

## Renaissance and Reformation Renaissance et Réforme



# Virgil's Hero, Turnus: Maffeo Vegio's and Pier Candido Decembrio's Supplements to the Aeneid (with a New Edition and Translation of Decembrio)

Kyle Gervais

Volume 45, numéro 3, été 2022

'Hi cursus fecere novos...' Studies in Latin Humanism  
'Hi cursus fecere novos...' Études sur l'humanisme latin

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1099725ar>  
DOI : <https://doi.org/10.33137/rr.v45i3.40407>

[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

Éditeur(s)

Iter Press

ISSN

0034-429X (imprimé)  
2293-7374 (numérique)

[Découvrir la revue](#)

Citer cet article

Gervais, K. (2022). Virgil's Hero, Turnus: Maffeo Vegio's and Pier Candido Decembrio's Supplements to the Aeneid (with a New Edition and Translation of Decembrio). *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 45(3), 17–49. <https://doi.org/10.33137/rr.v45i3.40407>

### Résumé de l'article

Nous examinons un dialogue entre les Suppléments à l'Énéide de Virgile composés par Pier Candido Decembrio et par Maffeo Vegio. Nous avançons que le bref poème de Decembrio n'est pas inachevé, mais qu'il fournit plutôt la fin iliadique à l'Énéide retenue par Virgile, à savoir une complainte sur le corps de Turnus qui correspond à la complainte sur Hector à la fin du chant 24 de l'Iliade. Nous suggérons ensuite que le poème de Decembrio met en scène une situation dangereusement instable en Italie, dominée par les commémorations de Turnus en des termes si héroïques qu'elles menacent de destituer le héros virgilien, Énée, de sa primauté dans son propre récit. La réponse de Vegio « corrige » ce portrait de Turnus en faveur d'un récit virgilien plus orthodoxe dans lequel Turnus, tragiquement dans l'erreur, est un ennemi de la mission divine d'Énée en Italie. Nous concluons en proposant une nouvelle édition et traduction du Supplément de Decembrio, en nous appuyant sur les deux manuscrits existants et en abordant plusieurs difficultés textuelles.

© Kyle Gervais, 2023



Ce document est protégé par la loi sur le droit d'auteur. L'utilisation des services d'Érudit (y compris la reproduction) est assujettie à sa politique d'utilisation que vous pouvez consulter en ligne.

<https://apropos.erudit.org/fr/usagers/politique-dutilisation/>

éerudit

Cet article est diffusé et préservé par Érudit.

Érudit est un consortium interuniversitaire sans but lucratif composé de l'Université de Montréal, l'Université Laval et l'Université du Québec à Montréal. Il a pour mission la promotion et la valorisation de la recherche.

<https://www.erudit.org/fr/>

# Virgil's Hero, Turnus: Maffeo Vegio's and Pier Candido Decembrio's *Supplements to the Aeneid* (with a New Edition and Translation of Decembrio)

KYLE GERVAIS  
Western University

*I examine a dialogue between the Renaissance Supplements to Virgil's Aeneid by Pier Candido Decembrio and Maffeo Vegio. I argue that Decembrio's short poem is not unfinished but instead provides the Iliadic ending to the Aeneid that Virgil withholds, namely a lament over Turnus's body to match the lament over Hector at the end of Iliad 24. I then argue that Decembrio's poem presents us with a dangerously unstable situation in Italy, dominated by commemorations of Turnus in such heroic terms that they threaten to displace Virgil's hero Aeneas from primacy in his own story. Vegio's response "corrects" this portrayal of Turnus in favour of a more orthodox Virgilian narrative in which Turnus is a tragically misguided enemy of Aeneas's divine mission to Italy. I conclude with a new edition and translation of Decembrio's Supplement, drawing on both of the extant manuscripts and addressing several textual difficulties.*

*Nous examinons un dialogue entre les Suppléments à l'Énéide de Virgile composés par Pier Candido Decembrio et par Maffeo Vegio. Nous avançons que le bref poème de Decembrio n'est pas inachevé, mais qu'il fournit plutôt la fin iliadique à l'Énéide retenue par Virgile, à savoir une plainte sur le corps de Turnus qui correspond à la plainte sur Hector à la fin du chant 24 de l'Iliade. Nous suggérons ensuite que le poème de Decembrio met en scène une situation dangereusement instable en Italie, dominée par les commémorations de Turnus en des termes si héroïques qu'elles menacent de destituer le héros virgilien, Énée, de sa primauté dans son propre récit. La réponse de Vegio « corrige » ce portrait de Turnus en faveur d'un récit virgilien plus orthodoxe dans lequel Turnus, tragiquement dans l'erreur, est un ennemi de la mission divine d'Énée en Italie. Nous concluons en proposant une nouvelle édition et traduction du Supplément de Decembrio, en nous appuyant sur les deux manuscrits existants et en abordant plusieurs difficultés textuelles.*

## Introduction

From the beginning, reception of the *Aeneid* aimed to fill narrative or thematic gaps in Virgil's poem.<sup>1</sup> Of particular interest to Virgil's successors was the *Aeneid*'s abrupt ending, which invited literal narrative supplementation, such as

1. The bibliography on Virgilian reception is vast. Useful modern surveys include Farrell and Putnam, *Companion*; and Hardie, *Last Trojan Hero*. For Virgil's reception in the Renaissance, see Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, esp. 237–47 on Vegio's *Supplement*.

the post-Virgilian material in the “little-*Aeneid*” of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 13–14, as well as more oblique responses, such as the emphatic and repeated closure at the end of Statius’s *Thebaid*.<sup>2</sup> The two Renaissance poems under consideration here are supplements of the literal kind: short works that advance the plot of the *Aeneid* beyond Aeneas’s execution of Turnus in order to narrate Turnus’s funeral and his hometown Ardea’s destruction, Aeneas’s alliance with Latinus, his marriage to Lavinia, and his eventual apotheosis. These works do not, however, simply supply plot points missing in the *Aeneid*; rather, both constitute subtly creative literary critical responses to interpretive problems posed by Virgil’s epic. This fact has begun to be recognized for the longer and much better known of the poems, Maffeo Vegio’s *Supplement* (published in 1428). His friend Pier Candido Decembrio’s earlier and shorter *Supplement* (c. 1419) has in comparison been little read and barely appreciated, but this dismissal is unjust, as I hope to demonstrate.

Vegio’s 629-line poem, which brings the plot of the *Aeneid* all the way to its hero’s deification, was an immediate success. It was praised by several of Vegio’s fellow humanists, preserved in almost fifty manuscripts and many printed editions (usually at the end of the *Aeneid* as a thirteenth book), translated into several vernacular languages, and given a dedicated commentary in 1501 by Badius Ascensius.<sup>3</sup> In the modern era, Vegio’s *Supplement* was printed in a high-quality edition with German translation in 1985, translated into English in 2004 for the I Tatti Renaissance Library, and has been the subject of several recent, sensitive literary studies.<sup>4</sup> Decembrio’s 89-line *Supplement* narrates only Latinus’s lament for Turnus and the dead hero’s funeral procession to Ardea; it is typically read as an unfinished poem. It survives in only two manuscripts,<sup>5</sup> presumably a result of Decembrio’s own efforts to suppress what he characterizes as a minor work of his younger days.<sup>6</sup> Bernd Schneider edited the text in an appendix to his edition of Vegio’s *Supplement*, consulting one of the two manuscripts and

2. For Statius’s *Thebaid*, see Braund, “Ending Epic”; Gervais, “*Odi(t)que moras*” (with further bibliography).

3. See Rogerson, “Vegio’s Ascanius,” 108n9 (with further bibliography).

4. Schneider, *Das Aeneissupplement*; Putnam, *Maffeo Vegio*. Recent literary discussions include Putnam, *Maffeo Vegio*, viii–xxiii; Rogerson, “Vegio’s Ascanius”; Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, 279–84; Buckley, “Ending”; Whittington, “*Qui Succederet Operi*.”

5. See below, p. 30.

6. See below, p. 20.

drawing on an 1896 edition by Hans Kern (also based on one manuscript).<sup>7</sup> I have included a new edition (using both manuscripts) with translation as an appendix to this article. Scholarly discussions are nearly non-existent and usually only mention Decembrio's poem as an aborted predecessor to Vegio's.<sup>8</sup>

In this article, I first offer a preliminary argument that Decembrio's *Supplement* is worth further study in its own right as a complete work, rather than as a fragment, and as a subtly allusive response to the *Aeneid*, both in its overall structure and in several specific intertextual moments throughout the poem. I then suggest that we can deepen our understanding of Vegio's *Supplement* by reading it as in part a creative response to Decembrio's text, in particular the earlier poem's characterization of Turnus. I argue that Decembrio presents us with a dangerously unstable situation in Italy, completely dominated by commemorations of Turnus in such heroic terms that they threaten to derail the coming peace negotiations between the Italians and Trojans, as well as displace Virgil's hero Aeneas from primacy in his own story. Vegio's response "corrects" this portrayal of Turnus in favour of a more orthodox Virgilian narrative in which Turnus is a misguided enemy of Aeneas's divine mission to Italy, and his death, though tragic, is a necessary step on the road to Rome's foundation.

### Decembrio's *Supplement*

Taking their lead from Decembrio's own description of his *Supplement*, scholars have typically characterized the poem as incomplete. In an autograph manuscript of around 1459 (i.e., forty years after the *Supplement*'s composition), Decembrio titles the poem the "beginning" (*principium*) of an *Aeneid* 13; he elsewhere reports that he wrote the poem in his youth and subsequently attempted to suppress it.<sup>9</sup> But it does not therefore follow that, when Decembrio wrote the *Supplement* around 1419, he had planned a longer poem that he left unfinished. Rather, I argue that for all its brevity the *Supplement* is complete and is marked as such within the text; furthermore, it engages closely with

7. Kern, *Supplemente*, 14–17; Schneider, *Das Aeneissupplement*, 136–38.

8. E.g., Owens, "Ever-Ending-Story." Owens does, however, allow that Decembrio's poem "demonstrates a deep appreciation of epic style and Virgilian diction" (250). Wilson-Okamura simply mentions the poem's length and date of composition before making reference to other "even less famous sequels" to the *Aeneid* (Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, 239n174).

9. See below, p. 20.

the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad* in order to comment pointedly on the (supposed) incompleteness of Virgil's poem.

Homer's poetry was an object of significant interest in the Renaissance, as Latin prose translations of his epics began to circulate; around 1440, Decembrio himself translated five books of the *Iliad* into plain but accurate Latin.<sup>10</sup> The improved understanding of Homer had significant bearing on interpretation of Virgil: since Servius's late antique commentary, it has been a scholarly truism that the *Aeneid*'s last six books are its "Iliadic" half (following an "Odyssean" half), and that Aeneas's defeat of Turnus corresponds to Achilles's defeat of Hector at the climax of the *Iliad*. But Achilles's victory is not, of course, how the *Iliad* ends; rather, the poem concludes with the return of Hector's body to Troy and the funeral laments at his pyre. Decembrio's *Supplement* provides exactly this Iliadic ending that the *Aeneid* is "missing": Latinus laments for the dead Turnus and a funeral procession returns his body to his father in Ardea. These narrative correspondences are enough to mark Decembrio's poem as a complete supplement to the *Aeneid*, but a further marker of completeness is provided by matching phrases at the beginning and end of the text. The first action of the poem, after a three-line description of Turnus's death, is the repair of Latinus's city:

componit senior regni iam fracta Latinus  
culmina, disiectos urbis iubet aggere muros  
attolli, quibus aerias deducere turres  
cura sit, **et summis Vulcanum pellere tectis**  
imponit [...]

(Decembrio, *Suppl.* 4–8, my emphasis)

(Old Latinus repairs his kingdom's broken spires, orders the city's ruined walls to be lifted up with a rampart, assigns some the task of dragging away the lofty siege-towers **and driving fire from the high roofs** [...])<sup>11</sup>

10. *Iliad* 1–4 and 10, preserved, like the *Supplement*, in Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D 112 inf. (fols. 84r–141v); cf. Fabiano, "Pier Candido Decembrio." Complete translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were available by the 1360s; before that, knowledge of Homer's poems relied on sources such as Dictys Cretensis, Dares Phrygius, the *Ilias Latina*, and of course the Trojan material in poets like Virgil and Ovid. Cf., e.g., Rubenstein, "Imitation and Style," 49–51.

11. The text of Decembrio is from my edition in the Appendix to this article (with spelling regularized to classical norms for ease of comparison with Vegio and Virgil); the text of Vegio is from Schneider,

The final phrase of this passage is echoed by the poem's last line, where the poet compares the lament for Turnus in Ardea to the burning of the besieged city:

Turbatae exiliunt matres magnoque ululatu  
 lugentes plenis expectant agmina portis.  
 Templa deum natosque putes patriosque penates  
 divelli **et totis Vulcanum fervere tectis.**

(Decembrio, *Suppl.* 86–89, my emphasis)

(The distraught matrons leap up and wait in a throng at the crowded gates, lamenting with loud wails. You would think that their gods' temples and their children and household gods were being snatched away, **and that fire was raging on all the roofs.**)

This closing image is doubly resonant. First, it looks ahead to the imminent burning of Ardea and the transformation of the city into a heron (*ardea*), as narrated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Second, it evokes the destruction of Troy, the most famous burning city in ancient myth. This episode is best known from *Aeneid* 2, but Decembrio's closing image also engages with the ending of the *Iliad*: as Hector's burning body portends the burning of the city that he can no longer protect, so the death of Turnus guarantees the destruction of his own city.<sup>12</sup> Thus, in both the overall structure of his poem and in its final words, Decembrio offers an Iliadic ending to supplement the "incomplete" Iliadic half of the *Aeneid*.

Decembrio's final line also contains a specific allusion to Virgil. In *Aeneid* 7, Lavinia's hair appears to catch fire during a sacrifice "ac totis Vulcanum spargere tectis" (and scatter fire throughout the entire palace; 7.77). In response to this omen, Latinus consults the oracle of his father Faunus, who advises that Lavinia must not be married to Turnus and predicts the arrival of Aeneas and the future glories of Rome. Decembrio thus ends his poem with a complex portrait of a decisive turning point in the Aeneas myth. Turnus has been defeated and his city is about to fall. At the same time, Aeneas's star is on the rise, and the

---

*Das Aeneissupplement*; the text of the *Aeneid* is from Conte, *Publius Vergilius Maro: Aeneis*. Translations of Vegio are from Putnam, *Maffeo Vegio*, with a few modifications; all other translations are my own.

12. Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 24.725–30, and a more explicit link between Hector and Troy's burning at *Ilias Latina* 1052–56. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.573–74 links Turnus's death to Ardea's destruction.

Roman future prophesied repeatedly in the *Aeneid* has begun to take shape. And, once again, we see that Decembrio has created a complete work with careful attention to the literary and political structures of the Virgilian poem that he supplements.

Indeed, Decembrio engages with Virgil throughout his poem. A particularly marked allusion can be found in a bee simile that describes the repairs being made to Laurentum:

Qualis apes Hyblae viridantis roscida stipat  
pascua, et in pictis desudat floribus agmen;  
fervet opus, latisque fremunt examina campi.  
(Decembrio, *Suppl.* 16–18)

(It's like how bees throng verdant Hybla's dewy pastures and their troop  
labours in the colourful flowers; their work seethes and the swarms buzz  
over the wide fields.)

This passage reworks a bee simile at *Aeneid* 1.430–36 describing the construction of Carthage. Decembrio's adaptation of Virgil is precise: he reproduces the opening phrase or word of the first, middle, and last lines in his model—"qualis apes" (430), "stipant" (433),<sup>13</sup> "fervet opus" (436). Part of the allusion's significance may be found in the line immediately following Virgil's simile: Aeneas's famous cry, "o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!" (O fortunate people, whose walls are already rising! 1.437). Once again, Decembrio suggests that Aeneas's promised fate is coming to pass. At the start of the *Aeneid*, he looked with envy at the foundation of Carthage; at the start of Decembrio's poem, the repairs to Latinus's city point our vision ahead to the city that Aeneas will soon found.

The allusion also suggests a link between Latinus's Laurentum and Dido's Carthage. This is a comparison made at length in Vegio's *Supplement*, as Emma Buckley had shown, which serves to "correct" an embarrassing episode in Aeneas's myth. In Buckley's words, "The deliberate conflation of the Dido and Lavinia stories [...] is not just concerned with a properly 'Renaissance' view of romantic love; Vegio here tackles head-on an episode that afforded Aeneas

13. The manuscripts in fact read "stipant" at Decembrio, *Suppl.* 16, but syntax requires the correction to "stipat." The corruption may have arisen when "apes" was misinterpreted as a nominative plural, or may perhaps have been influenced by memory of the plural "stipant" in Virgil.

criticism even in the Renaissance to 'cancel out' the Carthaginian love-affair by means of this new and loving marriage."<sup>14</sup> I would argue that Decembrio's bee simile alludes to Virgil's Carthage for the same reason, pointing our vision forward to the marriage that will correct Aeneas's shameful affair with Dido.

Decembrio's poem thus contains several optimistic glances forward to the political settlement in Italy that Vegio's *Supplement* will narrate. These glances are, however, just that: hints at a happy future that has not yet arrived. In this, Decembrio continues the tension between promised triumph and present suffering that characterizes the *Aeneid* itself, and he does so by allowing anguished but unbowed commemoration of Turnus to dominate his poem. Shortly after the bee simile, Latinus laments Turnus and recalls the sight of the hero armed for battle:

Subit ecce animo nunc tristis imago  
cum iam fulmineum thoraca indutus et ense  
horreret, magnum poscens in proelia Teucrum.  
(Decembrio, *Suppl.* 35–37)

(Look! The sad image now comes to my mind of when he was already  
bristling, dressed in his lightning-flashing breastplate and sword, calling  
the great Trojan to battle.)

These three lines echo a remarkable number of passages in Virgil. The most salient model is Turnus arming for battle at *Aeneid* 11.486–88: “cingitur ipse furens certatim **in proelia** Turnus. / **iamque** adeo rutilum **thoraca indutus** aënis / **horrebat** squamis” (Turnus himself prepares for battle with emulous fury. And **now, dressed** in his red **breastplate, he bristled** with its bronze scales; my emphasis). But Turnus's “lightning-flashing breastplate and sword” (fulmineum thoraca [...] et ense<sup>15</sup>) evoke the “lightning-flashing sword” that Aeneas brandishes as he leaves Carthage to continue on his mission to Italy (ensem / fulmineum; *Aen.* 4.579–80). Turnus “calling the great Trojan to battle” (magnum poscens in proelia Teucrum) echoes *Aeneid* 11.486 (above), but also two other passages. First, it mirrors Venus urging her son Aeneas not to hesitate “**to call fierce Turnus to battle**” (acrem [...] **in proelia poscere** Turnum; 8.614,

14. Buckley, “Ending,” 123.

15. Note that “ensem” is Kern's correction of the manuscripts' ”ense”: see below, p. 37.



my emphasis). Second, it recalls Juno at the end of the epic asserting that she would be dragging “**the Trojans to hostile battle**” (*inimica in proelia Teucros*; 12.812, my emphasis), except that Jupiter forbids it. Finally, the “sad image” of Turnus that “comes to” Latinus’s mind (*subit [...] tristis imago*) echoes visions that Aeneas has of his father Anchises: “an **image** of my dear father **came to me**” (*subiit cari genitoris imago*; 2.560, my emphasis) and “father, your **sad image**” (*genitor, tua tristis imago*; 6.695, my emphasis).

Such a multiplicity of verbal echoes makes interpretation difficult. But we may note a few things. First, Decembrio does not simply recreate a Virgilian scene of Turnus arming for battle; he also allows Turnus to usurp one of Aeneas’s heroic attributes, his *fulmineus ensis*. Furthermore, the echo of *Aeneid* 8 allows Turnus, not Aeneas, to be the hero who calls his enemy into battle, while the echo of *Aeneid* 12 lets Turnus do what Juno could not by calling the *Teucri* to battle. Finally, by evoking Aeneas’s visions of his father, Decembrio suggests a father–son relationship between Latinus and Turnus on par with the relationship between Anchises and Aeneas. And indeed, Decembrio makes this relationship explicit by having his Latinus say that he loved Turnus “more than if he had been born of my blood” (*Suppl.* 32–33) and address him as “son” at line 38.

By transferring elements of Aeneas to Turnus, Decembrio would seem to displace Virgil’s protagonist from what is, ostensibly, a conclusion to Virgil’s poem. In fact, Aeneas is nowhere to be found in Decembrio’s text. Other than the single reference to Turnus “calling the Trojan into battle” (*Suppl.* 37, above), Aeneas does not appear, explicitly or implicitly, in the poem. The elision of Virgil’s hero begins from Decembrio’s opening lines:

Postquam magnanimus morientia sanguine fudit  
pectora et ingentes expirans luminis iras  
Daunius Iliacos satiavit vulnere manes,  
componit senior regni iam fracta Latinus  
culmina [...]

(Decembrio, *Suppl.* 1–5)

(After the great-souled son of Daunus has drenched his dying breast with blood and, breathing out his eye’s mighty rage, appeased the Trojans’ shades with his wound, old Latinus repairs his kingdom’s broken spires [...])

Decembrio manages to describe Aeneas killing Turnus at the end of the *Aeneid* without mentioning Aeneas, and he moves directly from Turnus dying to Latinus rebuilding his city without any description of what Aeneas may have done after winning control of Italy with Turnus's death. We may think of this scene in cinematic terms: after Virgil's cliffhanger ending of Aeneas plunging his sword into Turnus, Decembrio's sequel does not begin with the camera on Aeneas, as one might expect, but rather cuts directly from the dead Turnus to Latinus managing his affairs back in Laurentum.

The opening lines effect this surprise displacement by means of allusion as well. The poem begins "Postquam magnanimus" [...] (After the great-souled [...]). We might naturally expect that Aeneas will be the *magnanimus* hero being described: the epithet refers to Aeneas four times in the *Aeneid* (1.260, 5.17, 5.407, 9.204) and it is never used of Turnus. The opening lines, then, can at first be read as a description of Aeneas executing Turnus and thereby satisfying the anger that blazed in him at the end of the *Aeneid*: "After the great-souled [Aeneas] drenched [Turnus's] dying chest with blood and, breathing out his eye's great anger [...]." It is not until *Daunius* in the third line that the surprising identity of the *magnanimus* becomes clear. The "humble eyes" of Virgil's "suppliant" Turnus (*humilis supplex oculos*; *Aen.* 12.930) have been transferred to a "great-souled" hero with anger in his eyes, usurping in the process both the heroic spirit and climactic anger of Virgil's protagonist. But students of Statius's *Thebaid* would perhaps be less surprised by this narrative sleight of hand: Decembrio precisely echoes Statius's portrait of the dead Capaneus at the start of *Thebaid* 11 ("**Postquam magnanimus** furias virtutis iniquae / consumpsit Capaneus **expiravitque** receptum / fulmen"; **After great-souled** Capaneus used up the madness of his outsized valor **and breathed out** the lightning bolt that had struck him; 11.1–3, my emphasis).<sup>16</sup> Capaneus's doomed attack on Jupiter has been read in metapoetic terms as a figure for a poet's bold engagement with his predecessors,<sup>17</sup> and such a reading is attractive here for Decembrio's daring reconfiguration of the *Aeneid*. More simply, by likening Turnus to Capaneus,

16. Furthermore, like Vegio (see below, p. 23), Decembrio begins by echoing the start of a book of the *Aeneid*: "**Postquam** res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem / immeritam visum superis" (**After** the gods decided to destroy Asia's power and Priam's guiltless race; *Aen.* 3.1–2, my emphasis). From his poem's first word, Decembrio therefore suggests that Turnus can lay claim to Aeneas's guiltless suffering at the hands of the gods.

17. Leigh, "Statius."

Decembrio elevates Turnus's final resistance to Aeneas (agent of Jupiter) to sublime theomachic proportions.

After the opening scene, Latinus's lament continues to present Turnus as a challenge to Virgil's Aeneas. We have already noted a complex allusion to the *Aeneid* that appropriates attributes of Aeneas for Turnus. More generally, the lament is effusive in its praise for Turnus and assimilates itself to Turnus's own point of view: that he "died avenging his ancestors" (*Suppl.* 52), was "Italy's great avenger" (52–53), and "fell dead onto [his] enemies" (55). The first phrase, "ultus avos cecidit," is particularly provocative since it appropriates for the Italian Turnus a description of Trojan triumph in Virgil: Lucius Aemilius Paullus "avenging his Trojan ancestors" (ultus avos Troiae; *Aen.* 6.830) by defeating Perseus of Macedon, who claimed descent from Achilles. As Latinus envisages the return of Turnus's body to Ardea, he asserts that Turnus has been no disappointment to his father Daunus: "sic, Daune, tuam non degener urbem / intrat" (thus does he enter your city, Daunus, no degenerate; *Suppl.* 51–52). The claim that Turnus is *non degener* is especially striking. This adjective appears only twice in the *Aeneid*. In one instance, Dido asserts that the brave Aeneas must be descended from a god, since "degenerate spirits are revealed by their fear" (degeneres animos timor arguit; *Aen.* 4.13). Turnus would thus usurp another quality from Aeneas—his apparent lack of degeneracy. The other instance of *degener* in the *Aeneid* reveals that Aeneas's lack of degeneracy is far from certain, suggesting that Decembrio's Turnus presents a more complex challenge to Virgil's hero:

cui Pyrrhus: "Referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis  
Pelidae genitori; illi mea tristia facta  
degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento:  
nunc morere."

(*Aen.* 2.547–50)

(Pyrrhus answers [Priam]: "So then you can go to my father Achilles and tell him what has happened here. Remember to inform him of my sorry deeds and Neoptolemus's degeneracy. Now die.")

Neoptolemus has just killed Priam's son Polites before his father's eyes, leading Priam to criticize Neoptolemus for falling short of his father Achilles, who "respected the rights and trust of a suppliant" (iura fidemque / supplicis erubuit;

*Aen.* 2.541–42) by returning Hector's body to Priam. Neoptolemus's behaviour (as he sarcastically acknowledges) makes him *degener*, one who departs from the model of his father. This scene is particularly relevant to the ending of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas, like Neoptolemus, refuses clemency to a suppliant who invokes his father (*Aen.* 12.932–36). David Scott Wilson-Okamura provides a good overview of the various approaches to the problem in the Renaissance, which, as in modern scholarship, were concerned with issues such as Aeneas's *pietas* and his final rage against Turnus.<sup>18</sup> As we will see in the next section, Vegio takes up the problem of the finale in part by alluding repeatedly to Neoptolemus's degeneracy. In doing so, I believe that Vegio responds to the implicit argument of Decembrio's allusion to Neoptolemus: when Latinus asserts that Daunus will see his son Turnus *non degener*, the suggestion is that Aeneas may have been as degenerate as Neoptolemus by executing the suppliant Turnus, but Turnus himself is free from any such stain.

After Latinus's speech, there follows Turnus's funeral procession, which we will address in the next section. The poem ends with the brief lament for Turnus in Ardea that draws a link between Turnus and Hector, as we have seen. But this link perhaps does more than simply "complete" the *Aeneid* with an Iliadic funeral: it may present yet another challenge to Aeneas as protagonist of Virgil's epic. Shortly before Virgil's Aeneas witnesses Neoptolemus's "degenerate" treatment of Priam, he is visited by the ghost of Hector, "the surest hope of the Trojans" (*spes o fidissima Teucrum*; *Aen.* 2.281), who passes the mantle of Troy's protection on to Aeneas (2.689–98). But in Decembrio's ending to Virgil's poem, Aeneas is nowhere to be found, and the person who follows in the footsteps of Hector—albeit to the funeral fire—is Turnus.

### Vegio's *Supplement*

In this section I will read Vegio's *Supplement* as a response to both Virgil and Decembrio. In doing so, I take my lead from Decembrio himself, who (I think playfully) accuses Vegio of plagiarism:<sup>19</sup> "I would have thought him worthy of even greater praise if he had endeavoured to complete his work with his own

18. Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, 191–203.

19. He cites in particular Vegio, *Suppl.* 193 for Decembrio, *Suppl.* 73, and Vegio, *Suppl.* 190–91 for Decembrio, *Suppl.* 68–69; see below for discussion.

verses, and not others'. For he is indebted not only to Virgil, whose verses he excerpts nearly everywhere; he also imitates a few little verses of mine, which I wrote in my youth [...] although I do not know how they got into his hands, especially since I have always diligently suppressed them."<sup>20</sup> I also follow Decembrio in reading these allusions as a sign that his poem is to be taken seriously: "But I am not displeased that he esteems my verses highly enough as to merit grafting them onto Virgil's."<sup>21</sup> But before comparing Vegio and Decembrio, it is worth noting some of the other critical approaches that have been taken to Vegio's poem.

Vegio's *Supplement* has in the past been read as a Christian allegory in the tradition of Fulgentius's late antique and Bernard's medieval *allegoreses* of the *Aeneid*, which explain Virgil's poem as an allegory of the soul's progress towards salvation.<sup>22</sup> This approach has fallen out of favour with modern scholars eager to claim Vegio's poem—which is "awkwardly situated on the cusp of the Renaissance proper"<sup>23</sup>—not as a late medieval text but rather as an early example of the humanists' (supposedly) more subtle engagement with Virgil. I would argue that scholars thereby fail to acknowledge the depth of interpretation that some medieval authors applied to classical texts. Moreover, Christianizing allegories of the *Aeneid* did not disappear with the Renaissance, as evidenced most notably by Cristoforo Landino's *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (c. 1474), which offers an extended allegory on the first six books of the *Aeneid* in the tradition of Fulgentius and Bernard.<sup>24</sup> But the most compelling reason not to fully ignore an allegorical reading of Vegio's *Supplement* is that Vegio himself offers a Christianizing allegoresis of the *Aeneid* in *De perseverantia*

20. "Uberiori laude quoque dignum existimarem, si suis versibus, non alienis opus illud perficere potius tentavisset: non enim solum Virgilio addictus est: cuius versus omnibus fere in locis circumcidit, sed meos etiam quosdam versiculos, quos adolescentior edidi, consecratur [...] nescio quo pacto ad illius manus pervenerint, praesertim cum illos semper studiose suppresserim." Quoted in Schneider, *Das Aeneissupplement*, 18. This passage and the next both come from Decembrio's letter *Ad Florium Ducalem familiarem de versibus editis per Maffaeum Vegium in fine Aeneidos*, which is printed in Raffaele, *Maffeo Vegio*, 21–22.

21. "Mihi tamen non ingratum est meos versus tanti existimari, ut cum Vergilianis iniungi mereantur." Quoted in Schneider, *Das Aeneissupplement*, 18.

22. Cf. esp. Brinton, *Maphaeus Vegius*, 24–29. English translations of Fulgentius and Bernard can be found in Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*; and Schreiber and Maresca, *Commentary*.

23. Buckley, "Ending," 108.

24. Kallendorf, "Cristoforo Landino's *Aeneid*."

*religionis* 1.5. Fulgentius's allegory had explained Turnus as *furibundus sensus* (the crazed mind),<sup>25</sup> which Aeneas as the good man must wage war against. Vegio is more straightforward in his explanation of the virtuous Aeneas's enemy: "then, before he attains his promised rest in Latium, [Aeneas] faces his enemy Turnus, i.e., the devil."<sup>26</sup> This Christian understanding of Aeneas and Turnus's conflict can surely explain in part why Vegio, as we will see, rejects Decembrio's more sympathetic treatment of Turnus.

Another approach to Vegio's *Supplement* notes that shortly after publishing this work, he wrote the panegyric *Convivium Deorum* (1430) as an attempt to win the patronage of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, whose family claimed descent from Aeneas via Ascanius's son Anglus. Scholars have thus far offered only brief political readings of Vegio's *Supplement*;<sup>27</sup> like an allegorical reading of the poem, a focus on the author's political context does not offer much opportunity for nuanced literary interpretation. Nevertheless, if Vegio was already courting Visconti's patronage when he composed the *Supplement*, we should not be surprised to find a strongly positive treatment of the duke's supposed ancestor Aeneas, which necessitates a critical treatment of Aeneas's enemy Turnus.

Unsurprisingly, it has been most productive to read the *Supplement* intertextually as a poem deeply and critically engaged with its Virgilian model. In this project, as we have seen, Vegio follows Decembrio's lead. Several nuanced intertextual readings of Vegio have emerged in recent years, including a brief but important treatment in Putnam's introduction to his translation.<sup>28</sup> Most ambitious is Buckley's identification of a comprehensive allusive program to the *Aeneid*, reminiscent of the allusive programs that have been identified for the *Aeneid* itself to Homer and Apollonius of Rhodes.<sup>29</sup> As Buckley argues, Vegio completes and critiques the *Aeneid* by recapitulating it backwards: his poem begins with Aeneas standing over Turnus in the aftermath of the *Aeneid*'s finale and alludes to progressively earlier moments in the epic until it concludes

25. Helm, *Fabii Placidi Fulgentii*, 105.

26. "Tum priusquam promissam Latio quietem assequatur Turnum id est dyabolum infestum habet." The Latin is on fol. 12r (mislabelled as fol. 10) of Vegio, *De perseverantia religionis*. A translation of the whole passage is given by Brinton, *Maphaeus Vegius*, 27–28.

27. Buckley, "Ending," 110; Rogerson, "Vegio's Ascanius," 108.

28. Putnam, *Maffeo Vegio*, viii–xxiii.

29. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer*; Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid*.

with Jupiter granting Venus the apotheosis of Aeneas (which Virgil's Jupiter had promised to Venus at the *Aeneid's* beginning).<sup>30</sup>

Like Decembrio, Vegio is concerned not only with the *Aeneid* but also with its Homeric models. The first half of Vegio's poem treats the commemoration and funeral of Turnus; the second half turns to the wedding of Aeneas and Lavinia. This structure, Buckley suggests, provides both an "Iliadic" and "Odyssean" ending to the *Aeneid*: Turnus's funeral echoes Hector's, and Aeneas besting his rival to claim Lavinia as his wife echoes Odysseus defeating the suitors to reclaim Penelope. Vegio thereby responds to the *Aeneid's* bipartite structure, providing it with two endings to match its Iliadic and Odyssean halves.<sup>31</sup> In doing so, I suggest, Vegio would claim to improve on Decembrio: whereas Decembrio was content with "completing" only the Iliadic plot of the *Aeneid*, Vegio completes both halves.

But we will focus primarily on Vegio's response to Decembrio's Turnus, and thus the most notable part of Buckley's argument is that the commemoration and funeral of Turnus echoes the commemoration and funeral of Virgil's Pallas. Buckley's judgement on the echo is concise: "the loss of Pallas is balanced and righted with Turnus's death and burial."<sup>32</sup> We can expand upon this, working through a series of potential allusions to Decembrio in the first half of Vegio's poem that paint a very different portrait of Turnus than Decembrio created. Vegio, like Decembrio, begins with the immediate aftermath of Turnus's death:

Turnus ut extremo devictus Marte profudit  
effugientem animam medioque sub agmine victor  
magnanimus stetit Aeneas, Mavortius heros,  
obstupuere omnes gemitumque dedere Latini,  
et durum ex alto revomentes corde dolorem  
concussis cecidere animis [...]

(Vegio, *Suppl.* 1–6)

30. Buckley describes the effect of this "retrospective patterning": "As Vegio ruthlessly progresses the story of Aeneas to its end point, his apotheosis, he is at the same time retelling the story of the *Aeneid*, repeating the *Aeneid* otherwise, running its order backwards and effecting a powerful form of closure on the text." Buckley, "Ending," 117.

31. Buckley, "Ending," 113–14.

32. Buckley, "Ending," 121.

(When Turnus, beaten in the final bout of war, poured forth his fleeting life, and amid the host stood great-souled Aeneas, War's victorious hero, all the Latins, benumbed, uttered a moan and, venting harsh sorrow from the core of their beings, gave way in despair.)

As has been noted, the opening lines—"Turnus ut extremo devictus Marte profudit / effugientem animam"—echo the beginning and end of *Aeneid* 12: "Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos" (Turnus, when the Latins crushed by disastrous war; *Aen.* 12.1); "vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras" (and his life fled complaining with a groan down to the shades; 12.952).<sup>33</sup> Vegio thereby encapsulates the entirety of Virgil's final book and, I would argue, implicitly "abridges" it, eliding all of Aeneas's problematic behaviour in his final showdown with Turnus.<sup>34</sup> As Putnam notes, "magnanimus stetit Aeneas" repeats and revises the final stance of Aeneas in Virgil's poem: "stetit acer in armis / Aeneas" (Aeneas stood fierce in arms; *Aen.* 12.938–39). With this echo, "Vegio moves from ferocity to magnanimity, from implicitly hostile energy to nobility, as the typifying characteristic of his hero."<sup>35</sup>

But the shift to *magnanimus* has further significance if we recall Decembrio's opening lines. Several elements of Vegio's introduction echo Decembrio's. Both authors begin with a three-line temporal clause (introduced by *postquam* and *ut*) describing the death of Turnus, then turn to the reaction of the Latins. Vegio ends his first and fourth lines with *profudit* and *Latini*, echoing Decembrio's *fudit* and *Latinus* in the same positions in his first and fourth lines. But whereas Decembrio shows the Latins rather in control of their affairs, repairing the "heights" (*culmina*) of their kingdom, Vegio has them much more defeated and tending downwards rather than upwards as they "fall" (*cedere*) in despair.<sup>36</sup> Vegio also reverses the movement of Decembrio's introduction by naming Turnus in the first line and Aeneas in the third: as we have seen, Decembrio carefully manipulates his language so that he seems to

33. E.g., Buckley, "Ending," 112; Rogerson, "Vegio's Ascanius," 109.

34. For further examples of "abridging allusions," also designed to elide difficult material in *Aeneid* 12, see Gervais, "*Odit(que moras)*."

35. Putnam, *Maffeo Vegio*, xix–xx.

36. Vegio's "concussis cedere animis" may respond to Decembrio's "cedere animi" (*Suppl.* 40): whereas Latinus's pleas resulted in Turnus only temporarily setting aside his battle lust, Aeneas manages to permanently cow the Latins.



introduce Aeneas in the first line but then replaces him with Turnus in the third. Decembrio's manipulation hinges on the epithet *magnanimus* in the first line, which he unexpectedly uses of Turnus. Thus, when Vegio introduces Aeneas in the third line as *magnanimus*, he is not simply revising Virgil's final portrait of Aeneas but also responding to Decembrio's characterization of Turnus. Not only is Aeneas *magnanimus* rather than *acer*, but Aeneas, rather than Turnus, is *magnanimus*, as Vegio reclaims the epithet for his hero. Stripped of his "great soul," Turnus is left instead with a "fleeing soul" (*effugientemque animam*), recalling his death at the hands of the victorious Aeneas.

Whereas Decembrio passed directly from the introduction to Latinus, Vegio keeps his focus on Aeneas, giving him a speech that "put[s] aside the final words of vendetta that Virgil's narrator allots him" and instead "contains the material that we might expect a rational Aeneas to convey before he offers the death blow to Turnus (that he affronted the gods, broke the treaty and gave himself over to war's frenzy)."<sup>37</sup> The speech is full of subtle intertextual moves, beginning from its first words to the dead Turnus, "quae tanta animo dementia crevit" (what was this vast madness that ripened in your mind; *Suppl.* 24). This closely adapts Aeneas's words to Dares, who is losing to Entellus in a boxing match: "infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit? / Non vires alias conversa numina sentis? / Cede deo" (Unfortunate man, what was this vast madness that seized your mind? Don't you see that the power lies with the other man and the divine powers have turned against you? Yield to the god; *Aen.* 5.465–67). Turnus too, we understand, should have recognized that the gods were against him and yielded to his superior foe (as Vegio's Aeneas goes on to say explicitly in lines 25–30). The complex engagement with Virgil continues throughout the speech,<sup>38</sup> but we find an allusion particularly relevant to Vegio's dialogue with Decembrio as Aeneas continues to blame Turnus for the war he lost:

En ultima tanti  
meta furoris adest, quo contra **iura fidemque**  
Iliacam rupto turbasti foedere gentem.  
(Vegio, *Suppl.* 30–33, my emphasis)

37. Putnam, *Maffeo Vegio*, xx.

38. See, e.g., Gervais, "Textual and Interpretive Notes," 11n16 on Vegio, *Suppl.* 28–30.

(See, now at last the end is at hand of your wild madness through which, affronting **proper right and trust**, you brought trouble on the Trojan race by breaking the treaty.)

The rare<sup>39</sup> line ending “iura fidemque” points to Virgil’s Neoptolemus: as we saw above, Priam accuses Achilles’s son of degeneracy because, unlike his father, he does not respect the “iura fidemque / supplicis” (*Aen.* 2.541–42). The allusion could perhaps simply assign to Turnus a negative quality that might otherwise be ascribed to Aeneas (recalling our discussion of the similarities between Neoptolemus and Aeneas). But the echo becomes even more pointed if we understand it as an answer to Decembrio’s Latinus, who predicts that Daunus will see his son Turnus as *non degener*. Decembrio’s unspoken charge was that Aeneas *is* degenerate like Neoptolemus, and Vegio begins to answer this accusation by asserting that Turnus (and, we understand, not Aeneas) is the one who disregards “rights and faith” in the degenerate style of Neoptolemus.

Vegio replies even more forcefully to Decembrio in the scene where his Latinus commemorates Turnus. This speech is modelled in part on Latinus’s address to Turnus at *Aeneid* 12.18–45, but it also shares several themes with the speech of Decembrio’s Latinus: recollection of Turnus in his glory and Latinus’s attempt to counsel him (Decembrio, *Suppl.* 35–40; Vegio, *Suppl.* 167–69), description of the destructive Italian war (Decembrio, *Suppl.* 39–40; Vegio, *Suppl.* 170–75), and anticipation of Daunus’s grief when he sees his son’s body (Decembrio, *Suppl.* 50–52; Vegio, *Suppl.* 169–70). It is this last theme, near the end of each speech, that most clearly engages with Decembrio:

Ah, quantas Dauno lacrimas acrisque dolores,  
Turne, dabis! Quanto circumfluet Ardea fletu!  
Sed **non degeneri** et pudibundo vulnere fossum  
aspiciet; saltem hoc miserae solamen habebit  
mortis, ut Aeneae Troiani exceperis ense.

(Vegio, *Suppl.* 180–84, my emphasis)

(Ah, what weeping, Turnus, what bitter sorrows will you bring to Daunus!  
With what a stream of tears will Ardea flow! Yet he will **not** behold you

39. Other than *Aeneid* 2.541, cf. only Lucan, *Bellum Civile* 8.450.

pierced, in shame, by a **degenerate** wound. At least he will have this solace for the sadness of your death: you received the sword of Aeneas of Troy.)

The epithet *degener* must surely evoke Virgil's Neoptolemus again. And again, the intertext is more pointed if understood as a reply to Decembrio's Latinus when he claims that Daunus will see Turnus as *non degener*. In answer, Vegio's Latinus asserts that the death blow that sends Turnus to Daunus is *non degener* precisely *because* it comes from Aeneas: far from being a recapitulation of Neoptolemus's degenerate actions, Aeneas's execution of Turnus will be a source of pride and solace for Daunus, whose son was killed by no degenerate rival but rather by the great Aeneas.

In contrast to Decembrio's Latinus, who pointedly avoids speaking of "gods and the Phrygians' terrible destiny" (*Suppl.* 30–31), Vegio's Latinus echoes Aeneas's claims that his kingdom in Italy is divinely ordained and that Turnus was responsible for the war (*Suppl.* 158–67). Vegio thereby lays the groundwork for the coming alliance between the Italians and Trojans, which Decembrio had left in doubt by having his Latinus remain firmly attached to Turnus. Unlike in Decembrio, Vegio's Latinus does not praise Turnus effusively or declare that he loved him like a son. Instead, Vegio reserves these topics for Daunus's lament (*Suppl.* 256–95), where they will not threaten the coming alliance: a father is of course expected to praise and love his son, and in any case Daunus and his city are thoroughly defeated. Vegio draws our attention to this "correction" of Decembrio when he has Daunus exclaim, "quam praecipites labentia casus / exagitant, quanto vertuntur saecula motu!" (How precipitate are the misfortunes which the gliding ages prompt, with what great movement do they turn! *Suppl.* 265–66). This passage closely reworks the language of Decembrio's Latinus: "quanto volvantur saecula motu / scire licet" (you can see how great the movement is with which the ages turn; *Suppl.* 42–43).<sup>40</sup>

We come finally to the passage that Decembrio himself cites when he playfully accuses Vegio of plagiarism.<sup>41</sup> In the funeral procession for Turnus, Vegio describes the spoils of war on display as "Teucrum raptorum insignia" (trophies seized from the Trojans; *Suppl.* 191). I can find no classical source

40. I find no similar formulations in Virgil or other classical poets.

41. In addition to the two verbal echoes that Decembrio cites, Schneider notes Decembrio, *Suppl.* 80 ("iam fessi [...] subibant") and Vegio, *Suppl.* 198 ("iam fessi ibant") at the end of each funeral scene to describe the slow movement of the procession to Ardea.

for this phrase, but as Decembrio points out, it almost exactly reproduces his own description of the spoils of war in Turnus's funeral procession: "raptorum insignia Teucrum" (trophies seized from the Trojans; *Suppl.* 68). In both authors, these spoils of war are followed by Turnus's horse, led by his charioteer Metiscus:

Hinc sonipes, **timida** quem nunc regit **arte Metiscus**,  
insequitur, dubioque fremit parere magistro.  
(Decembrio, *Suppl.* 73–74, my emphasis)

(Then follows his charger, which **Metiscus** now steers **with timid art**, as it rages that it must obey a hesitant master.)

It lacrimans et ducit equum **docta arte Metiscus**  
rorantem et fletu madidum, qui vexerat ante  
victorem Turnum atque hostili strage furentem.  
(Vegio, *Suppl.* 194–96, my emphasis)

(**Metiscus** weeps as he walks and **with skilled art** leads Turnus's horse, bedewed with a flow of tears, who in times past had carried him in victory, raging amid the carnage of the enemy.)

Decembrio describes Turnus's horse as barely under control, fighting against Metiscus's timid guidance; the epithet *sonipes* points to Virgilian scenes of horses raging in war or on the hunt.<sup>42</sup> As we have found throughout Decembrio's *Supplement*, Turnus may be dead, but the Latins are far from pacified. The picture in Vegio is entirely different, as he continues to "correct" Decembrio's challenging portrayal of Turnus and his legacy. Here, Metiscus leads the horse skilfully, and it no longer rages as it did in battle with Turnus, but rather it weeps.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, given the long history of *ars* and *doctrina* as literary critical terms, it is easy enough to read an additional metapoetic layer to Vegio's allusion: whereas Decembrio's *Supplement* constitutes a "timid" attempt to continue Virgil, Vegio's more ambitious poem is characterized by a "skilled art" that promises success.

42. Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.135, 11.600, 11.638.

43. Decembrio has Latinus's horse weep earlier in the scene (*Suppl.* 66) but follows this with the fiercer portrait of Turnus's horse (73–74).

At the very least, we can be sure that Vegio has Virgil in mind as he responds to Decembrio here. Specifically, Vegio incorporates an allusion to the funeral of Pallas in *Aeneid* 11, where his horse Aethon weeps as it walks:<sup>44</sup>

Post bellator equus positus insignibus Aethon  
**it lacrimans** guttisque umectat grandibus ora.  
 (*Aen.* 11.89–90, my emphasis)

(Behind them the warhorse Aethon **weeps as it walks**, his trappings laid aside, and wets his face with big [tear]drops.)

As Buckley has shown, Turnus's death and funeral in Vegio's *Supplement* recall the death and funeral of Pallas in the *Aeneid*, so that the former atones for the latter and offers closure for Virgil's epic.<sup>45</sup> The specific allusion to Pallas's horse demonstrates the complexity of this closural strategy. The tears of Pallas's horse allude to the famous Homeric description of Achilles's horses weeping after the death of their charioteer Patroclus (*Iliad* 17.426–40). But the name of Pallas's horse, Aethon, is the same as one of Hector's horses named at *Iliad* 8.185. One possible reading of this double allusion to Homer is that it foreshadows Turnus's coming death. By linking Pallas's horse with one of Hector's and having it weep like the horses that the dead Patroclus once drove, Virgil reminds us that Patroclus's death sealed Hector's doom and hints that Pallas's death will similarly guarantee the death of Turnus. This, I argue, is the reading that Vegio endorses by actually having Turnus's horse weep in the manner of Pallas's horse: Turnus's death is the inevitable consequence of Pallas's.

Vegio is at least aware of the Homeric flavour of Pallas's weeping horse. His "it lacrimans" reproduces the opening words of *Aeneid* 11.90, and the second half of this Virgilian line, "**guttisque umectat** grandibus ora," appears four lines later in Vegio, at the conclusion of Turnus's funeral, where the Rutulian procession "flens sequitur largisque umectat pectora guttis" (follow behind, weeping, and wet their chests with large [tear]drops; *Suppl.* 198). But by describing the "drops" that "wet" the Rutulians as "large" (*largisque*), Vegio

44. Vegio makes skilful use of his model, signalling his allusion by repeating the phrase "it lacrimans," but changing its subject from the horse to its driver Metiscus, and describing the horse's tears with an original phrase, "rorantem et fletu madidum."

45. See above, p. 22.

points us to an earlier scene in the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas weeps at the sight of the Trojan War depicted on Juno's temple in Carthage: "[...] multa gemens, **largoque umectat** flumine vultum" ([...] groaning loudly, **and wets** his face with a **large** stream [of tears]); *Aen.* 1.465). Vegio thus offers a particularly rich intertextual moment at the end of Turnus's funeral, a fitting encapsulation of his complex response to both Decembrio and Virgil. As Decembrio's brief conclusion to the *Aeneid* nears its end, he shows Turnus's horse resisting its new master and acting fiercely, as if it were ready once again to go to war. Vegio, in contrast, shows Turnus's horse weeping and firmly under control, having, it seems, capitulated to Aeneas's victory and the new order of things in Italy. Furthermore, Vegio suggests that Turnus's legacy does not challenge Aeneas, as it does in Decembrio, but rather answers for the death of Pallas and thus offers an appropriate conclusion to the *Aeneid*. And Vegio places this link between Pallas and Turnus in its Iliadic context, showing how he offers the Homeric ending that Virgil's poem was missing.

Perhaps most crucially, by alluding to Aeneas at the temple of Juno, Vegio places everything in the past. The Trojan War, and Homer's epic on the subject, are things to be commemorated and then turned away from as Virgil and Aeneas continue on their own epic project. Virgil's epic, with its deaths of Pallas and Turnus, is similarly an object of commemoration for Vegio and the thing from which he can turn as he continues beyond the limits of his Virgilian source material to bring the story of Aeneas to its final conclusion. But Vegio's encapsulation and surpassing of his predecessor's epic would have been less effective if it did not also constitute an answer to his contemporary's poem, which does *not* depict the *Aeneid* as a text safely in the past. Rather, Decembrio displaces Virgil's protagonist in favour of a Turnus whose memory is still dangerously alive, challenging both the emerging political order in Italy and Virgil's own poetic designs, both of which demand that Turnus be defeated and safely memorialized as a necessary casualty on the road to Rome. Vegio's *Supplement* has always been held in higher regard than Decembrio's, and rightly so, as it offers a more skilful and ambitious treatment of its Virgilian source material. But our appreciation of Vegio can be enriched by taking Decembrio's *Supplement* seriously as an important predecessor to Vegio. Moreover, we can appreciate Decembrio's poem in its own right as a brief but provocative response to the *Aeneid* and its hero, Turnus.

## Appendix: an edition and translation of Decembrio's *Supplement*

The text of Decembrio's *Supplement* is found in a collection of epigrams and verse epistles (*Epigrammatum et epistularum metricarum liber*) published around 1459 and preserved in two manuscripts: *T* = Milan, Bibl. Trivulz., 793, fols. 1–32 (*Supplement* on 15v–17v); and *A* = Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D 112 inf., fols. 150r–182r (173v–175r).<sup>46</sup> Vittorio Zaccaria reports that *T* is an autograph and contains “important marginal notes,” although there are no significant marginalia for the *Supplement*. Kern and Schneider (whose text closely follows Kern's) both rely on *A*; neither was aware of *T*.<sup>47</sup> I have used both manuscripts for the present edition.<sup>48</sup> *A* seems to be a direct and faithful copy of *T*, with several attempted corrections of varying success. Corrections in *A* are in both a first and second hand, but I have not always been able to distinguish between them and therefore simply record readings before correction (*ac*) and after correction (*pc*). The handful of corrections in *T* seem to have been made by the scribe himself (i.e., Decembrio). I retain the orthography of *T* (except for a few places that seem to be scribal errors rather than non-classical spellings) but punctuate and capitalize according to contemporary usage.

Although *T* came from Decembrio's own pen, it was written four decades after the author wrote his *Supplement*. As evidenced by more than a dozen unmetrical, ungrammatical, or nonsensical passages in *T*, Decembrio was not especially careful in copying whatever earlier text of the poem he had. In some instances where *A* has not solved an evident textual problem, emendations were made by Kern (who was working only with *A*). I have printed three further emendations and offer several more conjectures. I discuss these textual issues in the brief notes that follow the edition and translation.

In the translation I have endeavoured to render the original fairly literally as an indication of how I understand Decembrio's often difficult Latin. Readers will note that I depart very frequently from Wilson-Okamura's translation (the only other one of which I am aware).<sup>49</sup>

46. Zaccaria, “Sulle opere,” 31–32; pp. 68 and 71–72 have the entry for the *Supplement* (no. 108).

47. Kern, *Supplemente*, 14–17; Schneider, *Das Aeneissupplement*, 136–38.

48. A high-quality scan of *A* is available online at <http://213.21.172.25/0b02da82801be077>. I consulted a microfilm copy of *T* held by the Società internazionale di Studi francescani in Assisi.

49. Wilson-Okamura, *Pier Candido Decembrio*.

## AD ENEIDA PRINCIPIVM DECIMI TERCII LIBRI ADDITVM

Postquam magnanimus morientia sanguine fudit  
 pectora et ingentes expirans luminis iras  
 Daunius Yliacos saciavit vulnere manes,  
 componit senior regni iam fracta Latinus  
 culmina, disiectos urbis iubet aggere muros 5  
 attoli, quibus aereas deducere turres  
 cura sit et summis Vulcanum pellere tectis  
 imponit, priscis reddit cultoribus agros.  
 Sponte tamen se quisque premit patrieque ruentis  
 cogit amor: pars alta suis pendentia tectis 10  
 robora, quis proprios animus dabat ense penates  
 tutari et dubiam patrie defendere sortem,  
 deiciunt reserantque suis cum menibus urbem;  
 pars templis ante arma deum galeasque comantes  
 reddere nec multum felicia vota laborant. 15  
 Qualis apes Hyble viridantis roscida stipat  
 pascua, et in pictis desudat floribus agmen;  
 fervet opus, latisque fremunt examina campis.  
 Haudquaquam obsequio merenti corde Latinus  
 mulcetetur properare domos: subit acrior illum 20  
 cura, nec ingenti decedit pectore Turnus  
 perfossus iugulo et cari sine cespite manes.  
 Ergo urbi optate miserique ad tecta parentis  
 mittere, quem longe mestum tegit Ardea muris,  
 decrevit, Rutulosque iubet, qui corpus amatum 25

AD ... ADDITVM T (P. CANDIDVS *in mg.*) : Principium libri decimi tercii eneidos suffecti per P. Candidum A (adolecentem *add. man. alt.*)

3 Daunus *TacAac* sociavit T

4 iam iam *Aac*

5 agere *TA, corr. Kern*

16 Hyble viridantis *scripsi* : hyble viridantis dum *Tpc* (viridantis hyble dum *ac*) : viridis hyble dum A stipant *TA, corr. Kern*

19 Haud quamquam *TA, corr. Kern* 21 decebit T

23 urbi] ubi *Aac* rutilosque *TA, corr. Kern*



suspensi expectant diversa<sup>30</sup>que busta suorum,  
 acciri. Ipse autem solio non altus in aula  
 consedit, paucis rupitque silentia verbis:  
 “Dum voluit Fortuna duces superique sinebant  
 cedere res—equidem haud divos infanda<sup>31</sup>que testor  
 fata Frigum. Vidistis enim quo more potentem  
 (heu nimium!) colui dilecto pectore Turnum,  
 non tantum nostro genitus si sanguine! Tuque,  
 o Dorilas, multumque amisso tristis Enifheu,  
 nosti equidem. Subit ecce animo nunc tristis ymago  
 cum iam fulmineum toracha indutus et ense<sup>32</sup>  
 horreret, magnum poscens in prelia Teucrum.  
 Sustinui: ‘Quid, nate, paras? Iam concipe fedus:  
 tempus adest,’ dixi, ‘nimium iam sanguine nostro  
 arva rubent.’ Cecidere animi; mox improba Herinis  
 affuit et galeam capiti suppressit ovantem.  
 Sed quid ego hec? Quanto volvantur secula motu  
 scire licet: nulli nostrum fas cernere claros  
 solis equos, quos prima polo lux orta remittet  
 quosve premet, si leva velit Fortuna; malorum est  
 inscius, Eoo spectat qui Hyperiona celo.  
 Quare agite, o iuvenes cuncti, pia munera leti  
 manibus egregiis, parvos date pulveris haustus,  
 et cineri prebete solum, gentemque revisat  
 ipse suam. Patrio sic (heu!) dabis oscula vultu?<sup>33</sup>

30 infanda<sup>30</sup>que *TpcApc* : imfh- *Tac* : imph- *Aac*

31 phrigum *A*

34 dornas (*ut vid.*) *Aac* enipheu *A*

35 equidem *A* : quidem *T* (*et Schneider, errore, ut vid.*) imago *A*

36 thoracha *A* inductus *T* ense<sup>32</sup> *Kern* : ense *A* : emse *T*

40 herimis *A*

43 vestrum *TA*, corr. *Kern* fhas *Tac*

44–45 remittet / quosve premet *TA* : remittit [...] premit *Kern* : an remittit / quando premet?

46 Luscus *Aac* Eoo] eco *A*

50 dabit *Kern*

Talis eris? Sic, Daune, tuam non degener urbem  
 intrat. Avos ultus cecidit: vos plangite magnum  
 ultorem Ytalie Rutuli! Ciet agmina quisquam  
 fortius? Heu miseri, sub quo duce pergitis, hic est.  
 Macte animi, vestros cecidit qui stratus in hostes.” 55  
 Talibus excessit solio largoque profundens  
 hymbre genas turbaque, simul que plurima circum  
 aggemit oranti, stipatus limina nota  
 ingreditur. Qualis nitidi post fata iuvenci,  
 quem lupus aut durus detraxit ab ubere pastor, 60  
 it mater, nullique movent sua lumina fontes,  
 non amnes, virides nequeunt avertere silve.  
 Tum regis monitu volucrem produxit Enifheus  
 cornipedem suaque arma super; subit ilicet ille  
 pronus et in duris figit gelida ora lupatis, 65  
 acceduntque fero lacrimae. Iubet ipse Latinus  
 ordine deduci exuvias bellique trophea.  
 Principio currus, raptorum insignia Teucrum,  
 vexilla et clipei tuniceque intextilis auri  
 aptantur. Tunc pone, leves quibus hauserat hostes, 70  
 spicula subvectant, galeasque insigne comantes  
 atque citatorum faleras quas traxit equorum.  
 Hinc sonipes, timida quem nunc regit arte Metistus,  
 insequitur, dubioque fremit parere magistro.

51 (qualis erat!) *Kern, coll. Aen. 2.274*

52 intrat] *an intret?* ultus avos *TAac*

53 italie *A*

54 quo] equo *A*

57 turbaque *scripsi* : tum turba *TA* que] quam *edd.*

60 ab] sub *T*

63 enipheus *A*

64 illicet *TAac*

67 exuvias bellique trophea *Kern* : eximias b. t. *Apc* (b. t. eximias *ac*) : exuvias spoliaque trahuntur *T*

69 auro *TA*, corr. *Kern*

72 atque] Et *T*

73 reget *Aac* arte *epistula Decembrii* p. 20n20 *laudata* : aure *TA*

Post equitesque simul Rutuli peditesque feruntur, 75  
 aversi clipeos, hastisque in terga reductis.  
 At pater illacrimans demissa voce Latinus,  
 ut potuit fari, suppressum ex more ciebat.  
 Illi per dumos, brevior qua ducit ad arces  
 semita, iam fessi Pilumnique arva subibant. 80  
 Interea mediam fertur furibunda per urbem  
 Fama gradu et magnis implet clangoribus aures  
 regalemque domum, miserique in tecta parentis  
 perfurit. Huc totis pernibus incita pennis  
 defertur funusque novum adventare profatur. 85  
 Turbate exiliunt matres magnoque ululatu  
 lugentes plenis expectant agmina portis.  
 Templum deum natosque penes patriosque penates  
 divelli et totis Vulcanum fervere tectis.

75 equitesque simul Rutuli peditesque *scripsi* : equites peditesque s. rutuli *T* : equites peditesque s. rutilique *A*

76 terra *Aac*

78 ex *Asscr.*

79 adducit *A* ad *Asscr.*

80 piluniaeque *A*

82 aures] *an aedes?*

84 penis *T*

87 lugentes] *scisse comas T*

THE BEGINNING OF A THIRTEENTH BOOK ADDED TO THE  
*AENEID*

After the great-souled son of Daunus has drenched his dying breast with blood and, breathing out his eye's mighty rage, appeased the Trojans' shades with his wound, old Latinus repairs his kingdom's broken spires, orders the city's ruined walls to be lifted up with a rampart, assigns some the task of dragging away the lofty siege-towers and driving fire from the high roofs, and restores the farmers' fields to their old owners. But each man is his own taskmaster, driven by love for his faltering homeland. [10] Some, whose courage had allowed them to guard their own homes with the sword and protect their homeland's precarious fortunes, knock down the wooden beams that hang high over their roofs, and unbar both the city's and their own walls. Others work to bring armour and crested helmets that had been the gods' back to their temples, along with vows that had borne little fruit. It's like how bees throng verdant Hybla's dewy pastures and their troop labours in the colourful flowers; their work seethes and the swarms buzz over the wide fields.

But their obedient eagerness to repair their homes gives Latinus no comfort in his grieving heart: [20] a fiercer care comes upon him, and in his mighty breast he still has Turnus, run through at the neck, his dear spirit lacking burial. And so Latinus orders him sent to his cherished city and the palace of his poor father, whom faraway Ardea keeps in his grief behind its walls. Latinus commands the Rutulians to be summoned, as they anxiously wait for the beloved corpse and the several funeral pyres of their countrymen. But he himself sat low on a throne in his hall and broke the silence with a few words:

“While Fortune wished our leaders, and the heavens allowed our affairs, to succeed—[30] but I will not invoke gods and the Phrygians' terrible destiny. You saw the way I loved (alas, too much!) powerful Turnus with his dear heart, more than if he had been born of my blood. You, Dorylas, and Enipeus, greatly saddened by the loss of him, you certainly know. Look! The sad image now comes to my mind of when he was already bristling, dressed in his lightning-flashing breastplate and sword, calling the great Trojan to battle. I held him back: ‘What are you planning, my son? Strike a treaty now: it's time,’ I said, ‘the fields are already too red with our blood.’ [40] His spirits slackened, but then an audacious Fury appeared and pressed his exulting helmet down on his head. But why go on? You can see how great the movement is with which the

ages turn: if fickle Fortune should wish it, none of us would be permitted to see the sun's shining horses when the day returns them to the sky at first dawn, or when it makes them set. A man who looks on the sun in the eastern sky knows nothing of his misfortunes. Therefore go, all you young men, give his peerless soul the pious gifts of death, some little handfuls of dust, offer earth to his ashes, and let him return to his own people. [50] Alas, is this the way that you will kiss your father's face? Is this how you will look? Thus does he enter your city, Daunus, no degenerate. He died avenging his ancestors: lament, you Rutulians, Italy's great avenger! Can anyone spur on the troops as bravely as he did? Poor wretches: see here the commander who led you forward. Hail to the valour of the man who fell dead onto your enemies."

With these words, he leaves the throne. Drenching his cheeks with an abundant rain of tears and thronged by a great crowd around him that groans at his speech, he enters his customary residence. It's like how a mother walks after the death of her sleek calf, [60] which a wolf or hardhearted shepherd has dragged from her udder. No springs or rivers draw her eye, and the lush forests can't divert her. Then at the king's bidding, Enipeus brings out his swift steed along with his armour. It comes immediately, head down, and clamps its cold mouth on the hard bit; tears come to the beast's eyes. Latinus himself commands the spoils and prizes of war to be carried forth in order. First, they prepare chariots, trophies seized from the Trojans, standards, shields, and tunics of gold mail. [70] Behind these, they carry the arrows with which he had slaughtered his running enemies, gloriously crested helmets, and the trappings that he pulled from fleet-footed horses. Then follows his charger, which Metiscus now steers with timid art, as it rages that it must obey a hesitant master. The Rutulian knights and foot soldiers go together in the rear, shields reversed, spears turned backwards. Once father Latinus managed to speak through his tears, he called out the customary farewell in a low voice.

[80] Exhausted, they were now approaching Pylumus's fields through bushes where a shorter path led to the city's stronghold. Meanwhile, Rumour walks wildly through the middle of the city, fills the ears of the royal household with loud cries, and raves in the wretched father's house. She is driven here by the full force of her swift wings and announces the arrival of the fresh corpse. The distraught matrons leap up and wait in a mass at the crowded gates, lamenting with loud wails. You would think that their gods' temples and

their children and household gods were being snatched away, and that fire was raging on all the roofs.

### Notes on the text

Kern's corrections in lines 5, 19, and 23 are straightforward. Other passages merit brief discussion.

[16] All three transmitted readings are unmetrical. Removing *dum* from *Tpc* produces a metrical text closer to the Virgilian model (*Aen.* 1.430–36), where *qualis apes* is followed directly by a main verb (*exercet*) with no intervening temporal clause. *dum* arose as an attempt to preserve the metre when the order of *hyble viridantis* was reversed. Kern's correction of *stipant* is required to match the singular subject (*qualis apes*); as in the Virgilian model, the singular *apes* means "a swarm of bees."

[36] In the transmitted text, an *eset* must be understood with *indutus* ("when he was already dressed in his lightning-flashing breastplate and bristled with his sword"), but Kern's *ensem* produces a more balanced construction. *indutus ensem* is admittedly an unusual phrase, but I also find no parallels for *ense* + *horrere*. Memory of the ablative *aënis* in the Virgilian model (*Aen.* 11.487–88) likely caused the corruption.

[43] Unless Latinus imagines that he alone is free from Fortune's influence, Kern's emendation of *vestrum* to *nostrum* is surely correct. Moreover, with *nulli nostrum*, Decembrio may allude to Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epig.* 74.8: "sed nulli nostrum est ultima nota dies."<sup>50</sup>

[44–45] Kern emends *remittet* [...] *premet* to present verbs, but this is not needed to yield the sense of the passage, as he correctly explains it: if Fortune does not wish it, no man will be allowed to see the next sunrise, or (if he survives until dawn) the next sunset. But this requires considerable expansion of the compressed Latin. I wonder if Decembrio originally wrote *remittit* (or *remisit*) / *quando premet*: "if fickle Fortune should wish it, none of us would be permitted to see the sun's shining horses, which the day returns to the sky at first dawn, when it makes them set." This would then be recapitulated by

50. Prosper's book of epigrams was widely disseminated as a foundational school text: Horsting, *Prosper Aquitanus*, 22–24.

*malorum [...] celo*: a man who sees the dawn does not know what the day has in store for him.

[52] With the indicative *intrat*, we must understand that Latinus vividly imagines the return of Turnus's corpse to Ardea. But I would be inclined to write *intret* in order to match the imperatives and jussive subjunctives in the rest of the passage.

[58] In the transmitted text, *tum [...] oranti* must be read as a separate sentence. But the manuscripts clearly punctuate *tum [...] stipatus* as a sense unit, and indeed, *stipatus* seems to require an ablative of agent. Furthermore, *largoque [...] genas* is left without a finite verb in the manuscripts. Emending *tum turbā* to *turbāque* corrects these problems. The corruption was caused by dittography (*tum turbaque*) and/or haplography (*turbaque [...] que*).

[67] The text in *T* is unmetrical (*spoliāque trahuntur*). The text in *A* seems to be an attempted correction (which itself required correction of the word order in the manuscript, and of *eximias* to *exuvias* by Kern). I do not know if *A* (with Kern's help) has successfully recovered Decembrio's original, but the attempt is more persuasive than any other solution I have found.

[69] Kern's emendation of *auro* to *auri* corrects the faulty grammar of the manuscripts (where the singular *intextilis* seemingly modifies the plural *tuniceque*).

[75] The text of *T* has an unmetrical clausula; *A* restores the metre but produces a superfluous *-que* (since *Rutuli* must surely modify *equites* and *pedites*). I have corrected both metre and sense. The corruption in *T* arose when *peditesque* was moved forward in the line to pair with *equitesque* (and the first *-que* was dropped to preserve the metre).

[82–83] The transmitted “*magnis implet clangoribus aures / regalemque domum*” produces an odd pairing; I have understood it as a hendiadys (“the ears of the royal household”). But we might emend *aures* to *aedes* (“the palace and the royal household”). Cf. a similar description of Rumour's effect at *Aen.* 12.607–8: “*resonant late plangoribus [clangoribus in some MSS] aedes. / hinc totam infelix vulgatur Fama per urbem.*” We find *aures* supplanting a correct reading elsewhere in the manuscripts (*aure* for *arte* at line 73).

[86–87] The unmetrical *scisse comas* in *T* arose when *magnoque ululatu* triggered a memory of *Aen.* 9.477–78: “*femineo ululatu / scissa comas.*” The correction in *A* is quite plausible.

## Works Cited

- Braund, Susanna M. "Ending Epic: Statius, Theseus, and a Merciful Release." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* 42 (1996): 1–23. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44696727>.
- Brinton, Anna Cox. *Maphaeus Vegius and His Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid: A Chapter on Virgil in the Renaissance*. Berkley, CA: Stanford University Press, 1930. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429026041>.
- Buckley, Emma. "Ending the *Aeneid*? Closure and Continuation in Maffeo Vegio's Supplementum." *Vergilius* 52 (2006): 108–37. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41587329>.
- Conte, Gian Biagio, ed. *Publius Vergilius Maro: Aeneis*. 2nd ed. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110649031>.
- Fabiano, Carolina. "Pier Candido Decembrio traduttore d'Omero." *Aevum* 23, no. 1/2 (1949): 36–51. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25820047>.
- Farrell, Joseph, and Michael C. J. Putnam. *A Companion to Virgil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444318050>.
- Gervais, Kyle. "Odi(t)que moras): Abridging Allusions to Virgil, *Aeneid* 12 in Statius, *Thebaid* 12." *American Journal of Philology* 138, no. 2 (Summer 2017): 305–29. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ajp.2017.0014>.
- Gervais, Kyle. "Textual and Interpretive Notes on the Epic Poems of Maffeo Vegio." *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 70, no. 1 (2021): 7–21. <https://doi.org/10.30986/2021.7>.
- Hardie, Philip. *The Last Trojan Hero: A Cultural History of Virgil's Aeneid*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2014. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9780755693900>.
- Helm, Rudolph, ed. *Fabii Placidi Fulgentii V. C. Opera*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898.
- Horsting, Albertus G. A., ed. *Prosper Aquitanus: Liber epigrammatum*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110336627>.
- Kallendorf, Craig. "Cristoforo Landino's *Aeneid* and the Humanist Critical Tradition." *Renaissance Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Autumn 1983): 519–46. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2860732>.
- Kern, Hans. *Supplemente zur Äneis aus dem 15. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Nuremberg: Stich, 1896.
- Knauer, Georg N. *Die Aeneis und Homer*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964.



- Leigh, Matthew. "Statius and the Sublimity of Capaneus." In *Epic Interactions: Perspectives on Homer, Virgil and the Epic Tradition Presented to Jasper Griffin by Former Pupils*, edited by M. J. Clarke, B. G. F. Curie, and R. O. A. M. Lyne, 217–42. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199276301.003.0008>.
- Nelis, Damien. *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2001.
- Owens, Patrick M. "The Ever-Ending-Story: The Role of Ambiguity in Supplements to the *Aeneid*." In *Quasi labor intus: Ambiguity in Latin Literature, Papers in Honor of Reginald Thomas Foster, OCD*, edited by Michael Fontaine, Charles J. MacNamara, and William Michael Short, 247–65. Gowanus, NY: Paideia Institute for Humanistic Study, 2018.
- Putnam, Michael C. J., ed. *Maffeo Vegio: Short Epics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Raffaele, Luigi, ed. *Maffeo Vegio: Elenco delle opere, scritti inedita*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1909.
- Rogerson, Anne. "Vegio's Ascanius: Problems in the Continuation of the *Aeneid*." *Classical Receptions Journal* 5, no. 1 (January 2013): 106–25. <https://doi.org/10.1093/crj/cls005>.
- Rubenstein, Alice Levine. "Imitation and Style in Angelo Poliziano's *Iliad* Translation." *Renaissance Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 48–70. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2860829>.
- Schneider, Bernd, ed. *Das Aeneissupplement des Maffeo Vegio*. Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1985.
- Schreiber, Earl G., and Thomas E. Maresca. *The Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's Aeneid by Bernardus Silvester*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.
- Thomas, Richard F. *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511482403>.
- Vegio, Maffeo. *De perseverantia religionis libri septem*. Paris: B. Rembold, 1511.
- Whitbread, Leslie G. *Fulgentius the Mythographer*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971.
- Whittington, Leah. "Qui Succederet Operi: Completing the Unfinished in Maffeo Vegio's *Supplementum Aeneidos*." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 21, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 217–44. <https://doi.org/10.1086/699711>.

- Wilson-Okamura, David Scott, trans. *Pier Candido Decembrio: The Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid*. 1996. [www.virgil.org/supplementa/decembrio.htm](http://www.virgil.org/supplementa/decembrio.htm).
- Wilson-Okamura, David Scott. *Virgil in the Renaissance*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511762581>.
- Zaccaria, Vittorio. "Sulle opere di Pier Candido Decembrio." *Rinascimento* 7 (1956): 13–74.