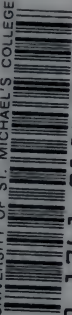


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## VIRGIL

IN TWO VOLUMES

I

ECLOGUES

GEORGICS

AENEID I-VI

*First printed 1916*

*Reprinted 1920, 1922, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1929,  
1930 (3 times), 1932*

*New and revised edition 1935, 1938*





### VIRGIL AND THE MUSES OF HISTORY AND TRAGEDY

From a mosaic (c. 100 A.D.) found at Hadrumetum in Africa, now in the Bardo Museum.

The poet holds in his left hand a half open roll on which may be read the letters:—

MUSAMIHICAV  
SASMEMORA  
QUONUMINE  
LAESOQUIDVE

(Aen. 1. 8.).

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700. 1707

# VIRGIL

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE IN  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA

IN TWO VOLUMES

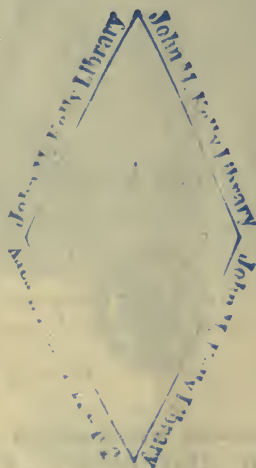
I  
ECLOGUES  
GEORGICS  
AENEID I-VI

*REVISED EDITION*



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
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MCMXXXVIII

TO  
MY WIFE



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

## PREFACE TO THE REVISION

SINCE this edition of Virgil was published in 1916, it has been frequently reprinted, but a complete revision seems now called for owing to the large amount of scholarly literature bearing upon our author which has appeared in the last fifteen years.

In 1930, Sabbadini published in Rome his critical text edition of Virgil, which provides a conspectus of MS. readings. As this is often in conflict with Ribbeck, who has hitherto been our main authority on the subject, I undertook to make my own personal examination of the principal codices, especially M and P. Some of the results are registered in this edition, but a paper on the subject has been prepared and will appear in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. lxiii, 1932, pp. 206-229. I may remark that photographic facsimiles, of which we now have several, can never be as decisive as the original MSS. themselves.

It should be added that as little change as possible has been made in the printed page, and therefore most of the additional matter now provided appears in the Appendix to each volume.

I wish to thank Professor Edward Capps of Princeton, Professor Barry Cerf of Reed College, and Professor J. C. Rolfe of the University of Pennsylvania for suggesting corrections, and I am grateful to my colleagues, Professors Le Roy Abrams and S. D. Townley, for assistance in their respective spheres of Botany and Astronomy.

H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH.

*Stanford University,  
California,  
April 1932.*





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## LIFE OF VIRGIL

PUBLIUS VERGILIUS MARO was born October 15, 70 B.C., at Andes, a district near Mantua. He was "of rustic parentage, and brought up in the bush and forest,"<sup>1</sup> but his father gave him a careful education, first at Cremona, then at Milan, and lastly at Rome. In the capital he studied especially under Epidius the rhetorician, and Siro, a distinguished Epicurean.

To his student-days must belong the short poems known as *Catalepton* (κατὰ λεπτόν, i.e. "small"), if indeed any of these are genuine. To the same period would belong the rest of the minor poems—the *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Copa*, *Dirae*, *Priapea*, *Aetna*, and *Moretum*—though it is very doubtful whether any of these are authentic.

Virgil's second period begins with 43 B.C., when, after Caesar's assassination, we find the poet again in Mantua. In that year the second triumvirate was formed, and in the year following Brutus and Cassius were defeated at Philippi. In the subsequent allotment of lands to the victorious veterans Cremona and Mantua suffered severely. The poet was dispossessed of his farm and, attempting resistance, barely escaped with his life. However, he found a friend in C. Asinius Pollio, governor of

<sup>1</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, V. II. 1.

## LIFE OF VIRGIL

Cisalpine Gaul, and in Pollio's successor (41 B.C.), L. Alfenus Varus. Through Pollio he was introduced to Octavius, and either recovered his farm or received in compensation an estate in Campania.

The poems in which Virgil records his experience at this time are the ten *Eclogues*, or *Bucolics*, which were published in their present order in 37 B.C. The two that are mainly concerned with the poet's expulsion from his farm are the first and ninth, but at least three, viz. the second, third, and fifth (with probably the seventh as well), preceded the first in point of time and, like it, were written in the poet's native district. The sixth and ninth were composed at Siro's villa; the remainder, viz. the fourth, eighth, and tenth, were written in Rome. The first doubtless won its place in the series because of the tribute it pays to Octavius, who before 37 B.C. had become sole ruler in Italy.

Seven years were devoted to the *Georgics*, the four books of which were published in 29 B.C., two years after the battle of Actium. The work was undertaken at the request of Maecenas, to whom it is dedicated. Though a didactic poem, being a treatise on agriculture, the *Georgics* are perhaps the most carefully finished production of Roman literature.

The rest of Virgil's life was devoted to the *Æneid*, the greatest of Roman epics. Before it was ready for publication Virgil set out in 19 B.C. for Greece and Asia, where he intended to spend the next three years in revising his work. At Athens, however, meeting Augustus on his homeward journey from the East, he was induced to return with the Emperor to Italy. A fever, contracted at Megara, grew worse during the voyage, and ended in his death at Brundisium, a few days after landing, in the

## LIFE OF VIRGIL

fifty-first year of his age, September 22, 19 B.C. He was buried at Naples, and on his tomb was inscribed the epitaph :

MANTUA ME GENUIT, CALABRI RAPUERERE, TENET NUNC  
PARTHENOPE ; CECINI PASCUA, RURA, DUCES.

Conscious of many imperfections in the *Aeneid*, Virgil had begged Varius (who along with Tucca was Virgil's literary executor), in the event of his death, to burn the epic. It was published, however, by order of Augustus, who directed the executors to edit it, removing all superfluities, but making no additions. Examples of passages removed are furnished by the prooemium of four lines at the beginning of the *Aeneid*, and by the Helen episode in the second book (ll. 567-588). In both cases Virgil's dissatisfaction with the passages may have been known to his literary friends.



## MANUSCRIPTS

THE text of Virgil has been remarkably well preserved. In the large number of Virgilian manuscripts there are as many as eight that can safely be assigned to an age as early as the fourth or fifth century. These are the following, all written in capital letters, square or rustic :

- A. *Fragmentum Augusteum*, or *Schedae Berolinenses*, partly in Rome and partly in Berlin; containing portions of *Georg.* I and III, with *Aen.* IV, 302-305.
- B. *Codex Mediolanensis*, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. A palimpsest, comprising four passages from *Aen.* I (81 verses in all), accompanied by a Greek rendering.
- F. *Schedae Vaticanae*, in Rome; containing portions of *Georg.* III, IV, and *Aen.* I-XI, and preserving some interesting miniatures.
- G. *Schedae Sangallenses*, at St. Gall, Switzerland. Eleven leaves of a palimpsest, including portions of *Georg.* IV and *Aen.* I, III, IV, VI.
- M. *Codex Mediceus*, in the Laurentian Library at Florence. Written before A.D. 494. Contains *Ecl.* from VI, 48, *Georg.* and *Aen.*

## MANUSCRIPTS

P. *Codex Palatinus*, in the Vatican Library, Rome, but up to 1622 in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg. Out of 280 leaves, 32 here and there are wanting.

R. *Codex Romanus*, in the Vatican Library. Out of 309 leaves, 77 here and there are lost. Illustrated.

V. *Schedae Veronenses*, a palimpsest at Verona. The 51 leaves include fragments from *Ecl.*, *Georg.*, and *Aen.*

Of the many cursive manuscripts, the most important are the *Codex Gudianus* ( $\gamma$ ) of the ninth century, and three *codices Bernenses* (a, b, c) of the same century.

For a full account of the MSS., see Henry, *Aeneidea*, vol. i; Ribbeck, *Prolegomena ad Vergilium*, vol. iv; and Sabbadini's edition, vol. i, pp. 19-29.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How far the capital MSS. are available is indicated at the side of the text by the several capital letters employed. The cursive MSS. are referred to only in the registry of variant readings at the foot of the page. When a MS. reading has been corrected by a later hand, the original and the correction are indicated respectively by the Arabic numerals <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>. Still later corrections are noted simply as *late*. For further details see Appendix.

Inasmuch as in the *apparatus criticus* numerous references must be made to Ribbeck and Sabbadini, the abbreviations *Rib.* and *Sabb.* are commonly employed.



## EDITIONS AND COMMENTARIES

THE *editio princeps* appeared in Rome (probably 1469). Of subsequent editions the most important are those of Heinsius (1664–88), Heyne (1767–75, 4th ed. by Wagner, 1830–41), Ribbeck (1859–68), Forbiger (1872–75), Benoist (1876), Thilo (1886), Hirtzel (Clarendon Press, 1900), Walter Janell (Leipzig, 1920), Henri Goelzer (Paris, 1925), R. Sabbadini (Rome, 1930). Complete annotated editions in English are by Kennedy (1879), Papillon (1882), Sidgwick (1890), Conington (completed and revised by Nettleship, 1st vol. re-edited by Haverfield, 1898), and Page (1900–2). Partial editions in various languages are very numerous, the most conspicuous of recent years being E. Norden's *Aeneid*, Book VI, with German commentary and translation (1903),<sup>1</sup> H. E. Butler's *Aeneid*, Book VI (Oxford, 1920), and J. W. Mackail's complete *Aeneid* (Oxford, 1930).

The ancient commentary of Servius (fourth century) was printed as early as 1471, and is given in several editions of Virgil.<sup>2</sup> It is edited separately by

<sup>1</sup> Certain disputed passages are discussed by the translator in the Fairclough-Brown edition of the *Aeneid*, Books I–VI (Sanborn and Co., Boston: latest reprint 1930), and in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1907, vol. 38, pp. xxxvi ff.

<sup>2</sup> Additions to the original text are known as Daniel-Servius or D. Servius. Besides Servius, occasional references are made in the notes to the grammarians, Nonius, Charisius, Donatus, and Philargyrius.

## EDITIONS AND COMMENTARIES

Lion (1826) and by Thilo and Hagen (1878 *sqq.*). The Berne *Scholia* are edited by Hagen (1867). An account of all the ancient Virgilian commentators is given by Ribbeck in his *Prolegomena*, and by Conington, vol. i. The latest Index to Virgil's works is Wetmore's *Index Verborum Vergilianus* (1911).

Henry's *Aeneidea* (1873-92) is a valuable work on the interpretation of the *Aeneid*; so is Heinze's *Virgils Epische Technik* (1903). Glover's *Studies in Virgil* (1904)<sup>1</sup> illuminates all of the poet's work. Other important books on Virgil are Sainte-Beuve's *Étude sur Virgile* (1859); Comparetti's *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (translated by Benecke, 1895); Nettleship's *Virgil* (1879); and Boissier's *Nouvelles Promenades Archéologiques* (1886), translated as *The Country of Horace and Virgil*, by Fisher (1895).

Noteworthy essays on Virgil are in Green's *Stray Studies* (1876); Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil* (2nd ed. 1883); F. W. H. Myers, *Classical Essays* (1883); Patin, *Essais sur la Poésie latine* (4th ed. 1900); Tyrrell, *Latin Poetry* (1898); Mackail, *Latin Literature* (3rd ed. 1899); Woodberry's *Great Writers* (New York, 1907). See also Appendix, pp. 573 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Fifth edition, 1923.

## ECLOGUES

# ECLOGAE

## I

MELIBOEUS

TITYRE, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi      PR  
silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena :  
nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva ;  
nos patriam fugimus : tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra  
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.      5

TITYRUS

O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit.  
namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram  
saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.  
ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum  
ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti.      10

MELIBOEUS

Non equidem invideo ; miror magis : undique totis  
usque adeo turbatur agris. en, ipse capellas  
protinus aeger ago ; hanc etiam vix, Tityre, duco.  
hic inter densas corylos modo namque gemellos,  
spem gregis, a ! silice in nuda conixa reliquit.      15

<sup>12</sup> turbamur *PRγ* : turbatur read by *Quintilian*, I. iv. 28,  
and preferred by *Servius*.

# ECLOGUES

## I

### MELIBOEUS

You, Tityrus, lie under your spreading beech's covert, wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed, but we are leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our country; you, Tityrus, at ease beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo "fair Amaryllis."

### TITYRUS

O Meliboeus, it is a god who wrought for us this peace—for a god he shall ever be to me; often shall a tender lamb from our folds stain his altar. Of his grace my kine roam, as you see, and I, their master, play what I will on my rustic pipe.<sup>1</sup>

### MELIBOEUS

Well, I grudge you not—rather I marvel; such unrest is there on all sides in the land. See, heart-sick, I myself am driving my goats along, and here, Tityrus, is one I scarce can lead. For here just now amid the thick hazels, after hard travail, she dropped twins, the hope of the flock, alas! on the naked flint.

<sup>1</sup> In this allegory Tityrus may represent Virgil, who went to Rome and appealed successfully to Octavian (afterwards Augustus) against the confiscation of his farm. But see Appendix, p. 575.

## VIRGIL

saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset,  
de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus.  
sed tamen, iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis.

### TITYRUS

Urbem, quam dicunt Romam, Meliboeë, putavi  
stultus ego huic nostrae similem, quo saepe solemus  
pastores ovium teneros depellere fetus. 21  
sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus haedos  
noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam.  
verum haec tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes,  
quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi. 25

### MELIBOEUS

Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?

### TITYRUS

Libertas, quae sera tamen respexit inertem,  
candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat,  
respexit tamen et longo post tempore venit,  
postquam nos Amaryllis habet, Galatea reliquit. 30  
namque, fatebor enim, dum me Galatea tenebat,  
nec spes libertatis erat, nec cura peculi.  
quamvis multa meis exiret victima saeptis,  
pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi,  
non umquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra redibat.

### MELIBOEUS

Mirabar, quid maesta deos, Amarylli, vocares, 36  
cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma :  
Tityrus hinc aberat. ipsae te, Tityre, pinus,  
ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant.

<sup>27</sup> *R originally had mala for poma.*

<sup>38</sup> pinus] nobis *P*<sup>1</sup>.

## ECLOGUE I

Often, I mind, this mishap was foretold me, had not my wits been dull, by the oaks struck from heaven. But still tell me, Tityrus, who is this god of yours?

TITYRUS

The city which they call Rome, Meliboeus, I, foolish one! thought was like this of ours, whither we shepherds are wont to drive the tender younglings of our flocks. Thus I knew puppies were like dogs, and kids like their dams; thus I used to compare great things with small. But this one has reared her head as high among all other cities as cypresses oft do among the bending osiers.

MELIBOEUS

And what was the great occasion of your seeing Rome?

TITYRUS

Freedom, who, though late, yet cast her eyes upon me in my sloth, when my beard began to whiten as it fell beneath the scissors. Yet she did cast her eyes on me, and came after a long time—after Amaryllis began her sway and Galatea left me. For—yes, I must confess—while Galatea ruled me, I had neither hope of freedom nor thought of savings. Though many a victim left my stalls, and many a rich cheese was pressed for the thankless town, never would my hand come home money-laden.

MELIBOEUS

I used to wonder, Amaryllis, why so sadly you called on the gods, and for whom you let the apples hang on their native trees. Tityrus was gone from home. The very pines, Tityrus, the very springs, the very orchards here were calling for you!



## VIRGIL

### TITYRUS

Quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat 40  
nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere divos.  
hic illum vidi iuvenem, Meliboeae, quotannis  
bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.  
hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti:  
“pascite, ut ante, boves, pueri; submittite tauros.”

### MELIBOEUS

Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt. 46  
et tibi magna satis. quamvis lapis omnia nudus  
limosoque palus obducatur pascua iunco.  
non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas,  
nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent. 50  
fortunate senex, hic inter flumina nota  
et fontis sacros frigus captabis opacum.  
hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite saepes  
Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti  
saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro; 55  
hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras:  
nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes,  
nec gemere aëria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.

### TITYRUS

Ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi,  
et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis, 60  
ante pererratis amborum finibus exsul  
aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim,  
quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus.

<sup>59</sup> pascentur *P*.

<sup>63</sup> labatur *P*<sup>1</sup>: labantur *P*<sup>2</sup>.



## ECLOGUE I

### TITYRUS

What was I to do? I could not quit my slavery nor elsewhere find my gods so ready to aid. Here, Meliboeus, I saw that youth for whom our altars smoke twice six days a year. Here he was the first to give my plea an answer: "Feed, swains, your oxen as of old; rear your bulls."

---

### MELIBOEUS

Happy old man! So these lands will still be yours, and large enough for you, though bare stones cover all, and the marsh chokes your pastures with slimy rushes. Still, no strange herbage shall try your breeding ewes, no baneful infection from a neighbour's flock shall harm them. Happy old man! Here, amid familiar streams and sacred springs, you shall court the cooling shade. On this side, as aforetime, on your neighbour's border, the hedge whose willow blossoms are sipped by Hybla's bees shall often with its gentle hum soothe you to slumber; on that, under the towering rock, the woodman's song shall fill the air; while still the cooing wood-pigeons, your pets, and the turtle-dove shall cease not their moaning from the skye elm.

### TITYRUS

Sooner, then, shall the nimble stag graze in air, and the seas leave their fish bare on the strand—sooner, each wandering over the other's frontiers, shall the Parthian in exile drink the Arar, and Germany the Tigris, than that look of his shall fade from my heart.

## VIRGIL

### MELIBOEUS

At nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros,  
pars Scythiam et rapidum Cretae veniemus Oaxen  
x—et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos. 66  
en umquam patrios longo post tempore finis,  
pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen  
post aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor aristas?  
impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit, 70  
barbarus has segetes? en quo discordia civis  
produxit miseros: his nos consevimus agros.  
insere nunc, Meliboe, piros, pone ordine vitis.  
ite meae, quondam felix pecus, ite capellae.  
non ego vos posthac viridi proiectus in antro 75  
dumosa pendere procul de rupe videbo;  
carmina nulla canam; non me pascente, capellae,  
florentem cytisum et salices carpetis amaras.

### TITYRUS

Hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem  
fronde super viridi: sunt nobis mitia poma, 80  
castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis;  
et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant  
maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.

<sup>65</sup> *Servius* read *cretae*, governed by *rapidum*, "chalk-rolling."

<sup>74</sup> *felix* quondam *R*.

<sup>79</sup> *hac* . . . nocte *P*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> de *P*<sup>2</sup>; a *P*<sup>1</sup>.

## ECLOGUE I

### MELIBOEUS

But we must go hence—some to the thirsty Africans, some to reach Scythia and Crete's swift Oaxes, and the Britons, wholly sundered from all the world. Ah, shall I ever, long years hence, look again on my country's bounds, on my humble cottage with its turf-clad roof—shall I, long years hence, look amazed on a few ears of corn, once my kingdom? Is a godless soldier to hold these well-tilled fallows? a barbarian these crops? See to what strife has brought our unhappy citizens! For these have we sown our fields! Now, Meliboeus, graft your pears, plant your vines in rows! Away, my goats! Away, once happy flock! No more, stretched in some mossy grot, shall I watch you in the distance hanging from a bushy crag; no more songs shall I sing; no more, my goats, under my tending, shall you crop flowering lucerne and bitter willows!

### TITYRUS

Yet this night you might have rested here with me on the green leafage. We have ripe apples, mealy chestnuts, and a wealth of pressed cheeses. Even now the house-tops yonder are smoking and longer shadows fall from the mountain-heights.

# VIRGIL

## II

FORMOSUM pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim, PR  
 delicias domini, nec, quid speraret, habebat.  
 tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos  
 adsidue veniebat. ibi haec incondita solus  
 montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani. 5

“ O crudelis Alexi, nihil mea carmina curas ?  
 nil nostri miserere ? mori me denique coges.  
 nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant,  
 nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos,  
 Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu 10  
 alia serpullumque herbas contundit olentis.  
 at mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustro,  
 sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis.  
 nonne fuit satius, tristis Amaryllidis iras  
 atque superba pati fastidia ? nonne Menalcan, 15  
 quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses ?  
 o formose puer, nimium ne crede colori :  
 alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.  
 despectus tibi sum nec, qui sim, quaeris, Alexi,  
 quam dives pecoris, nivei quam lactis abundans : 20  
 mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae ;  
 lac mihi non aestate novum, non frigore deficit.  
 canto, quae solitus, si quando armenta vocabat,  
 Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho.  
 nec sum adeo informis : nuper me in litore vidi, 25  
 cum placidum ventis staret mare ; non ego Daphnim  
 iudice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago.

<sup>1</sup> Corydon pastor *Rγ*.      <sup>7</sup> cogis *Pγ*.      <sup>9</sup> lacertas *P<sup>1</sup>*.  
<sup>12</sup> ac *R*.      <sup>22</sup> lact *P*.      <sup>27</sup> fallat *I<sup>2</sup>Rγ*.

## ECLOGUE II

### II<sup>1</sup>

CORYDON, the shepherd, was aflame for the fair Alexis, his master's pet, nor knew he what to hope. As his one solace, he would day by day come among the thick beeches with their shady summits, and there alone in fruitless passion fling these artless strains to the hills and woods :

<sup>6</sup> "O cruel Alexis, care you naught for my songs? Have you no pity for me? You will drive me at last to death. Now even the cattle court the cool shade; now even the green lizards hide in the brakes, and Thestylis pounds for the reapers, spent with the scorching heat, her savoury herbs of garlic and thyme. But as I scan your footprints, the copses under the burning sun ring with the shrill cicala's voice along with mine. Was it not better to brook Amaryllis' sullen rage and scornful disdain? or Menalcas, though he was swart and you are fair? Ah, lovely boy, trust not too much to your bloom! The white privets fall, the dark hyacinths are culled!

<sup>19</sup> "You scorn me, Alexis, and ask not what I am—how rich in cattle, how wealthy in snow-white milk! A thousand lambs of mine roam over the Sicilian hills; new milk fails me not, summer or winter. I sing as Amphion of Dirce used to sing, when calling home the herds on Attic Aracynthus. Nor am I so unsightly; on the shore the other day I looked at myself, when, by grace of the winds, the sea was at peace and still. With you for judge, I should fear not Daphnis, if the mirror never lies!

<sup>1</sup> This Eclogue, probably the earliest in the collection, is largely an imitation of two Idylls of Theocritus, viz. the third, in which a slighted lover pours forth his complaint, and the eleventh, in which the Cyclops Polyphemus bewails the cruelty of Galatea.

## VIRGIL

o tantum libeat mecum tibi sordida rura  
 atque humilis habitare casas et figere cervos  
 haedorumque gregem viridi compellere hibisco ! 30  
 mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo.  
 Pan primum calamos cera coniungere pluris  
 instituit, Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros.  
 nec te paeniteat calamo trivisse labellum :  
 haec eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas ? 35  
 est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis  
 fistula, Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim  
 et dixit moriens ' te nunc habet ista secundum.'  
 dixit Damoetas, invidit stultus Amyntas.  
 praeterea duo, nec tuta mihi valle reperti, 40  
 capreoli, sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo ;  
 bina die siccant ovis ubera ; quos tibi servo.  
 iam pridem a me illos abducere Thestylis orat ;  
 et faciet, quoniam sordent tibi munera nostra.  
 huc ades, o formose puer : tibi lilia plenis 45  
 ecce ferunt Nymphae palathis, tibi candida Nais,  
 pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,  
 narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi ;  
 tum, casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis,  
 mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha. 50  
 ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala  
 castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat ;  
 addam cerea pruna : honos erit huic quoque pomo ;

<sup>32</sup> primus *bc*, *Servius* (at *Ecl.* III. 25).    <sup>41</sup> albo] ambo *R*.



## ECLOGUE II

<sup>28</sup> "O if you would but live with me in our rude fields and lowly cots, shooting the deer and driving the flock of kids to the green mallows!<sup>1</sup> With me in the woods you shall rival Pan in song. Pan it was who first taught man to make many reeds one with wax; Pan cares for the sheep and the shepherds of the sheep. Nor would you be sorry to have chafed your lip with a reed; to learn this same art, what did not Amyntas do? I have a pipe formed of seven uneven hemlock-stalks, a gift Damoetas once gave me, and said on his death-bed, 'Now it claims thee as second master.' So said Damoetas; Amyntas, foolish one, felt envious. Nay more, two roes—I found them in a dangerous valley—their hides still sprinkled with white, drain a ewe's udders twice a day. These I keep for you. Thestylis has long been begging to get them from me—and so she shall, as in your eyes my gifts are mean.

<sup>45</sup> "Come hither, lovely boy! See, for you the Nymphs bring lilies in heaped-up baskets; for you the fair Naiad, plucking pale violets and poppy-heads, blends narcissus and sweet-scented fennel-flower; then, twining them with cassia and other sweet herbs, sets off the delicate hyacinth with the golden marigold. My own hands will gather quinces, pale with tender down, and chestnuts, which my Amaryllis loved. Waxed plums I will add—this fruit, too, shall have its honour. You too, O laurels, I will

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, "with a green hibiscus switch" (Page). What the *hibiscus* was is uncertain. Dioscorides and Palladius identify it with the marsh-mallow, but Pliny says it is like a parsnip. In x. 71 it is used for making baskets. Keightley is therefore inclined to suspect that it was some kind of willow. The common interpretation is that of Servius, who takes *hibisco* for *ad hibiscum*, comparing it *clamor caelo* (*Aen.* v. 451).

## VIRGIL

et vos, o lauri, carpam et te, proxima myrte,  
 sic positae quoniam suavis miscetis odores. 55  
 rusticus es, Corydon ; nec munera curat Alexis,  
 nec, si muneribus certes, concedat Iollas.  
 heu heu, quid volui misero mihi? floribus Austrum  
 perditus et liquidis immisi fontibus apros.  
 quem fugis, a! demens? habitarunt di quoque silvas  
 Dardaniusque Paris. Pallas, quas condidit arces, 61  
 ipsa colat: nobis placeant ante omnia silvae.  
 torva leaena lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,  
 florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella,  
 te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas.  
 aspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuvenci, 66  
 et sol crescentis decedens duplicat umbras:  
 me tamen urit amor; quis enim modus adsit amori?  
 ah, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?  
 semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est. 70  
 quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,  
 viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?  
 invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim."

## III

### MENALCAS

Dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus? an Meliboei? PR

### DAMOETAS

Non, verum Aegonis; nuper mihi tradidit Aegon.

<sup>56</sup> es] est *P<sup>1</sup>R.*

<sup>57</sup> certet *R.*

<sup>61</sup> quae *R.*

<sup>70</sup> est *om. P.*

<sup>73</sup> Alexis *P<sup>2</sup>γ.*



### ECLOGUE III

pluck, and you, their neighbour myrtle, for so placed you blend sweet fragrance.

<sup>56</sup> "Corydon, you are a clown! Alexis cares naught for gifts, nor if with gifts you were to vie, would Iollas yield. Alas, alas! what wish, poor wretch, has been mine? Madman, I have let in the south wind to my flowers, and boars to my crystal springs! Ah, fool, whom do you flee? Even the gods have dwelt in the woods, and Dardan Paris. Let Pallas dwell by herself in the cities she has built; but let my chief delight be the woods! The grim lioness follows the wolf, the wolf himself the goat, the wanton goat the flowering clover, and Corydon follows you, Alexis. Each is led by his liking. See, the bullocks drag home by the yoke the hanging plough, and the retiring sun doubles the lengthening shadows. Yet me love still burns; for what bound can be set to love? Ah, Corydon, Corydon, what madness has gripped you? Your vine is but half-pruned on the leafy elm. Nay, why not at least set about plaiting some thing your need calls for, with twigs and pliant rushes? You will find another Alexis, if this one scorns you?"

#### III<sup>1</sup>

##### MENALCAS

TELL me, Damoetas, who owns the flock? Is it Meliboeus?

##### DAMOETAS

No, but Aegon. Aegon the other day turned it over to me.

<sup>1</sup> This *amoebaeon* pastoral, in which two swains contend in alternate song (see l. 59), is largely imitative of the fourth and fifth Idylls of Theocritus.

## VIRGIL

### MENALCAS

Infelix o semper, oves, pecus ! ipse Neaeram  
dum fovet ac, ne me sibi praeferat illa, veretur,  
hic alienus ovis custos bis mulget in hora, 5  
et sucus pecori et lac subducitur agnis.

### DAMOETAS

Parcius ista viris tamen obicienda memento.  
novimus et qui te, transversa tuentibus hircis,  
et quo (sed faciles Nymphae risere) sacello.

### MENALCAS

Tum, credo, cum me arbustum videre Miconis 10  
atque mala vitis incidere falce novellas.

### DAMOETAS

Aut hic ad veteres fagos, cum Daphnidis arcum  
fregisti et calamos : quae tu, perverse Menalca,  
et cum vidisti puero donata, dolebas,  
et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses. 15

### MENALCAS

Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures ?  
non ego te vidi Damonis, pessime, caprum  
excipere insidiis, multum latrante Lycisca ?  
et cum clamarem "quo nunc se proripit ille ?  
Tityre, coge pecus," tu post carecta latebas. 20

## ECLOGUE III

### MENALCAS

Poor sheep, ever luckless flock! While your master courts Neaera, and fears lest she prefer me to him, this hireling keeper milks his ewes twice an hour, and the flock are robbed of strength and the lambs of milk.

### DAMOETAS

Yet have a care to fling these taunts more sparingly at men. We know who was with you while the goats looked askance, and in what chapel—but the easy Nymphs laughed.

### MENALCAS

The day, of course, when they saw me hacking Micon's plantation and his young vines with malicious knife.

### DAMOETAS

Or it was here, by the old beeches, when you broke Daphnis' bow and arrows; for you were sore, you spiteful Menalcas, when you saw them given to the boy, and could you not have harmed him in some way, you would have died.

### MENALCAS

What are masters like to do, if their knaves<sup>1</sup> are so bold? Did I not see you, rascal, snaring Damon's goat, while his mongrel barked madly? And when I cried: "Where is yon fellow running? Tityrus, round up the flock!" you were skulking beyond the sedge.

<sup>1</sup> Servius says: "*pro servo furem posuit.*" An alternative rendering is: "What can owners do when thieves are so daring?" So Page and Waltz.

## VIRGIL

### DAMOETAS

An mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,  
quem mea carminibus meruisset fistula caprum?  
si nescis, meus ille caper fuit; et mihi Damon  
ipse fatebatur; sed reddere posse negabat.

### MENALCAS

Cantando tu illum? aut umquam tibi fistula cera 25  
iuncta fuit? non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas  
stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen? PRV

### DAMOETAS

Vis ergo inter nos, quid possit uterque, vicissim  
experiamur? ego hanc vitulam (ne forte recuses,  
bis venit ad muletram, binos alit ubere fetus) 30  
depono: tu dic, mecum quo pignore certes.

### MENALCAS

De grege non ausim quicquam deponere tecum:  
est mihi namque domi pater, est iniusta noverca,  
bisque die numerant ambo pecus, alter et haedos.  
verum, id quod multo tute ipse fatebere maius, 35  
(insanire libet quoniam tibi) pocula ponam  
fagina, caelatum divini opus Alcimedontis;  
lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis  
diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos.  
in medio duo signa, Conon et—quis fuit alter, 40  
descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem,  
tempora quae messor, quae curvus arator haberet?  
necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo.

<sup>26</sup> vineta PRγ.

<sup>27</sup> stipula miserum V.

<sup>38</sup> facili γ, known to Servius: facilis P<sup>1</sup>: factis P<sup>2</sup>: facilis V, Donatus, Berne Scholia: fragilis R.

## ECLOGUE III

DAMOETAS

Did I not beat him in singing, and was he not to pay me the goat my pipe had won by its songs? If you must know, that goat was mine; Damon himself owned to it, but said he could not pay.

MENALCAS

You beat him in singing? Why, did you ever own a wax-jointed pipe? Was it not you, Master Dunce, who at the cross-roads used to murder a sorry tune on a scrannel straw?

DAMOETAS

Well, would you have us try together, turn about, what each can do? I'll stake this cow. Now, don't draw back! She comes twice a day to the milking-pail, and suckles two calves. Now tell me, for what stake you will match me.

MENALCAS

From the herd I'd dare not stake anything with you. I have at home a harsh father and stepmother; and twice a day both count the flock, and one of them the kids as well. But—and you will yourself own it for a far greater wager—since you are on folly bent, I will stake two beechen cups, the embossed work of divine Alcimedon. On these a pliant vine, laid on by the graver's skill, is entwined with spreading clusters of pale ivy. In the midst are two figures, Conon and—who was the other,<sup>1</sup> who marked out with his rod the whole heavens for man, what seasons the reaper should claim, what the stooping ploughman? Nor have I yet put my lips to them, but keep them in store.

<sup>1</sup> The other astronomer was probably Eudoxus of Cnidus whose *Phaenomena* was versified by Aratus.

## VIRGIL

### DAMOETAS

Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,  
et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho, 45  
Orpheaque in medio posuit silvasque sequentis;  
necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo:  
si ad vitulam spectas, nihil est, quod pocula laudes.

### MENALCAS

Numquam hodie effugies; veniam, quocumque vocaris.  
audiat haec tantum—vel qui venit ecce Palaemon. 50  
efficiam, posthac ne quemquam voce lacesas.

### DAMOETAS

Quin age, si quid habes; in me mora non erit ulla,  
nec quemquam fugio: tantum, vicine Palaemon, PR  
sensibus haec imis (res est non parva) reponas.

### PALAEMON

Dicite, quandoquidem in molli consedimus herba. 55  
et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos,  
nunc frondent silvae, nunc formosissimus annus.  
incipi, Damoeta; tu deinde sequere, Menalca:  
alternis dicetis; amant alterna Camenae.

### DAMOETAS

Ab Iove principium, Musae: Iovis omnia plena; 60  
ille colit terras, illi mea carmina curae.

<sup>60</sup> musae (*genitive*), known to Servius. So Sabb.

## ECLOGUE III

DAMOETAS

I also have two cups, made for me by the same Alcimedon, and he has clasped their handles with twining acanthus, and in the centre placed Orpheus with the woods that follow him. Nor have I yet put my lips to them, but keep them in store. If you but look at the cow, you will have no praise for the cups.

MENALCAS

You shall never, never get off! Wherever you call me, I will meet you. Only let the one to hear us be—or take the man coming yonder, Palaemon. I will see that hereafter you challenge nobody to sing.

DAMOETAS

Nay come, if you have any song; with me there shall be no delay. No umpire do I shun. Only, neighbour Palaemon, give this your closest heed; it is no trifling matter.

PALAEMON

Sing on, now that we are seated on the soft grass. Even now every field, every tree is budding; now the woods are green, and the year is at its fairest. Begin, Damoetas; then you, Menalcas, must follow. Turn about you shall sing; singing by turns the Muses love.

DAMOETAS

With Jove I begin, ye Muses; of Jove all things are full. He makes the earth fruitful: he pays heed to my songs.



## VIRGIL

MENALCAS

Et me Phoebus amat ; Phoebus sua semper apud me  
munera sunt, lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus.

DAMOETAS

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,  
et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri. 65

MENALCAS

At mihi sese offert ultro, meus ignis, Amyntas,  
notior ut iam sit canibus non Delia nostris.

DAMOETAS

Parta meae Veneri sunt munera : namque notavi  
ipse locum, aëriae quo conguessere palumbes.

MENALCAS

Quod potui, puero silvestri ex arbore lecta 70  
aurea mala decem misi : cras altera mittam.

DAMOETAS

O quotiens et quae nobis Galatea locuta est ! R  
partem aliquam, venti, divum referatis ad auris.

MENALCAS

Quid prodest, quod me ipse animo non spernis,  
Amynta,  
si, dum tu sectaris apros, ego retia servo ? 75

DAMOETAS

Phyllida mitte mihi : meus est natalis, Iolla ;  
cum faciam vitula pro frugibus, ipse venito.

<sup>77</sup> vitula *Servius, Macrobius* : vitulam most MSS.



## ECLOGUE III

MENALCAS

And me Phoebus loves ; Phoebus ever finds with me the offerings he loves, laurels and sweet-blushing hyacinths.

DAMOETAS

Galatea, saucy girl, pelts me with an apple, then runs off to the willows—and hopes to be seen first.

MENALCAS

But my flame Amyntas comes to me unsought, so that now Delia is not better known to my dogs.

DAMOETAS

Gifts I have found for my love ; for I have myself marked where the wood-pigeons have been building high in the air.

MENALCAS

I have sent my boy—'twas all I could do—ten golden apples, culled from a tree in the wood. Tomorrow I will send a second ten.

DAMOETAS

O the times and the things Galatea has spoken to me ! Waft some part, ye winds, to the ears of the gods.

MENALCAS

What boots it, Amyntas, that you yourself scorn me not in heart, if, while you follow the boars, I watch the nets ?

DAMOETAS

Send Phyllis to me ; it is my birthday, Iollas. When I sacrifice a heifer for the harvest, come yourself.

## VIRGIL

MENALCAS

Phyllida amo ante alias : nam me discedere flevit,  
et longum "formose, vale, vale" inquit, "Iolla."

DAMOETAS

Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres, 80  
arboribus venti, nobis Amaryllidis irae.

MENALCAS

Dulce satis umor, depulsis arbutus haedis,  
lenta salix feto pecori, mihi solus Amyntas.

DAMOETAS

Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam :  
Pierides, vitulam lectori pascite vestro. 85

MENALCAS

Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina : pascite taurum,  
iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam.

DAMOETAS

Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat, quo te quoque gaudet ;  
mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum.

MENALCAS

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Maevi, 90  
atque idem iungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.

## ECLOGUE III

MENALCAS

Phyllis I love beyond all ; for she wept at my leaving, and in lingering tones cried : " Farewell, farewell, my lovely Iollas ! "

DAMOETAS

Baneful to the folds is the wolf, to the ripe crop the rains, to trees the gales, and to me the anger of Amaryllis !

MENALCAS

Sweet to the corn is a shower, to the new-weaned kids the arbut, to the breeding flock the bending willow, and to me Amyntas alone !

DAMOETAS

Pollio loves my Muse, homely though she be ; Pierian sisters, feed a calf for your reader !

MENALCAS

Pollio himself, too, makes new songs. Feed ye a bull, able even now to butt with the horn and to spurn the sand with his hoofs.

DAMOETAS

May he who loves you, Pollio, come <sup>1</sup> where he joys that you, too, have come ! For him may honey flow, and the rough bramble bear spices !

MENALCAS

Let him who hates not Bavius love your songs, Maevius ; and let him also yoke foxes and milk he-goats !

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* into a state of happiness, such as was enjoyed in the golden age.

## VIRGIL

### DAMOETAS

Qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga,  
frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.

### MENALCAS

Parcite, oves, nimium procedere : non bene ripae  
creditur ; ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccatur. 95

### DAMOETAS

Tityre, pascentis a flumine reice capellas :  
ipse, ubi tempus erit, omnis in fonte lavabo.

### MENALCAS

Cogite oves, pueri : si lac praeceperit aestus,  
ut nuper, frustra pressabimus ubera palmis.

### DAMOETAS

Heu heu ! quam pingui macer est mihi taurus in ervo !  
idem amor exitium pecori pecorisque magistro. 101

### MENALCAS

His certe—neque amor causa est—vix ossibus haerent.  
nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

### DAMOETAS

Dic, quibus in terris (et eris mihi magnus Apollo)  
tris pateat Caeli spatium non amplius ulnas. 105

<sup>100</sup> arvo *R.*

<sup>101</sup> exitium pecori *c*: exitium est pecori *Rγ<sup>2</sup>α*: exitium  
pecori est *γ<sup>1</sup>β*.

## ECLOGUE III

DAMOETAS

Ye who cull flowers and low-growing strawberries,  
away from here, lads; a chill snake lurks in the  
grass.

MENALCAS

Forbear, my sheep, to go too far; 'tis ill to trust  
the bank. The ram himself is even now drying his  
fleece.

DAMOETAS

Tityrus, turn back from the stream the grazing  
goats; when the time comes, I'll wash them all in  
the spring myself.

MENALCAS

Round up the sheep, my lads; if the heat fore-  
stalls the milk, as it did of late, in vain shall our  
palms press the teats.

DAMOETAS

Alas, alas! how lean is my bull amid the fattening  
tares! The same love is the bane of the herd and  
the herd's master.

MENALCAS

As to mine at least—and love is not to blame—  
their skin scarce clings to the bones. Some evil eye  
bewitches my tender lambs.

DAMOETAS

Tell me in what lands—and you shall be my great  
Apollo—Heaven's space is but three ells broad.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The solution of this riddle is uncertain. One explanation refers it to a spendthrift Mantuan named Caelius, who was left with only enough ground to be buried in. More probably it refers to one looking up at the sky from the bottom of a well or cavern.

## VIRGIL

### MENALCAS

Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum  
nascantur flores, et Phyllida solus habeto.

### PALAEEMON

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites :  
et vitula tu dignus et hic—et quisquis amores  
aut metuet dulcis aut experietur amaros. 110  
claudite iam rivos, pueri : sat prata biberunt.

## IV

SICELIDES Musae, paulo maiora canamus. R  
non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae ;  
si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas ;  
magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo. 5  
iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna ;  
iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.  
tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum  
desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,  
casta fave Lucina : tuus iam regnat Apollo. 10

<sup>7</sup> dimittitur *R.*

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<sup>1</sup> The flower referred to is the hyacinth, marked with AI, the first letters of *Αἴας*, or with Y, the initial letter of *Ῥάκινθος*. Ajax and Hyacinthus, favourite of Apollo, were both sons of kings.

<sup>2</sup> This poem is "a vision of the new golden age under Augustus," which Virgil connects with the birth of a certain child (ll. 8-10). Who this child was is unknown, but most scholars incline to the view that it was the infant son of

## ECLOGUE IV

MENALCAS

Tell me in what land spring up flowers with royal names written thereon<sup>1</sup>—and have Phyllis to yourself!

PALAEEMON

It is not for me to settle so high a contest between you. You deserve the heifer, and he also—and whoever shall fear the sweets or taste the bitters of love. Shut off the rills now, my lads; the meadows have drunk enough.

### IV<sup>2</sup>

SICILIAN<sup>3</sup> Muses, let us sing a somewhat loftier strain. Not all do the orchards please and the lowly tamarisks. If our song is of the woodland, let the woodland be worthy of a consul.

<sup>4</sup> Now is come the last age of the song of Cumae; the great line of the centuries begins anew.<sup>4</sup> Now the Virgin<sup>5</sup> returns, the reign of Saturn returns; now a new generation descends from heaven on high. Only do thou, pure Lucina, smile on the birth of the child, under whom the iron brood shall first cease, and a golden race spring up throughout the world! Thine own Apollo now is king!

C. Asinius Pollio, in whose consulship, 40 B.C., the poem was written (l. 11). See Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Called Sicilian because Virgil's model in pastoral poetry, Theocritus, was a Sicilian.

<sup>4</sup> The Sibylline books, supposed to record the utterances of the famous Sibyl of Cumae, contained the prophecy of a new circuit of the ages after the Age of Iron had passed.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* Astraea or Justice, last of the immortals to leave the earth.



## VIRGIL

teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule, inibit,  
 Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses ;  
 te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,  
 inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras. .  
 ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit 15  
 permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis,  
 pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu  
 errantis hederas passim cum baccare tellus  
 mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho. 20  
 ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae  
 ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones ;  
 ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.  
 occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni  
 occidet ; Assyrium volgo nascetur amomum. 25

At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis  
 iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus.  
 molli paulatim flavescet campus arista,  
 incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva  
 et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella. 30  
 pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,  
 quae temptare Thetin ratibus, quae cingere muris  
 oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.  
 alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo  
 delectos heroas ; erunt etiam altera bella 35  
 atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

Hinc ubi iam firmata virum te fecerit aetas,  
 cedit et ipse mari vector, nec nautica pinus  
 mutabit merces ; omnis feret omnia tellus.  
 non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem ; 40

<sup>26</sup> ac *R.* parentis γ<sup>1</sup>bc, *Servius*, *Nonius* : parentum *R*γ<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> flavescit *R*γ<sup>1</sup>. <sup>33</sup> tellurem infindere sulco *R.*



## ECLOGUE IV

<sup>11</sup> And in thy consulship, Pollio, yea in thine, shall this glorious age begin, and the mighty months commence their march; under thy sway, any lingering traces of our guilt shall become void, and release the earth from its continual dread. He shall have the gift of divine life, shall see heroes mingled with gods, and shall himself be seen of them, and shall sway a world to which his father's virtues have brought peace.

<sup>18</sup> But for thee, child, shall the earth untilled pour forth, as her first pretty gifts, straggling ivy with foxglove everywhere, and the Egyptian bean blended with the smiling acanthus. Uncalled, the goats shall bring home their udders swollen with milk, and the herds shall fear not huge lions; unasked, thy cradle shall pour forth flowers for thy delight. The serpent, too, shall perish, and the false poison-plant shall perish; Assyrian spice shall spring up on every soil.

<sup>26</sup> But soon as thou canst read of the glories of heroes and thy father's deeds, and canst know what valour is, slowly shall the plain yellow with the waving corn, on wild brambles shall hang the purple grape, and the stubborn oak shall distil dewy honey. Yet shall some few traces of olden sin lurk behind, to call men to essay the sea in ships, to gird towns with walls, and to cleave the earth with furrows. A second Tiphys shall then arise, and a second Argo to carry chosen heroes; a second warfare, too, shall there be, and again shall a great Achilles be sent to Troy.

<sup>37</sup> Next, when now the strength of years has made thee man, even the trader shall quit the sea, nor shall the ship of pine exchange wares; every land shall bear all fruits. The earth shall not feel the harrow, nor the vine the pruning-hook; the sturdy ploughman, too,

## VIRGIL

robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator ;  
 nec varios discet mentiri lana colores,  
 ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti  
 murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto ;  
 sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos. 45

“ Talia saecula ” suis dixerunt “ currite ” fuis  
 concordēs stabili fatorum numine Parcae.

Adgredere o magnos (aderit iam tempus) honores,  
 cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum !

aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum 50  
 terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum ;  
 aspice venturo laetantur ut omnia saeclo ! PR

o mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae,  
 spiritus et, quantum sat erit tua dicere facta :  
 non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus, 55  
 nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,  
 Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.

Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,  
 Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.  
 incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem : 60  
 matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses.

incipe, parve puer : cui non risere parentes,  
 nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

<sup>52</sup> laetentur *Pγ* : laetantur *R*.

<sup>53</sup> longe *Pγ*.

<sup>55</sup> vincat *P<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>*.

<sup>62</sup> cui *PRγ*, *Servius* : qui, *Quintilian* : quoi, *Sabb. See Appendix.*

## ECLOGUE IV

shall now loose his oxen from the yoke. Wool shall no more learn to counterfeit varied hues, but of himself the ram in the meadows shall change his fleece, now to sweetly blushing purple, now to a saffron yellow; of its own will shall scarlet clothe the grazing lambs.

<sup>46</sup> "Ages such as these, glide on!" cried to their spindles the Fates, voicing in unison the fixed will of Destiny!

<sup>48</sup> Enter on thy high honours—the hour will soon be here—O thou dear offspring of the gods, mighty descendant of Jupiter!<sup>1</sup> Behold the world bowing with its massive dome—earth and expanse of sea and heaven's depth! Behold, how all things exult in the age that is at hand! O that then the last days of a long life may still linger for me, with inspiration enough to tell of thy deeds! Not Thracian Orpheus, not Linus shall vanquish me in song, though his mother be helpful to the one, and his father to the other, Calliope to Orpheus, and fair Apollo to Linus. Even Pan, were he to contend with me and Arcady be judge, even Pan, with Arcady for judge, would own himself defeated.

<sup>60</sup> Begin, baby boy, to know thy mother with a smile—to thy mother ten months have brought the weariness of travail. Begin, baby boy! Him on whom his parents have not smiled, no god honours with his table, no goddess with her bed!<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some take the phrase to mean "that from which a Jupiter, or lord of the world, shall grow." As Jupiter rules in heaven, so the child is to rule on earth. But see Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* such a child can never win the rewards bestowed on a hero, such as Hercules (*cf.* Homer, *Odyssey*, xi. 601).

Supposed to be prophetic  
 I am <sup>c</sup> sure - but  
 I can't see it. 33

# VIRGIL

## V

### MENALCAS

CUR non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo, pr  
tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus,  
hic corylis mixtas inter consedimus ulmos?

### MOPSUS

Tu maior; tibi me est aequum parere, Menalca,  
sive sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras,  
sive antro potius succedimus. aspice, ut antrum  
silvestris raris sparsit labrusca racemis.

### MENALCAS

Montibus in nostris solus tibi certat Amyntas.

### MOPSUS

Quid, si idem certet Phoebum superare canendo?

### MENALCAS

Incipe, Mopse, prior, si quos aut Phyllidis ignes 10  
aut Alconis habes laudes aut iurgia Codri.  
incipe; pascentis servabit Tityrus haedos.

### MOPSUS

Immo haec, in viridi nuper quae cortice fagi  
carmina descripsi et modulans alterna notavi,  
experiar: tu deinde iubeto certet Amyntas. 15

<sup>8</sup> certet *Pγ*.

<sup>15</sup> iubeto ut certet *ℓα*.

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<sup>1</sup> In this poem two shepherds engage in a friendly song-contest, the one relating the death of Daphnis, the other his

## ECLOGUE V

### V 1

MENALCAS

MOPSUS, now that we have met, good men both,  
you at breathing in slender reeds, I at singing verses  
—why not seat us among these elms, with hazels  
interspersed?

MOPSUS

You are the elder, Menalcas: it is fitting that I  
obey you, whether we pass beneath the shades that  
shift at the Zephyrs' stirring, or rather into the cave.  
See, how the wild vine with its stray clusters has  
overrun the cave.

MENALCAS

Among our hills your only rival is Amyntas.

MOPSUS

What if he should rival Phoebus, too, for the prize  
of song?

MENALCAS

Begin first, Mopsus, if you have any strains on  
your flute Phyllis, or in praise of Alcon, or in raillery  
at Codrus. Begin. Tityrus will tend the grazing  
kids.

MOPSUS

Nay, I will try these verses, which the other day  
I carved on the green beech-bark, and set to music,  
marking words and tune in turn. Then do you bid  
Amyntas rival me!

deification. The death of Daphnis is also bewailed in the first  
Idyll of Theocritus; his deification, which is original with  
Virgil, probably has an allegorical reference to Julius Caesar.

# VIRGIL

## MENALCAS

Lenta salix quantum pallenti cedit olivae,  
 puniceis humilis quantum salianca rosetis,  
 iudicio nostro tantum tibi cedit Amyntas.  
 sed tu desine plura, puer: successimus antro.

## MOPSUS

“ Exstinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnim 20  
 flebant (vos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis),  
 cum complexa sui corpus miserabile nati  
 atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.  
 non ulli pastos illis egere diebus  
 frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla neque  
 amnem 25

libavit quadrupes nec graminis attigit herbam.  
 Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones  
 interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur.

Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris  
 instituit, Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi 30  
 et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas.

vitis ut arboribus decori est, ut vitibus uvae,  
 ut gregibus tauri, segetes ut pinguibus arvis,  
 tu decus omne tuis. postquam te Fata tulerunt,  
 ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo. 35

grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,  
 infelix lolium et steriles nascuntur avenae;  
 pro molli viola, pro purpureo narcisso  
 carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.

spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras, 40  
 pastores (mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis),  
 et tumulum facite et tumulo superaddite carmen:  
 ‘ Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,  
 formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse.’ ”

<sup>27</sup> gemuisse *R.* <sup>38</sup> violae *P<sup>1</sup>*: viola et *R.* <sup>40</sup> umbras] aras *R.*



## ECLOGUE V

### MENALCAS

As far as the lithe willow yields to the pale olive,  
as far as the lowly Celtic reed yields to crimson rose-  
beds, so far, to my mind, does Amyntas yield to you.  
Nay, say no more, lad ; we have passed into the cave.

### MOPSUS

“ For Daphnis, cut off by a cruel death, the Nymphs wept—ye hazels and rivers bear witness to the Nymphs—when, clasping her son’s piteous corpse, his mother cried out on the cruelty of both gods and stars. On those days, Daphnis, none drove the pastured kine to the cool streams ; no four-footed beast tasted the brook or touched a blade of grass. Daphnis, the wild mountains and woods tell us that even African lions moaned over thy death.

<sup>29</sup> “ Daphnis it was that taught men to yoke Armenian tigers beneath the car, to lead on the dances of Bacchus and entwine in soft leaves the tough spears. As the vine gives glory to its trees, as the grape to the vines, as the bull to the herd, as the corn to rich fields, thou alone givest glory to thy people. Since the Fates bore thee off, even Pales has left our fields, and even Apollo. Often in the furrows, to which we entrusted the big barley-grains, luckless darnel springs up and barren oat-straws. Instead of the soft violet, instead of the gleaming narcissus, the thistle rises up and the sharp-spiked thorn. Strew the turf with leaves, ye shepherds, curtain the springs with shade—such honours Daphnis charges you to pay him. And build a tomb, and on the tomb place, too, this verse : ‘ Daphnis was I amid the woods, known from here even to the stars. Fair was the flock I guarded, but fairer was I, the master.’ ”

## VIRGIL

### MENALCAS

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta, 45  
quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum  
dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo.  
nec calamis solum aequiperas, sed voce magistrum.  
fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.  
nos tamen haec quocumque modo tibi nostra vicissim  
dicemus, Daphnimque tuum tollemus ad astra; 51  
Daphnim ad astra feremus: amavit nos quoque  
Daphnis.

### MOPSUS

An quicquam nobis tali sit munere maius?  
et puer ipse fuit cantari dignus, et ista  
iam pridem Stimichon laudavit carmina nobis. 55

### MENALCAS

“Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi  
sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.  
ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas  
Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas.  
nec lupus insidias pecori nec retia cervis 60  
ulla dolum meditantur; amat bonus otia Daphnis.  
ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant  
intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,  
ipsa sonant arbusta: ‘deus, deus ille, Menalca!’  
sis bonus o felixque tuis! èn quattuor aras: 65  
ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo.  
pocula bina novo spumantia lacte quotannis  
craterasque duo statuam tibi pinguis olivi,

<sup>46</sup> lassis *R.*

<sup>51</sup> Daphnin *R.*

<sup>49</sup> ab illo] Apollo *R.*

<sup>52</sup> Daphnin *R.*



## ECLOGUE V

### MENALCAS

Your lay, heavenly bard, is to me even as sleep on the grass to the weary, as in summer-heat the slaking of thirst in a dancing rill of sweet water. Not with the pipe alone, but in voice do you match your master. Happy lad! now you will be next after him. Still I will sing you in turn, poorly it may be, this strain of mine, and exalt your Daphnis to the stars. Daphnis I will exalt to the stars; me, too, Daphnis loved.

### MOPSUS

Could any boon be greater in my eyes than this? Not only was the boy himself worthy to be sung, but long ago Stimichon praised to me those strains of yours.

### MENALCAS

“Daphnis, in radiant beauty, marvels at Heaven’s unfamiliar threshold, and beneath his feet beholds the clouds and the stars. Therefore frolic glee seizes the woods and all the countryside, and Pan, and the shepherds, and the Dryad maids. The wolf plans no ambush for the flock, and nets no snare for the stag; kindly Daphnis loves peace. The very mountains, with woods unshorn, joyously fling their voices starward; the very rocks, the very groves ring out the song: ‘A god is he, a god, Menalcas!’ Be kind and gracious to thine own! Lo here are four altars<sup>1</sup>—two, see, for thee, Daphnis; two for Phoebus! Two cups, foaming with fresh milk, will I year by year set up for thee, and two bowls of rich olive oil; and, for

<sup>1</sup> The *ludi Apollinares* were celebrated on July 6; the birthday of Caesar on July 4.

## VIRGIL

et multo in primis hilarans convivium Baccho,  
ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra 70  
vinâ novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar.  
cantabunt mihi Damoetas et Lyctius Aegon,  
saltantis Satyros imitabitur Alphesiboeus.

Haec tibi semper erunt, et cum sollemnia vota  
reddemus Nymphis, et cum lustrabimus agros. 75  
dum iuga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,  
dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadae,  
semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.  
ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quotannis  
agricolae facient; damnabis tu quoque votis." 80

### MOPSUS

Quae tibi, quae tali reddam pro carmine dona?  
nam neque me tantum venientis sibilus Austri  
nec percussa iuvant fluctu tam litora, nec quae  
saxosas inter decurrunt flumina valles.

### MENALCAS

Hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta. 85  
haec nos "formosum Corydon ardebat Alexim," PRV  
haec eadem docuit "cuium pecus? an Meliboei?"

### MOPSUS

At tu sume pedum, quod, me cum saepe rogaret,  
non tulit Antigenes (et erat tum dignus amari),  
formosum paribus nodis atque aere, Menalca. 90

<sup>80</sup> voti *R*<sup>1</sup>: votis *R*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> tum] nunc *P*<sup>1</sup>: tunc *P*<sup>2</sup>. *So Rib. and Sabb.*

## ECLOGUE V

my chief care, making the feast merry with wine—in winter, before the hearth; in harvest-time, in the shade—I will pour from goblets the fresh nectar of Chian wine. Damoetas and Lyctian Aegon shall sing for me, and Alpheisiboeus mimic the dancing Satyrs.

<sup>74</sup> “These rites shall be thine for ever, both when we pay our yearly vows to the Nymphs, and when we purify our fields. Long as the boar loves the mountain ridges, as the fish the streams; long as the bees feed on thyme and the cicalas on dew, so long shall thy honour and name and glories abide. As to Bacchus and Ceres, so to thee, year by year, shall the husbandmen pay their vows; thou, too, shalt bind them to their vows.”

### MOPSUS

What gifts, pray, can I give you for such a song? For no such charm for me has the rustle of the rising South, nor the beach lashed by surge, nor streams tumbling down amid rocky glens.

### MENALCAS

This frail reed I will give you first. This taught me “Corydon was aflame for the fair Alexis”; this too: “Who owns the flock? Is it Meliboeus?”

### MOPSUS

But do you, Menalcas, take this crook, which Antigones won not, often as he begged it of me—and in those days he was worthy of my love—a goodly crook, with even knots and ring of bronze.

# VIRGIL

## VI

PRIMA Syracosio dignata est ludere versu PRV  
 nostra nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalia.  
 cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem  
 vellit et admonuit: "pastorem, Tityre, pinguis  
 pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen." 5  
 nunc ego (namque super tibi erunt, qui dicere laudes,  
 Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella)  
 agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.  
 non iniussa cano. si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis  
 captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae, 10  
 te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebus gratior ulla est,  
 quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen.  
 Pergite, Pierides. Chromis et Mnasyllus in antro  
 Silenum pueri somno videre iacentem,  
 inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho; 15  
 serta procul, tantum capiti delapsa, iacebant  
 et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa.  
 adgressi (nam saepe senex spe carminis ambo  
 luserat) iniciunt ipsis ex vincula sertis.  
 addit se sociam timidisque supervenit Aegle, 20  
 Aegle, Naiadum pulcherrima, iamque videnti  
 sanguineis frontem moris et tempora pingit. PR  
 ille dolum ridens "quo vincula nectitis?" inquit.  
 "solvite me, pueri: satis est potuisse videri.  
 carmina, quae vultis, cognoscite; carmina vobis, 25  
 huic aliud mercedis erit." simul incipit ipse.  
 tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres

<sup>2</sup> silvis *R.*

<sup>5</sup> diductum *PV.*

<sup>23</sup> inridens *P<sup>2</sup>.*

## ECLOGUE VI

### VI

My Muse first deigned to sport in Sicilian strains, and blushed not to dwell in the woods. When I was fain to sing of kings and battles,<sup>1</sup> the Cynthian plucked my ear and warned me: "A shepherd, Tityrus, should feed sheep that are fat, but sing a lay fine-spun." And now—for enough, and more, wilt thou find eager to sing thy praises, Varus, and build the story of grim war—now will I woo the rustic<sup>2</sup> Muse on slender reed. Unbidden strains I sing not; still if any there be to read even these my lays—any whom love of the theme has won, 'tis of thee, Varus, our tamarisks shall sing, of thee all our groves. To Phoebus no page is more welcome than that which bears on its front the name of Varus.

<sup>13</sup> Proceed, Pierian maids! The lads Chromis and Mnasyllus saw Silenus lying asleep in a cave, his veins swollen, as ever, with the wine of yesterday. Hard by lay the garlands, just fallen from his head, and his heavy tankard was hanging by its well-worn handle. Falling on him—for oft the aged one had cheated both of a promised song—they cast him into fetters made from his own garlands. Aegle joins their company and seconds the timid pair—Aegle, fairest of the Naiads—and, as now his eyes open, paints his face and brows with crimson mulberries. Smiling at the trick, he cries: "Why fetter me? Loose me, lads; enough that you have shown your power. Hear the songs you crave; you shall have your songs, she another kind of reward." Therewith the sage begins. Then indeed you might see Fauns

<sup>1</sup> Referring to epic poetry.

<sup>2</sup> The present poem, though called *agrestis*, is rather mythological and philosophic (in the ancient sense of the word).

## VIRGIL

ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus ;  
nec tantum Phoebos gaudet Parnasia rupes,  
nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea. 30

Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta  
semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent  
et liquidi simul ignis ; ut his exordia primis  
omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis ;  
tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto 35  
coeperit et rerum paulatim sumere formas ;  
iamque novum terrae stupeant lucescere solem,  
altius atque cadant submotis nubibus imbres ;  
incipiant silvae cum primum surgere, cumque  
rara per ignaros errent animalia montis. 40

Hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna,  
Caucasiasque refert volucres furtumque Promethei.  
his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum  
clamassent, ut litus “ Hyla, Hyla ” omne sonaret.  
et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent, 45  
Pasiphaën nivei solatur amore iuveni.

a ! virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit !  
Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros : MPR  
at non tam turpis pecudum tamen ulla secuta  
concubitus, quamvis collo timuisset aratrum 50  
et saepe in levi quaesisset cornua fronte.

a ! virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras :  
ille, latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho,  
ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas,  
aut aliquam in magno sequitur grege. “ claudite,  
Nymphae, 55

Dictae Nymphae, nemorum iam claudite saltus,  
si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris  
errabunda bovis vestigia ; forsitan illum

<sup>30</sup> mirantur *R.* <sup>33</sup> exordia] ex omnia *P.* *So Sabb.*

<sup>34</sup> omnia *corr. into omnia P<sup>1</sup>.* *Sabb. reads omnis.*

<sup>40</sup> ignotos *Pγ.* <sup>41</sup> Hic *Pγ.* <sup>43</sup> secuta est *Rγ.* <sup>51</sup> quaesissent *P.*



## ECLOGUE VI

and fierce beasts sport in measured time, then stiff oaks nod their tops. No such joy has the rock of Parnassus in Phoebus; no such a marvel to Rhodope and Ismarus is Orpheus.

<sup>31</sup> For he sang how, through the great void, were brought together the seeds of earth, and air, and sea, and streaming fire withal; how from these elements came all beginnings and even the young globe of the world grew into a mass; how then it began to harden the ground, to shut Nereus apart in the deep, and, little by little, to assume the forms of things; how next the earth is awed at the new sun shining and from the uplifted clouds fall showers; when first woods begin to arise, and living things roam here and there over mountains that know them not.

<sup>41</sup> Then he tells of the stones that Pyrrha threw, of Saturn's reign, of the birds of Caucasus, and the theft of Prometheus. To these he adds the tale of the spring where Hylas was left, and how the seamen called on him, till all the shore rang "Hylas! Hylas!" Now he solaces Pasiphaë—happy one, if herds had never been!—with her passion for the snowy bull. Ah, unhappy girl, what madness seized thee? The daughters of Proetus filled the fields with unreal lowings, yet not one was led by so foul a love for beasts, albeit each had feared the yoke for her neck, and often looked for horns on her smooth brow. Ah! unhappy girl, thou art now roaming on the hills: he, pillowing his snowy side on soft hyacinths, under a dark ilex chews the pale grass, or courts some heifer in the great herd. "Close, Nymphs, Nymphs of Dicte, close ye now the forest glades, if so, perchance, the bull's truant footsteps may meet my eyes; it may be that, tempted by a green meadow

# VIRGIL

aut herba captum viridi aut armenta secutum  
perducant aliquae stabula ad Gortynia vaccae." 60

Tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam;  
tum Phaëthontidas musco circumdat amarae  
corticis atque solo proceras erigit alnos.  
tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum  
Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum, 65  
utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis;  
ut Linus haec illi divino carmine pastor,  
floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro,  
dixerit: "hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,  
Ascraeo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat 70  
cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.  
his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo,  
ne quis sit lucus, quo se plus iactet Apollo."

Quid loquar, aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est  
candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris 75  
Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto  
a! timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis;  
aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus,  
quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit,  
quo cursu deserta petiverit et quibus ante 80  
infelix sua tecta super volitaverit alis?

Omnia quae Phoebō quondam meditante beatus  
audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere laurus,  
ille canit (pulsae referunt ad sidera valles),  
cogere donec ovis stabulis numerumque referre 85  
iussit et invito processit Vesper Olympo.

<sup>61</sup> capit *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> ut *R*.

<sup>85</sup> referri *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*γ*.



## ECLOGUE VI

or following the herd, he will be led home by some cows to our Cretan stalls."

<sup>61</sup> Then he sings of the maid who marvelled at the apples of the Hesperides; then he encircles Phaëthon's sisters in moss of bitter bark, and raises them from the ground as lofty alders. Then he sings of Gallus, wandering by the streams of Permessus—how one of the sisterhood led him to the Aonian hills, and how all the choir of Phoebus rose to do him honour; how Linus, a shepherd of immortal song, his locks crowned with flowers and bitter parsley, cried to him thus: "These reeds—see, take them—the Muses give thee—even those they once gave the old Ascraean,<sup>1</sup> wherewith, as he sang, he would draw the unyielding ash-trees down the mountain-sides. With these do thou tell of the birth of the Grynean wood, that there may be no grove wherein Apollo glories more."

<sup>74</sup> Why tell how he sang of Scylla, daughter of Nisus, of whom is still told the story that, with howling monsters girt about her white waist, she harried the Ithacan barques, and in the swirling depths, alas! tore asunder the trembling sailors with her sea-dogs? Or how he told of Tereus' changed form, what feast, what gifts Philomela made ready for him, on what wise she sped to the desert, and with what wings, luckless one! she first<sup>2</sup> hovered above her home?

<sup>82</sup> All the songs that of old Phoebus rehearsed, while happy Eurotas listened and bade his laurels learn by heart—these Silenus sings. The re-echoing valleys fling them again to the stars, till Vesper gave the word to fold the flocks and tell their tale, as he set forth over an unwilling sky.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Hesiod, poet of the *Works and Days*, born at Ascra, in Boeotia.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* before she sped to the desert.

# VIRGIL

## VII

### MELIBOEUS

FORTE sub arguta consederat ilice Daphnis, MP  
 compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum,  
 Thyrsis ovis, Corydon distentas lacte capellas,  
 ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo,  
 et cantare pares et respondere parati. 5  
 huc mihi, dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos,  
 vir gregis ipse caper deerraverat, atque ego Daphnim  
 aspicio. ille ubi me contra videt, "ocius" inquit  
 "huc ades, o Meliboe: caper tibi salvus et haedi:  
 et si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra. 10  
 huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuvenci,  
 hic viridis tenera praetexit harundine ripas MPV  
 Mincius, eque sacra resonant examina quercu."  
 quid facerem? neque ego Alcippen nec Phyllida  
 habebam,  
 depulsos a lacte domi quae clauderet agnos; 15  
 et certamen erat, Corydon cum Thyrside, magnum.  
 posthabui tamen illorum mea seria ludo.  
 alternis igitur contendere versibus ambo  
 coepere, alternos Musae meminisse volebant.  
 hos Corydon, illos referebat in ordine Thyrsis. 20

### CORYDON

Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen,  
 quale meo Codro, concedite (proxima Phoebi  
 versibus ille facit); aut, si non possumus omne  
 hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu.

<sup>6</sup> hic *P.*

<sup>19</sup> volebam *known to Servius.*

<sup>23</sup> possimus *M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>. So Sabb.*

## ECLOGUE VII

### VII<sup>1</sup>

#### MELIBOEUS

DAPHNIS, it chanced, had made his seat beneath a whispering ilex, while Corydon and Thyrsis had driven their flocks together — Thyrsis his sheep, Corydon his goats swollen with milk—both in the bloom of life, Arcadians both, ready in a match to sing, as well as to make reply. To this place, while I sheltered my tender myrtles from the cold, my he-goat, the lord of the flock himself, had strayed; and lo! I catch sight of Daphnis. As he in turn saw me, “Quick,” he cries, “come hither, Meliboeus; your goat and kids are safe, and if you can idle awhile, pray rest beneath the shade. Hither your steers will of themselves come over the meadows to drink; here Mincius fringes his green banks with waving reeds, and from the hallowed oak swarm humming bees.”

<sup>14</sup> What could I do? I had no Alcippe or Phyllis to pen my new-weaned lambs at home; and the match—Corydon against Thyrsis—was a mighty one. Still, I counted their sport above my work. So in alternate verses the pair began to compete; alternate verses the Muses were fain to recall.<sup>2</sup> These Corydon, those Thyrsis repeated in turn.

#### CORYDON

Ye Nymphs of Libethra, my delight, either grant me such a strain as ye gave my Codrus—the lays he makes come nearest to Apollo’s—or, if such power is not for us all, here on the hallowed pine shall hang my tuneful pipe.

<sup>1</sup> This is a purely pastoral, amoebaean poem, imitative of Theocritus.

<sup>2</sup> The Muses are the daughters of Mnemosyne, “Memory.”

## VIRGIL

### THYRSIS

Pastores, hedera nascentem ornate poetam, 25  
Arcades, invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro ;  
aut, si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem  
cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

### CORYDON

Saetosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia, parvus  
et ramosa Micon vivacis cornua cervi. 30  
si proprium hoc fuerit, levi de marmore tota  
puniceo stabis suras evincta coturno.

### THYRSIS

Sinum lactis et haec te liba, Priape, quotannis  
expectare sat est : custos es pauperis horti.  
nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus ; at tu, 35  
si fetura gregem suppleverit, aureus esto.

### CORYDON

Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,  
candidior cynis, hedera formosior alba, MP  
cum primum pasti repetent praesepia tauri,  
si qua tui Corydonis habet te cura, venito. 40

### THYRSIS

Immo ego Sardoniis videar tibi amarior herbis,  
horridior rusco, proiecta vilior alga,  
si mihi non haec lux toto iam longior anno est.  
ite domum pasti, si quis pudor, ite iuveni.

<sup>25</sup> nascente *M*<sup>1</sup>: nascentem *Servius*: crescentem *PM*<sup>2</sup>γ,  
*Servius* (at IV. 19): -ntem *V*.

<sup>1</sup> It was thought that an evil tongue could, by extravagant  
50

## ECLOGUE VII

### THYRSIS

Shepherds of Arcady, crown with ivy your rising bard, that Codrus' sides may burst with envy; or, should he praise me unduly, wreath my brow with foxglove, lest his evil tongue harm the bard that is to be.<sup>1</sup>

### CORYDON

To thee, Delia, young Micon offers this head of a bristling boar and the branching antlers of a long-lived stag. If this fortune still abides, thou shalt stand full length in polished marble, thy ankles bound high with purple buskins.

### THYRSIS

A bowl of milk, Priapus, and these cakes, are all thou canst expect year by year; the garden thou watchest is poor. Now we have made thee of marble for the time; but if births make full the flock, then be thou of gold.

### CORYDON

Galatea, child of Nereus, sweeter to me than Hybla's thyme, whiter than swans, lovelier than pale ivy, soon as the bulls come back from pasture to the stalls, if thou hast any love for thy Corydon, come hither!

### THYRSIS

Nay, let me seem to thee more bitter than Sardinian herbs, more rough than gorse, more worthless than upcast seaweed, if even now I find not this day longer than a whole year. Go home, my well-fed steers, if ye have any shame, go home!

praise, provoke the jealousy of the gods. Foxglove was a charm against such bewitchment.

## VIRGIL

### CORYDON

Muscosi fontes et somno mollior herba, 45  
et quae vos rara viridis tegit arbutus umbra,  
solstitium pecori defendite: iam venit aestas  
torrida, iam laeto turgent in palmite gemmae.

### THYRSIS

Hic focus et taedae pingues, hic plurimus ignis  
semper et adsidua postes fuligine nigri: 50  
hic tantum Boreae curamus frigora, quantum  
aut numerum lupus aut torrentia flumina ripas.

### CORYDON

Stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae,  
strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma,  
omnia nunc rident: at si formosus Alexis 55  
montibus his abeat, videas et flumina sicca.

### THYRSIS

Aret ager, vitio moriens sitit aëris herba,  
Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras:  
Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit,  
Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri. 60

### CORYDON

Populus Alcidae gratissima, vitis Iaccho,  
formosae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebō:  
Phyllis amat corylos; illas dum Phyllis amabit,  
nec myrtus vincet corylos nec laurea Phoebi.

<sup>48</sup> lento *PM*<sup>2</sup>; cf. III. 38.

<sup>54</sup> quaque *bc*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> aberit *P*.

## ECLOGUE VII

CORYDON

Ye mossy springs, and grass softer than sleep, and the green arbutus that shields you with its scant shade, ward the noontide heat from my flock. Now comes the summer's parching, now the buds swell on the gladsome tendril.

THYRSIS

Here we have a hearth and pitchy brands ; here, a good fire ever blazing and door-posts black with never-failing soot. Here we reck as much of the chill blasts of Boreas as the wolf of the number of sheep, or rushing torrents of their banks.

CORYDON

Here stand junipers and shaggy chestnuts ; strewn about under the trees lie their own divers fruits ; now all nature smiles ; but if fair Alexis should quit these hills you would see the very rivers dry.

THYRSIS

The field is parched ; the grass is athirst, dying in the tainted air ; Bacchus has grudged the hills the shade of his vines : but at the coming of my Phyllis all the woodland will be green, and Jupiter, in his fullness, shall descend in gladsome showers.

CORYDON

The poplar is most dear to Alcides, the vine to Bacchus, the myrtle to lovely Venus, and his own laurel to Phoebus. Phyllis loves hazels, and while Phyllis loves them, neither the myrtle nor laurel of Phoebus shall outvie the hazels.



# VIRGIL

## THYRSIS

Fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis, 65  
populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis :  
saepius at si me, Lycida formose, revisas,  
fraxinus in silvis cedat tibi, pinus in hortis.

## MELIBOEUS

Haec memini, et victum frustra contendere Thyrsim.  
ex illo Corydon Corydon est tempore nobis. 70

## VIII

PASTORUM Musam Damonis et Alphesiboei, MP  
immemor herbarum quos est mirata iuvenca  
certantis, quorum stupefactae carmine lynces,  
et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus,  
Damonis Musam dicemus et Alphesiboei. 5

Tu mihi, seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi,  
sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris,—en erit umquam  
ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta ?  
en erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem  
sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno ? 10  
a te principium, tibi desinam. accipe iussis  
carmina coepta tuis atque hanc sine tempora circum  
inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus.

<sup>68</sup> cedet *Py.*

<sup>11</sup> desinet *My<sup>2</sup>, Berne Scholia*: desinit *b.*

<sup>1</sup> Others take it thus: "Corydon is Corydon to us," i.e. Corydon, in our judgment, is the best of poets.

<sup>2</sup> This is an amoebaeon poem, in which one shepherd sings of the despair of a jilted lover, and the other of the charms



## ECLOGUE VIII

### THYRSIS

Fairest is the ash in the woods, the pine in the gardens, the poplar by rivers, the fir on mountain-tops ; but, if thou, lovely Lycidas, shouldst often visit me, the ash in the woods and the pine in the gardens would yield to thee.

### MELIBOEUS

This I remember, and how Thyrsis, vanquished, strove in vain. From that day it is Corydon, Corydon with us.<sup>1</sup>

### VIII<sup>2</sup>

THE pastoral Muse of Damon and Alpheisiboeus, at whose rivalry the heifer marvelled and forgot to graze, at whose song lynxes stood spell-bound, and rivers were changed and stayed their course—the Muse of Damon and Alpheisiboeus I will sing.

<sup>6</sup> But thou, my friend,<sup>3</sup> whether even now thou art passing the crags of great Timavus, or skirting the coast of the Illyrian main—O will that day ever come when I shall be free to tell thy deeds? O shall I ever be free to spread through all the world those songs of thine, alone worthy of the buskin of Sophocles? From thee is my beginning; in thy honour shall I end. Accept the songs essayed at thy bidding, and grant that about thy brows this ivy may creep among the victor's laurels.

used by a deserted maiden to bring back her fickle Daphnis. The latter song is copied from the second Idyll of Theocritus.

<sup>3</sup> This Eclogue is dedicated to Pollio, now return'g from his successful campaign against the Parthini in Illyricum. The date is 39 B.C.

Frigida vix caelo noctis decesserat umbra,  
cum ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba, 15  
incumbens tereti Damon sic coepit olivae.

DAMON

“Nascere, praeque diem veniens age, Lucifer,  
almum,  
coniugis indigno Nysae deceptus amore  
dum queror et divos, quamquam nil testibus illis MPV  
profeci, extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora. 20

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentis  
semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores  
Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis.

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus. 25

Mopso Nysa datur : quid non speremus amantes ?  
iungentur iam grypes equis, aevoque sequenti  
cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula damnae.

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus. 28<sup>a</sup>

Mopse, novas incide faces : tibi ducitur uxor ;  
sparge, marite, nuces : tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam.

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus. 31

o digno coniuncta viro, dum despicias omnis  
dumque tibi est odio mea fistula, dumque capellae  
hirsutumque supercilium promissaque barba,  
nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam. 35

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

<sup>20</sup> adloquar *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*V*.

<sup>24</sup> primum *M*.

<sup>28</sup> timidæ *M* : timide *P*<sup>1</sup> : timidi *P*<sup>2</sup>*V*γ, *Servius*, *Berne*  
*Scholia*. <sup>28a</sup> This verse is given only by γ. <sup>34</sup> demissaque *P*.

## ECLOGUE VIII

Scarce had night's cool shade left the sky, what time the dew on the tender grass is sweetest to the flock, when, leaning on his shapely olive-staff, Damon thus began :

DAMON

“ Rise, O morning star, heralding genial day, while I, cheated in the love which my promised Nysa spurned, make lament, and, though their witnessing has availed me naught, yet, as I die, I call on the gods in this my latest hour.

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

Maenalus hath ever tuneful groves and speaking pines ; ever does he listen to shepherds' loves and to Pan, who first awoke the idle reeds.

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

To Mopsus is Nysa given ! For what may we lovers not look ? Griffins now shall mate with mares, and, in the age to come, the timid deer shall come with hounds to drink.

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

Mopsus, cut new torches ! For thee they bring the bride ! Scatter, bridegroom, the nuts ! For thee the Evening-star quits Oeta !

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

O wedded to a worthy lord ! even while thou scornest all men, and while thou hatest my pipe and my goats, my shaggy eyebrows and unkempt beard, and thinkest that no god reck's aught of the deeds of men !

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

## VIRGIL

saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala  
 (dux ego vester eram) vidi cum matre legentem.  
 alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus,  
 iam fragilis poteram ab terra contingere ramos. 40  
 ut vidi) ut perii ! ut me malus abstulit error !

incipi Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

nunc scio, quid sit Amor. duris in cotibus illum  
 aut Tmaros aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes  
 nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt. MP

incipi Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus. 46

saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem  
 commaculare manus : crudelis tu quoque, mater.  
 crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille ?  
 improbus ille puer : crudelis tu quoque, mater. 50

incipi Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

nunc et ovis ultro fugiat lupo, aurea durae  
 mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,  
 pingua corticibus sudent electra myricae,  
 certent et cygnis ululae, sit Tityrus Orpheus, 55  
 Orpheus in silvis, inter delphinas Arion.

incipi Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

omnia vel medium fiat mare. vivite silvae ;  
 praeceps aërii specula de montis in undas  
 deferar ; extremum hoc munus morientis habeto. 60

desine Maenalios, iam desine, tibia, versus."

<sup>43</sup> duris] nudis *P<sup>1</sup>*. *So Sabb.*

<sup>58</sup> fiant *γ<sup>ab</sup>²c*.

## ECLOGUE VIII

Within our garden-close I saw thee—I was guide for both—a little child, along with my mother, plucking dewy apples. My eleventh year finished, the next had just greeted me ; from the ground I could now reach the frail boughs. As I saw, how was I lost ! How a fatal frenzy swept me away !

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

Now know I what Love is ; on flinty crags Tmarus bare him—or Rhodope, or the farthest Garamantes, a child not of our race or blood !

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

Ruthless Love taught a mother<sup>1</sup> to stain her hands in her children's blood ; cruel, too, wast thou, O mother. Was the mother more cruel, or that boy more heartless ? Heartless was he ; cruel, too, wast thou, O mother !

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

Now let the wolf even flee before the sheep, let rugged oaks bear golden apples, let the alder bloom with narcissus, let tamarisks distil rich amber from their bark, let owls, too, vie with swans, let Tityrus be an Orpheus—an Orpheus in the woods, an Arion among the dolphins !

*Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus !*

Nay, let all become mid-ocean ! Farewell, ye woods ! Headlong from some towering mountain-crag I will plunge into the waves ; this take thou as my last dying gift !

*Cease, my flute, now cease the song of Maenalus !*"

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Medea.

## VIRGIL

Haec Damon : vos, quae responderit Alphesiboeus,  
dicite, Pierides ; non omnia possumus omnes.

### ALPHESIBOEUS

“ Effer aquam et molli cinge haec altaria vitta  
verbenasque adole pinguis et mascula tura, 65  
coniugis ut magicis sanos avertere sacris  
experiar sensus ; nihil hic nisi carmina desunt.

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim.

✓ carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam,  
carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi, 70  
frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim.

terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore  
licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum  
effigiem duco ; numero deus impare gaudet. 75

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim.

necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores ;  
necte, Amarylli, modo et ‘ Veneris ’ dic ‘ vincula  
necto.’

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim.

limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit 80  
uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.  
sparge molam et fragilis incende bitumine laurus.

<sup>82</sup> lauros *Pγ*.



## ECLOGUE VIII

Thus Damon. Tell ye, Pierian maids, the answer  
of Alphesiboeus. Not all things can we all do.

### ALPHESIBOEUS

“Bring out water, and wreath these shrines with  
soft wool; and burn rich herbs and male frankin-  
cense, that I may try with magic rites to turn to fire  
my lover's coldness of mood. Naught is lacking here  
save songs.

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs!*

Songs can even draw the moon down from heaven;  
by songs Circe changed the comrades of Ulysses;  
with song the cold snake in the meadows is burst  
asunder.

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs!*

Three threads here I first tie round thee, marked  
with three different hues, and three times round  
these shrines I draw thy image. In an uneven  
number heaven delights.

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs!*

Weave, Amaryllis, three hues in three knots; weave  
them, Amaryllis, I beg, and say, ‘Chains of love I  
weave!’

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs!*

As this clay hardens, and as this wax melts in one  
and the same flame, so may Daphnis melt with love  
for me! Sprinkle meal, and kindle the crackling

## VIRGIL

Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide  
laurum.

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim.

talis amor Daphnim, qualis cum fessa iuvenum 85  
per nemora atque altos quaerendo bucula lucos  
propter aquae rivum viridi procumbit in ulva,  
perdita, nec serae meminit decedere nocti,  
talis amor teneat, nec sit mihi cura mederi.

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim. 90

has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,  
pignora cara sui : quae nunc ego limine in ipso,  
terra, tibi mando ; debent haec pignora Daphnim.

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim.

has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena 95  
ipse dedit Moeris (nascuntur plurima Ponto),  
his ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere silvis  
Moerim, saepe animas imis excire sepulchris  
atque satas alio vidi traducere messis.

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim. 100

fer cineres, Amarylli, foras rivoque fluenti  
transque caput iace, nec respexeris his ego  
Daphnim  
adgrediar ; nihil ille deos, nil carmina curat.

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite  
Daphnim.

<sup>87</sup> concumbit *I*<sup>1</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.



## ECLOGUE VIII

bays with pitch. Me cruel Daphnis burns ; for  
Daphnis burn I this laurel.

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs !*

May such longing seize Daphnis as when a heifer,  
jaded with the search for her mate amid woods and  
deep groves, sinks down by a water-brook in the  
green sedge, all forlorn, nor thinks to withdraw  
before night's late hour—may such longing seize  
him, and may I care not to heal it !

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs !*

These relics that traitor once left me, dear pledges  
for himself. Now, on my very threshold, I commit  
them, O Earth, to thee. These pledges make  
Daphnis my due.

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs !*

These herbs and these poisons, culled in Pontus,  
Moeris himself gave me—they grow plenteously in  
Pontus. By their aid I have oft seen Moeris turn  
wolf and hide in the woods, oft call spirits from the  
depth of the grave, and charm sown corn away to  
other fields.

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs !*

Carry forth the embers, Amaryllis, and toss them over  
your head into a running brook ; and look not back.  
With these I will assail Daphnis ; he recks naught  
of gods or songs.

*Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my  
songs !*

## VIRGIL

aspice, corripuit tremulis altaria flammis 105  
sponte sua, dum ferre moror, cinis ipse. bonum sit!  
nescio quid certe est, et Hylax in limine latrat.  
credimus? an qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?

parcite, ab urbe venit, iam parcite, carmina,  
Daphnis."

## IX

### LYCIDAS

Quo te, Moeri, pedes? an, quo via ducit, in urbem? MP

### MOERIS

O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri  
(quod numquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli  
diceret: "haec mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni."  
nunc victi, tristes, quoniam Fors omnia versat, 5  
hos illi (quod nec vertat bene) mittimus haedos.

### LYCIDAS

Certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles  
incipiunt mollique iugum demittere clivo,  
usque ad aquam et veteres, iam fracta cacumina,  
fagos  
omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan. 10

<sup>107</sup> Hylas *MSS.*

<sup>109</sup> carmina parcite *M.*

<sup>9</sup> veteris *Pγ*, *Berne Scholia*: fagi *Pγ*.

## ECLOGUE IX

Look! the ash itself, while I delay to carry it forth,  
has of its own accord caught the shrines with quivering  
flames. Be the omen good! 'Tis something surely,  
and Hylax is barking at the gate. Can I trust my  
eyes? Or do lovers fashion their own dreams?

*Cease! Daphnis comes home from town;  
cease now, my songs!"*

### IX<sup>1</sup>

#### LYCIDAS

Whither afoot, Moeris? Is it, as the path leads, to  
town?

#### MOERIS

O Lycidas, we have lived to see the day—an evil  
never dreamed—when a stranger, holder of our little  
farm, could say: "This is mine; begone, ye old  
tenants!" Now, beaten and cowed, since chance  
rules all, we send him these kids—our curse go with  
them!

#### LYCIDAS

Yet surely I had heard that, from where the hills  
begin to rise, then sink their ridge in a gentle slope,  
down to the water and the old beeches with their  
now shattered tops, your Menalcas had with his songs  
saved all.

<sup>1</sup> The ninth Eclogue is purely personal, and has to do with  
the same subject as the first. Perhaps it is a poetical appeal  
to Varus for assistance. Under the person of Menalcas Virgil  
himself is concealed. Moeris is the poet's *vilicus* or bailiff.

## VIRGIL

### MOERIS

Audieras, et fama fuit; sed carmina tantum  
nostra valent, Lycida, tela inter Martia, quantum  
Chaonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas.  
quod nisi me quacumque novas incidere lites  
ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix, 15  
nec tuus hic Moeris, nec viveret ipse Menalcas.

### LYCIDAS

Heu, cadit in quemquam tantum scelus? heu, tua  
nobis  
paene simul tecum solacia rapta, Menalca?  
quis caneret Nymphas? quis humum florentibus  
herbis  
spargeret aut viridi fontis induceret umbra? 20  
vel quae sublegi tacitus tibi carmina nuper,  
cum te ad delicias ferres, Amaryllida, nostras?  
“Tityre, dum redeo (brevis est via) pasce capellas,  
et potum pastas age, Tityre, et inter agendum  
occursare capro (cornu ferit ille) caveto.” 25

### MOERIS

Immo haec, quae Varo necdum perfecta canebat:  
“Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis,  
Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae,  
cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cygni.”

### LYCIDAS

Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos, 30  
sic cytiso pastae distendant ubera vaccae:  
incipere, si quid habes. et me fecere poetam  
Pierides, sunt et mihi carmina, me quoque dicunt

<sup>17</sup> cadet *P.*

<sup>29</sup> ferant *P<sup>2</sup>γ.*

<sup>30</sup> Cyrneas *M<sup>1</sup>*: cry- *M (late)*: Grynæas *P*, Berne Scholia.

## ECLOGUE IX

MOERIS

You had heard, and so the story ran. But amid the weapons of war, Lycidas, our songs avail as much as, they say, the doves of Chaonia when the eagle comes. So, had not a raven on the left first warned me from the hollow oak to cut short, as best I might, this new dispute, neither your Moeris here nor Menalcas himself would be alive.

LYCIDAS

Alas! can any man be guilty of such a crime? Alas! was the solace of thy songs, Menalcas, almost torn from us, along with thyself? Who would sing the Nymphs? Who would strew the turf with flowery herbage, or curtain the springs with green shade? Or those songs I slyly caught from thee the other day, when thou wert faring to our darling Amaryllis? "Tityrus, till I return—the way is short—feed my goats; and when fed, drive them, Tityrus, to water, and in driving, have a care not to get in the he-goat's way—he butts with his horn."

MOERIS

Nay, these lines, not yet finished, which he sang to Varus: "Varus, thy name, let but Mantua be spared us—Mantua, alas! too near ill-fated Cremona—singing swans shall bear aloft to the stars."

LYCIDAS

As you would have your swarms shun the yews of Corsica, and your heifers browse on clover and swell their udders, begin, if you have aught to sing. Me, too, the Pierian maids have made a poet; I, too, have songs; me also the shepherds call a bard, but I

## VIRGIL

vatem pastores ; sed non ego credulus illis.  
 nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna 35  
 digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

### MOERIS

Id quidem ago et tacitus, Lycida, mecum ipse voluto,  
 si valeam meminisse ; neque est ignobile carmen.  
 “huc ades, o Galatea ; quis est nam ludus in undis ?  
 hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum 40  
 fundit humus flores, hic candida populus antro  
 imminet et lentae texunt umbracula vites :  
 huc ades ; insani feriant sine litora fluctus.”

### LYCIDAS

Quid, quae te pura solum sub nocte canentem  
 audieram ? numeros memini, si verba tenerem. 45  
 “Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus ?  
 ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,  
 astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo  
 duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem. 49  
 insere, Daphni, piros ; carpent tua poma nepotes.”

### MOERIS

Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque ; saepe ego longos  
 cantando puerum memini me condere soles :  
 nunc oblita mihi tot carmina : vox quoque Moerim  
 iam fugit ipsa ; lupi Moerim videre priores.  
 sed tamen ista satis referet tibi saepe Menalcas. 55

<sup>35</sup> Varo *MP*, *Berne Scholia*, known to *Servius*.

<sup>46-50</sup> assigned to Moeris by *MSS.*, except *Mγ*. So *Sabb*.

## ECLOGUE IX

trust them not. For as yet, methinks, I sing nothing worthy of a Varius or a Cinna, but cackle as a goose among melodious swans.

MOERIS

That's what I am about, Lycidas, silently turning it over in my mind, in case I can recall it. And no mean song it is.

<sup>39</sup> "Come to me, Galatea! What sport can there be in the waves? Here is rosy spring; here, by the streams, Earth scatters her varied flowers; here the white poplar bends over the cave, and the clinging vines weave shady bowers. Come to me; let the wild waves lash the shore."

LYCIDAS

What of the lines I heard you singing alone beneath the cloudless night? The measure I remember, could I but keep the words.

<sup>46</sup> "Daphnis, why art thou gazing at the old constellations rising? See! the star<sup>1</sup> of Caesar, seed of Dione, has gone forth—the star to make the fields glad with corn, and the grape deepen its hue on the sunny hills. Graft thy pears, Daphnis; thy children's children shall gather fruits of thine."

MOERIS

Time robs us of all, even of memory; oft as a boy I recall that with song I would lay the long summer days to rest. Now I have forgotten all my songs. Even voice itself now fails Moeris; wolves have seen Moeris first. Still Menalcas will repeat you your songs, often as you will.

<sup>1</sup> This is Horace's *Iulium sidus* (*Carm.* I. XII. 47), the comet which appeared just after the death of Julius Caesar, and was commonly supposed to be Caesar's deified soul.



## VIRGIL

### LYCIDAS

Causando nostros in longum ducis amores.  
et nunc omne tibi stratum silet aequor, et omnes,  
aspice, ventosi ceciderunt murmuris aerae.  
hinc adeo media est nobis via; namque sepulchrum  
incipit apparere Bianoris: hic, ubi densas 60  
agricolae stringunt frondes, hic, Moeri, canamus;  
hic haedos depone, tamen veniemus in urbem.  
aut si, nox pluviam ne colligat ante, veremur,  
cantantes licet usque (minus via laedit) eamus;  
cantantes ut eamus, ego hoc te fasce levabo. 65

### MOERIS

Desine plura, puer, et quod nunc instat agamus;  
carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canemus.

## X

EXTREMUM hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem: *MP*  
paucâ meo Gallo, sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris,  
carmina sunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?  
sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,  
Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam, 5  
incipere; sollicitos Galli dicamus amores,  
dum tenera attendent simae virgulta capellae.  
non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvae.

<sup>59</sup> hic *P.*

<sup>1</sup> laborum *P<sup>1</sup>.*



## ECLOGUE X

LYCIDAS

By your pleas you put far off my longing. Now the whole sea-plain lies still and silent, and lo! every breath of the murmuring breeze is dead. Just from here lies half our journey, for Bianor's tomb is coming into view. Here, where husbandmen are lopping the thick leaves—here, Moeris, let us sing. Here put down the kids—we shall reach the town all the same. Or if we fear that night may first bring on rain, we may yet go singing on our way—it makes the road less irksome. That we may go singing on our way, I will relieve you of this burden.

MOERIS

Say no more, lad; let us to the task in hand. Our songs we shall sing the better, when the master himself is come.

X<sup>1</sup>

My last task this—vouchsafe me it, Arethusa<sup>2</sup>! A few verses I must sing for my Gallus, yet such as Lycoris herself may read! Who would refuse verses to Gallus? If, when thou glidest beneath Sicilian waves, thou wouldst not have briny Doris blend her stream with thine, begin! Let us tell of Gallus' anxious loves, while the blunt-nosed goats crop the tender brakes. We sing to no deaf ears; the woods echo every note.

<sup>1</sup> In this tenth Eclogue the poet sings the love of his friend C. Cornelius Gallus for a mistress who had deserted him. The scene is laid in Arcadia.

<sup>2</sup> Invoked as a Sicilian Muse and inspirer of Theocritus.

# VIRGIL

Quae nemora aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae  
 Naïdes, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat? MPR  
 nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi 11  
 ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe.  
 illum etiam lauri, etiam flevare myricae,  
 pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem  
 Maenalus, et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei. 15  
 stant et oves circum (nostri nec paenitet illas,  
 nec te paeniteat pecoris, divine poeta:  
 et formosus ovis ad flumina pavit Adonis);  
 venit et upilio, tardi venere subulci,  
 uvidus hiberna venit de glande Menalcas. 20  
 omnes "unde amor iste" rogant "tibi?" venit Apollo:  
 "Galle, quid insanis?" inquit. "tua cura Lycoris  
 perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est."  
 venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore,  
 florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans. 25  
 Pan deus Arcadiae venit, quem vidimus ipsi  
 sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem:  
 "ecquis erit modus?" inquit. "Amor non talia curat:  
 nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina rivis  
 nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae." 30  
 Tristis at ille "tamen cantabitis, Arcades" inquit,  
 "montibus haec vestris, soli cantare periti  
 Arcades. o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,  
 vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores!  
 atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrique fuissem 35  
 aut custos gregis aut maturae vinitor uvae!  
 certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas  
 seu quicumque turor (quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?  
 et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra),

<sup>10</sup> periret *M<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>*.

<sup>19</sup> opilio *Berne Scholia*.

<sup>23</sup> castra] saxa *P<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>29</sup> ripis *M<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>12</sup> Aoniae *MRγ*: Aoinie *P*.

<sup>20</sup> umidus *R*.

<sup>28</sup> et quis *P<sup>1</sup>R*.

<sup>32</sup> nostris *P<sup>1</sup>*.

## ECLOGUE X

<sup>9</sup> What groves, what glades were your abode, ye virgin Naiads, when Gallus was pining with a love unrequited? For no heights of Parnassus or of Pindus, no Aonian Aganippe made you tarry. For him even the laurels, even the tamarisks wept. For him, as he lay beneath a lonely rock, even pine-crowned Maenalus wept, and the crags of cold Lycaeus. The sheep, too, are standing around—they think no shame of us, and think thou no shame of the flock, heavenly poet; even fair Adonis fed sheep beside the streams.

<sup>19</sup> The shepherd came, too; slowly the swineherds came; Menalcas came, dripping, from the winter's mast.<sup>1</sup> All ask: "Whence this love of thine?" Apollo came. "Gallus," he said, "what madness this? Thy sweetheart Lycoris hath followed another amid snows and amid rugged camps." Silvanus came, with rustic glories on his brow, waving his fennel flowers and tall lilies. Pan came, Arcady's god, and we ourselves saw him, crimsoned with vermilion and blood-red elderberries. "Will there be no end?" he cried. "Love recks naught of this: neither is cruel Love sated with tears, nor the grass with the rills, nor bees with the clover, nor goats with leaves."

<sup>31</sup> But sadly Gallus replied: "Yet ye, O Arcadians, will sing this tale to your mountains; Arcadians only know how to sing. O how softly then would my bones repose, if in other days your pipes should tell my love! And O that I had been one of you, the shepherd of a flock of yours, or the dresser of your ripened grapes! Surely, my darling, whether it were Phyllis or Amyntas, or whoever it were—and what if Amyntas be dark? violets, too, are black and black are hyacinths—my darling would be lying at

<sup>1</sup> Acorns, steeped in water, were food for cattle in winter.

mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret ; 40  
 serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas.  
 hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,  
 hic nemus ; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo.  
 nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis  
 tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis : 45  
 tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)  
 Alpinas a ! dura, nives et frigora Rheni  
 me sine sola vides. a ! te ne frigora laedant !  
 a ! tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas !

Ibo et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu 50  
 carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor avena.  
 certum est in silvis, inter spelaea ferarum  
 malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores  
 arboribus : crescent illae, crescetis, amores.  
 interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala Nymphis, 55  
 aut acris venabor apros. non me ulla vetabunt  
 frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus.  
 iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis  
 ire ; libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu  
 spicula—tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris, 60  
 aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat.  
 iam neque Hamadryades rursus neque carmina nobis  
 ipsa placent ; ipsae rursus concedite silvae.  
 non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,  
 nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus 65  
 Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,  
 nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,  
 Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancrī.

✓ omnia vincit Amor : et nos cedamus Amori."

<sup>40</sup> iaceres *MP*<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Rhodonea *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> sic corr. to sit *M*.

<sup>60</sup> sint *M*.

<sup>69</sup> vincet *M* : vicit *R*.

## ECLOGUE X

my side among the willows, under the creeping vine—  
Phyllis culling me garlands, Amyntas singing songs.  
Here are cold springs, Lycoris, here soft meadows,  
here woodland; here, with thee, time alone would  
wear me away. But now a mad passion for the stern  
god of war keeps me in arms, in the midst of weapons  
and opposing foes; while thou, far from thy native soil  
—O that it were not for me to believe such a tale!—  
art gazing, ah, heartless one! on Alpine snows and  
the frost-bound Rhine, apart from me, all alone. Ah,  
may the frosts not harm thee! Ah, may not the  
jagged ice cut thy tender feet!

<sup>50</sup> “I will be gone, and the strains I composed in  
Chalcidian verse<sup>1</sup> I will play on a Sicilian shepherd’s  
pipe. Well I know that in the woods, amid wild beasts’  
dens, it is better to suffer and carve my love on the  
young trees. They will grow; thou, too, my love,  
wilt grow. Meanwhile, with the Nymphs I will roam  
o’er Maenalus, or hunt fierce boars. No frosts will  
stay me from girdling with my hounds the glades of  
Parthenius. Even now, methinks, I pass over rocks  
and echoing groves; ’tis a joy to wing Cydonian  
shafts from my Parthian bow! As if this could heal  
my frenzy, or as if that god could learn pity for  
human sorrows! Now once more, nor Hamadryads  
nor even songs have charms for me; once more  
adieu, even ye woods! No toils of ours can change  
that god, not though in the heart of winter we  
drink the Hebrus and brave the Thracian snows and  
their wintry sleet, not though, when the bark dies  
and withers on the lofty elm, we drive to and fro  
the Aethiopians’ sheep beneath the star of Cancer!  
Love conquers all; let us, too, yield to Love!”

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Gallus’ imitations of Euphorion of Chalcis.

## VIRGIL

Haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam, 70  
 dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco,  
 Pierides; vos haec facietis maxima Gallo,  
 Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas,  
 quantum vere novo viridis se subicit alnus.  
 surgamus: solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra, 75  
 iuniperi gravis umbra, nocent et frugibus umbrae.  
 ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae.

<sup>74</sup> subducit *R*: subrigit  $\pi$  (*a Prague MS. of ninth century*).

## ECLOGUE X

<sup>70</sup> These strains, Muses divine, it will be enough  
for your poet to have sung, while he sits idle and  
twines a basket of slender hibiscus. These ye shall  
make of highest worth in Gallus' eyes—Gallus, for  
whom my love grows hour by hour as fast as in the  
dawn of spring shoots up the green alder. Let us rise ;  
the shade oft brings peril to singers. The juniper's  
shade brings peril ; hurtful to the corn, too, is the  
shade. Get ye home, my full-fed goats—the  
Evening-star comes—get ye home !





## GEORGICS

# GEORGICON

## LIBER I

Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram      MPR  
vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vites  
conveniat, quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo  
sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,  
hinc canere incipiam. vos, o clarissima mundi      5  
lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum,  
Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus  
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,  
poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis ;  
et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni,      10  
(ferre simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae !)  
munera vestra cano. tuque o, cui prima frementem  
fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,  
Neptune ; et cultor nemorum, cui pinguia Ceae  
ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuveni ;      15  
ipse, nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycae,  
Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,  
adsis, o Tegeae, favens, oleaeque Minerva

<sup>7</sup> numine *M* (*late*).

<sup>13</sup> fundit *P*.

# GEORGICS

## BOOK I

WHAT makes the crops joyous, beneath what star, Maecenas, it is well to turn the soil, and wed vines to elms, what tending the kine need, what care the herd in breeding, what skill the thrifty bees—hence shall I begin my song.<sup>1</sup> O ye most radiant lights of the firmament, that guide through heaven the gliding year, O Liber and bounteous Ceres, if by your grace Earth changed Chaonia's acorn for the rich corn-ear, and blended draughts of Achelous with the new-found grapes, and ye, O Fauns, the rustics' ever-present gods (come trip it, Fauns, and Dryad maids withal!), 'tis of your bounties I sing. And thou, O Neptune, for whom Earth, smitten by thy mighty trident, first sent forth the neighing steed; thou, too, O spirit of the groves,<sup>2</sup> for whom thrice an hundred snowy steers crop Cea's rich thickets; thyself, too, O Pan, guardian of the sheep, leaving thy native woods and glades of Lycaeus, as thou lovest thine own Maenalus, come of thy grace, O Tegean

<sup>1</sup> The subjects of the four books are here given, viz. tillage, planting, the rearing of cattle, and the keeping of bees. Then follows the invocation of the rural powers, beginning with the sun and moon, and closing with Caesar Augustus, who has yet to choose his divine sphere.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Aristaeus.

# VIRGIL

inventrix, uncique puer monstrator aratri,  
 et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum ; 20  
 dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri,  
 quique novas alitis non ullo semine fruges,  
 quique satis largum caelo demittitis imbrem ;  
 tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum  
 concilia, incertum est, urbisne invisere, Caesar, 25  
 terrarūque velis curam et te maximus orbis  
 auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem  
 accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto,  
 an deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae  
 numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule, 30  
 teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis;  
 anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,  
 qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis  
 panditur (ipse tibi iam brachia contrahit ardens  
 Scorpios et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit) : 35  
 quidquid eris (nam te nec sperant Tartara regem  
 nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido,  
 quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos  
 nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem),  
 da facilem cursum, atque audacibus adnue coeptis, 40  
 ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis      AMPR  
 ingredi et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.

<sup>25</sup> urbesne *M* : urbisne (v. *A. Gellius*, XIII. XXI. 4).

<sup>35</sup> relinquit *P*.

<sup>36</sup> sperent *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup> γ, *Servius*.

## GEORGICS BOOK I

lord ! Come thou, O Minerva, inventress of the olive ; thou, too, O youth,<sup>1</sup> who didst disclose the crooked plough ; and thou, O Silvanus, with a young uprooted cypress in thy hand ; and ye, O gods and goddesses all, whose love guards our fields—both ye who nurse the young fruits, springing up unsown, and ye who on the seedlings send down from heaven plenteous rain !

<sup>24</sup> Yea, and thou, O Caesar, whom we know not what company of the gods shall claim ere long ; whether thou choose to watch over cities and care for our lands, that so the mighty world may receive thee as the giver of increase and lord of the seasons, wreathing thy brows with thy mother's myrtle ; whether thou come as god of the boundless sea and sailors worship thy deity alone, while farthest Thule owns thy lordship and Tethys with the dower of all her waves buys thee to wed her daughter ; or whether thou add thyself as a new star to the lingering months, where, between the Virgin<sup>2</sup> and the grasping Claws, a space is opening (lo ! for thee even now the blazing Scorpion draws in his arms, and has left more than a due share of the heaven !)—whate'er thou art to be (for Tartarus hopes not for thee as king, and may such monstrous lust of empire ne'er seize thee, albeit Greece is enchanted by the Elysian fields, and Proserpine reclaimed cares not to follow her mother), do thou grant me a smooth course, give assent to my bold emprise, and pitying with me the rustics who know not their way, enter on thy worship, and learn even now to hearken to our prayers !

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Triptolemus, son of Celeus of Eleusis, and favourite of Demeter.

<sup>2</sup> One of the signs of the Zodiac, called in Greek Erigone. The "Claws" are the Scorpion. Libra was later introduced between Scorpios and Virgo.

# VIRGIL

Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus umor  
 liquitur et Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit,  
 depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro 45  
 ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.  
 illa seges demum votis respondet avari  
 agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit ;  
 illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes.  
 at prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor, 50  
 ventos et varium caeli praediscere morem  
 cura sit ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum,  
 et quid quaeque ferat regio et quid quaeque recuset.  
 hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae,  
 arborei fetus alibi, atque iniussa virescunt 55  
 gramina. nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,  
 India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei,  
 at Chalybes nudi ferrum, viroaque Pontus  
 castorea, Eliadum palmas Epiros equarum ?  
 continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis 60  
 imposuit natura locis, quo tempore primum  
 Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem,  
 unde homines nati, durum genus. ergo age, terrae  
 pingue solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni  
 fortes invertant tauri, glaebasque iacentis 65  
 pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas ;  
 at si non fuerit tellus fecunda, sub ipsum  
 Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulcq :  
 illic, officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae,  
 hic, sterilem exiguus ne deserat umor harenam. 70  
 Alternis idem tonsas cessare novalis  
 et segnem patiēre situ durescere campum ;  
 aut ibi flava seres mutato sidere farra,

<sup>50</sup> ac *MPR* ; *so Sabb.* : at *γ*.

<sup>60</sup> alterna *P*.

<sup>73</sup> semine *R*.

<sup>57</sup> mittet *P*<sup>1</sup> : mittat *M*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> frugibus *R*.



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<sup>43</sup> In the dawning spring, when icy streams trickle from snowy mountains, and the crumbling clod breaks at the Zephyr's touch, even then would I have my bull groan over the deep-driven plough, and the share glisten when rubbed by the furrow. That field only answers the covetous farmer's prayer, which twice has felt the sun and twice the frost; from it boundless harvests burst the granaries. Yet ere our iron cleaves an unknown plain, be it first our care to learn the winds and the wavering moods of the sky, the wonted tillage and nature of the ground, what each clime yields and what each disowns. Here corn, there grapes spring more luxuriantly; elsewhere young trees shoot up, and grasses unbidden. See you not, how Tmolus sends us saffron fragrance, India her ivory, the soft Sabaeans their frankincense; but the naked Chalybes give us iron, Pontus the strong-smelling beaver's oil, and Epirus the Olympian victories of her mares? From the first, Nature laid these laws and eternal covenants on certain lands, even from the day when Deucalion threw stones into the empty world, whence sprang men, a stony race. Come then, and where the earth's soil is rich, let your stout oxen upturn it straightway, in the year's first months, and let the clods lie for dusty summer to bake with her ripening suns; but should the land not be fruitful, it will suffice, on the eve of Arcturus' rising, to raise it lightly with shallow furrow—in the one case, that weeds may not choke the gladsome corn; in the other, that the scant moisture may not desert the barren sand.

<sup>71</sup> In alternate seasons you will also let your fields lie fallow after reaping, and the plain idly stiffen with scurf; or, beneath another star, sow yellow

# VIRGIL

unde prius laetum siliqua quassante legumen  
aut tenuis fetus viciae tristisque lupini 75  
sustuleris fragilis calamos silvamque sonantem.  
urit enim lini campum seges, urit avenae,  
urunt Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno :  
sed tamen alternis facilis labor, arida tantum  
ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola neve 80  
effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros.  
sic quoque mutatis requiescunt fetibus arva,  
nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.  
saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros  
atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis ; 85  
sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae  
pinguia concipiunt, sive illis omne per ignem  
excoquitur vitium atque exsudat inutilis umor,  
seu pluris calor ille vias et caeca relaxat  
spiramenta, novas veniat qua sucus in herbas, 90  
seu durat magis et venas adstringit hiantis,  
ne tenues pluviae rapidive potentia solis  
acrior aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.

Multum adeo, rastris glaebas qui frangit inertis  
vimineasque trahit crates, iuvat arva, neque illum 95  
flava Ceres alto nequiquam spectat Olympo ;  
et qui, proscisso quae suscitât aequore terga,  
rursus in obliquum verso perrumpit aratro,  
exercetque frequens tellurem atque imperat arvis.

Umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas, 100  
agricolae : hiberno laetissima pulvere farra,  
laetus ager ; nullo tantum se Mysia cultu  
iactat et ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messes.

<sup>82</sup> requiescent *R.*

<sup>102</sup> Moesia *AP*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> miratur *P*<sup>2</sup>.

## GEORGICS BOOK I

corn in lands whence you have first carried off the pulse that rejoices in its quivering pods, or the fruits of the slender vetch, or the brittle stalks and rattling tangle of the bitter lupine. For a crop of flax parches the ground; oats parch it, and poppies, steeped in Lethe's slumber. Yet by changing crops the toil is light: only be not ashamed to feed fat the dried-out soil with rich dung, and to scatter grimy ashes over the exhausted fields. Thus also, with change of crop, the land finds rest, and meanwhile not thankless is the unploughed earth. Often, too, it has been useful to fire barren fields, and burn the light stubble in crackling flames; whether it be that the earth derives thence hidden strength and rich nutriment, or that in the flame every taint is baked out and the useless moisture sweats from it, or that that heat opens fresh paths and loosens hidden pores, by which the sap may reach the tender blades, or that it rather hardens the soil and narrows the gaping veins, that so the searching showers may not harm, or the blazing sun's fierce tyranny wither it, or the North-wind's piercing cold.

<sup>94</sup> Yea, and much service does he do the land who with the mattock breaks up the sluggish clods, and drags over it wicker hurdles; nor is it for naught that golden Ceres views him from high Olympus.<sup>1</sup> Much service, too, does he who turns his plough and again breaks crosswise through the ridges which he raised when first he cut the plain, ever at his post to discipline the ground, and give his orders to the fields.

<sup>100</sup> For moist summers and sunny winters, pray, ye farmers! With winter's dust most gladsome is the corn, gladsome is the field: under no tillage does Mysia so glory, and then even Gargarus marvels

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* she rewards him richly.

## VIRGIL

quid dicam, iacto qui semine comminus arva  
 insequitur cumulosque ruit male pinguis harenae, 105  
 deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis  
 et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,  
 ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam  
 elicit? illa cadens raucum per levia murmur  
 saxa ciet scatebrisque arentia temperat arva. 110  
 quid qui, ne gravidis procumbat culmus aristis,  
 luxuriam segetum tenera depascit in herba,  
 cum primum sulcos aequant sata? quique paludis  
 collectum umorem bibula deducit harena?  
 praesertim incertis si mensibus amnis abundans 115  
 exit et obducto late tenet omnia limo,  
 unde cavae tepido sudant umore lacunae.

Nec tamen, haec cum sint hominumque boumque  
 labores  
 versando terram experti, nihil improbus anser  
 Strymoniaeque grues et amaris intiba fibris 120  
 officiunt aut umbra nocet. pater ipse colendi  
 haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem  
 movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda,  
 nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.  
 ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni; 125  
 ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum  
 fas erat: in medium quaerebant, ipsaque tellus  
 omnia liberius, nullo poscente, ferebat.  
 ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris,  
 praedarique lupos iussit pontumque moveri, 130

<sup>106</sup> fluentes *R.*

<sup>114</sup> diducit *A.*

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* no tillage can do so much for Mysia as wet summers, followed by dry winters. These produce extraordinary crops on the rich slopes of Gargarus.

<sup>2</sup> The water, which runs in a banked-up channel on a

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at his own harvests.<sup>1</sup> Need I tell of him who flings the seed, then, hoe in hand, closes with the soil, and lays low the hillocks of barren sand? next brings to his crops the rills of the stream he guides, and when the scorched land swelters, the green blades dying, lo! from the brow of the hill-side channel decoys the water?<sup>2</sup> This, as it falls, wakes a hoarse murmur amid the smooth stones, and with its gushing streams slakes the thirsty fields. Need I tell of him who, lest the stalk droop with heavy ears, grazes down his luxuriant crop in the young blade, soon as the growing corn is even with the furrow's top? or of him who draws off a marsh's gathered moisture with soaking sand<sup>3</sup>—chiefly when, in changeful months, a river at the full o'erflows, and far and wide covers all with muddy coat, making the hollow ditches steam with warm vapour?

<sup>118</sup> Nor yet, though toiling men and oxen have thus wrought in oft turning the land, does the rascally goose do no mischief, or the Strymonian cranes, or the bitter-fibred succory, nor is the shade of trees harmless. The great Father himself has willed that the path of husbandry should not be smooth, and he first made art awake the fields, sharpening men's wits by care, nor letting his realm slumber in heavy lethargy. Before Jove's day<sup>4</sup> no tillers subdued the land. Even to mark the field or divide it with bounds was unlawful. Men made gain for the common store, and Earth yielded all, of herself, more freely, when none begged for her gifts. 'Twas he that in black serpents put their deadly venom, bade the wolves

hill-side or other high ground, is tapped by the farmer for the fields below.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* by filling in the marshy place with sand.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* in the Golden Age, when Saturn reigned.



# VIRGIL

mellaque decussit foliis, ignemque removit,  
 et passim rivis currentia vina repressit,  
 ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis  
 paulatim et sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam,  
 et silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem. 135  
 tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas;  
 navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit,  
 Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton;  
 tum laqueis captare feras et fallere visco  
 inventum et magnos canibus circumdare saltus; 140  
 atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem  
 alta petens, pelagoque alius trahit umida lina;  
 tum ferri rigor atque argutae lammina serrae  
 (nam primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum),  
 tum variae venere artes. labor omnia vicit 145  
 improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas.

Prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram  
 instituit, cum iam glandes atque arbuta sacrae  
 deficerent silvae et victum Dodona negaret.  
 mox et frumentis labor additus, ut mala culmos 150  
 esset robigo segnisque horreret in arvis  
 carduus; intereunt segetes, subit aspera silva,  
 lappaeque tribolique, interque nitentia culta  
 infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae,  
 quod nisi et adsiduis herbam insectabere rastris 155  
 et sonitu terrebis aves et ruris opaci  
 falce premes umbram votisque vocaveris imbrem,  
 heu magnum alterius frustra spectabis acervum  
 concussaue famem in silvis solabere quercu.

Dicendum et quae sint duris agrestibus arma, 160  
 quis sine nec potuere seri nec surgere messes:

<sup>135</sup> et *A*: ut *other MSS.* So *Sabb.*

<sup>139</sup> tunc *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> surgens *AM*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>155</sup> terram *APR.*

<sup>157</sup> umbram *MRγ, Nonius, Servius*: umbras *AP.*

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plunder and the ocean swell ; shook honey from the leaves, hid fire from view, and stopped the wine that ran everywhere in streams, so that practice, by taking thought, might little by little hammer out divers arts, might seek the corn-blade in furrows, and strike forth from veins of flint the hidden fire. Then first did rivers feel the hollowed alder ; then the sailor numbered the stars and called them by name, Pleiades, Hyades, and Arctos, Lycaon's gleaming offspring. Then men found how to snare game in toils, to cheat with bird-lime, and to circle great glades with hounds. And now one lashes a broad stream with casting-net, seeking the depths, and another through the sea trails his dripping drag-net. Then came iron's stiffness and the shrill saw-blade—for early man cleft the splitting wood with wedges ; then came divers arts. Toil conquered the world, unrelenting toil, and want that pinches when life is hard.

<sup>147</sup> Ceres was the first to teach men to turn the earth with iron, when the acorns and arbutes of the sacred wood began to fail, and Dodona denied men food. Soon, too, on the corn fell trouble, the baneful mildew feeding on the stems, and the lazy thistle bristling in the fields ; the crops die, and instead springs up a prickly growth, burs and caltrops, and amid the smiling corn the luckless darnel and barren oats hold sway. Therefore, unless your hoe, time and again, assail the weeds, your voice affright the birds, your knife check the shade of the darkened land, and your vows invoke the rain, vainly, alas ! will you eye your neighbour's big store, and in the woods shake the oak to solace hunger.

<sup>160</sup> I must tell, too, of the hardy rustics' weapons, without which the crops could neither be sown nor



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vomis et inflexi primum grave robur aratri,  
 tardaue Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra,  
 tribulaue traheaeue et iniquo pondere rastri;  
 virgea praeterea Celei vilisque supellex, 165  
 arbuteae crates et mystica vannus Iacchi.

omnia quae multo ante memor provisa repones,  
 si te digna manet divini gloria ruris.  
 continuo in silvis magna vi flexa domatur  
 in burim et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri. 170  
 huic a stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,  
 binae aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso.  
 caeditur et tilia ante iugo levis altaue fagus  
 stivaue, quae currus a tergo torqueat imos,  
 et suspensa focis explorat robora fumus. 175

Possum multa tibi veterum praecepta referre,  
 ni refugis tenuisque piget cognoscere curas.  
 area cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro  
 et vertenda manu et creta solidanda tenaci,  
 ne subeant herbae neu pulvere victa fatiscat, 180  
 tum variae inludant pestes: saepe exiguus mus  
 sub terris posuitque domos atque horrea fecit,  
 aut oculis capti fodere cubilia talpae,  
 inventusque cavis bufo et quae plurima terrae  
 monstra ferunt, populatque ingentem farris acervum  
 curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae. 186

Contemplator item, cum se nux plurima silvis  
 induet in florem et ramos curvabit olentis:

<sup>166</sup> vallus *R* (and known to Varro, according to Servius): so  
*Sabb.* <sup>175</sup> exploret *AM* (late).  
<sup>181</sup> inludunt *M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>*: ludunt *A.* <sup>187</sup> nux se *A.*

## GEORGICS BOOK I

raised. First the share and the curved plough's heavy frame, the slow-rolling wains of the Mother<sup>1</sup> of Eleusis, sledges and drags, and hoes of cruel weight; further, the common wicker ware of Celeus, arbuté hurdles and the mystic fan of Iacchus. All of these you will remember to provide and store away long beforehand, if the glory the divine country gives is to be yours in worthy measure. From the first, even in the woods, an elm, bent by main force, is trained for the stock, and receives the form of the crooked plough. To the stem of this is fitted a pole, eight feet in length, with two mould-boards, and a share-beam with double back. A light linden, too, is felled beforehand for the yoke, and a tall beech for the handle,<sup>2</sup> to turn the car below from the rear; and the wood is hung above the hearth for the smoke to season.

<sup>176</sup> I can repeat for you many olden maxims, unless you shrink back and are loath to learn such trivial cares. And chiefly, the threshing-floor must be levelled with a heavy roller, kneaded with the hand, and made solid with binding clay, lest weeds spring up, or, crumbling into dust, it gape open, and then divers plagues make mock of you. Often under the ground the tiny mouse sets up a home and builds his storehouses, or sightless moles dig out chambers; in holes may be found the toad, and all the countless pests born of the earth; or the weevil ravages a huge heap of grain, or the ant, anxious for a destitute old age.

<sup>187</sup> Mark, too, when in the woods the almond clothes herself richly<sup>3</sup> in blossom and bends her

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Demeter, identified with Ceres.

<sup>2</sup> Taking *stivaque* as explanatory of *fagus*, a sort of hendiadys.

<sup>3</sup> Or *nux plurima*, "many an almond."

# VIRGIL

si superant fetus, pariter frumenta sequentur,  
 magnaue cum magno veniet tritura calore ; 190  
 at si luxuria foliorum exuberat umbra,  
 nequiquam pinguis palea teret area culmos.  
 semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentis  
 et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca,  
 grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset, 195  
 et, quamvis igni exiguo, properata maderent.  
 vidi lecta diu et multo spectata labore  
 degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quotannis  
 maxima quaeque manu legeret. sic omnia fatis  
 in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri, 200  
 non aliter, quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum  
 remigiis subigit, si bracchia forte remisit,  
 atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.

Praeterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis  
 Haedorumque dies servandi et lucidus Anguis, 205  
 quam quibus in patriam ventosa per aequora vectis  
 Pontus et ostriferi fauces temptantur Abydi.  
 Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas  
 et medium luci atque umbris iam dividit orbem,  
 exercete, viri, tauros, serite hordea campis 210  
 usque sub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem ;  
 nec non et lini segetem et Cereale papaver  
 tempus humo tegere et iamdudum incumbere aratris,  
 dum sicca tellure licet, dum nubila pendent.

<sup>192</sup> terit *R.*

<sup>200</sup> et *P.*

<sup>203</sup> illum praeceps prono *P*: illum prono in ceps (pre added above by late hand) trahit *R.*

<sup>208</sup> die *AM<sup>1</sup>Pγ*: diei *M(late)R*: dies (v. *A. Gellius*, IX. 14); so *Sabb.* <sup>209</sup> dividet *Rγ*. <sup>213</sup> rastris *AM<sup>2</sup>P (late)R*.

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fragrant boughs : if the fruit prevails, the corn crops will keep pace with it, and a great threshing come with a great heat ; but if the shade is abundant in the fullness of leafage, in vain shall your floor thresh stalks, rich only in chaff. Many a sower have I seen treat his seeds, drenching them first with nitre and black oil-lees, that the deceitful pods might yield larger produce, and the grains be sodden quickly, however small the fire. I have seen seeds, though picked long and tested with much pains, yet degenerate, if human toil, year after year, culled not the largest by hand. Thus by law of fate all things speed towards the worst, and slipping away fall back ; even as if one, whose oars can scarce force his skiff against the stream, should by chance slacken his arms, and lo ! headlong down the current the boat sweeps him away.

<sup>204</sup> Furthermore, we must watch the star of Arcturus, the days of the Kids,<sup>1</sup> and the gleaming Snake,<sup>2</sup> even as they do who, sailing homeward over windswept seas, brave the Pontus and the jaws of oyster-breeding Abydos. When the Balance makes the hours of daytime and sleep equal,<sup>3</sup> and now parts the world in twain, half in light and half in shade, then, my men, work your oxen, sow barley in your fields, as late as the eve of winter's rains, when work must cease. Then, too, is the time to hide in the ground your crop of flax and the poppy of Ceres ; and high time is it to bend to the plough, while the dry soil will let you and the clouds are still aloft. Spring is the sowing-time for beans ; then, too, the crumbling

<sup>1</sup> The Kids are two stars in Auriga, which rises April 25 and September 27 and brings storms.

<sup>2</sup> The Anguis is between the two Bears near the north pole.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* at the autumnal equinox.

# VIRGIL

vere fabis satio ; tum te quoque, Medica, putres 215  
accipiunt sulci et milio venit annua cura,  
candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum  
Taurus et adverso cedens Canis occidit astro.

at si triticeam in messem robustaque farra  
exercebis humum solisque instabis aristis, 220

ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur  
Gnosiaque ardentis decedat stella Coronae,  
debita quam sulcis committas semina quamque  
invitae properes anni spem credere terrae.  
multi ante occasum Maiæ coepere ; sed illos 225  
exspectata seges vanis elusit aristis.

si vero viciamque seres vilemque phaselum,  
nec Pelusiæ curam aspernabere lentis,  
haud obscura cadens mittet tibi signa Bootes ;  
incipi et ad medias sementem extende pruinas. 230

Idcirco certis dimensum partibus orbem  
per duodena regit mundi sol aureus astra.  
quinque tenent caelum zonæ : quarum una corusco  
semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni ;  
quam circum extremæ dextra laevæ trahuntur  
caeruleæ, glaciæ concretæ atque imbribus atris ; 236  
has inter mediamque duæ mortalibus ægris  
munere concessæ divum, et via secta per ambas,  
obliquus qua se signorum verteret ordo.

mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhiphaeasque arduus arces  
consurgit, premitur Libyæ devexus in Austros. 241  
hic vertex nobis semper sublimis ; at illum

<sup>218</sup> adverso *M* : averso *most MSS.* Both known to *Servius*.

<sup>226</sup> avenis *Py.*

<sup>229</sup> mittit *AM.*

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<sup>1</sup> *adverso astro*, viz. *Tauro*. The sun enters Taurus on April 17 ("month of opening," *quia ver aperit tunc omnia* : Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 87). Sirius (the *Canis* of l. 218) appears to set at the end of April, when it draws nearer to the sun. There is also a reference here to the milk-white oxen with gilded horns, which figured in Roman triumphs.



## GEORGICS BOOK I

furrows welcome thee, Median clover, and the millet claims our yearly care, when the snow-white Bull with gilded horns ushers in the year, and the Dog sets, retiring before his confronting star.<sup>1</sup> But if for harvest of wheat and for hardy spelt you ply the ground, and if grain alone is your aim, first let the daughters of Atlas<sup>2</sup> pass from your sight in the morn, and let the Cretan star of the blazing Crown<sup>3</sup> withdraw ere you commit to the furrows the seeds due, or hasten to trust the year's hope to a reluctant soil. Many have begun ere Maia's setting, but the looked-for crop has mocked them with empty ears. Yet if you choose to sow the vetch or homely kidney-bean, and scorn not the care of Egyptian lentil, setting Boötes will send you no doubtful signs. Begin, and carry on your sowing to midwinter's frosts.

<sup>231</sup> To this end the golden Sun rules his circuit, portioned out in fixed divisions, through the world's twelve constellations.<sup>4</sup> Five zones comprise the heavens; whereof one is ever glowing with the flashing sun, ever scorched by his flames. Round this, at the world's ends, two stretch darkling to right and left, set fast in ice and black storms. Between these and the middle zone, two by grace of the gods have been vouchsafed to feeble mortals; and a path<sup>5</sup> is cut between the two, wherein the slanting array of the Signs may turn. As our globe rises steep to Scythia and the Rhiphaean crags, so it slopes downward to Libya's southland. One pole is ever high above us, while the other, beneath our feet, is seen

<sup>2</sup> The Pleiades set in the morning of November 11, according to Pliny. Cf. *Geor.* iv. 232, and note.

<sup>3</sup> The apparent evening setting of the *Corona borealis* is November 9.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* the ecliptic or sun's path through the heavens.

## VIRGIL

sub pedibus Styx atra videt Manesque profundi.  
 maxumus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis  
 circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos, 245  
 Arctos Oceani metuentes aequore tingui.  
 illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox,  
 semper et obtenta densantur nocte tenebrae ;  
 aut redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit,  
 nosque ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis, 250  
 illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.  
 hinc tempestates dubio praediscere caelo  
 possumus, hinc messisque diem tempusque serendi,  
 et quando infidum remis impellere marmor  
 conveniat, quando armatas deducere classis, 255  
 aut tempestivam silvis evertere pinum.  
 nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus,  
 temporibusque parem diversis quattuor annum.

Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber,  
 multa, forent quae mox caelo properanda sereno, 260  
 maturare datur : durum procudit arator  
 vomeris obtunsi dentem, cavat arbore lintres,  
 aut pecori signum aut numeros impressit acervis.  
 exacuunt alii vallos furcasque bicornis  
 atque Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti. 265  
 nunc facilis rubea texatur fiscina virga,  
 nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo.  
 quippe etiam festis quaedam exercere diebus  
 fas et iura sinunt : rivos deducere nulla  
 religio vetuit, segeti praetendere saepem, 270  
 insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,  
 balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri.

<sup>248</sup> densentur *PR.*

<sup>252</sup> praedicere *AR.*

<sup>260</sup> post *M.*

<sup>266</sup> facili *P.* Rubea *Scholia on Horace, Serm. I. v. 94 ; known to Servius.*

<sup>269</sup> diducere *M.*



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of black Styx and the shades infernal. Here, with his tortuous coils, the mighty Snake glides forth, river-like, about and between the two Bears—the Bears that shrink from the plunge 'neath Ocean's plain. There, men say, is either the silence of lifeless night, and gloom ever thickening beneath night's pall; or else Dawn returns from us and brings them back the day, and when on us the rising Sun first breathes with panting steeds, there glowing Vesper is kindling his evening rays. Hence, though the sky be fitful, we can foretell the weather's changes, hence the harvest-tide and sowing-time; when it is meet to lash with oars the sea's faithless calm, when to launch our well-rigged fleet, or in the woods to fell the pine in season. Not in vain do we watch the signs, as they rise and set, and the year, uniform in its four several seasons.

<sup>259</sup> Whenever a cold shower keeps the farmer indoors, he can prepare at leisure much that ere long in clear weather must needs be hurried. The ploughman hammers out the hard tooth of the blunted share, scoops troughs from trees, or sets a brand upon his flocks and labels upon his corn-heaps.<sup>1</sup> Others sharpen stakes and two-pronged forks, or make bands of American willows for the limber vine. Now let the pliant basket be woven of briar twigs, now roast corn by the fire, now grind it on the stone. Nay, even on holy days, the laws of God and man permit you to do certain tasks. No scruples ever forbade us to guide down<sup>2</sup> the water-rills, to defend a crop with a hedge, to set snares for birds, to fire brambles, or to plunge bleating flocks into the health-giving stream. Oft, too, the driver

<sup>1</sup> *numeros* = *tesseras*, *i.e.* labels or tickets, designating quantity, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* in irrigation; *cf.* l. 108.

# VIRGIL

saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli  
vilibus aut onerat pomis, lapidemque revertens  
incusum aut atrae massam picis urbe reportat. 275

Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna  
felicis operum. quintam fuge : pallidus Orcus  
Eumenidesque satae ; tum partu Terra nefando  
Coeumque Iapetumque creat saevumque Typhoea  
et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres. 280  
ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam MPR  
scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum ;  
ter pater exstructos disiecit fulmine montis.  
septima post decimam felix et ponere vitem  
et prensos domitare boves et licia telae 285  
addere. nona fugae melior, contraria furtis.

Multa adeo gelida melius se nocte dedere,  
aut cum sole novo terras inrorat Eous.  
nocte leves melius stipulae, nocte arida prata  
tondentur, noctes lentus non deficit umor. 290  
et quidam seros hiberni ad luminis ignes  
pervigilat ferroque faces inspicat acuto ;  
interea longum cantu solata laborem  
arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas,  
aut dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem 295  
et foliis undam trepidi despumat aëni.  
at rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu,  
et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges.

**nudus ara, sere nudus** ; hiems ignava colono.  
frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur 300  
mutuaque inter se laeti convivia curant.  
invitat genialis hiems curasque resolvit,

277 Horcus *P.* 282 invertere *P*<sup>1</sup>.

283 deiecit *R.* 284 vites *R.*

292 pervigilant *P.*

296 trepidi *P*<sup>2</sup>γ, *Servius* : trepidis *MR* (aenis) : tepidi *P*<sup>1</sup>.

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loads his slow donkey's sides with oil or cheap fruits, and as he comes back from town brings with him an indented millstone or a mass of black pitch.

<sup>276</sup> The Moon herself has ordained various days in various grades as lucky for work. Shun the fifth; then pale Orcus and the Furies were born: then in monstrous labour Earth bore Coeus, and Iapetus, and fierce Typhoeus, and the brethren<sup>1</sup> who were banded to break down Heaven. Thrice did they essay, forsooth, to pile Ossa on Pelion, and over Ossa to roll leafy Olympus; thrice, with his bolt, the Father dashed apart their up-piled mountains. The seventeenth is lucky for planting the vine, for yoking and breaking in oxen, and for adding the leashes to the warp. The ninth is a friend to the runaway, a foe to the thief.

<sup>287</sup> Yea, and many things make better progress in the cool of night, or when at early sunrise the day-star bedews the earth. At night the light stubble is best shorn, at night the thirsty meadows; at night the softening moisture fails not. One I know spends wakeful hours by the late blaze of a winter-fire, and with sharp knife points torches; his wife the while solaces with song her long toil, runs the shrill shuttle through the web, or on the fire boils down the sweet juice of must, and skims with leaves the wave of the bubbling cauldron. But Ceres' golden grain is cut down in noonday heat, and in noonday heat the floor threshes the parched ears. Strip to plough, strip to sow; winter is the farmer's lazy time. In cold weather farmers chiefly enjoy their gains, and feast together in merry companies. Winter's cheer calls them, and loosens the weight of care—even as when laden

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Giants, though what is here narrated is elsewhere (*Aen.* VI. 582) attributed to the two Aloidae.

# VIRGIL

ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae,  
 puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.  
 sed tamen et quernas glandes tum stringere tempus  
 et lauri bacas oleamque cruentaue myrta, 306  
 tum gruibus pedicas et retia ponere cervis  
 auritosque sequi lepores, tum figere dammas  
 stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae,  
 cum nix alta iacet, glaciem cum flumina trudunt. 310

Quid tempestates autumni et sidera dicam,  
 atque, ubi iam breviorque dies et mollior aestas,  
 quae vigilanda viris, vel cum ruit imbriferum ver,  
 spicea iam campis cum messis inhorruit et cum  
 frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent? 315  
 saepe ego, cum flavis messorum induceret arvis  
 agricola et fragili iam stringeret hordea culmo,  
 omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi,  
 quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis  
 sublimem expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro 320  
 ferret hiems culmumque levem stipulasque volantis.  
 saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum  
 et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbribus atris MR  
 collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether,  
 et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores 325  
 diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt  
 cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor.  
 ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca  
 fulmina molitur dextra: quo maxuma motu  
 terra tremit; fugere ferae et mortalia corda 330  
 per gentes humilis stravit pavor: ille flagranti  
 aut Athon aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo

309 torquentes *R.*

314 et cum] et iam *P*<sup>1</sup>.

315 latentia *M*<sup>1</sup>: iacentia *R.*

318 consurgere *R.*

321 nigrantis *P*<sup>1</sup>.

327 spumantibus *R.*

## GEORGICS BOOK I

keels have at last reached port, and the merry sailors have crowned the poops with garlands. Still, then is the time to strip the acorns and laurel-berries, the olive and blood-red myrtle; the time to set snares for cranes and nets for the stag, and to chase the long-eared hares; the time to smite the does, as you whirl the hempen thongs of a Balearic sling—when the snow lies deep, when the rivers roll down the ice.

<sup>311</sup> Why need I tell of autumn's changes and stars, and for what our workers must watch, as the day now grows shorter and summer softer, or when spring pours down in showers, as the bearded harvest now bristles in the fields, and the corn on its green stem swells with milk? Often, as the farmer was bringing the reaper into his yellow fields and was now stripping the brittle-stalked barley,<sup>1</sup> my own eyes have seen all the winds clash in battle, tearing up the heavy crop far and wide from its deepest roots and tossing it on high; then with its black whirlwind the storm would sweep off the light stalk and flying stubble. Often, too, there appears in the sky a mighty column of waters, and clouds mustered from on high roll up a murky tempest of black showers: down falls the lofty heaven, and with its deluge of rain washes away the gladsome crops and the labours of oxen. The dykes fill, the deep-channelled rivers swell and roar, and the sea steams in its heaving friths. The Father himself, in the midnight of storm-clouds, wields his bolts with flashing hand. At that shock shivers the mighty earth; far flee the beasts and o'er all the world crouching terror lays low men's hearts: he with blazing bolt dashes down Athos or Rhodope or the Ceraunian peaks. The winds

<sup>1</sup> Page prefers "stripping the barley-ears from the brittle (*i.e.* ripe) stalk."



## VIRGIL

deicit; ingeminant Austri et densissimus imber,  
 nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc litora plangunt.  
 hoc metuens caeli mensis et sidera serva, 335  
 frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet,  
 quos ignis caelo Cyllenius erret in orbis.  
 in primis venerare deos, atque annua magnae  
 sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis  
 extremae sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno. 340  
 tum pingues agni et tum mollissima vina,  
 tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae.  
 cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret:  
 cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho,  
 terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges, 345  
 omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes,  
 et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta; neque ante  
 falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristis,  
 quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu  
 det motus incompositos et carmina dicat. 350

Atque haec ut certis possemus discere signis,  
 aestusque pluviasque et agentis frigora ventos,  
 ipse pater statuit, quid menstrua luna moneret,  
 quo signo caderent Austri, quid saepe videntes  
 agricolae propius stabulis armenta tenerent. 355  
 continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti  
 incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis  
 montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe  
 litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur.  
 iam sibi tum curvis male temperat unda carinis, 360

<sup>334</sup> plangit *R*: *Servius* knows both.

<sup>337</sup> caeli *Rγ*, *Servius*.

<sup>339</sup> orbis *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>340</sup> casu *R*.

<sup>341</sup> tunc . . . tunc *γ*. agni pingues *c*, *Servius*.

<sup>351</sup> possimus *M* (*late*). dicere *R*: noscere *M*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>360</sup> a curvis *R*.

## GEORGICS BOOK I

redouble; more and more thickens the rain; now woods, now shores wail with the mighty blast.

<sup>335</sup> In fear of this, mark the months and signs of heaven; whither Saturn's cold star withdraws itself and into what circles of the sky strays the Cyllenian fire.<sup>1</sup> Above all, worship the gods, and pay great Ceres her yearly rites, sacrificing on the glad sward, with the setting of winter's last days, when clear springtime is now come. Then are lambs fat and wine is most mellow; then sweet is sleep, and thick are the shadows on the hills. Then let all your country folk worship Ceres; for her wash the honeycomb with milk and soft wine, and three times let the luck-bringing victim pass round the young crops, while the whole choir of your comrades follow exulting, and loudly call Ceres into their homes; nor let any put his sickle to the ripe corn, ere for Ceres he crown his brows with oaken wreath, dance artless measures, and chant her hymns.

<sup>351</sup> And that through unfailing signs we might learn these dangers—the heat, and the rain, and the cold-bringing winds—the Father himself decreed what warning the monthly moon should give, what should signal the fall of the wind, and what sight, oft seen, should prompt the farmer to keep his cattle nearer to their stalls. From the first, when the winds are rising, either the sea's straits begin to heave and swell, and on mountain-heights is heard a dry crash, or the shores ring a confused echo afar and the woodland murmur waxes loud. Then, too, the wave scarce keeps itself from the curved keel, when the fleet gulls

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Mercury. Saturn and Mercury are representative of all the planets, Saturn being far away from the sun and Mercury near to it. Saturn when in Capricorn was supposed to bring rain; when in the Scorpion, hail.



# VIRGIL

cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi  
 clamoremque ferunt ad litora, cumque marinae  
 in sicco ludunt fulicae, notasque paludes  
 deserit atque altam supra volat ardea nubem.  
 saepe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis 365  
 praecipites caelo labi, noctisque per umbram  
 flammaram longos a tergo albescere tractus;  
 saepe levem paleam et frondes volitare caducas,  
 aut summa nantis in aqua colludere plumas.  
 at Boreae de parte trucidis cum fulminat et cum 370  
 Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus, omnia plenis  
 rura natant fossis atque omnis navita ponto  
 umida vela legit. numquam imprudentibus imber  
 obfuit: aut illum surgentem vallibus imis  
 aëriae fugere grues, aut bucula caelum 375  
 suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras,  
 aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo  
 et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam.  
 saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova  
 angustum formica terens iter, et bibit ingens 380  
 arcus, et e pastu decedens agmine magno  
 corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis.  
 iam variae pelagi volucres et quae Asia circum,  
 dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri;  
 certatim largos umeris infundere rores, 385  
 nunc caput obiectare fretis, nunc currere in undas  
 et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi.  
 tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce  
 et sola in sicca secum spatiat harena.  
 ne nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellae 390  
 nescivere hiemem, testa cum ardente viderent  
 scintillare oleum et putris concrecere fungos.

<sup>373</sup> prudentibus *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>383</sup> varias *preferred by Servius.* atque *M*: adque *R*.

<sup>386</sup> undam *M*<sup>2</sup>*Rγ*.

## GEORGICS BOOK I

fly back from mid-ocean, wafting their screams shoreward, and when the sea-coots sport on dry land, and the heron quits its home in the marsh and soars aloft above the clouds. Often, too, when wind is threatening, you will see stars shoot headlong from the sky, and behind them long trails of flame, gleaming white amid night's blackness; often light chaff and falling leaves fly about and feathers dance as they float on the water's top. But when it lightens from the region of the grim North, and when the home of the East and West winds thunders, then the ditches overflow and all the fields are flooded, while on the deep every mariner furls his dripping sails.

<sup>373</sup> Never has rain brought ill to men unwarned. Either, as it gathers, the skyey cranes flee before it in the valleys' depths; or the heifer looks up to heaven, and with open nostrils snuffs the breeze, or the twittering swallow flits round the pools, and in the mud the frogs croak their old-time plaint. Often, too, the ant, wearing her narrow path, brings out her eggs from her inmost cells and a great rainbow drinks, and an army of rooks, quitting their pasture in long array, clang with serried wings. Again, there are the sea-birds manifold, and such as, in Cayster's sweet pools, rummage round about the Asian meadows. These you may see rivalling each other in pouring the copious spray over their shoulders, now dashing their heads in the waves, now running into the waters, and aimlessly exulting in the joy of the bath. Then the caitiff raven with deep tones calls down the rain, and in solitary state stalks along the dry sea-sand. Even at night, maidens that spin their tasks have not failed to mark a storm as they saw the oil sputter in the blazing lamp, and a mouldy fungus gather on the wick.

## VIRGIL

Nec minus ex imbri soles et aperta serena  
 prospicere et certis poteris cognoscere signis :  
 nam neque tum stellis acies obtunsa videtur 395  
 nec fratris radiis obnoxia surgere Luna,  
 tenuia nec lanæ per caelum vellera ferri ;  
 non tepidum ad solem pinnas in litore pandunt  
 dilectæ Thetidi alcyones, non ore solutos  
 immundi meminere sues iactare maniplos. 400  
 at nebulae magis ima petunt campoque recumbunt,  
 solis et occasum servans de culmine summo  
 nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus.  
 apparet liquido sublimis in aëre Nisus  
 et pro purpureo poenas dat Scylla capillo : 405  
 quacumque illa levem fugiens secat aethera pinnis,  
 ecce inimicus, atrox, magno stridore per auras  
 insequitur Nisus ; qua se fert Nisus ad auras,  
 illa levem fugiens raptim secat aethera pinnis.  
 tum liquidas corvi presso ter gutture voces 410  
 aut quater ingeminant, et saepe cubilibus altis  
 nescio qua præter solitum dulcedine laeti  
 inter se in foliis strepitant ; iuvat imbribus actis  
 progeniem parvam dulcisque revisere nidos ;  
 haud equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis 415  
 ingenium aut rerum Fato prudentia maior ;  
 verum ubi tempestas et caeli mobilis umor  
 mutavere vias et Iuppiter uvidus Austris  
 denset erant quæ rara modo, et quæ densa relaxat,  
 vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus 420  
 nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,  
 concipiunt : hinc ille avium concentus in agris  
 et lætæ pecudes et ovantes gutture corvi.

<sup>403</sup> nequicquam *M*<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>404</sup> aethere *R*.      <sup>418</sup> umidus *Rγ*.  
                          <sup>419</sup> densat *M* (*late*).      <sup>422</sup> hic *M*<sup>1</sup>.

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393 Nor less after rain may you foresee bright  
suns and cloudless skies, and know them by sure signs.  
For then the stars' bright edge is seen undimmed,  
and the moon rises under no debt to her brother's  
rays,<sup>1</sup> and no thin fleecy clouds pass over the sky.  
Not now do the halcyons, the pride of Thetis, spread  
their wings on the shore to catch the warm sun, nor  
do the uncleanly swine think of tossing straw bundles  
to pieces with their snouts. But the mists are  
prone to seek the valleys, and rest on the plain, and  
the owl, as she watches the sunset from some high  
peak, vainly plies her evening song. Nisus is seen  
aloft in the clear sky, and Scylla suffers for the  
crimson lock. Wherever she flees, cleaving the light  
air with her wings, lo! savage and ruthless, with  
loud whirr Nisus follows through the sky; where  
Nisus mounts skyward, she flees in haste, cleaving  
the light air with her wings. Then the rooks, with  
narrowed throat, thrice or four times repeat their  
soft cries, and oft in their high nests, joyous with some  
strange, unwonted delight, chatter to each other  
amid the leaves. Glad are they, the rains over, to  
see once more their little brood and their sweet nests.  
Not, methinks, that they have wisdom from on high,  
or from Fate a larger foreknowledge of things to be;  
but that when the weather and fitful vapours of the sky  
have turned their course, and Jove, wet with the south  
winds, thickens what just now was rare, and makes  
rare what now was thick, the phases of their minds  
change, and their breasts now conceive impulses, other  
than they felt, when the wind was chasing the clouds.  
Hence that chorus of the birds in the fields, the glad-  
ness of the cattle, and the exulting cries of the rooks.

<sup>1</sup> "Apparently this means that the moon is very brilliant,  
as though shining with her own and not with a borrowed  
light" (Page).

Si vero solem ad rapidum lunasque sequentis  
 ordine respicies, numquam te crastina fallet 425  
 hora neque insidiis noctis capiere serenae.  
 luna revertentis cum primum colligit ignis,  
 si nigrum obscuro comprehenderit aëra cornu,  
 maxumus agricolis pelagoque parabitur imber :  
 at si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem, 430  
 ventus erit ; vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe.  
 sin ortu quarto (namque is certissimus auctor)  
 pura neque obtunsis per caelum cornibus ibit,  
 totus et ille dies et qui nascentur ab illo  
 exactum ad mensem pluvia ventisque carebunt, 435  
 votaue servati solvent in litore nautae  
 Glaucō et Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae.

Sol quoque et exoriens et cum se condet in undas  
 signa dabit ; solem certissima signa sequentur,  
 et quae mane refert et quae surgentibus astris. 440  
 ille ubi nascentem maculis variaverit ortum  
 conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe,  
 suspecti tibi sint imbres ; namque urget ab alto  
 arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique sinister.  
 aut ubi sub lucem densa inter nubila sese 445  
 diversi rumpent radii, aut ubi pallida surget  
 Tithoni croceum relinquens Aurora cubile,  
 heu ! male tum mitis defendet pampinus uvas :  
 tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando.  
 hoc etiam, emenso cum iam decedit Olympo, 450  
 profuerit meminisse magis ; nam saepe videmus  
 ipsius in vultu varios errare colores :  
 caeruleus pluviam denuntiat, igneus Euros ;  
 sin maculae incipient rutilo immiscerier igni,  
 omnia tum pariter vento nimisque videbis 455

430 aut *M*<sup>1</sup>.                      434 nascetur *R*.                      436 ad litora *R*.

439 sequentur *M* : sequuntur *R* (second u in erasure).

446 rumpunt *R*. surgit *R*.                      450 decedet γbc.

454 incipiunt *M*<sup>1</sup>*R*γ.



## GEORGICS BOOK I

424 But if you pay heed to the swift sun and the moons, as they follow in order, never will tomorrow's hour cheat you, nor will you be ensnared by a cloudless night. Soon as the moon gathers her returning fires, if she encloses a dark mist within dim horns, a heavy rain is awaiting farmers and seamen. But if over her face she spreads a maiden blush, there will be wind; as wind rises, golden Phoebe ever blushes. But if at her fourth rising—for that is our surest guide—she pass through the sky clear and with undimmed horns, then all that day, and the days born of it to the month's end, shall be free from rain and wind; and the sailors, safe in port, shall pay their vows on the shore to Glaucus, and to Panopea, and to Melicerta, Ino's son.

438 The sun, too, alike when rising and when sinking under the waves, will give tokens: tokens most sure will attend the sun, both those he brings each dawn and those he shows as the stars arise. When, hidden in cloud, he has chequered with spots his early dawn, and is shrunk back in the centre of his disc,<sup>1</sup> beware of showers; for from the deep the South-wind is sweeping, foe to tree and crop and herd. Or when at dawn scattered shafts break out amid thick clouds, or when Aurora rises pale, as she leaves Tithonus' saffron couch, ah! poorly then will the vine-leaf guard the ripe grapes, so thick the bristling hail dances rattling on the roofs. This, too, when he has traversed the sky and now is setting, it will profit you more to bear in mind; for oft we see fitful hues flit over his face: a dark one threatens rain; a fiery, east winds; but if the spots begin to mingle with glowing fire, then shall you see all nature rioting with wind and storm.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* when only the edge of the disc appears, the centre being covered by clouds—a phenomenon described by Aratus, whom Virgil closely follows in this passage.

fervere. non illa quisquam me nocte per altum  
ire neque ab terra moneat convellere funem.  
at si, cum referetque diem condetque relatum,  
lucidus orbis erit, frustra terreberet nimbis  
et claro silvas cernes Aquilone moveri. 460

Denique, quid vesper serus vehat, unde serenas  
ventus agat nubes, quid cogitet umidus Auster,  
sol tibi signa dabit. solem quis dicere falsum  
audeat? ille etiam caecos instare tumultus  
saepe monet fraudemque et operta tumescere bella.  
ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam, 466  
cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit  
impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.  
tempore quamquam illo tellus quoque et aequora  
ponti,

obscaeque canes importunaeque volucres 470  
signa dabant. quotiens Cyclosum effervere in agros  
vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,  
flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa!  
armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo  
audiit, insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes. 475  
vox quoque per lucos volgo exaudita silentis  
ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris  
visa sub obscurum noctis, pecudesque locutae,  
infandum! sistunt amnes terraeque dehiscunt,  
et maestum inlacrimat templis ebur aeraque sudant.  
proluit insano contorquens vertice silvas 481  
fluviorum rex Eridanus camposque per omnis  
cum stabulis armenta tulit. nec tempore eodem  
tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces  
aut puteis manare cruor cessavit, et altae 485

457 moveat *M*<sup>1</sup>.

461 ferat *M*<sup>1</sup>*R*: verat *M*<sup>2</sup>.

470 obsceni *R*γ.

475 montibus *M*<sup>1</sup>*R*<sup>2</sup>.



## GEORGICS BOOK I

clouds alike. On such a night let none urge me to fare o'er the deep, or pluck my cable from the land. Yet if, both when he brings back the day, and when he closes the day he brought, his disc is bright, then vain will be your fear of storm-clouds, and you will see the woods sway in the clear north wind.

<sup>461</sup> In short, the tale told by even-fall, the quarter whence the wind drives clear the clouds, the purpose of the rainy South—of all the Sun will give you signs. Who dare say the Sun is false? Nay, he oft warns us that dark uprisings threaten, that treachery and hidden wars are upswelling. Nay, he had pity for Rome, when, after Caesar sank from sight, he veiled his shining face in dusky gloom, and a godless age feared everlasting night.<sup>1</sup> Yet in that hour Earth also, and Ocean's plains, and ill-boding dogs and ominous birds, gave their tokens. How oft we saw Aetna flood the Cyclopes' fields, when streams poured from her rent furnaces, and she whirled balls of flame and molten rocks! Germany heard the clash of arms through all the sky; the Alps rocked with unwonted terrors. A voice, too, was heard of many amid the silence of solemn groves—an awful voice; and spectres, pale in wondrous wise, were seen at evening twilight; and beasts—O portent, terrible!—spake as men. Rivers halt, earth gapes wide, in temples the ivory weeps in sorrow, and bronzes sweat. Eridanus, king of rivers, washed away in the swirl of his mad eddy whole forests, and all across the plains swept cattle and stalls alike. Yea, in that same hour, threatening filaments ceased not to show themselves in ominous entrails, or blood to flow from

<sup>1</sup> Historians, as well as poets, assure us that the atmospheric conditions of the year 44 B.C. (the year of Caesar's assassination) were remarkable.

# VIRGIL

per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes.  
 non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno  
 fulgura nec diri totiens arsere cometae.  
 ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis  
 Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi; 490  
 nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro  
 Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.  
 scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis  
 agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro  
 exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila, 495  
 aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,  
 grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.

Di patrii, Indigetes, et Romule Vestaque mater,  
 quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas,  
 hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo 500  
 ne prohibete! satis iam pridem sanguine nostro  
 Laomedontae luimus periuria Troiae;  
 iam pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar,  
 invidet atque hominum queritur curare triumphos;  
 quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas: tot bella per  
 orbem, 505

tam multae scelerum facies; non ullus aratro  
 dignus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis  
 et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.  
 hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum;  
 vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes 510  
 arma ferunt; saevit toto Mars impius orbe:  
 ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,  
 addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens  
 fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas.

<sup>513</sup> addunt in spatia *M(late)*  $\gamma^2$ , *Servius*: addunt spatio  
*M*<sup>1</sup>: addunt in spatio  $\gamma^1$ : addunt spatia *R*: addunt se in  
 spatia *c*.

## GEORGICS BOOK I

wells, or lofty cities to echo all the night with the howl of wolves. Never from a cloudless sky fell more lightnings; never so oft blazed fearful comets. Therefore once more Philippi saw Roman armies clash in the shock of brother<sup>1</sup> weapons, and the Powers above thought it not unseemly that Emathia and the broad plains of Haemus should twice batten on our blood. Yea, and a time shall come when in those lands, as the farmer toils at the soil with crooked plough, he shall find javelins eaten up with rusty mould, or with his heavy hoes shall strike on empty helmets, and marvel at the giant bones in the upturned graves.

<sup>498</sup> Gods of my country, Heroes of the land, thou Romulus, and thou Vesta, our mother, that guardest Tuscan Tiber and the Palatine of Rome, at least stay not this young prince from aiding a world upturned! Enough has our life-blood long atoned for Laomedon's perjury at Troy; enough have Heaven's courts long grudged thee, O Caesar, to us, murmuring that thou payest heed to earthly triumphs! For here are right and wrong inverted; so many wars overrun the world, so many are the shapes of sin; the plough meets not its honour due; our lands, robbed of the tillers, lie waste, and the crooked pruning-hooks are forged into stiff swords. Here Euphrates, there Germany, awakes war; neighbour cities break the leagues that bound them and draw the sword; throughout the world rages the god of unholy strife: even as when from the barriers the chariots stream forth, round after round they speed, and the driver, tugging vainly at the reins, is borne along by the steeds, and the car heeds not the curb!

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* both armies were armed alike.

## LIBER II

HACTENUS arborum cultus et sidera caeli : M  
 nunc te, Bacche, canam, nec non silvestria tecum  
 virgulta et prolem tarde crescentis olivae.  
 huc, pater o Linaee (tuis hic omnia plena  
 muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumnno 5  
 floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris),  
 huc, pater o Linaee, veni nudataque musto  
 tingue novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis.

Principio arboribus varia est natura creandis.  
 namque aliae nullis hominum cogentibus ipsae 10  
 sponte sua veniunt camposque et flumina late  
 curva tenent, ut molle siler lentaeque genistae,  
 populus et glauca canentia fronde salicta ;  
 pars autem posito surgunt de semine, ut altae  
 castaneae, nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet 15  
 aesculus, atque habitae Graeis oracula quercus.  
 pullulat ab radice aliis densissima silva,  
 ut cerasis ulmisque ; etiam Parnasia laurus  
 parva sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra.  
 hos natura modos primum dedit, his genus omne 20  
 silvarum fruticumque viret nemorumque sacrorum.

Sunt alii, quos ipse via sibi repperit usus.  
 hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matrum

<sup>8</sup> direptis *Mγ.*

<sup>19</sup> subigit *M.*

<sup>22</sup> alie quos *M*<sup>1</sup> : aliae quas *M*<sup>2</sup> : alii quos *M* (*later*) *abc.*

## BOOK II

THUS far the tillage of the fields and the stars of heaven: now thee, Bacchus, will I sing, and with thee the forest saplings, and the offspring of the slow-growing olive. Hither, O Lenaeon sire! Here all is full of thy bounties; for thee blossoms the field teeming with the harvest of the vine, and the vintage foams in the brimming vats. Come hither, O Lenaeon sire, strip off thy buskins and with me plunge thy naked legs in the new must.

<sup>9</sup> Firstly, Nature has ways manifold for rearing trees. For some, under no man's constraint, spring up of their own free will, and far and wide claim the plains and winding rivers; such as the limber osier and lithe broom, the poplar, and the pale willow-beds with silvery leafage. But some spring from fallen seed, as tall chestnuts, and the broad-leaved tree,<sup>1</sup> mightiest of the woodland, that spreads its shade for Jove, and the oaks, deemed by the Greeks oracular. With others a dense undergrowth sprouts from the parent root, as with cherries and elms; the laurel of Parnassus, too, springs up, a tiny plant, beneath its mother's mighty shade. These are the modes Nature first ordained; these give verdure to every kind of forest-trees and shrubs and sacred groves.

<sup>22</sup> Others there are which Experience has in her course discovered for herself. One man tears away

<sup>1</sup> The *aesculus* of Virgil is an oak, the *latifolia* variety of the *querous robur*.

## VIRGIL

deposuit sulcis, hic stirpes obruit arvo  
 quadrifidasque sudes et acuto robore vallos; 25  
 silvarumque aliae pressos propaginis arcus  
 exspectant et viva sua plantaria terra;  
 nil radicis egent aliae summumque putator  
 haud dubitat terrae referens mandare cacumen.  
 quin et caudicibus sectis (mirabile dictu) 30  
 truditur e sicco radix oleagina ligno.  
 et saepe alterius ramos impune videmus  
 vertere in alterius, mutatamque insita mala  
 ferre pirum et prunis lapidosa rubescere corna.

Quare agite o proprios generatim discite cultus, 35  
 agricolae, fructusque feros mollite colendo,  
 neu segnes iaceant terrae. iuvat Ismara Baccho  
 conserere atque olea magnum vestire Taburnum.  
 tuque ades inceptumque una decurre laborem,  
 o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae, 40  
 Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.  
 non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto,  
 non mihi si linguae centum sint oraue centum,  
 ferrea vox. ades et primi lege litoris oram;  
 in manibus terrae: non hic te carmine ficto 45  
 atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo.

Sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis oras,  
 infecunda quidem, sed laeta et fortia surgunt;  
 quippe solo natura subest. tamen haec quoque, si quis

<sup>24</sup> hinc *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> oleam *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> auras *M*<sup>2</sup> $\gamma^2$ .

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<sup>1</sup> Here, as in *decurre* (l. 39), and in l. 44, the poet invites his patron to join him in a voyage on a broad sea, promising, however, that he will merely skirt the shore. Thus he



## GEORGICS BOOK II

suckers from the mother's tender frame, and sets them in furrows; another buries in the ground stems, both as cross-cleft shafts and as sharp-pointed stakes. Some trees await the arches of the bent layer, and slips set while yet quick in their own soil; others need no root, and the pruner fears not to take the topmost spray and again entrust it to the earth. Nay, when the trunks are cleft—how wondrous the tale!—an olive root thrusts itself from the dry wood. Often, too, we see one tree's branches turn harmless into another's, the pear transformed bearing engrafted apples, and stony cornels blushing on the plum.

<sup>35</sup> Up! therefore, ye husbandmen, learn the culture proper to each after its kind; your wild fruits tame by tillage, and let not your soil lie idle. What joy to plant all Ismarus with the vine, and clothe great Taburnus with the olive! And draw thou near, O Maecenas, and with me traverse the toilsome course I have essayed, thou, my pride, to whom of right belongs the chief share in my fame; yea, spread thy sails to speed over an open sea.<sup>1</sup> Not mine the wish to embrace all the theme within my verse, not though I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and a voice of iron! Draw nigh, and skirt the near shoreline—the land is close at hand. Not here will I detain thee with songs of fancy, amid rambling paths and lengthy preludes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Trees that of free will lift themselves into realms of light spring up unfruitful, but rejoicing in their strength, for within the soil is native force.<sup>3</sup> Yet even

indicates both the extent of the subject and his own modest achievements in handling it.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* "fable and wide digression and long prelude I forgo" (Kennedy).

<sup>3</sup> *Natura* here means "creative power."



## VIRGIL

inserat aut scrobibus mandet mutata subactis, 50  
 exuerint silvestrem animum, cultuque frequenti  
 in quascumque voles artes haud tarda sequuntur.  
 nec non et sterilis quae stirpibus exit ab imis,  
 hoc faciat, vacuos si sit digesta per agros :  
 nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant 55  
 crescentique adimunt fetus uruntque ferentem.  
 iam quae seminibus iactis se sustulit arbos,  
 tarda venit, seris factura nepotibus umbram,  
 pomaque degenerant sucos oblita priores  
 et turpis avibus praedam fert uva racemos. 60

Scilicet omnibus est labor impendendus et omnes  
 cogendae in sulcum ac multa mercede domandae.  
 sed truncis oleae melius, propagine vites  
 respondent, solido Paphiae de robore myrtus ;  
 plantis et durae coryli nascuntur et ingens 65  
 fraxinus Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae,  
 Chaonique patris glandes ; etiam ardua palma  
 nascitur et casus abies visura marinos.  
 inseritur vero et fetu nucis arbutus horrida,  
 et steriles platani malos gessere valentis ; 70  
 castaneae fagus, ornusque incanuit albo  
 flore piri, glandemque sues fregere sub ulmis.

Nec modus inserere atque oculos imponere simplex.  
 nam qua se medio trudunt de cortice gemmae  
 et tenuis rumpunt tunicas, augustus in ipso 75  
 fit nodo sinus ; huc aliena ex arbore germen  
 includunt ideoque docent inolescere libro.  
 aut rursum enodes trunci resecantur et alte  
 finditur in solidum cuneis via, deinde feraces  
 plantae immittuntur : nec longum tempus, et ingens

<sup>54</sup> faciet *M*<sup>2</sup>γ.

<sup>65</sup> edurae known to *Servius* and *Berne Scholia*. So *Sabb*.

<sup>69</sup> et nucis arbutus horrida fetu *M*(late): horrens for horrida known to *Servius*.

<sup>71</sup> fagus *Priscian*: fagos *Myab*, *Servius*. Both known to *Berne Scholia*. *Scaliger* read castaneas fagus.

## GEORGICS BOOK II

these, if one graft them, or transplant and commit to well-worked trenches, will doff their wild spirit, and under constant tillage will readily follow any lessons you would have them learn. So, too, the sucker, which springs barren from the bottom of the stem, would do likewise, if set out amid open fields: as it is, the mother-tree's branches and deep leafage overshadow it, robbing it of fruit as it grows, and blasting it in the bearing. Again, the tree which rears itself from chance-dropped seeds rises slowly and will yield its shade to our children of later days; its fruits, too, degenerate, forgetting the olden flavour, and the vine bears sorry clusters, for the birds to pillage.

<sup>61</sup> On all, be sure, must labour be spent; all must be marshalled into trenches, and tamed with much trouble. But olives answer best from truncheons, vines from layers, Paphian myrtles from the solid stem. From suckers spring sturdy hazels, and the giant ash, the shady tree that crowned Hercules, and the acorns of the Chaonian sire. So, too, rises the lofty palm, and the fir that will see the perils of the deep. But the rough arbutus is grafted with a walnut shoot, and barren planes have oft borne hardy apple-boughs; the beech has grown white with the chestnut's snowy bloom, the ash with the pear's; and swine have crunched acorns beneath the elm.

<sup>73</sup> Nor is the mode of grafting and of budding the same. For where the buds push out from amid the bark, and burst their tender sheaths, a narrow slit is made just in the knot; in this from an alien tree they insert a bud, and teach it to grow into the sappy bark. Or, again, knotless boles are cut open, and with wedges a path is cleft deep into the core; then fruitful slips are let in, and in a little while, lo! a mighty tree shoots up skyward with joyous boughs,

exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos, 81  
miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.

Praeterea genus haud unum nec fortibus ulmis  
nec salici lotoque neque Idaeis cyparissis,  
nec pingues unam in faciem nascuntur olivae, 85  
orchades et radii et amara pausia baca,  
pomaque et Alcinoi silvae, nec surculus idem  
Crustumiiis Syriisque piris gravibusque volemis,  
non eadem arboribus pendet vindemia nostris,  
quam Methymnaeo carpit de palmite Lesbos; 90  
sunt Thasiae vites, sunt et Mareotides albae,  
pinguibus hae terris habiles, levioribus illae, MV  
et passo Psithia utilior tenuisque Lageos,  
temptatura pedes olim vincturaque linguam,  
purpureae preciaeque, et quo te carmine dicam 95  
Rhaetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.  
sunt et Aminneae vites, firmissima vina,  
Tmolius adsurgit quibus et rex ipse Phanaeus;  
Argitisque minor, cui non certaverit ulla  
aut tantum fluere aut totidem durare per annos. 100  
non ego te, dis et mensis accepta secundis,  
transierim, Rhodia, et tumidis, Bumaste, racemis.  
sed neque quam multae species nec nomina quae sint,  
est numerus: neque enim numero comprehendere refert;  
quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem 105  
discere quam multae Zephyro turbentur harenae,

<sup>81</sup> exilit γ, *Nonius*.

<sup>82</sup> miratasque *M*<sup>1</sup>: -tastque *M*<sup>2</sup>: -turque *M* (*late*): mirata  
estque γ, *Servius*. <sup>106</sup> dicere *MVγ*.

<sup>1</sup> Of these varieties of the olive, the first, ὀρχάδες, were oval-shaped; the *radii* resembled shuttles in form; the pausian was gathered unripe, while still bitter.

<sup>2</sup> This was a large pear, so called (it is said) from filling the *vola* or hollow of the hand.

<sup>3</sup> The Psithian and Laguean wines are otherwise unknown.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps in the sense "fine," "delicate." *Servius* explains

## GEORGICS BOOK II

and marvels at its strange leafage and fruits not its own.

<sup>83</sup> Further, not single in kind are sturdy elms, or the willow, or the lotus, or the cypresses of Ida, nor do rich olives grow to one mould—the orchad and radius, and the pausian with its bitter berry.<sup>1</sup> So, too, with apples and the gardens of Alcinous; nor are cuttings the same for Crustumian and Syrian pears, and the heavy volema.<sup>2</sup> On our trees hangs not the same vintage as Lesbos gathers from Methymna's boughs: there are Thasian vines, there are the pale Mareotic—these suited for rich soils, those for lighter ones—the Psithian,<sup>3</sup> too, better for raisin-wine, and the thin<sup>4</sup> Laguean, sure some day to trouble the feet and tie the tongue; the Purple and the Precian<sup>5</sup> and thou, Rhaetic—how shall I sing thee? Yet even so, vie not thou with Falernian vaults! There are, too, Aminnean vines, soundest of wines, to which the Tmolian and the royal Phanaean itself pay homage; and the lesser Argitis, which none may match, either in richness of stream or in lasting through many years. Nor would I pass by thee, vine of Rhodes, welcome to the gods and the banquet's second course, and thee, Bumastus,<sup>6</sup> with thy swelling clusters. But for the many kinds, or the names they bear, there is no numbering—nor, indeed, is the numbering worth the pains. He who would have knowledge of this would likewise be fain to learn how many grains of sand on the Libyan plain are stirred by the West-wind, or when the East falls in unwonted fury on it as *penetrabilis, quae cito descendit ad venas*; and so Page, "subtle."

<sup>5</sup> According to Servius, *preciae* = *praeoquae*, being grapes that ripen early.

<sup>6</sup> The word is derived from *μαστός*, "breast," and the prefix *βου-*, indicating size.

## VIRGIL

aut ubi navigiis violentior incidit Eurus,  
nosse quot Ionii veniant ad litora fluctus.

Nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt.  
fluminibus salices crassisque paludibus alni 110  
nascuntur, steriles saxosis montibus orni;  
litora myrtetis laetissima; denique apertos  
Bacchus amat colles, Aquilonem et frigora taxi.  
aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem  
Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos: 115  
divisae arboribus patriae. sola India nigrum  
fert hebenum, solis est turea virga Sabaeis.  
quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno M  
balsamaque et bacas semper frondentis acanthi?  
quid nemora Aethiopum molli canentia lana, 120  
velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?  
aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos,  
extremi sinus orbis, ubi aëra vincere summum  
arboris haud ullae iactu potuere sagittae?  
et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris. 125  
Media fert tristis sucos tardumque saporem  
felicis mali, quo non prasentius ullum,  
pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae  
[miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba,]  
auxilium venit ac membris agit atra venena. 130  
ipsa ingens arbos faciemque simillima lauro  
(et, si non alium late iactaret odorem,  
laurus erat); folia haud ullis labentia ventis;  
flos ad prima tenax; animas et olentia Medi  
ora foveant illo et senibus medicantur anhelis. 135

Sed neque Medorum silvae, ditissima terra  
nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus

<sup>109</sup> terra *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> (= III. 283) *in margin M; retained by Janell and Goelzer.* <sup>136</sup> regna *M*<sup>2</sup>. <sup>137</sup> aura *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Not the herb of *Ecl.* III. 45, but the Egyptian acacia, which yields a gum. Virgil seems to mistake the pods for berries.

<sup>2</sup> *molli lana, i.e. cotton.*



## GEORGICS BOOK II

the ships, would know how many billows of the Ionian sea roll shoreward.

<sup>109</sup> Nor yet can all soils bear all fruits. In rivers grow willows, in rank fens alders, on rocky hills the barren ash. The shores rejoice most in myrtle-groves. Lastly, Bacchus loves open hills, and the yew-tree the cold of the North-wind. See, too, earth's farthest bounds, conquered by tillage—the Arabs' eastern homes, and the painted Gelonians: trees have their allotted climes. India alone bears black ebony; to the Sabaeans alone belongs the frankincense bough. Why should I tell you of the balsams that drip from the fragrant wood, or of the pods of the ever-blooming acanthus?<sup>1</sup> Why tell of the Aethiopian groves, all white with downy wool,<sup>2</sup> or how the Seres comb from leaves their fine fleeces?<sup>3</sup> Or, nearer the Ocean, of the jungles which India rears, that nook at the world's end where no arrows can surmount the air at the tree-top? And yet not slow is that race in handling the quiver. Media bears the tart juices and lingering flavour of the health-giving citron-tree, which, if cruel stepdames have ever drugged the cups [mixing herbs and baleful spells], comes as help most potent, and from the limbs drives the deadly venom. The tree itself is large, and in looks very like a bay; and a bay it were, did it not fling abroad another scent. In no winds fall its leaves; its blossom clings most firmly; with it the Mede treats his mouth's noisome breath, and cures the asthma of the old.

<sup>136</sup> But neither Media's groves, land of wondrous wealth, nor beauteous Ganges, nor Hermus, thick

<sup>3</sup> In Virgil's time the Romans, knowing nothing of the silkworm, supposed that the silk they imported from the East grew on the leaves of trees.

# VIRGIL

laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi  
 totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis. MP  
 haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem 140  
 invertere satis immanis dentibus hydri  
 nec galeis densisque virum seges horruit hastis,  
 sed gravidae fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor  
 implevere; tenent oleae armentaque laeta.  
 hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert, 145  
 hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus  
 victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,  
 Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos.  
 hic ver adsidium atque alienis mensibus aestas, 150  
 bis gravidae pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.  
 at rabidae tigres absunt et saeva leonum  
 semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis,  
 nec rapit immensos orbis per humum neque tanto  
 squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis.  
 adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem, 155  
 tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis  
 fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.  
 an mare, quod supra, memorem, quodque adluit infra?  
 anne lacus tantos? te, Lari maxime, teque,  
 fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens Benace marino? 160  
 an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra  
 atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,  
 Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso  
 Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?  
 haec eadem argenti rivos aerisque metalla 165  
 ostendit venis atque auro plurima fluxit.

<sup>144</sup> oleaeque *M* (*late*).

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Italy cannot boast of such mythical glories as Colchis, where Jason yoked the fire-breathing oxen and sowed the teeth of the Theban dragon.



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with gold, may vie with Italy's glories—not Bactra, nor India, nor all Panchaea, rich in incense-bearing sand. This land no bulls,<sup>1</sup> with nostrils breathing flame, ever ploughed for the sowing of the monstrous dragon's teeth; no human crop ever bristled with helms and serried lances; but teeming fruits have filled her and the Vine-god's Massic juice; she is the home of olives and of joyous herds. Hence comes the war-horse, stepping proudly o'er the plain; hence thy snowy flocks, Clitumnus, and the bull, that noblest victim, which, oft steeped in thy sacred stream, have led to the shrines of the gods the triumphs of Rome. Here is eternal spring, and summer in months not her own; twice the cattle breed, twice the tree serves us with fruits. But ravening tigers are far away, and the savage seed of lions; no aconite deludes hapless gatherers, nor does the scaly serpent dart his huge rings over the ground, or with his vast train wind himself into a coil. Think, too, of all the noble cities, the achievement of man's toil, all the towns his handiwork has piled high on steepy crags, and the streams that glide beneath those ancient walls. Shall I tell of the seas, washing the land above and below?<sup>2</sup> Or of our mighty lakes? Of thee, Larius, our greatest; and thee, Benacus, with the roaring, surging swell of the sea? Shall I tell of our havens, and the barrier thrown across the Lucrine, and how Ocean roars aloud in wrath, where the Julian waters echo afar as the sea is flung back, and the Tyrrhenian tide pours into the channels of Avernus?<sup>3</sup> Yea, and this land has shown silver-streams and copper-mines in her veins, and has flowed

<sup>2</sup> The *Mare superum* or Adriatic, and the *Mare inferum* or Tyrrhenian.

<sup>3</sup> For explanation, see Index under "Lucrinus."

# VIRGIL

haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam  
 adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volscosque verutos  
 extulit, haec Decios, Marios magnosque Camillos,  
 Scipiadas duros bello et te, maxime Caesar, 170  
 qui nunc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris  
 imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.  
 salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,  
 magna virum: tibi res antiquae laudis et artis  
 ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontis, 175  
 Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

Nunc locus arborum ingeniis, quae robora cuique,  
 quis color et quae sit rebus natura ferendis.  
 difficiles primum terrae collesque maligni,  
 tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis, 180  
 Palladia gaudent silva vivacis olivae.  
 indicio est tractu surgens oleaster eodem  
 plurimus et strati bacis silvestribus agri.  
 at quae pinguis humus dulcique uligine laeta,  
 quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus 185  
 (qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus  
 dispicere; huc summis liquuntur rupibus amnes  
 felicemque trahunt limum) quique editus Austro  
 et filicem curvis invisam pascit aratris:  
 hic tibi praevalidas olim multoque fluentis 190  
 sufficiet Baccho vitis, hic fertilis uvae,  
 hic laticis, qualem pateris libamus et auro,  
 inflavit cum pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras,  
 lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta.

174 artem *P.*

178 qui *P.*

181 gaudet *M.*

187 despiciere *MP.* hoc *P<sup>1</sup>.*

194 patulis *M<sup>1</sup>.*

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1 After his victory at Actium (31 B.C.) Octavian went to Alexandria and later passed in triumph through Palestine and Syria. By *imbellem Indum* the poet refers generally to the Eastern nations.

2 *pandus* = *patulus*, according to one explanation in Servius.

## GEORGICS BOOK II

rich with gold. She has mothered a vigorous breed of men, Marsians and the Sabine stock, the Ligurian, inured to hardship, and the Volscian spearmen; yea, the Decii, the Marii, the great Camilli, the Scipios, hardy warriors, and thee, greatest of all, O Caesar, who, already victorious in Asia's farthest bounds, now drivest the craven Indian from our hills of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Hail, land of Saturn, great mother of earth's fruits, great mother of men! 'Tis for thee I essay the theme of olden praise and art; for thee I dare to unseal the sacred founts, and through Roman towns to sing the song of Ascra.

<sup>177</sup> Now give we place to the genius of soils, the strength of each, its hue, its native power for bearing. First, then, churlish ground and unkindly hills, where there is lean clay, and gravel in the thorny fields, delight in Minerva's grove of the long-lived olive. A token of this is the oleaster, springing up freely in the same space, and the ground strewn with its wild berries. But a rich soil, which rejoices in sweet moisture, a level space thick with herbage and prolific in nutriment (such as we may oft-times descry in a mountain's hollow dell, for into it from the rocky heights pour the streams, bearing with them fattening mud), land which rises to the South and feeds the fern, that plague of the crooked plough—this land will some day yield you the hardiest of vines, streaming with the rich flood of Bacchus; this is fruitful in the grape, and in the juice we offer from bowls of gold, what time by the altars the sleek Tuscan has blown his ivory pipe, and in broad<sup>2</sup> chargers we present the steaming meat of sacrifice.

Others give "curved," "bent," i.e. under the weight of the meat.

# VIRGIL

sin armenta magis studium vitulosque tueri, 195  
 aut ovium fetum aut urentis culta capellas,  
 saltus et saturi petito longinqua Tarenti,  
 et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum,  
 pascentem niveos herboso flumine cynos:  
 non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina derunt, 200  
 et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,  
 exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.  
 nigra fere et presso pinguis sub vomere terra  
 et cui putre solum (namque hoc imitatur arando),  
 optima frumentis: non ullo ex aequore cernes 205  
 plura domum tardis decedere plaustra iuvenis:  
 aut unde iratus silvam devexit arator  
 et nemora evertit multos ignava per annos,  
 antiquasque domos avium cum stirpibus imis  
 eruit; illae altum nidis petiere relictis, 210  
 at rudis enituit impulso vomere campus.  
 nam ieiuna quidem clivosi glarea ruris  
 vix humilis apibus casias roremque ministrat,  
 et tofus scaber et nigris exesa chelydri  
 creta negant alios aequae serpentibus agros 215  
 dulcem ferre cibum et curvas praebere latebras. MPR  
 quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucres  
 et bibit umorem et, cum volt, ex se ipsa remittit,  
 quaeque suo semper viridis se gramine vestit,  
 nec scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum, 220  
 illa tibi laetis intextet vitibus ulmos,  
 illa ferax oleo est, illam experiere colendo  
 et facilem pecori et patientem vomeris unci.  
 talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesaevo  
 ora iugo et vacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris. 225

196 fetus *Mγ, Priscian, Nonius.*

204 imitatur *M<sup>1</sup>.*

221 intexit *P.*

219 viridi *MSS.*

222 oleae *M.*

202 reponit *M.*

220 aut *M<sup>2</sup>.*

## GEORGICS BOOK II

<sup>195</sup> But if you are more fain to keep herds and calves, or to breed sheep, or goats that blight the plants, then haste to the glades and distant meads of rich Tarentum, or to such a plain as hapless Mantua lost, giving food to snowy swans with its grassy stream. There the flocks will lack nor limpid springs nor herbage, and all that the herds will crop in the long days the chilly dew will restore in one short night.

<sup>203</sup> Land that is black, and rich beneath the share's pressure and with a crumbly soil—for such a soil we try to rival with our ploughing—is, in the main, best for corn; from no other land will you see more wagons wending homeward behind slow bullocks; or land from which the angry ploughman has carried off the timber, levelling groves that have idled many a year, and up-tearing by their deepest roots the olden homes of the birds—these, lo! leave their nests and seek the sky, but forthwith the untried plain glistens under the driven ploughshare. For as to the hungry gravel of a hilly country, it scarce serves the bees with lowly spurge and rosemary; and the rough tufa and the chalk that black water-snakes have eaten out betoken that no other lands give serpents food so sweet, or furnish such winding coverts. But if a soil exhales thin mists and curling vapours, if it drinks in moisture and throws it off again at will, if it always clothes itself in the verdure of its own grass, and harms not the steel with scurf and salt rust, that is the one to wreath your elms in joyous vines, the one to be rich in oil of olive, the one you will find, as you till, to be indulgent to cattle and submissive to the crooked share. Such is the soil rich Capua ploughs, and the coast near the Vesuvian ridge, and Clanius, unkindly to forlorn Acerræ.



# VIRGIL

Nunc quo quamque modo possis cognoscere dicam.  
 rara sit an supra morem si densa requires  
 (altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho,  
 densa magis Cereri, rarissima quaeque Lyaeo),  
 ante locum capies oculis, alteque iubebis 230  
 in solido puteum demitti, omnemque repones,  
 rursus humum et pedibus summas aequabis harenas.  
 si derunt, rarum pecorique et vitibus almis  
 aptius uber erit; sin in sua posse negabunt  
 ire loca et scrobibus superabit terra repletis, 235  
 spissus ager: glaebas cunctantis crassaque terga  
 expecta et validis terram proscinde iuencis.  
 salsa autem tellus et quae perhibetur amara,  
 (frugibus infelix ea, nec mansuescit arando  
 nec Baccho genus aut pomis sua nomina servat), 240  
 tale dabit specimen: tu spisso vimine qualos  
 colaque prelorum fumosis deripe tectis;  
 huc ager ille malus dulcesque a fontibus undae  
 ad plenum calcentur; aqua eluctabitur omnis  
 scilicet et grandes ibunt per vimina guttae; 245  
 at sapor indicium faciet manifestus, et ora  
 tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaro.  
 pinguis item quae sit tellus, hoc denique pacto  
 discimus: haud umquam manibus iactata fatiscit,  
 sed picis in morem ad digitos lentescit habendo. 250  
 umida maiores herbas alit, ipsaque iusto  
 laetior. a! nimium ne sit mihi fertilis illa,  
 nec se praevalidam primis ostendat aristis!  
 quae gravis est, ipso tacitam se pondere prodit,  
 quaeque levis. promptum est oculis praediscere  
 nigram, 255

<sup>227</sup> requiras *M<sup>2</sup>R.*

<sup>247</sup> amaro *MPRc, Macrobius: amaror M(late)bc<sup>2</sup> (γ wanting), Hyginus, Servius. See Gellius, i. 21.*

<sup>253</sup> neu *M<sup>2</sup>.*



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<sup>226</sup> Now I will tell you how you may distinguish each. If you shall ask whether a soil be light or closer than is the wont—for one is friendly to corn, the other to the vine; the closer to Ceres, all the lightest to Lyaeus—you must first look out a place and bid a pit be sunk deep in the solid ground, then put all the earth back again, and tread the earth level at the top. If it fall short, this farm-land will be light, and better suited for the herd and gracious vine; but if it shows that it cannot return to its place, and if there is earth to spare when the pit is filled, the soil is stiff: look for reluctant clods and stiffness of ridge, and have strong oxen break your ground. As for salty land, the kind called bitter (unfruitful it is for crops and mellows not in ploughing; it preserves not for the vine its lineage, or for apples their fame), it will allow this test: pull down from the smoky roof your close-woven wicker-baskets and wine-strainers: in these let that sorry soil, mixed with fresh spring water, be pressed in to the brim. You will see all the water trickle through and big drops pass between the osiers; but the taste will tell its tale full plainly, and with its bitter flavour will distort the testers' soured mouths. Again, richness of soil we learn in this way only: never does it crumble when worked in the hands, but like pitch grows sticky in the fingers when held. A moist soil rears taller grass and is of itself unduly prolific. Ah! not mine be that over-fruitful soil, and may it not show itself too strong when the ears are young! A heavy soil betrays itself silently by its own weight; so does a light one. It is easy for the eye to learn at once a black soil and

## VIRGIL

et quis cui color. at sceleratum exquirere frigus  
difficile est: piceae tantum taxique nocentes  
interdum aut hederæ pandunt vestigia nigrae.

His animadversis terram multo ante memento  
excoquere et magnos scrobibus concidere montis, 260  
ante supinatas Aquiloni ostendere glaebas,  
quam laetum infodias vitis genus. optima putri  
arva solo: id venti curant gelidæque pruinae  
et labefacta movens robustus iugera fossor.  
at si quos haud ulla viros vigilantia fugit, 265  
ante locum similem exquirunt, ubi prima paretur  
arboribus seges et quo mox digesta feratur,  
mutatam ignorent subito ne semina matrem.  
quin etiam caeli regionem in cortice signant,  
ut quo quæque modo steterit, qua parte calores 270  
austrinos tulerit, quæ terga obverterit axi,  
restituant: adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.

Collibus an plano melius sit ponere vitem,  
quaere prius. si pinguis agros metabere campi, MPRV  
densa sere; in denso non segnior ubere Bacchus:  
sin tumultis adclive solum collisque supinos, 276  
indulge ordinibus; nec setius omnis in unguem  
arboribus positis secto via limite quadret.  
ut saepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortis  
explicuit legio et campo stetit agmen aperto, 280  
derectæque acies, ac late fluctuat omnis  
aere renidenti tellus, necdum horrida miscent  
proelia, sed dubius mediis Mars errat in armis:  
omnia sint paribus numeris dimensa viarum;

<sup>256</sup> quis cuique *M*<sup>1</sup>: quisquis *M*(late)*P*: quis cui cive  
color *R*.

<sup>267</sup> ferantur *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>265</sup> at *P*γ: ad *R*: ac *M*.  
<sup>274</sup> campos *P*: agri . . . campos γ.

## GEORGICS BOOK II

the hue of any kind. But to detect the villainous cold is hard ; only pitch-pines or baleful yews and black ivy sometimes reveal its traces.

<sup>259</sup> These points observed, remember first to bake the ground well, to cut up the huge knolls with trenches, and to expose the upturned clods to the North-wind, long ere you plant the vine's gladsome stock. Fields of crumbling soil are the best ; to this the winds see, the chill frosts, and the stout delver, who loosens and stirs the acres. But men whose watchful care nothing escapes first seek out like plots—one where the crop may be nursed in infancy for its supporting trees, and one to which it may be moved anon when planted out, lest the nurslings should fail to recognize the mother suddenly changed. Nay, they print on the bark of the trees the quarter of the sky each faced, so as to restore the position in which they stood, the same side bearing the southern heat and the same back turned to the north pole ; so strong is habit in tender years.

<sup>273</sup> First inquire whether it be better to plant the vine on hills or on the plain. If it is rich level ground you lay out, plant close ; in close-planted soil not less fertile is the wine-god. But if it is a soil of rising mounds and sloping hills, give the ranks room ; yet none the less, when the trees are set, let all the paths, with clear-cut line, square to a nicety.<sup>1</sup> As oft, in mighty warfare, when the legion deploys its companies in long array and the column halts on the open plain, when the lines are drawn out, and far and wide all the land ripples with the gleam of steel, not yet is the grim conflict joined, but the war-god wanders in doubt between the hosts : so let all your vineyard be meted out in even and uniform paths,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, p. 582.

# VIRGIL

non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem, 285  
sed quia non aliter viris dabit omnibus aequas  
terra neque in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami.

Forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia quaeras.  
ausim vel tenui vitem committere sulco.  
altior ac penitus terrae defigitur arbos, 290  
aesculus in primis, quae quantum vertice ad auras  
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.  
ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres  
convellunt; immota manet, multosque nepotes,  
multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit. 295  
tum fortis late ramos et bracchia tendens  
huc illuc, media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.

Neve tibi ad solem vergant vineta cadentem,  
neve inter vitis corylum sere, neve flagella [MPR  
summa pete aut summa defringe ex arbore plantas  
(tantus amor terrae), neu ferro laede retunso 301  
semina, neve oleae silvestris insere truncos.  
nam saepe incautis pastoribus excidit ignis,  
qui furtim pingui primum sub cortice tectus  
robora comprehendit, frondesque elapsus in altas 305  
ingentem caelo sonitum dedit; inde secutus  
per ramos victor perque alta cacumina regnat,  
et totum involvit flammis nemus et ruit atram  
ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem,  
praesertim si tempestas a vertice silvis 310  
incubuit, glomeratque ferens incendia ventus.  
hoc ubi, non a stirpe valent caesaeque reverti

<sup>287</sup> se omitted PR.

<sup>292</sup> radicem MP.

<sup>294</sup> per annos Vγ.

<sup>302</sup> oleas M, whence olea Wagner: oleae PR, Servius.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. with the fertile olive, because in case of fire the latter would be destroyed, and the fresh growth would consist wholly of the wild olive. Others take *insere* as = *intersere* (cf. l. 299) and suppose that Virgil forbids us to plant oleasters among

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not merely that the view may feed an idle fancy, but because only thus will the earth give equal strength to all, and the boughs be able to reach forth into free air.

<sup>288</sup> Perchance you ask also what should be the trenches' depth. I should venture to entrust a vine even to a shallow furrow, but deeper and far within the earth is sunk the supporting tree, above all the great oak, which strikes its roots down towards the nether pit as far as it lifts its top to the airs of heaven. Hence no winter storms, no blasts or rains, uproot it; unmoved it abides, and many generations, many ages of men it outlives, letting them roll by while it endures. Stout limbs, too, and arms it stretches far, this side and that, itself in the centre upholding a mass of shade.

<sup>298</sup> Let not your vineyards slope towards the setting sun, nor plant the hazel among the vines, nor lop the highest sprays, nor pluck cuttings from the tree-top—so strong is their love of the earth—nor hurt young plants with a blunted knife, nor engraft wild trunks of olive.<sup>1</sup> For oft from thoughtless shepherds falls a spark, which, lurking at first unseen under the rich bark, fastens on the trunk, and, gliding to the leaves aloft, sends to heaven a mighty roar; then, running on, reigns supreme among all the boughs and high tree-tops, wrapping all the grove in fire, and belching skyward black clouds of thick pitchy darkness; most of all, if a tempest from above has swooped down upon the woods, and a favouring wind masses the flames. When this befalls, the trees are without virtue in their stock, and when cut down cannot revive or from the earth's depths resume their vines as supports. This implies that the subject of *valent* (l. 312) is *viles*.



# VIRGIL

possunt atque ima similes revirescere terra ;  
infelix superat foliis oleaster amaris.

Nec tibi tam prudens quisquam persuadeat auctor  
tellurem Borea rigidam spirante movere. 316

rura gelu tunc claudit hiems nec semine iacto  
concretam patitur radicem adfigere terrae.

optima vinetis satio, cum vere rubente  
candida venit avis longis invisā colubris, 320

prima vel autumnī sub frigora, cum rapidus Sol  
nondum hiemem contingit equis, iam praeterit aestas.

ver adeo frondi nemorum, ver utile silvis ;

vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.  
tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether 325

coniugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis  
magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.

avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris

et Venerem certis repetunt armenta diebus ;

parturit almus ager Zephyrique tepentibus auris 330  
laxant arva sinus ; superat tener omnibus umor,

inque novos soles audent se gramina tuto  
credere, nec metuit surgentis pampinus Austros

aut actum caelo magnis Aquilonibus imbrem,  
sed trudit gemnas et frondes explicat omnis. - 335

non alios prima crescentis origine mundi

inluxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem  
crediderim : ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat

orbis et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,  
cum primae lucem pecudes hausere, virumque 340

ferrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis,  
immissaeque ferae silvis et sidera caelo.

316 moveri *PR.*

318 concretum *M.*

330 zephyrisque *M.* trementibus *PRγ.*

332 gramine *P.* : gramina *MRγ* : germina *Philargyrius.*

339 hiberni *M.*

341 terrea *M<sup>2</sup>*, *Philargyrius*, *Lactantius.*



## GEORGICS BOOK II

olden bloom : the luckless oleaster with bitter leaves alone survives.

<sup>315</sup> And let no counsellor seem so wise as to persuade you to stir the stiff soil when the North-wind blows. Then winter grips the land with frost, and when the plant is set suffers it not to fasten its frozen root in the earth. The best planting season for vines is when in blushing spring the white bird,<sup>1</sup> the foe of long snakes, is come, or close on autumn's first cold, ere yet the fiery sun touches winter with his steeds, and summer is now waning. Spring it is that aids the woods and the forest leafage ; in spring the soil swells and calls for life-giving seed. Then Heaven, the Father almighty, comes down in fruitful showers into the lap of his joyous spouse, and his might, with her mighty frame commingling, nurtures all growths. Then pathless copses ring with birds melodious, and in their settled time the herds renew their loves. The bountiful land brings forth, and beneath the West's warm breezes the fields loosen their bosoms ; in all things abounds soft moisture, and the grasses safely dare to trust themselves to face the new suns ; the vine-tendrils fear not the rising of the South, or a storm driven down the sky by mighty blasts of the North, but thrust forth their buds and unfold all their leaves. Even such days, I could suppose, shone at the first dawn of the infant world ; even such was the course they held. Springtime that was ; the great world was keeping spring, and the East-winds spared their wintry blasts, when the first cattle drank in the light and man's iron race reared its head from the hard fields, and wild beasts were let loose into the forests and the stars into heaven. Nor could

<sup>1</sup> The white stork, *ciconia alba*.

# VIRGIL

nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem,  
si non tanta quies iret frigusque caloremque  
inter et exciperet caeli indulgentia terras. 345

Quod superest, quaecumque premes virgulta per  
agros,

sparge fimo pingui et multa memor occule terra,  
aut lapidem bibulum aut squalentis infode conchas;  
inter enim labentur aquae, tenuisque subibit  
halitus atque animos tollent sata. iamque reperti,  
qui saxo super atque ingentis pondere testae 351  
urgerent: hoc effusos munimen ad imbris, MPRV  
hoc, ubi hiulca siti findit Canis aestifer arva.

Seminibus positis superest diducere terram  
saepius ad capita et duros iactare bidentis, 355  
aut presso exercere solum sub vomere et ipsa  
flectere luctantis inter vineta iuencos;  
tum levis calamos et rasae hastilia virgae  
fraxineasque aptare sudas furcasque valentis,  
viribus eniti quarum et contemnere ventos 360  
adsuescant summasque sequi tabulata per ulmos.

Ac dum prima novis adolescit frondibus aetas,  
parcendum teneris, et dum se laetus ad auras  
palmas agit laxis per purum immissus habenis,  
ipsa acie nondum falcis temptanda, sed uncis 365  
carpendae manibus frondes interque legendae.  
inde ubi iam validis amplexae stirpibus ulmos  
exierint, tum stringe comas, tum bracchia tonde  
(ante reformidant ferrum), tum denique dura  
exerce imperia et ramos compesce fluentis. 370

343 sufferre *M*<sup>1</sup>.

344 calorque *P*.

351 ingenti *M*<sup>1</sup>.

353 scindit *P*. aestiper *P*.

359 bicornis *V*.

362 aestas *P*.

365 acies *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*: both known to Servius and Berne Scholia.

367 viribus *M* (late).

370 valentis *R*.

## GEORGICS BOOK II

tender things endure this world's stress, did not such long repose come between the seasons' cold and heat, and did not heaven's gracious welcome await the earth.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>346</sup> Furthermore, whatever cuttings you plant in your fields, sprinkle them with rich dung, and forget not to cover them with deep soil; or bury with them porous stone or rough shells; for the water will glide between, the air's searching breath will steal in, and the plants sown will take heart. And, ere now, some have been known to overlay them with stones and jars of heavy weight, thus shielding them against pelting showers, and against the time when the sultry dog-star splits the fields that gape with thirst.

<sup>354</sup> When the sets are planted, it remains for you to break up the soil oft-times at the roots, and to swing the ponderous hoe, or to ply the soil under the share's pressure and turn your toiling bullocks even between your vineyard rows; then to shape smooth canes, shafts of peeled rods, ashen stakes and stout forks, by whose aid the vines may learn to mount, scorn the winds, and run from tier to tier amid the elm-tops.

<sup>362</sup> And when their early youth has fresh leaves budding, you must spare their weakness, and while the shoot, speeding through the void with loosened reins, pushes joyously skyward, you must not yet attack the plants themselves with the knife's edge, but with bent fingers pluck the leaves and pick them here and there. Later, when they have shot up and their stout stems have now clasped the elms, then strip their locks and clip their arms—ere that they shrink from the knife—then at last set up an iron sway and check the flowing branches.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* after the extremes of heat and cold. Heaven is compared to a nurse receiving a new-born child.

# VIRGIL

Texendae saepes etiam et pecus omne tenendum,  
 praecipue dum frons tenera imprudensque laborum;  
 cui super indignas hiemes solemque potentem  
 silvestres uri adsidue capreaeque sequaces  
 inludunt, pascuntur oves avidaeque iuvencae. 375  
 frigora nec tantum cana concreta pruina  
 aut gravis incumbens scopulis arentibus aestas,  
 quantum illi nocuere greges durique venenum  
 dentis et admorso signata in stirpe cicatrix.  
 non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris MPR  
 caeditur et veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi, 381  
 praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum  
 Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti  
 mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.  
 nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni 385  
 versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto,  
 oraue corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis,  
 et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibiue  
 oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.  
 hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea fetu, 390  
 complentur vallesque cavae saltusque profundi  
 et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum.  
 ergo rite suum Baccho dicemus honorem  
 carminibus patriis lancesque et liba feremus,  
 et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram, 395  
 pinguiaque in veribus torrebimus exta columnis.

Est etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter,  
 cui numquam exhausti satis est: namque omne quot-  
 annis

terque quaterque solum scindendum glaebaque versis

<sup>371</sup> tuendum *VR.*

<sup>374</sup> caprae *M.*

<sup>379</sup> admorsum *P:* amorso *M*<sup>1</sup>: amorsu *M*<sup>2</sup>: admorsu *Rb*<sup>1</sup>:  
 admorso *γb*<sup>2</sup>*c, Servius.*

<sup>382</sup> ingentis *MPγ.*

<sup>1</sup> The *ludi* are *tragedies* (derived from *τράγος*, a goat), which originated in the celebration of the vintage.

## GEORGICS BOOK II

<sup>371</sup> You must also weave hedges, and keep out all cattle, chiefly while the leafage is tender and knows naught of trials, for besides unfeeling winters and the sun's tyranny, ever do wild buffaloes and pestering roes make sport of it; sheep and greedy heifers feed upon it. No cold, stiff with hoar frost, no summer heat, brooding heavily over parched crags, has done it such harm as the flocks and the venom of their sharp tooth, and the scar impressed on the deep-gnawed stem. For no other crime is it that a goat is slain to Bacchus at every altar, and the olden plays<sup>1</sup> enter on the stage; for this the sons of Theseus set up prizes for wit in their villages<sup>2</sup> and at the cross-ways, and gaily danced in the soft meadows on oiled goat-skins.<sup>3</sup> Even so Ausonia's swains,<sup>4</sup> a race sent from Troy, disport with rude verses and laughter unrestrained, and put on hideous masks of hollow cork, and call on thee, O Bacchus, in joyous songs, and to thee hang waving amulets from the tall pine. Hence every vineyard ripens in generous increase; fullness comes to hollow valleys and deep glades, and every spot towards which the god has turned his comely face. Duly, then, in our country's songs we will chant for Bacchus the praise he claims, bringing him cakes and dishes; the doomed he-goat, led by the horn, shall stand at the altar, and the rich flesh we will roast on spits of hazel.

<sup>397</sup> There is, too, this other task of dressing the vines whereon never is enough pains spent; for thrice or four times each year must all your soil be split open,

<sup>2</sup> Virgil probably assumes that the word *comedy* comes from κῶμη, a village. It really comes from κῶμος, a revel-band.

<sup>3</sup> The rustics danced for a prize on the inflated skin of the sacrificial goat.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the Italians, whom Virgil, having, it would seem, already in view the myth upon which the *Aeneid* is founded, boldly calls Trojan colonists.



## VIRGIL

aeternum frangenda bidentibus, omne levandum 400  
fronde nemus. redit agricolis labor actus in orbem,  
atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.  
ac iam olim seras posuit cum vinea frondes,  
frigidus et silvis Aquilo decussit honorem,  
iam tum acer curas venientem extendit in annum  
rusticus, et curvo Saturni dente relictam 406  
persequitur vitem attondens fingitque putando.  
primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato  
sarmenta et vallos primus sub tecta referto;  
postremus metito. bis vitibus ingruit umbra, 410  
bis segetem densis obducunt sentibus herbae;  
durus uterque labor: laudato ingentia rura,  
exiguum colito. nec non etiam aspera rusci  
vimina per silvam et ripis fluvialis harundo  
caeditur, incultique exercet cura salicti. 415  
iam vinctae vites, iam falcem arbusta reponunt,  
iam canit effectos extremus vinitor antes:  
sollicitanda tamen tellus pulvisque movendus,  
et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis.

Contra non ulla est oleis cultura, neque illae 420  
procurvam exspectant falcem rastrosque tenacis,  
cum semel haeserunt arvis aurasque tulerunt;  
ipsa satis tellus, cum dente recluditur unco,  
sufficit umorem et gravidas, cum vomere, fruges.  
hoc pinguem et placitam Paci nutritor olivam. 425

- 405 extendet *M.*      406 agricola *R.*      411 inducunt *P.* ·  
413 asperetrusci *M*<sup>1</sup>: aspera rusti, *M*<sup>2</sup>: rusti *PR.*  
417 effectus *M(late)*.      420 non nulla *Rγ*, known to *Servius*.  
425 nutritur *MP.*



## GEORGICS BOOK II

and the clods broken unceasingly with hoe reversed, and all the grove lightened of its foliage. The farmer's toil returns, moving in a circle, as the year rolls back upon itself over its own footsteps. And already, whenever the vineyard has shed her autumn leafage, and the North-wind has shaken their glory from the woods—already then the keen farmer extends his care to the coming year, and pursues the vine he had left, lopping it with Saturn's crooked knife and pruning it into shape. Be the first to dig the ground, first to bear away and fire the prunings, first to carry the poles under cover: be the last to reap. Twice the shade thickens on the vines; twice weeds cover the vineyard with thronging briars. Heavy is either toil: "praise thou large estates, farm a small one."<sup>1</sup> Further, rough shoots of broom must be cut amid the woods, and river rushes on the banks, and the care of the wild willow-bed keeps you at work. Now the vines are bound, now the vineyard lays by the pruning-knife, now the last vine-dresser sings of his finished rows: still you have to worry the soil and stir the dust, and fear Jove's rains for your now ripened grapes.

<sup>420</sup> Olives, on the other hand, need no tending; they look not for the crooked knife or gripping mattock, when once they have laid hold of the fields and braved the breeze. Earth of herself, when opened with the hoe's curved fañg, yields moisture enough for the plants, and teeming fruits, when opened by the plough. After this mode nurture the plump olive, favoured of Peace.

<sup>1</sup> An old adage already used by Cato. A small farm well tilled is more profitable than a large one poorly tilled.

# VIRGIL

Poma quoque, ut primum truncos sensere valentis  
 et viris habuere suas, ad sidera raptim  
 vi propria nituntur opisque haud indiga nostrae.  
 nec minus interea fetu nemus omne gravescit,  
 sanguineisque inculta rubent aviaria bacis. 430  
 tondentur cytisi, taedas silva alta ministrat,  
 pascunturque ignes nocturni et lumina fundunt.  
 et dubitant homines serere atque impendere curam?  
 quid maiora sequar? salices humilesque genistae,  
 aut illae pecori frondem aut pastoribus umbram 435  
 sufficiunt saepemque satis et pabula melli.  
 et iuvat undantem buxo spectare Cytorum  
 Naryciaeque picis lucos, iuvat arva videre  
 non rastris, hominum non ulli obnoxia curae.  
 ipsae Caucasio steriles in vertice silvae, 440  
 quas animosi Euri adsidue franguntque feruntque,  
 dant alios aliae fetus, dant utile lignum  
 navigiis pinos, domibus cedrumque cupressosque;  
 hinc radios trivere rotis, hinc tympana plaustis  
 agricolae, et pandas ratibus posuere carinas. 445  
 viminibus salices fecundae, frondibus ulmi,  
 at myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello  
 cornus, Ituraeos taxi torquentur in arcus.  
 nec tiliae leves aut torno rasile buxum  
 non formam accipiunt ferroque cavantur acuto. 450  
 nec non et torrentem undam levis innatat alnus  
 missa Pado, nec non et apes examina condunt  
 corticibusque cavis vitiosaeque ilicis alvo.  
 quid memorandum aequae Baccheia dona tulerunt?  
 Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit; ille furentis 455

<sup>433</sup> omitted *M.* cf. *Aen.* vi. 806.

<sup>453</sup> alveo *R.*

<sup>435</sup> umbras *Ry.*

## GEORGICS BOOK II

426 Fruit-trees, too, so soon as they feel their stems firm, and come to their strength, swiftly push forth skyward with inborn force, needing no help from us. No less, meanwhile, does every wood grow heavy with fruit, and the birds' wild haunts blush with crimson berries. Cattle browse on the cytissus, the high wood yields pine-brands, the fires of night are fed and pour forth light. And can men be slow to plant and bestow care? Why need I pursue greater themes?<sup>1</sup> The willows and lowly broom—they either yield leafage for the sheep or shade for the shepherd, a fence for the crops and food for honey. And what joy it is to gaze on Cyturus waving with boxwood, and on groves of Narycian pitch! What joy to view fields that owe no debt to the harrow, none to the care of man! Even the barren woods on Caucasian peaks, which angry eastern gales ever toss and tear, yield products, each after its kind, yield useful timber, pines for ships, cedars and cypresses for houses. From these the farmers turn spokes for wheels, or drums<sup>2</sup> for their wains; from these they lay broad keels for boats. The willow's wealth is in its osiers, the elm's in its leaves, but the myrtle and the cornel, that weapon of war, abound in stout spear-shafts; yews are bent into Ituraean bows. So, too, smooth lindens and the box, polished by the lathe, take shape and are hollowed by the sharp steel. So, too, the light alder, sent down the Po, swims the raging wave; so, too, the bees hive their swarms in the hollow cork-trees, and in the heart of a rotting ilex. What boon of equal note have the gifts of Bacchus yielded? Bacchus has even given occasion of offence. It was he who quelled in death the maddened Centaurs,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Why tell of larger trees, when even willows and broom are so useful?      <sup>2</sup> *i.e.* wheels of solid wood.

## VIRGIL

Centauros leto domuit, Rhoetumque Pholumque  
et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem.

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,  
agricolas! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,  
fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus. 460  
si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis  
mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,  
nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis  
inlusasque auro vestis Ephyreiaque aera,  
alba neque Assyriô fucatur lana veneno, 465  
nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi:  
at secura quies et nescia fallere vita,  
dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis,  
speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe  
mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni 470  
non absunt; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,  
et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,  
sacra deum sanctique patres: extrema per illos  
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae, 475  
quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore,  
accipiant caelique vias et sidera monstrent,  
defectus solis varios lunaeque labores;  
unde tremor terris, qua vi maria alta tumescant  
obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant, 480  
quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles  
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.  
sin, has ne possim naturae accedere partis,  
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,  
rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes, 485

<sup>464</sup> inclusas *M<sup>1</sup>PR*, *Berne Scholia*; known to *Servius*.

<sup>467</sup> vitam *PR*.

<sup>469</sup> et *Mγ*: at *Pγ<sup>2</sup>*: ad *R*.

<sup>476</sup> percussus *M<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>*.

## GEORGICS BOOK II

Rhoetus, and Pholus, and Hylaeus, menacing the Lapiths with mighty bowl.

<sup>453</sup> O happy husbandmen ! too happy, should they come to know their blessings ! for whom, far from the clash of arms, most righteous<sup>1</sup> Earth, unbidden, pours forth from her soil an easy sustenance. What though no stately mansion with proud portals disgorges at dawn from all its halls a tide of visitors, though they never gaze at doors inlaid with lovely tortoise-shell or at raiment tricked with gold or at bronzes of Ephyra, though their white wool be not stained with Assyrian dye, or their clear oil's service spoiled by cassia ? Yet theirs is repose without care, and a life that knows no fraud, but is rich in treasures manifold. Yea, the ease of broad domains, caverns, and living lakes, and cool vales, the lowing of the kine, and soft slumbers beneath the trees—all are theirs. They have woodland glades and the haunts of game ; a youth hardened to toil and inured to scanty fare ; worship of gods and reverence for age ; among them, as she quitted the earth, Justice planted her latest steps.

<sup>475</sup> But as for me—first above all, may the sweet Muses whose holy emblems, under the spell of a mighty love, I bear,<sup>2</sup> take me to themselves, and show me heaven's pathways, the stars, the sun's many lapses, the moon's many labours ; whence come tremblings of the earth, the force to make deep seas swell and burst their barriers, then sink back upon themselves ; why winter suns hasten so fast to dip in Ocean, or what delays clog the lingering nights. But if the chill blood about my heart bar me from reaching those realms of nature, let my delight be the country, and the running streams amid the dells—may I love the

<sup>1</sup> Because she pays her debts in fullest measure.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the poet is a priest of the Muses.



## VIRGIL

flumina amem silvasque inglorius. o ubi campi  
Spercheosque et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis  
Taygeta ! o qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi  
sistat et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra !

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, 490  
atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum  
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.  
fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestis,  
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.  
illum non populi fascēs, non purpura regum 495  
flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres,  
aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro,  
non res Romanae perituraque regna ; neque ille  
aut doluit miserans inopem aut invidit habenti.  
quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura 500  
sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura  
insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.  
sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque  
in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum ;  
hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque penates, 505  
ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro ;  
condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro ;  
hic stupet attonitus rostris ; hunc plausus hiantem  
per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque  
corripuit ; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum, 510  
exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant  
atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.

<sup>488</sup> in vallibus *Ry.*

<sup>506</sup> indormiat *M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>491</sup> ineluctabile *R.*

<sup>512</sup> quaerunt patriam *P.*



## GEORGICS BOOK II

waters and the woods, though fame be lost. O for those plains, and Spercheus, and Taygetus, where Spartan girls hold Bacchic rites! O for one to set me in the cool glens of Haemus, and shield me under the branches' mighty shade!

<sup>490</sup> Blessed is he who has been able to win knowledge of the causes of things, and has cast beneath his feet all fear and unyielding Fate, and the howls of hungry Acheron! Happy, too, is he who knows the woodland gods, Pan and old Silvanus and the sister Nymphs! Him no honours the people give can move, no purple of kings, no strife rousing brother to break with brother, no Dacian swooping down from his leagued Danube, no power of Rome, no kingdoms doomed to fall: he knows naught of the pang of pity for the poor, or of envy of the rich. He plucks the fruits which his boughs, which his ready fields, of their own free will, have borne; nor has he beheld the iron laws, the Forum's madness, or the public archives.<sup>1</sup> Others vex with oars seas unknown, dash upon the sword, or press into courts and the portals of kings. One wreaks ruin on a city and its hapless homes, that he may drink from a jewelled cup and sleep on Tyrian purple; another hoards up wealth and broods over buried gold; one is dazed and astounded by the Rostra; another, open-mouthed, is carried away by the plaudits of princes and of people, rolling again and again along the benches.<sup>2</sup> Gleefully they steep themselves in their brothers' blood; for exile they change their sweet homes and hearths, and seek a country that lies beneath an alien sun.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a reference to the Tabularium, or Hall of Records, standing across the west end of the *Forum Romanum*.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* of the theatres, where popular statesmen would be warmly applauded by all classes of citizens.

# VIRGIL

Agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro :  
 hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes  
 sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvenços. 515  
 nec requies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus  
 aut fetu pecorum aut Cerealis mergite culmi,  
 proventuque oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat.  
 venit hiems : teritur Sicyonia baca trapetis,  
 glande sues laeti redeunt, dant arbuta silvae ; 520  
 et varios ponit fetus autumnus, et alte  
 mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis.  
 interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati,  
 casta pudicitiam servat domus, ubera vaccae  
 lactea demittunt, pinguesque in gramine laeto 525  
 inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi.  
 ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam,  
 ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant,  
 te libans, Lenaeae, vocat pecorisque magistris  
 velocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo, 530  
 corporaque agresti nudant praedura palaestrae.

Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,  
 hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit  
 scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,  
 septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces. MPRV  
 ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante 536  
 impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvençis,  
 aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat ;  
 necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum  
 impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis. 540

Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor,  
 et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.

513 molitus *M*.

514 penates *M*.

518 aut *M*<sup>1</sup>.

531 perdura *M*<sup>1</sup>. palaestra *PR*, *Servius*, *Berne Scholia*.

532 vitam veteres *P*.

542 spumantia *PR*.

## GEORGICS BOOK II

<sup>513</sup> Meanwhile the husbandman has been cleaving the soil with crooked plough ; hence comes his year's work, hence comes sustenance for his country and his little grandsons, hence for his herds of kine and faithful bullocks. No respite is there, but the season teems either with fruits, or with increase of the herds, or with the sheaves of Ceres' corn, loading the furrows with its yield and bursting the barns. Winter is come ; Sicyon's berry is bruised in the mill, the swine come home gladdened with acorns, the forests yield arbutes, or autumn sheds its varied produce, and high on the sunny rocks basks the mellow vintage. Meanwhile his dear children hang upon his kisses ; his unstained home guards its purity ; the kine droop milk-laden udders, and on the glad sward, horn to horn, the fat kids wrestle. The master himself keeps holiday, and stretched on the grass, with a fire in the midst and his comrades wreathing the bowl, offers libation and calls on thee, O god of the Wine-press, and for the keepers of the flock sets up a mark on an elm for the contest of the winged javelin, or they bare their hardy limbs for the rustic wrestling-bout.

<sup>532</sup> Such a life the old Sabines once lived, such Remus and his brother. Thus, surely, Etruria waxed strong, thus Rome became of all things the fairest, and with a single city's wall enclosed her seven hills. Nay, before the Cretan king<sup>1</sup> held sceptre, and before a godless race banqueted on slaughtered bullocks, such was the life golden Saturn lived on earth, while yet none had heard the clarion blare, none the sword-blades ring, as they were laid on the stubborn anvil.

<sup>541</sup> But in our course we have traversed a mighty plain, and now it is time to unyoke the necks of our smoking steeds.

<sup>1</sup> Jupiter.

## LIBER III

TE quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande  
canemus

FMPRV

pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycae.  
cetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,  
omnia iam volgata : quis aut Eurysthea durum  
aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?

5

cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos  
Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno,  
acer equis? temptanda via est, qua me quoque possim  
tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.

primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit, 10  
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas ;

primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas  
et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam FMPR  
propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat  
Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas. 15

15

in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit.  
illi victor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro  
centum quadriugos agitabo ad flumina currus.

cuncta mihi, Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi,  
cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu. 20

20

<sup>3</sup> carmina  $F^1MR\gamma$ .

<sup>5</sup> arces  $M^1$ .

<sup>8</sup> possem *P.*

17 illic *R.*

<sup>19</sup> linguens] pubes *P.*

<sup>3</sup> carmina *F<sup>1</sup>MRγ*.                      <sup>5</sup> arces *M<sup>1</sup>*.                      <sup>8</sup> possem *P*.  
<sup>17</sup> illic *R*.                                      <sup>19</sup> linquens] pubes *P*.  
<sup>20</sup> duro *R*. decernit *FPR*: decerniet *M<sup>1</sup>*: decertet *M (late)*.

## BOOK III

THEE, too, great Pales, we will sing, and thee, famed shepherd of Amphrysus,<sup>1</sup> and you, ye woods and streams of Lycaeus. Other themes, which else had charmed with song some idle fancy, are now all trite. Who knows not pitiless Eurystheus, or the altars of detested Busiris? Who has not told of the boy Hylas, of Latona's Delos, of Hippodame, and Pelops, famed for ivory shoulder, and fearless with his steeds? I must essay a path whereby I, too, may rise from earth and fly victorious on the lips of men. I first, if life but remain, will return to my country, bringing the Muses with me in triumph from the Aonian peak; first I will bring back to thee, Mantua, the palms of Idumaea, and on the green plain will set up a temple in marble beside the water, where great Mincius wanders in slow windings and fringes his banks with slender reeds.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In the midst I will have Caesar, and he shall possess the shrine. In his honour I, a victor resplendent in Tyrian purple, will drive a hundred four-horse chariots beside the stream. For me, all Greece, leaving Alpheus and the groves of Molorchus, shall vie in races and with raw-hide gloves, and I,

<sup>1</sup> Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> Virgil's proposed poem is described allegorically as a temple, in which Caesar is to be the deity.

## VIRGIL

ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus olivae  
 dona feram. iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas MPR  
 ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuencos,  
 vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque  
 purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni. 25  
 in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto  
 Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini,  
 atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem  
 Nilum ac navali surgentis aere columnas.  
 addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten 30  
 fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis  
 et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea  
 bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentes.  
 stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa,  
 Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis 35  
 nomina Trosque parens et Troiae Cynthius auctor.  
 Invidia infelix furias amnemque severum  
 Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis  
 immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.  
 interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur 40  
 intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.  
 te sine nil altum mens incohat: en age, segnis  
 rumpe moras; vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron  
 Taygetique canes domitrixque Epidaurus equorum,

<sup>25</sup> tollent *P.*

<sup>29</sup> navalis *P.*

<sup>28</sup> huic *P*<sup>1</sup>: hic *P*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> metuens *P.*

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<sup>1</sup> The stage "scaenae" either formed the background and, when parted (*discedat*) in the centre, disclosed a new scene within, or were triangular prisms, which revolved (*versis frontibus*) on either side of the stage. Both kinds, doubtless, were often used at the same time. The ancient curtain rose



## GEORGICS BOOK III

with brows decked with shorn olive-leaves, will bring gifts. Even now 'tis a joy to lead the solemn procession to the sanctuary, and view the slaughter of the steers; or to watch how the scene retreats with changing front, and how the inwoven Britons raise the purple curtains.<sup>1</sup> On the doors I will fashion, in gold and solid ivory, the battle of the Ganges' tribe, and the arms of conquering Quirinus; there, too, the Nile, surging with war and flowing full; and columns soaring high with prows of bronze. I will add Asia's vanquished cities, the routed Niphates, the Parthian, whose trust is in flight and backward-shot arrows, the two trophies torn perforce from far-sundered foes and the nations on either shore that yielded twofold triumphs.<sup>2</sup> Here, too, shall stand Parian marbles, statues that breathe—the seed of Assaracus, and the great names of the race sprung from Jove, father Tros, and the Cynthian founder of Troy. Loathly envy shall cower before the Furies and the stern stream of Cocytus, Ixion's twisted snakes and monstrous wheel, and the unconquerable stone.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Meantime let us pursue the Dryads' woods and virgin glades—no easy behest of thine, Maecenas. Apart from thee, my mind essays no lofty theme; arise then, break through slow delays! With mighty clamour Cithaeron calls, and Taygetus' hounds and instead of falling. The "inwoven Britons" are the figures worked upon it.

<sup>2</sup> Upon the great temple-doors were to be sculptures in relief showing Caesar's victories over foes in the far East and the far West (of the Mediterranean). In the *pugnam Gangaridum* Virgil refers to Antony's Oriental troops. The rivers and mountains (*e.g.* the Niphates) of conquered people were often represented in triumphal processions.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* of Sisypheus.

et vox adsensu nemorum ingeminata remugit. 45  
 mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas  
 Caesaris et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,  
 Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.

Seu quis Olympiacae miratus praemia palmae  
 pascit equos, seu quis fortis ad aratra iuencos, 50  
 corpora praecipue matrum legat. optima torvae  
 forma bovis, cui turpe caput, cui plurima cervix,  
 et crurum tenuis a mento palearia pendent;  
 tum longo nullus lateri modus; omnia magna,  
 pes etiam; et camuris hirtae sub cornibus aures. 55  
 nec mihi displiceat maculis insignis et albo,  
 aut iuga detrectans interdumque aspera cornu  
 et faciem tauro propior, quaeque ardua tota  
 et gradiens ima verrit vestigia cauda.

aetas Lucinam iustosque pati hymenaeos 60  
 desinit ante decem, post quattuor incipit annos;  
 cetera nec feturae habilis nec fortis aratris.  
 interea, superat gregibus dum laeta iuventas,  
 solve mares; mitte in Venerem pecuaria primus,  
 atque aliam ex alia generando suffice prolem. 65  
 optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi  
 prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus  
 et labor, et durae rapit inclementia mortis.  
 semper erunt, quarum mutari corpora malis:  
 semper enim refice ac, ne post amissa requiras, 70  
 anteveni et subolem armento sortire quotannis.

Nec non et pecori est idem delectus equino.  
 tu modo, quos in spem statues submittere gentis,

<sup>48</sup> quod *MPER*γ: quot *M* (*late*).

<sup>50</sup> pascet *P*.

<sup>55</sup> sub] cum *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> tibi *M*<sup>1</sup>: mihi *M*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> detractans *PR*.

<sup>63</sup> iuventus *M*<sup>1</sup>, *Priscian*.

<sup>65</sup> ex aliis *P*. <sup>69</sup> mavis *M*.

### GEORGICS BOOK III

Epidaurus, tamer of horses; and the cry, doubled by the applauding groves, rings back. Yet anon I will gird me to sing Caesar's fiery fights, and bear his name in story through as many years as Caesar is distant from the far-off birth of Tithonus.

<sup>49</sup> Whether a man aspires to the prize of Olympia's palm and breeds horses, or rears bullocks, strong for the plough, let his chief care be to choose the mould of the dams. The best-formed cow is fierce-looking, her head ugly, her neck thick, and her dewlaps hanging down from chin to legs. Moreover, her long flank has no limit; all points are large, even the feet; and under the crooked horns are shaggy ears. Nor should I dislike one marked with white spots, or impatient of the yoke, at times fierce with the horn, and more like a bull in face; tall throughout, and as she steps sweeping her footprints with the tail's tip. The age to bear motherhood and lawful wedlock ends before the tenth year, and begins after the fourth; the rest of their life is neither fit for breeding nor strong for the plough. Meantime, while lusty youth still abides in the herds, let loose the males; be first to send your cattle to mate, and supply stock after stock by breeding. Life's fairest days are ever the first to flee for hapless mortals; on creep diseases, and sad age, and suffering; and stern death's ruthlessness sweeps away its prey.

<sup>69</sup> Ever will there be some kine whose mould you would wish to change; ever, I pray, renew them, and, lest too late you regret your losses, keep in advance, and year by year choose new stock for the herd.

<sup>72</sup> Likewise for your breed of horses is the same choice needed. Only, upon those whom you mean to rear for the hope of the race, be sure to spend

praecipuum iam inde a teneris impende laborem.  
 continuo pecoris generosi pullus in arvis 75  
 altius ingreditur et mollia crura reponit;  
 primus et ire viam et fluvios temptare minacis  
 audet et ignoto sese committere ponti,  
 nec vanos horret strepitus. illi ardua cervix  
 argutumque caput, brevis alvus obesaque terga, 80  
 luxuriatque toris animosum pectus. honesti  
 spadices glaucique, color deterrimus albis  
 et gilvo. tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere,  
 stare loco nescit, micat auribus et tremit artus,  
 collectumque fremens volvit sub naribus ignem. 85  
 densa iuba, et dextro iactata recumbit in armo;  
 at duplex agitur per lumbos spina, cavatque  
 tellurem et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu.  
 talis Amyclaei domitus Pollucis habenis  
 Cyllarus et, quorum Grai meminere poetae, 90  
 Martis equi biiuges et magni currus Achilli;  
 talis et ipse iubam cervice effundit equina  
 coniugis adventu pernix Saturnus, et altum  
 Pelion hinnitu fugiens implevit acuto.

Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis aut iam segnior  
 annis 95

deficit, abde domo, nec turpi ignosce senectae.  
 frigidus in Venerem senior, frustra que laborem  
 ingratum trahit; et, si quando ad proelia ventum est,  
 ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis,  
 incassum furit. ergo animos aevumque notabis 100  
 praecipue; hinc alias artis prolemque parentum,  
 et quis cuique dolor victo, quae gloria palmae.

<sup>77</sup> minantis *P*.

<sup>78</sup> ponto *M*<sup>1</sup>*γ*.

<sup>85</sup> primens *P*: praemens *R*: premens *γ*, *Seneca*.

<sup>88</sup> quatit *R*.

<sup>96</sup> defecit *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> in lacking *M*<sup>1</sup>*γ*.

<sup>101</sup> partis *P*.

### GEORGICS BOOK III

special pains, even from their early youth. From the first, the foal of a noble breed steps higher in the fields and brings down his feet lightly. Boldly he leads the way, braves threatening rivers, entrusts himself to an untried bridge, and starts not at idle sounds. His neck is high, his head clean-cut, his belly short, his back plump, and his gallant chest is rich in muscles. Good colours are bay and grey; the worst, white and dun. Again, should he but hear afar the clash of arms, he cannot keep his place; he pricks up his ears, quivers in his limbs, and snorting rolls beneath his nostrils the gathered fire. His mane is thick and, as he tosses it, falls back on his right shoulder. A double ridge runs along his loins; his hoof scoops out the ground, and the solid horn gives it a deep ring. Such was Cyllarus, tamed by the reins of Amyclæan Pollux, and those whose fame Greek poets recount, the two steeds of Mars,<sup>1</sup> and the pair of the great Achilles.<sup>2</sup> Such, too, was Saturn himself, when at his wife's<sup>3</sup> coming he fled swiftly, flinging his horse's mane over his shoulders, and with shrill neigh filled the heights of Pelion.

<sup>95</sup> Yet even such a steed, when, worn with disease or sluggish through years, he begins to fail, shut up indoors and pity not his inglorious age. Cold is his passion when old, vainly he strives at a thankless toil, and whenever he comes to the fray his ardour is futile, as in the stubble a great fire rages at times without strength. Therefore note above all their spirit and years; then, other merits and the stock of their sires, the grief each shows at defeat or the pride in victory.

<sup>1</sup> See Homer, *Iliad*, xv. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, xvi. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* Rhea or Ops, whom Saturn, when in love with Philyra (or Phillyra), tried to elude by changing himself into a horse.



# VIRGIL

nonne vides, cum praecipiti certamine campum  
 corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus,  
 cum spes arrectae iuvenum, exsultantiaque haurit 105  
 corda pavor pulsans? illi instant verbere torto  
 et proni dant lora, volat vi fervidus axis;  
 iamque humiles, iamque elati sublimē videntur  
 aëra per vacuum ferri atque adsurgere in auras;  
 nec mora nec requies; at fulvae nimbus harenae 110  
 tollitur, umescunt spumis flatuque sequentum:  
 tantus amor laudum, tantae est victoria curae.  
 primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus  
 iungere equos rapidusque rotis insistere victor.  
 frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere 115  
 impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis  
 insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos.  
 aequus uterque labor, aequē iuvenemque magistri  
 exquirunt calidumque animis et cursibus acrem;  
 quamvis saepe fuga versos ille egerit hostis 120  
 et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenae,  
 Neptuniquē ipsa deducat origine gentem.

His animadversis instant sub tempus et omnis  
 impendunt curas denso distendere pinguī  
 quem legere ducem et pecori dixere maritum; 125  
 florentisque secant herbas fluviosque ministrant  
 farraque, ne blando nequeat superesse labori  
 invalidique patrum referant ieiunia nati.  
 ipsa autem macie tenuant armenta volentes,  
 atque ubi concubitus primos iam nota voluptas 130

<sup>109</sup> exsurgere *Ry.*

<sup>114</sup> rapidis *M (late).*

<sup>122</sup> gentem] nomen *R.*

<sup>123</sup> anima adversis *M*: animum adversis *P.*

<sup>125</sup> pecoris *P.* magistrum *P.*

<sup>127</sup> nequeant *P*: nequeans *M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>130</sup> voluntas *P.*

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the task of breeding either racers or chargers.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the old horse described in ll. 95 ff.



## GEORGICS BOOK III

<sup>103</sup> See you not, when in headlong contest the chariots have seized upon the plain, and stream in a torrent from the barrier, when the young drivers' hopes are high, and throbbing fear drains each bounding heart? On they press with circling lash, bending forward to slacken rein; fiercely flies the glowing wheel. Now sinking low, now raised aloft, they seem to be borne through empty air and to soar skyward. No rest, no stay is there; but a cloud of yellow sand mounts aloft, and they are wet with the foam and the breath of those in pursuit: so strong is their love of renown, so dear is triumph.

<sup>113</sup> Erichthonius first dared to couple four steeds to the car, and to stand victorious over the flying wheels. The Thessalian Lapiths, mounting the horse's back, gave us the bit and circling course, and taught the horseman, in full armour, to gallop over the earth and round his proud paces. Equal is either task;<sup>1</sup> equally the trainers seek out a young steed, hot of spirit and keen in the race; though oft that other<sup>2</sup> have driven the foe in flight, and claim for birthplace Epirus or valiant Mycenae, and trace his line from Neptune's own ancestry.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>123</sup> These points noted, they bestir themselves, as the time draws near, and take all heed to fill out with firm flesh him whom they have chosen as leader and assigned as lord of the herd. They cut him flowering grasses, and give fresh water and corn, that he may be more than equal to the seductive toil, and no feeble offspring may repeat the leanness of the sires. But the mares themselves they purposely make spare, and when now the familiar pleasure first prompts

<sup>3</sup> Referring probably to the contest between Neptune (Poseidon) and Minerva (Athena). See *Geor.* i. 12.

## VIRGIL

sollicitat, frondesque negant et fontibus arcent.  
 saepe etiam cursu quatiunt et sole fatigant,  
 cum graviter tunsis gemit area frugibus, et cum  
 surgentem ad Zephyrum paleae iactantur inanes.  
 hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtunsior usus 135  
 sit genitali arvo et sulcos oblimet inertis,  
 sed rapiat sitiens Venerem interiusque recondat.

Rursus cura patrum cadere et succedere matrum  
 incipit. exactis gravidæ cum mensibus errant,  
 non illas gravibus quisquam iuga ducere plaustris, 140  
 non saltu superare viam sit passus et acri  
 carpere prata fuga fluviosque innare rapacis.  
 saltibus in vacuis pascunt et plena secundum  
 flumina, muscus ubi et viridissima gramine ripa,  
 speluncaeque tegant et saxeæ procubet umbra. 145  
 est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem FMPR  
 plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo  
 Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,  
 asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis  
 diffugiunt armenta, furit mugitibus æther 150  
 concussus silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri.  
 hoc quondam monstro horribilis exercuit iras  
 Inachiae Iuno pestem meditata iuvencae.  
 hunc quoque (nam mediis fervoribus acrior instat)  
 arcebis gravido pecori, armentaque pasces 155  
 sole recens orto aut noctem ducentibus astris.

<sup>141</sup> agri *Ry.*

<sup>144</sup> gramina ripae *M.*

<sup>145</sup> protegit *M*<sup>1</sup>, -at then -cubet *M*<sup>2</sup>. <sup>150</sup> fugit *Fy.*

<sup>155</sup> pecorique *M (late)*: pecoris *P.* pascis *F.*

### GEORGICS BOOK III

them to union, they withhold leafy fodder and debar them from the springs. Oft, too, they rouse them to the gallop and tire them in the sun, when the floor groans heavily as the corn is threshed, and the empty chaff is tossed to the freshening Zephyr. This they do that by surfeit the usefulness of the fruitful soil be not dulled, or the sluggish furrows clogged, but that it may thirstily seize upon the seed, and store it deep within.

<sup>138</sup> In turn, care for the sires begins to wane, and that for the dams to take its place. When their months are fulfilled and they roam heavy with young, then let no one suffer them to draw the yokes of heavy wagons, or leap across<sup>1</sup> the pathway, or scour the meadows in swift flight, or stem the swirling current. They feed them in open glades and by the side of brimming rivers, where moss grows and the banks are greenest with grass, where grottoes may shelter them and the shadow of a rock be cast afar. Round the groves of Silarus and the green holm-oaks of Alburnus swarms a fly, whose Roman name is *asilus*, but the Greeks have called it in their speech *oestrus*.<sup>2</sup> Fierce it is, and sharp of note; before it whole herds scatter in terror through the woods: with their bellowings the air is stunned and maddened, the groves, too, and the banks of parched Tanager. With this monster Juno once wreaked her awful wrath, when she devised a pest for the heifer maid of Inachus.<sup>3</sup> This, too—for in mid-day heat more fierce is its attack—you will keep from the pregnant herd, and will feed the flock when the sun is new-risen, or the stars usher in the night.

<sup>1</sup> According to Servius, this often happened when they were grazing, with their feet hobbled.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the gadfly.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* Io, daughter of Inachus.

# VIRGIL

Post partum cura in vitulos traducitur omnis;  
 continuoque notas et nomina gentis inurunt,  
 et quos aut pecori malint submittere habendo  
 aut aris servare sacros aut scindere terram 160  
 et campum horrentem fractis invertere glaebis.  
 cetera pascuntur viridis armenta per herbas.  
 tu quos ad studium atque usum formabis agrestem,  
 iam vitulos hortare viamque insiste domandi,  
 dum faciles animi iuvenum, dum mobilis aetas. 165  
 ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos  
 cervici subnecte; dehinc, ubi libera colla  
 servitio adsuerint, ipsis e torquibus aptos  
 iunge pares, et coge gradum conferre iuencos;  
 atque illis iam saepe rotae ducantur inanes 170  
 per terram, et summo vestigia pulvere signent;  
 post valido nitens sub pondere faginus axis  
 instrepat, et iunctos temo trahat aereus orbis  
 interea pubi indomitae non gramina tantum  
 nec vescas salicum frondes ulvamque palustrem, 175  
 sed frumenta manu carpes sata; nec tibi fetae  
 more patrum nivea implebunt mulctraria vaccae,  
 sed tota in dulcis consument ubera natos.

Sin ad bella magis studium turmasque ferocis,  
 aut Alphea rotis praelabi flumina Pisae 180  
 et Iovis in luco currus agitare volantis: AFMPR  
 primus equi labor est animos atque arma videre  
 bellantum lituosque pati, tractuque gementem  
 ferre rotam et stabulo frenos audire sonantis;  
 tum magis atque magis blandis gaudere magistri 185

<sup>163</sup> studia *FR.*

<sup>166</sup> circos *F<sup>1</sup>P.*

<sup>169</sup> iuencis *M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>175</sup> ulvam] ulvas *F*, silvam *R.*

<sup>178</sup> consumant *M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>182</sup> equis *M<sup>1</sup>.*

### GEORGICS BOOK III

<sup>157</sup> After birth, all care passes to the calves, and at once they brand them with the mark and name of the stock, setting apart those they wish to rear for breeding, to keep sacred for the altar, to set to cleave the soil and turn up the field, rough with its broken clods. The rest of the kine graze in the green pastures; but such as you will shape for the farm's pursuits and service, do you school while yet calves, and enter on the path of training, while their youthful spirits are docile, while their age is still pliant. And, first, fasten about their shoulders loose circles of slender osier; then when their free necks are used to servitude, yoke the bullocks in pairs linked from the collars themselves,<sup>1</sup> and force them to step together. Then let them now draw empty carts oft-times over the land, and print their tracks on the surface of the dust. Later, let the beechen axle creak and strain under its heavy load and a brass-bound pole drag the coupled wheels. Meanwhile you will not feed their unbroken youth on grass alone or poor willow leaves and marshy sedge, but on young corn, plucked by hand; nor will your mother-cows fill the snowy pails, as in our fathers' days, but will spend all their udders' wealth on their dear offspring.

<sup>179</sup> But if your bent is more towards war and proud squadrons, or to glide on wheels by Pisa's Alphean waters, and in Jupiter's grove<sup>2</sup> to drive the flying car, then the steed's first task is to view the arms of gallant warriors, to bear the trumpet-call, to endure the groaning of the dragged wheel, and to hear the jingle of bits in the stall; then more and more to delight in his trainer's caressing praise, and to love the

<sup>1</sup> No yoke is to be used, but the collars are to be tied together.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the Altis, or wild-olive grove in which the Olympic racecourse by the Alpheus lay.



laudibus et plausae sonitum cervicis amare.  
 atque haec iam primo depulsus ab ubere matris  
 audeat, inque vicem det mollibus ora capistris  
 invalidus etiamque tremens, etiam inscius aevi.  
 at tribus exactis ubi quarta accesserit aestas, 190  
 carpere mox gyrum incipiat gradibusque sonare  
 compositis, sinuetque alterna volumina crurum,  
 sitque laboranti similis; tum cursibus auras,  
 tum vocet, ac per aperta volans, ceu liber habenis,  
 aequora vix summa vestigia ponat harena: 195  
 qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris  
 incubuit, Scythiaeque hiemes atque arida differt  
 nubila; tum segetes altae campique natantes  
 lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaeque sonorem  
 dant silvae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus; 200  
 ille volat, simul arva fuga, simul aequora verrens.  
 hic vel ad Elei metas et maxima campi  
 sudabit spatia et spumas aget ore cruentas,  
 Belgica vel molli melius feret esseda collo.  
 tum demum crassa magnum farragine corpus 205  
 crescere iam domitis sinito: namque ante domandum  
 ingentis tollent animos, prensique negabunt  
 verbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis.

Sed non ulla magis viris industria firmat,  
 quam Venerem et caeci stimulos avertere amoris, 210  
 sive boum sive est cui gratior usus equorum.  
 atque ideo tauros procul atque in sola relegant  
 pascua, post montem oppositum et trans flumina lata,  
 aut intus clausos satura ad praesepia servant. 214  
 carpit enim viris paulatim uritque videndo AMPR  
 femina, nec nemorum patitur meminisse nec herbae

<sup>188</sup> audiat  $M^2R\gamma^2$ .

<sup>190</sup> occeperit  $F^1$ : acceperit  $M^2PR$ . aetas  $F^2M$ , *Servius*.

<sup>194</sup> provocet  $P$ .

<sup>202</sup> hinc  $FM^2R$ .

<sup>203</sup> agit  $FM^1P$ : aget  $M$  (*late*).

<sup>204</sup> bellica  $M^1P$ .



### GEORGICS BOOK III

sound of patting his neck. And this let him venture, soon as he is weaned from his mother, and now and again let him entrust his mouth to soft halters, while still weak and trembling, still ignorant of life. But when three summers are past and the fourth is come, let him soon begin to run round the circuit,<sup>1</sup> to make his steps ring evenly, to bend his legs in alternating curves,<sup>2</sup> and be as one hard labouring: then, then let him challenge the winds to a race, and, skimming over the open plains, as though free from reins, let him scarce plant his steps on the surface of the sand—as when the gathered North-wind swoops down from Hyperborean coasts, driving on Scythia's storms and dry clouds, then the deep cornfields and the watery plains quiver under the gentle gusts, the tree-tops rustle, and long rollers press shoreward; on flies the wind, sweeping in his flight the fields and seas alike. Such a horse will either sweat towards the Elean goal, over the vast courses of the plain, and fling from his mouth bloody foam, or will bear more nobly with docile neck the Belgian car. Then at last, when the colts are now broken, let their bodies wax plump with coarse mash; for ere the breaking they will raise their mettle too high, and when caught will scorn to submit to the pliant lash, or obey the cruel curb.

<sup>209</sup> But no care so strengthens their powers as to keep from them desire and the stings of secret passion, whether one's choice is to deal with cattle or with horses. Therefore men banish the bull to lonely pastures afar, beyond a mountain barrier and across broad rivers, or keep him well mewed beside full mangers. For the sight of the female slowly inflames and wastes his strength, nor, look you, does she,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the ring or "circling course" (l. 115) for breaking horses in.

<sup>2</sup> *cf.* 117, "round his proud paces."

# VIRGIL

dulcibus illa quidem inlecebris, et saepe superbos  
 cornibus inter se subigit decernere amantis.  
 pascitur in magna Sila formosa iuvenca :  
 illi alternantes multa vi proelia miscent 220  
 vulneribus crebris, lavit ater corpora sanguis, MPR  
 versaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vasto  
 cum gemitu ; reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus.  
 nec mos bellantis una stabulare, sed alter  
 victus abit longaeque ignotis exsulat oris, 225  
 multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi  
 victoris, tum quos amisit inultus amores,  
 et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis.  
 ergo omni cura viris exercet et inter  
 dura iacet pernox instrato saxa cubili, 230  
 frondibus hirsutis et carice pastus acuta,  
 et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit  
 arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit  
 ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.  
 post ubi collectum robur viresque refectae, 235  
 signa movet praecepsque oblitum fertur in hostem :  
 fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto,  
 longius ex altoque sinum trahit, utque volutus  
 ad terras immane sonat per saxa, neque ipso  
 monte minor procumbit ; at ima exaestuât unda 240  
 verticibus nigramque alte subiectat harenam.

Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarum-  
que,

et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque volucres,

<sup>219</sup> silva *AM<sup>1</sup>Py* : both known to *Servius*.

<sup>221</sup> lavat *M* (*late*).

<sup>223</sup> resonant *M*. longus *M*<sup>2</sup>, *Macrobius* : longius *M*<sup>1</sup> : magnus  
*PRy*.

<sup>230</sup> pernox *Scholiast on Juvenal*, VIII. 10 : pernix *MSS.*,  
*Servius*, and *Nonius*, preferred by *Philargyrius*.

<sup>235</sup> post] ast *M*. receptae *R*.

<sup>236</sup> oblicum *M*.

<sup>237</sup> ut in *M*. medio] primo *M*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>241</sup> subvectat *MR*, *Berne Scholia*.

### GEORGICS BOOK III

with her soft enchantments, suffer him to remember woods or pastures; nay, oft she drives her proud lovers to settle their mutual contest with clash of horns. She is grazing in Sila's great forest, a lovely heifer: the bulls in alternate onset join battle with mighty force; many a wound they deal, black gore bathes their frames, amid mighty bellowing the levelled horns are driven against the butting foe; the woods and the sky, from end to end, re-echo. Nor is it the rivals' wont to herd together, but the vanquished one departs, and dwells an exile in unknown scenes afar. Much does he bewail his shame, and the blows of his haughty conqueror, and much the love he has lost unavenged—then, with a wistful glance at his stall, he has quitted his ancestral realm. Therefore with all heed he trains his powers, and on an unstrewn couch, among flinty rocks, lies through the night, with prickly leaves and pointed sedge for fare. Anon he tests himself, and, learning to throw wrath into his horns, charges a tree's trunk; he lashes the winds with blows, and paws the sand in prelude for the fray. Soon, when his power is mustered and his strength renewed, he advances the colours, and dashes head-long on his unmindful foe: as, when a wave begins to whiten in mid-sea, from the farther deep it arches its curve, and, rolling shoreward, roars thundering along the reefs, and, huge as a very mountain, falls prone, while from below the water boils up in eddies, and tosses black sand aloft.

<sup>242</sup> Yea, every single race on earth, man and beast, the tribes of the sea, cattle and birds brilliant of hue,

## VIRGIL

in furias ignemque ruunt : amor omnibus idem.  
 tempore non alio catulorum oblita leaena 245  
 saevior erravit campis, nec funera volgo  
 tam multa informes ursi stragemque dedere  
 per silvas ; tum saevus aper, tum pessima tigris ;  
 heu male tum Libyae solis erratur in agris.  
 nonne vides, ut tota tremor pertemptet equorum 250  
 corpora, si tantum notas odor attulit auras ?  
 ac neque eos iam frena virum neque verbera saeva,  
 non scopuli rupesque cavae atque obiecta retardant  
 flumina correptosque unda torquentia montis.  
 ipse ruit dentesque Sabellicus exacuit sus, 255  
 et pede prosubigit terram, fricat arbore costas,  
 atque hinc atque illinc umeros ad volnera durat.  
 quid iuvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem  
 durus amor ? nempe abruptis turbata procellis  
 nocte natat caeca serus freta ; quem super ingens 260  
 porta tonat caeli, et scopulis inlisa reclamant  
 aequora ; nec miseri possunt revocare parentes,  
 nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo.  
 quid lynces Bacchi variae et genus acre luporum  
 atque canum ? quid quae imbelles dant proelia cervi ?  
 scilicet ante omnis furor est insignis equarum ; 266  
 et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, quo tempore Glauci  
 Potniades malis membra absumpsere quadrigae.  
 illas ducit amor trans Gargara transque sonantem  
 Ascanium ; superant montis et flumina tranant. 270  
 continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis

<sup>257</sup> umerosque *PR.*

<sup>263</sup> supra *P.*

### GEORGICS BOOK III

rush into fires of passion: all feel the same Love. At no other season doth the lioness forget her cubs, or prowl over the plains more fierce; never doth the shapeless bear spread death and havoc so widely through the forest; then savage is the boar, then most fell the tigress. Ah! it is ill faring then in Libya's lonely fields! See you not how a trembling thrills through the steed's whole frame, if the scent has but brought him the familiar breezes? No longer now can the rider's rein or the cruel lash stay his course, nor rocks and hollow cliffs, nay, nor opposing rivers, that tear up mountains and hurl them down the wave. On rushes the great Sabine boar; he whets his tusks, his foot paws the ground in front, he rubs his sides against a tree, and on either flank hardens his shoulders against wounds. What of the youth, in whose marrow fierce Love fans the mighty flame? Lo! in the turmoil of bursting storms, late in the black night, he swims the straits. Above him thunders Heaven's mighty portal, and the billows, dashing on the cliffs, echo the cry; yet neither his hapless parents can call him back, nor thought of the maid who in cruel fate must die withal.<sup>1</sup> What of Bacchus' spotted lynxes,<sup>2</sup> and the fierce tribe of wolves and dogs? What of the battles fought by peaceful stags? But surely the madness of mares surpasses all. Venus herself inspired their frenzy, when the four Potnian steeds tore with their jaws the limbs of Glaucus. Love leads them over Gargarus and over the roaring Ascanius; they scale mountains, they swim rivers. And, soon as the flame has stolen into their craving

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the famous story of Leander, who used to swim the Hellespont to visit Hero, but was at last drowned.

<sup>2</sup> Lynxes and tigers drew the car of Bacchus from India.



## VIRGIL

(vere magis, quia vere calor redit ossibus), illae  
 ore omnes versae in Zephyrum stant rupibus altis  
 exceptantque levis auras, et saepe sine ullis  
 coniugiis vento gravidae (mirabile dictu) 275  
 saxa per et scopulos et depressas convallis  
 diffugiunt, non, Eure, tuos, neque solis ad ortus,  
 in Borean Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster  
 nascitur et pluvio contristat frigore caelum.  
 hic demum, hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt 280  
 pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus,  
 hippomanes, quod saepe malae legere novercae  
 miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba.

Sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus,  
 singula dum capti circumvectamur amore. FMPR  
 hoc satis armentis : superat pars altera curae, 286  
 lanigeros agitare greges hirtasque capellas.  
 hic labor, hinc laudem fortes sperate coloni.  
 nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum  
 quam sit et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem : 290  
 sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis  
 raptat amor ; iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum  
 Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.  
 nunc, veneranda Pales, magno nunc ore sonandum.

Incipiens stabulis edico in mollibus herbam 295  
 carpere ovis, dum mox frondosa reducitur aestas,  
 et multa duram stipula filicumque manipulis  
 sternere subter humum, glacies ne frigida laedat

<sup>278</sup> in] ad *M*<sup>2</sup>*R*.

<sup>274</sup> exceptant *M*<sup>2</sup>*R*, *Servius*, *Philargyrius* : expectant *P* :  
 expectant *M*<sup>1</sup>*γ*.

<sup>279</sup> sidere *R*.

<sup>286</sup> superat est *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>297</sup> durum *PR* : dura *F*<sup>1</sup> : dura in *F*<sup>2</sup>.



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marrow (chiefly in spring, for in spring the heat returns to their breasts), they all, with faces turned to the Zephyrs, stand on a high cliff, and drink in the gentle breezes. Then oft, without any wedlock, pregnant with the wind (a wondrous tale!) they flee over rocks and crags and lowly dales, not towards thy rising, East-wind, nor the Sun's, but to the North, and the North-west, or thither where rises the blackest South, saddening the sky with chilly rain.<sup>1</sup> Then, and then only, does the slimy "horse-madness," as shepherds rightly name it, drip slowly from the groin—horse-madness, which cruel step-dames oft gather, mixing herbs and baleful spells.

<sup>284</sup> But time meanwhile is flying, flying beyond recall, while we, charmed with love of our theme, linger around each detail! Enough this for the herds; there remains the second part of my task, to tend the fleecy flocks and shaggy goats. Here is toil, hence hope for fame, ye sturdy yeomen! And well I know how hard it is to win with words a triumph herein, and thus to crown with glory a lowly theme. But sweet desire hurries me over the lonely steeps of Parnassus; joyous it is to roam o'er heights, where no forerunner's track turns by a gentle slope down to Castalia.<sup>2</sup> Now, worshipful Pales, now must we sing in lofty strain.

<sup>295</sup> First I decree that the sheep crop the herbage in soft pens, till leafy summer soon returns, and that you strew the hard ground beneath them with straw and handfuls of fern, lest the chill ice harm

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, from whom this legend is taken, was speaking of Crete, where the mares ran until stopped by the sea. The direction there would naturally be north or south.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Virgil himself is the path-finder. In this metaphorical way he claims originality.

# VIRGIL

molle pecus scabiemque ferat turpisque podagras.  
 post hinc digressus iubeo frondentia capris 300  
 arbuta sufficere et fluvios praeberere recentis,  
 et stabula a ventis hiberno opponere soli  
 ad medium conversa diem, cum frigidus olim  
 iam cadit extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno.  
 haec quoque non cura nobis levio<sup>r</sup>e tuendae, 305  
 nec minor usus erit, quamvis Milesia magno  
 vellera mutantur Tyrios incocta rubores.  
 densior hinc suboles, hinc largi copia lactis ;  
 quam magis exhausto spumaverit ubere mulctra,  
 laeta magis pressis manabunt flumina mammis. 310  
 nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta  
 Cinyphii tondent hirci saetasque comantis  
 usum in castrorum et miseris velamina nautis.  
 pascuntur vero silvas et summa Lycaeï,  
 horrentisque rubos et amantis ardua dumos ; 315  
 atque ipsae memores redeunt in tecta suosque  
 ducunt et gravido superant vix ubere limen.  
 ergo omni studio glaciem ventosque nivalis,  
 quo minor est illis curae mortalis egestas,  
 avertes, victumque feres et virgea laetus 320  
 pabula, nec tota claudes faenilia bruma.

At vero Zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aestas  
 in saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittet,  
 Luciferi primo cum sidere frigida rura  
 carpamus, dum mane novum, dum gramina canent,  
 et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba. 326

<sup>305</sup> haec . . . tuendae *FR, Servius*: haec . . . tuenda *M*:  
 hae . . . tuendae *Py*.

<sup>307</sup> colores *R*.

<sup>308</sup> hic largi *F*.

<sup>309</sup> quo *R*.

<sup>310</sup> flumina] ubera *PR, Nonius, known to Philargyrius*.

<sup>312</sup> hirqui *P*.

<sup>316</sup> inmemores *M*.

<sup>323</sup> mittes *FM²PRγ*: mittet *M¹*.

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the tender flock, bringing scab and unsightly foot-rot. Passing hence, I next bid you give the goats much leafy arbutus, offering them fresh running water, and placing the stalls away from the winds towards the winter sun, to face the south, at the time when the cold Water-bearer is now setting, sprinkling the departing year.<sup>1</sup> These goats, too, we must guard with no lighter care, and not less will be the profit, albeit the fleeces of Miletus, steeped in Tyrian purple, are bartered for a high price. From them is a larger progeny, from them a plenteous store of milk; the more the milk-pail has foamed from the drained udder, the more richly will flow the streams, when again the teats are pressed. Nor less, meanwhile, do herdsmen clip the beard on the hoary chin of the Cinyphian goat, and shear his hairy bristles, for the need of camps, and as coverings for hapless sailors. Again, they feed in the woods and on the summits of Lycaeus among the prickly briars and the hill-loving brakes; and of themselves they are mindful to return home, leading their kids, and scarce able to overtop the threshold with their teeming udders. Therefore, the less they need man's care, the more zealously should you screen them from frost and snowy blasts, gladly bringing them their food and provender of twigs, and closing not your hay lofts throughout the winter.

<sup>322</sup> But when, at the Zephyrs' call, joyous Summer sends both sheep and goats to the glades and pastures, let us haste to the cool fields, as the morning-star begins to rise, while the day is young, while the grass is hoar, and the dew on the tender blade most sweet to the cattle. Then, when heaven's fourth hour has

<sup>1</sup> Aquarius sets in February, and the old Roman year began in March.

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inde ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora  
 et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae,  
 ad puteos aut alta greges ad stagna iubebo  
 currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam ; 330  
 aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem,  
 sicubi magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus  
 ingentis tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum  
 ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra ;  
 tum tenuis dare rursus aquas et pascere rursus 335  
 solis ad occasum, cum frigidus aëra vesper  
 temperat, et saltus reficit iam roscida luna  
 litoraue alcyonem resonant, acalanthida dumi.

Quid tibi pastores Libyae, quid pascua versu  
 prosequar et raris habitata mapalia tectis? 340  
 saepe diem noctemque et totum ex ordine mensem  
 pascitur itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis  
 hospitiiis: tantum campi iacet. omnia secum  
 armentarius Afer agit, tectumque laremque  
 armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque phare-  
 tram ; 345

non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis  
 iniusto sub fasce viam cum carpit, et hosti  
 ante expectatum positus stat in agmine castris. [MPR

At non, qua Scythiae gentes Maeotiaque unda,  
 turbidus et torquens flaventis Hister harenas, 350  
 quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub  
 axem. MPRV

illic clausa tenent stabulis armenta, neque ullae  
 aut herbae campo apparent aut arbore frondes ;  
 sed iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto  
 terra gelu late septemque adsurgit in ulnas. 355  
 semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri.

<sup>329</sup> iubeto *F<sup>2</sup>MRγ, Nonius.*

—<sup>331</sup> aut *F<sup>1</sup>P.*

<sup>347</sup> invito *F.* hostis *P* : hostem *M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>348</sup> agmina *P.*

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brought thirst to all, and the plaintive cicadas rend the thickets with song, I will bid the flocks at the side of wells or deep pools drink of the water that runs in oaken channels. But in midday heat let them seek out a shady dell, where haply Jove's mighty oak with its ancient trunk stretches out giant branches, or where the grove, black with many holms, lies brooding with hallowed shade. Then give them once more the trickling stream, and once more feed them till sunset, when the cool evening-star allays the air, and the moon, now dropping dew, gives strength to the glades, when the shores ring with the halcyon, and the copses with the finch.

<sup>339</sup> Why follow up for you in song the shepherds of Libya, their pastures, and the settlements where they dwell in scattered huts? Often, day and night, and a whole month through, the flocks feed and roam into the desert stretches, with no shelters; so vast a plain lies outstretched. The African herdsman takes with him his all—his house and home, his arms, his Spartan dog and Cretan quiver<sup>1</sup>—even as the valiant Roman, when, arrayed in his country's arms, he hastes on his march under a cruel load, and, ere the foe awaits him, halts his column and pitches his camp.

<sup>349</sup> Far otherwise is it where dwell the tribes of Scythia by the waters of Maeotis, where the turbid Danube tosses his yellow sands, and where Rhodope bends back, stretching up to the central pole. There they keep the herds penned up in stalls, and no blade is seen upon the plain, or leaf upon the tree; but far and wide earth lies shapeless under mounds of snow and piles of ice, rising seven cubits high. 'Tis ever winter; ever North-west blasts, with icy breath.

<sup>1</sup> The epithets are merely ornamental, Spartan dogs and Cretan archers being the most famous of their kind.



# VIRGIL

tum Sol pallentis haud umquam discutit umbras,  
 nec cum invectus equis altum petit aethera, nec cum  
 praecipitem Oceani rubro lavit aequore currum.  
 concrescunt subitae currenti in flumine crustae, 360  
 undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbis,  
 puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hospita plaustis;  
 aeraque dissiliunt volgo, vestesque rigescunt  
 indutae, caeduntque securibus umida vina,  
 et totae solidam in glaciem vertere lacunae, 365  
 stiriaque impexis induruit horrida barbis.  
 interea toto non setius aëre ninguit:  
 intereunt pecudes, stant circumfusa pruinis  
 corpora magna boum, confertoque agmine cervi  
 torpent mole nova et summis vix cornibus exstant. 370  
 hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis  
 puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine pinnae,  
 sed frustra oppositum trudentis pectore montem  
 comminus obtruncant ferro, graviterque rudentis  
 caedunt, et magno laeti clamore reportant. 375  
 ipsi in defossis specubus secura sub alta  
 otia agunt terra, congestaque robora totasque  
 advolvere focis ulmos ignique dedere.  
 hic noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula laeti  
 fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis. 380  
 talis Hyperboreo septem subiecta trioni  
 gens effrena virum Rhipaeo tunditur Euro  
 et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora saetis.

Si tibi lanitium curae, primum aspera silva  
 lappaeque tribolique absint; fuge pabula laeta, 385

<sup>359</sup> lavat *M* (*late*).

<sup>365</sup> in solidam *Rγ*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>366</sup> omitted *R*.

<sup>369</sup> confecto *VR*.

<sup>377</sup> totasque] totas *M*(*late*)*γ*.

<sup>383</sup> velantur *M*.



### GEORGICS BOOK III

Then, too, never does the Sun scatter the pale mists, either when, borne on his chariot, he climbs high Heaven, or when he laves his headlong car in Ocean's crimson plain. Sudden ice-crusts form on the running stream, and anon the water bears on its surface iron-bound wheels—giving welcome once to ships, but now to broad wains! Everywhere brass splits, clothes freeze on the back, and with axes they cleave the liquid wine; whole lakes turn into a solid mass, and the rough icicle hardens on the unkempt beard. No less, meanwhile, does the snow fill the sky; the cattle perish, the oxen's great frames stand sheathed in frost, the deer in crowded herd are numb under the strange mass and above it scarce rise the tips of their horns. These they hunt not by unloosing hounds, or laying nets, or alarming with the terror of the crimson feather,<sup>1</sup> but as their breasts vainly strain against that mountain rampart men slay them, steel in hand, cut them down bellowing piteously, and bear them home with loud shouts of joy. Themselves, in deep-dug caves, low in the earth, they live careless and at ease, rolling to the hearths heaps of logs, yea, whole elm-trees, and throwing them on the fire. Here they spend the night in play, and with ale and bitter service-juice<sup>2</sup> joyously mimic draughts of wine. Such is the race of men lying under the Wain's seven stars in the far north, a wild race, buffeted by the Rhipæan East-wind, their bodies clothed in the tawny furs of beasts.

<sup>384</sup> If wool be your care, first clear away the prickly growth of burs and caltrops; shun rich pastures, and

<sup>1</sup> A cord with scarlet feathers was stretched at the outlets of a wood so as to drive the game back.

<sup>2</sup> Or "with barm and sour service-berries," *i.e.* by causing fermentation in the juice of such berries, and so producing an intoxicating drink (Page).

## VIRGIL

continuoque greges villis lege mollibus albos.  
illum autem, quamvis aries sit candidus ipse,  
nigra subestudo tantum cui lingua palato,  
reice, ne maculis infuscet vellera pullis  
nascentum, plenoque alium circumspice campo. 390  
munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est,  
Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit,  
in nemora alta vocans; nec tu aspernata vocantem.

At cui lactis amor, cytisum lotosque frequentis  
ipse manu salsasque ferat praesepibus herbas. 395  
hinc et amant fluvios magis, et magis ubera tendunt  
et salis occultum referunt in lacte saporem.  
multi etiam excretos prohibent a matribus haedos,  
primumque ferratis praefigunt ora capistris.  
quod surgente die mulsero horisque diurnis, 400  
nocte premunt; quod iam tenebris et sole cadente,  
sub lucem exportant calathis (adit oppida pastor); MPR  
aut parco sale contingunt hiemique reponunt.

Nec tibi cura canum fuerit postrema, sed una  
velocis Spartae catulos acremque Molossum 405  
pasce sero pingui. numquam custodibus illis  
nocturnum stabulis furem incursusque luporum  
aut impacatos a tergo horrebis Hiberos.  
saepe etiam cursu timidos agitabis onagros,  
et canibus leporem, canibus venabere dammas. 410  
saepe volutabris pulsos silvestribus apros  
latratu turbabis agens, montisque per altos  
ingentem clamore premes ad retia cervum.

<sup>395</sup> ipse *Mγ*: ille *PR*. <sup>398</sup> etiam *P*: iam *MRγ*. extremos *P*.

<sup>402</sup> exportant *MSS.*: exportans *Scaliger*.

<sup>408</sup> indignatos *M*<sup>1</sup>. <sup>412</sup> terrebis *R*.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Pan won Luna (Selene) by the gift of a fleece. The commoner form of the legend is that Pan beguiled her by changing himself into a ram with a beautiful white fleece.

<sup>2</sup> The morning's milk is made into cheese at night; the evening's milk (probably in the form of cheese or curds) is

### GEORGICS BOOK III

from the first choose flocks with white, soft fleeces. But the ram, however white be his fleece, if he have but a black tongue under his moist palate, cast out, lest with dusky spots he tarnish the coats of the new-born lambs; and look about for another in your teeming field. 'Twas with gift of such snowy wool, if we may trust the tale, that Pan, Arcadia's god, charmed and beguiled thee, O Moon, calling thee to the depths of the woods;<sup>1</sup> nor didst thou scorn his call.

<sup>394</sup> But let him who longs for milk bring with his own hand lucerne and lotus in plenty and salted herbage to the stalls. Thus they love streams the more, and the more distend their udders, while their milk recalls a lurking savour of salt. Many bar the kids from the dams as soon as born, and from the first front their mouths with iron-bound muzzles. What milk they drew at sunrise or in the hours of day, they press at night; what they drew at night or sunset, they carry off in baskets at dawn, when a shepherd goes to town; or they sprinkle it with a pinch of salt, and store it for the winter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>404</sup> Nor let the care of dogs be last in your thoughts, but feed swift Spartan whelps and fierce Molossians alike on fattening whey. Never, with them on guard, need you fear for your stalls a midnight thief, or onslaught of wolves, or restless Spaniards<sup>3</sup> in your rear. Oft, too, you will course the shy wild ass, and with hounds will hunt the hare, with hounds the doe. Oft you will rout the boar from his forest lair, driving him forth with the baying pack, and o'er the high hills with loud cry will force a huge stag into the nets.

taken to town in plaited baskets; or, again, the milk, when made into cheese, is salted and stored up for future use.

<sup>3</sup> Here equivalent to "brigands" or "robbers."

# VIRGIL

Disce et odoratam stabulis accendere cedrum,  
 galbanoque agitare gravis nidore chelydros. 415  
 saepe sub immotis praeseptibus aut mala tactu  
 vipera delituit caelumque exterrita fugit,  
 aut tecto adsuetus coluber succedere et umbrae  
 (pestis acerba boum) pecorique adspargere virus,  
 fovit humum. cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor,  
 tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem 421  
 deice. iamque fuga timidum caput abdidit alte,  
 cum medii nexus extremaeque agmina caudae  
 solvuntur, tardosque trahit sinus ultimus orbis.  
 est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus anguis, 425  
 squamea convolvens sublato pectore terga  
 atque notis longam maculosus grandibus alvum,  
 qui, dum amnes ulli rumpuntur fontibus et dum  
 vere madent udo terrae ac pluvialibus Austris,  
 stagna colit, ripisque habitans hic piscibus atram 430  
 improbus ingluviem ranisque loquacibus explet;  
 postquam exusta palus, terraeque ardore dehiscunt,  
 exsilit in siccum, et flammantia lumina torquens  
 saevit agris asperque siti atque exterritus aestu.  
 ne mihi tum mollis sub divo carpere somnos 435  
 neu dorso nemoris libeat iacuisse per herbas,  
 cum positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa  
 volvitur, aut catulos tectis aut ova relinquens,  
 arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.  
 Morborum quoque te causas et signa docebo. 440  
 turpis ovis temptat scabies, ubi frigidus imber

415 galbaneos *M.* gravi *Nonius, Servius.*

422 namque *P.* cumque *M* (*late*).

426 corpore *P.*

429 ac] et *R.*

433 exilit *P.* extulit *M.* exiit  $\gamma$ .

434 exercitus *M* (*late*).

435 ne *PR, Quintilian, IX. III. 21* : nec *M*  $\gamma$ . *So Sabb.*

423 agmine *R.*

427 aevom *P.*

432 exhausta  $\gamma$ .

## GEORGICS BOOK III

<sup>414</sup> Learn, too, to burn in your stalls fragrant cedar and with fumes of Syrian gum to banish the noisome water-snakes. Oft under sheds uncleansed has lurked a viper, deadly to touch, and shrunk in terror from the light; or an adder, sore plague of the kine, that is wont to glide under the sheltering thatch and sprinkle venom on the cattle, has hugged the ground. Snatch up in thy hand, shepherd, snatch stones and staves, and as he rises in menace and swells his hissing neck, strike him down! Lo, now in flight he has buried deep his frightened head, while his mid coils and the end of his writhing tail are still untwining themselves, and the last curve slowly drags its folds. There is, too, that deadly serpent<sup>1</sup> in Calabria's glades, wreathing its scaly back, its breast erect, and its long belly mottled with large spots. So long as any streams gush from their founts, so long as earth is wet with spring's moisture and showery south winds, he haunts the pools, and, dwelling on the banks, there greedily fills his black maw with fish and croaking frogs. But when the fen is burnt up, and the soil gapes with heat, he springs forth to dry land and, rolling his blazing eyes, rages in the fields, fierce with thirst and frenzied with the heat. May I not then be fain to woo soft sleep beneath the open sky, or to lie outstretched in the grass on some wooded slope, when, his slough cast off, fresh and glistening in youth, he rolls along, leaving his young or eggs at home, towering towards the sun, and darting from his mouth a three-forked tongue!

<sup>440</sup> Diseases, too, their causes and tokens, I will teach you. Foul scab attacks sheep, when chilly rain and winter, bristling with hoar frost, have sunk deep

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the *chersydrus*, a water-snake.



# VIRGIL

altius ad vivum persedit et horrida cano  
 bruma gelu, vel cum tonsis inlotus adhaesit  
 sudor, et hirsuti secuerunt corpora vepres.  
 dulcibus idcirco fluviis pecus omne magistri 445  
 perfundunt, udisque aries in gurgite villis  
 mersatur, missusque secundo defluit amni;  
 aut tonsum tristi contingunt corpus amurca,  
 et spumas miscent argenti vivaque sulpura  
 Idaeasque pices et pinguis unguine ceras 450  
 scillamque elleborosque gravis nigrumque bitumen.  
 non tamen ulla magis praesens fortuna laborum est,  
 quam si quis ferro potuit rescindere summum  
 ulceris os: alitur vitium vivitque tegendo,  
 dum medicas adhibere manus ad volnera pastor 455  
 abnegat, et meliora deos sedet omnia poscens.  
 quin etiam, ima dolor balantum lapsus ad ossa  
 cum furit atque artus depascitur arida febris,  
 profuit incensos aestus avertere et inter  
 ima ferire pedis salientem sanguine venam, 460  
 Bisaltae quo more solent acerque Gelonus,  
 cum fugit in Rhodopen atque in deserta Getarum,  
 et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino.  
 quam procul aut molli succedere saepius umbrae  
 videris, aut summas carpentem ignavius herbas 465  
 extremamque sequi, aut medio procumbere campo  
 pascentem, et serae solam decedere nocti,  
 continuo culpam ferro compesce, prius quam  
 dira per incautum serpant contagia volgus.  
 non tam creber agens hiemem ruit aequore turbo,  
 quam multae pecudum pestes. nec singula morbi 471  
 corpora corripunt, sed tota aestiva repente,

<sup>444</sup> hirsutis *M*<sup>1</sup>*R*.

<sup>449</sup> et sulpura viva *most MSS.*: vivaque sulpura *b*<sup>2</sup>, *Macrobii*, *Servius*, *Berne Scholia*. <sup>456</sup> aut *MR*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>. omina *Mc*.

<sup>462</sup> atque] aut *M*.

<sup>465</sup> aut] et *M*<sup>1</sup>. ignavius] segnius *R*.

<sup>466</sup> concumbere *P*.

<sup>469</sup> serpunt *P*.

<sup>470</sup> aequora *R*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>.



### GEORGICS BOOK III

into the quick, or when the sweat, unwashed, clings to the shorn flock, and prickly briars tear the flesh. Therefore the keepers bathe the whole flock in fresh streams; the ram is plunged in the pool with his dripping fleece, and let loose to float down the current. Or, after shearing, they smear the body with bitter oil-lees, blending silver-scum and native sulphur with pitch from Ida and richly oiled wax, squill, strong hellebore, and black bitumen. Yet no help for their ills is of more avail than when one has dared to cut open with steel the ulcer's head; the mischief thrives and lives by concealment, while the shepherd refuses to lay healing hands on the wounds, and sits idle, praying the gods to better all. Nay more, when the pain runs to the very marrow of the bleating victims, there to rage, and when the parching fever preys on the limbs, it is well to turn aside the fiery heat, and within the hoof to lance a vein, throbbing with blood, even as the Bisaltae are wont to do, and the keen Gelonian, when he flees to Rhodope and the wilds of the Getae, and there drinks milk curdled with horses' blood. Should you see a sheep oft withdraw afar into soft shade, or listlessly nibble the top of the grass, lagging in the rear, or sink while grazing in the midst of the field and retire, late and lonely, before night's advance, straightway with the knife check the offence, ere the dread taint spreads through the unwary throng. Not so thick with driving gales sweeps a whirlwind from the sea, as scourges swarm among cattle. Not single victims do diseases seize, but a whole summer's fold in one stroke, the flock and

## VIRGIL

spemque gregemque simul cunctamque ab origine  
gentem.

tum sciat, aërias Alpis et Norica si quis  
castella in tumulis et Iapydis arva Timavi 475  
nunc quoque post tanto videat, desertaque regna  
pastorum et longe saltus lateque vacantis.

Hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est  
tempestas totoque autumnus incanduit aestu,  
et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum,  
corruitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo. 481

nec via mortis erat simplex; sed ubi ignea venis  
omnibus acta sitis miseros adduxerat artus,  
rursus abundabat fluidus liquor omniaque in se  
ossa minutatim morbo conlapsa trahebat. 485

saepe in honore deum medio stans hostia ad aram,  
lanea dum nivea circumdatur infula vitta,  
inter cunctantis cecidit moribunda ministros.  
aut si quam ferro mactaverat ante sacerdos,  
inde neque impositis ardent altaria fibris, 490

nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates,  
ac vix suppositi tinguntur sanguine cultri  
summaque ieiuna sanie infuscatur harena.  
hinc laetis vituli volgo moriuntur in herbis  
et dulcis animas plena ad praesepia reddunt; 495

hinc canibus blandis rabies venit, et quatit aegros  
tussis anhela sues ac faucibus angit obesis.  
labitur infelix studiorum atque immemor herbae  
victor equus fontisque avertitur et pede terram  
crebra ferit; demissae aures, incertus ibidem 500

<sup>474</sup> tunc *M*, *Servius*

<sup>475</sup> et] ut *P*. Iapydis *M*, *Probus*, *Servius*: Iapygis *PRγ*,  
*Berne Scholia*: arva] ora *P*: arma *MR*.

<sup>481</sup> corripuitque *P*.

<sup>483</sup> attraxerat *P*.

<sup>488</sup> magistros *R*.

### GEORGICS BOOK III

the hope of the flock, and the whole race, root and branch. Of this may one be witness, should he see—even now, so long after—the skyey Alps and the forts on the Noric hills, and the fields of Illyrian Timavus with the shepherds' realm desolate, and their glades far and wide untenanted.

<sup>478</sup> On this land from the sickened sky there once came a piteous season that glowed with autumn's full heat. Every tribe of cattle, tame or wild, it swept to death; it poisoned the lakes, it tainted the pastures with venom. Not simple was the pathway to death;<sup>1</sup> but when the fiery thirst had coursed through all the veins and shrivelled the hapless limbs, in its turn a watery humour welled up and drew into itself all the bones, as piecemeal they melted with disease. Oft in the midst of divine rites, the victim, standing by the altar, even as the woollen fillet's snowy band was passed round its brow, fell in death's throes amid the tardy ministrants. Or if, ere that, the priest had slain a victim with the knife, yet the altars blazed not therewith, as the entrails were laid on; the seer, when consulted, could give no response; the knife beneath the throat is scarce stained with blood, and only the surface sand is darkened with the thin gore. Then on every side amid gladsome herbage the young kine die or yield up sweet life by their full folds. Then madness visits fawning hounds; a racking cough shakes the sickening swine and chokes them with swollen throats. The steed, once victor, sinks; failing in his efforts and forgetful of the grass, he turns from the spring, and oft-times paws the ground; his ears droop, on them breaks out a fitful sweat—sweat that is cold as

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* in the course of the disease opposite symptoms succeeded each other.

# VIRGIL

sudor et ille quidem morituris frigidus; aret  
 pellis et ad tactum tractanti dura resistit.  
 haec ante exitium primis dant signa diebus;  
 sin in processu coepit crudescere morbus,  
 tum vero ardentes oculi atque attractus ab alto 505  
 spiritus, interdum gemitu gravis, imaque longo  
 ilia singultu tendunt, it naribus ater  
 sanguis, et obsessas fauces premit aspera lingua.  
 profuit inserto latices infundere cornu  
 Lenaeos; ea visa salus morientibus una: 510  
 mox erat hoc ipsum exitio, furiisque refectioni  
 ardebant, ipsique suos iam morte sub aegra  
 (di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum!)  
 discissos nudis laniabant dentibus artus.

Ecce autem duro fumans sub vomere taurus 515  
 concidit et mixtum spumis vomit ore cruorem  
 extremosque ciet gemitus. it tristis arator,  
 maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuvenum,  
 atque opere in medio defixa relinquit aratra.  
 non umbrae altorum nemorum, non mollia possunt 520  
 prata movere animum, non qui per saxa volutus  
 purior electro campum petit amnis; at ima  
 solvuntur latera, atque oculos stupor urget inertis  
 ad terramque fluit devexo pondere cervix.  
 quid labor aut benefacta iuvant? quid vomere terras  
 invertisse gravis? atqui non Massica Bacchi 526  
 munera, non illis epulae nocuere repostae:  
 frondibus et victu pascuntur simplicis herbae,  
 pocula sunt fontes liquidi atque exercita cursu  
 flumina, nec somnos abrumpit cura salubris. 530

Tempore non alio dicunt regionibus illis  
 quaesitas ad sacra boves Iunonis et uris

501 morituri *M*<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>.      506 altaque *M*<sup>1</sup>.      509 insertos *P*.  
 511 exitio hoc ipsum *P*.      513 ardoremque *R*.  
 517 it] et *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*.      519 reliquit *P*, *Donatus*, *Servius*.  
 532 aris *P*.

### GEORGICS BOOK III

death draws nigh; the skin is dry and, hard to the touch, withstands the stroking hand. Such are the signs they yield ere death in the first days; but as in its course the sickness grows fierce, then the eyes blaze, the breath is drawn deep—at times laden with moans—their utmost flanks are strained with long-drawn sobs, black blood gushes from the nostrils, and the rough tongue chokes the blockaded throat. It has availed to pour in wine-juice through a horn inserted—this seemed the one hope for the dying. Soon even this led to death; they burned with the fury of fresh strength, and, though now in the weakness of death (Heaven grant a happier lot to the good, and such madness to our foes!), rent and mangled their own limbs with bared teeth.

<sup>515</sup> But lo, the bull, smoking under the plough-share's weight, falls; from his mouth he spurts blood, mingled with foam, and heaves his dying groans. Sadly goes the ploughman, unyokes the steer that sorrows for his brother's death, and amid its half-done task leaves the share rooted fast. No shades of deep woods, no soft meadows can touch his heart, no stream purer than amber, rolling over the rocks in its course towards the plain; but his flanks are unstrung throughout, numbness weighs upon his languid eyes, and his neck sinks with drooping weight to earth. Of what avail is his toil or his services? What avails it, that he turned with the share the heavy clod? And yet no Massic gifts of Bacchus, no feasts, oft renewed, did harm to him and his. They feed on leaves and simple grass; their cups are clear springs and rivers racing in their course, and no care breaks their healthful slumbers.

<sup>531</sup> Only at that time, they say, were kine in those regions sought in vain for the rites of Juno, and



# VIRGIL

imparibus ductos alta ad donaria currus.  
 ergo aegre rastris terram rimantur, et ipsis  
 unguibus infodiunt fruges, montisque per altos 535  
 contenta cervice trahunt stridentia plaustra.  
 non lupus insidias explorat ovilia circum  
 nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat; acrior illum  
 cura domat. timidi dammae cervique fugaces  
 nunc interque canes et circum tecta vagantur. 540  
 iam maris immensi prolem et genus omne natantum  
 litore in extremo ceu naufraga corpora fluctus  
 proluit; insolitae fugiunt in flumina phocae.  
 interit et curvis frustra defensa latebris  
 vipera et attoniti squamis adstantibus hydri. 545  
 ipsis est aër avibus non aequus, et illae  
 praecipites alta vitam sub nube relinquunt.  
 praeterea iam nec mutari pabula refert,  
 quaesitaeque nocent artes; cessere magistri,  
 Phillyrides Chiron Amythaoniusque Melampus. 550  
 saevit et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris  
 pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque  
 inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert.  
 balatu pecorum et crebris mugitibus amnes  
 arentesque sonant ripae collesque supini. 555  
 iamque catervatim dat stragem atque aggerat  
 ipsis  
 in stabulis turpi dilapsa cadavera tabo,  
 donec humo tegere ac foveis abscondere discunt.  
 nam neque erat coriis usus, nec viscera quisquam  
 aut undis abolere potest aut vincere flamma. 560  
 ne tondere quidem morbo inlueque peresa

535 altos] arduos *P.* *So Sabb.*

537 insidians *Rγ.*

544 deprensa *P.*

545 serpentibus *P.*

548 nec iam mutari *R*: nec mutari iam *Macrobius.*

549 cessare *M*<sup>1</sup>.

555 horrentes *R.*



### GEORGICS BOOK III

chariots were drawn by ill-matched buffaloes to her lofty treasure-house.<sup>1</sup> Therefore men painfully scratch the earth with harrows, with their own nails bury the seed, and over the high hills with straining necks drag the creaking wains. The wolf tries not his wiles around the sheepfold, nor prowls by night about the flocks; a keener care tames him. Timorous deer and shy stags now stray among the hounds and about the houses. Yea, the brood of the great deep, and all swimming things, like shipwrecked corpses, are washed up by the waves on the verge of the shore; in strange wise sea-calves flee to the rivers. The viper, too, vainly defended in her winding lairs, perishes, and the water-snake, his scales erect in terror. The air is unkind even to the birds; headlong they fall, leaving life beneath the clouds on high. Further, even change of pasture avails no more; the remedies sought work harm; masters in the art fail, Chiron, son of Phillyra, and Melampus, Amythaon's son. Ghastly Tisiphone rages, and, let forth into light from Stygian gloom, drives before her Disease and Dread, while day by day, uprising, she rears still higher her greedy head. The rivers and thirsty banks and sloping hills echo to the bleating of flocks and incessant lowing of kine. And now in droves she deals out death, and in the very stalls piles up the bodies, rotting with putrid foulness, till men learn to cover them in earth and bury them in pits. For neither might the hides be used, nor could one cleanse the flesh by water or master it by fire. They could not even shear the fleeces, eaten up with sores

<sup>1</sup> At Argos the car of the priestess of Hera (Juno) was drawn by white oxen. Virgil perhaps transfers this practice to the Alpine district of Noricum and Timavus.

vellera nec telas possunt attingere putris:  
 verum etiam invisos si quis temptarat amictus,  
 ardentes papulae atque immundus olentia sudor  
 membra sequebatur, nec longo deinde moranti 565  
 tempore contactos artus sacer ignis edebat.

<sup>563</sup> verum] quin *R.* temptaret *M*<sup>1</sup>.  
<sup>566</sup> contractos *P.*

### GEORGICS BOOK III

and filth, nor touch the rotten web. Nay, if any man  
donned the loathsome garb, feverish blisters and foul  
sweat would run along his fetid limbs, and not long  
had he to wait ere the accursed fire was feeding on  
his stricken limbs.

## LIBER IV

PROTINUS aërii mellis caelestia dona MPR  
 exsequar. hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem.  
 admiranda tibi levium spectacula rerum  
 magnanimosque duces totiusque ordine gentis  
 mores et studia et populos et proelia dicam. 5  
 in tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria, si quem  
 numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo.

Principio sedes apibus statioque petenda,  
 quo neque sit ventis aditus (nam pabula venti  
 ferre domum probibent) neque oves haedique petulci  
 floribus insultent, aut errans bucula campo 11  
 decutiat rorem et surgentis atterat herbas.  
 absint et picti squalentia terga lacerti  
 pinguibus a stabulis, meropesque aliaeque volucres  
 et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis: 15  
 omnia nam late vastant ipsasque volantis  
 ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam.  
 at liquidi fontes et stagna virentia musco  
 adsint et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus,  
 palmaque vestibulum aut ingens oleaster inumbret,  
 ut, cum prima novi ducent examina reges 21  
 vere suo, ludetque favis emissa iuventus,  
 vicina invitet decedere ripa calori,

<sup>11</sup> campi P.    <sup>20</sup> aut] atque P.    <sup>22</sup> suo] muo (= novo?) P.  
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## BOOK IV

NEXT will I discourse of Heaven's gift, the honey from the skies. On this part, too, of my task, Maecenas, look with favour. The wondrous pageant of a tiny world—chiefs great-hearted, a whole nation's character and tastes and tribes and battles—I will in due order unfold to thee. Slight is the field of toil; but not slight the glory, if adverse powers leave one free, and Apollo hearkens unto prayer.

<sup>8</sup> First seek a settled home for your bees, whither the winds may find no access—for the winds let them not carry home their food—where no ewes or sportive kids may trample the flowers, nor straying heifer brush off the dew from the mead and bruise the springing blade. Let the spangled lizard with his scaly back be also a stranger to the rich stalls, and the bee-eater and other birds, and Procne,<sup>1</sup> with breast marked by her blood-stained hands. For these spread havoc far and near, and, while the bees are on the wing, carry them off in their mouths, a sweet morsel for their cruel nestlings. But let clear springs be near, and moss-green pools, and a tiny brook stealing through the grass; and let a palm or huge wild olive shade the porch, so that, when the new kings lead forth the early swarms in the spring they love, and the youth revel in their freedom from the combs, a bank near by may tempt them to quit

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the swallow.

## VIRGIL

obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbos.  
 in medium, seu stabit iners seu profluet umor, 25  
 transversas salices et grandia conice saxa,  
 pontibus ut crebris possint consistere et alas  
 pandere ad aestivum solem, si forte morantis  
 sparserit aut praeceps Neptuno immerserit Eurus.  
 haec circum casiae virides et olentia late 30  
 serpulla et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae  
 floreat, inriguumque bibant violaria fontem.  
 ipsa autem, seu corticibus tibi suta cavatis  
 seu lento fuerint alvaria vimine texta,  
 angustos habeant aditus : nam frigore mella 35  
 cogit hiems, eademque calor liquefacta remittit.  
 utraque vis apibus pariter metuenda ; neque illae m<sup>p</sup>  
 nequiquam in tectis certatim tenuia cera  
 spiramenta linunt, fucoque et floribus oras  
 explent, collectumque haec ipsa ad munera gluten 40  
 et visco et Phrygiae servant pice lentius Idae.  
 saepe etiam effossis, si vera est fama, latebris  
 sub terra fovere larem, penitusque repertae  
 pumicibusque cavis exesaeque arboris antro.  
 tu tamen et levi rimosa cubilia limo 45  
 ungue fovens circum, et raras superinice frondes.  
 neu propius tectis taxum sine, neve rubentis  
 ure foco canculos, altae neu crede paludi,  
 aut ubi odor caeni gravis aut ubi concava pulsu  
 saxa sonant vocisque offensa resultat imago. 50  
 Quod superest, ubi pulsam hiemem Sol aureus egit  
 sub terras caelumque aestiva luce reclusit,

<sup>25</sup> profluit *P*γ.

<sup>43</sup> fodiere *M*<sup>1</sup> : fodere *M*<sup>2</sup>.



## GEORGICS BOOK IV

the heat, and a tree in their path may hold them in its sheltering leafage. In the midst of the water, whether it stand idle or flow onward, cast willows athwart and huge stones, that they may have many bridges whereon to halt and spread their wings to the summer sun, if haply the East-wind has sprinkled the loiterers or with swift gust has plunged them in the flood. All about let green cassia bloom, and wild thyme with fragrance far borne, and a wealth of strong-scented savory; and let violet-beds drink of the trickling spring.

<sup>33</sup> Then, let the hive itself, whether it be sewn of hollow bark, or woven of pliant osier, have its entrances narrow; for winter with its cold congeals the honey, while heat thaws and makes it run. Either trouble is alike to be feared for the bees; nor is it with vain zeal that in their homes they smear the tiny crevices with wax, fill the chinks with paste from flowers, and keep a store of glue, gathered for this very purpose, more binding than lime or the pitch of Phrygian Ida. Oft, too, if report be true, they have made a snug home in tunnelled hiding-places underground, and are found deep in the hollows of pumice rock, or the cavern of a decayed tree. Yet do you keep them snug, smearing the chinks of their chambers with smooth clay, and flinging thereon a few leaves. And suffer no yew too near the hive, nor roast the reddening crab at your hearth; and trust not a deep marsh or a place where the smell of mud is strong, or where the hollow rocks ring when struck, and the echoed voice rebounds from the shock.

<sup>51</sup> For the rest, when the golden Sun has driven winter in rout beneath the earth, and with summer light unlocked the sky, straightway they

## VIRGIL

illae continuo saltus silvasque peragrant  
 purpureosque metunt flores et flumina libant  
 summa leves. hinc nescio qua dulcedine lactae 55  
 progeniem nidosque foveant, hinc arte recentis  
 excudunt ceras et mella tenacia fingunt.  
 hinc ubi iam emissum caveis ad sidera caeli  
 nare per aestatem liquidam suspexeris agmen  
 obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem, 60  
 contemplator: aquas dulcis et frondea semper  
 tecta petunt. huc tu iussos adsperge saporés,  
 trita melisphylla et cerinthae ignobile gramen,  
 tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum.  
 ipsae consident medicatis sedibus, ipsae 65  
 intima more suo sese in cunabula condent.

Sin autem ad pugnam exierint—nam saepe duobus  
 regibus incessit magno discordia motu;  
 continuoque animos volgi et trepidantia bello  
 corda licet longe praesciscere; namque morantis 70  
 Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat et vox  
 auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum;  
 tum trepidae inter se coeunt pinnisque coruscant  
 spiculaque exacuunt rostris aptantque lacertos  
 et circa regem atque ipsa ad praetoria densae 75  
 miscentur magnisque vocant clamoribus hostem:  
 ergo ubi ver nactae sudum camposque patentis,  
 erumpunt portis: concurritur, aethere in alto  
 fit sonitus, magnum mixtae glomerantur in orbem  
 praecipitesque cadunt; non densior aëre grando, 80

<sup>57</sup> excludunt *P.*

<sup>58</sup> hic *P.*

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* referring to the worship of Cybele, which was accompanied by the clash of cymbals.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence beginning *sin autem* . . . is never concluded, but the parenthesis beginning with *nam saepe* passes into a long description of the battle.

## GEORGICS BOOK IV

range through glades and groves, cull bright flowers, and lightly sip the stream's brink. Hence it is that, glad with some strange joy, they cherish nest and nestlings; hence they deftly mould fresh wax and fashion the gluey honey. Hence when you look up and see the host, just freed from the hive, floating towards the starry sky through the clear summer air—when you marvel at the dark cloud trailing down the wind—mark it well; they are ever in quest of sweet waters and leafy coverts. Here scatter the scents I prescribe—bruised balm, and the honeywort's lowly herb; raise a tinkling sound, and shake the Mighty Mother's cymbals round about.<sup>1</sup> Of themselves will they settle on the scented resting-places; of themselves, after their wont, will hide far within their cradling cells.

<sup>67</sup> But, if haply for battle they have gone forth <sup>2</sup>—for oft-times strife with terrible turmoil hath fallen on two kings; and straightway you may presage from afar the fury of the crowd, and how their hearts thrill with war; for the warlike ring of the hoarse clarion stirs the loiterers, and a sound is heard that is like unto broken trumpet-blasts. Then, all afire, they flock together: their wings flash, they whet their stings on their beaks<sup>3</sup> and make ready their arms. Round their king, and even by his royal tent, they swarm in throngs, and with loud cries challenge the foe. Therefore, when they have found a clear spring day and open field, they sally forth from the gates. There is a clash; in high air arises a din; they are mingled and massed in one great ball, then tumble headlong: no thicker is hail from the sky, not so dense

<sup>3</sup> Bees cannot do this, but perhaps the poet has in mind their custom of scraping the abdomen with their legs and then removing the dirt from their legs with their mandibles.

# VIRGIL

nec de concussa tantum pluit ilice glandis.  
 ipsi per medias acies insignibus alis  
 ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant,  
 usque adeo obnixi non cedere, dum gravis aut hos  
 aut hos versa fuga victor dare terga subegit. 85  
 hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta  
 pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescunt.

Verum ubi ductores acie revocaveris ambo,  
 deterior qui visus, eum, ne prodigus obsit,  
 dede neci; melior vacua sine regnet in aula. 90  
 alter erit maculis auro squalentibus ardens.  
 nam duo sunt genera: hic melior, insignis et ore  
 et rutilis clarus squamis; ille horridus alter  
 desidia latamque trahens inglorius alvum.  
 ut binae regum facies, ita corpora plebis. 95  
 namque aliae turpes horrent, ceu pulvere ab alto  
 cum venit et sicco terram spuit ore viator FMP  
 aridus; elucent aliae et fulgore coruscant  
 ardentes auro et paribus lita corpora guttis.  
 haec potior suboles, hinc caeli tempore certo 100  
 dulcia mella premes, nec tantum dulcia, quantum  
 et liquida et durum Bacchi domitura saporem.

At cum incerta volant caeloque examina ludunt  
 contemnuntque favos et frigida tecta relinquunt,  
 instabilis animos ludo prohibebis inani. 105  
 nec magnus prohibere labor: tu regibus alas  
 eripe; non illis quisquam cunctantibus altum  
 ire iter aut castris audebit vellere signa.  
 invitent croceis halantes floribus horti  
 et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna 110  
 Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi.

<sup>87</sup> quiescent *P*.

<sup>103</sup> at] aut *P*.

<sup>110</sup> frugum *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> ambos *P*.

<sup>105</sup> instabulis *M*<sup>1</sup>.

## GEORGICS BOOK IV

is the rain of acorns from the shaken oak. In the midst of the ranks the chiefs themselves, with resplendent wings, have mighty souls beating in tiny breasts, ever steadfast not to yield, until the victor's heavy hand has driven these or those to turn their backs in flight. These storms of passion, these conflicts so fierce, by the tossing of a little dust are quelled and laid to rest.

<sup>88</sup> But when you have called both captains back from the field, give up to death the meaner of look, that he prove no wasteful burden; let the nobler reign in the palace alone. The one will be aglow with rough spots of gold. For there are two sorts: one is better, noble of mien and bright with gleaming scales; the second squalid from sloth, and trailing ignobly a broad paunch. As twofold are the features of the kings, so are the bodies of the subjects. For some are ugly and unsightly, as when from out of deep dust comes the parched wayfarer, and spits the dirt from his dried mouth. Others gleam, and flash in splendour, their bodies all ablaze and flecked with equal drops of gold. This is the nobler breed; from this, in the sky's due season, you will strain sweet honey—yet not so sweet as clear, and fit to subdue the harsh flavour of wine.

<sup>103</sup> But when the swarms flit aimlessly and sport in the air, scorning their cells and leaving their hives chill, you must check their fickle spirit from such idle play. No hard task is it to check them. Do you tear from the monarchs their wings; while they tarry, no one will dare to go forth aloft, or pluck the standards from the camp. Let there be gardens fragrant with saffron flowers to invite them, and let the watchman against thieves and birds, guardian Priapus, lord of the Hellespont, protect them with his



## VIRGIL

ipse thymum tinosque ferens de montibus altis  
 tecta serat late circum, cui talia curae ;  
 ipse labore manum duro terat, ipse feracis  
 figat humo plantas et amicos inriget imbris. 115

Atque equidem, extremo ni iam sub fine laborum  
 vela traham et terris festinem advertere proram,  
 forsitan et, pinguis hortos quae cura colendi  
 ornaret, canerem, biferique rosaria Paesti,  
 quoque modo potis gauderent intiba rivis 120  
 et virides apio ripae, tortusque per herbam  
 cresceret in ventrem cucumis; nec sera comantem  
 narcissum aut flexi tacuissem vimen acanthi  
 pallentisque hederas et amantis litora myrtos.  
 namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus arcis, MP  
 qua niger umectat flaventia culta Galaesus, 126  
 Corycium vidisse senem, cui pauca relict  
 iugera ruris erant, nec fertilis illa iuvenecis  
 nec pecori opportuna seges nec commoda Baccho :  
 hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum 130  
 lilia verbenasque premens vescumque papaver  
 regum aequabat opes animis, seraque revertens  
 nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.  
 primus vere rosam atque autumn  
 et cum tristis hiems etiamnum frigore saxa 135  
 rumperet et glacie cursus frenaret aquarum,  
 ille comam mollis iam tondebat hyacinthi  
 aestatem increpitans seram Zephyrosque morantis.

<sup>112</sup> tinos *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*, known to *Philargyrius* : pinos *FM*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> circum late *P*. <sup>120</sup> rivis] fibris *Priscian*.

<sup>124</sup> -que omitted *F*.

<sup>125</sup> arcis *P* : altis *FM*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius* : autis *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> pecori] *Cereri Salmasius*.

<sup>137</sup> iam tum *P*. achanti *M* (*late, in margin*).

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<sup>1</sup> Referring to the rude wooden figures of Priapus holding a wooden sickle in the hand, which were set up in gardens to protect them from thieves and birds.



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willow-hook.<sup>1</sup> Let him, to whom such care falls, himself bring thyme and laurestines<sup>2</sup> from the high hills, and plant them widely round their homes; himself harden his hand with stern toil; himself plant in the ground fruitful slips and sprinkle kindly showers.

<sup>116</sup> And in truth, were I not now hard on the very close of my toils, furling my sails, and hastening to turn my prow to land, perchance, too, I might be singing what careful tillage decks rich gardens, singing of the rose-beds of twice-blooming Paestum; how the endive rejoices in the streams it drinks, and the green banks in the parsley; and how the gourd, winding along the ground, swells into its paunch. Nor had I been silent on the late-blooming narcissus, or the curling acanthus-stem, the pale ivy or the shore-loving myrtle. For I call to mind how under the towers of Oebalia's citadel,<sup>3</sup> where dark Galaesus waters his yellow fields, I saw an old Corycian, who had a few acres of unclaimed land, and this a soil not rich enough for bullocks' ploughing, unfitted for the flock, and unkindly to the vine. Yet, as he planted herbs here and there among the bushes, with white lilies about, and vervain, and slender poppy, he matched in contentment the wealth of kings, and, returning home in the late evening, would load his board with unbought dainties. He was first to pluck roses in spring and apples in autumn; and when sullen winter was still bursting rocks with the cold, and curbing running waters with ice, he was already culling the soft hyacinth's bloom, chiding laggard summer and the loitering

<sup>2</sup> The *tinus* is described by Philargyrius as a wild laurel with dark blue berries. It is really the *laurustinus* of our gardens, a great favourite with bees, but in no way related to the true laurels.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* Tarentum, founded by Laconians.

ergo apibus fetis idem atque examine multo  
 primus abundare et spumantia cogere pressis 140  
 mella favis; illi tiliae atque uberrima tinus,  
 quotque in flore novo pomis se fertilis arbos  
 induerat, totidem autumno matura tenebat.  
 ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos  
 eduramque pirum et spinos iam pruna ferentis 145  
 iamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras.  
 verum haec ipse equidem spatiis exclusus iniquis  
 praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.

Nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse  
 addidit expediam, pro qua mercede canoros 150  
 Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae  
 Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro.

solae communis natos, consortia tecta FMP

urbis habent, magnisque agitant sub legibus aevum,  
 et patriam solae et certos novere penatis, 155

venturaeque hiemis memores aestate laborem  
 experiuntur et in medium quaesita reponunt.

namque aliae victu invigilant et foedere pacto  
 exercentur agris; pars intra saepta domorum  
 narcissi lacrimam et lentum de cortice gluten 160  
 prima favis ponunt fundamina, deinde tenacis

suspendunt ceras; aliae spem gentis adultos  
 educunt fetus; aliae purissima mella  
 stipant et liquido distendunt nectare cellas;

sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti, 165  
 inque vicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,

aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto

<sup>139</sup> idemque *P.*

<sup>141</sup> illic *P.* tilia *M.* tinus *M*<sup>1</sup>: pinus *M*<sup>2</sup>*P.*, both known to *Philargyrius*. <sup>148</sup> post memoranda *MP.* <sup>154</sup> -que omitted *P.*

<sup>1</sup> Though editors commonly read *pinus*, Janell and Goelzer have followed me in adopting *tinus*. See Appendix, p. 583.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* he was able to transplant full-grown trees.

<sup>3</sup> Saturn, knowing that one of his children was to depose

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zephyrs. So he, too, was first to be enriched with mother-bees and a plenteous swarm, the first to gather frothing honey from the squeezed comb. Luxuriant were his limes and laurestines;<sup>1</sup> and all the fruits his bounteous tree donned in its early bloom, full as many it kept in the ripeness of autumn. He, too, planted out in rows elms far-grown, pear-trees when quite hard, thorns even now bearing plums, and the plane already yielding to drinkers the service of its shade.<sup>2</sup> But I, barred by these narrow bounds, pass by this theme, and leave it for others after me to tell.

<sup>149</sup> Come now, the qualities which Jove himself has given bees, I will unfold—even the reward, for which they followed the tuneful sounds and clashing bronzes of the Curetes, and fed the king of Heaven within the cave of Dicte.<sup>3</sup> They alone have children in common, hold the dwellings of their city jointly, and pass their life under the majesty of law. They alone know a fatherland and fixed home, and in summer, mindful of the winter to come, spend toilsome days and garner their gains into a common store. For some watch over the gathering of food, and under fixed covenant labour in the fields; some, within the confines of their homes, lay down the narcissus' tears and gluey gum from tree-bark as the first foundation of the comb, then hang aloft clinging wax; others lead out the full-grown young, the nation's hope; others pack purest honey, and swell the cells with liquid nectar. To some it has fallen by lot to be sentries at the gates, and in turn they watch the rains and clouds of heaven, or take the loads of incomers, or in martial array drive him, devoured them as they were born, but the infant Jupiter was concealed by his mother in a cave of Mount Dicte, and the Curetes drowned his cries by clashing their cymbals, while the bees fed him with honey.

# VIRGIL

ignavum fucos pecus a praeseptibus arcent.  
 fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.  
 ac veluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis 170  
 cum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras  
 accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt  
 aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus Aetna;  
 illi inter sese magna vi brachia tollunt  
 in numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum: MP  
 non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis, 176  
 Cecropias innatus apes amor urget habendi  
 munere quamque suo. grandaevus oppida curae  
 et munire favos et daedala fingere tecta.  
 at fessae multa referunt se nocte minores, 180  
 crura thymo plenae; pascuntur et arbuta passim MPR  
 et glaucas salices casiamque crocumque rubentem  
 et pinguem tiliam et ferrugineos hyacinthos.  
 omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus:  
 mane ruunt portis; nusquam mora; rursus easdem  
 Vesper ubi e pastu tandem decedere campis 186  
 admonuit, tum tecta petunt, tum corpora curant;  
 fit sonitus, mussantque oras et limina circum.  
 post ubi iam thalamis se composuere, siletur  
 in noctem, fessosque sopor suus occupat artus. 190  
 nec vero a stabulis pluvia imminente recedunt  
 longius, aut credunt caelo adventantibus Euris,  
 sed circum tutae sub moenibus urbis aquantur  
 excursusque brevis temptant, et saepe lapillos,  
 ut cumbae instabiles fluctu iactante saburram, 195  
 tollunt, his sese per inania nubila librant.

170 lenti *F*<sup>1</sup>: lente *P*.

185 numquam *P*.

173 Aetna] antrum *FP*.

195 flatu *P*.

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the drones, a lazy herd, from the folds. All aglow is the work, and the fragrant honey is sweet with thyme. And as, when the Cyclopes in haste forge bolts from tough ore, some with ox-hide bellows make the blasts come and go, others dip the hissing brass in the lake, while Aetna groans under the anvils laid upon her; they, with mighty force, now one, now another, raise their arms in measured cadence, and turn the iron with gripping tongs—even so, if we may compare small things with great, an inborn love of gain spurs on the Attic bees, each after its own office. The aged have charge of the towns, the building of the hives, the fashioning of the cunningly wrought houses. But the young betake them home in weariness, late at night, their thighs freighted with thyme; far and wide they feed on arbutus, on pale-green willows, on cassia and ruddy crocus, on the rich linden, and the dusky hyacinth. All have one season to rest from labour, all one season to toil. At dawn they pour from the gates—no loitering; again, when the star of eve has warned them to withdraw from their pasture in the fields, then they seek their homes, then they refresh their frames; a sound is heard, as they hum about the entrances and on the thresholds. Anon, when they have laid them to rest in their chambers, silence reigns into the night, and well-earned sleep seizes their weary limbs. Nor yet, if rain impend, do they stray far from their stalls, or trust the sky when eastern gales are near, but round about, beneath the shelter of their city walls, draw water, and essay short flights; and often they raise tiny stones, as unsteady barques take up ballast in a tossing sea, and with these balance themselves amid the unsubstantial clouds.



Illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem,  
 quod neque concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes  
 in Venerem solvunt aut fetus nixibus edunt;  
 verum ipsae e foliis natos et suavibus herbis 200  
 ore legunt, ipsae regem parvosque Quirites  
 sufficiunt, aulasque et cerea regna refingunt.  
 saepe etiam duris errando in cotibus alas  
 attrivere, ultroque animam sub fasce dedere:  
 tantus amor florum et generandi gloria mellis. 205  
 ergo ipsas quamvis angusti terminus aevi  
 excipiat (neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas),  
 at genus immortale manet, multosque per annos  
 stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum.  
 praeterea regem non sic Aegyptus et ingens 210  
 Lydia nec populi Parthorum aut Medus Hydaspes  
 observant. rege incolumi mens omnibus una est;  
 amisso rupere fidem, constructaque mella  
 diripuerunt ipsae et cratis solvere favorum.  
 ille operum custos, illum admirantur et omnes 215  
 circumstant fremitu denso stipantque frequentes,  
 et saepe attollunt umeris et corpora bello  
 obiectant pulchramque petunt per volnera mortem.

His quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti  
 esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus 220  
 aetherios dixere; deum namque ire per omnia,  
 terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;  
 hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,

<sup>200</sup> e omitted P. et γbc: e MP: sed R.

<sup>202</sup> refigunt Mγ: relingunt P. <sup>211</sup> aut] et M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>217</sup> pectora P. <sup>221</sup> omnis MSS.: omnia Peerlkamp.

<sup>222</sup> terrarum M (late).



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<sup>197</sup> Yea, and you will marvel that this custom has found favour with bees, that they indulge not in conjugal embraces, nor idly unnerve their bodies in love, or bring forth young with travail, but of themselves<sup>1</sup> gather their children in their mouths from leaves and sweet herbs, of themselves provide a new monarch and tiny burghers, and remodel their palaces and waxen realms. Often, too, as they wander among rugged rocks they bruise their wings, and freely yield their lives under their load—so deep is their love of flowers and their glory in begetting honey. Therefore, though the limit of a narrow span awaits the bees themselves—for never stretches it beyond the seventh summer—yet the race abides immortal, for many a year stands firm the fortune of the house, and grandsires' grandsires are numbered on the roll.

<sup>210</sup> Moreover, neither Egypt nor mighty Lydia, nor the Parthian tribes, nor Median Hydaspes, show such homage to their king. While he is safe, all are of one mind; when he is lost, straightway they break their fealty, and themselves pull down the honey they have reared and tear up their trellised combs. He is the guardian of their toils; to him they do reverence; all stand round him in clamorous crowd, and attend him in throngs. Often they lift him on their shoulders, for him expose their bodies to battle, and seek amid wounds a glorious death.

<sup>219</sup> Led by such tokens and such instances, some have taught that the bees have received a share of the divine intelligence, and a draught of heavenly ether;<sup>2</sup> for God, they say, pervades all things, earth and sea's expanse and heaven's depth; from Him the flocks and

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* without the male.

<sup>2</sup> The *aether*, according to ancient philosophers, was the lightest of the elements, and, rising above all the rest, surrounded the universe and fed the heavenly bodies.

# VIRGIL

quemque sibi tenuis nascentem arcessere vitas ;  
 scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri 225  
 omnia, nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare  
 sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo.

Si quando sedem augustam servataque mella  
 thesauris relinēs, prius haustu sparsus aquarum  
 ora fove, fumosque manu praetende sequacis. 230  
 illis ira modum supra est, laesaeque venenum 236  
 morsibus inspirant, et spicula caeca relinquunt  
 adfixae venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt.  
 bis gravidos cogunt fetus, duo tempora messis, 231  
 Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum  
 Plias et Oceani spretos pede reppulit amnis,  
 aut eadem sidus fugiens ubi Piscis aquosi 235  
 tristior hibernas caelo descendit in undas.  
 sin duram metues hiemem parcesque futuro 239  
 contusosque animos et res miserabere fractas, 240  
 at suffire thymo cerasque recidere inanis  
 quis dubitet? nam saepe favos ignotus adedit  
 stellio et lucifugis congesta cubilia blattis  
 immunisque sedens aliena ad pabula fucus ;  
 aut asper crabro imparibus se immiscuit armis, 245  
 aut dirum tiniae genus, aut invisā Minervae  
 laxos in foribus suspendit aranea cassis.

227 succedere] se condere *R.*

228 angustam *R.*

229 thesauri *P.* thesauris *Rγ*<sup>1</sup>: thesauris *M*, *Servius*.  
 retines *P.* astu *M*<sup>1</sup>.

230 ora *M*<sup>2</sup>: ore *M*<sup>1</sup>*PR*, *Servius*, *Philargyrius*. fave *M*<sup>1</sup>,  
*Philargyrius*, known to *Servius*. manu] sinu *P.*

230.239 The order of the lines as given in the MSS. is thus  
 departed from by Bentley, Ribbeck, and others.

231 flores *P.* 238 vulnera *Rγ*. 239 metuens *Rγ*<sup>1</sup>.

241 suffere *P.* sufferre *MR*: suffire *γ*, *Priscian*.

242 iam *P.* adhaesit *R.*

244 pocula *M*<sup>1</sup>.

## GEORGICS BOOK IV

herds, men and beasts of every sort draw, each at birth, the slender stream of life ; yea, unto Him all beings thereafter return, and, when unmade, are restored ; no place is there for death, but, still quick, they fly unto the ranks of the stars, and mount to the heavens aloft.

<sup>228</sup> Whenever you would break into the stately dwelling and the honey hoarded in their treasure-houses, first with a draught of water sprinkle and rinse your mouth, and in your hand hold forth searching smoke. [ Their rage is beyond measure ; when hurt, they breathe poison into their bites, and fastening on the veins leave there their unseen stings and lay down their lives in the wound. ] Twice they gather the teeming produce ; two seasons are there for the harvest—first, so soon as Taygete the Pleiad <sup>1</sup> has shown her comely face to the earth, and spurned with scornful foot the streams of Ocean, and when that same star, fleeing before the sign of the watery Fish, sinks sadly from heaven into the wintry waves.

<sup>239</sup> But if you fear a rigorous winter, and would be lenient with their future, and have pity for their crushed spirits and broken fortunes—yet who would hesitate to fumigate them with thyme, and cut away the empty waxen cells ? For oft the newt, unnoticed, has nibbled at the combs, the light-shunning beetles cram the chambers, and the unhelpful drone seats him at another's board. Or the fierce hornet has rushed upon their unequal forces, or the moths appear, a pestilent race, or the spider, hateful to Minerva, hangs in the doorway her loose-woven

<sup>1</sup> The Pleiades can first be seen in the eastern sky before sunrise about June 15. They set shortly before sunrise early in November. *Sidus Piscis* designates the winter season, which is just coming on when they set.

quo magis exhaustae fuerint, hoc acrius omnes  
incumbent generis lapsi sarcire ruinas  
complebuntque foros et floribus horrea textent. 250

Si vero, quoniam casus apibus quoque nostros  
vita tulit, tristi languebunt corpora morbo—  
quod iam non dubiis poteris cognoscere signis :  
continuo est aegris alius color ; horrida voltum  
deformat macies ; tum corpora luce carentum 255  
exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt ;

aut illae pedibus conexae ad limina pendent,  
aut intus clausis cunctantur in aedibus omnes  
ignavaeque fame et contracto frigore pigrae.  
tum sonus auditur gravior, tractimque susurrant, 260  
frigidus ut quondam silvis immurmurat Auster,  
ut mare sollicitum stridit refluentibus undis,  
aestuat ut clausis rapidus fornacibus ignis.

hic iam galbaneos suadebo incendere odores  
mellaque harundineis inferre canalibus, ultro 265  
hortantem et fessas ad pabula nota vocantem.

proderit et tunsum gallae admiscere saporem  
arentisque rosas, aut igni pingua multo  
defruta vel psithia passos de vite racemos,  
Cecropiumque thymum et grave olentia centaurea.  
est etiam flos in pratis, cui nomen amello 271

fecere agricolae, facilis quaerentibus herba ;  
namque uno ingentem tollit de caespite silvam,  
aureus ipse, sed in foliis, quae plurima circum  
funduntur, violae subluet purpura nigrae ; 275  
saepe deum nexis ornatae torquibus arae ;  
asper in ore sapor ; tonsis in vallibus illum  
pastores et curva legunt prope flumina Mellae.

251 nostris *R.*

260 tunc *P.*

264 hinc *M*<sup>2</sup>.

259 ignava *PR.*

262 stridet *R.*

278 prope] per *P.*

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nets. The more their hoards are drained, the more eagerly will they press on to repair the ruin of their fallen race, filling up their cell-galleries and weaving their granaries with flower-gum.

<sup>251</sup> But, since to bees as well hath life brought the ills of man, if their bodies droop with a grievous disease—and this you can at once discern by no uncertain signs: straightway, as they sicken, their colour changes, an unsightly leanness mars their looks; anon forth from their doors they bear the bodies of those bereft of life, and lead the mournful funeral train; or else, linked foot to foot, there by the portal they hang, or within locked doors they linger, all spiritless with hunger and torpid with pinching cold. Then is heard a duller sound, a long-drawn buzz, as at times the chill South sighs in the woods, as the fretted sea whistles with its ebbing surge, as seethes in close-barred furnaces the devouring flame. Then would I have you burn forthwith fragrant gum, and give them honey through pipes of reed, freely heartening them, and calling the weary to their familiar food. It will be well, too, to blend the flavour of pounded galls, and dried rose-leaves, or must made rich over a strong fire, or dried clusters from the Psithian vine, with Attic thyme and strong-smelling centaury. A flower, too, there is in the meadows, which farmers have called *amellus*, a plant easy for searchers to find, for from a single clump it lifts a vast growth. Golden is the disk, but in the petals, streaming profusely round, there is a crimson gleam amid the dark violet. Often with its woven garlands have the gods' altars been decked; its flavour is bitter in the mouth; shepherds cull it in meadows cropped by the flock, and by Mella's winding streams. This plant's roots you must boil in



## VIRGIL

huius odorato radices incoque Baccho  
pabulaque in foribus plenis appone canistris. 280

Sed si quem proles subito defecerit omnis,  
nec genus unde novae stirpis revocetur habebit,  
tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri  
pandere, quoque modo caesis iam saepe iuvenis  
insincerus apes tulerit cruor. altius omnem 285

expediam prima repetens ab origine famam.  
nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi  
accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum  
et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis,  
quaque pharetratae vicinia Persidis urget 290  
et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora  
et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena,  
usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis,  
omnis in hac certam regio iacit arte salutem.

Exiguus primum atque ipsos contractus in usus 295  
eligitur locus: hunc angustique imbrice tecti  
parietibusque premunt artis, et quattuor addunt,  
quattuor a ventis obliqua luce fenestras.  
tum vitulus bima curvans iam cornua fronte  
quaeritur: huic geminae nares et spiritus oris 300  
multa reluctanti obstruitur, plagisque perempto  
tunsa per integram solvuntur viscera pellem.  
sic positum in clauso linquunt, et ramea costis  
subiciunt fragmenta, thymum casiasque recentis.  
hoc geritur Zephyris primum impellentibus undas, 305

<sup>280</sup> expone *R*.

<sup>282</sup> habebis *P*.

<sup>290-293</sup> the order of *Mγ*: *P* gives 290, 292, 291, 293:  
*R* 290, 291, 293, 292.

<sup>295</sup> in *M<sup>1</sup>P*: ad *M<sup>2</sup>Rγ*.

<sup>301</sup> opsuitur *M*.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the *amellus* is the *Aster atticus*, or purple Italian starwort.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristaeus* (cf. I. 14).



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fragrant wine, and set for food at their doors in full baskets.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>281</sup> But if anyone's whole brood has suddenly failed him, and he knows not how to restore the race in a new line, then is it also time to reveal the famed device of the Arcadian master,<sup>2</sup> and the mode whereby oft, in the past, the putrid blood of slain bullocks has engendered bees. From its fount I will unfold the whole story, tracing it back from its first source. For where the favoured people of Pellaeon Canopus<sup>3</sup> dwell by the outspread waters of the flooded Nile, and sail about their fields in painted skiffs, where the borderland of quivered Persia<sup>4</sup> presses close, and where the river parts its rushing stream into seven separate mouths, making green Egypt rich with its black sands—the river that has swept unbroken down from the swarthy Indians<sup>5</sup>—all the country rests on this device its sure salvation.

<sup>295</sup> First is chosen a place, small and straitened for this very purpose. This they confine with a narrow roof of tiles and close walls, and towards the four winds add four windows with slanting light. Then a bullock is sought, one just arching his horns on a brow of two summers' growth. Spite of all his struggles, both his nostrils are stopped up, and the breath of his mouth; then he is beaten to death, and his flesh is pounded to a pulp through the unbroken hide. As thus he lies, they leave him in his prison, and strew beneath his sides broken boughs, thyme, and fresh cassia. This is done when the zephyrs begin to stir the waves, ere the meadows

<sup>3</sup> Egypt is here described according to its boundaries on the west (Canopus), on the east (290), and on the south (293).

<sup>4</sup> Referring to the Parthian bowmen. "Parthian" and "Persian" are almost equivalent in the Roman poets.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* the Ethiopians.

ante novis rubeant quam prata coloribus, ante  
garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo.  
interea teneris tepefactus in ossibus umor  
aestuat, et visenda modis animalia miris,  
trunca pedum primo, mox et stridentia pinnis, 310  
miscentur, tenuemque magis magis aëra carpunt,  
donec ut aestivis effusus nubibus imber  
erupere, aut ut nervo pulsante sagittae,  
prima leves ineunt si quando proelia Parthi.

Quis deus hanc, Musae, quis nobis extudit artem?  
unde nova ingressus hominum experientia cepit? 316  
pastor Aristaeus fugiens Peneia Tempe,  
amissis, ut fama, apibus morboque fameque,  
tristis ad extremi sacrum caput astitit amnis,  
multa querens, atque hac adfatus voce parentem: 320  
“mater, Cyrene mater, quae gurgitis huius  
ima tenes, quid me praeclara stirpe deorum  
(si modo, quem perhibes, pater est Thymbraeus  
Apollo)

invisum fatis genuisti? aut quo tibi nostri  
pulsus amor? quid me caelum sperare iubebas? 325  
en etiam hunc ipsum vitae mortalis honorem,  
quem mihi vix frugum et pecudum custodia sollers  
omnia temptanti extuderat, te matre relinquo.  
quin age et ipsa manu felicitis erue silvas,  
fer stabulis inimicum ignem atque interfice messis,  
ure sata et validam in vitis molire bipennem, 331  
tanta meae si te ceperunt taedia laudis.”

<sup>307</sup> lignis *P.*

<sup>311</sup> magis ac magis *M<sup>1</sup>R.* captant *R.*

<sup>313</sup> erumpere *M<sup>1</sup>*: eripuerunt *R.*

<sup>319</sup> sacrum] placidum *M.*

<sup>322</sup> a stirpe *Rγ.*

<sup>327</sup> pecorum *PR*: pecudum *Mγ<sup>2</sup>*, *Nonius.*

<sup>331</sup> validam] duram *M<sup>1</sup>.*

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blush with their fresh hues, ere the chattering swallow hangs her nest from the rafters. Meantime the moisture, warming in the softened bones, ferments, and creatures of wondrous wise to view, footless at first, soon with buzzing wings as well, swarm together, and more and more essay the light air, until, like a shower pouring from summer clouds, they burst forth, or like arrows from the string's rebound, when the light-armed Parthians enter on the opening battle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>315</sup> What god, ye Muses, forged for us this device? Whence did man's strange adventuring take its rise? Aristaeus the shepherd, quitting Tempe by the Peneus, when—so runs the tale—his bees were lost through sickness and hunger, sorrowfully stopped beside the sacred fount at the stream's head, and with many complaints called on his mother thus: "O mother, mother Cyrene, that dwellest in this flood's depths, why, from the gods' glorious line—if indeed, as thou sayest, Thymbraean Apollo is my father—didst thou give me birth, to be hated of the fates? Or whither is thy love for me banished? Why didst thou bid me hope for Heaven? Lo, even this very crown of my mortal life, which the skilful tending of crops and cattle had scarce wrought out for me for all my endeavour—though thou art my mother, I resign. Nay, come, and with thine own hand tear up my fruitful woods; lay the hostile flame to my stalls, destroy my crops, burn my seedlings, and swing the stout axe against my vines, if such loathing for my honour hath seized thee."

<sup>1</sup> Here, according to Servius, there originally followed a eulogy on C. Cornelius Gallus, made prefect of Egypt by Octavian. On his disgrace and suicide in 26 B.C. the present beautiful episode was substituted by the poet.

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At mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti  
 sensit. eam circum Milesia vellera Nymphae  
 carpebant, hyali saturo fucata colore, 335  
 Drymoque Xanthoque Ligeaque Phyllodoceque,  
 caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla,  
 [Nesaeae Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque,]  
 Cydippeque et flava Lycorias, altera virgo,  
 altera tum primos Lucinae experta labores, 340  
 Clioque et Beroe soror, Oceanitides ambae,  
 ambae auro, pictis incinctae pellibus ambae,  
 atque Ephyre atque Opis et Asia Deiopea  
 et tandem positis velox Arethusa sagittis.  
 inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem GMPR  
 Volcani Martisque dolos et dulcia furta, 346  
 aque Chao densos divum numerabat amores.  
 carmine quo captae dum fuis mollia pensa  
 devolvunt, iterum maternas impulit auris  
 luctus Aristaei, vitreisque sedilibus omnes 350  
 obstipuere; sed ante alias Arethusa sorores  
 prospiciens summa flavum caput extulit unda,  
 et procul: "o gemitu non frustra exterrita tanto,  
 Cyrene soror, ipse tibi, tua maxima cura,  
 tristis Aristaeus Penei genitoris ad undam 355  
 stat lacrimans, et te crudelem nomine dicit."  
 huic percussa nova mentem formidine mater  
 "duc, age, duc ad nos; fas illi limina divum  
 tangere" ait: simul alta iubet discedere late  
 flumina, qua iuvenis gressus inferret. at illum 360  
 curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda,  
 accepitque sinu vasto misitque sub amnem.  
 iamque domum mirans genetricis et umida regna  
 speluncisque lacus clausos lucosque sonantis

338 omitted MPR<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>. 339 Cydippe et MP<sup>γ</sup><sup>2</sup>. 346 matris P.

347 atque MR: adque G. 348 fuis dum M: dum fusi G.

350 amnes M<sup>1</sup><sup>γ</sup>. 360 at] ad G.

361 speciem M. circumstetit G: circumspicit P.

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<sup>333</sup> But his mother heard the cry from her bower beneath the river's depths. About her the Nymphs were spinning fleeces of Miletus, dyed with rich glassy hue—Drymo and Xantho, Ligea and Phyllo-doe, their shining tresses floating over snowy necks; Cydippe and golden-haired Lycorias—a maiden one, the other having but felt the first birth-throes; Clio and Beroe her sister, daughters of Ocean both, both arrayed in gold, and both in dappled hides;<sup>1</sup> Ephyre and Opis, and Asian Deiopea, and fleet Arethusa, her arrows laid aside at last. Among these Clymene was telling of Vulcan's baffled care, of the wiles and stolen joys of Mars, and from Chaos on was rehearsing the countless loves of the gods. And while, charmed by the strain, they unrolled the soft coils from their spindles, again the wail of Aristaeus smote upon his mother's ear, and all upon their crystal thrones were startled. Yet, first of all the sisters, Arethusa, looking forth, raised her golden head above the water's brim, and cried from afar: "O sister Cyrene, no idle alarm is thine at wailing so loud. 'Tis even he, thy chiefest care, thy Aristaeus, standing sadly and in tears by the wave of Father Peneus, and crying out on thee by name for cruelty."

<sup>357</sup> To her the mother, her soul smitten with strange dread, cries: "O bring him, bring him to us; lawful it is for him to tread the threshold divine." And withal, she bade the deep streams part asunder far, that so the youth might enter in. And lo, the wave, arched mountain-like, stood round about, and, welcoming him within the vast recess, ushered him beneath the stream. And now, marvelling at his mother's home, a realm of waters, at the lakes locked in caverns, and the echoing groves, he went on his

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* arrayed as huntresses.



ibat, et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum 365  
 omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra  
 spectabat diversa locis, Phasimque Lycumque  
 et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus  
 unde pater Tiberinus et unde Aniena fluenta  
 saxosusque sonans Hypanis Mysusque Caicus, 370  
 et gemina auratus taurino cornua voltu  
 Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta  
 in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis.  
 postquam est in thalami pendentia pumice tecta  
 perventum et nati fletus cognovit inanis 375  
 Cyrene, manibus liquidos dant ordine fontis  
 germanae, tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis ;  
 pars epulis onerant mensas et plena reponunt  
 pocula, Panchaeis adulescunt ignibus arae.  
 et mater " cape Maeonii carchesia Bacchi : 380  
 Oceano libemus " ait : simul ipsa precatur  
 Oceanumque patrem rerum Nymphasque sorores,  
 centum quae silvas, centum quae flumina servant.  
 ter liquido ardentem perfundit nectare Vestam,  
 ter flamma ad summum tecti subiecta reluxit. 385  
 omine quo firmans animum sic incipit ipsa :  
 " Est in Carpathio Neptuni gurgite vates,  
 caeruleus Proteus, magnum qui piscibus aequor  
 et iuncto bipedum curru metitur equorum.  
 hic nunc Emathiae portus patriamque revisit 390  
 Pallenen ; hunc et Nymphae veneramur et ipse  
 grandaevus Nereus ; novit namque omnia vates,  
 quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur ;

365 motus *M*<sup>1</sup>.

370 saxosum *Servius*.

384 perfudit *M*<sup>2</sup>γ.

393 trahentur *M*<sup>1</sup>.

368 primus *M*. rumpit *R*γ<sup>1</sup>: rupit *P*.

378 mensas] aras *P*.

385 flammam *M*. tectis *M*. sublata *M*.

<sup>1</sup> The rivers are distinct below the earth, even as they are above.



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way, and, dazed by the mighty rush of waters, he gazed on all the rivers, as, each in his own place, they glide under the great earth <sup>1</sup>—Phasis and Lycus, the fount whence deep Enipeus first breaks forth, whence Father Tiber, whence the streams of Anio and rocky, roaring Hypanis, and Mysian Caïcus, and Eridanus,<sup>2</sup> on whose bull's brow are twain gilded horns : no other stream of mightier force flows through the rich tilth to join the violet sea.

<sup>374</sup> Soon as he reached the bower with its hanging roof of stone, and Cyrene heard the tale of her son's idle tears, the sisters, in due order, pour on his hands clear spring-waters, and bring smooth-shorn napkins. Some load the board with the feast, and in turn set on the brimming cups ; the altars blaze up with Panchaeian fires.<sup>3</sup> Then cried his mother : "Take the goblets of Maeonian wine ;<sup>4</sup> pour we a libation to Ocean !" And withal she prayed to Ocean, universal father, and the sister Nymphs, who guard a hundred forests and a hundred streams. Thrice with clear nectar she sprinkled the glowing hearth ; thrice the flame, shooting up to the roof-top, gleamed afresh. With this omen to cheer his heart, she thus herself began :

<sup>387</sup> "In Neptune's Carpathian flood there dwells a seer, Proteus, of sea-green hue, who traverses the mighty main in his car drawn by fishes and a team of two-footed steeds. Even now he revisits the havens of Thessaly and his native Pallene. To him we Nymphs do reverence, and aged Nereus himself ; for the seer has knowledge of all things—what is, what hath been, what is in train ere long to happen—for so has it

<sup>2</sup> River-gods were usually represented with horns, perhaps because of the violence and roar of the water. The gilding may indicate fertility.

<sup>3</sup> *cf.* II. 139.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* Lydian, probably with reference to Mount Tmolus (*cf.* II. 98).

quippe ita Neptuno visum est, immania cuius  
 armenta et turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas. 395  
 hic tibi, nate, prius vinclis capiendus, ut omnem  
 expediat morbi causam eventusque secundet.  
 nam sine vi non ulla dabit praecepta, neque illum  
 orando flectes; vim duram et vincula capto  
 tende; doli circum haec demum frangentur inanes.  
 ipsa ego te, medios cum sol accenderit aestus, 401  
 cum sitiunt herbae et pecori iam gratior umbra est,  
 in secreta senis ducam, quo fessus ab undis  
 se recipit, facile ut somno adgrediare iacentem.  
 verum ubi correptum manibus vinclisque tenebis, 405  
 tum variae eludent species atque ora ferarum.  
 fiet enim subito sus horridus atraque tigris  
 squamosusque draco et fulva cervice leaena,  
 aut acrem flammae sonitum dabit atque ita vinclis  
 excidet, aut in aquas tenuis dilapsus abibit. 410  
 sed quanto ille magis formas se vertet in omnis  
 tam tu, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla,  
 donec talis erit mutato corpore, qualem  
 videris, incepto tegeter cum lumina somno."

Haec ait et liquidum ambrosiae diffundit odorem,  
 quo totum nati corpus perduxit; at illi 416  
 dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura  
 atque habilis membris venit vigor. est specus ingens  
 exesi latere in montis, quo plurima vento  
 cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos, MPR  
 deprensus olim statio tutissima nautis; 421  
 intus se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxi.

<sup>400</sup> franguntur *PR.*

<sup>406</sup> ludent *R.*

<sup>409</sup> sonitum flammae *M.*

<sup>410</sup> elapsus *G.* habebit *M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>411</sup> vertit *P.*

<sup>412</sup> tantu *M<sup>1</sup>P:* tanto *M(late)Rγ, Servius:* tantum *b<sup>1</sup>, known to Servius:* tam tu *Ribbeck.*

<sup>415</sup> defundit *G:* perfundit *P:* depromit *R.*

<sup>416</sup> perfudit *R.*

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seemed good to Neptune, whose monstrous herds and unsightly seals he pastures beneath the wave. Him, my son, thou must first take in fetters, that he may unfold to thee all the cause of the sickness, and bless the issue. For without force he will give thee no counsel, nor shalt thou bend him by prayer. With stern force and fetters make fast the captive; thereon alone his wiles will shatter themselves in vain. I myself, when the sun has kindled his noonday heat, when the grass is athirst, and the shade is now welcome to the flock, will guide thee to the aged one's retreat, whither when weary he retires, so that thou mayest assail him with ease as he lies asleep. But when thou holdest him in the grasp of hands and fetters, then will manifold forms baffle thee, and figures of wild beasts. For of a sudden he will become a bristly boar, a deadly tiger, a scaly serpent, or a lioness with tawny neck; or he will give forth the fierce roar of flame, and thus slip from his fetters, or he will melt into fleeting water and be gone. But the more he turn himself into all shapes, the more, my son, strain thou his fetters, until after his last changes of body he become such as thou sawest when he closed his eyes at the beginning of slumber."

<sup>415</sup> She spake, and shed abroad ambrosia's fragrant stream, wherewith she steeped her son's whole frame: and lo, a sweet effluence breathed from his smoothened locks, and vigour and suppleness passed into his limbs. There is a vast cavern, hollowed in a mountain's side, whither many a wave is driven by the wind, then parts into receding ripples<sup>1</sup>—at times a haven most sure for storm-caught mariners. Within, Proteus shelters himself with the barrier of a huge

<sup>1</sup> Or "and separates itself into the retiring bays."

# VIRGIL

hic iuvenem in latebris aversum a lumine Nympha  
 collocat, ipsa procul nebulis obscura resistit.  
 iam rapidus torrens sitientis Sirius Indos 425  
 ardebat caelo, et medium sol igneus orbem  
 hauserat ; arebant herbae, et cava flumina siccis  
 faucibus ad limum radii tepefacta coquebant,  
 cum Proteus consueta petens e fluctibus antra  
 ibat : eum vasti circum gens umida ponti 430  
 exsultans rorem late dispergit amarum.  
 sternunt se somno diversae in litore phocae ;  
 ipse velut stabuli custos in montibus olim,  
 Vesper ubi e pastu vitulos ad tecta reducit  
 auditisque lupos acuunt balatibus agni, 435  
 consedit scopulo medius, numerumque recenset. MPRV  
 cuius Aristaeo quoniam est oblata facultas,  
 vix defessa senem passus componere membra  
 cum clamore ruit magno, manicisque iacentem  
 occupat. ille suae contra non immemor artis 440  
 omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum,  
 ignemque horribilemque feram fluviumque liquentem.  
 verum ubi nulla fugam reperit fallacia, victus  
 in sese redit atque hominis tandem ore locutus  
 “ nam quis te, iuvenum confidentissime, nostras 445  
 iussit adire domos ? quidve hinc petis ? ” inquit. at ille  
 “ scis, Proteu, scis ipse ; neque est te fallere quic-  
 quam ;  
 sed tu desine velle. deum praecepta secuti  
 venimus hinc lassis quaesitum oracula rebus.”  
 tantum effatus. ad haec vates vi denique multa 450

423 a omitted R.

431 discerpsit P.

436 consedit M<sup>γ</sup>1.

443 pellacia b<sup>1</sup>, Berne Scholia, known to Philargyrius.

447 quicquam MR, known to Servius : quiquam <sup>γ</sup>1 : cuiquam P<sup>γ</sup>2, Servius.

430 circum vasti M.

434 vespere P.

438 omitted V.

449 lapsis R.

## GEORGICS BOOK IV

rock. Here the Nymph stations the youth in ambush, away from the light; she herself, veiled in a mist, stands aloof. And now the Dog-star, fiercely parching the thirsty Indians, was ablaze in heaven, and the fiery Sun had consumed half his course; the grass was withering and the hollow streams, in their parched throats, were scorched and baked by the rays down to the slime, when Proteus came from the waves, in quest of his wonted grot. About him the watery race of the vast deep gambolled, scattering afar the briny spray. The seals lay them down to sleep, here and there along the shore; he himself—even as at times the warder of a sheep-fold on the hills, when Vesper brings the steers home from pasture, and the cry of bleating lambs whets the wolf's hunger—sits down on a rock in the midst and tells his tale. Soon as the chance came to Aristaeus, he scarce suffered the aged one to settle his weary limbs, ere he burst upon him with a loud cry and surprised him in fetters as he lies. On his part, the seer forgets not his craft, but changes himself into all wondrous shapes—into flame and hideous beast and flowing river. But when no stratagem wins escape, vanquished he returns to himself, and at last speaks with human voice: "Why, who," he cried, "most presumptuous of youths, bade thee invade our home? Or what seekest thou hence?" But he: "Thou knowest, Proteus; thou knowest of thyself, nor may one deceive thee in aught, but do thou resign thy wish to deceive. Following the counsel of Heaven, we are come to seek hence an oracle for our weary fortunes." So much he spoke. On this the seer, yielding at last to mighty force, rolled on him eyes ablaze with grey-green light, and, grimly



## VIRGIL

ardentis oculos intorsit lumine glauco,  
et graviter frendens sic fatis ora resolvit.

“Non te nullius exercent numinis irae :  
magna luis commissa ; tibi has miserabilis Orpheus  
haudquaquam ad meritum poenas, ni fata resistant,  
suscitat et rapta graviter pro coniuge saevit. 456  
illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps,  
immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella  
servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba.  
at chorus aequalis Dryadum clamore supremos 460  
implerunt montis ; flerunt Rhodopeiae arces  
altaque Pangaea et Rhesi Mavortia tellus MRV  
atque Getae atque Hebrus et Actias Orithyia.  
ipse cava solans aegrum testudine amorem  
te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum, MR  
te veniente die, te decedente canebat. 466  
Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,  
et caligantem nigra formidine lucum  
ingressus, manisque adiit regemque tremendum  
nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda. 470  
at cantu commotae Erebi de sedibus imis FMR  
umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum,  
quam multa in foliis avium se milia condunt,  
Vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber,  
matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita 475  
magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,  
impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum ;  
quos circum limus niger et deformis harundo

<sup>454</sup> lues *R*, *Servius*, *Philargyrius*, *Berne Scholia*.

<sup>455</sup> ad *P* : ob *MRγ*, *Priscian*, *Servius*. <sup>460</sup> supremo *PR*.

<sup>472</sup> After this verse *R* inserts the three lines, *Aen.* vi. 311,  
310, 312. <sup>473</sup> foliis] silvis *Mγ*.



## GEORGICS BOOK IV

gnashing his teeth, thus unlocked his lips to tell the fates :

<sup>453</sup> "There is a god whose anger pursues thee : a heavy offence thou dost expiate. 'Tis Orpheus, unhappy one, who evokes this vengeance against thee—did not Fate interpose—far short of thy deserts,<sup>1</sup> and wildly he rages for the loss of his bride. She, in truth, hastening headlong along the river, if only she might escape thee, saw not the monstrous serpent that before her feet, doomed maiden, hugged the banks amid the deep grass. But the band of her Dryad comrades filled with their cries the mountain-peaks ; the towers of Rhodope wept, and the Pangæan heights, and the martial land<sup>2</sup> of Rhesus, the Getæ and Hebrus and Orithyia, child of Actæ. But he, solacing love's anguish with his hollow shell, sang of thee, sweet wife—of thee, to himself on the lonely shore ; of thee as day drew nigh, of thee as day declined. Even the jaws of Taenarus, the lofty portals of Dis, he entered, and the grove that is murky with black terror, and came to the dead, and the king of terrors, and the hearts that know not how to soften at human prayers. Startled by the strain, there came from the lowest realms of Erebus the bodiless shadows and the phantoms of those bereft of light, in multitude like the thousands of birds that hide amid the leaves when the evening star or a wintry shower drives them from the hills—mothers and men, and bodies of high-souled heroes, their life now done, boys and unwedded girls, and sons placed on the pyre before their fathers' eyes. But round them are the black ooze and unsightly

<sup>1</sup> If *ob meritum* is read, the meaning will be : "unhappy by no means on account of his deserts," said of Orpheus.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Thrace.

# VIRGIL

Cocyti tardaque palus inamabilis unda  
 alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coerces. 480  
 quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti  
 Tartara caeruleosque implexae crinibus anguis  
 Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,  
 atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis.  
 iamque pedem referens casus evaserat omnis, 485  
 redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras,  
 pone sequens (namque hanc dederat Proserpina  
 legem),  
 cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem,  
 ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes:  
 restitit, Eurydicenque suam iam luce sub ipsa 490  
 immemor heu! victusque animi respexit. ibi omnis  
 effusus labor atque immitis rupta tyranni  
 foedera, terque fragor stagnis auditus Avernis.  
 illa 'quis et me' inquit 'miseram et te perdidit,  
 Orpheu,  
 quis tantus furor? en iterum crudelia retro 495  
 fata vocant conditque natantia lumina somnus.  
 iamque vale: feror ingenti circumdata nocte  
 invalidasque tibi tendens, heu! non tua, palmas.' *MR*  
 dixit et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras  
 commixtus tenuis, fugit diversa, neque illum 500  
 prensantem nequiquam umbras et multa volentem  
 dicere praeterea vidit; nec portitor Orci  
 amplius obiectam passus transire paludem.  
 quid faceret? quo se rapta bis coniuge ferret?  
 quo fletu manis, quae numina voce moveret? 505  
 illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba.  
 septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine mensis

482 caeruleis *M*<sup>1</sup>. impexae *M*<sup>2</sup>, *Berne Scholia*: innexae *FR*.

488 subito *R*. 493 stagni est *R*. Averni *FR*.

500 fugit in diversa *M*<sup>2</sup>. 504 erepta *M*<sup>2</sup>.

505 quo] quos *R*: quod *γ*<sup>1</sup>.

## GEORGICS BOOK IV

reeds of Cocytus, the unlovely mere enchaining them with its sluggish water, and Styx holding them fast within his ninefold circles. Nay, the very halls of Hell were spell-bound, and inmost Tartarus, and the Furies with livid snakes entwined in their locks. Cerberus held agape his triple mouths, and Ixion's wheel was stayed by the still wind.

<sup>485</sup> "And now as he retraced his steps he had escaped every mischance, and the regained Eurydice was nearing the upper world, following behind—for that condition had Proserpine ordained—when a sudden frenzy seized Orpheus, unwary in his love, frenzy meet for pardon, did Hell know how to pardon! He stopped, and on the very verge of light, unmindful, alas! and vanquished in purpose, on Eurydice, now his own, looked back! In that moment all his toil was spent, the ruthless tyrant's pact was broken, and thrice a crash was heard amid the pools of Avernus. She cried: 'What madness, Orpheus, what dreadful madness hath ruined my unhappy self and thee? Lo, again the cruel Fates call me back and sleep veils my swimming eyes. And now farewell! I am swept off, wrapped in uttermost night, and stretching out to thee strengthless hands, thine, alas! no more.' She spake, and straightway from his sight, like smoke mingling with thin air, vanished afar, and, vainly as he clutched at the shadows and yearned to say much, never saw him more; nor did the warden<sup>1</sup> of Orcus suffer him again to pass that barrier of the marsh. What could he do? Whither turn himself, twice robbed of his wife? With what tears move Hell, with what prayers its powers? She, alas! even now death-cold, was afloat in the Stygian barque. Month in, month out, seven whole months, men say

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Charon.

# VIRGIL

rupe sub aëria deserti ad Strymonis undam  
 flevisse, et gelidis haec evolvisse sub antris,  
 mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus; 510  
 qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra  
 amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator  
 observans nido implumis detraxit; at illa  
 flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen  
 integrat, et maestis late loca questibus implet. 515  
 nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei.  
 solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem  
 arvaque Rhipaeis numquam viduata pruinis  
 lustrabat, raptam Eurydicen atque inrita Ditis  
 dona querens; spretae Ciconum quo munere matres  
 inter sacra deum nocturnique orgia Bacchi 521  
 discerptum latos iuvenem sparsere per agros. FMRV  
 tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum  
 gurgite cum medio portans Oeagrius Hebrus  
 voveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua, 525  
 a miseram Eurydicen! anima fugiente vocabat,  
 Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripae.”  
 haec Proteus, et se iactu dedit aequor in altum,  
 quaque dedit, spumantem undam sub vertice torsit.

At non Cyrene; namque ultro adfata timentem:  
 “nate, licet tristis animo deponere curas. 531  
 haec omnis morbi causa, hinc miserabile Nymphae,  
 cum quibus illa choros lucis agitabat in altis,  
 exitium misere apibus. tu munera supplex [FGMRV  
 tende petens pacem, et facilis venerare Napaeas; 535

<sup>509</sup> flesse sibi et *R.* *So Sabb.* astris *R.*: antris *Mγ.*

<sup>524</sup> medius *F.*

<sup>531</sup> componere *M<sup>1</sup>.*

## GEORGICS BOOK IV

beneath a skyey cliff by lonely Strymon's wave, he wept, and, deep in icy caverns, unfolded this his tale, charming the tigers, and making the oaks attend his strains; even as the nightingale, mourning beneath the plover's shade, bewails the loss of her brood, that a careless ploughman hath espied and torn unfledged from the nest: but she weeps all night long, and, perched on a spray, renews her piteous strain, filling the region round with sad laments. No love, no warbling-song could bend his soul. Alone he would roam the northern ice, the snowy Tanais, and the firs ever wedded to Rhipaeian frosts, wailing Eurydice lost, and the gift of Dis annulled. But the Carian dames, scorned by such devotion, in the midst of their sacred rites and the midnight orgies of Bacchus, tore the youth limb from limb and strewed him broadcast over the fields. Even then, while Oeagrian<sup>1</sup> Hebrus swept and rolled in mid-current that head, plucked from its marble neck, the bare voice and death-cold tongue, with fleeting breath, called Eurydice—ah, hapless Eurydice! 'Eurydice' the banks re-echoed, all adown the stream."

<sup>528</sup> Thus Proteus, and at a bound plunged into the deep sea, and where he plunged, whirled the water into foam beneath the eddy. But not so Cyrene; for straightway she spake to the startled youth: "My son, thou mayest lay aside thy heart's sorrow and care. This is the whole cause of the sickness; hence it is that the Nymphs, with whom she was wont to tread the dance in the deep groves, sent this sore havoc on thy bees. Offer thou a suppliant's gifts, craving grace, and do homage to the gentle

<sup>1</sup> Oeagrius being the father of Orpheus, the epithet is equivalent to "paternal."



# VIRGIL

namque dabunt veniam votis, irasque remittent.  
 sed modus orandi qui sit prius ordine dicam.  
 quattuor eximios praestanti corpore tauros,  
 qui tibi nunc viridis depascunt summa Lycaeï,  
 delige et intacta totidem cervice iuvenças. 540  
 quattuor his aras alta ad delubra dearum  
 constitue, et sacrum iugulis demitte cruorem  
 corporaque ipsa boum frondoso desere luco.  
 post ubi nona suos Aurora ostenderit ortus,  
 inferias Orphei Lethaea papavera mittes, 545  
 et nigram mactabis ovem, lucumque revises:  
 placatam Eurydicen vitula venerabere caesa."

Haud mora: continuo matris praecepta facessit;  
 ad delubra venit, monstratas excitat aras, GMRV  
 quattuor eximios praestanti corpore tauros GMR  
 ducit et intacta totidem cervice iuvenças. 551  
 post ubi nona suos Aurora induxerat ortus,  
 inferias Orphei mittit, lucumque revisit.  
 hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum  
 aspiciunt, liquefacta boum per viscera toto 555  
 stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis,  
 immensasque trahi nubes, iamque arbore summa  
 confluere et lentis uvam demittere ramis.

Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam  
 et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum 560

- 538 eximio *Rγ*. praestantis *R*: prestantis *γ*.  
 540 intactis *RVγ<sup>1</sup>*, *Berne Scholia*.  
 542 dimitte *Mγ*.  
 548 capessit *Mγ*, *Berne Scholia*.  
 550 eximio *Rγ<sup>1</sup>*. praestantis *R<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>*.  
 551 intactas *Rγ<sup>1</sup>*: intacto *M<sup>1</sup>*.  
 558 dimittere *M*.  
 559 cultus *G*.



## GEORGICS BOOK IV

maidens of the woods ; for they will grant pardon to prayers, and relax their wrath. But first I will tell thee in order the manner of thy supplication. Pick out four choice bulls, of surpassing form, that now graze among thy herds on the heights of green Lycaeus, and as many heifers of unyoked neck. For these set up four altars by the stately shrines of the goddesses, and drain the sacrificial blood from their throats, but leave the bodies of the steers within the leafy grove. Anon, when the ninth<sup>1</sup> Dawn displays her rising beams, thou shalt send unto Orpheus funeral dues of Lethe's poppies, shalt slay a black ewe and revisit the grove. Then to Eurydice, now appeased, thou shalt do worship with the slaughter of a calf."

<sup>548</sup> Tarrying not, he straightway does his mother's bidding. He comes to the shrine, rears the altars appointed, and leads thither four choice bulls, of surpassing form, and as many heifers of unyoked neck. Anon, when the ninth Dawn had ushered in her rising beams, he sends unto Orpheus the funeral dues, and revisits the grove. But here they espy a portent, sudden and wondrous to tell—throughout the paunch, amid the molten flesh of the oxen, bees buzzing and swarming forth from the ruptured sides, then trailing in vast clouds, till at last on a tree-top they stream together, and hang in clusters from the bending boughs.

<sup>559</sup> Thus<sup>2</sup> I sang of the care of fields, of cattle, and of trees, while great Caesar thundered in war by

<sup>1</sup> A sacrifice to the dead was offered on the ninth day after the funeral.

<sup>2</sup> Here follows an epilogue to the whole four books.

# VIRGIL

fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis  
 per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.  
 illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat  
 Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti,  
 carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa, 565  
 Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

<sup>563</sup> virgilium γc.

<sup>565</sup> audax] auxili *Berne Scholia.*

## GEORGICS BOOK IV

deep Euphrates<sup>1</sup> and gave a victor's laws unto willing nations, and essayed the path to Heaven. In those days I, Virgil, was nursed of sweet Parthenope, and rejoiced in the arts of inglorious ease—I who dallied with shepherds' songs, and, in youth's boldness, sang, Tityrus, of thee under thy spreading beech's covert.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After the battle of Actium, 31 B.C., Octavian made a triumphal progress through the East.

<sup>2</sup> See the opening line of the *Eclogues*.

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## THE AENEID

## LIBER I

ARMA virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris MRV  
 Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit  
 litora—multum ille et terris iactatus et alto  
 vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,  
 multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem 5  
 inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum  
 Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso  
 quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus  
 insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores 10  
 impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

---

<i>[Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena</i>	1a
<i>carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi</i>	1b
<i>ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,</i>	1c
<i>gratum opus agricolis; at nunc horrentia Martis</i>	1d]

1a-1d only in a, on margin; recognized by Donatus (Suetonius) and Servius as written by Virgil, but withdrawn by Varius.

<sup>2</sup> Laviniaque M<sup>1</sup>V, known to Servius: -que omitted M<sup>2</sup>: Laviniaque Rγ: Servius approves of Lavina.

<sup>7</sup> alta R.



## BOOK I

ARMS I sing and the man who first from the coasts of Troy, exiled by fate, came to Italy and Lavinian shores; much buffeted on sea and land by violence from above, through cruel Juno's unforgiving wrath, and much enduring in war also, till he should build a city and bring his gods to Latium; whence came the Latin race, the lords of Alba,<sup>2</sup> and the walls of lofty Rome.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Tell me, O Muse, the cause; wherein thwarted in will or wherefore angered, did the Queen of heaven drive a man, of goodness so wondrous, to traverse so many perils, to face so many toils. Can resentment so fierce dwell in heavenly breasts?

---

*[I am he who once tuned my song on a slender reed, then, leaving the woodland, constrained the neighbouring fields to serve the husbandmen, however grasping—a work welcome to farmers: but now of Mars' bristling<sup>1</sup>]*

<sup>1</sup> These opening lines were probably written by Virgil in an experimental stage of composition, but rejected by his literary executors. In antiquity the words *Arma virumque* ("Arms and the man") were regularly regarded as the opening words of the epic. See Introduction, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the great senatorial families of Rome, including the Julii, claimed descent from the families of Alba Longa.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is thus made to three stages of growth—Lavinium founded by Aeneas, Alba Longa by Ascanius, Rome by Romulus and Remus.

# VIRGIL

Urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni)  
 Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe  
 ostiâ, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli;  
 quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam 15  
 posthabita coluisse Samo; hic illius arma,  
 hic currus fuit, hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,  
 si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.  
 progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci  
 audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces; 20  
 hinc populum late regem belloque superbum  
 venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas.  
 id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli,  
 prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis  
 (necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores 25  
 exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum  
 iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae, MR  
 et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores)—  
 his accensa super, iactatos aequore toto  
 Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli, 30  
 arcebat longe Latio; multosque per annos  
 errabant, acti fati, maria omnia circum.  
 tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum  
 vela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant, 35  
 cum Iuno, aeternum servans sub pectore volnus,  
 haec secum: "mene incepto desistere victam  
 nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem!

<sup>18</sup> sinunt *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Achillis *R*.

## AENEID BOOK I

<sup>12</sup> There was an ancient city, the home of Tyrian settlers, Carthage, over against Italy and the Tiber's mouths afar, rich in wealth and stern in war's pursuits. This, 'tis said, Juno loved above all other lands, holding Samos itself less dear. Here was her armour, here her chariot; that here should be the capital of the nations, should the fates perchance allow it, was even then the goddess' aim and cherished hope. Yet in truth she had heard that a race was springing from Trojan blood, to overthrow some day the Tyrian towers; that from it a people, kings of broad realms and proud in war, should come forth for Libya's downfall: such was the course ordained of fate. The daughter of Saturn, fearful of this and mindful of the old war which erstwhile she had fought at Troy for her beloved Argos—not yet, too, had the cause of her wrath and her bitter sorrows faded from her mind: deep in her heart lie stored the judgment of Paris and her slighted beauty's wrong, her hatred of the race <sup>1</sup> and the honours paid to ravished Ganymede—inflamed hereby yet more, she tossed on the wide main the Trojan remnant, left by the Greeks and pitiless Achilles, and kept them far from Latium; and many a year they wandered, driven by the fates o'er all the seas. So vast was the effort to found the race of Rome.

<sup>34</sup> Hardly out of sight of Sicilian land were they spreading their sails seaward, and merrily ploughing the foaming brine with brazen prow, when Juno, nursing an undying wound deep in her heart, thus to herself spake:

<sup>37</sup> “What! I resign my purpose, baffled, and fail to turn from Italy the Teucrian king! The fates, doubt-

<sup>1</sup> Hated, because sprung from Dardanus, son of Jupiter and Electra, Juno's rival.

## VIRGIL

quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem  
Argivum atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto 40  
unius ob noxam et furias Aiakis Oilei?

ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem  
disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis;  
illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammam  
turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto; 45  
ast ego, quae divum incedo regina, Iovisque  
et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos  
bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat  
praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?"

Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans 50  
nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,  
Aeoliam venit. hic vasto rex Aeolus antro  
luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras  
imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.  
illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis 55  
circum claustra fremunt; celsa sedet Aeolus arce  
sceptrum tenens, mollitque animos et temperat iras;  
ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum  
quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.  
sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris, 60  
hoc metuens, molemque et montis insuper altos  
imposuit regemque dedit, qui foedere certo  
et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas.  
ad quem tum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est:

"Aeole, namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex  
et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento, 66  
gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor,  
Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penates:

<sup>41</sup> Oili *M.*

<sup>44</sup> pectore] tempore *Probus.*

<sup>48</sup> adoret *b<sup>2</sup>c<sup>2</sup>, Quintilian, ix. 2, 10.*

<sup>49</sup> inponit *γ<sup>1</sup>, b<sup>1</sup>: imponit c.*

## AENEID BOOK I

less, forbid me! Had Pallas power to burn up the Argive fleet and sink the sailors in the deep, because of one single man's guilt, and the frenzy of Ajax, son of Oileus? Her own hand hurled from the clouds Jove's swift flame, scattered their ships, and upheaved the sea in tempest; but him, as with pierced breast he breathed forth flame, she caught in a whirlwind and impaled on a spiky crag.<sup>1</sup> Yet I, who move as queen of gods, sister at once and wife of Jove, with one people am warring these many years. And will any still worship Juno's godhead or humbly lay sacrifice upon her altars?"

<sup>50</sup> Thus inwardly brooding with heart inflamed, the goddess came to Aeolia, mother-land of storm-clouds, tracts teeming with furious blasts. Here in his vast cavern, Aeolus, their king, keeps under his sway and with prison bonds curbs the struggling winds and the roaring gales. They, to the mountain's mighty moans, chafe blustering around the barriers. In his lofty citadel sits Aeolus, sceptre in hand, taming their passions and soothing their rage; did he not so, they would surely bear off with them in wild flight seas and lands and the vault of heaven, sweeping them through space. But, fearful of this, the Father omnipotent hid them in gloomy caverns, and over them piled high mountain masses and gave them a king, who, under fixed covenant, should be skilled to tighten and loosen the reins at command. Him Juno now addressed thus in suppliant speech:

<sup>65</sup> "Aeolus—for to thee hath the Father of gods and king of men given power to calm and uplift the waves with the wind—a people hateful to me sails the Tyrrhene sea, carrying into Italy Ilium's

<sup>1</sup> Minerva destroyed Ajax and his fleet because on the night of Troy's fall he had attacked Cassandra in her temple.

## VIRGIL

incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppes,  
aut age diversos et disice corpora ponto. 70  
sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae :  
quarum quae forma pulcherrima, Deiopea,  
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo,  
omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos  
exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem." 75

Aeolus haec contra : "tuus, o regina, quid optes,  
explorare labor ; mihi iussa capessere fas est.  
tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptrâ Iovemque  
concilias, tu das epulis accumbere divum,  
nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem." 80

Haec ubi dicta, cavum conversa cuspide montem  
impulit in latus ; ac venti, velut agmine facto,  
qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.  
incubuere mari totumque a sedibus imis  
una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis 85  
Africus et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus ;  
insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum.  
eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque  
Teucrorum ex oculis ; ponto nox incubat atra.  
intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether, 90  
praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.  
extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra ;  
ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas  
talìa voce refert : "O terque quaterque beati,  
quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis 95  
contigit oppetere ! O Danaum fortissime gentis

<sup>70</sup> et] aut *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Teucrorumque *M*<sup>1</sup>.



## AENEID BOOK I

vanquished gods. Hurl fury into thy winds, sink and o'erwhelm the ships, or drive the men asunder and scatter their bodies o'er the deep. Twice seven nymphs have I of wondrous beauty, of whom Deiopea, fairest of form, I will link to thee in sure wedlock, making her thine for ever, that for such service of thine she may spend all her years with thee, and make thee father of fair offspring."

<sup>76</sup> Thus answered Aeolus: "Thy task, O queen, is to search out thy desire; my duty is to do thy bidding. Of thy grace is all this my realm, of thy grace my sceptre and Jove's favour; thou grantest me a couch at the feasts of the gods, and makest me lord of clouds and storms."

<sup>81</sup> So he spoke and, turning his spear, smote the hollow mount on its side; when lo! the winds, as if in armed array, rush forth where passage is given, and blow in storm-blasts across the world. They swoop down upon the sea, and from its lowest depths upheave it all—East and South winds together, and the South-wester, thick with tempests—and shoreward roll vast billows. Then come the cries of men and creaking of cables. In a moment clouds snatch sky and day from the Trojans' eyes; black night broods over the deep. From pole to pole it thunders, the skies lighten with frequent flashes, all forebodes the sailors instant death. Straightway Aeneas' limbs weaken with chilling dread; he groans and, stretching his two upturned hands to heaven, thus cries aloud: "O thrice and four times blest, whose lot it was to meet death before their fathers' eyes beneath the lofty walls of Troy! O son of Tydeus,<sup>1</sup> bravest of the Danaan race, ah! that I could not fall

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Diomedes, who had fought with Aeneas in single combat before Troy. *cf.* Homer, *Iliad*, v. 239 ff.

## VIRGIL

Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis  
 non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,  
 saevus ubi Aeacidæ telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens  
 Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis 100  
 scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!"

Talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella  
 velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit;  
 franguntur remi; tum prora avertit et undis  
 dat latus; insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.  
 hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens 106  
 terram inter fluctus aperit; furit aestus harenis.  
 tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet  
 (saxa vocant Itali, mediis quae in fluctibus, Aras,  
 dorsum immane mari summo), tris Eurys ab alto 110  
 in brevia et syrtis urget (miserabile visu)  
 inluditque vadis atque aggere cingit harenae.  
 unam, quae Lycios fidumque vehebat Oronten,  
 ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus  
 in puppim ferit; excutitur pronusque magister 115  
 volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem  
 torquet agens circum et rapidus vorat aequore vertex.  
 apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,  
 arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas.  
 iam validam Ilionei navem, iam fortis Achatae, 120  
 et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes,  
 vicit hiems; laxis laterum compagibus omnes  
 accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt.

<sup>100</sup> sub undas *also known to Servius.*

<sup>103</sup> fluctum *M*<sup>1</sup>γ.

<sup>104</sup> proram *MR*γ, *Servius.*

<sup>109</sup> mediisque *M*γ.

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on the Ilian plains and gasp out this life-blood at thy hand! where, under the spear of Aeacides, fierce Hector lies prostrate, where mighty Sarpedon; where Simois seizes and sweeps beneath his waves so many shields and helms and bodies of the brave!"

<sup>102</sup> As he flings forth such words, a gust, shrieking from the North, strikes full on his sail and lifts the waves to heaven. The oars snap, then the prow swings round and gives the broadside to the waves; down in a heap comes a sheer mountain of water. Some of the seamen hang upon the billow's crest; to others the yawning sea shows ground beneath the waves; the surges seethe with sand. Three ships the South-wind catches and hurls on hidden rocks—rocks the Italians call the Altars, rising amidst the waves, a huge ridge topping the sea. Three the East forces from the deep into shallows and sand-banks,<sup>1</sup> a piteous sight, dashes on shoals and girds with a mound of sand. One, which bore the Lycians and loyal Orontes, before the eyes of Aeneas a mighty toppling wave strikes astern. The helmsman is dashed out and hurled head foremost, but the ship is thrice on the same spot whirled round and round by the wave and engulfed in the sea's devouring eddy. Here and there are seen swimmers in the vast abyss, with weapons of men, planks, and Trojan treasure amid the waves. Now the stout ship of Ilioneus, now of brave Achates, and that wherein Abas sailed and that of aged Aletes, the storm has mastered; with side-joints loosened, all let in the hostile flood and gape at every seam.

<sup>1</sup> In *syrteis* there may be a reference to the famous Syrtes (Gulfs of Cades and Sidra), but these are considerably to the east of Carthage.

## VIRGIL

Interea magno misceri murmure pontum  
 emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis 125  
 stagna refusa vadis, graviter commotus; et alto  
 prospiciens, summa placidum caput extulit unda.  
 disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem,  
 fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina.  
 nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae. 130

Eurum ad se Zephyrumque vocat, dehinc talia fatur:  
 "Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?  
 iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti,  
 miscere et tantas audetis tollere moles?  
 quos ego—! sed motos praestat componere fluctus:  
 post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis. 136  
 maturate fugam regique haec dicite vestro:  
 non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem,  
 sed mihi sorte datum. tenet ille immania saxa,  
 vestras, Eure, domos; illa se iacet in aula 140  
 Aeolus et clauso ventorum carcere regnet."

Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida aequora placat  
 collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit.  
 Cymothoe simul et Triton adnixus acuto  
 detrudunt navis scopulo; levat ipse tridenti 145  
 et vastas aperit syrtis et temperat aequor  
 atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas.  
 ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est  
 seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus, 149  
 iamque faces et saxa volant (furor arma ministrat),  
 tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem  
 conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus adstant;

129 ruinam *R*<sup>1</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK I

<sup>124</sup> Meanwhile Neptune saw the sea in a turmoil of wild uproar, the storm let loose and the still waters upheaved from their lowest depths. Greatly troubled was he, and gazing out over the deep he raised his serene <sup>1</sup> face above the water's surface. He sees Aeneas' fleet scattered over all the sea, the Trojans o'erwhelmed by the waves and by the falling heavens, nor did Juno's wiles and wrath escape her brother. East-wind and West he calls before him, then speaks thus :

<sup>132</sup> "Hath pride in your birth such sway over you? Do ye now dare, O winds, without command of mine, to mingle earth and sky, and raise confusion thus? Whom I——! But better is it to calm the troubled waves: hereafter with no like penalty shall ye atone me your trespasses. Speed your flight and bear this word to your king: Not to him, but to me were given by lot the lordship of the sea and the dread trident. He holds the savage rocks, home of thee and thine, East-wind; in that hall let Aeolus lord it and rule within the barred prison of the winds."

<sup>142</sup> Thus he speaks, and swifter than his word he calms the swollen seas, puts to flight the gathered clouds, and brings back the sun. Cymothoë and Triton with common effort thrust the ships from the sharp rock; the god himself upheaves them with his trident, opens the vast quicksands, allays the flood, and on light wheels glides over the topmost waters. And as, when oft-times in a great nation tumult has risen, the base rabble rage angrily, and now brands and stones fly, madness lending arms; then, if haply they set eyes on a man honoured for noble character and service, they are silent and stand by with

<sup>1</sup> However angry, the god is outwardly serene.

## VIRGIL

ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet :  
 sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam  
 prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto 155  
 flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo.

Defessi Aeneadae, quae proxima litora, cursu  
 contendunt petere, et Libyae vertuntur ad oras.  
 est in secessu longo locus : insula portum  
 efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto 160  
 frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.  
 hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur  
 in caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late  
 aequora tuta silent ; tum silvis scaena coruscis  
 desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra ;  
 fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum, 166  
 intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,  
 Nympharum domus. hic fessas non vincula navis  
 ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.  
 huc septem Aeneas collectis navibus omni 170  
 ex numero subit, ac magno telluris amore  
 egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena  
 et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt.  
 ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates  
 suscepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum 175  
 nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.  
 tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma  
 expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas  
 et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.

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<sup>1</sup> The term *Aeneadae* is here used, in an extended sense, of the followers of Aeneas.

<sup>2</sup> cf. *Georgics*, IV. 420, with note.

<sup>3</sup> Virgil here describes the primitive process of making fire. First a spark is struck from flint. Secondly, the tinder is



## AENEID BOOK I

attentive ears; he with speech sways their passion and soothes their breasts: even so, all the roar of ocean sank, soon as the Sire, looking forth upon the waters and driving under a clear sky, guides his steeds and, flying onward, gives reins to his willing car.

<sup>157</sup> The wearied sons of Aeneas<sup>1</sup> strive to run for the nearest shore and turn towards the coast of Libya. There in a deep inlet lies a spot, where an island forms a harbour with the barrier of its sides, on which every wave from the main is broken, then parts into receding ripples.<sup>2</sup> On either side loom heavenward huge cliffs and twin peaks, beneath whose crest far and wide is the stillness of sheltered water; above, too, is a background of shimmering woods with an overhanging grove, black with gloomy shade. Under the brow of the fronting cliff is a cave of hanging rocks; within are fresh waters and seats in the living stone, a haunt of Nymphs. Here no fetters imprison weary ships, no anchor holds them fast with hooked bite. Here, with seven ships mustered from all his fleet, Aeneas takes shelter; and, disembarking with earnest longing for the land, the Trojans gain the welcome beach and stretch their brine-drenched limbs upon the shore. At once Achates struck a spark from flint, caught the fire in leaves, laid dry fuel about, and waved the flame amid the tinder.<sup>3</sup> Then, wearied with their lot, they take out the corn of Ceres, spoiled by the waves, with the tools of Ceres, and prepare to parch the rescued grain in the fire and crush it under the stone.

ignited (*succcepit ignem foliis*). Thirdly, the ignited fuel is waved violently in the air until the smouldering fire bursts into a flame. Such is the practice of the North American Indians. The common rendering for *rapuit flammam*, "caught the flame," leads to tautology.

## VIRGIL

Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit et omnem 180  
 prospectum late pelago petit, Anthea si quem  
 iactatum vento videat Phrygiasque biremis,  
 aut Capyn, aut celsis in puppibus arma Caici.  
 navem in conspectu nullam, tris litore cervos  
 prospicit errantis; hos tota armenta sequuntur FMR  
 a tergo et longum per vallis pascitur agmen. 186  
 constitit hic arcumque manu celerisque sagittas  
 corripuit, fidus quae tela gerebat Achates,  
 ductoresque ipsos primum, capita alta ferentis  
 cornibus arboreis, sternit, tum volgus et omnem 190  
 miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam;  
 nec prius absistit, quam septem ingentia victor  
 corpora fundat humo et numerum cum navibus  
 aequet.

hinc portum petit et socios partitur in omnis.  
 vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes 195  
 litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros  
 dividit, et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet:

“O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante  
 malorum),

o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.  
 vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis 200  
 accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopia saxa  
 experti; revocate animos maestumque timorem  
 mittite; forsán et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.  
 per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum  
 tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas 205  
 ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.  
 durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.”

Talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus aeger  
 spem voltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.

<sup>193</sup> humo *FMRγ*, *Nonius*: humi *c*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*.

<sup>200</sup> vultus *F*<sup>1</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK I

<sup>180</sup> Meanwhile Aeneas climbs a peak and seeks a full view far and wide over the deep, if he may but see aught of storm-tossed Antheus and his Phrygian galleys, or of Capys or the arms of Caicus on the high stern. Ship in sight there is none; three stags he descries straying on the shore; whole herds follow these behind and in long line graze adown the valley. Thereon he stopped and seized in his hand his bow and swift arrows, the arms borne by faithful Achates; and first he lays low the leaders themselves, their heads held high with branching antlers, then routs the herd and all the common sort, driving them with his darts amid the leafy woods. Nor does he stay his hand till seven huge forms he stretches victoriously on the ground, equal in number to his ships. Then he seeks the harbour and divides them among all his company. Next he shares the wine, which good Acestes had stowed in jars on the Trinacrian shore, and hero-like had given at parting; and, speaking thus, calms their sorrowing hearts:

<sup>198</sup> "O comrades—for ere this we have not been ignorant of evils—O ye who have borne a heavier lot, to this, too, God will grant an end! Ye drew near to Scylla's fury and her deep-echoing crags; ye have known, too, the rocks of the Cyclopes; recall your courage and put away sad fear. Perchance even this distress it will some day be a joy to recall. Through divers mishaps, through so many perilous chances, we fare towards Latium, where the fates point out a home of rest. There 'tis granted to Troy's realm to rise again; endure, and keep yourselves for days of happiness."

<sup>208</sup> So spake his tongue; while sick with weighty cares he feigns hope on his face, and deep in his heart stifles the anguish. The others make ready for

# VIRGIL

illi se praedae accingunt dapibusque futuris; 210  
 tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant;  
 pars in frusta secant veribusque trementia figunt,  
 litore aëna locant alii flammisque ministrant.  
 tum victu rovocant viris, fusique per herbam  
 implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae. 215  
 postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae,  
 amissos longo socios sermone requirunt,  
 spemque metumque inter dubii, seu vivere credant  
 sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos.  
 praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti, 220  
 nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum  
 fata Lyci fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.

Et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo  
 despiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis  
 litoraue et latos populos, sic vertice caeli 225  
 constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis.  
 atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas  
 tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis  
 adloquitur Venus: "o qui res hominumque  
 deumque

aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres, 230  
 quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,  
 quid Troes potuere, quibus tot funera passis  
 cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis?  
 certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,  
 hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucrici, *FMRV*  
 qui mare, qui terras omnis ditione tenerent, 236  
 pollicitus. quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?  
 hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas  
 solabar, fatis contraria fata rependens;  
 nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos 240

<sup>224</sup> venivolum *F.*

<sup>236</sup> omni *MRγ, Servius.*

the spoil, the feast that is to be ; they flay the hides from the ribs and lay bare the flesh ; some cut it into pieces and impale it, still quivering, on spits ; others set cauldrons on the shore and feed them with fire. Then with food they revive their strength, and stretched along the grass take their fill of old wine and fat venison. When hunger was banished by the feast and the board was cleared, in long discourse they yearn for their lost comrades, between hope and fear uncertain whether to deem them still alive, or bearing the final doom and hearing no more when called. Chiefly does good Aeneas in silence mourn the loss now of valiant Orontes, now of Amycus, the cruel doom of Lycus, brave Gyas, and brave Cloanthus.

<sup>223</sup> Now all was ended, when from the sky's summit Jupiter looked forth upon the sail-winged sea and outspread lands, the shores and peoples far and wide, and, looking, paused on heaven's height and cast his eyes on Libya's realm. And lo ! as on such cares he pondered in heart, Venus, saddened and her bright eyes brimming with tears, spake to him :

<sup>229</sup> " O thou that with eternal sway rulest the world of men and gods, and dismayest with thy bolt, what crime so great in thy eyes can my Aeneas have wrought ? what the Trojans ? to whom, after many disasters borne, the whole world is barred for Italy's sake. Surely it was thy promise that from them some time, as the years rolled on, the Romans were to arise ; from them, even from Teucer's restored line, should come rulers, to hold the sea and all lands beneath their sway. What thought, father, has turned thee ? That promise, indeed, was my comfort for Troy's fall and sad overthrow, when I weighed fate against the fates opposed. Now, though tried by so many disasters, the same fortune dogs them. What end of their toils,



insequitur. quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?  
 Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,  
 Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus  
 regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi,  
 unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis 245  
 it mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti.  
 hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit  
 Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit  
 Troïa; nunc placida compostus pace quiescit:  
 nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnuis arcem, 250  
 navibus (infandum!) amissis unius ob iram  
 prodimur atque Italís longe disiungimur oris.  
 hic pietatis honos? sic nos in sceptrá reponis?"

Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum  
 voltu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat, 255  
 oscula libavit natae, dehinc talia fatur:  
 "parce metu, Cytherea; manent immota tuorum  
 fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini  
 moenia, sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli 259  
 magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit.  
 hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remor-  
 det, FMR

longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo)  
 bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces  
 contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,  
 tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas, 265  
 ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.  
 at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo  
 additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),

<sup>246</sup> praeruptum  $F^2M^2V^2\gamma^1$ , known to Servius.

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<sup>1</sup> The Timavus, which rises in the Julian Alps, after flowing for eighteen miles underground, reappears in several springs and then pursues a short but swift course to the Adriatic.

<sup>2</sup> The main subject of the second half of the *Aeneid*.



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great king, dost thou grant? Antenor could escape the Achæan host, thread safely the Illyrian gulfs and inmost realms of the Liburnians, and pass the springs of Timavus, whence through nine mouths, with a mountain's mighty roar, it comes a bursting flood and buries the fields under its sounding sea.<sup>1</sup> Yet here he set Padua's town, a home for his Teucrians, gave a name to the race, and hung up the arms of Troy; now, settled in tranquil peace, he is at rest. But we, thy offspring, to whom thou dost grant the heights of heaven, have lost our ships—O shame unutterable!—and, to appease one angry foe, are betrayed and kept far from Italian shores. Is this virtue's guerdon? Is it thus thou restorest us to empire?"

<sup>254</sup> On her smiling, with that look wherewith he clears sky and storms, the Father of men and gods gently kissed his daughter's lips, and then spake thus:

<sup>257</sup> "Spare thy fear, Lady of Cythera; thy children's fates abide unmoved. Thou shalt see Lavinium's city and its promised walls; and thou shalt raise on high to the starry heaven great-souled Aeneas. No thought has turned me. This thy son—for, since this care gnaws at thy heart, I will speak and, further unrolling the scroll of fate, will disclose its secrets—shall wage a great war in Italy,<sup>2</sup> shall crush proud nations, and for his people shall set up laws and city walls; till the third summer has seen him reigning in Latium and three winters have passed in camp since the Rutulians were laid low.<sup>3</sup> But the lad Ascanius, now surnamed Iulus—Ilus he was, while the Ilian state stood firm in sovereignty—shall fulfil in empire

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* after conquering the Rutulians Aeneas will spend three winters in camp before founding Lavinium.

# VIRGIL

triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis MR  
 imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini 270  
 transferet, et longam multa vi muniēt Albam.  
 hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos  
 gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos  
 Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.  
 inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus 275  
 Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet  
 moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet. MPR  
 his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;  
 imperium sine fine dedi. qu' n aspera Iuno,  
 quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,  
 consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit 281  
 Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.  
 sic placitum. veniet lustris labentibus aetas,  
 cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae  
 servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis. 285  
 nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,  
 imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,  
 Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.  
 hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum,  
 accipies securus; vocabitur hic quoque votis. 290  
 aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;  
 cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus  
 iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis  
 claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus  
 saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis 295  
 post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento."

<sup>272</sup> hinc also known to Servius.

<sup>289</sup> honestum known to Servius.

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<sup>1</sup> Mars was the father of Romulus and Remus.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the Trojan race, in their Roman descendants.

<sup>3</sup> Greece became a Roman province in 146 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> This is Augustus Caesar, as shown by ll. 289 and 294.

## AENEID BOOK I

thirty great circles of rolling months, shall shift his throne from Lavinium's seat, and, great in power, shall build the walls of Alba Longa. Here then for thrice a hundred years unbroken shall the kingdom endure under Hector's race, until Ilia, a royal priestess, shall bear to Mars her twin offspring. Then Romulus, proud in the tawny hide of the she-wolf, his nurse, shall take up the line, and found the walls of Mars<sup>1</sup> and call the people Romans after his own name. For these I set neither bounds nor periods of empire; dominion without end have I bestowed. Nay, harsh Juno, who now in her fear troubles sea and earth and sky, shall change to better counsels and with me cherish the Romans, lords of the world, and the nation of the gown. Thus is it decreed. There shall come a day, as the sacred seasons glide past, when the house of Assaracus<sup>2</sup> shall bring into bondage Phthia and famed Mycenae, and hold lordship over vanquished Argos.<sup>3</sup> From this noble line shall be born the Trojan Caesar, who shall limit his empire with ocean, his glory with the stars, a Julius,<sup>4</sup> name descended from great Iulus! Him, in days to come, shalt thou, anxious no more, welcome to heaven, laden with Eastern spoils; he, too, shall be invoked in vows. Then shall wars cease and the rough ages soften; hoary Faith and Vesta, Quirinus with his brother Remus,<sup>5</sup> shall give laws. The gates of war, grim with iron and close-fitting bars, shall be closed;<sup>6</sup> within, impious Rage, sitting on savage arms, his hands fast bound behind with a hundred brazen knots, shall roar in the ghastliness of blood-stained lips."

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* Romulus (Quirinus) will be at peace with Remus. Civil wars will cease.

<sup>6</sup> The reference is to the temple of Janus, which Augustus closed in 29 B.C., after it had remained open more than two centuries.

## VIRGIL

Haec ait et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,  
 ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces  
 hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido  
 finibus arceret. volat ille per aëra magnum 300  
 remigio alarum ac Libyae citus adstitit oris.  
 et iam iussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni  
 corda volente deo ; in primis regina quietum  
 accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam.

At pius Aeneas, per noctem plurima volvens, 305  
 ut primum lux alma data est, exire locosque  
 explorare novos, quas vento accesserit oras,  
 qui teneant (nam inculta videt), hominesne feraene,  
 quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre.  
 classem in convexo nemorum sub rupe cavata 310  
 arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris  
 occulit ; ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate,  
 bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.  
 cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva,  
 virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma, 315  
 Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat  
 Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.  
 namque umeris de moreabilem suspenderat arcum  
 venatrix dederatque comam diffundere ventis,  
 nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis. 320  
 ac prior "heus," inquit, "iuvenes, monstrate, mearum  
 vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum,  
 succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,  
 aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem."

Sic Venus, et Veneris contra sic filius orsus : 325

<sup>297</sup> dimittit *P*<sup>γ</sup>.

<sup>298</sup> terra *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>299</sup> fatis *R*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>317</sup> Eurum *Rutgers*.

<sup>323</sup> pharetram *R*<sup>2</sup>, known to *Priscian*. tegmina *γ*<sup>1</sup>. lyncis  
 sometimes taken with cursum, according to *Priscian*.

## AENEID BOOK I

<sup>297</sup> So speaking, he sends the son of Maia down from heaven, that the land and towers of new-built Carthage may open to greet the Teucrians, and Dido, ignorant of fate, might not bar them from her lands. Through the wide air he flies on the oarage of wings, and speedily alights on the Libyan coasts. At once he does his bidding, and, God willing it, the Phoenicians lay aside their savage thoughts; above all, the queen receives a gentle mind and gracious purpose towards the Teucrians.

<sup>305</sup> But good Aeneas, through the night revolving many a care, so soon as kindly light was given, determines to issue forth and explore the strange country; to learn to what coasts he has come with the wind, who dwells there, man or beast—for all he sees is waste—then bring back the tidings to his friends. The fleet he hides in over-arching groves beneath a hollow rock, closely encircled by trees and quivering shade; then, Achates alone attending, himself strides forth, grasping in hand two shafts, tipped with broad steel. Across his path, amid the forest, came his mother, with a maiden's face and mien, and a maiden's arms, whether one of Sparta or such a one as Thracian Harpalyce, when she out-tires horses and outstrips winged Hebrus in flight. For from her shoulders in huntress fashion she had slung the ready bow and had given her hair to the winds to scatter; her knee bare, and her flowing robes gathered in a knot. Before he speaks, "Ho!" she cries, "tell me, youths, if haply ye have seen a sister of mine here straying, girt with quiver and a dappled lynx's hide, or pressing with shouts on the track of a foaming boar."

<sup>325</sup> Thus Venus; and thus in answer Venus' son began:



# VIRGIL

“ nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,  
 o—quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi voltus  
 mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; o dea certe!  
 an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?  
 sis felix nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem, 330  
 et quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris  
 iactemur, doceas; ignari hominumque locorumque  
 erramus, vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti;  
 multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra.”

Tum Venus: “haud equidem tali me dignor  
 honore; 335

virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram  
 purpureoque alte suras vincere cothurno.  
 Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem;  
 sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.  
 imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta, 340  
 germanum fugiens. longa est iniuria, longae  
 ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.  
 huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus agri  
 Phoenicum et magno miserae dilectus amore,  
 cui pater intactam dederat primisque iugarat 345  
 ominibus. sed regna Tyri germanus habebat  
 Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnis.  
 quos inter medius venit furor. ille Sychaeum  
 impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore  
 clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum 350  
 germanae; factumque diu celavit et aegram  
 multa malus simulans vana spe lusit amantem.  
 ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago  
 coniugis; ora modis attollens pallida miris

<sup>333</sup> et vastis *M<sup>1</sup>R.*    <sup>343</sup> auri *Huet.*    <sup>348</sup> medios *M, Servius.*



## AENEID BOOK I

<sup>326</sup> “None of thy sisters have I heard or seen—but by what name should I call thee, O maiden? for thy face is not mortal nor has thy voice a human ring; O goddess surely! sister of Phoebus, or one of the race of Nymphs? Be thou gracious, whoe’er thou art, and lighten this our burden. Inform us, pray, beneath what sky, on what coasts of the world, we are cast; knowing naught of country or of people, we wander hither driven by wind and huge billows. Many a victim shall fall for thee at our hand before thine altars.”

<sup>335</sup> Then said Venus: “Nay, I claim not such worship. Tyrian maids are wont to wear the quiver, and bind their ankles high with the purple buskin. ’Tis the Punic realm thou seest, a Tyrian people, and the city of Agenor; but the bordering country is Libyan, a race unconquerable in war. Dido wields the sceptre—Dido, who, fleeing from her brother, came from the city of Tyre. Long would be the tale of wrong, long its winding course—but the main heads of the story I will trace. Her husband was Sychaeus, richest of the Phoenicians in land, and fondly loved by unhappy Dido; to him her father had given the maiden, yoking her to him in the first bridal auspices. But the kingdom of Tyre was in the hands of her brother Pygmalion, monstrous in crime beyond all others. Between these two came frenzy. The king, impiously before the altars and blinded by lust of gold, strikes down Sychaeus by stealthy blow unawares, careless of his sister’s love; and for long he hid the deed, and by many a pretence cunningly cheated the lovesick bride with empty hope. But in her sleep came the very ghost of her unburied husband; raising his face pale in wondrous wise, he laid bare the cruel altars and his breast pierced with

# VIRGIL

crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro 355  
 nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne retexit.  
 tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet  
 auxiliumque viae veteris tellure recludit  
 thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri.  
 his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat. 360  
 conveniunt, quibus aut odium crudele tyranni  
 aut metus acer erat ; navis, quae forte paratae,  
 corripuiunt onerantque auro ; portantur avari  
 Pygmalionis opes pelago ; dux femina facti.  
 devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernis 365  
 moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,  
 mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,  
 taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.  
 sed vos qui tandem ? quibus aut venistis ab oris ?  
 quove tenetis iter ? ” quaerenti talibus ille 370  
 suspirans imoque trahens a pectore vocem :  
 “ O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam,  
 et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum,  
 ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo.  
 nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per auris 375  
 Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos  
 forte sua Libycis tempestas appulit oris.  
 sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates  
 classe veho mecum, fama super aethera notus.  
 Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo. 380  
 bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor, GMPR

<sup>365</sup> cernes *PRγ* : cernis *M*.

<sup>369</sup> aut venistis *M<sup>2</sup>Pγ* : audvenistis *M<sup>1</sup>* : advenistis *R*.

<sup>374</sup> componat *P<sup>1</sup>R*.

<sup>380</sup> magno *R*. *So Sabb.*

## AENEID BOOK I

steel, unveiling all the secret horror of the house. Then he bids her speed flight and leave her country, and to aid her journey brought to light from earth old-time treasures, a mass of silver and gold known to none. Moved hereby, Dido made ready her flight and her company. Then assemble all who felt towards the tyrant relentless hatred or keen fear; ships, which by chance were ready, they seize, and load with gold; the wealth of grasping Pygmalion is borne overseas, the leader of the work a woman. They came to the place where now thou seest the huge walls and rising citadel of new Carthage, and bought ground—Byrsa they called it therefrom—as much as they could encompass with a bull's hide.<sup>1</sup> But who, pray, are ye, or from what coasts come, or whither hold ye your course?"

<sup>370</sup> As she questioned thus he, sighing and drawing speech deep from his breast, replied:

"O goddess, should I, tracing back from the first beginning, go on to tell, and thou have leisure to hear the story of our woes, sooner would heaven close and evening lay the day to rest. From ancient Troy, if haply the name of Troy has passed through your ears, sailing over distant seas, the storm at its own caprice drove us to the Libyan coast. I am Aeneas the good, who carry with me in my fleet my household gods, snatched from the foe; my fame is known in the heavens above. Italy I seek, my country, and a race sprung from Jove most high. With twice ten ships I climbed the Phrygian sea, following the fates

<sup>1</sup> The legend ran that the Phoenician settlers bargained with the Libyans for as much ground as could be covered by a bull's hide. This was cut into very fine strips, which enclosed a large tract of land. This myth probably arose from the fact that the Phoenician *bosra*, "citadel," was confused with the Greek *βύρσα*, "bull's-hide."

## VIRGIL

matre dea monstrante viam, data fata secutus ;  
vix septem convolsae undis Euroque supersunt.  
ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,  
Europa atque Asia pulsus." nec plura querentem  
passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est : 386

"Quisquis es, haud, credo, invisus caelestibus  
auras

vitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adveneris urbem.  
perge modo atque hinc te reginae ad limina  
perfer.

namque tibi reduces socios classemque relata 390  
nuntio et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam,  
ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.

aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos,  
aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto  
turbabat caelo ; nunc terras ordine longo 395

aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur.  
ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis  
et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere,  
haud aliter puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum  
aut portum tenet aut pleno subit ostia velo. 400  
perge modo et, qua te ducit via, derige gressum."

Dixit et avertens rosea cervice refulsit,  
ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem  
spiravere ; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,  
et vera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem 405

adgnovit, tali fugientem est voce secutus :

"quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis  
ludis imaginibus ? cur dextrae iungere dextram  
non datur ac veras audire et reddere voces ?"

talibus incusat gressumque ad moenia tendit. 410  
at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit

<sup>396</sup> aut captas *GMR*γ<sup>2</sup> : aut captus *P*<sup>1</sup> : aut captos *P*<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>.  
respectare *P*γ<sup>1</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK I

declared, my goddess-mother pointing me the way ; scarcely do seven remain, shattered by waves and wind. Myself unknown and destitute, I wander over the Libyan wastes, driven from Europe and from Asia."

<sup>385</sup> His further complaint Venus suffered not, but in the midst of his lament broke in thus : " Whoever thou art, not hateful, methinks, to the heavenly beings dost thou draw the breath of life, seeing thou hast reached the Tyrian city. Only go forward and betake thee hence to the queen's palace. For I bring thee tidings of thy comrades restored and of thy fleet recovered, driven to safe haven by shifting winds—unless my parents falsely taught me augury in vain. Lo ! yonder twelve swans in exultant line, which the bird of Jove, swooping from the skyey expanse, was scattering in the open air ; now in long array they seem either to be settling in their places or already to be gazing down on the places where others have settled. As they, returning, sport with rustling wings, and in company have circled the sky and uttered their songs, with like joy thy ships and the men of thy company hold the haven or under full sail draw near to its mouth. Only go forward and, where the path leads thee, turn thy steps ! "

<sup>402</sup> She spake, and as she turned away, her roseate neck flashed bright. From her head her ambrosial tresses breathed celestial fragrance ; down to her feet fell her raiment, and in her step she was revealed, a very goddess. He knew her as his mother, and as she fled pursued her with these words : " Thou also cruel ! Why mockest thou thy son so often with vain phantoms ? Why am I not allowed to clasp hand in hand and hear and utter words unfeigned ? " Thus he reproaches her and bends his steps towards the city. But Venus shrouded them, as they went,



# VIRGIL

et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,  
cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset  
molirive moram aut veniendi poscere causas.  
ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit 415  
laeta suas, ubi templum illi centumque Sabaeo  
ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.

Corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat.  
iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi FMPR  
imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces. 420  
miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,  
miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.  
instant ardentes Tyrii, pars ducere muros  
molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,  
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco; 425  
iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum;  
hic portus alii effodiunt, hic alta theatri  
fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas  
rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.  
qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura 430  
exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos  
educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella  
stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,  
aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto  
ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent; 435  
fervet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.

“o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!”

Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.  
infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)  
per medios miscetque viris neque cernitur ulli. 440

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,  
quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni

<sup>412</sup> multum *G*. <sup>413</sup> neu] ne *P*<sup>1</sup>. possit *GR*γ.

<sup>420</sup> spectant *F*<sup>1</sup>: adspectant *F*<sup>2</sup>. <sup>425</sup> aptare *R*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>427</sup> alta] lata *F*. theatri *MP*<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*: theatri *FP*<sup>1</sup>*R*γ<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>428</sup> locant] petunt *F*<sup>1</sup>. <sup>433</sup> dulcis *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>441</sup> umbrae *F*<sup>1</sup>, *Probus*: umbra *F*<sup>2</sup>*MPR*; both known to *Servius*.



## AENEID BOOK I

with dusky air, and enveloped them, goddess as she was, in a thick mantle of cloud, that none might see or touch them, none delay or seek the cause of their coming. She herself through the sky goes her way to Paphos, and joyfully revisits her abode, where the temple and its hundred altars steam with Sabaeon incense and are fragrant with garlands ever fresh.

<sup>418</sup> Meanwhile they have sped on the road where the pathway points. And now they were climbing the hill that looms large over the city and looks down on the confronting towers. Aeneas marvels at the massive buildings, mere huts once; marvels at the gates, the din and paved high-roads. Eagerly the Tyrians press on, some to build walls, to rear the citadel, and roll up stones by hand; some to choose the site for a dwelling and enclose it with a furrow. Laws and magistrates they ordain, and a holy senate. Here some are digging harbours, here others lay the deep foundations of their theatre and hew out of the cliffs vast columns, lofty adornments for the stage to be! Even as bees in early summer, amid flowery fields, ply their task in sunshine, when they lead forth the full-grown young of their race, or pack the fluid honey and strain their cells to bursting with sweet nectar, or receive the burdens of incomers, or in martial array drive from their folds the drones, a lazy herd; all aglow is the work and the fragrant honey is sweet with thyme. "Happy they whose walls already rise!" cries Aeneas, lifting his eyes towards the city-roofs. Veiled in a cloud, he enters—wondrous to tell—through their midst, and mingles with the people, seen by none!

<sup>441</sup> Amid the city was a grove, luxuriant in shade, the spot where first the Phoenicians, tossed by waves

## VIRGIL

effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno  
 monstrarat, caput acris equi ; sic nam fore bello  
 egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem. 445  
 hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido  
 condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae,  
 aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque  
 aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis.  
 hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem 450  
 leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem  
 ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus.  
 namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo,  
 reginam opperiens, dum, quae fortuna sit urbi,  
 artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem 455  
 miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas  
 bellaque iam fama totum volgata per orbem,  
 Atridas Priamumque et saevum ambobus Achillem.  
 constitit et lacrimans, "quis iam locus," inquit,

" Achate,

quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? 460  
 en Priamus ! sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi,  
 sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.  
 solve metus ; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem."

Sic ait, atque animum pictura pascit inani  
 multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine voltum. 465  
 namque videbat, uti bellantes Pergama circum  
 hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus,

<sup>448</sup> nixae *b*<sup>1</sup>, *Probus*, known to *Servius*: -que omitted *γ*.

## AENEID BOOK I

and whirlwind, dug up the token which queenly Juno had pointed out, a head of the spirited horse;<sup>1</sup> for thus was the race to be famous in war and rich in substance through the ages. Here Sidonian Dido was founding to Juno a mighty temple, rich in gifts and the presence of the goddess. Brazen was its threshold uprising on steps; bronze plates were its lintel-beams, on doors of bronze creaked the hinges. First in this grove did a strange sight appear to him and allay his fears; here first did Aeneas dare to hope for safety and put surer trust in his shattered fortunes. For while beneath the mighty temple, awaiting the queen, he scans each object, while he marvels at the city's fortune, the handicraft of the several artists and the work of their toil, he sees in due order the battles of Ilium, the warfare now known by fame throughout the world, the sons<sup>2</sup> of Atreus, and Priam, and Achilles, fierce in his wrath against both.<sup>3</sup> He stopped and weeping cried: "What land, Achates, what tract on earth is now not full of our sorrow? Lo, Priam! Here, too, virtue has its due rewards; here, too, there are tears for misfortune and mortal sorrows touch the heart.<sup>4</sup> Dismiss thy fears; this fame will bring thee some salvation."

<sup>464</sup> So he speaks, and feasts his soul on the unsubstantial picture, sighing oft-times, and his face wet with a flood of tears. For he saw how, as they fought round Pergamus, here the Greeks were in rout, the Trojan youth hard on their heels; there

<sup>1</sup> A horse's head was the symbol of Carthage and is common on Carthaginian coins.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Agamemnon and Menelaus.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* the Atridae and Priam.

<sup>4</sup> The repetition of *sunt* implies that *hic etiam* should also be repeated in sense.

# VIRGIL

hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.  
 nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis  
 adgnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno 470  
 Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus,  
 ardentisque avertit equos in castra, prius quam  
 pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.  
 parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,  
 infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli, 475  
 fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,  
 loratenenstamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur  
 per terram et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.  
 interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant  
 crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant, 480  
 suppliciter tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;  
 diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat.  
 ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros  
 exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.  
 tum vero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo, 485  
 ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici  
 tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.  
 se quoque principibus permixtum adgnovit Achivis,  
 Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.  
 ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis 490  
 Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,  
 aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,  
 bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,  
 dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno, 495  
 regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,

<sup>469</sup> nec *MR*<sup>F2</sup>: et *P*<sup>1</sup>: haut *P*<sup>2</sup>: haud γ.

<sup>488</sup> adgnovit *MP*: agnovit γ<sup>b</sup>: adgnoscit *F*: agnoscit *R*.

## AENEID BOOK I

fled the Phrygians, plumed Achilles in his chariot pressing them close. Not far away he discerns with tears the snowy-canvassed tents of Rhesus, which, betrayed in their first sleep, the blood-stained son of Tydeus<sup>1</sup> laid waste with many a death, and turned the fiery steeds away to the camp, ere they should taste Trojan fodder or drink of Xanthus. Elsewhere Troilus, his arms flung away in flight—unhappy boy, and ill-matched in conflict with Achilles—is carried along by his horses and, fallen backward, clings to the empty car, yet clasping the reins; his neck and hair are dragged over the ground, and the dust is scored by his reversed spear. Meanwhile, to the temple of unfriendly Pallas the Trojan women passed along with streaming tresses,<sup>2</sup> and bore the robe, mourning in suppliant guise and beating breasts with hands: with averted face the goddess kept her eyes fast upon the ground. Thrice had Achilles dragged Hector round the walls of Troy and was selling the lifeless body for gold. Then indeed from the bottom of his heart he heaves a deep groan, as the spoils, as the chariot, as the very corpse of his friend met his gaze, and Priam outstretching weaponless hands. Himself, too, in close combat with the Achaean chiefs, he recognized, and the Eastern ranks, and swarthy Memnon's armour.<sup>3</sup> Penthesilea in fury leads the crescent-shielded ranks of the Amazons and flames amid her thousands; a golden belt she binds below her naked breast, and, as a warrior queen, dares battle, a maid clashing with men.

<sup>494</sup> While these wondrous sights are seen by Dardan Aeneas, while in amazement he hangs rapt in one fixed gaze, the queen, Dido, moved towards the

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Diomedes.

<sup>2</sup> *cf.* Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 297 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Memnon was leader of the Ethiopians.



incessit, magna iuvenum stipante caterva.  
 qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi  
 exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae  
 hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa phare-  
 tram 500

fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis;  
 Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus:  
 talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat  
 per medios, instans operi regnisque futuris.  
 tum foribus divae, media testudine templi, 505  
 saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.  
 iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem  
 partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat:  
 cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno  
 Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum  
 Teucrorumque alios, ater quos aequore turbo 511  
 dispulerat penitusque alias avexerat oras.  
 obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates  
 laetitiaque metuque; avidi coniungere dextras  
 ardebant, sed res animos incognita turbat. 515  
 dissimulant et nube cava speculantur amicti,  
 quae fortuna viris, classem quo litore linquant,  
 quid veniant; cunctis nam lecti navibus ibant  
 orantes veniam et templum clamore petebant.

Postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi, 520  
 maximus Ilioneus placido sic pectore coepit:  
 "o regina, novam cui condere Iuppiter urbem MPR  
 iustitiaque dedit gentis frenare superbas,  
 Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti,  
 oramus: prohibe infandos a navibus ignis, 525  
 parce pio generi et propius res aspice nostras.

<sup>501</sup> dea *M<sup>1</sup>PR.* <sup>512</sup> advexerat *M (late)*: averterat *FP.*

<sup>513</sup> percussus *MP<sup>2</sup>.*

<sup>518</sup> cuncti *FMR, Servius.* lectis *P<sup>2</sup>R, known to Servius.*



## AENEID BOOK I

temple, of surpassing beauty, with a vast company of youths thronging round her. Even as on Eurotas' banks or along the heights of Cynthus Diana guides her dancing bands, in whose train a thousand Oreads troop to right and left; she bears a quiver on her shoulder, and as she treads overtops all the goddesses; joys thrill Latona's silent breast—such was Dido, so moved she joyously through their midst, pressing on the work of her rising kingdom. Then at the door of the goddess, beneath the temple's central dome, girt with arms and high enthroned, she took her seat. Laws and ordinances she gave to her people; their tasks she adjusted in equal shares or assigned by lot; when suddenly Aeneas sees approaching, in the midst of a great crowd, Antheus and Sergestus and brave Cloanthus with others of the Trojans, whom the black storm had scattered on the sea and driven far away to other coasts. Amazed was he; amazed, too, was Achates, thrilled with joy and fear. They burned with eagerness to clasp hands, but the uncertain event confuses their hearts. They keep hidden, and, clothed in the enfolding cloud, look to see what is their comrades' fortune, on what shore they leave the fleet, and why they come; for from all the ships chosen men advanced, craving grace, and with loud cries made for the temple.

<sup>520</sup> When they had entered, and freedom to speak before the queen was granted, the eldest, Ilioneus, with placid mien thus began: "O queen, to whom Jupiter hath given to found a new city, and to put the curb of justice on haughty tribes, we, unhappy Trojans, tempest-driven over every sea, make our prayer to thee: ward off the horror of flames from our ships; spare a pious race, and look more graciously on our fortunes. We have not come to spoil with the sword your

# VIRGIL

non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penates  
 venimus aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas;  
 non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis.  
 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt, 530  
 terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glabrae;  
 Oenotri coluere viri, nunc fama minores  
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.  
 hic cursus fuit,  
 cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion 535  
 in vada caeca tulit penitusque procacibus Austris  
 perque undas superante salo, perque invia saxa  
 dispulit; huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris.  
 quod genus hoc hominum? quaeve hunc tam barbara  
 morem  
 permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae; 540  
 bella cient primaque vetant consistere terra.  
 si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,  
 at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi.  
 rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter  
 nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis. 545  
 quem si fata virum servant, si vescitur aura  
 aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris,  
 non metus, officio nec te certasse priorem  
 paeniteat. sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes  
 arvae, Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes. 550  
 quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem  
 et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos,  
 si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto  
 tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus;  
 sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum, 555  
 pontus habet Libyae nec spes iam restat Iuli,  
 at freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas,  
 unde huc advecti, regemque petamus Acesten."

550 arvaeque *Rγ*: arvaeque *M*.

## AENEID BOOK I

Libyan homes or to drive stolen booty to the shore. No such violence is in our hearts, nor have the vanquished such assurance. A place there is, by Greeks named Hesperia, an ancient land, mighty in arms and wealth of soil. There dwelt Oenotrians; now the rumour is that a younger race has called it from their leader's name, Italy. Hither<sup>1</sup> lay our course, when, rising with sudden swell, stormy Orion bore us on hidden shoals and with fierce blasts scattered us afar amid pathless rocks and waves of overwhelming surge; hither to your shores have we few drifted. What race of men is this? What land is so barbarous as to allow this custom? We are debarred the welcome of the beach; they stir up wars and forbid us to set foot on the border of their land. If ye think light of human kinship and mortal arms, yet look unto gods who will remember right and wrong. Our king was Aeneas: none more righteous than he in goodness, or greater in war and deeds of arms. If fate still preserves that hero, if he feeds on the air of heaven and lies not yet in the cruel shades, we have no fear, nor wouldst thou repent of leading in the rivalry of kindly service. In Sicilian regions, too, are there cities and lands for tillage, and a prince of Trojan blood, famed Acestes. Grant us to beach our storm-battered fleet, to fashion planks in the forests and trim oars, that if, with king and comrades found, we may steer our course to Italy, Italy and Latium we may gladly seek; but if our salvation is cut off, if the Libyan gulf holds thee, good father of the Trojan people, and no hope is left now in Iulus, that we at least may seek the straits of Sicily, whence we came hither, and the homes there ready, and Acestes for

<sup>1</sup> In l. 534 we encounter the first of fifty-five incomplete verses in the *Aeneid*.

talibus Ilioneus ; cuncti simul ore fremebant  
Dardanidae. 560

Tum breviter Dido voltum demissa profatur :  
“ solvite corde metum, Teucri, secludite curas.  
res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt  
moliri et late finis custode tueri.  
quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem 565  
virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli ?  
non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,  
nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe.  
seu vos Hesperiam magnam Saturniaque arva  
sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten, 570  
auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.  
voltis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis ?  
urbem quam statuo vestra est ; subducite navis ;  
Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.  
atque utinam rex ipse Noto compulsus eodem 575  
adforet Aeneas ! equidem per litora certos  
dimittam et Libyae lustrare extrema iubebo,  
si quibus eiectus silvis aut urbibus errat.”

His animum arrecti dictis et fortis Achates  
et pater Aeneas iamdudum erumpere nubem 580  
ardebant. prior Aenean compellat Achates :  
“ nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit ?  
omnia tuta vides, classem sociosque receptos.  
unus abest, medio in fluctu quem vidimus ipsi  
submersum ; dictis respondent cetera matris.” 585

572 pariter mecum *P.*

## AENEID BOOK I

our king." So spoke Ilioneus, and all the sons of Dardanus loudly shouted assent.

<sup>561</sup> Then Dido, with downcast look, briefly speaks :  
"Free your hearts of fear, Teucrians; put away your cares. Stern necessity and the new estate of my kingdom force me to do such hard deeds and protect my frontiers far and wide with guards. Who could be ignorant of the race of Aeneas' people, who of Troy's town and her brave deeds and brave men, or of the fires of such a war? Not so dull are our Punic hearts, and not so far from this Tyrian city does the sun yoke his steeds.<sup>1</sup> Whether your choice be great Hesperia and the fields of Saturn,<sup>2</sup> or the lands of Eryx and Acestes for your king, I will send you hence guarded by an escort, and aid you with my wealth. Or is it your wish to settle with me on even terms within these realms? The city I build is yours; draw up your ships; Trojan and Tyrian I shall treat with no distinction. And would that your king were here, driven by the same wind—Aeneas himself! Nay, I will send trusty scouts along the coast and bid them traverse the ends of Libya, if haply he strays shipwrecked in forest or in town."

<sup>579</sup> Stirred in spirit by these words, brave Achates and father Aeneas had long burned to break through the cloud. First Achates addresses Aeneas : "God-goddess-born, what purpose now rises in thy heart? Thou seest all is safe, comrades and fleet restored. One<sup>3</sup> only is wanting, whom our own eyes saw engulfed amid the waves; all else agrees with thy mother's words."

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* we do not live so far out of the world.

<sup>2</sup> Saturn lived in Italy in the Golden Age.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* Orontes.



# VIRGIL

Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa repente FMPR  
 scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.  
 restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit, BFMPR  
 os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram  
 caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae 590  
 purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores;  
 quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo  
 argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro.  
 tum sic reginam adloquitur cunctisque repente  
 improvisus ait: "coram, quem quaeritis, adsum, 595  
 Troius Aeneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.  
 o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,  
 quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque  
 omnibus exhaustos iam casibus, omnium egenos,  
 urbe, domo socias, grates persolvere dignas 600  
 non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est  
 gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.  
 di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid  
 usquam iustitia est, et mens sibi conscia recti,  
 praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt 605  
 saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?  
 in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae  
 lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,  
 semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt, FMP  
 quae me cumque vocant terrae." sic fatus, amicum  
 Ilionea petit dextra laevaue Serestum, 611  
 post alios, fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum. MPR  
 Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido,  
 casu deinde viri tanto, et sic ore locuta est:  
 "quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus 615  
 insequitur? quae vis immanibus applicat oris?

<sup>590</sup> numenque *F*<sup>1</sup>. iuventa *P*. <sup>591</sup> adflavit *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>593</sup> Pariusque *P*.

<sup>599</sup> exhaustis *F*<sup>1</sup>, *D. Servius*.

<sup>604</sup> iustitiae *BFM<sup>2</sup>PRγ*.

<sup>607</sup> currunt *B*.

<sup>608</sup> convexa was taken with sidera by some, according to *Servius*.  
 poscet *F*: pascit *M*.



## AENEID BOOK I

<sup>586</sup> Scarce had he said this, when the encircling cloud suddenly parts and clears into open heaven. Aeneas stood forth, gleaming in the clear light, god-like in face and shoulders; for his mother herself had shed upon her son the beauty of flowing locks, with youth's ruddy bloom, and on his eyes a joyous lustre; even as the beauty which the hand gives to ivory, or when silver or Parian marble is set in yellow gold. Then thus he addresses the queen, and, unforeseen by all, suddenly speaks:

<sup>595</sup> "I, whom ye seek, am here before you, Aeneas of Troy, snatched from the Libyan waves. O thou that alone hast pitied Troy's unutterable woes, thou that to us—the remnant left by the Greeks, now outworn by every mischance of land and sea, and destitute of all—givest a share in thy city and home, to pay thee fitting thanks, Dido, is not in our power, nor in theirs who anywhere survive of Trojan race, scattered over the wide world. May the gods, if any divine powers have regard for the good, if justice has any weight anywhere—may the gods and the consciousness of right bring thee worthy rewards! What happy ages bore thee? What glorious parents gave birth to so noble a child? While rivers run into the sea, while on the mountains shadows move over the slopes, while heaven feeds the stars, ever shall thy honour, thy name, and thy praises endure, whatever be the lands that summon me!" So saying, he grasps his dear Ilioneus with the right hand, and with the left Serestus; then others, brave Gyas and brave Cloanthus.

<sup>613</sup> Sidonian Dido was amazed, first at the sight of the hero, then at his strange misfortune, and thus her lips made utterance: "What fate pursues thee, goddess-born, amidst such perils? What violence

# VIRGIL

tune ille Aeneas, quem Dardanio Anchisae  
 alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?  
 atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire  
 finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem 620  
 auxilio Beli; genitor tum Belus opimam  
 vastabat Cyprum et victor dicione tenebat.  
 tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis  
 Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi.  
 ipse hostis Teucros insigni laude ferebat 625  
 seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum ab stirpe volebat.  
 quare agite, o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris.  
 me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores  
 iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra.  
 ✓ non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco." 630  
 sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit  
 tecta, simul divum templis indicit honorem.  
 nec minus interea sociis ad litora mittit  
 viginti tauros, magnorum horrentia centum  
 terga suum, pinguis centum cum matribus agnos, 635  
 munera laetitiamque dii.  
 at domus interior regali splendida luxu  
 instruitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis:  
 arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo,  
 ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro 640  
 fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum  
 per tot ducta viros antiqua ab origine gentis.

Aeneas (neque enim patrius consistere mentem  
 passus amor) rapidum ad navis praemittit Achaten,  
 Ascanio ferat haec ipsumque ad moenia ducat; 645

<sup>620</sup> patris *P<sup>1</sup>*. <sup>625</sup> insignis *P<sup>1</sup>*, *Servius*. <sup>629</sup> considerare *Py*.  
<sup>636</sup> dii *A. Gellius*, IX. XIV. 8: dei *MSS.* *Servius* mentions  
 dei, dii, and die as existing readings.

## AENEID BOOK I

drives thee to savage shores? Art thou that Aeneas, whom gracious Venus bore to Dardanian Anchises by the wave of Phrygian Simois? Yea, I myself remember well Teucer's coming to Sidon, when exiled from his native land he sought a new kingdom by aid of Belus; my father Belus was then wasting rich Cyprus, and held it under his victorious sway. From that time on the fall of the Trojan city has been known to me; known, too, thine own name and the Pelasgian kings. Even their foe often lauded the Teucrians with highest praise and would have it that he was sprung from the Teucrians' ancient stock. Come therefore, sirs, and pass within our halls. Me, too, has a like fortune driven through many toils, and willed that at last I should find rest in this land. Not ignorant of ill do I learn to befriend the unhappy."

<sup>631</sup> Thus she speaks, and at once leads Aeneas into the royal house; at once proclaims a sacrifice at the temples of the gods. Meanwhile not less careful is she to send his comrades on the shore twenty bulls, a hundred huge swine with bristling backs, a hundred fatted lambs with their ewes, gifts for the day's merriment.<sup>1</sup> But the palace within is laid out with the splendour of princely pomp, and amid the halls they prepare a banquet. Coverlets there are, skilfully embroidered and of royal purple; on the tables is massive silver plate, and in gold are graven the doughty deeds of her sires, a long, long course of exploits traced through many a hero from the early dawn of the race.

<sup>643</sup> Aeneas—for a father's love did not suffer his heart to rest—speedily sends Achates forward to the ships to carry this news to Ascanius and lead him

<sup>1</sup> If *dei* of the MSS. is retained, it refers to Bacchus.

omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.  
 munera praeterea, Iliacis erepta ruinis,  
 ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem,  
 et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho, BMPR  
 ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis, 650  
 Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,  
 extulerat, matris Ledaе mirabile donum;  
 praeterea sceptrum, Ilione quod gesserat olim,  
 maxima natarum Priami, colloque monile BFMPR  
 bacatum et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam. 655  
 haec celerans iter ad navis tendebat Achates.

At Cytherea novas artes, nova pectore versat  
 consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido  
 pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furem  
 incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem: 660  
 quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis;  
 urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat.  
 ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem:

" nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia solus,  
 nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoëa temnis, 665  
 ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.

frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum  
 litora iactetur odiis Iunonis acerbae,  
 nota tibi, et nostro doluisti saepe dolore. FMPR

nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur 670  
 vocibus, et vereor, quo se Iunonia vertant  
 hospitia; haud tanto cessabit cardine rerum.

quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma  
 reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,

<sup>668</sup> iacteturque *F<sup>2</sup>MRγ, Servius.* acerbae: iniquae *F<sup>2</sup>MP<sup>2</sup>R.*

<sup>670</sup> nunc *F<sup>1</sup>:* hunc *F<sup>2</sup>MRγ;* *P's reading lost.*

## AENEID BOOK I

to the city; in Ascanius all his fond parental care is centred. Presents, too, snatched from the wreck of Ilium, he bids him bring, a mantle stiff with figures wrought in gold, and a veil fringed with yellow acanthus, once worn by Argive Helen when she sailed for Pergamos and her unlawful marriage—she had brought them from Mycenae, the wondrous gift of her mother Leda—the sceptre withal, which Ilione, Priam's eldest daughter, once had borne, a necklace, too, hung with pearls, and a coronet with double circlet of jewels and gold. Speeding these commands, Achates bent his way towards the ships.

<sup>657</sup> But the Cytherean revolves in her breast new wiles, new schemes; how Cupid, changed in face and form, may come in the stead of sweet Ascanius, and by his gifts kindle the queen to madness and send the flame into her very marrow. In truth, she fears the uncertain house and double-tongued Tyrians; Juno's fury chafes her, and at nightfall her care rushes back. Therefore to winged Love she speaks these words:

<sup>664</sup> "Son, who art alone my strength, my mighty power—O son, who scornest the mighty father's Typhoean <sup>1</sup> darts, to thee I flee and suppliant sue thy godhead. How thy brother Aeneas is tossed on the sea about all coasts by bitter Juno's hate is known to thee, and often hast thou grieved in our grief. Phoenician Dido now holds him, staying him with soft words, and I dread what maybe the outcome of Juno's hospitality; at such a turning-point of fortune she will not be idle. Wherefore I purpose to outwit the queen with guile and encircle her with love's flame, that so no power may change her, but on my side she may be held

<sup>1</sup> So called because with them Jupiter slew the Titan Typhoeus.



# VIRGIL

sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore. 675  
 qua facere id possis, nostram nunc accipe mentem.  
 regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem  
 Sidoniam puer ire parat, mea maxima cura,  
 dona ferens pelago et flammis restantia Troiae.  
 hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera 680  
 aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam, MPR  
 ne qua scire dolos mediusve occurrere possit.  
 tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam  
 falle dolo, et notos pueri puer indue voltus,  
 ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido GMPR  
 regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum, 686  
 cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,  
 occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno."  
 paret Amor dictis carae genetricis et alas BQMPR  
 exuit et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli. 690  
 at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem  
 inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos  
 Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum  
 floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur umbra.  
 Iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido 695  
 regia portabat Tyriis, duce laetus Achate.  
 cum venit, aulaeis iam se regina superbis  
 aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit,  
 iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuventus  
 conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro. 700  
 dant manibus famuli lymphas Cereremque canistris  
 expediunt tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis.  
 quinquaginta intus famulae, quibus ordine longo  
 cura penum struere et flammis adolere Penates;  
 centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri, 705

<sup>676</sup> quam γ: quo b.

<sup>701</sup> In *M<sup>1</sup>U.* 701-708 follow *U.* 709-716. famulae *MP.*

<sup>703</sup> longam *Charisius*, known to *Gellius*: longo *MSS.*, *Servius*.



## AENEID BOOK I

fast in strong love for Aeneas. How thou canst do this take now my thought. The princely boy, my chiefest care, at his dear father's bidding, makes ready to go to the Sidonian city, bearing gifts that survive the sea and the flames of Troy. Him will I lull to sleep, and on the heights of Cythera or of Idalium will hide in my sacred shrine, that in no wise he may learn my wiles or come between to thwart them. Do thou, for but a single night, feign by craft his form and, boy as thou art, don the boy's familiar face, that so when, in the fullness of her joy, amid the royal feast and the flowing wine, Dido shall take thee to her bosom, shall embrace thee and imprint sweet kisses, thou mayest inbreathe a hidden fire and beguile her with thy poison." Love obeys his dear mother's words, lays by his wings, and walks joyously with the step of Iulus. But Venus pours over the limbs of Ascanius the dew of gentle repose and, fondling him in her bosom, uplifts him with divine power to Idalia's high groves, where soft marjoram enwraps him in flowers and the breath of its sweet shade.

<sup>695</sup> And now, obedient to her word and rejoicing in Achates as guide, Cupid went forth, carrying the royal gifts for the Tyrians. As he enters, the queen has already, amid royal hangings, laid herself on a golden couch, and taken her place in their midst. Now father Aeneas, now the Trojan youth gather, and the guests recline on coverlets of purple. Servants pour water on their hands, serve bread from baskets, and bring smooth-shorn napkins. There are fifty serving-maids within, whose task it is to set out the feast in long array and honour the hearth-gods with fire. A hundred more there are, with as many pages of like age, to load the board

qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.  
 nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes  
 convenere, toris iussi discumbere pictis.  
 mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum GMPR  
 flagrantisque dei voltus simulataque verba 710  
 pallamque et pictum croceo velamen acantho.  
 praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,  
 expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo  
 Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur.  
 ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit 715  
 et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem,  
 reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto  
 haeret et interdum gremio foveat, inscia Dido,  
 insidat quantus miserae deus. at memor ille  
 matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum 720  
 incipit et vivo temptat praevertere amore  
 iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda.  
 Postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque re-  
 motae, MPR  
 crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.  
 fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant 725  
 atria; dependent lychni laquearibus aureis  
 incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.  
 hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit  
 implevitque mero pateram, quam Beluset omnes BMPR  
 a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis. 730  
 "Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur,  
 hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis  
 esse velis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.  
 adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator et bona Iuno;  
 et vos, o, coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes." 735

<sup>708</sup> onerant . . . ponunt *BGR*.

<sup>719</sup> insideat *GR*: both known to *Servius*: insidiat  $\gamma^1$ .

<sup>725</sup> fit] it *b*: both known to *Servius*: id  $\gamma^1$ .

## AENEID BOOK I

with viands and set thereon the cups. Yea, the Tyrians, too, are gathered in throngs throughout the festal halls, summoned to recline on the embroidered couches. They marvel at the gifts of Aeneas, marvel at Iulus, at the god's glowing looks and well-feigned words, at the robe and veil, embroidered with saffron acanthus. Above all, the unhappy Phoenician, doomed to impending ruin, cannot satiate her soul, but takes fire as she gazes, thrilled alike by the boy and by the gifts. He, when he has hung in embrace on Aeneas' neck and satisfied the deluded father's deep love, goes to the queen. She with her eyes, with all her heart clings to him and anon fondles him in her bosom, knowing not, poor Dido, how great a god settles there to her sorrow. But he, mindful of his Acidalian mother, little by little begins to efface Sychaeus, and essays with a living passion to surprise her long-slumbering soul and heart unused to love.

<sup>723</sup> When first there came a lull in the feasting, and the boards were cleared, they set down great bowls and crown the wine. A din arises in the palace and voices roll through the spacious halls; lighted lamps hang down from the fretted roof of gold, and flaming torches drive out the night. Then the queen called for a cup, heavy with jewels and gold, and filled it with wine—one that Belus and all of Belus' line had been wont to use. Then through the hall fell silence: "Jupiter—for they say that thou dost appoint laws for host and guest—grant that this be a day of joy for Tyrians and the voyagers from Troy, and this our children may remember! May Bacchus, giver of joy, be near, and bounteous Juno; and do ye, O Tyrians, grace the gathering with friendly spirit!" She spoke, and on the board

# VIRGIL

dixit et in mensam laticum libavit honorem  
 primumque libato summo tenuis attigit ore ;  
 tum Bitiae dedit increpitans ; ille impiger hausit  
 spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro ;  
 post alii proceres. cithara crinitus Iopas 740  
 personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.  
 hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,  
 unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,  
 Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones ;  
 quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles 745  
 hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.  
 ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur.  
 nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat  
 infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem, MPR  
 multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa ;  
 nunc, quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis, 751  
 nunc, quales Diomedis equi, nunc, quantus Achilles.  
 “ immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis  
 insidias ” inquit “ Danaum casusque tuorum  
 erroresque tuos ; nam te iam septima portat 755  
 omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.”

741 quem ] quae γ<sup>2</sup>, *preferred by Servius.*

## AENEID BOOK I

offered a libation of wine, and, after the libation, was first to touch the goblet with her lips; then with a challenge gave it to Bitias. He briskly drained the foaming cup, and drank deep in the brimming gold; then other lords drank. Long-haired Iopas, once taught by mighty Atlas, makes the hall ring with his golden lyre. He sings of the wandering moon and the sun's toils; whence sprang human kind and the brutes, whence rain and fire; of Arcturus, the rainy Hyades and the twin Bears; why wintry suns make such haste to dip themselves in Ocean, or what delay stays the slowly passing nights. With shout on shout the Tyrians applaud, and the Trojans follow. Yea, unhappy Dido, too, with varied talk prolonged the night and drank deep draughts of love, asking much of Priam, of Hector much; now of the armour wherein the son of Aurora came; now of the wondrous steeds of Diomedes; now of giant Achilles. "Nay, come," she cries, "and tell us, my guest, from the first beginning the treachery of the Greeks, thy comrades' misfortunes, and thine own wanderings; for it is now the seventh summer that bears thee a wanderer over every land and sea."

## LIBER II

CONTICUERE omnes intentique ora tenebant. MPR  
inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto :

“ Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,  
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum  
eruerint Danaï, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi 5  
et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando  
Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi  
temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo  
praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,  
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros 10  
et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem,  
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,  
incipiam.

“ Fracti bello fatisque repulsi  
ductores Danaum, tot iam labentibus annis,  
instar montis equum divina Palladis arte 15  
aedificant sectaque intexunt abiete costas;  
votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur.  
huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim  
includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas  
ingentis utrumque armato milite complent. 20

“ Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama  
insula, dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant,  
nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis :

<sup>18</sup> dilecta *Py*<sup>1</sup>.



## BOOK II

ALL were hushed, and held their gaze bent upon him ; then from his lofty couch father Aeneas thus began :

<sup>3</sup> “ Beyond all words, O queen, is the grief thou bidst me revive, how the Greeks overthrew Troy’s wealth and woeful realm—the sights most piteous that I myself saw and whereof I was no small part. What Myrmidon or Dolopian, or soldier of stern Ulysses, could in telling such a tale refrain from tears? Now, too, dewy night is speeding from the sky<sup>1</sup> and the setting stars invite to sleep. Yet if thou hast such longing to learn our disasters, and in few words to hear of Troy’s last agony, though my mind shudders to remember, and has recoiled in grief, I will begin.

<sup>13</sup> “ Broken in war and thrust back by the fates, the Danaan chiefs, now that so many years were gliding by, build by Pallas’ divine art a horse of mountainous bulk, and interweave its ribs with planks of fir. They feign it as a votive offering for their return; this rumour goes abroad. Here, within its dark sides, they stealthily enclose the choicest of their stalwart men and deep in the paunch fill the huge cavern with armed soldiery.

<sup>21</sup> “ There lies in sight Tenedos, an island well known to fame—rich in wealth while Priam’s kingdom stood, now but a bay and unsafe anchorage for ships.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* into the ocean. The night is far spent. *cf.* II. 250.

# VIRGIL

huc se provecti deserto in litore condunt.  
 nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenae. 25  
 ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucra luctu.  
 panduntur portae; iuvat ire et Dorica castra  
 desertosque videre locos litusque relictum.  
 hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles,  
 classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant. 30  
 pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae  
 et molem mirantur equi; primusque Thymoetes  
 duci intra muros hortatur et arce locari,  
 sive dolo seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant.  
 at Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti, 35  
 aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona  
 praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis,  
 aut terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras.  
 scinditur incertum studia in contraria volgas.

"Primus ibi ante omnis, magna comitante  
 caterva, 40

Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce  
 et procul: 'o miseri, quae tanta insania, cives?  
 creditis auctos hostis? aut ulla putatis  
 dona carere dolis Danaum? sic notus Ulixes?  
 aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi, 45  
 aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,  
 inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi,  
 aut aliquis latet error; equo ne credite, Teucri.  
 quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.'  
 sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam 50  
 in latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum  
 contorsit. stetit illa tremens, uteroque recusso  
 insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae.

<sup>37</sup> iubet *P*<sup>2</sup><sub>γ</sub>, *Nonius*. subiectisve *known to Servius*.

<sup>38</sup> utero *P*<sup>1</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK II

Hither they sail and hide themselves on the barren shore. We thought they had gone and before the wind were bound for Mycenae. So all the Teucrian land frees herself from her long sorrow. The gates are opened ; it is a joy to go and see the Doric camp, the deserted stations and forsaken shore. Here the Dolopian bands encamped, here cruel Achilles ; here lay the fleet ; here they used to meet us in battle. Some are amazed at maiden Minerva's gift of death, and marvel at the massive horse : and first Thymoetes urges that it be drawn within our walls and lodged in the citadel, whether in treachery or that now the doom of Troy was thus setting. But Capys, and they whose minds were wiser in counsel, bid us either hurl headlong into the sea this guile of the Greeks, this distrusted gift, or fire it with flames heaped beneath ; or else pierce and probe the hollow hiding-place of the womb. The wavering crowd is torn into opposing factions.

40 " Then, foremost of all and with a great throng following, Laocoön in hot haste runs down from the citadel's height, and cries from afar : ' Oh, wretched citizens, what wild frenzy is this ? Do ye believe the foe has sailed away ? or think ye any gift of the Greeks are free from treachery ? Is it thus ye know Ulysses ? Either enclosed in this frame there lurk Achaeans, or this has been built as an engine of war against our walls, to spy into our homes and come down upon the city from above ; or some trickery lurks therein. Trust not the horse, ye Trojans. Whatever it be, I fear the Greeks, even when bringing gifts.' So saying, with mighty force he hurled his great spear at the beast's side and the arched frame of the belly. The spear stood quivering and with the womb's reverberation the vaults rang hollow, sending forth a moan.

et si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,  
impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras, 55  
Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres.

“ Ecce manus iuvenem interea post tērga revinctum  
pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant  
Dardanidae, qui se ignotum venientibus ultro, 59  
hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis,  
obtulerat, fidens animi atque in utrumque paratus,  
seu versare dolos seu certae occumbere morti.  
undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus  
circumfusa ruit certantque inludere capto.  
accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno 65  
disce omnis.

namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus, inermis,  
constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit,  
‘heu! quae nunc tellus,’ inquit, ‘quae me aequora  
possunt

accipere? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat, 70  
cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi  
Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?’  
quo gemitu conversi animi, compressus et omnis MP  
impetus. hortamur fari, quo sanguine cretus,  
quidve ferat; memoret, quae sit fiducia capto. 75  
ille haec, deposita tandem formidine, fatur.

“ ‘Cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque,  
fatebor

vera,’ inquit: ‘neque me Argolica de gente negabo:  
hoc primum; nec si miserum Fortuna Sinonem [MPV  
finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget. 80  
fando aliquod si forte tuas pervenit ad auris  
Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama  
gloria, quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi

<sup>56</sup> stares PRγ. maneret M (late). <sup>59</sup> quis preferred by Servius. <sup>62</sup> certe MP<sup>2</sup>γ. occurrere P<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> nunc] me Quintilian, IX. 2, 9.

<sup>76</sup> = III. 612; omitted P: at foot of page, M (late).

<sup>77</sup> fuerit quaecumque P<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK II

And had the gods' decrees, had our mind not been perverse, he had driven us to befoul with steel the Argive den, and Troy would now be standing, and thou, lofty citadel of Priam, wouldst still abide!

<sup>57</sup> “Meanwhile, lo! some Dardan shepherds with loud shouts were haling to the king a youth whose hands were bound behind his back. To compass this very end and open Troy to the Achaeans, stranger though he was, he had of free will placed himself in the way of their coming, confident in spirit and ready for either event, whether to ply his crafty wiles or to meet certain death. From all sides, in eagerness to see, the Trojan youth run streaming in and vie in mocking the captive. Hear now the treachery of the Greeks and from one learn the wickedness of all. For as he stood amid the gazing crowd, dismayed, unarmed, and cast his eyes about the Phrygian bands, ‘Alas!’ he cried, ‘what land now, what seas may receive me? or what fate at the last yet awaits my misery? No place at all have I among the Greeks, and the Trojans themselves, too, wildly clamour for vengeance and my life.’ At that wail our mood was changed and all violence checked. We urge him to say from what blood he is sprung or what tidings he brings. ‘Tell us,’ we cry, ‘on what thou reliest as prisoner.’ He, when at length he has laid aside his fear, thus speaks :

<sup>77</sup> “‘Surely, O king,’ he says, ‘whatever befalls, I will tell thee all truly, nor will I deny that I am of Argive birth. This first I own; nor, if Fortune has moulded Sinon for misery, will she also in her spite mould him as false and lying. If haply in speech there has reached your ears some rumour of Palamedes, son of Belus, and the glory of his fame—whom under false evidence, by wicked witnessing,



insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,  
 demisere neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent : 85  
 illi me comitem et consanguinitate propinquum  
 pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis.  
 dum stabat regno incolumis regumque vigebat  
 conciliis, et nos aliquod nomenque decusque  
 gessimus. invidia postquam pellacis Ulixi 90  
 (haud ignota loquor) superis concessit ab oris,  
 afflictus vitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam  
 et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici.  
 nec tacui demens et me, fors si qua tulisset,  
 si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos, 95  
 promisi ultorem et verbis odia aspera movi.  
 hinc mihi prima mali labes, hinc semper Ulixes  
 criminibus terrere novis, hinc spargere voces  
 in vulgum ambiguas et quaerere conscius arma.  
 nec requievit enim, donec Calchante ministro— 100  
 sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolve?  
 quidve moror? si omnis uno ordine habetis Achivos  
 idque audire sat est, iamdudum sumite poenas:  
 hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridae.'

"Tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas, 105  
 ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae. MP  
 prosequitur pavitans et ficto pectore fatur:

"Saepe fugam Danai/Troia cupiere relicta/  
 moliri et longo fessi discedere bello:  
 fecissentque utinam! saepe illos aspera ponti 110  
 interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis;  
 praecipue, cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis

<sup>88</sup> regnu. . . . P<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> casus P<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> consil(iis) V.

<sup>112</sup> iam cum M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> fallacis PV (?) γ<sup>1</sup>.



## AENEID BOOK II

because he forbade the war, the Pelasgians sent down innocent to death, and mourn him, now that he is bereft of light—in his company, being of kindred blood, my father, poor as he was, sent me hither to arms in my earliest years. While he stood secure in princely power and strong in the councils of the kings, we, too, bore some name and renown. But when through the malice of subtle Ulysses—not unknown is the tale—he passed from this world above, I dragged on my ruined life in darkness and grief, wrathful in my heart over the fate of my innocent friend. Nor in my madness was I silent, but, if any chance should offer, if I ever returned in triumph to my native Argos, I vowed myself his avenger and with my words awoke fierce hate. Hence for me the first taint of ill; hence would Ulysses ever affright me with new charges; hence would he sow dark rumours in the crowd and, conscious of guilt,<sup>1</sup> seek his weapons. Nay, he rested not until with Calchas as his tool—but why do I vainly unroll this unwelcome tale? Or why delay you? If ye hold all Achaeans in one rank, and if it is enough to hear that, take your vengeance at once; this the Ithacan would wish and the sons of Atreus buy at a great price!’

105 “Then indeed we burn to inquire and ask the causes, strangers as we were to wickedness so great and to Pelasgian guile. Trembling he takes up the tale and speaks with feigned feelings:

108 “‘Often the Greeks longed to quit Troy, compass a retreat, and depart, weary with the long war; and oh! that they had done so! Often a fierce tempest on the deep cut them off and the gale scared them from going. Above all, when yonder horse now stood framed of maple-beams, storm-clouds

<sup>1</sup> Some editors prefer to render “as a conspirator.”

# VIRGIL

staret equus, toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.  
 suspensi Eurypylum scitantem oracula Phoebi  
 mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat: 115  
 “sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,  
 cum primum Iliacas, Danaï, venistis ad oras:  
 sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum  
 Argolica.” volgi quae vox ut venit ad auris,  
 obstipuerunt animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit 120  
 ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo.  
 hic Ithacus vatem magno Calchanta tumultu  
 protrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina divum,  
 flagitat. et mihi iam multi crudele canebant  
 artificis scelus et taciti ventura videbant. 125  
 bis quinos silet ille dies tectusque recusat  
 prodere voce sua quemquam aut opponere morti.  
 vix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus,  
 composito rumpit vocem et me destinat arae.  
 adsensere omnes et, quae sibi quisque timebat, 130  
 unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.

“‘Iamque dies infanda aderat, mihi sacra parari  
 et salsae fruges et circum tempora vittae.  
 eripui, fateor, leto me et vincula rupi  
 limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva’ 135  
 delitui, dum vela darent, si forte dedissent.  
 nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla videndi  
 nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem;  
 quos illi fors et poenas ob nostra reposcent  
 effugia et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt. 140  
 quod te per superos et conscia numina veri,  
 per si qua est quae restat adhuc mortalibus usquam

<sup>114</sup> scitantem *P*<sup>γ1b1</sup>, *Servius*: scitantum *M*<sup>1</sup>: scitatum *M*<sup>2</sup>*γ*<sup>2</sup>, *Charisius*, known to *Servius*.

<sup>138</sup> dulcis ] duplicis *P*<sup>1</sup>, known to *Servius*.

<sup>142</sup> restet *M*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*. umquam *M*<sup>1</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK II

sounded throughout the sky. Perplexed, we send Eurypylus to ask the oracle of Phoebus, and he brings back from the shrine these gloomy words: "With blood of a slain virgin ye appeased the winds, when first, O Greeks, ye came to the Ilian coasts; with blood must ye win your return and gain favour by an Argive life." When this utterance came to the ears of the crowd, their hearts were dazed, and a cold shudder ran through their inmost marrow. For whom is fate preparing this doom? Whom does Apollo claim? On this the Ithacan with loud clamour drags the seer Calchas into their midst and demands what this is the gods will. And now many foreboded for me the schemer's cruel crime and silently saw what was to come. Twice five days is the seer silent in his tent, refusing to denounce any by his lips or to consign to death. Hardly, at last, forced by the Ithacan's loud cries, even as agreed he breaks into utterance and dooms me to the altar. All approved; and what each feared for himself they bore with patience, when turned, alas! to one man's ruin.

<sup>132</sup> "And now the day of horror was at hand; for me the rites were preparing, the salted meal, and the fillets for my temples. I snatched myself, I confess, from death; I burst my bonds, and lurked all night in a muddy mere, hidden in the sedge, until they should set sail, if haply they would. And now no hope have I of seeing my dear old country, or my sweet children and the father I long for. Of them perchance they will demand due punishment for my flight, and by their death, unhappy ones, expiate this crime of mine. But I beseech thee, by the gods above, by the powers that know the truth, by whatever faith may still be found unstained anywhere

# VIRGIL

intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum  
tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.' 144

“ His lacrimis vitam damus et miserescimus ultro.  
ipse viro primus manicas atque arta levare  
vincla iubet Priamus dictisque ita fatur amicis :

“ ‘ Quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios ;  
noster eris. mihi que haec edissere vera roganti : 149  
quo molem hanc immanis equi statuere ? quis auctor ?  
quidve petunt ? quae religio ? aut quae machina belli ? ’  
dixerat. ille, dolis instructus et arte Pelasga,  
sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas :

‘ vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum  
testor numen,’ ait, ‘ vos arae ensesque nefandi, 155  
quos fugi, vittaeque deum, quas hostia gessi :  
fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura,  
fas odisse viros atque omnia ferre sub auras, MPV  
si qua tegunt ; teneor patriae nec legibus ullis.  
tu modo promissis maneat servataque serves, 160  
Troia, fidem, si vera feram, si magna rependam.

“ ‘ Omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli  
Palladis auxiliis semper stetit. impius ex quo  
Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulixes,  
fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo 165  
Palladium, caesis summae custodibus arcis,  
corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis  
virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas :  
ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri  
spes Danaum, fractae vires, aversa deae mens. FMPV

## AENEID BOOK II

among mortals, pity such distress; pity a soul that bears sorrow undeserved !'

<sup>145</sup> "To these tears we grant life and pity him besides. Priam himself first bids his fetters and tight bonds be removed, and thus speaks with words of kindness :

<sup>148</sup> " 'Whoever thou art, from henceforth forget the Greeks thou hast lost; thou shalt be ours. And explain to me truly this that I ask. To what end have they set up this huge mass of a horse? Who is the contriver? or what is their aim? What religious offering is it? or what engine of war?' He ceased; the other, schooled in Pelasgian guile and craft, lifted to the stars his unfettered hands: 'Ye, O everlasting fires,' he cries, 'and your inviolable majesty, be ye my witness; ye, O altars, and accursed swords which I escaped, and chaplets of the gods, which I wore as victim! rightly may I break my solemn obligations to the Greeks, rightly hate them and bring all things to light if they hide aught; nor am I bound by any laws of country. Only do thou, O Troy, stand by thy promises and, preserved thyself, preserve thy faith, if my tidings prove true, if I shall make a large return !

<sup>162</sup> " 'All the hope of the Danaans and their confidence in beginning the war were ever stayed on the help of Pallas. But from the time that the ungodly son of Tydeus<sup>1</sup> and Ulysses, the contriver of crime, dared to tear the fateful Palladium from its hallowed shrine, slew the guards of the citadel-height, and, snatching up the sacred image, ventured with bloody hands to touch the fillets of the maiden goddess—from that time the hopes of the Danaans ebbed and, backward stealing, receded; their strength was broken and the heart of the goddess estranged.

<sup>1</sup> Diomedes.



nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris. 171  
 vix positum castris simulacrum, arsere coruscae  
 luminibus flammae arrectis salsusque per artus  
 sudor iit, terque ipsa solo (mirabile dictu)  
 emicuit parmamque ferens hastamque trementem.  
 extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas, 176  
 nec posse Argolicis excindi Pergama telis,  
 omina ni repetant Argis numenque reducant,  
 quod pelago et curvis secum avexere carinis.  
 et nunc quod patrias vento petiere Mycenae, 180  
 arma deosque parant comites, pelagoque remenso  
 improvisi aderunt. ita digerit omina Calchas.  
 hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso  
 effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret. FMP  
 hanc tamen immensam Calchas attollere molem 185  
 roboribus textis caeloque educere iussit,  
 ne recipi portis aut duci in moenia posset,  
 neu populum antiqua sub religione tueri.  
 nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae, 189  
 tum magnum exitium (quod di prius omen in ipsum  
 convertant!) Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum;  
 sin manibus vestris vestram ascendisset in urbem,  
 ultro Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello  
 venturam, et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.  
 "Talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis 195  
 credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis,

<sup>187</sup> possit *FM*. *So Sabb.*

<sup>196</sup> coacti  $\gamma^2$ , *Nonius*.



## AENEID BOOK II

And with no doubtful portents did Tritonia give signs thereof. Scarcely was the image placed within the camp, when from the upraised eyes there blazed forth flickering flames, salt sweat coursed over the limbs, and thrice, wonderful to relate, the goddess herself flashed forth<sup>1</sup> from the ground with shield and quivering spear. Straightway Calchas prophesies that the seas must be essayed in flight, and that Pergamus cannot be uptorn by Argive weapons, unless they seek new omens at Argos, and escort back the deity, whom they have taken away overseas in their curved ships. And now that before the wind they are bound for their native Mycenae, it is but to get them forces and attendant gods; then, recrossing the sea, they will be here unlooked for. So Calchas interprets the omens. This image, at his warning, they have set up in atonement for the Palladium, for the insult to deity, and to expiate the woeful sacrilege. Yet Calchas bade them raise this mass of interlaced timbers so huge, and so to build it up to heaven, that it might find no entrance at the gates, be drawn within the walls, or guard the people under shelter of their ancient faith. For if hand of yours should wrong Minerva's offering, then utter destruction—may the gods turn rather on himself that augury!—would fall on Priam's empire and the Phrygians; but if by your hands it climbed into your city, Asia would even advance in mighty war to the walls of Pelops,<sup>2</sup> and such would be the doom awaiting our offspring!

<sup>195</sup> "Through such snares and craft of forsworn Sinon the story won belief, and we were ensnared by

<sup>1</sup> The words indicate an apparition, which appears suddenly like lightning.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the Trojans would advance against the cities of Greece.

quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles,  
non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.

“ Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum MP  
obicitur magis atque improvida pectora turbat. 200  
Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,  
sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.  
ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta  
(horresco referens) immensis orbibus angues  
incumbunt pelago pariterque ad litora tendunt: 205  
pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta iubaeque  
sanguineae superant undas; pars cetera pontum  
pone legit sinuatque immensa volumine terga.  
fit sonitus spumante salo; iamque arva tenebant  
ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni 210  
sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.  
diffugimus visu exsanguis. illi agmine certo  
Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum  
corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque  
implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus; 215  
post ipsum, auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem,  
corripiunt spirisque ligant ingentibus: et iam  
bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum  
terga dati, superant capite et cervicibus altis.  
ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos, 220  
perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno,  
clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit,  
qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram  
taurus et incertam excussit cervice securim.  
at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones 225  
effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,  
sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur.

<sup>201</sup> Neptuni *Pγ*.

<sup>226</sup> diffugiunt *M*.

## AENEID BOOK II

wiles and forced tears—we whom neither the son of Tydeus nor Achilles of Larissa laid low, not ten years, not a thousand ships!

<sup>199</sup> “Hereupon another portent, more fell and more frightful by far, is thrust upon us, unhappy ones, and confounds our unforeseeing souls. Laocoön, priest of Neptune, as drawn by lot, was slaying a great bull at the wonted altars; and lo! from Tenedos, over the peaceful depths—I shudder as I tell the tale—a pair of serpents with endless coils are breasting the sea and side by side making for the shore. Their bosoms rise amid the surge, and their crests, blood-red, overtop the waves; the rest of them skims the main behind and their huge backs curve in many a fold; we hear the sound sent from foaming seas. And now they were gaining the fields and, with blazing eyes suffused with blood and fire, were licking with quivering tongues their hissing mouths. Pale at the sight, we scatter. They in unswerving course fare towards Laocoön; and first each serpent enfolds in its embrace the youthful bodies of his two sons and with its fangs feeds upon the hapless limbs. Then himself too, as he comes to their aid, weapons in hand, they seize and bind in mighty folds; and now, twice encircling his waist, twice winding their scaly backs around his throat, they tower above with head and lofty necks. He the while strains his hands to burst the knots, his fillets steeped in gore and black venom; the while he lifts to heaven hideous cries, like the bellowings of a wounded bull that has fled from the altar and shaken from its neck the ill-aimed axe. But, gliding away, the dragon pair escape to the lofty shrines, and seek fierce Tritonia’s citadel, there to nestle under the goddess’ feet and the circle of her shield.

## VIRGIL

“Tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis  
insinuat pavor, et scelus expendisse merentem  
Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspidē robur                    230  
laeserit et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam.  
ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae  
numina conclamant.

dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.  
accingunt omnes operi pedibusque rotarum                    235  
subiciunt lapsus et stuppea vincula collo  
intendunt. scandit fatalis machina muros,  
feta armis. pueri circum innuptaeque puellae  
sacra canunt funemque manu contingere gaudent;  
illa subit mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi.                    240  
o patria, o divum domus Ilium et incluta bello  
moenia Dardanidum! quater ipso in limine portae  
substitit, atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere:  
instamus tamen immemores caecique furore  
et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.                    245  
tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris  
ora, dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris.  
nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset  
ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem.

“Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox,                    250  
involvens umbra magna terramque polumque  
Myrmidonumque dolos; fusi per moenia Teucris  
conticuere, sopor fessos complectitur artus.  
et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat                    FMP  
a Tenedo, tacitae per amica silentia lunae                    255  
litora nota petens, flammās cum regia puppis

<sup>251</sup> magnam *Pγ*

## AENEID BOOK II

228 "Then indeed a strange terror steals through the shuddering hearts of all, and Laocoön, 'tis said, has rightly paid the penalty of crime, who with his lance profaned the sacred oak and hurled into its body the accursed spear. 'Draw the image to her house,' all cry, 'and supplicate her godhead.' We part the walls and lay bare the city's battlements. All gird themselves for the work; under the feet they place gliding wheels, and about the neck stretch hempen bands. The fateful engine climbs our walls, big with arms. Around it boys and unwedded girls chant holy songs and delight to touch the cable with their hands. Up it moves, and glides threatening into the city's midst. O motherland! O Ilium, home of gods, and ye Dardan battlements, famed in war! Four times at the gates' very threshold it halted, and four times from its paunch the armour clashed; yet we press on, heedless and blind with frenzy, and set the ill-omened monster on our hallowed citadel. Even then Cassandra opened her lips for the coming doom—lips at a god's command never believed by the Trojans. We, hapless ones, for whom that day was our last, wreathe the fanes of the gods with festal boughs throughout the city.

250 "Meanwhile the sky revolves and night rushes from the ocean, wrapping in its mighty shade earth and heaven and the wiles of the Myrmidons. Through the town the Teucrians lay stretched in silence; sleep clasps their weary limbs.

254 "And now the Argive host, with marshalled ships, was moving from Tenedos, amid the friendly silence of the peaceful moon, seeking the well-known shores, when the royal galley had raised the beacon light<sup>1</sup>—and Sinon, shielded by the gods' malign doom,

<sup>1</sup> This was probably meant as a signal to Sinon. The *-que* (257) connects *laxat* with *ibat* (254).



# VIRGIL

extulerat, fatisque deum defensus iniquis  
 inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim  
 laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras  
 reddit equus, laetique cavo se robore promunt 260  
 Thessandrus Sthenelusque duces et dirus Ulixes,  
 demissum lapsi per funem, Acamasque Thoasque  
 Pelidesque Neoptolemus primusque Machaon  
 et Menelaus et ipse doli fabricator Epeos.  
 invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam, 265  
 caeduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnis  
 accipiunt socios atque agmina conscia iungunt.

“Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris  
 incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.  
 in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector 270  
 visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus,  
 raptatus bigis, ut quondam, aterque cruento  
 pulvere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.  
 ei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo  
 L Hectore, qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli 275  
 vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!  
 squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis  
 volneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros  
 accepit patrios. ultro flens ipse videbar  
 compellare virum et maestas expromere voces: 280  
 ‘o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,  
 quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris  
 exspectate venis? ut te post multa tuorum  
 funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores  
 defessi aspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos 285  
 foedavit voltus? aut cur haec volnera cerno?’  
 ille nihil, nec me quaerentem vana moratur,  
 sed graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens, FMPV  
 ‘heu! fuge, nate dea, teque his,’ ait, ‘eripe flammis.

<sup>261</sup> divus *F*<sup>1</sup>, *Charisius*: dius *Macrobius*: durus *Berne Scholia*.



## AENEID BOOK II

stealthily sets free from the barriers of pine the Danaans shut within the womb. The opened horse restores them to the air, and there joyfully come forth from the hollow wood Thessandrus and Sthenelus the captains, and dread Ulysses, sliding down the lowered rope; Acamas and Thoas and Neoptolemus son of Peleus, the leader Machaon, Menelaus, and Epeus himself, who devised the fraud. They storm the city, buried in sleep and wine; slay the watch, and at the open gates welcome all their comrades and unite confederate bands.

<sup>268</sup> "It was the hour when for weary mortals their first rest begins, and by grace of the gods steals over them most sweet. In slumbers, lo! before my eyes there seemed to stand Hector, most sorrowful and shedding floods of tears; torn by the car, as once of old, and black with gory dust, his swollen feet pierced with thongs. Ah me! what aspect was his! how changed from that Hector who returns after donning the spoils of Achilles or hurling on Danaan ships the Phrygian fires! with ragged beard, with hair matted with blood, and bearing those many wounds he gat around his native walls. Methought I wept myself, hailing him first, and uttering words of grief: 'O light of the Dardan land, O surest hope of the Trojans, what long delay hath held thee? From what shores, Hector, comest thou, the long looked for? Oh, how gladly after the many deaths of thy kin, after divers sorrows of people and city, our weary eyes behold thee! What shameful cause hath marred that unclouded face? or why see I these wounds?' He replies naught, nor heeds my idle questioning, but heavily drawing sighs from his bosom's depths, 'Ah, flee, goddess-born,' he cries, 'and snatch thyself from these flames. The foe

# VIRGIL

hostis habet muros ; ruit alto a culmine Troia. 290  
 sat patriae Priamoque datum : si Pergama dextra  
 defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.  
 sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates :  
 hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere,  
 magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.' 295  
 sic ait, et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem  
 aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.

“ Diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,  
 et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis  
 Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta recessit, 300  
 clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.  
 excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti  
 ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus adsto :  
 in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris  
 incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens 305  
 sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores  
 praecipitesque trahit silvas ; stupet inscius alto  
 accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.  
 tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt  
 insidiae. iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam MPV  
 Volcano superante domus ; iam proximus ardet 311  
 Ucalegon ; Sigea igni freta lata relucet.  
 exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.  
 arma amens capio ; nec sat rationis in armis, MP  
 sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in  
 arcem 315  
 cum sociis ardent animi ; furor iraque mentem  
 praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

“ Ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achivum,  
 Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos,

<sup>299</sup> et] at *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>307</sup> stupet] sedet *Quintilian*, VIII. VI. 10.

<sup>317</sup> praecipitat *Pγ*.

## AENEID BOOK II

holds our walls; Troy falls from her lofty height. All claims are paid to king and country; if Troy's towers could be saved by strength of hand, by mine, too, had they been saved. Troy commits to thee her holy things and household gods; take them to share thy fortunes: seek for them the city—the mighty city which, when thou hast wandered over the deep, thou shalt at last establish!’ So he speaks and in his hands brings forth from the inner shrine the fillets, great Vesta, and the undying fire.

<sup>298</sup> “On every side, meanwhile, the city is in a turmoil of anguish; and more and more, though my father Anchises’ house lay far withdrawn and screened by trees, clearer grow the sounds and war’s dread din sweeps on. I shake myself from sleep and, climbing to the roof’s topmost height, stand with straining ears: even as, when fire falls on a corn-field while south winds are raging, or the rushing torrent from a mountain-stream lays low the fields, lays low the glad crops and labours of oxen and drags down forests headlong, spell-bound the bewildered shepherd hears the roar from a rock’s lofty peak. Then indeed the truth is clear and the guile of the Danaans grows manifest. Even now the spacious house of Deiphobus has fallen, as the fire-god towers above; even now his neighbour Ucalegon blazes; the broad Sigeon straits reflect the flames. Then rise the cries of men and the blare of clarions. Frantic I seize arms; yet little purpose is there in arms, but my heart burns to muster a force for battle and hasten with my comrades to the citadel. Rage and wrath drive my soul headlong and I think how glorious it is to die in arms!

<sup>318</sup> “But lo! Panthus, escaping from Achæan swords—Panthus, son of Othrys, priest of Phoebus

# VIRGIL

sacra manu victosque deos parvumque nepotem 320  
ipse trahit cursuque amens ad limina tendit.

‘quo res summa loco, Panthu? quam prendimus  
arcem?’

vix ea fatus eram, gemitu cum talia reddit:

‘venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus  
Dardaniae. fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens 325

gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos  
transtulit; incensa Danai dominantur in urbe.

arduus armatos mediis in moenibus adstans  
fundit equus victorque Sinon incendia miscet  
insultans. portis alii bipatentibus adsunt, 330

milia quot magnis umquam venere Mycenis;  
obsedere alii telis angusta viarum

oppositis; stat ferri acies mucrone corusco  
stricta, parata neci; vix primi proelia temptant  
portarum vigiles et caeco Marte resistunt.’ 335

talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divum  
in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,  
quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor.

addunt se socios Ripheus et maximus armis  
Epytus, oblatis per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque, 340

et lateri adglomerant nostro, iuvenisque Coroebus  
Mygdonides: illis ad Troiam forte diebus

venerat, insano Cassandrae incensus amore,  
et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,  
infelix, qui non sponsae praecepta furentis 345

audierit!

quos ubi confertos audere in proelia vidi,  
incipio super his: ‘iuvenes, fortissima frustra  
pectora, si vobis audentem extrema cupido  
certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis. 350  
excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis

<sup>321</sup> cursum *also known to Servius.*

<sup>333</sup> oppositi  $\gamma^2 a^2 bc^2$ . *P's reading lost.*

<sup>340</sup> audendi  $M \gamma^1 a^1 c$ : auden- *P*: audentem  $\gamma^2 a^2 b$ , *preferred by Servius.*

## AENEID BOOK II

on the citadel—in his own hand bearing the holy things and vanquished gods, and dragging his little grandchild, runs frantic to my doors. ‘Where is the crisis, Panthus? What stronghold are we to seize?’ Scarcely had I said the words, when with a groan he answers thus: ‘It is come—the last day and inevitable hour for Troy. We Trojans are not, Ilium is not, and the great glory of the Teucrians; in wrath Jupiter has taken all away to Argos; our city is aflame, and in it the Greeks are lords. The horse, standing high in the city’s midst, pours forth armed men, and Sinon, victorious, insolently scatters flames! Some are at the wide-open gates, as many thousands as ever came from mighty Mycenae; others with confronting weapons have barred the narrow ways; a standing line of steel, with flashing point unsheathed, is ready for the slaughter. Scarce do the first guards of the gates essay battle, and resist in blind warfare.’

<sup>336</sup> “By such words of Othrys’ son and by divine will I am driven amid flames and weapons, where the fell Fury, where the roar and the shouts rising to heaven call. Then, falling in with me in the moonlight, comrades join me, and there gather to our side Ripheus and Epytus, mighty in arms, Hypanis and Dymas, with young Coroeus, son of Mygdon. In those days, as it chanced, he had come to Troy, fired with mad love for Cassandra, and as a son was bringing aid to Priam and the Phrygians—luckless one, not to have heeded the warning of his inspired bride! When I saw them in close ranks and eager for battle, I thereon begin thus: ‘My men, hearts vainly valiant, if your desire is fixed to follow me in my final venture, ye see what is the fate of our cause. All the gods on whom this empire was stayed have gone forth,



## VIRGIL

di, quibus imperium hoc steterat ; succurritis urbi  
incensae : moriamur et in media arma ruamus.

una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.'

sic animis iuvenum furor additus. inde, lupi ceu 355  
raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris  
exegit caecos rabies catulique relictī  
faucibus exspectant siccis, per tela, per hostis  
vadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus  
urbis iter ; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra. 360

quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando  
explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores ?  
urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos ;  
plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim  
corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum 365  
limina. nec soli poenas dant sanguine Teucri :  
quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus  
victoresque cadunt Danaī. crudelis ubique  
luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.

“ Primus se Danaum magna comitante caterva 370  
Androgeos offert nobis, socia agmina credens  
inscius, atque ultro verbis compellat amicis :  
‘ festinate, viri ! nam quae tam sera moratur  
segnities ? alii rapiunt incensa feruntque  
Pergama ; vos celsis nunc primum a navibus itis ? ’  
dixit et extemplo (neque enim responsa dabantur 376  
fida satis) sensit medios delapsus in hostis.  
obstipuit retroque pedem cum voce repressit.  
improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem  
pressit humi nitens, trepidusque repente refugit 380  
attollentem iras et caerulea colla tumentem ;  
haud secus Androgeos visu tremefactus abibat.



## AENEID BOOK II

leaving shrine and altar; the city ye aid is in flames. Let us die, and rush into the midst of arms. One safety the vanquished have, to hope for none ! ’

<sup>355</sup> “ Thus their young spirits were spurred to fury. Then, like ravening wolves in a black mist, when the belly’s lawless rage has driven them blindly forth, and their whelps at home await them with thirsty jaws; through swords, through foes we pass to certain death, and hold our way to the city’s heart; black night hovers around with sheltering shade. Who could unfold in speech that night’s havoc? Who its carnage? or who could match our toils with tears? The ancient city falls, for many years a queen; in heaps lifeless corpses lie scattered amid the streets, amid the homes and hallowed portals of the gods. Nor do Teucrians alone pay penalty with their life-blood; at times valour returns to the hearts of the vanquished also and the Danaan victors fall. Everywhere is cruel grief, everywhere panic, and full many a shape of death !

<sup>370</sup> “ First, with a great throng of Greeks attending him, Androgeos meets us, in ignorance deeming us an allied band, and hails us forthwith in friendly words: ‘ Hasten, men; why, what sloth keeps you back so long? Others sack and ravage burning Pergamus; are ye but now coming from the tall ships? ’ He spoke, and at once—for no reply that he could well trust was offered—knew that he had fallen into the midst of foes. He was dazed, and drawing back checked foot and voice. As one who has crushed a serpent unseen amid the rough briars, when stepping firmly on the ground, and in sudden terror shrinks back as it rises in wrath and puffs out its purple neck; so Androgeos, affrighted at the sight, was drawing away. We

inruimus densis et circumfundimur armis,  
 ignarosque loci passim et formidine captos  
 sternimus. adspirat primo Fortuna labori. 385  
 atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus,  
 ‘o socii, qua prima’ inquit ‘fortuna salutis  
 monstrat iter, quaque ostendit se dextra, sequamur :  
 mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis  
 aptemus. dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? 390  
 arma dabunt ipsi.’ sic fatus deinde comantem  
 Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum  
 induitur laterique Argivum accommodat ensem.  
 hoc Ripheus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus  
 laeta facit ; spoliis se quisque recentibus armat. 395  
 vadimus immixti Danaïs haud numine nostro,  
 multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem  
 conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco.  
 diffugiunt alii ad navis et litora cursu  
 fida petunt, pars ingentem formidine turpi 400  
 scandunt rursus equum et nota conduntur in alvo.  
 “Heu ! nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis !  
 ecce trahebatur passis Priameia virgo  
 crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae,  
 ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, 405  
 lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.  
 non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus  
 et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen.  
 consequimur cuncti et densis incurrimus armis.  
 hic primum ex alto delubri culmine telis 410  
 nostrorum obruimur oriturque miserrima caedes  
 armorum facie et Graiarum errore iubarum.  
 tum Danai gemitu atque ereptae virginis ira

<sup>383</sup> circumfundimus *P.*      <sup>387</sup> quae *Mγ<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>*, known to *Servius*.

<sup>392</sup> Androgei *MSS.*, *Servius*: Androgeo known to grammarians (*Aen.* vi. 20).      <sup>398</sup> immixtis *M<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>398</sup> dimittimus *MPγ*.

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charge and with serried arms stream around them; in their ignorance of the ground and the surprise of their panic we slay them on all sides. Fortune favours our first effort. And here Coroebus, flushed with success and courage, cries: 'Comrades, where fortune first points out the road to safety and where she shows herself auspicious, let us follow. Change we the shields and don the Danaan emblems; whether deceit or valour, who would ask in warfare? Our foes themselves shall give us weapons.' So saying, he then puts on the plumed helmet of Androgeos, and the shield with its comely device, and fits to his side the Argive sword. So does Ripheus, so Dymas too, and all the youth in delight; each man arms himself in the new-won spoils. We move on, mingling with the Greeks, under gods not our own, and in the blind night we clash in many a close fight, and many a Greek send down to Orcus. Some scatter to the ships and make with speed for the safe shores; some in base terror again climb the huge horse and hide in the well-known womb.

<sup>402</sup> "Alas! in naught may one trust the gods against their will! Lo! Priam's daughter, maiden Cassandra, was being dragged with streaming hair from the temple and shrine of Minerva, vainly uplifting to heaven her blazing eyes—her eyes, for bonds confined her tender hands! Maddened in soul, Coroebus brooked not this sight, but flung himself to death into the midst of the band. We all follow and charge with serried arms. Here first from the high temple roof we are overwhelmed with the weapons of our friends, and piteous slaughter arises from the appearance of our arms and the confusion of our Greek crests. Then the Danaans, with a shout of rage at the maiden's rescue, mustering from all sides,

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undique collecti invadunt, acerrimus Ajax  
et gemini Atridae Dolopumque exercitus omnis; 415  
adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti  
confligunt, Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois  
Eurus equis; stridunt silvae saevitque tridenti  
spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo.  
illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram 420  
fudimus insidiis totaque agitavimus urbe,  
apparent; primi clipeos mentitaque tela  
adgnoscent atque ora sono discordia signant.  
ilicet obruimur numero; primusque Coroebus  
Penelei dextra divae armipotentis ad aram 425  
procumbit; cadit et Ripheus, iustissimus unus  
qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi  
(dis aliter visum); pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque  
confixi a sociis; nec te tua plurima, Panthu,  
labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit. 430  
Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum,  
testor in occasu vestro nec tela nec ullas  
vitavisse vices Danaum et, si fata fuissent,  
ut caderem meruisse manu. divellimur inde,  
Iphitus et Pelias mecum, quorum Iphitus aevo 435  
iam gravior, Pelias et vulnere tardus Ulixi;  
protinus ad sedes Priami clamore vocati. FMP

“Hic vero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nus-  
quam

bella forent, nulli tota morerentur in urbe,  
sic Martem indomitum Danaosque ad tecta ruentis 440  
cernimus obsessumque acta testudine limen.  
haerent parietibus scalae, postisque sub ipsos  
nituntur gradibus clipeosque ad tela sinistris

<sup>422</sup> primi: *the erasure of a letter before m in P led Ribbeck to read Priami.*

<sup>443</sup> ac tela *F<sup>2</sup>MPγ, known to Servius and read by Mackail: ad tecta F<sup>1</sup>.*

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fall upon us, Ajax most fiercely, the two sons of Atreus, and the whole Dolopian host: even as at times, when a hurricane bursts forth, diverse winds clash, West and South and East, proud of his orient steeds; the forests groan and Nereus, steeped in foam, storms with his trident, and stirs the seas from their lowest depths. There appear, too, those whom amid the shade of the dim night we had routed by stratagem and driven throughout the town; they first recognize our shields and lying weapons, and mark our speech as differing in tone. Straightway we are overwhelmed with odds; and first Coroebus falls at the hand of Peneleus by the altar of the warrior goddess; Ripheus, too, falls, foremost in justice among the Trojans, and most zealous for the right—Heaven's will was otherwise; Hypanis and Dymas perish, pierced by friends; nor could all thy goodness, Panthus, nor Apollo's fillet shield thee in thy fall! O ashes of Ilium! O funeral flames of my kin! I call you to witness that in your doom I shunned not the Danaan weapons nor their answering blows, and had the fates willed my fall, I had earned it by my hand! We are torn from there, with me Iphitus and Pelias, Iphitus now burdened with years, Pelias slow-footed, too, under a wound from Ulysses. Straightway we are called by the clamour to Priam's house.

<sup>438</sup> "Here indeed is a mighty battle, as if the rest of the fighting nowhere had place, as if none were dying throughout the city; so do we see the god of war unbridled, Danaans rushing to the roof and the threshold beset with an assaulting mantlet of shields. Ladders hug the walls, under the very door-posts men force a way on the rungs; with left hands they hold up protecting shields against the



protecti obiciunt, prensant fastigia dextris.  
 Dardanidae contra turris ac tecta domorum 445  
 culmina corvellunt; his se, quando ultima cernunt,  
 extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis;  
 auratasque trabes, veterum decora illa parentum,  
 devolvunt: alii strictis mucronibus imas  
 obsedere fores; has servant agmine denso. 450  
 instaurati animi regis succurrere tectis  
 auxilioque levare viros vimque addere victis.

“Limen erat caecaeque fores et pervius usus  
 tectorum inter se Priami postesque relictī  
 a tergo, infelix qua se, dum regna manebant, 455  
 saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat  
 ad soceros et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat.  
 evado ad summi fastigia culminis, unde  
 tela manu miseri iactabant inrita Teuceri.  
 turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra 460  
 eductam tectis, unde omnis Troia videri  
 et Danaum solitae naves et Achaica castra,  
 adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantis  
 iuncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis  
 sedibus impulimusque; ea lapsa repente ruinam 465  
 cum sonitu trahit et Danaum super agmina late  
 incidit. ast alii subeunt, nec saxa nec ullum  
 telorum interea cessat genus. [MP

“Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus  
 exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna; MPV  
 qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus, 471  
 frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,  
 nunc positus novus exuviis nitidusquē iuventa  
 lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga,

<sup>445</sup> tecta *F*<sup>1</sup>*M*, *Priscian*, *Servius*: teta *P*<sup>2</sup>: tota *P*<sup>1</sup>*γ*, known to *Servius*. <sup>448</sup> illa *F*<sup>1</sup>*P*: alta *F*<sup>2</sup>*M*, *Priscian*.

<sup>450</sup> asservant *P*<sup>1</sup>*γ*<sup>1</sup>, known to *Servius*. <sup>462</sup> Achaia *F*.

<sup>465</sup> ea lapsa] elapsed *P*<sup>1</sup>. repente] ruente *P*<sup>1</sup>: ruina *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>474</sup> convolvens *V*<sup>1</sup>: convolvent *V*<sup>2</sup>.



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darts, and with right they clutch the battlements. The Trojans in turn tear down the towers and roof-covering of the palace; with these as missiles—for they see the end near—even at the point of death they prepare to defend themselves; and roll down gilded rafters, the splendours of their fathers of old. Others with drawn swords have beset the doors below, and guard them, closely massed. Our spirits are quickened to succour the king's dwelling, to relieve our men by our aid and bring fresh force to the vanquished.

<sup>453</sup> “There was an entrance with secret doors, a passage running from hall to hall of Priam's palace, a postern gate apart, by which, while the kingdom yet stood, Andromache, poor soul! would oft-times unattended pass to her husband's parents, and lead the little Astyanax to his grandsire. I gain the roof's topmost height, whence the hapless Teucrians were hurling amain their useless missiles. A tower stood on the sheer edge, rising skyward from the roof-top, whence all Troy was wont to be seen, and the Danaan ships and the Achaean camp. Assailing this with iron round about, where the topmost stories offered weak joints, we wrenched it from its lofty place and thrust it forth. With sudden fall it trails a thunderous ruin, and over the Danaan ranks crashes far and wide. Yet more come up, nor meanwhile do stones nor any kind of missiles cease.

<sup>469</sup> “Just before the entrance-court and at the very portal is Pyrrhus, proudly gleaming in the sheen of brazen arms: even as when into the light comes a snake, fed on poisonous herbs, whom cold winter kept swollen underground, now, his slough cast off, fresh and glistening in youth, with uplifted breast he rolls his slippery length, towering towards

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arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis. 475  
 una ingens Periphas et equorum agitator Achillis,  
 armiger Automedon, una omnis Scyria pubes  
 succedunt tecto et flammās ad culmina iactant.  
 ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni  
 limina perrumpit postisque a cardine vellit 480  
 aeratos; iamque excisa trabe firma cavavit  
 roborā et ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram.  
 apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt;  
 apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum  
 armatosque vident stantis in limine primo. 485

"At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu  
 miscetur, penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes  
 femineis ululant; ferit aurea sidera clamor.  
 tum pavidæ tectis matres ingentibus errant  
 amplexaeque tenent postis atque oscula figunt. 490  
 instat vi patria Pyrrhus: nec claustra nec ipsi  
 custodes sufferre valent; labat ariete crebro  
 ianua et emoti procumbunt cardine postes.  
 fit via vi; rumpunt aditus primosque trucidant  
 immissi Danaï et late loca milite complent. 495  
 non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis  
 exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles, MP  
 fertur in arva furens cumulo camposque per omnis  
 cum stabulis armenta trahit. vidi ipse furentem 499  
 caede Neoptoleum geminosque in limine Atridas,  
 vidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras  
 sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis.  
 quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum,

<sup>503</sup> spes tanta *M*γ<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*: spes ampla *P* (pla lacking) γ<sup>1</sup>.  
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the sun and darting from his mouth a three-forked tongue! With him huge Periphas and Automedon his armour-bearer, driver of Achilles' horses; with him all the Scyrian youth close on the dwelling and hurl flames to the roof. Pyrrhus himself among the foremost grasps a battle-axe, bursts through the stubborn gateway, and from their hinge tears the brass-bound doors; and now, heaving out a panel, he has breached the solid oak and made a huge wide-mouthed gap. Open to view is the house within, and the long halls are bared; open to view are the inner chambers of Priam and the kings of old, and armed men are seen standing at the very threshold.

<sup>486</sup> " But within, amid shrieks and woeful uproar, the house is in confusion, and at its heart the vaulted halls ring with women's wails; the din strikes the golden stars. Then through the vast dwelling trembling matrons roam, clinging fast to the doors and imprinting kisses thereon. On presses Pyrrhus with his father's might; no bars, no warders even can stay his course. The gate totters under the ram's many blows and the doors, wrenched from their sockets, fall forward. Force finds a way; the Greeks, pouring in, burst a passage, slaughter the foremost, and fill the wide space with soldiery. Not with such fury, when a foaming river, bursting its barriers, has overflowed and with its torrent overwhelmed the resisting banks, does it rush furiously upon the fields in a mass and over all the plains sweep herds and folds. I myself saw on the threshold Neoptolemus, mad with slaughter, and both the sons of Atreus; I saw Hecuba and her hundred daughters, and amid the altars Priam, polluting with his blood the fires he himself had hallowed. The famous fifty chambers, the rich promise of offspring,

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barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi  
procubuere ; tenent Danai, qua deficit ignis. 505

“ Forsitan et, Priami fuerint quae fata, requiras.  
urbis uti captae casum convolsaque vidit  
limina tectorum et medium in penetralibus hostem,  
arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo  
circumdat nequiquam umeris et inutile ferrum 510  
cingitur, ac densos fertur moriturus in hostis.  
aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe  
ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterrima laurus,  
incumbens arae atque umbra complexa Penates.  
hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum, 515  
praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae,  
condensae et divum amplexae simulacra sedebant.  
ipsum autem sumptis Priamum iuvenalibus armis  
ut vidit, ‘ quae mens tam dira, miserrime coniunx,  
impulit his cingi telis ? aut quo ruis ? ’ inquit. 520  
‘ non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis  
tempus eget ; non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector.  
huc tandem concede ; haec ara tuebitur omnis,  
aut moriere simul.’ sic ore effata recepit  
ad sese et sacra longaevum in sede locavit. 525

“ Ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites,  
unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostis,  
porticibus longis fugit et vacua atria lustrat  
saucius. illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus  
insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta.  
ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum, 531  
concidit ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit.

<sup>508</sup> mediis *P<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>, known to Servius.*

<sup>517</sup> tenebant *M<sup>1</sup>.*

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the doors proud with the spoils of barbaric gold, fall low; where the fire fails, the Greeks hold sway.

<sup>506</sup> "Perchance, too, thou mayest inquire what was Priam's fate. When he saw the fall of the captured city, saw the doors of the house wrenched off, and the foe in the heart of his home, old as he is, he vainly throws his long-disused armour about his aged trembling shoulders, girds on his useless sword, and rushes to his death among his thronging foes.

<sup>512</sup> "In the midst of the house and beneath the open arch of heaven was a huge altar, and hard by an ancient laurel, leaning against the altar and clasping the household gods in its shade. Here, round the shrines, vainly crouched Hecuba and her daughters, huddled together like doves swept before a black storm, and clasping the images of the gods. But when she saw even Priam harnessed in the armour of his youth, 'My poor, poor husband,' she cries, 'what thought so mad drove thee to gird on these weapons? or whither wouldst thou rush? Not such the aid nor these the defenders the hour craves, no, not though my own Hector were here himself! Draw hither, pray; this altar will guard us all, or thou wilt die with us!' Thus she spoke, then drew the aged man to her and placed him on the holy seat.

<sup>526</sup> "But lo! escaping from the sword of Pyrrhus, through darts, through foes, Polites, one of Priam's sons, flees down the long colonnades and, wounded, traverses the empty courts. Pyrrhus presses hotly upon him eager to strike, and now, even now catches him and with spear plies him close. When at last he came before the eyes and faces of his parents, he fell, and poured out his life in a stream of blood. Hereupon Priam, though now in



hic Priamus, quamquam in media iam morte tenetur,  
non tamen abstinuit nec voci iraeque pepercit:

‘at tibi pro scelere’ exclamat, ‘pro talibus ausis 535  
di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet,  
persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant  
debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum  
fecisti et patrios foedasti funere voltus.

at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles 540  
talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque  
supplicis erubuit corpusque exsanguie sepulchro  
reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit.’

sic fatus senior, telumque imbelle sine ictu  
coniecit, rauco quod protinus aere repulsum 545  
et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pependit.

cui Pyrrhus: ‘referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis  
Pelidae genitori; illi mea tristia facta  
degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento;  
nunc morere.’ hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa tre-  
mentem 550

*ocean*  
traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,  
implicuitque comam laeva, dextraque coruscum  
extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.

haec finis Priami factorum; hic exitus illum 554  
sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem  
Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum  
regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,  
avolsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.

“At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.  
obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago, 560  
ut regem aequaevum crudeli vulnere vidi  
vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa  
et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli.  
respicio et, quae sit me circum copia, lustro.

<sup>552</sup> coma *Pγ*. laevam *P*.



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death's closest grasp, yet held not back nor spared his voice and wrath: 'Nay, for thy crime, for deeds so heinous,' he cries, 'if in heaven there is any righteousness to mark such sins, may the gods pay thee fitting thanks and render thee due rewards, who hast made me look on my own son's murder, and defiled with death a father's face! Nay, not so with his foe Priam dealt that Achilles whose sonship thou falsely claimest, but he had respect for a suppliant's rights and trust; he gave back to the tomb Hector's bloodless corpse and sent me back to my realm.' So spake the old man and hurled his weak and harmless spear, which straight recoiled from the clanging brass and hung idly from the top of the shield's boss. To him Pyrrhus: 'Then thou shalt bear this news and go as messenger to my sire, Peleus' son; tell him, be sure, of my sorry deeds and his degenerate Neoptolemus! Now die!' So saying, to the very altar-stones he drew him, trembling and slipping in his son's streaming blood, and wound his left hand in his hair, while with the right he raised high the flashing sword and buried it to the hilt in his side. Such was the close of Priam's fortunes; such the doom that by fate befell him—to see Troy in flames and Pergamus laid low, he once lord of so many tribes and lands, the monarch of Asia. He lies a huge trunk upon the shore, a head severed from the shoulders, a nameless corpse!

559 "Then first an awful horror encompassed me. I stood aghast, and there rose before me the form of my dear father, as I looked upon the king, of like age, gasping away his life under a cruel wound. There rose forlorn Creüsa, the pillaged house, and the fate of little Iulus. I look back and scan the force about me. All, outworn, have deserted me

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deseruere omnes defessi et corpora salto 565  
ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere.

Servius in Vita Vergili "Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae  
servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem

Tyndarida aspicio; dant clara incendia lucem  
erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti. 570

illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros  
et Danaum poenam et deserti coniugis iras  
praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,  
abdiderat sese atque aris invisa sedebat.

exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem 575  
ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.

'scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae  
aspiciet partoque ibit regina triumpho,  
coniugiumque domumque patres natosque videbit,  
Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris? 580  
occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?

Dardanum totiens sudarit sanguine litus?  
non ita. namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen  
feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem,  
extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis 585  
laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit  
ultriciis flammae et cineres satiasse meorum.'

talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar,  
cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam MP  
obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit 590

alma parens, confessa deam qualisque videri

567-588 eliminated by Varius and Tucca and omitted in all  
the best MSS. (e.g. MPγabc), but preserved by Servius. Defended  
by Fairclough in "Classical Philology," I. pp. 221-30.

584 nec habet] habet haec MSS. of Servius.

587 flammae] famam MSS.

## ÆNEID BOOK II

and flung their bodies to the ground or dropped helpless into the flames.

587 "And now,<sup>1</sup> now I alone was left, when I saw, close to Vesta's shrine and silently hiding in the sacred dwelling, the daughter of Tyndareus;<sup>2</sup> the bright fires give me light as I wander and cast my eyes, here and there, over the scene. She, fearing the Trojans' anger against her for the overthrow of Pergamus, the vengeance of the Greeks, and the wrath of her forsaken lord—she, common Fury of Troy and her motherland—had hidden herself and was crouching, hateful thing, by the altars. Fire blazed up in my heart; there comes an angry desire to avenge my falling country and exact the wages of her sin. 'Is she, forsooth, to look on Sparta and her native Mycenæ unscathed, and go forth a queen in the triumph she has won? Is she to see husband and home, parents and children, attended by a throng of Ilian maids and Phrygian pages? Is Priam to have fallen by the sword? Troy to be burnt in flames? The Dardan shore to be so often soaked in blood? Not so! For though there is no glorious renown in a woman's punishment and such victory wins no honour, yet I shall have praise for blotting out the unholy thing and exacting a just recompense; and it will be joy to have filled full my soul with the fire of vengeance and to have sated the ashes of my kindred!'

588 "Such words I blurted out and in frenzied mind was rushing on, when my gracious mother, never before so brilliant to behold, came before my eyes, in pure radiance gleaming through the night, manifesting the goddess, in beauty and stature such as she is wont to appear to the lords of heaven. She

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Helen.

# VIRGIL

caelicolis et quanta solet, dextraque prehensum  
 continuit roseoque haec insuper addidit ore :  
 'nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras ?  
 quid furis ? aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit ?  
 non prius aspicias, ubi fessum aetate parentem 596  
 liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa,  
 Ascaniusque puer ? quos omnis undique Graiae  
 circum errant acies et, ni mea cura resistat,  
 iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis. 600  
 non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisâ Lacaenae  
 culpatusve Paris ; divum inclementia, divum,  
 has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.  
 aspice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti  
 mortalis hebetat visus tibi et umida circum 605  
 caligat, nubem eripiam ; tu ne qua parentis  
 iussa time neu praeceptis parere recusa) :  
 hic, ubi disiectas moles avolsaque saxis  
 saxa vides mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,  
 Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti 610  
 fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem  
 eruit. hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas  
 prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen  
 ferro accincta vocat.  
 iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas 615  
 insedit, nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.  
 ✓ ipse pater Danaïs animos virisque secundas  
 sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitât arma.  
 eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori.  
 nusquam abero et tutum patrio te limine sistam.' 620  
 dixerat et spissis noctis se condidit umbris.  
 apparent dirae facies inimicae Troiae  
 numina magna deum.

MPV

<sup>616</sup> limbo known to Servius : nimbo MPγ, preferred by Servius.

<sup>620</sup> numquam M<sup>1</sup>, Servius (on Aen. II. 801).

## AENEID BOOK II

caught me by the hand and stayed me, thus, too, speaking with roseate lips : ‘ My son, what resentment thus stirs ungovernable wrath ? Why this rage ? or whither has thy care for me fled ? Wilt thou not first see where thou hast left thy father, age-worn Anchises, whether Creüsa thy wife and the boy Ascanius still live ? All these the Greek lines compass round on every side, and did not my love prevent, ere this the flames had swept them off and the hostile sword had drunk their blood. Know that it is not the hated face of the Laconian woman, daughter of Tyndareus ; it is not Paris that is to blame ; but the gods, the relentless gods, overturn this wealth and make Troy topple from her pinnacle. Behold—for all the cloud, which now, drawn over thy sight, dulls thy mortal vision and with dank pall enshrouds thee, I will tear away ; fear thou no commands of thy mother nor refuse to obey her counsels—here, where thou seest shattered piles and rocks torn from rocks, and smoke eddying up mixed with dust, Neptune shakes the walls and foundations that his mighty trident hath upheaved, and uproots all the city from her base. Here Juno, fiercest of all, is foremost to hold the Scaean gates and, girt with steel, furiously calls from the ships her allied band. Now on the highest towers—turn and see—Tritonian Pallas is planted, gleaming with storm-cloud and grim Gorgon. The Sire himself gives the Greeks courage and auspicious strength ; he himself stirs up the gods against the Dardan arms. Haste thy flight, my son, and put an end to thy toil. Never will I leave thee, but will set thee safely on thy father’s threshold.’ She spoke, and vanished in the thick shades of night. Dread shapes come to view—mighty powers divine, warring against Troy.



## VIRGIL

"Tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignis  
 Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia; 625  
 ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum  
 cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant  
 eruere agricolae certatim; illa usque minatur  
 et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,  
 vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum 630  
 congemuit traxitque iugis avolsa ruinam.  
 descendo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis  
 expedior; dant tela locum flammaeque recedunt.

"Atque ubi iam patriae perventum ad limina sedis  
 antiquasque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos 635  
 optabam primum montis primumque petebam,  
 abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia  
 exsiliumque pati. 'vos o, quibus integer aevi  
 sanguis,' ait, 'solidaeque suo stant robore vires,  
 vos agitate fugam. 640  
 me si caelicolae voluissent ducere vitam,  
 has mihi servassent sedes. satis una superque  
 vidimus excidia et captae superavimus urbi.  
 sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus.  
 ipse manu mortem inveniam: miserebitur hostis 645  
 exuviasque petet. facilis iactura sepulchri.  
 iam pridem invisus divis et inutilis annos  
 demoror, ex quo me divum pater atque hominum rex  
 fulminis adflavit ventis et contigit igni.'

<sup>630</sup> victa *V*. <sup>632</sup> deo *M*<sup>2</sup>*V*<sup>2</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>2</sup>, *Macrobius, Donatus, Servius*:  
 dea *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*V*<sup>1</sup> $\gamma$ : de *P*<sup>1</sup>. <sup>644</sup> omitted, *M*<sup>1</sup>: at foot of page, *M*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>645</sup> manum *P* $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>: morte *P*<sup>1</sup>, -em *P*<sup>2</sup>: manum morti  
*Klouček. So Sabb.*



## AENEID BOOK II

624 "Then, indeed, methought all Ilium sank in flames and Neptune's Troy was upturned from her base—even as when on mountain-tops woodmen emulously strain to overturn an ancient ash-tree, which has been hacked with many a blow of axe and iron; it ever threatens to fall, and nods with trembling leafage and rocking crest, till, little by little, overcome with wounds, it gives one loud last groan and, upturned from the ridges, comes crashing down. I descend and, guided by a god, make my way amid fire and foes. Weapons give place and the flames retire.

634 "And now, when I had reached the door of my father's house and the dear old home, my sire, whom it was my first longing to bear high into the hills, and whom first I sought, refused, since Troy was laid low, to prolong his days or suffer exile. 'Ye,' he cried, 'whose blood has the freshness of youth and whose strength stands sound in native vigour, do ye turn to flight. For me, had the lords of heaven willed that I should lengthen life's thread, they would have spared this my home. Enough and more is it that I have seen one destruction, and have survived one capture of the city.<sup>1</sup> To my body thus lying, yea thus, bid farewell and depart!<sup>2</sup> With my own hand I shall find death; the foe will take pity and seek my spoils; light is the loss of burial. Hated of heaven and useless, I have long stayed the years, ever since the Father of gods and king of men breathed upon me with the winds of his bolt and touched me with his fire.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Troy was once destroyed by Hercules, after Laomedon deceived him.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* treat me as a corpse laid out for burial.

<sup>3</sup> Anchises, it is said, was blasted by a lightning-bolt for boasting of the love of Venus.

# VIRGIL

" Talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat. 650  
 nos contra effusi lacrimis coniunxque Creusa  
 Ascaniusque omnisque domus, ne vertere secum  
 cuncta pater fatoque urgenti incumbere vellet.  
 abnegat inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem.  
 rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto. 655  
 nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?  
 ' mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto  
 sperasti, tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?  
 si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui,  
 et sedet hoc animo perituraeque addere Troiae 660  
 teque tuosque iuvat, patet isti ianua leto,  
 iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,  
 gnatum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras  
 hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis  
 eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque 665  
 Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam  
 alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?  
 arma, viri, ferte arma; vocat lux ultima victos.  
 reddite me Danais; sinite instaurata revisam  
 proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.' 670

" Hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram  
 insertabam aptans meque extra tecta ferebam.  
 ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx FMPV  
 haerebat parvumque patri tendebat Iulum:  
 ' si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum; 675  
 sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,  
 hanc primum tutare domum. cui parvus Iulus,  
 cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquer? '

<sup>663</sup> gnatum *M*: natum *PV*. patremque *Mγ*.

<sup>667</sup> mactato *MPV*. <sup>671</sup> cingor *P<sup>1</sup>*. <sup>678</sup> relinquer *M<sup>1</sup>*.

## AENEID BOOK II

650 "So he continued in his speech and remained unshaken. But we were dissolved in tears—my wife Creïsa, Ascanius, and all our household—pleading that our father bring not all to ruin along with him, nor add weight to our crushing doom. He refuses, and abides in his purpose and his place. Again I rush to arms, and in utter misery long for death, for what device or what chance was offered now? 'Didst thou think, my father, that I could go forth leaving thee? and did such a monstrous word fall from a father's lips? If the gods will that naught remain of our great city, if this purpose is firmly set in thy mind, if it be thy pleasure to cast thyself and thine into the wreck of Troy, for this death the gate is wide, and soon will come Pyrrhus, steeped in the blood of Priam—Pyrrhus who butchers the son before the father's eyes, the father at the altars. Was it for this, gracious mother, that thou savest me amid fire and sword, to see the foe in the heart of my home, and Ascanius, and my father, and Creïsa at their side, slaughtered in each other's blood? Arms, men, bring arms; the last light of life calls the vanquished. Give me back to the Greeks; let me seek again and renew the fight. Never this day shall we all die unavenged!'

671 "Therewith once more I gird me with the sword, pass my left arm into the shield, as I fit it on, and was hurrying forth from the house, when lo! my wife clung upon the threshold, clasping my feet and holding up little Iulus to his father. 'If thou goest to die, take us, too, with thee for any fate. But if, from past trial, thou dost place some hope in the armour thou hast donned, guard first this house. To whom is little Iulus, to whom is thy father, to whom am I, once called thine own wife, abandoned?'

# VIRGIL

“Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat,  
cum subitum dictoque oritur mirabile monstrum. 680  
namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum  
ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli  
fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis  
lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci.  
nos pavidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem 685  
excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis.  
at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus  
extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit:

‘Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,  
aspice nos, hoc tantum, et, si pietate meremur, 690  
da deinde augurium, pater, atque haec omina firma.’

“Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore  
intonuit laevum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras  
stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.  
illam, summa super labentem culmina tecti, 695  
cernimus Idaea claram se condere silva  
signantemque vias; tum longo limite sulcus  
dat lucem, et late circum loca sulphure fumant.  
hic vero victus genitor se tollit ad auras  
adfaturque deos et sanctum sidus adorat. MPV

‘iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et, qua ducitis,  
adsum. 701

di patrii, servate domum, servate nepotem.  
vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numine Troia est.  
cedo equidem nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso.’  
dixerat ille, et iam per moenia clarior ignis 705  
auditur, propiusque aestus incendia volvunt.

‘ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae;  
ipse subibo umeris, nec me labor iste gravabit.  
quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periculum,

<sup>680</sup> subito *MPVγ<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>688</sup> molli *V*.

<sup>691</sup> augurium *Probus, Servius*: auxilium *MSS*.

<sup>699</sup> tollere *P*. ad auras] miras *V*.

## AENEID BOOK II

<sup>679</sup> "So crying, she filled all the house with moaning; when on a sudden arises a portent, wondrous to tell. For between the hands and faces of his sad parents, lo! from above the head of Iulus a light tongue of flame seemed to shed a gleam and, harmless in its touch, lick his soft locks and pasture round his temples. Trembling with alarm, we in haste shake out the blazing hair and quench with water the holy fires. But my father Anchises joyously raises his eyes to the skies and uplifts to heaven hands and voice: 'Almighty Jupiter, if by any prayers thou art moved, look upon us—this only do I ask—and if our goodness earn it, grant thereon a sign, O Father, and ratify this omen!'

<sup>692</sup> "Scarcely had the aged man thus spoken, when with sudden crash it thundered on the left and a star shot from heaven, gliding through the shadows, and drawing a fiery trail amid a flood of light. We watch it glide over the palace-roof and bury in Ida's forest the splendour that marked its path; then the long-drawn furrow shines, and far and wide all about reeks with sulphur. On this, indeed, my father was vanquished and, rising erect, salutes the gods, and worships the holy star. 'Now, now there is no delay; I follow, and where ye lead, there am I! Gods of my fathers! save my house, save my grandson. Yours is this omen, and under your protection stands Troy. Yea, I yield, and refuse not, my son, to go in thy company.'

<sup>705</sup> "He ceased, and now through the city more loudly is heard the blaze, and nearer the flames roll their fiery flood. 'Come then, dear father, mount upon my neck; on my own shoulders I will stay thee, nor will such task o'erburden me. However things may fall, we both shall have one common



# VIRGIL

una salus ambobus erit. mihi parvus Iulus 710  
 sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx.  
 vos, famuli, quae dicam, animis advertite vestris.  
 est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum  
 desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus  
 religione patrum multos servata per annos; 715  
 hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam.  
 tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque Penates;  
 me, bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti,  
 attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo  
 abluero.' 720

haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla  
 veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,  
 succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus  
 implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis;  
 pone subit coniunx. ferimur per opaca locorum, 725  
 et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant  
 tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai, MP  
 nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis  
 suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.

“Iamque propinquabam portis omnemque videbar  
 evasisse viam, subito cum creber ad auris 731  
 visus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram  
 prospiciens, ‘nate,’ exclamat, ‘fuge, nate; propin-  
 quant;

ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.’  
 hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum  
 confusam eripuit mentem. namque avia cursu 736  
 dum sequor et nota excedo regione viarum,  
 heu! misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa  
 substitit? erravitne via seu lassa resedit?  
 incertum: nec post oculis est reddita nostris, 740  
 nec prius amissam respexi animumve reflexi,

<sup>739</sup> lapsa *M*: rapta *P*<sup>1</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>2</sup>: lassa *P*<sup>2</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>. *Page's punctuation.*  
*Most editors place a comma after substitit and another after*  
*resedit.* <sup>741</sup> animumque *M*.



## AENEID BOOK II

peril, one salvation. Let little Iulus come with me, and let my wife follow our steps afar. Ye servants, heed what I say. As one leaves the city, there is a mound and ancient temple of forlorn Ceres, with an old cypress hard by, saved for many years by the reverence of our fathers. To this one goal from divers parts we will wend. Father, do thou take in thy hand the sacred things and our country's household gods; for me, fresh from such a conflict and recent carnage, it were sin to handle them, until I have washed me in a running stream.' So I spoke, and over my broad shoulders and bowed neck I spread the cover of a tawny lion's pelt and stoop to the burden. Little Iulus clasps his hand in mine, and follows his father with steps that match not his. Behind comes my wife. We pass on amid the shadows; and I, whom of late no shower of missiles could move nor any Greeks thronging in opposing mass, now am affrighted by every breeze and startled by every sound, tremulous as I am and fearing alike for my companion and my burden.

<sup>730</sup> "And now I was nearing the gates, and thought I had traversed all the way, when suddenly, crowding on my ears, seemed to come a tramp of feet, and peering through the gloom, my father cries: 'My son, my son, flee; they draw near! I see their glowing shields and glittering brass.' At this, in my alarm, some unfriendly power bereft me of my distracted wits. For while I swiftly follow byways, and leave the course of the streets I know, snatched away, alas! by an unhappy fate, did my wife Creüsa halt? or did she stray from the path or sink down weary? I know not. Never again was she restored to our eyes, nor did I look back for my lost one, or cast a thought behind, until we came to the mound

## VIRGIL

quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam  
 venimus. hic demum collectis omnibus una  
 defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit.  
 quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque,  
 aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe? 746  
 Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque Penates  
 commendo sociis et curva valle recondo;  
 ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis.  
 stat casus renovare omnis omnemque reverti 750  
 per Troiam et rursus caput obiectare periclis.  
 principio muros obscuraque limina portae,  
 qua gressum extuleram, repeto et vestigia retro  
 observata sequor per noctem et lumine lustro.  
 horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent. 755  
 inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset,  
 me refero. intruerant Danaï et tectum omne tenebant.  
 ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento  
 volvitur; exsuperant flammae, furit aestus ad auras.  
 procedo et Priami sedes arcemque reviso. 760  
 et iam porticibus vacuis Iunonis asylo  
 custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Ulixes  
 praedam adservabant. huc undique Troia gaza  
 incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum  
 crateresque auro solidi captivaeque vestis 765  
 congeritur. pueri et pavidæ longo ordine matres  
 stant circum.  
 ausus quin etiam voces iactare per umbram  
 implevi clamore vias, maestusque Creusam  
 nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi.  
 quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine furenti 771  
 infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae  
 visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.  
 obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.

<sup>758</sup> vento] tecti *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>771</sup> ruenti *P*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>: furenti *M*<sup>γ</sup><sup>2</sup> (*alliteration in its favour*).

## AENEID BOOK II

and ancient Ceres' hallowed home. Here at last, when all were gathered, she alone was missing and failed the company, her child, and her husband. What man or god did I not reproach in my frenzy? or what crueller sight did I see in the overthrown city? Ascanius, my father Anchises, and the household gods of Troy I put in charge of my fellows and hid them in a winding vale. I myself seek again the city, and gird on my glittering arms. I am resolved to renew every risk, to retrace my way through all Troy and once more expose my life to every peril.

<sup>752</sup> " First I seek again the walls and dark gateway whence my feet had issued; I mark and follow back my steps in the night, scanning them with close eye. Everywhere dread fills my heart; the very silence, too, dismays. Then homeward I turn, if haply—if haply she had made her way thither! The Danai had rushed in and filled all the house. At once the devouring fire rolls before the wind to the very roof; the flames tower above, the hot blast roars skyward. I pass on and see once more the citadel and Priam's home. And now in the empty courts of Juno's sanctuary Phoenix and dread Ulysses, chosen guards, watched the spoil. Here from all parts the treasures of Troy, torn from blazing shrines, tables of the gods, bowls of solid gold, and plundered raiment, are heaped up; boys and trembling matrons in long array stand round. Nay, I dared even to cast my cries upon the night; I filled the streets with shouts and in my misery, with vain iteration, called Creüsa again and yet again. In my quest, while madly and endlessly rushing among the dwellings of the city, there rose before my eyes the sad phantom and ghost of Creüsa herself, a form larger than her wont. I was appalled, my hair stood up, and the voice clave to my throat.

tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis: 775

‘quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,  
o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divum  
eveniunt; nec te comitem hinc portare Creusam  
fas aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.

longa tibi exsilia, et vastum maris aequor arandum;  
et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva 781

inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.

illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx  
parta tibi. lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae.

non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas  
aspiciam aut Graias servitum matribus ibo, 786

Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus;

sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.

iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem.’

haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem  
dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras. 791

ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;

ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,

par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.

sic demum socios consumpta nocte reviso. 795

“Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum  
invenio admirans numerum, matresque virosque,  
collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile vulgus.

undique convenere, animis opibusque parati,

in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras. 800

iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae

ducebatque diem, Danaique obsessa tenebant

limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur.

cessi et sublato montis genitore petivi.

<sup>775</sup> *Servius notes that this verse was often omitted.*

<sup>778</sup> te comitem hinc portare  $\gamma^2c^1$  (pr. tare  $M^1$ : asportare  $M$  (late)): te comitem hinc asportare  $P\gamma^1ac^2$ , *Servius*: te hinc comitem asportare  $b$  (in rasura).

<sup>783</sup> laetae] Italae  $MP^2$ .

<sup>804</sup> montem  $P\gamma$ , *Servius*: cf. 636 above.

## AENEID BOOK II

Then thus she spake to me and with these words took away my cares : ‘ Of what avail is it to yield thus to frantic grief, my sweet husband ? Not without the will of heaven does this befall ; that thou shouldst take Creüsa hence in thy company cannot be, nor does the mighty lord of high Olympus suffer it. Long exile is thy lot, a vast stretch of sea thou must plough ; and thou shalt come to the land Hesperia, where amid the rich fields of husbandmen the Lydian Tiber flows with gentle sweep. There in store for thee are happy days, kingship, and a royal wife. Banish tears for thy beloved Creüsa. I shall never look upon the proud homes of the Myrmidons or Dolopians, or go to be the slave of Greek matrons, I a Dardan woman and wife of the son of divine Venus ; but the mighty mother of the gods<sup>1</sup> holds me on these shores. And now farewell, and guard thy love for our common child.’ When thus she had spoken, she left me weeping and fain to tell her much, and drew back into thin air. Thrice there I strove to throw my arms about her neck ; thrice the form, vainly clasped, fled from my hands, even as light winds, and most like a winged dream. Thus at last, when night is spent, I revisit my companions.

<sup>796</sup> “ And here, astonished, I find that a vast number of new comrades has streamed in, mothers and men, a band gathered for exile, a piteous throng. From all sides they have come, with heart and fortune ready for any lands whereto I will lead them oversea. And now above Ida’s topmost ridges the day-star was rising, ushering in the morn ; and the Danaans held the blockaded gates, nor was any hope of help offered. I gave way and, taking up my father, sought the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Cybele.



## LIBER III

“POSTQUAM res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem FMP  
immeritam visum superis, ceciditque superbum  
Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia,  
diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras  
auguriis agimur divum, classemque sub ipsa 5  
Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae,  
incerti, quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur,  
contrahimusque viros. vix prima inceperat aestas,  
et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat :  
litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo 10  
et campos, ubi Troia fuit. feror exsul in altum  
cum sociis natoque, Penatibus et magnis dis.

“Terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis  
(Thraces arant), acri quondam regnata Lycurgo,  
hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique Penates, 15  
dum Fortuna fuit. feror huc et litore curvo  
moenia prima loco, fatis ingressus iniquis,  
Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo.

“Sacra Dionaeae matri divisque ferebam  
auspiciis coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem 20

7 ferunt P<sup>1</sup>.



## BOOK III

“AFTER it pleased the gods above to overthrow the power of Asia and Priam’s guiltless race, after proud Ilium fell, and all Neptune’s Troy smokes from the ground, we are driven by heaven’s auguries to seek distant scenes of exile in waste lands. Just under Antandros and the mountains of Phrygian Ida we build a fleet, uncertain whither the Fates lead or where it is granted us to settle; and there we muster our men. Scarcely had the beginning of summer come when my father Anchises bade us spread sails to Fate, and then with tears I quit my native shores and harbours, and the plains, where once was Troy. An exile, I fare forth upon the deep, with my comrades and son, and the great gods of the Penates.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>13</sup> “At a distance lies the war-god’s land, of wide-spread plains, tilled by Thracians, and once ruled by fierce Lycurgus; friendly of old to Troy, with allied gods, as long as Fortune was ours. Hither I pass and on the winding shore found my first city, entering on the task with untoward fates, and from my own name fashion the name Aeneadae.

<sup>19</sup> “I was offering sacrifice to my mother, Dione’s daughter, and the other gods, that they might bless

<sup>1</sup> Some suppose that two sets of gods are here mentioned, the Penates (household gods) and the great gods (Jupiter, Juno, &c.). Varro, however, identified them; cf. 148.

## VIRGIL

caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum.  
 forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo  
 virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.  
 accessi, viridemque ab humo convellere silvam  
 conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras, 25  
 horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum.  
 nam quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos  
 vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae  
 et terram tabo maculant. mihi frigidus horror  
 membra quatit, gelidusque coit formidine sanguis. 30  
 rursus et alterius lentum convellere vimen  
 insequor et causas penitus temptare latentis;  
 ater et alterius sequitur de cortice sanguis.  
 multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestis  
 Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis, 35  
 rite secundarent visus omenque levarent.  
 tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu  
 adgredior genibusque adversae obluctor harenae  
 (eloquar, an sileam?), gemitus lacrimabilis imo  
 auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad auris: 40  
 ‘quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? iam parce sepulto,  
 parce pias scelerare manus. non me tibi Troia  
 externum tulit, aut cruor hic de stipite manat.  
 heu! fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum.  
 nam Polydorus ego. hic confixum ferrea texit 45  
 telorum seges et iaculis increvit acutis.’  
 tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus  
 obstipui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.  
 “Hunc Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere  
 magno  
 infelix Priamus furtim mandarant alendum 50  
 Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis

<sup>33</sup> alter *F*γ.

<sup>39</sup> eloquor *P*<sup>2</sup>. gemitum *P*<sup>1</sup>.

### AENEID BOOK III

the work begun, and to the high king of the lords of heaven was slaying a shining white bull upon the shore. By chance, hard by there was a mound, on whose top were cornel bushes and myrtles bristling with crowded spear-shafts. I drew near ; and essaying to tear up the green growth from the soil, that I might deck the altar with leafy boughs, I see an awful portent, wondrous to tell. For from the first tree, which is torn from the ground with broken roots, drops of black blood trickle and stain the earth with gore. A cold shudder shakes my limbs, and my chilled blood freezes with terror. Once more, from a second also I go on to pluck a tough shoot and probe deep the hidden cause ; from the bark of the second also follows black blood. Pondering much in heart, I prayed the woodland Nymphs, and father Gradivus, who rules over the Getic fields, duly to bless the vision and lighten the omen. But when with greater effort I assail the third shafts, and with my knees wrestle against the resisting sand—should I speak or be silent?—a piteous groan is heard from the depth of the mound, and an answering voice comes to my ears. ‘Woe is me! why, Aeneas, dost thou tear me? Spare me in the tomb at last; spare the pollution of thy pure hands! I, born of Troy, am no stranger to thee ; not from a lifeless stock oozes this blood. Ah ! flee the cruel land, flee the greedy shore ! For I am Polydorus. Here an iron harvest of spears covered my pierced body, and grew up into sharp javelins.’ Then, indeed, with mind borne down with perplexing dread, I was appalled, my hair stood up, and the voice clave to my throat.

<sup>49</sup> “This Polydorus, with great weight of gold, luckless Priam had once sent in secret to be reared by the Thracian king, when he now mistrusted the

## VIRGIL

Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione videret.  
 ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum et Fortuna recessit,  
 res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus  
 fas omne abrumpit; Polydorum obtruncat et auro MP  
 vi potitur. **quid non mortalia pectora cogis,** 56  
 auri sacra fames! postquam pavor ossa reliquit,  
 delectos populi ad procures primumque parentem  
 monstra deum refero et, quae sit sententia, posco.  
 omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra, 60  
 linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus Austros.  
 ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens  
 aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant Manibus arae,  
 caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso,  
 et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae; 65  
 inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte  
 sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulchro  
 condimus et magna supremum voce ciemus.  
 inde ubi prima fides pelago, placataque venti  
 dant maria et lenis crepitans vocat Auster in altum, 70  
 deducunt socii navis et litora complent.  
 provehimur portu, terraeque urbesque recedunt.

“Sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus  
 Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo,  
 quam pius Arquitenens oras et litora circum 75  
 errantem Mycono e celsa Gyaroque revinxit,  
 immotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos.  
 huc feror; haec fessos tuto placidissima portu  
 accipit. egressi veneramur Apollinis urbem. FMP

<sup>75</sup> prius *known to Servius.*

## AENEID BOOK III

arms of Dardania and saw the city girt with siege. When the power of Troy was crushed and Fortune withdrew, the Thracian, following Agamemnon's cause and triumphant arms, severs every sacred tie, slays Polydorus, and takes the gold perforce. To what dost thou not drive the hearts of men, O accursed hunger for gold! When fear had fled my soul, I lay the divine portents before the chosen chiefs of the people, my father first, and ask what is their judgment. All are of one mind, to quit the guilty land, to leave a place where hospitality is profaned, and to give our fleet the winds. So for Polydorus we solemnize fresh funeral rites, and earth is heaped high upon the mound; altars are set up to the dead, made mournful with sombre fillets and black cypress; and about them stand Ilian women, with hair streaming as custom ordains. We offer foaming bowls of warm milk and cups of victims' blood, lay the spirit at rest in the tomb, and with loud voice give the last call.

<sup>69</sup> "Then, as soon as we can trust the main, and the winds give us seas at peace, and the soft-whispering South calls to the deep, my comrades launch the ships and crowd the shores. We put out from port, and lands and towns fade from view.

<sup>73</sup> "In mid-sea lies a holy land,<sup>1</sup> most dear to the mother of the Nereids and Aegean Neptune, which, as it wandered round coasts and shores, the grateful archer-god bound fast to lofty Myconos and Gyaros, suffering it to lie unmoved and slight the winds. Hither I sail; and most peacefully the island welcomes our weary band in a safe haven. Landing, we do homage to Apollo's town. King Anius—at

<sup>1</sup> Delos, birthplace of Apollo and Diana. Hence Apollo is called *pious* or "grateful" in l. 75.

## VIRGIL

- rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos, 80  
vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro  
occurrit, veterem Anchisen adgnoscit amicum;  
iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus.

“Templa dei saxo venerabar structa vetusto:  
‘da propriam, Thymbraee, domum, da ‘moenia  
fessis 85

et genus et mansuram urbem; serva altera Troiae  
Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.  
quem sequimur? quove ire iubes? ubi ponere  
sedes?

da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris.’

“Vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente, 90  
liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri  
mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.  
summissi petimus terram, et vox fertur ad auris:

‘Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum  
prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto 95  
accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.  
hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,  
et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.’

haec Phoebus; mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu  
laetitia et cuncti, quae sint ea moenia, quaerunt, 100  
quo Phoebus vocet errantis iubeatque reverti.

tum genitor, veterum volvens monumenta virorum,  
‘audite, o proceres,’ ait, ‘et spes discite vestras.  
Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto,  
mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae. 105

centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna;  
maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,  
Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus ad oras  
optavitque locum regno. nondum Ilium et arces

<sup>82</sup> accurrit *M*<sup>2</sup>. agnoscit *M*: adgnovit *FP*.

<sup>93</sup> et omitted *F*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup>. auras *a*<sup>1</sup>: aureas *P*<sup>1</sup>: aures *P*<sup>2</sup>*γa*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> ad] in *FP*.



### AENEID BOOK III

once king of the people and priest of Phoebus—his brows bound with fillets and hallowed laurel, meets us, and in Anchises finds an old friend. We clasp hands in welcome, and pass beneath his roof.

<sup>84</sup> "I was paying homage to the god's temple, built of ancient stone: 'Grant us, thou god of Thymbra, an enduring home; grant our weary band walls, and a race, and a city that shall abide; preserve Troy's second fortress, the remnant left by the Greeks and pitiless Achilles! Whom should we follow? or whither dost thou bid us go? Where fix our home? Grant, father, an omen, and inspire our hearts!'

<sup>90</sup> "Scarcely had I thus spoken, when suddenly it seemed all things trembled, the doors and laurels of the god; the whole hill shook round about and the tripod moaned as the shrine was thrown open. Prostrate we fall to earth, and a voice comes to our ears: 'Ye long-suffering sons of Dardanus, the land which bare you first from your parent stock shall welcome you back to her fruitful bosom. Seek out your ancient mother. There the house of Aeneas shall lord it over all lands, even his children's children and their race that shall be born of them.' Thus Phoebus; and mighty joy arose, mingled with tumult; all ask, What walls are those? whither calls Phoebus the wanderers, bidding them return? Then my father, pondering the memorials of the men of old, cries: 'Hear, O princes, and learn your hopes. In mid-ocean lies Crete, the island of great Jove, where is Mount Ida, and the cradle of our race. There men dwell in a hundred great cities, a realm most fertile, whence our earliest ancestor Teucer, if I recall the tale aright, first sailed to the Rhoetean shores, and chose a site for his kingdom. Not yet

Pergameae steterant; habitabant vallibus imis. 110  
 hinc Mater cultrix Cybelae Corybantiaque aera  
 Idaeumque nemus, hinc fida silentia sacris,  
 et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones.  
 ergo agite et, divum ducunt qua iussa, sequamur;  
 placemus ventos et Gnosia regna petamus. 115  
 nec longo distant cursu; modo Iuppiter adsit,  
 tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris.  
 sic fatus meritos aris mactavit honores,  
 taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo,  
 nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam. 120  
 “Fama volat pulsum regnis cecidisse paternis  
 Idomeneia ducem, desertaque litora Cretae,  
 hoste vacare domos sedesque adstare relictas.  
 linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque volamus,  
 bacchatamque iugis Naxon viridemque Donysam, 125  
 Olearon niveamque Paron sparsasque per aequor  
 Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta concita terris.  
 nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor;  
 hortantur socii, ‘Cretam proavosque petamus.’  
 prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis 130  
 et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris.  
 ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis  
 Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem  
 hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.  
 iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes; 135  
 conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus;  
 iura domosque dabam: subito cum tabida membris,  
 corrupto caeli tractu, miserandaque venit

<sup>111</sup> Cybele *FMP*, known to *Servius*: Cybeli  $a^2c^2$ , *Servius*: Cybelae *Heinsius*.

<sup>123</sup> domos *M*: domum *FP*.

<sup>127</sup> concita most *MSS.*: consita some minor *MSS.*

<sup>131</sup> si tandem *M*<sup>1</sup>: et tandem *M*<sup>2</sup>.

### AENEID BOOK III

had Ilium and the towers of Pergamus been reared; men dwelt in the low valleys. Hence came the Mother who haunts Cybele, the Corybantian cymbals and the grove of Ida; hence came the faithful silence of her mysteries, and yoked lions passed under our lady's chariot. Come then, and let us follow where the gods' bidding leads, let us appease the winds and seek the realm of Gnosus! Nor is it a long run thither; if only Jupiter be gracious, the third dawn shall anchor our fleet on the Cretan coast.' So he spake, and on the altars slew the sacrifices due, a bull to Neptune, a bull to thee, fair Apollo, a black sheep to the storm-god, a white to the favouring Zephyrs.

<sup>121</sup> "A rumour flies that Idomeneus, the chieftain, has left his father's realm for exile, that the shores of Crete are abandoned, her homes are void of foes, and the deserted abodes stand ready for our coming. We leave the harbour of Ortygia and fly over the sea, past Naxos with its Bacchic revels on the heights, and green Donysa, Olearos, snow-white Paros, and the sea-strewn Cyclades, and thread the straits that foam round many a shore. The sailors' shouts rise in varied rivalry; the crews raise the cheer: 'On to Crete and our forefathers!' A wind rising astern attends us as we sail, and at last we glide up to the ancient shores of the Curetes. Eagerly, therefore, I work on the walls of my chosen city, call it Pergamum, and urge my people, who rejoice at the old name, to love their hearths and build a citadel with lofty roof. And now the ships were just drawn up on the dry beach; our youth were busy with marriages and new tillage, and I was giving laws and homes, when on a sudden, from a tainted quarter of the sky, came a pestilence and season of death, to

# VIRGIL

arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus.  
 linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant 140  
 corpora ; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros ;  
 arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat.  
 rursus ad oraclum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso  
 hortatur pater ire mari veniamque precari,  
 quam fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum 145  
 temptare auxilium iubeat, quo vertere cursus.

“ Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat ;  
 effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique Penates,  
 quos mecum a Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis  
 extuleram, visi ante oculos adstare iacentis 150  
 in somnis, multo manifesti lumine, qua se  
 plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras ;  
 tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis :  
 ‘ quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,  
 hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit. 155  
 nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti,  
 nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor,  
 idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes  
 imperiumque urbi dabimus. tu moenia magnis  
 magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem. 160  
 mutandae sedes. non haec tibi litora suasit  
 Delius aut Cretae iussit considerare Apollo.  
 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,  
 terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae ;  
 Oenotri coluere viri ; nunc fama minores 165  
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.  
 hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus  
 Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.

<sup>142</sup> negare *F*<sup>1</sup>. *So Sabb.*

<sup>146</sup> temptari *M*<sup>2</sup>: temptaret *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>151</sup> manifesto *Pγ*.

<sup>153</sup> lacking in many copies, according to *Servius*.

<sup>157</sup> permesi *M*<sup>1</sup>, recognized by *Servius*.

<sup>166</sup> duxisse *F*.

### AENEID BOOK III

the wasting of our bodies and the piteous ruin of trees and crops. Men gave up their sweet lives, or dragged enfeebled frames; Sirius, too, scorched the fields with drought; the grass withered, and the sickly crop denied her sustenance. My father urges us to remeasure the sea and go again to Phoebus and Ortygia's oracle, to pray for favour, and ask what end he grants to our weary lot; whence he bids us seek aid for our distress, whither bend our course.

<sup>147</sup> "It was night and on earth sleep held the living world. The sacred images of the gods, the Phrygian Penates, whom I had borne with me from Troy out of the midst of the burning city, seemed as I lay in slumber to stand before my eyes, clear in the flood of light, where the full moon streamed through the inset windows. Then thus they spake to me and with these words dispelled my cares. 'What Apollo shall tell thee on reaching Ortygia, he here utters, and lo! he sends us unbidden to thy threshold. We followed thee and thine arms when Dardania was burned; under thee we traversed on ships the swelling sea; we, too, shall exalt to heaven thy sons that are to be, and give empire to their city. Do thou prepare mighty walls for the mighty, nor shrink from the long toil of flight. Thou must change thy home. Not these the shores the Delian Apollo counselled, not in Crete did he bid thee settle. A place<sup>1</sup> there is, by Greeks named Hesperia, an ancient land, mighty in arms and in richness of the soil. There dwelt Oenotrians; now the rumour is that a younger race has called it from their leader's name Italy. This is our abiding home; hence are Dardanus sprung and father Iasius, from whom first came our race. Come, arise, and with good cheer

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Aen.* I. 530 ff.



# VIRGIL

surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti  
 haud dubitanda refer, Corythum terrasque requirat  
 Ausonias; Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva.' 171  
 talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum  
 (nec sopor illud erat, sed coram adgnosce voltus  
 velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar;  
 tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor) 175  
 corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas  
 ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo  
 intemerata focis. perfecto laetus honore  
 Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando.  
 adgnovit prolem ambiguum geminosque parentis, 180  
 seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum.  
 tum memorat: 'nate, Iliacis exerce fatis,  
 sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat.  
 nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro,  
 et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Italia regna vocare. 185  
 sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos litora Teucros  
 crederet? aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret?  
 cedamus Phoebō et moniti meliora sequamur.'  
 sic ait et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes. 189  
 hanc quoque deserimus sedem paucisque relictis [FGMP  
 vela damus vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor.  
 "Postquam altum tenuere rates nec iam amplius  
 ullae  
 apparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus,  
 tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber,  
 noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.  
 continuo venti volvunt mare magnaue surgunt 196  
 aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto.  
 involvere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum  
 abstulit; ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.  
 excutimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis. 200

<sup>174</sup> videbam *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>199</sup> abrupti *G*.



## AENEID BOOK III

bear to thine aged parent these certain tidings, to seek Corythus and the lands of Ausonia. Jupiter denies thee the Dictaeon fields.'

<sup>172</sup> "Awed by such a vision and the voice of gods—nor was that a mere dream, but openly I seemed to know their looks, their filleted hair, and their living faces; anon a cold sweat bedewed all my limbs—I snatch myself from my bed, raise my voice and upturned hands to heaven, and offer pure gifts upon the hearth. This rite fulfilled, I gladly tell Anchises the tale and reveal all in order. He recognized the twofold stock and double parentage, and his own confusion through a novel error touching olden lands. Then he speaks: 'My son, much tried by Ilium's fate, Cassandra alone declared to me this fortune. Now I recall her foretelling this as due to our race, often naming Hesperia, often the Italian realm. But who was to believe that Teucrians should come to Hesperia's shores? or whom would Cassandra's prophecies then sway? Let us yield to Phoebus and at his warning pursue the better course.' So he says and we all obey his speech with joyfulness. This home, too, we quit and, leaving some behind, spread our sails and speed in hollow keels over the waste sea.

<sup>192</sup> "After our ships gained the deep, and now no longer any land is seen, but sky on all sides and on all sides sea, then a murky rain-cloud loomed overhead, bringing night and tempest, while the wave shuddered darkling. Straightway the winds roll up the waters and great seas rise; we are tossed hither and thither in the vast abyss. Storm-clouds enwrapped the day, and a night of rain blotted out the sky: oft from the rent clouds dart lightning fires. We are hurled from our course and wander

## VIRGIL

ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo  
 nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in unda.  
 tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles  
 erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.  
 quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem 205  
 visa, aperire procul montis ac volvere fumum.  
 vela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mora, nautae  
 adnixa torquent spumas et caerula verrunt. FMP  
 servatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum 209  
 excipiunt. Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae FGMP  
 insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno  
 Harpyiaeque colunt aliae, Phineia postquam  
 clausa domus mensasque metu liquere priores.  
 tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla  
 pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis. 215  
 virginei volucrum voltus, foedissima ventris  
 proluvies, uncaeque manus, et pallida semper GMP  
 ora fame.  
 huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce  
 laeta boum passim campis armenta videmus 220  
 caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.  
 inruimus ferro et divos ipsumque vocamus  
 in partem praedamque Iovem: tum litore curvo  
 exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis.  
 at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt 225  
 Harpyiae et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,  
 diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant MP  
 immundo; tum vox taetrum dira inter odorem.  
 rursum in secessu longo, sub rupe cavata  
 arboribus clausa circum atque horrentibus umbris, 230

<sup>204</sup> According to Servius, these lines, coming after 204, were  
 bracketed or found in the margin:

hinc Pelopis gentis Maleaeque sonantia saxa  
 circumstant, pariterque undae terraeque minantur.  
 pulsamur salvis et circumsistimur undis

# AENEID BOOK III

on the blind waves. Even Palinurus avows that he knows not day from night in the sky nor remembers the way amid the waters. For full three days, shrouded in misty gloom, we wander on the deep, for as many starless nights. On the fourth day at length land first was seen to rise, disclosing mountains afar and curling smoke. The sails drop down ; we bend to the oars ; without delay the sailors lustily churn the foam and sweep the blue waters.

<sup>209</sup> “ Saved from the waves, I am received first by the shores of the Strophades—Strophades the Greek name they bear—islands set in the great Ionian sea, where dwell dread Celaeno and the other Harpies, since Phineus’ house was closed on them, and in fear they left their former tables. No monster more baneful than these, no fiercer plague or wrath of the gods ever rose from the Stygian waves. Maiden faces have these birds, foulest filth they drop, clawed hands are theirs, and faces ever gaunt with hunger.

<sup>219</sup> “ When hither borne we entered the harbour, lo ! we see goodly herds of cattle scattered over the plains and flocks of goats untended on the grass. We rush upon them with the sword, calling the gods and Jove himself to share our spoil ; then on the winding shore we build couches and banquet on the rich dainties. But suddenly, with fearful swoop from the mountains the Harpies are upon us, and with loud clanging shake their wings, plunder the feast, and with unclean touch mire every dish ; then amid the foul stench comes a hideous scream. Once more, in a deep recess under a hollowed rock, closely encircled by trees and quiver-

<sup>209</sup> prima *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>210</sup> accipiunt *M*.

<sup>230</sup> clausam *M*<sup>1</sup>*P* $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup> ; perhaps the verse is interpolated from  
I. 311 : clausa *M*<sup>2</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>2</sup>.

## VIRGIL

instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem ;  
 rursum ex diverso caeli caecisque latebris  
 turba sonans praedam pedibus circumvolat uncis,  
 polluit ore dapes. sociis tunc, arma capessant,  
 edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum. 235  
 haud secus ac iussi faciunt tectosque per herbam  
 disponunt ensis et scuta latentia condunt.  
 ergo ubi delapsae sonitum per curva dedere  
 litora, dat signum specula Misenus ab alta  
 aere cavo. invadunt socii et nova proelia temptant,  
 obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucris. 241  
 sed neque vim plumis ullam nec volnera tergo  
 accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae  
 semesam praedam et vestigia foeda relinquunt.  
 una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno, 245  
 infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem :  
 ‘ bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvencis,  
 Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis  
 et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno ?  
 accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta. 250  
 quae Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo  
 praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.  
 Italiam cursu petitis, ventisque vocatis  
 ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit ;  
 sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem, 255  
 quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis  
 ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.’  
 dixit et in silvam pinnis ablata refugit.  
 at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis  
 deriguit ; cecidere animi, nec iam amplius armis, 260  
 sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem,

252 pendo  $P^1$  : mando  $P^2$ .

### AENEID BOOK III

ing shade, we spread the tables and renew the fire on the altars; once more, from an opposite quarter of the sky and from a hidden lair, the noisy crowd with taloned feet hovers round the prey, tainting the dishes with their lips. Then I bid my comrades seize arms and declare war on the fell race. Even as bidden they do, lay their swords in hiding in the grass, and bury their shields out of sight. So when, swooping down, the birds screamed along the winding shore, Misenus on his hollow brass gave the signal from his watch aloft. My comrades charge, and essay a strange combat, to despoil with the sword those filthy birds of ocean. Yet they feel no blows on their feathers, nor wounds on their backs, but, soaring skyward with rapid flight, leave the half-eaten prey and their foul traces. One only, Celaeno, ill-boding seer, alights on a lofty rock, and breaks forth with this cry: 'Is it even war, in return for slaughtered kine and slain bullocks, is it war ye are ready to bring upon us, ye sons of Laomedon, and would ye drive the guiltless Harpies from their father's realm? Take then to heart and fix there these words of mine. What the Father omnipotent foretold to Phoebus and Phoebus Apollo to me, I, eldest of the Furies, reveal to you. Italy is the goal ye seek; wooing the winds, ye shall go to Italy and freely enter her harbours; but ye shall not gird with walls your promised city until dread hunger and the wrong of violence towards us force you to gnaw with your teeth and devour your very tables!'

<sup>258</sup> "She spake and, borne away on her wings, fled back to the forest. But my comrades' blood chilled and froze with sudden fear; their spirit fell, and no longer with arms, but with vows and prayers they now bid me sue for peace, whether these



# VIRGIL

sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaeque volucres.  
 et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis  
 numina magna vocat meritosque indicit honores :  
 ‘ di, prohibete minas, di, talem avertite casum      265  
 et placidi servate pios ! ’      tum litore funem  
 deripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentis.  
 tendunt vela Noti ; fugimus spumantibus undis,  
 qua cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat.  
 iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos      270  
 Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis.  
 effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna,  
 et terram altricem saevi exsecramur Ulixi ;  
 mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis  
 et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.      275  
 hunc petimus fessi et parvae succedimus urbi ;  
 ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes.  
 “ Ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti  
 lustramurque Iovi votisque incendimus aras  
 Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.      280  
 exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras  
 nudati socii ; iuvat evasisse tot urbes  
 Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis.  
 interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum  
 et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas :      285  
 aere cavo clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis,  
 postibus adversis figo et rem carmine signo :

**AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIS VICTORIBUS ARMA.**

linquere tum portus iubeo et considerare transtris ;  
 certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.      290

<sup>263</sup> at *M*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>266</sup> placide *Pγ*.

<sup>267</sup> diripere *M*.

<sup>268</sup> fugimus] ferimur *P*<sup>2</sup>*γ*.



## AENEID BOOK III

be goddesses, or dread and ill-omened birds. And father Anchises, with hands outstretched, from the beach calls upon the mighty gods, and proclaims the sacrifices due: 'Ye gods, stay their threats! Gods, turn such a hap away, and graciously save the guiltless!' Then he bids them tear the cable from the shore, uncoil and loose the sheets. South winds stretch the sails; we flee over foaming waves, where breeze and pilot called our course. Now amid the waves appear wooded Zacynthus, Dulichium, and Same, and Neritus with its steepy crags. We flee past the rocks of Ithaca, Laërtes' realm, and curse the land that nursed cruel Ulysses. Soon, too, Mount Leucata's storm-capped peaks come in view, and Apollo's shrine, dreaded by sailors. Hither we wearily sail, and draw near the little town; the anchor is cast from the prow, the sterns rest upon the beach.

<sup>278</sup> "So having at last won land unhopèd for, we offer to Jove dues of cleansing, kindle the altars with offerings, and throng the Actian shores in the games of Ilium. My comrades strip and, sleek with oil, engage in their native wrestling bouts, glad to have slipped past so many Argive towns, and kept on their flight through the midst of foes. Meanwhile the sun wheels round the mighty circuit of the year, and icy winter ruffles the waters with northern blasts. A shield of hollow brass, once borne by great Abas, I fix on the entrance pillars and mark the event with a verse:

*These arms Aeneas from victorious Greeks.*

Then I bid them quit the harbour and man the benches; with rival strokes my comrades lash the sea and sweep the waters. Soon we lose from sight

# VIRGIL

protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces,  
litoraue Epiri legimus portuque subimus  
Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem.

“ Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris,  
Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbes, 295  
coniugio Aeacidæ Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum,  
et patrio Andromachen iterum cessisse marito.  
obstipui, miroque incensum pectus amore  
compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos.  
progredior portu, classis et litora linquens, FMP  
sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona 301  
ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam  
libabat cineri Andromache, Manisque vocabat  
Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem  
et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras. 305  
ut me conspexit venientem et Troia circum  
arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstribus  
deriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,  
labitur et longo vix tandem tempore fatur :  
‘ verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers, 310  
nate dea? vivisne? aut si lux alma recessit,  
Hector ubi est? ’ dixit lacrimasque effudit et omnem  
implevit clamore locum. vix pauca furenti  
subicio et raris turbatus vocibus hisco :  
‘ vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco ;  
ne dubita, nam vera vides. 316  
heu ! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto  
excipit? aut quæ digna satis fortuna revisit,  
Hectoris Andromache? Pyrrhin conubia servas? ’  
deiecit voltum et demissa voce locuta est : 320

<sup>292</sup> portus *M.*

<sup>293</sup> Chaonios *M*<sup>2</sup>, known to Servius.

<sup>310</sup> verum *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>312</sup> effundit *P.* So Sabb.

<sup>319</sup> Andromachen *F*<sup>2</sup>*c*<sup>1</sup>, known to Servius, who directs us, if we read the vocative, to construe it with what follows. So Forbiger, Kennedy, Page, and Mackail. The accusative is read by Conington and Goelzer. Pyrrhi *F*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup>.

### AENEID BOOK III

the towering heights of the Phaeacians, skirt the shores of Epirus, enter the Chaonian harbour, and draw near Buthrotum's lofty city.

<sup>294</sup> " Here the rumour of a tale beyond belief fills our ears, that Priam's son, Helenus, is reigning over Greek cities, having won the wife and kingdom of Pyrrhus, son of Aeacus, and that Andromache has again passed to a husband of her own race. I was amazed, and my heart burned with a wondrous desire to address him and learn of so strange a fortune. I advance from the harbour, leaving shore and fleet, just when, as it fell, Andromache, in a grove before the city, by the waters of a mimic Simois, was offering her yearly feast and gifts of mourning to the dust, and calling the ghost to Hector's tomb—the empty mound of green turf, that she had hallowed with altars twain, there to shed her tears. When she caught sight of me coming, and saw distractedly the arms of Troy around, awed by such marvels she stiffened even as she gazed, and the warmth forsook her limbs. She swoons, and at last after a long time speaks: ' Art thou a real form, a real messenger, coming to me, goddess-born? Art living? or if kindly light has fled, where is Hector? ' She spake, and shedding a flood of tears filled all the place with her cries. To her frenzy scarce can I make a brief reply, and deeply moved gasp with broken words: ' I live indeed, and drag on my life through all extremes; doubt not, for the sight is real. Ah! what fate receives thee, fallen from such a husband? or what fortune worthy of thee, O Hector's Andromache, is thine again? Art thou still wedded to Pyrrhus? ' She cast down her eyes, and with lowered voice spake:

# VIRGIL

'o felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,  
 hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis  
 iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos  
 nec victoris eri tetigit captiva cubile!  
 nos patria incensa diversa per aequora vectae 325  
 stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum,  
 servitio enixae, tulimus; qui deinde, secutus  
 Ledaeam Hermionen Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos,  
 me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam.  
 ast illum ereptae magno inflammatus amore 330  
 coniugis et scelerum Furiis agitatus Orestes  
 excipit incautum patriasque obtruncat ad aras.  
 morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit  
 pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos  
 Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit, 335  
 Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem.  
 sed tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere?  
 aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris?  
 quid puer Ascanius? superatne et vescitur aura,  
 quem tibi iam Troia . . .? 340  
 ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?  
 ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis MP  
 et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?'  
 talia fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat  
 incassum fletus, cum sese a moenibus heros 345  
 Priamides multis Helenus comitantibus adfert,  
 agnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit  
 et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fundit.  
 procedo et parvam Troiam simulataque magnis  
 Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum 350

<sup>327</sup> enixe *a*, *Donatus*.

<sup>330</sup> inflammatus *Mγ<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>bc*: flammatus *the other MSS*.

<sup>340</sup> *Certain inferior MSS. complete the line in various ways.*  
*Six of them add peperit fumante Creusa.*

<sup>346</sup> Helenus multis *P*.

<sup>348</sup> lacrimans *M<sup>2</sup>Pγ<sup>1</sup>*, *known to Servius*.

## AENEID BOOK III

321 “ ‘O happy beyond all others, maiden daughter of Priam, bidden to die at a foeman’s tomb, beneath Troy’s lofty walls, who never bore the lot’s award, nor touched, as captive, a conquering master’s bed ! We, our fatherland burnt, borne over distant seas, have endured the pride of Achilles’ son and his youthful insolence, bearing children in slavery ; afterwards, seeking Leda’s Hermione and Lacedaemonian nuptials, he passed me over to Helenus’ keeping—a bondmaid and to a bondman. But him Orestes, fired with strong desire for his stolen bride, and goaded by the Furies of his crimes, catches unawares and slays at his father’s altar. By the death of Neoptolemus a portion of the realm passed as his due to Helenus, who called the plains Chaonian and the whole land Chaonia from Chaon of Troy, and placed on the heights a Pergamus, this Ilian citadel. But to thee, what winds, what fates gave a course ? or what god has driven thee unknowing on our coasts ? What of the boy Ascanius ? Lives he yet and feeds he on the air of heaven ? Whom now, lo, when Troy . . .<sup>1</sup> Has the lad none the less some love for his lost mother ? Do his father Aeneas and his uncle Hector arouse him at all to ancestral valour and to manly spirit ? ’

344 “ Such words she poured forth weeping, and was idly awaking a long lament, when the hero Helenus, Priam’s son, draws near from the city with a great company. He knows us for his kin, joyfully leads us to the gates, and freely pours forth tears at every word. I advance, and recognize a little Troy, with a copy of great Pergamus, and a dry brook that takes its name from Xanthus, and

<sup>1</sup> This is the only incomplete line in Virgil where the sense is also incomplete,



## VIRGIL

adgnosco, Scaeeaeque amplector limina portae.  
 nec non et Teucris socia simul urbe fruuntur.  
 illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis ;  
 aulaï medio libabant pocula Bacchi,  
 impositis auro dapibus, paterasque tenebant. 355

“ Iamque dies alterque dies processit, et auræ  
 vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro :  
 his vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso :  
 ‘ Troiugena, interpretes divum, qui numina Phoebi,  
 qui tripodas, Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis 360  
 et volucrum linguas et praepetis omnia pinnae,  
 fare age (namque omnem cursum mihi prospera dixit  
 religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi  
 Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas ;  
 sola novum dictuque nefas Harpyia Celaeno 365  
 prodigium canit et tristis denuntiat iras  
 obscenamque famem), quae prima pericula vito ?  
 quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores ?’  
 hic Helenus, caesis primum de more iuvenis,  
 exorat pacem divum vittasque resolvit 370  
 sacra capitis meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,  
 ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit,  
 atque haec deinde canit divino ex ore sacerdos :

“ ‘ Nate dea, nam te maioribus ire per altum  
 auspiciis manifesta fides (sic fata deum rex 375  
 sortitur volvitque vices, is vertitur ordo),  
 pauca tibi e multis, quo tutior hospita lustres  
 aequora et Ausonio possis considerare portu,  
 expediam dictis ; prohibent nam cetera Parcae  
 scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno. 380

<sup>360</sup> tripoda ac Clarii *Mackail*.

<sup>362</sup> omnis *Pγ<sup>1</sup>* : omnem, *M*, *Servius*. *Mackail* reads omnis cursu.

<sup>372</sup> multo] voltu *P<sup>1</sup>*. suspensus known to *Servius*.



### AENEID BOOK III

embrace the portals of a Scaean gate. No less, too, my Teucrians enjoy with me the friendly city. The king welcomed them amid broad cloisters; in the centre of the hall they poured libations of wine and held the bowls, while the feast was served on gold.

<sup>356</sup> “And now day after day has passed; the breezes call to the sails, and the canvas fills with the swelling South. With these words I approach the seer, and thus make quest:

<sup>359</sup> “ ‘O son of Troy, interpreter of the gods, who knowest the will of Phoebus, the tripods, the laurel of the Clarian, the stars, and tongues of birds and omens of the flying wing, come, tell me—for with fair words hath Heaven declared to me all my journey, and all the gods in their oracles have counselled me to make for Italy and explore lands remote; only Celaeno the Harpy prophesies a startling portent, horrible to tell of, and threatens baleful wrath and foul famine—what perils am I first to shun? or by what course may I surmount such suffering?’

<sup>369</sup> “Then Helenus, first sacrificing steers in due form, craves the grace of heaven and unbinds the fillets of his hallowed brow; with his own hand he leads me to thy gates, O Phoebus, thrilled with thy full presence, and then with a priest’s inspired lips thus prophesies:

<sup>374</sup> “ ‘O Goddess-born! since there is clear proof that under higher auspices thou dost journey o’er the sea—for thus the king of the gods allots the destinies and rolls the wheel of change; and such is the circling course—a few things out of many I will unfold thee in speech, that so more safely thou mayest traverse the seas of thy sojourn, and find rest in Ausonia’s haven; for the Fates forbid Helenus to know more and Saturnian Juno stays

## VIRGIL

principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam  
 vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,  
 longa procul longis via dividit invia terris.  
 ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda  
 et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor 385  
 infernique lacus Aeaeaeque insula Circae,  
 quam tuta possis urbem componere terra.  
 signa tibi dicam, tu condita mente teneto.  
 cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam  
 litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus 390  
 triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,  
 alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,  
 is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.  
 nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros;  
 fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo. 395  
 has autem terras Italique hanc litoris oram,  
 proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu,  
 effuge; cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graeis.  
 hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri  
 et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos 400  
 Lyctius Idomeneus; hic illa ducis Meliboei  
 parva Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro.  
 quin ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes  
 et positis aris iam vota in litore solves,  
 purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu, 405  
 ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum  
 hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.  
 hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto;  
 hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.  
 ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae 410  
 ventus et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,

<sup>407</sup> omnia *M*<sup>1</sup>.

### AENEID BOOK III

his utterance. First of all, the Italy which now thou deemest so near, and into whose neighbouring ports, unwitting one! thou dost essay entrance, a long trackless track with long land-reaches sunders widely. First in the Trinacrian wave must thou bend the oar, and traverse with thy ships the salt Ausonian main, past the nether lakes and Aeaeon Circe's isle, ere thou mayest build thy city in a land of safety. Tokens will I declare to thee; do thou keep them stored in mind. When, in thy distress, by the waters of a secluded stream, thou shalt find a sow lying under the oaks on the shore, just delivered of a litter of thirty young, the mother reclining on the ground white—white, too, the young about her teats—there shall be the city's site, there a sure rest from thy toils. And dread not the gnawing of tables that awaits thee; the Fates will find a way, and Apollo be present at thy call. But these lands, and this nearest border of the Italian shore, that is washed by the tide of our own sea, avoid; in all the towns dwell evil Greeks! Here the Narycian Locri have built a city, and Lyctian Idomeneus has beset with soldiery the Sallentine plains; here is the famous town of Philoctetes, the Meliboean captain—tiny Petelia, strong within her wall. Moreover, when thy ships have crossed the seas and anchored, and when now thou raisest altars and payest vows on the shore, veil thy hair with covering of purple robe, that in the worship of the gods no hostile face may intrude amid the holy fires and mar the omens. This mode of sacrifice do thou keep, thou and thy company; by this observance let thy children's children in purity stand fast. But when, on parting thence, the wind has borne thee to the Sicilian coast, and the barriers of narrow Pelorus open

# VIRGIL

laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur  
 aequora circuitu ; dextrum fuge litus et undas.  
 haec loca vi quondam et vasta convolsa ruina  
 (tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas) 415  
 dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus  
 una foret ; venit medio vi pontus et undis  
 Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaeque et urbes  
 litore diductas angusto interluit aestu.  
 dextrum Scylla latus, laevum implacata Charybdis 420  
 obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos  
 sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras  
 erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda.  
 at Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris  
 ora exsertantem et navis in saxa trahentem. 425  
 prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo  
 pube tenus, postrema immani corpore pistrix,  
 delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.  
 praestat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni  
 cessantem, longos et circumflectere cursus, 430  
 quam semel informem vasto vidisse sub antro  
 Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa.  
 praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia, vati  
 si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo,  
 unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum 435  
 praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo:  
 Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora,  
 Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem  
 supplicibus supera donis : sic denique victor  
 Trinacria finis Italos mittere relictas. 440  
 huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem  
 divinosque lacus et Aversa sonantia silvis,

<sup>419</sup> deductas *M*.

<sup>421</sup> vasto *P*<sup>1</sup>, *Servius*, but vastos in note on I. 117.

<sup>433</sup> Punctuation before vati *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>440</sup> mittere] misere *P*<sup>1</sup> : miscere *P*<sup>2</sup> *γ*<sup>1</sup>.

### AENEID BOOK III

out, make thou for the land on the left and the seas on the left, long though the circuit be; shun the shore and waters on the right. These lands, they say, of old broke asunder, torn by force of mighty upheaval—such vast change can length of time effect—when the two countries were one unbroken whole. The sea came in might between, cut off with its waters the Hesperian from the Sicilian coast, and with narrow tideway laves fields and cities on severed shores. Scylla guards the right side; Charybdis, insatiate, the left; and at the bottom of her seething chasm thrice she sucks the vast waves into the abyss, and again in turn casts them upwards, lashing the stars with spray. But Scylla a cavern confines in blind recesses, whence she thrusts forth her mouths and draws ships within her rocks. Above she is of human form, down to the waist a fair-bosomed maiden; below, she is a sea-dragon of monstrous frame, with dolphins' tails joined to a belly of wolves. Better is it to double the goal of Trinacrian Pachynus, and, lingering on thy way, fetch a long compass, than once get sight of misshapen Scylla in her vast cavern, and of the rocks that ring with her sea-green hounds. Moreover, if Helenus has any foresight, if the seer may claim any faith, if Apollo fills his soul with truths, this one thing, O Goddess-born, this one in lieu of all I will foretell, and again and again repeat the warning: mighty Juno's power honour thou first with prayer; to Juno joyfully chant vows, and win over the mighty mistress with suppliant gifts. So at last thou shalt leave Trinacria behind and be sped triumphantly to the bounds of Italy. And when, thither borne, thou drawest near to the town of Cumae, the haunted lakes, and Avernus with its rustling woods, thou



## VIRGIL

insanam vatem aspicias, quae rupe sub ima  
 fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.  
 quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo, 445  
 digerit in numerum atque antro seclusa relinquit.  
 illa manent immota locis neque ab ordine cedunt;  
 verum eadem, verso tenuis cum cardine ventus  
 impulit et teneras turbavit ianua frondes,  
 numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo 450  
 nec revocare situs aut iungere carmina curat;  
 inconsulti abeunt sedemque odere Sibyllae.  
 hic tibi ne qua morae fuerint dispendia tanti,  
 quamvis increpitent socii et vi cursus in altum  
 vela vocet possisque sinus implere secundos, 455  
 quin adeas vatem precibusque oracula poscas  
 ipsa canat vocemque volens atque ora resolvat. GMP  
 illa tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella  
 et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem,  
 expediet, cursusque dabit venerata secundos. 460  
 haec sunt, quae nostra liceat te voce moneri.  
 vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam.'

"Quae postquam vates sic ore effatus amico est,  
 dona dehinc auro gravia sectoque elephanto  
 imperat ad navis ferri, stipatque carinis 465  
 ingens argentum Dodonaeosque lebetas,  
 loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem,  
 et conum insignis galeae cristasque comantis,  
 arma Neoptolemi. sunt et sua dona parenti.  
 addit equos additque duces; 470  
 remigium supplet; socios simul instruit armis.

<sup>449</sup> teneras] terris *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>455</sup> vocent *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*γ*.

<sup>464</sup> gravia ac secto *Schaper*. So *Mackail*.

<sup>469</sup> parentis *P*.



### AENEID BOOK III

shalt look on an inspired prophetess, who deep in a rocky cave sings the Fates and entrusts to leaves signs and symbols. Whatever verses the maid has traced on leaves<sup>1</sup> she arranges in order and stores away in the cave. These remain unmoved in their places and quit not their rank; but when at the turn of the hinge a light breeze has stirred them, and the open door scattered the tender foliage, never does she thereafter care to catch them, as they flutter in the rocky cave, nor to recover their places, nor to unite the verses; uncounselled, men depart, and loathe the Sibyl's seat. Here let no loss in delay be of such account in thine eyes—though comrades chide, though the voyage urgently calls thy sails to the deep and thou mayest swell their folds with favouring gales—that thou visit not the prophetess and with prayers plead that she herself chant the oracles, and graciously open her lips in speech. The nations of Italy, the wars to come, the mode whereby thou art to flee or face each toil, she will unfold to thee; and, reverently besought, she will grant thee a prosperous voyage. This it is whereof by my voice thou mayest be warned. Now go thy way, and by thy deeds exalt Troy in greatness unto heaven!’

<sup>463</sup> “When the seer had thus spoken with friendly lips, he next gives command that gifts of heavy gold and sawn ivory be brought to the ships, stows in the hulls massive silver and cauldrons of Dodona, a breastplate trebly woven with hooks of gold, and a brilliant pointed helm with crested plumes, the arms of Neoptolemus. My father, too, has gifts of his own; horses he brings, and guides he brings; he fills up our crews, and with arms, too, equips my comrades.

<sup>1</sup> The leaves and bark of trees were the earliest writing materials.

# VIRGIL

" Interea classem velis aptare iubebat  
 Anchises, fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti.  
 quem Phoebi interpretis multo compellat honore :  
 ' coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo,      475  
 cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis,  
 ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus ; hanc arripe velis.  
 et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare necesse est ;  
 Ausoniae pars illa procul, quam pandit Apollo.  
 vade,' ait, ' o felix nati pietate. quid ultra      480  
 provehor et fando surgentis demoror Austros ?'  
 nec minus Andromache, digressu maesta supremo,  
 fert picturatas auri subtemine vestis  
 et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem, nec cedit honori,  
 textilibusque onerat donis ac talia fatur :      485  
 ' accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monumenta  
     mearum  
 sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem,  
 coniugis Hectoreae. cape dona extrema tuorum,  
 o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago.  
 sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat ;      490  
 et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo.'  
 hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis :  
 ' vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta  
 iam sua ; nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.  
 — vobis parta quies ; nullum maris aequor arandum, 495  
 arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro  
 quaerenda. effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis,  
 quam vestrae fecere manus, melioribus, opto,  
 auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obvia Graeis.  
 si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva      500  
 intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,  
 cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,

<sup>475</sup> Anchisae *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup> $\gamma$  : Anchise *P*<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>476</sup> erepta *P*.

<sup>478</sup> praeterlabere *M*<sup>1</sup> : praterlabre *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>480</sup> ait] age *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>483</sup> subtegmine *GM*<sup>1</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>472</sup> “Meanwhile Anchises bade us fit the ships with sails, that the favouring wind should meet no delay. Him the interpreter of Phoebus with deep respect accosts: ‘Anchises, deemed worthy of lofty wedlock with Venus, the gods’ charge, twice rescued from the fall of Pergamus, lo! before thee is the land of Ausonia! Make sail and seize it! And yet past this shore thou must needs drift upon the sea; far away is that part of Ausonia which Apollo reveals. Fare forth,’ he cries, ‘blest in thy son’s love. Why go I on further, and with speech delay the rising winds?’ Andromache, too, sad at the last parting, brings robes figured with inwoven gold, and for Ascanius a Phrygian scarf, nor fails she in courtesy, but loads him with gifts from the loom, and thus speaks: ‘Take these, too, my child, to be memorials of my handiwork and witnesses of the abiding love of Andromache, Hector’s wife. Take these last gifts of thy kin, O thou sole surviving image of my Astyanax! Such was he in eyes, in hands and face; even now would his youth be ripening in equal years with thine!’

<sup>492</sup> “My tears welled up as I spake to them my parting words: ‘Fare ye well, ye whose own destiny is already achieved; we are still summoned from fate to fate. Your rest is won. No ocean plains need ye plough, no ever-retreating Ausonian fields need ye seek. A copy of Xanthus ye see and a Troy, which your own hands have built under happier omens, I pray, and more beyond the range of Greeks. If ever I enter the Tiber and Tiber’s neighbouring fields and look on the city-walls granted to my race, hereafter, of our sister cities and allied peoples, in

<sup>484</sup> honore  $P\gamma^1a$ , known to Servius: honori  $GM\gamma^2bc$ , Servius.

<sup>499</sup> fuerint  $MP\gamma$ , known to Servius: fueris  $G^1$ .

Epiro, Hesperia, quibus idem Dardanus auctor  
atque idem casus, unam faciemus utramque  
Troiam animis; maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.' 505

" Provehimur pelago vicina Ceraunia iuxta,  
unde iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis.  
sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci.  
sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam,  
sortiti remos, passimque in litore sicco 510

corpora curamus; fessos sopor inrigat artus.  
necdum orbem medium Nox Horis acta subibat:  
haud segnis strato surgit Palinurus et omnis  
explorat ventos atque auribus aëra captat;  
sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo, 515

Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,  
armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.  
postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno,  
dat clarum e puppi signum; nos castra movemus  
temptamusque viam et velorum pandimus alas. 520

iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis,  
cum procul obscuros collis humilemque videmus  
Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates,  
Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.  
tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona 525  
induit implevitque mero divosque vocavit  
stans celsa in puppi:

'di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes,  
ferre viam vento facilem et spirare secundi!' 529  
crebrescunt optatae aurae, portusque patescit [MP  
iam propior, templumque apparet in Arce Minervae.  
vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent.

<sup>503</sup> Hesperiam *GMP*γ<sup>1</sup>: Hesperia γ<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*.

<sup>504</sup> faciamus *G*.

<sup>516</sup> pluvias] pliadas γ<sup>1</sup>, *Macrobius*.

<sup>527</sup> celsa] prima *G*γ (*in margin*): -ima *P*<sup>1</sup>: -elsa *P*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>531</sup> proprior *MP*γ.

### AENEID BOOK III

Epirus, in Hesperia—who have the same Dardanus for ancestor and the same disastrous story—of these twain we shall make one Troy in spirit. May that charge await our children's children!' <sup>1</sup>

<sup>506</sup> “ Along the sea we speed, by the near Ceraunian cliffs, whence is the way to Italy and the shortest voyage over the waves. Meanwhile the sun sets and the hills lie dark in shade. Having allotted the oars, we fling ourselves down near the water on the bosom of the welcome land and refresh ourselves on the dry beach; sleep bedews our weary limbs. Nor yet was Night, driven by the Hours, entering her mid course, when Palinurus springs, alert, from his couch, tries all the winds, and with eager ear catches the breeze; he marks all the stars gliding in the silent sky, Arcturus, the rainy Hyades, and the twin Bears, and he scans Orion, girt with golden armour. When he sees that all is calm in a cloudless sky, he gives a loud signal from the stern; we break up camp, venture on our way, and spread the wings of our sails. And now the stars were put to rout and Dawn was blushing, when far off we see dim hills and low-lying Italy. ‘Italy!’ first Achates shouts aloud; Italy the crews hail with joyful cry. Then father Anchises wreathed a great bowl, filled it with wine, and standing on the lofty stern called on the gods: ‘Ye gods, lords of the sea and earth and storms, waft us onward with easy wind, and blow with favouring breath!’ The longed-for breezes freshen, a haven opens as we now draw near, and a temple is seen on Minerva’s Height.<sup>2</sup> My comrades furl the sails and shoreward

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the founding of Nicopolis in Epirus by Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to *Castrum Minervae*, near the *Portus Veneris* in Calabria, the modern Castro.



portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum;  
 obiectae salsa spumant aspargine cautes,  
 ipse latet; gemino demittunt bracchia muro 535  
 turriti scopuli, refugitique ab litore templum.  
 quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi,  
 tondentis campum late, candore nivali.  
 et pater Anchises: 'bellum, o terra hospita, portas;  
 bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.  
 sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti 541  
 quadrupedes et frena iugo concordia ferre:  
 spes et pacis,' ait. Tum numina sancta precamur  
 Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis,  
 et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu, 545  
 praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite  
 Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores.

"Haud mora, continuo perfectis ordine votis  
 cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum  
 Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva.  
 hinc sinus Herculei, si vera est fama, Tarenti 551  
 cernitur; attollit se diva Lacinia contra  
 Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.  
 tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna,  
 et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa 555  
 audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces,  
 exsultantque vada atque aestu miscentur harenae.  
 et pater Anchises: 'nimirum haec illa Charybdis;  
 hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat.  
 eripite, o socii, pariterque insurgite remis.' 560  
 haud minus ac iussi faciunt, primusque rudentem MPV  
 contorsit laevas proram Palinurus ad undas;  
 laevam cuncta cohors remis ventisque petivit.

535 dimittunt *P*.545 capite *P*<sup>1</sup>. aram *Pγ*.556 ab litore *M*<sup>2</sup>, so *Mackail*: ab litora *γ*.558 haec *γ*<sup>1c</sup>: hic *MPb*<sup>1</sup>.563 ventis remisque *M*<sup>1</sup>.



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turn the prows. There a harbour is bent bow-like by the eastern surge; its jutting reefs foam with the salt spray, itself lying hid; towering crags let down arms of twin walls, and the temple recedes from the shore. Here, for our first omen, four steeds I saw on the turf, grazing at large over the plain, as white as snow. Then father Anchises: 'Tis war thou bearest, O land of our reception; for war are horses armed, war these herds portend. But yet,' he cries, 'those same steeds at times are wont to come under the car and beneath the yoke to bear the bit in concord; there is hope also of peace!' Then we pray to the holy power of Pallas, queen of clashing arms, who first welcomed our cheers, before the altar veiled our heads in Phrygian robe, and, following the urgent charge which Helenus had given, duly offer to Argive Juno the burnt sacrifice prescribed.

<sup>548</sup> "At once, soon as our vows are paid in full, we point windward the horns of our sail-clad yards, and leave the homes of the Greek-born race and the fields we distrust. Next is descried the bay of Tarentum, a town of Hercules, if the tale be true; while over against it rise the Lacinian goddess,<sup>1</sup> the towers of Caulon and shipwrecking Scylaceum. Then in the distance out of the waves appears Trinacrian Aetna, and from afar we hear the loud moaning of the main, the lashing of the rocks, and broken noises along the shore; the shoals dash up and the sands mingle with the surge. Then father Anchises: 'Surely this is that Charybdis, these are the crags, these the dread rocks Helenus foretold. To the rescue, comrades, and rise together over the oars!' Even as bidden they do, and first Palinurus swung the groaning prow to the waves leftward; leftward all our force plied

<sup>1</sup> There was a temple of Juno on the Lacinian promontory.

# VIRGIL

tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite et idem  
 subducta ad Manis imos desedimus unda ; 565  
 ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere,  
 ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra.  
 interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,  
 ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.

“ Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens 570  
 ipse, sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis,  
 interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem,  
 turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla,  
 attollitque globos flammaram et sidera lambit ;  
 interdum scopulos avolsaque viscera montis 575  
 erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras  
 cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exaestuat imo.  
 fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus  
 urgeri mole hac ingentemque insuper Aetnam  
 impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis, 580  
 et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem  
 murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo.  
 noctem illam tecti silvis immania monstra  
 perferimus nec, quae sonitum det causa, videmus,  
 nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra  
 siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo, 586  
 et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat. MP

“ Postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo  
 umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,  
 cum subito e silvis, macie confecta suprema, 590  
 ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu  
 procedit supplexque manus ad litora tendit.  
 respicimus. dira inluvies, immissaque barba,

<sup>581</sup> mutat  $M^2P^2\gamma^1$ , known to Servius: motat  $\gamma^2$ , Servius:  
 motet  $a^2b^2c$ .

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with oars and wind. We mount up to heaven on the arched billow and again, with the receding wave, sink down to the depths of hell. Thrice amid the rocky caverns the cliffs uttered a cry; thrice we saw the showered spray and the dripping stars. Meanwhile, at sundown the wind failed our weary band and, in ignorance of the way, we drift up to the Cyclopes' coast.

<sup>570</sup> "There lies a harbour, safe from the winds' approach and spacious in itself, but near at hand Aetna thunders with terrifying crashes, and now hurls forth to the sky a black cloud, smoking with pitch-black eddy and glowing ashes, and uplifts balls of flame and licks the stars—now violently vomits forth rocks, the mountain's uptorn entrails, and whirls molten stone skyward with a roar, and boils up from its lowest depths. The story runs that Enceladus' form, scathed by the thunderbolt, is weighed down by that mass, and mighty Aetna, piled above, from its burst furnaces breathes forth flame; and ever as he changes his weary side all Trinacria moans and trembles, veiling the sky in smoke. All that night we hide in the woods, enduring monstrous horrors, and see not from what cause comes the sound. For neither did the stars show their fires, nor was heaven clear with stellar light, but mists darkened the sky and the dead of night held fast the moon in cloud.

<sup>588</sup> "And now the next day was rising with the earliest morning star, and Dawn had scattered from the sky the dewy shades, when on a sudden out of the woods comes forth the strange shape of an unknown man, outworn with uttermost hunger, and of piteous guise, and towards the beach stretches suppliant hands. We look back. Ghastly in his squalor, with unshorn beard, and garb fastened with thorns, he was

consertum tegumen spinis ; at cetera Graius,  
 et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis 595  
 isque ubi Dardanios habitus et Troia vidit  
 arma procul, paulum aspectu conterritus haesit  
 continuitque gradum ; mox sese ad litora praeceps  
 cum fletu precibusque tulit : ‘ per sidera testor,  
 per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen, 600  
 tollite me, Teucri ; quascumque abducite terras ;  
 hoc sat erit. scio me Danaïs e classibus unum,  
 et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse Penates.  
 pro quo, si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri,  
 spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto : 605  
 si pereo, hominum manibus periisse iuvabit.’  
 dixerat et genua amplexus genibusque volutans  
 haerebat. qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus,  
 hortamur, quae deinde agitet fortuna, fateri.  
 ipse pater dextram Anchises, haud multa moratus, 610  
 dat iuveni atque animum praesenti pignore firmat.  
 ille haec, deposita tandem formidine, fatur :  
 ‘ sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Ulixi,  
 nomine Achaemenides, Troiam genitore Adamasto  
 paupere (mansissetque utinam fortuna !) profectus.  
 hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina linquunt, 616  
 immemores socii vasto Cyclopi in antro  
 deseruere. domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,  
 intus opaca, ingens. ipse arduus, altaque pulsat  
 sidera—di, talem terris avertite pestem !— 620  
 nec visu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli.  
 visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro.  
 vidi egomet, duo de numero cum corpora nostro  
 prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro  
 frangeret ad saxum, sanieque aspersa natarent 625

<sup>600</sup> sperabile *M*<sup>1</sup>. numen *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup> : nomen *P*<sup>1</sup> : lumen *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*  
 (late). <sup>601</sup> adducite *M*<sup>1</sup>. <sup>621</sup> effabilis *P*.

<sup>625</sup> adpersa *M* : aspersa *P* : expersa *Servius*.

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yet in all else a Greek, and had once been sent to Troy in his country's arms. When far off he saw the Dardan dress and the Trojan weapons, affrighted at the sight he stopped awhile and checked his steps; then rushed headlong to the shore with tears and prayers: 'By the stars I beseech you, by the gods above and this lightsome air we breathe, take me, O Trojans, carry me away to any lands whatever; that will be enough. I know that I am one from the Danaan ships, and own that I warred against the gods of Ilium. For that, if my guilt hath done so much wrong, fling me piecemeal over the waves or plunge me in the vast sea. If I die, it will be a boon to have died at the hands of men!' He ceased, and clung to our knees, clasping them and grovelling there. We urge him to tell what he is and of what blood born, then what fortune pursues him. My father Anchises himself, with little delay, gives the youth his hand and comforts his heart with the present pledge. At last he lays aside his fear and speaks thus:

613 " ' I come from the land of Ithaca, a companion of luckless Ulysses, Achaemenides by name, and, since my father Adamastus was poor—and would to heaven that fortune had so stayed!—I set out for Troy. Here my comrades, when hastily quitting the grim gateway, thoughtlessly left me in the Cyclops' vast cave. It is a house of gore and bloodstained feasts, dark and huge within. The master, gigantic, strikes the stars on high—ye gods, take such a pest away from earth!—in aspect forbidding, in speech to be accosted by none. He feeds on the flesh of wretched men and their dark blood. I myself saw when he seized in his huge hand two of our company and, lying back in the midst of the cave, crushed them on the rock, and the splashed courts swam with gore; I



limina; vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo  
 manderet et tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus.  
 haud impune quidem; nec talia passus Ulixes  
 oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto.  
 nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus 630  
 cervicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum  
 immensus, saniem eructans et frusta cruento  
 per somnum commixta mero, nos, magna precati  
 numina sortitique vices, una undique circum  
 fundimur et telo lumen terebramus acuto 635  
 ingens, quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,  
 Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar,  
 et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras.  
 sed fugite, O miseri, fugite atque ab litore funem  
 rumpite. 640  
 nam qualis quantusque cavo Polyphemus in antro  
 lanigeras claudit pecudes atque ubera pressat,  
 centum alii curva haec habitant ad litora volgo  
 infandi Cyclopes et altis montibus errant.  
 tertia iam lunae se cornua lumine complent, 645  
 cum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum  
 lustra domosque traho vastosque ab rupe Cyclopas  
 prospicio sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco.  
 victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna,  
 dant rami, et volsis pascunt radicibus herbae. 650  
 omnia conlustrans hanc primum ad litora classem  
 prospexi venientem. huic me, quaecumque fuisset,  
 addixi; satis est gentem effugisse nefandam.  
 vos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto.  
 "Vix ea fatus erat, summo cum monte videmus 655  
 ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem  
 pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem,

<sup>627</sup> trepidi *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>, known to Servius.

<sup>629</sup> oblitusque *Pγ*.

<sup>632</sup> immensum *P*, Servius.



# AENEID BOOK III

saw when he munched their limbs, all dripping with black blood-clots, and the warm joints quivered beneath his teeth. Yet not unpunished! Ulysses brooked not this, nor in such a strait was he forgetful of himself. For when, gorged with the feast and drowned in wine, the monster rested his drooping neck, and lay in endless length throughout the cave, in his sleep vomiting gore and morsels mixed with blood and wine, we prayed to the great gods, then, with our parts allotted, pour round him on every side, and with pointed weapon pierce the one huge eye, that lay deep-set beneath his savage brow, like unto an Argive shield or the lamp of Phoebus. And so at last we gladly avenged our comrades' shades. But flee, ye hapless ones, flee and cut your cables from the shore! For in shape and size like Polyphemus, as he pens his fleecy flocks in the rocky cave and drains their udders, a hundred other monstrous Cyclopes dwell all along these winding shores and roam the high mountains. Thrice now do the moon's horns fill with light since I began to drag out my life in the woods among the lonely lairs and haunts of wild beasts, viewing from a rock the huge Cyclopes and trembling at their cries and tramping feet. A sorry living, berries and stony cornels, the boughs supply; and plants feed me with their upturned roots. Scanning all the view, at last I saw this fleet drawing to the shore. To it, prove what it might, I surrendered myself. 'Tis enough to have escaped the accursed brood! Do ye rather, by any death whatever, take away this life of mine!'

<sup>655</sup> "Scarce had he spoken when on the mountain-top we saw the giant himself, the shepherd Polyphemus, moving his mighty bulk among his flocks

<sup>634</sup> nomina *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>652</sup> conspexi *P*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>.

<sup>635</sup> tenebramus *known to Servius.*

<sup>655</sup> in monte *P*<sup>2</sup>*γ*<sup>1</sup>.

✓ monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen  
ademptum.

trunca manu pinus regit et vestigia firmat;  
lanigeræ comitantur oves; ea sola voluptas FMP  
solamenque mali. 661

postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad æquora venit,  
luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem,  
dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per æquor  
iam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit. 665  
nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare, recepto  
supplice sic merito, tacitique incidere funem;  
verrimus et proni certantibus æquora remis.  
sensit et ad sonitum vocis vestigia torsit.

verum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas 670  
nec potis Ionios fluctus æquare sequendo,  
clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes  
contremuere undæ, penitusque exterrita tellus  
Italiae curvisque immugiit Aetna cavernis.

at genus e silvis Cycloperum et montibus altis 675  
excitum ruit ad portus et litora complent.

cernimus adstantis nequiquam lumine torvo  
Aetnaeos fratres, caelo capita alta ferentis,  
concilium horrendum: quales cum vertice celso  
aëriæ quercus aut coniferae cyparissi 680  
constiterunt, silva alta Iovis lucusve Dianae.

praecipites metus acer agit quocumque rudentis  
excutere et ventis intendere vela secundis.  
contra iussa monent Heleni Scyllam atque Charybdim  
inter, utramque viam leti discrimine parvo, FMPR

<sup>659</sup> manum *M* (late), *Quintilian*: manu *M*<sup>1</sup>, *Servius*.

<sup>661</sup> de collo fistula pendet *completes the verse F*(late)*P*<sup>γ</sup>*ab*<sup>2</sup>z.

<sup>663</sup> effuso *M*<sup>1</sup>: effusi *M*<sup>2</sup>. <sup>664</sup> gemitum *P*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>665</sup> fluctu *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>, *Servius*: fluctur *F*.

<sup>666</sup> fuga *P*<sup>1</sup>. <sup>668</sup> vertimus *MP*: verrimus *F*.

<sup>670</sup> dextram *FP*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*. <sup>673</sup> intremuere *FP*.

<sup>682</sup> ruentis *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>684</sup> monet *P*<sup>1</sup>: movent *F*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>. Scylla *FP*<sup>1</sup>. Charybdis *F*.

## AENEID BOOK III

and seeking the well-known shore—a monster awful, shapeless, huge, bereft of light. In his hand a lopped pine guides and steadies his steps. His fleecy sheep attend him—his sole joy they, sole solace of his woe! Soon as he touched the deep waves and reached the sea, with the water he washed the oozing blood from his eye's socket, gnashing his teeth and groaning, then strides through the open sea; nor has the wave yet wetted his towering sides. Anxiously we speed our flight far from there, taking on board a suppliant so deserving, and silently cut the cable; then, bending forward, sweep the seas with emulous oars. He heard, and turned his steps towards the sound of the splash. But when no power is given him to lay hands on us, and he cannot match in pursuit the Ionian waves, he raises a mighty roar, whereat the sea and all its waves shuddered and the land of Italy was affrighted far within, and Aetna bellowed in its winding caverns. But the race of the Cyclopes, roused from the woods and high mountains, rush to the harbour and throng the shores. We see them, standing impotent with glaring eye, the Aetnean brothers, their heads towering to the sky, a grim conclave: even as when on a mountain-top lofty oaks or cone-clad cypresses stand in mass, a high forest of Jove or grove of Diana. In headlong speed, sharp fear drives us to fling out our sheets for any course, and spread our sails to the favouring winds. Yet the commands of Helenus warn our crews not to hold on their course between Scylla and Charybdis—either way but a hair's-breadth removed from death.<sup>1</sup> We resolve to sail back again,

<sup>1</sup> Page prefers to render thus: "On the other hand stands in warning the command of Helenus: '*Between Scylla and Charybdis the path on either hand is within a hair's-breadth of death, if ye fail to hold your course.*'" The passage is faulty, and would probably have been altered by the poet on a revision of the work.

ni teneant cursus ; certum est dare lintea retro. 686  
 ecce autem Boreas angusta ab sede Pelori  
 missus adest ; vivo praetervehor ostia saxo  
 Pantagiae Megarosque sinus Thapsumque iacentem.  
 talia monstrabat relegens errata retrorsus MPR  
 litora Achaemenides, comes infelicis Ulixi. MPRV

“Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra  
 Plemyrion undosum ; nomen dixere priores  
 Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem  
 occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc 695  
 ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.  
 iussi numina magna loci veneramur et inde  
 exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori.  
 hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni  
 radimus, et fatis numquam concessa moveri 700  
 apparet Camerina procul campique Geloi  
 immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.  
 arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe  
 moenia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum ;  
 teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa Selinus, 705  
 et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis.  
 hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora  
 accipit. hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actus  
 heu ! genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,  
 amitto Anchisen ; hic me, pater optime, fessum 710  
 deseris, heu ! tantis nequiquam erepte periclis !

→ nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,  
 hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno.  
 hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum ;  
 hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris.” 715

Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus  
 fata renarrabat divum cursusque docebat. MPR  
 conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit.

686 ni *FMR*γ<sup>2</sup> : ne *P*<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>1</sup> : nec *P*<sup>1</sup>.

708 actis *PR*γ, *Servius* : act . . *V*.

717 cursu *P*<sup>1</sup>.

### AENEID BOOK III

when, lo! from the narrow fastness of Pelorus the north wind reaches us. Past the mouth of the Pantagias with its living rock I voyage—past the Megarian bay and low-lying Thapsus. Such were the coasts Achaemenides, comrade of the luckless Ulysses, pointed out, as he retraced his former wanderings.

<sup>692</sup> “ Stretched in front of a Sicanian bay lies an island, over against wave-beaten Plemyrion; men of old called it Ortygia. Hither, so runs the tale, Alpheus, river of Elis, forced a secret course beneath the sea, and now at thy fountain, Arethusa, mingles with the Sicilian waves. As bidden, we worship the great gods of the land, and thence I passed the wondrous rich soil of marshy Helorus. Next we skirt the high reefs and jutting rocks of Pachynus; and afar off Camerina—Fate forbade that she ever be disturbed—is seen with the Geloan plains, and Gela, named after its impetuous river. Then steep Acragas, once the breeder of noble steeds, shows in the distance her mighty walls; and, with the winds vouchsafed, I leave thee behind, palm-girt Selinus, and skirt the shoals of Lilybaeum, perilous with blind rocks. Next the harbour of Drepanum and its joyless shore receive me. Here I, who have been driven by so many ocean-storms, lose, alas! my father Anchises, solace of every care and chance; here, best of fathers, thou leavest me in my weariness, snatched, alas! from such mighty perils all for naught. Nor did the seer Helenus, though he warned me of many horrors, nor grim Celaeno foretell me this grief. This was my last trial, this the goal of my long voyaging; departing thence, the god drove me to your shores.”

<sup>716</sup> Thus father Aeneas, before an eager throng, alone recounted the dooms ordained of heaven, and taught the story of his wanderings. At last he ceased, and here, making an end, was still.



## LIBER IV

AT regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura FGMPR  
 volnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.  
 multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat  
 gentis honos ; haerent infixi pectore voltus  
 verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem. 5

Postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras  
 umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,  
 cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem :  
 “ Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent !  
 quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes, 10  
 quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis !  
 credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum.  
 ✓ degeneres animos timor arguit. heu ! quibus ille  
 iactatus fatis <sup>9</sup> quae bella exhausta canebat !  
 si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet, 15  
 ne cui me vincolo vellem sociare iugali,  
 postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit .  
 si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,  
 huic uni forsán potui succumbere culpaē.  
 Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei 20  
 coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede Penates  
 solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem

<sup>9</sup> suspensa *M*<sup>1</sup>. terret *known to Servius*.

<sup>11</sup> quam] quem *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> fuissent *F*<sup>2</sup>*MP*<sup>1</sup>*γ*<sup>1</sup>.



## BOOK IV

BUT the queen, long since smitten with a grievous love-pang, feeds the wound with her life-blood, and is wasted with fire unseen. Oft to her heart rushes back the chief's valour, oft his glorious stock; his looks and words cling fast within her bosom, and the pang withholds calm rest from her limbs.

<sup>6</sup> The morrow's dawn was lighting the earth with the lamp of Phoebus, and had scattered from the sky the dewy shades, when, much distraught, she thus speaks to her sister, sharer of her heart: "Anna, my sister, what dreams thrill me with fears? Who is this stranger guest that hath entered our home? How noble his mien! how brave in heart and feats of arms! I believe it well—nor is assurance vain—that he is sprung from gods. 'Tis fear that proves souls base-born. Alas! by what fates is he vexed! What wars, long endured, did he recount! Were the purpose not planted in my mind, fixed and immovable, to ally myself with none in bond of wedlock, since my first love, turning traitor, cheated me by death; were I not utterly weary of the bridal bed and torch, to this one weakness, perchance, I might have yielded! Anna—for I will own it—since the death of my hapless lord Sychaeus, and the shattering of our home by a brother's murder,<sup>1</sup> he alone has swayed my will and overthrown my tottering soul. I recognize the

<sup>1</sup> *cf. Aen. I. 348 ff.*

# VIRGIL

impulit. adgnosco veteris vestigia flammae.  
 sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat  
 vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras, 25  
 pallentis umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,  
 ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.  
 ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores  
 abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro."  
 sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis. 30

Anna refert: "O luce magis dilecta sorori,  
 solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,  
 nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?  
 id cinerem aut Manis credis curare sepultos?  
 esto; aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti, 35  
 non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas  
 ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis  
 dives alit; placitone etiam pugnabis amori? FMPR  
 nec venit in mentem, quorum consederis arvis?  
 hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello, 40  
 et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;  
 hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes  
 Barcaei. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam  
 germanique minas?  
 dis equidem auspiciis reor et Iunone secunda 45  
 hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.  
 quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere  
 regna  
 coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis,  
 Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!  
 tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis 50  
 indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi,  
 dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion,  
 quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum."

<sup>25</sup> abigat *F*.

<sup>26</sup> Erebo *FGP<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>*, preferred by Servius: Eribo *R*.

<sup>36</sup> Libya *P<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>40</sup> intractabile *R*.

<sup>51</sup> hospitio et causas *F*: -que omitted *F*.

## AENEID BOOK IV

traces of the olden flame. But rather, I would pray, may earth yawn for me to its depths, or may the Almighty Father hurl me with his bolt to the shades—the pale shades and abysmal night of Erebus—before, O Shame, I violate thee or break thy laws! He, who first linked me to himself, has taken away my heart; may he keep it with him, and guard it in the grave!” So saying, she filled her bosom with upwelling tears.

<sup>31</sup> Anna replies: “O dearer to thy sister than the light, wilt thou, lonely and sad, pine away all thy youth long, and know not sweet children or love’s rewards? Thinkest thou that dust or buried shades give heed to that? Grant that heretofore no wooers moved thy sorrow, not in Libya, not ere then in Tyre; that Iarbas was slighted, and other lords, whom the African land, rich in triumphs, rears; wilt thou wrestle also with a love that pleases? And dost thou not call to mind in whose lands thou art settled? On this side Gaetulian cities, a race invincible in war, unbridled Numidians, and the unfriendly Syrtis hem thee in; on that side lies a tract barren with drought, and Barcaeans, raging far and near. Why speak of the wars rising from Tyre, and thy brother’s threats? With favouring gods, methinks indeed, and with Juno’s aid, the Ilian ships have held their course hither with the wind. What a city thou wilt see rise here, my sister, what a realm, by reason of such wedlock! With Teucrian arms beside us, to what heights will Punic glory soar? Only do thou ask favour of the gods and, with sacrifice duly offered, be lavish with thy welcome, and weave pleas for delay, while at sea winter rages fiercely and Orion is stormy—while the ships are shattered, and the skies intractable!”

## VIRGIL

His dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore  
 spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem. 55  
 principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras  
 exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis  
 legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,  
 lunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae;  
 ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido 60  
 candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit  
 aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiat ad aras,  
 instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis  
 pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.  
 heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furem, 65  
 quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas  
 interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus.  
 uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur  
 urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,  
 quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit 70  
 pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum  
 nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat  
 Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.  
 nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit  
 Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam 75  
 incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit;  
 nunc eadem labente die convivia quaerit,  
 Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores  
 exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.  
 post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim 80  
 luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,  
 sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis  
 incubat. illum absens absentem auditque videtque,  
 aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,  
 detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem. 85

<sup>54</sup> incensum] impenso *F*<sup>1</sup>, known to Servius: penso *P*<sup>1</sup>.  
 inflammavit *FP*<sup>1</sup>*R*.

<sup>58</sup> f(r)ugiferae *F*<sup>1</sup>*R*γ<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> amantem *F*: imago *R*.

## AENEID BOOK IV

<sup>54</sup> With these words she fanned into flame the queen's love-enkindled heart, put hope in her wavering mind, and loosed the bonds of shame. First they visit the shrines and sue for peace at every altar; duly they slay chosen sheep to Ceres the law-giver, to Phoebus and father Lyaeus, before all to Juno, guardian of wedlock bonds. Dido herself, matchless in beauty, with cup in hand, pours libation midway between the horns of a white heifer, or in presence of the gods moves slowly to the rich altars, and day by day renews her gifts, then, gazing into the opened breasts of victims, consults the quivering entrails. Ah, blind souls of seers! Of what avail are vows or shrines to one wild with love? All the while the flame devours her tender heart-strings, and deep in her breast lives the silent wound. Unhappy Dido burns, and through the city wanders in frenzy—even as a hind, smitten by an arrow, which, all unwary, amid the Cretan woods, a shepherd hunting with darts has pierced from afar, leaving in her the winged steel, unknowing: she in flight ranges the Dictæan woods and glades, but fast to her side clings the deadly shaft. Now through the city's midst she leads with her Aeneas, and displays her Sidonian wealth and the city built; she essays to speak and stops with the word half-spoken. Now, as day wanes, she seeks that same banquet, again madly craves to hear the sorrows of Ilium and again hangs on the speaker's lips. Then when all have gone their ways, and in turn the dim moon sinks her light, and the setting stars invite sleep, alone she mourns in the empty hall, and falls on the couch he has left. Though absent, each from each, she hears him, she sees him, or, captivated by his father's look, she holds Ascanius on her lap, if so she may beguile a passion beyond



## VIRGIL

non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus  
exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello  
tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta minaeque  
murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.

Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri 90  
cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori,  
talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:  
“egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis  
tuque puerque tuus; magnum et memorabile numen,  
una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est. 95  
nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra  
suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.

sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto?  
quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos  
exercemus? habes, tota quod mente petisti: 100  
ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.  
communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus  
auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito  
dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.”

Olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam, 105  
quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras)  
sic contra est ingressa Venus: “quis talia demens  
abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello,  
si modo, quod memoras, factum fortuna sequatur?  
sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam 110  
esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis  
miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi.  
tu coniunx; tibi fas animum temptare precando.  
perge, sequar.” tum sic excepit regia Iuno:

“mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod  
instat 115

<sup>91</sup> furori] pudori *R.*

<sup>93-121</sup> *a later hand in F.*

<sup>94</sup> nomen *some inferior MSS. So Janell and Sabb.*

<sup>106</sup> adverteret *known to Servius.*

<sup>112</sup> foedere *known to Servius.*



## AENEID BOOK IV

all utterance. No longer rise the towers begun, no longer do the youth exercise in arms, or toil at havens or bulwarks for safety in war; the works are broken off and idle—huge threatening walls and the engine <sup>1</sup> uptowering to heaven.

<sup>90</sup> Soon as the loved wife of Jove saw that she was held in a passion so fatal, and that her good name was now no bar to her frenzy, the daughter of Saturn accosts Venus thus: "Splendid indeed is the praise and rich the spoils ye win, thou and thy boy; mighty and glorious is the power divine, if one woman is subdued by the guile of two gods! Nay, it escapes me not how, in fear of our city, thou hast held in suspicion the homes of high Carthagè. But what shall be the end? or how far goes all this contest now? Why work we not rather an enduring peace and a plighted wedlock? What thou didst seek with all thy heart thou hast; Dido is on fire with love and has drawn the madness through her veins. Let us then rule this people jointly with equal sovereignty; let her serve a Phrygian husband and yield her Tyrians to thy hand as dowry!"

<sup>105</sup> To her—for she knew that with feigned purpose she had spoken, to turn the empire from Italy to Libya's coasts—Venus thus began in reply: "Who so mad as to refuse such terms, or choose rather to strive with thee in war, if only Fortune favour the fulfilment of thy word? But the Fates send me adrift, uncertain whether Jupiter wills that there be one city for the Tyrians and the wanderers from Troy, or approves the blending of peoples and the league of union. Thou art his wife; thou mayest probe his heart with entreaty. Go on; I will follow!"

<sup>114</sup> Then queenly Juno thus replied: "With me shall rest that task. Now in what way the present purpose

<sup>1</sup> Here, perhaps, it is a crane.

# VIRGIL

confieri possit, paucis, adverte, docebo. FMR  
 venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido  
 in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus  
 extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.  
 his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum, 120  
 dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,  
 desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo. MR  
 diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca ;  
 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem  
 devenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas, 125  
 conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo ;  
 hic hymenaeus erit." non adversata petenti  
 adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.

Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.  
 it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus ; 130  
 retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,  
 Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.  
 reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi  
 Poenorum expectant, ostroque insignis et auro  
 stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit. 135  
 tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva,  
 Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo.  
 cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,  
 aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.  
 nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus 140  
 incedunt ; ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis  
 infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.  
 qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta  
 deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo MRV  
 instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum 145  
 Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi ;  
 ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem

<sup>116</sup> confieri] quod fieri *M*<sup>1</sup> $\gamma^2$  : quo fieri *F*.

<sup>116</sup> primus *M*<sup>1</sup>*R* : primum *M* (*late*).

<sup>126</sup> = I. 73. *Rejected here by Mackail.*

<sup>127</sup> aversata *R*, known to Servius.

<sup>129</sup> relinquit *M*<sup>1</sup>.

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can be achieved, hearken and I will explain in brief. Aeneas and unhappy Dido plan to go a-hunting together in the forest, soon as to-morrow's sun shows his rising and with his rays unveils the world. On them, while the hunters run to and fro and gird the glades with nets, I will pour down from above a black rain mingled with hail, and wake the whole welkin with thunder. The company shall scatter and be veiled in gloom of night; to the same cave shall come Dido and the Trojan chief. I will be there and, if certain of thy goodwill, will link them in sure wedlock, sealing her for his own; this shall be their bridal!" Yielding to her suit, the Cytherean gave assent and smiled at the guile discovered.

<sup>129</sup> Meanwhile Dawn rose and left the ocean. When sunlight has burst forth, there issues from the gates a chosen band of youth; with meshed nets, toils, broad-pointed hunting-spears, there stream forth Massylian horsemen and their strong, keen-scented hounds. As the queen lingers in her bower, the Punic princes await her at the doorway; her prancing steed stands brilliant in purple and gold, and proudly champs the foaming bit. At last she comes forth, attended by a mighty throng, and clad in a Sidonian robe with embroidered border. Her quiver is of gold, her tresses are knotted into gold, golden is the buckle to clasp her purple cloak. With her pace a Phrygian train and joyous Iulus. Aeneas himself, goodly beyond all others, advances to join her and unites his band with hers. As when Apollo quits Lycia, his winter home, and the streams of Xanthus, to visit his mother's Delos, and renews the dance, while mingling about his altars Cretans and Dryopes and painted Agathyrsians raise their voices—he himself treads the Cynthian ridges,

fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,  
 tela sonant umeris : haud illo segnior ibat  
 Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore. 150  
 postquam altos ventum in montis atque invia lustra,  
 ecce ferae saxi deiectae vertice caprae  
 decurrere iugis ; alia de parte patentis  
 transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi  
 pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt.  
 at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri 156  
 gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,  
 spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis  
 optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.

Interea magno misceri murmure caelum 160  
 incipit ; insequitur commixta grandine nimbus,  
 et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus MPRV  
 Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros  
 tecta metu petiere ; ruunt de montibus amnes.  
 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem 165  
 deveniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno  
 dant signum ; fulsere ignes et conscius Aether  
 conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.  
 ille dies primus leti primusque malorum  
 causa fuit. neque enim specie famave movetur 170  
 nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem ;  
 coniugium vocat ; hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,  
 Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum.  
 mobilitate viget virisque adquirit eundo ; 175  
 parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras  
 ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.  
 illam Terra parens, ira inritata deorum,

<sup>168</sup> conubii *P<sup>2</sup>RV*.

<sup>169</sup> malorum] laborum *P<sup>1</sup>, Philargyrius*.

<sup>174</sup> quo *P<sup>1</sup>Vγ<sup>2</sup>, Priscian, Servius*.

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and with soft leafage shapes and binds his flowing locks, braiding it with golden diadem; the shafts rattle on his shoulders: so no less lightly than he went Aeneas, such beauty shines forth from his noble face! When they came to the mountain heights and pathless lairs, lo! wild goats dislodged from the rocky peaks ran down the ridges; in another part stags scurry across the open moors and amid clouds of dust mass their bands in flight, as they leave the hills behind. But in the midst of the valleys the young Ascanius glories in his fiery steed, galloping past now these, now those, and prays that amid the timorous herds a foaming boar may be granted to his vows or a tawny lion come down from the mountain.

<sup>160</sup> Meanwhile in the sky begins the turmoil of a wild uproar; rain follows, mingled with hail. The scattered Tyrian train and the Trojan youth, with the Dardan grandson of Venus, in their fear seek shelter here and there over the fields; torrents rush down from the heights. To the same cave come Dido and the Trojan chief. Primal Earth and nuptial Juno give the sign; fires flashed in Heaven, the witness to their bridal, and on the mountain-top screamed the Nymphs. That day was the first day of death, that first the cause of woe. For no more is Dido swayed by fair show or fair fame, no more does she dream of a secret love: she calls it marriage and with that name veils her sin!

<sup>173</sup> Forthwith Rumour runs through Libya's great cities—Rumour of all evils the most swift. Speed lends her strength, and she wins vigour as she goes; small at first through fear, soon she mounts up to heaven, and walks the ground with head hidden in the clouds. Her, 'tis said, Mother Earth, provoked



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extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem  
 progenit, pedibus celerem et pernicipibus alis, 180  
 monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui, quot sunt corpore  
 plumae,

tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),  
 tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.  
 nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram,  
 stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno; 185

luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti,  
 turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,  
 ✓ tam ficti praeque tenax quam nuntia veri.

haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat  
 gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat: 190  
 venisse Aenean, Troiano sanguine cretum,  
 cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido;  
 nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere  
 regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.  
 haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora. 195

protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban  
 incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras. MPR

Hic Hammone satus, rapta Garamantide Nympha,  
 templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,  
 centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem, 200  
 excubias divum aeternas; pecudumque cruore  
 pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.  
 isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro  
 dicitur ante aras ~~media inter~~ numina divum  
 multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis: 205  
 "Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis  
 gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,  
 aspicias haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques,

179 extrema *R*<sup>1</sup>.

187 magnas et *M*<sup>1</sup>.

191 a sanguine *R*.

196 cursu *P*<sup>2</sup>: cursum *γ*, *Nonius*.

204 numina] munera *known to Servius*.



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to anger against the gods, brought forth last, as sister to Coeus and Enceladus, swift of foot and fleet of wing, a monster awful and huge, who for the many feathers in her body has as many watchful eyes below—wondrous to tell—as many tongues, as many sounding mouths, as many pricked-up ears. By night, midway between heaven and earth, she flies through the gloom, screeching, nor droops her eyes in sweet sleep; by day she sits on guard on high roof-top or lofty turrets, and affrights great cities, clinging to the false and wrong, yet heralding truth. At this time, exulting with manifold gossip, she filled the nations and sang alike of fact and falsehood, how Aeneas is come, one born of Trojan blood, to whom in marriage fair Dido deigns to join herself; now they while away the winter, all its length, in wanton ease together, heedless of their realms and enthralled by shameless passion. These tales the foul goddess spreads here and there upon the lips of men. Straightway to King Iarbas she bends her course, and with her words fires his spirit and heaps high his wrath.

<sup>198</sup> He, son of Hammon by a ravished Garamantian Nymph, set up to Jupiter in his broad realms a hundred vast temples, a hundred altars, and had hallowed the wakeful fire, the eternal sentry of the gods. The ground was fat with the blood of beasts and the portals bloomed with varied garlands. Distraught in mind and fired with the bitter tale, they say that before the altars and amid the divine presences he oft besought Jove in prayer with upturned hands: "Almighty Jupiter, to whom now the Moorish race, feasting on embroidered couches, pour a Lenaean offering, beholdest thou these things? Is it vainly, O father, that we shudder at thee, when

nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes  
 terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent? 210  
 femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem  
 exiguum pretio posuit, cui litus arandum  
 cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra  
 reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.  
 et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu, 215  
 Maenonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem  
 subnixus, raptu potitur: nos munera templis MP  
 quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem."

Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem  
 audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit 220  
 regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis.

tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:  
 "vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pinnis  
 Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc  
 exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes, 225  
 adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.

non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem  
 promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;  
 sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem  
 Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucris 230  
 proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.

si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum  
 nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,  
 Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces? FMP  
 quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur  
 nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva? 236  
 naviget: haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto."

227 genetrix nobis P<sup>1</sup>.

223 laborum M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>.

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thou hurlest thy bolts? And do aimless fires amid the clouds terrify our souls and stir murmurs void of purpose? This woman who, straying in our bounds, set up a tiny city at a price, to whom we gave coast-land to plough and terms of tenure, hath spurned my offers of marriage, and welcomed Aeneas into her realm as lord. And now that Paris<sup>1</sup> with his eunuch train, a Maeonian band propping his chin and essenced locks, grasps the spoil; while we bring offerings to thy temples, thine forsooth, and cherish an idle story."

<sup>219</sup> As with such words he pleaded, clasping the altars, the Almighty gave ear and turned his eyes on the royal city and the lovers forgetful of their nobler fame. Then thus to Mercury he speaks and gives this charge: "Go forth, my son, call the Zephyrs, glide on thy wings, and speak to the Dardan chief, who now dallies in Tyrian Carthage and heeds not the cities granted by the Fates; so carry down my words through the swift winds. Not such as this did his lovely mother promise him to us, nor for this twice rescue him from Grecian arms; but he it was should rule Italy, a land teeming with empire and clamorous with war, hand on a race from Teucer's noble blood, and bring all the world beneath his laws. If the glory of such a fortune fires him not and for his own fame's sake he shoulders not the burden, does he, the father, grudge Ascanius the towers of Rome? What plans he? or in what hope tarries he among a hostile people and regards not Ausonia's race and the Lavinian fields? Let him set sail; this is the sum; be this the message from me."

<sup>1</sup> Aeneas is like Paris in carrying off another's bride. By "Maeonian" is meant Lydian, or rather Phrygian, because Lydia bordered on Phrygia. The Phrygian cap had on either side a band or ribbon, which could be tied under the chin.

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Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat  
 imperio, et primum pedibus talaria nequit  
 aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra 240  
 seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.  
 tum virgam capit; hac animas ille evocat Orco  
 pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,  
 dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat.  
 illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat 245  
 nubila. iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit  
 Atlantis duri, caelum qui vertice fulcit,  
 Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris  
 piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri;  
 nix umeros infusa tegit; tum flumina mento 250  
 praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.  
 hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis  
 constitit; hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas  
 misit avi similis, quae circum litora, circum  
 piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta. 255  
 haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat  
 litus harenosum ad Libyae, ventosque secabat  
 materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles. MP

Ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,  
 Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem 260  
 conspicit. atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva  
 ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena  
 demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido  
 fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro.  
 continuo invadit: "tu nunc Karthaginis altae 265  
 fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem

<sup>241</sup> portent *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>243</sup> mittit] ducit *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>257</sup> ad *P*<sup>2</sup>: at *M*<sup>1</sup>: ac *M* (*late*): ao *P*<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>238</sup> He ceased. The god made ready to obey his mighty father's bidding, and first binds on his feet the golden shoes which carry him upborne on wings over seas or land, swift as the gale. Then he takes his wand; <sup>1</sup> with this he calls pale ghosts from Orcus and sends others down to gloomy Tartarus, gives or takes away sleep and unseals eyes in death; <sup>2</sup> on this relying, he drives the winds and skims the stormy clouds. And now in flight he descries the peak and steep sides of toiling Atlas, who props heaven on his peak—Atlas, whose pine-wreathed head is ever girt with black clouds, and beaten with wind and rain; fallen snow mantles his shoulders, while rivers plunge down the aged chin and his rough beard is stiff with ice.<sup>3</sup> Here, poised on even wings, the Cyllenian first halted; hence with his whole frame he sped sheer down to the waves like a bird, which round the shores, round the fish-haunted cliffs, flies low near to the waters. Even thus between earth and sky flew Cyllene's nursling to Libya's sandy shore, and cut the winds, coming from his mother's sire.

<sup>259</sup> So soon as with winged feet he reached the huts, he sees Aeneas founding towers and building new houses. And lo! his sword was starred with yellow jasper, and a cloak hung from his shoulders ablaze with Tyrian purple—a gift that wealthy Dido had wrought, interweaving the web with thread of gold. At once he assails him: "Art thou now laying the foundations of lofty Carthage, and building up a fair city, a wife's minion? Alas! of thine own

<sup>1</sup> This is the *caduceus*, with which Mercury (Hermes) guided the dead. *cf.* Homer, *Od.* v. 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the Roman custom of opening the eyes of the dead on the funeral pyre.

<sup>3</sup> Virgil describes Mount Atlas as it might have been represented, in the guise of a mountain-god, by the realistic art of his day.



exstruis? heu! regni rerumque oblite tuarum!  
 ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo  
 regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet;  
 ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras. 270  
 quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?  
 si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum  
 nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,  
 Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli  
 respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus 275  
 debentur." tali Cyllenius ore locutus  
 mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit  
 et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.

At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,  
 arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit. 280  
 ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,  
 attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.  
 heu! quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furem  
 audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?  
 atque animum nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc 285  
 in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat. FMP  
 haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:  
 Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,  
 classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,  
 arma parent et, quae rebus sit causa novandis, 290  
 dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido  
 nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,  
 temptaturum aditus et, quae mollissima fandi  
 tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocus omnes  
 imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt. 295

At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)  
 praesensit motusque excepit prima futuros,

<sup>267</sup> oblite] ignare P<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>268</sup> dimittit P.

<sup>269</sup> et] ac P. terram P.

<sup>273</sup> omitted in MP: given by a<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>c, and (in margin) by γ.

<sup>276</sup> debentur M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>, Servius: debetur M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>γ.

<sup>289</sup> -que omitted Pγ.

<sup>295</sup> et] ac M<sup>2</sup>.



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kingdom and fortunes forgetful! Himself, the sovereign of the gods, who sways heaven and earth with his power, sends me down to thee from bright Olympus. Himself he bids me bring this charge through the swift breezes: What plannest thou? or in what hope dost thou waste idle hours in Libyan lands? If the glory of such a fortune stirs thee not, and for thine own fame's sake thou shoulderest not the burden, have regard for growing Ascanius and the promise of Iulus thy heir, to whom the kingdom of Italy and the Roman land are due." Such words the Cyllenian spake, and while yet speaking left the sight of men and far away from their eyes vanished into thin air.

<sup>279</sup> But in truth Aeneas, aghast at the sight, was struck dumb; his hair stood up in terror and the voice clave to his throat. He burns to flee away and quit that pleasant land, awed by that warning and divine commandment. Ah, what to do? With what speech now dare he approach the frenzied queen? What opening words choose first? And now hither, now thither he swiftly throws his mind, casting it in diverse ways, and turns to every shift. As he wavered, this seemed the better counsel: he calls Mnestheus and Sergestus and brave Serestus, bidding them make ready the fleet in silence, gather the crews to the shore, and order the armament, but hide the cause of his altered plans. He meanwhile, since gracious Dido knows naught, nor looks for the breaking of so strong a love, will essay an approach and seek the happiest season for speech, the plan auspicious for his purpose. At once all gladly obey his command and do his bidding.

<sup>296</sup> But the queen—who may deceive a lover?—divined his guile, and early caught news of the

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omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti  
 detulit armari classem cursumque parari.  
 saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem 300  
 bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris  
 Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho AFMP  
 orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.  
 tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro :  
 “ Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum 305  
 posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra ? FMP  
 nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam  
 nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido ?  
 quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem  
 et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum, 310  
 crudelis ? quid ? si non arva aliena domosque MP  
 ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,  
 Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor ?  
 mene fugis ? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te  
 (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui), 315  
 per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,  
 si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam  
 dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,  
 oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.  
 te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni 320  
 odere, infensi Tyrii ; te propter eundem  
 extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,  
 fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes,  
 hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat ?  
 quid moror ? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater  
 destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas ? 326

<sup>309</sup> moliri *FP.*

<sup>312</sup> et] sed *P<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>328</sup> morituram *Priscian.*

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coming stir, fearful even when all was safe. The same heartless Rumour brought her the maddening news that they arm the fleet and make ready for voyaging. Helpless in mind she rages, and all aflame raves through the city, like some Thyiad startled by the shaken emblems, what time, hearing the Bacchic cry, the biennial revels fire her and at night Cithaeron summons her with its din.<sup>1</sup> At length, she thus accosts Aeneas first:

<sup>305</sup> "False one! didst thou hope also to cloak so foul a crime, and to pass from my land in silence? Can neither our love keep thee, nor the pledge once given, nor the doom of a cruel death for Dido? Nay, even in the winter season dost thou labour at thy fleet, and in the midst of northern gales hasten to pass overseas, heartless one? What! If thou wert not in quest of alien lands and homes unknown, were ancient Troy yet standing, would Troy be sought by thy ships over stormy seas? From me dost thou flee? By these tears and thy right hand, I pray thee—since naught else, alas! have I left myself—by our marriage, by the wedlock begun, if ever I deserved well of thee, or if aught of mine has been sweet in thy sight, pity a falling house, and if yet there be any room for prayers, put away, I pray, this purpose of thine. For thee the Libyan tribes and Numidian chiefs hate me, the Tyrians are my foes; for thee, also, have I lost my honour and that former fame by which alone I was winning a title to the stars. To whom dost thou leave me, a dying woman, O guest—since that alone is left from the name of husband? Why do I linger? Is it till Pygmalion, my brother, overthrow this city, or the Gaetulian Iarbas lead me

<sup>1</sup> Every other year a Bacchic festival was celebrated at Thebes.

saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset  
ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula  
luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,  
non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer." 330

Dixerat. ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat  
lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.  
tandem pauca refert: "ego te, quae plurima fando  
enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo  
promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae, 335  
dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.  
pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto  
speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam  
praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.  
me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam 340  
auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,  
urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum  
reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,  
et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.  
sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo, 345  
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;  
hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces  
Phoenissam Libyaeque aspectus detinet urbis,  
quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra  
invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna. 350  
me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris  
nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,  
admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;  
me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,  
quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis. 355

<sup>318</sup> detinet] demeret *known to D. Servius. So Sabb.*

## AENEID BOOK IV

captive? At least, if ere thy flight a child had been born to me by thee, if in my hall a tiny Aeneas were playing, whose face, in spite of all, would bring back thine, I should not think myself utterly vanquished and forlorn."

<sup>331</sup> She ceased: he by Jove's command held his eyes steadfast and with a struggle smothered the pain deep within his heart. At last he briefly replies: "I will never deny, O Queen, that thou hast deserved of me the utmost thou canst set forth in speech, nor shall my memory of Elissa be bitter, while I have memory of myself, and while breath still sways these limbs. For my course few words will I say. I did not hope—think not that—to veil my flight in stealth. I never held out the bridegroom's torch nor entered such a compact. Did the Fates suffer me to shape my life after my own pleasure and order my sorrows at my own will, my first care should be the city of Troy and the sweet relics of my kin. Priam's high house would still abide and my own hand should have set up a revived Pergamus for the vanquished. But now of great Italy has Grynean Apollo bidden me lay hold, of Italy the Lycian oracles.<sup>1</sup> There is my love, there my country! If the towers of Carthage and the sight of the Libyan city charm thee, a Phoenician, why, pray, grudge the Trojans their settling on Ausonian land? We, too, may well seek a foreign realm. To me, oft as night with dewy shades veils the earth, oft as the starry fires arise, in my dreams my father Anchises' troubled ghost brings warning and terror; to me comes the thought of young Ascanius and the wrong done to one so dear, whom I am cheating of an Hesperian kingdom and predestined lands. Now, too, the messenger of the gods

*i.e.* the oracles of Apollo; *cf.* 143 above.



## VIRGIL

nunc etiam interpres divum, Iove missus ab ipso  
 (testor utrumque caput), celeris mandata per auras  
 detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi  
 intrantem muros vocemque his auribus hausi.  
 desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis. 360  
 Italiam non sponte sequor."

Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur,  
 huc illuc volvens oculos, totumque pererrat  
 luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur:  
 "nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,  
 perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens 366  
 Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.  
 nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?  
 num fletu ingenuit nostro? num lumina flexit?  
 num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem  
 est? 370

quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno  
 nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.  
 nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem  
 excepi et regni demens in parte locavi;  
 amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi. 375

heu! furiis incensa feror: nunc augur Apollo,  
 nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso  
 interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras.  
 scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos  
 sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello: 380  
 i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.  
 spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,  
 supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido  
 saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens

<sup>374</sup> suscepi *Priscian.*

<sup>378</sup> iussa] dicta *M.*



## AENEID BOOK IV

sent from Jove himself—by thy head and mine, I swear—has borne his command down through the swift breezes; my own eyes saw the god in the clear light of day come within our walls and these ears drank in his words. Cease to fire thyself and me with thy complaints. Not of free will do I follow Italy!”

<sup>362</sup> As thus he spake, all the while she gazes on him askance, turning her eyes to and fro, and with silent glances scans the whole man; then thus, inflamed, cries out:

<sup>365</sup> “False one! no goddess was thy mother, nor was Dardanus founder of thy line, but rugged Caucasus on his flinty rocks begat thee, and Hyrcanian tigresses gave thee suck. For why hide my feelings? or for what greater wrongs do I hold me back? Did he sigh while I wept? Did he turn on me a glance? Did he yield and shed tears or pity her who loved him? What shall I say first? What next? Now, now neither mighty Juno nor the Saturnian sire looks on these things with righteous eyes! Nowhere is faith secure. A castaway on the shore, a beggar, I welcomed him and madly gave him a share in my throne; his lost fleet I rescued, his crews I saved from death. Alas! I am whirled on the fires of frenzy. Now prophetic Apollo, now the Lycian oracles, now the messenger of the gods, sent from Jove himself, brings through the air this dread command. Truly, this is work for gods, this is care to vex their peace! I keep thee not; I refute not thy words. Go, follow Italy down the winds; seek thy kingdom over the waves. Yet I trust, if the righteous gods can avail aught, that on the rocks midway thou wilt drain the cup of vengeance and often call on Dido’s name. Though far away, I will chase thee

et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, 385  
 omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas.  
 audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.”  
 his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras  
 aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,  
 linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa volentem  
 dicere. suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra 391  
 marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.

At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem  
 solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,  
 multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,  
 iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit. 396  
 tum vero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas  
 deducunt toto navis. natat uncta carina,  
 frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis  
 infabricata fugae studio. 400

migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis.  
 ac veluti ingentem formicae farris acervum  
 cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt;  
 it nigrum campis agmen, praedamque per herbas  
 convectant calle angusto; pars grandia trudunt 405  
 obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt  
 castigantque moras; opere omnis semita fervet.  
 quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,  
 quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late  
 prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres 410  
 misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!

improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!  
 ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando

<sup>390</sup> volentem *M*: parantem *P*. <sup>402</sup> veluti *M*: velut *P*.

<sup>407</sup> operae *M*<sup>1</sup>: opere *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*: opera *Nonius*.

## AENEID BOOK IV

with murky brands and, when chill death has severed soul and body, everywhere my shade shall haunt thee. Shameless one, thou shalt repay! I shall hear, and the tale will reach me in the depths of the world below!"

<sup>388</sup> So saying, she breaks off her speech midway and flees in anguish from the light, turning away, tearing herself from his sight, and leaving him in fear and much hesitance, though much he fain would say. Her maids support her, carry her swooning form to her marble bower, and lay her on her bed.

<sup>393</sup> But good Aeneas, though longing to soothe and assuage her grief and by his words turn aside her sorrow, with many a sigh, his soul shaken by his mighty love, yet fulfils Heaven's bidding and returns to the fleet. Then, indeed, the Teucrians fall to and all along the shore launch their tall ships. The keels, well-pitched, are set afloat; the sailors, eager for flight, bring from the woods leafy boughs for oars and logs unhewn. One could see them moving away and streaming forth from all the city. Even as when ants, mindful of winter, plunder a huge heap of corn and store it in their home; over the plain moves a black column, and through the grass they carry the spoil on a narrow track; some strain with their shoulders and heave on the huge grains, some close up the ranks and rebuke delay; all the path is aglow with work. What feelings then were thine, Dido, at such a sight! or what sighs didst thou utter, viewing from the top of the fortress the beach aglow far and near, and seeing before thy eyes the whole sea astir with loud cries! O tyrant Love, to what dost thou not drive the hearts of men! Once more she must needs break into tears, once more assail him with prayer, and humbly bow down her pride to

## VIRGIL

cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,  
ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat. 415

“Anna, vides toto properari litore circum;  
undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,  
puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.  
hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,  
et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum  
exsequere, Anna, mihi: solam nam perfidus ille 421  
te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;  
sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras.

i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum.  
non ego cum Danais Troianam exscindere gentem  
Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi, 426  
nec patris Anchisae cineres Manisve revelli;  
cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?  
quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:  
exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis. 430  
non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,  
nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat;  
tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,  
dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.  
extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis); 435  
quam mihi cum dederit, cumulata morte remittam.”

Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus  
fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur  
fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;  
fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit auris. 440  
ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum  
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc

<sup>427</sup> cinerem *M*: cineres *Pγ*, *Servius*.

<sup>428</sup> neget *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup>: negat *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>. dimittere *Pγ*.

<sup>434</sup> dolore *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>436</sup> dederis *γ*<sup>2</sup>*abc*, *Servius*: cumulata *M*, known to *Servius*:  
dederis cumulata approved by *Varius* and *Tucca*, according  
to *Servius*.

## AENEID BOOK IV

love, lest she leave aught untried and go to death in vain.

<sup>416</sup> “Anna, thou seest the bustle all along the shore ; from all sides they have gathered ; already the canvas courts the breeze, and the joyous sailors have crowned the sterns with garlands. If I have had strength to foresee this great sorrow, I shall also, sister, have strength to endure it. Yet this one service, Anna, do for me—for thee alone that traitor made his friend, to thee he confided even his secret thoughts, alone thou knowest the hour for easy access to him—go, sister, and humbly address our haughty foe. I never conspired with the Danaans at Aulis to root out the Trojan race ; I never sent a fleet to Pergamus, nor up tore the ashes and spirit of his father Anchises.<sup>1</sup> Why refuses he to admit my words to his stubborn ears ? Whither does he hasten ? This, the last boon, let him grant his poor lover : let him await an easy flight and favouring winds. No more do I plead for the old marriage-tie which he forswore, nor that he give up fair Latium and resign his realm : for empty time I ask, for peace and reprieve for my frenzy, till fortune teach my vanquished soul to grieve. This last grace I crave—pity thy sister—and when he has granted it I will repay with full interest in my death.”

<sup>437</sup> Such was her prayer and such the tearful pleas the unhappy sister bears again and again. But by no tearful pleas is he moved, nor in yielding mood pays he heed to any words. Fate withstands and heaven seals his kindly, mortal ears. Even as when northern Alpine winds, blowing now hence, now thence, emulously strive to uproot an oak strong

<sup>1</sup> There was a tradition that Diomedes stole the ashes of Anchises.



# VIRGIL

eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae FMP  
 consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;  
 ipsa haeret scopulis et, quantum vertice ad auras 445  
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:  
 laud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros  
 tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;  
 mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido 450  
 mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.  
 quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,  
 vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris,  
 (horrendum dictu!) latices nigrescere sacros  
 fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem. 455  
 hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.  
 praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum  
 coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,  
 velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum;  
 hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis 460  
 visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret;  
 solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo  
 saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces;  
 multaue praeterea vatum praedicta priorum  
 terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furem 465  
 in somnis ferus Aeneas; semperque relinqui  
 sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur  
 ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra:  
 Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus,  
 et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas, 470  
 aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitated Orestes  
 armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris  
 cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.

<sup>443</sup> alte *b*, *Servius*.

<sup>456</sup> sorori est *F*.

<sup>464</sup> piorum *M*, known to *Servius*: priorum other MSS.,  
*Priscian*, *Servius*.

<sup>446</sup> radicem *MP*<sup>1</sup>*γ*.

<sup>462</sup> seraque *Nonius*.

<sup>473</sup> divae *F*<sup>1</sup>*Pγ*<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Bacchae* of Euripides Pentheus is driven mad by  
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with the strength of years, there comes a roar, the stem quivers and the high leafage thickly strews the ground, but the oak clings to the crag, and as far as it lifts its top to the airs of heaven, so far it strikes its roots down towards hell—even so with ceaseless appeals, from this side and from that, the hero is buffeted, and in his mighty heart feels the thrill of grief: steadfast stands his will; the tears fall in vain.

<sup>450</sup> Then, indeed, awed by her doom, luckless Dido prays for death; she is weary of gazing on the arch of heaven. And to make her more surely fulfil her purpose and leave the light, she saw, as she laid her gifts on the altars ablaze with incense—fearful to tell!—the holy water darken and the outpoured wine change into loathsome gore. Of this sight she spoke to none—no, not to her sister. Moreover, there was in the palace a marble chapel to her former lord, which she cherished in wondrous honour, wreathing it with snowy fleeces and festal foliage. Thence she heard, it seemed, sounds and speech as of her husband calling, whenever darkling night held the world; and alone on the house-tops with ill-boding song the owl would oft complain, drawing out its lingering notes into a wail; and likewise many a saying of the seers of old terrifies her with fearful boding. In her sleep fierce Aeneas himself hounds her in her frenzy; and ever she seems to be left lonely, ever wending, companionless, an endless way, and seeking her Tyrians in a land forlorn—even as raving Pentheus sees the Furies' band, a double sun and two-fold Thebes rise to view; or as when Agamemnon's son, Orestes, driven over the stage, flees from his mother, who is armed with brands and black serpents, while at the doorway crouch the avenging Fiends.<sup>1</sup>

Bacchus, and in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus the ghost of Clytaemnestra stirs up the Furies against Orestes, her son.

# VIRGIL

Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore  
 decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque 475  
 exigit, et maestam dictis adgressa sororem  
 consilium voltu tegit ac spem fronte serenat :  
 "inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori),  
 quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem.  
 Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem 480  
 ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas  
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum :  
 hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,  
 Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi  
 quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos, 485  
 spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.  
 haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes  
 quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas ;  
 sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro ;  
 nocturnosque movet Manis ; mugire videbis 490  
 sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.  
 testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque  
 dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artis.  
 tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras  
 erige et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit 495  
 impius, exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem,  
 quo perii, superimponas ; abolere nefandi  
 cuncta viri monumenta iuvat, monstratque sacerdos."  
 haec effata silet ; pallor simul occupat ora.  
 non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris 500  
 germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores  
 concipit aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei.  
 ergo iussa parat.

<sup>476</sup> et] ac *M*.

<sup>482</sup> attorquet *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>486</sup> placed by Ribbeck after 517 (with *molam*), perhaps rightly.

<sup>490</sup> movet] ciet *F*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup> $\gamma$ .

<sup>497</sup> superinponant *FM*<sup>1</sup>, known to *Servius*.

<sup>498</sup> iuvat *FM*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*: iubet *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>2</sup>: ivat *F*<sup>1</sup>: iubat *P*<sup>2</sup> $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>500</sup> protexere *M*<sup>1</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK IV

<sup>474</sup> So when, outworn with anguish, she caught the madness and resolved to die, in her own heart she determines the time and manner, and accosts her sorrowful sister, with mien that veils her plan and on her brow a cloudless hope.

<sup>478</sup> "Sister mine, I have found a way—wish thy sister joy—to return him to me or release me from my love for him. Near Ocean's bound and the setting sun lies Aethiopia, farthest of lands, where mightiest Atlas on his shoulders turns the sphere, inset with gleaming stars. Thence a priestess of Massylian race has been shown me, warden of the fane of the Hesperides, who gave dainties to the dragon and guarded the sacred boughs on the tree, sprinkling dewy honey and slumberous poppies. With her spells she professes to set free the hearts of whom she wills, but on others to bring cruel love-pains; to stay the flow of rivers and turn back the stars; she awakes the ghosts of night; and thou shalt mark earth rumbling under thy feet and ash-trees coming down from mountains. I call heaven to witness and thee, dear sister mine, and thy dear life, that against my will I arm myself with magic arts! Do thou secretly raise up a pyre in the inner court under the sky, and heap up thereon the arms that heartless one left hanging in my bower, and all his attire and the bridal bed that was my undoing. I would fain destroy all memorials of the abhorred wretch, and the priestess so directs." Thus she speaks and is silent; pallor the while overspreads her face. Yet Anna thinks not that her sister veils her death under these strange rites; her mind dreams not of such frenzy nor fears she aught worse than when Sychaeus died. So she makes ready as bidden.

## VIRGIL

At regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras  
 erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta, 505  
 intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat  
 funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum  
 effigiemque toro locat, haud ignara futuri.  
 stant arae circum et crinis effusa sacerdos  
 ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque 510  
 tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.  
 sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni;  
 falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis  
 pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;  
 quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revolsus 515  
 et matri praereptus amor.

ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta,  
 unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,  
 testatur moritura deos et conscia fati  
 sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis 520  
 curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.

Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem *MP*  
 corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant  
 aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu, 524  
 cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,  
 quaeque lacus late liquidos, quaeque aspera dumis  
 rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.  
 [lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum.]  
 at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam  
 solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem 530  
 accipit; ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens  
 saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.

<sup>517</sup> molam *MPγ<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>528</sup> omitted by *P*: added at foot of page, then deleted by late hand, *M*. <sup>529</sup> neque *P<sup>1</sup>*: naeque *M<sup>1</sup>*: nec *M<sup>2</sup>*, *Servius*.

## AENEID BOOK IV

<sup>501</sup> But the queen, when in her innermost dwelling<sup>1</sup> the pyre rose heavenward, piled high with pine-fagots and hewn ilex, hangs the place with garlands and festoons it with funeral boughs. On top, upon the couch, she lays his vesture, the sword he left, and his image, knowing well the end. Round about stand altars, while with streaming hair the priestess calls in thunder tones on thrice a hundred gods, Erebus and Chaos, and threefold Hecate, triple-faced maiden Diana. Waters, too, she had sprinkled, feigned to be from the spring Avernus, and herbs were sought, mown by moonlight with brazen sickles, and juicy with milk of black venom; sought, too, was the love-charm, torn from the brow of a colt at birth ere the mother snatched it. She herself, with holy meal and holy hands, beside the altars, one foot unsandalled and girdle loosened, calls on the gods ere she die and on the stars, witnesses of her doom; then she prays to whatever power, righteous and mindful, watches over lovers unequally allied.

<sup>522</sup> It was night, and over the earth weary creatures were tasting peaceful slumber; the woods and wild seas had sunk to rest—the hour when stars roll midway in their gliding course, when all the land is still, and beasts and gay birds, both they that far and near haunt the limpid lakes, and they that dwell in fields of tangled brakes, are couched in sleep beneath the silent night. But not so the soul-racked Phoenician queen; she never sinks to sleep, nor draws the night into eyes or heart. Her pangs redouble, and her love, swelling up, surges afresh, as she heaves with a mighty tide of passion. Thus then she begins, and thus with her

<sup>1</sup> cf. 494, "in the inner court under the sky."



## VIRGIL

sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat :

“ en, quid ago ?    rursusne procos inrisa priores  
experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,    535  
quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos ?

Iliacas igitur classis atque ultima Teucrum  
iussa sequar ?    quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos  
et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti ?  
quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusve superbis    540  
invisam accipiet ?    nescis, heu ! perdita, necdum  
Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis ?

— quid tum ?    sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis ?  
an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum  
inferar et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli,    545  
rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo ?  
quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.  
tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem  
his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.  
non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam    550  
degere, more ferae, talis nec tangere curas ;  
non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.”  
tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.

Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi,  
carpebat somnos, rebus iam rite paratis.    FMP  
huic se forma dei vultu redeuntis eodem    556  
obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,  
omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque  
et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventa :

“ nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,    560

<sup>540</sup> sinat *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>541</sup> inrisam *M*<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>552</sup> Sychaei *M* : Sychaies *P*<sup>1</sup> : Sychaeo *P*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*.

<sup>559</sup> iuventae *P*γ, *Servius* : iuventa *FM*.



## AENEID BOOK IV

heart alone revolves her thoughts: "Lo, what am I to do? Shall I once more make trial of my old wooers, only to be mocked, and shall I humbly sue for marriage with Numidians, whom I have scorned so often as husbands? Shall I then follow the Ilian ships and the Trojan's uttermost commands? Is it because they are grateful for aid once given, and thankfulness for past kindness stands firm in mindful hearts? But who—suppose that I do wish it—will suffer me, or take one so hateful on those haughty ships? Ah! lost one, dost thou not yet understand nor perceive the treason of Laomedon's race? What then? Shall I alone accompany the exultant sailors in their flight? or, hedged with all my Tyrian band, shall I pursue, and shall I again drive seaward, the men whom I could scarce tear from the Sidonian city, and bid them unfurl their sails to the winds? Nay, die, as thou deservest, and with the steel end thy sorrow. Won over by my tears, thou, my sister, thou wert first to load my frenzied soul with these ills, and drive me on the foe. Ah, that I could not spend my life, apart from wedlock, a blameless life, even as some wild creature, knowing not such cares! The faith vowed to the ashes of Sychaeus I have not kept!" Such were the wails that kept bursting from her heart.

<sup>554</sup> But now that all was duly ordered, and now that he was resolved on going, Aeneas was snatching sleep on his vessel's high stern. In his sleep there appeared to him a vision of the god, as he came again with the same aspect, and once more seemed to warn him thus, in all points like to Mercury, in voice and hue, in golden hair and the graceful limbs of youth: "Goddess-born, when such hazard threatens, canst thou still slumber, and

## VIRGIL

nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,  
demens, nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos?  
illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,  
certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.  
non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?  
iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis 566  
conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,  
si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.  
heia age, rumpe moras! varium et mutabile semper  
femina." sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae. 570

Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris  
corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat:  
"praecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;  
solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto  
festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis 575  
ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,  
quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.  
adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo  
dextra feras." dixit vaginaque eripit ensem  
fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro. 580  
idem omnis simul ardor habet; rapiuntque ruuntque;  
litora deseruere; latet sub classibus aequor;  
adnixa torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.

Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras MP  
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile. 585  
regina, e speculis ut primum albescere lucem  
vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,  
litoraue et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,  
terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum  
flaventisque abscissa comas, "pro Iuppiter! ibit 590  
hic," ait, "et nostris inluserit advena regnis?"

<sup>564</sup> varios *FP*: (s)vario *M*. concitat *FP*: fluctuat *M*. aestu  
*FMab*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>565</sup> hinc] in *F*<sup>1</sup>: hic *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>576</sup> stimulat *M*, *Servius*.

<sup>586</sup> primam *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK IV

seest thou not the perils that from henceforth hem thee in, madman! Hearest not the kindly breezes blowing? She, resolved on death, revolves in her heart fell craft and crime, and awakens the swirling surge of passion. Wilt not flee hence in haste, while hasty flight is possible? Soon thou wilt see the waters a welter of timbers, see fierce brands ablaze, and soon the shore flashing with flames, if the dawn find thee lingering in these lands. Up ho! break off delay! A fickle and changeful thing is woman ever." So he spake and melted into the black night.

<sup>571</sup> Then indeed Aeneas, scared by the sudden vision, tears himself from sleep and bestirs his comrades. "Make haste, my men, awake and man the benches! Unfurl the sails with speed! A god sent from high heaven, lo! again spurs us to hasten our flight and cut the twisted cables. We follow thee, holy among gods, whoe'er thou art, and again joyfully obey thy command. Oh, be with us, give thy gracious aid, and in the sky vouchsafe kindly stars!" He spoke, and from its sheath snatches his flashing sword and strikes the hawser with the drawn blade. The same zeal catches all at once; with hurry and scurry they have quitted the shore; the sea is hidden under their fleets; lustily they churn the foam and sweep the blue waters.

<sup>584</sup> And now early Dawn, leaving the saffron bed of Tithonus, was sprinkling her fresh rays upon the earth. Soon as the queen from her watch-tower saw the light whiten and the fleet move on with even sails, and knew the shores and harbours were void of oarsmen, thrice and four times she struck her comely breast with her hand, and tearing her golden hair, "O God," she cries, "shall he go? Shall the

# VIRGIL

non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,  
deripientque rates alii navalibus? ite,  
ferte citi flammās, date tela, impellite remos!  
quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania  
mutat? 595

infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?  
tum decuit, cum sceptrā dabas. en dextra fidesque,  
quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penates,  
quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!  
non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis 600  
spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro  
Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?  
verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. fuisset;  
quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem  
implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque 605  
cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.  
Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,  
tuque harum interpretēs curarum et conscia Iuno,  
nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes  
et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae, 610  
accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen  
et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus  
infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,  
et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:  
at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis, 615  
finibus extorris, complexu avolsus Iuli,  
auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum  
funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae  
tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,

<sup>593</sup> diripient *MSS.*: de- *Heinsius*.

<sup>597</sup> tum *M*: tunc *Py, Priscian*.

<sup>599</sup> umeris *M*<sup>2</sup>, -as *M*<sup>1</sup>: umero *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>598</sup> portasse *M*.

## AENEID BOOK IV

intruder have made of our realm a laughing-stock? Will they not bring arms with speed, and pursue from all the city, and some tear the ships from the docks? Go, fetch fire in haste, serve weapons, ply the oars! What do I say? or where am I? What madness sways my brain? Unhappy Dido! now do thy sinful deeds come home to thee! Then was the fitting time, when thou didst offer the crown. Lo! this is the pledge and faith of him who, they say, carries about with him his country's home-gods! who bore on his shoulders a father outworn with age! Could I not have seized him, torn him limb from limb and scattered him on the waves? Could I not have slain his comrades with the sword—yea, Ascanius himself, and served him in the feast at his father's table? But the issue of battle had been doubtful! Be it so; doomed to death, whom had I to fear? I should have fired his camp, filled his decks with flames, blotted out father and son with the whole race, and flung myself on top of all. O Sun, who with thy beams surveyest all the works of earth, and thou, Juno, mediatrix and witness of these my sorrows, and Hecate, whose name is shrieked by night at the cross-roads of cities, ye avenging Furies, and ye gods of dying Elissa, hear ye this, and, as is meet, let your power stoop to my ills, and hearken unto my prayers! If that accursed wretch must needs touch his haven and float to shore—if thus Jove's doom demands, and there his goal stands fixed—yet, beset in war by the arms of a gallant race, driven from his borders, and torn from Iulus' embrace, let him sue for aid and see the cruel slaughter of his friends! Then, when he hath yielded to the terms of an unjust peace, may he not enjoy his kingdom or the pleasant light, but let him fall before his



## VIRGIL

sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena. 620  
 haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.  
 tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum  
 exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro  
 munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.  
 exoriare, aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor, 625  
 qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,  
 nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.  
 litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas  
 imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque."

Haec ait, et partis animum versabat in omnis, 630  
 invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.  
 tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei,  
 namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat:

"Annam, cara mihi nutrix, huc siste sororem;  
 dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympa, 635  
 et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.  
 sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.  
 sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,  
 perficere est animus finemque imponere curis  
 Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae." 640

sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili.  
 at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido,  
 sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque trementis  
 interfusa genas, et pallida morte futura,  
 interiora domus inrumpit limina, et altos 645  
 conscendit furibunda rogos, ensemque recludit

<sup>629</sup> nepotesque] -que omitted *P*<sup>2</sup>γ.

<sup>632</sup> Sychaei est *M*.

<sup>640</sup> flammis *M*.

<sup>641</sup> celerabat *M*<sup>1</sup>, *Servius*: celebrabat *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*, known to *Servius*.  
 inilem *P*<sup>1</sup>: inili *P*<sup>2</sup>: anilem γ<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>646</sup> rogos *M*: gradus *P*<sup>2</sup>: radus *P*<sup>1</sup>.



## AENEID BOOK IV

time and lie unburied amid the sand! This is my prayer; this last utterance I pour out with my blood. Then do ye, O Tyrians, pursue with hate his whole stock and the race to come, and to my dust offer this tribute! Let no love nor league be between the nations. Arise from my ashes, unknown avenger! to chase with fire and sword the Dardan settlers, to-day, hereafter, whenever strength be given! May shore with shore clash, I pray, waters with waters, arms with arms; may they have war, they and their children's children!"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>630</sup> So she spoke, and on all sides turned her mind, seeking how with all speed to cut short the hateful life. Then briefly she spoke to Barce, nurse of Sychaeus, for the pyre's black ashes held her own in the olden land:

<sup>634</sup> "Dear nurse, fetch me Anna my sister hither. Bid her hasten to sprinkle her body with river-water, and bring with her the victims and offerings ordained for atonement. So let her come, and do thou, too, veil thy brows with a pure chaplet. I am minded to fulfil the rites of Stygian Jove that I have duly ordered and begun, to put an end to my woes, and give over to the flames the pyre of that Dardan wretch."

<sup>641</sup> So she spoke; the nurse hastened her steps with an old dame's zeal. But Dido, trembling and frenzied with her awful purpose, rolling her bloodshot eyes, her quivering cheeks flecked with burning spots, and pale at the coming of death, bursts into the inner courts of the house, mounts in madness the high pyre

<sup>1</sup> The curse involves a prophecy of the later fortunes of Aeneas, as told in the second half of the *Aeneid*, and of the Roman people, who in the course of time engaged in the famous Punic wars. The "unknown avenger" is Hannibal.

# VIRGIL

Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.  
hic, postquam Iliacas vestis notumque cubile  
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata  
incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba:

650

“dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,  
accipite hanc animam meque his exsolve curis.

FMP

✓ vixi et, quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi,  
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,

655

ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,

felix, heu! nimium felix, si litora tantum

numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae!”

dixit et os impressa toro, “moriemur inultae,

✓ sed moriamur,” ait. “sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.

hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto

661

Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.”

Dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro

conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore

spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta

665

✓ atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.

lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu

tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,

non aliter, quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis

Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes

670

culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.

audiit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu

unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnīs

per medios ruit ac morientem nomine clamat:

“hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?”

675

hoc rogos iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?

651 sinebant *FP*<sup>2</sup>.

662 secum nostrae *M*<sup>1</sup>: nostrae secum *other MSS*.

668 clangoribus *P*.

669 ruit *P*<sup>1</sup>.

671 volvantur *P*<sup>1</sup>*γ*<sup>2</sup>.

## ÆNEID BOOK IV

and unsheathes the Dardan sword, a gift besought for no such end! Then, as she saw the Trojan garb and the familiar bed, pausing awhile in tearful thought, she threw herself on the couch and spoke her latest words:

<sup>651</sup> "O relics once dear, while God and Fate allowed! take my spirit, and release me from my woes! I have lived, I have finished the course that Fortune gave; and now in majesty my shade shall pass beneath the earth. A noble city I have built; my own walls I have seen; avenging my husband, I have exacted punishment from my brother and foe—happy, ah! too happy, had but the Dardan keels never touched our shores!" She spoke, and burying her face in the couch, "I shall die unavenged," she cries, "but let me die! Thus, thus I go gladly into the dark! Let the cruel Dardan's eyes drink in this fire from the deep, and carry with him the omen of my death!"

<sup>663</sup> She ceased; and even as she spoke her handmaids see her fallen on the sword, the blade reeking with blood and her hands bespattered. A scream rises to the lofty roof; Rumour riots through the startled city. The palace rings with lamentation, with sobbing and women's shrieks, and heaven echoes with loud wails—even as though all Carthage or ancient Tyre were falling before the intruding foe, and fierce flames were rolling on over the roofs of men, over the roofs of gods. Swooning, her sister heard, and in dismay rushed through the throng, tearing her face with her nails, and beating her breast with her fists, as she called on the dying woman by name. "Was this thy purpose, sister? Didst thou aim thy fraud at me? Was this for me the meaning of thy pyre, this of thy altar and fires?"

## VIRGIL

quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem  
 sprevisi moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses;  
 idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.  
 his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi 680  
 voce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem?  
 exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque  
 Sidonios urbemque tuam. date volnera lymphis  
 abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,  
 ore legam." sic fata gradus evaserat altos, 685  
 semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat  
 cum gemitu atque atros siccabat veste cruores.  
 illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus  
 deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus. MP  
 ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit; 690  
 ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto  
 quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.

Tum Iuno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem  
 difficilisque obitus, Irim demisit Olympe,  
 quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.  
 nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat, 696  
 sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,  
 nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem  
 abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.  
 ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis, 700

<sup>684</sup> et om. P. So Sabb.

<sup>690</sup> attollit P<sup>1</sup>: attollens P<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>692</sup> repertam M<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>698</sup> necdum P.

## AENEID BOOK IV

Forlorn, what first shall I lament? In thy death didst thou scorn thy sister's company? Thou shouldst have called me to share thy doom; the same sword-pang, the same hour had taken us both! Did these hands indeed build the pyre, and did my voice call on our father's gods, in order that, when thou wert lying thus, I, the cruel one, should be far away? Thou hast destroyed thyself and me, O sister, the Sidonian senate and people, and thy city! Let me bathe her wounds with water, and catch with my lips whatever latest breath flutters over hers!" Thus speaking, she had climbed the high steps, and, throwing her arms round her dying sister, sobbed and clasped her to her bosom, stanching with her robe the dark streams of blood. She, essaying to lift her heavy eyes, swoons again, and the deep-set wound gurgles in her breast. Thrice rising, she struggled to lift herself upon her elbow; thrice she rolled back on the couch, and with wandering eyes sought the light in high heaven, and, as she found it, moaned.

<sup>693</sup> Then almighty Juno, pitying her long pain and hard departure, sent Iris down from Olympus to release her struggling soul from the imprisoning limbs. For since neither in the course of fate did she perish, nor by a death she had earned,<sup>1</sup> but hapless before her day, and fired by sudden madness, not yet had Proserpine taken from her head the golden lock and consigned her to Stygian Orcus.<sup>2</sup> So Iris, all dewy on saffron wings, flits down through the sky,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* a violent death, such as one might incur in battle; not a self-inflicted death. *cf. Aen. II, 434.*

<sup>2</sup> Before sacrifice a few hairs were plucked from the forehead of the victim, and as the dying were regarded as offerings to the nether gods, a similar custom was observed in their case.

# VIRGIL

mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,  
 devolat et supra caput adstitit. "hunc ego Diti  
 sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo":  
 sic ait et dextra crinem secat; omnis et una  
 dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.

705



## AENEID BOOK IV

trailing athwart the sun a thousand shifting tints, and halted above her head. "This offering, sacred to Dis, I take as bidden, and from thy body set thee free": so she speaks, and with her hand shears the lock; and therewith all the warmth ebbed away, and the life passed away into the winds.

## LIBER V

INTEREA medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat MP  
 certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat,  
 moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae  
 conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem  
 causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores 5  
 polluto notumque, furens quid femina possit,  
 triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.

Ut pelagus tenuere rates nec iam amplius ulla  
 occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,  
 olli caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber, 10  
 noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.  
 ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta :

“heu! quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?  
 quidve, pater Neptune, paras?” sic deinde locutus  
 colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis, 15  
 obliquatque sinus in ventum ac talia fatur :

“magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor  
 spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.  
 mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro  
 consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aër. 20  
 nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum  
 sufficimus. superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,  
 quoque vocat, vertamus iter. nec litora longe

<sup>6</sup> posset *M*.      <sup>19</sup> atro] alto *M*<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>23</sup> vacat *M*<sup>1</sup>.

## BOOK V

MEANWHILE Aeneas with his fleet was now holding steadfastly his mid-sea course, and cleaving the waves that darkened under the north wind, looking back on the city walls which now gleam with unhappy Elissa's funeral flames. What cause kindled so great a flame is unknown; but the cruel pangs when deep love is profaned, and knowledge of what a woman can do in frenzy, lead the hearts of the Trojans amid sad forebodings.

<sup>8</sup> When the ships gained the deep and no longer any land is in sight, but sea on all sides and on all sides sky, then overhead loomed a black rain-cloud, bringing night and tempest, and the wave shuddered darkling. Even the helmsman Palinurus cries from the high stern: "Alas! why have such clouds girt the heaven? What wilt thou, Father Neptune?" So he cries, and straightway bids them gather in the tackling and bend to their stout oars, then turns the sails aslant the wind and thus speaks:

<sup>17</sup> "Noble Aeneas, not though Jupiter should warrant his word, could I hope to reach Italy with such a sky. The winds have shifted and roar athwart our course, gathering from the black west; the air thickens into cloud and we cannot resist or stem the gale. Since Fortune is victor, let us follow and turn our course whither she calls. Nor far distant, methinks, are the faithful shores of thy brother

## VIRGIL

fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,  
 si modo rite memor servata remetior astra." 25  
 tum pius Aeneas : " equidem sic poscere ventos  
 iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra  
 flecte viam velis. an sit mihi gratior ulla,  
 quove magis fessas optem demittere navis,  
 quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten 30  
 et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa ? "  
 haec ubi dicta, petunt portus, et vela secundi  
 intendunt Zephyri ; fertur cita gurgite classis,  
 et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae.

At procul ex celso miratus vertice montis 35  
 adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes,  
 horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae, MPI  
 Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater  
 quem genuit. veterum non immemor ille parentum  
 gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti 40  
 excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.

Postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat  
 clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni  
 advocat Aeneas tumulique ex aggere fatur :  
 " Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum, 45  
 annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,  
 ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis  
 condidimus terra maestasque sacravimus aras.  
 iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper  
 acerbum,  
 semper honoratum (sic di voluistis) habebo. 50  
 hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,  
 Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,  
 annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas

<sup>29</sup> demittere *c* : dimittere *other MSS., Priscian.*

<sup>35</sup> *Both excelso and ex celso known to Servius.*

<sup>52</sup> urbe] arce *P<sup>1</sup>.* Mycenis *R*; so *Sabb.*

## AENEID BOOK V

Eryx and the Sicilian ports, if only my memory prove true as I retrace the stars I watched before."

<sup>26</sup> Then good Aeneas: "Even I have long seen that the winds will so have it, and that in vain thou hearest against them. Change the course of our sailing. Could any land be more welcome to me, any whereto I would sooner steer my weary ships, than that which holds my Dardan friend Acestes, and enfolds in her embrace my father Anchises' ashes?" This said, they make for harbour, and favouring Zephyrs fill their sails; the fleet runs swiftly on the flood, and at last they gladly turn to the familiar shore.

<sup>35</sup> But afar off, on a high hill-top, Acestes marvels at the coming of friendly ships and hastens towards them, bristling with weapons and a Libyan she-bear's skin—Acestes, born of a Trojan mother to the river-god Criniseus. Not unmindful of his old lineage, he bids them joy on their return, gladly welcomes them with rustic wealth, and comforts their weariness with friendly cheer.

<sup>42</sup> When on the morrow at early dawn bright day had put the stars to rout, Aeneas calls his comrades from all the shore together and from the mounded hill speaks:

<sup>45</sup> "Great sons of Dardanus, born of heaven's high race, with the passing of the months the circling year draws to an end since we laid in earth the dust, all that was left, of my divine father, and hallowed the altars of grief. And now, if I err not, the day is at hand which I shall keep (such, O gods, was your will) ever as a day of grief, ever as of honour. Were I spending it in exile in the Gaetulian Syrtes, or caught on the Argolic sea or in Mycenae's town, yet would I perform the yearly vow with rites of solemn ordinance

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exsequerer strueremque suis altaria donis.  
 nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis 55  
 (haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divum)  
 adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.  
 ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem ;  
 poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis  
 urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis. 60  
 bina boum vobis Troia generatus Acestes  
 dat numero capita in navis ; adhibete Penates  
 et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.  
 praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus alnum  
 Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem, 65  
 prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis ;  
 quique pedum cursu valet, et qui viribus audax  
 aut iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis,  
 seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu,  
 cuncti adsint meritaeque expectent praemia palmae.  
 ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis." 71

Sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto.  
 hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes, MPRV  
 hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.  
 ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat 75  
 ad tumulum, magna medius comitante caterva.  
 hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho  
 fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,  
 purpureosque iacit flores ac talia fatur :  
 " salve, sancte parens, iterum ; salvete, recepti 80  
 nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.  
 non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva  
 nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere  
 Thybrim."

dixerat haec, adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis  
 septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit, 85

<sup>68</sup> levibusve R.



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and pile the altars with due gifts. But now, lo ! by my sire's own dust and bones we stand—not, methinks, without the purpose and will of heaven—and wafted hither enter a friendly haven. Come then, one and all, and let us solemnize the sacrifice with joy ; let us pray for winds and may he grant that year by year when my city is founded I may offer these rites in temples consecrated to him ! Two head of oxen Acestes, of Trojan birth, gives you for every ship ; summon to the feast both your own hearth-gods and those whom our host Acestes worships. Moreover, should the ninth Dawn lift her kindly light for mortals and with her rays lay bare the world, I will ordain contests for the Trojans : first of the swift ships ; then whoever excels in the foot-race, and who, bold in his strength, steps forward superior with the javelin and light shafts, or who dares to join battle with gloves of raw hide—let all appear and look for the palm, the prize of victory. Be silent all, and wreath your brows with leaves."

<sup>72</sup> So speaking, he crowns his brows with his mother's myrtle. Thus does Helymus, thus Acestes, ripe of years, thus the boy Ascanius, the rest of the youth following. Then from the assembly to the mound he passed, amid many thousands, the centre of the great attending throng. Here in due libation he pours on the ground two goblets of unmixed wine, two of fresh milk, two of the blood of victims, and showering bright blossoms, thus he cries : " Hail, holy father, once again ; hail, ye ashes, rescued though in vain, and thou, soul and shade of my sire ! Not with thee was I suffered to seek the destined bounds and fields of Italy, nor Ausonian Tiber, whate'er it be." So had he spoken, when from the foot of the shrine a slippery serpent trailed seven huge coils, fold upon

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amplexus placide tumulum lapsusque per aras,  
caeruleae cui terga notae maculosus et auro  
squamam incendebat fulgor, ceu nubibus arcus  
mille iacit varios adverso sole colores.

obstipuit visu Aeneas. ille agmine longo 90  
tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens  
libavitque dapes, rursusque innoxius imo  
successit tumulo, et depasta altaria liquit.  
hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,  
incertus, geniumne loci famulumne parentis 95  
esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis  
totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuvencos;  
vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat  
Anchisae magni Manisque Acheronte remissos. MPR  
nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti 100  
dona ferunt; onerant aras mactantque iuvencos;  
ordine aëna locant alii fusique per herbam  
subiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.

Exspectata dies aderat, nonamque serena  
Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant, 105  
famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae  
excierat; laeto complebant litora coetu,  
visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.  
munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur FMPR  
in medio, sacri tripodes viridesque coronae 110  
et palmae, pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro  
perfusae vestes, argenti aurique talenta;  
et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.

Prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis  
quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae. 115

<sup>89</sup> iacit] trahit *R*γ<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> linquit *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> caedit binas *M*: caeditque binas *R*: caedit quinas *PV*γ.

<sup>107</sup> complebant *M*: complerant *PR*.

<sup>112</sup> talentum *MP*: talenta *FR*, *Servius*.

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fold seven times, peacefully circling the mound and gliding among the altars; his back chequered with blue spots, and his scales ablaze with the sheen of dappled gold, even as in the clouds the rainbow darts a thousand shifting tints athwart the sun. Aeneas was awestruck at the sight. At last, crawling with long train amid the bowls and polished cups, the serpent tasted the viands, and again, all harmless, crept beneath the tomb, leaving the altars where he fed. More eagerly, therefore, does he renew his father's interrupted rites, knowing not whether to deem it the genius of the place or the attendant spirit of his sire. Two sheep he slays, as is meet, two swine, and as many dark-backed heifers, while he poured wine from bowls and called great Anchises' shade and the ghost released from Acheron. Moreover, his comrades, as each has store, gladly bring gifts, heap the altars and slay the steers; others in turn set the cauldrons and, stretched along the grass, put live coals under the spits and roast the flesh.

<sup>104</sup> The looked-for day had come, and now the steeds of Phaëthon ushered in the ninth Dawn with cloudless light. The name and fame of noble Acestes had stirred the countryside; in merry groups the people thronged the shore, some to see the sons of Aeneas, and some ready to contend. First of all the prizes are laid out to view in the midst of the course—sacred tripods, green garlands and palms, the victors' prize; armour and purple-dyed garments, with talents of silver and gold. Then from a central mound the trumpet proclaims the opening of the games.

<sup>114</sup> For the first contest enter four well-matched ships of heavy oars, picked from all the fleet.

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velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim,  
 mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,  
 ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,  
 urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu  
 impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi ; 120  
 Sêrgestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,  
 Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus  
 caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.

Est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra  
 litora, quod tumidis submersum tunditur olim 125  
 fluctibus, hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cori ;  
 tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda  
 campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.  
 hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam  
 constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti 130  
 scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.  
 tum loca sorte legunt, ipsique in puppibus auro  
 ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori ;  
 cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus  
 nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit. 135  
 considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis ;  
 intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit  
 corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.  
 inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes,  
 haud mora, prosiluire suis ; ferit aethera clamor 140  
 nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis.  
 infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit  
 convolsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.  
 non tam praecipites biugo certamine campum  
 corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus ; 145

<sup>133</sup> longe] auro *Priscian*.

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Mnestheus with his eager crew drives the swift Sea-dragon, soon to be Mnestheus of Italy, from whose name comes the Memmian line; Gyas the huge Chimaera of huge bulk, a city afloat, urged by the Dardan youth in triple tier, with oars rising in threefold rank. Sergestus, from whom the Sergian house has its name, rides in the great Centaur; and in the sea-blue Scylla Cloanthus, whence comes thy family, Cluentius of Rome!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Far out at sea, over against the foaming shores lies a rock which at times the swollen waves beat and o'erwhelm, when stormy North-westers hide the stars; in time of calm it is voiceless, and rises from the placid wave a level surface, and a welcome haunt for sun-loving gulls. Here as a mark father Aeneas set up a green goal of leafy ilex, for the sailors to know whence to return and where to double round the long course. Then they choose places by lot, and on the sterns the captains themselves shine forth afar in glory of gold and purple; the rest of the crews are crowned with poplar wreaths, and their naked shoulders glisten, moist with oil. They man the thwarts, their arms strained to the oars; straining, they await the signal, while throbbing fear and eager passion for glory drain each bounding heart. Then, when the clear trumpet sounded, all at once shot forth from their starting-places; the mariners' shouts strike the heavens; as arms are drawn back the waters are turned into foam. They cleave the furrows abreast, and all the sea gapes open, uptorn by the oars and triple-pointed beaks. Not such the headlong speed when in the two-horse chariot race the cars seize the plain and dart forth from their stalls! Not so wildly

<sup>1</sup> In Virgil's day certain Roman families, three of whom are named in this passage, claimed a Trojan origin.



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nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora  
 concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent.  
 tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum  
 consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant  
 litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant. 150

Effugit ante alios primisque elabitur undis  
 turbam inter fremitumque Gyas ; quem deinde  
 Cloanthus

consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus  
 tarda tenet. post hos aequo discrimine Pristis  
 Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem ; 155  
 et nunc Pristis habet, nunc victam praeterit ingens  
 Centaurus, nunc una ambae iunctisque feruntur  
 frontibus et longa sulcant vada salsa carina. [MPR  
 iamque propinquabant scopulo metamque tenebant,  
 cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite victor 160  
 rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten :

“quo tantum mihi dexter abis ? huc dirige gressum ;  
 litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes ;  
 altum alii teneant.” dixit, sed caeca Menoetes  
 saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas. 165  
 “quo diversus abis ?” iterum “pete saxa, Menoete !”  
 cum clamore Gyas revocabat, et ecce Cloanthum  
 respicit instantem tergo et propiora tenentem.  
 ille inter navemque Gyae scopulosque sonantis  
 radit iter laevum interior subitoque priorem 170  
 praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.  
 tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens,  
 nec lacrimis caruere genae, segnemque Menoeten,  
 oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis,  
 in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta ; 175  
 ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister,  
 hortaturque viros clavumque ad litora torquet.

<sup>154</sup> aequo] aliquo *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>158</sup> carinae *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>162</sup> derige *PR.* gressum] cursum *M*<sup>2</sup>, *Seneca.*

<sup>163</sup> laevas *Rγ*<sup>2</sup>.



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over their dashing steeds do the charioteers shake the waving reins, bending forward to the lash ! Then with applause and shouts of men, and zealous cries of partisans, the whole woodland rings ; the sheltered beach rolls up the sound, and the hills, smitten, echo back the din.

<sup>151</sup> Gyas flies in front of the rest and glides foremost on the waves amid confusion and uproar ; next Cloanthus follows close, better manned but held back by his pine's slow bulk. After them, at equal distance, the Dragon and Centaur strive to win the lead ; and now the Dragon has it, now the huge Centaur wins past her, now both move together with even prows, and plough the salt waters with long keel. And now they neared the rock and were close to the turn, when Gyas, still first, and leader in the half-course, loudly hails his ship's pilot, Menoetes : " Whither, man, so far off to the right ? This way steer her course ; hug the shore, and let the oar-blade graze the rocks on the left ; let others keep to the deep ! " He spoke ; but Menoetes, fearing blind rocks, wrenches the prow aside towards the open sea. " Whither so far off the course ? Make for the rocks, Menoetes ! " again shouted Gyas to call him back ; when lo ! he sees Cloanthus hard behind and keeping the nearer course. Between Gyas' ship and the roaring rocks he grazes his way nearer in on the left, suddenly passes his leader, and leaving the goal behind gains safe water. Then indeed anger burned deep in the young man's frame ; tears sprang to his cheeks, and heedless alike of his own pride and his crew's safety, he heaves timid Menoetes from the high stern sheer into the sea ; himself steersman and captain, he steps to the helm, cheers on his men, and turns the rudder shoreward. But Menoetes,

at gravis, ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est,  
iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes  
summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit. 180  
illum et labentem Teucris et risere natantem  
et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.

Hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,  
Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.  
Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat, 185  
nec tota tamen ille prior praeunte carina;  
parte prior; partem rostro premit aemula Pristis.  
at media socios incedens nave per ipsos  
hortatur Mnestheus: "nunc, nunc insurgite remis,  
Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema 190  
delegi comites; nunc illas promite viris,  
nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi  
Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.  
non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque vincere certo;  
quamquam o—sed superent, quibus hoc, Neptune,  
dedisti— 195

extremos pudeat rediisse; hoc vincite, cives,  
et prohibete nefas." olli certamine summo  
procumbunt; vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis,  
subtrahiturque solum; tum creber anhelitus artus  
aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis. 200  
attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem.  
namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget  
interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,  
infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.  
concussae cautes, et acuto in murice remi 205  
obnixi crepuere, inlisaque prora pependit.  
consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur  
ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos  
expediunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.

187 partem *M*: partim *PR*.

202 animo *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>. prora *M*.

198 aurea *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup>.

208 sudes *M*.

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when scarce at last he rose heavily from the sea bottom, old as he was and dripping in his drenched clothes, makes for the top of the crag and sat him down on the dry rock. The Teucrians laughed as he fell and swam, and they laugh as he spews the salt waters from his chest.

<sup>183</sup> Here a joyful hope was kindled in the two behind, Sergestus and Mnestheus, to pass the laggard Gyas. Sergestus takes the lead and nears the rock; yet is he ahead not by a whole boat's length, but in part alone; the rival Dragon overlaps with her prow. Then, pacing amidships among his crew, Mnestheus cheers them on: "Now, now, rise to the oars, comrades of Hector, ye whom in Troy's last hour I chose as my followers; now put forth that strength, that courage, which ye showed in Gaetulian quicksands, on the Ionian sea, and amid Malea's racing waves! No more do I, Mnestheus, seek the first place, no more strive to win; yet oh!—but let those conquer to whom thou, Neptune, hast granted it—it were a shame to return last! Win but this, my countrymen, and ward off disgrace!" Straining to the utmost, his men bend forward; with their mighty strokes the brazen poop quivers, and the ocean-floor flies from under them. Then rapid panting shakes their limbs and parched mouths; while sweat streams down all their limbs. Mere chance brought them the glory craved. For while Sergestus, mad at heart, drives his prow inward towards the rocks and enters on the perilous course, he stuck, alas! on a jutting reef. The cliffs were jarred, on the sharp flint the oars struck and snapped; the bow hung where it crashed. Up spring the sailors and, clamouring loudly at the delay, get out iron-shod pikes and sharp-pointed poles, or pick up in the flood their broken oars. But

at laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso 210  
 agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis  
 prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto.  
 qualis spelunca subito commota columba,  
 cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,  
 fertur in arva volans plausumque exterrita pinnis 215  
 dat tecto ingentem, mox aëre lapsa quieto  
 radit iter liquidum celeris neque commovet alas :  
 sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis  
 aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse volantem.  
 et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto 220  
 Sergestum brevibusque vadis frustraue vocantem  
 auxilia et fractis discentem currere remis.  
 inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram  
 consequitur ; cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.

Solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus ; 225  
 quem petit et summis adnexus viribus urget.  
 tum vero ingeminat clamor, cunctique sequentem  
 instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.  
 hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem  
 ni teneant, vitamque volunt pro laude pacisci : 230  
 hos successus alit ; possunt, quia posse videntur.  
 et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,  
 ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus  
 fudissetque preces divosque in vota vocasset.  
 “di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,  
 vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum 236  
 constituam ante aras voti reus, extaque salsos  
 porriciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam.”  
 dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis

<sup>210</sup> et *M*<sup>1</sup>.      <sup>212</sup> pelago] caelo *Quintilian*.      <sup>220</sup> in *om.* *M*.

<sup>226</sup> enixus *Pγ*.      <sup>228</sup> -que omitted *Pγ*.      clamoribus *Pγ*.

<sup>235</sup> pelagi est *M*<sup>2</sup>*Rc*.      aequore *PRγ*.

<sup>238</sup> poriciam *M* (late): porriciam *Macrobius*, known to *Servius*: proiciam *M*<sup>1</sup>*PR*, known to *Servius*. et] ac *Pγb*.

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Mnestheus, cheered and enlivened by his very success, with swift play of oars and a prayer to the winds, seeks the sloping waters and glides down the open sea. Even as, if startled suddenly from her cave, a dove whose home and sweet nestlings are in the rocky coverts, wings her flight to the fields and, frightened from her home, flaps loudly with her wings; soon, gliding in the peaceful air, she skims her liquid way and stirs not her swift pinions—so Mnestheus, so the Dragon of herself, cleaves in flight the final stretch, so her mere speed carries her on her winged course! And first he leaves Sergestus behind, struggling on the high rock and in shallow waters, making vain appeals for help and learning to race with broken oars. Then he overhauls Gyas, even the Chimaera with her huge bulk; she gives way, robbed of her helmsman.

<sup>225</sup> And now, hard on the very goal, Cloanthus alone is left. For him he makes, striving with all his might and pressing hard. Then indeed the shouts redouble, all together with cheers hearten the pursuer, the sky echoes to their din. These think it shame not to keep the honour that is theirs, the glory they have won, and would barter life for fame: those success heartens; strong are they, for strong they deem themselves. And perchance, the prows now brought abreast, they had taken the prize, had not Cloanthus, stretching both hands seawards, poured forth prayers, and called the gods to hear his vows. “Ye gods, whose kingdom is the deep, over whose waters I run, gladly, in discharge of my vow, will I on this shore set before your altars a snow-white bull, and fling entrails into the salt flood and pour liquid wine!” He spake, and under the deep waves the whole band of Nereids and of



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Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque virgo, 240  
 et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem MPRV  
 impulit : illa Noto citius volucrique sagitta  
 ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto.

Tum satus Anchisa, cunctis ex more vocatis,  
 victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum 245  
 declarat viridique advelat tempora lauro,  
 muneraque in navis ternos optare iuvenços  
 vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.  
 ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores :  
 victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum 250  
 purpura Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,  
 intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida  
 velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat,  
 acer, anhelanti similis ; quem praepes ab Ida  
 sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis ; 255  
 longaevis palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt  
 custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.  
 at qui deinde locum tenuit virtute secundum,  
 levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem  
 loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse 260  
 victor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto,  
 donat habere viro, decus et tutamen in armis.  
 vix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant  
 multiplicem, conixi umeris ; indutus at olim  
 Demoleos cursu palantis Troas agebat. 265  
 tertia dona facit geminos ex aere lebetas  
 cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.

Iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi  
 puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis,  
 cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revolsus, 270

241 Neptunus γ<sup>1</sup>.

249 praecipue *M*, *Nonius*.

257 in] ad *P*.

270 revolsam *R*.



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Phorcus, and the virgin Panopea, heard him, and the sire Portunus with his own great hand drave him on his way. Swifter than wind or winged arrow the ship speeds landward, and found shelter in the deep harbour.

<sup>244</sup> Then the son of Anchises, duly summoning all, by loud cry of herald proclaims Cloanthus victor, and with green bay wreathes his brows; next, as gifts for each ship, bids him choose and take away three bullocks, wine, and a large talent of silver. For the captains themselves he adds special honours; to the winner, a cloak wrought with gold, about which ran deep Meliboean purple in double waving line; inwoven thereon the royal boy,<sup>1</sup> with javelin and speedy foot, on leafy Ida tires fleet stags, eager, and like to one who pants; him Jove's swift armour-bearer<sup>2</sup> has caught up aloft from Ida in his talons; his aged guardians in vain stretch their hands to the stars, and the savage barking of dogs rises skyward. But to him, who next by merit won the second place, a coat of mail, linked with polished hooks of triple gold, once torn by his own hand from Demoleos, when he worsted him by swift Simois under lofty Ilium, he gives to keep—a glory and defence in battle. Scarce could the servants, Phegeus and Sagaris, bear its folds with straining shoulders; yet, clad in this, Demoleos of yore drove full speed the scattered Trojans. The third prize he makes a pair of brazen cauldrons, and bowls wrought in silver and rough with reliefs.

<sup>268</sup> And now all had their gifts and, proud of their wealth, were going their way, their brows bound with purple fillets, when—hardly, by dint of much skill,

<sup>1</sup> Ganymede.

<sup>2</sup> So called because he carries the thunderbolt.

# VIRGIL

amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno,  
inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.  
qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,  
aerea quem obliquum rota transiit aut gravis ictu  
seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator ; 275

nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus,  
parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla  
arduus attollens ; pars vulnere clauda retentat  
nixantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem :  
tali remigio navis se tarda movebat ; 280

vela facit tamen et plenis subit ostia velis.  
Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat,  
servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.  
olli serva datur, operum haud ignara Minervae,  
Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati. 285

Hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit  
gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curvis  
cingebant silvae, mediaque in valle theatri  
circus erat ; quo se multis cum milibus heros  
consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit. 290

hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu,  
invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.  
undique conveniunt Teuceri mixtique Sicani, MPR  
Nisus et Euryalus primi,

Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa, 295  
Nisus amore pio pueri ; quos deinde secutus  
regius egregia Priami de stirpe Diores ;  
hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,  
alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis ;  
tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque, 300

<sup>278</sup> vulnera *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>. cauda *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*V*.

<sup>279</sup> nixantem *M*<sup>1</sup>*Pγ*<sup>1</sup>: nitentem *M*<sup>2</sup>: nexantem *M(late)RVγ*<sup>2</sup>,  
*Priscian*. <sup>280</sup> ferebat *Pγ*.

<sup>281</sup> plenis . . . velis *M*: velis . . . plenis *other MSS*.

<sup>285</sup> ubera *MPRγ*.

## AENEID BOOK V

cleared from the cruel rock, oars lost, and one tier crippled, Sergestus, amid jeers, brought in his inglorious barque. Even as oft a serpent, caught upon the highway, which a brazen wheel has crossed aslant, or with blow of a heavy stone a wayfarer has crushed and left half-dead, vainly tries to escape and trails its long coils; part defiant, his eyes ablaze and his hissing neck raised aloft; part, maimed by the wound, holding him back, as he struggles on with his coils and twines himself upon his own limbs—with such oarage, the ship moved slowly on, yet hoists sail and under full sail makes the harbour's mouth. Aeneas presents Sergestus with his promised reward, glad that the ship is saved and the crew brought back. A slave-woman is given him, not unskilled in Minerva's tasks, Pholoë of Cretan stock, with twin-boys at her breast.

<sup>286</sup> This contest sped, good Aeneas moves to a grassy plain, girt all about with winding hills, well-wooded, where, at the heart of the valley, ran the circuit of a theatre. To this, with many thousands, the hero betook himself into the midst of the company and sat him down on a raised seat. Here, if haply any would vie in speed of foot, he lures valour with hope of rewards and sets up prizes. From all sides flock Trojans and Sicilians, mingled, Nisus and Euryalus foremost—Euryalus famed for beauty and flower of youth, Nisus for tender love for the boy. Next followed princely Diore, of Priam's noble race; then Salius and Patron together, whereof one was an Acarnanian, the other of Arcadian blood, a Tegean born; then two Sicilian youths, Helymus and Panopes, inured to the forests

<sup>290</sup> consensu *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>296</sup> quem *P*γ<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>295</sup> insigni *P*γ<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>299</sup> Arcadia *P*γ. Tegeae de *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>γ.

# VIRGIL

adsueti silvis, comites senioris Acestae ;  
 multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.  
 Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus :  
 "accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.  
 nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit. 305  
 Gnasia bina dabo levato lucida ferro  
 spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem ;  
 omnibus hic erit unus honos. tres praemia primi  
 accipient flavaque caput nectentur oliva.  
 primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto ; 310  
 alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis  
 Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro  
 balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma ;  
 tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito."

Haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt signoque repente 315  
 corripiunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt,  
 effusi nimbo similes ; simul ultima signant.  
 primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus  
 emicat, et ventis et fulminis ocior alis ;  
 proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo, 320  
 insequitur Salius ; spatio post deinde relicto  
 tertius Euryalus ;  
 Euryalumque Helymus sequitur ; quo deinde sub ipso  
 ecce volat calcemque terit iam calce Diores,  
 incumbens umero ; spatia et si plura supersint, 325  
 transeat elapsus prior ambiguumve relinquat.  
 iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam  
 finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus  
 labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvenis  
 fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas. 330  
 hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso  
 haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso  
 concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore,

<sup>309</sup> flava] fulva *known to Servius.*

<sup>310</sup> primum *M*<sup>1</sup>. equam *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>312</sup> circumplectitur *M.*

<sup>323</sup> quo] quod *MR*: quem *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>326</sup> -ve *Heinsius, Bentley* :

-que *MSS.* See *Appendix.*

<sup>327</sup> ipsum *M*<sup>2</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK V

and attendants on old Acestes ; with many besides, whose fame is hid in darkness. Then in their midst Aeneas thus spoke : " Take these words to heart and pay cheerful heed. None of this number shall leave without a gift from me. To each will I give two Gnosian arrows, gleaming with polished steel, and an axe chased with silver to bear away ; all alike shall have this same reward. The three first shall receive prizes, and have pale-green olive crown their heads. Let the first take as winner a horse gay with trappings ; the second an Amazonian quiver, filled with Thracian arrows, girt about with a broad belt of gold and clasped by a buckle with polished gem ; with this Argive helmet let the third depart content."

<sup>315</sup> This said, they take their place, and suddenly, the signal heard, dash over the course, and leave the barrier, streaming forth like a storm-cloud, their eyes fixed the while upon the goal. Away goes Nisus first, and far in front of all darts forth, swifter than the winds or than winged thunderbolt. Next to him, but next by a long distance, follows Salius ; then, some space between them left, Euryalus third ; and, after Euryalus, Helymus ; then, close upon him, lo ! Dioreas flies, now grazing foot with foot and pressing on his shoulder ! And did more of the course remain, he would shoot past him to the fore or leave the issue in doubt ! And now, with course well-nigh covered, panting they neared the very goal, when Nisus, luckless one, falls in some slippery blood, which, haply spilt where steers were slain, had soaked the ground and greensward. Here, even in the joy of triumph, the youth could not hold his tottering steps on the ground he trod, but fell prone, right in the filthy slime and blood of sacrifice.



# VIRGIL

non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum :  
 nam sese opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens, 335  
 ille autem spissa iacuit revolutus harena.  
 emicat Euryalus et munere victor amici  
 prima tenet plausuque volat fremituque secundo.  
 post Helymus subit, et, nunc tertia palma, Diores.  
 Hic totum caveae consessum ingentis et ora 340  
 prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus implet,  
 ereptumque dolo reddi sibi poscit honorem.  
 tutatur favor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae,  
 gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.  
 adiuvat et magna proclamat voce Diores, 345  
 qui subiit palmae frustra ad praemia venit  
 ultima, si primi Salio reddantur honores.  
 tum pater Aeneas, "vestra," inquit, "munera vobis  
 certa manent, pueri, et palmam movet ordine nemo ;  
 me liceat casus miserari insontis amici." 350  
 sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis  
 dat Salio, villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.  
 hic Nisus, "si tanta," inquit, "sunt praemia victis,  
 et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso  
 digna dabis, primam merui qui laude coronam, 355  
 ni me, quae Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset ?"  
 et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo  
 turpia membra fimo. risit pater optimus olli  
 et clipeum efferri iussit, Didymaonis artis,  
 Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum ; 360  
 hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.

337 amico *M*<sup>1</sup>.

340 consensum *M*<sup>1</sup>*R* $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.

347 reddantur *M*<sup>1</sup>*R* $\gamma$ <sup>2</sup> : redduntur *M*<sup>2</sup> : reddentur *P*.

350 misereri *P*<sup>1</sup>*R*.

354 munera] praemia *M*.

359 artem *P**R* $\gamma$ .



## AENEID BOOK V

Yet not of Euryalus, not of his love was he forgetful ; for as he rose amid the sodden ground he threw himself in the way of Salius, who, rolling over, fell prostrate on the clotted sand. Euryalus darts by and, winning by grace of his friend, takes first place, and flies on amid favouring applause and cheers. Behind come Helymus, and Diores, now third prize.

<sup>340</sup> Hereupon Salius fills with loud clamour the whole concourse of the great theatre and the gazing elders in front, claiming that the prize wrested from him by fraud be given back. Goodwill befriends Euryalus, and his seemly tears and worth, that shows more winsome in a fair form. Diores backs him, making loud protest; he has reached the palm, but in vain won the last prize, if the highest honours be restored to Salius. Then said father Aeneas: "Your rewards remain assured to you, my lads, and no one alters the prizes' order; be it mine to pity the mischance of a hapless friend!" So saying, he gives to Salius the huge hide of a Gaetulian lion, heavy with shaggy hair and gilded claws. Then said Nisus: "If such be the prize for defeat, and thou hast pity for the fallen, what fit reward wilt thou give Nisus? The first crown I had earned by merit, had not Fortune's malice fallen on me, as on Salius." And with the words he displayed his face and limbs foul with wet filth. The gracious father smiled on him and bade a shield be brought out, the handiwork of Didymaon, once taken down by Greeks from Neptune's hallowed doorway.<sup>1</sup> This he bestows on the noble youth, a lordly prize.

<sup>1</sup> Aeneas had apparently captured this shield from a Greek hero who, on setting out for Troy, had taken it down from the temple where it had been placed as a dedicated object.

# VIRGIL

Post ubi confecti cursus et dona peregit :  
 “ nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,  
 adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis.”  
 sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem, 365  
 victori velatum auro vittisque iuvenum,  
 ensem atque insignem galeam solacia victo.  
 nec mora ; continuo vastis cum viribus effert  
 ora Dares magnoque virum se murmure tollit,  
 solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra, 370  
 idemque ad tumulum, quo maximus occubat Hector,  
 victorem Buten, immani corpore qui se  
 Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat,  
 perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena.  
 talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit, 375  
 ostenditque umeros latos alternaque iactat  
 bracchia protendens et verberat ictibus auras.  
 quaeritur huic alius ; nec quisquam ex agmine tanto  
 audet adire virum manibusque inducere caestus.  
 ergo alacris cunctosque putans excedere palma 380  
 Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus  
 tum laeva taurum cornu tenet atque ita fatur :  
 “ nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,  
 quae finis standi ? quo me decet usque teneri ?  
 ducere dona iube.” cuncti simul ore fremebant 385  
 Dardanidae reddique viro promissa iubebant.

Hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,  
 proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae :  
 “ Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,  
 tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli 390  
 dona sines ? ubi nunc nobis deus ille magister,  
 nequiquam memoratus Eryx ? ubi fama per omnem  
 Trinacriam et spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis ? ”

364 vinctis *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>.

382 laevo *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>.

388 herba *R*.

374 pertulit *M*<sup>1</sup> : percutit *R*.

387 his *Nonius*.

## AENEID BOOK V

<sup>362</sup> Then, when the races were ended and the gifts assigned, "Now," he cries, "whoso hath valour in his breast and a stout heart, let him come and lift up his arms with hidebound hands." So he speaks, and sets forth a double prize for the fray; for the victor, a steer decked with gold and fillets; a sword and noble helmet to console the vanquished. Forthwith, without pause, Dares shows himself in all his huge strength, rising amid a mighty murmuring of the throng—Dares, who alone was wont to face Paris: 'twas he who, by the mound, where great Hector lies, smote the champion Butes, offspring of Amycus' Bebrycian race, as he strode forward in his huge bulk, and stretched him dying on the yellow sand. Such was Dares, who at once raises his head high for the fray, displays his broad shoulders, stretches his arms, spars right and left, and lashes the air with blows. For him a match is sought; but none from all that throng durst face him or draw the gloves on to his hands. So, exultant and thinking all resign the prize, he stood before Aeneas' feet; then, tarrying no longer, grasps the bull's horn in his left hand, speaking thus: "Goddess-born, if no man dare trust himself to the fray, what end shall there be to my standing? How long is it fitting to keep me waiting? Bid me lead off thy gift!" Therewith all the Dardans shouted applause, and bade the promised prize be duly given him.

<sup>387</sup> At this Acestes sternly chides Entellus, as he sat next him on the green couch of grass: "Entellus, once bravest of heroes, though in vain, wilt thou so tamely let gifts so great be carried off without a struggle? Where now, pray, is that divine teacher, Eryx, idly famed? Where thy renown over all Sicily, and those spoils hanging in thy house?" Thereon

# VIRGIL

ille sub haec : " non laudis amor nec gloria cessit  
 pulsa metu ; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta 395  
 sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.  
 si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste  
 exultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventus,  
 haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco  
 venissem, nec dona moror." sic deinde locutus 400  
 in medium geminos immani pondere caestus  
 proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus  
 ferre manum duroque intendere brachia tergo.  
 obstipuere animi ; tantorum ingentia septem  
 terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigeant. 405  
 ante omnis stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat,  
 magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa  
 huc illuc vincolorum immensa volumina versat.  
 tum senior talis referebat pectore voces :  
 " quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma 410  
 vidisset tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam ?  
 haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma gerebat ;  
 (sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque infecta cerebro)  
 his magnum Alciden contra stetit ; his ego suetus,  
 dum melior viris sanguis dabat, aemula necdum 415  
 temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.  
 sed si nostra Dares haec Troius arma recusat,  
 idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,  
 aequemus pugnās. Erycis tibi terga remitto  
 (solve metus), et tu Troianos exue caestus." 420  
 haec fatus duplicem ex umeris reiecit amictum,  
 et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque  
 exiit atque ingens media consistit harena.

Tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos  
 et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis. 425

<sup>398</sup> iuventus *Py*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>422</sup> -que *omitted P*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>425</sup> intexuit *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>421</sup> deiecit *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>423</sup> extulit *Macrobius*.

## AENEID BOOK V

he: "'Tis not that love of fame is gone, or pride, routed by fear ; but my blood is chilled and dulled by sluggish age, and my strength of body is numb and lifeless. Had I that which once I had, that in which yonder braggart boldly exults—had I now that youth, then not from lure of prize or goodly steer had I come forward, nor care I for gifts!" So he spoke and thereon threw into the ring a pair of gloves of giant weight, wherewith valiant Eryx was wont to enter contests, binding his arms with the tough hide. Amazed were the hearts of all, so vast were the seven huge ox-hides, all stiff with insewn lead and iron. Above all Dares himself is dazed and, shrinking back, declines the contest; while Anchises' noble son turns this way and that the thongs' huge and ponderous folds. Then the old man spoke thus from his breast: "What if any had seen the gloves and arms of Hercules himself, and the fatal feud on this very shore? These arms thy brother Eryx once wore; thou seest them yet stained with blood and spattered brains. With these he faced great Alcides; with these was I wont to fight, while sounder blood gave me strength, nor yet had envious age sprinkled my temples with snow. But if the Trojan Dares declines these our arms, and this is resolved on by good Aeneas and approved by my patron Acestes, let us make the battle even. At thy wish I waive the gauntlets of Eryx; dismiss thy fears; and do thou doff thy Trojan gloves!" So speaking, from his shoulders he threw back his twofold cloak, stripped his great joints and limbs, his great bones and thews, and stood a giant in the arena's midst.

<sup>424</sup> Then, with a father's care, the seed of Anchises brought out gloves of like weight and with equal weapons bound the hands of both. Straightway



# VIRGIL

constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque  
 brachiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.  
 abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu  
 immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacesunt,  
 ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa, 430  
 hic membris et mole valens; sed tarda trementi  
 genua labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.  
 multa viri nequiquam inter se volnera iactant,  
 multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectora vastos  
 dant sonitus, erratque auris et tempora circum 435  
 crebra manus, duro crepitant sub volnere malae.  
 stat gravis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem,  
 corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.  
 ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem  
 aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis, 440  
 nunc hos, nunc illos aditus omnemque pererrat  
 arte locum et variis adsultibus inritus urget.  
 ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte  
 extulit; ille ictum venientem a vertice velox  
 praevidit celerique elapsus corpore cessit; 445  
 Entellus viris in ventum effudit et ultro  
 ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto  
 concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Ery-  
 mantho MPRV  
 aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.  
 consurgunt studiis Teucris et Trinacria pubes; 450  
 it clamor caelo, primusque accurrit Acestes  
 aequaevumque ab humo miserans attollit amicum.  
 at non tardatus casu neque territus heros  
 acrior ad pugnam redit ac vim suscitatur ira.  
 tum pudor incendit viris et conscia virtus, 455  
 praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto,  
 nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra.

435 sonitum *Py*<sup>1</sup>.      446 effundit *P*<sup>1</sup>.      449 radicitus *Ry*<sup>2</sup>.

451 -que *om.* *M*<sup>1</sup>. *So Sabb.*; *add. M (late).*

457 ille] deinde *M*.



## AENEID BOOK V

each took his stand, poised on tiptoe, and, undaunted, lifted his arms high in air. Raising their heads high and drawing them far back from blows, they spar, hand with hand, and provoke the fray, the one nimbler of foot and confident in his youth, the other mighty in massive limbs; yet his slow knees totter and tremble and a painful gasping shakes his huge frame. Many hard blows they launch at each other idly, many they rain on hollow flank, while their chests ring loudly; hands play oft about ears and brows, and cheeks rattle under the hard strokes. Solidly stands Entellus, motionless, unmoved, with selfsame poise, shunning blows with body and watchful eyes alone. The other, like one who assails with siege-works some high city or besets a mountain stronghold in arms, tries this entrance and now that, skilfully ranges over all the ground, and presses with varied but vain assaults. Then Entellus, rising, put forth his right, lifted high; the other speedily foresaw the down-coming blow and, slipping aside with nimble body, foiled it. Entellus spent his strength on air, yea, and in his huge bulk this mighty man fell in his might to earth, as at times falls on Erymanthus or mighty Ida a hollow pine, upturn by the roots! Eagerly the Teucrians and men of Sicily rise up; a shout mounts to heaven, and first Acestes runs forward, and in pity raises his aged friend from the ground. But neither downcast nor dismayed by the fall, the hero returns keener to the fray, and rouses violence with wrath. Shame, too, and conscious valour kindle his strength, and in fury he drives Dares headlong over the whole arena, redoubling his blows, now with the right hand, and now, lo! with the left. No stint, no stay is there—

# VIRGIL

nec mora, nec requies; quam multa grandine nimbi  
culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros  
creber utraque manu pulsat versatque Dareta. 460

Tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras  
et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,  
sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Dareta  
eripuit, mulcens dictis, ac talia fatur:

“infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit? 465  
non viris alias conversaque numina sentis?  
cede deo.” dixitque et proelia voce diremit.

ast illum fidi aequales, genua aegra trahentem  
iactantemque utroque caput crassumque cruorem  
ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes, 470  
ducunt ad navis; galeamque ensemque vocati  
accipiunt, palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.

hic victor, superans animis tauroque superbus,  
“nate dea vosque haec,” inquit, “cognoscite, Teuceri,  
et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires, 475  
et qua servetis revocatum a morte Dareta.”

dixit et adversi contra stetit ora iuvenci,  
qui donum adstabat pugnae, duosque reducta  
libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus,  
arduus, effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro: 480  
sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.  
ille super talis effundit pectore voces:

“hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis  
persolvo; hic victor caestus artemque repono.”

Protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta 485  
invitat qui forte velint et praemia ponit  
ingentique manu malum de nave Seresti

<sup>470</sup> ore eiectantem *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>: ore iectantem *M*: ore iactan-  
tem *R*: ore reiectantem *γ*<sup>2</sup>. mixtoque *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>473</sup> animo *V*. <sup>477</sup> aversi *Pγ*. <sup>480</sup> in omitted *R*.

<sup>484</sup> reponit *R*, *Servius*: repon- *V*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>486</sup> ponit *MRV*, *Nonius*: dicit *Pγ*.

## AENEID BOOK V

thick as the hail when storm-clouds rattle on the roof, so thick are the blows from either hand as the hero oft beats and batters Dares.

<sup>461</sup> Then father Aeneas suffered not their fury to go farther, nor Entellus to rage in bitterness of soul, but set an end to the fray and rescued the sore-spent Dares, speaking thus in soothing words: "Unhappy man! How could such frenzy seize thy mind? Seest thou not the strength is another's and the gods are changed? Yield to heaven!" He spoke, and with his voice broke off the fight. But Dares his loyal mates lead to the ships, his feeble knees trailing, his head swaying from side to side, while he spat from his mouth clotted gore and teeth mingled with the blood. At summons, they receive the helmet and the sword; the palm and the bull they leave to Entellus. Thereat the victor, triumphant in spirit and glorying in the bull, cries: "O Goddess-born and ye, O Trojans, learn what strength I had in my youthful frame, and from what a death ye recall and rescue Dares." He spoke, and set himself in face of the confronting steer as it stood by, the prize of battle; then drew back his right hand and, at full height, swung the hard gauntlet just between the horns, and broke into the skull, scattering the brains. Outstretched and lifeless, the bull falls quivering on the ground. Above it he pours forth from his breast these words: "This better life I offer thee, Eryx, due for death of Dares; here victorious I lay down the gauntlet and my art!"

<sup>485</sup> Straightway Aeneas invites all, who may so wish, to contend with swift arrows, and sets forth the prizes. With a large throng <sup>1</sup> he raises the mast from

<sup>1</sup> So taken by Servius, who explains the phrase by *magna multitudine*. Editors commonly render, "with his own mighty hand," as if Aeneas were an Homeric hero.

# VIRGIL

erigit et volucrem traiecto in fune columbam,  
 quo tendant ferrum, malo suspendit ab alto.  
 convenere viri deiectamque aerea sortem 490  
 accepit galea; et primus clamore secundo  
 Hyrtacidae ante omnis exit locus Hippocoontis.  
 quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine victor  
 consequitur, viridi Mnestheus evinctus oliva.  
 tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater, 495  
 Pandare, qui quondam, iussus confundere foedus,  
 in medios telum torsisti primus Achivos.  
 extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,  
 ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem.

Tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus MPR  
 pro se quisque viri et depromunt tela pharetris, 501  
 primaque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta  
 Hyrtacidae iuvenis volucris diverberat auras,  
 et venit adversique infigitur arbore mali.  
 intremuit malus, timuitque exterrita pinnis 505  
 ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.  
 post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu,  
 alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.  
 ast ipsam miserandus avem contingere ferro  
 non valuit; nodos et vincula linea rupit, 510  
 quis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto;  
 illa Notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit.  
 tum rapidus, iamdudum arcu contenta parato  
 tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,  
 iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus, et alis 515  
 plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.  
 decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris  
 aëriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam.  
 amissa solus palma superabat Acestes;

<sup>491</sup> primum *RV.*    <sup>499</sup> manum *V.* labore *V.*    <sup>503</sup> volucris(s)  
 iuvenis *Pγ<sup>1</sup>.*    <sup>505</sup> micuit *Slater.*    <sup>512</sup> atra *MRγ<sup>2</sup>:* alta *P.*  
<sup>516</sup> figit nigra *P<sup>1</sup>γ.*    <sup>518</sup> aëriis *MR:* aetheriis *P.*

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Serestus' ship, and from the high pole, on a cord passed across her, suspends a fluttering dove as mark for their shafts. The rivals gather, and a brazen helmet received the lots thrown in. First before all, amid warm cheers, comes forth the turn of Hippocoon, son of Hyrtacus; on him follows Mnestheus, but now victor in the ship-race—Mnestheus, wreathed in green olive. Third is Eurytion, thy brother, O famous Pandarus, who of old, when bidden to confound the treaty, didst first hurl a shaft amid the Achaeans. Last, and in the helmet's depths, lay Acestes, even he daring to lay hand to the task of youth.

<sup>500</sup> Then with might and main they bend their bows into a curve, each for himself, and draw shafts from quivers. And first through the sky, from the twanging string, the dart of the son of Hyrtacus cleft the fleet breezes, reached its mark, and struck full in the wood of the mast. The mast quivered, the bird fluttered her wings in terror, and the whole place rang with loud applause. Next valiant Mnestheus took his stand with bow bent, aiming aloft, and eyes and shaft levelled alike; yet could not, alas! hit the bird herself with the bolt, but severed the knots and hempen bands tying her foot, as from the high mast she hung: off to the south winds and black clouds she sped in flight. Then quickly Eurytion, who had long held his bow ready and dart drawn, called upon his brother to hear his vow, marked the dove, now exulting in the free sky, and pierced her as she flapped her wings under a dark cloud. Down she fell dead, left her life amid the stars of heaven, and, falling, brought down the arrow that pierced her. Acestes alone was left, the prize now lost; yet



qui tamen aërias telum contorsit in auras, 520  
 ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.  
 hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum  
 augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens  
 seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.  
 namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo 525  
 signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit  
 consumpta in ventos, caelo ceu saepe refixa  
 transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.  
 attonitis haesere animis, superosque precati  
 Trinacrii Teucrique viri; nec maximus omen 530  
 abnuat Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten  
 muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur:  
 “sume, pater: nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi  
 talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores.  
 ipsius Anchisae longaevi hoc munus habebis, 535  
 cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim  
 Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus  
 ferre sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris.”  
 sic fatus cingit viridanti tempora lauro  
 et primum ante omnis victorem appellat Acesten. 540  
 nec bonus Eurytion praelato invidit honori,  
 quamvis solus avem caelo deiecit ab alto.  
 proximus ingreditur donis, qui vincula rupit;  
 extremus, volucris qui fixit harundine malum.

At pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso 545  
 custodem ad sese comitemque impubis Iuli  
 Epytiden vocat et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:  
 “vade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum

520 contorsit *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*γ: contendit *M*<sup>1</sup>*R*, *Nonius*.

522 subito *most MSS.*: subitum *minor MSS.*

534 honores *M*<sup>1</sup>*PR*: honorem *M*<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>.

541 honore *P*<sup>1</sup>.

548 paratus *P*<sup>1</sup>.



## AENEID BOOK V

upward into the air he aimed his bolt, displaying his olden skill and the ringing of his bow. On this a sudden portent meets their eyes, destined to prove of lofty presage; this in after time the mighty issue showed, and in late days terrifying seers proclaimed the omen.<sup>1</sup> For, flying amid the airy clouds, the reed caught fire, marked its path with flames, then vanished away into thin air; as often, shooting stars, unloosed from heaven, speed across the sky, their tresses streaming in their wake. In amazement the Trinacrians and Trojans stood rooted, praying to the powers above. Nor did great Aeneas reject the omen, but, embracing glad Acestes, loaded him with noble gifts, and spoke thus: "Take them, father, for the great king of Olympus hath willed by these tokens that thou shouldst receive honours out of due course. This gift thou shalt have, once the aged Anchises' own, a bowl graven with figures, that in days gone by, as a princely prize, Cisseus of Thrace gave my sire Anchises, memorial of himself and pledge of love." So speaking, he binds his brows with green laurel and hails Acestes victor, first above them all; nor did good Eurytion grudge the prize to him who was preferred, though he alone brought down the bird from high heaven. Next for the reward comes he who cut the cord; last is he who with fleet reed pierced the mast.

<sup>545</sup> But father Aeneas, ere yet the match was sped, calls to him Epytides, guardian and companion of young Iulus, and thus speaks into his faithful ear: "Away," he cries, "go tell Ascanius, if he has with him his boyish band in readiness, and has marshalled

<sup>1</sup> Some great event of later days is referred to here, perhaps the Punic Wars, in which Sicily played so great a part. When the event occurred seers explained it as a fulfilment of the portent here described.

# VIRGIL

agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum,  
 ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat in armis, 550  
 dic," ait. ipse omnem longo decedere circo  
 infusum populum et campos iubet esse patentis.  
 incedunt pueri pariterque ante ora parentum  
 frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntis  
 Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaequae iuventus. 555  
 omnibus in morem tonya coma pressa corona ;  
 cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,  
 pars levis umero pharetras; it pectore summo  
 flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.  
 tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur 560  
 ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti  
 agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.  
 una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem  
 nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite,  
 progenies, auctura Italos; quem Thracius albis 565  
 portat equus bicolor maculis, vestigia primi  
 alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.  
 alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,  
 parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.  
 extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus 570  
 Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido  
 esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris.  
 cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Acestae  
 fertur equis.

551 discedere *P*: discendere  $\gamma^1$ .

558 it *M*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*: et *M*<sup>1</sup>*R* $\gamma^1$ : iet *P*<sup>1</sup>: id  $\gamma^2$ .

564 cara *P*<sup>1</sup>. 570 formam *M*<sup>1</sup>.

573 Trinacriis *minor MSS.*: Trinacrii *R, Servius*: Trinacriae *MP*<sup>2</sup>: Trinacrie *P*<sup>1</sup>.

## AENEID BOOK V

the manoeuvres of his horses, to lead forth his troops in his grandsire's honour and show himself in arms." He himself bids all the streaming throng quit the long course and leave the field clear. On come the boys, and in even array glitter before their fathers' eyes on bridled steeds; as they pass by, the men of Trinacria and Troy murmur in admiration. All have their hair duly crowned with a trimmed garland; each carries two cornel spear-shafts tipped with iron; some have polished quivers on their shoulders; high on the breast around the neck passes a pliant circlet of twisted gold.<sup>1</sup> Three in number are the troops of horse, and three the riding captains; the boys, two groups of six following each, look gay with parted troop and like commanders.<sup>2</sup> One line of youths in triumphal joy is led by a little Priam, renewing his grandsire's name—thy noble seed, Polites, and destined to swell the Italian race! Him a Thracian horse bears, dappled with spots of white, showing white pasterns as it steps and a white, high-towering brow. The second is Atys, from whom the Latin Atii have drawn their line—little Atys, a boy beloved of the boy Iulus. Last, and in beauty excelling all, Iulus rode on a Sidonian horse, that fairest Dido had given as memorial of herself and pledge of her love. The rest of the youth ride on the Sicilian steeds of old Acestes.

<sup>1</sup> The golden *torques*, a military decoration, was worn low down on the neck.

<sup>2</sup> Thirty-six boys were divided into three companies (*turmae*), which were commanded alike (*paribus magistris*), each having a captain (*terni ductores*). The *ductores* and the *magistri* are the same; cf. 176 with 133. (The trainers, however, are also called *magistri* in 669, and of these Epytides was the chief.) Each company, again, was subdivided into two groups (*chori*) of six each.

# VIRGIL

Excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes 575  
 Dardanidae veterumque agnoscunt ora parentum.  
 postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum  
 lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis  
 Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.  
 olli discurrere pares atque agmina terni 580  
 diductis solvere choris rursusque vocati  
 convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.  
 inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus  
 adversi spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbis  
 impediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis; 585  
 et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt  
 infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.  
 ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta  
 parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque  
 mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi 590  
 frangeret indeprencus et inremeabilis error :  
 haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu  
 impediunt texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,  
 delphinum similes, qui per maria umida nando  
 Carpathium Libycumque secant luduntque per undas.  
 hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus 596  
 Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,  
 rettulit et Priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,  
 quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troia pubes ;  
 Albani docuere suos ; hinc maxima porro 600  
 accepit Roma et patrium servavit honorem ;

<sup>577</sup> cossensus *M*<sup>1</sup>: concessum *P* $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>581</sup> deductis *MR*. <sup>584</sup> adversis *P* $\gamma$ . alternisque *R*.

<sup>591</sup> frangeret *PR* $\gamma$ , *Servius*: falleret *M*.

<sup>592</sup> alioer *R*<sup>1</sup>: aliter *R*<sup>2</sup>. nati Teucrum *P* $\gamma$ .

<sup>595</sup> luduntque per undas *M*(late)*R*: omitted *M*<sup>1</sup>*P* $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> After riding in double column down the centre, the boys wheeled, half to the right and half to the left, and galloped to the sides of the arena; then, at the word of command, given by Epytides, they turned right about face, and the two

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## ÆNEID BOOK V

575 The Dardanians greet the bashful boys with cheers and rejoice as they gaze, seeing in them the features of their sires of old. When the lads had ridden gaily round the whole circuit of their gazing kinsfolk, Epytides shouted from afar the looked-for signal and cracked his whip. They galloped apart in equal ranks, and the three companies, parting their bands, broke up the columns; then recalled, they wheeled about and charged with levelled lances.<sup>1</sup> Next they enter on other marches and other counter-marches in opposing groups, interweaving circle with alternate circle, and waking an armed mimicry of battle. And now they bare their backs in flight, now turn their spears in charge, now make peace and ride on side by side. As of old in high Crete 'tis said the Labyrinth held a path woven with blind walls, and a bewildering work of craft with a thousand ways, where the tokens of the trail were broken by the undiscoverable and irretraceable maze: even in such a course do the Trojan children entangle their steps, weaving in sport their flight and conflict, like dolphins that, swimming through the wet main, cleave the Carpathian or Libyan seas and play amid the waves. This manner of horsemanship, these contests Ascanius first revived when he girt Alba Longa with walls, and taught the Early Latins, even as he himself solemnized them in boyhood, and with him the Trojan youth. The Albans taught their children; from them in turn mighty Rome received them and kept as an ancestral observance; and to-day the

sides (eighteen each) charged each other. Meanwhile the three captains probably act as pivot points or mark the centre of the field, where the charging half-companies re-form in marching column.



## VIRGIL

Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.  
hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.

Hic primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.  
dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis, 605

Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno  
Iliacam ad classem ventosque adspirat eunti,  
multa movens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.  
illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum  
nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo. 610

conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat  
desertosque videt portus classemque relictam.  
at procul in sola secretae Troades acta  
amissum Anchisen flebant cunctaeque profundum  
pontum aspectabant flentes. "heu! tot vada fessis  
et tantum superesse maris!" vox omnibus una. 616

urbem orant; taedet pelagi perferre laborem.  
ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi  
conicit et faciemque deae vestemque reponit;  
fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli, 620  
cui genus et quondam nomen natiq̃ue fuissent,  
ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert:  
"o miserae, quas non manus," inquit, "Achaica  
bello

traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens  
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat? 625

septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,  
cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa  
sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum

<sup>604</sup> hinc *PRγ*.

<sup>609</sup> celebrans *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>611</sup> consessum *M*<sup>1</sup>.



## AENEID BOOK V

boys are called Troy and the troop Trojan.<sup>1</sup> Thus far were solemnized the sports in honour of the holy sire.

<sup>604</sup> Here first Fortune changed and broke her faith. While at the tomb with various games they pay the due rites, Juno, daughter of Saturn, sends Iris down from heaven to the Ilian fleet, and breathes fair winds to waft her on, pondering many a thought and with her ancient grudge still unsated. She, speeding her way along her thousand-hued rainbow, runs swiftly down her path, a maiden seen of none. She views the vast throng, scans the shore, and sees the harbour forsaken and the fleet abandoned. But far apart on the lonely shore the Trojan women wept for Anchises' loss, and all, as they wept, gazed on the fathomless flood. "Ah, for weary folk what waves remain, what wastes of sea!" Such is the one cry of all. 'Tis a city they crave; weary are they of bearing the ocean-toil. So into their midst, well versed in working ill, Iris flings herself, and lays aside the face and robe of a goddess. She becomes Beroë, aged wife of Tmarian Doryclus, who had once had family, fame, and children, and in such form joins the throng of Dardan mothers. "Ah, wretched we," she cries, "whom Achæan hands dragged not to death in war beneath our native walls! Ah, hapless race, for what destruction does Fortune reserve thee? The seventh summer is now on the wane since Troy's overthrow and we measure in our course all seas and lands, with many rocks and stars inhospitable, while o'er the great

<sup>1</sup> The brilliant equestrian sports, known as *ludus Troiae*, were introduced by Sulla, and fully developed by Augustus. Virgil, in compliment to the Emperor, connects them with Aeneas and Ascanius.

# VIRGIL

Italiam sequimur fugientem et volvitur undis.  
 hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes ; 630  
 quis prohibet muros iacere et dare civibus urbem ?  
 o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste Penates,  
 nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia ? nusquam  
 Hectoreos amnis, Xanthum et Simoenta, videbo ?  
 quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppis. 635  
 nam mihi Cassandrae per somnum vatis imago  
 ardentis dare visa faces : 'hic quaerite Troiam,  
 hic domus est,' inquit 'vobis.' iam tempus agi  
 res,

nec tantis mora prodigiis. en quattuor arae  
 Neptuno ; deus ipse faces animumque ministrat." 640

Haec memorans prima infensum vi corripit  
 ignem

sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat  
 et iacit. arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda  
 Iliadum. hic una e multis, quae maxima natu,  
 Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix : 645  
 "non Beroe vobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres,  
 est Dorycli coniunx ; divini signa decoris  
 ardentisque notate oculos, qui spiritus illi,  
 qui voltus vocisque sonus vel gressus eunti.  
 ipsa egomet dudum Beroen digressa reliqui 650  
 aegram, indignantem, tali quod sola careret  
 munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores."  
 haec effata.

at matres primo ancipites oculisque malignis  
 ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem 655  
 praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna,  
 cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis  
 ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.  
 tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore  
 conclamant rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem ; 660

<sup>631</sup> qui *M*<sup>1</sup> : quid *R*.

<sup>649</sup> quis *PR* γ<sup>1</sup>.

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deep we chase a fleeing Italy and toss upon the waves. Here are the lands of our brother Eryx, and here is our host Acestes. Who forbids us to cast up walls and give our citizens a city? O fatherland, O household gods, in vain rescued from the foe, shall no town hereafter be called Troy's? Shall I nowhere see a Xanthus and a Simois, the rivers of Hector? Nay, come! and burn with me these accursed ships. For in my sleep the phantom of Cassandra, the soothsayer, seemed to give me blazing brands: 'Here seek Troy,' she said; 'here is your home.' Now 'tis time that deeds be done; such portents brook no delay. Lo, four altars to Neptune! The god himself lends the brands and the resolve."

<sup>641</sup> Thus speaking, she first strongly seized the deadly flame, and raising her brand aloft, with full force brandished it and threw. Startled are the minds of the Trojan dames, their wits bewildered. Hereon one from out their throng, and she the eldest, Pyrgo, royal nurse for Priam's many sons: "This, look you, mothers, is not Beroë; this is not the Rhoeteian wife of Doryclus. Mark the signs of divine beauty and the flashing eyes; what fire she has, what lineaments, the sound of her voice, or her step as she moves. I myself but even now left Beroë behind, sick, and fretting that she alone had no part in such a rite, nor could pay to Anchises the offerings due!" So she spake. But at first the matrons were gazing on the ships doubtfully and with jealous eyes, wavering between an unhappy yearning for the land now reached and the realm that called them with the voice of fate, when the goddess on poised wings rose through the sky, cleaving in flight the mighty bow beneath the clouds. Then, indeed, amazed at the marvels and driven by frenzy, they cry aloud,

## VIRGIL

pars spoliant aras, frondem ac virgulta facesque  
coniciunt. furit immissis Volcanus habenis  
transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppis.

Nuntius Anchisae ad tumultum cuneosque theatri  
incensas perfert navis Eumelus, et ipsi 665  
respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.

primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris  
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit  
castra, nec exanimis possunt retinere magistri.

“quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis,”  
inquit, 670

“heu! miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque  
castra

Argivum, vestras spes uritis. en ego vester  
Ascanius!” galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,  
qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.  
accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum. 675  
ast illae diversa metu per litora passim  
diffugiunt silvasque et sicubi concava furtim  
saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque  
mutatae adgnoscent, excussa que pectore Iuno est.

Sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia viris 680  
indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit  
stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas  
est vapor, et toto descendit corpore pestis,  
nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.  
tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem 685  
auxilioque vocare deos et tendere palmas:  
“Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad  
unum

Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores  
respicit humanos, da flammam evadere classi

<sup>680</sup> flamma  $M^2P^1$ , *Donatus*: flammam  $M^1P^2\gamma^1$ : flammae  
 $M(late)R\gamma^2$ .

<sup>685</sup> abscindere  $P$ : abscidere  $R$ : excindere  $M$ .

## AENEID BOOK V

and some snatch fire from the hearths within ; others strip the altars, and throw on leaves and twigs and brands. With free rein Vulcan riots amid thwarts and oars and hulls of painted pine.

<sup>664</sup> To the tomb of Anchises and the seats of the theatre Eumelus bears tidings of the burning ships, and looking back, their own eyes see the black ash floating in a smoky cloud. And first Ascanius, as gaily he led the galloping troops, eagerly spurred his horse to the bewildered camp, nor can the breathless trainers hold him back. "What strange madness this?" he cries. "Whither now, whither are ye bound, ah! my wretched countrywomen? 'Tis not the foe, not the hostile Argive camp ye burn, but your own hopes. Lo! I am your own Ascanius!" And before his feet he flung the empty helmet wherewith he was arrayed as he awoke in sport the mimicry of battle. Thither hastens Aeneas, too; thither, too, the Trojan bands. But the women scatter in dismay over the shores here and there, and make stealthily for the woods and the hollow rocks they anywhere can find. They loathe the deed and the light of day; with changed thoughts they know their kin, and Juno is shaken from their hearts.

<sup>680</sup> But not for that did the burning flames lay aside their unquelled fury; under the wet oak the tow is alive, slowly belching smoke; the smouldering heat devours the keels, a plague sinking through the whole frame, nor can the heroes' strength, nor the floods they pour, avail. Then good Aeneas rent the garment from his shoulders, and called the gods to his aid, lifting up his hands: "Almighty Jupiter, if thou dost not yet utterly abhor the Trojans to their last man, if thy loving-kindness of old hath any regard for human sorrows, grant to the fleet to



nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto ; 690  
 vel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,  
 si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra."  
 vix haec ediderat, cum effusis imbris atra  
 tempestas sine more furit tonitruque tremescunt  
 ardua terrarum et campi ; ruit aethere toto 695  
 turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris,  
 implenturque super puppes, semusta madescunt  
 robora, restinctus donec vapor omnis et omnes,  
 quattuor amissis, servatae a peste carinae.

At pater Aeneas, casu concussus acerbo, 700  
 nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas  
 mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis,  
 oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.  
 tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas  
 quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte, 705  
 (haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira  
 magna deum vel quae fatorum posceret ordo),  
 isque his Aenean solatus vocibus infit :

“ nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur ;  
 quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.  
 est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes ; 711  
 hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem,  
 huic trade, amissis superant qui navibus et quos  
 pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est ;  
 longaevosque senes ac fessas aequore matres 715  
 et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est  
 delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi ;  
 urbem appellabunt permisso nomine Acestam.”

<sup>695</sup> campis *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*γ*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>706</sup> hac *c*<sup>1</sup>.



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escape the flame even now, O Father, and snatch from doom the slender fortunes of the Trojans! Or if I deserve it, do thou with levelled thunderbolt send down to death the little that remains, and here overwhelm us with thy hand." Scarce had he uttered this when with streaming showers a black tempest rages unrestrained; with thunder tremble hills and plains; from the whole sky down rushes a fierce storm of rain, pitch-black with laden south winds. The ships are filled to overflowing, the half-burnt timbers are soaked, till all the heat is quenched, and all the hulls save four are rescued from the plague.

<sup>700</sup> But father Aeneas, stunned by the bitter blow, now this way, now that, within his heart shifted mighty cares, pondering whether, forgetful of fate, he should settle in Sicilian fields, or aim to reach Italian coasts. Then aged Nautes, whom, above all, Tritonian Pallas taught, and with deep lore made famous—she it was who gave him answers, telling either what the mighty wrath of the gods portended, or what the course of fate demanded—he with these words essays to comfort Aeneas: "Goddess-born, whither the Fates, in their ebb and flow, draw us, let us follow; whatever befall, all fortune is to be o'ercome by bearing. Thou hast Trojan Acestes, of divine stock; him take to share thy counsels, a willing partner; to him entrust those who, their ships thus lost, are left over, and those who have grown weary of thy great emprise and of thy fortunes. Choose out the old men full of years and sea-worn matrons, and all of thy company who are weak and fearful of peril, and grant that the wearied find their city in this land. This town, so thou allow the name, they shall call Acesta."

# VIRGIL

Talibus incensus dictis senioris amici  
 tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnis. 720  
 et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat :  
 visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis  
 Anchisae subito talis effundere voces :  
 “ nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,  
 care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fati, 725  
 imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem  
 depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.  
 consiliis pare, quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes  
 dat senior ; lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,  
 defer in Italiam. gens dura atque aspera cultu 730  
 debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante  
 infernas accede domos et Averno per alta  
 congressus pete, nate, meos. non me impia namque  
 Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum  
 concilia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla 735  
 nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.  
 tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.  
 iamque vale ; torquet medios Nox umida cursus,  
 et me saevus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.”  
 dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras. 740  
 Aeneas, “ quo deinde ruis ? quo proripis ? ” inquit,  
 “ quem fugis ? aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet ? ”  
 haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitatur ignis,  
 Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae  
 farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra. 745  
 Extemplo socios primumque accersit Acesten  
 et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis  
 edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet.

719 accensus *R*.

720 animum  $\gamma^2$ , *Servius*.

722 facies caelo *R* $\gamma$ .

731 est Latio *P*.

734 tristesve *M* (*late*) : tristesque *c*<sup>2</sup>.

740 in] ad *P* : in ad  $\gamma^1$ .

746 arcessit *P*.

## AENEID BOOK V

<sup>719</sup> Then, indeed, kindled by such words of his aged friend, he is torn asunder in soul amid all his cares. And now, borne upwards in her chariot, black Night held the sky, when there seemed to glide down from heaven the likeness of his father Anchises and suddenly to utter thus his words :

<sup>724</sup> “ O son, dearer to me than life, in days when life was mine ; O son, much tried by Ilium’s fate ! I come hither by Jove’s command, who drove the fire from thy fleet, and at last has had pity from high heaven. Obey the fair advice that aged Nautes now gives ; chosen youths, the bravest hearts, lead thou to Italy. A people hard and rugged in nurture must thou subdue in Latium. Yet first draw nigh the nether halls of Dis, and through the depths of Avernus seek, my son, a meeting with me. For impious Tartarus, with its gloomy shades, holds me not, but I dwell in Elysium amid the sweet assemblies of the blest. Hither, with much blood of black sheep, the pure Sibyl will lead thee ; and then shalt thou learn of all thy race, and what city is given thee. And now farewell ; dewy Night wheels her midway course, and the cruel East has breathed on me with panting steeds.” He spake, and passed like smoke into thin air. “ Whither art thou rushing now ? ” cries Aeneas. “ Whither hurriest thou ? Whom fleest thou, or who bars thee from our embraces ? ” So speaking, he rouses the embers of the slumbering fires, and with holy meal and full censer humbly worships the Lar of Troy and the shrine of hoary Vesta.

<sup>746</sup> Straightway he summons his comrades—Acestes first—and instructs them of Jove’s command, the counsel of his dear father, and the resolve now settled in his soul. Not long is their debate ; nor

# VIRGIL

haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes.  
 transcribunt urbi matres populumque volentem 750  
 deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentes.  
 ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt  
 robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque,  
 exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.  
 interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro 755  
 sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam  
 esse iubet. gaudet regno Troianus Acestes  
 indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis.  
 tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes  
 fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos 760  
 ac lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.

Iamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris  
 factus honos; placidi straverunt aequora venti,  
 creber et adspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum.  
 exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus; 765  
 complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur.  
 ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam  
 visa maris facies et non tolerabile nomen,  
 ire volunt omnemque fugae perferre laborem.  
 quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis 770  
 et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.  
 tris Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam  
 caedere deinde iubet solvique ex ordine funem.  
 ipse, caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae,  
 stans procul in prora pateram tenet extaque salsos 775  
 porricit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit.  
 prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis;  
 certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.

<sup>751</sup> egestes *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>761</sup> additus *P*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>. *So Sabb.*

<sup>767</sup> ipsi] ipsae *Nonius*.

<sup>768</sup> nomen *M*<sup>1</sup>: numen *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*, *Servius* (*Aen.* vi. 560):  
caelum *R*.

<sup>772</sup> agnos *M*.

## AENEID BOOK V

does Acestes refuse his bidding. They enrol the matrons for the town, and set on shore the folk who wish it so—souls with no craving for high renown. They themselves renew the thwarts, and replace the fire-charred timbers of the ships, and fit up oars and rigging—scant of number, but a brave band alive for war. Meanwhile Aeneas marks out the city with a plough and allots homes; this he bids be Ilium and these lands Troy. Trojan Acestes delights in his kingdom, proclaims a court, and gives laws to the assembled senate. Then, on the crest of Eryx, a shrine, nigh to the stars, is founded to Venus of Idalia, and to Anchises' tomb is assigned a priest with breadth of hallowed grove.

<sup>762</sup> And now for nine days all the folk have feasted and offerings been paid at the altars; gentle winds have lulled the seas, and the South, breathing oft upon them, calls again to sea. Along the winding shore arises a mighty wail; embracing one another, they linger a night and a day. Now the very mothers, the very men to whom once the face of the sea seemed cruel and its name intolerable, are fain to go out and bear all toil of exile. These good Aeneas comforts with kindly words, and commends with tears to his kinsman Acestes. Then he bids slay three steers to Eryx and a lamb to the Tempests, and duly loose the moorings. He himself, with temples bound in leaves of trimmed olive, standing apart on the prow, holds the cup, flings the entrails into the salt flood, and pours the liquid wine. A wind, rising astern, attends them on their way, and with rival strokes his comrades lash the sea and sweep the waters.

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<sup>776</sup> *proicit most MSS. : proiecit c : porricit Heinsius. cf. 238.*

<sup>778</sup> *precedes 777 P.*



# VIRGIL

At Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis  
alloquitur talisque effundit pectore questus : 780  
“Iunonis gravis ira nec exsaturabile pectus  
cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis ;  
quam nec longa dies, pietas nec mitigat ulla,  
nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit. FMPR  
non media de gente Phrygum exedissee nefandis 785  
urbem odiis satis est nec poenam traxe per omnem  
reliquias Troiae ; cineres atque ossa peremptae  
insequitur. causas tanti sciat illa furoris.  
ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis  
quam molem subito excierit ; maria omnia caelo 790  
miscuit, Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,  
in regnis hoc ausa tuis.  
per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis  
exussit foede puppis et classe subegit  
amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae. 795  
quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas  
vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim,  
si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae.”

Tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti :  
“fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis, 800  
unde genus ducis. merui quoque ; saepe furores  
compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque.  
nec minor in terris (Xanthum Simoentaque testor)  
Aeneae mihi cura tui. cum Troia Achilles  
exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris, 805  
milia multa daret leto, gemerentque repleti  
amnes nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset  
in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti

<sup>782</sup> in] ad *Servius*. <sup>784</sup> fatisque *Fγ*. <sup>785</sup> exedissee *F*.  
<sup>786</sup> traxe *P<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>* : traxere *F<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>* : traxisse *F<sup>2</sup>M<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>*. omnis *P<sup>1</sup>*.  
<sup>787</sup> punctuation as indicated by *MPR*.  
<sup>794</sup> excussit *M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>*.  
<sup>795</sup> ignota *MP<sup>2</sup>R*. relinquere *P<sup>2</sup>γ*. terra *MP<sup>2</sup>*.  
<sup>805</sup> inmitteret *F<sup>1</sup>*. <sup>807</sup> atque] neque *P*.



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779 But Venus meanwhile, distressed with cares, speaks thus to Neptune, and from her heart pours out her plaint: "Juno's fell wrath and implacable heart constrain me, O Neptune, to stoop to every prayer. Her no lapse of time, nor any goodness softens, nor doth she rest, still unbent by Fate and Jove's command. 'Tis not enough that from the midst of the Phrygian race she in her fell hate has devoured their city and dragged through utmost vengeance the remnants of Troy; the very ashes and dust of the slaughtered race she still pursues. The causes of such madness be it hers to know. Thyself art my witness what sudden turmoil she raised of late in the Libyan waters; all the seas she mingled with the sky, in vain relying on the storms of Aeolus; and this she dared in thy realm. Lo! too, wickedly driving on the Trojan matrons, she hath foully burnt their ships, and forced them—their fleet lost—to abandon their comrades to an unknown shore. Grant, I pray, that the remnant may commit their sails safely to thee across the waters; grant them to gain Laurentine Tiber; if I ask what is right, if those walls are granted by the Fates."

799 Then Saturn's son, lord of the deep sea, spake thus: "Every right hast thou, O Cytherean, to put trust in this, my realm, whence thou drawest birth. This, too, I have earned; often have I checked the fury and mighty rage of sea and sky. Nor less on land—I call Xanthus and Simois to witness—has been my care for thy Aeneas. When Achilles in his pursuit hurled the Trojan bands in panic on their walls, and sent many thousands to death, when the choked rivers groaned, and Xanthus could not find his way or roll out to sea—then 'twas I who, in a

# VIRGIL

congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis  
 nube cava rapui, cuperem cum vertere ab imo 810  
 structa meis manibus periuræ moenia Troiae.  
 nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle  
 timorem.

tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.  
 unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeres;  
 unum pro multis dabitur caput."

MPR

His ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis, 816  
 iungit equos auro Genitor spumantiaque addit  
 frena feris manibusque omnis effundit habenas.  
 caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru;  
 subsidunt undae tumidumque sub axe tonanti 820  
 sternitur aequor aquis; fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi.  
 tum variae comitum facies, immania cete,  
 et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon  
 Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis;  
 laeva tenet Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo, 825  
 Nesaeæ Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque.

Hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim  
 gaudia pertemptant mentem; iubet ocius omnis  
 attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis.

una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros, 830  
 nunc dextros solve sinus; una ardua torquent  
 cornua detorquentque; ferunt sua flamina classem.  
 princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat  
 agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.  
 iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam 835  
 contigerat; placida laxabant membra quiete  
 sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae:

<sup>810</sup> eripui *F*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>811</sup> periturae *F*<sup>1</sup>*M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>812</sup> timorem *F* (?) *M*: timores *PRγ*. <sup>814</sup> missum *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>821</sup> equis *M*<sup>1</sup>*b*<sup>1</sup>. fugiuntque ex aethere *M*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>825</sup> tenent *P*: tent *R*.

<sup>829</sup> velis] remis *MR*.

<sup>837</sup> sedilia] silentia *P*<sup>1</sup>.

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hollow cloud, caught Aeneas, as he confronted the brave son of Peleus and neither the gods nor his strength were in his favour, even though I was eager to uproot from their base the walls of perjured Troy that my own hands had built. Now, too, my purpose stands the same; away with fear. In safety, as thou prayest, shall he reach the haven of Avernus. One only shall there be whom, lost in the flood, thou shalt seek in vain; one life shall be given for many."

<sup>816</sup> When with these words he had soothed to gladness the goddess' heart, the Sire yokes his wild steeds with gold, fastens their foaming bits, and lets all the reins stream freely in his hand; then over the water's surface lightly he flies in azure car. The waves sink to rest, beneath the thundering axle the sea of swollen waters is smoothed, and the storm-clouds vanish from the wide sky. Then come the diverse forms of his train—monstrous whales, the aged company of Glaucus, with Ino's son, Palaemon, the swift Tritons, and the whole host of Phorcus. Thetis and Melite keep the left, and maiden Panopea, Nesaea and Spio, Thalia and Cymodoce.

<sup>827</sup> On this in their turn soothing joys thrill father Aeneas' anxious heart. He bids all the masts be raised with speed and the yards spread with sails. Together all set the sheets, and all at once, now to the left and now to the right, they let out the canvas; together they turn to and fro the yard-arms aloft; favouring breezes bear on the fleet. First before all, leading the close column, was Palinurus; by him the rest are bidden to shape their course.

<sup>835</sup> And now dewy Night had just reached its mid-goal in heaven; the sailors, stretched on their hard benches under the oars, relaxed their limbs in quiet

# VIRGIL

cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris  
 aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,  
 te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans 840  
 insonti ; puppique deus consedit in alta,  
 Phorbanti similis, funditque has ore loquellas :  
 “ Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem,  
 aequatae spirant aerae, datur hora quieti.  
 pone caput fessosque oculos furare labori. 845  
 ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.”  
 cui vix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur :  
 “ mene salis placidi voltum fluctusque quietos  
 ignorare iubes ? mene huic confidere monstro ?  
 Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus auris, 850  
 et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni ? ”  
 talia dicta dabat clavumque adfixus et haerens  
 nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat.  
 ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem  
 vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat 855  
 tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.  
 vix primos inopiâ quies laxaverat artus,  
 et super incumbens cum puppis parte revolsa  
 cumque gubernaculo liquidas proiecit in undas  
 praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem ;  
 ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras. 861  
 currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis  
 promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.  
 iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat,  
 difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos, 865  
 (tum rauca adsiduo longe saepe saxa sonabant),  
 cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro

<sup>843</sup> ipsa aequora] sua flamina *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>850</sup> fallacius *Donatus*. austris *P*<sup>2</sup>*γ*.

<sup>851</sup> caelo *P*<sup>1</sup>*γ*<sup>1</sup>. sereno *γ*<sup>1</sup>*c*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>852</sup> dictabat *P*.

<sup>860</sup> saepe] voce *M*.

<sup>861</sup> ad] in *Pγ*.

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rest; when Sleep, sliding lightly down from the stars of heaven, parted the dusky air and cleft the gloom, seeking thee, O Palinurus, and bringing thee baleful dreams, guiltless one! There on the high stern sat the god, in semblance of Phorbas, and pours these accents from his lips: "Palinurus, son of Iasus, the seas of themselves bear on the fleet; steadily breathe the breezes; the hour is given to rest. Lay down thy head and steal thy weary eyes from toil. I myself for a space will take thy duty in thy stead." To him, scarce lifting his eyes, speaks Palinurus: "Me dost thou bid shut my eyes to the sea's calm face and peaceful waves? Me put faith in this monster? And Aeneas—why, indeed, am I to trust him to the treacherous breezes, I whom a clear sky has so often deceived?" Such words he said and, clinging fast to the tiller, never let loose his hold, and kept his eyes upturned to the stars. But lo! the god, shaking over his temples a bough dripping with Lethe's dew and steeped in the drowsy might of Styx, despite his efforts relaxes his swimming eyes. Hardly had a sudden slumber begun to unbend his limbs when, leaning above, Sleep flung him headlong into the clear waters, tearing away, as he fell, the helm and part of the stern, and calling oft-times vainly on his comrades. The god himself winged his way in flight to the thin air above. None the less the fleet speeds safely on its course over the sea and, trusting in Father Neptune's promises, glides on unafraid. And now, onward borne, it was nearing the cliffs of the Sirens, perilous of old and white with the bones of many men—at this time with the ceaseless surf the rocks afar were booming hoarsely—when the sire found that his ship was

## VIRGIL

sensit et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis,  
 multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici :  
 “o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,                      870  
 nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.”

<sup>871</sup> *According to Servius and Probus, it is due to Varius and Tucca that the book closes with this verse, Virgil himself having added here ll. 1 and 2 of Book VI.*



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drifting aimlessly, her pilot lost, and himself steered her amid the waves of night, oft sighing and stunned at heart by his friend's mischance. "Ah, too trustful in the calm of sky and sea, naked shalt thou lie, Palinurus, on an unknown strand!"

## LIBER VI

Sic fatur lacrimans classique immittit habenas,   MPR  
 et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris.  
 obvertunt pelago proras, tum dente tenaci  
 ancora fundabat navis, et litora curvae  
 praetexunt puppes. iuvenum manus emicat ardens 5  
 litus in Hesperium; quaerit pars semina flammae  
 abstrusa in venis silicis, pars densa ferarum  
 tecta rapit silvas, inventaque flumina monstrat.  
 at pius Aeneas arces, quibus altus Apollo  
 praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,   10  
 antrum immane, petit, magnam cui mentem ani-  
 mumque

Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura.  
 iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta.

Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna,  
 praepetibus pinnis ausus se credere caelo,   15  
 insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos  
 Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce.  
 redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacravit  
 remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.  
 in foribus letum Androgeo; tum pendere poenas   20  
 Cecropidae iussi, miserum! septena quotannis  
 corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.

<sup>17</sup> arcaem *M*<sup>1</sup>: arca *R*: arce *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*.

<sup>20</sup> Androgeo *bc*, *Priscian*, *Servius*, &c.: Androgei *MPRγ*.

## BOOK VI

THUS he cries weeping, and gives his fleet the reins, and at last glides up to the shores of Euboean Cumae. They turn the prows seaward, then with the grip of anchors' teeth made fast the ships, and the round keels fringe the beach. In hot haste the youthful band leaps forth on the Hesperian shore; some seek the seeds of flame hidden in veins of flint, some pillage the woods,<sup>1</sup> the thick coverts of game, and point to new-found streams. But good Aeneas seeks the heights, where Apollo sits enthroned,<sup>2</sup> and a vast cavern hard by, hidden haunt of the dread Sibyl, into whom the Delian seer breathes a mighty mind and soul, revealing the future. Now they pass under the grove of Trivia and the roof of gold.

<sup>14</sup> Daedalus, 'tis said, when fleeing from Minos' realm, dared on swift wings to trust himself to the sky; on his unwonted way he floated forth towards the cold North, and at last stood lightly poised above the Chalcidian hill. Here first restored to earth, he dedicated to thee, O Phoebus, the oarage of his wings and built a vast temple. On the doors is the death of Androgeos; then the children of Cecrops, bidden, alas! to pay as yearly tribute seven living sons; there stands the urn, the lots now drawn.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* for firewood. Virgil here dignifies commonplace themes, the gathering of fuel and the procuring of water.

<sup>2</sup> Cumae was on high ground, capped by two summits, on one of which was the temple of Apollo.

## VIRGIL

contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus :  
 hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto  
 Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis 25  
 Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae; *FMPR*  
 hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;  
 magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem  
 Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,  
 caeca regens filo vestigia. tu quoque magnam 30  
 partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes;  
 bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,  
 bis patriae cecidere manus. quin protinus omnia  
 perlegerent oculis, ni iam praemissus Achates  
 adforet atque una Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos, 35  
 Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi:  
 "non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit:  
 nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuencos  
 praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentis."  
 talibus adfata Aenean (nec sacra morantur 40  
 iussa viri) Teucros vocat alta in templa sacerdos.

Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum,  
 quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum,  
 unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae.  
 ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo, "poscere fata 45  
 tempus" ait: "deus, ecce, deus!" cui talia fanti  
 ante fores subito non voltus, non color unus,  
 non comptae mansere comae, sed pectus anhelum,  
 et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque videri  
 nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando 50

<sup>23</sup> Cnosia *P.*

<sup>37</sup> poscunt *M<sup>1</sup>R*, known to *Servius*.

<sup>33</sup> omne *Rb*: omnem *a*.

<sup>39</sup> de] ex *Fc*.

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Opposite, rising from the sea, the Gnosian land faces this; here is the cruel love of the bull, Pasiphaë craftily mated, and the mongrel breed of the Minotaur, a twiformed offspring, record of monstrous love; there that house of toil, a maze inextricable; but lo! Daedalus, pitying the princess' great love, himself unwound the deceptive tangle of the palace, guiding blind feet with the thread. Thou, too, O Icarus, wouldst have large share in such a work, did grief permit: twice had he essayed to fashion thy fall in gold; twice sank the father's hands. Ay, and all the tale throughout would their eyes have scanned, but now came Achates from his errand, and with him the priestess of Phoebus and Trivia, Deïphobe, daughter of Glaucus, who thus bespeaks the king: "Not sights like these does this hour demand! Now it were better to sacrifice seven bullocks from the unbroken herd, and as many ewes fitly chosen." Having thus addressed Aeneas—and not slow are they to do her sacred bidding—the priestess calls the Teucrians into the lofty fane.

<sup>42</sup> The huge side of the Euboean rock is hewn into a cavern, whither lead a hundred wide mouths, a hundred gateways, whence rush as many voices, the answers of the Sibyl.<sup>1</sup> They had come to the threshold, when the maiden cries: "'Tis time to ask the oracles; the god, lo! the god!" As thus she spake before the doors, suddenly nor countenance nor colour was the same, nor stayed her tresses braided; but her bosom heaves, her heart swells with wild frenzy, and she is taller to behold, nor has her voice a mortal ring, since now she feels the nearer breath of

<sup>1</sup> The volcanic hills of Cumae are pierced by many grottos. One of these, the *antrum* of the Sibyl, could be approached through the temple.

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iam propiore dei. “cessas in vota precesque,   MPR  
Tros,” ait, “Aenea? cessas? neque enim ante  
dehiscent

attonitae magna ora domus.” et talia fata  
conticuit. gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit  
ossa tremor, funditque preces rex pectore ab imo: 55  
“Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores,  
Dardana qui Paridis direxti tela manusque  
corpus in Aeacidæ, magnas obeuntia terras  
tot maria intravi duce te penitusque repostas  
Massylum gentis praetentaque Syrtibus arva;   60  
iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras;  
hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta.

vos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti,  
dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens  
gloria Dardaniae. tuque, o sanctissima vates,   65  
praescia venturi, da (non indebita posco  
regna meis fatis) Latio considerare Teucros  
errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae.  
tum Phoebæ et Triviae solido de marmore templum  
instituum festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.   70  
te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris.  
hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata  
dicta meae genti ponam, lectosque sacrabo,  
alma, viros. foliis tantum ne carmina manda,  
ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis;   75  
ipsa canas oro.” finem dedit ore loquendi.

<sup>67</sup> consistere *R.*

<sup>69</sup> templa *Py.*

<sup>70</sup> constituam *R.*



## AENEID BOOK VI

deity. "Art thou slow to vow and to pray?" she cries. "Art slow, Trojan Aeneas? For till then the mighty mouths of the awestruck house will not gape open." So she spake and was mute. A chill shudder ran through the Teucrians' sturdy frames, and their king pours forth prayers from inmost heart :

56 "O Phœbus, who hast ever pitied the heavy woes of Troy, who didst guide the Dardan shaft and hand of Paris against the body of Aeacus' son, under thy guidance did I enter so many seas, skirting mighty lands, the far remote Massylian tribes, and the fields the Syrtes fringe; now at last we grasp the shores of fleeing Italy; thus far only may Troy's fortune have followed us! Yè, too, may now fitly spare the race of Pergamus, ye gods and goddesses all, to whom Troy and Dardania's great glory were an offence. And thou, most holy prophetess, who foreknowest the future, grant—I ask no realm unpledged by my fate—that the Teucrians may rest in Latium, with the wandering gods and storm-tossed powers of Troy. Then to Phoebus and Trivia will I set up a temple of solid marble, and festal days in Phoebus' name.<sup>1</sup> Thee also a stately shrine awaits in our realm;<sup>2</sup> for here will I place thy oracles and mystic utterances, told to my people, and ordain chosen men, O gracious one. Only trust not thy verses to leaves, lest they fly in disorder, the sport of rushing winds; chant them thyself, I pray." His lips ceased speaking.

<sup>1</sup> A reference both to the temple of Apollo, dedicated on the Palatine 28 B.C., and to the Apollo games, instituted in 212 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the secret place for the Sibylline books, which were deposited under the statue of Apollo in the temple on the Palatine.

At Phoebi nondum patiens, immanis in antro  
 bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit  
 excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat  
 os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo. 80  
 ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum  
 sponte sua vatisque ferunt responsa per auras:

“o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis  
 (sed terrae graviora manent), in regna Lavini  
 Dardanidae venient (mitte hanc de pectore curam);  
 sed non et venisse volent. bella, horrida bella 86  
 et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.  
 non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra  
 defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,  
 natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno 90  
 usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis  
 quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!  
 causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris  
 externique iterum thalami.

tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, 95  
 quam tua te Fortuna sinet. via prima salutis,  
 quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.”

Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla  
 horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit,  
 obscuris vera involvens; ea frena furenti 100  
 concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo.

<sup>78</sup> posset *R.*

<sup>84</sup> terra *Ry<sup>2</sup>*, known to *Servius*. Latini known to *Servius*.

<sup>96</sup> quam *MSS.*, *Servius*: qua *Seneca* (*Ep.* LXXXII. 18).

<sup>1</sup> The Simois and Xanthus of Troyland will have their counterparts in the Numicius and Tiber of Latium.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Turnus.

<sup>3</sup> Lavinia, wooed by Turnus, but wedded to Aeneas, will be the second Helen.

<sup>4</sup> A Stoic maxim. The brave man may rise superior to fortune, however adverse. The reading *qua* (“with bolder

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<sup>77</sup> But the prophetess, not yet brooking the sway of Phoebus, storms wildly in the cavern, if so she may shake the mighty god from off her breast; so much the more he tires her raving mouth, tames her wild heart, and moulds her by constraint. And now the hundred mighty mouths of the house have opened of their own will, and bring through the air the seer's reply:

<sup>83</sup> "O thou that at last hast fulfilled the great perils of the sea—yet by land more grievous woes await thee—into the realm of Lavinium the sons of Dardanus shall come—relieve thy heart of this care—yet they shall not also joy in their coming. Wars, grim wars I see, and Tiber foaming with streams of blood. A Simois thou shalt not lack, nor a Xanthus,<sup>1</sup> nor a Doric camp. Even now another Achilles<sup>2</sup> is raised up in Latium, he, too, goddess-born; nor shall Juno anywhere fail to dog the Trojans, whilst thou, a suppliant in thy need, what races, what cities of Italy shalt thou not implore! The cause of all this Trojan woe is again an alien bride, again a foreign marriage!<sup>3</sup> Yield not thou to ills, but go forth to face them more boldly than thy Fortune shall allow thee!<sup>4</sup> Thy path of safety shall first, little as thou deemest it, be opened from a Grecian city."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>98</sup> In such words the Cumaeen Sibyl chants from the shrine her dread enigmas and echoes from the cavern, wrapping truth in darkness—so does Apollo shake the reins as she rages, and ply the spur beneath her breast. Soon as the frenzy ceased

heart advance to meet it, by such road as thy Destiny shall allow thee") is apparently a corruption in Seneca, who interprets the passage as if he read *quam*.

<sup>5</sup> viz. Pallanteum, city of Evander, on the site of the later Rome.

ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt,  
 incipit Aeneas heros : “ non ulla laborum,  
 o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;  
 omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi. 105  
 unum oro : quando hic inferni ianua regis  
 dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso,  
 ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora  
 contingat ; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.  
 illum ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela 110  
 eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi ;  
 ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum  
 atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat,  
 invalidus, viris ultra sortemque senectae.  
 quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem, 115  
 idem orans mandata dabat. gnatique patrisque,  
 alma, precor, miserere ; potes namque omnia, nec te  
 nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernus.  
 si potuit Manis accersere coniugis Orpheus  
 Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris ; 120  
 si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit  
 itque reditque viam totiens—quid Thesea magnum,  
 quid memorem Alciden?—et mi genus ab Iove summo.”

Talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat,  
 cum sic orsa loqui vates : “ sate sanguine divum, 125  
 Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Averno :  
 noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis ;  
 sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,  
 hoc opus, hic labor est. pauci, quos aequus amavit  
 Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus, 130  
 dis geniti potuere. tenent media omnia silvae,

<sup>109</sup> contingam *PRγ*<sup>1</sup>. <sup>113</sup> caelique minas pelagique *M*.

<sup>115</sup> et omitted *P*<sup>1</sup>*Rγ*<sup>2b</sup>. <sup>116</sup> nati *Rγ*<sup>2</sup>. <sup>119</sup> accersere *P*.

<sup>122</sup> *Servius* preferred to punctuate after Thesea.

<sup>126</sup> Averno *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup>: Avernus *P*<sup>2</sup>*Rγ*: *Servius* knows both:  
 Averno est *M*<sup>2</sup>.

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and the raving lips were hushed, Aeneas the hero begins: "For me no form of toils arises, O maiden, strange or unlooked for; all this ere now have I forecast and inly traversed in thought. One thing I pray: since here is the famed gate of the nether king, and the gloomy marsh from Acheron's overflow, be it granted me to pass into my dear father's sight and presence; teach thou the way and open the hallowed portals! Him, amid flames and a thousand pursuing spears, I rescued on these shoulders, and brought safe from the enemy's midst. He, the partner of my way, endured with me all the seas and all the menace of ocean and sky, weak as he was, beyond the strength and portion of age. Nay, he, too, prayed and charged me humbly to seek thee and draw near to thy threshold. Pity both son and sire, I beseech thee, gracious one; for thou art all-powerful, and not in vain hath Hecate made thee mistress in the groves of Avernus. If Orpheus availed to summon his wife's shade, strong in his Thracian lyre and tuneful strings; if Pollux, dying in turn, ransomed his brother and so often comes and goes his way—why speak of great Theseus, why of Alcides?—I, too, have descent from Jove most high!"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>124</sup> In such words he prayed and clasped the altar, when thus the prophetess began to speak: "Sprung from blood of gods, son of Trojan Anchises, easy is the descent to Avernus: night and day the door of gloomy Dis stands open; but to recall thy steps and pass out to the upper air, this is the task, this the toil! Some few, whom kindly Jupiter has loved, or shining worth uplifted to heaven, sons of the gods, have availed. In all the mid-space lie woods, and Cocytus

<sup>1</sup> Through his mother Venus, a daughter of Jupiter.



# VIRGIL

Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.  
 quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est  
 bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre  
 Tartara, et insano iuvat indulgere labori, 135  
 accipe quae peragenda prius. latet arbore opaca  
 aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus,  
 Iunoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis  
 lucus et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbrae.  
 sed non ante datur telluris operta subire, 140  
 auricomos quam qui decerpserit arbore fetus.  
 hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus  
 instituit; primo avolso non deficit alter  
 aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.  
 ergo alte vestiga oculis et rite repertum 145  
 carpe manu; namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,  
 si te fata vocant; aliter non viribus ullis  
 vincere nec duro poteris convellere ferro.  
 praeterea iacet exanimum tibi corpus amici  
 (heu! nescis) totamque incestat funere classem, 150  
 dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes.  
 sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulchro.  
 duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt.  
 sic demum lucos Stygis et regna invia vivis  
 aspicias." dixit pressoque obmutuit ore. 155  
 Aeneas maesto defixus lumina voltu  
 ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecosque volutat  
 eventus animo secum. cui fidus Achates  
 it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit.  
 multa inter sese vario sermone serebant, 160  
 quem socium exanimem vates, quod corpus humandum  
 diceret. atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,

133 est omitted *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*.

144 similis *M*.

151 pendens *k*.

156 deflexus *P*<sup>1</sup>.

141 quis *PRγ*.

147 non] nec *R*.

154 Stygiis *M*<sup>1</sup>*Rγ*<sup>1</sup>: Stygios *P*<sup>2</sup>*γ*<sup>2</sup>.

161 exanimum *PRγ*.



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girds it, gliding with murky folds. But if such love is in thy heart—if such a yearning, twice to swim the Stygian lake, twice to see black Tartarus—and if thou art pleased to give rein to the mad endeavour, hear what must first be done. There lurks in a shady tree a bough, golden in leaf and pliant stem, held consecrate to nether Juno ;<sup>1</sup> this all the grove hides, and shadows veil in the dim valleys. But 'tis not given to pass beneath earth's hidden places, save to him who hath plucked from the tree the golden-tressed fruitage. This hath beautiful Proserpine ordained to be borne to her as her own gift. When the first is torn away, a second fails not, golden too, and the spray bears leaf of the selfsame ore. Search then with eyes aloft and, when found, duly pluck it with thy hand ; for of itself will it follow thee, freely and with ease, if Fate be calling thee ; else with no force wilt thou avail to win it or rend it with hard steel. Moreover, there lies the dead body of thy friend—ah ! thou knowest not!—and defiles all the fleet with death, whilst thou seekest counsel and hoverest on our threshold. Him bear first to his own place and hide him in the tomb. Lead black cattle ; be these thy first peace-offerings. Only so shalt thou survey the Stygian groves and realms the living may not tread." She spake, and with closed lips was silent.

<sup>156</sup> With sad countenance and downcast eyes, Aeneas wends his way, quitting the cavern, and ponders in his mind the dark issues. At his side goes loyal Achates, and plants his steps under a like load of care. Much varied discourse were they weaving, each with each—of what dead comrade spoke the soothsayer, of what body for burial? And lo ! as they came, they see on the dry beach Misenus, cut

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Proserpine.

# VIRGIL

ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum,  
 Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter  
 aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu. 165  
 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum  
 et lituo pugnans insignis obibat et hasta.  
 postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles,  
 Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros  
 addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus. 170  
 sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha,  
 demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,  
 aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,  
 inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda.  
 ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant, 175  
 praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae,  
 haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulchri  
 congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.  
 itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum;  
 procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus illex 180  
 fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur  
 scinditur, advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos.

Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus  
 hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.  
 atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat, 185  
 aspectans silvam immensam, et sic forte precatur:  
 "si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus  
 ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere  
 heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est."  
 vix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae 190  
 ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes  
 et viridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros  
 maternas adgnovit avis laetusque precatur:  
 "este duces o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras  
 derigite in lucos, ubi pinguem dives opacat 195

<sup>177</sup> sepulchro *P.*

<sup>193</sup> agnoscit *R.*: agnoscit *P.*

<sup>186</sup> forte] voce *R.*

<sup>195</sup> dirigite *M.*

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off by untimely death—Misenus, son of Aeolus, surpassed by none in stirring men with his bugle's blare, and in kindling with his clang the god of war. He had been great Hector's comrade, at Hector's side he braved the fray, glorious for clarion and spear alike; but when Achilles, victorious, stripped his chief of life, the valiant hero came into the fellowship of Dardan Aeneas, following no meaner standard. Yet on that day, while haply he makes the seas ring with his hollow shell, madman! and with his blare calls the gods to contest, jealous Triton—if the tale can win belief—caught and plunged him in the foaming waves amid the rocks. So, with loud lament, all were mourning round him, good Aeneas foremost. Then weeping, they quickly carry out the Sibyl's commands, and toil in piling trees for the altar of his tomb and in rearing it to the sky. They pass into the forest primeval, the deep lairs of beasts; down drop the pitchy pines, and the ilex rings to the stroke of the axe; ashen logs and splintering oak are cleft with wedges, and from the mountains they roll in huge rowans.

<sup>183</sup> No less Aeneas, first amid such toils, cheers his comrades and girds on like weapons. And alone he ponders with his own sad heart, gazing on the boundless forest, and, as it chanced, thus prays: "O if now that golden bough would show itself to us on the tree in the deep wood! For all things truly—ah! too truly—spake the seer of thee, Misenus." Scarce had he so said when under his very eyes twin doves, as it chanced, came flying from the sky and lit on the green grass. Then the great hero knew them for his mothers' birds, and prays with joy: "O be my guides, if any way there be, and through the air steer a course into the grove, where the rich bough overshades the

## VIRGIL

ramus humum. tuque o, dubiis ne defice rebus,  
 diva parens." sic effatus vestigia pressit,  
 observans, quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.  
 pascentes illae tantum prodire volando,  
 quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum. 200  
 inde ubi venere ad fauces grave olentis Averni,  
 tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aëra lapsae  
 sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt,  
 discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.  
 quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum 205  
 fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,  
 et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos :  
 talis erat species auri frondentis opaca  
 ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento.  
 corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit 210  
 cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.

Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucris  
 flebant, et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.  
 principio pinguem taedis et robore secto  
 ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris 215  
 intexunt latera, et feralis ante cupressos  
 constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis.  
 pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis  
 expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et ungunt. FMPR  
 fit gemitus. tum membra toro defleta reponunt 220  
 purpureasque super vestis, velamina nota,  
 coniciunt. pars ingenti subiere feretro,  
 triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum  
 aversi tenere facem. congesta cremantur  
 turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo. 225

<sup>200</sup> acies *M*<sup>1</sup>. sequentur *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>203</sup> geminae *R*.

<sup>224</sup> faces *P*<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>225</sup> dapes] ferunt *P*<sup>1</sup>: fervent *P*<sup>2</sup>: dape ferunt γ.

## AENEID BOOK VI

fruitful ground! And thou, O goddess-mother, fail not my dark hour!" So speaking, he checked his steps, marking what signs they bring, whither they direct their course. They, as they fed, advanced in flight just so far as a pursuer's eyes could keep them within ken; then, when they came to the jaws of noisome Avernus, they swiftly rise and, dropping through the buxom air, settle on the site longed for, the twofold tree, whence, with diverse hue, shone out amid the branches the gleam of gold. As in winter's cold, amid the woods, the mistletoe, sown of an alien tree, is wont to bloom with strange leafage, and with yellow fruit embrace the shapely stems: such was the vision of the leafy gold on the shadowy ilex, so rustled the foil in the gentle breeze. Forthwith Aeneas plucks it and greedily breaks off the clinging bough, and carries it beneath the roof of the prophetic Sibyl.

<sup>212</sup> No less meanwhile on the beach the Teucrians were weeping for Misenus and paying the last dues to the thankless dust. And first they raise a huge pyre, rich with pitchy pine and oaken logs. Its sides they entwine with sombre foliage, set in front funereal cypresses, and adorn it above with gleaming arms.<sup>1</sup> Some heat water, setting cauldrons a-bubbling on the flames, and wash and anoint the cold body. Loud is the wailing; then, their weeping done, they lay his limbs upon the couch, and over them cast purple robes, the familiar dress. Some shouldered the heavy bier—sad ministry! and in ancestral fashion, with averted eyes, held the torch below. The gifts are piled up in the blaze—frankincense, flesh, viands, and bowls of flowing oil. After the ashes fell in and

<sup>1</sup> Probably the arms of his comrades. His own arms are mentioned in 233 below.



# VIRGIL

postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit,  
 reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,  
 ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aëno.  
 idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,  
 spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae, 230  
 lustravitque viros, dixitque novissima verba.  
 at pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulchrum  
 imponit, suaque arma viro remumque tubamque,  
 monte sub aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo  
 dicitur, aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen. 235

His actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.  
 spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,  
 scrupaea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,  
 quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes  
 tendere iter pinnis : talis sese halitus atris 240  
 faucibus effundens super ad convexa ferebat  
 [unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornon]. R  
 quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuvenco FMPR  
 constituit, frontique invergit vina sacerdos,  
 et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas 245  
 ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima,  
 voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem.  
 supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem  
 succipiunt pateris. ipse atri velleris agnam  
 Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaеque sorori 250  
 ense ferit sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.  
 tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras  
 et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,  
 pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.  
 ecce autem primi sub limina solis et ortus 255

<sup>231</sup> viros] domos *P*<sup>1</sup>*R*.

<sup>241</sup> supera *FM*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*γ*.

<sup>242</sup> omitted *FM*<sup>1</sup>*P* : added on margin of *M* by late hand, then deleted : placed before 241 in *γ*. Avernum *R* : aornum *γ*.

<sup>249</sup> succipiunt *FP*, *Servius* : suscipiunt *MRγ*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>254</sup> superque best *MSS.* : super late *MSS.* infundens *M*.

<sup>255</sup> limina *FM* : lumina *PRγ*.



## AENEID BOOK VI

the flame died away, they washed with wine the remnant of thirsty dust, and Corynaeus, gathering the bones, hid them in a brazen urn. He, too, with pure water thrice encircled his comrades and cleansed them, sprinkling light dew from a fruitful olive-bough, and spake the words of farewell. But good Aeneas heaps over him a massive tomb, with the soldier's own arms, his oar and trumpet, beneath a lofty mount, which now from him is called Misenus, and keeps from age to age an ever-living name.

<sup>236</sup> This done, he fulfils with haste the Sibyl's behest. A deep cave there was, yawning wide and vast, shingly, and sheltered by dark lake and woodland gloom, over which no flying creatures could safely wing their way; such a vapour from those black jaws poured into the over-arching heaven [whence the Greeks spoke of Avernus, the Birdless Place]. Here first the priestess set in line four dark-backed heifers, and pours wine upon their brows; then, plucking the topmost bristles from between the horns, lays them on the sacred fire for first offering, calling aloud on Hecate, supreme both in Heaven and in Hell. Others set knives to the throat and catch the warm blood in bowls. Aeneas himself slays with the sword a black-fleeced lamb to the mother<sup>1</sup> of the Eumenides and her great sister, and to thee, O Proserpine, a barren heifer. Then for the Stygian king<sup>2</sup> he inaugurates an altar by night, and lays upon the flames whole carcasses of bulls, pouring fat oil over the blazing entrails. But lo! hard upon the dawn and threshold of the early sun the ground

<sup>1</sup> Night, who, with her sister Terra, was a daughter of Chaos.

<sup>2</sup> Pluto.

## VIRGIL

sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri  
 silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram  
 adventante dea. "procul o, procul este, profani,"  
 conclamat vates, "totoque absistite luco;  
 tuque invade viam vaginaque eripe ferrum : 260  
 nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo."  
 tantum effata furens antro se immisit aperto;  
 ille ducem haud timidis vadentem passibus aequat.

Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque  
 silentes

et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late, 265  
 sit mihi fas audita loqui; sit numine vestro  
 pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram  
 perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna,  
 quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna 270  
 est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra  
 Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.  
 vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus

Orci

MPR

Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,  
 pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus 275  
 et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,  
 terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque; ✓  
 tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis  
 Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum  
 ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens,  
 vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis. 281

<sup>267</sup> *altas M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>270</sup> *incertum F<sup>1</sup> : inceptam bc<sup>2</sup>, Servius, who knows incertam.*

<sup>273</sup> *primis in P.*

<sup>281</sup> *innixa R.*

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<sup>1</sup> Hecate, who comes to open the way.

<sup>2</sup> The realm of Pluto is conceived as being approached through an entrance court, at the far side of which is the threshold (*limen*, 279), with the doors (*fores*, 286), admitting

## AENEID BOOK VI

rumbled underfoot, the wooded ridges began to quiver, and through the gloom dogs seemed to howl as the goddess<sup>1</sup> drew nigh. "Away! away! unhallowed ones!" shrieks the seer, "withdraw from all the grove! And do thou rush on the road and unsheathe thy sword! Now, Aeneas, thou needest thy courage, now thy stout heart!" So much she said, and plunged madly into the opened cave; he, with fearless steps, keeps pace with his advancing guide.

<sup>264</sup> Ye gods, who hold the domain of spirits! ye voiceless shades! Thou, Chaos, and thou, Phlegethon, ye broad, silent tracts of night! Suffer me to tell what I have heard; suffer me of your grace to unfold secrets buried in the depths and darkness of the earth!

<sup>268</sup> On they went dimly, beneath the lonely night amid the gloom, through the empty halls of Dis and his phantom realm, even as under the grudging light of an inconstant moon lies a path in the forest, when Jupiter has buried the sky in shade, and black Night has stolen from the world her hues. Just before the entrance,<sup>2</sup> even within the very jaws of Hell, Grief and avenging Cares have made their bed; there pale Diseases dwell, and sad Age, and Fear, and ill-counselling Famine, and loathly Want, shapes terrible to view; and Death and Distress; next, Death's own brother Sleep, and the soul's Guilty Joys, and, on the threshold opposite, the death-bearer War, and the Furies' iron cells, and savage Strife, her snaky locks entwined with bloody fillets.

to the interior. Once within the *fores*, Aeneas finds a vast domain, divided into several parts. He first follows a path leading to Acheron.

## VIRGIL

In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit  
 ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia volgo  
 vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.  
 multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum, 285  
 Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes  
 et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernae,  
 horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,  
 Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricorporis umbrae.  
 corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum 290  
 Aeneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert;  
 et, ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore vitas  
 admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,  
 inruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.

Hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.  
 turbidus hic caeno vastaue voragine gurges 296  
 aestuat, atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.  
 portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat  
 terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento  
 canities inculca iacet, stant lumina flamma, 300  
 sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.  
 ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat  
 et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,  
 iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.  
 huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat, 305  
 matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita  
 magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae  
 impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:  
 quam multa in silvis autumnii frigore primo

<sup>300</sup> flamma *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup>, *Servius* on I. 646: flammae *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*R**γ*.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Geryon, a giant with three bodies, slain by Hercules.

<sup>2</sup> The *portitor* (from *portus*) is properly the harbour-master, who watches over the port (cf. *flumina servat*) and collects the *portoria*, or port-tolls. But this official must occasionally

## AENEID BOOK VI

<sup>282</sup> In the midst an elm, shadowy and vast, spreads  
 her boughs and aged arms, the home which, men say,  
 false Dreams hold here and there, clinging under  
 every leaf. And many monstrous forms besides of  
 various beasts are stalled at the doors, Centaurs and  
 double-shaped Scyllas, and the hundredfold Briareus,  
 and the beast of Lerna, hissing horribly, and the  
 Chimaera armed with flame, Gorgons and Harpies,  
 and the shape of the three-bodied shade.<sup>1</sup> Here on a  
 sudden, in trembling terror, Aeneas grasps his sword,  
 and turns the naked edge against their coming; and  
 did not his wise companion warn him that these  
 were but faint, bodiless lives, flitting under a hollow  
 semblance of form, he had rushed upon them and  
 vainly cleft shadows with the steel.

<sup>295</sup> Hence a road leads to the waters of Tartarean  
 Acheron. Here, thick with mire and of fathomless  
 flood, a whirlpool seethes and belches into Cocytus all  
 its sand. A grim warden<sup>2</sup> guards these waters and  
 streams, terrible in his squalor—Charon, on whose  
 chin lies a mass of unkempt, hoary hair; his eyes  
 are staring orbs of flame; his squalid garb hangs by a  
 knot from his shoulders. Unaided, he poles the boat,  
 tends the sails, and in his murky craft convoys the  
 dead—now aged, but a god's old age is hardy and  
 green. Hithēr rushed all the throng, streaming to  
 the banks; mothers and men and bodies of high-  
 souled heroes, their life now done, boys and unwedded  
 girls, and sons placed on the pyre before their  
 fathers' eyes; thick as the leaves of the forest that  
 at autumn's first frost dropping fall, and thick as the

have acted as a ferryman, as Charon certainly does, and the  
 idea that he was primarily a ferryman was probably furthered  
 by the resemblance of the word to *portare*. After Virgil the  
 original meaning faded away.



# VIRGIL

lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto 310  
 quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus  
 trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.  
 stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum  
 tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.  
 navita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos, 315  
 ast alios longe submotos arcet harena.  
 Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu  
 "dic," ait, "o virgo, quid volt concursus ad amnem?  
 quidve petunt animae? vel quo discrimine ripas  
 hae linquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?" 320  
 olli sic breviter fata est longaeva sacerdos:  
 "Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles,  
 Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem,  
 di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen. 324  
 haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est;  
 portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti;  
 nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta  
 transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.  
 centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum;  
 tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt." 330  
 constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit,  
 multa putans sortemque animi miseratus iniquam.  
 cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis  
 Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,  
 quos simul ab Troia ventosa per aequora vectos 335  
 obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.

Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,  
 qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat,  
 exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis.  
 hunc ubi vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra, 340

320 vertunt *P*.

329 haec] hi *P*<sup>1</sup>.

332 animo *PR*: animi *M*<sup>1</sup> (*with final i erased M*<sup>2</sup>).

334 Orontem *MR*<sub>γ</sub>: Oronten *P*.

335 ab *P*<sup>1</sup>: a *MP*<sup>2</sup>*R*<sub>γ</sub>.

336 viru *P*<sup>1</sup>: virum *P*<sup>2</sup>: viros *P* (*late*).



## AENEID BOOK VI

birds that from the seething deep flock shoreward, when the chill of the year drives them overseas and sends them into sunny lands. They stood, pleading to be the first ferried across, and stretched out hands in yearning for the farther shore. But the surly boatman takes now these, now those, while others he thrusts apart, back from the brink. Then aroused and amazed by the disorder, Aeneas cries: "Tell me, O maiden, what means the crowding to the river? What seek the spirits? or by what rule do these leave the banks, and those sweep the lurid stream with oars?" To him thus briefly spake the aged priestess: "Anchises' son, true offspring of gods, thou seest the deep pools of Cocytus and the Stygian marsh, by whose power the gods fear to swear falsely. All this crowd thou seest is helpless and graveless; yonder warden is Charon; those whom the flood carries are the buried. Nor may he bear them o'er the dreadful banks and hoarse-voiced waters ere their bones have found a resting-place. A hundred years they roam and flit about these shores; then only are they admitted and revisit the longed-for pools."

<sup>331</sup> Anchises' son paused and stayed his steps, pondering much, and pitying in soul their cruel lot. There he espies, doleful and reft of death's honour, Leucaspis and Orontes, captain of the Lycian fleet, whom, while voyaging together from Troy over windy waters, the South overwhelmed, engulfing alike ship and sailors.

<sup>337</sup> Lo! there passed the helmsman, Palinurus, who of late, on the Libyan voyage, while he marked the stars, had fallen from the stern, flung forth in the midst of the waves. Him, when at last amid the deep gloom he knew the sorrowful form, he first accosts

# VIRGIL

sic prior adloquitur: "quis te, Palinure, deorum  
 eripuit nobis medioque sub aequore mersit?  
 dic age. namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,  
 hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,  
 qui fore te ponto incolumem finisque canebat 345  
 venturum Ausonios. en haec promissa fides est?"  
 ille autem: "neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit,  
 dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit.  
 namque gubernaculum multa vi forte revolsum,  
 cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam, 350  
 praecipitans traxi mecum. maria aspera iuro  
 non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem,  
 quam tua ne, spoliata armis, excussa magistro,  
 deficeret tantis navis surgentibus undis.  
 tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes 355  
 vexit me violentus aqua; vix lumine quarto  
 prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda.  
 paulatim adnabam terrae; iam tuta tenebam,  
 ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum,  
 prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis,  
 ferro invasisset praedamque ignara putasset. 361  
 nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti.  
 quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras,  
 per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,  
 eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram 365  
 inice (namque potes) portusque require Velinos;  
 aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix  
 ostendit (neque enim, credo, sine numine divum  
 flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem),  
 da dextram misero et tecum me tolle per undas, 370  
 sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam."

349 vi forte] vix arte *P*.

350 gerebam *P*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>.

352 illum *M*<sup>1</sup>: nullum *γ*.

358 punctuation after adnabam *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>, preferred by Servius.

## .AENEID BOOK VI

thus : " What god, Palinurus, tore thee from us and plunged beneath' the open ocean? O tell me! for Apollo, never before found false, with this one answer tricked my soul, for he foretold that thou wouldst escape the sea and reach Ausonian shores. Lo! 'is it thus his promise holds?" But he : " Neither did tripod of Phoebus fail thee, my captain, Anchises' son, nor did a god plunge me in the deep. For by chance the helm to which, as my charge, I clung, steering our course, was violently torn from me, and I, dropping headlong, dragged it with me. By the rough seas I swear that not for myself felt I such fear as for thy ship, lest, stripped of its gear and reft of its helmsman, it might fail amid such surging waves. Three stormy nights over the measureless seas the South drove me wildly on the water; scarce on the fourth dawn, aloft on the crest of a wave, I sighted Italy. Little by little I swam shoreward, and even now was grasping at safety, but as, weighted by dripping garb, I caught with bent fingers at the rugged cliff-spurs, the barbarous folk assailed me with the sword, in ignorance deeming me a prize. Now the wave holds me, and the winds toss me on the beach. Oh, by heaven's sweet light and air, I beseech thee, by thy father, by the rising hope of Iûlus, snatch me from these woes, unconquered one! Either do thou, for thou canst, cast earth on me<sup>1</sup> and seek again the haven of Velia; or if there be a way, if thy goddess-mother shows thee one—for not without divine favour, I ween, dost thou essay to stem these great streams and the Stygian mere—give thy hand to one so unhappy, and take me with thee across the waves, that at least in death I may find a quiet resting-place!"

<sup>1</sup> The sprinkling of three handfuls of earth upon a dead body was regarded as a burial.

# VIRGIL

talia fatus erat, coepit cum talia vates :

“ unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido ?

tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum

Eumenidum aspicias ripamve iniussus adibis ? 375

✓ desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.

sed cape dicta memor, duri solacia casus :

nam tua finitimi, longe lateque per urbes

prodigiis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt

et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollemnia mittent, 380

aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.”

his dictis curae emotae, pulsusque parumper

corde dolor tristi ; gaudet cognomine terrae.

Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant.

navita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda 385

per tacitum nemus ire pedemque advertere ripae,

sic prior adgreditur dictis atque increpat ultro :

“ quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,

fare age, quid venias, iam istinc, et comprime gressum.

✓ umbrarum hic locus est, Somni Noctisque soporae ;

corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina. 391

nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem

accepisse lacu nec Thesea Pirithoumque, FMPR

dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.

Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit, 395

ipsius a solio regis, traxitque trementem ;

hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti.”

quae contra breviter fata est Amphrysia vates :

375 abibis *preferred by Servius.*

385 conspexit *M.*

388 tendes *P<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>.*

383 terra *Servius.*

387 adloquitur *R.*

390 est] et *R.*

## AENEID BOOK VI

<sup>372</sup> So had he spoken, and the soothsayer thus began : " Whence, O Palinurus, this wild longing of thine ? Shalt thou, unburied, view the Stygian waters and the Furies' stern river,<sup>1</sup> and unbidden draw near the bank ? Cease to dream that heaven's decrees may be turned aside by prayer. But hear and remember my words, to solace thy hard lot ; for the neighbouring people, in their cities far and wide, shall be driven by celestial portents to appease thy dust, and shall stablish a tomb, and to the tomb pay solemn offerings ; and for ever the place shall bear the name of Palinurus." <sup>2</sup> By these words his cares are banished, and grief is driven for a space from his gloomy heart ; he rejoices in the land bearing his name.

<sup>384</sup> So they pursue the journey begun, and draw near to the river. But when, even from the Stygian wave, the boatman saw them passing through the silent wood and turning their feet towards the bank, he first, unhailed, accosts and rebukes them : " Whoso thou art that comest to our river in arms, O tell me, even from there, why thou comest, and check thy step. This is the land of Shadows, of Sleep and drowsy Night ; living bodies I may not carry in the Stygian boat. And in truth it brought me no joy that I took Alcides in his journey o'er the lake, or Theseus and Pirithoüs, though sons of gods and invincible in valour. The one by force sought to drag into chains, even from the monarch's throne, the warder of Tartarus, and tore him off trembling ; these essayed to carry off our queen from the chamber of Dis." Thereto the Amphrysian<sup>3</sup> soothsayer spake

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Cocytus.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to Capo Palinuro.

<sup>3</sup> The Sibyl is so called because she is a servant of Apollo, the "shepherd of Amphrysus" (*Georg.* III. 2).



## VIRGIL

"nullae hic insidiae tales (absiste moveri),  
 nec vim tela ferunt; licet ingens ianitor antro 400  
 aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras;  
 casta licet patruï servet Proserpina limen.  
 Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,  
 ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.  
 si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago, 405  
 at ramum hunc" (aperit ramum, qui veste latebat)  
 "adgnoscas." tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.  
 nec plura his. ille admirans venerabile donum  
 fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum,  
 caeruleam advertit puppim ripaeque propinquat. 410  
 inde alias animas, quae per iuga longa sedebant,  
 deturbat laxatque foros; simul accipit alveo  
 ingentem Aeneam. gemuit sub pondere cumba  
 sutilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem.  
 tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque  
 informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva. 416

Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci  
 personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.  
 cui vates, horrere videns iam colla colubris,  
 melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam 420  
 obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens  
 corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resolvit  
 fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro.  
 occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto MPR  
 evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae. 425

Continuo auditae voces vagitus et ingens  
 infantumque animae flentes, in limine primo  
 quos dulcis vitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos

428 vita P<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>.



## AENEID BOOK VI

briefly : " No such trickery is here ; be not troubled ; our weapons offer no force ; the huge doorkeeper may from his cave with endless howl affright the bloodless shades ; Proserpine may in purity keep within her uncle's threshold. Trojan Aeneas, famous for piety and arms, descends to his father, to the lowest shades of Erebus. If the picture of such piety moves thee in no wise, yet know this bough !"—and she shows the bough, hidden in her robe. Thereon, after his anger, his swelling breast subsides. No more is said ; but he, marvelling at the dread gift, the fateful wand so long unseen, turns his blue barge and nears the shore. Then other souls that sat on the long thwarts he routs out, and clears the gangways ; the while he takes aboard giant Aeneas. The seamy craft groaned under the weight, and through its chinks took in a marshy flood. At last, across the water, he lands seer and soldier unharmed on the ugly mire and grey sedge.

<sup>417</sup> These realms huge Cerberus makes ring with his triple-throated baying, his monstrous bulk crouching in a cavern opposite. To him, seeing the snakes now bristling on his necks, the seer flung a morsel drowsy with honey and drugged meal. He, opening his triple throat in ravenous hunger, catches it when thrown and, with monstrous frame relaxed, sinks to earth and stretches his bulk over all the den. The warder buried in sleep, Aeneas wins the entrance, and swiftly leaves the bank of that stream whence none return.

<sup>426</sup> At once are heard voices and wailing sore—the souls of infants weeping, whom, on the very threshold of the sweet life they shared not, torn from the breast, the black day swept off and plunged in bitter

# VIRGIL

abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.  
 hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis. 430  
 nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes :  
 quaesitor Minos urnam movet ; ille silentum  
 conciliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina discit.  
 proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum  
 insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi 435  
 proiecere animas. quam vellent aethere in alto  
 nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores !  
 fas obstat tristisque palus inamabilis undae  
 alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coercet.

Nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem  
 Lugentes Campi ; sic illos nomine dicunt. 441  
 hic, quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,  
 secreti celant calles et myrtea circum  
 silva tegit ; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.  
 his Phaedram Procrimque locis maestamque Eriphylen,  
 crudelis nati monstrantem volnera, cernit, 446  
 Euadnenque et Pasiphaën ; his Laodamia  
 it comes et iuvenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus  
 rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram.  
 inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido 450  
 errabat silva in magna. quam Troius heros  
 ut primum iuxta stetit adgnovitque per umbras  
 obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense  
 aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,  
 demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est : 455  
 “ infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo  
 venerat extinctam, ferroque extrema secutam ?  
 funeris heu ! tibi causa fui ? per sidera iuro,

<sup>433</sup> consilium *P*<sup>γ</sup><sup>1</sup>.

<sup>436</sup> quas *M* (*late*).

<sup>438</sup> fata obstant *M*<sup>2</sup>*γ*<sup>2</sup>, *Augustinus*, *Servius*. tristi *Servius*.  
 unda *M*<sup>2</sup>*R*<sup>2</sup>*γ*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*.

<sup>442</sup> peremit *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>449</sup> revocata *R*.

<sup>452</sup> umbra *M*<sup>1</sup> : umbram *M*<sup>2</sup>*γ*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>455</sup> dimisit *M*.

## AENEID BOOK VI

death.<sup>1</sup> Near them were those on false charge condemned to die. Yet not without lot, not without a judge, are these places given: Minos, presiding, shakes the urn; 'tis he calls a court of the silent, and learns men's lives and misdeeds. The region thereafter is held by those sad souls who in innocence wrought their own death and, loathing the light, flung away their lives. How gladly now, in the air above, would they bear both want and harsh distress! Fate withstands; the unlovely mere with its dreary water enchains them and Styx imprisons with his ninefold circles.

<sup>440</sup> Not far from here, outspread on every side, are shown the Mourning Fields; such is the name they bear. Here those whom stern Love has consumed with cruel wasting are hidden in walks withdrawn, embowered in a myrtle grove; even in death the pangs leave them not. In this region he sees Phaedra and Procris, and sad Eriphyle, pointing to the wounds her cruel son had dealt, and Evadne and Pasiphaë. With them goes Laodamia, and Caeneus, once a youth, now a woman, and again turned back by Fate into her form of old. Among them, with wound still fresh, Phoenician Dido was wandering in the great forest, and soon as the Trojan hero stood nigh and knew her, a dim form amid the shadows—even as, in the early month, one sees or fancies he has seen the moon rise amid the clouds—he shed tears, and spoke to her in tender love: “Unhappy Dido! then was the tale brought me true, that thou wert no more, and hadst sought thy doom with the sword? Was I, alas! the cause of death to thee?”

<sup>1</sup> As Henry says, infants are placed in the very entrance of Hades, because they had died at the entrance of life. Their place is one neither of punishment nor of joy.

# VIRGIL

per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,  
 invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. 460  
 sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,  
 per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,  
 imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi  
 hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.  
 siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro. 465  
 quem fugis? extremum fato, quod te adloquor, hoc  
 est."

talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem  
 lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat.  
 illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat  
 nec magis incepto voltum sermone movetur, 470  
 quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.  
 tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit  
 in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi  
 respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.  
 nec minus Aeneas, casu concussus iniquo, 475  
 prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem.

Inde datum molitur iter. iamque arva tenebant  
 ultima, quae bello clari secreta frequentant.  
 hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclutus armis  
 Parthenopaeus et Adrasti pallentis imago. 480  
 hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci  
 Dardanidae, quos ille omnis longo ordine cernens  
 ingemuit, Glaucumque Medontaque Thersilochumque,  
 tris Antenoridas, Cererique sacrum Polyboeten,  
 Idaeumque etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem. 485  
 circumstant animae dextra laevaue frequentes.  
 nec vidisse semel satis est; iuvat usque morari

474 respondit *R.* 475 percussus *R.*

476 lacrimas *M*<sup>1</sup>; lacrimans *M*<sup>2</sup>.

477 tenebat *P.* 481 hi *M.*

484 Polyboten *P*<sup>1</sup>.

486 frementes *P.* *So Sabb.*

## AENEID BOOK VI

By the stars I swear, by the world above, and whatever is sacred in the grave below, unwillingly, O queen, I parted from thy shores. But the gods' decrees, which now constrain me to pass through these shades, through lands squalid and forsaken, and through abysmal night, drove me with their behests; nor could I deem my going thence would bring on thee distress so deep. Stay thy step and withdraw not from our view. Whom fleest thou? The last word Fate suffers me to say to thee is this!"

<sup>467</sup> With such speech amid springing tears Aeneas would soothe the wrath of the fiery, fierce-eyed queen. She, turning away, kept her looks fixed on the ground and no more changes her countenance as he essays to speak than if she were set in hard flint or Marpesian rock. At length she flung herself away and, still his foe, fled back to the shady grove, where Sychaeus, her lord of former days, responds to her sorrows and gives her love for love. Yet none the less, dazed by her unjust doom, Aeneas attends her with tears afar and pities her as she goes.

<sup>477</sup> Thence he toils along the way that offered itself. And now they gained the farthest fields,<sup>1</sup> where the renowned in war dwell apart. Here Tydeus meets him; here Parthenopaeus, famed in arms, and the pale shade of Adrastus; here, much wept on earth above and fallen in war, the Dardan chiefs; whom as he beheld, all in long array, he moaned—Glaucus and Medon and Thersilochus, the three sons of Antenor, and Polyboetes, priest of Ceres, and Idaeus, still keeping his car, still his arms. Round about, on right and left, stand the souls in throngs. To have seen him once is not enough; they delight to linger on, to pace

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* of the neutral region, neither Elysium nor Tartarus.



# VIRGIL

et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas.  
 at Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaeque phalanges,  
 ut videre virum fulgentiaque arma per umbras, 490  
 ingenti trepidare metu : pars vertere terga, FMPR  
 ceu quondam petiere rates ; pars tollere vocem  
 exiguam, inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis.

Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto  
 Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora, 495  
 ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis  
 auribus et truncas inhonesto vulnere naris.  
 vix adeo adgnovit pavitantem ac dira tegentem  
 supplicia, et notis compellat vocibus ultro :

“ Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine  
 Teucri, 500

quis tam crudelis optavit sumere poenas ?  
 cui tantum de te licuit ? mihi fama suprema  
 nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum  
 procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum.  
 tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem 505  
 constitui et magna Manis ter voce vocavi.

nomen et arma locum servant ; te, amice, nequivi  
 conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra.”  
 ad quae Priamides : “ nihil o tibi, amice, relictum ;  
 omnia Deiphobo solvisti et funeris umbris. 510

sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae  
 his mersere malis ; illa haec monumenta reliquit.  
 namque ut supremam falsa inter gaudia noctem  
 egerimus, nosti ; et nimium meminisse necesse est.  
 cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit 515

<sup>488</sup> poscere *R.*

<sup>495</sup> vidit *Servius* : vidit et *M*<sup>1</sup> : videt *FM*<sup>2</sup>*PR*γ : videt et *Heinsius*.

<sup>498</sup> ac *MP* : et *FR*γ.

<sup>500</sup> a omitted *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>505</sup> in litore *MP*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*.

<sup>509</sup> atquae *M*<sup>1</sup>*P* : atque hic *M*<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>1</sup> : atque haec *c*.



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beside him, and to learn the causes of his coming. But the Danaan princes and Agamemnon's battalions, soon as they saw the man and his arms flashing amid the gloom, trembled with mighty fear; some turn to flee, as of old they sought the ships; some raise a shout—faintly; the cry essayed mocks their gaping mouths.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>494</sup> And here he saw Deiphobus, son of Priam, his whole frame mangled, his face cruelly torn—his face and either hand—his ears wrenched from despoiled brows, and his nostrils lopped by a shameful wound. Scarce, indeed, did he know the quivering form that would hide its awful punishment; then, with familiar accents, unhailed, he accosts him:

<sup>500</sup> “Deiphobus, strong in battle, thou scion of Teucer's high lineage, who chose to wreak a penalty so cruel? Who had power so to deal with thee? Rumour told me that on that last night, weary with endless slaughter of Pelasgians, thou hadst sunk upon a heap of mingled carnage. Then I myself set up an empty tomb upon the Rhoetean shore, and with loud cry called thrice upon thy spirit. Thy name and arms guard the place; thee, my friend, I could not see, nor lay, as I departed, in thy native land.”

<sup>509</sup> To this the son of Priam: “Naught, my friend, hast thou left undone; all dues hast thou paid Deiphobus and the dead man's shade. But me my own fate and the Laconian woman's<sup>2</sup> death-dealing crime o'erwhelmed in these woes. Lo! 'twas she left these memorials! For how we spent that last night amid deluding joys, thou knowest; and all too well must thou remember! When the fateful horse leapt over the heights of Troy, and brought armed infantry

<sup>1</sup> Being unsubstantial shades, they can raise but a faint echo of their former voices.

<sup>2</sup> He disdains to name Helen.

# VIRGIL

Pergama et armatum peditem gravis attulit alvo,  
 illa, chorum simulans, euhantis orgia circum  
 ducebat Phrygias; flammam media ipsa tenebat  
 ingentem et summa Danaos ex arce vocabat.  
 tum me, confectum curis somnoque gravatum, 520  
 infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem  
 dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti.  
 egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis  
 emovet, et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem;  
 intra tecta vocat Menelaum et limina pandit, 525  
 scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,  
 et famam exstingui veterum sic posse malorum.  
 quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo, comes additur  
 una

hortator scelerum Aeolides. di, talia Grais  
 instaure, pio si poenas ore reposco. 530  
 sed te qui vivum casus, age fare vicissim,  
 attulerint. pelagine venis erroribus actus  
 an monitu divum? an quae te fortuna fatigat,  
 ✓ ut tristis sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?"

Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis 535  
 iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem;  
 et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus,  
 sed comes admonuit breviterque adfata Sibylla est:  
 "nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas.  
 hic locus est, partis ubi se via findit in ambas: 540  
 dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,  
 hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum

516 alveo *MR.* 520 coris *a*<sup>1</sup>: choreis *Schrader.*

524 emovet *F*<sup>1</sup>*R*<sub>γ</sub>: etmovet *P*<sup>1</sup>: amovet *F*<sup>2</sup>*MP*<sup>2</sup>.

528 thalamos *R.* additus *PR.*

532 attulerit *M*<sup>1</sup>. 539 fando *Reinach.*

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to weight its womb, she feigned a solemn dance and round the city led the Phrygian wives, shrieking in their Bacchic rites; she herself in the midst held a mighty torch and called the Danaans from the castle-height. Care-worn and sunk in slumber, I was then fast in our ill-starred bridal chamber, sleep weighing upon me as I lay—sweet and deep, very image of death's peace. Meanwhile, this peerless wife takes every weapon from the house—even from under my head she had withdrawn my trusty sword; into the house she calls Menelaus and flings wide the door, hoping, I doubt not, that her lover would find herein a great boon, and so the fame of old misdeeds might be blotted out. Why linger? They burst into my chamber; with them comes their fellow-counsellor of sin, the son of Aeolus.<sup>1</sup> Ye gods, with like penalties requite the Greeks, if with pious lips I pray for vengeance! But come, tell in turn what chance hath brought thee here, alive. Comest thou driven in thy ocean-wanderings, or at Heaven's command? Or what doom wearies thee, that thou shouldst visit these sad, sunless dwellings, this land of disorder?"

<sup>535</sup> In such interchange of talk, Dawn, with roseate car, had now crossed mid-heaven in her skyey course, and perchance in such wise they would have spent all the allotted time, but the Sibyl beside him gave warning with brief words: "Night is coming, Aeneas; we waste the hours in weeping. Here is the place, where the road parts in twain:<sup>2</sup> there to the right, as it runs under the walls of great Dis, is our way to Elysium, but the left wreaks the punishment of the

<sup>1</sup> Ulysses was son of Laertes, but gossip made him the son of Sisyphus, whose father was Aeolus.

<sup>2</sup> Thus far the way has led through neutral ground.

## VIRGIL

exercet poenas, et ad impia Tartara mittit."  
 Deiphobus contra: "ne saevi, magna sacerdos;  
 discedam, explebo numerum reddarque tenebris. 545  
 i decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere fatis."  
 tantum effatus, et in verbo vestigia torsit.

Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra  
 moenia lata videt, triplici circumdata muro,  
 quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis, 550  
 Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.  
 porta adversa, ingens, solidoque adamante columnae,  
 vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi exscindere bello  
 caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,  
 Tisiphoneque sedens, palla succincta cruenta, 555  
 vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.  
 hinc exaudiri gemitus, et saeva sonare  
 verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.  
 constitit Aeneas strepituque exterritus haesit. 559  
 "quae scelerum facies? o virgo, effare: quibusve MPR  
 urgentur poenis? quis tantus plangor ad auras?"  
 tum vates sic orsa loqui: "dux inclute Teucrum,  
 nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen;  
 sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis,  
 ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit. 565  
 Gnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna  
 castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri,  
 quae quis apud superos, furto laetatus inani,  
 distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.  
 continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello 570  
 Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra

<sup>547</sup> torsit] pressit *MR*γ (*in margin*).

<sup>553</sup> bello] ferro *M*.

<sup>556</sup> insomnis *R*.

<sup>559</sup> strepitumque *FP<sup>1</sup>R*, *Servius*. hausit *F<sup>2</sup>P<sup>1</sup>γ*, *Servius*.

<sup>561</sup> qui *P<sup>1</sup>R*. plangor *MP<sup>1</sup>R*: clangor *P<sup>2</sup>γ*, *Servius*.  
 auris *P*.

<sup>562</sup> tunc *P*. sic] hinc *PR*.

<sup>571</sup> turtos *P<sup>1</sup>*.

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wicked, and sends them on to pitiless Tartarus." Thereto Deiphobus: "Be not wroth, great priestess; I will go my way; I will fill up the tale<sup>1</sup> and get me back to the darkness. Go thou, our glory, go; enjoy a happier fate!" Thus much he said and, as he spoke, turned his steps.

<sup>548</sup> Suddenly Aeneas looks back, and under a cliff on the left sees a broad castle, girt with triple wall and encircled with a rushing flood of torrent flames—Tartarean Phlegethon, that rolls along thundering rocks. In front stands the huge gate, and pillars of solid adamant, that no might of man, nay, not even the sons of heaven, may uproot in war; there stands the iron tower, soaring high, and Tisiphone, sitting girt with bloody pall, keeps sleepless watch o'er the portal night and day. Therefrom are heard groans and the sound of the savage lash; withal, the clank of iron and dragging of chains. Aeneas stopped, rooted to the spot in terror of the din. "What forms of crime are these? Say, O maiden! With what penalties are they scourged? What cry so loud uprises?" Then the seer thus began to speak: "Famed chieftain of the Teucrians, no pure soul may tread the accursed threshold; but when Hecate set me over the groves of Avernus, she taught me the gods' penalties and guided me through all. Gnosian Rhadamanthus holds here his iron sway; he chastises, and hears the tale of guilt, exacting confession of crimes, whenever in the world above any man, rejoicing in vain deceit, has put off atonement for sin until death's late hour. Straightway avenging Tisiphone, girt with the lash, leaps on the guilty to scourge them,

<sup>1</sup> A metaphorical expression. The ghosts are flocks, which Hades, as shepherd, counts. Deiphobus will return to the fold, filling up the place he had left vacant.



intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum.  
 tum demum horrissono stridentes cardine sacrae  
 panduntur portae. cernis, custodia qualis  
 vestibulo sedeat, facies quae limina servet? 575  
 quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra  
 saevior intus habet sedem. tum Tartarus ipse  
 bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras,  
 quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.  
 hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes, 580  
 fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo.  
 hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi  
 corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum  
 adgressi superisque Iovem detrudere regnis.  
 vidi et crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas, 585  
 dum flammās Iovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.  
 quattuor hic invectus equis et lampada quassans  
 per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem  
 ibat ovans, divumque sibi poscebat honorem, FMPR  
 demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen 590  
 aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.  
 at pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum  
 contorsit, non ille faces nec fumea taedis  
 lumina, praecipitemque immani turbine adegit.  
 nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum,  
 cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus 596  
 porrigitur, rostroque immanis voltur obunco  
 immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis  
 viscera, rimaturque epulis, habitatque sub alto  
 pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis. 600  
 quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque,

<sup>580</sup> proles *R*.<sup>586</sup> flammam *P*.<sup>591</sup> cursu *F(late)M<sup>2</sup>Rγ<sup>2</sup>*. simularat *F(late)*.<sup>595</sup> omnipotentis *F<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>*, *Nonius*.<sup>597</sup> abunco *FRc*: adunco *Pγ*.<sup>1</sup> Tisiphone.<sup>2</sup> To dwellers below, this region of light, our world, would



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and with left hand brandishing her grim snakes, calls on her savage sister band. Then at last, grating on harsh, jarring hinge, the infernal gates open. Seest thou what sentry<sup>1</sup> sits in the doorway? what shape guards the threshold? The monstrous Hydra, still fiercer, with her fifty black gaping throats, dwells within. Then Tartarus itself yawns sheer down, stretching into the gloom twice as far as is yon sky's upward view<sup>2</sup> to heavenly Olympus. Here the ancient sons of Earth, the Titan's brood, hurled down by the thunderbolt, writhe in the lowest abyss. Here, too, I saw the twin sons of Aloeus, giant in stature, whose hands essayed to tear down high Heaven and thrust down Jove from his realm above. Salmoneus, too, I saw, who paid a cruel penalty while aping Jove's fires and the thunders of Olympus. He, borne by four horses and brandishing a torch, rode triumphant through the Greek peoples and his city in the heart of Elis, claiming as his own the homage of deity. Madman! to mimic the storm-clouds and inimitable thunder with brass and the tramp of horn-footed horses! But the Father Almighty amid thick clouds launched his bolt—no firebrands he, nor pitch-pines' smoky glare—and drove him headlong with furious whirlwind. Likewise one might see Tityos, nursling of Earth, the universal mother. Over nine full acres his body is stretched, and a monstrous vulture with crooked beak gnaws at his deathless liver and vitals fruitful for anguish; deep within the breast he lodges and gropes for his feast; nor is any respite given to the filaments that grow anew. Why tell of the Lapithae, Ixion and Pirithoüs, over whom hangs a black crag be a sort of *caelum*, a skÿ; cf. 719 and 896 below. More commonly, *caeli suspectus* is taken as "man's skyward gaze," which makes *ad aetherium Olympum* redundant. Some editors connect *caeli* with *Olympum*.

# VIRGIL

quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique  
 imminet adsimilis? lucent genialibus altis  
 aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae  
 regifico luxu; Furiarum maxima iuxta 605  
 accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,  
 exsurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore.

Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,  
 pulsatusve parens, et fraus innexa clienti,  
 aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis 610  
 nec partem posuere suis (quae maxima turba est),  
 quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti  
 impia nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras,  
 inclusi poenam exspectant. ne quaere doceri,  
 quam poenam, aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit.  
 saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum 616  
 districti pendent; sedet aeternumque sedebit  
 infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis  
 admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras:

‘discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos.’ 620  
 vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem  
 imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit;  
 hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos  
 ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti.  
 non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum, 625  
 ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas,  
 omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.”

Haec ubi dicta dedit Phoebi longaeva sacerdos,  
 “sed iam age, carpe viam et susceptum perforce munus,

<sup>602</sup> quos *F<sup>2</sup>MPγ, Probus, Macrobius*: quod *F<sup>1</sup>*: quo *R.*  
 -que omitted *Rγ.* <sup>604</sup> paternae *R.* <sup>607</sup> increpat *Pγ<sup>1</sup>.*  
<sup>617</sup> districti *F<sup>1</sup>*: de- *F<sup>2</sup>MP<sup>2</sup>Rγ*: -te *P<sup>1</sup>.* <sup>629</sup> et iam *M.*

## AENEID BOOK VI

that now, yea now, would seem to slip and fall? <sup>1</sup> High festal couches gleam with frames<sup>2</sup> of gold, and before their eyes is spread a banquet in royal splendour. Yet, reclining hard by, the eldest Fury stays their hands from touch of the table, springing forth with uplifted torch and thunderous cries.

<sup>608</sup> "Here were they who in lifetime hated their brethren, or smote a sire, and entangled a client in wrong; or who brooded in solitude over wealth they had won, nor set aside a portion for their kin—the largest number this; who were slain for adultery; or who followed unholy warfare,<sup>3</sup> and feared not to break faith with their lords—all these, immured, await their doom. Seek not to learn that doom, or what form of crime, or fate, o'erwhelmed them! Some roll a huge stone, or hang outstretched on spokes of wheels; hapless Theseus sits and evermore shall sit, and Phlegyas, most unblest, gives warning to all and with loud voice bears witness amid the gloom: *Be warned; learn ye to be just and not to slight the gods!* This one sold his country for gold, and fastened on her a tyrant lord; he made and unmade laws for a bribe. This forced his daughter's bed and a marriage forbidden. All dared a monstrous sin, and what they dared attained. Nay, had I a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and voice of iron, I could not sum up all the forms of crime, or rehearse all the tale of torments."

<sup>628</sup> So spake the aged priestess of Phoebus; then adds: "But come now, take thy way and fulfil the task in hand. Let us hasten. I descry the ramparts

<sup>1</sup> The punishment here assigned to Ixion and Pirithoüs is usually referred to Tantalus.

<sup>2</sup> The *fulcra* correspond to the heads of our modern sofas.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* those engaged in warfare against their own country.

# VIRGIL

acceleremus," ait. "Cyclopum educta caminis 630  
moenia conspicio atque adverso fornice portas,  
haec ubi nos praecepta iubent deponere dona."  
dixerat, et pariter gressi per opaca viarum  
corripiunt spatium medium foribusque propinquant.  
occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti 635  
spargit aqua ramumque adverso in limine figit.

His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,  
devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta  
Fortunatorum Nemorum sedesque beatas.  
largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit 640  
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.  
pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,  
contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena;  
pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.  
nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos 645  
obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,  
iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.  
hic genus antiquum Teucris, pulcherrima proles,  
magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis,  
Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor. 650  
arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis;  
stant terra defixae hastae, passimque soluti  
per campum pascuntur equi; quae gratia currum  
armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis  
pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos. 655  
conspicit ecce alios dextra laevaue per herbam  
vescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis  
inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne  
plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.

<sup>630</sup> ducta *FPRγ*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>640</sup> campus *F<sup>1</sup>Rγ<sup>2</sup>*: campis *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>651</sup> mirantur *F Mγ*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>652</sup> terrae *F*.

## AENEID BOOK VI

reared by Cyclopean forges and the gates with fronting arch, where they bid us lay the appointed gifts." She ended, and advancing side by side along the dusky way, they haste over the mid-space and draw nigh the doors. Aeneas wins the entrance, sprinkles his body with fresh water, and plants the bough full on the threshold.

<sup>637</sup> This at length performed and the task of the goddess fulfilled, they came to a land of joy, the green pleasaunces and happy seats of the Blissful Groves. Here an ampler ether clothes the meads with roseate light, and they know their own sun, and stars of their own. Some disport their limbs on the grassy wrestling-ground, vie in sports, and grapple on the yellow sand; some trip it in the dance and chant songs. There, too, the long-robed Thracian priest<sup>1</sup> matches their measures with the seven clear notes,<sup>2</sup> striking them now with his fingers, now with his ivory quill. Here is Teucer's olden line, family most fair, high-souled heroes born in happier years—Ilus and Assaracus and Dardanus, Troy's founder. From afar he marvels at their phantom arms and chariots. Their lances stand fixed in the ground, and their steeds, unyoked, browse freely over the plain. The selfsame pride in chariot and arms that was theirs in life, the selfsame care in keeping sleek steeds, attends them when hidden beneath the earth. Lo! others he sees, to right and left, feasting on the sward, and chanting in chorus a joyous paean within a fragrant laurel grove, whence, in the world above, the full flood of the Eridanus rolls amid the forest.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Orpheus, a priest of Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> These are the notes of the scale, corresponding to the lyre's seven strings.

<sup>3</sup> The Eridanus, or Po, has an underground course of about two miles near its source, and so was said to spring from the lower world.



# VIRGIL

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando volnera passi, 660  
 quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,  
 quique pii vates et Phoebæ digna locuti,  
 ✓ inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis,  
 quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo :  
 omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta. 665

quos circumfusus sic est adfata Sibylla,  
 Musæum ante omnis ; medium nam plurima turba  
 hunc habet atque umeris exstantem suspicit altis :  
 “dicite, felices animæ, tuque, optime vates,  
 quæ regio Anchisen, quis habet locus ? illius ergo  
 venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis.” 671  
 atque huic responsum paucis ita reddidit heros :  
 “nulli certa domus ; lucis habitamus opacis  
 riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis  
 incolimus. sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas, 675  
 hoc superate iugum, et facili iam tramite sistam.”  
 dixit et ante tulit gressum camposque nitentis  
 desuper ostentat ; dehinc summa cacumina relinquunt.

At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti  
 inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras 680  
 lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum  
 forte recensebat numerum carosque nepotes  
 fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.  
 isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit  
 Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit, 685  
 effusæque genis lacrimæ et vox excidit ore :  
 “venisti tandem, tuæque exspectata parenti

<sup>661</sup> maneret *Nonius*.

<sup>685</sup> alacris] lacrimans *P*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>664</sup> alios *F*<sup>2</sup>.



## AENEID BOOK VI

<sup>660</sup> Here is the band of those who suffered wounds, fighting for fatherland; those who in lifetime were priests and pure, good bards, whose songs were meet for Phoebus; or they who ennobled life by truths<sup>1</sup> discovered and they who by service have won remembrance among men—the brows of all bound with snowy fillet. These, as they streamed round, the Sibyl thus addressed, Musaeus before all; for he is centre of the vast throng that gazes up to him, as with shoulders high he towers aloft: “Say, happy souls, and thou best of bards, what land, what place holds Anchises? For his sake are we come, and have sailed across the great rivers of Erebus.”

<sup>672</sup> And to her the hero thus made brief reply: “Fixed home hath none. We dwell in shady groves, and live on cushioned river-banks and in meadows fresh with streams. But ye, if the wish in your heart so inclines, surmount this ridge, and soon I will set you on an easy path.” He spake and stepped on before, and from above points out the shining fields. Then they leave the mountain-tops.

<sup>679</sup> But, deep in a green vale, father Anchises was surveying with earnest thought the imprisoned souls that were to pass to the light above, and, as it chanced, was telling the full tale of his people and beloved children, their fates and fortunes, their works and ways. And he, as he saw Aeneas coming towards him over the sward, eagerly stretched forth both hands, while tears streamed from his eyes and a cry fell from his lips: “Art thou come at last, and hath the love thy father looked for vanquished the

<sup>1</sup> The word *artis* here does not refer merely, or even mainly, to material inventions. It applies rather to the principles of philosophy, including natural science, as understood by the ancients; cf. Servius: *significat philosophos, qui aliquid excogitaverunt, unde vita coleretur.*

# VIRGIL

vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri, FGMPR  
 nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?  
 sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum, 690  
 tempora dinumerans, nec me mea cura fefellit.  
 quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum  
 accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!  
 quam metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!"  
 ille autem: "tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago 695  
 saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit;  
 stant sale Tyrrheno classes. da iungere dextram,  
 da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro."  
 sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat.  
 ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum, 700  
 ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,  
 par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.

Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta  
 seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae 704  
 Lethaeumque, domos placidas qui praenatat, amnem.  
 hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant;  
 ac veluti in pratis ubi apes aestate serena  
 floribus insidunt variis et candida circum  
 lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.  
 horrescit visu subito causasque requirit 710  
 inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,  
 quive viri tanto complerint agmine ripas.  
 tum pater Anchises: "animae, quibus altera fato  
 corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam  
 securos latices et longa oblivia potant. 715  
 has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram,  
 iampridem hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,  
 quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta."

<sup>702</sup> *omitted P.*

<sup>704</sup> *reclusum R. silvis FM<sup>2</sup>γ(in margin).*

<sup>707</sup> *velut PR.*

<sup>718</sup> *Italiam . . . repertam F<sup>1</sup>R.*

## AENEID BOOK VI

toilsome way? Is it given me to see thy face, my son, and hear and utter familiar tones? Even so I mused and deemed the hour would come, counting the days thereto, nor has my yearning failed me. O'er what lands, what wide seas hast thou journeyed to my welcome! What dangers have tossed thee, O my son! How I feared the realm of Libya might work thee harm!"

<sup>695</sup> But he: "Thy shade, father, thy sad shade, meeting me so oft, drove me to seek these portals. My ships ride the Tuscan sea. Grant me to clasp thy hand, grant me, O father, and withdraw thee not from my embrace!"

<sup>699</sup> So he spoke, his face wet with flooding tears. Thrice there he strove to throw his arms about his neck; thrice the form, vainly clasped, fled from his hands, even as light winds, and most like a winged dream.

<sup>703</sup> Meanwhile, in a retired vale, Aeneas sees a sequestered grove and rustling forest thickets, and the river of Lethe drifting past those peaceful homes. About it hovered peoples and tribes unnumbered; even as when, in the meadows, in cloudless summer-time, bees light on many-hued blossoms and stream round lustrous lilies and all the fields murmur with the humming. Aen  as is thrilled by the sudden sight and, knowing not, asks the cause—what is that river yonder, and who are the men thronging the banks in such a host? Then father Anchises: "Spirits they are, to whom second bodies are owed by Fate, and at the water of Lethe's stream they drink the soothing draught and long forgetfulness. These in truth I have long yearned to tell and show thee to thy face, yea, to count this, my children's seed, that so thou mayest rejoice with me the more at finding Italy."

# VIRGIL

“o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum  
est

sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti 720

corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?”

“dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo,”

suscipit Anchises atque ordine singula pandit.

“Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentis  
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra FMPR

spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus 726

mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.

inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitaeque volantum,

et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.

igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo 730

seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant

terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.

hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque

auras

dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.

quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit, 735

non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes

corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est

multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.

ergo exercentur poenis veterumque malorum

supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanes 740

suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto

infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni;

<sup>719</sup> est omitted in *FG*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>721</sup> cupido est *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>723</sup> suspicit *F*<sup>2</sup>*MP* $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>724</sup> terram *F*<sup>1</sup>*PR*.

<sup>725</sup> lucentem] ingentem *M*<sup>1</sup>. luna *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>731</sup> corpora noxia *P* $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>733</sup> hic *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>734</sup> despiciunt most *MSS.*: di-  $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>: respiciunt *a*<sup>2</sup>*b*<sup>2</sup>*c*<sup>2</sup>, *Servius*.

<sup>735</sup> relinquit *F*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>742</sup> aut] adque *F*.

## AENEID BOOK VI

719 "But, father, must we think that any souls pass aloft from here to yon sky,<sup>1</sup> and return a second time to sluggish bodies? What means, alas! this their mad longing for the light?" "I will surely tell thee, ~~my~~ son, nor hold thee in doubt," replies Anchises, and reveals each truth in order.

724 "First, the heaven and earth, and the watery plains, the shining orb of the moon and Titan's stars,<sup>2</sup> a spirit within sustains, and mind, pervading its members, sways the whole mass and mingles with its mighty frame. Thence<sup>3</sup> the race of man and beast, the life of winged things, and the strange shapes ocean bears beneath his glassy floor. Fiery is the vigour and divine the source of those life-seeds, so far as harmful bodies clog them not, nor earthly limbs and mortal frames dull them. Hence<sup>4</sup> their fears and desires, their griefs and joys; nor discern they the light, pent up in the gloom of their dark dungeon. Nay, when at their last day life is fled, still not all the evil, alas! not all the plagues of the body quit them utterly; and it must needs be that many a taint, long linked in growth, should in wondrous wise become deeply ingrained. Therefore are they schooled with penalties, and for olden sins pay punishment: some are hung stretched out to the empty winds; from some the stain of guilt is washed away under swirling floods or burned out in fire. Each of us

<sup>1</sup> For *caelum* see note on 579 above.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the sun, called Titan in iv. 119, and the stars.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* from this mind or spirit, the *anima mundi*, which is of the nature of fire, and is the source of all life.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning is that human emotions are due to this union with the body, which disturbs the normal tranquillity of the soul.



## VIRGIL

quisque suos patimur Manis. exinde per amplum  
mittimur Elysium, et pauci laeta arva tenemus,  
donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe 745  
concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit  
aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.  
has omnis, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,  
Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,  
scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant, 750  
rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti."

Dixerat Anchises, natumque unaque Sibyllam  
conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem  
et tumultum capit, unde omnis longo ordine posset  
adversos legere et venientum discere voltus. 755

"Nunc age, Dardanium prolem quae deinde  
sequatur MPR

gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,  
inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras  
expediam dictis et te tua fata docebo.  
ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta, 760  
proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras  
aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget,  
Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,  
quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx  
educet silvis regem regumque parentem, 765  
unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.  
proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,

<sup>746</sup> tabem *R.* relinquit *F<sup>2</sup>PRγ.*

<sup>747</sup> aurae *FMPR*: aurai *γ<sup>2</sup>c*, *Servius.*

<sup>750</sup> super ut *M<sup>1</sup>*: supera aut *F<sup>1</sup>*: superaut *M<sup>2</sup>R*: super-  
ane *P<sup>1</sup>*. <sup>754</sup> possit *Fγ.* <sup>762</sup> surgit *M.*

<sup>765</sup> educit *M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>766</sup> nostrum Longa *M<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> The attendant spirit, *genius*, or, as here, his *Manes*, accom-  
panies a man through life, and into the other world, where the  
taint of guilt is purged away. Possibly the spirit is itself the  
agent of punishment. For Plato's account see the *Phaedo*,  
ch. lvii. But the precise meaning of this statement in Virgil  
is uncertain.



## AENEID BOOK VI

suffers his own spirit ;<sup>1</sup> then through wide Elysium are we sent, a few of us to abide in the joyous fields;<sup>2</sup> till lapse of days, when time's cycle is complete, takes out the inbred taint and leaves unsoiled the ethereal sense and pure flame of spirit. All these, when they have rolled time's wheel through a thousand years, the god summons in vast throng to the river of Lethe, in sooth that, reft of memory, they may revisit the vault above and conceive desire to return again to the body."

<sup>752</sup> Anchises ceased, and drew his son and, with him, the Sibyl into the midst of the concourse and murmuring throng, then chose a mound whence, face to face, he might scan all the long array, and note their countenances as they came.

<sup>756</sup> "Come now, what glory shall hereafter attend the Dardan line, what children of Italian stock<sup>3</sup> await thee, souls illustrious and heirs of our name—this will I set forth, and teach thee thy destiny. Yonder youth thou seest, who leans on headless spear,<sup>4</sup> holds by lot a place nearest the light, and first shall rise into the air of heaven, mingling with Italian blood—Silvius of Alban name, thy last-born child, whom late in thy old age thy wife Lavinia shall bring up in the woodland, a king and father of kings; from him shall our race have sway in Long Alba. He next is Procas, glory of the Trojan race; and Capys

<sup>2</sup> All the souls, of whom Anchises has been speaking in 739 ff., are sent to Elysium, but there a separation takes place. A few (Anchises being one of these) remain for ever there, regaining in time their original purity; but most of the souls must drink of the water of oblivion and then return to new bodies (*cf.* 713–715).

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* the descendants of Aeneas and his Italian wife, Lavinia.

<sup>4</sup> In early days this was given as a prize to a young warrior after winning his first success.

## VIRGIL

et Capys et Numitor et, qui te nomine reddet,  
 Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis  
 egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam. 770  
 qui iuvenes! quantas ostendant, aspice, viris,  
 atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu!  
 hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,  
 hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,  
 Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque. 775  
 haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.

“Quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet  
 Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater  
 educet. viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae  
 et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore? 780  
 en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma  
 imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,  
 septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,  
felix prole virum: qualis Berecynthia mater  
 invehitur curru Phrygiæ turrita per urbes, 785  
 laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,  
 omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis.  
 huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem  
 Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli  
 progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem. 790  
 hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,  
 Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet  
 saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva

<sup>776</sup> terrae] gentes *M*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>787</sup> super alta *M*<sup>1</sup>*PR*: superata *γ*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>793</sup> arva] annos *R*.

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have been kept out of his kingdom for half a century.

<sup>2</sup> The garland of the “civic oak” was given to one who saved the life of a citizen in battle.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to the double-plumed helmet worn by Mars.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* for earth.

<sup>5</sup> *cf. Geor. II. 535.*

## AENEID BOOK VI

and Numitor, and he who shall renew thy name, Silvius Aeneas, like thee peerless in piety or in arms, if ever he win the Alban throne.<sup>1</sup> What youths! What mighty strength, lo! they display, and bear brows shaded with the civic oak!<sup>2</sup> These, I tell thee, shall rear Nomentum and Gabii and Fidenae's city; these shall crown hills with Collatia's turrets, with Pometii, and the Fort of Inuus, with Bola and Cora. These shall then be names that now are nameless lands.

<sup>777</sup> "Nay more, a child of Mars shall join his grand-sire, even Romulus, whom his mother Ilia shall bear of the blood of Assaracus. Seest thou how the twin plumes stand upon his crest,<sup>3</sup> and how his father himself by his own token even now marks him for the world above?<sup>4</sup> Lo! under his auspices, my son, that glorious Rome shall bound her empire by earth, her pride by heaven, and with a single city's wall shall enclose her seven hills,<sup>5</sup> blest in her brood of men: even as the Berecyntian Mother,<sup>6</sup> turret-crowned, rides in her car through the Phrygian cities, glad in her offspring of gods, and clasping a hundred of her children's children, all denizens of heaven, all tenants of the heights above. Hither now turn thy two eyes: behold this people, thine own Romans. Here is Caesar, and all Iulus' seed, destined to pass beneath the sky's mighty vault.<sup>7</sup> This, this is he, whom thou so oft hearest promised to thee, Augustus Caesar, son of a god,<sup>8</sup> who shall again set up the Golden Age in Latium amid the fields where

<sup>6</sup> Cybele, the *Magna Mater* of the gods, appears in works of art wearing a mural crown, *i.e.* one representing walls and battlements, she having first taught men to fortify cities.

<sup>7</sup> *i.e.* destined to appear on earth, in the world above. See 780, with note.

<sup>8</sup> *i.e.* son of Julius Caesar, who was deified after death. Augustus was his adopted son.

# VIRGIL

Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos  
 proferet imperium (iacet extra sidera tellus, 795  
 extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas  
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum):  
 huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna  
 responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,  
 et septemgemi turbant trepida ostia Nili. 800  
 nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,  
 fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi  
 pacarit nemora, et Lernam tremefecerit arcu;  
 nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis  
 Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris. 805  
 et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,  
 aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?

“ Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae  
 sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanaque menta  
 regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem 810  
 fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra  
 missus in imperium magnum. cui deinde subibit  
 otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit  
 Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis  
 agmina. quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus, 815  
 nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus  
 auris.

vis et Tarquinius reges, animamque superbam  
 ultoris Bruti fascisque videre receptos?  
 consulis imperium hic primus saevasque securis

<sup>803</sup> pacaret *M<sup>1</sup>R*: placarit *b<sup>2</sup>c*.

<sup>806</sup> virtutem . . . factis *Mγ<sup>2</sup>*, *Servius*: virtute . . . vires  
*PRc*: virtutem . . . vires *γ<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>809</sup> noscon *R*. *So Sabb*.

<sup>819</sup> primum *M*.

## AENEID BOOK VI

Saturn once reigned, and shall spread his empire past Garamant and Indian, to a land that lies beyond the stars, beyond the paths of the year and the sun,<sup>1</sup> where heaven-bearing Atlas turns on his shoulders the sphere, inset with gleaming stars.<sup>2</sup> Against his coming even now the Caspian realms and Maeotian land shudder at Heaven's oracles, and the mouths of sevenfold Nile are in tumult of terror. Nor, in truth, did Alcides range o'er such space of earth, though he pierced the brazen-footed deer,<sup>3</sup> or brought peace to the woods of Erymanthus, and made Lerna tremble at his bow; nor he who guides his car with vine-leaf reins, triumphant Liber, driving his tigers down from Nysa's lofty crest. And do we still hesitate to enlarge our prowess by deeds, or does fear forbid our settling on Ausonian land?

<sup>803</sup> "But who is he apart, crowned with olive-sprays, and bearing the sacrifice? I know the locks and hoary chin of that king of Rome, who, called from the poor land of lowly Cures to sovereign might, shall base the infant city on his laws.<sup>4</sup> To him shall then succeed Tullus, who shall break his country's peace, and rouse to arms a slothful folk and ranks long unused to triumphs. Hard on him follows over-boastful Ancus, even now rejoicing overmuch in the people's breath. Wilt thou see, too, the Tarquin kings, and the proud soul of avenging Brutus, and the fasces regained? He shall be first to win a consul's

<sup>1</sup> The phrase "beyond the stars" means "beyond the signs of the zodiac," *i.e.*, as further explained, beyond the path followed by the sun in his annual course. To this path in the heavens corresponds a great tract of earth, beyond which the Roman empire shall extend. <sup>2</sup> *cf.* IV. 482.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the fourth labour of Hercules, his capture of the wonderful Arcadian deer.

<sup>4</sup> This is Numa, second king of Rome.



# VIRGIL

accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventis 820  
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,  
infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores :  
vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.

“ Quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi  
aspice Torquatam et referentem signa Camillum. 825  
illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,  
concordes animae nunc et dum nocte premuntur,  
heu ! quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae  
attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebut,  
aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci 830  
descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois !  
ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella,  
neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris ;  
tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo ;  
proice tela manu, sanguis meus ! 835

“ Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corinthe  
victor aget currum, caesis insignis Achivis ;  
eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae  
ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,  
ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae. 840  
quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat ?  
quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,  
Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem

824 Drusus] Brutus *R.* 827 prementur *P<sup>1</sup>R.* 839 Achillei *P.*

<sup>1</sup> The father put his sons to death for plotting to restore the Tarquins.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to Caesar and Pompey, who married Julia, Caesar's daughter. Caesar passed from Gaul into Italy ; Pompey's troops came largely from Greece and Asia Minor.



## AENEID BOOK VI

power and cruel axes, and when his sons stir up new war, the father, for fair freedom's sake, shall call them to their doom—unhappy he, howe'er posterity extol that deed! Yet love of country shall prevail, and boundless passion for renown.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>824</sup> "Nay, see apart the Decii and Drusi, and Torquatus of the cruel axe, and Camillus bringing home the standards. But they whom thou seest gleaming in equal arms, souls harmonious now, while wrapped in night, alas! if they but reach the light of life, what mutual war, what battles and carnage shall they arouse! the father coming down from Alpine ramparts, and the fortress of Monoecus, his daughter's spouse arrayed against him with the armies of the East.<sup>2</sup> O my sons, make not a home within your hearts for such warfare, nor upon your country's very vitals turn her vigour and valour! And do thou first forbear, thou who drawest thy race from heaven; cast from thy hand the sword, thou blood of mine!

<sup>836</sup> "Yonder is one<sup>3</sup> who, triumphant over Corinth, shall drive a victor's car to the lofty Capitol, famed for the Achaeans he has slain. Yon other<sup>4</sup> shall uproot Argos and Agamemnon's Mycenae, yea and even one born of Aeacus, seed of Achilles the strong in battle, taking vengeance for his Trojan sires and Minerva's outraged temple. Who would leave thee in silence, great Cato, or thee, Cossus? Who the Gracchan race, or the pair of Scipio's line, two thunderbolts of war, the bane of Libya? or thee,

<sup>3</sup> Mummius, who destroyed Corinth, 146 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> L. Aemilius Paulus defeated Perseus, the last king of Macedon, at Pydna, 168 B.C. Perseus claimed to be descended from Achilles, the grandson of Aeacus. Argos and Mycenae, ancient seats of Greek power, represent Greece as a whole.

## VIRGIL

Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?  
 quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es, 845  
 unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.  
 excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,  
 (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore voltus;  
 orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus  
 describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: 850  
 tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
 (hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,  
 parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."

Sic pater Anchises, atque haec mirantibus addit:  
 "aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis 855  
 ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.  
 hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,  
 sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem, FMFR  
 tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino."

Atque hic Aeneas (una namque ire videbat 860  
 egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,  
 sed frons laeta parum et deiecto lumina voltu):  
 "quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?"

<sup>845</sup> tun *P*<sup>1</sup>. See *Appendix*.

<sup>846</sup> restitues *R*.

<sup>848</sup> cedo *P*<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>852</sup> haec *P*<sup>1</sup>. pacis *Servius*; see note 2 (below) and *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, vol. 38, p. xxxviii.

<sup>1</sup> This verse (846) is a close reproduction of one in the *Annals* of Ennius, referring to Q. Fabius Maximus, the opponent of Hannibal, who by his tactics earned the surname of *Cunctator*.

<sup>2</sup> The poet has in mind the beneficent rule of Augustus, who brought peace to the world, and then to that peaceful world gave the blessings of law and order. With the common

## AENEID BOOK VI

Fabricius, poor, yet a prince? or thee, Serranus, sowing the seed in thy furrow? Whither do ye hurry my weary steps, O Fabii? Thou art he, the mightiest, who singly, by delaying, restorest our state.<sup>1</sup> Others, I doubt not, shall beat out the breathing bronze with softer lines; shall from marble draw forth the features of life; shall plead their causes better; with the rod shall trace the paths of heaven and tell the rising of the stars: remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway—these shall be thine arts—to crown Peace with Law,<sup>2</sup> to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud!”

<sup>854</sup> Thus father Anchises, and, as they marvel, pursues: “Lo! how Marcellus advances, glorious in his splendid spoils,<sup>3</sup> and towers triumphant over all! The Roman realm, when upheaved in utter confusion, he, a knight,<sup>4</sup> shall support; he shall strike down Carthaginian and insurgent Gaul, and a third time hang up the captured arms to father Quirinus!”

<sup>860</sup> And hereon Aeneas, for he saw coming with him a youth<sup>5</sup> of wondrous beauty and brilliant in his arms—but his face was sad and his eyes downcast: “Who, father, is he who thus attends him on his

reading *pacis* (for which there is slight authority) the meaning is “to impose (on the conquered) the law of peace.”

<sup>3</sup> The *spolia opima* were the spoils taken “when the general slew the general of the enemy.” M. Claudius Marcellus won them at Clastidium in 222 B.C., when he slew the chief of the Insubrian Gauls. His only predecessors in this feat were Romulus and Cossus (841).

<sup>4</sup> The battle of Clastidium was mainly a cavalry engagement. It was also under Marcellus that the Romans won their first victory over Hannibal at Nola.

<sup>5</sup> This is the young Marcellus, son of the Emperor's sister Octavia. He was adopted by Augustus and chosen as his successor, but died in 23 B.C., in his twentieth year, universally lamented.

## VIRGIL

filius, anne aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum ?  
qui strepitus circa comitum ! quantum instar in  
ipso ! 865

sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra."

Tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis :  
" o gnate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum.  
ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra  
esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago 870  
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.  
quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem [MPR  
campus aget gemitus ! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis  
funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem !  
nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos 875  
in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam  
ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.  
heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello  
dextera ! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset FMPR  
obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem, 880  
seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.  
heu ! miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,  
tu Marcellus eris ! manibus date lilia plenis,  
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis  
his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani 885

<sup>865</sup> quis *F*<sup>2</sup>*MR*γ<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>885</sup> inanis *F*<sup>1</sup>*M*<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. the *Campus Martius*, in which the Mausoleum of Augustus was built in 27 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellus, while yet a boy, will reflect glory on his Latin ancestors ; *spe* means the promise shown by the youth, the

## AENEID BOOK VI

way? A son, or one of the mighty stock of his children's children? What whispers in the encircling crowd! What noble presence in himself! But black night hovers about his head with its mournful shade."

<sup>867</sup> Then father Anchises with upwelling tears began: "O my son, ask not of the vast sorrow of thy people. Him the fates shall but show to earth, nor longer suffer him to stay. Too mighty, O gods, ye deemed the Roman stock would be, were these gifts lasting. What wailing of men shall that famous Field<sup>1</sup> waft to Mavors' mighty city! What funeral-state, O Tiber, shalt thou see, as thou glidest past the new-built tomb! No youth of Ilian stock shall exalt so greatly with his promise his Latin forefathers,<sup>2</sup> nor shall the land of Romulus ever take such pride in any of her sons. Alas for goodness! alas for old-world honour, and the hand invincible in war! Against him in arms would none have advanced unscathed, whether on foot he met the foe, or dug his spurs into the flanks of his foaming horse. Ah! child of pity, if haply thou couldst burst the harsh bonds of fate, thou shalt be Marcellus!<sup>3</sup> Give me lilies with full hand: let me scatter purple flowers; let me heap o'er my offspring's shade at least these gifts and fulfil an unavailing service."

promise of what he is likely to become. Some render, "shall raise so high in hope."

<sup>3</sup> To "burst the harsh bonds of fate" means to escape the early death to which he is doomed. The conditional sentence is mixed in form, because Anchises expresses a wish as well as a condition, for even as he utters the thought he realizes its hopelessness. Page (after Wagner) treats *si qua fata aspera rumpas* as an exclamation, and makes *tu Marcellus eris* an independent sentence. The same view, though not the traditional one, is accepted by Goelzer and Mackail.

## VIRGIL

munere." sic tota passim regione vagantur  
 aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant.  
 quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit  
 incenditque animum famae venientis amore,  
 exin bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda, 890  
 Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini,  
 et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.

Sunt geminae Somni portae; quarum altera fertur  
 cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,  
 altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto, 895  
 ✓ sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.  
 his ubi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam  
 prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna;  
 ille viam secatur ad navis sociosque revisit;  
 tum se ad Caietae recto fert litore portum. 900  
 ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.

<sup>889</sup> venientis] melioris *M*.

<sup>897</sup> his ubi] hibi *P*<sup>1</sup>: his ibi *FP*<sup>2</sup>*R*.

<sup>900</sup> limite  $\pi$  (*Codex Pragensis*). So Bentley, Heine, Henry, Mackail.

<sup>901</sup> = III. 277.



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<sup>886</sup> Thus, through the whole region, they freely range, in the broad, misty plains, surveying all. And when Anchises had led his son over every scene, and fired his soul with love of fame that was to be, he tells him then of the wars he must thereafter wage, and instructs him of the Laurentine peoples and the city of Latinus, and how he is to flee or face each toil.

<sup>893</sup> Two gates of Sleep there are, whereof the one is said to be of horn, and thereby an easy outlet is given to true shades; the other gleaming with the sheen of polished ivory, but false are the dreams sent by the spirits to the world above. There then with these words Anchises attends both his son and the Sibyl, and dismisses them by the ivory gate. Aeneas speeds his way to the ships and revisits his comrades; then straight along the shore sails for Caieta's haven. The anchor is cast from the prow; the sterns rest upon the beach.



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P. xii. Specimen pages of the most important Virgilian MSS., in facsimile, may be seen in Émile Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques Latins*, Hachette, Paris: Première Partie, 1884-92; Deuxième Partie, 1894-1900. Handsome facsimile reproductions have been published as follows:

In the series of *Codices e Vaticanis Selecti*—

Vol. I. Fragmenta et picturae Vergiliani codicis Vaticani 3225 (= F). Rome, Danesi, 1899. Reprinted 1930.

Vol. II. Picturae, ornamenta, complura scripturae specimina codicis Vaticani 3867 (= R). *Ibid.* 1902. To be reprinted.

Vol. XIV. Vergilius Palatinus (= P). Éditions Historiques. Paris, 1929.

Vol. XV. Codicis Vergiliani, qui Augusteus appellatur, Reliquiae (= A). Torino, 1926.

A facsimile of the famous Petrarch Virgil (Francisci Petrarcae Vergilianus Codex) was published in Milan, 1930. The beautiful and famous Codex Mediceus (= M) was published in facsimile in Rome, April 21, 1931.<sup>1</sup>

For B, see Sabbadini's edition, Vol. I, p. 20, also

<sup>1</sup> A printed reproduction of M, prepared by P. F. Foggini, and published in Florence in 1741, is very faulty and has led to many errors in our editions. A collation of M, made by Dr. Max Hoffmann, was published in Leipzig, 1889 and (II Teil) 1901. In an article on "The Value of the Medicean Codex of Vergil" in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*,

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E. A. Lowe, in the *Classical Review*, XXXVI (1922), p. 154.

For the poet's biography we may consult Nettleship's *Ancient Lives of Vergil* (Oxford, 1880); Ernst Diehl's *Die Vitae Vergilianae* (Bonn, 1911), and J. Brummer's *Vitae Vergilianae* (Leipzig, 1912).

Other works on Virgil are: J. S. Tunison's *Master Virgil* (Cincinnati, 1890); J. W. Mackail's *Virgil and his Meaning to the World of To-day* (Boston, 1922); H. W. Prescott's *The Development of Virgil's Art* (Chicago, 1927); Wili's *Vergil* (Munich, 1930); E. K. Rand's *The Magical Art of Virgil* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1931); and Bernhard Rehm's *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis* (Leipzig, 1932).

Additional essays on Virgil are the following: R. S. Conway's *New Studies of a Great Inheritance* (London, 1921) and *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928); H. R. Fairclough's "Virgil's Knowledge of Greek" in *Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), 37-46; three papers on "The Tradition of Virgil" (Princeton University Press, 1930); eight papers in the "Special Vergil Number" of the *Classical Journal*, XXVI (Oct. 1930); the *Virgilio* Supplement to *L'Illustrazione Italiana* (No. 49, Dec. 7, 1930); J. W. Mackail's *Virgil*, the 1930 "annual lecture on a Master Mind" (Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XVII, London, 1931); J. W. Duff's *The Magic of Virgil* (Newcastle upon

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Manchester, XV (1931), 336 ff., Professor R. S. Conway, agreeing in general with Hoffmann, refers the MS. "to a period, and not at all a late period, in the second century." Surely this is much too early. E. A. Lowe, like most palaeographers, assigns it to the fifth century (*Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925), 197 ff.).

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Tyne, 1931); N. W. De Witt's "Vergil and Epicureanism" in the *Classical Weekly*, XXV (1932), 89-96.

The beautiful metrical art of Virgil deserves careful study. A fresh impetus was given to this by Eduard Norden, when he published his impressive edition of *Aeneid* VI (Leipzig, 1903), and some of his principles have been applied to other books of the epic in my school-edition of *Aeneid* I-VI (Sanborn & Co., Boston; latest reprint, 1930). A noteworthy paper on Virgil's artistic and varied handling of the fourth foot of the hexameter, by W. F. J. Knight, is published in the *Classical Quarterly*, XXV (1931), 184-94.

### THE ECLOGUES

RECENT books bearing on the *Eclogues* include the following: J. S. Phillimore, *Pastoral and Allegory* (Oxford, 1925); Jean Hubaux, *Le Réalisme dans les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Université de Liège, Fasc. XXXVII, 1927); Bruno Nardi, *La Giovinezza di Virgilio* (Mantua, 1927); translated by Belle Palmer Rand as *The Youth of Virgil* (Harvard University Press, 1930); Léon Hermann, *Les Masques et les Visages dans les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Bruxelles, 1930).

#### I

Hermann (*op. cit.*) has a theory that throughout the *Eclogues* the same name denotes the same person wherever it occurs, and that the same person is never denoted by more than one name. Thus Menalcas represents Virgil himself not only in *Ecl.* IX, but also in *Ecl.* III. For the same reason Tityrus in *Ecl.* I is not Virgil. He may be Q. Caecilius

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Epirota, once a slave of Atticus, whom he served as literary amanuensis. This fairly plausible theory has won the approval of Professor R. S. Conway (*Classical Review*, XLV (1931), 30 f.).

65. Many editors accept *rapidum cretae* as "chalk-rolling" and suppose that *Oaxes* is another form of *Oxus*, name of a river in Scythia. Though Servius is quoted as in favour of this interpretation, yet, in his note on *Ecl.* II, 24, he shows that he was familiar with the view that *Cretae* here means the island of Crete. There is a geographical difficulty, whichever way we read the line, but with *rapidum cretae* there is a grammatical one as well. Besides, it is known that Augustus gave land in Crete to Roman colonists who were forced to leave Capua.

69. Servius took *aristas* as equivalent to *messes*, but "after some harvests" sounds flat in view of the preceding *longo post tempore*.

### II

Jean Hubaux (*op. cit.*) shows that in this eclogue Virgil made use, not only of Theocritus, but also of Meleager of Gadara.

### III

60. Whether *Musae* is a vocative plural or a genitive singular is a question which puzzled even Servius. Greek parallels for either rendering may be cited, but the most convincing is the opening of Idyl XVII of Theocritus,

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι.

### IV

A great deal of literature has been written upon this famous poem. Special mention may be made



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of *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, three studies by Mayor, Fowler and Conway (Murray, London, 1907); *Virgil and Isaiah*, by T. F. Royds (Blackwell, Oxford, 1918); *Die Geburt des Kindes*, by Ed. Norden (Leipzig, 1924); and *Virgile et le Mystère de la IV<sup>e</sup> Églogue* (Paris, 1930), by Carcopino. In this last work the author sets forth the Pythagorean element in the poem. A notable article is W. A. Heidel's "Virgil's Messianic Expectations" in the *American Journal of Philology*, XLV (1924), pp. 205-37, largely a reply to Norden, who "fathers upon Egypt the entire tradition regarding the Αἰών and the divine child."

R. G. Austin, in "Virgil and the Sybil" (*Classical Quarterly*, XXI (1927), pp. 100 ff.), seeks to prove that in this poem Virgil made the Sibylline Oracles themselves his model both in style and material.

As to the identity of the wonder child of the poem, the question will probably never be settled. For centuries, since Constantine and Augustine, Christian writers have regarded the eclogue as a prophecy of the coming of the Messiah. At the other extreme, Norden argues that the child is merely a sort of personification, or incarnation, of the new golden age itself.

If the poems written by Pollio were preserved, we should probably hold the key to the riddle. In his *Pastoral and Allegory*, J. S. Phillimore thinks that Virgil is poking fun at Pollio's orientalism and supposedly Jewish connection. In an interesting paper in the *Classical Review*, XLII (1928), 123 ff., Ernest I. Robson, after remarking that the Fourth Eclogue seems to have attracted very little attention during the first two centuries after its publication, sets forth a theory that the poem is only a playful

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birthday ode, written in humorous vein, when "Pollio's wife is expecting a child." It is to be remembered that years afterwards C. Asinius Gallus, a son of Pollio, claimed that he was the child mentioned.

Others, of course, have associated the child with the marriage of Octavian and Scribonia, but their child proved to be a girl, the infamous Julia. A curious theory, however, is propounded by H. J. Rose, viz. that Virgil meant to honour Octavian in the poem, but wrote in such an enigmatical fashion that a reader might take it as "a pretty compliment to the master of the eastern world," i.e. Antony (*Classical Quarterly*, XVIII (1924), 113-18). But the height of absurd speculation is reached by M. Jeanmaire, who in *Le Messianisme de Virgile* (Paris, 1930) solemnly assures us that the infant expected was to be the offspring of Antony and Cleopatra!

18. *munuscula*: according to Robson (*loc. cit.*) the ivy is to wreath the poet's brow, the foxglove to defend him from critics (cf. *Ecl.* VII, 27), and the acanthus to decorate the wine-cup (hence *ridenti*). The wine-cup itself is furnished by *colocasias*, for the Egyptian bean bore *κιβώρια*, and a *κιβώριον* is a kind of drinking-cup.

26. Carcopino, who (*ibid.* p. 27, note 2) adopts *parentum* here, fails to note that the *parentis* of "certain scholiasts" is also the original reading of *Codex Gudianus*, which is almost as weighty an authority as the *Romanus*. Unfortunately, the *Palatinus*, with which the *Gudianus* so often agrees, is here lacking. The Berne MSS., *b* and *c*, also give *parentis*.

49. *incrementum*: many regard this word as

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merely a synonym for *suboles*, or as meaning "son." So Tenney Frank, who cites inscriptions (*Classical Philology*, XI, 1916, 334 ff.), and W. H. D. Rouse (*ibid.* XII, 1927, 308).

62. Sabbadini very wisely adheres to the MSS., and Servius, instead of following Quintilian, who (IX, 3, 8) gives *qui non risere parentes*, a reading which involves two marked improbabilities: (1) *qui* (plural) . . . *hunc*, and (2) *ridere* with the accusative in the sense of *smiling at*. Both of these irregularities might pass muster in comedy, but are quite unparalleled in Virgil. Sabbadini supposes that Quintilian mistook the dative form *qui* (also written *quoi*) for the nominative. Such a form is given (e.g.) by P in *Georgic* II, 204, and by V in *Aen.* X, 565.

Many scholars, finding the general meaning implied in Quintilian's citation very plausible, viz. "such infants as have not smiled on their parents, receive no divine favours," adopt *qui* as a nominative plural, though relative to the singular *hunc*, and accept the arbitrary conjecture *parenti* in place of *parentes*. Among these is Carcopino, who (p. 2, note 1) thinks it is no longer necessary to discuss the readings on the ground that the text of the poems is now "solidement établi"!

But the very plausibility of the meaning according to Quintilian's reading makes us suspicious, for, if that reading was ever the authoritative one, how are we to account for the unanimity of the MSS. against it, especially in view of the oft-quoted line from Catullus, *dulce rideat ad patrem*? Servius supports the MSS., and Wagner gives the meaning intended: *Incipe ergo tuo risu parentes ad mutuam arrisionem provocare*.

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It is quite probable that Quintilian is here quoting from memory, as he certainly does elsewhere. Editors do not adopt his *agrestem* (for *silvestrem*) in *Ecl.* I, 2, or *praecipiam* (for *praedicam*) in *Aen.* III, 436, or *caelo* (for *pelago*) in *Aen.* V, 212.

### V

In the *Classical Quarterly*, XVI (1922), 57, D. L. Drew has a paper on "Virgil's Fifth Eclogue: A Defence of the Julius Caesar-Daphnis Theory." But Hermann (*op. cit.*) identifies Daphnis with the poet Catullus.

### VI

74. We must suppose that Virgil confuses the monstrous Scylla of Homer with Scylla, daughter of Nisus, king of Megara. A. Waltz, however, accepts the reading of *Codex Pragensis*, which gives this verse thus :

Quid loquar aut Scyllam Nisi, aut quam fama  
secuta est.

Servius, whose text had only one *aut*, suggests that this may be repeated before *quam*.

### VII

25. The original reading of M is *nascente*, which would go with *hedera* "sprouting ivy." Professor Conway strangely approves of this reading, but *vati futuro* (28) is surely in favour of an accusative here, whether *crescentem* or *nascentem*, and the former participle looks like a gloss upon the latter.

48. *laeto in palmite* : there is about equal MS. authority for *laeto* and *lento* here, and both epithets are used of the vine ; cf. *Ecl.* III, 38 and *Georg.* II,

## APPENDIX

262. The personal feeling implied by *laetus*, which is a favourite word with Virgil, gives it support.

### VIII

41. On *ut vidi, ut perii*, Servius comments thus: *Unum'ut' est temporis, aliud quantitatis*. The Greek of the Theocritus original is ὡς—ὥς, "as (when)-how!" I have discussed these expressions in the *Classical Review*, XIV (1900), pp. 394 f.

### IX

35. The site of the poet's farm has lately been discussed by two well-known scholars. Professor R. S. Conway, in his *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age*, Ch. II, seeks to prove that the farm was not far from Calvisano and Carpenodolo, nearer Brescia than Mantua. Professor E. K. Rand favours the traditional site at Pietole, only two miles south-east of Mantua (see *In Quest of Virgil's Birthplace*, Harvard University Press, 1930). The discussion is continued in the *Classical Quarterly* (April 1931, and Jan. 1932).

## THE GEORGICS

Some useful books bearing upon the *Georgics* are T. F. Royds' *The Beasts, Birds and Bees of Virgil* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1914); W. E. Heitland's *Agricola* (Cambridge University Press, 1921); R. Billiard's *L'Agriculture dans l'Antiquité d'après les Georgiques de Virgile* (De Boccard, Paris, 1928); and P. d'Hérerville's *À la campagne avec Virgile* (Paris, 1930).

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### Book I

218. Hirtzel and Sabbadini prefer the reading *averso . . . astro*, "with averted star," i.e. the Dog himself, who beats a retreat. But this involves redundancy of expression.

406-9. Repeated in *Ciris*, 538-41.

### Book II

A good work of reference in connection with Book II is Sargeaunt's *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1920).

247. Gellius tells us that *amaror* was the reading given in a copy that had once belonged to Virgil's own household. All the major MSS., however, give *amaro*, for the final 'r' in M's *amaror* is a late addition.

278. In the *Classical Review*, XLII (1928), p. 59, F. H. Sandbach argues that *via* and *limes* are to be carefully distinguished in this line. The *viae* are paths, the *limites* the broad ways which divided a field into sections. He would therefore render the passage: "let every path, when the trees are cut, make an exact right angle with the main way which is cut by it."

341. Most editors read *terrea*, obviously an easy corruption of *ferrea*. The human race is *ferrea*, because, as Servius says, it was *procreata ex lapidibus ad laborem*. Cf. *Geor.* I, 62 f.

514. *nepotes*. Ribbeck and Janell follow M, which has *penates*, apparently from *Aen.* VIII, 543.

### Book III

10-39. D. L. Drew shows how closely in both thought and expression this passage is paralleled by *Aen.* VIII, 675-728 (*Classical Quarterly*, XVIII (1924), 195 ff.).



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56. Sabbadini incorrectly gives 'sibi M<sup>2</sup>.' It is *mihi*. Goelzer is also wrong in giving 'tibi M<sup>2</sup>'. It is *mihi*, the original reading being *tibi*.

144. P reads *gramine*, not *gramina*, as Sabbadini has it. But M has *gramina ripae*, with *ripa* M<sup>2</sup>.

430. Sabbadini is in error in giving *sibi*, not *hic*, as the reading of M. Ribbeck, however, conjectured *sibi*.

456. *omnia*. M has *omina*, which may be correct. It is adopted by Janell and Goelzer, though the latter wrongly assigns *omnia* to M.

### Book IV

Another work worth consulting in connection with this book is *Bee-keeping in Antiquity*, by H. Malcolm Fraser (University of London Press, 1931).

112 and 141. The *tinus* of Virgil is the *viburnum tinus*, commonly known as the laurustinus or laurestine. It is very abundant in Italy and especially in mountainous Corsica, where it forms large forests and grows to a height of ten to twenty feet. In other countries it is often cultivated in shrubberies and hedges, and wherever it is grown it is much frequented by bees. Bevan, in *The Honey Bee* (Philadelphia, 1843), includes it (p. 25) among "the earliest resources of the bee" in the spring of the year.

As to *de montibus altis*, the *montes* are not high mountains like the Apennines, but rather hills. It is in the hill country, rather than in the plains, that the bee-keeper will find the early-blooming laurestine, as well as the frequent wild thyme. Some of the hills of Rome were called *montes*, and as for the conventional epithet *alti*, which is found

## APPENDIX

coupled with *montes* fourteen times in Virgil, its vagueness may be illustrated by *Geor.* III, 535, where men who till the ground had to draw the wagons themselves *montis per altos*, because the cattle had died from the plague. Sargeaunt's account of the *tinus* (*op. cit.*, p. 128) is not altogether correct.

It is commonly said that the pine (on the assumption that *pinus* is the correct reading) would furnish pollen as food, and propolis as glue for bees. But in a country like Italy, where the best kinds of pollen are available and abundant, no bee-keeper would take the trouble to plant pines for the sake of their pollen, and as for propolis, it is really a nuisance. "Our principal trouble," says Root, in *The A B C of Bee Culture* (1908), p. 233, "has been to get rid of the surplus propolis, and I should much rather hear of some invention to keep it out of the way than to add more." For a full discussion of the question, see *Classical Philology*, X (1915), 405 ff. That the view I there advocate is correct is conceded by T. F. Royds in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, XX (1930), p. 96.

464 ff. This episode of Orpheus and Eurydice, as is well known, is a substitute for an earlier passage which dealt with Egypt and its first governor under Rome, Virgil's dear friend Gallus, who, being suspected of disloyalty to Augustus, took his own life. Professor J. Wight Duff agrees with me in what I have elsewhere written (*Love of Nature among the Greeks and Romans*,<sup>1</sup> p. 215), that the marvellous pathos of the story we now read may reflect the poet's grief over the sad and untimely end of Gallus. Gladly would Virgil have brought his

<sup>1</sup> 1930: George G. Harrap & Co., London; Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

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friend back from the grave, but even Orpheus could not

“ quite set free  
His half regain'd Eurydice.”

Professor Duff also thinks that my “parallel from Milton to the *fragor* of line 493 is excellently appropriate.”

### THE AENEID

In these notes, frequent mention will be made of Professor J. W. Mackail's recently published edition of the *Aeneid* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930) which offers interesting solutions of many old problems.

#### Book I

2. Though naturally translated with *profugus*, the word *fato* belongs to *venit* as well.

8. *quo numine laeso*. The *numen* is the divine will, the divinity of the *regina deum*. In *Aeneid* II, 183 *pro numine laeso* is rendered “for the insult to deity,” and here Mackail gives, “for what attainment on her divinity.”

198. This verse is a close rendering of *Odyssey* XII, 208,

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμονές εἰμεν.

With *ante* = πω, every element in the original is reproduced in the Latin equivalent. I cannot therefore accept “the quasi-adjectival” use of *ante* with *malorum*, “former ills,” first suggested by Servius and therefore adopted by many editors. Such usage is to be expected only when the substantive has a strong verbal or adjectival force. Thus in *populum late regem* (*Aen.* I, 21), *regem* = *regnantem*.

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Most of the adverbs cited by Mackail in his note on *Aen.* I, 13 as quasi-adjectival are more easily explained as pure adverbs.

224. *despiciens*. So all the MSS. Lachmann introduced *dispiciens*, on the ground that *despicere* is never used literally, but see *Classical Review*, XLV (1931), p. 142.

251. Mackail construes *infandum* as an adverb with *amissis*, "woefully lost," and compares *miserum* in *Aen.* VI, 21, but in his note on the latter passage he takes *miserum* as "the shortened form of *miserorum*." Servius gives both possibilities for *infandum*.

380. Dardanus, son of Jupiter and Electra and founder of Troy, was said to have come from Italy. But in view of *Aen.* VI, 123, *et mi genus ab Iove summo*, Mackail punctuates with a semicolon after *patriam*, supplies *est* with *genus* and makes Aeneas claim that his own descent is *ab Iove summo*. In this case *et* is an obstacle and should make way for the *est* conjectured by Kvičala.

400. To take *portum tenet*, with Mackail, as "makes for harbour" is quite possible. In this case, however, the phrase becomes almost synonymous with the following one, and implies that *capere* (396) must mean, not "to settle in," but "to choose" (= *capere oculis*), a less likely rendering. Moreover, *tenere* more commonly means "holds," "has possession of," as in *tenet saxa* (*Aen.* I, 139), *ima tenes* (*Geor.* IV, 322), *portas tenet* (*Aen.* II, 613), *prima tenet* (*Aen.* V, 338), *laeva tenet* (*Aen.* V, 825), *tenet loca* (*Aen.* VI, 761), etc. In *Aen.* VIII, 653, *Capitolia tenebat*, which certainly means "held the Capitol," is followed, four lines later, by *arcem tenebant*, which may mean "were making for the citadel," but more

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probably "were laying hold of the citadel." The Gauls *per dumos aderant*, "were near amid the thickets," but Livy tells us that one was already on the top when the alarm was sounded.

550. *arvaque*. Since P is defective here, there is really better MS. authority for *arva* than for *arma*. Cf. *arva et urbes* in *Aen.* VII, 45.

### Book II

54. Mackail follows Conington in taking *si fata* (*fuissent*) as independent of *non laeva*, "had fate so willed."

263. The epithet *primus* surely means rank of some sort. In Homer (*Il.* XI, 505) Machaon is a *ποιμὴν λαῶν*. Mackail finds no difficulty in supposing that the man mentioned seventh was the *first* to come out of the horse.

333. P is not "illegible" here, as Goelzer and Mackail suppose. The first half of the page has been destroyed.

349. Sabbadini has no right to claim *audendi* as the reading of P. Only AVDEN survives, the rest of the word being lost because the acid of the ink has here worn a hole in the parchment. As a matter of fact there is room for three letters.

412. Mackail takes *facie* as a genitive with *errore*. It is, of course, logically parallel to *iubarum*, but such liberty of expression is allowable in poetry.

567-88. The authenticity of this passage is upheld by Gerloff, in *Vindiciae Vergilianae*, Jena, 1911.

691. *augurium*. This word, rather than *auxilium*, is adopted by Ribbeck, Ladewig, Hirtzel, and Sabbadini. It was evidently read by Servius, whose note is : *non enim unum augurium vidisse sufficit, nisi*

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*confirmatur ex simili*. The change from *augurium* to *auxilium* would be the easier corruption.

727. Janell gives *exagmine* as one word. So too Mackail (after Housman). It is assumed to be the archaic form of *examine*.

778. *nec te comitem hinc portare Creusam*. The original reading of M was either *pretare* or *protare*, with *asportare* a late correction. As P, with *asportare*, has the order *comitem hinc*, not *hinc comitem* (which *asportare* necessitates), it is probable that the original reading was that given in the text.

### Book III

In connection with Book III as a whole, one may profitably consult M. M. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1920) and C. Saunders in *Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925), 85-91.

192. There is a good article on "Virgil's Seaman-ship" in *Classical Weekly*, XV (1922), 201 ff., by M. P. Peaks.

247. *pro caede boum* is ironical. "Is it in payment for the slaughter of cattle that you make war?" But Mackail takes the phrase to mean "to secure the oxen you have slain."

293. The Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania under Professor Ugolini has made very interesting and important discoveries at Butrinto, the site of ancient Buthrotum. See *Art and Archaeology*, XXX (1930), 151-55, and XXXI (1931), 261-67.

362. Servius apparently read *omnem cursum* and *prospera religio*, but explains the phrases as meaning *omnis religio dixit prosperum cursum*. Mackail conjectures *cursu* and, with *omnis*, renders the whole



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by "all sacred sanction announced to me prosperity on my course." It is simpler to regard *prospera* as a transferred epithet.

398. On the early Greek settlements in southern Italy, see Saunders' *Vergil's Primitive Italy*, Ch. I.

484. The dative *honori* is a more difficult reading than *honore*, and therefore, presumably, the original. Servius, while recording the fact that Scaurus read *honore*, explains *honori non cedere* as meaning *parem esse meritis accipientis*.

493. Following La Cerda, Mackail punctuates after *vivite*. The sense then is: "Farewell. Lucky are they whose own destiny is already achieved." This avoids the difficulty of applying *sua* to the second person, and may well be correct.

503. We accept *Hesperia* on the evidence of Servius, but all the major MSS. (including P) give *Hesperiam*, which would be in apposition to *populos*, "Hesperia allied to Epirus."

707. The epithet *inlaetabilis* is explained by 709 ff. The coast itself is far from unattractive, and, with Mt. Eryx towering above it, is really quite picturesque.

### BOOK IV

A full commentary on Book IV is given by Corso Buscaroli in his *Virgilio: il Libro di Didone*, Milano, 1932.

276. Note that *debentur*, not *debetur*, is the original reading in both M and P.

323. Both here and in II, 678 *cui* is surely masculine rather than neuter as Mackail would take it. No clear case of the pronoun *cui* as a neuter form occurs in Virgil.

357. It is probably best to take *utrumque caput*

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as "mine and thine." Ovid's imitation is *tuum nostrumque caput* (*Heroid.* III, 107), and the first of three possible explanations offered by Servius is *meum et tuum*. The other two are: *aut Iovis et Mercurii*; *aut meum et Ascanii*. Mackail would refer the phrase to Anchises and Ascanius. The Daniel-Servius suggests Aeneas and Ascanius.

### Book V

In connection with the games described in this book, Professor Drew's *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1927) is worthy of perusal.

44. As Mackail reminds us, the *tumulus* is probably the mound over the tomb of Anchises.

326. *ambiguumve relinquat*. Janell, Sabbadini and Mackail reject *-ve* and return to the *-que* of the MSS. This may be right, but Mackail's rendering is not convincing: "would slip forward past him, and leave him, now in a doubtful position, behind." If this had been the poet's general meaning, he would surely have omitted *ambiguum* altogether. But even with *-que* we might keep the usual rendering. It often happens in a race that the leader, when overtaken and passed, recovers himself sufficiently to make the result a tie. But some early scribe may have inserted a 'q' before 've' by mistake, for the corresponding verse in Homer (*Il.* XXIII, 382) has the disjunctive:

καί νυ κεν ἢ παρέλασσε, ἢ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν.

488. *volucrem*. Holding that *volucrem columbam* should mean "the flying pigeon," Mackail conjectures and adopts *volucre*, to be taken with the distant *ferrum*, "winged shaft." This is not very plausible.

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505. Because *timuit exterrita* seems "hopelessly feeble," Mackail adopts Professor Slater's clever conjecture of *micuit* in place of *timuit*. But why, in a capital MS., should MIC- be "all but indistinguishable" from TIM-?

518. *aeriis*. Rightly preferred by Janell and Mackail to the more learned *aetheriis*.

522. Janell and Mackail may be right in returning to *subito* of the MSS., but we thus get an awkward phrasing, since *subito* and *obicitur* cannot be taken together, as would naturally be expected.

524. Drew (p. 44) supposes that the burning arrow of Acestes symbolizes the *Caesaris astrum* of *Ecl.* IX, 47—a bold but interesting conjecture.

591. *frangeret*. As compared with the rival reading *falleret*, the word *frangeret* not only has the weight of authority, but presents the more striking and specific picture.

### BOOK VI

2. For an account of early Cumae, see *Vergil's Primitive Italy*, by Saunders (pp. 13 ff.); *Greek Cities in Italy and Sicily*, by David Randall-MacIver (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), Ch. I.

14. For illustrations of the temple of Apollo and the Grotto of the Sibyl, as laid bare by recent excavations, see "Virgilio," the beautiful supplement to N. 49 of *L'Illustrazione Italiana*, Dec. 7, 1930.

95 f. Placing a full-stop after *ito*, Mackail takes *quam* as a relative pronoun, anticipating *via*. But this makes it difficult to provide an infinitive for *te*. With the adverb *quam* this is easy enough (*ire* from *ito*).

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203. Conington, Goelzer and Mackail adopt *geminae*, the reading of R, in preference to *gemina*, as read by M and P, as well as by Donatus and Priscian. The plural is probably a reminiscence of l. 190, and *gemina* is explained by Virgil himself in l. 204.

289. At this point the Daniel-Servius cites the following hexameters descriptive of the Gorgon, which he says were removed from the poet's manuscript by his editors. Mackail is of the opinion that Virgil composed them first, and later substituted for them the single line, 289. There are given thus:

Gorgonis in medio portentum immane Medusae,  
viperiae circum ora comae, cui sibila torquent  
infamesque rigent oculi, mentoque sub imo  
serpentum extremis nodantur vincula caudis.

468. *animum*. Jortin's conjecture of *animam* has won the approval of Deuticke and Mackail. But as *animae* (*anima* being properly the breath of life, the physical life), though the regular word for souls apart from the body, can yet be used freely of living souls (cf. *animae qualis neque candidiores terra tulit*, Hor. Sat. I, v, 41); so *animi* (*animus* being properly the rational or spiritual life) can surely be used of the souls of the dead. Dido is now *nihil praeter animum* (Cic. Tusc. I, 20, 47), an *animus vacans corpore* (ib. I, 22, 50). The weaker *animam* could hardly have carried with it the very bold personification involved in *ardentem et torva tuentem* (*animum*), "the burning and fierce-eyed soul," as Mackail himself so well translates it. Probably the Greek *θυμός* may have influenced Virgil here.

585 ff. There seems to be no good reason for departing from the traditional text. Salmoneus

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was punished in the midst of his folly. Several editors, however, place a full-stop after *poenas*. In that case, 587 should precede 586, as *hic* (587) should be at or near the head of the new sentence. Such is the order given by Goelzer.

601 ff. The *quosuper* of the *Romanus* illustrates a common error in MSS., where a single consonant often does duty for two of the same kind (*quos super*). But certain editors, puzzled by the absence of any mention of Tantalus, read *quo super* and either add *et* at the end of 601, or suppose that after 601 a line has been lost which furnished *Tantalus* in some case and form as an antecedent to *quo*. Goelzer, following Havet and Cartault, resorts to transposition, placing 616-20 after 601, and referring *quo* (602) to Phlegyas. All these changes are unnecessary.

739-51. This difficult passage is discussed by E. A. Hahn in *Classical Weekly*, XX (1927), 215 ff.

845. *tu*. The original reading of P, *tun*, is adopted by Ribbeck, Janell, and Sabbadini, and may be correct.

852. Norden, Mackail, and Sabbadini all recognize the superior authority and significance of *paci* as compared with *pacis*. Norden translates *paci imponere morem* by "dem Frieden gib Gesittung und Gesetze," and Mackail paraphrases thus: "to make peace into a fixed tradition, or more largely to build up character upon peace."

893 ff. Virgil's gates of sleep correspond to Homer's gates of dreams (*Odyssey*, XIX, 562 ff.). It was a popular idea that false dreams came before, and true dreams after, midnight. Cf. Horace, *Sat.* I, x, 33:

post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera.

See *Classical Review*, XIV (1900), 153 ff.

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