

The Etymology of *ferus/fera* in Virgil

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The recent and very substantial study of Virgil's animal similes by Fratantuono expresses surprise at the inspecificity of *fera* in *Aeneid* 9,551¹. This passage may be cited in full:

isque [sc. Helenor] ubi se Turni media inter milia vidit,
550 hinc acies atque hinc acies astare Latinas,
ut fera, quae densa venantum saepta corona
contra tela furit seseque haud nescia morti
inicit et saltu supra venabula fertur –
haud aliter iuvenis medios moriturus in hostis
555 inruit (*Aen.* 9,549-555).

Fratantuono's surprise at the unique unspecificity of *fera* here is shared by this book's most recent commentator², who is additionally discomfited by Virgil's depiction of the beast's jump as apparently successful, though both reader and beast know it will die. Such fishiness can be shown to be a signal that Virgil is etymologizing³. This is evidently the case here as well. *Ferus/fera* was etymologized from *feror*⁴. *Fera...fertur* frames this tristichic simile: such «framing» is an etymological marker⁵.

¹ Fratantuono 2012-13, 82: «This is the only animal simile in the epic where the zoological referent is left unidentified». He makes the same surprised observation re this same theronymical nonspecificity on p. 99.

² Dingel 1997, 208.

³ Cf. Adkin 2006; Adkin 2007; Adkin 2009a; Adkin 2011; Adkin 2016a; Adkin 2016b.

⁴ Cf. Maltby 1991, 228 (s. v. *fera*; citing inter al. Serv. *Aen.* 1,215: *feras dicimus aut quod omni corpore feruntur aut quod naturali utuntur libertate et pro desiderio suo feruntur*) and 230 (s. v. *ferus*), to which should be added Adkin 2010, 479 (Serv. *Aen.* 7,489: *quod velocitate pedum ferantur*). *Ferus/fera* is entirely absent from the indices in the canonical study of Virgilian etymologizing by O'Hara (2017), as well as from Michalopoulos 2001 and Paschalis 1997. This derivation of *ferus/fera* from *feror* is dismissed as «pessima doctrina» by *ThlL* VI,1, 602,39 (s. v. *ferus*; this article is the joint effort of lexicographical heavyweight Fr. Vollmer, *ThlL*'s first *Generalredaktor*, and flyweight Theophil Klee, who died aged 27 a centennium ago [1917], not through Bellona, but through flu). If however *ThlL* curls the lip at this etymology, Virgil can be shown to have taken it to his heart. For

The etymologizing here would seem to go further. This *fertur* is juxtaposed with *venabula*, which is a synonym of *hasta*⁶, which had recently been etymologized by Varro (*ling.* 5,115) from *astare*, which in the line (550) before *fera* is positioned in the same post-hephthemimeral *sedes* as *venabula*⁷: here we evidently have a hitherto unidentified allusion to the etymology of *hasta* from *astare*⁸. The sense in which *astare* is posited by Varro as etymon of *hasta* is «to stand upright»⁹. A nod to this sense of «standing upright» would seem to be the reason for Virgil's puzzling use here of *supra* to govern these «spears». If then *fera ... supra venabula fertur* is narrationally knotty, it is etymologically pat: while it is natural for a *fera* to *ferri*, it is also natural for the animal to be carried «above» (*supra*) spears that «stand up» (*astant*)¹⁰.

Another etymological play on *ferre* would seem to be separated by just three lines from afore-mentioned *fera*. This time Helenor, to whom this *fera* refers, is described thus (9,545-547): *Helenor, / Maeonio regi quem serva Licymnia furtim / sustulerat*. This pedigraic particular is dismissed by

some general remarks on the Alexandrian delight evinced by Virgil's «nearly ubiquitous etymologizing» cf. O'Hara 2017, 102-105. It is therefore natural that discreetly Alexandrian nods to the etymological link between *ferus/fera* and *fero(r)* should likewise be «nearly ubiquitous» in Virgil's *oeuvre*. His original readership, which was itself on the *qui vive* for etymology (cf. Cairns 1996, 53-54 [= 2007, 337-338; sect. 5]), accordingly joined the dots and thus got an Alexandrian *frisson* of recognition.

⁵ Cf. O'Hara 2017, 82-86. Here *fertur* is further accentuated by the ensuing anacoluthon, which is «höchst ungewöhnlich» (Berres 1982, 101-102).

⁶ Cf. *Synon. Cic.* p. 425,14 B.: *hasta ... venabulum*. For the extensive use of synonyms in etymologizing cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 11 (they «require more concentration on the part of the reader»).

⁷ For such vertical alignment as an etymological marker cf. Cairns 1996, 33 (= 2007, 317). Virgil's *astare* here needed elucidation; cf. *Gloss.*^L I *Ansil.* AS 183: *astare: consistere*.

⁸ The unassimilated spelling *adstare*, which is adopted here by (e. g.) Geymonat (2008, 520) and Conte (2009, 281), is shown by Virgil's etymological intent to be wrong.

⁹ Cf. *ling.* 5,115: *asta, quod astans solet ferri*.

¹⁰ This Virgilian passage is compared unfavourably by Macrobius (*Sat.* 5,13,25-26) with *Il.* 20,164-175. In the light of the two *jeux étymologiques* that have just been identified it would seem however that here we have, not banalization of the Homeric source, but instead «enrichment» (cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 10 for etymology as «enriching» a Greek model).

Ti. Claudius Donatus as «superfluous»¹¹. The *furtim* which concludes line 546 was however etymologized from *ferre*¹², which begins the next line: such «coupling» at end and start of successive lines is another etymological signpost¹³. This derivation of *furtum* from *ferre* would seem to be exploited by Virgil elsewhere: attention may be drawn to two similarly unidentified instances¹⁴. The present passage (9,546) would appear to contain a further wrinkle. Here *furtim* is immediately preceded by *Licymnia*, which is also the subject of *sustulerat*. This *Licymnia* is an allusion to Horace (*carm.* 2,12,13)¹⁵. In this ode's first line the third word is *ferae*, while virtually homophonous *ferre* is the similarly third word of the similarly first line of the stanza immediately after *Licymnia* (12,17)¹⁶.

The double *jeu étymologique* on *fera/ferri* and *hasta/astare* that has just been identified in this passage (9,550-553) can also be shown to occur in *Aeneid* 2,49-52, where Laocoon rips into the Trojan Horse:

50 “quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis”.
 sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam
 in latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum
 contorsit. stetit illa tremens...

Here *feri* (51) as a designation of the Horse is surprising¹⁷, while the reference of *stetit* in the next line (52) is ambiguous—horse or spear?¹⁸ It

¹¹ *Aen.* 9,545 p. 259,29 G.: *superfluam originem Helenoris refert*.

¹² Cf. Maltby 1991, 249 (s. vv. *furtim*; *furtum*). For *tul-* regarded as coming from *ferre* cf. (e. g.) Cairns 1979, 99. The use of such variant stems (*tul-*) and of such composita (*sus-*) are common in etymologizing; cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 10; 140.

¹³ Cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 5. While *furtim* is placed in the same line-final locus as *fertur* (553), the *-tul-* of *sustulerat* forms the same first breve of the line-initial dactyl as the *fer-* of *ut fera* (551). Both *furtim* and *sustulerat* are lexically noteworthy; cf. Dingel 1997, 206.

¹⁴ Viz. *Aen.* 6,568-569 (*quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani / distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem*) and 10,734-735 (*seque viro vir / contulit, haud furto melior sed fortibus armis*). In these texts Servius is constrained to elucidate *furto* as *latebra* and *insidiis* respectively.

¹⁵ Cf. Hardie 1994, 176: the Virgilian passage «has the air of a private literary game between the two poets».

¹⁶ Both *ferae* and *ferre* are placed in the first unit of a corresponding series of triple negations that occupy the first half of their respective stanzas.

¹⁷ Cf. (e. g.) Horsfall 2008, 89: «Hardly “wild” except as a dangerous enemy to the Trojans».

would seem however that this *feri* is being glossed etymologically by line-final *ferentis* in the previous line but one (49)¹⁹, while this *stetit* in turn serves as an etymological gloss on similarly line-final *hastam* in the similarly previous line but one (50)²⁰: thus etyma and etymologoumena here are deftly intertwined²¹.

The earliest passage in which Virgil would appear to have in mind this etymology of *ferus/fera* from *feror* is *Eclogue* 5,27-28: *Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones / interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur*. Here the phrase *montes feri* is noteworthy. The *Scholia Bernensia* are reduced to the following attempt at elucidation: “*montesque feri*”, *praerupti, vel in quibus sunt ferae*²². Numerous synonyms for *ferus* were moreover available²³. *Ferus* was etymologized from *ferri* in the sense of «moveri»²⁴. Mountains however are proverbially «immovable»²⁵. Application of etymologically «movable» *feri* to proverbially «immovable» *montes* accordingly generates a piquant oxymoron that is admirably suited to the adynaton of mountains which «talk» (*loquuntur*)²⁶.

This subtle play on the derivation of *ferus/fera* from *feror* continues in the *Georgics*. Here the first case is 1,321, where *ferret* was emended by Meiser to *verrit*²⁷. It would seem however that «the difficulties of sense and construction» entailed by *ferret*²⁸ are instead meant to red-flag this

¹⁸ Cf. (e. g.) Conington-Nettleship 2007, 94.

¹⁹ *Ferentis* has to be paraphrased as *offerunt* by Serv. Auct.

²⁰ For use of simplex *stare* to etymologize *hasta* cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 88-89. Virgil's *jeu étymologique* accordingly shows the referent of this *stetit* to be the spear, not the horse.

²¹ Since *stare* and *ferri* are conceptual opposites («immobility» v. «mobility»), *hastam* (50) and *feri* (51) are also glossed antiphrastically by adjacent *ferentis* (49) and *stetit* (52) respectively. For such use of antonyms in etymologizing cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 11-12. On this passage (49-52) cf. further Adkin 2012; id. 2014, 49 n. 30.

²² *Feri* is significantly changed to *ferunt* by the Palatinus.

²³ Cf. *Synon. Cic.* p. 424,14-17 B., where no fewer than 23 synonyms are listed.

²⁴ So *ThLL* VI,1, 561,62-63 (s. v. *fero*).

²⁵ Cf. (e. g.) I *Cor.* 13,2: *ita ut montes transferam*.

²⁶ The recent editions of Ottaviano (2013, 58) and Holzberg (2016, 74) are therefore wrong to adopt Markland's adynaton-enfeebling *feros*.

²⁷ Meiser 1872, 119. This *verrit* is put in the text itself by (e. g.) Richter 1957, 27.

²⁸ So Slater (1909, 249), who likewise proposed emendation to *verrit*.

line-initial verb as the etymon of *ferae* exactly ten lines later (1,330)²⁹: *fūgere ferae*. This syntagm *fūgere ferae* invites two observations. On the one hand this *fūgere* evokes the sense in which *ferri* is used as etymon of *fera*, viz. «i. q. moveri, properare»³⁰. On the other hand this *ferae* is immediately followed by *et*. The resultant synaloephe *fer(ae) et* (“feret”) generates an exact homonym of the problematic *ferret* (321) that itself etymologizes the *ferae* at issue here. This homonymity shows that proposals to expunge this *et* are misconceived³¹.

Here *ferret* and *fer(ae) et* are positioned at the start of the first and second hemistichs respectively. Exactly the same placement of etymon and etymologoumenon also marks the next passage of the *Georgics* (2,34-36) to play on the derivation of *ferus/fera* from *feror*: this time however there is only a single line in between³². The last of these lines (36) reads: ...*fructusque feros mollite colendo*. Here commentators duly refer to Lucretius 5,1368, where the same syntagm (*fructusque feros*) occurs. Virgil’s own use here of this striking *iunctura* requires extensive elucidation by ancient glossators³³. Not only *ferus* was etymologized from *ferri*; *fructus* too had been derived from this same etymon very recently by Varro (*ling.* 5,104). The etymological «cluster» that is accordingly formed by Virgil’s *ferre ... fructusque feros* (34-36)³⁴ continues at the start of the next line

²⁹ On the importance of such decemlinear spacing in Virgil cf. Adkin 2015, 439. A sizeable interval between etymon and etymologoumenon is not unusual; cf. (e. g.) Cairns 1979, 98-99 (two whole sentences in between); O’Hara 2017, 83-84 (examples with six and seven interjacent lines respectively).

³⁰ So *ThLL* VI,1, 561,62-63 (s. v. *fero*).

³¹ This *et* is subjected to such expunction by (e. g.) Martyn 1827, 76 («leaving out the conjunction seems to me more poetical»). Heyne approves: «non male factum!» (Heyne-Wagner 1830, 350).

³² Here line-initial *ferre* (34) would also seem to be highlighted by the word which ends the same line (*corna*; «cornels»), which is pomiculturally «strange» (Conington-Nettleship-Haverfield 2007, 228). Since *cornum* is homonymous with *cornu(m)*; on the form *cornum* for *cornu* cf. *ThLL* IV, 962,71-82 [s. v. *cornu*]), which frequently means «i. q. latus» (ibid. 970,78-971,11), Virgil’s choice of language here invites the reader to take it as a subtextual pointer to the word at the other «side» of this same line: *ferre*.

³³ Cf. (e. g.) Gloss.¹ I *Ansil.* FE 401 (*feros fructus: silvestres*); *Brev. expos. Verg. georg.* 2,36 (*feros: idest amarus*).

³⁴ On such «clustering» of etymologies cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 7. It may be noted that Lucretius’ own *fructusque feros* (5,1368) is itself preceded exactly ten

(37) with further unidentified etymologizing: *neu segnes iaceant terrae*. While *segnis*³⁵ was etymologized as *sine igni*³⁶, *terra* was derived from *torreo*³⁷: hence Virgil is oxymoronically forbidding what «burns» others to be «without fire» itself. Here *segnes* and *terrae* are separated by *iaceant*, which occupies the same pre-caesural *sedes* as *fructus* in the foregoing line³⁸. Since this *iacēre* can mean «immutum esse»³⁹, which is the opposite of «moveri», which can be the meaning of *ferri*⁴⁰, which is the etymon of *fructus* (and *ferus*), here we accordingly have a form of etymology by antonym⁴¹.

A similar (and similarly unidentified) «cluster» also marks the next instance of play on *ferus/fera* and *ferre* later in the same *Georgic* (2,340-343): *virumque / ferrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis, / immissaeque ferae silvis et sidera caelo. / nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem....* Here same-stemmed *extulit* and *perferre* in same penultimate *sedes* sandwich pre-caesural *ferae*, which is directly juxtaposed with odd *immissae*⁴², which is conceptually linked to *ferae*'s etymon, *ferri*⁴³. This line that starts

lines earlier by etymonic [*suf*]*ferre* (1359). On Virgil's attention to such decemlinear spacing cf. n. 29 above.

³⁵ Here Virgilian *segnes* has to be glossed by Servius as *pigrae, infecundae*.

³⁶ Cf. Maltby 1991, 557 (s. v.), to which add Adkin 2005a, 92.

³⁷ Cf. Maltby 1991, 605 (s. v.): *terra, quod ... torreat*.

³⁸ Such vertical juxtaposition before the caesura in successive lines is an etymological signpost: cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

³⁹ So *ThlL* VII,1, 24,7-8 (s. v. *iaceo*).

⁴⁰ So *ThlL* VI,1, 561,62-63 (s. v. *fero*).

⁴¹ On which cf. n. 21 above. Exactly 20 lines after this antonymously etymonic *iaceant* Virgil places the line *crescentique adimunt* [sc. *rami matris*] *fetus uruntque ferentem* (56), where *ferentem* is problematic (cf. [e. g.] the baffled *Brev. expos. Verg. georg.* 2,56: "*ferentem*": *ferre incipientem, idest, quae ferre possit, si ei umbra non noceat*). Since however *fetus* was etymologized from *ferre* (Maltby 1991, 231), here in *fetus...ferentem*, which frames the hemistich (an etymological marker; Michalopoulos 2001, 5), we evidently have a further unidentified play on etymonic *ferre*.

⁴² Cf. Serv. Auct. ad loc.: "*immissae*" pro "*innatae*": *neque enim ab alio immissae sunt*.

⁴³ Both *immittere* and *ferri* denote «movement». *Immissaeque ferae* is according to a species of line-initial «coupling», which is a further etymological marker (Cairns 1996, 33 [= 2007, 317; «side by side»]; Michalopoulos 2001, 5). For another text (*Aen.* 10,12-20) in which Virgil likewise uses *immittere* in conjunction with the derivation of *fera* from *ferri* cf. nn. 136-137 below.

with *immissaeque ferae* (342) is immediately preceded by one (341) that starts with *ferrea* and continues with *extulit*. For *ferrea* part of the paradosis offers instead the alternative reading *terrea*, which is preferred by recent editors. The point should however be made that *ferrum* was etymologized from both *ferre* and *ferus/fera*⁴⁴. The objections that can be raised to *ferrea*⁴⁵, which are not decisive⁴⁶, merely red-flag *ferrea* as the start of the etymological «cluster»: this etymologically loaded *ferrea* is accordingly the right lection⁴⁷.

A little over a hundred lines later it is unsurprising to find that Virgil again appears to be engaging in the same discreet play on *ferus/fera* and *ferre*. Here the praise of the farmer's life includes *lustra ferarum* (*georg.* 2,471), which is surprising, since for the farmer *ferae* are «eigentlich... Last und Bedrohung»⁴⁸. Just six lines later⁴⁹ Virgil employs the similarly remarkable phrase *quarum* [sc. *Musarum*] *sacra fero* (476), where *fero* in particular is found by Peerlkamp to be «contra morem Virgilianum, et, puto, Latinum»⁵⁰. Here iambic *fero* is also highlighted by heavy synaloephe of two longs (*fero ingenti*) at second diaeresis with no 3rd-foot caesura: this elision reduces the verb to the stem (*fer[o]*), which is the etymon of the noun (*fer[a]*). If then the *fero* of *sacra fero* appears to point back to similarly off-centre *ferarum* (471), its *sacra* replicates the *sacra* of 473 (*sacra deum*), where this word is again eye-catchingly problematic⁵¹. The result is a strikingly chiasitic arrangement: line-final *ferarum* (471), line-initial *sacra* (473), pre-caesural *sacra fero* (476).

⁴⁴ Cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 80-81.

⁴⁵ Cf. Bentley 1713, 295.

⁴⁶ Cf. Thomas 1988, 1, 218.

⁴⁷ This *ferrea* begins a line (341) that ends with *caput extulit arvis*, which is «a rather odd reminiscence» (Thomas 1988, 1, 218) of Hor. *epod.* 2,17-18: *caput / ...agris extulit* (cf. Mankin 1995, 73: «it is hard to decide...what to make of the imitation»). The point should therefore be made that in Horace's immediately antecedent line (16) the enigmatic *infirmas ovis* is evidently to be explained as an etymological play on *ovis* = ὄ(φ)ις = ο(ὐ) (φ)ις = *in-firmus*; cf. Adkin 2009b. Hence in both Horace and Virgil the phrase *caput extulit...* is juxtaposed in an adjacent line with an etymology of a similarly animalian etymologoumenon: *ovis / ferae*.

⁴⁸ So Erren 2003, 518.

⁴⁹ For the importance Virgil gives to such sexilinear spacing cf. Thomas 1988, 1, 153-154; 176.

⁵⁰ Peerlkamp 1861, 156.

⁵¹ Cf. (e. g.) Heyne-Wagner 1830, 482.

The next case of *feral/ferre* occurs in the next *Georgic*. At 3,242 *ferarumque* is set in relief by hypermetric *-que*, which is moreover «superfluous» here⁵². This line (242) is immediately preceded by a five-line simile (237–241), which is accordingly detachable. Hence the line immediately before this simile (236) is in effect adjacent to said *ferarumque*: it significantly ends with *fertur in hostem* [sc. *taurus*], where *fertur* has to be glossed as *venit* (*Schol. Verg. Bern. georg.* 3,235). Since Virgil uses this *ferarumque* here in combination with *homines* (*hominumque ferarumque*), in this passage Virgil is thinking of *fera* as «a beast (as opp. to a human being)»⁵³. A *taurus* is precisely such a *fera*, which here (with etymological aptness) *fertur*⁵⁴. Corroboration that here *fertur* is indeed meant as an etymological gloss on *fera* would seem to be supplied by Virgil's use of paronymous *attulit* (251: *odor attulit auras*). This verb, which is here spotlighted by a very striking hypallage⁵⁵, is positioned exactly ten lines after *ferarumque*⁵⁶; this same *attulit* is also placed in exactly the same 5th-foot *sedes* as *fertur*.

The same formulation as just-mentioned *omne ... genus ... ferarumque* (3,242) is used again in the next *Georgic* (4,223): *genus omne ferarum*. It would therefore be no surprise to find the same subtle play on *feral/ferre* here too. The next line but one (225) reads: *scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri / omnia*. Here *reddi* and synonymous *referri* are notably pleonastic. *Referri* is moreover twice glossed here by Servius as simply *redire* (on 225–226). This supervacaneous *referri* is however positioned in precisely the same emphatically final *sedes* as previous-line-but-one *ferarum*. Such vertical alignment in terminal position with just a single line in between is an etymological red flag⁵⁷.

The last two cases of *feral/ferre* in the *Georgics* occur shortly afterwards: since both concern Proteus, they may be considered together. The first involves the phrase *ora ferarum* at the end of 4,406⁵⁸. The previous line but

⁵² So Sidgwick 1890, 105, who points out that in the present case there is no sense-related reason for this metrical peculiarity, as there is (e. g.) shortly afterwards in l. 377 («of the huge firewood»).

⁵³ So OLD I, 752 (s. v. *fera*; sect. 2).

⁵⁴ This *fertur* is the lexical form employed to etymologize *fera*: *quia fertur*.

⁵⁵ As noted by Servius, who also feels obliged to gloss this *attulit* as *adportaverint*.

⁵⁶ On such decemlinear spacing cf. n. 29 above.

⁵⁷ Cf. Cairns 1996, 33 (= 2007, 317); Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

⁵⁸ «*Ora* of beasts is unusual» (Mynors 1990, 310).

one (404) ends with *iacentem*: it was noted above that *iacere* (= «immo-tum esse») is the opposite of *ferri* (= «moveri»)⁵⁹. Since we have here exactly the same vertical, line-final, one-line-between alignment as in just-mentioned 223-225 (...*ferarum* / ...*referri*), we evidently have here another case of etymology — this time by antonym⁶⁰. The other Protean passage occurs just 30 lines later, where (4,442) *feram* is substituted for Homeric ἐρπετά (*Od.* 4,418). Just six lines earlier (437)⁶¹ Virgil places the line *cuius* [sc. *Protei*] *Aristaeo quoniam est oblata facultas*, where «the expression is rather odd»⁶². The point of this «oddness» is evidently to highlight *oblata* (< *ob-ferre*)⁶³ as etymon of ensuing *feram*.

The first instance of *feralferre* in the *Aeneid* is found in the first book. At 1,313-314 (*ferro* / ...*tulit*) Michalopoulos has pointed out that *ferrum* is being etymologized from *ferre*⁶⁴. The further point may be made that exactly six lines earlier (308-309)⁶⁵ Virgil places the following distich: *qui teneant (nam inculta videt), hominesne feraene, / quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre*. Here *feraene* is set off by the foregoing parenthesis ending with archaic scansion (*vidēt*), while *referre* is similarly pointed up by antecedent *exacta*, which needed to be widely glossed⁶⁶. *Feraene* and *referre* are here juxtaposed vertically at the end of directly contiguous verses. Since this configuration is an etymological red light⁶⁷, here Virgil is evidently pointing to the derivation of *fera* from *ferre*⁶⁸. Here etymoloumenon and etymon (*ferae* / *referre*) are placed in the same sequence

⁵⁹ Cf. nn. 39-40 above.

⁶⁰ On such antonymic etymologizing cf. nn. 21; 41 above, where further examples are adduced.

⁶¹ On such sexilinear spacing cf. n. 49 above.

⁶² So Thomas, 1988, 2, 224.

⁶³ For deviant forms of *ferre* regarded in etymological contexts as coming from this verb cf. n. 12 above. *Oblata* is here juxtaposed with its subject *facultas*, which is a Virgilian hapax.

⁶⁴ Michalopoulos 2001, 80.

⁶⁵ On the significance of such a six-line interspace cf. n. 49 above.

⁶⁶ Cf. (e. g.) Serv. ad loc. (*exacta: exquisita*); Gloss.¹ III Abstr. EX 53 (*exacta: arte qualibet peracta, explorata*).

⁶⁷ On such «vertical juxtaposition in consecutive lines» in etymologizing cf. O'Hara 2017, 86-88.

⁶⁸ Silius' imitation (1,684) significantly replaces *refero* with *reporto: exacta reportent*. This Virgilian line (309) is thought by Austin (1971, 117) to be «deliberately prosaic». He is proved wrong by the *jeu étymologique*.

as in the other etymology from *ferre* six respective lines later (313-314: *ferro / tulit*).

The first of the two cases of *ferus(-a)/ferre* in the *Aeneid*'s next book (2,49-51) has already been treated at the start of the present article. The other case in this second book (2,326-327) reads thus: *ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos / transtulit*. *Ferus* is «not a standard epithet of gods in general..., and certainly not of Jup[iter]»⁶⁹. Not surprisingly therefore *ferus* here had to be glossed: *ferus Iuppiter: malus Iovis* (Gloss.^L II Arma F 70). The reason for this surprising use of *ferus* here is evidently to be sought in ensuing *transtulit*, which serves to gloss this *ferus* as the derivative of *ferre*. Here post-caesural *ferus* and enjambed *transtulit* eye-catchingly frame this sentence: such «framing» is an etymological heads-up⁷⁰.

The next instance of *ferus(-a)/ferre* is found in the *Aeneid*'s next book but one (4,465-466): *agit ipse furemtem* [sc. *Didonem*] / *in somnis ferus Aeneas*. As with just-discussed *ferus Iuppiter* (2,326), *ferus Aeneas* here needed to be glossed. Significantly the gloss given this time is the same: *ferus: hic malus* (Gloss.^L II Arma F 112). Just as *ferus Iuppiter* was glossed etymologically by Virgil's *transtulit*, so *ferus Aeneas* is evidently glossed here by his *agit* – but antonymically⁷¹. The precise sense of this *agit* is uncertain⁷². *Agere* is however the conceptual antithesis of *ferri*, which is the etymon of *ferus*. Here it is Dido herself who *fertur*, when Aeneas *agit* her. Hence application of *ferus* (< *ferri*) to Aeneas himself is a species of «displacement»⁷³.

The other case of *ferus(-a)/ferre* in *Aeneid* IV occurs shortly afterwards (4,551), where a notorious crux is involved. Here Dido says: *non licuit ... vitam / degere more ferae* (550-551). The «startling» words *more ferae*⁷⁴, to which Henry devotes no fewer than ten pages⁷⁵, have been variously

⁶⁹ So Horsfall 2008, 277 (ad loc.).

⁷⁰ Cf. O'Hara 2017, 82-86 (Virgil «uses words connected etymologically to «frame» a sentence» [83]). O'Hara also draws attention to Virgil's tendency to place such etymologically operative words at the beginning of the line, like etymonically line-initial *transtulit* here.

⁷¹ For such etymologizing by antonym cf. n. 21 above.

⁷² For scholarly incertitude about *agit* here cf. (e. g.) Buscaroli 1932, 317.

⁷³ On such «displaced etymologies» cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 8.

⁷⁴ So Conington-Nettleship 2008a, 309, where these words are also said to «have caused so much perplexity».

⁷⁵ Henry 1878, 789-798.

emended⁷⁶. The point may therefore be made that this ante-caesural *ferae* (551) is preceded by enjambed *inferar* (545), which is further highlighted by a similar problematality: «*inferar*: some editors explain as “attack”..., others as “proceed”...or “introduce myself among”...»⁷⁷. Since in both *inferar* and *ferae* the referent of this pair of impossibility-denoting terms is Dido⁷⁸, Virgil would again appear to have the etymological link between *fera* and *ferri* in mind here. The final observation may be made that the similar phrase *more ferarum* had been used by Lucretius in similar conjunction with *refert* at 4,1264, where the two terms frame the second hemistich: here, as in Virgil, the reference is sex⁷⁹.

The next case of *ferus(-a)/ferre* occurs in the next book but one (*Aen.* 6,80-82)⁸⁰. This passage of Book VI reads thus:

tanto magis ille [sc. Phoebus] fatigat
80 os rabidum [sc. Sibyllae], fera corda domans, fingitque premento.
 ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum
 sponte sua vatisque ferunt responsa per auras (*Aen.* 6,79-82).

This text is evidently marked by an etymological «cluster» that has hitherto escaped notice. *Ostium* (81) was etymologized from *os*⁸¹, which is placed in the same initial *sedes* in the previous line (80)⁸². This *ostia* is sep-

⁷⁶ Peerlkamp 1843a, 278 alters *more ferae*, which he twice calls a «locus difficilissimus», to *vae miserae*, while Burman 1746, 568 and Waddel 1734, 16 proposed *more meo* and *more fero* respectively. Servius himself reports that *multi* think the true reading is adverbial *fere* instead of *ferae*.

⁷⁷ So Pease 1935, 446.

⁷⁸ Hence the Dido who *fertur* by «displacement» just 80 lines earlier (*agit... / ...ferus Aeneas* [4,465-466]; cf. previous paragraph), now *fertur* in fact.

⁷⁹ Lucretian *refert* draws attention to itself by being used at the caesura on two further occasions immediately beforehand (1257; 1260).

⁸⁰ Brief mention may also be made of a passage in the previous book (5,817-818), where *fera* is not the etymologoumenon, but the etymon: *addit* [sc. *Neptunus*] / *frena feris*. Here «the description of Neptune's horses [sc. as *feris*] has occasioned critical comment» (Fratantuono-Alden Smith 2015, 687), since *ferus* («[of animals] undomesticated»; so *OLD* I, 760 [s. v.; sect. 1a]) is an odd word to use of domesticated *equos* (previous l. [817] in identical *sedes*). It would seem therefore that here we have an unidentified case of etymologizing, since *frenum* was derived from *ferus* (Maltby 1991, 243): such «coupling» (*frena feris*) is an etymological marker (Cairns 1996, 33 [= 2007, 317]; Michalopoulos 2001, 5).

⁸¹ Cf. Maltby 1991, 437 (s. v.).

⁸² Such plumb-line juxtaposition at the start of successive verses is an etymo-

arated by one word from pre-caesural *domus* (81)⁸³, which was regarded as the etymon of *domare*⁸⁴, which Virgil employs in post-caesural *sedes* in the preceding line (80: *domans*)⁸⁵: here Virgil would accordingly appear to be engaging in an etymological play on *domans/domus*, as he does with *os/ostium*⁸⁶. After said *domans/domus* and *os/ostium* a third such case of etymologizing here would be unsurprising. *Fera* (80) is separated from aforesaid *os* and *domans* by just one word respectively. This *fera*, which has to be glossed as «i. efferata»⁸⁷, would seem in the line after pre-caesurally etymonic *domus* to be furnished with its own etymon in post-caesural *ferunt* (82), which has to be glossed as *extrinsecus proferebant* (Claud. Don. *Aen.* 6,82 p. 10 M.).

Lexically identical *ferunt* is again the form at issue in the other case of *ferus(-a)/ferre* in this same Book VI (283-285): *quam sedem Somnia vulgo / vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent. / multaue praeterea variarum monstra ferarum*. Here we have another etymological «cluster». The line that ends with *ferarum* (285) starts with *multa*. It has been argued elsewhere⁸⁸ that this line-initial *multa* serves to signal that at the start of the next line (286) odd *Centauri*⁸⁹ is being etymologized from similarly «numerical» *centum*⁹⁰; this etymology is then confirmed at the start of the next line (287) by similarly odd *et centumgeminus Briareus*⁹¹. If then line-initial *multa* (285) entails etymological wordplay, it is no surprise that at

logical nudge-nudge: cf. O'Hara 2017, 86-88. Here Virgil has been at some pains to ensure a matching line-initial position for *ostia*, since he hereby postpones *iamque* as well as putting noun first and adjective last in the line (*ostia ... centum*): for this rare anastrophe of *iamque* («vor Verg. nicht nachweisbar») and for this equally rare noun-epithet arrangement («gehört ... zu den größten Seltenheiten») cf. Norden 1995, 404 and 392 respectively.

⁸³ *Domus* is here used noteworthyly of an *antrum* (77).

⁸⁴ Cf. Maltby 1991, 195 (s. v. *domo*, *-are*).

⁸⁵ On the importance of caesural position in etymologizing cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

⁸⁶ The statement of Horsfall 2013, 119 that *domus* is «here...of little actual force» is accordingly shown by the *jeu étymologique* to be wrong.

⁸⁷ So *ThLL* VI,1, 605,44-45 (s. v. *ferus*).

⁸⁸ Cf. Adkin 2006, 173-175.

⁸⁹ «Not among the traditional monsters of the Underworld» (Austin 1977, 121-122).

⁹⁰ Cf. Maltby 1991, 119 (s. v. *Centauri*).

⁹¹ «Briareus had not a hundred bodies, but a hundred hands...so that the expression is far from exact» (Conington-Nettleship 2008a, 463).

the end of the same line *ferarum* should involve similar play. Here *ferarum* is set off by cacophonous homoeoteleuton (*variarum...ferarum*)⁹², while in the directly preceding line (284) etymonic *ferunt* is brought into similar prominence by a very striking anacoluthon that immediately follows it after the main caesura⁹³.

This etymological «cluster» extends beyond aforesaid *ferunt/ferarum* and *multa/Centauri/centumgeminus*. The point was made above that *ferre* was not only regarded as the etymon of *ferus(-a)*, but also of *ferrum*⁹⁴. Three unidentified allusions to this derivation of *ferrum* from *ferre* would appear to be contained in the present passage. The first occurs in lines 279-280: *...mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum, / ferreique Eumenidum thalami...* Here pre-caesural *mortiferum* is a Virgilian hapax, while line-initial *ferrei*, which is further spotlighted by doubly unusual synizesis⁹⁵, has to be elucidated by Ti. Claudius Donatus thus: “*ferrei*” ... *duri, id est inmites* (*Aen.* 6,280 p. 546,23-24 G.). The second instance is found in lines 290-291: *corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum / Aeneas strictamque aciem venientibus offert*. This time *ferrum* and *offert*⁹⁶, which are vertically juxtaposed at the end of successive lines⁹⁷, are also brought into relief because this very same injunction has already been given to Aeneas by the Sibyl a mere 30 lines earlier (260). The third and last of these instances occurs in lines 294-295: *...frustra ferro diverberet umbras. / hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas*. Here *fert*⁹⁸ needed to be glossed: *quae fert: quae ducit* (Gloss.^L I Ansil. QUE 25). The final point may be made that *ferrei* (280), *ferarum* (285), *ferrum* (290) and *fert* (295) are all exactly six lines apart⁹⁹: in each of these cases etymon and etymologoumenon are placed in contiguous lines¹⁰⁰.

⁹² Cf. Adkin 2005b.

⁹³ The difference of sense (here *ferunt* = «they say», not «they carry») merely makes the play more piquant.

⁹⁴ Cf. n. 44 above.

⁹⁵ On the one hand the vowels that are fused here are *ei* instead of usual *ea*, while on the other this licence is here admitted at the start of the line instead of occurring in its usual position at the end.

⁹⁶ «“Offert”, exquisite pro intentat» (Heyne-Wagner 1832, 895).

⁹⁷ An etymological red flag: cf. O’Hara 2017, 86-88.

⁹⁸ Both *fert* and *ferro* end at the hephthemimeres.

⁹⁹ On such sexilinear spacing cf. n. 49 above.

¹⁰⁰ This symmetry is an argument against the authenticity of lines 289a-d, which spoil it.

The two just-discussed cases of *ferus(-a)/ferre* in *Aeneid* VI are matched by a similar pair in the next book, both of which are again marked by an unidentified etymological «cluster». The first (*Aen.* 7,19-24) reads thus:

20 quos hominum ex facie dea saeva potentibus herbis
 induerat Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum.
 quae ne monstra pii paterentur talia Troes
 delati in portus neu litora dira subirent,
 Neptunus ventis implevit vela secundis,
 atque fugam dedit et praeter vada fervida vexit.

Line-final *ferarum* (20)¹⁰¹ is followed after a space of just one verse by line-initial *delati* (22; < *ferre*), which is in turn followed after the same space of just one verse by *vexit* (24) in the same final *sedes* as said *ferarum*: *veho* is a synonym of *fero*¹⁰². Aforesaid *vexit* is juxtaposed with *fervida*, which had recently been posited by Varro (frg. *Isid. orig.* 13,8,2) as the etymon of *freta*, which is a synonym of *vada*¹⁰³, which is here qualified by said *fervida*. This Virgilian *vada fervida*, which required elucidation¹⁰⁴, is accordingly another case of etymologization by synonym, just like the *vexit* that is directly juxtaposed with similarly etymonic *fervida*¹⁰⁵. The juxtaposition of *fervida* with qualifyee *vada* is itself a case of etymological «coupling»¹⁰⁶.

The other unidentified etymological «cluster» in *Aeneid* VII involving *ferus(-a)/ferre* runs as follows (7,489-492):

490 pectebatque [sc. Silvia] ferum puroque in fonte lavabat.
 ille manum patiens mensaeque adusuetus erili
 errabat silvis rursusque ad limina nota

¹⁰¹ Here the *Odyssée* has instead σῶν (10,239).

¹⁰² Cf. *OLD* II, 2227 (s. v. *veho*; sect. 1a: «to convey...carry»); *ibid.* I, 754 (s. v. *fero*; sect. 1a: «to carry, convey»). For such use of synonyms in etymologizing cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 11. Such vertical alignment in final *sedes* with several verses in between is an etymological signpost: cf. Cairns 1996, 33 (= 2007, 317); Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

¹⁰³ Cf. *OLD* I, 807 (s. v. *fretum*; sect. 3c: «the waters [of the sea]»); *ibid.* II, 2208 (s. v. *vadum*; sect. 4: «the waters [of the sea]»).

¹⁰⁴ *Id est mare turbulentum* (*Gloss.*¹ I *Ansil.* VA 26).

¹⁰⁵ It may also be noted that *fero* (= *veho*) and *fervo* are virtual homonyms.

¹⁰⁶ On this etymological marker («side by side») cf. Cairns 1996, 33 (= 2007, 317); Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

ipse domum sera quamvis se nocte ferebat.

Here the characterization of Silvia's pet stag as *ferus* is «singularly inappropriate»¹⁰⁷. This «inappropriateness» does however red-flag *ferus*, which is duly etymologized after just two lines by the emphatically verse-final predicate *se ... ferebat* (492) that has to be explained as *remeabat* by Ti. Claudius Donatus (*Aen.* 7,490 p. 74,21 G.). The oddness of *ferus* would appear to be further accentuated by a second etymology in the line immediately after it (490), where *manum* and *adsuetus* are the etyma of *mansuetus*¹⁰⁸, which is the direct opposite of *ferus*¹⁰⁹.

The next case of *ferus(-a)/ferre* (*Aen.* 9,551-553) was discussed at the start of the present article. A mere forty lines later in this same Book IX we have another instance of the same *jeu étymologique*, which once again entails an undetected «cluster». Numanus Remulus' famous speech contrasting Italian macho with Trojan milksoppery is introduced by the following line (9,597): *ingentem sese clamore ferebat*. Here *sese ... ferebat* is problematic: while some commentators follow Servius¹¹⁰, others reject the Servian view¹¹¹. Virgil's object in using this problematic *sese ... ferebat*, which frames the hemistich, is evidently to draw attention to this phrase. The immediately preceding sentence, which introduces this Numanus, reads thus (590-592): *tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam / dicitur ante feras solitus terrere fugacis / Ascanius, fortemque manu fudisse Numanum*. It would accordingly appear that with typical pawkiness¹¹² Virgil is applying the etymon (*sese...ferebat*) of Ascanius' old victims (*feras*; 591) to his new victim (*Numanum*), who is introduced in the next line (592)¹¹³.

¹⁰⁷ So Conington-Nettleship 2008b, 50.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Maltby 1991, 366 (s. v.). Virgil's *manum* is highlighted by the ambiguity of its case (*manum patiens*: acc. sing. or gen. pl.?: cf. Serv. ad loc.), while similar prominence is given to *adsuetus* by its repetition here from just three lines earlier (487). Both *manum* and *adsuetus* are symmetrically arranged just one word from beginning and end of the line respectively.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *ThLL* VI,1, 603,32-33; 605,23 (s. v. *ferus*).

¹¹⁰ So (e. g.) Dingel 1997, 223, who quotes Servius' own wording: *non erat ingens, sed se esse clamitabat ingentem*.

¹¹¹ So (e. g.) Heyne-Wagner 1833, 383: «Nec vero accipiendum cum Servio...: eum clamasse se esse magnum: sed *se ferebat*, incedebat ingens homo».

¹¹² On this form of Virgilian wit cf. (e. g.) Adkin 2001, 12-14.

¹¹³ This *Numanum* is the object of contiguous *fudisse*, which is here a noteworthy neologism (cf. Dingel 1997, 222 [ad loc.]). *Fundere* was however regarded as

In this connection reference may also be made to a similar passage in the next book but one (*Aen.* 11,677-689), where the etymon of the hunted *fera* (*ferri*) is likewise transferred to the human agent involved. Here Ornytus is introduced thus (677-678): *procul Ornytus armis / ignotis et equo venator Iapyge fertur*. When Ornytus is then promptly killed by Camilla, her concomitant gloat begins thus (686-688)¹¹⁴: “*silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti? / advenit qui vestra dies muliebribus armis / verba redargueret*”. What «words»?¹¹⁵. The «words» at issue here would in fact appear to be the immediately foregoing *te ... feras agitare* (686). These «words» are now «rebutted»: Ornytus is no longer the «hunter» of *ferae*, but is himself the hunted *fera*¹¹⁶. Hence the etymon of *fera* is applied to Ornytus by an apt prolepsis: *fertur* (678).

After the passage (*Aen.* 9,591-597) discussed in the previous paragraph but one this Book IX contains one last case of *fera/ferre*, which again involves an unrecognized «cluster» (9,771-773): *cum galea longe iacuit caput. inde ferarum / vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter / unguere tela manu ferrumque armare veneno*. Here *ferarum* and the strikingly instantaneous perfect *iacuit* frame the hemistich¹¹⁷. It was observed above that *iacere* (= «immutum esse») is the antithesis of *ferri* (= «moveri»), etymon of *fera*¹¹⁸. Evidently therefore we have here a further instance of etymology by antonym¹¹⁹, in which the bucolic diaeresis that separates *iacuit* and *ferarum* marks the «displacement»¹²⁰.

the etymon of *funda* (Maltby 1991, 247), which Virgil has just used (586) in similarly noteworthy fashion («only here in the *Aen.* in battle»; Hardie 1994, 184). It would appear therefore that here we have a «displaced» etymology. On such «displacement» cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 8.

¹¹⁴ This speech is introduced by a line (685: *super haec inimico pectore fatur*), which is also used in the immediately preceding book (10,556), where it likewise introduces a similarly tetrastichic taunt (557-560), which likewise contains a *jeu étymologique* on *ferus(-a)/ferre* (cf. n. 144 below).

¹¹⁵ «Obscurum de verbis» (Peerlkamp 1843b, 367), since «Virgil does not record any of Ornytus' words» (Fratantuono 2009, 227).

¹¹⁶ When Ornytus was first introduced, he was described as *venator* (678). When he is now killed, he is instead qualified with the term *exceptum* (684). «Qua ille arte feras solitus erat capere, eadem ipse capitur....Est enim “excipio” verbum venatorum» (Cerde 1617, 631).

¹¹⁷ An etymological marker: cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

¹¹⁸ Cf. nn. 39-40; 59 above.

¹¹⁹ On which cf. nn. 21; 41; 60 above.

¹²⁰ On which cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 8.

The last of these three afore-cited lines (773) reads: *unguere tela manu ferrumque armare veneno*. Here the two hemistichs are tautologous; in particular «ingrata ... est repetitio *tela et ferrum*»¹²¹. It would seem however that here we have two further *jeux étymologiques*. The point was made above that *ferrum*, like *fera*, was etymologized from *ferre*¹²². Since *ferrum* here occupies the same emphatic *sedes* after the caesura as aforementioned *iacuit* (771; antonym of *ferre*)¹²³, this *ferrum/iacuit* is evidently another antonymous *jeu*. Like *ferrum*, the *tela* of the first hemistich would also appear to involve etymological play. *Tel(um)* was etymologized from τῆλ(οῦ)¹²⁴, which occurs in the Homeric source (*Il.* 20,482) of aforesaid line 771 (*cum galea longe iacuit caput*)¹²⁵. It would accordingly seem that Virgil's battological *tela* is an etymological nod to Homer's τῆλ¹²⁶. This Homeric line is significantly «enriched» by all the above-mentioned *jeux étymologiques* entailed in Virgil's imitation¹²⁷.

This afore-cited tristich (771-773) would appear to contain one last case of etymological play, which this time is unconnected with the Homeric *Quelle*. Here the words at issue are *ferarum / vastatorem Amycum* (771-772). Noteworthy *vastator* is a neologism: it is also a Virgilian hapax. Mørland argued that here *vastator* is an etymological gloss on *Amycus* as deriving from ἀμύσσω¹²⁸. However this view is rightly discounted by O'Hara¹²⁹: *vastare* does not mean «to tear». It would nonetheless appear possible to show that here *vastator* is indeed being put to use etymologically. *Vastare* was regarded as the etymon of *bestia*¹³⁰, which Virgil avoids as «unpoetic»¹³¹. *Bestia* is however a synonym of *fera*¹³². Such synonyms

¹²¹ So Peerlkamp 1843b, 221.

¹²² Cf. n. 44 above.

¹²³ For such vertical, post-caesural, one-line-between alignment as an etymological signpost cf. Cairns 1996, 33 (= 2007, 317); Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

¹²⁴ Cf. Maltby 1991, 602-603 (s. v. *telum*).

¹²⁵ *Il.* 20,482 reads: τῆλ' αὐτῇ πῆληκι κάρη βάλε. Virgil has significantly replaced βάλε with *iacuit*.

¹²⁶ Virgilian *longe* (771), which like *tela* is placed in the second foot, also serves as a heads-up.

¹²⁷ For such etymological «enrichment» of a source cf. n. 10 above.

¹²⁸ Mørland 1965, 72.

¹²⁹ O'Hara 2017, 222.

¹³⁰ Cf. Maltby 1991, 79 (s. v. *bestia*).

¹³¹ Cf. Axelson 1945, 52-53.

¹³² Cf. *Thll* II, 1936,51-59 (s. v. *bestia*).

are regularly utilized by Virgil for etymological ends¹³³. This would appear to be the case with the present phrase: *ferarum / vastatorem Amycum*. Here however we have a particularly piquant instance of «displacement»¹³⁴. In this case it is not «beasts» that «devastate», but Amycus that «devastates» «beasts»: the etymon of the «hunted» is transferred to the «hunter».

The *Aeneid*'s next book (X) contains three cases of *ferus(-a)/ferre*. The first occurs at the start of this book in the famous Council of the Gods, which begins with an alloquy of Jupiter himself, who declares (10,11-13): *adveniet...tempus, / cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim / ...Alpis immittet apertas*. Here the application of *fera* to *Karthago* is remarkable, as is shown for example by Cerda's uncomfortable note: «Est *fera*, Martia, et bellicosa,... Itaque non placet, ut Virgilium referas ad *feras*, et serpentes, quibus scatet Africa»¹³⁵. The predicate of this *fera Karthago* is equally remarkable: *Alpis immittet apertas*¹³⁶. It was however noted above that in *Georgic* 2,342 the same odd *immittere* is used in similar association with *ferae* in connection with the latter's derivation from *ferri*, which is conceptually related to *immitti*¹³⁷. Such would again appear to be the case here: *ferri* is introduced shortly afterwards (l. 20), where it too is remarkable.

In lines 20-22 Venus answers Jupiter thus: *cernis ut insultent Rutuli, Turnusque feratur / per medios insignis equis tumidusque secundo / Marte ruat?* Here *feratur* is problematic. Commentators note that «the deeds of Turnus ...were in fact done on foot, not on horseback»¹³⁸. Servius Auctus is unsure whether *equis* is to be taken with *feratur* or with *insignis*. Ti. Claudius Donatus is unsure whether *feratur* means *portatur* or *superbiā feratur*; his own paraphrase replaces *feratur* with *vehitur* (*Aen.* 10,20 p. 293,18-21 G.). The words from *feratur* to *tumidusque* are deleted altogether by Ribbeck¹³⁹. This deletion is pronounced by Mackail to be «a decided improvement»¹⁴⁰.

¹³³ Cf. nn. 6; 102 above.

¹³⁴ On which cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 8.

¹³⁵ Cerda 1617, 411.

¹³⁶ «L'expression est remarquable de hardiesse» (so [e. g.] Benoist 1890, 154).

¹³⁷ Cf. nn. 42-43 above.

¹³⁸ So (e. g.) Williams 1973, 323.

¹³⁹ Ribbeck 1895, 680. These words are accordingly athetized in the online *Library of Latin Texts*, which uses Ribbeck's edition.

¹⁴⁰ Mackail 1930, 376.

This view would seem however to be wrong: *feratur* is not a flaw, but an embellishment, which is red-flagged by the above-mentioned quirks. Here remarkable *feratur* is evidently meant as an etymological gloss on similarly remarkable *fera*. In the collocations *Turnusque feratur* and *cum fera Karthago*, which both consist of exactly two and a half feet, two *nomina propria* (*Turnus* / *Karthago*), which are both enemies of the «Romans», are directly juxtaposed with etymon (*feratur*) and etymologoumenon (*fera*) respectively: here we accordingly have another «displaced» etymology, which this time is particularly deft. Attention may finally be drawn to three further symmetricalities that here link *ferre* to its derivative. To start with, the first two syllables of trisyllabic *fera-tur* are identical with disyllabic *fera*. Secondly, *fera* is placed at the beginning of the fourth line from the end of Jupiter's 10-line speech, while *feratur* is placed at the end of the third line¹⁴¹ from the beginning of Venus' 45-line speech. Lastly, in the units (*cum*) *fera* and *fera(tur)* the «*fera*» is just one syllable from the beginning and the end of the respective lines.

The second case of *ferus(-a)/ferre* in this Book X occurs just 200 lines later, where Aulestes' ship with its Triton-figurehead is described thus (10,210-212): *cui* [sc. *Tritoni*] *laterum tenuis hispida nanti / frons hominem praefert, in pristim desinit alvus, / spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda*. Here (*prae*)*fert* and (*semi*)*fero* are vertically juxtaposed in the same pre-caesural *sedes* in contiguous lines: such an arrangement is an etymological red light¹⁴². If however etymonic (*prae*)*fert* is plumb-lined with (*semi*)*fero*, this verb is instead made to govern *hominem*, which is the exact opposite of *ferus*¹⁴³. This is accordingly a further striking form of etymological «displacement».

The last of the three instances of *ferus(-a)/ferre* in Book X is to be found at 559-560, where Aeneas taunts Tarquitus as follows¹⁴⁴: «*alitisbus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum / unda feret piscesque impasti vulnera lambent*». In *pisces...impasti* Cerda identified a *jeu étymologique*¹⁴⁵, since

¹⁴¹ Matchingly fourth line, if the incomplete l. 17 is counted.

¹⁴² Cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

¹⁴³ Cf. *Thll* VI,3, 2876,16-65 (s. v. *homo*). The words *frons hominem praefert* are «a complicated and strained phrase» (Sidgwick 1890, 417).

¹⁴⁴ This four-line taunt (557-560) is prefaced by wording (556: *super haec inimico pectore fatur*) that is exactly reproduced in the next book (11,685), where it likewise preludes a similarly quadrilinear *epikertomema* (686-689) involving the same play on *ferus(-a)/ferre* (cf. n. 114 above).

¹⁴⁵ Cerda 1617, 496.

piscis was etymologized from *pascere*¹⁴⁶. It would seem possible to show that this play on *piscis/pascere* is immediately preceded by one on *ferus(-a)/ferre*¹⁴⁷: here we accordingly have another etymological «cluster». *Feris* as qualifier of *alitibus* is strictly superfluous¹⁴⁸. Juxtaposition of *gurgite mersum* with *unda* likewise entails a slight dissonance: while *unda* suggests «surface»¹⁴⁹, «depth» is instead the connotation of both *gurgite*¹⁵⁰ and *mersum*¹⁵¹. The combination of «birds» and «waves» is itself mildly inconcinuous¹⁵². Such minor discongruities regularly signal etymological play, which here involves another «displacement»: in *alitibus...feris...unda feret* the etymon (*feret*) is wittily transferred from the birds to their victim. This *jeu étymologique* «enriches» Virgil's Homeric sources here¹⁵³.

By way of conclusion reference may be made to the compositum *efferus*, which Virgil uses three times in Book VIII: all three passages involve play on etymonic *ferre*. The first instance occurs just six lines from the start of the book: *saevitque iuventus / effera* (8,5-6). Williams rightly bids us to «notice the great emphasis on *effera*, first word in the line and last in the sentence»¹⁵⁴: this opening dactyl (*effera*) is followed by an attention-grabbingly asyndetic stop. Besides being thus positionally prominent, this *effera* is also semantically salient: while Servius has to explain it as *efferata per furiam*, Ti. Claudius Donatus supplies a gloss (*ferebatur iuventus non ratione aliqua, sed naturali feritate*; *Aen.* 8,5 p. 113,9-10 G.), where *ferebatur* would seem to be an allusion to etymonic *ferri*¹⁵⁵. Virgil himself evidently glosses *effera* etymologically with the *extulit* which occupies the

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Maltby 1991, 477 (s. v. *piscis*).

¹⁴⁷ In each case the etymon follows the derivative: *feris...feret / pisces...impasti*.

¹⁴⁸ Heinrich's emendation to *ferisque* is commended by (e. g.) Peerlkamp 1843b, 273.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. (e. g.) Isid. orig. 13,20,3: *unda...eminens liquor*.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. (e. g.) Isid. orig. 13,21,4: *gurgis...locus altus in flumine*; Gloss.¹ II *Philox.* GV 5: *gurgite*: βυθῶ.

¹⁵¹ *Mergo* is regularly glossed as βυθίζω; cf. Goetz-Loewe 1899, 695.

¹⁵² Cf. Schol. Verg. *Aen.* 10,559: *de eo, [cuius iacet in] campo corpus, si flumine [mersum dicit,] non est dictum ratione*.

¹⁵³ For these sources cf. Harrison 1991, 212. For such etymological «enrichment» of a Greek source cf. Michalopoulos 2001, 10.

¹⁵⁴ Williams 1973, 230.

¹⁵⁵ For Donatus' concern with etymology in this section cf. *Aen.* 8,5 p. 112,17-18 G., where *tumultus* (*Aen.* 8,4), which is separated by just one line from *effera*, is given the following etymological gloss: *hoc est timor multus*.

same line-initial *sedes* just four lines earlier in the second line of the book (8,2)¹⁵⁶, where *extulit* is, like *effera*, set off by enjambment before a strong break. For *efferre* there were plenty of synonyms, which Virgil could have used instead¹⁵⁷.

This *effera* would appear to receive a further etymological gloss from Virgil's use of *inferre* just six lines later (8,12), where once again, like *effera* and *extulit*, this infinitive is eye-catchingly enjambed before a sense-break. If *extulit* evinced the same prefix as *effera*, but with a different stem, *inferre* now evinces the same stem, but with the opposite prefix: here we accordingly have a species of etymology by antonym¹⁵⁸. If etymonic *inferre* is positioned at the start of line 12, the end of the next line but one (14) would appear to contain a final hint at Virgil's etymological intent here. This line 14 reads: ...late *Latio increbrescere nomen*. Here the phrase *increbrescere nomen* needed to be glossed¹⁵⁹. Peerlkamp deleted the whole line¹⁶⁰. In particular *nomen* is problematic: «“nomen” nude positum minus gratum videtur»¹⁶¹. *Nomen* can however mean «a word...in a sentence»¹⁶². It may accordingly be felt that not-quite-kosher *increbrescere nomen* hints subtextually at the *nomen* “fer-” «becoming frequent» in the foregoing passage: *efferre* (*extulit*) / *effera* / *inferre*.

The second case of *efferus* to be discussed in Book VIII occurs at 483-484, where Evander asks Aeneas: *quid* [sc. *memorem*] *facta tyranni* [sc. *Mezentii*] / *effera*? Again *effera* is limelighted by hyperbatic enjambment before an asyndetic stop at the first diaeresis. Again this *effera* has to be

¹⁵⁶ Such vertical alignment in initial position with just a three-line interspace is an etymological wink-wink: cf. Cairns 1996, 33 (= 2007, 317); Michalopoulos 2001, 5.

¹⁵⁷ Virgil's wording here (8,1-2) is: *ut belli signum...Turnus... / extulit*. For *efferre* Conington-Nettleship 2008b, 88 (ad loc.) note the alternative *proponere*, while Servius speaks of *elevatio* (for ample synonyms of *elevo* itself cf. *ThLL* V,2, 364,57-64 [s. v.]). *Extulit* here is glossed as *ostendit* by Ti. Claudius Donatus (*Aen.* 8,5 p. 112,8 G.), while the paraphrase in Ps. Ov. *argum. Aen.* 8,1 gives *dat* instead: *dat belli signum...Turnus*.

¹⁵⁸ On which cf. nn. 21; 41; 60; 119 above. This *inferre* has to be glossed as *vehere* by Ti. Claudius Donatus (*Aen.* 8,10 p. 114,16-17 G.; cf. p. 114,18 G.).

¹⁵⁹ *Increbrescere nomen: innotescere, celebre fieri* (Gloss.¹ I *Ansil. IN* 290).

¹⁶⁰ Peerlkamp 1843b, 81 («Aeneas paucos dies in Laurenti litore fuerat, et iam nomen late per Latium increbruerat!»).

¹⁶¹ Heyne-Wagner 1833, 181.

¹⁶² So *OLD* II, 1304 (s. v.; sect. 6c).

explained by Servius, this time as *cruenta*. Shortly beforehand Evander tells Aeneas (477): *fatis huc te poscentibus adfers*. This *adfers* has to be glossed as *venires* by Servius, who reports an alternative reading *adfer*, which he likewise has to gloss: *perge*. This *adfer(s)* is spotlighted by its position at the end of both line and sentence. It therefore matches line-initial *effera*, which likewise ends the sentence. Here we accordingly have a type of «framing», which is an etymological marker¹⁶³. If however the stem (*fer-*) is identical in both etymonic *adfer-* and derivative *effe-*, the prefix is the opposite (*ad-* / *ef-*), just as in above-mentioned *effera* / *inferre* (8,6-12): here we accordingly have a further «antonymic» etymology¹⁶⁴. Since moreover *adfers* denotes Aeneas, whereas *effera* refers to his foe Mezentius, here we have another «displaced» etymology. The third and last case of *efferus* < *ferre* in Book VIII is to be found in line 205: *at furis Caci mens effera*. This text, which also involves an etymological «cluster», is however the subject of a separate article¹⁶⁵. To sum up: the present article has endeavoured to show that from the *Eclogues* to the end of the *Aeneid* Virgil engages in subtle play on the etymological link between *ferus/fera* and *fero(r)* – in sync with his etymologically argute and Argus-eyed readership, which was correspondingly out for an *Aha-Erlebnis*.

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¹⁶³ Cf. O'Hara 2017, 82-86.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. n. 158 above.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Adkin 2018.

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Abstract: Virgil's use of seemingly colourless *fera* in the animal simile at *Aeneid* 9,551 puzzles commentators. Here however we would in fact appear to have a colourful *jeu étymologique* on *fera* as the derivative of *feror*. This etymology of *ferus/fera* from *ferri* is evidently exploited by Virgil throughout his *oeuvre* – at least in the background. The present article accordingly offers a comprehensive survey of this hitherto unidentified feature.

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