

DARDANIO ANCHISAE

HIATUS, HOMER, AND INTERMETRICITY IN THE *AENEID*

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THE PHRASE *DARDANIO ANCHISAE* appears twice in the *Aeneid*, separated by more than 6,000 lines and used in quite different contexts. The first instance comes in Dido's initial address to Aeneas, the second when Apollo, disguised as Butes, approaches Ascanius:

tune ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae
alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?

1.617–618

Are you that Aeneas whom bountiful Venus bore
to Trojan Anchises by the waters of Phrygian Simois?

simul haec effatus ab alto
aethere se mittit, spirantis dimouet auras
Ascaniumque petit; forma tum uertitur oris
antiquum in Buten. hic Dardanio Anchisae
armiger ante fuit fidusque ad limina custos;
tum comitem Ascanio pater addidit ...

9.644–649¹

Saying this, from high
heaven he launched himself, parted the blowing breezes,
and sought Ascanius; then he changed his visage
into that of old Butes. This man was once armor-bearer
to Trojan Anchises and a trusty guard of the threshold;
then Ascanius' father made him the boy's companion.

¹ Citations of Vergil are from Mynors 1972. All translations are our own.

Aeneid 1.617 and 9.647 are metrically anomalous on two counts. They are two of just twenty-four spondaic lines, and contain two of only twenty-two instances of hiatus, in the entire poem.² That there are any instances of co-occurrence (i.e. hiatus in a spondaic line) is instructive when considered from a statistical standpoint. By the above counts, the per-line frequency of the spondaic fifth foot is 0.24%, and the per-line frequency of hiatus is 0.22%. If use of the two features were independent of one another, the expected frequency of co-occurrence would be 0.00054%.³ Yet these two anomalies are found together much more often: there are five examples in total, including the two instances of *Dardanio Anchisae*, corresponding to an actual frequency of 0.051%.⁴ There is, of course, an intuitive explanation underlying this quantitative argument against independence: the spondaic line and hiatus are both imitations of Greek hexameter and can be used together at points particularly indebted to or evocative of a Greek author.⁵ If Vergil intended reference to any one author in particular, it was Homer, whose epics not only form the pattern on which the *Aeneid* was composed,

² They are also two of only six instances of the verse form sssds- in the *Aeneid*. Thus, the lines are not only spondaic in the sense of having a fifth-foot spondee, they are also heavily spondaic across the whole line. All metrical statistics were tabulated using *Pede certo*, a tool for computational scansion of Latin hexameter developed by the Università di Udine and the *Musisque Deoque* digital archive (<http://www.pedecerto.eu>, accessed December 1, 2016).

³ Indeed, at that hypothetical frequency the *Aeneid* would need to be around 185,000 lines long—almost twenty times longer than it is—for us to expect to see a single co-occurrence.

⁴ In addition to 1.617 and 9.647, the other instances are *Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo* (3.74, which contains a double hiatus), *Ardea Crustumerique et turrigerae Antemnae* (7.631), and *seruabat senior, qui Parrhasio Euandro* (11.31). Four of the five lines contain a Greek name, which accounts for many instances of hiatus in Latin; each also contains a proper noun and place-epithet combination, a formula that bears on the argument presented here. For reasons unclear to us, 3.74 was not recovered by *Pede certo* searches for either spondaic lines or hiatus. The epithet *Dardanio* occurs eight times in the *Aeneid*, but only on these two occasions does it appear in the fifth foot and with hiatus (contrast, e.g., *Dardanio Aeneae* at 1.494 and 6.169). On hiatus in Vergil and other Augustan authors, especially hiatus not involving Greek words, see Trappes-Lomax 2004.

⁵ Shipley 1924:140 writes of “frank Grecisms like *Dardanio Anchisae* (*Aen.* i, 617; ix, 647), *Parrhasio Euandro* (xi, 31), *Neptuno Aegaeo* (iii, 74), in which the spondaic fifth foot, the Greek words, and the hiatus all indicate imitation of a Greek mannerism.” On instances of hiatus in spondaic lines, cf. Fordyce 1977:174–175.

but whose hexameter also demonstrates a far freer use of hiatus and a much greater tendency to place a spondee in the fifth foot than is found in the *Aeneid*.⁶ Moreover, we see this mannerism not as a direct imitation of Homer, who does not combine a fifth-foot spondee with hiatus, but rather as a hyper-Homericism: passages that are indebted to Iliadic content and diction are made to sound more Iliadic still by combination of two metrical features independently common in Homer and typically avoided by Vergil. The combination is unusual, ostentatious, and designed to draw attention both to the locution and to the passage. That Vergil on occasion imitates Homeric diction more closely than his extant Roman predecessors do is well known,⁷ but here we suggest that prosodic effects—effects that are in some sense excessive—can also play an important role in shaping the significance of a passage.

Given their metrical distinctiveness, it is little surprise that 1.617 and 9.647 have warranted mention in most commentaries on the *Aeneid*. The repeated objective of these discussions has been to note the hiatus, and often to remark on the Greek (or specifically Homeric) quality of the phrase *Dardanio Anchisae*.⁸ What has not been sufficiently

⁶ On Homer's metrical patterns, see Dee 2004, who identifies a generally close correlation between the types of verses used in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Even discounting apparent hiatus due to the digamma, there remain 354 instances of partial and 239 instances of real hiatus in the Homeric epics (see Janko 1982:36), a tendency increasingly resisted in later poetry. The frequency of fifth-foot spondees in Homer (ca. 1 in 20 lines) is very different from the *Aeneid* (ca. 1 in 412), but much closer to Catullus 64 (ca. 1 in 14). It is possible to see in Vergil's metrical play a trace of Neoteric or Hellenistic influence, given those poets' relatively greater use of the *spondeiazon* (cf. Norden 1995:441–446 and West 1982:152–157, the second of which also discusses hiatus). For instance, compared to Homer's 5% rate of *spondeiazontes* (and Vergil's 0.24%), Apollonius' is 8% (Hunter 2015:26) and Callimachus' 7% (Stephens 2015:31); the figure for other poets, such as Aratus (who also favors hiatus), is considerably higher. However, the two Vergilian passages provide no direct evidence for a reference to a Neoteric or Hellenistic work, even as an intermediary "window" onto Homer, whereas there is good reason to see the meter as a reference to Homer (albeit a reference of an exaggerated type). The co-occurrence of fifth-foot spondee and hiatus is not found in either Catullus or Lucretius, and indeed neither poet employs hiatus more than Vergil, which further militates against Neoteric or other recent influence. Kyriakidis 2014:281 has argued for Callimachean poetics underlying the spondee-hiatus combination at *Aeneid* 3.74, although the model of the Homeric Hymns is also in play there.

⁷ See, e.g., Austin 1977:223 on *Aeneid* 6.729.

⁸ See Austin 1971:190 and Fordyce 1977:174–175 for standard discussions. Kennedy 1876:574–579 offers an early examination of the Homeric quality of the hiatus.

considered is the interplay between context and meter in each of the two Vergilian passages. The purpose of this brief note is to suggest that the co-occurrence of the hiatus and fifth-foot spondee in each case has literary significance extending beyond vague recollection of Greek models, and to comment on the symbiosis of intertextuality and “inter-metricity” in the passages.

Aeneid 9.644–660, in which a disguised Apollo appears to dissuade Ascanius from further combat, has a clear Homeric model (*Iliad* 17.319–334).⁹ In both passages Apollo takes the form of an elderly herald, Periphas in Homer and Butes in Vergil. Our core observation, then, is to connect two very conspicuous dots—the spondee and hiatus in *Dardanio Anchisae* reinforce the Homeric underpinnings of the scene. As Philip Hardie notes, however, the scene is not a straightforward adaptation of the Iliadic version, but rather an *oppositio in imitando*: whereas Apollo *qua* Periphas exhorts Aeneas to battle (ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖ τρεῖτ’ ἄσπετον οὐδὲ μάχεσθε, 17.332), Apollo *qua* Butes restrains Ascanius from further participation in combat (*cetera parce, puer, bello*, 9.656).¹⁰ Yet the two passages have numerous details and similar phrases in common, including the previous employment of the herald with Anchises, the herald’s advanced age and record of faithful service, and the recognition of Apollo after his speech.¹¹ Vergil thus balances local imitation and global inversion throughout his treatment of the episode. Against this background, the spondee and hiatus function as an anchoring feature: although Apollo’s goal is different in each case, the interplay of verbal (clear but not overt) and metrical resonances amplifies the passage’s Homeric pedigree. Moreover, the fact that the combined prosodic gesture is not strictly Homeric does not mitigate the overall

⁹ Knauer 1964:411. Brief discussions are provided in Williams 1973:312 and Hardie 1994:207.

¹⁰ Hardie 1994:207. Citations of Homer are from West 1998–2000.

¹¹ Relationship with Anchises: ὅς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι / κηρύσσων γήρασκε (17.324–325) and *hic Dardanio Anchisae / armiger ante fuit* (9.647–648); age: δέμας Περίφαντι εἰοικώς / κήρυκ’ Ἠπυτιδίη, ὅς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι / κηρύσσων γήρασκε (17.323–325) and *forma tum uertitur oris / antiquum in Buten* (9.646–647); faithful service: φίλα φρεσὶ μῆδεα εἰδώς (17.325) and *fidusque ad limina custos* (9.648); recognition: Αἰνεΐας δ’ ἔκατηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα / ἔγνω εἰσάντα ἰδών (17.333–334) and *agnouere deum proceres diuinaque tela / Dardanidae* (9.659–660).

effect. When Vergil manipulates his Iliadic model, as he does here and elsewhere, even in the departure we are made conscious of the borrowing. The metrical conceit, we suggest, operates in a similar way: the combination of Homeric (and un-Vergilian) techniques exceeds the model but in doing so emphasizes its pertinence.

The significance of metrical allusion to Homer at *Aeneid* 1.617 is less straightforward. Although verbal parallels to the *Iliad* have been noted for Dido's speech (*Aeneid* 1.615–630), there is no clear topical model on par with *Iliad* 17.319–334 for *Aeneid* 9.644–660.¹² There is, however, a comparably rich connection between context and meter. The first scenes at Carthage are almost paradigmatically replete with reminiscences of Homeric poetry and of the *Iliad* in particular. After being washed ashore like Odysseus in Phaeacia, Aeneas encounters his disguised mother (concealment and epiphany both being characteristic of divine action in Homer, as in the example of Periphas above). Shortly thereafter, Aeneas sees the events of the Trojan war depicted on the frieze of the temple of Juno: *uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas / bellaque iam fama totum uulgata per orbem* (1.456–457).¹³ Dido herself explicitly refers to her knowledge of the Trojans and the war in her reply to Ilioneus' appeal for help, and she reiterates this knowledge when addressing Aeneas later in the same scene.¹⁴ With the *Iliad's* presence in the background emphasized so often, Dido's question about Aeneas' identity

¹² See, for instance, Knauer 1964:377 on *Aeneid* 1.617–623 and *Iliad* 2.819–821, which is considered in more detail below. Additional comparative discussion of the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* 1 can be found in Lausberg 1983.

¹³ On reference to the Epic Cycle here, including the *Iliad*, see Barchiesi 1999:333–335. On the frieze see Papaioannou 2016. Vergil's use of *Dardanio* at 1.617 may reflect the Epic Cycle in a more direct way: a search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* for Δαρδανί- revealed only one instance in the same metrical sedes, also a *spondeiazon*, in the opening line of the *Little Iliad* (reported by Pseudo-Herodotus *Vita Homeri* 16): Ἴλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην εὐπωλον. As the first verse of the poem, the line is likely to have been well known to Vergil and may also stand metonymically for a major concern of Lesches' epic, the city of Troy itself. That Dido's language echoes the Cycle as well as the *Iliad* further supports the argument made below—she has an uncanny familiarity with the Greek stories of Troy, and on occasion even sounds like them.

¹⁴ *quis genus Aeneadam, quis Troiae nesciat urbem, / uirtutesque uirosque aut tanti incendia belli?* (1.565–566); *tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis / Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi* (1.623–624).

acquires a subtle edge: “Are you in fact *that* Aeneas?” acknowledges the hero’s fame, while the context suggests Dido’s ability to discern whether her guest’s answer is true or false.¹⁵ As differing critical opinions attest, it is difficult to determine whether Dido’s tone should be read as shrewdly diplomatic or starstruck.¹⁶ Yet however the speech is interpreted, central to its significance is her deep understanding of Aeneas’ Iliadic past.¹⁷ The language and rhythm of Dido’s line (*tune ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae*) then function to credential her understanding of matters Greek. Her use of a noun-epithet combination—a Homeric-sounding, though not in fact Homeric, formula—with fifth-foot spondee and hiatus alludes to the very master-text underlying both Book 1 and the *Aeneid* as a whole, a text that leaves its imprint on Carthage and precedes Aeneas wherever he goes.¹⁸

Nor is Vergil’s metrical play confined to the single hiatus. Lovatt notes the particular concentration of elision in Dido’s speeches in Book 1 and suggests frequency of elision as a possible “index of emotional intensity.”¹⁹ We would add, however, that the concatenation of elisions at the beginning of line 617 makes the hiatus at the end of the line even more emphatic, and hence draws attention to the allusive significance of the metrical conceit.

Beyond a generic allusion to Homeric language, Dido’s question also refers to a particular passage in the *Iliad*, as La Cerda noted long ago.²⁰

¹⁵ Cf. Lovatt 2013:16: “Yet Austin points out the Greek effect of this line, with its spondaic fifth foot and hiatus between epithet and noun. ‘Are you really the Aeneas of myth and legend?’ is Dido’s question, made doubly pointed by her own stylistic allusion to Greek language and culture.”

¹⁶ See Lovatt 2013 for discussion of emotional intensity, and Dekel 2012:85–87 for an argument that Dido’s tone is more ambiguous than admiring.

¹⁷ Other markers of Dido’s Iliadic knowledge include her specific reference to Diomedes’ horses and Achilles’ stature (*nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles*, 1.752).

¹⁸ Cf. references made to the Trojan War by, e.g., Numanus Remulus (9.602) and Turnus (11.403–405).

¹⁹ Lovatt 2013:18. She leaves as an open question whether increased frequency of elision is characteristic of Dido’s speeches through Books 1 and 4, or even of direct speech by female characters in general. Dido’s use of hiatus in direct speech is itself unremarkable; we count that nine of the twenty-two instances occur in speeches.

²⁰ La Cerda on *Aeneid* 1.618 (114, lemma 5). References to La Cerda follow the Cologne edition of 1642. See also Knauer 1964:377.

In fact, it is the only Homeric passage that combines the key vocabulary seen in Dido's speech and, what is more, uses the words in much the same way—to identify Aeneas and his ancestry (*Iliad* 2.819–821):²¹

Δαρδανίων αὐτ' ἦρχεν ἐὺς πάϊς Ἀγχίσαο,
 Αἰνεΐας, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίση τέκε δὲ Ἀφροδίτη,
 Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι θεὰ βροτῶι εὐνηθεῖσα·

And the noble son of Anchises led the Dardanians,
 Aeneas, whom divine Aphrodite bore to Anchises,
 the goddess bedding the mortal on the shoulder of
 Mount Ida.

The passage is notable for being Aeneas' first mention in the *Iliad*; he appears in a prominent position just after Hector in the Catalog of Book 2. When Dido seeks to confirm whether Aeneas is indeed he of Iliadic fame, she uses much the same diction and content with which Homer had introduced Aeneas. This is not the first time in the *Aeneid* that a character reworks Homeric words in a novel way: Aeneas utters a variant of Odysseus' speech in the storm, Juno's first words echo the very beginning of the *Iliad*, and now Dido embellishes a Homeric passage with a Homeric-sounding noun-epithet combination plus hiatus in a *spondeiazon*, thus capping what had already been a profuse sequence of references to Homer and the *Iliad*.²² The resulting imitation with change represents at a linguistic and metrical level Vergil's larger literary project in relation to Homeric epic, a project paralleled by Aeneas' own efforts to preserve a Trojan heritage and yet start anew (itself comparable to the Augustan project).²³

²¹ La Cerda on 1.618 (114, lemma 6) argues that Vergil's reference to the waters of Simois derives from the Homeric passage, since the river flows near the base of the mountain; he contrasts Ovid (*Heroides* 16.203–204), who, following Hesiod (*Theogony* 1008–1010), places the conception on the peak of Ida. The comparison is somewhat imprecise, since the passage in the *Aeneid* refers to birth rather than conception, but Vergil's direct use of the Homeric passage—substantiated by the lexical overlap—may have encouraged the topographical continuity.

²² On Juno's first words, see Levitan 1993.

²³ Vergil's epic was recognized by contemporaries, even in the course of its production, as in competition with the *Iliad* (cf. Propertius 2.34.65–66). On Vergil's exploitation

In addition to its intertextuality and hyperbolic intermetrality with Homer, the speech is also a locus of concentrated intratextuality. The ending of 1.617 is not the only phrase repeated verbatim later in the poem;²⁴ the final three words in the very next line (*Simoentis ad undam*) are also used twice, the second instance coming in the description of Hector's false tomb (*Aeneid* 3.302). Like Apollo's appearance to Ascanius, the scene of Andromache at the tomb is deeply intertextual with Homer, with the place name acting as a topographical marker of memory.²⁵ The phrase *Dardanio Anchisae* is thus connected to Homeric contexts at both a primary and secondary (intratextual) level, suggesting that perhaps a further function of the spondee-hiatus combination is to draw attention to the first node in a complex network both intertextual and self-referential.

As such, there is a double critical pleasure to be had in Dido's speech. First, at a level internal to the plot, she shows a mastery of the Greek idiom in which Aeneas' Trojan exploits were first articulated, a mastery which in turn magnifies her knowledge of the Trojan War and her ability to parse any account of himself Aeneas might go on to offer.²⁶ Second, at the level of the audience's engagement with the

of Homeric effects in general, see Barchiesi 2015. On imitation or repetition and change in the *Aeneid*, see Quint 1993.

²⁴ In addition to *Dardanio Anchisae*, there is another two-word phrase repeated between the scenes: *Ascanio ferat haec ipsumque ad moenia ducat* (1.645) and *Ascanium prohibent, ipsi in certamina rursus* (9.662). Although the vocabulary is unremarkable, the common structure and thematic resonance (Aeneas' paternal tenderness is an appropriate recollection as Ascanius is held out of battle) suggest the parallel is of some interest. We identified the parallel using a standard Tesseract search that compared *Aeneid* 1 and 9 in their entirety (<http://tesseract.caset.buffalo.edu>, accessed December 1, 2016, and Coffee et al. 2012).

²⁵ See Knauer 1964:383, Dekel 2012:104–106, and Smith 2005:71–77. In another passage explicitly recalling events at Troy, and centered on the Trojan river Simois, we find a similar Homeric metrical play, in which the final $-\bar{o}$ of *Ilio* is shortened to create a semi-hiatus or partial elision in imitation of epic correption (5.261): *uictor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto*. Servius on *Georgics* 1.281, another line evocative of Homer, compares the shortening in *Pelio Ossam* to that in *sub Ilio alto*; the same line from the *Georgics* also contains a full hiatus in the third foot (*conati imponere*). The *Georgics* passage as a whole amplifies some aspects of the Homeric source while condensing others (*Odyssey* 11.305–320); here too the meter reinforces the content by suggesting hyper-Homericism.

²⁶ By the time Aeneas goes on to offer that account, however, Dido has of course been infected with an overwhelming passion by Cupid (acting at Venus' instruction). As a

poem, her language exhibits forms of metrical and intertextual play that emblemize Vergil's larger literary aims. The later occurrence of *Dardanio Anchisae* in Book 9 operates more directly, but with a similar critical payoff for the reader who notices the combination of meter and topical allusion. It is especially appropriate that Vergil revisits this hyper-Homeric sound- and wordplay in "the first book proper of Virgil's *Iliad*."²⁷

Discussions of intertextuality as combinatorial or multifaceted are commonplace, and implicit in such assertions is an appreciation of the importance of non- or subverbal similarities between texts. Yet it can be challenging to identify concrete instances in which theme, diction, and meter together recall or evoke a specific source, and, notwithstanding some notable recent work, "intermetrality" remains in its infancy—theoretically and in practice—relative to intertextuality.²⁸ Vergil's use of two Greek metrical effects in two thoroughly Homeric passages is an overt and compelling example, one that might prove instructive for future intertextual/intermetrical analyses that are more systematic (and, to that end, perhaps facilitated by taking a computational approach).²⁹

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result of divine intervention, we never get to see the alternate world in which Aeneas' narrative would have had a different—more guileful—internal audience.

²⁷ Hardie 1994:2.

²⁸ E.g. Morgan 2010.

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