature. For a semantic study of laetus from the beginnings of Latin literature through Livy, see the dissertation of Claire-Marie Duval, which I discuss further below. In my own dissertation I concentrate on describing the use of laet- family vocabulary in Vergil, and specifically in the Aeneid; I briefly consider the use of this vocabulary outside Vergil (and particularly in the authors that influenced him most). I divide the 96 laet- uses in the Aeneid into relative fields, but I do not consider these prescriptive, defined, or limiting. Rather, I operate as though every use of laet- in the Aeneid helps to inform our understanding of every other, and the “fields” I identify are those in which I see these intratexts as particularly relevant and illuminating.

The issue of cultural relativity of emotion is outside the scope of this dissertation. This difficulty is not simply that the semantic boundaries of certain Latin words do not map neatly onto the semantic boundaries of English words. Rather, the one language may be expressing certain concepts that the other does not have means to express (and that native speakers of the other may not recognize). This question is outside the scope of

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6 David Konstan (2003) sets out the problem in his article “Translating ancient emotions.”
this dissertation primarily because I am not seeking to identify or define “happiness” or “joy.” I also do not intend to identify laetus/laetitia over the whole of Latin literature; rather, I am seeking to describe how, why, and in what context Vergil uses these words in the Aeneid. Nevertheless I must acknowledge that my hypotheses concerning the meaning of the Latin words—my presuppositions, process of examination, and interpretation of the results—are colored by my understanding of emotion, which I have learned to articulate only through my native language.

As for methodology: in this dissertation I cite each instance of the laet- stem in its context, and discuss it individually, having divided the 96 uses into groups that appear to share the same use and meaning (or to benefit from comparison). I use commentaries and secondary sources extensively for interpretation and help in articulating the thematic concerns of each passage containing a laet- family word (see my bibliography, below).

This method of study certainly has its flaws. Because I separate the instances in the Aeneid into “fields,” and describe each instance piecemeal along with the other instances most closely related to it, I find it difficult to convey the proximity of one instance to another in the text. For example, some of the sixteen instances of the laet-stem in Book 1 are within fifteen lines of one another, but they are used rather differently from one another, and therefore I examine them in different chapters of this dissertation. Vergil’s repetition of the stems, and the individual words, is relevant for interpretation, but the format of this dissertation does not lend itself to impressing Vergil’s use of repetition upon the reader.

The structure of this dissertation is as follows: first, in this introduction, I offer background information on other scholars’ studies of laetus and on the use of the word in
Latin authors prior to and contemporary with Vergil. In Chapter Two, I deal only with instances of the adjective *laetus* in the *Aeneid* outside Book 5 that express human emotion, discussing them in the context of the “fields” that I identify (setting out, arrival, battle, prayer, founding); at the end of Chapter Two I also discuss instances of the adjective *laetus* in the *Aeneid* that do not attach neatly to one of these categories, but that fit my same general understanding of the use of the word. (Not all instances of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* outside Book 5 are discussed in Chapter Two; others are discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.) In Chapter Three I discuss the uses of the adjective *laetus* in Book 5 of the *Aeneid* (and all instances of the *laet-* stem in that book are of the adjective); I separate them in this way because the uses in Book 5 neatly demonstrate my arguments regarding *laetus* in the eleven other books, and collecting them into one chapter allows me to make these arguments more succinctly and more coherently. In Chapter Four I discuss all the instances of *laetitia*, *laetari*, and *inlaetabilis* in the *Aeneid*. In Chapter Five I discuss all the instances of the *laet-* stem in the *Georgics* and *Eclogues*—not to make an independent point about these, but so that my readers will have this information available as greater context for the use of the *laet-* stem in the *Aeneid*. Because the use of *laetus* generally divides into two major categories—expressing human emotion and expressing agricultural lushness, or fertility (see below)—I discuss the appearance of these two categories separately; most of my discussion of the use of the adjective for human emotion appears in Chapter Two, and my discussion of the “agricultural” use of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* (very similar to the analogous use in the *Georgics*) appears in Chapter Six. In Chapter Seven I discuss the uses of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* that do not neatly conform to any of my categories, instances that my proposals do not adequately explain. In Chapter
Seven I also examine the extent to which these instances reflect the uses of *laetus* I have treated elsewhere, and I offer suggestions as to their interpretation. At the end of this dissertation is an index locorum, listing all the instances of the *laet-* stem in the *Aeneid, Georgics,* and *Eclogues,* and the page on which I begin my discussion of them.

I.2: Modern Authors on *Laetus*

To my knowledge no exhaustive study of the use of the *laet-* stem in Vergil has been done. I have found only a few studies of a related goal and topic; one example, L.A. MacKay’s “The vocabulary of fear in Latin epic poetry,” is a study of the relative frequency of a number of fear-words in the epics of Vergil, Lucan, Statius, and Ovid. I refer often in this dissertation to four non-reference resources that set out, to varying degrees, the use of *laetus* in the *Aeneid,* and I discuss throughout how my conclusions relate to theirs. The most comprehensive study of Vergil’s use is Évrard’s entries for *laet-* family words in the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana,* but those documents, on account of their format, do not contain much interpretative guidance for each instance cited.

The four sources that I most often cite are those of Lyne, Ricks, Miniconi, and Duval. R.O.A.M. Lyne (*Words and the Poet,* 1989) sets out some brief thoughts on the

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7 *TAPhA* 1961 (92), 308-316. I am particularly impressed by the sensitivity of the author to the distance between instances of words, and attention paid to the ways in which words close to one another affirm one another in the text. Such repetition strengthens the appearance of the theme in the larger work.

use of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* (181-185); these pages are not meant as comprehensive, but they speak to a certain aspect of the use of *laetus* that I find instructive. That is, an individual is often described as *laetus* in the *Aeneid* directly before a disaster, and in such a way that the word *laetus* appears to anticipate that disaster with tragic irony. Lyne argues that this is a “special value” in Vergil that Vergil creates with the first use of the word in the *Aeneid*, at 1.35. My analysis of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* shows that this phenomenon is far more widespread than Lyne sets forth, but I believe some of the examples he cites are problematic for his purposes. I discuss Lyne’s theory throughout this dissertation.

Rudolf Rieks devotes part of a chapter to *laetus* in the *Aeneid* in his *Affekte und Strukturen: Pathos als ein Form- und Wirkprinzip von Vergils Aeneis* (1989, 201-211). This section is entitled “Analyse der Strukturfunktion von *laetus*”; it appears in a chapter entitled “Glück, Lust, und Freude.” Rieks develops a list of 44 Latin words in the *Aeneid* that communicate these motifs; he, like Miniconi, proceeds according to the principle that where the vocabulary of a semantic field is most dense, there the theme or motif of the work is most concentrated, and since Rieks finds the greatest density of *laet*-words in Books 1 and 5, he discusses *laetus* in the *Aeneid* by citing and briefly treating the passages in these two books. Of the four works I cite most often, Rieks’ goal and methodology are most like my own; in his introduction to his chapter on “joy” he writes

9 Lyne refers to this use as “disaster-prone *laetus*” (emphasis his).

10 181.

11 195ff.

12 198.
that he seeks to articulate the “Strukturfunktion” of these words in the books in which they appear most frequently. Rieks’ eye is to the use of the theme of “joy” in the work, but he does not label Books 1 and 5 “happy” books, nor does he consider the passages in which these words occur to be touched with “happiness.” However, Rieks considers only a small minority of the uses in the Aeneid, and discusses each far too briefly, although he addresses (as I do) each instance in its context: where it appears in the plot, how it relates to its book, the characters and motivations involved, etc. My study is much more complete; I quote and discuss all 96 of the laet- stem uses in the Aeneid. Also, Rieks rarely asserts trends of use, but rather simply sets out the instances one by one, offers a brief observation on each, and allows the reader to make what connections he or she will.

P. Miniconi, in his 1962 article, “La joie dans l’«Éneide»,” is primarily concerned with explaining how the books of the Aeneid relate to one another in “joy”-language; the author effectively does not differentiate between gaudium and the laet- words, but, like Rieks, operates on the methodology that where the vocabulary appears, there is joy, and so the level to which a book, or work, is “joyful” depends upon the frequency of this vocabulary. Miniconi’s article is brief, but particularly helpful for me in affirming, like Lyne, some aspects of laetus in the Aeneid I consider important; for example, Miniconi recognizes the particular use of laetus and laetitia in battle. I disagree with some aspects of Miniconi’s assessment of the laetus-emotion; I discuss these throughout my

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13 “Dieses Kapitel verfolgt den Zweck, die Strukturfunktion der Begriffe laetor, laetitia und vor allem laetus in den Büchern aufzuzeigen, in denen Vergil sie am häufigsten verwendet hat” (201).

dissertation.\textsuperscript{15} Miniconi does, more so than the other authors I cite in this introduction, helpfully compare “joy” vocabulary present in the \textit{Aeneid} to the use of similar vocabulary in Homer.\textsuperscript{16}

The fourth source I cite most often is the doctoral dissertation of Claire-Marie Duval, published in 2004, entitled \textit{“Gaudium et Laetitia: Étude Sémantique.”}\textsuperscript{17} Duval’s goal is to set out the semantic ranges of \textit{gaudium} and \textit{laetitia} in Latin literature from the beginning through Livy.

Duval and I have much in common. In terms of methodology, we both seek to describe the words we study according to their context (“c’est surtout le contexte proche qui sera analysé, c’est-à-dire les termes et les constructions en rapport syntaxique direct avec les vocables étudiés,” 9-10), in the belief that the context is the primary resource from which a word’s meaning may be deduced.\textsuperscript{18} Duval has assembled an impressive list of archaic and classical authors and assembled various loci into groups, to display specific elements of the words she studies.

\textsuperscript{15} E.g. the following statement: “Notre langue peut établir une gradation: «entrain, plaisir, gaieté, joie, liesse, jubilation». Si le plaisir vient d’une satisfaction d’un besoin de l’être qui peut se traduire par l’alacrité de notre comportement, la joie est un état de contentement plus intense et plus durable; elle comporte d’ailleurs des degrés: elle est tantôt émotion profonde et contenue, tantôt effusion débridée et, selon le mot de Gabriel Marcel, «jaillissement même de l’être»” (563).

\textsuperscript{16} 568-570. Perhaps the most helpful reference for “joy” vocabulary in Homer is Latacz (1966), \textit{Zum Wortfeld «Freude» in der Sprache Homers}. I refer to this study throughout my dissertation. Also see Finkelberg (1989).

\textsuperscript{17} Submitted Dec. 6 2002, to the Université François Rabelais-Tours; published by the Atelier National de Reproduction des Thèses.

\textsuperscript{18} Duval describes her methodology in pp. 9-15.
Duval’s study is much more linguistic than literary, and the context to which she refers often includes only the immediate line in which the word appears; she rarely discusses characterization or thematic elements at length. However, the majority of her argument applies assumed thematic concerns of a work to individual instances; therefore there is usually a large discrepancy between her assertions and her proofs. Duval also does not acknowledge an author’s creativity (or idiosyncrasy), or the possibility of a word’s change over time; this is particularly problematic in a work that addresses uses of *gaudium* and *laetitia* over three centuries, and in many genres.\(^{19}\)

Duval identifies minor details from disparate “sèmes,” or motifs (similar to my “fields”), which she locates in a word’s immediate context. In many cases, her results and mine overlap; one of her “sèmes” of *laetus* is “blessed by a god,”\(^{20}\) and she discusses the use of *laetus* in interactions with the divine, as I do. However, we articulate these findings rather differently. Duval assumes a rather strict consistency in the use of a word, from Terence, to Cato, to Cicero, and so on. I am wary of the possibility that differences in genre, time period, content, etc. among authors may result in different nuances of a given word in different texts, and I try to be sensitive to these nuances. I also try to

\(^{19}\) Duval’s study is not diachronic; she does not compare the use of the words she studies across multiple time periods. She does not account for the possibility that the words may have evolved over time, or that an author might be using the word idiosyncratically. Rather, she collects the sum of the uses of the word(s) and allows too uncritically, I think, her reading of a use of *gaudium* in Plautus to influence her reading of a use of the word in Livy, for example, or her reading of *laetitia* in Cicero to influence her understanding of *laetitia* in the *Georgics*. Since, as I have discussed above, she seeks to describe certain fixed aspects of the word in piecemeal fashion, she loses a great deal in failing to account for other means of categorization, or other ways in which the various instances and uses of a word might interact with one another. She often explains any given instance of a word very narrowly, as though each appearance illustrates only one facet of the word’s use.

\(^{20}\) 156.
consider the use of the word in the context in which it appears—with reference to plot, characterization, genre, etc. That is to say, my analysis is not simply semantic, because an author’s use of a word is a complex negotiation of many concerns. I consider the whole of the work in which a word appears.

The most important difference between Duval’s study and my own is the amount of context we consider when discussing the meaning and use of a given instance of a given word. Duval often provides no more than the line in which the word occurs (e.g. her discussion of 8.171, 154), and seems not to consider much more than that one line of context. That is, Duval’s study generally contains breadth (in that she includes a very large number of instances), not depth. For “context” I am using rather the larger context of the scene, and the work; I consider the characterizations of the various individuals involved; I consider the use of the word from a narratological perspective, and its influence upon various audiences, both internal and external to the text.21

Duval also does not allow for the possibility that differing parts of speech may have differing semantic ranges beyond their obvious dissimilarities. In English, for example, the noun “color” refers to the hue of an object, and the verb “color” may mean,

21 At times in her pursuit of “sèmes” Duval overlooks what strikes me as obvious, and important; for example, in her discussion of laetus at 5.531 (157), where Aeneas embraces Acestes, who is laetus, after the omen of Acestes’ arrow catching flame and disappearing. Duval, seeking to show that laetus there conveys that one is favored by a god, denies that the instance there expresses any emotion at all. In her very brief discussion of 1.503 (172), talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat—the introduction of Dido, before Aeneas’ eyes, serving her people in her queenly duties—Duval explains the use of laeta by pointing to another description of Dido, forma pulcherrima, and referring its use merely to the “sème” of “beauty.” Duval depends a great deal on the idea that the words surrounding an instance of laetus have an easily identified, straightforward meaning. She also seems keen on identifying what the word means, i.e., distilling a word down to a handful of other words (or words for “sèmes”) in order to create a definition. My purpose is more to identify how the word is used: where, when, why, to what end, in whose mouth, with what effect.
“to apply color to,” or “to darken the hue of;” both uses that would fit neatly into the same semantic range as the noun. The verb “color,” however, has many other meanings too; the verb may be used metaphorically to mean, “to influence,” or “to change;” even with pejorative force, e.g., “Reading that article colored my whole view of oil companies,” or even, “to misrepresent,” e.g., “He’s coloring what happened with all sorts of lies.” The noun “color,” however, is not used to mean “influence” or “change” or “misrepresentation.” I discuss the adjective laetus separately from laetitia and laetari in Vergil so as to avoid operating based on undue assumptions concerning the various forms of the laet- stem. I show that laetitia, for example, has a much more narrow range than laetus. (For this reason, throughout the dissertation, I refer to the emotion expressed by the adjective laetus as “the laetus-emotion,” rather than laetitia.) I also note here that the difference between gaudium and laetitia is not precisely the difference between the use of the gaud-stem vs. the laet-stem; these are two separate questions.

Therefore, while I very much appreciate having Duval’s study and her reading of Ennius, Plautus, Lucretius, and others, hers is not precisely the sort of study I would have made. Throughout this dissertation I note Duval’s reading of passages of the Aeneid when she cites them.

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22 The definition “hue, tint” for “color” is also the definition of its IE root (cf. OED, “color”), which originally had to do with “covering,” although “color” has had a number of other meanings in different languages. For example, in Latin (and early English) the word referred to “stylistic ornament” of rhetoric; in the thirteenth century and earlier, “color” could refer to plausibility in law, or musical style.

23 Not usually, anyway—but see the seventh OED definition for “color”: “a specious reason, ground, or argument; a pretext.” This use is labeled archaic.
I.3: Definitions of *Laetus*

*Laetus* and relatives have two related fields of meaning: the one refers to the fertility of soil and the health, productivity, and luxuriance of plants (and, by extension, the health of animals); and the other refers to joyfulness, or exuberance, in people (and, by extension, the same in animals). Évrard (*EV*, 3.98) refers to these as “fertile” *laetus* and “affective” *laetus*. Both fields are well-used in Vergil; as expected, the former appears more often in the *Georgics*, and the latter in the *Aeneid*. In this dissertation I am primarily interested in the latter use, the relationship of the *laet-* stem to human emotion,

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24 For this most basic distinction, and the general outlines of the meaning and use of *laetus* and its relatives, we may turn to any of the major reference works: the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* (Évrard), Érnout and Meillet’s etymological dictionary, etc. Évrard identifies two main meanings: “[*laetus*] hanno due accezioni principali: l’una... denota il «fertile»... l’altra... denota la «contentezza»” (98; the *Cambridge Italian Dictionary* translates “fertile” as “fertile, fruitful, productive, rich” and “contentezza” as “contentment, satisfaction; joy, gladness”). I am particularly interested in such a definition because I do not agree with Duval’s and Évrard’s relation of the *laetus*-emotion to “contentment.” Cf. Miniconi (1962, 563), who defines “joie” (which he uses to translate “joy” words in Latin) as “un état de contentement plus intense et plus durable [que plaisir].” Miniconi considers *laetitia* also to be an intense, excited emotion (reconcilable with the idea of “contentement”); he translates *gaudium* as “joie mesurée” and *laetitia* as “joie debridée.” For my reader’s convenience, I reproduce here the *OLD* definitions of *laetus*: “1. (of plants, crops, fields, etc.) Flourishing, luxuriant, lush; b. (of ground, soil) rich, fertile. c. (of animals) in good condition, sleek. d. (of other things) abounding, teeming. 2. (of literary or rhetorical style) Luxuriant, rich, florid (also of authors, etc.). 3. (of persons) Cheerful, glad, happy; a. (of looks, feelings, actions, etc.) expressive of joy, glad, happy; b. (of periods, objects events, etc.) associated with or full of joy. 4. (w. abl., gen., also w. inf.) Delighting or exulting (in). 5. (of affairs, etc.) Prosperous, successful. 6. Favorable, propitious; (esp. of omens and sim.). b. (spec. of sunlight, rain, etc.). 7. Giving pleasure, pleasing, welcome.”
and therefore I concentrate more effort on the uses in the *Aeneid* that have to do with emotion.\textsuperscript{25}

“Fertile” and “affective” *laetus* are certainly related; most of the “joy”-related passages from the *Aeneid* that Duval discusses she identifies as metaphors derived from the agricultural use. In fact, Duval considers the majority of “emotion” instances of *laet*-vocabulary in all Latin literature to be metaphorical, in particular ways, for the agricultural use.\textsuperscript{26} We do not know the etymology of *laetus*, and therefore we do not know for certain which is its original sense, and which is derivative, but by most modern scholars the agricultural use is generally considered to be the prior.\textsuperscript{27} The ancient view was the opposite: Cicero (*De Or. 3.38.155/Or. 24.81*), in a discussion of the development of the use of words in the *De Oratore*, writes that the phrase *laetas segetes* is a newfangled, chic use of the word, one that has become so widespread that “even the hicks use it.”\textsuperscript{28} Varro (*DLL, 6.6*) considers *laetus* to be related to *latus*, *lati*: in a

\textsuperscript{25} By far the most in-depth assessment of the words of the *laet*-stem is to be found in the *TLL* articles by von Kamptz (7.2.871-889).

\textsuperscript{26} 2004, 134ff.

\textsuperscript{27} Cf. *OLD laetus*; *EV* (3.98), Miniconi (563), etc. De Vaan (2008, *ad loc.*) chooses neither, but recognizes the difficulties in assuming the agricultural use is prior. Ernout and Meillet (1985, 337) consider *laetus* to be an “adjectif de la langue rustique... en passant dans la langue commune, l’adjectif a pris de sens de «l’aspect plaisant ou riant, joyeux»” (337, *laetus*). Cf. Duval (2004, 116-117). Duval discusses the etymology of *laetitia* as well (117-118). On the derivation of *laetitia* from *laetus*, see Duval (120-122). According to von Kamptz (*TLL, laetus, 7.2.883*), the comparative of *laetus* dates from Terence, and the superlative, only from Cicero.

\textsuperscript{28} *Tertius ille modus transferendi verbi late patet, quem necessitas genuit inopia coacta et angustiis, post autem iucunditas delectatioque celebravit. Nam ut vestis frigoris depellendi causa reperta primo, post adhiberi coepta est ad ornatum etiam corporis et dignitatem, sic verbi translatio instituta est inopiae causa, frequentata delectationis. Nam gemmare vitis, luxuriem esse in herbis, laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt* (3.155). Cf.
discussion of the etymologies of various emotion words and mental-faculty words (e.g. *meminisse, metuere*), he explains *laetari* with the following: *laetari ab eo quod latius gaudium propter magni boni opinionem diffusum. itaque Iuventius ait: gaudia / sua si omnes homines conferant unum in locum, / tamen mea exsuperet laetitia. / sic cum se habent, laeta.*

Cicero, in his philosophical works, is interested in defining *laetitia*, particularly in differentiating it from *gaudium*. He defines the two relative to one another at *Tusc. 4.13*; I discuss this passage in my treatment of *gaudium*, below.

I.4: *Gaudium* in the *Aeneid*

*Gaudium* and *gaudere* appear 26 times in the *Aeneid*. In my discussion here of *gaudium* and *gaudere* I do not mean to provide an extensive commentary, on par with my

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29 Cf. Isid. *Orig. 1.27.14*: *laetus per dipthonga scribitur, quia laetitia a latitudine vocata est, cuius e contrario est tristitia, quae angustiam facit* (cited by von Kamptz, *TLL*, 7.2.874; cf. 7.2.879).

30 Cf. Warwick’s concordance. Of *gaudere*, the form *gaudens* (in no oblique cases) appears at 1.690, 4.190, 6.816, 7.803 (800), 8.702, and 12.109; forms of the finite verb
discussion of the instances of \textit{laetus} et al. in the main body of my dissertation.\textsuperscript{31} Rather, I mean only to describe the basic outline of the use of \textit{gaudium} and \textit{gaudere} in the \textit{Aeneid}, taking Cicero and Duval as a starting point, and my understanding of \textit{laetitia} (and related words) in the \textit{Aeneid} for comparison and contrast. G. Jackson (\textit{EV}, 2.638) discusses each of the seven instances of \textit{gaudia} individually.

Duval’s dissertation is a comparative study of \textit{laetitia} and \textit{gaudium} from the beginnings of Latin literature through Livy. Her major argument, distinguishing the \textit{gaudium}-family from the \textit{laetitia}-family, is that \textit{gaudium} and related words have a certain “interiority” of focus: they represent an emotion more profound and personal, and less manifest to others, than \textit{laetitia} and related words.\textsuperscript{32} The latter, to correspond, is extremely obvious to others, and is not deeply felt, to the point of being “superficial.”\textsuperscript{33} For this initial distinction she relies on Cicero, \textit{Tusc.} 4.13: \textit{cum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur; cum autem inaniter et effuse animus appear at 2.239, 4.157, 5.575, 5.757, 6.383, 6.733, 7.220, 8.730, 10.500, 10.726, 12.6, 12.82, and 12.702. Of \textit{gaudium}, only the form \textit{gaudia} is present in the \textit{Aeneid}, at 1.502, 5.828, 6.279, 6.513, 10.325, 10.652, and 11.180.

\textsuperscript{31} On the derivation of \textit{gaudium} and relatives, see de Vaan (2008) and Ernout and Meillet (1985).

\textsuperscript{32} Duval begins her discussion of \textit{gaudium} (16ff.) with the basic distinction of Cicero between \textit{gaudium} and \textit{laetitia}: “on se rend rapidement compte que cette distinction, au moins à l’origine, est en rapport étroit avec la perception interne ou externe du sentiment” (16).

\textsuperscript{33} Duval describes it as “superficielle” (234); for this argument, see her introduction (6-7; cf. 194-199, 234-235).
exultat, tum laetitia gestiens vel nimia dici potest, quam ita definiunt: sine ratione animi elationem.\textsuperscript{34}

However, the internal/external distinction between laetitia and gaudium is not always descriptive of the words’ actual use; cf. Pompon. Atell. 141: quot laetitias insperatas modo mi inrepsere in sinum, and Catullus 76.22-23: subrepens imos ut torpor in artus / expulit ex omni pectore laetitias.\textsuperscript{35} The noun laetitia, however, in the Aeneid, does appear to reflect Cicero’s distinction; in that work, the word does not refer to deep-seated emotion, but rather the intensity of adrenaline in battle, etc.\textsuperscript{36}

Duval begins with Cicero and predicates a fair amount of her argument about the nature of both words on Cicero’s assertion. I believe this assessment of the difference between the two—and, in fact, this important statement about laetitia—is fair, at least as a general observation. However, the majority of the difference between gaudium and laetitia does not lie in this statement alone (nor derive from it), and relying on such a generalization may lead one to become insensitive to other differences between these two words.

\textsuperscript{34} Cf. Gramm. Lat. 7.121.15: gaudium animi, laetitia et exultatio etiam verborum atque membrorum (TLL, laetitia, 7.2.875). Miniconi (1962, 563) writes, on not allowing the very specific, distinct meanings of gaudium (but not laetitia, like “sexual pleasure”) to distract the reader from this most basic distinction between the two words: “Ces acceptions ne pouvaient qu’obscurcir dans la pratique la distinction entre gaudium «joie mesurée» et laetitia «joie débridée».” On Cicero’s use of Stoic terminology in the Tusc., see e.g. Graver (2002, 134ff.). Duval (2004, 100-114) discusses the etymology of gaudium and relatives.

\textsuperscript{35} Von Kamptz (TLL, laetitia, 7.2.875).

\textsuperscript{36} Cf. Chapter IV.1 below, on laetitia.
Cicero chooses *gaudium* and *laetitia* for discussion in the *Tusc.* somewhat artificially, as props on which to build his philosophical arguments; his definitions may rather be prescriptive than descriptive of actual contemporary use. Duval chooses *gaudium* and *laetitia* as the subjects for her semantic comparative study because, of the range of Latin vocabulary indicating positive emotions (part of which she lists, including *hilaritas, alacritas*, etc.), these two are “les deux vocables les plus courants dans ce domaine.” Certainly a study of comparison between any two words would be useful and welcome. We ought not assume, however, that *gaudium* and *laetitia* have a special affinity, that anyone in antiquity aside from Cicero would have described them in the same breath—that, aside from “interior” versus “exterior” focus, they otherwise indicate the same emotion.

I will now provide a summary of Duval’s conclusions, both of *gaudium* and *laetitia*. Duval explains *gaudium* as a “plaisir physique” (associating it with food, etc.)

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38 Introduction, 6. Duval characterizes the meaning of *gaudium* as follows: “La joie exprimée par *gaudium* concerne l’individu dans son entier—corps et âme—et s’accompagne souvent d’une valeur physique qui associe étroitement joie et jouissance” (16).

39 As a description of Stoic values (in which case *gaudium* is the better, for a Stoic), Cicero fails to impress his definition of the word on use; cf. Seneca’s rejection of *gaudium* (*Ep.* 23.4: *verum gaudium res severa est*; I cite a number of Seneca’s uses below). See my discussion, below. I also think we ought to distinguish *feeling* from *emoting*: Cicero’s definition of *gaudium* does not require it not be expressed, or be able to be perceived by others, nor does his definition of *laetitia* preclude the intense *emoting* from being accompanied by deep-seated feeling.

40 Duval gives examples from many authors (17-26).
in the plural, *gaudia*, as “causes de joie” (29-31). She notes the erotic use of the word, its use in love poetry to refer to the female beloved and the sexual act (as well as Lucretius’ use of it in his discussion of sexual pleasure). Duval considers this physical pleasure to be the primary use, from which the “interior” sense (which contrasts with the “exterior” *laetitia*) arises: “*gaudium* est à la fois une sensation et un sentiment. C’est un contentement de l’esprit né d’une satisfaction du corps; en ce sense, c’est un sentiment très personnel.” This makes for “une origine intérieure qui lui donne un caractère très privé.” To demonstrate this use, Duval quotes Cicero’s *De Off.* 2.79 (*occultat suum gaudium*) and also *Aen.* 1.502 (*Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus*). Duval discusses the use of *gaudere* in a polite formula, including fixed formulas of greeting, on pp. 86-100. A negative sort of rejoicing, like Schadenfreude, appears in the uses of *gaud-* in the *Aeneid* at 4.190, 6.186, and 6.279.

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41 Duval summarizes the relative frequencies of the plural of *gaudium* and *laetitia*, in authors from Plautus to Livy, on p. 27.

42 34-52. For an example of this in Lucretius, see *DRN* 4.1106. Cf. Adams (1990, 197-198) on the sexual use of *gaudium*.

43 57.

44 57.

45 For the relationship between this line and *Od.* 6.106, see G. Jackson *ad gaudium* (*EV*, 2.638).

46 Duval includes the instance at *Ecl.* 3.88 in this category.

47 Duval discusses the use of *gaudium* to indicate joy at another’s misfortune (62-69), and notes that it is likely this sense referred to by the presence of Gaudia in the underworld at *Aen.* 6.279 (and cites only Bellessort 1925 to support). The “joie intérieure mauvaise” continues with the joy of doing wrong (69-75; cf. Catullus 91.9-10.)
Duval provides the frequencies of *gaudium* et al., and the forms of the *laet*-stem, in authors from Plautus to Livy.\(^{48}\) She considers the question of the person of the verb, and its relevance for meaning (77f.), and the problem of the use of *gaud*- (if such an intensely personal feeling) with the first person plural (80f.).

The greatest weakness of Duval’s method is illustrated to me in her table on page 84. In this table she purports to prove the interiority/exteriority spectrum between *gaudium*-family and *laetitia*-family words by showing the relative numbers of each in the corpora of various ancient authors, and considering that relationship in light of the author’s themes and content. For example, Sallust, according to Duval, is not a very “personal” author, and therefore his use of 68 *laet-* words and 24 *gaud-* words affirms the function of *laetitia* as the more “impersonal” of the two. There are many objections to be made to these results, even accepting the validity of her method: not all the authors’ works are extant; authors write in different genres, etc.; but the method itself is unhelpful. We glean almost nothing about the use of a given word merely from the frequency of its stem’s use, even relative to another word. (I repeat here that, were it not for a couple of references in Cicero, we might not even have cause to consider *gaudium* and *laetitia* together.) Duval puts undue emphasis on the frequency of a word’s use.\(^{49}\)

\(^{48}\) 77.

\(^{49}\) Duval generally does not consider the use of the word in its individual contexts—how each author uses it, where, and for what purpose; even when she cites a line of Latin to support her point, she very often cites the line alone as sufficient. This is a principal difference between her study and mine: Duval generally does not consider the possibility that differences in time period, genre, etc. may manifest in different nuances for the same word, whereas I try to take into consideration the author’s response to various pressures (generic, metrical, etc.), and the author’s creativity (e.g. in intertextual references, etc.). I try to be sensitive to the author’s freedom to use nuanced meanings of a word.
With regard to frequency, I notice a particular problem as I survey Duval’s examples of the use of *gaudium*:\(^{50}\) this word has no adjective as *laetitia* does, in *laetus*.\(^{51}\) In fact, the *laet*-stem contains a great number of words, including *laetare, laetificare,* etc., which the *gaudium* family lacks. Duval considers the phrase *laetus sum* as “quasi synonyme de *laetor*” and therefore, to be considered almost a form of the verb.\(^{52}\) As for Vergil’s relative use of the *laet-* family and *gaud-* family words (and Vergil employs the former nearly four times as often as the latter), we must keep in mind that many forms of the noun *gaudium*, on account of its short second syllable, do not lend themselves to use in dactylic hexameter. In the *Aeneid*, Vergil uses only the form *gaudens*, third-person finite verb forms, and *gaudia*.

Duval summarizes the meaning and use of *gaudium* and relatives in her conclusion: “c’est une joie intérieure, que l’on peut même cacher, éventuellement parce qu’elle est mauvaise; c’est aussi une joie subjective, difficile à partager, à moins d’une grande communion avec l’autre.”\(^{53}\)

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\(^{50}\) See especially her discussion on page 58.

\(^{51}\) On the *gaud-* family lacking an adjective like *laetus* see Duval (2004, 386). I consider this to be a difficulty of the utmost importance for Duval’s work, though she devotes relatively little space to its discussion.

\(^{52}\) 76. Cf. von Kamptz (*TLL, laetus*, 7.2.883) on the form of *laetus* as related to a participial form.

\(^{53}\) 114.
Duval’s discussion of laet-family words is also extensive.\textsuperscript{54} She begins with the agricultural use, the use indicating fertility or luxuriance in plants, and cites examples in many authors, poetry and prose. Notably, in this section, she connects agricultural fertility (or productivity) and the “joy” that results from it; things described as laetus are “à la fois cause de joie et effet de joie,”\textsuperscript{55} and in this the meaning of laetificus is a subset of the meaning of laetus.\textsuperscript{56} Most of the passages from the Aeneid that Duval discusses, which refer to the “joy” of people rather than the productivity of plants, she considers metaphors derived from the agricultural use. In fact, Duval considers the majority of “emotion” instances in all authors to be metaphorical, in particular ways, for the agricultural use.\textsuperscript{57} 

I divide the ways in which Duval considers the agricultural meaning to be employed metaphorically into four basic categories: in the first, “abundance, generosity,” she includes Aen. 1.636, 1.696, 5.40, 5.100, 9.89, 11.42, and 12.393.\textsuperscript{58} The second, “prosperity” (153-156), she sees at 8.171 (which I dispute) and 8.617. The third, “la

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\textsuperscript{54} Duval discusses the etymology of laetitia on pp. 117-124.

\textsuperscript{55} 138.

\textsuperscript{56} Duval writes on the agricultural use in classical authors (Horace, Lucretius, Vergil, etc.; pp. 127ff.); on laetus in the Georgics (129); on the signification of laetus as laetificus (where she also quotes DRN 1.195); on productivity and joy as inextricably linked in the meaning of laetus (on which she cites Hor. Carm. 1.25.17, Lucr. 1.255, Lucr. 1.23; 141); and on the agricultural metaphorical use in Cicero, Varro, and Livy (142).

\textsuperscript{57} 134ff.

\textsuperscript{58} 146-153. I agree that this aspect is the most important of laetus, at, for example, 9.89, but I consider all the others to operate thematically in other, more important, ways.
faveur de dieux,” she sees at 5.236, 5.532, 6.193, and 7.256.\textsuperscript{59} Duval’s sense of this last
category is very close to mine, but Duval takes the receipt of omens, etc. as an extension of the “gratification” theme she sees in 8.171 and 8.617; she considers the “joy” to be joy simply from the receipt of a gift. I consider the importance (especially the thematic importance, in the \textit{Aeneid}) of such instances to come from what happens next—the uplifted perspective for the future, newfound optimism. All of the attributes of a given instance that Duval notes are possible features of the word; however, I dispute the way Duval treats instances as each illustrating only one narrow sense of the word. Duval does not recognize the complexity of meaning present in most instances; she does not treat them as complex in meaning, and she does not note the aspects of each that I find most important.

Duval’s fourth derived metaphorical use is “beauty,” in which category she considers \textit{Aen}. 1.503, 1.591, and 6.638.\textsuperscript{60} I believe that with these instances in particular she has oversimplified the use of \textit{laetus}.

I do, however, agree with Duval’s assessment of the phenomenon of “joie manifeste.”\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Laetitia} is associated with external signs of emotion also in the \textit{Aeneid};

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{59} 156ff. I discuss all these in my corresponding chapter on the intersection between the use of \textit{laetus} and religion (Chapter II.4); as Duval notes, this religious context, specifically with regard to omens, is very common in Livy; for her list of such uses in Livy, see 159, n.599. Also see my discussion of \textit{laetus} in other authors, below.
\item \textsuperscript{60} 167ff. At 1.503, Dido appears before Aeneas for the first time, compared to Diana (\textit{talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat}); at 1.591, Venus is making Aeneas more attractive to the eye, as Athena does Odysseus in the \textit{Od.} (\textit{laetos oculis adflarat honores}); at 6.638, Aeneas and Anchises approach the \textit{Aeneid} analogue for the Isles of the Blest (\textit{devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta / fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas 638-639}).
\item \textsuperscript{61} 180ff.
\end{itemize}
others can tell when an individual is *laetus*. Duval discusses *laetitia* as manifest in the body, in dancing, agitation, tears, shouts, etc. She cites *Aen.* 10.643, 3.347, 9.637, 3.524, 8.717, 6.657, and 10.738, as among the instances in which *laetitia* is especially manifest. On *laetus libens/lubens* in inscriptions, see 212–213.

Duval devotes a whole chapter to the use of *gaudium* and *laetitia* in Stoic discourse. She discusses Cicero’s use of these in his philosophical works, which translate χαρά (*gaudium*) and ἡδονή (*laetitia*) from the Greek; she discusses the use of these words in the Greek Stoic philosophers. She compares the Stoic use of ἡδονή and *laetitia*. On the question of whether the Stoic differentiation between *gaudium* and *laetitia* influences authors after Cicero: she asserts that yes, prose authors after Cicero do show a slightly different use of *laetitia*, due to Stoic flavor. I do not find Duval’s arguments very convincing; I find her use of pre-Ciceronian sources, for comparison, in this section, insufficient, and I am troubled by her tendency to use a handful of instances, over a number of centuries, as sufficient proof for a given meaning of *laetitia*. Also, in

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62 Duval gives a number of examples from other authors in which *videre, oculi*, etc. are present in the Latin (181-184). On 186-189 she presents a study of this accompanying vocabulary. On *laetitia* as indicating affected, simulated joy, see 189-194.

63 197-211.

64 Cf. my discussion of this association at *Aen.* 8.544.

65 237ff.


67 285-289.

68 308-322.
this section, Duval discusses only prose authors, so we do not know her opinion of this phenomenon in Vergil. Duval’s final chapter involves the similarity between *gaudium* and *laetitia* overall.

Hey provides a number of instances that do not support Duval’s basic thesis. For example, he quotes Cicero (*De Fin. 2.13*): *non dicitur laetitia nec gaudium in corpore*; (2.98) *negas animi ullum esse gaudium, quod non referatur ad corpus*. He also quotes Seneca (*De Ira 2.21*): *gaudium enim exultatio, exultationem tumor et nimia a estimatio sui sequitur*; (*Ep. 23.4*) *verum gaudium res severa est*; and Valerius Flaccus (8.295-296): *tum vero clamorem omnes inimicaque tollunt / gaudia* (cf. *Tac. Hist. 4.49*: *gaudio clamoribusque cuncta misc ebant*; cf. 1.27, 2.70, *Ann. 3.74*). The examples from Seneca

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69 Regardless of Cicero’s use of *gaudium* and *laetitia*, and his distinction between them in the *Tusc.*, I see little evidence that Cicero’s definition should be a major cause for concern in our discussion of Vergil. Even if Vergil read the *Tusc.*, I doubt that he would be so influenced by this one definition, in the context of Stoic vocabulary, as to alter, consciously, his use of the words, above and apart from all his other considerations in composing his poetry: the requirements of meter, the sound of the phrase, the desire to refer to previous poets with well-placed intertexts, etc. Cicero’s distinction is prescriptive, not descriptive, and prescriptive only for a certain genre and topic of discussion. I believe that looking for this coloring in Vergil, to distinguish Vergil’s use (as a post-Ciceronian author) from, say, Catullus or Lucretius, is futile. Duval also does not address the use of *gaudium* and *laetitia* in the poets after Cicero.

70 On the degree to which we can refer to them as “synonyms,” see 366-368; on *voluptas* as the main shared “synonym” of both *gaudium* and *laetitia* (with which I do not agree), 370-372; on the aspects of *laetitia* which *gaudium* does not share (like “fertility,” “abundance,” “generosity”), 382; on the *gaudium* family lacking an adjective like *laetus*, 386; on instances in which the two seem interchangeable, 387-390; on the use of *laetitia* and *gaudium* together, 390-403.

71 *TLL*, *gaudium* (6.2.1712).

72 This statement forms part of a Stoic argument against such intense feeling, but Seneca imagines it will be manifest outwardly; he continues: *An tu existimas quemquam soluto vultu et, utisti delicati loquantur, hilariculo mortem conten nere, paupertati domum aperire, voluptates tenere sub freno, meditari dolorum patientiam?* (Cf. 23.5; 27.3; 59.2; 66.13, etc.)
are especially relevant for Duval’s assertion that prose authors after Cicero distinguish between *gaudium* and *laetitia* generally according to the Stoic importation of meaning to the term; the examples from Tacitus show a use of *gaudium* in battle much like Vergil’s use of *laetitia*, and very much unlike Duval’s argument of *gaudium* as an “interior” emotion.

As for *gaudium* in the *Aeneid*: first, I find the argument that words of the *gaudium*-stem convey interior, internal emotion, and words of the *laetitia*-stem external emotion, unsupported by the use of *gaudium* and *gaudere* in the *Aeneid*. There are a number of instances of *gaudium* and *gaudere* that seem to convey performed emotion, or emotion quite visible to others.

The instances of *gaudium* and *gaudere* in the *Aeneid* that seem to support Duval’s “interior” understanding of the words include those at 5.575 (more interior than the *laetitia* at 5.577); 8.730; 1.502 (more interior than the *laetitia* at 1.503), and 5.828. Many instances of *gaudium* and *gaudere* in the *Aeneid* render Duval’s argument of “interior” versus “exterior” problematic; in the *Aeneid* often it is difficult to put too fine a point on the distinction between *laetitia*-stem and *gaudium*-stem uses. For example, *gaudens* at 1.690 appears to express the same feeling of “joy” as the *laetitia* at 1.696; both modify Amor, with little to distinguish them. The same is true of *gaudet* at 4.157, whose subject is Ascanius, modified by *laetitia* at 4.140. There are also instances of *gaudium* and *gaudere* in which the word apparently communicates a gesture: for example, 4.190 (*fama*); 8.702 (*scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla*).

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73 Duval (2004, 366-404) discusses the difficulties of separating *laetitia* and *gaudium*. 
Forms of *gaudere* often appear with an object in the ablative to indicate what the subject “takes joy in” or “rejoices in.” In the *Aeneid* these are physical objects, e.g. at 7.800 (*viridi gaudens Feronia luco*); 8.702 (*scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla*); and 10.500 (Turnus taking Pallas’ belt: *spolio gaudetque potitus*). They are similar, by extension, to other ablative uses not of objects: 6.383 (*corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terra*); 7.220 (*love Dardana pubes / gaudet avo*). *Laetari* also takes an ablative, and the adjective *laetus* also very often appears with an ablative of specification or closely related ablative absolute. The main difference I see between uses of *gaudere* and uses of *laetari* and *laetus* taking the ablative is a sense of possession of the object, etc. in the ablative, with uses of *gaudere*, e.g. for 7.800 “Feronia, rejoicing in [having] the green grove,” or, “Feronia, rejoicing in [her] green grove.” Some instances of *laetus* serve in this capacity, very much like these uses of *gaudere* here, e.g. at 1.275, *inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus*; 2.417, *Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois / Eurus equis*; or 5.40, *gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti*.75

However, some ablatives with *laet-* indicate an abstract idea over which there is no possession: for example, at 6.568, *quaes quis apud superos furto laetatus inani*; 10.787, *Aeneas viso Tyrheni sanguine laetus*; or 12.616, *iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum*. In these examples of *laet-* family words, the nouns in the ablative are not things


75 This use is very similar to that at 5.757 (*gaudet regno Trojanus Acestes*).
over which one takes possession, or which are even personally associated with the laetus individual.

Gaudia is used of physical pleasure, or of the elegiac beloved, in the following instances: 6.513 (sex); 10.325 (elegiac lover); and 11.180 (the physical joys of living).

Regardless of the overlap in the use of the gaud- and laet- stems, the nouns gaudium and laetitia have different uses in the Aeneid, and rather narrow uses for themselves. In the Aeneid, gaudia refers to an object or a defined idea that brings joy; the noun laetitia, on the other hand, is the strong expression of emotion, usually in battle, usually noisy, prompted by a proximate event. Perhaps this is the strongest distinction in use between words of the two families in the Aeneid; perhaps gaudere shows a much closer likeness to laetari, and laetus itself takes uses from both spheres because the gaud-family does not have a simple adjective.

In a number of instances of gaudere in the Aeneid, a use of laetus or laetor may have also been appropriate. For example, the instance of gaudens at 12.109 is a battle

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76 For further bibliography on the use of gaudium in Latin poetry to refer to orgasm, see James (2008, 152, n. 51).

77 Cf. 10.652, the only other place gaudia refers to a person in the Aeneid, and it is Aeneas, who is Turnus’ gaudia.


79 Cf. Duval on gaudia (in the plural) as meaning “causes de joie” (29-31).

80 nec minus interea maternis saevus in armis / Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitat ira, / oblato gaudens componi foedere bellum (12.107-109).
use indicating Aeneas’ excitement for war; the instances of *gaudet* at 10.726 and 12.6 form part of physical descriptions of people in battle, like lions on the hunt.

I.5: Appearance of *Laet-* Family Words in Vergil

I will now present the appearance of *laet-* family vocabulary in Vergil according to the form of the word and the work in which the word occurs. The *laet-* stem appears 96 times in the *Aeneid*: as forms of *laetus* (including comparative and superlative forms), *laetari* (including finite verbs and participial forms), *laetitia*, and *inlaetabilis*. *Laetus* appears in the positive degree 75 times; the adjective appears once in the comparative

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81 Cf. *saevus* (107), *ira* (108); like *laetus* in the *Aeneid*, this emotion is also contrasted with fear: *maestique metum* (110). Perhaps it is better than *laetus* here because *laetus* is an immediate feeling, an intense emotion in the moment, with regard to battle, and here Aeneas has to wait until the next day.

82 Mezentius and Turnus as lions on the hunt: *leo/leo* 10.723/12.6; *cervum/cervice* 10.725/12.7; *comas/comantis* 10.726/12.6; *ora cruer/ora cruento* 10.728/12.8; 12.82 (Turnus in battle).

83 Cf. Warwick’s concordance.

84 In the masculine nominative singular (24 times: 1.275, 1.696, 2.417, 2.687, 3.169, 3.178, 3.347, 4.140, 5.40, 5.210, 5.236, 5.283, 5.667, 6.193, 7.36, 7.259, 7.430, 8.311, 8.544, 8.617, 10.787, 10.874, 12.393, and 12.616); in the masculine accusative singular (7 times: 1.732, 5.58, 5.531, 6.657, 7.288, 9.818, and 10.738); in the masculine ablative singular (twice: 3.524, and 5.107); in the masculine nominative plural (15 times: 1.35, 1.554, 2.260, 3.638, 4.295, 4.418, 5.34, 5.100, 5.577, 7.130, 7.147, 8.268, 8.279, 9.157, and 10.15); and in the masculine accusative plural (three times: 1.591, 6.638, and 8.171). *Laetus* appears in the feminine nominative singular (11 times: 1.416, 1.503, 2.395, 5.183,
degree, in the masculine nominative singular (7.653) and twice in the superlative, in the masculine nominative singular and feminine nominative singular (1.441, 1.685). The noun laetitia appears eight times;\textsuperscript{85} the adjective inlaetabilis appears twice;\textsuperscript{86} forms derived from the verb laetor appear eight times.\textsuperscript{87}

The laet- stem appears 33 times in the Georgics, and three times in the Eclogues. In the Georgics only forms of the adjective laetus are present (with one use in the comparative, at 2.252, and two in the superlative, at 1.101 and 2.112).\textsuperscript{88} In the Eclogues, of the three uses of the laet- stem, one is of the adjective laetus (in the positive degree, at 7.60), one of laetitia (5.62), and one of laetari (4.52).

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\textsuperscript{85} At 1.514, 1.636, 1.734, 3.100, 8.717, 9.637, 11.807, and 12.700.
\textsuperscript{86} At 3.707 and 12.619.
\textsuperscript{87} At 1.393, 6.392, 6.568, 6.718, 10.740, 10.827, 11.280, and 12.841. Finite verb forms appear at 6.718 (laetere), 10.740 (laetabere), and 11.280 (laetor). The present participle appears at 1.393; the perfect participle, sometimes with an omitted form of esse, appears at 6.392, 6.568, and 10.827 (in the masculine nominative singular) and at 12.841 (in the feminine nominative singular).

\textsuperscript{88} In the positive degree, laetus appears in the Georgics in the masculine nominative singular at 1.102, 2.363, and 3.320; in the masculine nominative plural, at 1.301, 1.304, 1.412, 2.383, 2.520, 3.375, and 3.379; in the feminine nominative singular at 2.184, 3.63, and 3.322; in the feminine genitive singular at 2.326; in the feminine nominative plural at 1.423 and 4.55; in the feminine accusative plural at 1.1; in the feminine ablative plural at 1.69, 1.339, 2.221, and 3.494; in the neuter nominative singular at 1.74; in the neuter accusative singular at 2.262; in the neuter ablative plural at 2.525; in the neuter nominative plural at 2.48, 2.144, and 3.310; in the neuter accusative plural at 1.325, 2.388, and 3.385.
I note the frequency of appearance of the *laet*- stem in other works and authors where I discuss them.

I.6: The *Laet*- Stem in Other Ancient Authors

An understanding of Vergil’s use of *laetus* and relatives requires a consideration of the use of these words in authors prior to Vergil. As I am concerned more with the use of *laetus* relating to emotion than the agricultural use, I concentrate on emotional use here. I divide my discussion of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* according to its particular trends of use (e.g. association with prayer/omens and battle) in the following chapters. As I discuss the use of *laetus* and relatives in other authors in this section, I am particularly sensitive to how these words compare to their use with regard to these trends in the *Aeneid*.

In this dissertation I argue that *laetus* (and, to a lesser extent, its relatives) in the *Aeneid*, when it indicates the emotion of people, “looks forward”: it indicates a positive emotion in the present based on an expectation of future pleasure or future success, rather than the current enjoyment of present pleasure. In this it communicates “optimism” rather than “happiness.” The *laetus*-emotion is short-lived, prompted by an event immediately prior, with little indication for the extent of the emotion in the long term. The *laetus*-emotion is also intensely felt, and exciting, and in these ways it differs from the English “contentment.”

The *laetus*-emotion in the *Aeneid* is most often explicitly outwardly expressed (cf. Duval’s major argument); it is noisy, expressive, jubilant, excited.\(^89\) This is an important

\(^89\) Cf. Lact. *Inst*. (6.15): *laetitia nihil aliut est quam professum gaudium*, and Gellius
consideration for interpretation because it means that, in the Aeneid, the laetus-emotion (or the description of it) constitutes a form of interaction if two or more individuals are present in the scene—i.e., those described as laetus, and those viewing the expression of the laetus individual. If the emotion were fully internalized and unexpressed, no one else in the scene would be aware of it. As it is, however, the laetus-emotion usually manifests itself in such a way that others in the scene are aware of it, and respond to it (with their own joy, as with Aeneas’ men to Aeneas’ joy at 7.147, or with resentment, as with Juno’s response to Aeneas’ joy, at 7.36, or with anger, as Turnus responds to Aeneas’ laeta imago at 10.643). Contrast the example at Catullus 76.22, mentioned briefly above and discussed below.

I now turn to the use of laetus and relatives in other ancient authors. The most useful section in Duval for the comparison of uses of the laet- stem in the Aeneid to uses in other authors is her discussion of the “metaphorical” uses of laetitia, i.e. the various ways in which the “agricultural” use is extended to apply to people (see my discussion above). Duval cites and discusses instances of laet- family words from the earliest authors, Terence, Plautus, prose authors, and, very often, from the Aeneid.

Of prose authors, Duval devotes the most energy to Cicero’s use and understanding of laetitia, particularly relative to gaudium, and particularly in his philosophical works (which I have discussed above). Because of Cicero’s prescriptive
use, the prose author perhaps most useful for the study of Vergil’s use of *laetus* is not Cicero, but Livy. Duval refers often to Livy’s use, and presents a great number of examples from Livy, to support her arguments.  

Livy often uses *laetus* (and related words) in the context of a sacrifice, as does Vergil. For example, in Book 31, in the war against Philip, Livy writes, *Di immortales... mihi sacrificanti precantique ut ho
cbellum mihi, senatui vobisque, sociis ac nomini Latino, classibus exercitibusque nostris bene ac feliciter eveniret, laeta omnia
prospera portendere* (31.7.15). “Auspicious,” i.e., indicating good things for the future, is a common use in the *Aeneid*; likewise common is the individual described as *laetus* after having received an auspicious omen (e.g. 1.34.9 *accepisse id augurium laeta
dicitur Tanaquil*). Duval discusses Cicero’s divergence from this use of *laetus* as well.

Duval discusses the degree to which *laetitia* is an “external” emotion, or an emotion made manifest (through shouts, etc.) in various authors, including Cicero and 

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91 Duval discusses the use of the *laet-* stem in Cicero, Livy, and Varro on pages 142-146. There is also the evidence of von Kamptz (*TLL*, 7.2.872-889), useful for identifying similar uses across authors, but in that resource we even further lack helpful context and explanation of the relationships between authors and instances. Von Kamptz does not address the frequency of a given use.

92 I note here that much of Livy’s work would have been composed after Vergil’s death in 19 B.C.; Livy perhaps began composition around the time when the *Georgics* were published, but continued even past 14 A.D., the year of Augustus’ death. On the issue of priority between Livy’s history and the *Aeneid*, see Horsfall (2006, xxvi-xxvii), who suggests Livy began writing around 30 B.C., with the first ten books possibly done by 26 or 25. For bibliography on this subject, see Horsfall (2006, xxvi, n.29).


94 Duval (2004, 159). For Duval’s list of such uses in Livy, see 159, n.599.

95 162.
Livy; this is a phenomenon I remark most upon in my section on the use of *laetus* in battle.

Below I discuss the use of *laetus* and relatives in Ennius, Lucretius, and Catullus.

I.6.1: Ennius

The *laet-* stem appears six times in fragments attributed to Ennius: four identified as part of the *Annales*, and two from Ennius’ satires. Some instances of Vergil’s employment (and Catullus’ and Lucretius’) of the *laet-* stem are quite similar to these six uses in Ennius. For example, Ennius uses the *laet-* stem to refer to the exhilaration of battle:

> omnes mortales victores, cordibus vivis *laetantes*, vino curatos somnus repente
> in campo passim mollissimus perculit acris

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96 196ff.

97 For these I have consulted Skutsch (1985), Jocelyn (1967), and Vahlen (1903). Skutsch lists four instances of the *laet-* stem in the *Ann.*: *laetificum gau* (585, p.125); *laetantes* (367, p.102); *agros laetos* (468, p.113); and *laeta prata* (537, p.121). Vahlen includes two more: *vites laetificae* (Trag. 193, p.113); and *laetus* (Sat. 26, p.158). Jocelyn, on Ennius’ tragedies, lists *laeto* in his line 283 (attributed to the *Telephus*), as a corruption preserved in the manuscripts, of *leto*, but he does not include any of the six instances found in Skutsch and Vahlen.

98 On Vergil’s use of Ennius, see especially Elliott (2008), on Vergil’s use both of the *Annales* and Ennius’ tragedies, with particular regard to verbal repetition in intertexts; see also Norden, whose 1927 commentary on *Aen.* 6 refers often to Vergil’s use of Ennius. For further bibliography see e.g. Stabryla (1971), Richardson (1942), and Kennedy’s (145-154) and Farrell’s (222-238) chapters in Martindale, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (1997).

99 For Vergil’s use of this, see Chapter IV.1 below, on *laetitia*. 
These three lines (attributed to Annales 12.367) are quoted by Priscian, whose interest lay in the form of acris in the third line. Skutsch (1985, 533) explains this passage thus: “An army (Roman?) after victory: the sudden change from triumphant elation to the sleep of exhaustion.” The physical exhilaration after a victory in battle is identical to a type of use in the Aeneid (although there, more associated with laetitia than a form of laetari) that I discuss in Chapter II.3.

Skutsch explains vino curatos as “refreshed with wine.” The closest verbal parallel to a passage in the Aeneid, though the sleep and battle are reversed, involves the instance of laeti at 9.157. The locating of the feeling with cordibus vivis will be more closely paralleled by the Catullan locating of the feeling expressed by the laet- stem in the body.

100 On the security of this source content and transmission of this passage, see Skutsch (1985, 532-535). These three lines come, together, from Priscian, 2.153: acer et alacer et saluber et celeber quamvis acris et alacris plerumque faciant et salubris et celebris feminina, in utraque tamen terminacione communis etiam generis inveniuntur prolata... Ennius in XVI: aestatem autumnus sequitur, post acer hiems it [Enn. Ann. 16.420, Skutsch]. idem in XII: omnes... acris [this passage]. Priscian quotes the passage again (2.230) as well. Priscian, Skutsch writes, “had no more information to go by than we have” (534), but he takes acris as nominative singular, although the accusative plural makes the most sense, and evidently all save Priscian take it this way.

101 “This phrase excludes any idea of overindulgence: corpora curate is a normal command to troops on the eve of battle or before a strenuous march” (534). For similar uses, Skutsch cites Livy (25.38.22, 34.13.10, 35.30.9, etc.). Skutsch also cites Aen. 3.511 corpora curamus, fessos sopor occupat artus, but there is no laetus there.

102 nunc adeo, melior quoniam pars acta diei, / quod superest, laeti bene gestis corpora rebus / procurate, viri, et pugnam sperate parari (Aen. 9.156-158).

103 Skutsch would disagree; he writes, “The ablative is not to be taken too closely with laetatentes as either modal or local but rather as an ablative of attendant circumstance: ‘rejoicing, with their hearts beating high’” (534).
The next example, also quoted by Priscian, is in the line et detondit agros laetos atque oppida cepit. The common phrase agros laetos refers to the health or luxuriance of plant matter. Skutsch posits the subject to be Regulus, in the account of the First Punic War in Book 7, but since Priscian quotes only this line here, we have little context. Skutsch also allows that the subject of detondit may have been Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio in Africa, or even Philip in Greece. At any rate, the line likely appears in the context of a war and associates the capturing of cities with the destruction of life and the livelihood of the cities’ inhabitants. The juxtaposition of destruction with the fertility and abundance communicated by laetus resembles that in the simile of Aen. 2.304-310, in which Aeneas, watching the Greeks lay waste to Troy, is compared to a pastor, watching as the storm from heaven destroys his sata laeta and sweeps away his animals.

Another instance in Ennius is similar (Skutsch v.537, which he refers to Ann. 16):

104 Skutsch includes this verse, which he numbers 468, in his sedis incertae fragmenta but considers it most likely to belong to Book 7 of the Annales (616). The citation of the line in which laetos occurs appears at Priscian 2.482 (detondeo detondi. vetustissimi tamen etiam detotondi protulerunt. Ennius in annalibus et detondit agros laetos atque oppida cepit. at Varro in Magno Talento detotonderat forcipibus vitiarium feris) (627). The manuscripts of Priscian disagree as to the form detondit in the Ennian quotation; nearly all give detotondit, but, as Skutsch writes, “at Varro makes it certain that Ennius is quoted for the classical form” (627).


106 We do not have context enough to determine whether there is any sort of transitive force, i.e. whether the fields are laetus because they make their owners or tenders laetus.

107 in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris incidunt, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores praecipitisque trahit silvas; stupet inscius alto accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor, tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt insidiae. (Aen. 2.304-310)
fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata. This line is a description of a horse, tearing through a field; it is quoted by Macrobius in a comparison of similar passages in the Iliad, Ennius, and Vergil. The phrase laetaque prata, in its position at line-end, resembles many examples in Lucretius (see below).

The fourth instance of the laet- stem in the Annals is the most problematic, due to its lack of context and close association with the gaudium-family vocabulary. The phrase laetificum gau (Skutsch v.585), two independent and presumably complete words, are quoted in Ausonius’ Technopaegnion, a set of poems in which each line ends with a monosyllabic word. Therefore gau is most likely the whole of the word Ausonius intended to write. Skutsch posits that this extreme shortening (of gaudium?) was perhaps made up by Ausonius to mock the form volupt (perhaps a shortening of voluptas).

On laetificum itself, verse 585, Skutsch writes: “the adjective does not necessarily belong to Ennius even if the noun does. It is active in origin and, certainly to begin with,

108 See Skutsch (1985, 683-684) for further discussion.

109 That the phrase comes from the Annals at all is assumed because the other phrases in this passage quoted by Ausonius do belong to the Annals (Skutsch 1985, 728).

110 Ausonius plays with a tradition, or assumption, that certain forms in Homer were poetic abbreviations of other words (Skutsch 1985, 727 cites the Homeric δῶ as misunderstood for a shortening of δῶμα and likewise κρί as an abbreviation of κριθή). The Hellenistic authors continued this sort of play.

111 Skutsch (1985, 727) refers to his line 276 of verses from the Annals. The suggestion was made by Timpanaro (1947, 196, n.1): “Può darsi che con gau Ausonio abbia inteso deridere la forma enniana volupt (A. 242), che a lui doveva sembrare una bizzarra apocope di voluptas.” The passage of Ausonius in which this phrase appears is the following (Technop. 13.3: Ennius ut memorat repleat te laetificum gau. liquida mens hominum concretum felle coquat pus... unde Rudinus ait divum domus, altisonum cael, et cuius de more quod adstruit endo suam do, aut de fronde loquens cur dixit populea fruns) (Skutsch 1985, 726).
active in sense (so Enn. scen. 152 vites laetificae) and is not used as an equivalent of laetus before Stat. Theb. 8.261; 12.521, though laetificans may have that meaning in Plaut. Pers. 760.”

The next two instances are attributed to Ennius’ satires. A form of laetificus appears in a passage attributed by Vahlen to Ennius’ Eumenides:

caelum nitescere, arbores frondescere,
vites laetificae pampinis pubescere,
rami bacularum ubertate incurviscere,
segetes largiri fruges, flore omnia,
fontes scatere, herbis prata convestirier. 112

This use neatly combines the laetus that conveys human emotion with that that conveys fertility and health of plants;113 the vines themselves are healthy, growing, putting out shoots (193), in the context of other plant matter flourishing (ubertate 194, fruges 195, florere 195, etc.), but the vine (i.e., the grape vine) is associated with Bacchus, as we see elsewhere, and therefore also a certain sort of “joy” for people.114 This passage is quoted by Cicero for the novelty of some invented words.115

112 Vahlen (1909, 113) Trag. lines 192-196; Vahlen assigns this as fragment VIII from the Eumenides. Ribbeck includes this as among the ex incertis incertorum fabulis, line 134, fragment 72; the line does not appear in Jocelyn.

113 Cf. Duval (2004, 134ff.).

114 On the connection between Bacchus or wine and laetus in the Aeneid, see my discussion of Aen. 1.734.

115 This passage comes from Cic. Tusc. 1.28: hic autem, ubi habitamus, non intermittit suo tempore caelum, etc. Likewise cf. De Or. 3.38: novantur autem verba, quae ab eo qui dicit ipso gignuntur ac fiunt vel coniugendis verba... vel saepe sine coniunctione verba novantur; ut: ille senius, ut: di genitales, ut: bacarum ubertate incurvescere. See Vahlen (1909, 113).
There is one instance in what survives of Ennius in which laetus appears to convey a straightforward “joy”:

quippe sine cura laetus lautus cum advenis
insertis malis, expedito bracchio,
alacer celsius, lupino expectans impetu,
mox cum alterius abligurias bona,
quid censes domino esse animi? pro divum fidem!
ille tristis cibum dum servat, tu ridens voras.\textsuperscript{116}

In these lines, absent any more context, the second person verbs, along with other relatively straightforward emotional indicators (sine cura, alacer, tristis, ridens) indicate that a positive personal emotion is meant here, but we cannot be more specific. These lines are transmitted in Donatus, on Terence, \textit{Phorm.} 2.2.25. Vahlen also includes a paraphrase from Lactantius, enticingly related to the \textit{Aeneid}, but its relationship to Ennius’ own work is suspect.\textsuperscript{117}

Therefore, of the six surviving instances of the laet- stem in Ennius, two instances refer directly to plants (agros laetos and laeta prata); in another, a crop is laetificus (vites laetificae);\textsuperscript{118} and in two, laetus refers to people (one in the context of battle, and one without enough context to say). The sixth use appears in the phrase laetificum gau, without any further context.\textsuperscript{119}

\textsuperscript{116} These are Vahlen’s lines 26-31, \textit{Saturarum} 6 (Vahlen 1909, 158).

\textsuperscript{117} Lact. \textit{Inst.} 1.22: \textit{simile quiddam in Sicilia fecit Aeneas, cum conditae urbi Acestae hospitis nomen inposuit, ut eam postmodum laetus ac libens Acestes diligeret augeret ornaret}. These are quoted in prose, and are numbered by Vahlen as lines 60-63. (173)

\textsuperscript{118} On the signification of laetus as laetificus, “à la fois cause de joie et effet de joie,” see Duval (2004, 138; she also quotes \textit{DRN} 1.195).

\textsuperscript{119} On Lucretius’ use of Ennius, see e.g. S.J. Harrison (2002; particularly on Ennius’
It is mere chance that these are the six instances that survive. However, it is worth noting that, of the six, three refer to agricultural contexts; we must remember that *laetus* has a deep ambivalence between agricultural lushness and fertility, and human emotion—that the primary meaning is not always, or even often, something like “joyful.” If we agree with modern scholars (like Ernout and Meillet, de Vaan, etc.; see above) that the agricultural context is the earlier of the two, and the reference to human emotion is the derived sense, we might ask *when* the word developed that second meaning—or, rather, through what process, and over what time period, the second use gained popularity. I do not think there is enough evidence in surviving early Latin for a study of this development to be made; if this transition happened, it happened before the literature that survives to us. In the early authors in particular, an author’s content seems to dictate which of the two broad categories an author uses: for example, Cato uses the agricultural meaning exclusively, and Plautus, the emotional one.\(^\text{120}\)

I.6.2: Lucretius

The vast majority of instances of the *laet-* stem in Lucretius set forth a straightforward “agricultural” use; I would be interested to know whether Lucretius’ strong emphasis on fertility and productivity in his use of *laet-* vocabulary were in part influenced by Lucretius’ prologue) and Roller (1988; on Lucretius’ sources more generally). On the Lucretian inheritance of Ennius’ hexameter, see Kenney (2007, 96); cf. Kenney (1974, 29-30). Also see Monica Gale’s chapter on Lucretius’ sources in Gillespie/Hardie, eds. *Cambridge Companion to Lucretius* (2007, 59-75).

\(^{120}\) Perhaps one could make a study of parallel words from the same field, in early Latin (e.g. *alacritas, hilaritas, gaudium*).
due to his preference for archaic words and use.\textsuperscript{121} In reading the \textit{De Rerum Natura}, not a treatise on farming, we might be less prepared to welcome an overwhelmingly agricultural use of this stem. But I do not privilege the perhaps more expected use of \textit{laetus} et al., indicating human emotion, when reading Lucretius; he is certainly a poet of ambivalence and nuance, but \textit{laetus} in the \textit{DRN} is primarily a word of productivity, fertility, and abundance, not joy. I believe that “joy” is so attractive a reading (and the later works in which that meaning is prevalent are so widely read) that it manages to insinuate itself into the modern reader’s mind well ahead of other, more relevant purposes for the word.

What are these other meanings? I note them at each instance I discuss. In addition to “fertile,” “productive,” “abundant,” “luxuriant,” “joyful,” “bringing joy,” “nourishing,” and the like, I add here that \textit{laetus} indicates agitation, violence, an onrush; \textit{laetus} and relatives are not peaceful words, and they indicate heights of sensation and emotion rather than long-term, stable feelings; they indicate brilliance rather than a simple shine.\textsuperscript{122}

The \textit{laet}-stem appears 28 times in the \textit{De Rerum Natura}: at 1.14/15, 1.23, 1.193, 1.255, 1.257, 2.317, 2.343, 2.344, 2.364, 2.594, 2.596, 2.631, 2.699, 2.875, 2.994, 2.1157, 2.1159, 3.107, 3.109, 3.116, 3.142, 3.150, 3.894, 4.1200, 4.1270, 5.921, 5.1372, and 5.1400. Of these, all are forms of the positive adjective \textit{laetus} save the instances at 1.193

\textsuperscript{121} At any rate we can see, for example, the influence of Ennius in Lucretius’ \textit{laetificos} at 1.193; Vergil does not use \textit{laetificus}.

\textsuperscript{122} I am aware that Lucretius expresses emotions one might associate with \textit{laetus} using somewhat startling vocabulary and imagery; for example, on \textit{horror} and \textit{voluptas}, see P.H. Schrijvers, \textit{Horror ac Divina Voluptas} (Amsterdam, 1970).
(laetificos), 2.344 (laetantia), 3.107 (laetatur), 3.109 (laetamur), 3.116 (laetitiae), 3.142 (laetitiae), and 3.150 (laetitia).

The predominant use concerns fertility; laetus in the DRN is most often applied to crops and plants, and the food (in its raw state) they produce. Laetus is used almost as an epithet of certain nouns; stock phrases are used at the same point in the hexameter.

Pabula laeta (always in the accusative) appears, always at the end of a line, at 1.15, 1.257, 2.317, 2.364, 2.596, 2.875, and 2.1159; it is used of luxuriant, untilled pastures, most often in the context of serving as food for herd animals (e.g. nam saepe in colli tondentes pabula laeta / lanigerae reptant pecudes 2.317-318). Arbusta laeta (always in the accusative, and always in the phrase fruges arbustaque laeta, at line-end) appears at 2.594, 2.699, 2.994, and 5.921. Vineta laeta appears at 2.1157 and 5.1372. Laeta armenta appears at 2.343 (on that instance, see below). This is not to say that these words do not function thematically; they do—cf. Shelton (1996, 53) on 5.1372: “In this description of humankind’s successes as cultivator, it is Lucretius’ poetic devices, particularly his choice and placement of words which impart the ethical message that there is pleasure and therefore ‘good’ in encouraging fruitfulness. The farmland is dulcis (1367), the grain fields and vineyards are laeta (1372) and the orchards are felicia (1378). Each section of the farm has its own distinguishing charm (lepore 1376).” The words also participate in multiple significations at every instance; cf. Fowler (2002, 391-392), on

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123 Note the proximity to pabula laeta at 2.596.

124 Arbusta laeta seems to be analogous to pabula laeta—the latter serving as luxuriant food for herd animals, and the former, food for people. Cf. 2.594-595 (referring to Earth): tum porro nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta / gentibus humanis habet unde extollere possit.

125 Note pabula laeta at 2.1159.
2.317: “Here the idea is surely not just that the grass is merrily growing away but also that the sheep are happy to eat it.”

It is my opinion that laetus, in the previous instances of pabula laeta, arbusta laeta, and vineta laeta, refers to health and luxuriance of plant life; none of these instances refers directly to human “joy.” None of these instances provides otherwise helpful context for the meaning of laetus such that they may be helpfully distinguished from one another.

The next question is which of the remaining fourteen uses also communicate the fertility of the soil, and which refer to personal emotion. In the following discussion I argue that, as in the Georgics, most of the remaining instances have more context of fertility and productivity than they do emotion, and therefore that the importation of “joy” is less warranted than it may first appear. Lucretius’ content, like Vergil’s in the Georgics, reinforces “fertile” or “productive” laetus at every instance of the laet- stem in the DRN, though the word may also indicate “joy” as well, in a minority of appearances.

The first instance that I discuss, at 1.23, regards Venus as creator of all things:

quae quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas
nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras

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exoritur neque fit laetum neque amabile quicquam,
te sociam studeo scribendis versibus esse,
quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor
Memmiadæ nostro, quem tu, dea, tempore in omni
omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus. (1.21-27)

This instance, as the previous at 1.14/15, falls in the invocation to Venus;\textsuperscript{129} the poet clearly conceives Venus’ primary function to be the propagation of life.\textsuperscript{130} She also is the greatest force in the creation of life (cf. 20).\textsuperscript{131} Without her nothing comes into existence (22); without her nothing arises \textit{laetum} or \textit{amabile}. The latter adjective is employed most likely because “love” is the means by which Venus performs her role (20) of creating life. The poet has written to this point only of animals and plants; this emphasis on nature, combined with the fact that \textit{quicquam} is neuter, indicates that no personal emotion is intended. Considering Venus’ office, the sense is: “not only does nothing come into

\textsuperscript{129} On fertility in that instance cf. Leonard/Smith (1942) on 1.14/15: \textit{ferae} as “maddened with desire”; Munro (1893, 24) on 1.15 notes that Livy (1.7.4) has \textit{pabulo laeto}, and points out that Manilius (at 3.654) imitates Lucretius here.

\textsuperscript{130} On the incongruity of the invocation to Venus given Lucretius’ message, see e.g. O’Hara (2007, 59), Gale (1994a, 208).

\textsuperscript{131} She is therefore a positive force; cf. Emped.21F17.vv.16-29DK. On Venus’ power cf. Gale (1991, 420). Hardie (1986, 159) compares \textit{DRN} 1.14-17 and \textit{Georgics} 3.269-270 (also discussed by Gale 1991, 419-420): “The Lucretian passage is most directly echoed in the idea that the power of sexual love makes light of the obstacles of river and mountain... The Virgilian \textit{transposition or inversion} of Lucretian themes, typical of both the \textit{Georgics} and the \textit{Aeneid}, is here clear; for Lucretius the motif of overcoming natural obstacles illustrates love as the effect of \textit{lepos}, while in Virgil it exemplifies the identification of \textit{amor} as a \textit{furor} (266).” \textit{Laetus} does not appear in that passage in the \textit{Georgics}; Vergil intentionally chose not to repeat the word. This may give some indication to us of the tone of \textit{laeta} in Lucretius that Vergil chose not to reproduce in his darker passage on \textit{amor}. “What in Lucretius is a joyful celebration of the miraculous powers of Venus is transposed into an appalled account of the immoderate violence of desire” (Hardie 1986, 160). On “pleasure” vocabulary (e.g. \textit{lepos}, \textit{voluptas}, \textit{dulcis}, \textit{suavis}) in the \textit{DRN}, associated with Venus, and Lucretius’ purpose of drawing in readership, see Volk (2002, 98-99).
existence without you, but nothing fruitful or fertile is made.\textsuperscript{132} As laetus is associated primarily with productivity and fertility in the DRN, so it is associated with Venus.\textsuperscript{133}

The next use, at 1.193, is somewhat more enigmatic, and may have to do with emotion on the part of people, but at any rate is deeply grounded in the fertility of the earth:

\begin{center}
\textit{huc accedit uti sine certis imbris anni laetificos nequeat fetus submittere tellus nec porro secreta cibo natura animantum propagare genus possit vitamque tueri; ut potius multis communia corpora rebus multa putes esse, ut verbis elementa videmus, quam sine principiis ullam rem existere posse.} (1.192-198)
\end{center}

In this passage the poet continues his discussion of the law that nothing can arise from nothing, that all things require a source; he argues here that fixed seasons of rain are required for the earth to put forth “fruit” and uses the evidence that all creatures need food and water to survive (they would not, if they could be created from nothing).

In lines 192-193 only plants are spoken of; only plants are begotten by the earth “with rain alone.” Lines 194-195 refer only to animals, the genus animantum, whose food is cibus. Therefore, the laetificos fetus of 193 are the food that will feed the animals in

\textsuperscript{132} “At the very beginning of his poem, Lucretius establishes a dichotomy: creation/pleasure vs. destruction/anxiety” (Shelton 1996, 53). On creation and destruction connected with fertility in the DRN, also see Segal (1990, 207-222).

\textsuperscript{133} On the correspondence between Venus and laetus in Lucretius, see Shelton (1996, 53-54).
194-195; they themselves provide for animals’ life and survival. There is no indication that the laetificos fetus of 193 are cultivated crops instead of wild plants.

The next instance, at 1.255, supports a connection between emotion and fertility:

postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether in gremium matris terrai praecipitavit; at nitidae surgunt fruges ramique virescunt arboribus, crescunt ipsae fetuque gravantur. hinc alitur porro nostrum genus atque ferarum, hinc laetas urbes pueris florere videmus frondiferasque novis avibus canere undique silvas, hinc fessae pecudes pinguis per pabula laeta corpora deponunt et candens lacteus umor uberibus manat distentis, hinc nova proles artubus infirmis teneras lasciva per herbas ludit lacte mero mentes perculsa novellas. (1.250-261)

In this passage, in which the poet argues that nothing is reduced to nothing, there is much vocabulary concerning fertility and productivity in nature (fruges 252; virescunt 252; crescunt fetuque gravantur 253; florere 255; cf. pabula laeta 257), but the emphasis on procreation and young animals in this passage lends emphasis to pueris in 255. “Cities flourishing with youth,” at any rate, is an image bound to bring pleasure. On Lucretian technique and imagery in this passage, see Kenney (2007, 97-99).

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134 Cf. Munro (1893, 160) on pabula laeta at 2.875: “the streams, the leaves and grass feed and sustain beasts, beasts feed us.” P.M. Brown (1984, 83) writes, at 1.193: “The earth’s produce gladdens animal life; the adjective thus prepares for the topic of animal nutrition in the next two lines.”

135 On florere (255), P.M. Brown (1984, 92) writes, on 1.255, “As with laetas, the metaphor reinforces the parallel with the earlier stage of vegetable growth to which the word is literally appropriate.”

136 West (1969b, 5), on 1.255, translates the line as, “We see our thriving cities flowering with children,” and goes on: “Laeta, joyful, fertile, is also an ambivalent term, and Lucretius here, and Virgil [at Geo. 2.324-326]... exploit the ambivalence. In Virgil the
The next two instances, those at 2.343 and 2.344, provide only the context of
abundance; there is little context of fertility, and even less of “joy.”

praeterea genus humanum mutaeque natantes
squamigerum pecudes et laeta armenta feraeque
et variae volucrets, laetantia quae loca aquarum
concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque,
et quae pervolgant nemora avia pervolitantes,
quorum unum quidvis generatim sumere perge;
invenies tamen inter se differre figuris. (2.342-348)

This is a passage demonstrating the different shapes of the atoms, in evidence from the
different shapes of creatures; the point of the passage is to combine as many differently-
shaped animals into one image as possible. Laetantia, then, in 344, seems to mean
something to the effect of “full”: marshy places full of different types of birds. But
there is no emotion indicated within the scene. Laeta armenta (2.343) gives no context
for the adjective, but by analogy with laetus regarding plants in the DRN, surely it means
something to the effect of “luxuriant,” “well-fed,” “fertile.” Is our collective image of
“contented cows” too modern to be applicable here? If we are to understand “contented
earth is laeta, fertile, she is also laeta coniunx, a wife delighted by the attentions of her
husband, like the ewe and heifer in Ovid Ars Amatoria 2.485.”

137 On laet- in this passage: “Decorative epithets (252 nitidae, 255 laetas, 256
frondiferas, 257 laeta, 260 teneras) and ornamental periphrasis (258 lacteus umor) enrich
the literary texture” (Kenney 2007, 99).

138 Leonard/Smith (1942, ad 2.344), writes that laetantia “probably means laeta and may
contain an idea of fullness”; they also cite Aen. 1.441. Munro (1893, 139) writes, ad
2.344: “it seems best to take laetantia to mean making glad.” Bailey (1947, 861), ad
2.344 considers laetantia to be “probably a mere synonym for laeta, unless it can mean
‘luxuriant’.”

139 Cf. Merrill, who reads laeta arbusta here, in part because this is the only instance of
laeta armenta in Lucretius. Most read armenta; cf. e.g. Bailey (1947, 861) ad 2.343.
cows” in *laeta armenta*, this type of emotion—a calm, unruffled contentment—would be very much unlike the emotion indicated by *laetus* in the *Aeneid*.

The instance at 2.631, however, expresses emotion similar to that expressed by *laetus* in the *Aeneid*:

```
hic armata manus, Curetas nomine Grai
quos memorant, Phrygias inter si forte catervas
ludunt in numerumque exultant sanguine laeti
terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas,
Dictaeos referunt Curetas, qui Iovis illum
vagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur (2.629-634)
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Earth contains all kinds of elements: Lucretius, in recounting idle superstition, identifies Mother Earth with the goddess Cybele, and then describes all sorts of aspects of her worship.\(^{140}\) A group of armed men escort Cybele in procession (i.e., they are not part of actual battle, here): these men are called Curetes, after the Dictaean Curetes, who are said to have protected the infant Jupiter in Crete (Lucretius identifies Cybele with Rhea). For the intensity of such Cybele worship, cf. Catullus 63.

The use of *laetus* et al. to indicate fierceness, violence, and intensity, particularly in the context of battle, is one of its most common uses; cf. the first passage from Ennius described above. *Exsultare* is often used with *laetus* (and particularly *laetitia*; see my Chapter IV.1) in the *Aeneid*, and the image of those *laeti* in battle, even pretended battle (cf. the *lusus Troiae* in Book 5) is paralleled there. Segal (1990, 200) neatly incorporates both aspects of *laeti* with his translation, “leap wildly about delighting in blood.”

\(^{140}\) In the next section, Lucretius will dispute whether this image is appropriate; he contends that it is not, that in truth the gods dwell apart in eternal peace, and that Earth does not need man’s propitiation (644-660).
The next five uses of the *laet-* stem in the *DRN* (3.107, 109, 116, 142, and 150) appear in close proximity to one another and are the only instances of the verb *laetari* and the noun *laetitia* in this work.\(^{141}\) Forms of *laetari* appear at 3.107 and 3.109:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{saepe itaque, in promptu corpus quod cernitur, aegret,} \\
\text{cum tamen ex alia *laetamur* parte latenti;} \\
\text{et retro fit ubi contra sit saepe vicissim,} \\
\text{cum miser ex animo *laetatur* corpore toto;} \\
\text{non alio pacto quam si, pes cum dolet aegri,} \\
\text{in nullo caput interea sit forte dolore.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{praeterea molli cum somno dedita membra} \\
\text{effusumque iacet sine sensu corpus honustum,} \\
\text{est aliud tamen in nobis quod tempore in illo} \\
\text*laetitiae* motus et curas cordis inanis.
\end{align*}
\]

In this section, Lucretius argues against the Greek philosophers’ contention that the mind and body make up a harmony; since the mind and body may have very different levels of health at any time, the two are not so intimately connected as to be dependent on one another. In lines 106-107 he writes that the body may be sick, even while we “rejoice” or “are healthy” (*laetamur*) in another sense, and in lines 109-110 he writes that the converse is also true: that a man may be wretched in spirit but “rejoice” (*laetatur*) in respect to his body.\(^{142}\)

\(^{141}\) The instances at 107 and 109 are the only finite forms of the verb *laetari*, and the instances at 116, 142, and 150, of *laetitia*, in the *DRN*. All other instances of the *laet-* stem in Lucretius are of the positive adjective *laetus* (with the exceptions of *laetantia loca* at 2.344, and *laetificos fetus* at 1.193).

\(^{142}\) The idea of *laetatur* as “thrive” here is supported by Heinze (1897, 65) on *miser ex animo*: “*miser* kommt der Bedeutung krank nahe, wie es den IV 1076 geradezu im Gegensatze zu *sanus* steht.”
Both these instances refer to the quality of life of people (and the use of *miser* in 109, to contrast, also appears in the *Aeneid*). However, personal emotion is not indicated here in a straightforward manner; Lucretius discusses not the quality of emotion, but the health of a person’s mind (*animum / mentem* 94), whose faculties are described as *sensum animi* (104). This is the faculty of *perception*, not *emotion*.\(^{143}\) Lucretius argues against the idea that the mind cannot be distinguished from the generalized whole of a person’s self (104-105), and claims that the mind is a separate, distinct part of a person’s body, and health. His analogy is that between the foot and the head: just as the foot may be in pain, while the head may not (an analogy clearly grounded in the physical), so a person’s body may be in pain while his mind may not. The two uses of *laetari* at 3.107 and 3.109 have to do with a health that is very closely analogous to a physical health (made very clear with the ablative of specification at 109, *laetatur toto corpore*). This is not emotional health, nor a positive emotional state, *per se*.

The instance of *laetitiae* at 3.116, in the same passage, blurs the line: *laetitiae motus* are contrasted with *curas inanis*, in dreams. This instance does not refer to sickness or health per se of the mind; it refers to the activities (*agitatur*) of the mind, specifically the quality of the activities of the mind, when the body is completely at rest, in sleep (the image of sleep is meant to put aside completely the sensation of the body, such that Lucretius may focus exclusively on the activity of the mind). It contrasts positive activity of the mind (*laetitiae*) with negative activity of the mind (*curas*). This instance does appear to refer to personal emotion.

The next two instances, at 3.142 and 3.150, less than thirty lines after the last, also

neatly juxtapose personal, positive emotion with the health of the mind (as though it were a part of the body):

hic exultat enim pavor ac metus, haec loca circum
laetitiae mulcent: hic ergo mens animusque.
cetera pars animae per totum dissita corpus
paret et ad numen mentis momenque movetur.
idque sibi solum per se sapit et sibi gaudet,
cum neque res animam neque corpus commovet una.
et quasi, cum caput aut oculus temptante dolore
laeditur in nobis, non omni concruciamur
corpore, sic animus nonnumquam laeditur ipse
laetitiaque viget, cum cetera pars animai
per membra atque artus nulla novitate cietur. (3.141-151)

In this passage, Lucretius argues that mind and spirit (animum and animam, respectively)\(^{144}\) combine to form one compound nature, though the mind (located in the chest, media regione in pectoris 140) rules above all, including the spirit (which is dispersed throughout the body). As in the Aeneid, laetitia is contrasted with fear (pavor ac metus 141). Laetitia in the Aeneid, however, has no part in “soothing” (mulcent 142) a person;\(^{145}\) there it is always a heated emotion, always one of agitation. The contrast of exultat (a word closely associated with laetitia in the Aeneid) with laetitia here is also striking\(^{146}\) (and contrast the instance at 2.631, above). That gaudet (145) should be used in this passage to refer to the “joy” of equanimity, the same “joy” laetitia indicates here, is worth mention (cf. my discussion of gaudium above).

\(^{144}\) Lucretius discusses the relationship between the animus and anima in 3.136-160.

\(^{145}\) Kenney (1971, 95) translates laetitiae as “feelings of pleasure.”

\(^{146}\) Contrast the instance at 2.631, discussed above.
The use of *laetitia* at 150 indicates both emotion and health, *laetitia* being the appropriate state of health of the mind; it is contrasted with *laeditur* (149). This *laetitia* is contrasted (*verum ubi* 152) with explicit fear (*commota metu mens* 152), and Lucretius goes on to list manifest physical symptoms of the body that are caused by this fear, and are thus proof of the power of the *animum* (in the chest, which feels fear) over the *anima* (which is in the limbs, and responds to the *animum*).\(^{147}\)

In the instance at 3.894, Lucretius instructs his reader that there is no sensation after death:

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“iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent. non poteris factis florentibus esse tuisque praesidium. misero misere” aiunt “omnia ademit una dies infesta tibi tot praemia vitae.” illud in his rebus non addunt “nec tibi earum iam desiderium rerum super insidet una.” (3.894-901)
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In these lines Lucretius quotes mourners at a man’s funeral, mourners who imagine that the dead man is deprived of the joys of life, not understanding that, since dead and bereft of all feeling, he will not miss them.\(^{148}\)

There is a plurality of meaning here. First, *laeta* modifies *domus*; the word may not describe the inhabitants of the house, but rather the effect the house has/had upon its

\(^{147}\) This list of physical symptoms is highly reminiscent of Sappho fr. 31 (Lobel-Page) and Catullus 51. Cf. Hahn (1966). Munro (1893, 217), on 3.894, lists appearances of *iam iam* in Latin literature associated with mourning.

\(^{148}\) It is important to remember that the author does not agree with the sentiments he is quoting here; cf. Kenney (1971, 203) and Martindale (2005, 194-197).
owner/master, who is now dead.\textsuperscript{149} The \textit{laeta domus}, \textit{optima uxor}, and \textit{nati} brought him pleasure (\textit{dulcedine 896}). Second, \textit{laeta} may be transferred to the inhabitants of the house, the wife and children. Third, since \textit{laeta} modifies \textit{domus}, the word may obliquely refer to the fecundity of the house, considering the emphasis of this passage is on the children.\textsuperscript{150}

The next instance that I discuss appears at 4.1200:

\begin{quote}

\textit{nec ratione alia volucres armenta feraeque et pecudes et equae maribus subsidere possent, si non, ipsa quod illarum subat, ardet abundans natura et Venerem salientum \textbf{laeta} retractat. 1200}
\end{quote}

nonne vides etiam quos mutua saepe voluptas vinxit, ut in vinclis communibus excrucientur, in triviis cum saepe canes discedere aventis divorsi cupide summis ex viribus tendunt, quom interea validis Veneris compagibus haerent? (4.1197-1205)

This use, and the next, at 4.1270, appear in the poet’s famous digression concerning sex at the end of Book 4.\textsuperscript{151} In this passage, Lucretius argues that women also take pleasure during sex; his argument primarily concerns women (1192-1196; cf. \textit{gaudia 1196}),\textsuperscript{152} but he proves this by analogy with the actions of female animals (\textit{volucres armenta feraque / et pecudes et equae 1197-1198}), who not only do not resist mating, but participate

\begin{quote}

\textsuperscript{149} Cf. Duval (2004, 138) on the signification of \textit{laetus} as \textit{laetificus}, “à la fois cause de joie et effet de joie” (where she also quotes \textit{DRN 1.195}). On the domestication of animals as bringing pleasure, associated with \textit{laetus}, see Shelton (1996, 54).

\textsuperscript{150} Or, phrased another way: Leonard/Smith (1942, \textit{ad 3.894}) writes, on \textit{laeta domus}: “perhaps in the sense of being prosperous.”

\textsuperscript{151} On sex in Lucretius, see Brown (1987, 36-38, 62-69, and 122-127, esp. 126-127); see Brown 123, n.64 for bibliography on Roman attitudes toward sexual practices.

\textsuperscript{152} Cf. Duval (2004, 34-52) on \textit{gaudium} as referring to sex and physical pleasure.
equally in the act. Many aspects of laeta may be found in its use here: fertility; physical pleasure, in the context of communia gaudia (1195-1196) and voluptas (1201); “willingness” or “cheerfulness” in performing a duty; agitation, excitement, and intensity (ardet abundans 1199, salientum 1200, retractat 1200); in addition to the personification of animals, as feeling “joy.”

The same phrase, laeta retractat, in the same line as Venus’ name, appears at the next instance, at 4.1270:

nec molles opus sunt motus uxoribus hilum.

nam mulier prohibet se concipere atque repugnat,
clunibus ipsa viri Venerem si laeta retractat 1270
atque exossato ciet omni pectore¹⁵⁶ fluctus;
eicit enim sulcum recta regione viaque
vomeris atque locis avertit seminis ictum. (4.1268-1273)

¹⁵³ See Brown (1987, ad 1200) for a discussion of the history of the interpretation of retractat. Laeta, then, at 1200, does not modify natura, but as a substantive adjective modifies the female animal imagined; that these are animals, and not people, is supported by the immediately following example of dogs (1201-1207, although the line numbering is in question and these may be out of order).

¹⁵⁴ On “willingness,” see my discussions of Aen. 8.544 and 5.236.

¹⁵⁵ Brown (1987, ad 1200) concurs that laeta is matched by salientum, describing the male animals; he cites Ovid, Ars 2.485 (laeta salitur ovis, tauro quoque laeta iuvenca est). There is strong emphasis on the agitation and movement, rather than pleasure per se. On Lucretius’ depiction of sex in both a positive and negative light, see Brown (1987, 65-67); Brown notes gaudia at 1196 and 1206, and voluptas at 1201 and 1208. “For a peace-loving Epicurean, the experience of sex is presumably too turbulent and overwhelming to be welcomed without reservation. Nevertheless, it can still be a source of pleasure to both partners and, despite the disparaging image of bonds, pleasure is the keynote of the paragraph” (67).

¹⁵⁶ The manuscripts’ pectore may be emended to corpore since, as Clausen (1963, 415) writes, “a woman undulates not with her whole breast but with her whole body.” See Clausen (1963) and Godwin (1986, ad 4.1271).
The repetition of *laeta retractat* and Venus’ name\(^{157}\) recalls the wording at 1200; the content, however, is opposite.\(^{158}\) The animal described as *laeta* at 1200 “pushes back” against the male during sex as a willing participant, but the woman described as *laeta* at 1270 moves in such a way (for her own pleasure?) that inhibits conception.\(^{159}\)

In the instance at 1270, only the use of *laeta* indicates the physical pleasure in sex on the part of the woman; Lucretius does not otherwise explicitly write that the woman moves her body in such a way to increase (or effect) it. Rather, he writes, she moves in this way only so that she may not conceive (1269).\(^{160}\) This remark appears in Lucretius’ discussion of the best sexual position for the purposes of conception;\(^{161}\) *laeta*, used often

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\(^{157}\) We must not forget here the proem of the work dedicated to Venus, and the context of the whole work in fertility, effected and represented by Venus.

\(^{158}\) Cf. Brown (1987, 367): “The reminiscence [of 1200] involves Lucretius in a slight contradiction, for if it is natural for female animals—the paradigms of fertility—to participate actively in sex, then why not for women? No doubt it is a question of degree.”

\(^{159}\) Fitzgerald (1984, 81) writes, on 4.1270: “We may note that the phrase *laeta retractat* (1270), signifying the woman’s withdrawal accompanying her diversion of the man’s thrust, is used earlier in this book (1200) to indicate the real pleasure that the female (animal or human) experiences in lovemaking; and a similar phrase, *blandaque refrenat morsus admixta voluptas* (1085), refers to the mitigation of potential violence by sexual pleasure.” In response to Bailey (1947, *ad loc.*), who interprets *retractat* as “shuns” or “accepts reluctantly”: “I think that Lucretius is punning here, and that the woman’s withdrawal is connected with the desire to feel again (*re-tractare*) the man’s thrust. Seven lines earlier we have the phrase *tractetur blanda voluptas* (1263) which sets up the pun” (Fitzgerald 1984, 81, n.22).

\(^{160}\) This is what prostitutes do, so that they might not become pregnant and may continue to ply a more profitable trade by being more desirable to men, their clients (*idque sua causa consuerunt scorta moveri / ne complerentur crebro gravidaeque iacerent / et simul ipsa viris Venus ut concinnior esset 1274-1276*). For a pessimistic reading of gender structures and sex in Lucretius, see Nugent (1994). For a positive reading, see Nussbaum (2009).

\(^{161}\) *nam more ferarum / quadrupedumque magis ritu plerumque putantur / concipere uxoros, quia sic loca sumere possunt, / pectoribus positis, sublatis semina lumbis* (1264-
like a *gaud-* family adjective in Lucretius (and therefore referring to physical pleasure, like *gaudium*), can refer to physical pleasure, but the emphasis of this section is on fertility. *Laeta* here also refers to the quality of the movement: the word implies forcefulness, if not violence; excited action, rather than subdued feeling. Cf. 2.631 above, and my Chapter IV.1 on *laetitia* in the *Aeneid*.

There are three instances of *laet-* in Book 5; those at 5.921 and 5.1372 refer straightforwardly to fertility; on the “strongly positive” vocabulary used to describe the landscape at 1372, see Gale (2007, *ad* 1372).¹⁶² The last use of the *laet-* stem appears at 5.1400; the *laet-* stem does not appear in Book 6.¹⁶³

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Rouse (1975) translates 1399-1400 as, “Then they would wreathe head and shoulders with woven garlands of flowers and leaves, prompted by joyful playfulness.”

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¹⁶² Cf. Segal (1990, 211) on “sweet” language in this passage. Campbell (2003, *ad* 5.921) on *fruges arbustaque laeta*, writes, “a phrase with a Golden Age feel, used in book two in atomic arguments, often associated with the Earth-Mother and creation: on the creative power of the Earth-Mother [2.594], on the ability of the atoms to combine in different ways, and so to produce ‘*humanum genus et fruges arbustaque laeta*’ (2.699), in the context of the *hieros gamos* to stress the endless recycling of the atoms [2.994].”

¹⁶³ I have no theory as to why the three uses in Book 5 are so different from the uses elsewhere in Lucretius (especially considering the preponderance of “agricultural” uses in the first four books, and their absence here), or why the *laet-* stem is absent from Book 6.
(Leonard/Smith 1942, ad 5.1400, capitalizes Lascivia, and translates Lascivia laeta as “frolic Mirth.”) This passage comes in the history of mankind, following the discussion of the invention of song and music; it reminds us of the idealized rustic settings in pastoral poetry (cf. Gale 2009, ad 1390-1404).164 This passage very clearly indicates personal, positive emotion on the part of people rejoicing in laughter, song, and dance. This use of laeta has the context of both “joy” and movement (vigebat 1398, movebat 1400, moventes 1401, etc.). The word often has the context of festivity in the Aeneid as well (cf. my discussion of laetus in feasts, and its association with Bacchus, at 1.734).

I.6.3: Catullus

There are fourteen instances of the laet- stem (forms of laetus, laetari, and laetitia) in the Catullan corpus. They appear at 9.11, 31.4, 46.8, 61.8, 64.33, 64.119, 64.141, 64.221, 64.236, 64.325, 64.393, 66.75, 76.22, and 83.2. These describe emotion rather than the “fertility” or “luxuriance” associated with plants. In Catullus, unlike Vergil, many of these instances appear in the voice of the poet-speaker; where laetus and related words appear in the polymetrics and epigrams, the poet-speaker describes emotion, particularly his own emotion. That is to say, in these instances, laetus is not

164 Gale (2009, ad 1401-1402) cites Horace, Carm. 3.18.15-16, gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor / ter pede terram, a description of dancing; Horace’s use of gaudet there, whereas Lucretius uses laeta, is revealing.

165 There is a textual problem at 64.119 affecting the laet- word; see my discussion below.
applied by the narrator. (In the *Aeneid* we may compare the instances in a character’s speech, or those in Aeneas’ narration in Books 2 and 3.)

Catullus employs certain vocabulary of positive personal emotion alongside *laetus* that both lends context to the word and makes the specific meaning of *laetus* more difficult to discern; in particular, Catullus uses *beatus* and *gaudium* a great deal. In the *Aeneid* Vergil employs *beatus* only twice (at 1.94 and 6.639); the latter use, in Book 6, describes the place in the underworld where the blessed souls reside, right alongside a use of *laetus*, and there it is very difficult to distinguish between the two (*devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta / fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas* 6.638-639). In poem 9, Catullus uses *laetus* once, but *beatus* three times in that poem alone (see below).

In the polymetric poems, forms of *laetus* appear three times. In the instance at 9.11, on the return home of his friend Veranius, the speaker appears to use *laetius* to indicate the emotional reaction to the state of good fortune expressed by *beati* (5), *beatorum* (10), and *beatus* (11) (*o quantum est hominum beatiorum, / quid me laetius est beatusve?* 10-11). Given that the topic of the poem is the speaker’s excitement at the safe return of his friend, however, the use at 9.11 is similar to *Aen.* 5.283 (Aeneas as *laetus* at the safe return of friends) and resembles the use of *laetus* in the *Aeneid*

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describing an individual’s feeling of elation after receiving good news about the immediate future (cf. *visam* 6, *audiam* 6, *suaviabor* 9).^{168}

Both the instance at 9.11 and that at 31.4 (*paene insularum, Sirmio... / quam te libenter quamque laetus inviso* 1-4) are precipitated by a change: here, coming home to Sirmio (in safety: *in tuto* 6). In the *Aeneid* *laetus* is very often applied to an individual who has experienced a positive change of circumstances. The language of “willingness” in such a situation (*libenter* 4) is common to Catullus and Vergil as well; *laetus* is associated with *libens* particularly in sacrificial settings both in the *Aeneid* and in inscriptions.^{169} Poem 31, like poem 9, contains further vocabulary of positive emotion (*beatius* 7; *gaude* 12; *gaudente* 13).^{170} At 46.8 (*iam mens praetrepidans avet vagari, / iam laeti studio pedes vigescunt* 7-8), *laeti* indicates not only physical health alongside the coming of spring, but also the excitement (*mens praetrepidans*, etc.) for setting out on a journey (not unlike 1.35, 4.295, etc. in the *Aeneid*).^{171}

In the epigrams *laetitia* appears twice. At 76.22 (*quae mihi subrepens imos ut torpor in artus / expulit ex omni pectore laetitias* 21-22) *laetitias* apparently refers to what in Duval should be the province of *gaudium*: internal emotion, associated with the body (cf. *artus* 21, *pectore* 22, etc.). This use is foreign to Vergil’s use of the noun

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^{168} Or, more generally, this shows the same association of *laetus* with arriving (and setting out) on journeys as Vergil employs in the *Aeneid*. Putnam (1961, 182-184) demonstrates Catullus’ use of *laetus* in situations of setting out and arriving, including this poem.

^{169} On the connection between *laetus* and *libens*, both in offerings in the *Aeneid* and votive inscriptions, see my discussion of *laetus* at *Aen*. 8.544. On the coordination of the adverb with the adjective here, see Fordyce (1961, *ad* 34.4).


^{171} Cf. the translation of Fordyce (ad 46.7), “aflutter with anticipation.”
laetitia (and Vergil does not employ it in the plural).\footnote{At 83.2 (Lesbia mi praesente viro mala plurima dicit / haec illi fatuo maxima laetitia est 1-2) laetitia appears to indicate a simple, straightforward feeling of pleasure, or “joy.” The intense physicality of the use of the noun laetitia in the Aeneid is absent. At both 76.22 and 83.2, the physical intensity associated with laetitia in the Aeneid (which is not so much “joy” as “exhilaration”) is absent. In 83 this “joy” is a rather unconsidered, or thoughtless pleasure (fatuo 2; mule, nihil sentis 3, etc.).\footnote{On the use of the mule as an image of stupidity, see Fordyce (ad 83.3). Fordyce translates haec laetitia est as “this is sheer delight to him.”}}

In the carmina maiora, laetus appears twice outside poem 64. Laetus at 61.8\footnote{On poem 61, see esp. Thomsen (1992), and Fedeli (1983). On the description of Hymen as a young bride, 26-27). On laetus here as “come glad,” see Thomsen (1992, 100).} appears in an imperative addressed to Hymen, indicating how he should come (propitious, willing) and be present at the ritual on his behalf, a marriage.\footnote{For a list of laetus or libens in similar, religious-oriented passages in Augustan poets, see Thomson (1997, ad 61.8). Cf. Thomsen (1992, 100, n.33).} In the Aeneid, the individual described as laetus is the one who performs the ritual act; see my discussion of Aen. 5.236. The instance at 66.75\footnote{non his tam laetor rebus, quam me afore semper, afore me a dominae vertice discrucior, 75 resembles the use of laetor in Aen.} resembles the use of laetor in Aen.

\footnote{However, the use of laetitias at 76.22 may have some reference to expectation for the future, as it does in Vergil; in poem 76, the speaker makes multiple references to hopes for the future (5, 10-12, 17-18, 25), and the action of lines 21-22 appear to be the cause for the speaker’s hopelessness.}

\footnote{o Hymen Hymenae; / cinge tempora floribus / suave olentis amaraci, / flammeum cape laetus, huc / huc veni (61.4-9). On poem 61, see esp. Thomsen (1992), and Fedeli (1983). On the invocation to Hymen at the beginning of 61, see Fedeli (1983, 17-36; on the description of Hymen as a young bride, 26-27). On laetus here as “come glad,” see Thomsen (1992, 100).}
11.280. The parallel of *afore... discrucior* (“I do not rejoice in these things, as much as I am tortured that I *will be* separated from her...”) indicates that the speaker is considering present emotion in light of expectation for the future (although *his rebus*, 75, implies that the emotion of *laetor* has primarily to do with present circumstances).\(^{177}\) I consider the relationship of the emotion to the individual’s perspective on the future to be a hallmark of the Vergilian use of *laet-* family words.


Laetus appears six or seven times in Poem 64, perhaps half of the fourteen uses in the entire corpus, and these uses are rather similar to those in the *Aeneid*.\(^{178}\) Generally, the uses in poem 64 “look forward,” in that they are associated with hope (usually hope of good things to come in marriage). Therefore they show a personal joy in the present that comes from high expectations for the future (as in the *Aeneid*).\(^{179}\) I cite the language of hope and expectation (*optare*, *spes*, etc.) to demonstrate this in both the *Aeneid* and Catullus 64.

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quicum ego, dum virgo quondam fuit omnibus expers unguentis, una milia multa bibli. (66.75-78)

\(^{177}\) On the reference to the future in Cat. 66.77-78, see Arkins (1986, 39).


\(^{179}\) I will not discuss the instance at 64.119 due to the corruption of the text in that line. The mss. read *leta*; Lachmann originally suggested *laetabatur*, which is most commonly accepted by editors today. Thomson prints *laetabatur*; *lamentata* and *lamentatur* have also been suggested. If, however, *laetabatur* is the correct reading, this use would accord with my understanding of *laet-* in Vergil as indicating a joy juxtaposed with future sadness: in these lines Ariadne laments the loved ones she left behind for Theseus, one of whom was her mother (*quae misera in gnata deperdita laeta<batur>*>, Thomson 64.119).
At 64.33, the description of the crowd coming together, to witness the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, closely resembles the instance at Aen. 5.107 (where the Sicilians gather to watch the games for Anchises) and, to a lesser extent 1.707, where the Tyrians gather for Dido’s feast. Cat. 64.30-32 also closely resembles Aen. 5.104-105, where the expectata dies (104) recalls Catullus’ optatae luces (31) (which themselves are recalled at laeta luce 325). At 64.141 Ariadne, speaking, describes her own disappointment at her failed relationship with Theseus.

\[\text{at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti}\
\text{voce mihi, non haec miserae sperare iubebas,}\
\text{sed conubia \textit{laeta}, sed optatos hymenaeos,}\
\text{quae cuncta aereii discerpunt irrita venti. (64.139-142)}\]

Hope and anticipation are again present in sperare (140), optatos (141), etc. This instance therefore also follows Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sensibility for \textit{laetus} in the

\[\text{180 quae simul optatae finito tempore luces}\
\text{advenere, domum conventu tota frequentat}\
\text{Thessalia, oppletur \textit{laetanti} regia coetu:}\
\text{dona ferunt prae se, declarant gaudia vultu. (64.31-34)}\]

\[\text{181 exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena}\
\text{Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant,}\
\text{famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae}\
\text{excierat; \textit{laeto} compleverat litora coetu}\
\text{visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati. (Aen. 5.104-108)}\
\text{R.D. Williams (1960, \textit{ad loc.}) compares Aen. 5.104-107 with Cat. 64.31-33.}\]

\[\text{182 nec non et Tyrii per limina \textit{laeta} frequentes}\
\text{convenere, toris iussi discumbere pictis. (Aen. 1.707-708)}\]

\[\text{183 Thomson (1997, \textit{ad 31}) writes, “Optatus is a word appropriated by Catullus almost invariably to themes of marriage.” (Cf. Gaisser 1995, 612.) Fordyce (\textit{ad loc.}), Arkins (1986, 37), and others comment on the reference of Aen. 4.316 (\textit{per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te... per conubia laeta, per inceptos hymenaeos... miserere domus labentis 4.314-318}) to this line. As in the Aeneid, \textit{laetus} is contrasted with \textit{miser}. The}\]
Aeneid, in which the use of the word is full of tragic irony. Ariadne as speaker, speaking after the fact, contrasts her past hopes with her present disappointment.

The same tragic irony might apply to the next instance, that at 64.221 (the words of Theseus’ father: *non ego te gaudens laetanti pectore mittam*). This passage combines much forward-looking vocabulary and many future tense verbs, but the correspondence of *gaudens* and *laetanti* is too close to separate the use of one from the other.\(^{184}\) The next appearance of a *laet-* family word is nearly identical and appears in the same speech, at 64.236 (*quam primum cernens ut laeta gaudia mente*), but there the source of the pleasure more clearly looks forward to the future, as often in the *Aeneid*.\(^{185}\) The use of *gaudere* and *gaudium* is closely associated with the *laet-* stem in Catullus 64; in addition

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\(^{184}\) However, the use of *laetanti* to modify *pectore* indicates that these two words are not divided according to Duval’s interior/exterior reading. On 221, Thomson (1997) notes that manuscript O has *lectanti*.

\(^{185}\) Regarding the instance at 236: Aegeus had requested that his son put up a white sail upon his safe return, and he will welcome his son *laeta mente* at Theseus’ return. Cf. Putnam (1961, 184): “The poet means that upon his son’s return the life of the old man will again become prosperous and livable. For this reason when, in the lines which follow, Aegeus thinks that Theseus no longer lives, he takes his own life.” For the debate on the meaning of *gaudia* here, see Thomson (1997, ad 236). Fordyce (ad 221) gives other examples of “pleonasm” in Catullus, implying there is no distinction between *gaudere* and *laetari* there. Godwin (1995, ad 236) suggests that *laeta* and *gaudia* are “juxtaposed for emphasis.”
to 221 and 236, gaudia appears to explain the use of laetanti at 33, where the crowd expresses their joy visibly (declarant gaudia vultu).\textsuperscript{186}

There is also in Catullus the connection of laetus with religion; cf. laeta luce (64.325), “on an auspicious day,” to which Garrison compares 66.90 (festis luminumibus), with reference to the Fates’ telling the events of the future.\textsuperscript{187} Perhaps the instance of laeti at 64.393\textsuperscript{188} appears because of its association with religion and propitiation of a god; it may also be related to Bacchus himself, as are the instances at Aen. 1.636, 1.732, and 1.734.

\textsuperscript{186} This distinction between the use of the laet- stem and the use of the gaud- stem would accord with Duval’s (and Cicero’s) understanding of the two as showing “exterior” versus “interior” emotion. See Introduction, above. Cf. Fitzgerald (1995, 151-152).

\textsuperscript{187} accipe, quod laeta tibi pandunt luce sorores, / veridicum oraclum (325-326). Laetus is rather often connected with the word dies, and a specific time, in the Aeneid; cf. Aen. 1.732.

\textsuperscript{188} saepe vagus Liber Parnasi vertice summo Thyiadas effusis evantis crinibus egit, cum Delphi tota certatim ex urbe ruentes acciperent laeti divum fumantibus aris. (64.390-393)

On the variants lacti and leti, and the preference for laeti, see Thomson (1997, \textit{ad loc}.).
CHAPTER TWO: “FORWARD-LOOKING” LAETUS IN THE AENEID

In this dissertation I argue that laetus (and, to a lesser extent, its relatives) in the Aeneid, when it indicates emotion, “looks forward”: it indicates a positive emotion in the present based on an expectation of future pleasure, rather than the current enjoyment of present pleasure. This emotion is more properly “hope” or “optimism” than “happiness.” I also demonstrate that the laetus-emotion is a short-lived emotion, prompted by an event immediately prior, and that this emotion is vivid, intense, and exciting. In these ways, the laetus-emotion contains jubilation and exultation as well as “hope”; therefore perhaps the best expression for communicating the laetus-emotion is “hopeful joy.”

In Chapter Two, I cite and discuss the forty instances of the adjective laetus in the Aeneid, outside Book 5, that appear to show this “forward-looking” sensibility.\(^\text{189}\) I have noticed some trends in use of the adjective laetus, and I discuss instances of the word in groups according to these trends, although I do not consider these groupings limiting, or exclusive.\(^\text{190}\) I discuss instances together because I believe a direct comparison between

\(^{189}\) For the instances in Book 5, see Chapter III.

\(^{190}\) I discuss the following instances in the following groups, subsections in this chapter: setting out on a journey (1.35, 1.554, 4.140, 4.295, 4.418); arriving at a destination (3.524, 7.36, 7.130); battle (2.260, 2.395, 2.417, 7.430, 8.171, 9.157, 10.643, 10.738, 10.787, 11.238, 12.616); prayer (2.687, 3.169, 3.178, 6.193, 7.147, 7.259, 8.268, 8.279,
members of the group improves our understanding of each individual instance. For the same reason, however, I could have discussed them according to the book in which they appear, the individual to whom the adjective is applied, etc. I discuss the instances I think best illustrate each “trend” at the beginning of each respective section; toward the end I discuss instances that seem more tangentially related, but may still benefit from a reading with others in that section.

II.1: Setting out on a Journey

I begin with “setting out,” with the instances of laetus that describe an individual at the beginning of a journey; such people are full of expectation for the future. I discuss five instances under this heading; the first two, at 4.295 and 4.418, describe Aeneas’ men as they make preparations, eager to leave Carthage and set out for Italy; the next, at 1.35, describes Aeneas’ men as they first set out from Sicily; the fourth, at 1.554, describes Aeneas’ men in conditional terms, should they find Aeneas alive and set out for Italy; the last, at 4.140, describes Iulus about to set out on the hunt. Laetus expresses the exhilaration of adventure, freedom, and newly restored hope in the future (and for Aeneas’ men, hope that this will be their last trip by sea).

There are only three instances of the laet- stem in Book 4; two instances, at 4.295 and 4.418, both describe Aeneas’ men, laeti at the prospect of leaving Carthage and

8.544, 8.617, 8.681, 10.874); and founding (1.275, 1.503, 3.133, 7.288, 8.311). I discuss a handful of other uses in the last section (1.732, 9.89, 10.15, 11.42).
continuing on their journey to Italy. At 4.295 the men are described as *laeti* following Mercury’s visit with Aeneas, who then gives the command to make preparations to leave in silence:

*dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes
imperio *laeti* parent et iussa facessunt.*

c295

*at regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
praesensit, motusque except prima futuros
omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti (4.291-298)*

The men are excited for action, movement, change, and for the journey itself (cf. 4.100 *fugae studio*).\(^{191}\) They have remained obediently in Carthage, but as Clausen (2002, 83) notes, “There is only a hint of their suppressed discontent in the cheerful readiness with which they obey his secret order to prepare the fleet for departure.” The emphasis in these lines is the contrast between the outlook of the men and that of Dido, both in terms of the

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\(^{191}\) Servius (ad loc.) comments: *laeti alacres, festini.* Servius often uses *alacer* to explain the use of *laetus*; he glosses *laetus* as *alacer* at the instances of *laetus* at 1.35 (where he quotes the instance at 2.417 as proof), 1.275, 4.295, 5.100 (in his note on 5.101), and 7.430. Servius refers in each instance to energy or excitement; aside from *alacer* in these notes he explains the use of *laetus* with *velox* (1.35) and *festinus* (4.295 above; 7.430). That is, Servius does not associate *alacer* (or *laetus*, in these instances) with *gaudium*, etc.; in these instances the positive emotion is not the primary force of the word (cf. 7.430n.: *laetus alacer, festinus: nam laetari non poterat qui perdebat uxorem*). At 12.339, Servius glosses *alacer as laetus*—where Turnus rages on the battlefield; that appearance of *alacer* would be very much at home among the instances of *laetus* associated with battle (e.g. 10.643; see Chapter II.3, below). At 3.189 Servius glosses *ovantes* (describing the excited response of Aeneas and his men to Anchises’ direction to Italy, following the appearance of the Penates to Aeneas) as *alacres*, and this too reflects the use of *laetus* in response to a welcome omen or prophecy (in that passage, the instances of *laetus* at 3.169 and 3.178; see Chapter II.4, below). As an interesting side note: Donatus, commenting on Terence’s *Eunuchus* (ad 304), writes, *alacritas est mutatio quaedam vultus gestientis in spem aliquam*, which is very nearly a concise expression of my arguments for *laetus* in this dissertation.
content of the expectation—the men look forward to moving on, whereas Dido would not have anticipated their leaving (tantos rumpi non speret amores 292)—and the emotion associated with each. On the part of the men the expectation is positive as it is one of change for the better, but Dido is devastated and afraid (motusque exceptit prima futuros / omnia tuta timens 297-298). TCD contrasts Aeneas’ men in particular with Aeneas himself. The vocabulary of fear is important; fear (the anticipation of negative events in the future) is the opposite of hope.

Nelis (2001, 155-157) discusses the Homeric and Apollonian antecedents for this scene: for example, Jupiter’s sending Mercury recalls Zeus’ sending Hermes to ensure that Odysseus leaves Calypso (Od. 5.1-262), and Thetis’ visiting Peleus to prepare for the Argonauts’ departure from Aeaea (Arg. 4.757-769). Nelis (157) argues that Mercury’s direct approach of Aeneas is an Apollonian influence, a reference to Thetis’ direct approach of Peleus in Arg. 4, and he compares laeti at Aen. 4.295 to περιγηθέες at Arg. 4.888, the description of the Argonauts as they joyfully leave Aeaea.

Pease, in discussing this instance, also connects the appearance of laetus to the act of setting out: “The adjective [laeti] several times expresses the delight of the Trojans in

192 On the connection between amare and sperare with regard to Dido’s emotions, see Rieks (1989, 168-169).

193 Cf. Nelis (2001, 155): “The rapid unfolding of these events increases their tragic impact: the reversal of Dido’s fortunes follows at once upon the consummation of her love.” For a psychological portrait of Aeneas in this scene, see Laird (1999, 168-170).

194 Cf. TCD (ad loc.): solus Aeneas invitus cogebatur ad navigandum, quā commorandi solus habuit causam. Cf. the discussion of Pease, and his use of TCD, below.

making progress toward their goal, especially in starting again after a rest; cf. 1,35; 1,554; 4,418; 5,34.”

At 4.418 Dido describes to Anna the preparations being made by the Trojans on her shores:

> Anna, vides toto properari litore circum: undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras, puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas. hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum exsequere, Anna, mihi; solam nam perfidus ille te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus; sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras. (4.416-424)

This instance of *laetus* is the one closest in the text to that at 4.295: the same people are described as *laetus*, in the same situation, for the same reason. The former appears in the narrative, and the latter in a character’s speech. As at 4.295, Dido’s own expectations for the future and her emotion are contrasted with those of the men eagerly setting out (hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, / et perferre, soror, potero 419-420).

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196 Pease (1935, *ad laeti*, 275-276) writes, “The joy of the Trojans contrasts with the perplexity of their leader, somewhat as the interests of Dido and those of her subjects run in different directions (4,467; 4,545)… The adjective [laeti] several times expresses the delight of the Trojans in making progress toward their goal, especially in starting again after a rest; cf. 1,35; 1,554; 4,418; 5,34… We may also see the joy of a force at getting to sea again after an interruption of their journey; cf. Ov. *M.* 16,695.” He also cites TCD: *laeti autem hoc faciebant qua contra voluntatem apud Carthaginem tenebantur.*

197 Since fear is the opposite of hope, it is appropriate that Servius here comments: *et laeti nautae id est, aut minime timentes, aut adeo non necessitate nec iussu abeunt, sed volentes.*

198 Pease (1935, *ad 418*) writes, “The rejoicing is that of the Trojans rather than of Aeneas, who, it has been clearly indicated, departs with an inward struggle rather than with unmixed joy… the line is repeated from *G.* 1,304, where, as usually, the ceremony takes place after port has been reached (either in thanksgiving or… to avert the evil eye),
Throughout this speech Dido asserts that she will die when Aeneas leaves (cumulatam morte remittam 436).\(^\text{199}\) For Apollonian models for this exchange between Dido and Anna, see Nelis (2001, 165); Dido’s speech to Anna here recalls Medea’s request of Arete for Alcinous’ help at Arg. 4.1014-1028.

The simile of the ants (402-407), in which the Trojans’ zeal for preparation is compared to that of ants storing up food for winter, is relevant: the ants also act out of a concern for the future (memores hiemis 403).\(^\text{200}\)

I call the use of laetus at 4.418 “correlative” with that at 4.295, and the relationship between these two uses is parallel to the relationship between other pairs of instances in the Aeneid. For my purposes I am identifying “correlative” instances as two appearances of the laet- stem (typically in adjectival form), to refer to the same people, in the same context, identified as laetus for the same reason. These “correlative” appearances often occur fewer than 50 lines apart, and most often consist of a pair, of which one appears in a character’s speech, and the other in the narrative.\(^\text{201}\)

\(^\text{199}\) Cf. Highet (1972, 137-138). Not all agree, however; see O’Hara (2011, ad 4.419), and on Dido’s whole speech, see Schiesaro (2008).

\(^\text{200}\) On the ant simile here, see esp. Casali (1999, 207-208; cf. fn. 13: “the imagery of the sacking army looks forward to the Trojans’ descendants”). Grant (1969, 384-386) compares the ant simile to the bee simile of Book 1 and its precursor, the bee simile at Geo. 4.156-157.

\(^\text{201}\) The “correlative” instances I have identified in the Aeneid appear at 3.169 and 3.178, 4.295 and 4.418 (to be further associated with the instance at 5.34), 5.58 and 5.100, 7.130 and 7.147, 8.268 and 8.279, and 8.544 and 8.617. This trend ought to inform our interpretation of other instances as well; given that one of the two uses appears in a character’s speech, and the other is used by the narrator (as a sort of “objective” support for the character’s words), we may notice when the narrator fails to respond to a
character’s speech, if it is the first of the pair, is usually prescriptive (as in, an imperative); the second of the pair is then descriptive. The coincidence of two uses in the same situation reinforces the use of the adjective laetus, and implies consistency in use on the part of the author, whether or not it is immediately clear why that adjective was chosen. I believe that this “correlative” function informs our reading particularly of instances that appear in a character’s speech: the character’s use of the word is corroborated by the narrator’s use, describing the same people, in the same situation, who are described as laetus for the same reason. This “correlative” use elsewhere in the Aeneid also strengthens the argument that line 4.418 is appropriate and belongs in the text, as it responds to the instance of laetus at 4.295.202

The idea that “setting out” and “arrival” (see Chapter II.2) are consistent, and likely related, prompts for the “joy” expressed by laetus in Vergil is supported by the connection between Aen. 4.418 and Geo. 1.304, as the line is identical. The first instances of laetus describing people in the Georgics appear at 1.301 and 1.304:

nudus ara, sere nudus. hiems ignava colono:
frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur
mutuaque inter se laeti convivia curant.
invitat genialis hiems curasque resoluit,

character’s use of laetus in speech. For example, at 9.157, Turnus, in advance of battle, orders his men to prepare, laeti, but the narrator does not also describe them in this way. The next instance of the laet- stem appears at 9.637, where it is the Trojans who respond to Ascanius’ killing of Numanus: laetitiaque fremunt animosque ad sidera tollunt. I also consider the instance at 6.718 (Anchises to Aeneas: “I tell you these things so you might all the more rejoice (quo magis laetere) when you find Italy”) to have a special relationship with that at 7.36 (Aeneas and his men described as laeti on arriving in Italy); for more on this pair, see my discussion of 6.718.

202 Contrast Servius’ assertion (agreeing with Probus) that it would be better if 4.418 were omitted entirely. Cf. Conington (1898, ad loc.) and Servius (ad loc.).
ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae,
puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas. (Geo. 1.299-304)\textsuperscript{203}

The first instance, at 301, is a description of farmers who have respite from the chores that run so long during the summer months (as Thomas notes, the real relaxation happens for the farmers at 2.523-540).\textsuperscript{204} The context of personal emotion is established by such words as fruuntur, convivia, genialis, and curas resoluit. The instance at 304 is more interesting: in the Aeneid the sailors are laetus with hope and excitement for the future, for leaving Carthage to make their way toward their ultimate destination in Italy.\textsuperscript{205} The activity in Geo. 1.304 is very much the opposite: the sailors are laeti as they arrive at port, safe from winter storms (and not to leave port until the weather improves in Spring).\textsuperscript{206} The reason for being laeti at Geo. 1.304, then, is relief, and anticipation of a time of rest.\textsuperscript{207}

Rieks (1989, 201), regarding 1.35, notes the disjunction between the use of the same word, laetus, to describe the Trojans’ emotion, in setting out (1.35) and returning

\textsuperscript{203} I discuss this passage from the Georgics in greater detail in my chapter on laetus in the Georgics (Chapter V.1-5).

\textsuperscript{204} R. Thomas (1988, ad 300-304) notes the repetition and chiasmus (agricolae... laeti... laeti... nautae) in these lines, and argues that Vergil here as elsewhere likens farming to sailing; see also at his note on 1.50 (76-77). Cf. Conington (ad 303): “Winter is to [the farmers] what port is to the sailor, the jovial end of a weary time.”

\textsuperscript{205} As Clausen (2002, 83, n.22) notes, “Ships were ordinarily garlanded not on departure but on arrival… Virgil likes to reuse his own poetry, and does so here to indicate the joy of Aeneas’ men on leaving Carthage.” Cf. O’Hara (2011, ad loc.).

\textsuperscript{206} Mynors (1990, ad 303f.) writes, “The sailors have brought a valuable cargo home, hence their joy; we hope the coloni have filled their barns.”

\textsuperscript{207} Mynors (1990, ad 304) writes, “V. is thinking of the general merry-making of winter, when it is possible to find time for relaxation.”
(5.34) to the same place (Sicily) and considers this part of the poet’s skill, and an intended connection. The appearance of *laetus* at 1.35, the first in the *Aeneid*, describes Aeneas’ men as they begin a journey—and not any general journey, but one toward Italy, at a point in the narrative where the Trojans know Italy is their fated destination:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum} \\
\text{vela dabant *laeti*, et spumas salis aere ruebant,} \\
\text{cum Iuno, aeternum servans sub pectore volnus,} \\
\text{haec secum: mene incepto desistere victam (1.34-37)}
\end{align*}
\]

In line 35 is the first mention of Aeneas’ band of men in the epic; *laeti* describes them as they first set out from Sicily, about to be blown off course by Aeolus, to land soon at Carthage. This passage is full of newness and excitement: Aeneas’ men, just having left Sicily (*vix… telluris*), enter the expanse of the sea (*in altum*), unfurl their sails, and acquire speed (35). At this point the Trojans know they should set out for Italy and believe that their current trip will take them there. Their emotion is contrasted not only with Juno’s foul mood but also her insistence on recalling the past (*servans aeternum volnus* 36). Immediately following the appearance of the Trojans, at 36, the focus moves from Aeneas’ men to Juno and her exchange with Aeolus. The next mention of the Trojans is a description of them in pain, suffering from Aeolus’ action (87–123).

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208 Rieks (1989, 201) characterizes the Trojans’ emotions as “freudige Erwartung” on the occasion of the expected last leg of their journey.


210 For more on the contrast between the emotions of the Trojans and Juno, see Kühn (1971, 13).

211 Cf. Servius (*ad laeti*): *vel alacres vel veloces, ut est* (2.417) *et laetus Eois Eurus equis;*
From the beginning of the work Juno is characterized as obsessive over the past: at line 4, she is described as *memorem* (cf. *memor* 23); lines 23-28 concern Juno’s anger at the slight of the judgment of Paris and Jupiter’s preference of Ganymede.\textsuperscript{212} The context, however, is not simply one of the past but the contrast of past with future; the poet points to Juno’s awareness of the prophecy that the Trojans’ descendants will overthrow Carthage (19-22). My understanding that Juno’s emotion is meant to contrast directly with the Trojans’, on the same level, follows Feeney’s reading of the anthropomorphic characterization of the gods and their role in the epic.\textsuperscript{213}

Again the language of fear clarifies the use of *laetus*: Juno is explicitly described as fearing the Trojans’ (or Romans’) actions (*id metuens* 23). The Trojans’ positive expectations, conveyed by *laeti*, and fresh hope in setting out, stand in contrast to Juno’s intense reaction to pain from the past and pain expected in the future (*aeternam servans sub pectore volnus* 36).

\textsuperscript{212} On Juno’s frustration with both the past and future, see Feeney (1991, 131; cf. Feeney 1984). On the importance of the duality of the past and future, in thematic terms, Feeney writes, “The twin motivation of Juno’s hate fixes the time of the poem’s action in its own limbo between myth and history, moving out of the one and into the other, partaking of both and not fully involved in either. The rest of the poem will exist in the penumbra of transition which this deftness has so elegantly created, while Juno’s twin motivations will provide the poem’s main elements of structure, and its principal thematic centres of gravity” (131). The looking-forward and looking-back themes, especially as they are connected, are evident in such lines as 1.543: *at sperate vos memores fandi atque infandi* (Ilioneus to Dido).

\textsuperscript{213} 1991, esp. 134-135; contrast Williams (1983, 28ff.).
Many instances of laetus in the Aeneid appear to foreshadow the disappointment of hope. At 1.35, the sailors’ “happiness” will be followed immediately with disaster and shipwreck. Lyne (1989, 181-185), as noted earlier, refers to this anticipation of disappointment as “disaster-prone happiness” (emphasis his), and addresses it briefly; he considers in some detail the instances of the laet- stem at 1.35 (above),214 7.288 (Juno seeing Aeneas, who is laetus, building), 5.515 (the dove in the archery competition, described as laeta and immediately thereafter killed), 10.827 (Aeneas’ address of the dead Lausus: arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua), and 1.503 (the first appearance of Dido). Lyne also mentions the instances at 2.394, 1.707, 1.605, and 11.73 (although I do not agree with this characterization of the instances at 1.707 and 1.605). Lyne’s brief argument is that that which is described as laetus (throughout the Aeneid) often meets a bad end, and that Vergil creates this juxtaposition intentionally.215 However, as Lyne notes, not all individuals described with the laet- stem meet a bad end. I discuss below the passages in which Venus is described as laeta when returning to Paphos after posing as a Tyrian huntress at 1.416, and in which Acestes is laetus after his arrow catches fire in the archery competition, at 5.531. Nevertheless, Lyne omits some instances very helpful for his argument, in which laetus most poignantly anticipates disappointment (e.g. laetissima Dido at 1.685; or Latinus, laetus at 7.259, when he recognizes Aeneas as the fated one and promises to share his wealth with him). I agree with Lyne that the instance

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214 Lyne (1989) treats the instance at 1.35 on page 181. On 1.35, Austin (1971, ad loc.) agrees: “The Trojans’ delight was the last straw for Iuno, and their happiness is charged with irony.”

215 Henry (1989, 205, n.19) calls this “foolish or deluded rejoicing.”
at 1.35, being the first in the work, is programmatic, but I do not attribute to it the same amount of influence (on the reader’s reading) as he does: although 1.35 anticipates disaster, not all instances of laetus in the Aeneid do so.

The degree to which any instance of laetus anticipates disappointment or disaster for the person characterized as such is a matter of interpretation. For my part, the instances of laetus in the Aeneid that I believe do foreshadow disaster, and benefit from the consideration of such a reading, are those at 1.35, 1.503, 1.685, 1.732, 2.395, 3.133, 3.220, 3.524, 3.638, 5.515, 5.577, 5.667, 7.36, 7.259, 7.288, 7.430, 7.430, 8.171, 9.89, 9.818, 9.89, 9.157, 9.818, 10.15, 11.42, 11.73, and 12.616. (The instances I have listed here are only of forms of the adjective laetus; forms of laetor and laetitia also display this tendency, and they are discussed in their respective sections.)

The instance of laetus at 1.554, like that at 1.35 above, appears in the context of setting out for Italy:

quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem,
et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos:
si datur Italian, sociis et rege recepto,
tendere, ut Italian laeti Latiumque petamus;
sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum,
pontus habet Libyae, nec spes iam restat Iuli,
at freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas,
unde huc advecti, regemque petamus Acesthen. (1.551-558)

These are Ilioneus’ words to Dido; Ilioneus is part of the delegation sent to Dido from the ships Aeneas had thought lost in the great storm of Book 1. Ilioneus asks specifically that Dido grant asylum to the Trojans for the time being and that she not have their ships
Here *laetus* appears without much context of emotional vocabulary to help identify its use, to describe the first-person plural subjects in the hypothetical situation of their setting out for Italy and Latium.

This instance of *laetus* occurs in a rather complex sentence. Ilioneus describes two possible outcomes: if Aeneas is safe, the Trojans will continue on to Latium, *laeti*, or, if Aeneas and Ascanius have died, they will return to Acestes. This parallel structure sets up a contrast between the two outcomes controlled only by fate (as opposed to what Dido controls: *liceat* 551), and it characterizes the quality of the future with each. If Aeneas is alive, there is hope that they will continue on to Italy (projecting into the future); if not, they will return to Acestes and Sicily, a place they have already been (*unde huc advecti* 558): Ilioneus contrasts the future (Italy) with the past (Sicily). Ilioneus characterizes Aeneas’ presence as *salus* (555), necessary for Ascanius’ (and the Trojans’) future (*spes Iuli* 556).

Hope is once again contrasted with fear: if Aeneas is found alive, there will not be fear (*metus* 548). Likewise, Dido begins her response with *solvite corde metum, Teucri* (562). In the use of the vocabulary of fear, then, Dido inserts herself into the role of the Trojans’ leader (as she will offer at 572, *voltis et his mecum pariter considere regnis*): Ilioneus expresses fear that Aeneas has died (548), and Dido, without addressing the...
issue of Aeneas’ possible death, bids the Trojans to release their fear (562), since she will take care of them.\textsuperscript{218}

Rieks argues that this instance of \textit{laetus} looks forward to the joy that will be shared between Aeneas and Dido, but I find his argument unpersuasive.\textsuperscript{219}

I have discussed the instances at 4.418 and 4.295 above. The \textit{laet}- stem appears only three times in Book 4; the remaining use, at 4.140, describes Ascanius:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{218} Cf. R.K. Gibson (1999, 190-191), on Didos’s assumption of status and use of extreme gift-giving to place the Trojans in a state of loyalty and submission to her.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{219} Rieks (1989, 203-204) writes, “Indem Ilioneus, der sich ja nicht nur an Dido, sondern ebenso an den verborgen schon anwesenden Aeneas wendet, es von der Hilfe Didos und dem Überleben des Aeneas abhängig macht, ob die Troer jene Fahrtposition und die Glücksempfindung wiedererlangen können, die sie beim Aufbruch von Sizilien hatten, antizipiert er das schicksalhafte Zusammentreffen von Aeneas und Dido und läßt erneut die Grundstimmung tiefer Freude anklangen, in der sich die Begegnung der zwei seelenverwandten Heroen zunächst vollzieht.” Rieks is doing two things: reading the instances of \textit{laetus} as conversing with one another and pointing to one another, borrowing meaning from programmatic instances of the word (“ob die Troer jene Fahrtposition und die Glücksempfindung wiedererlangen können” indicates Rieks is thinking of the use of \textit{laeti} at 1.35). Rieks is also reading \textit{laetus} as referring to thematic joy, on a scale much larger than the line-by-line categorization I use. Others include \textit{gaudium} and similar vocabulary to locate “joy” in the text and compare it to instances of \textit{laetus}, and that is valid methodology, but I see no evidence in the text of “joy” between Aeneas and Dido during their time in Carthage. I therefore find Rieks’ characterization of their meeting and relationship (“antizipiert er das schicksalhafte Zusammentreffen von Aeneas und Dido und läßt erneut die Grundstimmung tiefer Freude anklangen, in der sich die Begegnung der zwei seelenverwandten Heroen zunächst vollzieht”) unfounded. Most importantly, perhaps, I do not agree with Rieks’ argument that Iliones’ use of \textit{laeti}, to modify the Trojans leaving Carthage, here, anticipates the relationship between Aeneas and Dido specifically. An argument for that would involve the use of \textit{laetus} to modify Didos’s name (e.g. at 1.685, 11.73)—but even that would be a tenuous argument at best, and Rieks does not make it. Rather, I think this instance belongs with the instances (including 1.35) in which the Trojans are described as \textit{laeti} upon setting out for their desired destination—perhaps the tension between Italy and Carthage as desired places to stay, and the heartbreak of Book 4, is referred to in the use of \textit{laetus} to refer to both the Trojans and Dido (who have very different hopes), but this is not especially relevant to the instance at 1.554. There are twelve uses of the adjective \textit{laetus} in Book 1 alone, most of which do not modify the Trojans or Dido.
\end{quote}
tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva
Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
cui pharettra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.
nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus
incidunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit. (4.136-142)

Ascanius may not be setting out for Italy, but he is looking forward to the day’s events, and because of our understanding of laetus’ use elsewhere in setting out, we may read the laetus-emotion here as excited anticipation.\(^\text{220}\) This is the day of the fateful hunt, after the conversation between Venus and Juno, in which Juno promised the marriage between Aeneas and Dido. Ascanius’ emotional state is described in greater detail when the poet returns to him at 4.156-159 (at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri / gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos, / spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis/ optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem).\(^\text{221}\) Clausen (2002, 44) describes Ascanius in this scene as “happily mounted on a spirited horse, galloping across the plain—a boy caught up in the excitement of his first hunt and riding recklessly.”

Gaudet in 157 and optat in 159 express the emotion of the scene; optat marks this use as a “forward-looking” use, as it indicates that the reason for Ascanius’ joy is eager anticipation for the hunt.\(^\text{222}\) On a grander, thematic level, the hope of the expedition also

\(^{220}\) For a fuller discussion of hunting in the Aeneid, particularly with regard to the development of Ascanius’ character, see Lyne (1987, 193-206).

\(^{221}\) Clausen (2002, 44) connects the epithet Dardanius... nepos Veneris, of Ascanius, at 4.163, to Dionysus’ epithet at Arg. 4.1134, further connecting the Dido-Aeneas “marriage” with the analogous wedding of Medea and Jason in Arg. 4. Clausen (1987, 19-25) discusses many Hellenistic antecedents for this passage; cf. Lyne (1987, 123-125).

\(^{222}\) Pease (1935, ad 156) writes, “The boyish interest of Ascanius in hunting... forms a
rests in Ascanius, as he represents the Trojans’ future (cf. Donatus, on Ascanius: \textit{in [pueris] enim futuri temporis spes praesentium factorum coniectura colligitur}).\textsuperscript{223} Merriam (2002) argues that Ascanius’ presence alone is a forewarning of disaster for the Trojans; she suggests a pattern of Ascanius’ excitement followed by disaster, exemplified first by the hunt scene here.\textsuperscript{224} Merriam argues in her conclusion (860) that Ascanius is a problematic symbol of the future of Rome—a future not too bright, perhaps.

The representation of Ascanius in the hunt in Book 4 is naturally compared with Ascanius’ role in the hunt in Book 7 (7.475ff.) that prompts the war between the Trojans and the Latins.\textsuperscript{225} If we consider Lyne’s “disaster-prone” understanding of \textit{laetus} to have bright and happy contrast to the gathering tragedy of the story.” Pease also cites Donatus: \textit{Ascanius quoque pro aetate laudatur. nam etiam ea quae levia maioribus natu videntur laudantur in pueris; in enim futuri temporis spes praesentium factorum coniectura colligitur.}

\textsuperscript{223} On the association of Ascanius with language of hope in the \textit{Aeneid}, and language of expectation and the future, see Bishop (1988, 291-292). Petrini (1997, 103), citing Apollo’s words at 9.641-644, writes, “Iulus is the \textit{spes gentis} who by the claims of the prophetic tradition will escape the past and the paradigms of his \textit{gens}, reach the stars and give birth to the gods.” Petrini discusses how difficult a journey that will be, for Ascanius, on 104.

\textsuperscript{224} Merriam (2002, 854) writes, “Ascanius’ appearance and activity, and especially his enthusiasm, are a sign that chaos will ensue… [Ascanius’ enthusiasm] is a warning for the rest of the epic: when we see Ascanius, we may well wonder what will come next. Our apprehension is warranted.” (Cf. Lyne 1987, 198.) Baker (1980, 133-134) comments on Ascanius’ participation in the tragic relationship between Aeneas and Dido, and connects Cupid’s predatory behavior with Ascanius’ role: “At least \textit{qua} hunting, and given the awesomely erotic character of the scene to which this description of Ascanius in the hunt is the immediate prelude, there is the strong suggestion that the roles have been altered to such an extent that it is now Ascanius who is impersonating Cupid” (134). Cf. Bishop (1988, 294): “There are two episodes in the poem in which Ascanius seems to set in motion events which bring immediate disaster… the first is the famous episode of the royal hunt at Carthage.”

\textsuperscript{225} For a discussion of the narrative function of Ascanius in these two scenes in Book 4 and Book 7, see Vance (1981), Pavlock (1992, 75-76), and Lyne (1987, 198-206).
a long-range lens, we may understand Ascanius’ laetus-emotion here to foreshadow the
destruction his excitement for the hunt in Book 7 (ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus
amore, 7.496) will ultimately bring.\textsuperscript{226} Petrini (1997, 100) notes the similarity between
the phrases \textit{prima malorum / causa fuit} (4.169-170), referring to the “marriage” of
Aeneas and Dido, and \textit{prima laborum / causa fuit} (7.481-482), referring to Ascanius’
killing of the stag.\textsuperscript{227}

II.2: Arriving at a Destination

Just as individuals are described with a form of \textit{laetus} as they set out on a journey,
so they are also described as such when they arrive at their intended destination.\textsuperscript{228} In the
\textit{Aeneid} all such arrivals look forward to, or are in the reader’s mind naturally compared
with, the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. Aeneas’ great longing for the arrival at the place
where he will find rest and found his city needs no introduction; this longing anticipates
not only the joy of arrival, but also the joy of setting out on the journey (for the same
reasons) that will lead to the arrival, and the joy of founding cities (for the same reasons)
once the final resting place has been reached (on instances concerning “founding,” see
Chapter II.5, below). Therefore this hope is the basis for the majority of the uses of \textit{laetus}

\textsuperscript{226} Nevertheless Petrini (1997, 100) argues that Ascanius’ role in the hunt in Book 4 is
slight, since the “main event” of that scene is the “marriage” of Aeneas and Dido, and
that Ascanius is much more of an “agent” in 7. Regarding Allecto’s role in prompting the
events of Book 7: Petrini calls Ascanius “responsible, if not culpable.”

\textsuperscript{227} Cf. Pavlock (1992, 76).

\textsuperscript{228} Putnam (1961, 184) discusses Catullus’ use of \textit{laet}- stem vocabulary to describe
situations of setting out and arrival (e.g. in Cat. 9).
in the *Aeneid* that express hopeful anticipation. In this section I discuss the instances at *Aen.* 3.524, 7.36, and 7.130.

The first instance I discuss here is that at 3.524, where the Trojans first see Italy:

iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis
cum procul obscuros collis humillemque videmus
Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates,
Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.
tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
induit implevitque mero, divosque vocavit
stans celsa in puppi (3.521-527)

In this instance, Aeneas and his men come upon Italy, having left Helenus and Andromache and having fulfilled Helenus’ directions. They see Italy and immediately shout (523), knowing that Italy is their final destination; they experience an event that turns, to their minds, their fortunes from bad to good. The hope in arrival is expressed through prayer, as immediately Anchises lifts a libation and prays (525ff.) in

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229 This kind of outburst of emotion, in the form of a shout (where the Latin has a form of *clamor* or *clamare*), appears often with *laetus* and *laetitia* in the *Aeneid*. In addition to this instance at 3.524, there is that at 9.637 (*Teucri clamore sequuntur / laetitiaque fremunt animosque ad sidera tollunt* 636-637) and 10.738 (*conclamant socii laetum paeanae securi*). The scenes featuring the instances of *laetus* and *laetitia* at 1.514, 5.210, 5.577, and 12.616 also involve shouting with the *clam*-stem, although in these scenes the shouting is less closely associated with the individuals identified with *laetus*. Cf. Duval (2004, 204ff.). Duval (2004, 206) discusses the instance at 3.524 as well, in her discussion of the noise that accompanies *laet*-stem words.

230 For the relationship of this passage to Aeneas’ long-term founding goals, see Cairns (1989, 117-118), and especially with regard to the use of *laetus* in founding capacities (and particularly with regard to Book 5), see Galinsky (1968, 159). Rieks (1989, 204) connects the attitude conveyed by *laetus* here to that expressed at 1.554 (in Ilioneus’ speech to Dido): *si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto / tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus* (1.553-554).

231 Cf. Williams (1962, *ad loc.*) on *humilem*: “The words *obscurus* and *humilis* here are purely visual, but it may not be fanciful to suppose that they may also suggest the contrast of the humble present with the glorious future.”
gratitude to the gods. Aeneas, in his retelling, surely has the promise of Italy (especially relative to his current situation in Carthage), at the forefront of his mind.

The reader knows that no place in Book 3 turns out to be the final place of rest for Aeneas. Although Aeneas and his men know that their final destination is Italy, after this passage, the Trojans do not come to a safe berth but encounter Scylla and Charybdis, pick up Achaemenides at the land of the Cyclopes, etc. The “joy” of reaching Italy is frustrated and undermined in the short term; this frustration accords with Lyne’s “disaster-prone” use of laetus, the use that sets up a positive emotion in anticipation of disappointment (although he does not mention this instance).

This passage is full of vocabulary that indicates the tension between the past, present, and future. This passage also indicates the tension between the fulfillment and disappointment of expectations: emphasis on the future appears in two instances of optatae in this passage (509, 530), the former modifying the beach the Trojans slept on the night before seeing Italy at dawn, and the latter modifying the breezes that usher the Trojans landward after they have sighted Italy and Anchises has made his prayer. Anchises prophesies at 539-543 regarding the four white horses they see on the plain: Anchises initially considers them a portent of war, but next remembers that horses, once trained, bear the yoke in concord (spes et pacis 543).

As Aeneas’ men exclaimed with a “joyful shout” (laeto clamore, 3.524) upon reaching Italy, so at 7.36 Aeneas is described as laetus upon approaching the mouth of the Tiber. In both approaches Aeneas and his men know Italy is the intended

\[\text{\textsuperscript{232}}\] Fordyce (1977, \textit{ad loc.}) writes, on laetus: “No doubt because he had come to the promised land of which Creusa had told him (ii. 781f.) and which he had had before him through all his wanderings (iii.500).” Fordyce also points out that Aeneas does not know
destination to which fate guides them, and both approaches happen at dawn, which
signals newness and excitement. As Reckford (1961, 255) writes, “Nowhere in the
_Aeneid_ is there a more joyful scene than Aeneas’ sailing into Tiber in a glowing dawn to
the accompaniment of a choir of birds.”

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Before these lines, Aeneas and his men had just buried Caieta and rounded Circe’s island.
As dawn rose, Aeneas saw a huge forest with the Tiber coming forth from it; at this sight
he, _laetus_, ordered his men to approach. The narrator will begin his evocation of Erato in
line 37.234

The dawn is important:235 Book 7 begins not with this passage, but with the
address to the dead Caieta (1-4), her funeral rites (5-6), and the description of the

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233 On Aeneas’ knowledge that this is the fated destination, and the relationship between
this scene and fate, see Kühn (1971, 97).

234 On this second proem, see e.g. O’Hara (2007, 96-97), Feeney (1991, 186).

235 Kyriakidis (1998, 123) cites Macleod (1982) on the function of dawn in the _Iliad_ as
relating either to the kingdom of the gods or to human hardship; Kyriakidis then
comments, on these lines in the _Aeneid_: “The Vergilian passage seems to recall the
_Argonautica_ more as a model, since it marks not simply the beginning of another day but
the beginning of an important day in which the wandering Trojans reach their long-
promised goal… The brightness of dawn may also reflect the happiness of the hero
(_laetus_, 36).” That statement to me misses the point: dawn here does not function in two
distinct ways, representing both the coming of the day (i.e. forward-looking) AND its
unwelcoming isle of Circe, as the Trojans pass by (10-20). After such foreboding elements there is dawn (iamque rubescbat radiis mare 25). Lines 25-36 are full of soothing vocabulary: amoeno, mulcebant, etc., and laetus indicates newfound hope, at the arrival at the fated place. For the audience, however, the good omens are not entirely unmixed: the Tiber is described as fluvio opaco (foreboding?), and at line 37 the poet invokes Erato to tell of the kings of Latium; these are the powers that will resist Aeneas, and the poet even here characterizes this relationship as exordia pugnae (40). This, then, is the sort of instance that Lyne would call “disaster-prone”: the reader knows the hardship that the laetus Aeneas will experience in Italy in the following books.

own warmth (transferred to Aeneas in “happiness”); the coming of the day and Aeneas’ “happiness” both point forward to the landing on shore. Kyriakidis notes (125) that, although this scene resembles the Argonauts’ arrival at the Phasis River at 2.1260ff., that scene in Apollonius closes the first half of the Argonautica, whereas this scene in the Aeneid opens up the second half of the work. Also, the Trojans arrive at dawn; the Argonauts arrive at night (125). In the Argonautica, lengthy descriptions of dawn anticipate episodes of importance; see Fantuzzi (1988, 129). The image of dawn highlights the idea of beginning. On the connection between 7.37 and the proem at Arg. 3.1, see Feeney (1991, 186).

236 Hardie (1986, 204) notes this vocabulary and remarks upon Lucretian echoes; he compares these lines of Vergil to DRN 2.145f. and 2.344ff.

237 This is the fated place, and this reaction is appropriate; Anchises had used the laet-stem to indicate Aeneas’ appropriate response to finding Italy at 6.718 (Anchises to Aeneas: “I tell you these things so you might all the more rejoice with me (quo magis laetere) when you find Italy”). See my discussion of 6.718.

238 On the foreboding features of this scene, see Reckford (1961, 255). Reeker (1971, 51-52), however, writes that the Tiber is used in place of Italy or Latium, and that it represents the “divine will” (“ist… zugleich repräsentativ für das Geschehen des göttlichen Willens”) in the same way as it appears elsewhere (e.g. 2.782, 3.389, etc.).

239 Cf. dicam horrida bella, / dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges (41-42). The poet is also looking forward to what will come: maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, / maius opus moveo (43-44). See Reckford’s discussion of this language (1961, 256).
Of course, Aeneas achieves his success with the help of the gods; Rieks compares 7.36 to 6.193, 7.288, 8.311, 8.544, and 8.617 and 10.787 under the heading “Aeneas is called laetus when, with the help of the gods, he achieved important successes” (“laetus heißt Aeneas immer dann, wenn ihm mit Hilfe der Götter ganz entscheidende Erfolge gelingen”).

The instance at 7.130 follows shortly thereafter, and is closely related to that at 7.36:

(nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit:
“cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora vectum
accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas,
tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento
prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta.”
haec erat illa fames, haec nos supra impunam
exitii positura modum.
quae agite et primo laeti cum lumine solis
quae loca, quive habent homines, ubi moenia gentis,
vestigemus et a portu diversa petamus. (7.123-132)

Here Aeneas orders his men to investigate the area where they have landed, and to do it, laeti— not only have they been told in the past that they should make their way to Italy, but they had been given a very specific sign. At line 116 Ascanius had made the observation that they were eating their tables, and Aeneas “remembered” Anchises’

240 On Neptune’s help at 7.36, see Henry (1990, 108-109). Knauer (1964, 399) compares these lines to Od. 13.113ff., but this is not a particularly helpful comparison for our purposes, since in those lines Odysseus is asleep, and there is no analogue in the Greek for laetus.

241 Fordyce (1977, ad loc.) writes, on laeti: “of the cheerful response to a command as at 430, iv. 294f., x.14.” The laet- stem appears in a command (e.g. that a person should be, or should perform an action, laetus) in the Aeneid at 3.169, 5.58, 5.304, 7.130, 7.430, 9.157, and 10.15. Cf. the use of laetere (quo magis laetere) at 6.718.
Therefore the Trojans know, in line 130, that they have arrived at their fated destination. The Celaeno/Anchises inconsistency—that is to say, the inconsistency in the attribution of the prediction, between Celaeno and Anchises—is irrelevant for our purposes here: what is important is that Aeneas (and the others) takes Ascanius’ comment as a sure sign that the place—specifically, the place—is that which has been ordained for them. Ascanius’ comment functions like the positive interpretation of an omen, and it effects a great shift from hopelessness to hope on account of divine intervention. (Prayer, and interaction with the divine, is also a “trend” of laetus I have identified; see Chapter II.4, below.) In this passage prayer begins at line 135. This omen is supported by a second omen, thunder from a clear sky (141-143), very much like the thunder at 2.692-694, supporting the flame around Ascanius’ head.

For an in-depth discussion of the table-eating prodigy, and its sources and function, see Horsfall (2000, ad 107-147) and Harrison (1986a, 147-162). O’Hara (2007, 82) mentions two possibilities for the Anchises/Celaeno discrepancy: one, that Vergil is alluding in Book 7 to more than one version of the story, or alluding to events not explicitly depicted in the text (a Hellenistic practice; see Horsfall 2000, 112); and two, that Aeneas here has suppressed the painful memory of Celaeno and replaced it with his father. Horsfall (2000, 112) also suggests that the recognition of Anchises here is a reference to Ennius and Naevius. Kinsey (1987, 296) argues that Aeneas consulted Anchises in the underworld (perhaps during the conversation of 6.886-692), and Vergil, being economical, did not give those lines there; Horsfall (2000, 113) likewise reads this as a back-reference to Anchises’ explanation of the prophecy which Vergil had not narrated in Book 3, and which is being presented only as a recollection now. Kinsey’s argument is useful to me with regard to tone: Celaeno’s prophecy is taken as a threat, and Anchises calls it one at 3.265; the Trojans are upset at 3.259-260—but Anchises’ interpretation of it here is one of hope (sperare 7.126). For more on the emotional result of Celaeno’s prophecy, see O’Hara (1990, 24-26). I continue this discussion in my analysis of the instance at 7.147, in the section below on prayer.

Cf. TCD (ad loc.): Cur enim illo tempore non laetarentur qui factionem Iunonis inimicae constantia et virtute superasset? Cur non laetaretur visis tot auguriis ac signis futurae prosperitatis suae? Cur non laetaretur periculum maris omni cura deposita?
The use of *laetus* here is prompted by the Trojans’ sense that the gods support this venture. Without the assurance of divine help, hope would be hard to come by. Cf. Henry (1989).244

Aeneas’ recalling of Anchises’ words, and his own response to Ascanius’ words, also recognize a distinct change from a negative outlook to a positive one: *salve / salvete*

120-121; *haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat, / exitiis positura modum* (128-129: this hunger will bring an end to our suffering).245 Anchises’ words had been hopeful (*tum sperare domos defessus ibique memento / prima locare 126-127*), and his description of that newfound security is to be contrasted with the negative characterization of the eating of the flatbread that the poet had applied at 112-115 (*ut verte morsus / exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit edendi / et violare manu malisque audacibus orbem / fatalis crusti patulis nec parcer parere quadris*). The poet first recognizes it as such at 117-118 (*ea vox audita laborum / prima tulit finem*).

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244 “This sense of a divine task accepted sustains them throughout the voyage even though they go through exhaustion (v.41) and foreboding (v.7). The whole company of Aeneas’ followers share in the joy of recognising the portent of the ‘eaten tables’ (VII.130, 147), as they do at another act of Ascanius, the shooting of Numanus while he taunts the Trojans as effete invaders (IX.637). At both these moments, Ascanius is clearly responding to the will of the gods... Gladness returns to Aeneas and his men only after the figure of Tiberinus has appeared to him in the dream which promised future security in Latium and the possibility of ‘overcoming Juno’s wrath and menace by humble vows’ (VIII.60-1). The scene of the voyage upstream to Pallanteum, and the meeting with Evander, is one of the most serenely joyous passages in the whole of the poem; and as in Book V this joyfulness springs from the recognition of a divine purpose with which the human agents can co-operate” (155-156).

245 On *exitiis* (129): *exitiis* follows the mss. tradition, but *exiliis* is also preserved here. For a summary of the problem, see Horsfall (2000, *ad loc.*). Since both words represent suffering, the choice between them does not affect my argument for the use of *laeti*. However, *exitiis* would better suit my reading of *laeti* here, because it heightens the tragic irony of the passage (this does indeed represent the end of the Trojans’ exile, but it is only the apparent end of their suffering).
I consider the instance at 7.130 “correlative” with that at 7.147. For further discussion, see at 7.147 below.

II.3: Battle

Laetus often describes Aeneas and others as they are about to engage in battle, or as they consider their prospects in battle. I argue that laetus in the following instances appears when the individuals fighting are given new cause to believe that they will be successful. Laetus also describes individuals who are confident in their martial prowess and who therefore expect success. In neither situation is “happy” an appropriate designation for the individual described as laetus; these scenes contain a great deal of vocabulary expressing the rage, violence, and frustration of battle—and perhaps that thrill is a form of “joy,” but it is not one of “happiness,” or “contentment.” Laetus in the thick of battle also communicates energy and exultation—adrenaline, if you will, or bloodlust.246

Before I discuss the instances of laetus in the Aeneid that convey intense emotion in battle, I say more about the context of this feeling, with particular reference to comparable uses in Homer.247 A comparison to the use in Homer is particularly

246 Évrard (EV, laetus, 3.98) considers the laetus-emotion to be more of a “rush” (“slancio”) than real joy, and briefly addresses the concentration of uses of this “rush” in situations of battle. Miniconi (1962, 567) refers to this feeling as “joie belliqueuse.”

247 The fullest discussion of “joy” vocabulary in Homer remains that of Latacz (1966), although Latacz discusses vocabulary items, and instances in the text, piecemeal, and rarely offers generalizations concerning use. Generally, the scholarship I have read does not differentiate among the various vocabulary words for “joy” in the original Latin or Greek, but rather makes arguments using the vocabulary of a whole field. For example,
worthwhile on account of the illumination it provides for the character of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, since the characterization of warriors in the *Iliad*, and their “joy” in violence, render problematic the idea of Aeneas as the bringer of peace, who enters battles only reluctantly.248

As Miniconi notes, in the *Iliad*, relative to the *Aeneid*, emotion is expressed more often through verbs than adjectives.249 For the “battle joy” expressed by *laetus* and others, as for verbs, Miniconi compares γηθέω and χαίρω (using instances at *Il.* 7.214, 312; 10.565, 11.73, 12.600, etc.). Miniconi (1962, 569) argues that χάρμη more

Miniconi (1962) includes *laet-* family and *gaud-* family words, forms of *ovare*, and forms of *alacer* as “joy vocabulary” in the *Aeneid*.

248 On the picture of Aeneas as taking (perhaps too much) delight in battle, and the presentation of Aeneas’ *furor* in the *Aeneid*, see Stahl (1981, 158), Cairns (1989, 82-84), Feeney (1991, 160-161), Indelli (2003, 106-108), Fish (2003, 118ff.), etc. Cf. Horsfall (1995, 200), who writes that Vergil “present[s] a militarily credible hero, whose flashes of Homeric χάρμη, when he drinks delight of battle with his peers, surprise and disconcert the modern reader.” Fish (2003, 133, n.42) disagrees, and asserts that Horsfall “is overstating” the resemblance of Aeneas’ joy in battle to Homeric χάρμη; he would rather read a more thoughtful (and complimentary, to Aeneas?) emotion, in this “battle-joy,” one that confirms Aeneas’ *pietas*. Fish (2003, 119) argues that Aeneas’ “pleasure” or “joy” is not connected with his anger (being therefore less problematic). For my part, I do find the connection between the *laetus*-emotion and battle disturbing, but I do not read *laetus* et al. as always conveying “joy”; sometimes they indicate a thrill of emotion that is much more complicated. For a positive (or at least neutral) reading of Aeneas’ violence, see Harrison (1997, xxi-xxii). Harrison comments, *ad* 10.875, that *laetusque precatur* both “reflects [Aeneas’] battle-joy and confidence” and “stresses his *pietas*,” to which Conte (1993, 210) objects: “On 875 *laetusque precatur* I would not be sure that *laetus* here ‘reflects Aeneas’ heroic battle-joy and confidence.’ I think the adjective is quasi-formulaic, to express the attitude of someone praying or committing himself to the will of the gods, or piously fulfilling a ceremonial obligation: cf. e.g. *Il.*687; *V.*58, 100, 236; *VI.*193; *VII.*259; *VIII.*279, *VIII.*544.” But, as I attempt to show in chapters II.3 (battle) and II.4 (prayer), both the “battle” and “prayer” elements are “formulaic” (or, better: common), and often these fields of meaning show up in conjunction with one another, in the context of the *Aeneid*. See my sections, below.

249 1962, 568.
specifically indicates this “battle joy” as well; one of Latacz’s definitions for χάρμη is “Kampfeslust, Kampfesfreude.”  

Notably, Finkelberg, in her discussion of joy-vocabulary in Homer, limits her discussion to γηθέω, γάνυμαι, and χαίρω, arguing that this is “the most clearly delimited group among the descriptions of emotions in Homer: the descriptions of joy rely on only three verbs… and involve no substitute systems whose analysis would require that the scope of the investigation be enlarged” (1989, 181). Nevertheless her argument has only to do with the degree to which certain expressions in Homer are formulaic, not with content.

Although certain authors (e.g. Latacz, Miniconi) read χάρμη as the analogue for the use of “battle joy” in laetus in the Aeneid, in Homer, the analogue for this use of laetus (or laetus exsultans) is not χάρμη, but rather, γηθέω. Χάρμη appears 29 times in the Iliad, a majority of these times as a word for battle itself (e.g. 4.222, 5.608, 12.203, 14.441, etc.) without reference to joy, and otherwise as a reference for joy (e.g. 14.325, on Dionysus; 23.342, Schadenfreude; 24.706, on an individual being a source of joy to others, etc.) without reference to battle. In three instances (3.51, 6.82, and 10.193),

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250 1966, 21.

251 The word appears once in the Odyssey: at 22.73.

252 These often occur in formulae like “they took thought of battle,” or “he did not forget the battle,” etc. For example, Ἀργεῖοι δ᾽ ώς οὖν ἤδον Ἐκτορα νόσψι κιόντα / μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι θόρον, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης (14.440-441); ἔνθ᾽ Ἐκτωρ δύο φῶτε κατέκτανεν εἰδότε χάρμης / εἴν ἐνὶ δίφρῳ ἐόντε, Μενέσθην Ἀγχίαλόν τε (5.608-609).

253 Cf. Leaf (1971, ad Il. 4.222): “It seems therefore most unlikely that [Homer] should have made one of his commonest names for [battle] out of a word which originally meant ‘joy,’ but which has entirely lost its connotation except in a single passage.” Leaf refers to
χάρμη appears to indicate the joy that follows a victory in battle, but it is not the bloodthirsty battle joy of an Ajax or an Achilles—rather, in all three places, it appears, in characters’ speeches, with the general meaning, “let us not lose this battle, and therefore become a source of joy to our enemies.” In these, χάρμη very much resembles the “looking forward” *laetus* that arises from victory—but it does not appear to indicate savage joy in battle, aside from its use at 13.82, where Oïlean Ajax and Telamonian Ajax are roused for battle: χάρμῃ γηθοσύνοι, τήν σφιν θεός ἐμβάλε θυμῷ (on which Aristarchus comments, τῆ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον προθυμιά).254

I consider the savage “battle joy” of 13.82 to be a function more of γηθέω than χάρμη, and γηθέω in the *Iliad* functions very much like the *laet-* stem in the *Aeneid* in a number of ways. First, γηθέω expresses “battle joy”—the same rejoicing in slaughter that readers find troubling, in Aeneas, in the *Aeneid*.255 At *Iliad* 7.175, Ajax “rejoices” with pride and confidence, going into battle (see my discussion below), and the Argives “rejoice” in response to seeing him, at 7.214. At 8.278, Agamemnon “rejoices” as he watches the slaughter of Ajax and Teucer, in the midst of battle. At 14.140, Achilles

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254 Latacz (1966, 21-22) also discusses this passage as an example of χάρμη indicating “battle joy” in the *Iliad*. Miniconi (1962, 564) writes that Vergil employs *laetitia* (i.e., *laet-* family words) for the purpose of conveying “battle joy” instead of employing a “specialized” word for the purpose, as Homer does with χάρμη.

255 The poet makes a very interesting comment on the nature of “battle-joy” at *Iliad* 13.344: concerning battle, and slaughter, the poet writes that one would have to be very stalwart to rejoice, and not grieve, at such a sight (μάλα κεν θρασυκάρδιος εἶ / ὃς τότε γηθήσειν ἱδὼν πόνον οὐδ᾽ ἀκάχοιτο 13.343-344).
likewise “rejoices” in slaughter.\textsuperscript{256} Next, γηθέω expresses the joy of anticipating one’s own victory—like χάρμη in 3.51, 6.82, and 10.193—but γηθέω is used more often than χάρμη for this purpose, and in a more straightforward manner. This joy of anticipating victory appears in the instances of γηθέω, for example, at \textit{Il.} 1.255, 4.255, 4.283, 8.378, and 9.77. Forms of γηθέω, like \textit{laetus} in the \textit{Aeneid}, are used of an individual who is newly encouraged for the future: cf. \textit{Il.} 10.190, where Nestor, taking heart from the presence of the sentinels, “rejoiced and took courage.” Last but not least, γηθέω also appears to be a Homeric analogue for the use of \textit{laetus} in the context of prayer: at \textit{Il.} 16.530, an individual takes joy that a god has heard his prayer, and at 24.321, the people take joy at seeing a favorable omen (cf. 24.424). For the discussion of “looking-forward” \textit{laetus} in the context of interaction with a divinity, see Chapter II.4, below.

I will briefly here also treat the relationship between Vergil’s use of \textit{laetus} in battle and Homer’s use of θάρσος, θαρσέω, and related words.\textsuperscript{257} The Greek words do not indicate “joy” \textit{per se}, but rather an attitude of confidence, particularly on the field of battle, which closely resembles the same attitude indicated by \textit{laetus}. For example, at

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Il.} 14.139-141: A disguised Poseidon speaks these words to Agamemnon; Poseidon intends to encourage Agamemnon to keep fighting by portraying Achilles as feeling a foolish joy in the Achaians’ retreat. Aeneas, too, in the \textit{Iliad}, rejoices during a battle, but the form of γηθέω (at 13.494) appears in a simile in which Aeneas, as a shepherd, is not portrayed as particularly bloodthirsty, or as rejoicing in the battle \textit{per se} at all (γάνυται δ’ ἄρα τε φρένα ποιμήν: / ὡς Αἰνεία θυμός ἐνι στήθεσσι γεγῆθει / ὡς ἵδε λαών ἔθνος ἐπιστάμενον ἐόι αὐτῷ 13.493-495).
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{256} Ατρείδη νῦν δή ποῦ Ἀχιλλῆος ὀλοών κήθω πηθεί ἐνι στήθεσσι φόνον καὶ φύσαν Ἀχαϊῶν / δεισιομένω, ἐπεὶ οὐ όι ἐνὶ φρένες οὐδ’ ἔβαιαι (14.139-141). A disguised Poseidon speaks these words to Agamemnon; Poseidon intends to encourage Agamemnon to keep fighting by portraying Achilles as feeling a foolish joy in the Achaians’ retreat. Aeneas, too, in the \textit{Iliad}, rejoices during a battle, but the form of γηθέω (at 13.494) appears in a simile in which Aeneas, as a shepherd, is not portrayed as particularly bloodthirsty, or as rejoicing in the battle \textit{per se} at all (γάνυται δ’ ἄρα τε φρένα ποιμήν: / ὡς Αἰνεία θυμός ἐνι στήθεσσι γεγῆθει / ὡς ἵδε λαών ἔθνος ἐπιστάμενον ἐόι αὐτῷ 13.493-495).

\textsuperscript{257} For this suggestion I thank Peter Smith, who recognized in my description of \textit{laetus} his own understanding of the Greek words, and who has greatly helped me articulate the similarities in the use of these two stems.
Aen. 10.643 (given below), the lifeless *imago* of Aeneas, which does not feel “joy,” is made to show a confidence so irritating to Turnus that it lures Turnus from the field. This “confidence” that θαρσ- stem words indicate also “looks forward,” like the attitude of *laetus*, in that confidence, like hope, expects success in the future and is the opposite of fear. In addition, there are some particular uses of *laetus* that I have found analogues for in θαρσ- stem words in Homer; for example, the speech act of Aen. 9.157, where Turnus commands his men to make preparations for battle (and to do that, *laeti*) may be compared to the numerous uses of the imperative of θαρσέω in which someone in a position of greater authority commands another to “take heart” before a battle.\(^258\)

Vergil is not the only ancient author to use the laet- stem in the context of battle. In Livy *laetus* often expresses the confidence of those setting out for battle expecting a victory (e.g. 6.12, 7.10, 7.26, etc.). Cicero, however, names the Homeric joy in battle as *hilaritas*, with *laetitia* close by, in an argument concerning the Stoic position on emotion. Cicero writes that one does not need anger to act courageously:\(^259\)

\(^258\) Such uses include those at *Il*. 4.184, where Menelaus encourages Agamemnon, and *Il*. 15.254, where Apollo cheers Hector. There are other similarities as well; e.g. Odysseus’ homecoming to Ithaca (*Od*. 13.362), which may be compared to my “arrival” instances of *laetus* (Chapter II.2). The θαρσ- stem also shows a similar relationship to the divine (see my Chapter II.4); for example, interpreting omens leads to greater courage at *Od*. 19.546, and Apollo’s explicit aid gives courage at *Il*. 15.254.

\(^259\) For further discussion, see Graver (2002, 167-169). For more on the Stoic opinion on anger, and particularly how it relates to emotion in the *Aeneid*, see Indelli (2003). Cf. Horsfall (2008, 564): “We are slowly learning that systematic adherence to philosophical positions is singularly unvergilian... hence we are ill-advised to make too much of occasional coincidences between *Aen.* and philos[ophical] texts. We have seen that it is quite possible to read Aen.’s behaviour in bk.2 not as a Stoic sermon on the ills of wrath but as excellent characterisation of the behaviour of a warrior in a crisis,” etc. See also M.R. Wright (1997, 169-184) and C. Gill (1997, 214-241), and W.V. Harris (2002).
At sine hac gladiatoria iracundia videmus progredientem
apud Homerum Aiacem multa cum hilaritate, cum depugnaturus
esset cum Hectore; cuius, ut arma sumpsit, ingressio laetitiam
attulit sociis, terrorem autem hostibus, ut ipsum Hectorem,
 quem ad modum est apud Homerum, toto pectore trementem
provocasse ad pugnam paeniteret. (*Tusc.*, 4.49)

This is a reference to *Il.* 7, especially 7.189-192 and 211-217,\(^{260}\) where Ajax and others
cast lots for the right to fight Hector, and Ajax is glad to win. Ajax is smiling (μειδιόων
212); the Greeks rejoice as they look on (Ἀργεῖοι μὲν ἐγήθεον εἰσορόωντες 214). It
is the emotion of ἐγήθεον that Cicero uses *laetitia* to convey, in Latin. Χάρμη does
appear in the *Iliad* passage to which Cicero refers, at 7.218, but the word is used in
enallage to refer to the battle itself (regarding Hector, ἐπεὶ προκαλέσσατο χάρμη
218), as it is used most often in the *Iliad*.

At this point I move to the discussion of the appearance of this “battle-joy” in the
*Aeneid.* At 10.787 Aeneas is *laetus* immediately after striking Mezentius on the
battlefield:

\[
tum pius Aeneas hastam iacit; illa per orbem
aere cavum tripli, per linea terga tribusque
transiti intextum tauris opus, imaque sedit
inguine, sed viris haud pertulit. ociusensem
Aeneas viso Tyrrheni sanguine *laetus*
eripit a femine et trepidanti fervidus instat.
ingemuit cari graviter genitoris amore,
ut vidit, Lausus, lacrimaeque per ora volutae (10.783-790) \(^{790}\)
\]

Aeneas has seen Mezentius as he has his aristeia and has moved to meet him; Mezentius
threw a spear and missed Aeneas but killed someone else; Aeneas returned a spear (783)
and hit him. Lausus is on the verge of entering and saving Mezentius for the meantime.

\(^{260}\) Cf. Graver (2002, *ad loc.*).
Aeneas is twice described as *laetus* in this scene: here, and at the next appearance of the adjective, at 10.874 (discussed below, in relation to prayer). Both times Aeneas is in pursuit of Mezentius, and both times Aeneas has reason to expect victory at the point where the adjective is employed: at 10.787, he has seen Mezentius’ deep (though not fatal) wound, and Aeneas pursues him, expecting an easy kill; at 10.874 the wounded Mezentius, even anticipating his own death (855-856; cf. 881), has called Aeneas to meet him on the field, and Aeneas is *laetus* as he sends up a prayer. Aeneas’ assurance of his own victory over Mezentius is underlined by the fact that, after 10.874, Aeneas does not pray that his spear will hit the mark (contrast Mezentius’ prayer at 773-776), but only that the gods see to it that the fight is joined (*incipias conferre manum 876*).\(^{261}\)

In this scene Aeneas is consistently assured of his victory, but he is described as *laetus* at the moment when he has particular reason to be hopeful. The words that might hint at Aeneas’ state of mind (*fervidus instat*, 788; *furit* 802; and simile following) depict Aeneas’ excited state in battle, and also frustration at not yet having killed Mezentius and at Lausus’ interposing himself to save his father.\(^{262}\) The physical characterization of *laetus* is primary here; the exhilarated, frustrated Aeneas is certainly not “happy.”

However, Aeneas’ experience might be meant to contrast with Lausus’ sadness at seeing


\(^{262}\) *socii magno clamore sequuntur, dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret, telaque coniciunt perturbantique eminus hostem missilibus. furit Aeneas tectusque tenet se* (10.799-803).
his father wounded (lacrimae 790, ingemuit 789). Aeneas is, at any rate, encouraged on account of having wounded his enemy.\textsuperscript{263}

The vocabulary in this section describing Aeneas is very reminiscent of other descriptions of battle (e.g. nec minus ille / exsultat demens, saevae iamque altius irae / Dardanio surgunt dctori 10.812-814). Exsultat especially recalls the description of the phantom Aeneas just over 100 lines before this, at 10.643. Exsultare appears again, in the context of laetitia in battle, at 12.700, but I discuss the use of forms of laetitia and laetari separately, below; laetitia (as opposed to laetus) generally indicates this sort of physical reaction.

The instance of laetus at 10.643 describes the phantom Aeneas taunting Turnus, projecting the self-assurance that infuriates him (at primas laeta ante acies exsultat imago / inritatque virum telis et voce lacessit 10.643-644). The nature of the laetus-emotion (and whether it is properly an “emotion” at all) I have discussed briefly up to this point; in some instances, laetus indicates primarily a physical characterization of the person or people described, and in some there is little evidence of personal emotion. In others, the physical appearance or characterization of the individual seems to be indicated, but there is also a case for arguing that laetus also indicates personal emotion in the scene. All these instances share a certain representation of the laetus-emotion: it is applied to an individual (or individuals); it has a sharp onset brought on by a specific event or action; its duration is undefined, but the implication is that the experience of it is a height of emotion or sensation from which the laetus individual will descend (i.e., it is

\textsuperscript{263} Harrison (1997, ad loc.) compares this to the Trojans’ feeling of encouragement at the sight of Odysseus being wounded at Il. 11.459-460. For Conte’s response to Harrison’s reading of laetus in Aen. 10, see my discussion of Aen. 10.874, below.
not a static state, to be continued indefinitely into the future). In the instance at 10.643, although *laetus* describes a character without the capacity for emotion, these aspects of the experience of the *laetus*-emotion remain true.

The phantom Aeneas appears here to provoke Turnus to follow it and therefore leave the field of battle.\(^{264}\) The *imago* is not given emotion or experience (*sine mente* 640; also *inania verba* 639); Juno did not fashion it with the intent for it to enjoy personal experience, and the poet does not otherwise imply that it experiences emotion.\(^{265}\) All description of the *imago* relates to its presentation: *faciem Aeneae* (637), *Dardaniis telis* (638), *capitis* (639), *sonum* (640), *gressus* (640), etc. Whatever *laeta* expresses here, then, corresponds to the actions attributed to the phantom (*ante acies exsultat* 643, *inritat telis* 644, and *voce lacessit* 644).\(^{266}\) This reference to action, or the appearance, of the

\(^{264}\) Cf. TCD (*ad loc.*).


\(^{266}\) *Exsultare* often appears with the *laet-* stem; cf. my chapter on *laetitia* (Chapter IV.1). Duval (2004, 204) also discusses the physical expression of joy in this instance; she compares it to Cic. *Tusc*. 4.13 and *DRN* 2.631.
phantom Aeneas in battle informs our understanding of the way Vergil uses *laetus* to describe individuals engaged in battle—and, conversely, informs our understanding of the “emotion” the *imago* is presented as projecting.

The *imago* acts according to Juno’s will, so as to be most offensive to Turnus and therefore effectively remove him from the field. The *imago*, therefore, projects confidence or the assurance of victory; it is that assurance, the appearance of confidence in the future, that infuriates Turnus. It is likely therefore that, to an observer, the *laetus*-emotion in battle may involve the appearance of confidence, the assurance of victory.

These lines imitate Apollo’s fashioning of a phantom Aeneas at *Il. 5*.449-450 and a false Agenor at *Il. 21*.599-607. There is no Greek analogue for *laeta* in either *Iliad* passage, but there needn’t be; Apollo creates the phantom Aeneas in *Il. 5* in order to save the real one (whom he removes from battle), not to provoke the Greeks. In *Il. 21*, again, Apollo creates the false Agenor in order to save the real one, and the false Agenor is not explicitly described with regard to emotion. Achilles, who pursues him, is presented as so fierce and eager that the false Agenor’s presence alone spurs him on, and there is no need for taunting. In the *Aeneid*, Turnus is saved by being provoked and led away.

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267 Harrison (1991, *ad loc.*) writes, on *primas ante acies*: “The place where a taunt will be most effective: so Numanus Remulus stands *primam ante aciem* for his taunt at 9.595.” (Interestingly, Ascanius and the Trojans react to his death with *laetitia* there, at 9.637.) On Turnus’ extreme emotion when he realizes his own shame, at 10.666-688, see Otis (1995, 358) and Schenk (1984, 111-112).

268 On Juno’s function in this passage, and her crafting of the *imago*, see Kühn (1971, 149-150).

Turnus, losing confidence and the expectation of victory, is described as *minus atque minus laetus* as the battle in Book 12 goes on, at 12.616:

demittunt mentes, it scissa veste Latinus
coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina,
canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans.
interea extremo bellator in aequore Turnus
palantis sequitur paucos iam segnior atque
iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum.
attulit hunc illi caecis terroribus aura
commixtum clamorem, arrectasque impulit auris
confusae sonus urbis et inlaetabile murmur.
“ei mihi! quid tanto turbantur moenia luctu?” (12.609-620)

After fighting strenuously, and killing many (12.500-553), Turnus appears again here. In the intervening lines Aeneas attacked Latinus’ city, causing panic and prompting Amata’s suicide. Turnus, at the edge of the battlefield (as Juturna has taken Metiscus’ place), is not yet aware of what has taken place at the city’s walls.

*Segnior* (615) is a particularly illuminating adjective here, for the discussion of *laetus*: both describe Turnus’ energy for battle: he is tiring (Goold translates: “slacker now and less and less exultant in the triumph of his horses”). But the word does not simply refer to one’s level of physical energy; there is emotion attached to it—and it is appropriate that Turnus here is *minus atque minus laetus*, as in the lines immediately following these Turnus will learn of Amata’s death and Aeneas’ attack on the city. This is reminiscent of Lyne’s “disaster-prone” *laetus*, save insofar as the phrase *minus atque*


270 On Turnus’ loss of hope in lines 615-616, see di Benedetto (1995, 49-50).
minus itself anticipates Turnus’ recognition of disaster in the next lines.\textsuperscript{271} This instance of \textit{laetus} at 12.616 is the last appearance of the adjective in the \textit{Aeneid}. In Turnus’ conversation with Juturna that follows (625-649), he makes clear he knows that his cause is lost, and he will die on the battlefield.\textsuperscript{272}

\textit{Laetus} is applied not only to individuals in the midst of battle, but also to those who enter into it with high expectations. There are many instances of individuals described with the \textit{laet}-stem as they enter battle. At 2.260 Aeneas describes the Greeks exiting the Trojan horse as \textit{laeti}:

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim 
laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras
reddit equus \textit{laetique} cavo se robore promunt 
Thessandrus Sthenelusque duces et dirus Vlixes (2.258-261)
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}

The Greeks who had been inside the Trojan horse, upon being set free by Sinon, experience some sort of physical exhilaration as they exit the horse;\textsuperscript{273} since the ruse of

\textsuperscript{271} See also my discussion of \textit{inlaetabile} at 12.619.

\textsuperscript{272} Johnson (1976, 117) writes, “In this speech [i.e. 12.632-636], two things are emphasized: (1) Turnus’ recognition that, despite divine help, his position is hopeless…he has also recognized that some power higher than Juturna’s has effected the ruin of the truce and has shaped a situation that is dangerous and humiliating to his country and fatal to him. His recognition of his sister and what she is doing accompanies, in a properly tragic way, a decisive change in Turnus’ fortunes, for it is his knowledge—that is to say, his sudden realization that he does not, cannot, comprehend what is happening—that saps his will.” Turnus remains proud, however (\textit{descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum} 649), as a proud Homeric-type hero ought. For Turnus’ “profoundly Homeric ethos” see Fantham (1999, 273-274), and also Gaskin (1992, 299), Gransden (1984), Heinze (1915, 211), etc. On Turnus as a tragic hero, see e.g. Gaskin (1992, 301-309).

\textsuperscript{273} Cf. Horsfall (2008, \textit{ad loc.}): “A word studiously ignored by joyless readers of Virgil, except for E. Henry, Rieks… This is good characterisation: of course the Greeks are naturally delighted to be released from their narrow and uncomfortable transport, being now but a rope’s length away from combat and an end to their over-long sojourn in the
the Trojan horse worked, the Greeks know that their chances for victory are high.\textsuperscript{274} Of course, Aeneas’ description of this is refracted through his own knowledge of the outcome: he does not describe them as \textit{laeti} on the after-the-fact basis that they were successful. (As we have seen in other instances, such as that at 1.35, a positive outcome is not required for the use of \textit{laetus}.) At any rate, the emergence—the fact that the Greeks are leaving the Trojan horse, moving abruptly from a period of little activity (waiting) to one of high activity (battle), merits the inclusion of this instance in this discussion.

It is important to note that lines 254-267, describing the Greeks’ actions during the Trojans’ sleep, describe actions to which Aeneas personally was not witness. This makes it all the more likely that Aeneas’ use of \textit{laeti} here is a use based on the stock characterization of high-spirited people going into battle, and not a description of these particular Greeks at this particular time. Knauer (1964, 379) compares this passage to \textit{Od}. 8.515-520: there is no expression of emotion in the Greek, but the poet does note that the Greeks there are successful on account of the help of a goddess (520).

Von Albrecht (1999, 94) argues that the presentation of emotion in these lines, combined with the emotional appearance of Hector at 2.270, functions to cause Aeneas to think about his future. “A possible transfiguration of his grief into the hopeful belief in a new future is cautiously prepared for by the Hector apparition.”\textsuperscript{275}

\textsuperscript{274} Cf. \textit{TCD} (\textit{ad loc.}): \textit{laeti vel propter conservationem salutis suae vel quia provenerant quae desperatam multo tempore victoriam complere potuissent.}

\textsuperscript{275} Cf. “Aeneas embodies \textit{pietas}... to save him from an excessive and suicidal attachment to the past, Hector through words and action redefines \textit{pietas} to show him his obligation to the future” (97).
The Trojan youth, as they put on the defeated Greeks’ armor, experience hope as they look toward re-engaging the enemy, at 2.395:

atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus
“o socii, qua prima” inquit “Fortuna salutis
monstrat iter, quaque ostendit se dextra, sequamur:
mutemus clipesos Danaumque insignia nobis
aptemus. dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?
arma dabunt ipsi.” sic fatus deinde comantem
Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum
induitur laterique Argivum accommodat ensem.
hoc Rhipeus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus
laeta facit: spoliis se quisque recentibus armat.
vadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro
multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem
conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco. (2.386-398)

Here Aeneas and his band of men, wandering through the burning city, have come upon Androgeos’ band and slaughtered them, and now they put on the Greeks’ armor. Since Aeneas was there, and is speaking after the fact (knowing how poorly this expedition turned out for his friends), Aeneas as narrator employs the word even knowing this tactic will result in their death (2.420-430). It immediately follows a victory (exsultans 391) and the expectation of more victories to come from that strategy (cf. victories at 397-398). As Aeneas puts it, adspirat primo Fortuna labori (385): the Trojan men were expecting Fortune to continue to favor them.

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276 Austin (1964, ad loc.) writes, on laeta: “They follow Coroebus’ lead with alacrity. The word shows their devil-may-care spirits; bit it also has a Virgilian tragic irony about it (like gaudent, 239).” With regard to that “alacrity,” Servius (ad loc.) contributes, laeta quod est προθύμου. Lyne mentions this instance in his discussion of “disaster-prone” laetus (183), but only very briefly; cf. Horsfall (2008, ad loc.): “Lyne correctly notes imminent disaster here, but we might prefer to think of V. occasionally, and typically, tempering joy and expectation with disappointment, and worse.”
Laetus is also used in exhortations to battle, commanding the manner in which others are to make preparations for it. This is a speech act of encouragement, on the part of the speaker. At 7.430 Allecto, in the guise of Calybe, orders Turnus to make ready for battle and to do it, laetus:

> Tyrrhenas, i, sterne acies, tege pace Latinos. 
> haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte iaceres, 
> ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit. 
> quare age et armari pubem portisque moveri 
> laetus in arma\(^277\) para, et Phrygios qui flumine pulchro 
> consedere duces pictasque exure carinas. 
> caelestum vis magna iubet. rex ipse Latinus, 
> ni dare coniugium et dicto parere fatetur, 
> sentiat et tandem Turnum experiatur in armis. (7.426-434)

Allecto began her speech (7.421) by bringing up the Trojans—“How can you endure this?” (*Turne, tot incassum fusos patiere labores?*)—prompting Turnus to retaliate and advance his own interests.\(^278\) The words of rage, violence, etc. (458ff., *pavor, sudor*, *amens, fremit, saevit, ira*, etc.) indicate the physical manifestation of the emotion (cf. the other battle instances in which appearance is heavily emphasized, like that at 10.787 above).\(^279\) Allecto/Calybe claims her commands are orders coming from Juno herself.

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\(^{277}\) *Arva* is also preserved here. For the superior reading *arma*, see Horsfall (2000, *ad loc.*).

\(^{278}\) On the relationship between Allecto and Turnus here, see especially Kragelund (1976, 63-70) and Feeney (1991, 168-172). Fordyce (1977, *ad loc.*) expresses this characterization as “of ready compliance as in 130 above, iii.169.”

\(^{279}\) Servius glosses *laetus* here as *alacer* and *festinus*, and denies that a “happy” emotion is present (*laetus alacer, festinus: nam laetari non poterat qui perdebat uxorem*). For Servius’ use of *alacer* for *laetus*, see my discussion on 4.295. Servius uses *alacer* to express excitement and energy; at 12.339, where Turnus rages in battle, Servius inverts the two, and glosses *alacer* as *laetus*. 
Allecto uses divine favor to motivate her audience (cf. *caelestum vis magna iubet* 432).\(^{280}\) Knauer (1964, 400) compares these lines to *Il*. 2.28-30, where the image of Nestor appears in a dream to Agamemnon. However, *Zeus* sends Agamemnon’s dream, and *Juno* sends Allecto; the relationship of *Zeus* to fate in the *Iliad* is very different from the relationship of *Juno* to fate in the *Aeneid*.

Allecto argues that Turnus should act confidently, since he is supported by the gods. That is, her message is one of hope.\(^{281}\) Turnus, in response (436-444), does not use the language of hope, but he does characterize the emotion she attempts to instill in him as fear (the opposite of hope): *ne tantos mihi finge metus; nec regia Iuno / immemor est nostrī* (438-439).\(^{282}\) On the degree to which Turnus was already receptive to Allecto’s message, see Lyne (1987, 68-69).

At 9.157 Turnus orders his men to prepare for the coming battle, *laetī*, as well:

> “haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga esse ferant, decimum quos distulit Hector in annum. nunc adeo, melior quoniam pars acta diei, quod superest, *laetī* bene gestis corpora rebus procurate, viri, et pugnam sperate parari.”

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\(^{280}\) On Allecto’s presentation of the gods’ support for Turnus, and Turnus as being “misinformed” as to his real fate, see O’Hara (1990, 62-67); cf., “Both dreams [Turnus’ here and that of Agamemnon in *Il*. 2] pretend a concord of the gods insures victory for the man addressed” (65). The assurance of victory is meant to instill the expectation of success; this “forward-looking” use of *laetus* describes those who expect success.

\(^{281}\) Cf. TCD (*ad loc.*): *Quis autem suadet ut quis laetus eat in bellum nisi qui spondet spem vincendi certissimam?*

\(^{282}\) Cf. Kühn (1971, 108-109). Rieks (1989, 208) comments enigmatically that this instance of *laetus*, along with those at 9.181 and 12.616, allows the kernel of Turnus’ characterization to emerge. Of course, Turnus’ statement is filled with tragic irony, since it is precisely Juno’s attention, and interference, that causes Turnus’ suffering and death.
The imperatives look forward: both *procurate* and *sperate* (158) are actions that necessarily involve negotiating expectations of the future in present time. I take *laeti* as closely connected with these imperatives, and less so with *gestis rebus* (157).²⁸³

This entire speech of Turnus (128-158), prompted by the sight of the Trojans’ ships in flames turned into nymphs, is meant to assuage the fear (and thus inspire hope) in his men: Turnus’ first lines (128-133) assert that the omen is not only not a positive omen for the Trojans, but rather that it indicates that the Trojans do not have command of the sea.²⁸⁴ In his next lines (133-139), which he begins with *nil me fatalia terrent* (133), Turnus rejects fear (the opposite of hope) and rejects the “fate” (and fate is necessarily a consideration of the future, regarding events that have not happened) foretold for Aeneas and instead asserts his own, contrary, fate (*sunt et mea contra / fata mihi, ferro sceleratam excindere gentem, / coniuge praerepta* 136-138). Turnus then boldly claims that, although the Greeks needed intrigue and the cover of darkness to overthrow Troy, he himself will conquer Aeneas’ Trojans under light of day (150-155). These claims, and this haughty interpretation of the omen apparently favorable to the Trojans, are meant to

²⁸³ TCD (*ad loc.*) agrees: *reficiatis vestra corpora cum gaudio spei melioris et animos vestros inminenti iam certamini praeparetis*. Contrast Hardie (1994, *ad loc.*) who writes, on *bene gestis... rebus*: “T. tries to make his troops feel satisfied with the day’s work, although in fact they have achieved nothing themselves.”

²⁸⁴ O’Hara (1993, 102-104) discusses Turnus’ framing of these events in positive terms for himself, in conjunction with a discussion of Aeneas’ positive interpretation of the omen at 8.523-529. On this passage in Book 9, O’Hara writes, “Turnus’ men are frightened, thinking this to be a bad omen, but Turnus offers a favorable interpretation of the omen, and matches his own divine commands against those of the Trojans” (103).
inspire courage in Turnus’ men; it is appropriate that Turnus should refer to his men, in summation, as nunc... laeti.  

In a similar vein, Evander says that Aeneas will be newly hopeful on account of the military support Evander will give him, at 8.171:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ergo et quam peti} & \text{tis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra,} \\
\text{et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet,} & \quad 170 \\
\text{auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.} \\
\text{interea sacra haec, quando huc venistis amici,} \\
\text{annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate faventes} \\
\text{nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis. (8.169-174)}
\end{align*}
\]

Here Evander promises his help to Aeneas in the war against Turnus. Laetos modifies an understood vos: Evander will send Aeneas and his men away “hence cheered by an escort” (Goold). This line is a repeat of 1.571, with laetos in place of tutos.

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285 A number of scholars criticize Turnus’ tactical choices here; Highet (1972, 88-89) especially takes issue with Turnus’ decision to allow his men to relax well before nightfall; Pizzolato (1991, 262-263) finds it inappropriate that such a powerful, fate-minded speech should conclude with the command that the soldiers should take care of their bodies. Knauer (1964, 270-273) connects this passage with that at Il. 8.502-507, where Hector likewise is on the verge of victory but withdraws instead.

286 Cf. Fordyce (1977, ad loc.). Line 1.571 (auxilio tutos dimittam, opibusque iuvabo) appears in Dido’s response to the Trojan envoy; wherever they wish to go, she will send them away safe and protected. The use of laetus would be less appropriate there because Aeneas has not yet been found, and Dido promises her help to those who have possibly lost their leader and friend; she does not presume to project joy or hopefully for them there, as they still do not know Aeneas’ fate. Her promise is unconditional; Aeneas might be dead, as far as she knows. Nevertheless this instance is to be compared with that at 1.554, where Ilioneus uses laet to describe the Trojans, should Aeneas be found alive (ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus). At 1.586 and following, Aeneas is revealed from the mist, and at 1.591, Venus breathes beauty onto him (laetos oculis adflarat honores).
Evander claims that Aeneas and his men will be *laetos* on account of their newfound help—newly found, and therefore effecting the change to a better outlook.\(^{287}\) This word refers not only to the better fortunes Evander’s help will secure the Trojans; Evander also distinguishes the concerns of the immediate present (i.e. the festival, to which he will invite Aeneas at 172-175) and those of the future (*lux... se crastina reddet* 170; *dimittam, iuvabo* 171). *Laetos* here is consistent with the general tenor of Evander’s reply, which is to assuage Aeneas’ fear (cf. his self-reference as a suppliant, e.g. 8.145, *obieci caput et supplex ad limina veni*) and dependence by responding with welcome and help.

I will now present other instance of *laetus* in battle whose meaning is better understood in the context of the instances I have discussed above. In the next instance, *laetum* modifies *paeana*.\(^{288}\) At 10.738 Mezentius (who speaks line 737), in his aristeia, delivers a fatal blow to Orodes, and taunts the man as he is dying; Mezentius’ allies, newly confident and joyful, raise a shout:

> obvius adverso occurrir seque viro vir contulit, haud furto melior sed fortibus armis. 735
> tum super abiectum posito pede nixus et hasta: “pars belli haud tennenda, viri, iacet altus Orodes.”
> conclamant socii *laetum* paeana secuti;
> ille autem exspirans: “non me, quicumque es, inulto, victor, nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis.” (10.734-741)

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\(^{287}\) Duval (2004, 154-155) considers this a use of *laetus* indicating the joy and gratitude of an individual who has just received a gift (to which she connects many examples in Livy).

\(^{288}\) *Laetum* also modifies *paeana* at 6.657, where the souls in Elysium sing such a song.
The allies raise a shout in response to the wounding of Orodes; a concrete event gives rise to hope and joy, the sense that one’s fortunes are rising in battle. Orodes in his dying words responds to this hope by identifying it with the same stem (laetabere 10.740) and refuting it by insisting that disappointment (i.e., Mezentius’ own death) will follow, in 740-741. In doing so he takes on the privileged voice of the narrator. The emphasis in Orodes’ response from 739-741, as well as Mezentius’ response to that (nunc morere. ast de me divum pater atque hominum rex / viderit 743-744) is on the future (cf. the tenses of laetabere, tenebis, viderit, and the reference to fate, which necessarily has to do with the future). I read Orodes here as responding equally to Mezentius’ own taunt in line 737 and the pride communicated by his followers’ shout at 738. Orodes’ response is apt in using laetabere, since his reprisal is meant to counter Mezentius’ arrogance at his death.

At 11.238 Latinus is haud laeta fronte, receiving the envoys he had sent to Diomedes:

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289 Harrison (1997, ad loc.) notes that this exchange between Orodes and Mezentius is based on that between Patroclus and Hector (Il. 16.843ff.) and Hector and Achilles (22.337ff.); in both scenes the victim foretells the death of one who kills him (and the accuracy of the deathbed prophecy is traditional). Harrison also notes the similarity in wording between conclamant... paeana here and the wording at Il. 22.391, after the death of Hector: νῦν δ’ ἄγ’ ἀεὶδοντες παῖς ὁμοῖονα. (Note that laetum does not correspond to anything in the Greek original.)

290 Yet again the laet- stem is accompanied by shouting; Duval (2004, 210) connects the singing of these paeans to the noise that often accompanies laetus.

After Latinus receives the envoys he had sent to Diomedes asking for help and hearing that they were denied, he convenes his council; Latinus looks, and is, “unhappy,” “joyless,” or “pessimistic,” on account of his fearful expectations for the future. With this instance there is evidence of two considerations: personal emotion (i.e., here, being joyless) and the physical signs that communicate that feeling to others in the scene (i.e., appearing joyless).\(^292\) This instance combines the two: after a significant loss of hope on account of the envoys’ message (the personal emotion), Latinus convenes the council, looking upset (the physical manifestation).

I include this instance here, in the context of other instances that deal with outlook before military action, because Latinus is anticipating an upcoming battle and attempting to plan for it, but is fearful: people preparing for battle described as \textit{laetus} expect success, and Latinus does not.\(^293\) Latinus’ fear is compounded by his knowledge that the will of

\(^{292}\) I distinguish between the two for the sake of specificity: it is possible for one to feel personal emotion without others knowing, and it is also possible to affect emotion (or be misread as feeling it) without feeling any.

\(^{293}\) Cf. Horsfall (2003, \textit{ad loc.}): “The litotes conveys (Henry, citing 2.396, 5.618, 8.627,
heaven is on Aeneas’ side (cf. Latinus’ words: *bellum importunum, cives, cum gente deorum / invictisque viris gerimus, quos nulla fatigant / proelia nec victi possunt absistere ferro* 305-307).

Latinus’ recognition of the will of the gods is the cause of his foul mood (*deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus / fatalem Aenean manifesto numine ferri / admonet ira deum tumulique ante ora recentes* 231-233).

From Diomedes’ refusal to help, Latinus recognizes his own pending defeat at Aeneas’ hands. This hopelessness is also manifest as grief (*luctu* 231), but the cause of the grief is the hopelessness itself. The ensuing argument between Drances and Turnus (343-444) then revolves around the viability of certain courses of action—which would produce the best results. When Latinus speaks (302ff.), he refers to the battle as hopeless, and advises a truce (cf. *spem si quam ascitis Aetolum habuistis in armis, / ponite. spes sibi quisque; sed haec quam angusta videbis* 308-309). He contrasts the positive expectation held in the past with the negative expectation (*haud laeta*) in the present, for the future.

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10.907) that Lat.’s brow is positively gloomy. Cf. *Physiogn.* 17, 83 for further indications of the forehead’s importance in the conveyance of character and sentiment.” Horsfall also remarks on the instance of *frons laeta parum* at 6.862 (see below).

294 Cf. Gransden (1991, *ad* 232-235): “The wrath of the gods as shown in the sight of the fresh-dug graves warns him that Aeneas is sent by fate and the clear will of heaven.” On 233 Gransden writes, “The -que is epexegetic: the graves are evidence of divine anger.”

295 Cf. Fantham (1999, 264): “Virgil gives [the calling of the council] a psychological and theological motivation, Latinus’ renewed conviction that divine anger at Latin resistance to Aeneas is shown by the many casualties (232-33).”

296 Cf. Hardie (1998, 256): “It is clear that a depressive fit consequent on the failure of the mission to Diomedes leads [Latinus] to an unduly pessimistic assessment of the situation after the battle in the previous book.”
Laeta modifies frons in one other instance in the Aeneid, which I discuss in this section although it does not appear in the context of battle. At 6.862 parum laeta modifies the frons of the young Marcellus when Aeneas and Anchises come upon him in the underworld.297

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“aspicte, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.
hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.”
855
atque hic Aeneas (una namque ire videbat
egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,
\textit{sed frons laeta} parum et deiecto lumina vultu)
“quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?
filius, anne aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?” (6.855-864)
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The force of the language communicating unhappiness, despair, or general negative emotion (e.g. \textit{deiecto lumine vultu} 862, 867, \textit{luctum} 868 etc.) is readily apparent, and strong here; this is indeed a “sad” scene.298 I argue here that laeta is especially appropriate in this scene (considering how strong the forward-looking aspect of the word

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297 The Marcellus of line 855 is M. Claudius Marcellus, the third-century military leader who won the \textit{spolia opima} in 222 B.C. and conquered Hannibal; the young man (\textit{iuvenem}) of line 861, who shares his name, is Augustus’ nephew and prospective heir, whose untimely death in 23 B.C. was a serious political and personal disappointment for Augustus.

298 On the degree to which the younger Marcellus’ presence detracts from the general optimism of Anchises’ prophecy, see Johnson (1976, 105-109), Austin (1977, \textit{ad loc.}), Glei (1998, 122-123), etc. Cf. Tarrant (1982, 53): “It is important to recall that Anchises’ prophecy does not end with the triumph of Augustus, but with the early death of Marcellus. The fate of the young man is lamented at such length and with such violence of emotion that the rest of Anchises’ prophecy, containing the instructions for which the entire journey was made, is thrown into shadow: the book ends in an atmosphere of muted grief.”
is elsewhere) on account of the young Marcellus’ importance for the future. There is personal sadness here (on the part of all involved: within the text, Aeneas, Anchises, and Marcellus), but also an emphasis on disappointed hopes. If we know the use elsewhere of laetus, we recognize that the word’s appearance here contributes to both sadness and disappointment, and, in fact, links the two.

The emotion in this scene is described also by nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra (866), lacrimis (867), and luctum (868). This, just as the instance of haud laeta fronte at 11.238, describing Latinus as he sits before his council, is an instance also very steeped in appearance; frons laeta parum is explained by another physical characteristic, deiecto lumina vultu (862), which also conveys both an act/appearance and the emotion

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299 Cf. Tracy (1975, 38): “Since Marcellus was the designated heir of Augustus, his death pointedly symbolizes the death of the future, a future presented in glowing terms in the lines just preceding. It therefore places a strong note of reservation on the vision of Rome’s future greatness, and counterbalances the national pride of excudent… superbos (6.847-853) with an intense note of sadness and personal loss.”

300 Feeney (1986a, 5) writes, “[Anchises’] speech becomes something of a history of Rome, by way of providing Aeneas with a series of exempla which will incite him to greatness. The exempla are given a notional co-ordination in that the persons figuring in them are taken to be descendants of the speaker and the addressee (756-8). The emphasis on the gens and the continuity of the gens is felt throughout.” It is no surprise, then, that Marcellus’ emotion, and Aeneas’, upon seeing him, are the same here: mourning on account of a future lost.

301 Cf. O’Hara (1990, 167): “By their structure, both Vergil’s introductory words and Aeneas’ question stress the mix of promise and ill omen in Marcellus: both say that the boy’s appearance is outstanding, but that the stern expression on his face and the black shadow about his head seem disturbingly inauspicious.” Also cf. Clausen (2002, 152): “The mood is conditional and irredeemably sad, for the younger Marcellus was destined never to become the Marcellus he would have been.” Referring to Aeneas’ question at 863-864, Reed (2001, 148) writes, “The question that follows repeats the sequence of national interest and personal sadness.”
that that act suggests. Line 862 is given by the narrator, however, and is not spoken either by Aeneas or his father. Both Latinus in Book 11 and Marcellus here have low expectations for the future: here, for Marcellus, on account of his untimely death.

In this passage both Marcellus and Anchises know Marcellus’ future fate (cf. Basson 1975, 88); Anchises’ speech of response to Aeneas is one of lament that Marcellus will live so short a life—lament for such ill fortune and poor outlook. This is, in fact, the very first point Anchises makes (868-870; he cites fata as the cause). Marcellus’ greatness is framed in terms of his capacity for rousing hope in others (“no youth will raise his ancestors so high in hope” 876). After leaving Marcellus, Anchises continues to fill Aeneas with emotion concerning the future (cf. incenditque animum famae venientis amore 889).

Knowledge of the use of laetus to describe individuals in battle informs our reading of the physical violence indicated in the instance at 2.417. At 2.417 Aeneas uses

302 On considerations of appearance in the instance, cf. Austin (1977, ad loc.).

303 Feeney (1986a, 15) argues that Marcellus’ appearance here is no later addition, but intended from the very beginning: “The melancholy coda was part of the basic conception from the very beginning. Augustus’ designated heir receives high praise, but waste and futility are the ruling tones. The formal cast of Anchises’ speech throughout has been that of a prophecy, and here at the end that prophesying has become activated, as the perspective makes itself, for the poet and his readers, genuinely forward-looking. Marcellus had embodied the future, a future which is painted gloriously (872-81) and then taken away from us, unrealised.”

304 Cf. Basson (1975, 89): “As embodiment of his ancestors’ hope (876) and his country’s pride (877), Marcellus will never be equalled by another Roman youth (875-77).”

305 Feeney (1986a, 4) writes, “Vergil’s parade of heroes... begins, continues, and ends with personal gloria and nomen.”
laetus not to indicate personal emotion, but rather to describe the onrush of physical
violence and energy, in a simile that relates the vigor and fury of the Greeks’ attack on
Troy to the clashing of winds, in nature.306

306

The deities in this simile are conceived of as forces of nature; though Eurus has his horses
(equis 418) and Nereus his trident (tridenti 418), none is portrayed here in terms of his
own subjective experience, and the image is of violence in nature. Even if Conington is
right in suggesting that laetus equis is a translation of ἱππιοχάρμης, and the image is
one of an embodied individual driving or riding horses, the primary use of this simile has
to do with the intense physicality of the winds.307 As Austin (1964, ad 416ff.) writes,
“The simile applies to the double attack, which is like a cyclone with rapid shifts of
wind.”

A related simile, of the movement of winds to express intense emotion, is
employed at Il. 9.4-7, but there is no analogue for laetus there, and whereas in the Aeneid

306 Cf. Horsfall (2008, ad loc.) on confligunt. For the intense physicality conveyed by the
wind simile, see D.A. West (1969a, 40-41). Austin (1964, ad loc.) translates this as
“exultant on the horses of Dawn.”

307 Conington (1898, ad 2.417) writes, “laetus equis, ἱππιοχάρμης, of which it may be a
translation. The attributing of horses to the winds, like the converse belief that certain
horses were the offspring of the winds, is sufficiently common. Whether Virgil conceived of the winds as driving or riding horses is not clear... the plural equis proves
nothing, as Virgil evidently intends laetus equis to be a perpetual epithet.”
the emotion involves movement, violence, and indignation, in the *Iliad* the emotion is one of confusion and deep grief.\(^{308}\)

This simile is meant as an analogy to the wrath and violence and spirit of battle, the force with which opposing individuals and armies, both sides, meet.\(^{309}\) Here, the winds and Nereus, even not especially personified, serve as an analogue for the wrath of the Greeks in battle, and just as *laetus* describes those entering battle in other instances, so it describes the force of the winds in the natural universe.\(^{310}\)

II.4: Prayer

Forms of *laetus* often appear in the context of prayer or contact with the divine.\(^{311}\) In some of the following instances, an individual is described as (or exhorted to be) *laetus* as he prays; in others, an individual is described as *laetus* after receiving an omen or indication that the gods favor him.\(^{312}\) This reassurance from the divine effects greater

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\(^{308}\) Cf. Knauer (1964, 380). For the use of this image throughout the *Aeneid*, and in several similar passages in Homer, see Briggs (1980, 16-17).

\(^{309}\) Cf. Austin (1964, *ad* 416ff.). West (1969a, 40-41) also discusses this simile with others in the *Aeneid*.

\(^{310}\) On his note at 1.35, Servius glosses *laetus* as *alacer* and *velox*, and cites *laetus* at 2.417 as a parallel use. I find that *laetus* here is aptly explained by *alacer* and *velox*, but I doubt the word is as emotionless at 1.35 (where Aeneas’ men, beginning their journey, make their first appearance in the *Aeneid*) as it is here.

\(^{311}\) Évrard (*EV, laetus*, 3.99) also notices the association of *laet-* vocabulary in Vergil with contact with the divine, and refers to this feeling as “gioia di partecipare a una cerimonia sacra, gioia di ricevere presagi che incitano all’azione e fanno sperare nel successo” (99).

hope for the future. The primary focus of my argument here is not the manifestation of the *laetus*-emotion, but the circumstances that prompt it, as they show such consistency: an explicit sign from the gods indicating good fortune prompts the description of an individual as *laetus*. This set of circumstances often involves a reversal of fortune, from a negative outlook to a positive outlook, for the future. As I have discussed above, in Chapter II.3 on battle, ζηθέω in the *Iliad* appears to be a Homeric analogue for this use: at *Il.* 16.530, an individual takes joy that a god has heard his prayer, and at 24.321, the people take joy at seeing a favorable omen (cf. 24.424).

At *Aen.* 10.874, Aeneas is described as *laetus* as he spots Mezentius and prays to Apollo and Jupiter that he will be allowed to fight Mezentius.

Unterwelt verbürgt (6,193); als er nach jahrelanger Irrfahrt in die Tibermündung einfährt (7,36); als er auf dem Boden Latiums gelandet ist (7,288); als er die Stätte des späteren Rom an der Seite Euanders kennenlernen darf (8,311); als das Zeichen der Venus ihn zum Dankopfer an den Lar und die Penaten veranlaßt (8,544); als Venus ihm die Rüstung und den Schild geschenkt hat (8,617); als es ihm gelingt, Mezentius schwer zu verwunden (10,787) und ihn schließlich zum Entscheidungskampf zu stellen.” Duval (2004, 156-167) collects these uses under the heading “qui a la faveur des dieux,” and provides references to many helpful similar uses in Livy.

*Laetus* is often found in inscriptions, describing a vow; see my discussion of *Aen.* 8.544, below.

On the way religion and literature interact within Roman cultural practices, see Feeney (1998). Rüpke, ed. (2007) comprehensively treats the symbols and institutions of Roman religion in cultural, historical, and social contexts, including interactions with other religions, like Judaism and Christianity. On sacrifice, see e.g. Feeney (2004), on the portrayal of sacrifice in literature, as authors’ explorations of the tensions behind sacrificial practice; cf. Dyson (1995-1996) on sacrifice in the *Aeneid* as a symbol of both *pietas* and *impietas*, and Bandera (1981), on the way the underlying tension of human sacrifice informs the whole of the *Aeneid*.

Cf. Henry (1989, 165). Harrison (1997, *ad loc.*), on *laetusque precatur*, writes: “*laetus* as at 787 reflects Aeneas’ heroic battle-joy and confidence.” But Conte (1993, 210), in his review of Harrison’s commentary, responds, “I think the adjective is quasi-formulaic, to express the attitude of someone praying or committing himself to the will of the gods, or
atque hic Aenean magna ter voce vocavit. Aeneas adgnovit enim laetusque precatur: “sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo! incipias conferre manum.” (10.873-876)

This instance, in addition to having the context of prayer, describes the confidence of one fighting in battle. This follows a brief scene of Mezentius mourning Lausus’ death before he charges onto the field, determined to have his revenge on Aeneas. Aeneas’ sighting of Mezentius gives rise to hope; his reaction of prayer reflects his active knowledge that his future rests in divine hands.

Aeneas anticipates his own victory, just as he did in previous lines, when he overcame Lausus (cf. his taunts at 811-812). Aeneas’ positive expectations for the future find an analogy here in Mezentius’ expectation of a bad outcome: Mezentius has just spoken of his life as at its end (cf. tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas 846; venio moriturus 881, and his speech at 878-882).

Piously fulfilling a ceremonial obligation,” and Conte cites the instances at 2.687, 5.58, 5.100, 5.236, 6.193, 7.259, 8.279, and 8.544. I recognize that this instance is as charged with the religious “prayer” function of laetus as it is with the “battle” use; Aeneas’ confidence is due at least in part to the sense that Jupiter and Apollo favor him. However, this use is not simply formulaic in the Aeneid (the phrase laetusque precatur appears elsewhere only at 6.193), and while those described as laetus in the Aeneid may be praying, and may be pious, they are also excited and newly hopeful; they usually pray in response to an omen that has excited them. This “rush” is similar to that of “battle joy.” The laetus-emotion in the Aeneid is not contemplative or quiet.


See also Mezentius’ speech at 853-856 (e.g. the tense of linquam 856), and Mezentius’ emotional description at 871, uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu.
At 7.259 Latinus is described as *laetus* as he exclaims a prayer of hope in response to Ilioneus’ envoy, having just recognized that Aeneas is the fulfillment of the oracle of Faunus.

> ... sub pectore sortem: 
> hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum 
> portendi generum paribusque in regna vocari 
> auspiciis, huic pro geniem virtute futuram 
> egregiam et totum quae viribus occupet orbem. 
> tandem *laetus* ait: “di nostra incepta secundent 
> auguriumque suum! dabitur, Troiane, quod optas. 
> munera nec sperno: non vobis rege Latino 
> divitis uber agri Troiaeve opulentia deerit.” (7.254-262)

Latinus’ concern is for his prospects for the future (257-258). Language indicating the future includes *fatis* (255), *auspiciis* (257), *progeniem futuram* (257), the jussive at *secundent* (259), *augurium* (260), *optas* (260), and *opto* (273). The context that reassures Latinus is the omen/oracle given by a divinity (254). The use of *tandem* at 259 to introduce Latinus’ speech expresses the *movement* of feeling/intention from (negative) uncertainty over Aeneas’ status as the fated one to hope that it will turn out well.

Latinus’ own emotional response is scarcely given up to this point; not at 249ff., or 192ff. (except that he greets the Trojan envoys *placido ore*), nor even 102ff., is any

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318 Cf. TCD (*ad loc.*): *laetus ideo, quia sperabat praedicta super votis filiae esse completa.*

319 Fordyce (1977, *ad* 259) writes, on *secundent*: “‘bring to favourable issue’: their *augurium* is the omens of 58ff.”

320 Cf. 3.638 (*et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras*) and 5.34 (*et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae*).
emotional response given to Faunus’ oracle. At any rate Latinus, although described as laetus here, will suffer greatly before the peace of Aeneas’ marriage to Lavinia comes to fruition; the possible anticipation of suffering here recalls Lyne’s “disaster-prone” understanding of laetus.

Anchises is described as laetus after receiving confirmation of his hopes by an omen, as he prays at 2.687:

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nos pavidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem
excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis.
at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit:
“luppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
aspice nos, hoc tantum, et si pietate meremur,
da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.”
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Here the flame around Ascanius’ head has renewed Anchises’ hope that the gods will provide a favorable outcome for his family, even in spite of the uncertainty and suffering of Troy itself. In the preceding lines Creusa, particularly, and also Aeneas, had been grieving out of fear for their own safety and the loss of Troy (in these lines, pavidi

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321 Gransden (1984, 67) characterizes the feeling here as joy, to be connected with peace at pacem reportant, but it is a joy predicated on hope for the future; Gransden likens the offer from Latinus of “gifts and alliance” to Dido’s similar offer upon receiving the envoy. Juno’s appearance directly thereafter kills the feeling of joy: “With a dramatic ecce autem the next paragraph shatters the mood of joy and peace” (68).

322 Cf. Horsfall (2008, ad loc.) on laetus: “One of those occasions on which laetus reveals its ample thematic importance: Anch[ises] feels a great joy, and shows it: cf. nn. on 3.169, 7.288. An immediate and entire reversal of the situation.” Austin (1964, ad loc.) writes, “Anchises’ mood is quite changed; his sullen misery has gone, and he is alert and happy. He was said to have received the power of divination from Venus (cf. Schol. Veron. here): see Ennius, Ann. 18f., ‘doctusque Anchisesque Venus quem pulchra deorum / fari donavit.’” Cf. Servius (ad loc.): at pater Anchisés et hic et alibi Anchisén divinandi peritum inducit.
trepidare metu 685, etc.).\textsuperscript{323} The strong adversative at in 687 contrasts Anchises’ emotion with theirs—his hopefulness with their fear.

In instances like this one, individuals described with a form of laetus are often praying to, receiving an omen from, or otherwise interacting with Jupiter (omnipotens 689, creator and enforcer of fate) or a figure very closely related to Jupiter (e.g. Hercules; see below).

There is a lot of language in this section concerning what Anchises expects (641-642; cf. sperasti 658). Contrast what Aeneas expects (miserrimus opto 655, moriemur 670, periturus 675, spem 676). Anchises is now filled with hope, in the place of his prior expectation of certain death (641-642). Interestingly, only Anchises is made hopeful (cf. his speech after the second omen) by this exchange; Aeneas still doubts (709) and is terribly afraid (728-729).\textsuperscript{324}

This passage closely resembles \textit{Il.} 24.306-321, in which, at his wife’s request, Priam prays to Zeus for safe passage to the Greek camp.\textsuperscript{325} Zeus sends an eagle as a sign of assent, and the Trojans are cheered (οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες / γῆθησαν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη 24.320-321).

\textsuperscript{323} Cf. Creusa as maesta in this passage (also maestorum parentum 681; lacrimis 641). Kühn (1971, 47), in briefly recounting this story, characterizes the laetus-emotion as joy; he writes, “Da geschieht das Flammenwunder an Ascanius, und es bringt sofort einen dramatischen Umschlag von Trauer zur Freude.” In n.1 he reads maestorum ora parentum (681) against the description of Anchises as laetus. I argue, however, that the opposite of the laetus-emotion is fear (as in pavidi 685), not grief per se.

\textsuperscript{324} Aeneas as speaker might be anticipating Creusa’s loss at 738ff. TCD (\textit{ad loc.}) also remarks on Anchises’ being the only one newly hopeful in this scene.

\textsuperscript{325} Cf. Knauer (1964, 381).
Laetus appears again in the context of prayer, omen, and rite at 7.130 and 7.147.

The instance at 7.130 I have already discussed above, in the use of laetus at the arrival at a fated place.

“haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat exitis"\(^326\) positura modum.
quare agite et primo laeti cum lumine solis quae loca, quive habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis,vestigemus et a portu diversa petamus.
nunc pateras libate Iovi precibusque vocate Anchisen genitorem, et vina reponite mensis.”
sic deinde effatus frondenti tempora ramo implicat et geniumque loci primamque deorum
Tellurem Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur flumina, tum Noctem Noctisque orientia signa
Idaeumque Iovem Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem invitac, et duplicis caeloque Ereboque parentis.
hic pater omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto intonuit, radiisque ardentem lucis et auro
ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab aethere nubem.
diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor advenisse diem quo debita moenia condant.
certatim instaurant epulas atque omne magno crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant. (7.128-147)

In the first instance Aeneas’ men are described as laeti as they organize feasting and drinking,\(^327\) at 7.116 Ascanius had remarked that they were eating their tables, upon

:\(^326\) On the transmission of exitis and exiliis here, see Horsfall (2000, ad loc.) and my note in the discussion of 7.130 above.

:\(^327\) Laetus often appears in the context of feasting (cf. 1.707, 1.732, 8.544). Horsfall (2000, ad loc.) writes, “[Epulas], we have seen (110), can mean either a (rather grand) meal or ‘food’. It may (despite Horsfall 1971, 20ff. and Fordyce) now become a little easier to understand what is happening: at 133-4 Aen[eas] ordered his men to bring out wine, make libations, and call on Anchises in prayer. He then prays on his own account and Jupiter responds with fullest approval. There are now far ampler grounds for celebration than existed at 133-4 and craters of wine appear (as ordered at 134); it seems as though the Trojans have, after all, the means to dine (or at least drink) like heroes... The narrative 146-7 is in fulfilment of the orders given at 133-4, but, given Jupiter’s
which Aeneas “remembered” Anchises’ predicting that that would happen at their final place of rest.\footnote{328} Aeneas recalls Anchises’ prediction to his men (and sets up their hopefulness for the future in an imperative \textit{laetus}, at 130, the use with which 147 is correlative);\footnote{329} the Trojans pour libations to various deities including Jupiter, and Jupiter acknowledges that they are right by sending thunder from a clear sky (141-142).\footnote{330} The forward-looking pressure is also influenced by the interests of founding a city: cf. \textit{advenisse diem quo debita moenia condant} (145). (See discussion of 7.288, etc. in Chapter II.5.)

Like the instance at 2.687, the instance of \textit{laetus} at 7.130 appears between two omens: the first here is Ascanius’ remark on the tables; the second appears at 7.141-142, Jupiter sending thunder from a clear sky.

\footnote{328} For more discussion of the Anchises/Celaeno inconsistency, see my discussion of 7.130 (in Chapter II.2, above). Whether Anchises or Celaeno uttered the prophecy has little bearing on my argument here; what matters is the fear the prophecy instilled in Aeneas and his men. (Celaeno’s prophecy appears at 3.255-257.) It would have been more fitting, I suspect, for Aeneas to remember Celaeno as the speaker, since her horrifying presence would have been nicely juxtaposed with the feeling of relief upon realizing her threat to be toothless.

\footnote{329} Aeneas makes commands of his men using \textit{laeti} at 130; in the responding instance of \textit{laetus} at 7.147, the narrator describes Aeneas’ men as \textit{laeti} as they perform their appointed tasks. Conington (1898, \textit{ad} 7.430) writes, “\textit{Laetus} is constantly used in Virg[il] of the spirit with which a person is bidden to obey a command, v.130 above, 3.169 &c.” The uses of \textit{laet-} in the \textit{Aeneid} that I identify as “imperative” uses are those at 3.169, 5.58, 5.304, 7.130, 7.430, 9.157, and 10.15. Cf. \textit{laetere} at 6.718. On \textit{instaurare} as used elsewhere of performing a ceremony over again, to take the place of a flawed performance, see Fordyce (1977, \textit{ad loc.}).

\footnote{330} The ablative of specification in \textit{omine magno} (146) explicitly connects the \textit{laetus}-emotion with the omen they have just seen, Jupiter’s thunder from a clear sky (141-142).
There is relief in this passage, particularly in lines 117-122. The change from negative to positive is underlined by 128-129, *haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat / exitii positura modum*—the realization that the long-feared prophecy had been fulfilled in an innocuous way. However, this passage accords with Lyne’s “disaster-prone” reading of *laetus*, in that the reader knows the Trojans’ struggles are far from over. *Sperare* in 126, in *tum sperare domos defessus*, juxtaposes the negative with the positive, weariness from past misfortune to hope for the better to come.

*Laeti* at 7.130 is associated, in Aeneas’ speech, not with joyful activities per se, but with an activity that has to do with preparation for the future: exploring the land, learning the ways of the people, etc. (130-132).

A similar portent, thunder from a cloudless sky (8.524-531), appears for the Trojans in Book 8, and the use of *laetus* at 8.544 shows the same reaction from Aeneas:

> “heu, quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
scuta virum galeasque et forti corpora volves,
Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.”

> *laetus* adit; mactat lectas de more bidentis
Evandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus. (8.537-545)

Here, as Aeneas and Achates stand before Evander seeking his help, Aeneas recognizes Venus’ presence; Aeneas informs the others before sacrificing. The change in the scene’s emotion (e.g. *defixi ora tenebant* [Aeneas et Achates] / *multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant, / ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto* 8.520-523), and Aeneas’
predictions of his future accomplishments in battle (536-537, etc.) make it clear he knows the portent indicates his success.\footnote{331}{O’Hara (1990, 49-51) reads these omens to Aeneas as also predicting the death of Pallas, and Aeneas as possibly aware of this prediction here. O’Hara compares \textit{dura suo tristi cum corde putabant} with 1.209, \textit{premit altum corde dolorem}, where Aeneas pretends to be hopeful to support the morale of his men.}

Although Evander has just promised help, Aeneas and Achates at 520 are still doubtful as to their future success (\textit{multoque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant 522}).\footnote{332}{Cf. 6.193, below.}

The sign from the sky Aeneas takes as reassurance (\textit{obstipuere animis alii, sed Troïus heros / agnovit sonitum et divae promissa parentis 530-31}); hence \textit{laetus} at 544 (“newly hopeful”).\footnote{333}{Aeneas’ exclamation of mourning at 537-540 (\textit{heu}) regarding destruction for the Latins is not sarcasm; Aeneas does not long for war for its own sake, and Vergil does not glorify it.}

Eden (1975) connects the feeling of \textit{laetus} here to the feeling necessary on the part of one performing a sacrifice for the sacrifice to be effective.\footnote{334}{Eden (1975, \textit{ad} 544) writes, “Every word in the line has religious overtones,” and he compares to the use of \textit{volentes} at 275; it is important there (\textit{ad} 275) “because reluctance or constraint hindered the act of worship.” Eden cites \textit{laetus} being used in this way, to communicate the appropriate mindset of the worshiper, as true also of the instances at 5.236 and 8.279. Henry (1989, 156) on the topic cites the instances of \textit{laetus} at 5.236, 8.279, and 8.544.}

Hickson (1993, 100-101) discusses the relationship between \textit{laetus} and the offering of a vow in the context of Cloanthus’ vow, in the ship race (\textit{laetus} appears at 5.236). Hickson argues that \textit{laetus} there, as in some imperial inscriptions, is synonymous with the term \textit{libens}, which appears often on votive offerings of thanksgiving. In her footnote (101, n.23), Hickson cites imperial inscriptions that contain both \textit{laetus} and \textit{libens} (ILS 3824, 3929, 7310).
These contain some variation of the abbreviation “v. s. l. l.” or *votum solvit laetus libens*; Duval (2004, 212-213) lists similar epigraphical formulae (e.g. “l. l. m.,” *laetus libens merito*) and provides examples. A cursory glance through other ILS inscriptions indicates that *votum solvit laetus libens* was common (cf. ILS 3914-3916, 3930, 7309, etc.), and *laetus libens* also appears in literature (cf. Plautus’ *Trinummus* 821, to Neptune: *laetus lubens laudes ago et grates gratiasque habeo*). Eden (1976) and Henry (1989) take *laetus* in this capacity to be very close to *volens*, since unwillingness or hesitance might invalidate the ritual act. Duval (2004) also makes conjectures as to the source of the “joy” when *laetus* is used in votive inscriptions.\(^\text{335}\)

At 8.617 and 6.193, Aeneas is described as *laetus* after receiving help from Venus, in recognition of her role in his future success. In the passage from Book 8, Venus appears to Aeneas as herself and presents to him the arms made for him by Vulcan:

> “en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte munera. ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos aut acrim dubites in proelia poscere Tumum.” dixit, et amplexus nati Cytherea petivit, arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu. ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit, miraturque interque manus et bracchia versat (8.612-619)

This instance is very close to the one that precedes it, at 8.544; both times Aeneas is *laetus* on account of Venus’ intercession. I read Aeneas’ reaction here as very similar to his reaction to the omens in the previous scene. Venus here commands Aeneas to have

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\(^{335}\) *Laetus* nous semble présenter plusieurs valeurs: tout d’abord, le dédicataire a vu sa prière réalisée, il a été «gratififié» par la générosité divine; ensuite, il est joyeux; puis, *laetitia* étant une joie exprimée, il *exprime*—son remerciement et sa joie en les formulant dans la dédicace de l’inscription” (213).
faith in his future success (613-614). Yet again Aeneas is *laetus* after being reminded that he has the gods’ support, and the shield, of course, represents Aeneas’ relationship to his promised future and the success of his *nepotes* (731). Here, *laetus* is used to describe the immediate reaction to a proximate cause, and the *laetus*-emotion, in addition to “joy,” has to do with positive anticipation of the future. Aeneas marvels at the extraordinary gift.

This scene, in which Venus presents arms to Aeneas, is based upon *Il.* 19.1-39, where Thetis presents arms to Achilles, and Aeneas’ response is modeled off Achilles’, there. Both sets of arms are a promise (and means) of the gods’ support of the individual, but Aeneas and Achilles differ somewhat in their emotional response: Aeneas’ wonder in 617-619 is followed immediately by the description of the shield, and the narrator returns to Aeneas again only in the last three lines of Book 8, where Aeneas “rejoices” (*talia per cliceum Volcani, dona parentis, / miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet / attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum* 729-731). When Achilles’ men see his arms, they are struck with trembling (Μυρμιδόνας δ’ ἄρα πάντας ἔλε τρόμος, οὐδὲ τις ἔτλη / ἀντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτρεσαν 19.14-15) and Achilles himself feels the wrath

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336 Hardie (1986, 369ff.) at length relates the Shield to the programmatic phrase *famamque et fata nepotum* (731), and he compares this scene to Achilles’ receiving his arms at *Il.* 19. As for *laetus*, he writes, “*Laetus* is picked up at line 730 ‘imagine gaudet’” (370, n.105).

appropriate to battle at the same time as he rejoices in the god’s gifts. As Aeneas turns the gifts in his hands and admires them from every angle in 8.617-619, so Achilles holds them, in 19.18 (in which line τέρπετο is the analogue for laetus in 8.617). When Achilles addresses Thetis, he praises the gods’ handiwork, but immediately turns to his fear (ἀλλὰ μάλ’ αἰνῶς / δείδω 23-24) over the state of Patroclus’ corpse. Thetis must explicitly reassure him (29-36) and fill him with courage (37); for Aeneas, the gift alone suffices. Τέρπετο in Il. 19.18 expresses joy, but not the optimism of laet- in the Aeneid.

Twice in the Aeneid is laetus honore found in this line position: here, and at 3.178 (below). The honor of 8.617 is Venus’ gift to Aeneas; at 3.178 it is Aeneas’ grateful response to the Penates’ message in a dream. Honos also appears in the line with laetus at 8.268 (below), again to refer to the rite in which a divine figure is thanked for his assistance.

The instance at 6.193 describes Aeneas after he realizes Venus has sent two doves to guide him to the golden bough. Aeneas recognizes the doves as Venus’ messengers and prays that they be guides for him (et viridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros /

338 αὐτάρῳ Ἀχιλλείῳς / ὡς εἰδ’, ὡς μίν μᾶλλον ἔδυ χόλος, ἐν δὲ οἷ ὅσσε / δεινόν ὕπὸ βλεφάρων ὡς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάσανθεν / τέρπετο δ’ ἐν χείρεσιν ἔχων θεοῦ ἀγλάδα δῶρα. (19.15-18)

339 For general information on the Shield, both in the Aeneid and in Homer, see Casali (2006), Clauss (2002), R.D. Williams (1981). On the Shield in the Aeneid as based on [Hesiod]’s Scutum in addition to Achilles’ shield in Il. 18.410-617 (to appropriate the sense of horror of war in the Scutum) see Faber (2000).

340 Eden (1975, ad loc.) equates honore here with munere, and he explains the use as “variation.”
maternas agnovit avis laetusque precatur 6.192-193). The scene, and Aeneas’ reaction, are analogous to other scenes containing omens listed above, particularly those in Book 8.

The newfound hope, at seeing Venus’ guidance and assistance, is directly contrasted with Aeneas’ doubt as to how they might find the golden bough, a sadness compounded by the loss of Misenus (175-179; cf. 212-213, etc.). The description suo tristi corde (185) is a result of both Misenus’ death and the contemplation of the silvam immensam (186). I read laetus in this passage as a response primarily to the sudden resolution of the problem of the silva immensa—which we know from its placement directly after recognition of the guides. Sadness—the grief of losing a friend—is still present in this scene; laetus does not communicate “happiness” here as much as “hopeful joy”: the sense that things are looking up, with regard to a specific objective and situation.

I read the instances as 3.169 and 3.178 as a “correlative” pair like those at 7.130 and 7.147 above. At 3.169, the Penates, appearing to Aeneas in a dream, preempt Aeneas’ going to Delos to ask Apollo for advice following the plague on Crete; they tell him to report to Anchises that they should seek Italian lands, and that Aeneas should report this, laetus. At 3.178 Aeneas describes himself, having poured a libation in thanks, as laetus before he reports the Penates’ words to his father (perfecto laetus honore / Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando 3.178-179). At 3.169 the Penates instruct a

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341 Austin (1977, ad loc.) writes, on laetusque precatur: “Aeneas’ mood changes at once” and compares 2.687 (below) as another use of laetus in response to an augurium. Duval (2004, 158) considers this instance under the heading “qui a la faveur des dieux.”
person how to behave following his encounter with divinity; at 3.178, having woken up from his dream, and having propitiated them with an offering, Aeneas is renewed in his hope.

Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.
hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus
lasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.
surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti
haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat
Ausonias; Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva.
talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum
(nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere vultus
velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar;
tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor)
corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas
ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo
intemerata focis. perfecto laetus honore
Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando. (3.166-179)

The Penates exhort Aeneas to carry the message to Anchises and to set sail for Italy (and to do so, laetus), and the interaction with divinity prompts the laetus-emotion in Aeneas. Aeneas’ recognition of the true divinity is described in 173-175.

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343 Cf. Horsfall (2006, ad loc.), on laetus: “As so often, V[irgil] employs at a key moment this neglected but amply significant term (ignored, e.g., by Mackie here); his penates bid Aen[eas] take joy in conveying this abundance of good news to his father.” Mackie (1988, 68) rather concentrates on the performance of the rite: “Intemerata (178) indicates that Aeneas is careful to ensure that the ritual is properly performed (pietas). He is joyful that the mystery of his destined land appears to be over.”

344 Agnoscre is important here. Forms of agnoscre appear in this passage at 3.173 and 3.180. Forms of agnoscre appear in the same line as a form of laetus, describing the individual’s recognition of the divine hand, at 10.874 and 6.193 (discussed above, in this section), and at 3.347 (agnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit, Helenus’ recognition and welcome of Aeneas); agnosco then also appears at 3.351, as Aeneas describes his own recognition of the rebuilt “little Troy.” There may be some interesting comparison to

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Laetus in 169, describing the second-person subject of the imperative refer (170), is an imperative use of laetus, like that at 7.130. The imperative is for Aeneas to carry the Penates’ message to Anchises. The Penates frame their message as positive, and use future tenses: idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes (157); imperiumque urbi dabis (159).

This laetus occurs in a self-fulfilling prediction—a command made by the Penates who claim to report the message of Apollo, the god of prophecy, whose positive prediction of the future inspires hope (although it is often deceptive). Nevertheless we should keep in mind that as Aeneas reports these words, he himself is about to perform an action whose final result is still unknown to him (being in Carthage, and having not yet founded his city in Italy). The intended meaning of laetus here is made more obscure be made between these uses and passages with forms of agnoscere and laetus in which the agent of the verb is not described by the adjective. At 5.576, the Trojans, watching the boys’ Iustus Troiae, “recognize” (agnoscunt) in them the likeness of their ancestors, and the boys themselves, in the next line, are described as laeti. Soon thereafter, Ascanius parades his horse, laetus, at 5.667 immediately before learning the women have set the ships on fire, and it is the women who “recognize” (agnoscunt) their wrong at 5.679. Similarly, agnovit appears at 1.406, as Aeneas finally recognizes his mother, though it is she who flees, laeta, at 1.416.

Cf. Kühn (1971, 53), who writes, “Die Penaten heißen ihn selbst, froh dem Vater die Botschaft zu bringen (169), und so tut Aeneas (178).” I call these “imperative” uses of laetus to distinguish them from the “descriptive uses” that make up the other half of the correlative pair: in their differences we should consider the mindset and intentions of the speaker, and the relationship between speaker and addressee. The uses of laet- in the Aeneid that I identify as “imperative” uses are: 3.169, 5.58, 5.304, 7.130, 7.430, 9.157, and 10.15. Cf. the use of laetere (quo magis laetere) at 6.718.

when considering how Aeneas is presenting before Dido the Penates’ relationship to himself and his goal. At any rate, *laetus* used with reference to the future does not describe a positive feeling in the present *dependent on the success of* a future event. Aeneas’ use of *laetus* here, as narrator, may be influenced by Anchises’ immediate positive reframing of the situation: in lines 182-188, he quotes Anchises as recalling Cassandra’s instruction that they should sail to Italy, and, although disappointed he had not believed it initially, Anchises now finds reassurance that her prophecy was correct.

TCD (*ad loc.*) sums up the use of *laetus* in 178 in a way quite amenable to my understanding of the use of the word; he frames the use in terms of interaction with the gods, concern for the future, and release from fear (*laetum possimum intelligere, primo quod sic pertineret ad deos, deinde quod labores secundae navigationis effugisset, postremo quod instructus evidentibus et perspicuis monitis nihil iam formidaret incerti*).

*Laetus* elsewhere appears in the context of propitiation and thanksgiving (cf. its use in the process of propitiating at 8.544, and in praying in response to an omen at 2.687, both discussed above). The function of propitiation and thanksgiving of the instances at 3.169 and 3.178 is particularly similar to that at 8.268 and 8.279.347

“ex illo celebratus honos *laetique* minores
servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri
hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
dicitur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.
quare agite, o iuvenes, tantarum in munere laudum
cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris,
communemque vocate deum et date vina volentes.”

dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra

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347 Gransden (1976, *ad* 8.268) writes, on *laeti*: “The dominant mood of the day is one of happiness and thanksgiving.”
velavitque comas foliisque innexa pependit,
et sacer implevit dextram scyphus. ocius omnes
in mensam laeti libant divosque precantur. (8.268-279)

In this scene Aeneas and Evander are at the rites Aeneas had interrupted; Evander has just told the story of Hercules and Cacus; at 268 he begins to tell the story of the tradition of sacrifice in which he currently participates. The two instances of laetus here seem rather perfunctory in this propitiation-function, in describing the human response of gratitude for the saving act of a divine figure—Hercules, here, as representative of the Olympians, who preserve the future of Rome. At 8.268 Evander describes the continuation of the rite: ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores / servavere diem,

348 Gransden (1976, ad 269) writes, on servavere: “The Arcadians ‘save’ this day for Hercules because on it he himself saved them.”

349 The importance of Hercules for the future of Rome, and the degree to which Hercules represents the forces of fate (the same that support Aeneas) Hardie (1986, 111-118) discusses at length, although Hardie (1993) recognizes that there is no simple association of Hercules as “good” here. For my purposes, this has more to do with the reception of this scene among Vergil’s readership than Evander’s knowing intent, since he does not know of Rome. “It is a feature of such cosmogonic myths that they may be re-enacted in later times, particularly in their function as a model for the ordering of the social polity, and the Gigantomachy of the Cacus story is finally mirrored in Octavian’s repetition of the primitive imposition of order on chaos in the scene of the battle of Actium on the Shield; this structural parallelism is reinforced by the sequence, common to both episodes, of Gigantomachic victory followed by religious celebration and thanksgiving” (Hardie 1986, 118). On the connection between Aeneas, Augustus, and Hercules, see Galinsky (1966, 24-28). Nevertheless Hercules is not an entirely positive analogue for Aeneas: see Feeney (1991, 160-161) on “the more forbidding aspects of [Hercules’] paradigm,” specifically Hercules’ violence. Cf. Cairns (1989, 84), who sees Aeneas’ furiae as a positive thing, and Thomas (1991) who refutes him. Jenssen (1990) argues that it is essentially right to see Hercules as an analogue for Aeneas and Augustus, but that this representation is very complicated, and that certain aspects of Cacus and Turnus resonate with the depictions of Aeneas and Augustus as well. On this, see also Ferenczi (1998-1999).
At 275 Evander finishes speaking; he veils his hair, lifts the goblet, and all pour libation. The pair of instances at 8.268 and 8.279 closely resembles the “correlative” pairs I have identified elsewhere.

The use of *laetus* by Evander at 8.268, aside from its propitiatory function, is somewhat idiosyncratic for the *Aeneid*. Therefore in some ways the use of *laetus* in 8.268 and 8.279 is commensurate with use elsewhere we have seen: the two instances are in close proximity to one another, in the context of prayer and propitiation—but in other respects the discrepancies are puzzling. A number of scholars have argued that this scene, particularly verses 268-272, is unfinished, and that Vergil would not have left this as its final form. As at 8.544, the use of *laetus* at this instance may be connected with the necessity of “willingness” in sacrifice (cf. Eden 1975, *ad* 8.275); *laetus* and *libens* are

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350 Fordyce (1977, *ad loc.*) writes, on *minores*: “a later generation... it is surprising to find it put into the mouth of Evander, who is himself a surviving witness.”

351 This pair of instances resembles the “correlative” instances in that they describe the same individuals, *laeti* for the same reason, within close proximity to one another, and one appears in a character’s speech (268, Evander) and the other in the narrator’s words. However, in the other “correlative” instances I have identified, one of the pair (usually, the one in the character’s speech) appears in a command, and the other (in the narrator’s words) is descriptive; the descriptive *laetus* responds to and confirms the characterization. These are similar to the pairs I call correlative instances, except that both instances of *laetus* here are descriptive (even though one is spoken by Evander, and one not), and I prefer to reserve that term for pairs of instances that differ in their function as a speech act.

352 Cf. Highet (1972, 167): “In the received text of the *Aeneid*, several passages are still obviously provisional, incomplete, or incongruous. Such is *Aen.* 8.268-272, where the sequence of time and logic between lines 267 and 273 is broken.” Also cf. Eden (1986, *ad* 268; also 1975, *ad loc.*), and Fordyce (1977, *ad loc.*).
often employed together in inscriptions (see my discussion of *Aen.* 8.544, and Duval 2004, 212-213).  

At 8.681, Augustus, standing on the stern of his ship, leading the battle at Actium against the forces of Antony and Cleopatra, is described on Aeneas’ shield. Augustus’ appearance in this scene is evidence of the gods’ favor of him.

hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar  
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,  
stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammns  
laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.  
parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis  
arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insigne superbum,  
tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona. (8.678-684)

This is the battle in which Augustus (in propaganda, at any rate), and therefore, Rome, obtained supremacy over land and sea.  

Here *laetus* is used in the description of an omen: the flame at Augustus’ temples itself indicates how favored by the gods he is (as does the depiction of Julius Caesar’s comet, the *patrium sidus* 681). This instance not only has the context of prayer, and omen, but battle: the narrator anticipates Augustus’ victory.  

It is appropriate that the force of the expectation of victory should be indicated, or intensified, by the use of *laetus*: the face, and head, is where most emotion is made manifest, and also the location of a crown of victory. Radke and Conte point out

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353 Cf. TCD (*ad loc.*), who connects this instance to such a use: *hoc est laeti libant quod est et volentes.*

354 On the depictions of the Shield as leading towards this expression of Roman preeminence, see Hardie (1986, 346-358).

355 Cf. Fordyce (1977, *ad loc.*): “Augustus is bare-headed and a radiance shines from his ‘exultant brow’... The manifestation of divine favor in a halo of fire which plays about the kingly head has many parallels in legend.”
that between *geminas flammaz* and *tempora laeta* there is a double enallage, but I doubt that *laeta tempora* is without signification, that the force of *laetus* can be divorced entirely from the representation of Augustus or human emotion in this scene.\(^\text{356}\)

Of course, it is significant that this use of *laetus* refers to Augustus, so many centuries in the future, and therefore indicates Rome and the telos of Aeneas’ strivings. Augustus’ victory at Actium is yet another expression of the victory of good in the *Aeneid*, in the interests of Rome.\(^\text{357}\) Again, the appearance of the omen, and its signification of the gods’ support, give rise to the *laetus*-emotion; cf. Hardie (1986, 354) on the “link between earth and heaven,” the confirmation of the import of the flames around Augustus’ head by the appearance of Julius’ star.\(^\text{358}\) Grassmann-Fischer (1966, 23) concisely expresses the multiple significations of omen, light, the gods’ support, historical reality (for Vergil’s audience), and the relationship between Aeneas and Augustus here, all of which I see reflected through the use of *laetus*.\(^\text{359}\)

\(^{\text{356}}\) Radke (1964, 89); also see Conte (2007, 119). Goold, in his Loeb (1999, 108) translates *laeta* as “auspicious.”

\(^{\text{357}}\) On the struggle between good and evil, see note on 8.279 above. Gaskin (1992, 312) writes, “The typology which Virgil runs in book 8 correlates the conflicts of Hercules and Cacus, Aeneas and Turnus/Mezentius, and Augustus and Anthony.” Hardie (1986, 214ff.) discusses the correlation between Hercules and Augustus; he also specifically notes that correlation in Anchises’ panegyric of Augustus in *Aen.* 6.791-805 (257). See Feeney (1991, 160-162) and Galinsky (1966, 24-28) on the connection between Hercules, Aeneas, and Augustus: the association is not entirely good, and Hercules is a problematic figure.

\(^{\text{358}}\) “On the Shield, where historical reality is particularly exposed, the participation of the heavens or sky in Roman empire is developed chiefly through the theme of divine co-operation with the aims of the city” (Hardie 1986, 354).

\(^{\text{359}}\) “In der Schlacht von Actium, Teil und Höhepunkt der auf dem Schild des Aeneas dargestellten Zukunftsvision, hat die Auseinandersetzung um Rom im augusteischen Bewußtsein ihre Endphase erreicht. Wie Aeneas erscheint Augustus *stans celsa in puppi*
II.5: Founding

Five times *laetus* appears expressing the enthusiasm of an individual for the founding of a city. Individuals described as *laetus* with regard to founding cities are described as such in the anticipation of the greatness of the city in question; individuals are not described as *laetus* in the enjoyment of a city’s success, well after its founding.

Four of these five instances of *laetus* are focalized through Aeneas: either he is *laetus* at the prospect of setting down roots, or he views others in the process as *laetus*. The one instance not following this trend is at 1.275, where Jupiter describes Romulus as *laetus* with reference to the founding of Rome; the identification of Aeneas and Augustus with Romulus, however, allows this *laetus* to refer to the same trajectory of fate.

At 7.288 Aeneas, finally in Italy, is described as *laetus* while in the process of physically constructing his city (*moliri, tecta* 290). He is seen through Juno’s vengeful eyes:

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talibus Aeneadae donis dictisque Latini
sublimes in equis redeunt pacemque reportant. 285
ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis
saeva Iovis coniunx aurasque invecta tenebat,
et laetum Aenean clasemque ex aethere longe
Dardaniam Siculo prospexit ab usque Pachyno.
moliri iam tecta videt, iam fidere terrae,
deseruisse rates: stetit acri fixa dolore. (7.284-291)
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Aeneas’ hopefulness is contrasted with Juno’s negativity (*stetit acri fixa dolore* 291) in the scene before she summons Allecto. Juno anticipates her own failure and phrases this in terms of fate (*heu stirpem invisam et fatis contraria nostris / fata Phrygum!* 293-294). She feels grief because she has been thwarted in the past (294-303) and will be, in the future; *laetum* contrasts Aeneas’ hope for the future with Juno’s frustration. Thus, to the extent to which she is able, Juno undermines Aeneas’ hope and frustrates this emotion.\(^{360}\) Heinze relates this scene to that at the beginning of Book 1, where Juno had also taken vengeance on Aeneas. Heinze does not mention the *laetus* at 1.35,\(^{361}\) but the connection is significant for this study not only in terms of where the adjective shows up in the narrative (there is a thematic continuum from *setting out* to *arriving* to *founding*, all generalized uses I have identified of “forward-looking,” hopeful *laetus*), but also because in both instances Aeneas as *laetus* is seen through Juno’s resentful eyes.\(^{362}\) On the strong

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\(^{360}\) Cf. Horsfall (2000, *ad loc.*): “As the Trojans were at 130, 147 and Latinus at 259 (not to mention the Trojans at the corresponding 1.35); here tinged strongly with tragic irony, given that Aen[eas] is blissfully unaware of Juno’s malignant interest.” Cf. also Lyne (1989, 183) on “disaster-prone happiness”; also see Paschalis (1997, 251). On Juno as *saeva* in the *Aeneid*, see Knox (1996-1997).

\(^{361}\) *vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum / vela dabant laeti, et spumas salis aere ruebant* (1.34-35).

\(^{362}\) Heinze (1915, 182) notes that this scene parallels the scene in Book 1 in which Juno sees Aeneas enjoying success and employs a lesser divinity to ruin it for him. “In each case, Juno is amazed and furious to see the good fortune that her enemy enjoys, and pours out her emotions in a soliloquy; in each case, she uses a minor divinity to destroy her enemy in each case, her command is immediately obeyed and disaster strikes... It is precisely because she foresees that her plans will inevitably come to nothing that there are no bounds to her overwhelming desire to exact the greatest possible vengeance while she still has the chance to do so” (Heinze 182; Harvey 148 trans.). Kühn (1971, 103ff.) also connects these two scenes; Horsfall (2000, *ad loc.*) briefly connects this use of *laetus* with that at 1.35.
juxtaposition of joy and peace with anger and war in these lines, cf. Gransden (1984, 68).

Knauer (1964, 400) likens 7.288 with Od. 5.269, where Odysseus is γηθόσυνος.

Romulus is described at the point of founding Rome in the instance at 1.275.⁶³

hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos,
Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus 275
Romulus excipiet gentem, et Mavortia condet
moenia, Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
imperium sine fine dedi. quin aspera Iuno (1.272-279)

From 1.257-296 Jupiter comforts Venus by assuring the success of Aeneas and the
Roman race; in these lines he promises the greatest possible consolation,⁶⁴ the founding
of Rome by Romulus (cf. Servius ad loc.: laetus virtute alacer, vel quia avo regnum
reddiderat, vel quia ipse novam urbem et novum condebat imperium).⁶⁵ Jupiter uses a
number of future tense verbs in this passage (regnabitur 272, dabit 274, excipiet 276,
etc.) and cites the endless futurity of Roman rule (sine fine 279). The ablative of

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⁶³ Feeney (1986a, 8-9) addresses the shift from the geminam prolem (274) to the singular
laetus (275) and the problem of the figure of Remus (who could simply have been

⁶⁴ Cf. Highet (1972, 99): the form of the speech indicates that this sentence is its height:
“Jupiter’s speech is forty lines in length. The sentence that stands exactly at its center
(275-277) describes the central event of this many-centuried history, the foundation
of Rome, toward which the suffering and effort of Troy led, and from which world peace
and world dominion were to flow. Powerful alliteration adds emphasis to this
affirmation.”

⁶⁵ On Servius’ use of alacer as an explanation of laetus, see my discussion of 4.295,
above.
specification (*tegmine 275*) points to a rather specific item from Romulus’ past that he carries with him into a hopeful future, not unlike the name *Pergameam* from the instance at 3.133 (and *Mavortia moenia* indicates recognition of his father, named at 274).  

In this instance, and instances like it, *laetus* carries a narratological function outside the descriptive function, especially for considerations like the personal characterization of an individual. Vergil employs *laetus* not to characterize Romulus as a contented sort of individual, or even to convey simple joy in a particular situation: *laetus* marks Romulus, and his actions in this scene, as important for the future, and specifically with regard to his relationship with Rome. I consider this instance to be similar to that at 8.617, discussed above, where Aeneas is *laetus* on receipt of his shield, from Venus.  

For the instance at 3.133, the ablative of specification recalling the past is *cognomine* (133):

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  ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis
  Pergameamque voco, et *laetam* cognomine gentem
  hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis. (3.132-134)
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366 Austin (1971, *ad loc.*) translates this as “delighting in the red-brown skin of a wolf-nurse.” On *laetus* he writes: “The position of *laetus* gives the adjective marked emphasis; Romulus was proud not only of his *tegmen* but of the *gens* under his rule and of the city that he was to found.” On the identification of Romulus here with Augustus, see Basson (1975, 10-15; 31-35), and Scott (1925). Basson (1975, 24-25) notes the elements of past and future in the naming mentioned (*Mavortia / Romanos*); “however, before proceeding to his role as *conditor*, he first dwells on Romulus’ origin” (24). Basson (24, n.59) notes that this is Vergil’s first reference to the story of Romulus and Remus suckling at the wolf in the *Aeneid*, but that that image will appear as the first item on Aeneas’ shield (8.630-634) and will recur numerous times in the epic.

367 Cf. Austin (1971, *ad loc.*), on *Romanos*: “Virgil’s compression of Rome’s prehistory helps to suggest the close link of the *gens Hectorea* with the Romans.” On the ways in which Jupiter’s prophecy here is misleading, see O’Hara (2007, 79-82).
In these lines Aeneas recalls for Dido his attempt at founding a city in Crete; the ablative of specification indicates that laetam involves the relationship between the name of Troy and that of their newly founded city.\textsuperscript{368} Here, Aeneas supervises the building of the city (\textit{arcemque attollere tectis} 134; \textit{iura domosque dabam} 137), just as Dido does at 1.503 (the next instance I discuss, below). \textit{Molior} at 3.132 and \textit{tectis} at 3.134 recall \textit{moliri} and \textit{tecta} in 7.290, cited above in this section. \textit{Avidus} and \textit{optatae} (132) help frame explicitly this instance in the context of hope and desire for future achievements as opposed to present-time joys. With the presence of the word \textit{laetus} here, Aeneas as narrator juxtaposes the positive hope with the destruction of the plague in the lines that immediately follow (3.137-142).

At 1.503 Aeneas sees Dido for the first time: a queen like a goddess, presiding over the work and her kingdom about to be built (\textit{instans operi regnisque futuris} 504). In this instance Dido is seen as \textit{laeta} through the eyes of Aeneas, who is envious of her position and responsibilities.\textsuperscript{369}

\begin{quote}
haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,
dum stupet, obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,
regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{368} Cf. Day (1984, 28): “The Trojans found their new Troy, calling it Pergamum, and the people ‘rejoice in the old familiar name’ (\textit{laetam cognomine}).” Servius (\textit{ad loc.}) explains \textit{laetam} with \textit{propter Pergama restituta}. Cf. Horsfall (2006, \textit{ad loc.}): “It is altogether normal, and blameless, for Greek colonists, mythical (and above all Virgilian) or historical, to name their city-foundations after their mother-city.” Fordyce (1977, \textit{ad loc.}) writes, “Virgil uses [\textit{cognomen}] especially of the significant name, the \textit{ἐπωνυμία} or \textit{αἰτίον}.” Cf. R.D. Williams (1962, \textit{ad 3.133}): “Virgil often uses [\textit{cognomen}] in a context which implies the meaning \textit{ἐπωνυμία}, the calling of a new thing after an old.” Cf. O’Hara (1996, 137-138).

\textsuperscript{369} Cf. Lonsdale (1990, 20).
The majority of the scholarship on this passage concerns the simile relating Dido and Diana (498-502), particularly the importance of the intertextual references to the Nausicaa-Artemis simile in Homer at Od. 6.102-108, the Medea-Artemis simile in Apollonius, at Arg. 3.876-386, and the intratextual reference to Venus as huntress in the first book of the Aeneid.

What relevance do these references have for the use of *laeta* at 1.503?

For Nelis (2001), Dido’s commanding presence as she walks through the city recalls Medea more than the youthful Nausicaa playing on the shore; but there is Homeric detail, e.g. “Vergil also follows Homer in using the simile to illustrate female beauty (*pulcherrima* 1.496) and happiness (*laeta* 1.503).” The reference to Medea renders the presentation of Dido, in the discharge of her queenly duties, problematic: she will fall in love, like Medea, but unlike Medea she must also attend to high responsibilities.

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370 Nelis (2001, 84). Duval (2004, 172) also connects *laeta* at 1.503 with *forma pulcherrima* (496): “le contexte… nous amène à comprendre davantage *laeta* comme l’expression de la beauté que comme celle de la joie.” Nelis does not cite the Greek word he takes as parallel to *laeta* here, but he appears to refer to τερπομένη at Od. 6.104. Cf. τερπ- used at Il. 19.18, of Achilles upon receiving his arms, discussed above as the analogue for the use of *laetus* of Aeneas at 8.617.

371 See Nelis (2001, 82-86). “The reference to the figure of Medea is clearly highly relevant to this theme, at least hinting that Dido may be a lover in a similar mould… Dido, when she is compared to Diana, is a queen intent on the building and organization of a
To this comparison with Medea I respond that Medea in Arg. 3.876-886 is not described as “happy” at all (there is no vocabulary in the Greek to correspond with laeta here). Dido is laeta as she moves through the crowds of her people (se ferebat per medios); her people are the proximate cause in the phrase for the laetus-emotion, and presumably all are well-disposed toward one another. Just so, Nausicaa-as-Artemis “rejoices” (τερπομένη Od. 6.104) in the boars and swift deer. In the Medea-Artemis simile in Apollonius, however, the relationship is one of fear: the animals yield in fear, or awe, to Artemis (ὑποτρομέοντες 3.874), and Medea’s people resist making eye contact with her (875-876). The relationship between Dido and her people differs greatly even from that of Medea and her people. Τερπομένη at Od. 6.104 is not so important thematically that Vergil needed to include laeta; I suggest that Vergil uses it here to underscore the imagery of Dido as “good king” and the tension between Aeneas and Dido on account of her having already achieved his goal of founding a successful city. In short: Dido and her people have good rapport, and seeing this rapport increases Aeneas’ envy.

city, and her public functions are her main concern. In this she differs radically from Medea, who is compared to Artemis when she is acting against the wishes of the king Aetetes by going to help Jason. The difference underlines Dido’s queenly status” (85). Cf. TCD (ad loc.).

372 Austin (1971, ad loc.) writes, “Homer is concerned primarily to illustrate Nausicaa’s beauty; her happiness is secondary... Virgil’s concern is to show Dido’s happiness (talem se laeta ferebat, 503) as she came intent on her city’s business, instans operi; her beauty is secondary... Virgil marks Dido’s happiness in her royalty by stressing Diana’s leadership while her nymphs follow (499).” Most other scholars on this passage do not take Dido’s “happiness” as a salient part of this scene; I suspect that they make the omission because the meaning and use of laeta here is not straightforward.

373 Lonsdale (1990, 20) argues the reference to Homer carries more weight than the
The intratextual reference most cited regarding this passage is the correspondence with the Venus-Diana simile at 1.314-320; the characterization of Venus there, and generally, speaks to the presentation of Dido here. Wilhelm (1987) argues that the correspondence, given the audience’s awareness of Venus’ plans that will bring Dido’s death, renders the use of laeta here problematic and foreboding. (This would correspond with Lyne’s “disaster-prone happiness.”) Feeney (1991) remarks on the “ironic” juxtaposition of Venus as laeta at 1.416 and Dido as laeta at 1.503. Feeney reference to Apollonius. “It should also be pointed out that the Odyssey simile occurs before Odysseus ever sees Nausicăa, who is thus visible only to the audience. The Aeneid simile, on the other hand, comments indirectly on Aeneas’ reaction upon sighting the Carthaginian queen.”

Thornton (1985, 617-618) argues that Vergil is closely linking Venus to Dido through the Venus-huntress simile at 1.314-320 (more so than Diana, as Dido will be a part of Venus’ realm and interests, etc.).

Wilhelm (1987, 43-45) argues that this Dido-Diana simile recalls Venus, and the reader’s wariness over Venus’ intentions elicits a foreboding on Dido’s behalf: “The Diana simile portrays [Dido] as being content and regal in her role at Carthage as are Diana and Latona in their spheres. But we sense that this is not to continue. Dido has already been characterized as fati nescia (1.299) in the narrative and as misera (1.344) by Venus. When Dido finally appears, and as Diana, we realize that her joy will be short-lived because we link the two Diana similes in our minds and comprehend that cunning Venus, the other Diana, will be instrumental in bringing about Dido’s misfortune” (45).

“The gulf between human and divine understanding creates resources of irony which contribute powerfully to the tragic atmosphere of the poem. Again and again, trenchant juxtapositions cast into relief the feebleness of human effort beside the gods’ impervious self-sufficiency... When Venus has arranged that Aeneas may go safely into Carthage to meet Dido, she moves serenely off to her favoured Paphos, laeta, ‘happy’ (1.416); less than a hundred lines later, Dido appears for the first time, laeta (503). The ‘happiness’ of the gods is a constant feature of their immortal nature, but whenever humans are ‘happy’ in this poem, disaster is very near” (Feeney 1991, 182).
also notes the similarity between this instance and those at 1.35 and 7.288, also both known for their tragic irony.\textsuperscript{377}

I connect the use of \textit{laeta} here primarily to Dido’s status and function as queen, the ruler of her citizens and the kingdom about to be built (\textit{futuris} 504). I read the simile as comparing Dido to Diana insofar as Diana leads those under her—and so Dido carries herself specifically through her people (\textit{per medios} 504).\textsuperscript{378} This passage is focalized through Aeneas, and it follows closely Aeneas’ marveling at the energy and industry with which the Carthaginians work at 1.421-440. Elsewhere we read explicitly his jealousy of Dido’s accomplishments (cf. Aeneas’ jealousy at 437ff.).\textsuperscript{379} Cairns also emphasizes

\begin{itemize}
\item[378] Austin (1971, \textit{ad loc.}) writes, on \textit{se... ferebat}: “of proud movement.” On \textit{instans operi} he writes, “This has a correspondence with \textit{exercet choros} (499): Dido is indefatigable.” For a comparison with \textit{gaudia} (502) cf. Austin (1971) on \textit{pertemptant}: “Latona’s happiness assails her; the verb is very strong implying a physical thrill or shock.” Austin provides a number of parallels, including \textit{DRN} 6.287, on the effect of a thunderbolt: \textit{tremor terras graviter pertemptat}, and Statius \textit{Ach.} 1.183, \textit{angunt sua gaudia matrem} (of Thetis, watching Achilles with Chiron).
\item[379] Lyne (1989) considers this in his section on “disaster-prone happiness” (184), asserting that this use of \textit{laeta} necessarily looks forward to Dido’s unhappy fall. Perhaps, given Dido’s role in the \textit{Aeneid}, she cannot be described as \textit{laeta} without some tragic irony. However, I read these lines (503-504) as emphasizing her role as leader in her city, specifically in charge of buildings and workers; Aeneas, the cause of her soon-to-be destruction, has not been introduced to her (contrast 1.685, where Dido is \textit{laetissima} in Venus’ description at the banquet, as she fawns over him; the intimacy between Dido and Aeneas as causing Dido’s fall is much clearer there). Lyne chooses this instance of \textit{laetus} at 1.503 as one in which Vergil “cashes in” his “disaster-prone” use most clearly and most functionally: “\textit{Laetus} has acquired for the duration of the \textit{Aeneid} a potential novelty of value: it may connote \textit{disaster-prone} happiness, happiness which retribution awaits. This value is cashed in now, at 1.503. Dido’s \textit{laeta} discreetly forebodes the disaster that will come.” Cf. the opening to Pöschl’s (1977, 84-85) discussion of Dido, which begins with this scene: “Mit einem frohbewegten Bild beginnt das dunkle Schicksal der Dido. Der
Dido’s similarity to Aeneas in this passage and her status as a “good king”: “Like Aeneas Dido fled overseas (360-4); and she has already done what he hopes to do, set up her city in a foreign land.”

The instance at 8.311 connects Aeneas with Rome; Aeneas listens and marvels while Evander tells stories regarding the future site:

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miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum 310
Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus
exquiritque auditque virum monimenta priorum.
tum rex Evandrus Romanae conditor arcis:
“haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant
gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata” (8.310-315) 315
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Evander has finished the rite to Hercules, and he and Aeneas converse as they walk through the future site of Rome. Aeneas is amazed (miratur 310). This instance of laetus is very much like that at 1.503, where Aeneas is impressed by Dido’s accomplishments: at this point Aeneas has yet to be associated with Rome in history, and here he is impressed by the world of Evander, the rex and Romanae conditor arcis (313). That Evander is called this is a reference forward, even as virum monimenta priorum looks back to the past. Laetus, however, modifies Aeneas here, not Evander, and the envy Aeneas feels for Dido’s accomplishments is absent; perhaps this is because of his affinity to the future site and future glory of Rome, as if he himself were a co-founder. The deep

Kontrast läßt entsprechend den Gesetzen klassischer Komposition die Tragik um so stärker hervortreten. Die Freude kontrastiert im Bewußtsein des Lesers mit dem folgenden Schmerz, die Sorge um ihr Reich mit dem Untergang Karthagos. Ihr Schicksal vollzieht sich wie das des sophokleischen Ödipus in der Form einer tragischen Umkehr.”

380 Cairns (1989, 40).

381 Cf. Fordyce (1977, ad loc.) on Romanae conditor arcis: “a glance into the future: Evander’s settlement is the nucleus of the Palatine of Romulus and of Augustus.”
yeaing that Aeneas feels in Book 1, seeing Dido’s walls go up, is absent here because Aeneas himself is associated with the place (though Aeneas does not know this). Aeneas is not “content,” here, but “excited” or “inspired.”

II.6: Other “forward-looking” uses

Not all uses of laetus in the Aeneid that show a forward-looking sensibility share in the trends of use of arrival, departure, founding, etc. that I have described above. These do, however, indicate the positive emotion of anticipation for the future (“hope”). Four such instances, at 1.732, 9.89, 10.15, and 11.42, I discuss below.

At 1.732, Dido gives a toast to Jupiter at the feast with Aeneas. At the end of her toast she will ask Aeneas to speak, and when he does so, he will tell the story of Books 2 and 3.

hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis:
“Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquentur,
hunc laetum Tyrisque diem Troiaque profectis
esse velis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.
adsit laetitia Bacchus dator, et bona Iuno;
et vos, o coetum Tyrii, celebrate faventes.” (1.728-735)

Dido’s toast is a prayer for an auspicious day, focused on expectations for the future (nostrosque huius meminisse minores 733), expectations that are positive and implicitly contrasted with the devastation from the past (Troiaque profectis 732). I suggest that Dido is nearly explicit in her hope that Aeneas, and the Trojans, will remain in Carthage for some time: in line 732 she distinguishes between Tyrian and Trojan, but in line 733
she has already condensed the progeny of the two groups to *nostros minores*. This use of *laetus* is consistent with Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sensibility: the audience knows that Dido’s prayer will go unfulfilled, and that this will not be an auspicious day for the Carthaginians.\(^{382}\) Jupiter does not hear.\(^{383}\) The *laet-* stem is picked up with *adsit* *laetitiae Bacchus dator* at 1.734. I discuss this instance of *laetitia* in Chapter IV.1.

At 9.89 Cybele addresses Jupiter, and begs that he allow her to save the ships Turnus has set on fire, since they are sacred to her:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vocibus his adfata Iovem:} & \quad \text{“da, nate, petenti,} \\
\text{quod tua cara parens domito te poscit Olympos.} & \quad \text{85} \\
\text{pinea silva mihi multos dilecta per annos,} & \\
\text{lucus in arce fuit summa, quo sacra ferebant,} & \\
\text{nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis.} & \\
\text{has ego Dardanio iuveni, cum classis egeret,} & \\
\text{laeta dedi; nunc sollicitam timor anxius angit.} & \\
\text{solve metus atque hoc precibus sine posse parentem,} & \quad 90 \\
\text{ne cursu quassataeullo neu turbine venti} & \\
\text{vincantur: prosit nostris in montibus ortas.” (9.83-92)} & 
\end{align*}
\]

Here Cybele is guarding against future prospects and asking Jupiter to release her from worry. Fear is the opposite of hope, and Cybele directly contrasts the outlook of *laeta dedi* (89) with *sollicitam timor anxius angit* (and *solve metus*, 90). The *ne... vincantur* clause expresses the future she hopes to avoid. Jupiter responds (94-103) in terms of the

\(^{382}\) Cf. Austin (1971, *ad loc.*) on *laetum*: “a day of joy and of happy presage for days to come: tragic irony indeed.”

\(^{383}\) Cf. Worstbrock (1963, 86-87) on lines 731-734 and the tragic irony of praying to Jupiter and Juno, whose roles vis-à-vis Dido’s interests are complicated.
future, as well.\textsuperscript{384} \textit{Laeta} here also conveys willingness; Duval (2004, 151-152) connects 9.89 with her understanding of \textit{laetitia} as “generosity.”

At the beginning of Book 10, Jupiter convenes the council of gods to order them to refrain from helping or hindering either side in the war between the Latins and Trojans. In this passage is the instance at 10.15:

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“adveniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus,
cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
exitium magnum atque Alpis immittet apertas:
tum certare odis, tum res rapuisse licebit.
nunc sinite et placitum \textit{laeti} componite foedus.”

Iuppiter haec paucis; at non Venus aurea contra (10.11-16)
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Immediately following this, Venus and Juno have opposing speeches; Jupiter at the end concedes and allows fate to take its course (\textit{fata viam invenient} 112). The function of this passage in the text has been a subject of much recent scholarship; cf. Feeney’s discussion.\textsuperscript{385}

\textsuperscript{384} Fantham (1990) compares this passage with its model in \textit{Od}. 13, and also writes on the treatment of ships as divine creatures in Greek and Roman literature, the relationship between Cybele and the ships in Book 9, and Aeneas and the ship-nymphs in Book 10. This article is not especially relevant for \textit{laeta} here, although the author does consider whether Vergil includes \textit{laeta dedi} to exonerate Aeneas from the charge of the impious use of a sacred grove (109).

\textsuperscript{385} 1991, 144-145. Also see Harrison (1980) and Lyne (1987, 88-90). The relationship of the gods’ power to events here is unnerving; cf. O’Hara (2007, 103). For analysis of the speeches of Juno and Venus, see Block (1981, 86-93) and Highet (1972, 65ff.), etc. Block (1981, 78-79) writes, “The questions the reader should be asking are why the council occurs at this juncture, how it recalls the earlier acts of Venus and Juno, and how it will affect perception of the events of the final three books of the poem. Once these questions have been asked, it will be possible to see why Vergil chose to include a conversation between the gods which not only solves nothing, but also is invalidated, for in the course of the same book, Jupiter’s orders are disobeyed by Venus at 331ff., and Jupiter himself gives Juno permission to interfere at 622ff.” As Heinze (1915, 297, n.1) remarks, if Jupiter were to assert his power here and enact fate, the poem would be over.
Jupiter’s use of future tenses in *adveniet* (11), *immittet* (13), and *licebit* (14) is important. As Jupiter is well aware that Juno and Venus won’t be placated (and surely he is), he tries to assuage their anger at him by promising war in the future. “Cheerfully put down your weapons” would be sensible, but Venus and Juno are deeply emotional, and unlikely to heed his request (especially not “cheerfully” or “willingly”). Jupiter is not misrepresenting their feeling in the present, for the present; he does not *describe* them as “cheerful” or “willing,” much less “happy,” for the moment. Rather, he uses *laeti*, with its forward-looking sensibility, to exhort them to respond “cheerfully,” or with hope, to underline his promise that their desires will be fulfilled in the future. Therefore I connect *laeti* in 15 to the message of 11-14 as well as the *nunc* of 15: the feeling is one in the present, but on account of expectations for the future. Jupiter had previously identified the gods’ current emotion as fear (*quis metus*, 9); the use of *laeti* stands in contrast with this fear.

This use of *laetus* in the imperative is reminiscent of Turnus’ imperative *laetus* at 9.157 (*quod superest, laeti bene gestis corpora rebus / procurate, viri, et pugnam sperate parari* 157-158). In the narrative that follows that instance, Turnus’ men are not characterized by the narrator as to their emotional disposition, but they will not win the battle for which Turnus prepares them.

At 11.42 Aeneas mourns the dead Pallas:

*ipse caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora ut vidit levique patens in pectore vulnus 40 cuspidis Ausoniae, lacrimis ita fatur obortis: “tene” inquit “miserande puer, cum laeta veniret,*

At the end of Book 10, Aeneas had killed Mezentius after the death of Pallas. Before Aeneas takes Pallas’ body back to Evander, he says these words, and there is mourning; Aeneas’ men decorate the bier.

The significance of *laeta* here lies in how Fortune affects Aeneas’ and Pallas’ lives—the relationship fate has to these two men, since Aeneas is referring to the fate of both. Aeneas uses *laeta* to describe the way he had interpreted their fortune, as appearing to indicate an auspicious future—leading them to hope, but bringing suffering. Clearly the positive emotion is contrasted with the intense mourning at the beginning of Book 11, indicated in these very lines also, in *lacrimis* (41). I interpret 42-44 to mean, “Did

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387 Cf. Horsfall (2003, *ad loc.*).

388 O’Hara (1990, 47) addresses Aeneas’ disappointment on account of a misleading prophecy: “The wording of *Aen.* 10.507-9 is a pointed reminder that Pallas’ death fulfills the letter but contradicts the spirit of Cymodocea’s words to Aeneas predicting a successful battle... In Book 11 Aeneas’ speech over the body of Pallas stresses disappointed hopes and expectations.” Hight (1972, 206) writes: “[Aeneas] apostrophizes over the corpse of Pallas (*Aen.* 11.42-58) as Achilles laments over the corpse of Patroclus (*Il.* 18.324-342). Each recalls the promises he made to the dead man’s father and reflects on the defeat of human hopes. But there the resemblance between the speeches ends. Achilles goes on to declare that although he too must die at Troy, meanwhile he will avenge Patroclus by killing Hector in battle and cutting the throats of twelve Trojan prisoners. Aeneas says nothing of himself or of revenge, but pities the old father, praises the dead youth’s courage, and thinks of the loss his death will mean to Italy and to his own successor Ascanius.” Gransden (1991, *ad loc.*) translates as, “Did Fortune grudge you to me, though she came smiling? You were not to see our kingdom established.”

389 Gransden (1984, 161-165) provides an emotional analysis of the situation, and the rhetorical function of these speeches in Book 11; cf. “The key words of Aeneas’ speech are words of negation, disappointment, loss, failure, an ironic awareness of the gap between heroic boast and human destiny: *non haec, spe... inani, examinum, nil iam caelestibus ullis debentem, vano... honore, and the ubiquitous maesti, maestum, maesto,*
Fortune, though she came promising good things, steal you from me, poor boy, that you
might not see our walls nor be borne, as victor, back to your father’s home?”390 Rather
than “feeling hope,” laeta seems to mean “providing hope.”391 Duval (2004, 152)
discusses this instance together with that at 9.89 (above), and argues that this is a
presentation of Fortune as “generous.”

Aeneas’ statement also focalizes the loss through Evander (45-54), who feared
(metuens 47) a bad outcome and even at that time was fed by empty hope (spe inani 49).
This sense of commonality of fate is supported by the use of nostra (44). Knauer (1964,
420) compares Aen. 11.42-58 to II. 18.324-342, Achilles’ lamentation for Patroclus.
Achilles’ complaint regarding fate, and Zeus (18.324-328), might be relevant here, but
Achilles does not present fate as deceptive; he himself misrepresented it (324-325)
unknowingly, and fate did not misrepresent itself.

\[maestus, maesta,\] the declension of sorrow” (161). Gransden (162) points out that the
young Marcellus is also described as miserande puer (heu, miserande puer, si qua fata
aspera rumpas, / tu Marcellus eris 6.882-883). Both uses of miserande puer involve the
contrast between expectation of a glorious future and its failure, and both are closely
juxtaposed with instances of laetus (Marcellus had been described as frons laeta parum at
6.862). On Catullan references in Vergil’s description of the dead Pallas (11.68-9) see

390 Therefore, although the subjunctive clause is begun by ne, I read it as indicating result
rather than purpose.

391 TCD (ad loc.) uses optatis to explain: amica fuit, ut successibus meis optatis laetitiam
dimicanti conferret, an magis inimica, dum favet, ipsa praestitit, ipsa rursus invidit?
CHAPTER THREE: LAETUS IN AENEID 5

In this chapter I discuss the use of the adjective laetus in Book 5 of the Aeneid, to support the evidence for the nature of laetus that I have already shown, according to the trends of use identified in the last chapter.\textsuperscript{392} The use of laetus in Book 5 is representative of its use in the whole work,\textsuperscript{393} and because the content of Book 5, particularly the memorial games for Anchises, shows a straightforward cause and effect with regard to action, result, and motivation, I can more easily demonstrate the use of laetus in this book. For example, I made the argument in the previous chapter that an individual is described as laetus upon receiving a boon, one that improves his or her perspective on his lot for the future. In Book 1, the necessary considerations are deeply complicated: the instance at 1.35, where Aeneas’ men appear, laeti, for the first time, and believe they set out for Italy, requires discussion of their past, their future, the characterization of Aeneas as their leader, and a great many of the thematic considerations that interweave throughout the epic. In Book 5—at 5.210, for example, below—Mnestheus, a relatively

\textsuperscript{392} The uses of laetus in Book 5 often follow the same trends as elsewhere; there is no “setting out” or “founding” use, but “arrival” appears at 5.34; “battle” or “competition,” at 5.183, 5.210, and 5.304; and “prayer,” or interaction with the divine, at 5.58, 5.100, 5.236, 5.531, and 5.816. Some “forward-looking” instances do not present as part of these trends; they appear at 5.40, 5.107, 5.577, 5.667, 5.283, and 5.515. I discuss all of these instances below.

\textsuperscript{393} Cf. Galinsky (1968, 183): Book 5 “epitomizes the epic as a whole.”
undeveloped character,\textsuperscript{394} is described as \textit{laetus} in the ship race, at the very moment when he has observed the crash of the ship ahead of him, when he believes he has a better chance of winning. I argue that the \textit{laetus}-emotion is an effect; in Book 5, cause and effect are much more easily observed than elsewhere. Hence I discuss the use of \textit{laetus} in Book 5 separately, both to confirm certain aspects of \textit{laetus} that I have noted elsewhere (e.g. the “forward-looking” sense), and also to demonstrate that the scale of uses in Book 5 differs slightly from the scale of other uses.

Book 5 also has a special relationship with both the word \textit{laetus} (in the sheer number of instances in this book) and the theme of “joy.” P. Miniconi, in a study of \textit{laetus} and related words (e.g. \textit{gaudium}) in the \textit{Aeneid}, calls Book 5 “le plus gai de toute la poème.”\textsuperscript{395} Miniconi (1962) and Rieks (1989) are the two scholars who have written at length thus far on \textit{laetus} in the \textit{Aeneid}, and both single out Book 5 for special consideration.\textsuperscript{396} Other scholars have also noticed the theme of “joy” in Book 5.\textsuperscript{397}

\textsuperscript{394} Cf. Otis (1963, 58), in his comparison of the use of dialogue in the ship race for the purposes of characterization, between the ship race in \textit{Aeneid} 5 and the corresponding event in Homer: “The remarks of Gyas to his pilot Menoetes, the hortatory speech of Mnestheus to his men, the prayer of Cloanthus, are all typical of general situations, not... of specific characters... Aeneas or almost any Trojan leader could have said these lines on any important occasion calling for effort and courage... The reader is not expected to realize Gyas, Mnestheus, Cloanthus, &c. as distinct individuals.” Cf. Willcock (1988, 6-8, 11-12) on the absence of individual characterization for these four, particularly in contrast to the characters of the chariot race in \textit{Il.} 23. Putnam (1962, 205) briefly asserts the opposite: that the individualization of contestants in the \textit{Aeneid} is a Vergilian touch not present in \textit{Il.} 23.

\textsuperscript{395} See Miniconi (1962, 565).

\textsuperscript{396} “Stärker als alle anderen Freudenbegriffe und eindeutiger als im 1. Buch legt das Wort \textit{laetus} die Grundstimmung des 5. Buches von Anfäng an fest” (Rieks 1989, 207); cf. “Le livre V est par excellence celui de la joie” (Miniconi 1962, 568); and “La gioia predomina dal momento dell’approdo in poi, quasi che la stessa terra avesse restituito ai profughi la fiducia in sé e nell’avvenire. \textit{Laetus} è l’aggettivo di gran lunga piú [sic]
The adjective *laetus* appears more often in Book 5 than in any other book of the *Aeneid* (15 times), and all instances of the *laet-* stem in this book are of the adjective *laetus*. *Laetus* appears 78 times total in the *Aeneid*; therefore nearly one-fifth of all instances of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* appear in Book 5. Only Book 1 contains more instances of the *laet-* stem (16, which includes a participle of *laetari* and three forms of *laetitia*).

I noted that the situations in which *laetus* is employed in Book 5 are relatively more straightforward than those outside the book. It is also true that the instances of *laetus* in Book 5 seem to follow a different scale of reference than do the instances in the other books, as though the world constructed in the funeral games of Book 5 is a microcosm for the outside world. Accordingly, a word that is used outside Book 5 to

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frequente: lieti gli esuli toccano il noto lido, lieto li accoglie Aceste,” etc. (Monaco 1957, 31). Cf. Williams (1960, xvii; also ad 58), and Fratantuono (2009, ad 11.807-808). Rieks (1989) considers Book 1 and Book 5 to be the two most important in the *Aeneid* for the use of *laetus*; Rieks discusses on 210-211 the relationship between Book 1 and Book 5, which he thinks is in part established by their predominant use of the word. Cf. Dunkle (1981, 11), who (without reference to the *Aeneid*) asserts the same is true of *Il. 23*: he finds as much laughter and joy-vocabulary there as in the rest of the *Iliad* combined.

Holt (1979-1980, 115), Heinze (1915, 169-170), and Galinsky (1968, 159).

Putnam (1962, 207) writes, “Within this world apart, the world of game, the outside tragic sphere never imposes itself to the point that game becomes a matter of life and death. Elsewhere in the epic, the suffering and sacrifice which typify the particular heroism of the *Aeneid* lead in a series of tragedies to a culmination in Book XII, where death is the only possible outcome. In the games, life always seems to triumph after a brush with death, and the hero, as is the fashion in comedy, is absorbed back into the ranks of the society whence he was singled out to perform. Through the games, Virgil takes the reader aside and merely by so doing—by describing events which seem to have little or nothing to do with the epic story—offers a kind of relaxation from the tensions which form the real world of Aeneas. Their subject matter is seemingly remote and special, and the result of each event is always in some sense comic, by however narrow a margin. Yet, happily as they generally evolve, the games are a microcosm of the world at large.” Putnam (1962, 213-214) also argues that Menoetes’ being pushed off the ship prefigures Somnus’ assault on Palinurus, but that within the games there is no intrusion of the violent, real, risky world, and so Menoetes is unharmed. Cf. “Thus, in brief, the
describe something great, or serious, is used in Book 5 to describe something analogous, but not as great or serious. For example, the battles of the world outside Book 5 are imported into Book 5 as the competitions in the funeral games.  

Book 5 is one of the longest books of the *Aeneid*, and its place in the epic, as well as its function in the work’s themes, have been the subject of much scholarship. In this

... various episodes of the first race suggest a comic microcosm of the final stretches of Aeneas’ journey which embrace the loss of pilot, narrow escape from shipwreck, and final safe arrival at destination. The race thus serves further to unify the book and to some extent to polarize it around the figure of the doomed pilot. The theme of victory by sacrifice, of achievement gained only through death, which in the games always ends in the comic relief of narrow personal escape, is the focal idea of the rest of the contests” (Putnam 1962, 216). Galinsky (1968, 183) writes, “The sequence of events in the fifth *Aeneid* is analogous to that in the entire epic. Book V begins with a sea storm, the Trojans are driven to a foreign shore where they are received well and almost induced to stay. A part of them do stay on; this indicates that the Trojan past is left behind—*occidit occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia* (XII, 828)—and, at the same time, it anticipates the founding of a new city in Italy. Iris tries to do on a small scale what Allecto will attempt on a larger one later. The burning of the ships anticipates the equally unsuccessful one in Book IX, and the games beneath their gay surface foreshadow the war in the second half of the epic. The footrace and the boxing contest in particular look ahead to the ultimate conflict in the poem, i.e. the combat of Aeneas and Turnus in Book XII.” Feldherr (1995, 260) adds, “We have seen how the games in Book 5 contain moments which anticipate many of the tragic events of the second half of the poem. These moments might give the impression that the games serve as an imperfect mirror where the future narrative is seen only in a poignantly distorted form. But the games contain references to all parts of the poem and look backward as well as forward. In fact the boat race with which the games begin closely reproduces the first episode described in Book 1. Trojan sailors set out in their ships from the coast of Sicily. Reference to the foaming of the waves and the enthusiasm of the sailors enhances the allusion, as does the similarity in the perspective from which the ships are viewed.” Holt (1979-1980, 110) writes, “[Book 5] is closely connected with virtually every other part of the *Aeneid* by a web of verbal echoes, repeated motifs, and parallel episodes. It looks backward and forward, recalling things past and foreshadowing things to come.” For a similar argument relating the action of *Il. 23* to that of the rest of the work, see Dunkle (1981, 13-15) and Scott (1997, 213-215).

399 Cf. Glei’s (1991, 293-298) comparison of the events of the ship race, and the descriptions of the contenders therein, with descriptions of historical personages and battles in Livy, Sallust, and elsewhere. On the similar treatment of games in *Il. 23* to battle in that work, see Dunkle (1981, 12) and Scott (1997, 221).
chapter I make no argument as to the degree to which Book 5 advances the plot; rather, I present evidence that the use of language in Book 5 is consistent with that of the rest of the work. Galinsky (1968) is especially helpful for demonstrating intratextual references between scenes in Book 5 and scenes elsewhere in the work.

As elsewhere in the Aeneid, laetus in Book 5 is used in the anticipation of future events. The uses I have described above (e.g. arriving, battle, etc.) also appear in Book 5, and the analogues between the two sets are most helpful for my work. Of the uses I identified above, the analogues in Book 5 are: arriving, 5.34; battle (which in Book 5 manifests as competition), 5.183, 5.210, 5.304; prayer (and the receiving of omens), 5.58, 5.100, 5.236, 5.531, and 5.816. There is no analogue in Book 5 for the instances above that have to do with setting out or founding a city.\textsuperscript{401}

The analogue in Book 5 to instances elsewhere of arrival appears at 5.34, where Aeneas, having acquiesced to the necessity of landing in Sicily, turns into the familiar shores. This instance is similar to that at 7.36, where Aeneas and his men land in Italy at the mouth of the Tiber (flectere iter sociis terraeque advertere proras / imperat et laetus fluvio succedit opaco 7.35-36).

tum pius Aeneas: “equidem sic poscere ventos iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.


\textsuperscript{401} The proportions of each “type” in Book 5 are roughly the same as in the other 11 books combined.
flecte viam velis. an sit mihi gratior ulla, 
quove magis fessas optem dimittere navis, 
quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten 
et patris Anchisae gremio compлектitur ossa?” 
haec ubi dicta, petunt portus et vela secundi 
intendunt Zephyri; fertur cita gurgite classis, 
et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae. (5.26-34)

Usually laetus in the context of setting out and arrival (as at 7.36) reinforces the 
trajectory of Aeneas’ fate, towards Italy: at 3.524, the Trojans catch sight of Italy and 
hope to land there; at 1.35, the Trojans are laeti in setting out from Sicily, expectant to go 
to Italy; at 4.425 and 4.418, the Trojans are laeti at the thought of leaving Carthage in 
order to go to Italy, etc. Being forced by bad weather to make port in Sicily instead of 
Italy should not be cause for optimism, or even joy. However, I would argue that, due to 
the small-scale use of laetus in Book 5 and the representation of the world of Book 5 as a 
“microcosm” of the real world, that Sicily is “home” or the “destination” for the length of 
Book 5 (at least, until the Trojans make preparations to leave it).402 Laetus here may also 
communicate relief at the assurance of safety (also cause for optimism) as at 5.283 and 
5.515, discussed below.

For this instance, “arrival” is the more hopeful, and hoped-for, course (than 
setting out), because it is the safer. Before this instance Aeneas and his men encounter 
threatening weather (5.10-11), and Palinurus advises Aeneas not to attempt to make for 
Italy. He uses language of expectation (non... sperem Italiam contingere caelo 17-18) and 
fate (si mihi Iuppiter auctor / spondeat 17-18; superat quoniam Fortuna 22); he refers to

402 Rieks (1989, 207) sees no problem with this, and considers laeti here to express the 
men’s joy at being closer to back on their fated track: “Die übergroße Freude der Troer 
hat ihren Grund darin, daß sie die Anchisesferne des karthagischen Aufenthaltes 
überwunden und sich selbst wieder in völligem Einklang mit ihrem Schicksalsauftrag 
wisser.”
the Sicilian shores as fida (24), i.e. to be trusted, in the immediate future, to produce a positive outcome. Aeneas’ response also contains language of positive expectation (29-30, especially optem 29). Therefore the pulling into port represents a reprieve from anticipated pain and suffering; it is the better course that promises safety, and the Trojans know that it will offer relief (notae 34).

_Tandem_ directly precedes an instance of laetus also at 3.638 (the end of Achaemenides’ description of the Cyclops episode: _et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras_) and 7.259 (Latinus’ response to Ilioneus’ envoy: _tandem laetus ait: ‘di nostra incepta secundent’_). I read the use of _tandem_ as signaling a reversal from former fortunes (“at last, it did occur”); the placement of _laetus_ as _following tandem_—and not once, but several times—indicates that the _laetus_-emotion naturally follows change. _Tandem_ indicates that the change was long-awaited.

In Book 5 the analogues to “battle” instances—ones that express the fervent physical intensity of battle, but are also predicated on the expectation of winning, in a win-lose situation—appear in the context of the funeral games, where individuals are _laetus_ when they believe they will win the competition. I identify three: the instances at 5.183, 5.210, and 5.304.

403 As for the relationship between this arrival in Sicily and that in Book 3 (3.568-569)—between the moods of Aeneas’ men (who are fessi in Book 3) there and here, see Galinsky (1968, 157-159). These moods speak to the thematic functions between these two passages. Galinsky reads the use of _laeti_ here as consistent with the running theme of “joy” particular to Book 5 and considers the “gloomy” depiction of Aetna in Book 3 as anticipating the joy of Book 5, in looking forward to the founding of Acesta, by way of Vergil’s use of Pindar’s _Pythian 1_ (159-161). Galinsky writes, on _laeti_, “This mood is sustained throughout Book V, where the occurrence of words connoting joy is most frequent” (159, n.6).
The instances at 5.183 and 5.210 appear in the context of the ship race, in which there are four ships, whose leaders are Sergestus, Mnestheus, Gyas, and Cloanthus. At 5.183, laetus describes Sergestus’ and Mnestheus’ surge of hope upon seeing the misfortune of Gyas, ahead of them. Before this Gyas’ ship, in first place, had experienced difficulty; Cloanthus had passed him, to take the lead, at which point Gyas shoved the helmsman, old Menoetes, off the ship in frustration. The scene shifts to Sergestus and Mnestheus, each in his own ship; each experiences laeta spes at seeing Gyas’ troubles, each hopeful to win the race, or at least surpass him (184).

illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem
et saltos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.
hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,
Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.
Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat,
nec tota tamen ille prior praeeunte carina (5.181-186)

If laetus here qualifies hope, what attribute does it point to, specifically? I argue that laetus’ use has to do with the proximate cause (seeing Gyas fail) and the corresponding expectation of, or hope for, more success in the future. That is to say, the laetus-emotion is generally prompted by a proximate event, and it is short-lived (spes alone does not communicate this). Sergestus and Mnestheus have just been given a reason for hope, the possibility of a change in fortune; the use of laetus is applied at the very moment when the narrator returns to these two. Neither has accomplished much in the race to this point.

General bibliography on the ship race includes Stégen (1968, a detailed description of the narrative/plot of the entire ship race); Delvigo (2001, an investigation of characters and discussion of the relationship to the Homeric model and intertexts with other Aeneid passages, especially likening other characters to Aeneas); Kraggerud (1968, a discussion of the games generally and the character of Aeneas as brought out through them); Meijer (1988, for a comparison between the ships in Book 5 and the historical types of ship from which Vergil would be choosing); and Williams (1960, 68 for general overview).
The use of *laetus*, as we have seen elsewhere, does not imply that an individual’s hope will come true, and sometimes it anticipates failure (cf. Lyne’s “disaster-prone” *laetus*). Neither Sergestus nor Mnestheus will win the race; Sergestus will hit a reef, and Mnestheus will fly past both him and Gyas. Cloanthus, far ahead, will come in first.\(^{405}\)

In this instance the rapidity of the scene helps to contextualize thoughts, feelings, and the like, and although Mnestheus and Sergestus are “hopeful” for something rather minor, the fact that it is minor makes success and failure easy to see, in critical terms. The same is true of the previous instance in the text, from 5.107 (see below).

The ship race is vibrant with the expression of emotion, on all sides: *pavor pulsans* (138), *timens* (165), *dolor ingens* (172), *lacrimis* (173), *laeta spes* (183), *optatum* (201), *furens* (202), *laetus* (210), *extrerrita* (215), etc.; the noise made by the men as they begin the race also testifies to the intensity of their emotion: *clamor* (140), *plausu fremituque* (148), *vocem* (149), *clamore* (150), *fremitum* (152) (the noise is continued throughout the race, e.g. 207, 227-228). Monaco (1957, 33-34) discusses the intense emotion of the ship race. Otis (1963, 54) discusses Gyas’ rage at 5.172-176. On Sergestus’ rage see Glei (1991, 295-6).\(^{406}\)

In the same ship race appears the next instance of *laetus*, at 5.210:

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\(^{405}\) Mnestheus makes explicit his objective at lines 196-197; his goal is merely not to finish absolutely last. Mnestheus finishes second of four; Sergestus does finish last.

\(^{406}\) Of course, the games in Book 5 of the *Aeneid* refer to Patroclus’ funeral games in *Iliad* 23. I cite thematic considerations, and interesting parallels, throughout my discussion in this chapter. The ship race parallels the chariot race in *II*. 23, the competition described at the greatest length in that work. For more on the relationship between Patroclus’ games and those in *Aen*. 5, see e.g. Knauer (1964, 389-393); Deremetz (1987, 116-117, 120-121) and Heinze (1915, 156-162).
Sergestus hits a reef, and Mnestheus is *laetus* immediately upon seeing the wreck.

Mnestheus increases his speed, about to pass both Sergestus and Gyas. TCD (*ad loc.*) frames this use particularly with language of hope: *laetus fuit Mnestheus quod optata tenuisset et inde magis, quia senserat sibi favisse fortunam.*

Compare the language of this instance to the wording of the instance at 12.616, where Turnus is described as *minus atque minus successu laetus equorum.* The battle imagery in this instance (e.g. the battle language of *furens* 202, *ferratas tudes et acuta cuspide* 208, *acrior* 210, *agmine* 211, *luctantem* 220, *spoliata* 224, *sagitta* 242) and that at 5.183 (Mnestheus’ speech: *hortatur* 189, *promite vires / nunc animos* 192-193, *vincere* 194; *ictibus* 202; *tum creber anhelitus artus / aridaque ora quati, sudor fluit undique rivis* 199-200) and 5.304 (cf. the introductions of Nisus and Euryalus, 294-302, and the prizes Aeneas awards in the foot-race: arrows, an axe, horses, a quiver, and helmet, 306-314) connects the motif of competition here to battle elsewhere. Also, we might compare this instance to those in which an individual is *laetus* after his opponent in battle has just been wounded, e.g. 9.637, 10.738, 11.807, etc.

The simile of the dove (5.213-217) is helpful here.  As the dove awkwardly flaps her wings at the beginning of flight (terrified! *exterrita* 215), but soon soars aloft

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407 *qualis spelunca subito commota columba,*
*cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,*
*fertur in arva volans plausumque exterrita pennis* 215
with wings spread, so Mnestheus has trouble starting but is on the verge of “flying” through the water. This use helps explain the connection among the trends of use of laetus, here between competition and setting out—the latter categorized less on account of the act of setting out on a physical journey, in ships, toward a fixed destination, and more on account of the shared element of hope for freedom, for movement, for release (cf. the instance at 5.515 below).

Cloanthus wins the race because he prays for divine help (235-238) and receives it; in that speech he describes himself as laetus in the performance of the sacrifice he promises to the gods of the sea. The instance of laetus directly following that at 5.236 describes Aeneas upon seeing Sergestus returned safe after his shipwreck (servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos 5.283; see below). Four of the fifteen instances of laetus in Book 5 appear in the context of the ship race.

Just after the ship race, Aeneas moves to a valley with a theater inside a dense wood, and announces a foot race; the competitors come forth, and then Aeneas explains the prizes. He uses laetas at 5.304:

dat tecto ingentem, mox aere lapsa quieto
radit iter liquidum celeris neque commovet alas (5.213-217)

Otis (1963, 60) writes, “The simile... conveys not so much a visual image as the sense of relief—of trouble overcome—which Mnestheus feels on rounding the rock.” Otis also compares this simile to that of the hawk at Arg. 2.933-935, and notes the characterization of fear, and release from fear: “Virgil’s dove is frightened—it fears for its home and nest (domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi). The smooth flight in the open air expresses its release from fear as well as from cramped quarters. It, like Mnestheus, has escaped the danger of ruin in a place where escape was not easy” (61). For Otis this exemplifies Vergil’s subjective, sympathetic style (59-61). Putnam (1962, 214-215), on the characterization of the dove as moving from a place of fear to one of serenity, writes, “Having escaped from its cave, the dove gradually loses its fear. Though commota and exterrita at the outset, in the end it does not even commovet alas” (215).
Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus:
“accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.
nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit. 305
Cnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro
spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem;
omnibus hic erit unus honos.” (5.303-308)

Aeneas’ point is that all should be hopeful for competition, and all eager for it, because all who participate will leave with prizes (305). This is effectively an imperative use of laetus (as in, “be laetus!”).\(^{408}\) This instance resembles the use by Turnus, at 9.157, exhorting his men to prepare for battle and do it, laeti. The imperative force is very helpful in recognizing the analogy between such instances—both in situating the relationship between the individual giving the orders and those receiving them, and in identifying the time frame, i.e., before the battle or competition.

The use of laetus here is anticipatory: that is, the content of line 305 causes the participants’ minds to be enthusiastic (laetas), and Aeneas as speaker uses the word proleptically. This is true regardless of whether laetus here “looks forward,” i.e. means “hopeful,” or simply, “excited.” Regardless, Aeneas does use laetus to describe a change: the content of 305 directly prompts the laetus-emotion. The narrator does not characterize the emotion of the participants in the foot race until ovans (331).

In Book 5 are also instances in which people are described as laetus as they pray or conduct rituals, or after they have received an omen promising good things for the future. I discuss this use of laetus outside Book 5 in chapter II.4, above. The former group is represented by the instances at 5.58, 5.100 (in which Aeneas’ men perform

\(^{408}\) The uses of laet- in the Aeneid that I identify as “imperative” uses are those at 3.169, 5.58, 5.304, 7.130, 7.430, 9.157, and 10.15. Cf. laetere (quo magis laetere) at 6.718.
rituals in response to an omen), and 5.236; the latter group, by those at 5.531 and 5.816. Aside from the instance at 5.236, where Cloanthus prays to win the ship race, these instances are not so distinctively small-scale as other Book 5 instances; that is, in Book 5 individuals negotiate their emotional reactions with regard to the same big-picture issues, like worry over whether they will ever reach Italy, as they do elsewhere.

One such use of *laetus* appears at 5.100:

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\text{hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores, incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuvencos, vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat Anchisae magni manisque Acheronte remissos. nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti dona ferunt, onerant aras mactantque iuvencos; ordine aena locant alii fusique per herbam subiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent. (5.94-103)}
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In this passage Aeneas, in Sicily, is described performing his father’s funeral rites again. He had been interrupted by a snake, slithering out from under the tomb and tasting the offerings. *Laetus* describes an individual after receiving a favorable omen also at 2.687, 7.130, 7.147, etc.

That *laetus* does not appear until six lines after Aeneas begins the rites is explained by the connective *nec non et* in the same line, which links the actions of Aeneas (the subject of all the finite verbs from 94 to 99) with those of his *socii*.\(^{409}\) The two sets of actions mirror one another: Aeneas sacrifices animals (96-97) as do his friends (101). Aeneas himself is *incertus* as to which divinity has produced the omen of the snake, but the word here does not convey discomfort; the narrator in the previous

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\(^{409}\) The place within the line lends emphasis; cf. Williams (1966, *ad loc.*).
lines has made clear to the audience that the portent of the snake is a positive thing 
(placide 86, etc.).\textsuperscript{410} Just as Aeneas’ faith is renewed, so the snake’s appearance has 
changed the mood of Aeneas’ men, who respond to it with gladness.\textsuperscript{411} Neither Aeneas 
nor his men were fearful prior to the appearance of the snake, but the language of renewal 
at line 94 (magis inceptos... instaurat) is compelling.

The instance at 5.100 is correlative with the previous instance, at 5.58:

\begin{verbatim}
nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis 55
haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divum
adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.
ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem:
poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis
urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis. (5.55-60) 60
\end{verbatim}

In this instance Aeneas has just landed in Sicily, and he declares that it is the exact day of 
the year on which he should propitiate Anchises’ spirit and tomb.\textsuperscript{412} In this statement he

\textsuperscript{410} Cf. Monaco (1957, 32); Galinsky (1968, 170-171) argues against a reading of the 
snake as ominous. On the presence of the serpent, and the relationship between the 
serpent and the funeral, see Zurutuza (1982, 345-349). For a reading of the snake as 
“hinting at lurking violence,” and presaging the death (especially that of Palinurus), see 
Putnam (1962, 207; 211-212).

\textsuperscript{411} Servius (ad loc.), on laeta dona ferunt, writes: alacres; libenter et ipsi confrerunt 
parentationem. Servius often glosses laetus with alacer, and here connects the 
description of the individual with the characterization of the individual’s action (libenter). 
For Servius’ use of alacer to explain laetus, see my discussion of 4.295. For Hickson’s 
connection of laetus and libens, and the importance of the willingness of the sacrificer for 
the success of the sacrifice, see my discussion of 8.544, in Chapter II.4 on prayer, above.

\textsuperscript{412} Cairns (1989, 58-59) discusses this speech. “The role of the gods in bringing Aeneas 
back to Sicily and to his father’s tomb at this particular time is prominent (56f.); and 
finally, the patrii penates and those of Acestes will all be present at the sacrifice to 
Anchises (62f.). Pietas in all its manifestations is thus the leitmotiv of Aeneas’ speech” 
(59). On the timing of these games, see Monaco (1957, 16-17). On Aeneas’ growth as a 
leader in Anchises’ absence, and his acceptance of the full weight of leadership, see 
commands his men to perform the rites with joy and exuberance—i.e., *laeti*. *(That* 
*laetum* is modifying *honorem* I consider unproblematic; I read this use as 
indistinguishable from the phrase *laeti cuncti celebremus honorem*.*) When they do, 
finally, perform the task, at line 100, the narrator describes them as *laeti* (see above). 
Conington (*ad loc.* on *laetum honorem*), writes, “Aeneas means to say, Let our service be 
a cheerful one: the gods have done well in bringing us here, and are intending to do well 
to us hereafter.”

That Aeneas should describe the scene as not without the help of the gods (*sine 
umine divum* 56), in close proximity to an appearance of *laetus*, is appropriate: the 
instances at 5.58 and 5.100 are deeply dependent on the context of propitiating Anchises’ 
spirit and performing religious rites (i.e. the religious context, and the connection that has 
with prophecy and fate). *(Similar instances most often appear with Jupiter (as king of)

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413 Among others, compare Jupiter’s command to all the gods at 10.15. Cf. Williams 
(1960, *ad loc.*): “The word *laetus* continues the impression built up in this passage that 
the anniversary rites are to be performed not only in mourning for the dead, but also in 
joy for the evident concern of the gods for Anchises.”

414 See Conte (2007, 113) on the enallage of *laetum* for *laeti*; Conte makes a brief 
argument that this use is equivalent to, and we should expect, the nominative masculine plural *laeti*. This construction, with the adjective *laetus*, appears also at 1.591, 1.605,
1.707, 1.732, 2.783, 3.524, 3.707 (*inlaetabilis*), 5.58, 5.107, 5.183, 5.304, 5.816, 6.638,
6.657, 6.862, 8.681, 10.738, 11.238, and 12.618 (*inlaetabilis*). This sort of enallage 
appears often; the instances listed above are of *laetus* modifying a noun not indicating a 
person or people, but meant to give context to an emotion of people within the scene. I 
am thereby distinguishing this use from the instances of *laetus* that modify a non-person 
noun when the context cannot be explained in terms of the emotions of people within the 
scene. These other uses include the ones in which the fertility, or health, of plants is 
expressed (e.g. 2.306: *sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores*). See my chapter 
on the agricultural use of *laetus* in the *Aeneid*, below (Chapter VI).

415 Halter (1963, 30-33), in his line-by-line dissection of Aeneas’ reaction to the omen, to 
determine Vergil’s emphasis in the speech, confirms that this scene is primarily a 
depiction of Aeneas’ *pietas*. “Vergil hat den sublimsten Ausdruck der *pietas* in die Mitte
the gods, and a representative of fate) and Apollo (in his role as giver of oracles and prophetic powers). The use at 5.100 is very much like that at 7.147, where Aeneas’ men, *laeti*, set up feasts in response to Aeneas’ interpretation of Ascanius’ “eating tables” comment and Jupiter’s omen-response confirming that they were fated to arrive at their location in Italy (thunder in a clear sky, 7.141-143). The instance at 5.100 also resembles that at 5.531 (below), where Acestes is *laetus* after seeing his arrow catch fire and disappear.

The instances at 5.58 and 5.100 resemble other instances of *laetus* used in prayer, particularly the correlative pair at 7.130 and 7.147: at 7.130 Aeneas commands his men to explore the area, *laeti*, and at 7.147 the narrator describes Aeneas’ men as *laeti* as they perform rituals of thanksgiving to Jupiter (*certatim instaurant epulas atque omine magno / crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant* 146-147). 5.58 and 7.130 appear in speeches of Aeneas; 5.100 and 7.147 appear directly thereafter, characterizing the men’s response. The “joy” at the beginning of Book 7 is prompted by two omens sent by Jupiter: the first, the “table-eating” comment of Ascanius, and the second, thunder from the sky sent as confirmation.

At 5.236 Cloanthus, the leader in the ship-race, prays and promises sacrifices if he should win the race:

hos successus alit: possunt, quia posse videntur.  
et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,  
i palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus  
fudissetque preces divosque in vota vocasset:

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der Darstellung gerückt” (33). On lines 5.59-60 (quoted above), Williams (1960, ad loc.) also finds the emphasis in this passage to be on the future, on the time when Aeneas will perform these yearly ceremonies in his own city (looking forward to the Roman *Parentalia*).
This is Cloanthus’ prayer at the end of the race, when Mnestheus threatens his lead. The Nereids et al. hear Cloanthus and push him to victory.\textsuperscript{416} This instance, like other prayer instances (e.g. 8.279, 8.544), uses \textit{laetus} to communicate the proper way for an individual to approach the performance of a ritual.\textsuperscript{417}

Here, the person making the prayer is described (describes himself!) as \textit{laetus}, although Cloanthus does so as the subject of future-tense verbs; that is, his being \textit{laetus} (and performing the sacrifices) is contingent upon his winning the race.\textsuperscript{418} Nowhere else in the \textit{Aeneid} does an individual use the word \textit{laetus} to describe himself performing future ritual acts contingent upon the gods’ favorable response;\textsuperscript{419} even in the instance at

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\textsuperscript{416} As Williams (1960, \textit{ad loc.}) notes, this recalls Odysseus’ vow to Athena, when he was trailing Ajax in the foot race at \textit{Il.} 23.768ff.

\textsuperscript{417} Cf. Eden (1975, \textit{ad} 8.544 and \textit{ad} 8.275), who compares \textit{laetus} to the use of \textit{volentes} at 8.275; the participant’s willingness is important there “because reluctance or constraint hindered the act of worship.” Eden cites \textit{laetus}, used to communicate the appropriate mindset of the worshiper, as true also of the instances at 5.236 (here) and 8.279.

\textsuperscript{418} Cf. the explanation of TCD (\textit{ad loc.}): \textit{hoc est si laetus de proventu victoriae fuero… [constituam ante aras voti reus, etc.]}. 

\textsuperscript{419} Hickson (1993, 100-101), in her discussion of the time period in which one is \textit{reus}, with regard to a vow, writes, “Vergil’s use is unambiguous; the \textit{voti reus} here is one whose prayer has been granted. Cloanthus speaks of his desired future status as victor. At that time he will place (\textit{constituam}) a sacrificial victim before the altars of the gods who have granted him victory. It is to the future victor, Cloanthus, that the phrase \textit{voti reus} applies. Furthermore, Vergil describes Cloanthus as \textit{laetus}, another reference to him as victor and thus one whose prayer has been granted. \textit{Laetus} is here, as in some imperial inscriptions, synonymous with the term \textit{libens}, which appears so often on votive offerings of thanksgiving.” For more discussion of the comparison of \textit{laetus} and \textit{libens} in inscriptions, as well as their relationship to \textit{volens}, see my discussion of 8.544, in Chapter
6.193, where Aeneas is described as *laetus* in recognition of Venus’ future help to him, he is *laetus* in the present, and the feeling is not marked as contingent upon her future action. I am unconvinced by the arguments of scholars (see below) for Cloanthus’ *pietas*: Cloanthus’ victory is not predicated on his past *pietas* in difficult situations, but rather bribery in this one situation. This use of *laetus* accords with other instances, in terms of circumstance and causation, but nowhere else in the *Aeneid* does an individual say, “I would be *laetus* if you would only do ___.” (Even at 1.554, where Ilioneus approaches Dido, Ilioneus describes the Trojans as possibly *laetus* in the future if Aeneas should be found alive; this is not a demand made of her, as it is something she cannot bring about for him.) Knauer (1964, 390) compares this prayer to that of Meriones, who promises a hecatomb to Apollo if he should win the archery competition, at *Il.* 23.872-873. I read this passage as an example of the less serious function of *laetus* found in Book 5.

The identities of the addressees of Cloanthus’ prayer (*di, quibus imperium est pelagi* 235) inform the reading of this use of the *laet-* stem; the Nereids, Phorcus, Panopea, and Portunus respond with help. In prayer uses of *laetus* in the other books, the addressee is Jupiter (e.g. the instance at 2.687), divinities associated with Jupiter (e.g. Apollo at 10.874; Hercules at 8.544), the Olympian gods generally (e.g. 7.259), or Aeneas’ Penates (3.169, 3.178). I attribute the address to the gods of the sea here to the

II.4, above, on prayer.

Also contrast the instance at 3.169, where the Penates describe Aeneas in future terms as *laetus*, but they have already effected the reason for which he would be.

Cf. Putnam (1962, 225): “The promised sacrifice of Cloanthus is a slight and comic version of the highly serious ending of the book.”
difference in scale between the events of Book 5 (specifically, the memorial games) and those of the rest of the work. Cf. Willcock’s (1988, 6-8) complaint that the minor status of Portunus detracts from the intensity of the scene (particularly in contrast to Athena’s role in the chariot race of II. 23).

Others explain Cloanthus’ prayer, and his subsequent victory, as the privileging of pietas in the Aeneid, a continuation of the theme of Aeneas’ pietas. Although pietas itself is a serious consideration in the epic, this is not an instance of it: Cloanthus is self-serving, vain, and proud.

At 5.531 and 5.816, the individuals described by a form of laetus respond to evidence of divine favor. At 5.531, Acestes is described as laetus after his arrow in the archery competition catches fire and disappears:

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\text{attonitis haesere animis superosque precati}
\]
\[
\text{Trinacri Teucrique viri, nec maximus omen}
\]
\[
\text{abnuit Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten}
\]

\[530\]

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422 Meijer (1988) reads Cloanthus’ piety generally as the moral attribute privileged in Cloanthus’ win: “Evidently the outcome of the race is determined by moralistic factors: the pious Cloanthus wins, the solid Mnestheus is second, the restless Gyas finishes third and the audacious Sergestus has to give up the race” (94). Cf. Deremetz (1987, 213-214), who sees Cloanthus as an exemplar of pietas, and Mnestheus as the example of virtus, confirmed by his receiving armor as prize; Deremetz also comments on Cloanthus as the model of pietas in this scene: “Cette pietas dont il témoigne et qui fera de lui le vainqueur le rapproche d’Enée, dont il est ici, en quelque sorte, le représentant symbolique. Dans ce dernier duel, la pietas a triomphé du furor” (123). (Deremetz 1987, 123 also argues that Cloanthus’ gift, a robe of gold with purple border, also signifies an association with Jupiter and the privileging of Cloanthus’ action.) Cf. Glei (1991, 297) on Cloanthus’ pietas: “Gleiches gilt, so dürfen wir schliessen, auch für den Krieg: Ohne die Hilfe der Götter kann der Mensch nicht siegen—oder, im Umkehrschluß: Wer siegt, muß die Götter auf seiner Seite gehabt haben.” Otis (1963, 55) compares the function of divine intervention between Cloanthus’ win in the Aeneid with its model in Homer (II. 23.382-383): here the divinities respond favorably to a positive act of piety; in Homer, Apollo intervenes to hinder Diomedes out of anger. Cf. Delvigo (2001, 31-32).
muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur:
“sume, pater, nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi
talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores.” (5.529-534)

After Eurytion struck and killed the dove that was the object of the archery competition, Acestes shot his bow (even though the competition was over), and, like a shooting star (527-528), the arrow caught fire and disappeared. Aeneas makes explicit, in his reaction to this omen, the result: Acestes should feel honored because Jupiter has honored him (533-534). Before that, however, the narrator had identified the omen’s import, using language of fate, fear, and concern for the future (hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum / augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens / seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates 522-524). Aeneas declares that Jupiter’s act makes Acestes the victor in the archery competition (540). As Heinze (1915, 160-164) notes, the omen of Acestes’ arrow looks forward to the foundation of Segesta, and many scholars read this omen as pointing both forward in the epic and to the future of Rome.⁴²³

It is fitting that Acestes should be so honored by Jupiter, as Acestes (unlike Cloanthus) is an analogue for Aeneas in terms of pietas; it is Jupiter here, and not

⁴²³ On te voluit rex magnus Olympi / talibus auspiciis exsortes ducere honores, Heinze writes, “Wir sollen aber nicht nur an diese augenblickliche Wirkung, sondern an die Zukunft denken... Und so wird der Dichter wollen, daß wir an die Zukunft von Acestes’ Reich denken; unwillkürlich mußten des römischen Hörers Gedanken sich auf den Zeitpunkt richten, an dem Segesta eine Rolle in Roms Geschichte gespielt hat” (162-163). Heinze goes on to discuss the importance of Segesta in the first Punic War. Cf. Grassmann-Fischer (1966, 87). Contrast the sense that the arrow points forward rather to something contained within the text: Swallow (1953, 179) writes, “While the omen foreshadows nothing specific within the range of the Aeneid, it does lend the weight of divine approval to the Sicilian’s life.” Cf. Galinsky (1968, 172): “We will see shortly that there is an intrinsic reason for this; meanwhile, it may suffice to note that just as Acestes receives an embossed bowl, Aeneas in Book VIII first sees and later takes possession of the embossed shield, which was made by Vulcan in Sicily and symbolizes the fama et fata nepotum.”
Portunus, who assures Acestes of a glorious future (and not merely a win in a ship race). Galinsky (1968, 181) writes that Vergil portrays Acestes as a “second Aeneas” in Book 5; Swallow (1953, 178-179) lists the attributes and actions of Acestes that liken him to *pius Aeneas*: he is a good host and generous to his guests, simple in his tastes, fond of the hunt, devoted to ancestors, etc.

At 5.816 Venus is described as *laeta* after receipt of the promise that Aeneas will receive safe passage (with the loss of only Palinurus):

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“nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle timores.
tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.
unos erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
unum pro multis dabitur caput.”
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Venus often in the *Aeneid* looks for (and receives) these assurances. Neptune’s use of *laeta* here is proleptic, and his words make Venus newly hopeful (not unlike an omen; see my Chapter II.4 on *laetus* in prayer, above). This instance also functions descriptively, however: Venus’ worries are resolved, because the promise gives her better

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424 Cf. George (1978, 553) on the discussion of Acestes as model for Aeneas, in terms of *pietas*. As for the characterization of Acestes generally: George notes (although Nelis 2001 does not) that the model for *Aen.* 5.553-556 is *Arg.* 1.321-328, and argues that a comparison between Acestes and Acastus in these two texts informs our reading of Acestes here, specifically highlighting his *pietas* (536). For further comparison of Aeneas and Acestes in terms of *pietas*, see Swallow (1953, 178-179), Galinsky (1968, 181), Monaco (1957, 108).

425 For the thematic resonance of this omen and this passage, see Lawler (1988, 102-103), who argues that Acestes’ arrow signifies renewal, and in this instance, the gods’ redemption of Aeneas et al. from death and destruction (using an implement of war, the arrow, to show the gods’ favor, and in the process of showing that favor, destroying the arrow).
expectations for the future. Venus, in her preceding speech to Neptune (781-798) characterizes herself as a victim of Juno’s wrath, but she does not speak directly to her own emotion (though the narrator describes her as exercita curis at 779). Neptune, however, in his response, does characterize her emotion as fear (timores 812) and assures her that she should be hopeful (optas 813). He contrasts her current fear with the hope she ought to have in his reassurance; on account of his words her mood is reversed, and she is indeed newly optimistic. This is the force of laeta in 816.

The use of laeta is anticipatory, insofar as it precedes permulsit in the line (and, to a hearer, laeta would be first taken as nominative feminine singular, modifying Venus, before the cases of deae and pectora would make it clear that the word is neuter accusative plural).

Palinurus’ life, and his capacity as steersman, mark a specific time in the voyage of the Trojans: shortly they will land safely in Italy, at which point Palinurus’ services will no longer be necessary. Therefore, although laetus could strike the reader as inappropriate, showing Venus’ callousness toward anyone or anything but her own interests, perhaps its use is indicated by the function of this passage as marking the end of Aeneas’ journeying.

426 Cf. Williams (1960, ad loc.): “‘soothed and gladdened’, a particularly clear example of the proleptic use of an adjective.”

427 Of course, the loss of Palinurus is symbolic, and there is tragic irony in Palinurus’ confidence, since it is immediately succeeded by his loss. See Farrell (1999, 98).

Servius remarks that *laeta* is Venus’ epithet;⁴²⁹ Venus is described directly as *laeta* in the *Aeneid* at 1.416 and 8.393 (and by enallage, only here).⁴³⁰ The instance at 1.416 is similar to its use here in that, where the word *laetus* appears, Venus parts company with the individual with whom she was speaking; at 1.416 that person is Aeneas, as Venus has just given him advice on finding Carthage. At 8.393 Venus is described as *laeta* when she recognizes that her charms have won over Vulcan, who will prepare Aeneas’ arms for battle (*sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx*). Therefore in all three of these instances the adjective describes Venus’ feeling after she has secured Aeneas’ safety.

Rieks notes that the Venus-Neptune conversation here forms a pendant with the Jupiter-Venus conversation of Book 1, after which she eventually retired, *laeta*, relieved (1.416). Rieks likewise argues that Venus’ being placated here is parallel with Juno’s being placated at the end of 12, with the use of *laetata* (12.841).⁴³¹

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⁴²⁹ Servius explains the word here as *quia tectum nebula filium in tuto habebat*. Cf. Aphrodite’s Homeric epithet *φιλομημήδής* (*Il.* 3.342, 4.10, 5.375, 14.211, 20.40; *Od.* 8.362). Burkert (1985, 154-155) argues that this word is a reshaping of the Hesiodic *φιλομημήδής*, a reference to the circumstances of her birth. Évrard (*EV*, *laetus*, 3.99) suggests that *laeta* may be an epithet of Venus on account of word’s use to indicate fertility. For more on Venus’ smiling, see Konstan (1986).

⁴³⁰ In the first instance (*ipsa Paphum sublimis abit, sedesque revisit / laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo / ture calent aerae, sertisque recentibus halant 1.415-417*), Venus is described as *laeta* as she leaves her son’s presence (having been disguised as the Phoenician huntress) after advising him how to approach Carthage and enclosing him in a mist for his protection (1.411-414). On 1.416, Austin (1971, *ad loc.*) on *laetus* writes: “not a mere formal epithet; Venus is delighted to have seen and helped her son, delighted to have played her act as a ‘Tyrian girl’, delighted to go off to her dear Paphos (*sedes suas*), where she had special honor. It is a notable contrast: the son being lonely and careworn, the mother gay and warm in her perfumed luxury.”

⁴³¹ Rieks (1989, 210).
Kühn (1971, 91-92) notes that Venus’ “joy” (Freude) is matched by Aeneas’ “joy” (Freude); I assume Kühn refers to lines 5.827-828 (*hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim / gaudia pertemptant mentem*).

As with the instances outside Book 5, there are a number of uses of *laetus* that are not connected with situations involving arrival, battle, or prayer, but show optimism for the future nevertheless. The first appears at 5.107:

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exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena
Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant,
famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae
excierat; *laeto* complerant litora coetu
visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati. (5.104-108)
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Here *laeto* modifies *coetu*—the crowd of Acestes’ people on the shore, gathered to watch the funeral games Aeneas had proclaimed; the adjective describes the people involved as if it were nominative plural. Aeneas had said (5.65f.) that on the ninth day, if the weather were good, there would be funeral games before the sacrifice and feast on the Sicilian shore; the day has arrived. This follows closely upon the most recent instance of

\[105\] Nethercut (1986) discusses the appearance of Phaethon at 5.105 and its thematic importance, especially the theme of control (Aeneas) versus loss of control (Phaethon, Palinurus). “It is true that for both Phaethon and for Aeneas fire creates a crisis of control” (104). Williams (1983) discusses this type of “thematic anticipation” (i.e., prefiguring Palinurus with Phaethon, here), although Williams does not directly address this passage or these characters. See Putnam (1962) for the thematic importance of Palinurus.

\[432\] Servius (*ad loc.*) glosses *laeto coetu* as *ipsi laeti*. Williams (1960, *ad loc.*) notes that this is reminiscent of Cat. 64.33, and finds helpful a comparison of *Aen. 5.104-107 and Cat. 64.31-33* (*quae simul optatae finito tempore luces / advenere, domum conventu tota frequentat / Thessalia, oppletur laetanti regia coetu*).
laetus (at 5.100, discussed above, in which Aeneas’ men perform the sacrifice, laeti) and is succeeded by a description of prizes.

The people gathered are laeti because they look forward to watching and participating in the games.434 Visuri (107), in its tense and relationship to the Greek purpose construction with the future participle, identifies the audience’s reason for excitement, and indicates that the important action has not yet taken place. The description of the day as exspectata (104) also indicates the excitement with which this day, and the games, are anticipated.435

At 5.577, the boys in the lusus Troiae parade before the crowd, before they begin their maneuvers.

excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes 575
Dardanidae, veterumque agnoscent ora parentum.
postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis
Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello. (5.575-579)

434 This use is similar to that at 1.707, describing the Tyrians excited to see Aeneas, before the banquet in Carthage has begun (nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes / convenere, toris iussi discumbere pictis 1.707-708). Austin (1971, ad loc.) on limina laeta notes the similarity of this to Catullus 64.46: tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza. Cf. Aen. 5.40 (agresti laetus gaza).

435 There is no other emotional vocabulary describing the general audience of the games in this scene. When Gyas shoves Menoetes from his ship (175) the Trojans laugh (illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem 181), but the non-Trojan audience is not mentioned again until the ship race has finished, and Aeneas, together with the whole company, moves to the plain to watch the footrace (quo se multis cum milibus heros / consessu medium.... resedit 289-290).
This passage appears as the boys finish their parade in costume, on horse,\(^{436}\) around the concourse, when Epytides gives the signal to begin the \textit{lusus Troiae} proper (Goold translates \textit{paratis} of 579 with, “as they stood expectant”). The emotion of the boys is indicated by \textit{ovantem} (563); the emotion of the spectators (whose watching is emphasized: \textit{tuentes 575, ora parentum 576}) is indicated by \textit{mirata fremit} (555) and \textit{exciplunt plausu... gaudentque} (575).\(^{437}\) The boys are described as \textit{laeti} before the \textit{lusus Troiae} has begun, and their feeling is not unlike the excited nervousness of children about to step onstage to perform in a school pageant (cf. \textit{pavidos 575}).

Since the \textit{lusus Troiae} is a mock battle, we may compare \textit{laetus} here with its use in situations of real battle (e.g. 10.787, 10.643), in which it expresses the fervor and adrenaline of an individual fighting (in which case, \textit{ovantem} 563, also a battle word, is particularly appropriate)—Miniconi’s “joie belliqueuse.”\(^{438}\) This instance is a fair example of the “smaller” scale on which I argue the events of Book 5 take place, relative to the rest of the work: here, in a mock battle (as opposed to a real one), boys too young to fight (as opposed to men) parade around innocently, though the language used to

\(^{436}\) Galinsky (1968, 166) notes that Ascanius’ movements here, and his being carried by a horse given him by Dido (5.571-572) is reminiscent of the hunt scene in Book 4 (156ff.). For my purposes it is especially interesting (though Galinsky does not note this) that in that scene in Book 4 Ascanius is also described as \textit{laetus} (at 4.140; cf. 4.156-157).

\(^{437}\) This instance is similar to that at 1.696, where Amor, in Ascanius’ place, comes to Dido’s banquet bearing gifts, the object of the attention of all the Tyrians (\textit{iamque ibat dictor parens et dona Cupido / regia portabat Tyriis, duce laetus Achate} 1.695-696). The Trojans bear \textit{dona} (i.e. sacrifices), \textit{laeti}, also at 5.100. On 1.696 Austin (1971, \textit{ad loc.}) on \textit{laetus} writes, “He laughs to himself as he follows the honest, simple Achates.” TCD (\textit{ad loc.}) explains \textit{laetus} as a function of his being a god, and therefore tireless as he makes the journey.

\(^{438}\) Miniconi (1962, 565).
describe them is that of a real battle (*agmen* 549, *turmas* 550, the description of their crowns and weapons 556-559, *acies* 563, *ovantem* 563, etc.).

The *lusus Troiae* is the culmination of the events of the day. It is also an anticipatory activity, as it looks forward to the relationship between Aeneas and Rome; the poet notes that the practice is a sign of the unbroken lineage between the Trojans and the Romans, as Ascanius himself transmitted it to the people of Alba Longa (596-602), and in Vergil’s own day, “the boys are called ‘Troy,’ and the line, ‘Trojan’” (*Troyaque nunc pueri, Trojanum dicitur agmen* 602). This scene is more important for its connection of Trojan with Roman than for the advancing of the plot. Holt (1979-1980, 440)

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439 Abbot (2000, 70) finds troubling, in the *lusus Troiae*, the image of young boys, clad in armor, pretending to fight one another—young men about to die in real war in the second half of the work. Abbot connects the Coroebus episode of Book 2 (2.350ff.) to this scene with many intertexts, e.g. *iuvenes* engaging in a *dolus*; there is much verbal repetition between the two passages. For more on the labyrinth imagery, see Abbot (2000), P. A. Miller (1995), Glei (1991), etc. In the *Aeneid*, *ovans* describes one exulting in the feeling of victoriousness in battle also at 5.331 (in the footrace), 6.589, 9.71, 9.208, 10.409, 10.690, 11.13, 11.758, and 12.479.

440 Rieks (1989, 209) writes, “Die allgemeine Festesfreude erreicht ihren Höhepunkt mit dem *lusus Troiae*.”

441 Ascanius is the link between past and future, and the symbol (and means) of Aeneas’ ultimate success. For an excellent discussion of the negotiation of past, present, and future, as well as the tension between war and peace, in the *lusus Troiae*, see Petrini (1996, 93-100). Cf. Erdmann (1998, 503): “Wenn Vergil in diesem Kontext darauf verweist, daß Ascanius bei der Gründung Alba Longas, von der Rom ausgehen wird, die Troja-Spiele aufführen läßt, stellt er die geglückte Verknüpfung von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart heraus, die allein vermag, eine Zukunft zu eröffnen.”

442 Feldherr (1995, 263-264) writes, “The boat race approximated the experience of Augustan circus spectacle, but the *lusus Troiae* goes beyond approximation: it was acted out in Augustan Rome in precisely the same form in which Vergil describes it. Here more than anywhere else, the commemoration of the past—and that is the function of the *lusus Troiae* both in Augustus’ Rome and on the shores of Sicily—offers a link to the future as well. It is this obliteration of the separation between past and present, between generations, which forms the heart of the event. The Trojans are gazing upon their
116-117) discusses Ascanius in this scene as representative of the Trojan future, and the *lusus* as a practice intentionally connecting the Trojan with the Roman.\footnote{The Trojan (the perspective of Aeneas and his men) and the Roman (Augustus and Vergil’s readership) remain distinct, however; Holt (1979-1980, 119) writes, “The *lusus Troiae* offers an excellent example of what I have called dual perspective. In this passage (V.545-603) we see most clearly the distinctions between the Trojan audience within the epic and the Roman audience outside it, and between the different meanings the spectacle has for each audience.” Cf. Pavlovskis (1976, 202-203). For discussion of how “Trojan” the *lusus Troiae* was, see Glei (1991, 307-308).}

That this excitement and joy of this scene build up to disappointment is indicated by the first line with which Vergil moves from the description of the *lusus* to the scene of the women on the shore: *hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit* (604).\footnote{“The correlation of Ascanius’ earlier joy and the hot emotion that now overcomes him mirrors the close relationship between the boys’ mock battles and the women’s real hostility” (Abbot 2000, 72).} Such a change of fortune may be read on both a small and grand scale: the women’s burning the ships ruins the mood, and it also threatens Aeneas’ long-term mission.

Ascanius is again described as *laetus* in the context of the *lusus Troiae*, right before he is wrenched aside by news of the ships burning, at 5.667:
nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri
incensas perfert navis Eumelus, et ipsi
respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.
primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit
castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri. (5.664-669)

The scene passed, at line 604, from the *lusus Troiae* to the women on the shore; Juno sent
Iris, disguised as Beroê, to drive the women mad; they set fire to the ships. Eumelus
brings news to the viewers of the *lusus Troiae*; Ascanius rushes to the ships, and (after
these lines) speaks to the women. Both the previous instance, at 5.577, and this instance
accord with Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sensibility for *laetus*, in which the word is used to
describe optimism that will be disappointed (cf. Ascanius’ description of the situation,
vestras spes uritis 674). As with these two instances, sometimes that optimism is defeated
immediately, as at 5.515 below; sometimes that defeat occurs far later, as with the
instances describing Dido in Book 1. Here Ascanius is *laetus* just a moment before he
hears of the disaster that threatens to ruin the Trojans’ plans and rushes to put a stop to
it.

The explanation of *laetus* in this instance is helped by the parallel structure
between *ut laetus* and *sic acer* in 668: “as he joyfully led the troop on horseback—so,
keen, he sought on horse the camp that had been thrown into confusion.” The shift from

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445 Rieks (1989, 209) writes, “Die Diskrepanz zwischen dem *furtor* der Frauen und der
Freudenstimmung bei den Athletenspielen hat Vergil besonders an dem
Stimmungswechsel des Ascanius verdeutlicht.”

446 Cf. Williams (1960, *ad loc.*): “[Ascanius] rushes straight off before anyone else reacts,
and cannot be caught and dissuaded from his impetuous initiative. He speaks in simple
rapid sentences, and ends with the dramatic gesture of throwing off his helmet as he
stands before the women, waiting for them to recognize him.”
ut laetus to sic acer indicates a sudden shift in mood, and the circumstances of 668-669 prohibit laetus from continuing to be an appropriate descriptor for Ascanius.

In two instances, those at 5.283 and 9.818, individuals appear “happy” that someone has survived a dangerous situation. This communicates a feeling of relief; a certain fear has been removed, and a negative situation has turned into a positive one. The dove, at 5.515, may be compared with these two. The instance at 9.818, in the last line of Book 9, describes Turnus as he is carried away to safety in the Tiber after risking his life by entering the Trojan camp during battle. At 5.283, Aeneas is laetus to see Sergestus return from his wreck in the ship race, alive:

Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat
servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.
oli serva datur operum haud ignara Minervae,
Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati. (5.282-285)

Here, laetus communicates Aeneas’ relief upon seeing his friends and ship return (relatively) safe. Sergestus had suffered a crash (205-209) during the ship race, which left his craft the worse for wear (amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno 271)—but, remarkably, all his men, and most of that ship, made it back unscathed. (The safety of Aeneas’ men is important for maintaining a joyful tenor for Book 5.) Aeneas’ mood is not characterized aside from laetus in this scene, but we may infer that, upon seeing

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447 ille suo cum gurgite flavo / accepit venientem ac mollibus extulit undis / et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit (9.816-818).

448 Cf. TCD (ad loc.): quia post gravem casum integris navigio et sociis remeavit.

Sergestus’ return, he moves from uncertainty, regarding the fate of his friends, to relief.\footnote{The instance at 5.40 is similar: Acestes greets the Trojans, who have again returned to his shore (\textit{veterum non immemor ille parentum / gratatur reduces et gaza \textit{laetus} agresti / excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis 39-41}). Acestes is rich and happy in his abundance from the land (Servius \textit{ad loc.} glosses \textit{gaza agresti} as \textit{opibus rusticanis}); with this use the author combines personal emotion with agricultural wealth (cf. Chapter V.4 below on “agricultural” \textit{laetus} in the \textit{Aeneid}). Cf. Williams (1960, \textit{ad loc.}): “\textit{Gaza agresti} is almost an oxymoron: Acestes sets his simple store before his friends as a Persian king might set his costliest treasures. The theme of regal simplicity is most sympathetically developed in \textit{Aeneid} VIII when Evander welcomes Aeneas at the site of Rome.” This use is to be compared with Duval’s association of \textit{laetus} with “generosity” (2004, 155ff.). The model for this passage is \textit{Arg.} 1.321-328 (see George 1978). On this passage as characterizing Acestes as a good king, see Swallow (1953, 177-179), e.g. “Our introduction to Acestes in general sets forth his basic qualities as a human being, his homely tastes, his pursuits, his generosity; we see him mindful of his ancestors (5.39), fond of hunting (implied in 5.37 and 301), kindly to his guests (5.41 etc.). He puts on no airs and needs none, for he has a natural dignity, and although the demand upon his hospitality is particularly unexpected since it is winter time, there is no lack of warmth in it” (177-178).}

A number of scholars read this situation forward, against the scene in Book 5 in which Aeneas \textit{will} lose ships, after Iris incites the Trojan women to set fire to them. Rieks (1989, 208) reads the use of \textit{laetus} at 5.283 as in contrast with the depiction of Aeneas later on, when he will lose some of his ships (by fire) and some of his people (who choose to stay in Sicily); Aeneas is joyful here, but will soon mourn. With such an interpretation this instance of \textit{laetus} fits Lyne’s “disaster-prone” reading of the word. Cairns (1989) reads this scene as important especially for its revelation of Aeneas’ character.\footnote{Cairns (1989, 238) compares Aeneas’ response at the end of each competition with Achilles’ response in the corresponding games of Patroclus in \textit{Il.} 23, e.g.: “Virgil seeks in general to bring out the public-spiritedness of the Trojans’ actions, in contrast to the Greeks of the \textit{Iliad}, who were motivated in essence by selfish individual pride and self-interest” (237-238). For Cairns, Aeneas’ reception of Sergestus is revealing of his character, and his deep feeling for his men. “Thus Aeneas at the end of the ship race...”}
Likewise “happy to be alive,” or “happy with a newfound future” is the dove in the archery competition, at 5.515:

tum rapidus, iam nondum arcu contenta parato
tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,
iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus et alis
plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.
decidit examinis vitamque reliquit in astris
aetheris fixamque refert delapsa sagittam. (5.513-518)

Here the dove reacts to the severing of the cord that attached her to the raised mast. The first archer, Hippocoon, struck the mast; the second, Mnestheus, struck the cord, the third, Eurytion, will strike the bird herself (516). The dove, after Mnestheus cuts her tether, is described as laetam at her new freedom, able to stretch her wings in an open sky (vacuo caelo 515), as fear is the opposite of hope, this emotion contrasts with her

behaves like Achilles after the chariot race, but with an additional element. Although both give prizes to all competitors, when Aeneas gives one to Sergestus, who came in last after an accident, he does so for a non-iliadic reason: servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos (283)—a line which images in brief Aeneas’ own concern with saving his comrades in the wider context of the epic” (238). Delvigo (2001, 26) reads Aeneas, including his characterization here as laetus, as drawn opposite Sergestus, to highlight Aeneas as a good leader, by contrast.

Putnam (1962, 218) notes that the description of Mnestheus’ arrow (nervo stridente sagitta) parallels the Diras who comes down to kill Turnus: “Thus Virgil describes the actions of the Diras who brings death to Turnus, stridens like a poison dart, nervo per nubem impulsa sagitta (XII, 856), against whose wound there is no remedy.”

In this way the instance at 5.515 parallels the “setting out” instances I describe in the previous chapter.

The dove’s immediate attempt at escape is described in lines 510-512: [Mnestheus] nodos et vincula linea rupit, / quis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto; / illa Notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit.
previous fear (*exterrita* 505) when Hippocoon had struck the mast. As we have seen, however, the use of *laetus* is not predicated on the success of the expected future (here, escape), and the dove dies in the few lines that follow. This juxtaposition of the positive adjective and death is jarring, but not foreign to the use of the word. *Laetus* followed immediately by a negative reversal also appears in Book 5 at 5.667 (above), describing Ascanius in the *lusus Troiae*, as he is wrenched aside by news of the ships burning on the shore. This also accords with Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sense of *laetus*.

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455 *Exterrita* (505) and *laetam* here are the only two words describing the dove that hint at any emotion, with the possible exception of *fugit* (512). Otherwise the dove’s actions are not paired with emotion (e.g. in her death, at 517-518).

456 What is rare about this instance is the use of *laetus* to describe what appears to be emotion on the part of an animal; *laetus* is not often used of animals when it does not refer to fertility.

457 Cf. Lyne (1989, 183) on “disaster-prone happiness.” Lawler (1988, 109-110) argues that the dove’s soul leaving its body is a form of rebirth, and that this description coheres with the thematic function of the omen of Acestes’ arrow catching fire. After Eurytion kills the bird herself, Acestes shoots fourth; with such an omen Jupiter redeems Acestes’ shot (see discussion of 5.531, above).
CHAPTER FOUR: OTHER LAET- FAMILY WORDS IN THE AENEID

IV.1: *Laetitia*

I have chosen to discuss separately the instances of *laetitia* and *laetari*; I have made occasional reference in earlier chapters to the fact that the two words follow trends of use that diverge somewhat from the trends of the adjective *laetus*. The noun *laetitia* appears to indicate primarily a physical sensation, generally of (physical) excitement; the noun is often accompanied by other words such as *exsultare* and *metus* that help give it context. There are eight uses of *laetitia* in the *Aeneid* (1.514, 1.636, 1.734, 3.100, 8.717, 9.637, 11.807, and 12.700).

*Laetitia* first appears in Plautus, Caecilius, Atilius, and Cato (875). The word may be either singular or plural. For Cicero’s special definition of the word in his Stoic philosophical works, see my introduction. *Laetitia* indicates an emotion perceived by

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458 Cf. von Kamptz (*TLL, laetitia*, 7.2.875).

459 E.g. Cic. *De Inv*. 3.35: *quam... Stoici communi nomine corporis et animi ἡδονήν appellant, ego malo laetitiam appellare, quasi gestientis animi elationem*; cf. *Tusc*. 4.13: *cum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur; cum autem inaniter et effuse animus exultat, tum illa laetitia gestiens vel nimia dici potest, quam ita definiunt: sine ratione animi elationem*. For discussion of this see my introduction.
others, an external show of emotion rather than an internal sensation of one. In the *Aeneid* the noun *laetitia* very often functions along the lines of *laetus* in battle.

This physical excitement expressed by *laetitia* is often prompted by the same perceived reversal of fortune that prompts uses of the adjective *laetus*. In some instances of the word, this excitement is due to the perceived favor of the gods, as a result of a favorable omen or oracle; I discuss this aspect of the use of the adjective *laetus* above, in Chapter II.4. In the appearance at 3.100, Aeneas uses *laetitia* to describe the feeling he and his crew had upon hearing an oracle of Apollo.

\[ \text{haec Phoebus; mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu} \]
\[ \text{*laetitia*, et cuncti quae sint ea moenia quaerunt,} \quad 100 \]
\[ \text{quo Phoebus vocet errantis iubeatque reverti.} \]

(3.99-101)

Aeneas, directly after having encountered Polydorus’ shade, is at Delos, praying to Apollo for advice concerning where to turn his mission (84-89). Apollo’s advice to Aeneas is to “seek his ancient mother,” a place which Anchises identifies as Crete;

\[ 461 \]

\[ \text{Cf. Lact. Inst. 6.15: *laetitia nihil aliut est quam professum gaudium*. Cf. Gell. 2.27: *laetitia dicitur exsultatio quaedam animi gaudio / efferventior eventu rerum expetitarum* (von Kamptz, TLL, 7.2.875). *Laetitia* is, evidently, *expressed* joy, or perhaps, the *expression* of joy. In the examples of *laetitia* in the *Aeneid*, we see quite a bit of physical expression (for example, the noise that accompanies nearly every instance of the word). Duval (2004) concurs with this reading of the word (see esp. 196-211). Duval’s main chapter on *laetitia* (116-236) does not distinguish between the use of *laetitia* and that of *laetus*, etc.; I discuss her treatment of the *laet*-family in my introduction.} 

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\[ \text{Armstrong (2002, 321) writes, “Anchises happily takes *antiquam exquirite matrem* (3.96) to mean that they should settle in their ancient motherland Crete, the birthplace of one of their forefathers, Teucer. Full of premature hope that their wanderings may quickly come to an end in a fairly familiar land, he gives a picture of the island which outlines the correspondences between Troy and Crete, and shows this to be a worthy place to restart their lives.” Armstrong characterizes the place as “Crete of a hundred cities, fertile land and cradle of the gods, a positive, if slightly mysterious, picture of an island ripe with} \]
here Aeneas’ men experience a strong emotion in response to interacting with a god—particularly a god associated with fate, one whose words inspire trust. This passage is also heavily invested with Jupiter’s influence, another god responsible for the Trojans’ future.

The strong reaction (mixto ingens exorta tumultu / laetitia) is an intense response to an intense experience; before Apollo spoke, the whole place shook as though in an earthquake, and Aeneas and his men fell to the ground, summissi. Aeneas’ awe of the place had previously been established by veneramur (79) and venerabar (84).

There is laetitia because Aeneas’ men feel they have a good outlook for the future, which is, importantly, supported by the will of the gods and corroborated by an omen (and therefore analogous to uses of laetus associated with prayer, e.g. 2.687, 7.130,

possibilities for settlement” (322). She explains why Crete would have appeared sensible to Anchises (321-323); contrast Quint (1982, 31-32), and the comparisons of Aeneas’ wandering to the descent to the underworld in the Odyssey (e.g. Knauer 1964, 426-427; cf. Quint 1982, 31-35; Quint 1993, 53-58).

Trust, and hope: cf. TCD (ad loc.), laeti quidem fuerunt omnes, quod optata cognossent. It is no coincidence that Apollo is pius at 75, and the son of Jupiter, and that he therefore enjoys a special relationship to fate. On Apollo’s presence in the Aeneid, especially with regard to Augustus’ political propaganda and presentation, see Miller (1994). Miller (1994, 103) discusses Delos’ importance here, and Apollo’s promise of Rome’s future glory (3.97-98).

Day (1984, 26) points out the importance of Crete’s association with Jupiter in this passage (Creta Iovis 104), both in the tradition he was born and raised there, and in his responsibility and plan for the nurturing of the Roman race.

vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente, / liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri / mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis. / summissi petimus terram, et vox fertur ad auris (90-93). No fear is explicitly expressed there, but I read here a reference to Iphigenia in Lucretius (muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat 1.92), where fear is explicit. R.D. Williams (1962, ad 93) compares the use of summittio in these two passages.
etc.). Aeneas, in his request of Apollo in lines 85-89, had already connected the god’s advice with the emotional response in his men that that would bring (da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris 89). That Anchises’ interpretation (Crete) is wrong is irrelevant to the use of laetitia here, and Aeneas as speaker does not seem to imbue the use with any sarcasm. (Laetitia seems to be a short-term emotion. Laetitia as part of anticipation for the future is especially clear in Anchises’ response to the oracle, when he identifies their destination as Crete, at lines 103-117 (audite... et spes discite vestras).

This instance of laetitia involves elements of the use of laetus both in the context of prayer and propitiation (e.g. 3.169, 3.178, etc.) and of battle (e.g. 10.787, 2.260, etc.). The reaction of Aeneas’ men is physical, almost indistinguishable from tumultus. The physicality of laetitia (the noun, specifically) will be expressed by further instances of the word, below. The prophecy is more long-term than it may immediately appear, too: lines 97-98 are a prophecy of the future greatness of the house of Aeneas, and therefore Rome.


467 Cf. Armstrong (2002, 323): “The mood of relief and optimism that dominates Anchises’ speech spreads out into the narrative too; with sacrifices duly made to Neptune, Apollo, and the winds (3.118-20), the journey from Delos to Crete is swift and joyful.”
The content, therefore, may be connected with that of the Penates in their prophecy at 3.154-171 (and the reaction of Aeneas, *laetus* at 169 and 178).\footnote{Cf. R.D. Williams (1962, *ad* 84f.) and Unte (1994, 214).}

The manifestation of *laetitia* as *noise* here is common to instances of *laetus*; the *laetus*-emotion is often expressed with shouting. In this scene, the noise of 3.100 is repeated at 128 (*nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor*), and the hope is expressed again in *optatae* (132).\footnote{Cf. the following expression of *laetus*, in *laetam cognomine gentem* (133).} For my discussion of the association of *clamor* with the *laet-*stem, see my discussion of the instance at 3.524 (cf. Duval 2004, 204).

This instance of *laetitia* shows Lyne’s “disaster-prone” understanding of *laetus*: the hope in Crete is followed immediately by the suffering Aeneas’ men find there.\footnote{Lyne (1989) does not mention this instance in his section on *laetus* in the *Aeneid* (181-185).} The use of the *laet-* stem to convey a positive expectation that is, sooner or later, undermined is common in the *Aeneid*, but this relationship between expectation and outcome is not dependable or necessary; most often the relationship between expectation and outcome is unknown or unpredictable.

The force of *laetitia* here is clarified by its connection with *tumultus* and explained by 100-101; the *tumultus* is excitement, energy, curiosity. The intensity of complicated emotion (particularly the combination of hope and fear) in this instance may be compared with that at 1.514 and 11.807. In the first passage, Aeneas and Achates are struck by *laetitia* and *metus* while watching the exchange between Dido and their friends.

\begin{quote}

*obstipuit simul ipse simul perculsus Achates*

*laetitiaque metuque, avidi coniungere dextras*
\end{quote}

\footnote{Cf. the following expression of *laetitia* in *laetam cognomine gentem* (133).}
ardebant; sed res animos incognita turbat (1.513-515)

In 11.807, Arruns, after shooting Camilla, is overwhelmed with emotion:

exterritus... laetitia mixtoque metu (11.807)

There Arruns’ fear continues into the simile that follows, comparing him to a wolf that killed a shepherd.⁴⁷¹ As fear, the anticipation of negative events, is the opposite of hope, the juxtaposition (and contrast) is important—particularly that it appears twice in this way, with such similar language.⁴⁷² In 1.515, the phrase res animos incognita turbat—the unknown in the future causing worry—underlines the fear expressed by metu.⁴⁷³

At 1.514 (directly above) the intense emotion on Aeneas’ and Achates’ part is indicated by obstipuit (513), percussus (513), laetitia (514), metu (514), avidi (514), ardebant (515), and res animos incognita turbat (515). Their emotion is not explicitly characterized aside from these words, even in Achates’ response to Aeneas at 582-585.

⁴⁷¹ continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos / occiso pastore lupus magnove iuvenco, / conscius audacis facti, caudamque remulcens / subiecit pavitantem utero silvasque petivit (11.810-813). G. Williams (1980, 184-186) compares the wolf-simile here to Il. 15.585-591: in the Iliad passage there is no guilt, and nothing to compare to laetitia mixtoque metu. Unte (1994, 249) relates it to Il. 16.233-252, and refers back to Knauer (1964, 311-314) on this; Fratantuono (2009, ad 809-813) notes that the Homeric model is Il. 15.586-588 (and refers to Janko on that passage). On Arruns’ guilty conscience, and prayer to be inglorious, see G. Williams (1980, 185).

⁴⁷² Cf. Austin (1971, ad 1.514); he compares this instance to 1.218, spemque metumque inter dubii, and writes, “Their joy is shown in avidi... ardebant, their fear in res... turbat.” Cf. Weber (1988, 93-94).

⁴⁷³ Fratantuono (2009, ad 807-808) writes, “Laetitia; playing with the keyword laetus from Book V, the opposite of the maestus-motif of XI. But Arruns’ rejoicing is grossly premature.”
The instance at 1.514 (as it is prompted by Aeneas catching sight of his men, at 509-512; cf. Achates’ question at 582-583) may be compared to the instances in which an individual is laetus on account of the newly restored safety of himself or others (“happy to be alive”) at 5.283 and 9.818. Cf. Servius (ad 1.514): laetitia propter socios, metu propter concursum. This element is also present at 1.554, in Ilioneus’ speech to Dido directly following (si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto / tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus 553-554). There too Dido characterizes Ilioneus’ current unhopeful outlook as fear (solvite corde metum 562).

At 11.807 (above), the phrase exterritus laetitia indicates both the sudden onset of the emotion and the intensity of the emotion. Arruns is also characterized by the simile (809-815) relating him to the wolf who, having made a substantial kill, conscius audacis facti, tucks its tail between its legs (caudamque remulcens / subiecit pavitantem utero silvasque petivit 812-813). Arruns is not the only one fearful in this scene; Camilla’s friends are trepidae, matching Arruns’ fear (exterritus and metu), along with the phrase

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474 On these lines, and the minimizing of Orontes’ death in the context of Venus’ hope-inspiring prophecy to Aeneas and Achates earlier, see O’Hara (1990, 9-13).

475 Page (1900, ad loc.) on exterritus prefers “dazed” or “amazed” to “terrified” as a translation. For other instances of comparable mixed emotions in the Aeneid, see Horsfall (2003, ad 807). Cf. Fratantuono (2009, 274) who writes, “Arruns is terrified of the possible repercussions of his deed (rather than solely “excited” by his achievement), but he also feels the natural joy of one who received a fondly cherished wish, and consequently he is full of conflicting emotions (laetitia mixtoque metu).” I disagree with Fratantuono; to me the phrase “fondly cherished” implies “long-held,” and I see no evidence of that.

476 On the wolf simile, see Fratantuono (2009, 274-275).
Diana’s nymph Opis, who is about to kill Arruns, is, notably, *interrita* (837).

Apollo heeds half of Arruns’ prayer: Arruns prays both to kill Camilla and return to his homeland (785-793), and Apollo grants only the former (796-798).\(^{478}\) Perhaps Arruns is just in feeling both *laetitia* and *metu*! Arruns is described as *fulgentem armis ac vana tumentem* at 854.\(^{479}\)

In revenge for Camilla’s death, Opis slays Arruns, and the contrast between the two deaths informs our understanding of their character: she does not hear the arrow before it strikes her (802), whereas he does (863-864); she is deeply mourned by her attendants, and avenged by Opis (805-806, 832-835, 838-840), whereas Arruns is completely forgotten by his men (865-867). (His immediate death following his “rejoicing” makes this similar to Lyne’s “disaster-prone” uses.) Camilla does not experience “joy” in the *Aeneid*, and nowhere is she modified by a word with the *laet-*stem.\(^{480}\)

Other instances of *laetitia* recall the use of *laetus* to express exhilaration in the context of battle. This exhilaration in battle is also expressed by forms of *exsultare*, as the phantom Aeneas (*laeta* at 10.643) “exults” (*exsultat*, 643). *Exsultare* appears again, in the context of *laetitia* in battle, at 12.700:

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\(^{478}\) On Arruns’ prayer to Apollo, see Unte (1994, 249).

\(^{479}\) There is more future-oriented language in this scene, e.g. *credere* (808).

\(^{480}\) But she does “exult in” battle: *exsultat Amazon* (11.648).
at pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni
deserit et muros et summas deserit arces
praecipitatque moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit

laetitia exsultans horrendumque intonat armis: 700
quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx aut ipse coruscis
cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque nivali
vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras. (12.697-703)

Once again the expression of laetitia is associated with noise (700, 702-703, 720-724, 756-757; tumultus). In this instance Aeneas reacts to hearing Turnus’ name, to the prospect of meeting him in battle; Aeneas is confident of his victory, soon to come. This is exactly the function of laetus at 10.874 (Aeneas agnovit enim laetusque precatur), which I discuss above in Chapter II.4, above, where Aeneas is excited that he will have the opportunity to fight Mezentius. Laetus expresses a similar anticipation at 10.787, where Aeneas has wounded Mezentius, (Aeneas viso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus).

The fear in this scene contrasts with Aeneas’ excitement and confidence. The fear of others is expressed in lines 716-719, 730, and 760-762; Turnus’ own fear is expressed at 776, 894-895, and 916.

There is an intensity and a savagery present in lines 697ff., when Aeneas and Turnus first join in one-on-one combat, expressed by laetitia and exsultans. As the fight wears on, however, Aeneas bitterly threatens the Rutulians if they aid Turnus and thus prolong the attack (760-762). The shift of scene to Jupiter, Juno, and Juturna (791-886) undermines the intensity of the fight scene between Aeneas and Turnus, such that when the narrative returns to the two men, Aeneas is enraged (saevus pectore 888) at the delay (quae nunc deinde mora est? 889; contrast moras 699). The excitement of first entering

481 On the use of saevus in the Aeneid, and particularly for the representation of Aeneas as
the fight is over. It is this exhausted state from which Aeneas considers heeding Turnus’ request for mercy at 931-938, and from which he is roused at the sight of Pallas’ belt (furiis accensus et ira / terribilis 946-947; fervidus 951).482

Even prior to these lines, Turnus’ hope is receding, and he prepares himself for the inevitable, which he acknowledges might include his own death (cf. his request to Juturna, 676-680).483 Exsultat (688) applies to Turnus in the simile relating him to the rock that falls headlong from a mountaintop, and rushes down the mountainside bringing destruction, but the simile is inappropriate: whereas the falling rock causes destruction, Turnus here moves through his own already crippled ranks without harming anyone (681-683; 689-692). His words call for a respite from battle (693-695), and all oblige (696).484


482 On the connections between this scene and Hector’s death in Il. 22 (and the conversation between Achilles and Hector), see G. Williams (1983, 90-93). See Schmit-Neuerburg (1999, 178-179) on the simile (12.701-703) and comparison between this simile and Il. 13.754ff. (178, n.507). Schmit-Neuerburg compares Aeneas’ reaction here to Achilles’, on seeing Hector, at Il. 20.423f. W.S. Anderson (1957, 23-25) describes the propriety of Italians’ expectation of success early in the second half of the Aeneid, and the trend from that hope to the understanding of defeat, as here. Anderson does this in part by tracing the relationship of individuals in the Aeneid (like Aeneas and Turnus) to multiple Iliadic counterparts (e.g. Turnus’ initial identification with Achilles gives way, at the end of 12, to an identification with Hector in Il. 22, pp.25-29). Quint (1993, 65-83) also discusses the reversal of the Trojans’ fortunes over the course of the epic, in the context of multiple correspondences between Aeneas and Turnus and various Homeric characters (cf. “The Trojans become winners by exchanging their past roles as losers with others” 66). For my purposes here these correspondences help to explain, or at least contextualize, the use of laet- vocabulary in Aen. 7-12, particularly in Book 12; as the war wears on, laet- vocabulary more and more describes Aeneas, and not Turnus (cf. the last instance of the adjective laetus in the Aeneid, which happens to modify Turnus: minus atque minus laetus successu equorum 12.616).

483 On the degree to which Turnus knows his own fate in these lines, see Casali (2000, 117-118), and di Benedetto (1995), who also offers a discussion of Homeric models.

484 In the text Turnus has chided Juturna and leapt from his chariot to fight Aeneas, on the
It is to this Turnus, who finally considers the welfare of others above his own (pro vobis 695), and who is beginning to recognize the demands of fate,\(^{485}\) that Aeneas responds with violent eagerness and an imposing, threatening presence (praecipitatque moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit / laetitia exsultans horrendumque intonat armis 699-700; cf. simile 701-703),\(^{486}\) Aeneas’ laetitia is not flattering.\(^{487}\)

Just as in the description of Arruns at 11.807 above, at 9.637 an individual on the battlefield makes a prayer to a god (here, Jupiter) that he hit his mark, and shoots his arrow successfully; laetitia is the immediate result. Ascanius responds to Numanus

\(^{485}\) On Turnus’ acquiescence to fate in this scene, and its relationship to Turnus’ pietas and obedience to the will of the gods, see O’Hara (1990, 80). On Turnus’ acquiescence to his fate, particularly in lines 12.646-649, 676-680, and 894f., see Schenk (1984, 384). G. Williams (1983, 32-33), writes, on Turnus’ accepting his fate in this scene (with “fate” as code for his own fear): “[Turnus] has the horrible feeling that not only must he in honour fight Aeneas, but also that Aeneas is (as he is) the greater warrior, and he expresses his apprehension by using the concept of Fate. But in doing that Turnus does not have access to the privileged authorial sense of Fate; he uses the concept as a figure for his fear (as Aeneas uses it as a figure for his vision of duty).”

\(^{486}\) Hardie (1986, 147-150) connects Aeneas here to the role of fate, and Jupiter (and contrasts Turnus, who functions like the Giants in the Gigantomachy), citing vocabulary references (like intonare, 700) to other scenes in the Aeneid. For a reading of the Trojans depicted as Giants, and Turnus and the Italians as therefore likened to the Olympians, in the same struggle between order and disorder, see O’Hara (2007, 99). For a close stylistic reading of 12.696-700, see Worstbrock (1963, 148-151).

\(^{487}\) Cf. Dowling (2006, 302, n.29), who writes, “The contrast between Turnus as the Daunius heros (12.723) and Aeneas, who is called in the same sentence Tros Aeneas, underscores the dignity of Turnus as he enters the final confrontation and confronts the saevitia of Aeneas. It is as though in the last moment of the epic the two change places: the hero Aeneas despite all his self-control and devotion to duty is overwhelmed with ira, and the Rutulian, who has acted bravely but not with the rational control of the Vergilian hero, finds recognition for his worth and assumes a heroism perhaps surpassing his real ability.”
Remulus’ taunts (*o vere Phrygiae*, etc.) by praying for divine help, killing him, and delivering a taunt of his own (634-635):

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  effugit horrendum stridens adducta sagitta
  perque caput Remuli venit et cava tempora ferro
  traiicit. “i, verbis virtutem inlude superbis!
  bis capti Phryges haec Rutulis responsa remittunt.”

  hoc tantum Ascanius. Teucri clamore sequuntur
  laetitiaque fremunt animosque ad sidera tollunt. (9.632-637)
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Here, however, the (noisy)\(^{488}\) positive response (636-637) is straightforward and untainted by fear or worry.\(^{489}\) This response may be a result of Jupiter’s omen, thunder from a clear sky (630-631), an assurance of the Trojans’ success.\(^{490}\) Jupiter effected this success; in the following lines Apollo will remark on Ascanius’ valor (641-644) and have him restrained from further fighting (653-656). This passage also involves Ascanius proving the Trojans’ masculinity; to the insults of effeminacy, the Trojans must make a powerfully masculine response. *Laetitia* in the *Aeneid* does not express a “contentment” associated with leisure and enjoyment; rather, *laetitia* is a ferocious, loud, intimidating war-cry, expressing the joy of bloodlust and victory.

\(^{488}\) Cf. Dingel (1997, *ad* 54), on the use of *clamor* and *fremitus* in comparable scenes. Fordyce (1977, *ad* 7.389) writes that *fremere* “convey[s] the notion of inarticulate or confused sound,” and lists the very many different contexts in which the word is used.

\(^{489}\) Cf. TCD (*ad* loc.): *commoti Troiani ex felicitate facti tulerunt clamorem cum laeto fremitu et sperantes tanto auspicio meliora plurimum gratulabantur.*

Numanus’ taunts primarily assert the Italians’ hardiness against the Trojans’ delicateness, and Ascanius’ response (both in words, and in being prompted to use violence, as Ascanius had not been part of the battle before) asserts the Trojans’ force. In this sense the emotion here is a thrill, and it is exhilarating, but it is not necessarily a positive thing. Apollo’s responses, both at 642-643 (iure omnia bella / gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident) and 653-657 (sit satis... cetera parce, puer, bello) impress upon the audience that the Trojans’ truly worthy goal, and legacy, will be one of peace. In this sense the English “happiness” is truly lacking; we are accustomed to use the phrase “take joy in another’s suffering,” but Schadenfreude does not contribute to one’s happiness.

This use of laetitia, like many uses of laetus, has the context of both battle and prayer; the use of laetitia here expresses “battle joy,” and it also marks the optimism that follows a god’s favorable response to a prayer.

As fremunt appears at 9.637 (above), to indicate noise, so fremebant appears at 8.717 as well (and another form of fremo appears with the instance of laetitia at 12.700).

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492 On the ambiguity of meaning in this line (as a part of Vergil’s craft), as to whether war or peace will follow, see O’Hara (1997, 250).

493 “Phoebus phrases the end in view as universal peace and as divinity for Ascanius’ descendants” (Miller 2009, 154). On Apollo exhorting Ascanius (and the Romans) to peace, see Glei (1991, 210).
At 8.717, the word describes the sound in the roads of the celebration for Augustus’ triple triumph of 29 B.C., as depicted on the shield of Aeneas.\footnote{Binder (1971, 264-266) reads the celebration as depicted here against what the likely actual celebration in Rome looked like, following Augustus’ triumph; cf. J.F. Miller (2000, 409-411). See Eden (1975, 189-190) on the relationship of the Temple of Apollo to Augustus’ building program and post-Actium propaganda. J.F. Miller (2000) points out that triumphs ended on the Capitoline, not the Palatine, and that it was likely Octavian’s real triumph would also have ended on the Capitoline; Vergil envisions it ending with the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine in order to underscore further Apollo’s role in this scene, and highlight Octavian’s building program, specifically to do with religious renewal. The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine was not officially opened until October 9, 28 B.C. (411, n.9; 413). Duval (2004, 207) relates this instance of \textit{laetitia} to one in Livy (35.43).}

\begin{verbatim}
 at Caesar, triplici inventus Romana triumpho
 moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrat,
 maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
 \textit{laetitia} ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;
 omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
 ante aras terram caesi stravere iuvenci.
 ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi
dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
postibus. (8.714-722)
\end{verbatim}

Again, noise is an important association for the use of \textit{laetitia}; in addition to \textit{fremebant} we see \textit{ludis, plausu} 717; \textit{chorus} 718 etc.

Here the “joy” is a response to the victory at Actium; a specific event gives rise to the emotion. The context of sacrifice (719) and thanksgiving to the gods (715-716) recalls the use of \textit{laetus} in the context of prayer, supplication, and thanksgiving for divine favor. Phoebus’ presence in this scene is particularly appropriate, due both to his association with prophecy and his furthering the interests of Rome; cf. the instance at 3.100 above, \textit{laetitia} as a response to Phoebus’ oracle at Delos.\footnote{“In the final scene of the Shield (714-28) the themes of the city of Rome and of the

199
The shield is a prophecy of things to come in Roman history, but this reference to the future is not directly related to the appearance of *laetitia* here; the word here is prompted by a specific event (the victory at Actium) in a self-contained scene. While “joyful” scenes on the shield may influence Aeneas’ reaction, notably they do not explicitly inspire him with hope on account of his ignorance (*miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet* 730).

The two instances of *laetitia* I have not yet discussed are associated with Bacchus. Bacchus is called the *dator laetitiae* at 1.734:

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   hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
   implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
   a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis:
   “Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquentur,
   hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis
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world-empire that it controls are brought together in the celebration of Augustus’ triple triumph. In the first six lines (714-719) we see the city (*Romana... moenia, 714f.; urbem 716*) entirely given over to joyous religious thanksgiving; in the last nine lines (720-8) we see the master of the world surveying the peoples and places that he has conquered... Caesar appears before the temple of the god who guaranteed the victory at Actium; the *princeps* is the representative of Apollo on earth” (Hardie 1986, 355). J.F. Miller (1994, 100) discusses Augustus’ choice of Apollo as his “special patron,” and the crediting of victory at Actium to Apollo, as well as Apollo in Augustan propaganda. For bibliography on Augustus and Apollo, see Miller (1994, 159, n.4), and for a more recent treatment of this scene, see Miller (2009, 66-75). On the close relationship of Apollo and Augustus on the shield, see Unte (1994, 243-244). On the function of Actium in the epic, see e.g. Quint (1993, 21-46).

496 For a comparison of Octavian’s defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, in this scene, to the victory of the Olympian gods over the Titans and Giants, see Hardie (1986, 97-103; cf. Hardie 1983, 320-324).

497 Cf. O’Hara (1990, 173): “Dramatically, the prophecy on Vulcan’s shield speaks directly to no one in the poem: it speaks to Aeneas only through its beauty, and he would have been equally pleased with, say, the shield of Achilles. The shield speaks only to the Romans, or to us.”
esse velis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.

adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator, et bona Iuno;
et vos, o coetum Tyrii, celebrate faventes.” (1.728-735)

At the feast with Aeneas, Dido gives a toast before she will ask him to tell his story; she makes a prayer to Jupiter, Bacchus, and Juno.\textsuperscript{498} The atmosphere is genial, and festive (cf. \textit{celebrate faventes} at 735). This speech is immediately followed by Dido’s pouring a libation and passing the cup.\textsuperscript{499}

Dido prays that this day will be a \textit{laetum diem} (732). I discuss the instance of \textit{laetus} at 1.732 in the section on prayer in the “looking-forward” chapter on \textit{laetus} (Chapter II.4); I argue that at 1.732 \textit{laetum} means “auspicious,” referring to bringing good things for the future for both the Tyrians and the Trojans, and their relationship together. Such a hope will be terribly disappointed.\textsuperscript{500} (Note that both these instances, at

\textsuperscript{498} Cf. Adler (2003, 38): “Dido follows her invocation to Jupiter with a summons to Bacchus and Juno. Because she wishes to be hospitable, she invokes ‘Jupiter;’ because she wishes to have the joy of wine, she invokes ‘Bacchus;’ and because she wishes to marry Aeneas, she invokes ‘Juno.’” On the oddity of using the table in place of an altar for Dido’s libation, and the effect the whole scene must have had on the Trojans, see Adler (2003, 39-40).

\textsuperscript{499} Cf. Servius (\textit{ad loc.}): \textit{bene autem addidit dator laetitiae, quia est et dator furoris}. TCD (\textit{ad loc.}) adds, \textit{vinum intellegimus dictum, sine quo laetitia esse in conviviiis non potest}.

\textsuperscript{500} Therefore both the instances at 1.732 and 1.734 accord with Lyne’s “disaster-prone” \textit{laetus}. Hickson (1993, 142) describes Dido’s address of \textit{bona Iuno} here as ironic: “The synonyms \textit{bonus} and \textit{felix}, which appear in the official formula \textit{quod bonum faustum felixque sit}, retain the meaning ‘propitious,’ but each adjective occurs in contexts suggesting an ironic interpretation: Aeneas’ request that the disguised Venus be \textit{felix} [at 1.330], and Dido’s invocation of \textit{bona Iuno} [at 1.734]. Especially within the context of the ill-fated encounter between Aeneas and Dido, which is arranged by the goddesses Venus and Juno, the use of “propitious” to describe either goddess has ironic possibilities.” On tragic irony in Dido’s prayer (731-734) to Jupiter and Juno, whose roles vis-à-vis Dido’s interests are complicated, see Worstbrock (1963, 86-87). Also on the tragic irony in Dido’s prayer (731-734), see Bettenworth (2004, 164).
1.732 and 1.734, appear in a prayer to Jupiter, associated with fate.) The uses of the laet-stem at 1.732 and 1.734 differ slightly in emphasis: the sense is, “Jupiter, may this be an auspicious day for both Tyrians and Trojans alike, and may Bacchus, the bringer of conviviality, join us!” The use at 1.734 is a reference to what may have been a common phrase; there is an inscription that names Bacchus with the title dator laetitiae.\(^{501}\)

It is possible that, particularly if Bacchus has a special relationship to the laet-stem, individuals could be described as laetus on account of being intoxicated.\(^{502}\) (At any rate, the uses of laetus in the Aeneid in the context of prayer and propitiation are often associated with libation and sacrificial feasting, and the proximity of wine.) This association seems to be the effect of the Homeric phrase on which this characterization of Bacchus may be based (Il. 14.325, ἥ δὲ Διώνυσον Σεμέλη τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσιν).

Dido could be described as laeta at 1.685 partially as a result of the feast in which she is taking part, being inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum (1.686) (i.e., intoxicated—or, with the

\(^{501}\) Austin (1971, ad loc.) points to CLE 1504, from Tibur, which reads, “laeti<tie da>tor Lyaeus,” and notes that dator is a Plautine word (cf. Servius ad loc.), used only here in Vergil, only once in Silius, and not again until late and Christian writers employ it. The inscription to which Austin refers (CLE 1504 = CIL 14.3565) is an invocation to Priapus (discovered in the 18th century) in four pieces, with 57 lines total; the line in which laetitiae dator Lyaeus appears is part d, line 12. For an excellent and recent treatment of this inscription, see Franzoi (2004). The inscription makes a number of obvious references to Catullus, sometimes borrowing whole lines (Franzo<?> discusses this, 88-93). Franzoi does not mention the Vergilian intertext here, but seeing as the author of the inscription was so learned, and so taken with Catullus, I suspect that the phrase here is reference to Aen. 1.636/734.

\(^{502}\) Austin (1971, ad 734) notes the phrases Διώνυσον χάρμα βροτοῖσιν (Il. 14.325) and δώρα Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος (Hes. Erga 614). Rieks (1989, 206) relates this use to the motif of women in the Aeneid, particularly Dido, as being likened to Bacchants. On this scene, and its resemblance to similar scenes in Homer and Apollonius, see Clausen (2002, 47ff.). Bettenworth’s (2004, 143-178) discussion is also useful for the relationship of the whole feast scene in the Aeneid to similar scenes in Homer and Apollonius.
superlative, drunk). The adjective *laetus* appears in the context of wine and drinking also at 1.636, 2.783, 3.178, 3.347, 3.524, 7.130, 7.147, 8.268, 8.279, 8.544, and 8.717.

The noise in this scene recalls other instances of *laetitia* given above (*fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant / atria 725-726*). Perhaps noise as a general physical response is to be associated with *laetitia*; at any rate it is Bacchus here that brings both; cf. *ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur* (747).

The instance at 1.636 is plagued by textual difficulties, but I have made it follow the instance at 1.734 because I read the *dii* of 1.636 as *dei*, referring to Bacchus. This instance appears straightforwardly in the context of feasting, the same context of festivity and feasting as the passage above. Here Dido sends supplies to Aeneas’ men

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503 De Vaan (2008, *ad laetus*) suggests that *laetus* may be related to *lar(i)dus*, “bacon”!

504 1.724 *crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant* closely resembles 7.147: *crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant*.

505 The text of line 636 is uncertain, but most scholars (with notable exceptions) read *dei*, the genitive of *deus*. The explanations of Austin (1971, *ad loc.*) and Conington (1898, *ad 636*) are excellent. In sum: the possibilities for the word in this line are *dei*, *dii*, and *die*; the latter two are thought to be abbreviated versions of *diei*. The manuscripts have *dei*, and on account of 1.734, if *dei* is the correct reading, it is taken to be Bacchus (and, as Henry 1889 points out, Bacchus is simply *deus* elsewhere, as at 9.337). Servius’ explanation for *dei* is, *munera laetitiamque dei... id est, Liberi patris, ac per hoc, vinum*. Scholars who prefer (often stridently) a form of *deus* over a form of *dies* include Servius, TCD, Conington, Henry, Page, Austin, etc. (but for *diei*, see Heyne, Goold, etc.). The source of confusion appears to be the comment of Gellius (9.14), who remarks on interesting genitive forms (and does not supply an interpretation for this passage that would include *dies*): *in illo versu non dubium est quin dii scripsert [Vergilius] pro diei, munera laetitiamque dii, quod imperitiores dei legunt, ab insolentia scilicet vocis istius abhorrentes. sic autem dies, dii, a veteribus declinatum est, ut fames, fami, etc. Following Gellius, Conte and Geymonat both print *dii*. In the apparatus to his 2009 Teubner text, Conte provides the different readings of this word, their ancient sources (e.g. Gellius, manuscript traditions, etc.), and interpretations of each. Cf. Goold’s translation: “gifts for the day’s merriment.” *Diei* would accord with the genitive after *laetitia* cited by von Kamptz (*TLL*, 7.2.875): Vell. 2.103: *laetitiam illius diei... vix... persequi poterimus.*
who will not be able to join them for the feast in her halls (cf. at domus interior 637). The intervening lines (657-694) contain the conversation between Venus and Amor, in which she requests that he take Ascanius’ place.

“non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.”
sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit
tecta, simul divom templis indicit honorem.
ne cum interea sociis ad litora mittit
viginti tauros, magnorum horrentia centum
terga suum, pinguis centum cum matribus agnos,
muner a laetitiamque dii.
at domus interior regali splendida luxu
instituitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis (1.630-638)

In this passage Dido has responded warmly to Aeneas’ request for asylum and help; here she sends food to Aeneas’ ships.\(^{506}\) If this instance should read *dei*, referring to Bacchus, the phrase operates as a hendiadys with *munera*, referring to wine that will accompany the animals Dido sends as food.\(^{507}\) However, even if we should read *dii* as a genitive from *dies*, the substance would remain the same; only the explicit reference to Bacchus would be lost.

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\(^{506}\) R.K. Gibson (1999, 193) writes on the similarity to Homeric host-guest reception scenes: “Dido also then provides for Aeneas’ men and ships (1.633ff.), much as Menelaus provides for Telemachus’ horses in Sparta (Od. 4.39ff.). The fact that she provides for the Trojans simultaneously with Aeneas, rather than tending first or solely to the needs of her most important visitor demonstrates her intention to be a good host.” Schmit-Neuerburg (1999, 114-115) compares this to Alcinous’ reception of Odysseus (cf. Knauer 1964, 164ff.).

\(^{507}\) Duval (2004, 382; cf. 150-227) reads this instance as an example of the “generosity” theme she reads in the *laet-* stem.
IV.2: Laetari

In this section, I discuss the use of forms of laetari in the Aeneid. Forms of this word appear eight times: at 1.393, 6.392, 6.568, 6.718, 10.740, 10.827, 11.280, and 12.841. The present participle appears once, the perfect participle appears twice, and finite forms appear five times.

Laetari is a verb more often used intransitively than transitively; it is found as early as Naevius and Ennius, and also in Plautus and Terence.\(^{508}\) Laetari is a very common word in Cicero.\(^{509}\) The most common, intransitive, use of laetari is glossed by von Kamptz (TLL, laetor, 7.2.879) as gaudio affici, or alacrem esse (cf. Servius on laetus = alacer).\(^{510}\) The verb most commonly expresses its cause in the ablative, but may do so also in the genitive, or otherwise with an expressed preposition. The range of meaning of laetari (e.g. “joy” in people versus “fertility” or “abundance” of plants, etc.) is very similar to that of laetus.

With laetus I have addressed the relationship between present and future—the way the adjective, when it expresses optimism or hopefulness, expresses a sense of the future in present, or concurrent, time. Finite verb forms explicitly identify their tense—and even participles show relative time; I address how this relates the use of laetari to that of laetus.

\(^{508}\) See Duval’s discussion of the early use of laetare (221) and of the relationship of laetari and laetificari to laetare and laetificare (230-231).

\(^{509}\) E.g. Pro Cluent. 28; De Nat. Deor. 2.145; Pro Marcell. 34; Pro S. Rosc. 136.

\(^{510}\) See my discussion of 4.295.
I begin with the participial forms. The instance at 1.393 is the only instance of the present participle of *laetari*:\(^{511}\)

\[
\text{quisquis es, haud, credo, invisus caelestibus auras vitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adveneres urbm.}
\]

\[
\text{perge modo, atque hinc te reginae ad limina perfer, namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatum}
\]

\[
\text{nuntio, et in tutum versis aquilonibus actam, ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.}
\]

\[
\text{aspicis bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos, aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto}
\]

\[
\text{turbbat caelo; nunc terras orde longo}
\]

\[
\text{aut capere, aut captas iam despectare videntur:}
\]

\[
\text{ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis}
\]

\[
\text{et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere,}
\]

\[
\text{haud aliter puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum (1.387-399)}
\]

Here the disguised Venus describes the swans, in her augury, by which she means to console Aeneas that his companions will have made it to Carthage safely.\(^{512}\) The analogue to the swans is Aeneas’ men; the swans have recently been upset (\textit{turbbat} 395) by the appearance of the eagle, a threatening force, but since have reoriented their line and rejoice in their line, now with a positive outlook (\textit{laetantis}).\(^{513}\) So too Aeneas should have a positive outlook.\(^{514}\)

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\(^{511}\) The present participle of *laetari* is not uncommon elsewhere, however; von Kamptz (\textit{TLL}, laetor, 7.2.879) cites instances of the present participle as early as Naevius (41 \textit{trag.}, Warmington), Plautus (\textit{Pseud.} 304, \textit{Stich.} 407).

\(^{512}\) TCD (\textit{ad loc.}) notes that they see as many swans as had been ships Aeneas thought lost.

\(^{513}\) Austin (1971, \textit{ad loc.}) explains: “‘jubilant in their formation’... travelling properly together after having been scattered by the eagle.”

\(^{514}\) Cf. O’Hara (1990, 13): “Immediately after the meeting with Venus, Aeneas is still discouraged; but as he stands invisible in Dido’s city and sees most of his men alive, Venus’ prophecy and its apparent fulfillment help convince him that his troubles may be
The birds have just escaped danger and now enjoy relief, and safety (tutum 391) in the freedom of the sky.\footnote{515} The later instance at 5.515, in which the dove in the archery competition is described as laeta immediately after her tether to the mast is cut, and she enjoys freedom and relief as she attempts to fly away, resembles this one. This instance may also be related to that at 9.818, in which Turnus is carried away on the Tiber after fighting for his life within the walls of the Trojan camp. The passage at 5.283, where Aeneas experiences relief on account of the safe return of Sergestus after his wreck in the ship race, uses similar vocabulary (namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam / nuntio 1.390-391; compare Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat / servatam ob navem laetus socios reductos 5.282-283).

There is no other vocabulary in this passage indicating the emotion of the swans. However, ludunt (397) and cantusque dedere (398) indicate actions taken in a mood of joy.\footnote{516} Laet-family vocabulary often indicates a visible manifestation of joy; cf. Duval’s argument that laetitia is an “exterior” joy (see my introduction).

\footnote{515} Cf. Servius’ comment on the word: laetantes post periculum.

\footnote{516} Venus’ use of positive emotional language may be as a correction for Aeneas’ dour mood (e.g. dolore 386). This relates, though obliquely, to the function of oracles and omens (particularly as pronounced by a divinity herself) of providing reassurance and hope.

over.” Also see Rieks (1989, 202) who writes, “In dem als Gleichnis gestalteten Schwanenprodigium reduziert Venus die weite Heilserspektive der Iuppiterprophetie auf die konkrete Naherwartung eines glücklichen Ausganges (1,393): aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos.” Rieks confirms that the purpose of Venus’ prophecy is to prompt Aeneas’ expectation of a joyful outcome. On Venus’ omission of the death of Orontes in the storm, and her deceptive optimism in this report, see O’Hara (1990, 9-13). On the general thematic function of these lines, and this omen, as looking forward to the greatness of Rome, see Hardie (1987, 148-150).
The use of *agnine* in 393 suggests a comparison between this instance and those of the adjective *laetus* as it appears in battle.\(^{517}\) As I have discussed in Chapter II.3 above, *laetus* in the context of battle very often refers to exhilaration, likely physical as much as mental.\(^{518}\) Most instances emphasizing appearance are used in battle, to describe a warrior’s appearance.

The instances at 6.568 and 12.841 are the two instances of the past participle of *laetari* in the *Aeneid*. At 6.568 the Sibyl describes for Aeneas the occupants of Tartarean Phlegeth and what crimes merited such punishments in the afterlife. She begins by painting the picture of Rhadamanthus, sitting in judgment.

Cnosi

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Cnosi} & \text{n haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna} \\
& \text{castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri} \\
& \text{quae quis apud superos furto \textbf{laetus} inani} \\
& \text{distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.} \\
& \text{continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello} \\
& \text{Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra} \\
& \text{intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum. (6.566-572)}
\end{align*}\]

The meaning of the Sibyl is clear: no matter how great the enjoyment of committing the crime, it was not worth the suffering these individuals experience in death.\(^{519}\)

The tense of the participle here both confirms Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sensibility for the *laet-* stem (Lyne does not distinguish between the various parts of speech) and

\[\begin{align*}
\text{517 This includes instances in which battle is also more loosely alluded to, e.g. the \textit{puerile agmen} associated with the instance of \textit{laeti} at 5.577 (Ascanius in the \textit{lusus Troiae}), and the \textit{agnine remorum} associated with \textit{laetus} at 5.210 (Mnestheus in the ship race).}
\text{518 Cf. Miniconi’s “joie belliqueuse” (564). Also see Chapter IV.1 on \textit{laetitia}, which is also often used in the context of battle.}
\text{519 As for the relationship of this passage to Homer: Knauer (1964, 119-123) relates this to \textit{Od. 9.568-635}.}
\end{align*}\]
emphasizes the permanence of difference in state between the living and the dead: though these individuals may have “rejoiced” in their crimes among the living, punishment and suffering would necessarily follow, and there would be no remedy. The explanation of line 569, that they “put off expiating their sins until after a late death,” indicates that they did not expect to have to answer for their sins at all—or at least, did not expect the punishment would be so grave. Such a realization upon death would certainly reverse an outlook from positive to negative. The perfect tense of the participle indicates that that positive outlook is now over.

The meaning of line 569 has been the subject of heated debate. Austin (1977, ad loc.) explains with, “Rhadamanthus forces confession of ‘sins committed and left without expiation until death has made it too late.’” For further discussion of the force of distulit, commissa, and piacula, see Cornwall (1913), Waagner and Haarhoff (1930), Witton (1930), and Anderson (1931).

The tense of the participle helps to distinguish between the use of laetatus here and the consistent, prolonged, positive state of mind conveyed by the English “happiness.” “Rejoice,” “exult in,” or “take delight in” is a more apt translation for laetari than “be happy”; laetari conveys a short-term experience (compare laetitia), and, where it is used, it draws a sharp contrast between the short-term experience and the experience that precedes or follows it. That is to say, laetari describes an experience that

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520 Anderson (1931, 13) cites Livy’s use of piaculum as “a sin that needs expiation.”

521 Austin (1977, ad loc.) translates as “gloating over a hollow piece of trickery,” and of the previous lines: “Rhadamanthus forces confession of ‘sins committed and left without expiation until death has made it too late.’”
is temporary and changeable. This is true especially of perfect forms, since they indicate that the state is no longer true: the Sibyl’s emphasis here is on the change of state.

The other instance of the perfect participle—indeed, the very last instance of the laet- stem in the Aeneid—appears at 12.841:

“hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget, supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis, nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores.”

adnuit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit; interea excedit caelo nubemque relinquit. his actis aliud genitor secum ipse volutat Iuturnamque parat fratris dimittere ab armis. (12.838-844)

Jupiter asks Juno when she will make an end of her last-ditch attempts to elude Fate for Turnus—she concedes but asks that the Trojan name be lost. Jupiter consents to this and finishes his reply with these lines, at which Juno departs. Juno is described as laetata immediately after a discrete event that gives her fresh optimism for the future.\(^{522}\) The laetus-emotion is not a long-term “contentment,” and has no reference outside the immediate moment; as I discuss below, this aspect of laetus makes the word especially appropriate in the context of Juno’s problematic historical relationship with Rome. As Miniconi (1962, 564) writes, the emotion is very “vif”: it describes a shock of emotion in the immediate moment.

Jupiter reassures Juno that she will be honored; she departs with new cause to be pleased and optimistic. Jupiter’s emotion in this scene is not to be overlooked, and may bear upon (whether narratologically, or as effecting) Juno’s “reconciliation”: cf.

\(^{522}\) For more discussion on the particular causes of Juno’s “gladness” here, as marked by laetata, see Johnson (1976, 126-127). Johnson argues that Juno is glad to have won numerous concessions, particularly in light of her own impunity for her past bad acts.
This instance corresponds to those of the adjective *laetus* (at 2.687, 5.531, etc.) in which an individual is *laetus* upon receiving an encouraging omen. Feeney (1984, 179-181) addresses the relationship between this passage and the *concilium deorum* at the beginning of Book 10. The dynamic between Jupiter and Juno is continued here; in Jupiter’s speech at the beginning of Book 10 Jupiter commands the other gods to submit, *laeti (nunc sinite et placitum laeti componite foedus 10.15)*, and at the moment of Juno’s reconciliation a participle of *laetari* modifies her. These two instances of the *laet-* stem resemble my “correlative” instances, on which, see my discussion of 4.418.

Jupiter and Juno both, in this scene, speak to Juno’s emotional state. Jupiter, in his first address of her from 793-806, uses the word *spes* when he asks about Juno’s expectation for the future (*aut qua spe gelidis in nubibus haeres? 796*); he refers to her sadness as *dolor* and *curae* (801). She refers to herself, in her response, as *exosa* (818). Jupiter next refers to Juno’s feeling with *irarum tantos fluctus* (831) and *furorem* (832). Therefore, before she is described as *laetata*, Juno has been overwhelmed with negative

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524 On the difficulty of reconciling the content of Jupiter’s speech here with Venus’ interests, and Jupiter’s careful selective prophesying to Venus and Juno, see O’Hara (1990, 142-151). “Persons in the *Aeneid* who are making prophecies for the purposes of encouraging someone do not worry as much about whether or not a prophecy is false or misleading as about whether it suits their immediate rhetorical purposes” (142). On Jupiter’s “rhetorical” prophesying, see Lyne (1987, 79-81), and Mack (1978, 83-84). For more on the difficulty of reconciling Jupiter’s prophecies regarding Rome in Book 1 with those here, see R.D. Williams (1987, 48-49).
emotion. Juno leaves the scene after 842 and does not return; aside from laetata her emotion is not described at all.\footnote{Halter (1963, 84-88) writes on Juno’s anger and the emotional vocabulary in this scene (but does not mention laetata); on Juno’s emotions in this scene (particularly an explanation of those unexpressed) see Kühn (1971, 162-163). See Lyne (1987, 94-99) on Juno’s anger and pride.}

Juno’s anger has two sources: the mythological that looks backward (e.g. the judgment of Paris) and the historical that looks forward (the wars between Rome and Carthage).\footnote{Feeney (1991, 148).} As Feeney (1991, 148) notes, only the former issue is resolved here; the tension of the latter still remains.\footnote{“What the scene between Juno and Jupiter resolves is the question of Aeneas’ settlement in Latium, and the final passing away of Troy. It does not resolve any more of Juno’s grudges. The divine reconciliation is qualified to the extent that it reflects only so much of the Roman endeavour as has been accomplished so far; it leaves open what historically remains open. Just as in the Iliad, where the last book re-establishes the relentless nature of the gods’ animosities, so in the Aeneid the immortal sphere remains unreconciled within itself at the close” (Feeney 1991, 148-149). For further bibliography on “the qualified nature of Juno’s reconciliation,” see Feeney (1991, 148, nn.73, 74). The Romans of Vergil’s time were much more closely associated with Italians than with Trojans (and Troy would have been associated with all the mistrust of the Near East); therefore, although the context of the epic makes it seem unlikely that Jupiter will assent to Juno’s request that the Trojans be subsumed into the culture of their Italian hosts, history bears out the truth of it. See R.D. Williams (1987, 48).}

This set of speeches forms a pendant with the conversation between Jupiter and Venus in Book 1 (1.231ff.),\footnote{On parallels with the Venus-Jupiter scene in 1, see Kühn (1971, 164-165), Knauer (1964, 325) (who also compares it to Od. 1.). On the structure of this scene and the conversation between Jupiter and Juno, particularly with reference to the dialogue between Jupiter and Venus in Book 1, see Halter (1963, 79-93). O’Hara (1990, 142) notes, as have many others, that the Jupiter-Juno scene contains deliberate echoes of Jupiter-Venus scenes, which suggests a kind of ring composition. Cf. G. Williams (1983, 142).} and certain thematic concerns—the relationship between

\footnote{On parallels with the Venus-Jupiter scene in 1, see Kühn (1971, 164-165), Knauer (1964, 325) (who also compares it to Od. 1.). On the structure of this scene and the conversation between Jupiter and Juno, particularly with reference to the dialogue between Jupiter and Venus in Book 1, see Halter (1963, 79-93). O’Hara (1990, 142) notes, as have many others, that the Jupiter-Juno scene contains deliberate echoes of Jupiter-Venus scenes, which suggests a kind of ring composition. Cf. G. Williams (1983, 142).}
Jupiter and order, the truthfulness of Jupiter to each goddess, etc.—come into play in both scenes. Rieks (1989, 210) connects Juno as laetata here to the two times Venus is described as laeta (after speaking with Jupiter at 1.415, and after speaking with Neptune at 5.816). Rieks also describes other parallel elements between the scene at the end of Book 12 and that at the end of Book 5 (e.g. the sending of the Dira and Somnus). Juno is promised as eventually supporting the Romans in Book 1, and that seems fulfilled here in Book 12 (cf. Buchheit). Lyne (1987, 81-83) discusses Jupiter’s rhetorical (or selective) prophesying, meant to please the ear of the hearer; on Venus in Book 1 he writes, “[Jupiter] is prophesying rhetorically. Faced with his tearful, distraught daughter, he is revealing his knowledge of the future, or part of it, in a manner designed to afford her the maximum of comfort.” This relationship is helpful in explaining the use of laeta (Venus) and laetata (Juno) in that Lyne is arguing that the effect of newfound optimism is Jupiter’s intention, and that he chooses his words carefully in order to produce this effect.

529 For Juno as a force of violence and anarchy, both in the poem and in the context of Roman religion, see Feeney (1991, 149-151). For Jupiter’s relationship to her, as a force of imperium and order, and yet as having a deeply complicated character, see 151-155.

530 Dyson Hejduk (2009) examines the portrait of Jupiter given in the Aeneid through his speeches; she discusses this speech, the “Reconciliation of Juno,” on 304-307.

531 Buchheit (1963, 142, n.603) writes, “Der bereits zu Beginn der Aeneis gespannte Bogen findet damit seinen Abschluß. Wie sehr Vergil diese Geschlossenheit seiner Konzeption betont, ist an den zahlreichen wörtlichen und gedanklichen Beziehungen zwischen Buch 1 und 12, auf die im einzelnen hingewiesen wurde… erkennbar.”


533 “His intention in 1.256ff. is primarily to comfort Venus... so he chooses from his knowledge, bends the facts a little: ‘packages’ his revelation and so reassures her” (81).
We may compare this dialogue to that at the end of *Od*. 24, between Zeus and Athena.⁵³⁴ Athena’s reaction at the end of the *Odyssey* is not analogous to Juno’s here; there is no reconciliation, no changed state of emotion, between Zeus and Athena, because Zeus affirms what Athena wants to hear, and she readily complies once given divine permission. Athena is not *laetata*, not “newly joyful and optimistic,” but πάρος μεμαυῖαν (24.487), “already eager.”

Does this shift at the end of the *Aeneid* represent a real and permanent change in Juno’s character? For an argument for complete transformation, see Buchheit (1963, 142): “Zum erstenmal in der Aeneis wird—bedeutsam genug—die saeva, iniqua, atrox, *dira* Iuno als *laetata* bezeichnet.”⁵³⁵ The most comprehensive assessment of the degree to which Juno is “reconciled” in this scene is offered by Feeney (1984).⁵³⁶ Does the word have an ominous tinge, here? Cf. Fenik (1960, 236): “Juno’s reconciliation lapses into an

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⁵³⁴ On parallels with the last scene between the gods in the *Odyssey*, 24.472-548, see Kühn (1971, 166-167); Knauer (1964, 323-327).

⁵³⁵ Knauer (1964) does not mention *laetata*, or any sort of “joy” on Juno’s part, here, and he reads Juno’s “reconciliation” as very straightforward and unproblematic: “Am Ende der Aeneis aber ist Iuno tatsächlich bereit, dem Friede zuzustimmen, so wie Zeus ihn am Ende der Odyssee befehlt” (326).

⁵³⁶ Feeney (1984, 179) begins with an assertion that Juno is completely changed in this moment, and cites Kühn, etc. to that effect: “The scene is conventionally regarded as the resolution of the heavenly discord that has prevailed since the first book; in particular, it is normal to see here a definitive transformation of Juno, as she abandons her enmity once and for all, committing herself wholeheartedly to the Roman cause.” Feeney then problematizes that assertion; and addresses the problem of Juno’s place in Punic Wars, as well as Vergil’s use of the tradition received from Ennius. Feeney (184) lists some scholars who consider “the reconciliation quite complete”: e.g. Buchheit (1963, 147); as for those bothered by the inconsistency, see Häussler, Moseley, Fenik, and especially Johnson (1976, 123-127).
anticlimax if we are to believe that she again fought against Rome at a later time.”

Therefore there are two real questions: to what extent is this *laetata* truthful now, i.e. in that moment (is Juno truly pleased?); and to what extent does *laetata* look forward to its own reversal?

The use of the word *is* ominous: the previous instance of the participle had meaning consistent with a perfect tense and completed aspect. “Placated” or “pleased” expresses one facet of the use of *laetata* here, but the use of the perfect tense of this verb elsewhere in the *Aeneid* indicates a feeling that is *not true in present time.* *Laetata* may express rejoicing that took place in the past and is complete. That might be the signification of *mentem retorsit* in the same line. On the other hand, if *laetari* can have

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537 Feeney (1984, 184) responds to Fenik thus: “We should rather think of the anticlimax that is attendant upon the traditional account of the scene, whereby the daemonic power that has generated the action so far evaporates with an order, a request, and a smile. It is a question of emphases. Johnson’s eloquent account lays its principal stress on what the scene holds of the sinister and baleful. While acknowledging the essential accuracy of his reading, we must recognize that none the less there is a resolution of sorts here, that something is accomplished which is not wholly shabby or a fraud. This much is guaranteed even by the elaborate formal correspondences between the Jupiter-scene in 12 and the Jupiter-scene in 1… the relief which Jupiter promises Venus may not be unalloyed when it comes at the end of the poem, but in some measure it does come.”

538 Feeney (1984, 179-180), in his discussion of the degree to which Vergil uses Ennius in this passage, notes that Servius, regarding *Aen.* 1.281, writes, *consilia in melius referet: quia bello Punico secundo, ut ait Ennius, placata Iuno coepit favere Romanis.* I suspect that 12.841 is often taken to imply *placata Iuno coepit favere Romanis.* Is Juno reconciled to Rome, or not? Does she fight against Rome later on, in the Punic Wars? On Vergil’s use (or lack thereof) of the Ennian tradition, see Feeney (1984, 181).

539 Certainly the use of the past participle for present time is a possibility; I am referring to trends seen in other instances of this one verb, not excluding possibilities for its use here. On the use of the perfect participle with present meaning in the *Aeneid*, see Fordyce (1977, *ad* 8.407f.).

540 Cf. Johnson’s (1976, 127) interpretation of this line: “But suppose it means also, *his mentem retorsit?* That is, she openly assents to what Jupiter says, but, in her mind, she
a meaning more like, “be inspired with joy/hope,” the word may refer only to the point of inspiration (and not the events that follow). (This would conflict, for example, with the instance at 10.827, below.) At any rate, if we read Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sensibility for the *laet*-stem in this instance, we expect from the appearance of *laetata* here that Juno’s optimism will be cut short.

The instances of *laetatus* at 6.392 and 10.827 are finite verb forms that include the past participle. At 10.827, where *es* is omitted,\(^\text{541}\) Aeneas addresses the dead Lausus:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{at vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,} \\
\text{ora modis Anchisiiadse pallentia miris,} \\
\text{ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,} \\
\text{et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.} \\
\text{“quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,} \\
\text{quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?} \\
\text{arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum} \\
\text{manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.} \\
\text{hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:} \\
\text{Aeneae magni dextra cadis.” (10.821-830)}
\end{align*}\]

Here Aeneas allows that Lausus’ arms go with his body for his final rites. Whatever act of enjoyment or rejoicing *laetari* indicates, the emphasis is on its impermanence: the act turns away from his words, rejects them? Twists her mind back from them would be a neat—and normal—antithetical balancing of *adnuit his*, and the mental action would negate the outward sign that she makes… I only suggest that the ambiguity is possible, and, in view of Juno’s characteristic duplicity, is suitable as a conclusion to this scene.” Johnson goes on to write, “Juno is happy, perhaps, but Juno happy is not much less frightening than Juno unhappy” (127).

\(^{\text{541}}\) As Harrison (1991, *ad* 827) notes, this is less common with second-person forms than for third-person forms.
is complete, and again, the situation changed dramatically for the worse. The completed aspect of the verb is important; Lausus no longer exults in battle. The most proximate instance of the adjective *laetus* describes Aeneas in this way, at 10.787, when Aeneas wounds Mezentius.

There is plenty of language in this scene describing Lausus’ emotion, but none aside from *laetatus* is positive. When he appears he is drenched with tears (*lacrimae per ora volutae* 790); on the field, even after Aeneas’ warning, Lausus continues to rampage (*nec minus ille / exsultat demens* 812-813). His *vita* is *maesta* at 820. In these lines Aeneas reacts with deep emotion to Lausus’ death, as will the narrator as well (791-793).

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542 Cf. Lyne (1989): “Lausus’ happiness has clearly proved disaster-prone.” Lyne translates this line as, “Keep those arms of yours, in which you were happy” (183). This is an excellent example of how much meaning is lost in translation between the Latin *laetus*, or, here, *laetari*, and the English happy: this instance refers primarily to the battle use of the *laet-* stem, which does not deny “pleasure” or “joy” but refers primarily to the feeling of mental, emotional, and physical exhilaration that results from making a kill or experiencing some other small victory in battle. Lausus’ death is “sad,” but the tragic irony which fuels Lyne’s “disaster-prone happiness” does not come primarily, in this scene, from the juxtaposition of “sadness” with a “happiness” communicated by *laetari*. People who are *laetus* in battle are *laetus* because of a very recent battle victory (even if relatively small). The tragic irony here is that whatever optimism, or exultation, Lausus felt in the victory of battle was followed by his abrupt death. It is indeed “disaster-prone,” but Lausus was not “happy”—rather, “exulting in the anticipation of victory.”

543 Miniconi (1962, 564) finds this to be another example of the “joie belliqueuse” which is also expressed by the *laetitia* at 12.700.

544 On the apostrophes of the narrator, particularly a study of Homer’s influence on Vergil in this regard, see Block (1982). Heil (2001, 206) connects the grief of Lausus with that of Aeneas, and suggests that the two share the same emotions in this scene (including an almost self-reference with *arma... laetatus* 827). On Aeneas’ “coolness” toward the Italians in speech, see Higlet (1972, 38-39).
Lausus’ *pietas* greatly contributes to the pathos in this scene. Renger (1985, 72) notes that the point is really the differing characterizations of Aeneas and Turnus—Aeneas as the one having *temperantia* and *clementia*.

Lausus appears here and at 7.647-654 (where, in a complicated construction, Lausus is described as *laetior*). This instance of *laetatus* at 10.827 does not appear to function in a coherent depiction of Lausus with regard to positive emotion.

It is important to note the correlation here between *miserande puer*, addressed to Lausus, and *miserande puer* addressed to the young Marcellus, relative of Augustus, in the underworld. There is also an instance of *laetus* in that passage. The shared vocabulary of these passages connects Lausus also with Pallas, addressed as *miserande puer* in Book 11: “tene,” inquit “miserande puer, cum laeta veniret, / invidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna videres / nostra neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas? (11.42-44)"  

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547 Petrini (1996, 48) writes, “Pallas, both by his character and background, and by his many and clear affinities with Sarpedon and Patroklos in the *Iliad*, should affirm the heroic ethos; he is the ideal heroic youth. Most important, he belongs to the Roman future… he is particularly associated with Marcellus… and like Marcellus, he should have lived to become a cornerstone of the Roman state.” Cf. Colaizzi (2002, 109).
Now I move on to the next instance of *laetatus* as part of a finite verb form. At 6.392, Charon greets Aeneas with hesitation and cites his own displeasure at having transported Hercules, while alive, across the Styx before:

```latex
quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,  
fare age, quid venias, iam istinc et comprime gressum.  
umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae:  
corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.  
nec vero Alciden me sum *laetatus* euntem  
accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque,  
dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent. (6.388-394)
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The emotional state is closely tied to the action supplied by the infinitive: “I did not take pleasure in having brought Hercules across the lake.” For *laetus* as “taking pleasure in doing something,” i.e. “doing something gladly,” a phrase which conveys both a certain pleasure but also willingness (particularly for the benefit of someone else), cf. 9.89, Cybele speaking to Jupiter (*laeta dedi*), and 3.347, Helenus leading Aeneas (*laetus ducit*). At any rate *laetatus sum* here does not point to an extended emotional state: neither contentment, nor, as it were, “happiness.”

What is the cause of Charon’s negative emotion? In scholarship there are two prevailing opinions: Charon either lamented the impious actions of Hercules and the rest,

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548 Austin (1977, *ad loc.*): “At least there is grim humor in the idea that this *navita tristis* (315) ever expected to be *laetus*.” Conington (1898, *ad loc.*) notes that this might come from a Greek idiom with χαίρειν; Norden (1957, 237) suggests a possible wordplay on Charon’s name (cf. Ar. *Frogs* 184 χαίρ’ ὦ Χάρων). Austin (1977, *ad 392*) remarks on the similarity between this language and that at 6.86; *ad 86* Austin compares *volent* with the use of χαίρειν in Soph. *OT* 363, effectively arguing that *laetari* in 392 here is analogous to *velle* in 86. Cf. O’Hara (1996, 171).

549 Cf. *has ego Dardanio iuveni, cum classis egeret, / laeta dedi; nunc sollicitam timor anxius angit (9.88-89)*, and *agnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit, / et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fundit* (3.347-348).
after they had entered the underworld, or he suffered punishments after the fact because he had ferried them across. Servius and those following him see Charon’s displeasure as a result of punishments he faced after allowing Orpheus into the underworld. Fowler (1983, 78) writes that “the punishment of Charon may be alluded to, but the primary reason for his discomfort lies in the very actions of Hercules, Theseus, and Pirithous.”

The debate about the cause of Charon’s negative emotion is instructive for explaining the tense of *accepisse*. In either case, Charon’s ferrying the men across *preceded* his own suffering. Cf. Fowler (1983, 78): “nec... sum laetatus I take to mean not that Charon was reluctant at the time but that he later came to regret it (hence the perfect infinitive *accepisse*).” The suffering and regret did not take place until after Charon brought them across; regardless of whether the source of the pain is their impiety, or his own punishment, the suffering was a result, not a concurrent feeling. Vergil does not write, “I’m not glad that I did this,” but rather, “I wasn’t glad that I had done this.”

The adjective *laetus* is associated with optimism, and is predicated on a reversal of expectation, the change from a negative outlook to a more positive one. The verb *laetari* also seems to indicate this: that there was a time before the verb was applicable, in which an individual’s prospects were bad, but when the verb applies, his prospects are good. Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sensibility implies that those good prospects will turn bad

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551 Highet (1972, 280) argues that they are passed over so briefly because “they went on sinister missions”—to kidnap Proserpina and Cerberus. On the meaning of the concessive clause in 394, see esp. Fowler (1982); also Kinsey (1982), Fowler (1983), and Kinsey (1983).
again, that the individual’s optimism will be disappointed (although Lyne would refer to this as “happiness,” not “optimism”). In this instance, since *laetatus sum* is negated, we may ask whether Charon felt his fortunes turn from good to bad, after bringing Hercules and the others across. Since *laetatus sum* is in the perfect tense, with a completed aspect, perhaps in present time Charon has a positive outlook again (which he anticipates ferrying Aeneas and the Sibyl across will ruin).

The following three instances, at 6.718, 10.740, and 11.280, constitute the rest of the finite appearances of the verb *laetari* in the *Aeneid*.

The use of *laetari* to anticipate the time *after which the “rejoicing” has ended* (that is, explicitly anticipating its own reversal) appears at 10.740, where the dying Orodes makes a retort to Mezentius, who has delivered the fatal blow:

> obvius adversoque occurrit seque viro vir
> contulit, haud furto melior sed fortibus armis. 735
> tum super abiectum posito pede nixus et hasta:
> “pars belli had temnenda, viri, iacet altus Orodes.”
> conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti;
> ille autem exspirans: “non me, quicumque es, inulmo,
> victor, nec longum *laetabere*; te quoque fata 740
> prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis.” (10.734-741)

Orodes says, “Nor will you feel that optimism, and exult in battle, long.” An individual is described as *laetus* after delivering a blow in battle that gives him cause for optimism, or glory; the word also describes physical exhilaration and exultation in battle (see my discussion of *laetus* in battle, in Chapter II.3, above). Orodes’ own death, focalized

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552 Harrison (1997, *ad loc.*) notes that this is based on *Il.* 16.852-853, the words of the dying Patroclus to Hector: οὔ θην οὐδ´ αὐτός δηρόν βέην, ἀλλά τοι ἤδη / ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.
through Mezentius (cf. subridens 742), is the prompt for the laetum paeana of 738. To this Orodes responds in kind, in a manner that accords with Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sense: Orodes predicts that Mezentius will himself die soon under the same circumstances, and he is right; the reader knows the suffering that awaits him in losing Lausus. The pathos of Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sensibility here is underlined by the ways in which Mezentius does become a sympathetic figure.

This scene recalls two from the iliad: Patroclus’ death at the hands of Hector, and Hector’s death at the hands of Achilles (16.843ff. and 22.337ff.). Harrison (1991, ad 739-746) notes that Mezentius echoes Achilles here, and likens the laetum paeana of 738 to

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553 I have already discussed the instance of laetum at 738, in Chapter II.3 above, on laetus in battle. Harrison (1991, 249-250) on subridens (742) writes, “Mezentius’ smile is one of (misplaced) heroic confidence (so Turnus at 9.740, Ajax at Il. 7.212), his anger a reaction to the unwelcome prophecy of his death.”

554 Cf. TCD (ad loc.). O’Hara (1990, 122, n.68) remarks on Mezentius’ future suffering: “The death of Mezentius is basically an exception to the pattern of deceptively optimistic prophecies. When Mezentius is about to kill Orodes, Orodes accurately predicts that Mezentius will soon die (10.739-41, cf. Il.16.582ff., 22.359ff.). Mezentius is not frightened at all. But his death will be more horrible than he could have imagined... Even the worst predictions of the Aeneid fall short of the horror of the eventual reality.”

555 On the transformation of Mezentius from bloodthirsty Homeric warrior to sympathetic father, see esp. Gotoff (1984), who writes, “The more immediate expectation is for a fight to the finish between Aeneas and Mezentius. The unremittingly evil side of the Etruscan, developed by Evander in Book 8, no less than his Homeric military prowess, described in 10.689-761, make the encounter [i.e. on the battlefield between Aeneas and Mezentius] dramatically inevitable. Virgil’s treatment of that encounter is what brings about the change in our response and the transformation of Mezentius” (199). See also Kronenberg (2005), who argues for a “redeemed” and Epicurean Mezentius. Cf. Harrison (1991 ad 689-786), who also cites, on the presentation of Mezentius, Thome (1979), Glenn (1971), Burke (1974), and La Penna (1980). Harrison (1991, ad 739-746) writes, “there is no particular cruelty in this scene (pace Heinze 214), and Aeneas says and does much worse things in 510-605.” For his part, Heinze (1915, 214) describes Mezentius’ well-noted contempt for the divine, not particular cruelty toward other human beings.
the Homeric παιήων: the paean of celebration, as in Achilles’ speech to comrades after the death of Hector (Il. 22.391).\footnote{On the Aeneid-Iliad similarities here, see Thome (1979, 77), Harrison (1991, \textit{ad} 739-746 and \textit{ad} 740-741), and Knauer (1964, 419).}

Vergil, in repeating the laet- stem from 738, affirms that that thrill of victory is the “joy” to which Orodes refers: the gloating over a fallen enemy, the sudden thrill of (even a relatively slight) victory.

The same emphasis applies to the instance at 11.280, where Venulus, in the envoy sent by Latinus to Diomedes begging for aid, returns and reports Diomedes’ words directly to the king:

\begin{quote}
haec adeo ex illo mihi iam speranda fuerunt tempore cum ferro caelestia corpora demens appetit et Veneris violavi vulnere dextram. ne vero, ne me ad talis impellite pugnas. nec mihi cum Teucris ulla post eruta bellum Pergama nec veterum memini lae\textit{tor}ve malorum. munera quae patriis ad me portatis ab oris vertite ad Aenean. stetimus tela aspera contra contulimusque manus: experto credite quantus in clipeum adsurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam. (11.275-284)
\end{quote}

Here there is plenty of vocabulary indicating the future, and fate; Diomedes’ entire speech concerned expectations that have been disappointed. From 261-268 Diomedes recalls the fates of Greek leaders who returned home, after Troy, to worse fates; from 269-277 he explains how his previous anticipation of his future was disappointed (e.g. the loss of his hoped-for wife, \textit{optatum} 270), and how he is forced, now, to expect a worse fate (\textit{speranda} 275).\footnote{On the structure and argument of this speech, see Hight (1972, 55-57). On the} This context makes clear that Diomedes moved from having an
optimistic outlook (directly after the victory over Troy) to a pessimistic one (his current). (This position also gains traction from the idealized picture of Aeneas Diomedes paints, particularly of his prowess in battle;\textsuperscript{558} cf. Highet 1972, 55.) \textit{Memini} and \textit{laetor} function closely together; Goold translates “I have no joyful memory,” but I argue there is ambivalence, too, in the time frame to which they refer: “I neither look back fondly, nor forward, with hope.”\textsuperscript{559} In his next sentence (281-282) Diomedes articulates the practical upshot of this: since he himself anticipates no good outcome from war with Aeneas, the Latins should pursue peace with him.

In this speech Diomedes emphasizes the importance of proper deference toward the gods; \textit{veterum malorum} includes his own impious acts at Troy, including his assault on Venus. Diomedes draws a direct line between impious acts of the past and the suffering that followed them; as Aeneas’ \textit{pietas} is emphasized (\textit{hic pietate prior}), insulting or dishonoring (the fated) Aeneas is effectively insulting the gods, from which no good will come.\textsuperscript{560}

\footnotesize{rhetoric of Venulus’ speech here, see Horsfall (1995, 187-189). On Venulus’ speech, see Erdmann (2000, 197-198).}

\textsuperscript{558} Horsfall (1995, 188) notes the emphasis (perhaps too great?) on Aeneas’ prowess in war; cf. Cairns (1989, 126).

\textsuperscript{559} Fratantuono (2009, \textit{ad} 280) translates as “and remembering I do not take pleasure in the old trials,” or “I do not take pleasure remembering.”

\textsuperscript{560} On Diomedes’ sense of his own sacrilege in the Trojan War (including in wounding Venus), and on the sacrilege committed by the other Greeks Diomedes names in this passage, see Papaioannou (2000, 212-214) and Michalopoulos (2003, 83-84). On Diomedes recounting the sacrilege of the other Greek leaders, and their \textit{nostoi}, see Glei (1991, 195). On the thematic emphases of the \textit{Aeneid} (e.g. \textit{pietas}) served by the portrayal of not a Homeric Diomedes, but an Italian, peace-loving one, see Glei (1991, 196-197). On Diomedes’ presence in the \textit{Aeneid}, and specifically his presence in Italy in the \textit{Aeneid}, see Papaioannou (2000). On Diomedes’ change of heart, and his portrayal as a post-}
Again, even though the verb is in the present tense here, the emphasis is on the change from good to bad. The implication is that once, when the Greeks were victorious, they did “rejoice” in their victory over the Trojans, but that Diomedes and others (255ff.) have since suffered on account of that pride and rejoicing. The present tense is negative: “I do not now rejoice.”

At 6.718, Anchises expresses his desire to fill Aeneas with hope and pride in the future glory of Rome:

tum pater Anchises: “animae, quibus altera fato corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam securos latices et longa oblivia potant.
has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram iampridem, hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum, quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.”
“o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupid?” (6.713-721)

Anchises uses laetari in a purpose clause: “so that you might rejoice with me all the more [in our descendants].” In this passage, Aeneas has seen the river Lethe and souls hovering over it; he asks his father, who explains that these are their descendants waiting to be

Homer, see e.g. Michalopoulos (2003).

561 Cf. Gransden (1991, ad loc.), who translates nec... malorum as “nor do I remember past evils with any pleasure.” He goes on to write: “Here, laetor goes so closely with memini as to operate virtually as an adverb and form a hendidys.” Cf. Horsfall (2003, ad 280), on memini laetorve: “A particularly elegant ‘hendiadys’; the complex idea of ‘I remember with pleasure’ split into its robust constituent parts.” On speranda (275) he writes, “For sperare in the sense of ‘expect (the worst)’, cf. 1.593, 4.292, 419, and note 11.49, 8.580.” Cf. Horsfall (1995, 188): “However glorious a conqueror he is, he does not dwell in pleasurable recollection (memini laetorve) on old mala.”
born, and he hopes seeing them will make Aeneas more hopeful for the future. Anchises begins the description of the “pageant” at 756.\footnote{See Kohn (1998) on whether there is a change of speaker between lines 718 and 719, and 721 and 722, since Vergil does not indicate this explicitly.}

The forward-looking, future-oriented focus of this passage is clear from such words as prolem... meorum (717), and is intensified in 718 in mecum: the source of joy, or hope, is shared between them—it is their future descendants (which they share equally), not Aeneas’ own personal glory (e.g. in battle) in Italy.\footnote{Cf. O’Hara (2007, 85) on mecum and the tradition that Anchises survived to Italy.} Austin (1977, \textit{ad} 718) translates, “that you may rejoice all the more, as I do, now that you have found Italy,” and compares the mecum (and the sentiment of it) to 1.281ff., writing, “Anchises wishes Aeneas to share his pride in the Italian stock, soon to be revealed.” The means of Anchises’ persuasion is made explicit later: incenditque animum famae venientis amore (6.889).\footnote{Cf. O’Hara (1990).} Anchises makes these arguments to assuage Aeneas’ fear of moving on to Italy.\footnote{O’Hara (1990, 165) writes that Anchises addresses Aeneas’ doubt and fear at the idea of settling in the “Ausonian land.” The fear as localized in the \textit{place} recalls \textit{Italia reperta} of 718.}

Does Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sense of \textit{laetus} apply here? That is, does the use of the word contain a tragic irony; does the word encourage an optimism that will be disappointed? (Cf. O’Hara, 1990.) The phrase seems almost to anticipate resistance: why would Aeneas \textit{not} be hopeful, upon reaching Italy? Is Anchises anticipating the trials Aeneas will encounter in Italy? In part the effect of the word may be, “...so that you
might rejoice with me, since you have found Italy, even though you will soon be troubled again.” At any rate, when Aeneas reaches Italy, his (to him unforeseen) suffering will not yet have begun.  

Aeneas will be laetus upon “finding” Italy; as he makes port he is laetus at 7.36. The relationship between the laetere here and the laetus at 7.36 is much like that between the “correlative” instances (which I discuss with the instance at 4.418), particularly that between 3.169 and 3.178 (in which the Penates, in a dream, encourage Aeneas to communicate their will to Anchises, laetus, in 169, and he is described in 178 as performing the act, laetus).

IV.3: Inlaetabilis

There are two instances of inlaetabilis in the Aeneid; both modify things that bring about sorrow or disappointment. If laetus, in its forward-looking capacity, expresses new positive expectations, or hope, in a situation which had previously had little hope, then perhaps a negative adjective from the same stem might convey the opposite: a negative outlook from a previously positive one.

The two instances of inlaetabilis in the Aeneid appear at 3.707 and 12.619. The instance at 3.707 describes the shore of Drepanum:

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566 For detailed analysis of this speech, see Norden (1927, 312-346); also Feeney (1986a, 1). On the rhetorical deception in this passage, and the ways in which Anchises’ encouragement of Aeneas is undercut, see O’Hara (1990, 164-167).

567 Vergil appears to have created the compound inlaetabilis (cf. Williams 1962, ad loc.), but laetabilis itself was a relatively recent creation (from laetari) before Vergil as well; Cicero employs laetabilis often in the Tusc. Cf. von Kamptz (TLL, laetabilis, 7.2.872).
Before this instance, Aeneas had recounted his journeys following his encounter with the Cyclopes, and he sums up his story thus: last was the port of Drepanum, where Anchises died, and then the storm took Aeneas to these shores (i.e. Carthage). Aeneas will stop speaking at line 715.

Aeneas’ sorrow at Anchises’ death colors his impression of this scene; Aeneas was left alone (deseris me fessum 710-711) by the person who had led him.\(^568\) Aeneas therefore lost a source of comfort (genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen, / amitto Anchisen 709-710).\(^569\) The exclamations of 708-711, and the impugning of the prophecies of Helenus and Celaeno in 712-713, underline the unexpectedness of the death (cf. tantis nequiquam erepte periclis! 711); Aeneas had had reason to think Anchises would be with

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\(^568\) My interpretation follows that of Servius (ad loc. on inlaetabilis): propter patris amissionem. Nenci (1978, 258), following Della Corte, suggests that inlaetabilis is not referring exclusively to the sadness surrounding Anchises’ death, but perhaps is reference to a physical aspect of the harbor. Nenci also reads inlaetabilis ora as an allusion to the Homeric ἀτερπὴς χῶρος. Duval (2004, 387) considers inlaetabilis here to be modeled off the Greek ἀχάριστος (but also refers to the form in 3.707 as a hapax).

\(^569\) Worstbrock (1963, 48-49) remarks that the length and metrical weight of inlaetabilis slows the tempo in a manner appropriate for such a sad scene: “Die Leichtigkeit der Verse liegt weit über dem Durchschnitt von 1:1. Mit 3, 709—vorbereitet durch inlaetabilis (707) und tempestatibus (708)—verlangsamt sich das Tempo... Aeneas hat den Tod des Vaters zu beklagen.”
him until the end of the journey.\textsuperscript{570} As O’Hara (1991, 24-25) writes, “Vergil has chosen this particular way of expressing Aeneas’ affection for Anchises in order to bring this death into the pattern of deaths omitted from prophecies, to evoke again the idea that events repeatedly betray Aeneas’ expectations, because of what he has been told by gods and prophets.”\textsuperscript{571}

But it is the ora, and not Aeneas, described as \textit{inlaetabilis}. Here \textit{inlaetabilis} is similar to a negative version of \textit{laetus} equivalent to \textit{laetificus} (cf. Duval 2004, 138-142 and 221-224): the adjective does reflect Aeneas’ emotion. In addition, its use in describing the place, Drepanum, connects this instance to the “setting out” and “arrival” instances of \textit{laetus} I discuss in those respective chapters (cf. 3.524, 7.36, 7.130).

Book 3 of the \textit{Aeneid} functions thematically to express the frustration of Aeneas in his difficulty in finding the land in which he will found his city. \textit{Inlaetabilis}, in its position here, functions in the narrative telling of this frustration: Book 3 has been a series of hopes and disappointments, and the book ends with the most depressing of them all, the death of Anchises.\textsuperscript{572}

It is important to keep in mind the perspective Aeneas has as narrator of these lines: since these events are in the past, Aeneas has the benefit of knowing his state of

\textsuperscript{570} Cf. Servius (\textit{ad} 3.713): \textit{non dira Celaeno quae vel irata debuit adversa praedicere}.

\textsuperscript{571} For further discussion of the omission of Anchises’ death from the prophecies given to Aeneas, see O’Hara (1991, 24-35).

\textsuperscript{572} Galinsky (1968, 160-161) cites \textit{inlaetabilis ora}, here, as part of the framework that establishes the unity of Book 3, the unity established by the ominous, and destructive, relationship the Trojans have to Sicily over the course of that book. “The impression of gloom, violence, and hostility that was created by the Aetna passage still prevails: the Trojans put ashore at Drepanum’s \textit{inlaetabilis ora} (III, 707). A consistent mood is thus sustained, and this gives additional testimony to the unity of Book III” (161).
mind in the days that followed Anchises’ death. The forward-looking sense, if it applies here, indicates not only that Aeneas’ time in Drepanum was “unhappy,” but also that this sorrow continued forward, possibly up to the present day. Notably, Aeneas, as he speaks these lines to Dido, still has not arrived at his final destination.

The narrator focalizes this disappointment for Turnus, in the other instance of *inlaetabilis*, at 12.619.

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demittunt mentes, it scissa veste Latinus coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina,
canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans.
interea extremo bellator in aequore Turnus palantis sequitur paucos iam segnior atque
iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum.
attulit hunc illi caecis terroribus aura commixtum clamorem, arrectasque impulit auris confusae sonus urbis et *inlaetabile* murmur.
‘ei mihi! qui tanto turbantur moenia luctu?
quisve ruit tantus diversa clamor ab urbe?’ (12.609-621)
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Amata has just committed suicide; Latinus (and the city) in this passage knows, but Turnus does not (hence the genuine question at line 620). Turnus does not learn of Amata’s death until 659-660. *Inlaetabile* in 619 picks up *laetus* in 616.

As at 3.707, *inlaetabilis* is applied to a noun associated with the death of a parent figure, and the *ora* and *murmur* bring disappointment. However, *inlaetabile* at 12.619 communicates something regarding the sound itself: it is frightening (as fear is the opposite of hope), “unhappy”-making, “unhopeful.” The sound is a *commixtus clamor*, a *confusae sonus urbis*; Turnus himself identifies it with *tanto luctu* and *tantus diversa clamor ab urbe*. 573 This characterization of the present sound as *inlaetabile*, foreboding

573 The characterization of the sound in this passage, the attachment of a *laet-* stem word
and anxiety-inducing, anticipates the disappointment to come; the narrator projects forward Turnus’ understanding and sorrow, even forty lines before Turnus learns the cause of the distressing sound. (This problem was obviated in the instance in Book 3 by Aeneas’ function as narrator and the fact of Books 2 and 3 being a recollection of past events by one character in the work.) Of course, what an “ill-boding” sound lacks in content, it makes up for in effect; even if the word is not descriptive of current circumstances, it is likely to help effect a downturn.

I am considering the force of *inlaetabile* here as primarily focalized through Turnus, not those in the city making the sound; the narrator focuses on Turnus’ emotions here (*segnior, laetus, terroribus*, etc.), and the emotions of the people in the city serve to heighten Turnus’ own (*tanto luctu*, etc.).

In the lines that follow, Juturna’s message contrasts with this one; as lines 12.614ff. characterize Turnus as losing hope (Turnus is described as *iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum* in 616), so he, when he speaks again at 632, has a very bleak outlook of the situation. Juturna, in the guise of Metiscus, counsels Turnus to let the people in the town fend for themselves (627), and to continue to strive for glory on the battlefield; Turnus responds by recognizing her and acknowledging that he has little hope of safety (637, especially with his best men gone: 638-642) and would rather die (as he expects, 649) than live, disgracefully protected by his sister. Thus, partially as a result of to a “sound” word, and the presence of the word *clamor* all connect this passage to the use of *laetus* and *laetitia* in the *Aeneid*; both the adjective and noun are particularly associated with shouting and *clamor*, particularly in the context of battle. See my discussion of the use of *laetus* at 3.524, and my chapter on *laetitia* (Chapter IV.1). Cf. Duval (2004, 204).

574 For further discussion of Turnus’ character, see e.g. Heinze (1915, 281-287), Fantham (1999), Hardie (1998), Schenk (1984), etc.
the message carried by the *clamor*, the *sonus*, the *inlaetabile murmur* of 614-621, Turnus loses hope of success and expects to die on the field.
CHAPTER FIVE: LAETUS IN THE GEORGICS AND ECLOGUES

As I discussed in my introduction, laetus and relatives have two related fields of meaning: the one, the fertility of soil and the health, productivity, and luxuriance of plants; and the other, joyfulness and exuberance, in people.\(^{575}\) Both fields appear in Vergil; in the Georgics, the agricultural use dominates,\(^{576}\) but laetus in a minority of uses also refers to personal emotion.\(^{577}\) Although there is no consensus as to which is the prior meaning, the two are closely related; most of the passages from the Aeneid that Duval (2004) discusses she considers metaphors derived from the agricultural use. In fact, Duval considers the majority of “emotion” instances of laet- vocabulary in all Latin

\(^{575}\) For this most basic distinction, and the general outlines of the meaning and use of laetus and its relatives, we may turn to any of the major reference works: the Oxford Latin Dictionary, the Enciclopedia Virgiliana (Évrard), Érnout-Meillet’s etymological dictionary, etc. Évrard identifies two main meanings: “[laetus] hanno due accezioni principali: l’una... denota il «fertile»... l’altra... denota la «contentezza»” (3.98). (I am particularly interested in such a definition because I am skeptical of any relating of the laetus-emotion to “contentment,” a connection Évrard and Duval both make.) Cf. Miniconi (1962, 563), who relates “plaisir” to “joie,” the latter of which he uses to translate “joy” words in Latin: “la joie est un état de contentement plus intense et plus durable,” etc. I discuss this further in my introduction.

\(^{576}\) The same is true of the use of the laet- stem in Lucretius (cf. my discussion of Lucretius in my introduction). For more on the relationship between the Georgics and the DRN, see Gale (2000), Volk (2002, 143-150).

\(^{577}\) The most in-depth assessment of the words of the laet- stem is to be found in the articles by von Kamptz (TLL, 7.2.872-889).
literature to be metaphorical, in particular ways, for the agricultural use (134ff.). On the relationship between the two uses, see Chapter I.

Cicero considered the use of laetus referring to people to be primary, and “fertility” of the soil secondary (cf. Cicero De Or. 3.38.155; Or. 24.81), but linguists tend to disagree. Servius writes, at Aen. 3.220, in animalibus, in quibus cognosci non potest sensus, laetitiam pingue corpus ostendit, non mens, ut in hominibus. (This explanation does not account for such uses as at Aen. 5.515, the dove in the archery competition.)

The most coherent subset of these uses of the latter group, which do not describe emotion, has to do generally with crops and the land (cf. OLD 1, of laetus). There are not enough of these uses in the Aeneid to communicate to a reader of the Aeneid alone how great and influential a share of the semantic range of laetus this subgroup holds. In the Aeneid, instances that appear to communicate human emotion greatly outnumber those that do not. In the Georgics the opposite is true (the laet- stem is used only three times in the Eclogues). The difference between the general subject matter of the Aeneid

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578 Duval writes on the agricultural use in classical authors (Horace, Lucretius, Vergil, etc.: 127ff.); on laetus in the Georgics (129); on the signification of laetus as laetificus, “à la fois cause de joie et effet de joie,” (where she also quotes Lucr. 1.195; 138); on productivity and joy as inextricably linked, in the meaning of laetus (on which she cites Hor. Carm. 1.25.17, DRN 1.255, DRN 1.23; 1.141); on the agricultural metaphorical use in Cicero, Varro, and Livy (142). Cf. my discussion of the use of laetus in Lucretius.

579 For this discussion, see my introduction.

580 Ernout-Meillet (1959, 377). As noted earlier, Cicero reads the “fertility” use to be metaphorical; Évrard calls this “poco convincente” (EV, 3.98).

581 Évrard (EV, 3.98).

582 1. (of plants, crops, fields, etc.) Flourishing, luxuriant, lush: b. (of ground, soil) rich, fertile; c. (of animals) in good condition, sleek; d. (of other things) abounding, teeming.
and that of the *Georgics* can be cited to account for this discrepancy between the two
works, but a description of the use of *laetus* concerning crops, plants, and fertility in the
*Georgics* helps to contextualize the same use when it appears in the *Aeneid*. I discuss the
“agricultural” use of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* in Chapter VI.

In this dissertation, I am primarily concerned with the use of *laetus* and relatives
in the *Aeneid* having to do with personal joy; I present this discussion of the agricultural
use in the *Georgics* primarily to give context, and to elucidate further the instances of
*laetus*, etc. in the *Aeneid* that also show the agricultural use. I do not claim, in this
chapter, to diverge from the presentation of agricultural *laetus* as given in the major
dictionaries; I demonstrate how neatly the majority of *Georgics* instances cleave to the
first entry in the *OLD* regarding productivity, fertility, and luxuriance among living
creatures (mostly plants). There is a small number of instances in the *Georgics* in which
*laetus* expresses personal joy; in the discussion of these instances I note how these relate
to their counterparts in the *Aeneid*. I present the three instances of the *laet-* stem in the
*Eclogues* also to provide context and give access to the full complement of uses of the
*laet-* stem in Vergil, but I make no special argument as to the use of these words in the
*Eclogues*. Rather, I primarily discuss the relationship of the uses there to uses in the
*Aeneid*.

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583 Generally, on the use of *laetus* in the *Georgics*, Mynors (1990, ad 3.320) writes,
“*Laetus* occurs in *G.* thirty-three times. In some eighteen places (and four times in *A.* ) it is
applied to the land and its products, vegetable and animal, and means ‘fruitful’,
‘flourishing’ (so *G.* 1.1), extending into ‘plentiful’ in 3.310, as in *E.* 7.60. Eleven times it
clearly means ‘rejoicing’ (as constantly in *A.*), and thrice (*G.* 2.363, 520, 3.63 but not *A.*
2.395) it seems to convey both meanings.”
In the *Georgics* only forms of the adjective *laetus* are present (with one use in the comparative, at 2.252, and two in the superlative, at 1.101 and 2.112).\(^{584}\) In the *Eclogues*, of the three uses of the *laet-* stem, one is of the adjective *laetus* (in the positive degree, at 7.60), one of *laetitia* (5.62), and one of *laetari* (4.52).

All line numbers in this chapter, unless otherwise specified, are citations from the *Georgics*. It is my practice to list, and cite, every instance of the *laet-* stem in Latin; I do acknowledge that this practice becomes tedious when there is such great coherence (e.g. in the plant-productivity instances) that the list becomes unduly repetitive. I accept this tedium, however, for the sake of greater thoroughness.

V.1: “Health” or “Productivity”: Plants

The largest subset of uses of *laetus* in the *Georgics* concerns the health and productivity of plants. The plant described (and in the majority of these instances a word for “plant” or the name of a plant is expressed) is luxuriant, healthy, and productive; the author often contrasts these healthy plants with unproductive, unhealthy ones. These instances appear at 1.1, 1.69, 1.74, 1.101, 1.102, 1.325, 1.339, 2.221, 2.262, 2.363, 2.525, 3.385, and 3.494; I discuss them in this section. There is little variation among these uses of *laetus*.

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\(^{584}\) In the positive degree, *laetus* appears in the *Georgics* in the masculine nominative singular: 1.102, 2.363, 3.320; in the masculine nominative plural: 1.301, 1.304, 1.412, 2.383, 2.520, 3.375, 3.379; in the feminine nominative singular: 2.184, 3.63, 3.322; in the feminine genitive singular: 2.326; in the feminine nominative plural: 1.423, 4.55; in the feminine accusative plural: 1.1; in the feminine ablative plural: 1.69, 1.339, 2.221, 3.494; in the neuter nominative singular: 1.74; in the neuter accusative singular: 2.262; in the neuter ablative plural: 2.525; in the neuter nominative plural: 2.48, 2.144, 3.310; in the neuter accusative plural: 1.325, 2.388, 3.385.
In the very first line, at 1.1, the poet claims to set out *quid faciat laetas segetes*, in the promise of the content of each of his books. With the notable exception of Batstone,"585 commentators generally treat this instance as one in which *laetas* means, simply, “healthy and productive.”586 This line and this proem are, of course, the subject

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585 In this “table of contents” Batstone (1997, 130) considers the use of *laetus* at 1.1 to link the earth’s fertility with human happiness: “The language designates the particular things (field, land, vine, elm, cattle, herd, bees) at the same time that it points to qualities—happiness, concern (or passion), regimen (or culture), thrift, experience—that inform a life. As a result, abstract issues of human life join agricultural particulars and suggest the inextricable interpenetration of the practical and the spiritual, the objective and subjective, the material earth and the inhabited world. This interpenetration is actually richer and more elusive in the Latin than the English translation suggests. ‘What makes the fields happy?’ The term for ‘happy’, *laetas*, may in Latin designate an objective quality of the land (‘teeming’ or ‘rich’, cognate with the Latin term for ‘dung’, *laetamen*), or the way success makes us feel (‘happy’, *laetitia*). The term *segetes*, ‘fields’, may refer to the land where you plant corn, to the ploughed and fertilised field, or to the standing corn crop. The adjective-noun unit, which we know was a farmer’s idiom, gives only nominal stability to a process that drifts from cow manure to human joy. While the words make the precise reference elusive, they point to the coinherence of earth and dung, the world of economic success (which will mean hard work and even unhappiness), and human happiness.”

586 That is, aside from Batstone (quoted above), commentators do not read *laetas* here as referring, by extension, to the emotion of people. Putnam (1979, 114) translates *laetas* as “productive.” Most commentators’ discussions (e.g. R.D. Williams 1979, Mynors 1990, Thomas 1988) of the use of *laetus* in the *Georgics* appear in their discussions of 1.1, and consist of a general exposition of the two major categories of the use of the word, sometimes with a brief discussion of Cicero’s mention of *laetas segetes* (*laetas segetes* *etiam rustici dicunt De Or*. 3.155; cf. *Or*. 81). Mynors disputes whether the phrase *laetas segetes* would have sounded “rustic” to Vergil’s readers. Mynors continues: “V. uses the word often with the sense ‘productive, flourishing’; sometimes, as in 2.363, with a notion of rejoicing also (3.320n.).” Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*) writes, on *laetas*: “here, and often in the poem, = ‘fertile’, ‘teeming’ (its primary, though somewhat less common, meaning).” Servius writes, on *Geo*. 1.1: *fertiles, fecundas, id est quae res terras pingues efficiat; nam segetem modo pro terra posuit: sic alibi horrescit strictis seges ensibus. pingues autem efficit terras, ut paulo post dicturus est, cinis, intermissio arandi, incensio stipularum, stercoratio. unde etiam laetas ait; nam fimus, qui per agros iacitur, vulgo laetamen vocatur.*
of much scholarship. I am inclined to read the primary force of instances like this one as indicating the health or fertility of plants, but also with some reference to the impact they have on the people farming them—i.e., laetas here has something of the significance of laetificas.

At 1.69, the next instance of laetus in the Georgics, laetis frugibus refers to the crops that fertile land (pingue solum 64, tellus fecunda 67) produces; the poet contrasts this soil with dry sand (sterilem harenam 70).589

unde homines nati, durum genus. ergo age, terrae pingue solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni
fortes inveriant tauri, glaebisque iacentis
pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas;
at si non fuerit tellus fecunda, sub ipsum Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulco:
illic, officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae,
hic, sterilem exiguus ne deserat umor harenam. (1.63-70)

The subject of officiant is the weeds (herbae 69). Mynors (1990, ad loc.) explains via Pliny 18.242: quoniam in pingui [solo] statim sulcos occupant herbae, in gracili insecuti


588 Mynors (1990, ad loc.) notes that sterilem is proleptic, referring to the result of the necessary drying.

589 Conington (1898, ad 69): “Laetis, as the quality of the soil would make the corn luxuriant.”
aestus exsiccent. On these lines, and the contrast between “fertile” and “sterile,” and “wet” and “dry,” in thematic terms, particularly for Vergil’s reference to his predecessors like Varro and Cato, see Ross (1987, 40-45). For more on this passage, see e.g. Putnam (1979, 29), Miles (1980, 72).

The instances at 1.101 and 1.102 also concern productivity; the latter instance is one of the two uses of the superlative form of laetus in the Georgics:

umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas, 100
agricolae; hiberno lactissima pulvere farra,
laetus ager: nullo tantum se Mysia cultu
iactat et ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messis.
quid dicam, iacto qui semine comminus arva
insequitur cumulosque ruit male pinguis harenæ, 105
deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis (1.100-106)

In this passage, on irrigation and drainage, the poet discusses the best amount of water in given seasons: best are wet summers, followed by dry winters; “no tillage can do so much

590 There is another instance, four lines later, at 1.74. The poet counsels crop rotation: aut ibi flava seres mutato sidere farra, / unde prius laetum siliqua quassante legumen / aut tenuis fetus viciae tristisque lupini / sustuleris fragilis calamos siluamque sonantem (1.73-76). The presence of the ablative of specification, siliqua quassante, is not helpful for us in establishing the reason for which laetus is applied to the legumen here. The reason legumen (which is the general term that includes such plants as the viciae and lupini, 75) is mentioned as positive here is for its salutary effect on the soil in off-years (due to nitrogen-fixing capabilities); see Mynors (1990, ad loc.). For this reason the plant may be described as causing people to feel positive emotion (cf. Duval 2004, 134ff.). Thomas (1988) writes, on lines 73-79: “By trial and error the ancients must have hit upon what we now know as nitrogen-fixation, the effect of rotating regular crops such as wheat or spelt (farra, 73) with nitrogen-restoring leguminous plants (74-6).” Servius writes, on 74: laetum legumen: fertile. et laetus prout res fuerit accipe, ut laetus homo, id est hilaris; laetum pecus, id est pingue; laetum legumen, ut diximus, fertile. et legumen dicitur quod manu legatur nec sectionem requirat; frumenta vero sunt omnia quae ex se emittunt aristas. Thomas (1988, ad loc.) notes that there may also be a pun on tristis lupini (75)—called tristis because of the “bitterness of the seed,” but perhaps also a pun on an etymology for lupinus: λύπη, “sadness, grief.”
for Mysia as wet summers, followed by dry winters; these produce extraordinary crops on
the rich slopes of Gargarus.” The ablative of specification hiberno pulvere in 101 explains: “pray for sunny winters,” since the spelt grows best in dry winters. The
superlative degree appears at 101 in the contrasting of the seasons with one another.
Macrobius transmits a rustic song: hiberno pulvere, verno luto, grandia farra, camille, metes (Sat. 5.20.18), very similar to these lines.

All the plants named in this passage are crops planted intentionally for harvest by
the farmer. (Laetus is not used to describe plants in the Georgics outside of their
usefulness to humans.) Nevertheless, the fertility and productivity indicated by laetus
may be related to human “happiness,” insofar as productive, healthy plants make farmers
happy. Thomas (1988, ad 102-103) writes, “The fertility of Asia is proverbial, and
when the conditions are right it becomes almost miraculous.”

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592 Laetissima should be taken rather closely with our supplied verb: “thrives,” etc. “Spelt thrives most fruitfully in dry winters, etc.” The dry winter is an attendant circumstance, not specification.

593 Thomas (1988, ad loc.) calls Vergil’s adaptation of this song “slight but significant.” On this rustic song transmitted by Macrobius, cf. Conington (1898, ad 1.101), R.D. Williams (1979, ad 1.101), and Servius (ad 1.101). R.D. Williams (1979), on 1.101, notes that this passage is discussed by Pliny (NH, 17.14). Ross (1987, 47-49) discusses these lines, esp. geographical references and military imagery, and their service as a transition to the Homeric adaptation that follows. For more on 1.101ff., see Klingner (1967, 196).

594 See Duval (2004, 134ff.), and my discussion of this phenomenon in my introduction.

595 On the possible reference to Homer in 102-103, see Ross (1987, 48-54). For a comparison between 104-110 and Il. 21.256-264, see Farrell (1991, 211). For the military language of this passage, as well as an explanation of the Hesiodic intertexts, see Gale (2000, 252-258; cf. 207, on “the farmer’s mastery over the natural world”). On the farmer as the commander of an army in this passage, cf. Gale (1998, 116). For more on the farmer’s abilities, given nature’s strong creative force, see Gale (2000, 219-220).
The loss of productive plants is noted at 1.325:

saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum
et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbribus atris
collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether
et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores
diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt
cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor. (1.322-327)

The same phrase, sata laeta boumque labores, also appears at Aen. 2.306. At Aen. 2.306, Aeneas, in speaking to Dido, uses this imagery in a simile to describe the chaos and destruction brought down upon Troy by the Greeks. In the Georgics, the storm is a force of nature and a natural event in autumn, over which man has no control, but against which man should be wary; this image returns at the end of Book 1. The storm utterly destroys the crops nearly at the peak of their productivity and usefulness to man: spicea...

cum messis inhorruit et cum / frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent 314-315; cf. the destruction of the winds, gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis sublimem expulsam eruerent 319-320). In the Aeneid the destruction is caused by the chaos of war, and it is

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596 Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*) calls it one of the omens accompanying the death of Caesar and the storm of civil war, 482-483, and writes, “As at 118, boumque labores is ultimately Hesiodic (ἔργα βοῶν W.D. 46), but V. recalls the effects of a storm at Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.1282-3... a passage which also influenced him at the end of the book.” For Hesiodic, Homeric, and Apollonian parallels of 1.325, see Conington (1898, *ad* 1.325).
man-made; the shepherd marvels, unaware (inscius pastor stupet).\textsuperscript{597} In the \textit{Georgics}, the \textit{pastor} speaks (saepe ego, 316).\textsuperscript{598}

Since this use of \textit{laetus}, to describe productive, healthy plants, is well-attested both within and outside the \textit{Georgics} and I do not intend to differentiate among the uses, I not discuss all the instances I have categorized in this section in detail. I briefly mention them here:

- 1.339: on the importance of venerating the gods: \textit{sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis}. Mynors (1990, \textit{ad loc.}) translates \textit{operatus} as “engaged on religious exercises,” formed from \textit{opera}, which would mean that the phrase \textit{in laetis herbis} simply directs the farmer to sacrifice to Ceres in and among her own fruitful produce. The validity and purpose of this sacrifice has been the subject of much scholarship.\textsuperscript{599}


\textsuperscript{599} Thomas (1988, on 1.335-350) writes, “Appealing as the lines are, they offer no palliative to the destruction of the storm that has immediately preceded: observation of the calendar and the signs is of no avail against storms, and there is no suggestion in the \textit{Georgics} that piety is of any use in the struggle between man and his environment.” On 339, on \textit{laetis... in herbis}, Thomas writes, “The picnic at the end of Book 2 occurs \textit{in gramine laeto} (525), and, on a more chilling note, that is where the calves die as religion fails before the onslaught of the plague: \textit{hinc laetis vituli vulgar moriuntur in herbis}.” Cf. Ross (1987, 90): “Can we believe that Virgil meant this sudden intrusion of faith to be taken seriously as man’s hope and salvation?” On the question of Vergil’s attitude toward the effectiveness of faith in this passage, see Ross (1987, 90-91 and 121-122); cf. O’Hara (1990, 34-35). For more on this prayer, see Farrell (1991, 153-154).
2.221: on the best type of soil for elms and grape-vines: *illa* [the soil] *tibi laetis intexet vitibus ulmos*. As Mynors (1990, *ad loc.*) notes, since grape-vines do not support themselves, both now and in antiquity they were either staked or provided with trees to climb.

2.262: on how to prepare the soil for the vineyard: *memento... ante supinatas Aquiloni ostendere glaebas / quam laetum infodias vitis genus* (259-262). Mynors (1990, *ad loc.*) notes that the use of *laetum* is probably proleptic.

2.363: on the pruning of young vines; the instance of *laetus* at 2.363 describes the vine-shoot (*palmes*), growing vigorously upward, to be plucked gently (*ac dum prima novis adolescit frondibus aetas, / parcendum teneris, et dum se laetus ad auras / palmes agit laxis per purum immissus habenis 2.362-364).*

2.525: in the image of fullness of the simple farmer’s life, as opposed to the life bent on wealth: *casta pudicitiam servat domus, ubera vaccae / lactea demittunt, pinguesque in gramine laeto / inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi* (524-526). Note the proximity of Bacchus, and feasting/libation to him, at 2.527-531.*

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*The treatment of the vine-shoot is a metaphor for a child’s best education and upbringing (cf. Mynors 1990, *ad loc.*), which involves gentleness at first. I mention this in the event that *laetus* is meant to apply to the understood child and somehow convey personal emotion. Thomas (1988) writes, “the personification is extreme here,” and compares this passage to the “education” speech of Aeneas to Ascanius at *Aen.* 12.438 and the passage at *DRN* 3.447-449. Contrast Conington (1898, *ad 2.363*) who compares the *laetus* here to the use of the word at *Aen.* 1.314, 1.439, and 2.388, and remarks that the adjective seems to modify *agit*, as an adverb. Conington translates 2.363 as “while the vine-branch is pushing its way exultingly into the sky.” For more on these lines, see Putnam (1979, 130-131).

*On *ubera vaccae / lactea demittunt*, Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*) writes, “...suggesting a willingness again associated with the golden age,” and cites *Ecl.* 4.21-22 and Horace,
- 3.385: on the best kind of land for wool-producing sheep: *si tibi lanitium curae, primum aspera silva / lappaeque tribolique absint; fuge pabula laeta* (384-385). As Mynors (1990, ad loc.) explains: “There is an old belief that rich pasture spoils the wool.”

- 3.494: on a sudden plague over cattle: *hinc laetis vituli volgo moriuntur in herbis*. The phrase *in laetis herbis* seems to be merely one of effect, to contrast with the image of the dying cows.

I have discussed above the instances in the *Georgics* in which the “health” of plants is clearly indicated. The instance at *Geo*. 2.48 allows us to distinguish between the

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*Epodes* 16.49-50: *illa iniusae veniunt ad mulctra capellae, / refertque tenta grex amicus ubera*. On this passage as a “programmatic description of country life as the alternative to travel and war,” see Hardie (1986, 361). Conington (1898, *ad* 2.525) interprets, “Fat kids, on grass luxuriant as they, are engaging together, horn against horn.” On this passage, and the joy of rustic simplicity, see Putnam (1979, 156-157). For further discussion, see my presentation of the instance of *laetus* at 2.520, below.

602 Bacchus is associated with *laetitia* in the *Aeneid*, particularly at *Aen*. 1.636 and 1.734. See my chapter on *laetitia* (Chapter IV.1).

603 Thomas (1988, *ad* 384-385) writes, regarding the *aspera silva*, “Such undergrowth damages the wool and creates the danger of disease in the sheep—hence the jacketed sheep of Tarentum.” On 385, and *fuge pabula laeta*, Thomas writes, “Luxuriant pasture (tall grasses) will harm the sheep; Columella allows such pasture for tall sheep: *pinguis et campestris situs proceras ovases tolerat*, 7.2.3.”

604 As Mynors (1990, *ad loc.*) writes, on *laetis*: “like *plena* [i.e. 495: *plena ad praesephia reddunt*], [the word] increases the pathos; but it seems to overlook 481 [*inficit pabula tabo*].” That is, the poet seems content with inconsistency for the sake of creating this contrast. Cf. Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*): “The calves die in the midst of plenty (*laetis*; also *plena* in 495); a grim reversal of the idealized picture at 2.525-6 *pinguesque in gramine laeto / inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi.*” Cf. Conington (1898) on the tragic juxtaposition at 3.494: “The misery of the scene is indefinitely heightened by their dying in the midst of plenty.” On the irony of death occurring in “rich grass” at 3.494, see Gale (2000, 41, n.68).
health of plants and fertility per se. At Geo. 2.48, laetus is understood to convey the same sort of productivity as in the previous uses. The context, in which the farmer’s command of cultivated trees is extended to include all trees, underlines the difference between fertility (the ability to produce offspring) and one’s own health: sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis oras, / infecunda quidem, sed laeta et fortia surgunt (2.47-48); “wild” trees do not produce fruit according to the farmer’s will, but if he applies his craft they will, due to the productivity of the soil.605 The subject of tollunt and surgunt is the trees, and they are at the same time infecunda, laeta, and fortia. This passage is on spontaneous growth; for a more detailed explanation see Thomas (1988, ad loc).606 Otis (1964) considers laeta to operate metaphorically here, as well, indicating a “happily cooperating nature.”607 Bacchus is present in this passage also.608

605 On these lines, and particularly the departure of this passage from the reality of the farmer’s situation (as understood by both ancient and modern farmers) see Ross (1987, 101-103).

606 Thomas (1988, ad loc.) writes that these are “important terms for the poem; spontaneous and natural growth, while not productive of fruit, is strong... and hardy.” Conington (ad 2.49) glosses natura as “productive power” (cf. Servius’ explanation:quia... naturaliter rerum omnium mater est terra) and indicates that this line refers only to laeta and fortia, not infecunda.

607 Otis (1964, 163) writes, “Even trees which need human aid to grow good fruit retain, nevertheless, a natural exuberance... the accent is not on the tribulations, but on the assistance of a happily cooperating nature.”

608 Cf. Gale (2000, 73), writing on the passage including 2.48: “In the first place, Bacchus stands as a kind of emblem for natural fertility and for the rampant growth of uncultivated plants which is one of the central themes of the book. On several occasions, the god’s name is little more than a metonym for the vine; and the images of abundance in the opening lines (4-6) look forward to the emphasis on fertility, variety, and plenty in the first section of the book (particularly the catalogue of grape varieties, 89-108, and the laudes Italicae, where wine is listed amongst the products of Italy, 143f.). But it is made clear from the beginning of the book that the riot of natural growth needs to be tamed and disciplined if it is to be made productive: trees which grow spontaneously are
The use of *laetus* to describe the health and productivity of living creatures extends, from plants, to include animals and people, at 2.144, 2.326, and 3.310. The instance at 2.144, in the *laudes Italiae*, appears in a list of the productivity and lushness of Italy’s land (*sed gravidae fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor / implevere; tenent oleae armentaque laeta*. 2.143-144). *Armenta laeta* appears elsewhere, e.g. *DRN* 2.343. At 3.310 fertility, or productivity, is meant by enallage:  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nec minor usus erit, quamvis Milesia magno} \\
\text{vellera mutentur Tyrios incocta rubores.} \\
\text{densior hinc suboles, hinc largi copia lactis;} \\
\text{quam magis exhausto spumaverit ubere mulctra,} \\
\text{laeta magis pressis manabunt flamina mammis.} & \quad 310 \\
\text{nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta} \\
\text{Cinyphii tondent hirci saetasque comantis} \\
\text{usum in castrorum et misera velamina nautis. (3.306-313)}
\end{align*}
\]

strong and sturdy but infertile (47f.). As a god of wildness and excess, Bacchus symbolizes the chaotic forces of nature which the farmer must strive to control. But resistance to order and control is manifested not just in the external world, but also in human beings and their societies."

609 Conington (1898) glosses *laeta* in 2.144 as “prolific.” For this passage as showing the “wholesome fruitfulness of Italy” against the exotic and corrupt product of the East, see Miles (1980, 123). Remarkably, Gale (2000, 80, n.71) connects this passage with two more from the *Georgics*, and one from Lucretius, all of which contain the word *laetus* (although she does not note this); Gale compares *DRN* 1.250ff. (*laetus* at 1.255) with *Geo*. 2.143ff. (*laeta* at 2.144), 2.325ff. (*laetis* at 2.326), and 2.524ff. (*laeta* at 2.525). Gale refers to all three *Geo*. passages as “praises.” Harrison (2008, 224ff.) argues that the *laudes Italiae* is metaliterary, and refers to the *Georgics* itself, distinguishing the *Georgics* from its predecessors; these lines, in which Harrison argues that in these lines the poet distances his work from Apollonius’ *Arg.*, are discussed. Harrison writes that the subject matter of lines 143-148 sets forth the subject matter for Books 1-3 (cf. Mynors 1990, *ad loc.*), which to Harrison further suggests that this passage is a representation of the poem as a whole. On war and farming in the *laudes Italiae*, see Gale (1998, 114).

This passage appears in the section on how to take care of sheep and goats. The *laeta flumina* of milk are both vigorous and strong; they also lead to vigor and strength on the part of those they nourish. The image of fertility is underlined by such phrases as *copia lactis* 308, etc.\(^{611}\)

The use at 2.326, in a reference to the marriage of Earth and Sky (the “praise of Spring”), bridges productivity and emotion, perhaps implying that plant productivity creates positive human emotion.\(^{612}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ver adeo frondi nemorum, ver utile silvis,} \\
\text{vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.} \\
\text{tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbris Aether} & & 325 \\
\text{coniugis in gremium *laetae* descendit, et omnis} \\
\text{magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.} \\
\text{avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris,} \\
\text{et Venerem certis repetunt armenta diebus (2.324-329)}
\end{align*}
\]

The sky and earth unite and create all living matter (*genitalia semina, fecundis imbris, fetus*; cf. 329ff.).\(^{613}\) (However, it is important to note the distinction between the earth as *laeta* because she is likely to produce offspring, and plants as *laetus* because they are

\[^{611}\text{Thomas (1988, *ad loc.* ) relates this to *Ecl.* 3.30: *bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere fetus.*}\]

\[^{612}\text{Cf. Duval (2004, 134ff.) and my introduction.}\]

\[^{613}\text{Thomas (1988, *ad 324*) writes, “This powerful line leads into the personification of the fertilizing union between rain and earth as a sexual union between Aether and Terra,” and *ad 325-335*: “V. describes the process of fertilization as an act of intercourse (*in gremium... descendit*) between heaven (*pater... Aether*) and the earth (*coniugis... laetae*). In this he elaborates on Lucr. 1.250-3.” Putnam (1979, 126) writes that the earth is “entitled now not specifically *terra mater* but simply *coniunx laeta*, a fertile wife, ‘happy’ for herself and the progeny she will bear.” For more on the hieros gamos passage, see Miles (1980, 136-137). For more discussion of this passage, particularly with regard to Lucretian echoes, see Gale (2000, 70-72; cf. 117-118).}\]
luxuriant and healthy.) On the other hand, the earth is also personified as the female consort of Aether; both are personified (pater 325, coniugis 326), and therefore we should suspect that laetae might refer to personal emotion.614

V.3: “Productivity”: Soil

This personification will lead me, in a section below, to the use of laetus as describing personal emotion, but before I do that, I give the other instances in which laetus is applied to soil, or that which otherwise gives rise to productive plants. These instances are found at 2.112, 2.184, 2.252, 3.63, and 3.322. We might be tempted to refer to this capacity as fertility, but the poet explicitly makes the distinction between general fertility and the capacity of a given tract of land to give rise to an abundance of certain sorts of plants.

nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt.
fluminibus salices crassisque paludibus alni
nascuntur, steriles saxosis montibus orni;
litora myrtetis laetissima; denique apertos
Bacchus amat collis, Aquilonem et frigora taxi.
aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem
Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos (2.109-115)

At 2.112 the poet describes what grows best in each particular type of soil (109);615 sandy soil, in 112, is most amenable for myrtle trees.616 Sandy soil is not “fertile” (cf. 2.48

614 Thomas (1988, ad loc.) agrees; on laetae he writes: “‘fertile’, as often, though the other sense [i.e. personal emotion] may also be present.” Mynors (1990, ad loc.) relates these lines to DRN 1.250-251: imbres, ubi eos pater Aether / in gremium matris Terrai praecipitavit. For a discussion of Earth and her role in the hieros gamos, see Fowler (2002, 448-449).
above: *infecunda quidem, sed laeta et fortia surgunt*), but some trees grow best in infertile (*steriles*) lands; the favorable soil type depends on the plant in question. Soil described as *laetus* is considered undesirable again at 2.252, discussed below.

At 2.184, the poet specifies what attribute (moisture, *uligine* 184) makes the soil particularly good for growing the vine. 617

> tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis, 180
> Palladia gaudent silva vivacis olivae:  indicio est tractu surgens oleaster eodem plurimus et strati bacis silvestribus agri.  
> at quae pinguis humus dulcique uligine *laeta*,  
> quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus,  
> qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus despicere (2.180-187)

The poet has just set out to discuss the types of soils, their color, what each bears best, etc. (177ff.). The adversative *at* (184) sets up what is best for the grape, and wine, in contrast with the olive, described immediately prior. The poet writes here that stereotypically fertile land is best for the grape (*pinguis, dulci uligine, fertilis ubere campus*, etc.). 618 As Ross (1987, 131-132) points out, however, the vine requires dry soil,

615 The presence of Bacchus is noteworthy here.

616 Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*) cites 4.124, *amantis litora myrtos*, and 1.28, *cingens materna tempora myrto*, and notes that Aeneas performs a similar act (exchanging *velat* for *cingens*) at *Aen.* 5.72. Thomas remarks on the association of the myrtle with Venus (and attributes it possibly to the myrtle’s appearance toward the coast). I discuss the special association of Venus with *laetus* in the *Aeneid* at 5.816, in my chapter on *Aen.* 5 (Chapter III). Mynors (1990, *ad loc.*) notes the association of the shore with myrtle trees at Ovid *Am.* 1.129 and Martial 4.13.6. This is one of the two instances of the superlative of *laetus* in the *Georgics* (the other is at 1.101).

617 On *dulci uligine*, see Conington (1898, *ad 184*).

618 Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*) agrees: “Rich soil is ideal for the vine...as its opposite, lean
not the wet, marshy soil indicated by *uligo*. Ross explains that the vine, as it will yield
wine, and therefore be used in libation, stands in for civilization (for more, see 131-135).
For more discussion of this passage, see Otis (1964, 165).

The poet-speaker expresses his own attitude toward such soil, in the passage at
2.252:

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pinguis item quae sit tellus, hoc denique pacto
discimus: haud unquam manibus iactata fatiscit,
sed picis in morem ad digitos lentescit habendo. 250
umida maiores herbas alit, ipsaque iusto
laetior: a, nimium ne sit mihi fertilis illa,
nec se praeventam primis ostendat aristis! (2.248-253)
```

Too much fertility (*pinguis* 248) leads to weeds;\textsuperscript{619} Putnam (1979, 29) reads this aside as
a warning against extremes.\textsuperscript{620} The poet-speaker relates a number of ways of discerning
“bitter” (*amara* 238) soil from fertile soil, e.g. dripping water through it in baskets (243-
245), and tasting (246-247). Rich (*pinguis* 248) soil does not break in the hands when
handled (a remark that does not parallel any regarding *amara tellus*), but is sticky: this
moist (*umida* 249) soil grows taller plants, and it is described as *ipsa iusto laetior*.

Mynors (1990, *ad loc.* ) explains the poet’s frustration: “V. seems to fear that plentiful

\textsuperscript{619} Cf. Servius (*ad loc.*). On the connections between the passages containing 2.184 and
2.252, see Ross (1987, 133).

\textsuperscript{620} Cf. Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*): “The abundance here is not desirable, for when the foliage
(*herbas*) grows too tall and too rapidly (*maiores, iusto / laetior*)—an indication of a high
nitrogen level in the soil—the fruit or produce is robbed of its nutriment (252-253n).”
Goold (1999) translates this phrase as “is of itself unduly prolific.”
water will cause excessively fast growth, as a result of which the crop will fall flat as soon as it comes to ear... and the straw is unable to support the weight.”

The poet-speaker’s exclamation *a... aristis* (252-253) implies that there is something undesirable about this *pinguis tellus*, but he will not make explicit what that is; in the next section the poet will counsel the farmer to cultivate dry, crumbly soil (since *optima putri / arva solo* 262-263), by turning up the soil to dry it out (259-261).

The instances at 3.63 and 3.322 indicate the source of fertility and productivity; a noun is described as *laetus* when it makes living things productive. I include these two abstract nouns here because in all these instances, a noun is described as *laetus* because it makes something else productive.  

In the passage containing 3.63 *iuventas* is described as *laeta*:

> aetas Lucinam iustosque pati hymenaeos desinit ante decem, post quattuor incipit annos; cetera nec feturae habilis nec fortis aratris. interea, superat gregibus dum *laeta* iuventas, solve mares; mitte in Venerem pecuaria primus, atque aliam ex alia generando suffice prolem. (3.60-65)

This passage concerns the best time for breeding cows; the poet writes that the best time is between the fourth and tenth year, and “in the meantime…” (63) The thing described is primal urge overtaking the body, *iuventas* being one of the causes; the passage is full of fertility vocabulary (*feturae, Venerem, prolem*; and strength: *nec feturae habilis nec fortis*

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621 On the use of the interjection *a* by Vergil, see Ross (1987, 133).

622 I consider the parent-nature of the soil, and the influence-nature of *aestas* and *iuventas*, of less distinction in this scheme of categorization.
As Mynors (1990, *ad loc.*) explains, *gregibus* (63) refers to the female animals, as *grex* tends to do in Vergil (he cites *Ecl.* 7.7 and *Geo.* 3.386); since we tend to locate fertility and productivity with the female body if given a choice, the appearance of specifically *laeta iuventas* to apply to the cows makes particular sense. Putnam (1979) translates *laeta* here as “lusty.”

Similarly, at 3.322 *laeta* modifies *aestas*:

> ergo omni studio glaciem ventosque nivalis,
> quo minor est illis curae mortalis egestas,
> avertes, victumque feres et virgea laetus
> pabula, nec tota claudes faenilia bruma.
> at vero Zephyris cum *laeta* vocantibus aestas
> in saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittet,
> Luciferi primo cum sidere frigida rura
> carpanum, dum mane novum, dum gramina canent,
> et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba. (3.318-326)

Thomas (1988) writes, on 322-338: “Extremes of temperature are the catalysts of disaster: love and plague are both characterized by imbalance, and in technical passages such as this and the preceding one V. focuses on the extremes.” The passage is on tending to sheep and goats during the summer. Here the poet presents the idea of fertility, although not expressly contextualized; it is contrasted with the difficulties of winter in the preceding passage (up to 322); the *laeta aestas* offers warmth and food and comfort. Thomas in his note on 322-326 likens this passage, on the coming of warm weather, to

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623 Cf. Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*), who translates *laeta iuventas* as “the fertility of youth.”


625 Mynors (1990, *ad loc.*) writes that *aestas* here is used of the part of the year that is not *hiems*, i.e. including *ver*, the time most commonly associated with fertility.
that at 4.51-53, where the bees emerge at the end of winter. (There is an appearance of \textit{laetus} at 4.55; see below.) The season is \textit{laeta} on account of what it can do for the herds; there is no personification or emotion.

V.4: Personal Emotion: People

This leads me to my description of the uses of \textit{laetus} in the \textit{Georgics} that appear to describe personal emotion. Just as the agricultural use of the \textit{laet}-stem appears in the \textit{Aeneid}, although less often than the use indicating “joy” (due, I suspect, to content), so the personal emotion use appears in the \textit{Georgics}, though substantially less often (especially applying to people) than the agricultural use. \textit{Laetus} describes people experiencing emotion at \textit{Geo}. 1.301, 1.304, 2.383, 3.320, 3.375, and 3.379; it describes human emotion by enallage at 2.388 (\textit{laetus} operates far more often in the \textit{Aeneid} through enallage).

The first instances of \textit{laetus} describing people in the \textit{Georgics} appear at 1.301 and 1.304:

\begin{verbatim}
nodus ara, sere nudus. hiems ignava colono: frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur 300 mutuaque inter se \textit{laeti} convivia curant. invitat\textsuperscript{626} genialis hiems curasque resoluit, ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae, puppibus et \textit{laeti} nautae imposuere coronas. (1.299-304)
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{626} For an elucidation of \textit{invitat}, here, and its relationship to wine as a “release from care” throughout Latin literature, see Leigh (1996).
The first instance, at 301, is a description of farmers who have respite from the chores that run so long during the summer months (although as Thomas notes, the real relaxation happens for the farmers at 2.523-540).\textsuperscript{627} The context of personal emotion is established by such words as \textit{fruuntur}, \textit{convivia}, \textit{genialis}, and \textit{curas resoluit}.\textsuperscript{628} The instance at 304 is more interesting, since \textit{Geo.} 1.304 is identical to \textit{Aen.} 4.418, where Dido, speaking to Anna, remarks on Aeneas’ sailors’ eager preparations to leave her port. In the \textit{Aeneid}, the sailors at \textit{Aen.} 4.418 are \textit{laeti} with hope and excitement for the future, for \textit{leaving} Carthage to make their way toward their ultimate destination in Italy.\textsuperscript{629} The activity in \textit{Geo.} 1.304 is very much the opposite: the sailors are \textit{laeti} as they \textit{arrive} at port, safe from winter storms (and presumably not to leave port until the weather improves in Spring).\textsuperscript{630} The reason for being \textit{laeti} at \textit{Geo.} 1.304, then, is relief: just as in the \textit{Aeneid}, a discrete event (making port) creates a shift toward positive feeling.\textsuperscript{631}

The uses at 2.383 and 2.388 also appear in close succession, and identify emotion:

\textsuperscript{627} Thomas (1988, \textit{ad} 301). On rest and relaxation at 1.301, see Klingner (1967, 211); on the farmer’s relationship to rest in these lines, see Miles (1980, 90). For the reference to Hesiod in this passage, see Farrell (1991, 139-140).

\textsuperscript{628} Thomas (1988) on 300-304 notes the repetition and chiasmus in these lines.

\textsuperscript{629} On the connection between sailor and farmer in this passage, see Putnam (1979, 42). Gale (2000, 31, n.43) notes that farming and sailing are closely linked throughout the \textit{Georgics} (particularly in Book 1), and notes especially 1.204-207, 253f., 303f., 371-373 (cf. Thomas 1988, \textit{ad} 1.50).

\textsuperscript{630} O’Hara (2011, \textit{ad} 4.418) notes the opposition between entering and leaving as well (and see Clausen 2002, 83, n.22). Putnam (1979, 42) refers to this moment as “happy because trials are over.” Mynors (1990, 303f.) writes, “The sailors have brought a valuable cargo home, hence their joy; we hope the \textit{coloni} have filled their barns.”

\textsuperscript{631} Mynors (1990, \textit{ad loc.}) writes: “V. is thinking of the general merry-making of winter, when it is possible to find time for relaxation.”
non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
ciaeditur et veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi, 
priemiaque ingenii pagos et compita circum 
Thesidae posuere, atque inter poca laeti 
mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres 
nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni 
versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto, 
oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis, 
et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, 
tibique 
oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu. 
hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea fetu, 
complentur vallesque cavae saltusque profundi 
et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum (2.380-392)

This passage concerns the etiology of a goat being slain to Bacchus: the goat is wont to 
wander into someone’s crops and munch on them (hence the importance of building a 
hedge, which is the section from which this one arises). At the celebrations (of a certain 
festival, identity unknown, at vintage-time), people are described as inter poca laeti. On 
the propitiation to Bacchus (esp. as compared to Ceres in 1.338-350) in this passage, see 
Putnam (1979, 133-134). 

Again the context of positive personal emotion is strong (e.g. ludunt, risu, etc.); 
both uses appear in the context of feasting accompanied by (heavy?) drinking, and thus 
resemble the uses in the Aeneid in which people are laeti at feasts.632 This use also 
reinforces the association between Bacchus and laetus (see my note above).633 

The poet gives instruction with laetus at 3.320:

ergo omni studio glaciem ventosque nivalis, 
quo minor est illis curae mortalis egestas, 
avertes, victumque feres et virgea laetus 
pabula, nec tota claudes faenilia bruma. (3.318-321)

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632 Cf. my discussion of this in my chapter on laetitia (Chapter IV.1).

633 Thomas (1988, ad loc.) compares this to 2.529, 2.2, and 4.7.
This use indicates the manner in which the act is to be performed (perhaps, “willingly”); its function here is very similar to a number of uses in the *Aeneid* concerning the performance of sacrifice (see my discussion in Chapter II.4, above).\(^{634}\) The subject is the farmer to whom the poet-speaker gives advice. In this passage the poet describes the care of goats in the winter:\(^{635}\) the goats themselves will return home in due time, and when they have returned, the farmer ought to take care to keep them warm and not spare in providing them food.\(^{636}\) In the lines following this passage, the poet will move on to what to do in Spring (which is called the *laeta aestas*; for discussion on the instance at 3.322, see below).\(^{637}\)

The instances at 3.375 and 3.379, in lines on the hunting of the Scythians, also both describe people and personal emotion:\(^{638}\)

\[
\text{hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis}
\]
\[
\text{puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine pennae},
\]

\(^{634}\) Cf. Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*), in which he translates *feres... laetus* as “bring cheerfully,” which he explains as “in abundance, unstintingly.”

\(^{635}\) For more on the care of goats in winter in this passage, see Ross (1987, 168-171).

\(^{636}\) Mynors (1990, *ad* 3.320) writes, on *laetus*: “Here it must mean ‘with a glad heart.’ Thus V. tells us unequivocally that the husbandman should be not only unstinting with his labour and resources, as we have been told before, but also a cheerful giver.” Ross (1987, 170) devotes extensive discussion to the meaning of the rather confusing line 319.

\(^{637}\) Conington (*ad* 320) interprets *laetus* as *largus*, “generous”; cf. Duval (2004, 146-153) for her argument of *laetus* as “generous.” Contrast Mynors (1990, *ad* 3.320): “Nowhere does it carry the sense of *largus*, ‘open-handed’ as it applies to people.”

\(^{638}\) I am interested in the degree to which one use of a word prompts another: i.e., the degree to which using it once brings it up in the author’s mind such that he is more likely to use it again soon (and the converse: not using it for a while allows it to recede in memory).
sed frustra oppositum trudentis pectore montem
comminus obtruncant ferro graviterque rudentis
ciaedunt et magnō laeti clamore reportant. 375
ipsi in defossis specubus secūra sub alta
otia agunt terrā, congestaque robora totasque
advolvere foci ulmos ignique dedere.
hic noctem ludo ducent, et pocus laeti
fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis. 380
talis Hyperboreo Septem subiecta trioni
gens effrena virum Rīphaeo tunditur Eure
et pecūdum fulvis velatur corpora saetīs. (3.371-383)

Laetus is also associated with clamor, and noise generally, in the Aeneid; see my
discussion of Aen. 3.524. The instance at Geo. 3.375 recalls the physicality of the
expression of laetus (and especially, of the noun laetitia in the Aeneid, although the word
laetitia does not appear in the Georgics). This passage includes a description of life in
the north, among the tribes of Scythia—no herds, no crops, but only the hunt; here the
men are laeti after having successfully completed a hunt.

At 3.379 again laeti appears in the context of drinking alcohol (although not wine,
here, but the fermented product of the sort of berries they have on hand). (Cf. the
relationship to Bacchus, noted above.) This is the Scythian approximation of “civilized”

639 Meuli (1960, 96), also cited by Mynors (1990, ad loc.), writes that this is not a casual
occasion, but perhaps a religious ceremony. Briggs (1980, 41-44) compares Geo. 3.368-
375, Geo. 3.411-413, Aen. 4.68-73, Aen. 12.749-757, Il. 11.473-484, and Arg. 2.278-283.
On laeti here, Briggs writes, contrasting the deer with the hunters, “Their vain struggle
(frustra) and sad death-moans (graviter rudentis) are contrasted with the happy whoops
of the hunters (magnō laeti clamore) who, having slain the deer, begin a joyous winter
celebration (376-380). The principal addition to Homer is the ambivalent Virgilian
sympathy: the pathetic deer must be killed to feed the men. Our sadness for the victims
should balance our joy for the hunters; both are victims of the cruel German winter” (42).


641 Perhaps this instance shares a relationship (i.e. the inversion of setting out and
arriving) with that at Aen. 4.140, describing Ascanius about to set out on the hunt, as the
instance at Geo. 1.304 has with Aen. 4.418, as noted above.
life: no crops, no herds, no real wine, but “happy” in their cups. *Inter pocula laetī* also appears at 2.383 (cf. Thomas 1988, *ad loc.*).

V.5: Personal Emotion: Animals

At 1.412, 1.423, 2.520, and 4.55, this use of *laetus* to convey personal emotion is applied to animals (not unlike the use at *Aen.* 5.515, the dove in the archery competition).

The uses at 1.412 and 1.423 emphasize the sound made, the physical manifestation:

```
quacumque illa levem fugiens secat aethera pennis, 410
ecce inimicus atrox magno stridore per auras
insequitur Nisus; qua se fert Nisus ad auras,
illa levem fugiens raptim secat aethera pennis.
tum liquidas corvi presso ter gutture voces
aut quater ingeminant, et saepe cubilibus altis
nescio qua praet er solitum dulcedine *laeti* 415
inter se in foliis strepitant; iuvat imribus actis
progeniem parvam dulcisque revisere nidos.
haud equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis
ingenium aut rerum Fato prudentia maior;
verum ubi tempestas et caeli mobilis umor
mutavere vias et Iuppiter uvidus Austris
denset erant quae rara modo, et quae densa relaxat,
vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
concipiunt: hinc ille *avium concentus in agris*
et *laetae* pecudes et ovantes gutture corvi. (1.406-423)
```

The poet gives this passage in the signs of good weather. At 1.412 the personification is of crows, “happy” and relieved that the storms and rains are over, making noise, returning to their nests to see their offspring.\(^\text{642}\) The context of positive emotion

\(^{642}\) Cf. Servius, who explains *laetae pecudes* with *aēris serenitate gaudentes.*
(nescioqua praeter solitum dulcedine, iuvat, dulcis nidos), is underlined by the noise the birds make (strepitant (413); ovantes gutture (423)). At 1.423 the poet explains why the animals have the reactions they have: they are not divinely inspired (415-416) as to what the future will bring, but rather, when (417-421) the season changes on its own, the species animorum change, and animals will act differently.

That laetae at 423 expresses emotion rather than fertility is also asserted by Thomas (1988, ad loc.), who translates the word here as “glad” and remarks that the word is employed here “somewhat unusually for this poem.” The use here reminds me of that at Aen. 5.283, Aeneas’ reaction of relief and joy upon seeing Sergestus emerge safe from the shipwreck.

On the “humanization” of the animals at 1.412, see Otis (1964, 387). Otis reads laetae and ovantes (423) as indicating “a common bond of sympathy in all nature,” i.e. particularly between people and animals (387). Cf. Putnam (1979, 62-63); Putnam compares 1.422-423 (l. at 423), 1.411-414 (l. at 412), and 4.55-56 (l. at 55) as three differing characterizations of animals, with regard to concern for their offspring (as compared with humans). Putnam later writes that the change from strepitant (1.413f.) to fovent (at 4.56) “[imputes] greater emotional commitment to the bees.”

Thomas (1988, ad loc.) translates this as “joyous with some unaccustomed delight,” and writes, “V. has developed Arat. Phaen. 1006 χαίρειν κέ τις οίσσαιτο, ‘you would think they were glad...’” Thomas also notes the similarity of this passage to that at 4.55.

Briggs (1980, 57) compares the crows in this passage to the Trojans at Aen. 10.262-266.
The bees are described in the same way at 4.55 (the only use of *laetus* in Book 4), where a good portion of the wording from the context of 1.412 is retained:

> quod superest, ubi pulsam hiemem sol aureus egit
> sub terras caelumque aestiva luce reclusit,
> illae continuo saltus silvasque peragrant
> purpureosque metunt flores et flumina libant
> summa leves. hinc nescio qua dulcedine *laetae*
> *progeniem nidosque* fovent, hinc arte recentes
> excudunt ceras et mella tenacia fingunt. (4.51-57)

This passage concerns the foraging of bees outside the hive, in the warmth of new Spring; fertility and productivity are of great concern as this passage contrasts with the cold of Winter. Again, there is an emphasis on fertility (as at 1.412 and 2.326, combining fertility with joy): their young (*progeniem nidosque*), also the products of Spring: flowers, honey, etc. Since bees are a vehicle for people in *Geo.* 4, we all the more rightly consider them capable of emotion. For this analogy, *arte* (56) is important; Thomas (1988, *ad loc.*) calls this “the first real suggestion in the book, implicit at the outset of the poem (1.4 *apibus quanta experientia*), that the bees belong in the cultural setting of the

645 Perhaps there is a connection between the scarcity of *laetus* in *Geo.* 4 and that at the end of the *DRN.*

646 Cf. Thomas (1988, *ad loc*).

647 Cf. Ross (1987, 195): “The time is still spring... purposeful activity is to be observed, exploration, gathering flowers and water, raising the young, building honeycombs and making the honey itself;” etc.

648 Conington (1898) comments on the difficulty of interpreting the instance at 4.55: “[the words] may refer to the delight of rearing their young.” Biotti (1994, *ad 4.55*) compares 4.55 to *Geo.* 1.412 and *Arat.* 1006; *ad 56* Biotti compares this to the sentiment of *Aen.* 1.718 (regarding Dido and Ascanius, *gremio foveat*). The end of *Aen.* 1 contains many instances of *laetus* and *laetitia*, often related to fertility and offspring; cf. my discussion of the instances at 1.685 and 1.732.
age of Jupiter.” For a discussion (including a summary of past scholarship) of the bees as a representation of people, and bee society as human society, see e.g. Griffin (1979, esp. 62-63). On these lines, see Klingner (1967, 303), and Otis (1964, 182).

Because of its lack of context, the instance at 2.520 is a bit more obscure:

```
venit hiems: teritur Sicyonia baca trapetis,
glande sues laeti redeunt, dant arbuta silvae;  520
et varios ponit fetus autumnus, et alte
mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis.
interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati,
casta pudicitiam servat domus, ubera vaccae
lactea demittunt, pinguesque in gramine laeto  525
inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi. (2.519-526)
```

This passage is on the joys of the simplicity of the country life—the life of the farmer is filled with work, but in exchange he receives the richness of the products of the land, and the purity of his home (the poet contrasts this with a knowledge of, and desire for, wealth, previously, at 2.490-512). The idyllic image recalls the theme of the Golden Age (that the pigs come back willingly; see below).649 Note the presence of Bacchus, and feasting and libation to him, at 2.527-531.

But laeti here modifies the pigs, not people; the pigs are laeti insofar as they are full of acorns.650 The idea of being satisfied by good food evokes both the sense of personal emotion and the reference to physical health and luxuriance on account of being

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650 Conington (1898, ad 2.520) glosses laeti as saturi et nitidi, and translates, “See how fat the swine come off from their meal of acorns.”
well-fed—but there is so little context for these pigs that neither option is wholly convincing.

This instance is reminiscent of the use at 3.320, in which the poet-speaker instructs his reader how to care for goats in the winter; in both cases the nominative form seems to mean something along the lines of “willingly.”651 (Cf. my discussion of the performance of sacrifices in the *Aeneid*.)

V.6: Laet- In the *Eclogues*

There are three uses of the laet- stem in the *Eclogues*: one of laetor (4.52), one of laetitia (5.62), and one of laetus (7.60). I note again that only the adjective laetus appears in the *Georgics*. Two of the instances in the *Eclogues* refer to personal joy; the last is an extension of the “productive,” agricultural use of the laet- stem. I provide these instances here so that my reader may have access to them; my arguments below primarily involve the relationship of each of these instances to similar instances in the *Aeneid* and *Georgics*. In my opinion there is not enough evidence to make a separate argument that the use of the laet- stem in the *Eclogues* is distinct from its use elsewhere.652

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651 On *glande sues laeti redeunt* Mynors (1990, *ad loc.*) writes: “cf. 144, ‘armentaque laeta.’ The pigs, like those in Estremadura, according to Richard Ford (1845, 519), ‘are turned out in legions from the villages’ to fatten on acorns and beechmast, and ‘return from the woods at night, and of their own accord’ (emphasis mine), when each ‘is welcomed like a prodigal son’.... livestock coming home well-fed are a pleasant sight anyhow.”

652 For general information on Ecl. 4, 5, and 7, see e.g. Coleiro (1979), Martindale (1997, in Martindale, ed., 1997), and Clausen (1994).
The first instance of the *laet-* stem in the *Eclogues* appears at 4.52, and combines elements of agricultural fertility with personal joy:

```
adgredere o magnos—aderit iam tempus—honores,
cara deum suboles, magnum lovis incrementum.
aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
aspice, venturo laetentur653 ut omnia saeclo.
o mihi tum longae maneant pars ultima vitae,
spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta (4.48-54)
```

“The first thing that immediately strikes the reader about this poem is its note of joy: it seems a kind of solemn hymn promising a brighter future.”654 The fourth *Eclogue* contains vocabulary of joy (*ridenti* 20, *risu* 60, *risere* 62), but the primary mark of the Golden Age to come is the extreme fertility of the land, which will put forth fruit on its own (*omnis feret omnia tellus* 39).655 This instance appears to indicate the same forward-

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653 Manuscript *R* (i.e. *Romanus*, Vatican 3867) gives *laetantur* here, but most scholars, e.g. Mynors (1969 OCT), Putnam (1970), Clausen (1994), and Nisbet (2008), prefer *laetentur* (as given in *P*). For more on this discrepancy, see Clausen (1994, *ad* 50-52).

654 R.D. Williams (1975, 1). Nisbet (1978, 69-70) discusses the emotion in these lines against Jewish and Eastern antecedents, as part of his consideration of Vergil’s references to various traditions. On this question also see Whittaker (2007). Van Sickle (1992, 78) compares this passage with *DRN* 1.250-264 (where there are two instances of *l.*), and writes, “Joy is one of the most prominent shared motifs. Lucretius also spoke in his own opening lines of the smile of the sea, quickened in response to Venus... like the rest of nature, and in general of reproductive joy... [In *Ecl.* 4] after the image of acanthus ‘smiling’ (‘ridenti,’” 4.20), the happiness reappears as a quality of the whole world (“omnia... laetantur,” 4.52) and finally as an ideal for the relations between mother and child (“risu,” 4.60, “risere,” 4.62). The smile both persuades and is a response to persuasion; it is a sign of *laetitia*, ‘prosperous joy’, and encourages it. In Virgil’s imagination, the smile of the acanthus and joy of the whole world are signs in nature of the smile he will urge on the child.”

655 For a helpful overview of the fourth *Eclogue*, including on Greek and Latin models, dating, historical individuals involved, genre, etc., see du Quesnay (1976).
looking emphasis as I have described with the use of the laet- stem in the Aeneid, as well; a translation such as, “see how all things rejoice in the age that will come” makes clear the message that one should take pleasure now (laetentur) at the contemplation of future good things. The use is perhaps most reminiscent of the use of laetor at Aen. 6.718 (quo magis laetere). The relationship between the message of the fourth Eclogue and fate is, of course, the subject of much scholarship. R.D. Williams (1979, ad 52) notes that the placement of the ut puts greater emphasis on the form of laetor that precedes it; on the tone and vocabulary of these lines, see Nisbet (2008, 62).

The vocabulary of 48-51 locates this instance also with the fertility/productivity uses of laetus: suboles, etc., as well as the language of 50-51 that recalls especially the DRN (particularly the prologue to Book 1).

The instance at 5.62 is a description of peace among the species of animals and the singing of mountains:

656 R.D. Williams (1975, 5) writes, “The sense is ‘Look at the great universe—look how every part of it rejoices at the glory to come.’ Van Sickle (1992, 129) translates: “Look how all things rejoice in the century to come.”

657 R.D. Williams (1979, 109) writes, on 4.50: “‘trembling with its vaulted mass’, reflecting the cosmic acceptance of the will of destiny.” On the importance of this child, and “the omen... acknowledged by the universe” in these lines, see Putnam (1970, 159-160), Hubbard (1995, 17-19), Nisbet (1978), Arnold (1994-1995), Clausen (1990, 66-67), etc. On the child as “a link between past/present and future,” see Whittaker (2007, 65). Petriní’s (1996, 111-121) last chapter is on the fourth Eclogue and the signification of the child; cf. “[In Vergil,] childhood and posterity are a perpetual source of hope, more credible and more immediate than cyclical ages or oracular fantasies of deliverance” (120-121).

nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia cervis
ulla dolum meditantur: amat bonus otia Daphnis.
ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant
intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
ipsa sonant arbusta: “deus, deus ille, Menalca!”
sis bonus o felixque tuis! en quattuor aras:
ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebó. (5.60-66)

Menalcas responds to Mopsus’ lament over Daphnis’ death with a beautiful description of Daphnis’ apotheosis. The Golden Age imagery (as in the fourth Eclogue), e.g. peace between the wolf and flock, stands in contrast to the imagery of death and wasting away Mopsus had used for Daphnis’ death.

Laetitia (specifically, the noun) in the Aeneid is very often manifested physically, especially in terms of noise (voces ad sidera iactant 62; sonant arbusta 64). Clausen (1994, ad 62-63) compares these lines to DRN 2.327-328 (clamoreque montes / icti reiectant voces ad sidera mundi). Like laetus in the Aeneid, this use also represents a shift from negative to positive expectation; cf. Putnam (1970, 184-185): “The unshorn mountains themselves, which before had only been able to tell of the lions’ groaning at Daphnis’ death, now announce their joy.”

This use shares some elements in common with uses in the Aeneid that appear in the context of omens or prayer (see my Chapter II.4 on prayer instances, above). An

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659 Du Quesnay (1977) provides a close analysis of the fifth Eclogue, particularly as compared to Theocritus’ first Idyll, and on Daphnis’ relationship to the figure of Caesar. For a comparison between this passage and the proem to DRN 5, see Hubbard (1995, 19-22).

660 Cf. my discussion of clamor with laetitia in the Aeneid in my discussion of 3.524, and see Duval (2004, 204). Laetus in the Aen. is also especially associated with battle; for iactare and use in military imagery in the Georgics, see Ross (1987, 48).
omen precedes this prayer, which begins at 65. The deity (aside from Augustus) here is Apollo (66), the deity most commonly associated with omens and direction in the *Aeneid*.

The presence of Bacchus is also important.\(^\text{661}\)

The instance of the adjective at *Ecl.* 7.60 is a sort of enallage of the productivity use most common in the *Georgics*:

\[
\text{aret ager; vitio moriens sitit aëris herba;}
\text{Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras:}
\text{Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit,}
\text{Iuppiter et \textit{laeto} descendet plurimus imbri.} \quad (7.57-60)
\]

In this passage fertility and joy are again connected; the speaker contrasts the green luxuriance of plant life with death (sterility, 57-58), and the flourishing of plant life is associated with the speaker’s joy.\(^\text{662}\) Note the presence of Bacchus in 58. This is a productivity use having to do with crops and the land, but *laetus* here modifies neither the luxuriant plants themselves (the most common use in the *Georgics*) nor the soil that gives rise to healthy plants (e.g. at *Geo.* 2.112). Rather, here, the word modifies the rain that makes soil productive (similar to *Geo.* 3.63 and 3.322). Jupiter is, of course, identified

\(^{661}\) Cf. my discussion of the connection between *laetus* and Bacchus in the *Georgics* above, and on the connection between *l.* and Bacchus in the *Aeneid*, see my discussion of *Aen.* 1.734. On Daphnis as “a second Dionysus” in this poem, see du Quesnay (1977, 33).

\(^{662}\) Cf. Clausen (1994, \textit{ad loc.}). Waite (1972, 132) writes, “In the answer of Thyrsis, the field is drying up, the grass is dying, and \textit{Liber invidit} (58) the shade because Phyllis is absent. Only in the event of her return would the grove become green and the \textit{laetus imber} (60) fall. The picture presented by Thyrsis is a bleak one in comparison with that given by Corydon. While Corydon cautiously suggests that the present delightful circumstances may not be permanent, Thyrsis can only hope that the current unpleasant situation will improve.”
with the weather, as at *Geo*. 1.418 and 2.315. Those two *Georgics* passages also contain forms of *laetus* (see discussions of instances at 1.412, 1.423, and 2.326).

Is the rain a good thing? Putnam (1970, 247-249) notes that rain is a georgic necessity, but not a part of the idyllic world (a “dampening of any shepherd-singer’s spirits,” 248); the phrase *Iuppiter plurimus* recalls *plurimus ignis* (49). Putnam reads into the appearance of rain a change to a tone “not happy.” Contrast Fantazzi/Querbach (1985, 365), on this line: “The next three lines...[climax] in a noble hexameter, *Iuppiter... imbri* (60), that anticipates the cosmic majesty of *Georgics* 2.325, once again bearing a Lucretian imprint: *omnis uti videatur in imbre vertier aether* (6.291).”

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663 Cf. R.D. Williams (1979, *ad* 7.60).

664 Cf. Servius, on 7.60: *sic alibi consuegit in gremio laetae descendit: aer enim in pluvias solvitur*, which is a reference to *Geo*. 2.326. Fantazzi/Querbach (1985) provides bibliography of scholarship on the seventh *Eclogue*.
The instances of *laetus* at *Aen.* 1.441, 1.605, 2.306, 2.783, 3.95, 3.220, 6.638, 6.744, and 6.786 appear either to demonstrate fertility and productivity of the land, or a “joy” which results from this productivity and fertility; this use does not appear in the second half of the work. The next section will require close comparison with similar uses in the *Georgics*.

At 2.306, Aeneas describes the night of Troy’s fall:

*diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,*

*et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis*

*Anchisae domus arboribusque obtecta recessit,*

*clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.*

*excutor somno et summi fastigia tecti*

*ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto:*

*in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris incidit,*

*aut rapidus montano flumine torrens sternit agros,*

*sternit sata laeta boumque labores*

*praecipitisque trahit silvas; stupet inscius alto accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.*

*tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt insidiae.* (2.298-310)

In the simile, in order to create the maximum effect, the forces of destruction—fire, or a raging torrent—are depicted as destroying living things at the height of their

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665 All nine passages listed here contain the adjective *laetus*, not forms of *laetari* or *laetitia.*
productivity/vitality. 666 This is what *laeta* indicates here, as at *Geo.* 1.325. 667 The same is true of the *armenta* at 3.220:

huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce
*laeta* boum passim campis armenta videmus

220
caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.
inruimus ferro et divos ipsumque vocamus

in partem praedamque Iovem; tum litore curvo

exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis. (3.219-224)

Here Aeneas, having described for Dido three days’ and nights’ worth of storms, brings his story to the land of the Harpies; it is an idyllic scene, a presentation meant to contrast with the actual barrenness of the place and the antagonistic presence of the Harpies (*pallida semper ora fame* 217-218), including Celaeno’s prophecy that the Trojans will have to suffer want, deprivation, and hunger too (*dira fame*, 256). 668 The herds are not considered to have emotion here; Celaeno mentions the cows as property at 247, and to the Trojans at any rate, at 223, the cows are merely *praeda.* *Laeta* also modifies *armenta*

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666 West (1969a, 40) and Hardie (1986, 192-193) also discuss this simile.

667 *Geo.* 1.325 contains the same phrase, *sata laeta boumque labores*; in both passages, *laeta* indicates luxuriance in order to heighten the pathos of the destruction of productive, lush fields. For more on this *Georgics* passage, see my discussion above; for a comparison between the two, see Briggs (1980, 17-19). Horsfall (2008, *ad loc.*) remarks on the agricultural use of *laetus* and the Greek antecedents for this passage (*Il.* 16.392, *Od.* 10.98, Hes. *Erga* 46, among others). Cf. Austin (1964, *ad 304ff.*) on the parallel between this passage and *Il.* 4.452-456, and on this simile’s special relevance for Aeneas. For a fuller discussion of the Homeric parallels, and of Aeneas’ characterization in this simile, see Anderson (1968, 1-7); cf. “All the violence of war, which Homer registered so objectively, is now perceived through the feelings of Homer’s neglected shepherd” (3).

668 On Celaeno’s prophecy in this scene, see Glei (1991, 312-313) and Unte (1994, 218-219). For a fuller discussion of the vocabulary in this scene that contributes to the Harpies’ depiction as polluted and sterile, see C.A. Gibson (1999, 364).
at DRN 2.343. 669 The peace of the pastoral image contrasts with the language and imagery of war between the Trojans and Harpies. 670

That the use of laetus has an especial association with fertility of the soil is clear in the context of the instance at 3.95:

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liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri
mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.
summissi petimus terram et vox furtur ad auris:
“Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
prima tuli tellus, eadem vos ubere 95
accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.
hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris
et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.”
haec Phoebus; mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu (3.91-99)
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Here Aeneas reports Apollo’s prophecy regarding where he should settle; Aeneas is at Delos, after having encountered Polydorus’ tomb, performed rites, and sailed away. 671

It is no coincidence that Italy, the prima tellus (95) that bore the Trojan line, is personified with such imagery as ubere laeto and referred to as a matrem (96): fertility, that luxuriant and generative force, seems to apply equally to plants, animals, places, and

669 Cf. Horsfall (2006, ad loc.), who points to Aen. 8.360f.; Geo. 2.144 (armentaque laeta), 515 (armenta boum); DRN 2.343 (laeta armenta feraeque), etc. This is the instance on which Servius (ad loc.) comments pinguia: nam in animalibus in quibus cognosci non potest sensus, laetitiam pinguie corpus ostendit, non mens, ut in hominibus.


671 On Apollo’s presentation in this scene, see J.F. Miller (1994, 103-104; also 2009).
people. The lushness of Crete is, in part, cause for the hope in which Anchises encourages the Trojans (spes 103; cf. my discussion of the instance at 3.100); this scene is full of “joy.” Such fertility or generative force is demonstrated by the instances at 1.605 and 6.786. At 1.605, Aeneas introduces himself to Dido for the first time.

“di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid usquam iustitia est et mens sibi conscia recti, praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?” (1.603-606)

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672 Cf. Horsfall (2006, ad loc.) on this agricultural use of laetus.

673 Cf. Armstrong (2002, 321-322): “Full of premature hope that their wanderings may quickly come to an end in a fairly familiar land, [Anchises] gives a picture of the island which outlines the correspondences between Troy and Crete, and shows this to be a worthy place to restart their lives... This is Crete of a hundred cities, fertile land and cradle of the gods, a positive, if slightly mysterious, picture of an island ripe with possibilities for settlement.” Cf. Kühn (1971, 51) and Hardy (1996/7). For a comparison between this passage and Callimachus’ Hymn to Apollo, see Barchiesi (1994) (and cf. Heyworth 1993); recall the special connection between the use of laetus and the appearance of Apollo in the Aeneid, which I discuss in my chapter on omens and prayer (Chapter II.4). For more on this oracle, see e.g. Den Adel (1983).

674 Cf. R.D. Williams (1962, ad 95): “Uber means the mother’s breast (5.285) or the earth’s fertility (line 164, Geo. 2.185); laetus can mean the mother’s joy or the fruitfulness of the land (Geo. 1.1).” Keith (2000, 46-47) discusses the metaphor in this passage of “earth” for “mother,” and uber (“breast”) for “fertility,” as well as the relationship between the phrase ubere laeto here and the Homeric οὖθαρ ἀροῦρης (Il. 9.141, 283).

675 The instance at 1.605, without the context of other uses of laetus in the Aeneid, might likely be translated as “happy” in the archaic sense of “fortuitous,” or “characterized by good fortune” (cf. the second definition, from the Oxford English Dictionary): “Having good ‘hap’ or fortune; lucky, fortunate; favoured by lot, position, or other external circumstance,” but both words are too multivalent to be helpful for using the one to interpret the other.

676 For a detailed discussion of this line, including an argument for iustitiae over iustitia (604), see Kraggerud (1978).
I believe, since emotion is not indicated here (saecula themselves do not feel, and I do not see evidence that Aeneas refers to the emotion “joy” on the part of people who lived in those generations), and the context is a generative one (tulerunt 605; genuere 606; also the syllogism between the question quae... saecula and qui... parentes), that this use of laetus is akin to the sense of “fertility” or productivity. The prior generations are “fortunate in their offspring.”

For a fuller discussion of the interaction between Aeneas and Dido in this scene, see R.K. Gibson (1999, 191-193). Lyne (1989, 185) identifies this instance as one full of tragic irony (his “disaster-prone happiness”), but does not elaborate; I believe that the tragic irony is only deepened upon consideration of laeta as “generative,” in anticipation of Dido’s death.

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677 Contrast Rieks (1989, 205): “Dies ist zuallererst ein Ausdruck der Freudenwirkung, die Didos Erscheinen und ihre Hochherzigkeit bei Aeneas erregen.” Austin (1971, ad loc.) translates as, “What age in happiness gave you birth? What noble parents have you for their wonderful daughter?” and comments: “The ideas so expressed are those basic to the Fourth Eclogue: a child of a happy age, born to give joy to parents.”

678 Cf. Servius (ad loc.): alibi (6.649) nati melioribus annis; felicitas enim temporum ex nascentum meritum comprobatur; ut e contrario Terentius hocine saeculum! o scelera, o genera sacrilega! et digna laus regibus, ut bono tempore nati esse dicantur. Contrast Adler (2003, 34), who appears to divorce the generative nature of the saecula from the “joy” indicated by laeta: “Aeneas congratulates the times and parents that have brought to birth such a prodigy of generous and compassionate right-doing as Dido; she seems to belong to a new era of happiness, tam laeta saecula (1.605-606).” I find this unconvincing because Dido is not a member of the saeculum of her parents, the one that gave her birth.

679 Cf. R.K. Gibson (1999, 192-193): “It could be said here that while Dido makes serious offers of partnership and material assistance, Aeneas, whose words and actions are destined to destroy Dido, replies with empty and overblown sentiments. However, that would be to misunderstand the nature of the exchange between the two. An overly generous offer of help is met with an extravagant expression of thanks.” Also cf. Dingel (2000, 291).
“Fortunate in offspring” is an appropriate translation for the use at 6.786, where Anchises, telling the story of the Roman race for Aeneas, compares Romulus to Cybele in terms of the number of offspring, and the pride in his offspring, Romulus will have:\textsuperscript{680}

\begin{quote}
“en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma imperium terris, animos aquabit Olympo, septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces, felix prole virum: qualis Berecyntia mater invehitur curr Phrygias turrita per urbes laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes, omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis. huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem Romanosque tuos.” (6.781-789)
\end{quote}

This passage emphasizes generative force, demonstrating the vast number of descendants Romulus will have; Anchises compares him to Cybele, the \textit{Magna Mater}, who joyfully embraces a hundred descendants (786), as all divinity is her offspring (787).\textsuperscript{681} As at Geo. 1.102, 3.236, etc., fertility and the joy it creates are both indicated by \textit{laeta}.\textsuperscript{682} I consider this connection between joy and fertility to be related to the forward-looking sensibility.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{680} Putnam (1989, 29) translates \textit{laeta} as “happy in her progeny of gods.”
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{681} The use of \textit{laeta} to underline the status of Cybele as mother to great and powerful offspring reinforces the same characterization of Rome. West (1969a, 46) demonstrates the multiple responsions between Rome and Cybele in this passage. As Hardie (1986, 365) writes, “[Cybele] may also be a symbol of the terrestrial globe, notably so allegorized by Lucretius in book two of the \textit{De Rerum Natura} (600ff.).” Cybele herself is important in Rome’s lineage and Augustus’ program; cf. Wilhelm (1998, 101). Petrini (1996, 8-9) cites Norden (ad 6.781) on the irony of writing \textit{felix prole virum} (784) at a time when the low birthrate of the Roman nobility had been a problem for over a century.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{682} Cf. Duval (2004, 140-141): “Cybèle, dans ce passage, est doublement \textit{laeta: féconde}, elle a engendré «cent petits-fils», ce qui fait aussi sa \textit{joie}.” (emphasis hers)
\end{flushright}
of laetus I identified earlier; joy in fertility, and offspring, is necessarily oriented towards the future. Austin reads felix prole virum here as similar to laeta.683

At 1.441, Aeneas, still enclosed in his mother’s protective cloud, enters Carthage and marvels at the productivity of its citizens:

“o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!”
Aeneas ait, et fastigia suspicit urbis.
infert se saeptus nebula, mirabile dictu,
per medios, miscetque viris, neque cernitur ulli. 440
lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbra,
quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem. (1.437-445)

Since laetissimus modifies lucus here, and is followed by the ablative of specification umbra,684 I see no evidence that personal emotion is indicated.685 I also see no evidence that this instance, by enallage, refers to the emotion of Aeneas, Dido, or anyone else within the scene. Laetissimus means “luxuriant in” or “full of.”686 This instance is one of

683 Austin (1977, ad loc.) writes, on laeta... partu: “A counterpart to felix prole virum (784); laeta, like felix, implies both happy pride and fruitfulness.”

684 Some texts print umbrae; Servius explains that Probus provides this form. Most manuscripts have umbra. For an extensive discussion of the manuscript traditions containing each form, and the scholars that agree with each, see Timpanaro (1986, 81-85; cf. Conington 1898, ad loc.). Servius comments only on the case of umbra, not the meaning or use of laetus, here.

685 Contrast Rieks (1989, 202-203), who generally considers all uses of laetus to refer to personal emotion in some way: “Vergil verzichtet auf eine direkte Schilderung der emotionalen Wirkung, die Didos strahlende Schönheit auf Aeneas ausübt.”

686 Austin (1971, ad loc.) translates as “very rich in shade,” and comments, “The epithet suggests both the abundance of foliage (cf. G. 2.112 litora myrtetis laetissima) and the delight of the lucus in its own lavish growth: a welcome sight to Aeneas in the Libyae deserta.”
two instances of the superlative form of the adjective in the Aeneid; the other appears at 1.685 (laetissima Dido). Perhaps it is relevant that this grove belongs to Juno, since Juno is the source of the Carthaginians’ success, and we have seen that in the Aeneid laetus often appears where individuals have contact with divinities who help them.  

At 2.783 laetae also indicates a fertility and luxuriance: a green, fruitful place, which will be a source of joy; the shade of Creusa uses the word to give Aeneas hope for a better future waiting for him.

quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,  
o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divum  
eveniunt; nec te comitem hinc portare Cresam  as, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.  
longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum,  
et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva  
inter opima virum lenit aegmine Thybris.  
illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx  
parta tibi; lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae. (2.776-784)

This is also a forward-looking use, and a forward-looking speech act: Creusa is attempting to instill hope for the future in Aeneas. (Hope alone is the point; Aeneas

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687 I believe it is also significant that this passage has to do with the founding of Carthage, this grove being the first place in Africa that Juno, and the Carthaginians, marked out as their own, around which the city and civilization were built (442-445). There is probably also a link between iactati in 442 and the description of Aeneas as iactatus in 1.3, connecting the stories of the Trojans and Carthaginians, as each flees a broken city to found a new one. If laetissimus here has something to do with Juno, however, we might ask whether its appearance isn’t more like Lyne’s “disaster-prone” laetus—since it is Aeneas who looks on, and his relationship with Juno promises little joy.

688 Duval (2004, 138) writes that laetitia is “à la fois cause de joie et effet de joie.”

689 Speaking of speech acts, we should also consider these words as Aeneas’, to Dido; Highet (1972, 74) discusses Aeneas’ transparency with Dido concerning his fate in Italy, and her failure to hear this.
needs it to endure the trials that await him.) Creusa sets up res laetae by describing the fertile topography of Italy (781-782). For assurance, she refers to Jupiter, the regnator Olympi (2.779) as enforcer of fate. Laetae here contrasts with the sadness in the scene: there are tears, lacrimas (784—as she explains in the following lines, for the idea of her going as a slave to some Greek home), Aeneas himself cries (lacrimantem 790), and is clearly distraught in the following lines (cf. 1.416, Aeneas’ feeling as Venus reveals herself in departing). Res laetae also stand in contrast to Creusa’s predictions of suffering (longa exsilii 780, vastum aequor arandum 780, etc.). It is revealing that Aeneas is not directly described as laetus in this scene; at any rate, the momentary

690 Cf. Horsfall (2008, ad loc.) on res laetae: “The adj. typically used by V. of cheerful, positive, encouraging turns in events (not to mention the more specialised agric. sense, not to be excluded entirely here).” Cf. Austin (1964, ad loc.) on res laetae: “A happy, settled state, both domestically and politically—the first positive suggestion of future happiness that Aeneas has yet heard.” Austin and Horsfall both also comment on the textual variant res Italae (in M and a second hand in P) for res laetae.

691 On Creusa’s role, and the misleading of Aeneas with optimistic prophecies in this scene, see O’Hara (1991, 88-91); cf. “Aeneas is told encouraging falsehoods and half-truths by Creusa” (121). O’Hara translates res laetae as “happy times.” For more on the presentation of Creusa as a prophet in this scene, see Unte (1994, 210-211) and Kühn (1971, 49-50).

692 Austin (1964, ad loc.) on opima writes: “rich land in good condition,” and compares DRN 1.728: rebus opima bonis, multa munita virum vi. Cairns (1989, 115) notes the discrepancy here between Creusa’s specific reference to Italy, and Aeneas’ allowing his men later to go to Crete; cf. R.D. Williams (1962, 20); Khan (2001), etc. We may also compare the description of Cybele above, who is “happy in her offspring” (laeta deum partu, 6.786) in a way similar to Rome (felix prole virum, 6.784).

693 Fernandelli (1996, 192, n.16) points out that the reference to future enslavement, and Creusa’s speech in this scene generally, closely parallel Andromache’s words at Eur. And. 1243-1244.

694 Creusa means to replace the present sadness as response to past events (lacrimas 784) with hopeful joy in the anticipation of future events (laetae 783). For a lengthy discussion of Creusa and the emotional presentation of this scene, see Jenkyns (1998, 402-409).
exhilaration *laetus* indicates in the *Aeneid*, when applied to people, does not match the long-term contentment Creusa seems to imply here.

Khan (2001, 915) connects the fertility indicated in this passage with *ubere laeto* (3.95, discussed above), in the development of a comparison between Creusa’s prophecy in these lines and that of Apollo, at the beginning of Book 3.

At 6.638 Aeneas has just left the punished in Tartarus, and has made it to the Fortunata Nemora, in Elysium; at its gates he plants the golden bough and sprinkles himself with water.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti} & \quad 635 \\
\text{spargit aqua ramumque adverso in limine figit.} & \\
\text{his demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,} & \\
\text{devenere locos *laetos* et amoena virecta} & \\
\text{fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.} & \\
\text{largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit} & \quad 640 \\
\text{purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt. (6.635-641)} & 
\end{align*}
\]

In comparison to what has preceded, this Elysium is a pleasant place; cf. *virecta* 638); there is an emphasis on greenery and fertility (cf. *gramineis* 642), and this use resembles one in Lucretius. 695 The place is beautiful. 696 The other three characterizations of the place (*amoena virecta, fortunatorum nemorum*, and *sedes beatas*), in particular the

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695 Lucretius has *laeta* modifying *loca* at 2.344: *praeterea genus humanum mutaeque natantes / squamigerum pecudes et laeta armenta feraeque / et variae volucres, laetantia quae loca aquarum / concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque* (2.342-345).

adjectives describing the nouns, are helpful in explaining the force of *laetus* here; together, they indicate greenness and pleasure in a life well-lived, which both fit neatly into *laetus*’ use. Duval (2004, 130 and 171) remarks on the combination of “fertility” and “joy” in this passage.

At 6.744 the sense is much the same:

\[
\text{quisque suos patimur manis. exinde per amplum}
\text{mittimur Elysium et pauci *laeta arva* tenemus,}
\text{donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe}
\text{concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit}
\text{aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem. (6.743-747)}
\]

Here Anchises describes for Aeneas, in the Fortunata Nemora, the nature of heaven and earth, the origin of man and beast, the cycle of souls, the function of the river Lethe, etc.; some souls in Elysium (like Anchises himself) remain there forever, but some will drink the water and return to new life. In this passage *laeta arva* are synonymous with Elysium itself; Vergil conceives of the Fortunata Nemora as green and luxuriant. This instance is, just as that at 6.638, ambivalent between joy and productivity (or lushness, luxuriance), but here there is emphasis on neither joy nor greenness. Whether the souls

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697 Austin (1979, *ad loc.*) on the use of so many pairs: “a remarkable group of four nouns with adjacent epithets, bringing out the happiness and beauty of the place.” *Amoenus* appears five times in the *Aeneid*: 5.734, 6.638 (here), 7.30, 8.31, and 9.680. *Fortunatus* appears five times in the *Aeneid*: 1.437, 6.639 (here), 9.446, 11.252, and 11.416. *Beatus* appears twice: here, and at 1.94 (Aeneas’ shout of *o terque quaterque beati!*).


699 Perhaps the people in Elysium are being contrasted with the people in Tartarus (cf. *miseri* 736).

700 Cf. Austin (1977, *ad loc.*): “The *laeta arva* resume the *locos laetos* of 638.”
in Elysium are “happy” (or laeti) on account of being there is an independent question.\textsuperscript{701}

For a discussion of the souls in Elysium and their emotional state, see E.L. Harrison (1978), Hight (1972, 233-234); cf. Austin (1977, \textit{ad} 6.739ff.).\textsuperscript{702}

\textsuperscript{701} Cf. Servius on 1.416, where Venus is laeta in returning to Paphos: \textit{ideo Paphum revisit laeta, quia serenis laeta congruunt, et necesse est ut laeta sit Venus ubi semper serenum est, quippe ubi pluere numquam dicatur}.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

INSTANCES OF LAETUS IN THE AENEID REQUIRING SPECIAL CONSIDERATION

In this chapter I discuss instances of laetus in the Aeneid that do not fit neatly in the previous categories I have already described; here I discuss the instances at 1.591, 1.685, 3.347, 3.638, 6.657, 7.653, 9.818, 11.73, and 12.393. I believe the discussion of these benefits from an understanding of “forward-looking” laetus and of laetus as communicating an intense emotion, with sudden onset and often physical articulation, as I have described elsewhere. However, I cannot use these instances to demonstrate those aspects of laetus in any probative way. I have separated them into this chapter so that I may discuss the ways in which the use of laetus elsewhere in the Aeneid informs our reading of the instances that follow.

At 3.638, Achaemenides (quoted by Aeneas) describes the Greeks’ emotion upon blinding the Cyclops; Odysseus had left Achaemenides behind a few months prior, in his mad rush to escape Polyphemus.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{name simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus} & \quad 630 \\
\text{cervicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum} & \\
\text{immensus saniem eructans et frusta cruento} & \\
\text{per somnum commixta mero, nos magna precati} & \\
\text{numina sortitique vices una undique circum} & \\
\text{fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto} & \\
\text{ingens quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,} & 635
\end{align*}
\]
As often in the *Aeneid*, someone experiences the *laetus*-emotion, or “hopeful joy,” in response to a recent event. Römisch explains that, whatever feeling Achaemenides conveys with *laeti*, here, he can assume the Trojans will sympathize, since Polyphemus represents inhuman barbarity, and the Trojans can certainly understand the Greeks’ feeling upon avenging themselves upon him.

It is difficult to read this use of *laeti* as Achaemenides’ expressing his friends’ hope for the future, since in line 638 the speaker uses *laeti* in the context of avenging already-dead comrades, not in hope for a safe passage out of the cave. Since Achaemenides’ story ends at 640, it is unclear whether Vergil intends the reader to assume the events of Homer’s account in *Od. 9*. If we are intended to assume the narrative from *Od. 9*, we may consider this instance as anticipating the tense escape scene that will follow (Lyne’s “disaster-prone” happiness). At any rate, the reader knows that at least one member

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703 On the nature of this “joy,” cf. Horsfall (2006, *ad loc.*) on *laeti*: “Distinctive here is the adjective: for Achaemenides and his former companions, there was actual joy, or delight in punishing the Cyclops.”

704 Römisch (1976, 222) writes, “*laeti*—immerhin hing ja ihr Leben vom Gelingen der Unternehmung ab, und ihr Stolz hatte darunter gelitten, so lange widerstandslos Schändliches miterleben zu müssen (628 nec talia passus, 638 tandem). Achaemenides durfte bei den Troern Verständnis für diese Freude voraussetzen, weil es seiner Darstellung gelungen war, Polyphem so weit aus dem Bereich des Menschlichen herauszurücken, daß die uneingeschränkte Freude der Täter nicht auf Kritik stoßen konnte.”

705 My interpretation of *laetus* at this instance rests on a certain understanding of the way Vergil uses Homer: that what action is missing between 638 and 639 is to be supplied from the Homeric account. Kinsey (1979, 113) argues rather that the emphasis of the
(Achaemenides himself) of the subject of the first-person plural *ulciscimur* will experience suffering following the “joy” expressed by *laeti*—and perhaps Achaemenides employs the word here to emphasize the difference between experiencing the *laetus-* emotion then, and finding himself alone and miserable afterward. The height of emotion, both positive and negative, in this passage, is indicated by the abrupt transition between 638 and 639 and the breaking off in line 640 (*rumpite* is all that exists of 640).

Blinding is *revenge*, not escape, and points out that Vergil makes no mention of how they escaped: “[In the *Odyssey*], the reason for the blinding is to escape. In Virgil the emphasis is different. The mode of escaping from the cave is never mentioned, indeed we are never told that the Greeks were trapped in the cave. The blinding is purely an act of revenge and Virgil leaves us to guess why the Greeks did not kill Polyphemus... Achaemenides ends his story of the blinding with the words (638) *et... umbras*. It is clear however from the description of Achaemenides that revenge has brought him little reason for joy.” (Cf. on *miseri*, 113: “Achaemenides presumably calls the Trojans *miseri* because of the perilous situation they are in.”) E.L. Harrison (1986b, 147) argues that the inconsistency between the *Od.* and *Aen.* accounts results from Vergil’s hesitance in problematizing the figure of Odysseus. Vergil follows Homer closely; this is the “Homeric version, suitably modified.” So why does Achaemenides break off suddenly and not mention the trick of getting out of the cave by hiding under the bellies of the flock? “Vergil, I would suggest, deliberately left this part of Odysseus’ story well alone, because this is where the Achae menides episode breaks down as a possible sequel to *Odyssey* 9... the notion that anyone could have been left behind by this wily hero in his finest hour is surely inconceivable. There was simply no room for such a blunder in the Homeric story. So although the omission of relevant detail is only to be expected when Achaemenides first blurts out ‘*immemores socii vasto Cyclopis in antro / deseruere*’ (617-618), his later and more obtrusive silence about that final maneuver may well indicate Vergil’s awareness that hereabouts there was indeed a problem.” For more on Vergil’s use of Homer in this scene, see Galinsky (1968, 161-163). For my part: if we are sensitive to reading *laetus* as indicating hopefulness roused by a specific event, hopefulness that circumstances will get better—and if Vergil counts on our knowing that in the Homeric account they do, for Odysseus and his friends, who get out of the cave safely—perhaps we are touched with greater pathos for Achaemenides, who exclaims, “At last! triumphant we avenged the shades of our allies—” but chokes on the memory of being abandoned. We know that for Achaemenides’ friends, the blinding of the Cyclops was both revenge AND a ticket out of the cave, the means by which they would escape, but for Achaemenides it would mean an entirely new loneliness and desolation.

*Cf.* 3.615, *mansissetque utinam fortuna!* Also cf. 609: Aeneas’ question sets up this response.
This instance reflects two aspects of the laetus-emotion described elsewhere: first, whatever it is, the laetus-emotion is conceived as the sudden result of an action (a thrill of joy or excitement as a direct result of a proximate act). The uses of laetus and laetitia expressing an adrenaline rush in battle particularly inform this instance. Second, it is an emotion of the moment, in the moment: the laetus-emotion is not necessarily short-lived, but its use does not involve foresight into the long term. When one experiences a “thrill,” one may be “thrilled” for a period of time after the event, but the use of the word “thrilled” implies both a direct cause of the “thrill” and a certain height of emotion. Contrast the use of the word “content”; “content” does not imply a direct cause, but rather a stable, level, pleasant, and undisturbed state, and whereas “thrilled” implies a height of sensation from which one will eventually descend, “content” describes a state of feeling easily imagined to continue indefinitely into the future. (I contend that “happy,” with regard to these considerations, falls too close to “content” for it to be an appropriate translation of laetus in the Aeneid.)

At 12.393 Apollo is described as laetus in an aside on his relationship to Iapyx, to whom he gave healing powers; Iapyx attempts to use those skills to heal Aeneas, who had been hurt in battle.

ense secent lato vulnus telique latebram
rescindant penitus, seseque in bella remittant. 390
iamque aderat Phoebos ante alios dilectus Iapyx
lasides, acri quondam cui captus amore
ipse suas artis, sua munera, laetus Apollo
augurium citharamque dabat celerisque sagittas.
ille, ut depositi proferret fata parentis,
scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artis. (12.389-397)
This use primarily describes the way in which the modified individual (here, Apollo) performs the action in the finite verb of the clause (dabat 394, and very similar to the use of laeta dedi of 9.89). The statement has the effect of a priamel: Apollo offered the gifts of augury, talent at the cithara, and talent in archery (394), but Iapyx chose none of these. Apollo, in love, offers his beloved gifts the beloved does not even want to use. Perhaps Apollo was hopeful and expecting future gratitude for bestowing such gifts.

Duval (2004, 152) considers the instance at 12.393 to be an example of laetus as simply meaning “generous,” and she compares this instance with Acestes’ giving at 5.40. I would connect it in addition to the instance at 9.89 (Cybele, laeta dedi)—perhaps particularly appropriate, since Apollo and Cybele are both divinities. Apollo also elsewhere in the Aeneid has a special association with the use of laetus (see my Chapter II.4, above, on prayer and omen). As Noonan notes, Apollo’s act is the fulfillment of dabit deus his quoque finem (from 1.199).707

Dido is a figure to be closely associated with Lyne’s “disaster-prone” sense of laetus; she is modified by the word several times in the Aeneid, and, given her fate, it is easy to read a certain tragic irony into these appearances of the word. At 1.685 Dido is laetissima (one of only two uses of the superlative in the Aeneid, the other being the lucus laetissmus umbra at 1.441):

707 Noonan (1997, 380-384) helpfully explains how this episode in the Aeneid picks up commonplaces and narrative elements from other stories in myth and literature involving physicians and medicine, including the ways in which relationships (like the dilectus and amator) are somewhat stereotyped from one to the other. For an account of Apollo’s relationship with Iapyx, Iapyx’ involvement in this scene, and the relationship between the presentation of Apollo here and in the rest of the epic, see Unte (1994, 251-253).
“tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam falle dolo, et notos pueri puer indue voltus, ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido 685 regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum, cum dabit amplexus atque oscura dulcia figet, occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.” (1.683-688)

In this passage, Venus asks Amor to help Aeneas by making Dido fall in love with him, thereby assuring Dido’s help. Venus describes the circumstances under which Amor can effect this. The use of laetissima is almost adverbial here—“she will, very joyfully, take you into her lap”—but what does Venus imagine to be the source of that joy?

Let us assume first that laetissima refers to Dido’s mental and emotional state. Is a positive mental state appropriate for Dido, with regard to her present, as Venus is speaking, where Dido has just met the Trojans (but before the banquet), or her future, in Book 4? Does Venus’ reference to Dido as laetissima apply rather to the time spent at the banquet (a lavish one, with an attractive, well-pedigreed, famous warrior)? Aside from Venus’ statement here, there is no indication of what Dido feels at the banquet, before she is “inspired” with love for Aeneas. I suspect that, at such a banquet, Dido may well be experiencing a positive emotion, but even so I doubt the superlative laetissima is accurate for describing that emotion.

708 For a discussion of the “symptoms of love” of Dido after this scene, see Cairns (1989, 142). For an extensive discussion of the character of Amor in this scene, see Kühn (1971, 35-40), and on the interaction between Venus and Amor in this scene, Block (1981, 59-61). On Venus’ persuasive skills, including her employment of them in this scene, see Highet (1972, 124-127).

709 Cf. Austin (1971, ad loc.), who writes, “Dido at her happiest, charmed by the impostor-child, gay in her entertainment of her guests: Venus is quite heartless in her plot.” Austin seems to be taking the word to mean “happy in the moment,” and perhaps Dido is.
I believe Venus does not refer to Dido’s mental state in present time (i.e., before the banquet), but rather projects forward into the time after Amor has struck. The future tense of *accipiet* (685) and *dabit* (687) suggests that the source of the “joy” is in that scene, not the present one, as Venus speaks.

Does Venus actively anticipate Dido’s fall? I am hesitant to assume knowledge of this on Venus’ part: I see no evidence that Venus means to be sarcastic. I also see no evidence that Venus knows Dido’s future (to be distinguished from Aeneas’ future, which Venus learned in detail at 1.227-296) or can predict the events of Book 4. Venus justifies her actions involving Dido by asserting that she fears Juno’s wrath and means to guarantee Aeneas’ safety (1.670-675). It is likely that Venus does not care about Dido’s well-being at all, but I see nothing in the Latin to suggest that Venus has either affection or hostility toward Dido.\(^{710}\)

I understand the source of Dido’s joy in this passage to have to do with her hopes of a relationship with Aeneas (in which Cupid plays an important role), in which case Lyne’s “disaster-prone” understanding of *laetus* is apt (and Venus admits as much in 688). That is to say, Dido may welcome the false Ascanius “joyfully” for many reasons, but thematically, *laetissima* functions on a much larger scale. For the author and reader, the sense of tragic irony is strong, since the context is Amor’s infecting Dido with love, and that love will bring about her suicide. As for why *laetissima* is superlative here, in the dearth of other superlative forms of *laetus* in the *Aeneid*: the use of superlative adjectives

\(^{710}\) Cf. Block (1981, 58): “The reader is inclined to question Venus’ benevolence, at least toward Dido.”
(particularly at line-end) with Dido’s name is a trend; cf. pulcherrima Dido at 4.60, miserrima Dido at 4.117, optima Dido at 4.291, etc.\(^{711}\)

The degree to which the instances of laetus modifying Dido anticipate her peripeteia is discussed by Lyne (1989, 184-185), though Lyne does not mention this instance. Rieks (1989, 206) refers to these lines as “Der prägnanteste Ausdruck der tragischen Selbsttäuschung Didos.”\(^{712}\) At any rate such a use mirrors the use elsewhere in the Aeneid of laetus indicating not necessarily long-lived “happiness”; cf. Servius (ad 1.685): laetissima Dido non est epitheton perpetuum, id est, cum laeta esse coeperit.\(^{713}\)

Perhaps this instance is ironic in multiple ways, if laetus as referring to fertility in nature may influence our reading of laetissima here: though Dido very much desires a child with Aeneas, and she has a child (Amor/Ascanius) in her lap (a suggestive place), she will not become pregnant. Another thematic parallel with other instances of laetus in the Aeneid is the connection with wine, and drinking (686); see my discussion of 1.734.\(^{714}\)

\(^{711}\) It is helpful to keep in mind that laetus is often used in the context of Bacchus and wine; that may influence its use here. Cf. my discussion of 1.734, where Bacchus is the dator laetitiae. Rieks (1989, 206) notes the presence of wine and feasting in this passage as a possible source for joy.

\(^{712}\) Rieks continues: “In Wahrheit wird der inbrünstig genossene Augenblick höchsten Glückes der Anfang von Didos Verderben sein.”

\(^{713}\) Cf. Austin (1971, ad loc.).

At 11.73, *laeta* describes Dido as she is imagined making hand-woven gifts for Aeneas (*laeta laborum*), which Aeneas uses in Book 11 for Pallas’ funeral procession.

hic iuvenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt:
[qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit,
non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.]
tum geminas vestis auroque ostroque rigentis
extulit Aeneas, quas illi *laeta* laborum
ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro. (11.67-75)

Most likely Dido made these garments during Aeneas’ time in Carthage. Then Dido felt secure in her relationship with Aeneas, expecting the relationship to grow (or at least, to continue); this was a time in which she was both content and looking forward to the future. She could also have made them long before she met Aeneas (*fecerat*), since creating such gifts is a time-consuming process (I take *illi* 73, however, as an indirect object, or dative of advantage, specifying she made them for Aeneas’ benefit). Fratantuono (2009, *ad 75*) states only that these cloaks were made for Aeneas. At any

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715 On this use of the genitive cf. Horsfall (2003, *ad loc.*). Servius writes, on 11.73: *laeta laborum figura est laetus illius rei; nam modo dicimus laetus labore, laetus ingenio.*

716 This passage, the shrouding of Pallas, is reminiscent of the burial of Hector at *Il.* 24.580-90.

717 Cf. Horsfall (2003, *ad loc.*) who writes, on *illi*: “We are to be left in no doubt: embroidery from the queen’s own hands, and made for Aeneas himself,” and TCD (*ad loc.*): *fecit tamen Aeneae quem dilexerat plurimum.*

718 Fratantuono (2009, *ad 75*) makes an interesting statement as to why Aeneas has two cloaks from Dido: “But why did Dido make two *identical* cloaks? The only clue to her mindset is the terrible (in context) adjective *laeta* that describes how she worked: like
rate, the frame of reference for *laeta* takes place long before Pallas’ funeral, and in a very different place. Lyne (1989, 185) considers this instance a very clear example of his “disaster-prone” use: “The tragic, disaster-prone quality of Dido’s *laetitia* is more or less explicit in 11.73... confirming our intuitions in those earlier examples.” It is difficult to imagine Dido described as *laeta* later in the text, in the context of her relationship with Aeneas, without reference to her suffering.

Therefore the function of this *laeta* may be straightforward—an adverbial use, for example, and may refer to willingness of giving, as at 9.89 (Cybele, *laeta dedi*), or simply “joy” in performing a welcome task, like doing crafts. Nevertheless, the use of *laeta* in this passage also reflects upon weightier matters, like Aeneas’ and Dido’s relationship in the *Aeneid*, and the ways in which that relationship was “disaster-prone.” The use here also negotiates the joy and sadness involved in Aeneas’ interaction with both Dido and Pallas, and the reference to Dido here links her presentation with that of Pallas. *Laeta* as a positive descriptor contrasts with all the sadness of Pallas’ funeral (cf. 11.59-63; 76). On the difficulty of extracting the core meaning behind juxtaposing Dido and Pallas in such a way, cf. Lyne (1989, 187): “It is an ineffably dense, troubled, and troubling gesture to grace Pallas with Dido’s gift: expressive of Aeneas’ love for Pallas, of Aeneas’ and Vergil’s sense of the kinship of Dido and Pallas as victims, and so on.” Gransden (1991, *ad loc.*) writes that Pallas, “like Dido, is a victim of Aeneas’ relentless destiny.” Petrini (1997, 68) notes that 11.75 = 4.264, and writes that Vergil “thereby connects the earlier failure of Aeneas’ love to the failure of his guardianship of Pallas.” It is relevant that in

fortune (42) she was happy—the robes were conceived of as royal raiment for Aeneas and *Ascanius.*

Lyne refers to other instances of *laeta* describing Dido, e.g. at 1.503.
Pallas’ funeral rites Dido’s cloak, like Dido herself, will burn and be consumed by fire, destroyed (11.77).

The instance at 1.591 describes Venus’ embellishment of Aeneas when he appears to Dido for the first time:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa repente} \\
\text{scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.} \\
\text{restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit,} \\
\text{os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram} \\
\text{caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae} \\
\text{purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores:} \\
\text{quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo} \\
\text{argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro. (1.586-593)}
\end{align*}
\]

Here Aeneas presents himself to Dido, being revealed from the mist, and Venus makes him more attractive to the eye. The Homeric antecedents for this passage are found at Od. 6.229-235, when Odysseus is made more attractive before Nausicaa, and 23.156-162, when Athena makes Odysseus more resplendent before Penelope (cf. Austin 1971, Clausen 1987). In accordance with the rest of the sentence, the phrase *laetos honores* is a description of appearance (*clara in luce refulsit* 588; *os umerosque deo similis* 589; *decoram caesariem* 588-590; *lumen iuventae purpureum* 590-591); the simile from 592-593 confirms that Venus’ gifts are physical. Cairns (1989) connects the description of Aeneas here with a possible reference to Octavian.  

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720 As Clausen notes (27), these scenes are before women who need to be/can be impressed; Odysseus is not glorified, for example, before Arete, as she is married. Similar is the function here between Aeneas and Dido. Cf. Duval (2004, 172-173), who connects this instance with her understanding of *laetus* as connected with beauty.

721 Cairns (1989, 30; 30, n.3) notes that Augustus was said by Suetonius to have bright, piercing eyes, and to enjoy the presumption that there was divine force in them (Suet. Aug. 79.2: *oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse*.
We should also consider the possibility that *laetos* here refers to the emotion of someone in the scene. Whether *oculis* (591) refers to Aeneas’ eyes, or those of others in the scene, is unclear: either Venus breathes attractiveness into Aeneas’ eyes, or she affects him with beauty for the benefit of others’ eyes (in which case others are made *laetus* by Venus’ action). The function of *os, umeros, and caesariem* indicates that these are Aeneas’ eyes, but *caesariem* is the direct object of *adflarat*, and *oculis* is in a different case. Greenwood (1989, 133) suggests that the beautification is for the benefit of Ilioneus et al., just as much as Dido—it “could surely do nothing but increase the joy of reunion infinitely, while at the same time providing the first highly favorable and impressive glimpse of the hero for his later mistress and her subjects.” Most scholars take *oculis* as referring to Aeneas’ eyes.

Clausen (1987, 26) translates *laetos... honores* as “on his eyes had breathed joy and beauty.” I admit that, since “joy” is an attractive emotion (i.e. those who appear joyful or “happy” are more attractive generally than those who appear otherwise), “joy” on the part of Aeneas might be indicated. In such a case, however, there is no evidence for actual joy, but only the appearance of actual joy, before Aeneas’ audience.

Rieks (1989) argues that *laetos* here refers to Aeneas’ joy, at hearing Dido’s welcoming speech to his men and of her desire to see him, and that this is as a result of

*quiddam divini vigoris*).

\footnote{On this question, Austin (1971) is unhelpful. Rieks (1989, 204) briefly notes on this instance that the *laet*- stem may have the transitive force of “making glad” as well as the intransitive force of “glad.”}
Venus’ direct intervention (204-205).\textsuperscript{723} I find this argument unconvincing. Venus here applies physical attributes to Aeneas to make him more attractive, as Athena in the Homeric models. Neither Venus nor Athena intervenes to change Aeneas’ or Odysseus’ emotional outlook. That is, \textit{laetos honores} is the direct object of \textit{adflarat}, of which Venus is the subject; if Venus is in fact manipulating Aeneas’ emotions directly, this would be one act incongruent with all the other acts described in lines 589-593.

The connection in this instance between emotional “joy” and physical health is related to the “agricultural” use of \textit{laetus} that communicates the luxuriance (not fertility) of plants; when plants are at their peak of radiance and health, when they prosper, Vergil often describes them with \textit{laetus}. See my discussion of Vergil’s use of the word in the \textit{Georgics}, and also my chapter on instances in the \textit{Aeneid} that resemble uses in the \textit{Georgics} (Chapter VI).

Does this instance contain a “forward-looking” element? \textit{Laetos honores} here might be responding to the language of fear and hope up to this point; Aeneas’ revelation is the final act needed for his friends’ relief (Aeneas has already seen that Ilioneus and the others are safe, and Dido has already promised their safety and comfort). It is appropriate that, when he is finally revealed and appears as a source of relief and hope to others, he should appear shining with hope.\textsuperscript{724} (Cf. my discussion of \textit{laetus} at 1.514 and 1.554.) I do

\textsuperscript{723} Rieks (1989, 204) writes, “Denn mit der rückhaltlos freundlichen Rede Didos (1,561-578) und ihrem sehnsuchtsvollen Wunsch, den Helden selbst zu sehen, hat im inneren Affektprozeß des Aeneas die Freude endgültig alle anderen Empfindungen verdrängt. Das Eingreifen der Venus ist freilich mehr als eine allegorische Umschreibung der psycho-physischen Vorgänge, daß Aeneas sich aufgerichtet fühlt, neue Kraft und Zuversicht schöpft, daß freudiger Glanz in seine Augen tritt.”

\textsuperscript{724} Servius’ comment on this instance is fascinating: \textit{laetos honores non terribiles, ut esse in viris fortibus solent}. 

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not know whether there is a fruitful Dido-Aeneas comparison to be made between Dido as *laeta* at 1.503 and Aeneas' revelation here.

*Laetus* modifies *honos* elsewhere in the *Aeneid*: at 5.58. The use of *laetus* also has a special association with Venus in the *Aeneid*, which I discuss at 5.816.

At 6.657 Aeneas, in the Fortunata Nemora, sees a group of souls singing a *laetum paeana*:

> per campum pascuntur equi. quae gratia currum armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos. 655
> conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laevaque per herbam vescentis *laetum*que choro paeana canentis inter odoratum lauris nemus, unde superne plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis. (6.653-659)

In the Fortunata Nemora the narrator follows Aeneas’ gaze as he looks around and describes the people and things he sees; some residents of Elysium are singing a hymn to Apollo.\(^{725}\)

In this instance, *laetum* could communicate a variety of things: the message of the song (a song of joy); the (joyful) emotion of the people singing it; the tenor of the song (it is sung joyfully), etc.\(^ {726}\) However, I do not immediately assume that *laetum* here conveys personal emotion, on account of the lack of characterization of these individuals in emotional terms: the scene follows Aeneas’ gaze, and sees what he sees, and the

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\(^{725}\) The association with Apollo connects this to a number of instances I have discussed in my Chapter II.4, on prayer and omens.

\(^{726}\) Interestingly, Haß (1998, 123) remarks, “Vor allem treten wie bei Vergil die Betätigungen hervor, an denen die Verstorbenen zu Lebzeiten Freude hatten.”
description is primarily physical—the topography of the place, the physical description of
the people in it, what they are doing. The narrator does not otherwise describe what they
are feeling, what they have experienced or will experience, etc., or anything Aeneas
cannot immediately see. As laetus and laetitia are often associated with noise in the
Aeneid, laetum may refer more to some aspect of the song in performance than the
emotion of those in the scene. See my discussion of Aen. 3.524. Duval (2004, 210-211)
considers laetus here to be particularly associated with singing itself (and she compares
Geo. 2.388).

The most instructive context for this use lies in its use with paeana and the
worship of Apollo. Conington, Austin, and Norden all remark on the similarity between
this phrase and that at Il. 1.473, καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήνον.\textsuperscript{727} Norden (1916, \emph{ad loc.})
glosses laetus here as εὔφρων and provides a further reference to a Hymn of Asclepius
from Ptolemais: χαίρε μοι ὦ Παιὰν ἐπ' ἐμαῖς εὔφροσι ταῖσδ' ἀοιδαῖς.\textsuperscript{728}

The phrase \textit{laetum paeana} appears once more in the Aeneid, at 10.738 (discussed
above in Chapter II.3), where Mezentius’ men, in response to his fatally wounding
Orodes, raise a joyful shout (“\emph{pars belli haud temnenda, viri, iacet altus Orodes.”} /
\emph{conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti} 10.737-738). The scenes in both 6 and 10 involve
noise, and “joy,” but this instance at 6.657 does not conform to other uses of \emph{laet}- in the
Aeneid in notable ways. First, the \emph{laetus}-emotion is generally a direct response to an
event: even in the instances in which an individual is \emph{laetus} in interacting with the divine
(praying, sacrificing, etc.), he or she is described as \emph{laetus} as a result of an event that has


\textsuperscript{728} Rev. Arch. 1889, 21.
already given cause for hope (a previous omen, etc.). The laetus-emotion is also generally some kind of thrill (as at 10.738), with no reference to “contentment” or “happiness” in the long term. Here, however, at 6.657, there appears to be no act or event precipitating the laetus-emotion, and, with no special reason for the singers to be “elated,” perhaps the word refers indirectly to some sort of contentment. (I write this on the assumption that by enallage the emotion of the singers is indicated, but these objections apply even if this is not true: even if it is a song “sung in a joyful way,” there is no evidence the song is sung “excitedly,” as response to something, etc.)

At 3.347, Aeneas describes finding and meeting Helenus, for Dido; Aeneas had come upon Andromache as she was honoring Hector and Astyanax. Helenus is described as laetus upon recognizing Aeneas, in the act of leading Aeneas into his home.

talia fundebat [Andromache] lacrimans longosque ciebat
incassum fletus, cum sese a moenibus heros 345
Priamides multis Helenus comitantibus adfert,
agnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit,
et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fundit. (3.344-348)

For this instance, I do not dispute that laetus indicates “joy” and may be translated with “joyful” or “joyfully,” but I will delve past the obvious or ready meaning to describe the thematic references lying beneath the surface.

First, when laetus describes an individual in the Aeneid performing an act, particularly as a description of how the individual performs the act, the word may convey “willingness” in addition to “joy.” At 9.89 Cybele likewise “willingly” gives gifts to the
Trojans. This “willingness” is to be connected to the use of laetus describing an individual performing a sacrifice (see my discussion of Aen. 8.544).

In addition, we may read this instance as indicating Helenus’ pride in showing his newly founded city to Aeneas (a use that looks forward to the future). Helenus has limina (347), and a whole city (a little Troy! Aeneas certainly wanted one of those: 349-352) to which he can lead Aeneas. Heil (2001, 71) reads laetus here as in part referring to Aeneas’ reaction, at the sight of this “little Troy.”

Helenus’ joy in this passage may also be related to his seeing Aeneas alive, again. This feeling of relief would be similar to that expressed at 5.283, in which Aeneas is happy to receive Sergestus safe after his wreck in the ship race of Book 5. This is the first time Helenus is seeing Aeneas since the war. There is also a connection to Bacchus and feasting (354-355) in this scene. Helenus may also in part be laetus on account of his wealth (illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis: / aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi /


730 Cf. Horsfall (2006, ad loc.) writes, on lacrimans (344): “Andr[omache] returns to tears at the end of her speech, clearly provoked by her ref. to the dead Hector’s exemplary status. Four lines later, Helenus begins with tears, but tears mingled with joy, at the ‘return to life’ of at least some more Trojans: an evident variation.” Horsfall also writes, under laetus: “Predictably, the compulsive objectors (so e.g. Ribbeck, Proleg., 72) register what is seen as an inconsistency with the tears of Andr[omache] and Helenus; that suggests, alas, a range of human experience to which the coexistence of joy and sorrow is alien... Here the joy of rediscovery and the grief of bereavement (which are both entirely natural in the circumstances for conversation and the exchange of news as they enter Buthrotum are presupposed, without awkwardness) are tersely commingled: cf. 5.49f. with 58 (anniversary of Anch[ises’] death), 11.807 with n. (joy and fear), not to mention the matchless Il. 6.484.”
This instance also contrasts with the sorrow earlier in the scene (cf. *lacrimans* 344), and yet also present (*lacrimas* 348).\(^{731}\)

The instance at 9.818 describes Turnus, “happy” to be safe from the Trojans’ weapons:

\[
\text{tum toto corpore sudor} \\
\text{liquitur et piceum (nec respirare potestas)} \\
\text{flumen agit, fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.} \\
\text{tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis in fluvium dedit. ille suo cum gurgite flavo acceptit venientem ac mollibus extulit undis et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit. (9.812-818)}
\]

Turnus had burst into the Trojans’ fort, and had an aristeia; finally the Trojans bore down upon him, and he retreated slowly before jumping into the river to be carried away. This line is the last in Book 9, and could be argued to point forward into Turnus’ prospects in Book 10 (certainly from Turnus’ point of view); Turnus’ situation here is a positive reversal of fortune (from dire straits: *sudor, nec respirare potestas, fessos, aeger*, etc.).\(^{732}\) Raabe (1974, 215) points out that Turnus’ departure is a positive reversal for the Trojans, too. Klingner reads this instance as a particularly “Vergilian” phrase, and use.\(^{733}\)

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\(^{731}\) On the combination of joy and sadness in this scene, see Duval (2004, 202) and TCD (*ad loc.*).


\(^{733}\) Klingner (1967, 552) writes, “*Et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit*: Bedenkt man, daß Virgil vor anderen dieses Wort *laetus* geliebt und daß er es gern, und gerade auch
This instance may also have to do with ritual washing (abluta caede), especially after battle; Hardie (1994, *ad loc.*) provides resources for answering the question of why the Tiber would receive Turnus so gently and what sort of divine status the Tiber has in this situation; he also likens this passage to those at 2.718-720, 4.635, and at *Il.* 10.572-579.\(^{734}\) Although I do not include this instance in the discussion of instances having to do with omens, or with battle, those contexts inform our discussion of this instance. Dingel (1997, *ad loc.*) notes the ritual significance of *abluta caede* (818).

The comparative form of *laetus* appears once in the *Aeneid*, at 7.653. This instance is particularly difficult to describe on account of the truncated grammar of its phrase:

\[
\text{filius huic iuxta Lausus, quo pulchrior alter non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni;} \quad 650 \\
\text{Lausus, equum domitor debellatorque ferarum,} \\
\text{ducit Agyllina nequiquam ex urbe secutos mille viros, dignus patriis qui *laetior* esset imperiis et cui pater haud Mezentius esset. (7.659-654)}
\]

At line 641, the narrator invokes the Muses for help in giving the catalogue of native Italian warriors. The catalogue begins at 647 with Mezentius.\(^{735}\)

\(^{734}\) For more on these Homeric parallels, and for a critical assessment of Hardie’s reading of this passage, see O’Hara’s (1995) review of Hardie (1994).

The contrafactual nature of this statement indicates the omniscient voice of the narrator (who may comment on the future, and who is also, in this statement, not describing Lausus’ contentment with present circumstances).\textsuperscript{736} The context is positive, of what a good leader and warrior Lausus is (quo... fit, equum... ferarum, mille viros, etc.).

Fordyce (1977, \textit{ad loc.}) translates dignus... esset, “worthy to have had a father in whose rule he could find more happiness, worthy of a father who was not Mezentius.”\textsuperscript{737} Lausus’ relationship to both his expected rule and his father are important here, and relevant for the use of \textit{laetior}.\textsuperscript{738} We may connect this use of \textit{laetior} to the “forward-

\textsuperscript{736} Should we expect Lausus to be “unhappy” or not hopeful on account of his father’s disgrace? The issue is murky: Fordyce (1977, \textit{ad loc.}) explains: Mezentius and Lausus and the Etruscans are Italian allies, according to Cato and Dionysius, but Vergil otherwise makes the Etruscans Aeneas’ allies. This reference to Lausus’ contingent, then, is unexpected; Lausus should not have so great a following from the city from which his father was expelled, a city loyal to Aeneas. But I think the insertion was made as a compliment to Lausus.

\textsuperscript{737} Cf. Horsfall (2000, \textit{ad loc.}): “The eventually tragic Mezentius comes to realise… that his misdeeds have blighted his son’s life.” For “better prospects”: “The warrior son of a princely father ‘ought’ to have had fairer prospects.” Horsfall (2000) translates, “[Lausus,] who had followed him to no avail from the city of Agylla; he deserved more joy under his father’s command, and a father not Mezentius.” Servius writes, on 7.653: \textit{patriis qui laetior esset imperiis dignus qui haberet imperatorem potius, quam exulem patrem.}

\textsuperscript{738} Cf. Thome (1979, 19), who argues that \textit{laetior} here is more multivalent than it first appears: “...so trägt der Sohn dadurch andererseits auch indirekt zur vernichtenden Schilderung des Vaters bei, der neben der leuchtenden Gestalt des jungen Mannes im nachhinein nur umso dunkler und abstoßender wirken muß—ein ungleicheres Paar läßt sich wohl kaum denken. Verstärkt wird dieser Eindruck noch durch die Stellungnahme Vergils, der, indem er vordergründig Lausus lobend von seinem Vater abhebt, diesem letztlich aufgrund seines Charakters das Recht auf seine Vaterrolle abspricht. Wenn er freilich sagt, daß Lausus es verdient hätte, mehr Freude am väterlichen Regiment und nicht gerade Mezentius zum Vater zu haben, so muß das nicht heißen, daß Lausus wirklich ungünstlich über die ‘patria imperia’ war, auch nicht unbedingt, daß Mezentius ein schlechter \textit{Vater} war.” (emphasis hers) For a summary of views in classical
looking” instances of *laetus* that anticipate a character’s suffering (Lyne’s “disaster-prone” use), but only the *laetior* in this sentence hints at such a meaning: there is no finality otherwise, no hint that, in the mind of the narrator (or of the reader), Lausus is already dead. Nevertheless Lausus, though worthy of his father’s power, would have had better prospects had his father not been Mezentius.739 So says the narrator here: but Mezentius is not wholly an evil figure; for arguments as to Mezentius’ “transformation” and “redemption,” and his *pietas* toward his son, see my discussion of *laetabere* at 10.874.

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739 Cf. TCD (*ad loc.*): *dignus qui teneret patris imperium, dignus qui non diceretur Mezentio patre progenitus. Mezentius quippe a suis ejectus est propter crudelitatem inauditam et profanus fuit, Lausus vero naturae mitioris et religiosus et fortis.*
CONCLUSION

I here reiterate my understanding of the use of the laet- stem in the Aeneid. First, there are two broad categories of the use of laetus in Latin literature prior to and contemporary with Vergil: the use indicating human emotion (“joyful”), and the use indicating agricultural lushness (“fertile”). The proportion of the one to the other, in the number of instances, has to do primarily with content: in the Georgics the agricultural use predominates, but in the Aeneid, the emotional one does. That is not to imply that the two are mutually exclusive; on the contrary, agricultural lushness may be considered to create human “joy,” and in poetry, the image of the one may be used to refer to the other, or strengthen a reference to the other.

My primary argument is that the laetus-emotion in the Aeneid is one of “hopeful joy”: “joy” in that the emotion is vivid, positive, and thrilling, and “hopeful” in that the source of the joy is hope for the future. This hope is usually created by a reversal (or perceived reversal) of fortune; a discrete event (like an omen, or victory in battle, etc.), described immediately prior to the use of laetus, causes an individual with low expectations of success to have high expectations of success. Nevertheless, this hope may be “disaster-prone,” as Lyne argues: Vergil often uses laetus to describe a “hopeful joy” that will result in disaster. This “hopeful joy” is a thrill, a shock of sensation, on account of a precipitating event; it does not indicate long-term “happiness” or “contentment.”
In addition, this thrill of sensation is often accompanied by physical excitement: those described as *laetus* are often loud and jubilant in their physical exultation, and this is clearly seen in the use of the noun *laetitia* as well as in the use of the adjective *laetus*.

I have discussed the appearance of the adjective *laetus* in terms of certain trends of use. These thematic trends refer generally to the movement of the plot of the *Aeneid* from beginning to intended end: one is described as *laetus*, newly hopeful, when one sets out on a journey (often, hoping to get to Italy), arrives at an intended destination (again, Italy), or looks forward to founding a city. The gods’ participation in the plot is crucial too in reading the use of *laetus*: an individual is described as *laetus* when he or she feels supported by the divine. Put simply, one is *laetus* when he or she feels closer (especially *Suddenly* closer—after, for example, seeing an omen) to achieving a goal, and these smaller goals relate to the goal of the work, reaching and settling peacefully in Italy. Perhaps most problematically, *laetus* appears when one expects victory in battle—and this is a joy not only of victory, but of the ugly, ruthless slaughter of one’s opponents. The use of *laetus* in the *Aeneid* “looks forward” to the hero’s success, but the success that the word anticipates is, like the poem itself, complicated and revealing.


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INDEX LOCORUM

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