

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY
FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB 1911

EDITED BY
JEFFREY HENDERSON

VIRGIL

I

LCL 63



VIRGIL
ECLOGUES · GEORGICS
AENEID I-VI

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH

REVISED BY G. P. GOOLD



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND

Copyright © 1999 by the President and Fellows
of Harvard College
All rights reserved

First published 1916
Reprinted 10 times
New and revised edition 1935
Reprinted 15 times
Revised Edition, with new Introduction, 1999
Reprinted 2004

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark of the
President and Fellows of Harvard College

ISBN 0-674-99583-X

Composed in ZephGreek and ZephText by
Technologies 'N Typography, Merrimac, Massachusetts.
Printed and bound by Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan
on acid-free paper made by Glatfelter, Spring Grove, Pennsylvania

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
ECLOGUES	23
GEORGICS	97
BOOK I	98
BOOK II	136
BOOK III	176
BOOK IV	218
AENEID	261
BOOK I	262
BOOK II	316
BOOK III	372
BOOK IV	422
BOOK V	472
BOOK VI	532



PREFACE

The edition of Virgil by H. Rushton Fairclough which this Revised Edition now replaces was first published in 1916 (*Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*) and 1918 (*Aeneid VII-XII, Minor Poems*). Subsequently, after numerous reprints and, particularly, after the bimillenary editions of Sabbatini and Mackail, it became clear that much revision was desirable, and substantial corrections and alterations were made to each volume, in 1932 and 1934 respectively; but in order to minimize change to the printed page, most of the new material was added in the form of appendices. Now, over sixty years later, a necessary resetting of the type affords the opportunity for a thorough and untrammelled revision of the whole work, essential material in the appendices being subsumed at the appropriate places.

The text of Virgil has remained fairly uniform for centuries, but even today far too many false readings are current. It is regrettable that so many editors fail to give the correct form of the second line of the *Aeneid*, for example. I have ventured to make many textual changes from Fairclough, but these less from my own convictions than in the promptings of the best scholarship.

It being out of the question to give a complete apparatus criticus (which would prove a hindrance rather than a help to the Loeb reader), I have limited myself to record-

PREFACE

ing the readings of the primary capital manuscripts where doubt arises as to Virgil's own intentions or where editions vary; thus I have eliminated more than a thousand critical notes; even so, I hope, the variants given draw attention to all places where uncertainty exists about the correct reading. (This does not apply to the poorly transmitted *Appendix Vergiliana*.) For clarity of presentation I have followed Mackail in two respects: Virgil's incomplete lines (1.534, etc.) are signalled by three dots, and italics are employed to indicate spurious or interpolated verses or parts of verses.

Spelling is something of a problem. Neither the manuscripts nor the ancient commentators are reliable enough for us to be certain of the poet's spelling, especially as it is by no means clear that he himself was consistent: in regard to third declension accusative plurals (in *-es* or *-is*) I tend to follow Ribbeck, but in other respects I generally adopt the traditional imperial spelling, following Mynors in regularly writing *vulnus*, *vultus*, etc. for example (as opposed to *volnus*, *voltus*), and eschewing such unorthodox forms as *formonsus* and such unfamiliar orthography as *moerorum* (*murorum*), which the poet may have used in a technical phrase.

The excellence of Fairclough's edition resided in its translation. Now it will readily be agreed that the perfect translation of Virgil into English is impossible of attainment. In electing to write in "heroic prose" Fairclough chose the best option. A strictly literal translation, rendering the Latin construction, but neglecting beauty of expression, is bound, however faithful to the meaning, to lead to unidiomatic language, alien from the original and incapable of reproducing its intended influences upon a

PREFACE

receptive mind. Verse renditions must necessarily deviate fundamentally from the original and reflect the talent and principles rather of the translator than of the original poet. Then again noble and magnificent language not only merits but demands some attempt to recapture that splendour in translation. Classic works which have been translated hundreds of times are likely to have led to felicitous renderings of numerous phrases and sentences which it would be a pity to discard for something inferior. The King James Version of the Bible is a significant example of this; its translators made full use of the genius of their predecessors, and as a work of art it has held its own for four centuries: none of the subsequent versions threatens to displace it. Similarly Fairclough did not scruple to take over many apposite renditions from previous translators, and in this I have followed him.

But in the matter of style account must be taken of the fact that language is constantly changing—in accidentence, syntax, vocabulary, and idiom. English which seems excessively old-fashioned will not do, for all that Virgil himself often employs such archaisms as *aquai*, *dominaries*, *faxo*, *fuat*, *olli*. I have retained much of Fairclough's poetical or elevated English, but banished *spake*, *forsooth*, *thou mayest*, *the voice clave to my throat*, *hereon*, and many such forms, hoping that my replacements will not diminish the elegance of his original. *Thou* I reluctantly part with, but most often its retention would necessitate continuing with *-est* or *thee* or *thy* or *thine* or a series of such forms. However, I have often preserved *ye*, as it specifies the plural without corresponding disadvantages. But though this essentially remains Fairclough's translation, here and there I have yielded to the temptation of inserting fair ver-

PREFACE

sions composed for my classes, and I have not hesitated to take from Conington, Jackson, Mackail, and others.

No bibliography of Virgil can ever hope to be either complete or definitive. Obviously my own selection must reveal a personal bias, but I aimed to include the chief accessible sources of exegesis. Believing, like Fairclough (Loeb II [1934] p.525), that "apart from the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, it is doubtful whether a single line of genuine Virgilian work has survived," I have referred to the other compositions with their traditional name as the *Appendix Vergiliana* (not the *Minor Poems*) and relegated scholarship of them to the second volume. In spite of the prodigious amount of commentary, annotation, and criticism written upon the three great works of the divine Mantuan, the reader may rest assured that the Latin text itself enshrines everything vital to its appreciation. Naturally I hope that the revised translation may prove acceptable; still, I am conscious of its shortcomings, and can only repeat the helplessness of Mopsus before the voice of Menalcas:

QUAE TIBI, QUAE TALI REDDAM PRO CARMINE DONA?
NAM NEQUE ME TANTUM VENIENTIS SIBILUS AUSTRI
NEC PERCUSSA IUVAUNT FLUCTU TAM LITORA, NEC QUAE
SAXOSAS INTER DECURRUNT FLUMINA VALLES.

G. P. Goold

Yale University
January 1999

INTRODUCTION

Publius Vergilius Maro was born on October 15, 70 B.C., at Andes, a village near Mantua. Whether because of a local pronunciation or for some other circumstance his name was early punned with *virgo* and *virga*, and before the end of the Roman Empire his name was spelled and pronounced *Virgilius*, which even supplanted the correct spelling; up to the 20th century Virgil has been the spelling commonly used. Dante and Croce know him as *Virgilio*, Johnson and Tennyson, and likewise Goethe and Schiller, as *Virgil*. So there is much to be said for keeping Virgil as a historically naturalized form, like Jupiter for *Iuppiter*.

The *Life* of Virgil attributed to Donatus (given in volume II of the Loeb edition of Suetonius) certainly goes back to the biographer, but no less certainly contains much which is speculation or even fabrication. For one thing, whereas the *Life* says that Virgil came of modest parentage, his father must have been quite affluent to have him educated at Milan and then in Rome. He suffered from poor health, spoke with a rustic accent, and was abnormally shy. It is perhaps not surprising that we are not well informed about his early life, and in particular about his first poems. According to the *Life* he wrote the *Catalepton*, *Priapea*, *Epigrams*, *Dirae*, as well as the *Ciris* and *Culex* (when he was sixteen years old); the biographer admits

INTRODUCTION

that the Virgilian authorship of the *Aetna* is disputed. But today it is generally agreed that apart, perhaps, from one or two pieces in the *Catalepton* nothing in these works is likely to be genuinely Virgil's, and it is quite impossible that any of the long poems (*Culex*, *Ciris*, *Aetna*) should be authentic. Except for borrowed verses and phrases there is no trace of the Virgilian word magic that casts its spell upon us everywhere in the *Eclogues*, which in their final form were published in 38 B.C.

Eclogues

The *Eclogues* are arranged, not in order of composition, but with antiphonal pastorals alternating with non-dramatic compositions, the whole reflecting the overriding influence of Theocritus. When we compare the *Eclogues* with even the best of previous Latin poetry, we cannot fail to be struck by the enormous advance in the sheer beauty and melodiousness of the verse. Considering the fundamental differences between Greek and Latin, it is nothing short of miraculous that Virgil's hexameters trip off the tongue as lightly as those of Theocritus. Such passages as the invitation to Meliboeus to stay overnight (1.79-83), the coaxing of a baby's smile (4.60-63), and falling in love at twelve years old (8.37-41) transcend all criticism.

The fourth eclogue, which prophesies the birth of a baby destined to usher in a golden age, has caused untold puzzlement, though Slater's article (1912) should have settled the question. The eclogue is an epithalamium, written in 40 under the influence of Catullus 64 to celebrate the marriage of Antony and Octavia. Unfortunately

INTRODUCTION

hopes were dashed when the issue of the marriage turned out to be a girl and the marriage itself a failure; but speculation ran riot, and the confident prophetic tone of the poem coupled with the rise of Christianity led many to identify Jesus as the wonder-child and to refer to the poem as the Messianic Eclogue.

Georgics

During the composition of the *Eclogues* Virgil had met Maecenas, who thenceforth became his patron and suggested to him a more ambitious theme: a didactic poem on farming. Dryden called it "the best Poem of the best Poet," a judgement endorsed by many. The work is not to be thought of as a textbook, for it is filled with an ardent love of country and nature, a keen sympathy not only with rustics but for beasts and birds and, especially, bees. The poet never loses the reader's interest, but frequently launches upon unexpected and magnificent passages of adornment, as examples of which may be cited the twilight of the Golden Age (1.118–146), portents of Caesar's murder, leading up to an impassioned prayer for his heir (463–514); the praises of Italy (2.136–176), springtime as the world's birthday (314–345), and the happiness of the farmer (458–542); a great cattle plague in Noricum, the terrible finale to the third book (3.478–566); in the last book a charming description of the old man of Tarentum (4.116–148), and the exquisite story of Orpheus and Eurydice, told as never before (453–527).

INTRODUCTION

Aeneid

We should not believe the absurd assertion in the *Life* (23) that Virgil first wrote a draft of the *Aeneid* in prose and, taking up parts of this in no particular order but just as his fancy dictated, turned it into verse. Other statements in the *Life* about Virgil's methods in composition are equally suspect.

One of his early ambitions, Virgil tells us (*Ecl.* 6.3), was to write epic, and after the completion of the *Georgics*, which he read to Augustus on his return after Actium (*Life* 27), he is likely to have been encouraged by both Maecenas and Augustus to turn to a great national poem, glorifying Rome. Of course this meant challenging Homer head on and exposing himself to the severest scrutiny—in his style, his themes, his characters, and his hero. Not that Homer was his sole model: the influence of Apollonius Rhodius is clearly attested, especially in his similes (e.g. 8.22ff < *Arg.* 3.754ff); and Ennius has been a constant inspiration, as Macrobius allows us to see (e.g. 6.179ff < *Sat.* 6.2.27). Virgil's rank as a creative artist of the highest class is shown by some of his choices from among the options open to him. It is now obvious to us that his hero had to be Aeneas, the son of Venus, the divine ancestor claimed by Julius Caesar. Naevius had already connected him with the origins of Rome, and thus provided Virgil with a literary as well as historical ancestry and further cogency to his choice of hero. He was vanquished at Troy and a shadowy enough figure to permit much embellishment. His mythical role in the foundation of Rome enabled the *Odyssey* to be drawn on for his wanderings in search of a reborn Troy,

INTRODUCTION

as could the *Iliad* for his struggle to prevail over the native Italians.

We begin, not at the beginning, but with Aeneas and his fleet battered in a storm at sea on their way from Sicily; cast up on the African coast, the Trojans are welcomed by Dido, Queen of Carthage, who through the wiles of Juno falls in love with Aeneas and at a sumptuous banquet invites him to tell his story. This, patterned on Odysseus' narration of his adventures at the court of Alcinous, occupies Books 2 (the fall of Troy) and 3 (wanderings in the Mediterranean as far as Sicily, where his father, Anchises, dies).

In Book 4, Dido's love intensifies, their union is consummated, but Aeneas is commanded by Jupiter to leave her immediately. Unmoved by her passionate entreaties, he sails away, and she commits suicide. The next book finds us once more in Sicily, where Aeneas holds funeral games (cf. *Iliad* 23) on the anniversary of Anchises' death before, at last, setting sail for Italy. Here he lands at Cumae (Book 6), is assisted by the Sibyl to enter the underworld (cf. *Odyssey* 11), where he meets his father and witnesses a grand pageant of future Romans before returning to the upper air.

A delayed exordium (7.37) announces the Iliadic portion of the epic, and we are introduced to King Latinus, his daughter Lavinia, and Aeneas' rival Turnus, chief of the Rutuli. War erupts between the Trojans and the Italians, giving the poet the opportunity for a catalogue of the native chiefs and forces (cf. *Iliad* 2), culminating in the figure of the warrior-maiden Camilla. In Book 8 appears a new character, Evander, an Arcadian who lives on the site that is the Rome to be: he entrusts his beloved son, Pallas, to

INTRODUCTION

Aeneas and also offers him the support of the Etruscans, these having driven out their tyrant king Mezentius, who has made common cause with Turnus. At this point Vulcan constructs for Aeneas a wonderful shield (cf. *Iliad* 18); upon it is emblazoned the future of Rome, including Augustus himself at the battle of Actium.

Meanwhile Turnus has beleaguered the Trojan camp at the mouth of the Tiber (Book 9); in defence Nisus and Euryalus mount a daring night attack and meet heroic deaths. After a debate among the gods in heaven (Book 10) fierce fighting resumes on earth: Pallas is killed by Turnus, and Mezentius falls to an enraged Aeneas. Book 11 movingly describes the funeral of Pallas and, at the end, a further tragedy, this time on the other side, the death of Camilla. Like Book 22 of the *Iliad*, Book 12 of the *Aeneid* brings together the two champions, Aeneas and Turnus, who, inevitably, is slain.

Though the *Aeneid* is essentially complete, and there is no reason to believe that the size of the poem was to be enlarged or its framework altered, various features, like the scores of half-lines, show that the work lacked the author's finishing touches. The *Life* tells us (35) that Virgil planned to devote three years to a final polishing, and preparatory to this embarked on a tour of Greece and Asia. In Athens he met Augustus on his way home from the East and resolved to return to Italy with him. Unfortunately, during a visit to Megara under a hot sun he caught a fever, which became worse when he insisted on continuing his journey. He managed to reach Brundisium, but in a very weakened condition, and died there on September 21, 19 B.C. It is futile to guess what the *Aeneid*, if completed, would have

INTRODUCTION

been: we can but be thankful for the posthumous edition we have.

While Virgil to an enormous extent took Homer for a model in composing his *Aeneid*, it is remarkable to what lengths he went to assert his independence, and thereby defend himself against the charge that the greatness of his epic was owed to the Greek original. In illustration of this two points may suffice. (1) An outstanding characteristic of Homer is his formularity, both in epithets (for example, δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς 'goodly Achilles' occurs 76 times in the *Iliad*, δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς 'goodly Odysseus' 63 times in the *Odyssey*) and in stock lines (for example, [τὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη . . . 'And to him then . . . made answer and said' introduces direct speech no less than 110 times in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*). Virgil takes pains to avoid repeated lines and epithets, and even repeated phrases: at *Aen.* 12.156 he refers to Jupiter's wife as *Saturnia Iuno*, but 22 lines later, to avoid the suggestion of a formula, as *Saturnia coniunx*; here, however, one of the chief capital manuscripts, remembering the earlier passage, gives *Saturnia Iuno*. This situation occurs scores of times, and Sabbatini (at 1.380) has formulated the dictum *quae Vergilius variaverat, librarii iterabant* 'passages where Virgil had chosen to use different words, the scribes tended to standardize.' But it is not always easy to apply this as a principle, and I have thought it helpful to specify such places in the critical notes. Many of the much debated half-lines owe their existence to the poet's desire to avoid formulas in beginning or ending speeches or paragraphs. (2) As a dramatist Virgil shows himself able to challenge Homer: the silence of Ajax is at least matched by the

INTRODUCTION

silence of Dido; indeed, the glimpse of the underworld by Odysseus is not merely equalled but surpassed by Aeneas' spiritual experience in Avernus; the pathos of the deaths of Patroclus and Hector is fully reflected in the tragic episode of Nisus and Euryalus and the slaying of Pallas. Homer looks back to a past heroic age: Virgil does this too, but he also projects his epic into the present and the future: the pageant of Rome in Book 6 and the Shield of Aeneas in Book 8 show how much the poet has elevated his Homeric models to a higher dramatic level.

Naturally Virgil owes much to his Greek (and Roman) models, whom he often translates or adapts, thereby bringing upon himself, what his ancient detractors were only too eager to exploit, the charge of plagiarism. But Dr. Johnson's pronouncement on Oliver Goldsmith may with equal justice be applied to Virgil: he touched nothing which he did not adorn. For example, in his translation of Callimachus' *Coma Berenices* Catullus had produced the artificial and precious line *Invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi* 'Unwillingly, O queen, I departed from your crown' (said by a lock of hair clipped from the royal head). By little more than the change of a word Virgil transforms this droll verse into the discourse of high drama: *Aen.* 6.460 *Invitus, regina, tuo delitore cessi* (. . . I departed from your shores). Did we not know the relative chronology, the natural supposition would have been that Virgil's was the original and Catullus' the copy.

The Art of Virgil

The supreme virtuosity of Virgil lies in his capacity to produce beautiful verse, replete with the full spectrum of

INTRODUCTION

rhetorical figures, rhythms infinitely varied, and sounds wonderfully accommodated to the sense: for example, a horse's galloping (8.596), the hissing of serpents (2.209ff), the blare of trumpets (9.503f, 11.192), a child trotting along to keep pace with his father (2.724), the awful darkness of night (6.268ff), the sleepiness of exhaustion (5.838ff), all conveyed in unforgettable language. He can thrill us to the core, when, interrupting his narrative, he breaks into an apostrophe (2.142f, 6.882, 9.445ff). Often, in passages of tension and excitement, he will embark upon a breathtaking period with a devastating climax (G. 4.485ff). Small wonder that Virgil was regarded as a magician and his works opened at random and consulted as oracles. No doubt the story is apocryphal, but when in the Bodleian Library he wanted to use the *Sortes Vergilianae* to foretell his fortune the doomed king Charles I of England could hardly have chanced upon a more apposite passage than Dido's curse (4.615ff), just a single specimen of Virgil's powerful speeches. At the other end of the oratorical spectrum may be cited Evander's last words to Pallas (11.152), perfect in their tenderness as Dido's are the ultimate in fury.

Servius

The chief commentary of Virgil is that of Servius (late 4th-century). This has come down to us in two versions, Servius proper and a Servius expanded by the additions of a 7th-century Irish monk taken from the (now lost) variorum commentary of Aelius Donatus (from which much of Servius himself is derived). The larger version, usually called Servius Auctus, is also referred to as D Servius or

INTRODUCTION

Servius Danielis, after the first edition of it by Pierre Daniel (1600).

Servius enables us to check the text of Virgil against the manuscripts for the three or four centuries after the poet's death and furnishes a vast amount of commentary—linguistic, literary, historical, and mythological. However, Servius is not a reliable guide, and he is responsible for initiating or perpetuating some appalling misconceptions. (1) The suicide of Cornelius Gallus in 26 B.C. had caused some commentators to frown on the poet's praise of his friend at the end of the *Eclogues*, while others had at the end of the *Georgics* criticized the poet for the space, excessive as they considered it, devoted to the Aristaeus episode and culminating in the story of Orpheus and Eurydice. Servius confused "the end of the *Eclogues*" with "the end of the *Georgics*" and (at *Ecl.* 10.1) fabricated the myth that *Georgics* 4 originally contained the praises of Gallus and that after the poet's disgrace Augustus ordered Virgil to excise all mention of Gallus from the poem; whereupon it was replaced by the Aristaeus episode. The fiction was exploded by W. B. Anderson, *Classical Quarterly* 27 (1933) 36–45. (2) In compiling his commentary Servius picked up from some of his sources various verses alleged to be Virgil's, though absent from the canonical text. He accepts one and all as genuine, with the stock explanation that they were removed by Virgil's editors. Four verses introducing the *Aeneid*, "ille ego" were satisfactorily explained by E. Brandt, *Philologus* 83 (1927) 33lff. Servius is also the sole source of the notorious Helen Episode, which is likewise (2.5167–588), devoid of any support from the manuscript tradition, and is repudiated by recent editors. However, these continue to find believers, and for refer-

INTRODUCTION

ence are here printed at the appropriate places. Two other passages, neither of which is supported in the tradition or is accepted by any editor as possibly authentic, are given by Servius Auctus:

<i>hinc Pelopis gentes Maleaeque sonantia saxa</i>	3.204a
<i>circumstant, pariterque undae terraeque minantur;</i>	3.204b
<i>pulsamur saevis et circumsumimur undis.</i>	3.204c

(‘on this side, hemmed in by Pelops’ peoples and the echoing rocks of Malea, we are menaced by sea and land alike; we are pounded and surrounded by savage waves.’)

<i>Gorgonis in medio portentum immane Medusae,</i>	6.289a
<i>viperae circum ora comae cui sibila torquent,</i>	6.289b
<i>infamesque rigent oculi, mentoque sub imo</i>	6.289c
<i>serpentum extremis nodantur vincula caudis.</i>	6.289d

(‘In the middle is the Gorgon Medusa, an enormous monster about whom snaky locks twist their hissing mouths; her eyes stare malevolently, and under the base of her chin the tail-ends of serpents have tied knots.’)

This evidence of Servius’ unreliability may be augmented by much else. If we were to take his word for it, we should have to believe that 5.591 was a verse of Catullus; that the seventh eclogue was “almost entirely derived from Theocritus”; that Antony was defeated by Augustus before the composition of the ninth eclogue (*Vita* 7); that the whole of *Aeneid* 4 was lifted from Apollonius Rhodius; and many other impossible things.

Even so, Servius furnishes us with much incidental information of value, and in particular his reports of a specific reading are given in this edition whenever it is

INTRODUCTION

clear that the reading has not been interpolated from a manuscript of Virgil used by the scribe.

Text

The quality of the evidence for the text of Virgil surpasses by far that for any other classical author. We begin with eight manuscripts of the 4th or 5th centuries, written in capitals: between them they attest every line of the poet. Pride of place is taken by three:

- M (Mediceus): Florence, Laur.39.1, 5th cent.; it lacks only the first quire (*Ecl.* 1.1–6.47).
- P (Palatinus): Vatican, Pal.lat.1631, 4th or 5th cent.; it lacks 32 leaves, but since
- γ (Wolfenbüttel [Gud.lat.70], 9th cent.) resembles it so closely that it must be a descendant, the missing leaves of P may be—though to an uncertain extent, for P has been much corrected—restored from it.
- R (Romanus): Vatican, lat.3867, 5th cent.; it lacks 77 leaves, the text of which may to some extent be restored from its descendant
- a (Bern.165, 9th cent.).

The other five capital manuscripts are comparatively fragmentary:

- A (Augusteus): Vat.lat 3256 + Berlin, lat.fol.416, 4th cent., 7 leaves.
- B Milan, Ambros.Cimelio 3, 5th or 6th cent. (actually a papyrus palimpsest, listed by Geymonat as Π⁸); contains some 80 lines from *Aen.* 1.

INTRODUCTION

- F (Schedae Vaticanae): Vatican, Vat.lat.3225, 4th cent., 75 leaves.
G (Sangallensis): St. Gall 1394, 5th cent.; 11 leaves of a palimpsest.
V (Veronensis): Verona XL 38, 5th cent.; 49 leaves.

How far these capital manuscripts bear witness to the text of Virgil is indicated in the left margin at the beginning of those passages which they preserve.

In addition we have portions of two late-8th century minuscule mss:

- m Munich, Clm 29216.7 (formerly 29005.18), 2 leaves containing about 80 lines from the end of *Aen.* 5 and beginning of *Aen.* 6; and
p Paris lat.7906 (*Aen.* 1-128; 3.682-5.734).

These then are the authorities cited in the critical notes at every division of testimony (everywhere, that is, where they are available, with γ and a filling in for P and R respectively).

Mention must be made of nearly 20 papyrus fragments, mostly of the 4th to the 6th century (details given in Geymonat's edition); but because they do not match the above sources in quality their contribution to the purification of the text is practically negligible: indeed, the only uncorroborated reading accepted is *noris* at *Aen.* 4.423.

Most of the ancient manuscripts cited above carry many variants, whether corrections by the original or a later hand or hands, or variant readings imported from some other manuscript or authority. In the critical notes for the most part only the original reading is reported; any variant reading is, for simplicity's sake, marked X².

INTRODUCTION

The considerable and widespread circulation of Virgilian variants in manuscripts and ancient commentators has as a consequence the impossibility of drawing up any stemma indicating the pedigree of readings. And it further follows that the numerous ninth-century manuscripts at our disposal, though collectively they attest what one may call a *textus receptus*, do not, except for γ and *a*, noticed above, merit individual attention. A few readings, however, probably conjectural, require identification in the critical notes, where they appear under the following sigla:

- b Bernensis 165, 9th century
- c Bernensis 184, 9th century
- χ some other later manuscript or manuscripts.

It is not likely that our texts of Virgil are descended from an archetype (though in the case of the *Aeneid* it is often tempting to attribute to Varius, Virgil's editor, universal errors such as the dislocation of 6.743f). Nevertheless the two earlier works occasionally present mistakes common to the tradition, and Courtney (1981, 24–26) reasonably posits an early edition, the authority of which drove out all others and succeeded in establishing, for example, the dislocations at *Ecl.* 4.23 and *Georg.* 4.203.

Of course, as testimony to the text of our author we have, besides copies of the poems themselves, a vast amount of quotation by ancient authors, grammarians, and lexicographers. Seneca, Quintilian, Probus, Gellius, Macrobius: these are simply a few of the authorities who have a claim to be heard. Complete coverage is out of the question in a Loeb volume, but any external source uniquely responsible for a true reading is noted.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reference

- Karl Büchner: "Vergilius," *Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie* VIIIA (1955–8) 1021–1486, also published separately Stuttgart 1961.
- W. Suerbaum: "Hundert Jahre Vergil-forschung" [1875–1975], *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 31.1 (1980) 3–358.
- W. Suerbaum: "Spezialbibliographie zu Vergils Georgica," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 31.1 (1980) 395–499.
- W. W. Briggs, Jr.: "A Bibliography of Virgil's *Eclogues* (1927–1977)," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 31.2 (1982) 1265–1357.
- Francesco della Corte (ed.): *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, 5 vols, Rome 1984–1990.

Older Works

- C. G. Heyne: *P. Virgili Maronis Opera* 1767¹–1800³, 6 vols, Leipzig (curavit G. P. E. Wagner, 1830–1814⁴).
- James Henry: *Aeneidea, or critical, exegetical, and aesthetical remarks on the Aeneis*, 4 vols, London 1873–1889 (repr. Hildesheim, Ohms 1969). The remarks are volu-

INTRODUCTION

minous and not always to be endorsed, nor the coverage of the text complete; but even so the work is nonpareil: there was never a champion of Virgil like this.

Otto Ribbeck: *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, Leipzig 1859–1868 (apparatu critico in artius contracto, Vol.1 *Bucolica et Georgica*, 1894; Vol.2 *Aeneidos I–VI*, 1895; Vol.3 *Aeneidos VII–XII*, 1895; Vol.4 *Appendix Vergiliana [Culex, Ciris, Copa, Moretum, Catalepton. Dirae, Lydia]*, 1895). In 1866 had appeared in a special volume *Prolegomena Critica*, covering the whole tradition of the Virgilian text, the ancient sources and commentators, the manuscripts and an orthographical analysis of the manuscripts.

John Conington, Henry Nettleship, F. Haverfield: *The Works of Virgil with a commentary*, Vol.1 *Eclogues and Georgics*, 1898⁵, Vol.2 *Aeneid I–VI*, 1884⁴, Vol.3 *Aeneid VII–XII*, 1883³, London, Bell (repr. Hildesheim, Olms 1979).

T. E. Page (text with introduction and notes): *Bucolics and Georgics*, London, Macmillan, 1898, and often reprinted; *Aeneid 1–6*, London, Macmillan, 1894, a.o.r.; *Aeneid 7–12*, London, Macmillan, 1900, a.o.r.

Vergils Gedichte erklärt von T. Ladewig, C. Schaper, P. Deuticke, 3 vols, revised by P. Jahn, Berlin (Weidmann), 1909, a.o.r.

Editions

Vitae Vergilianae, ed. J. Brummer (Teubner), Leipzig 1912.

The Aeneid, edited with introduction and commentary, J. W. Mackail, Oxford 1930.

INTRODUCTION

- Remigio Sabbadini: *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, 2 volumes, Rome 1930.
- Appendix Vergiliana*, ed. R. Ellis (Oxford Classical Texts), Oxford 1907, reissued with *Vitae Vergilianae Antiquae* (Donatus, Servius, Probus, Focas, Excerpts from St Jerome), ed. Colin Hardie (Oxford Classical Texts), Oxford 1954.
- P. Vergili Maronis . . . Catalepton*, ed. R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma, Assen 1949 (pars prior, 1–8), 1963 (pars altera 9–15): bibliography, text, app. crit., English (Loeb) translation; commentary (Latin).
- Johannes Götte (with Karl Bayer): *Vergil, Aeneis und die Vergilviten* (Artemis edition, with German hexameter translation and extensive scholarly apparatus), Munich, Heimeran 1958.
- Johannes and Maria Götte: *Vergil, Bucolica, Georgica, Catalepton*, also Karl Bayer (ed.) *Vergilviten* (Artemis edition, with German hexameter translation and extensive scholarly apparatus and bibliography of work by 333 authors), Munich, Heimeran 1981 (updated from 1959 edition).
- Appendix Vergiliana*, ed. W. V. Clausen, F. R. D. Goodyear, E. J. Kenney, J. A. Richmond (Oxford Classical Texts), Oxford 1966.
- P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford Classical Texts), Oxford 1969, corr. 1972.
- P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. M. Geymonat (Paravia edition), Turin 1973 (contains the best available apparatus criticus).

INTRODUCTION

Translations into English Prose (all superb)

John Conington: (new edition) London 1888.

John Jackson: Oxford 1908.

J. W. Mackail: 1889, 1905.

Verse Translations

Eclogues 1963, *Georgics* 1940, *Aeneid* 1952: C. Day Lewis.

Eclogues: Guy Lee (Penguin), 1984.

Georgics: The Singing Farmer, Made by L. A. S. Jermyn during internment in Changi Gaol and Sime Road Camp, Singapore, Feb. 1942 to Sept. 1945, and now completely revised, Blackwell, Oxford 1947.

Georgics: L. P. Wilkinson (Penguin), 1982.

Aeneid: Allen Mandelbaum, Berkeley, 1971. Robert Fitzgerald, New York 1983.

Ancient Commentators

Servius, editions:

Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen: Vol.1 On *Aeneid* 1–5 (Thilo), 1881; Vol.2 On *Aeneid* 6–12 (Thilo), 1884; Vol.3, Part I On *Bucolics* and *Georgics* (Thilo-Hagen), Part II Philargyrius on *Bucolics*; Brevis Expositio on *Georgics* 1 and 2; Ps-Probus on *Bucolics* and *Georgics*; Verona scholia on Virgil; Virgilian glosses; fragments of Asper's Virgilian grammar (Hagen), 1887.

Harvard Edition: Vol.II On *Aeneid* 1–2 (E. K. Rand and others), American Philological Association, Lancaster, Penn. 1946; Vol.III On *Aeneid* 3–5 (A. F. Stocker and

INTRODUCTION

A. H. Travis), American Philological Association, Oxford 1965.

Servius, other:

J. F. Mountford and J. T. Schultz: *Index rerum et nominum in scholiis Servii et Aelii Donati tractatorum*, Ithaca 1930 (repr. Hildesheim, Olms 1962).

Hermann Hagen: *Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Bucolica atque Georgica*, *Jahrbuch für classische Philologie*, 1867 (repr. Hildesheim, Olms 1967).

Emile Thomas: *Essai sur Servius*, Paris 1880.

G. P. Goold: "Servius and the Helen Episode," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74 (1970) 101–168.

Commentaries (= with text)*

Eclogues: Wendell Clausen, Oxford 1994.*

Georgics: R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1990.*

Aeneid 4: A. S. Pease, Cambridge, Mass. 1935.*

Aeneid 6: E. Norden, Leipzig 1916².*

Aeneid 8: P. T. Eden, Leiden 1975.

Aeneid 7–8: C. J. Fordyce, Oxford 1977.*

Aeneid 10: S. J. Harrison, Oxford 1991.*

Oxford Commentaries: * *Aeneid* 1 (1971), 2 (1964), 4 (1955), 6 (1977): R. G. Austin. *Aeneid* 3 (1962), 5 (1960): R. D. Williams.

Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics: * *Eclogues*: R. Coleman, 1977. *Georgics* 1–2 and *Georgics* 3–4: R. F. Thomas, 1988. *Aeneid* 8 (1976) and *Aeneid* 11 (1991): K. Gransden. *Aeneid* 9: P. R. Hardie, 1994.

Macmillan series* (supplements rather than replaces the editions by T. E. Page): *Eclogues and Georgics* (1979), *Aeneid* 1–6 (1972), *Aeneid* 7–12 (1973): R. D. Williams.

INTRODUCTION

Studies and Criticism

- Elfriede Abbe: *The Plants of Virgil's Georgics*, Ithaca 1965.
- W. B. Anderson: "Gallus and the Fourth Georgic," *Classical Quarterly* 27 (1933) 36–45.
- Cyril Bailey: *Religion in Virgil*, Oxford 1935.
- Thomas Berres: *Die Entstehung der Aeneis*, Wiesbaden 1982.
- W. A. Camps: *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1969.
- Wendell Clausen: *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenist Poetry*, Berkeley 1987.
- Domenico Comparetti, trans by E. F. M. Benecke: *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, London 1908 (pbk reprint with introduction by Jan Ziolkowski, Princeton 1997).
- Edward Courtney: "The Formation of the Text of Vergil," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London*, 28 (1981) 13–29.
- M. Marjorie Crump: *The Growth of the Aeneid*, Oxford, Blackwell 1920.
- T. R. Glover: *Virgil*, London, Methuen 1930⁵.
- G. P. Goold: "A Skullcracker in Virgil," *Classica et Mediaevalia: Studies in Honor of Joseph Szövérfy* (ed. Irene Vaslef and Helmut Buschhausen), Washington and Leyden 1986, 67–75.
- G. P. Goold: "The Voice of Virgil," *Author and Audience in Latin Literature* (ed. Tony Woodman and Jonathan Powell), Cambridge 1992, 110–123.
- K. W. Gransden: *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative*, Cambridge 1984.
- P. R. Hardie: *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford 1986.

INTRODUCTION

- S. J. Harrison (ed.): *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1990.
- Richard Heinze: *Virgils Epische Technik*, Leipzig 1928³ (English translation by Hazel and David Harvey and Fred Robertson, Bristol Classical Press 1993).
- Gilbert Highet: *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid*, Princeton 1972.
- Nicholas Horsfall: *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco*, Naples 1991.
- Nicholas Horsfall: *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, Brill, Leiden 1995.
- W. R. Johnson: *Darkness Visible*, Berkeley 1976.
- F. Klingner: *Virgil*, Zurich 1967.
- G. N. Knauer: *Die Aeneis und Homer*, Göttingen 1964.
- W. F. J. Knight: *Roman Vergil*, London 1944².
- Alexander G. McKay: *Vergil's Italy*, Bath 1970.
- Walter Moskalew: *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the Aeneid*, Leiden, Brill 1982.
- Brooks Otis: *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Oxford 1963.
- Viktor Pöschl: *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis*, Wiesbaden 1950 (trans. Gerda Seligson, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, Ann Arbor 1962).
- Michael C. J. Putnam: *Virgil's Pastoral Art*, Princeton 1970.
- Michael C. J. Putnam: *Virgil's Poem of the Earth*, Princeton 1979.
- Michael C. J. Putnam: *Virgil's Aeneid: Essays in Interpretation and Influence*, Chapel Hill 1995.
- Kenneth Quinn: *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description*, London 1968.

INTRODUCTION

- H. J. Rose: *The Eclogues of Vergil*, Berkeley 1942.
- David O. Ross, Jr: *Virgil's Elements: Physics and Poetry in the Georgics*, Princeton 1987.
- T. F. Royds: *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil*, Oxford 1914.
- J. Sargeaunt: *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil*, Oxford 1920.
- W. Y. Sellar: *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil*, Oxford 1897³.
- D. A. Slater: "Was the Fourth Eclogue Written To Celebrate the Marriage of Octavia to Mark Antony?—A Literary Parallel," *Classical Review* 26 (1912) 114–119.
- J. Soubiran: *L'épique dans la poésie latine*, Paris 1966.
- John Webster Spargo: *Virgil the Necromancer*, Cambridge, Mass. 1934.
- John Sparrow: *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil*, Oxford 1931.
- K. D. White: *Roman Agriculture*, London 1970.
- L. P. Wilkinson: *The Georgics of Virgil: A Critical Survey*, Cambridge 1969.
- Gordon Williams: *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, New Haven 1983.

Fiction

- Hermann Broch: *Der Tod des Vergil*, Zurich 1945 (English translation, *The Death of Virgil*, by Jean Starr Untermeyer, Pantheon Books, New York 1945). The poet, on his deathbed in Brundisium, debates with Augustus the destruction of the *Aeneid*. See further Theodore Ziolkowski, *Virgil and the Moderns*, Princeton 1993, pp. 203–222.

ECLOGUES

The evidence of the capital manuscripts *GMPR*, supported by Quintilian, Servius, and others, leaves no doubt that Virgil entitled his first publication *Bucolica* (= *Pastorals*). But pastorals they all are not. The fourth is a political epithalamium; the sixth, the song of Silenus, treats more of cosmology than of shepherding; while the last depicts the grief of the poet Gallus when he was jilted by his mistress. Possibly finding difficulty in giving a label applicable to each item the ancient commentators agreed on the broader and less precise term *Eclogae* (= *Selections*), a term evidently in use for varied pieces, and this title has stuck.

ECLOGAE

I

MELIBOEUS

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

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
10 ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti.

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,
15 spem gregis, a! silice in nuda conixa reliquit.
saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset,
de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus.
sed tamen, iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis.

Title (explicit): P. Vergili Maronis Bucolicon liber MP:
Bucolica GR

ECLOGUES

I

MELIBOEUS

You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech, 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 gave 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.

MELIBOEUS

Well, I grudge you not—rather I marvel; such unrest is there on all sides in the land. See, heartsick, 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. 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?

¹² turbatur *Quintilian* 1.4.28, *Servius*: -amur *PR*

ECLOGUES

TITYRUS

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

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,
30 postquam nos Amaryllis habet, Galatea reliquit.
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,
35 non umquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra redibat.

MELIBOEUS

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

TITYRUS

40 Quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat
nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere divos.

ECLOGUE I

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!

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

ECLOGUES

hic illum vidi iuvenem, Meliboee, quotannis
bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.
hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti:
45 "pascite, ut ante, boves, pueri; submitte tauros."

MELIBOEUS

Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt,
et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus
limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco.
non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas,
50 nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent.
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
55 saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro;
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,
60 et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces,
ante pererratis amborum finibus exsul
aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim,
quam nostro illius labatur pectore vultus.

MELIBOEUS

At nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros,
65 pars Scythiam et rapidum cretae veniemus Oaxen
et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.
en umquam patrios longo post tempore finis,
pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen

ECLOGUE I

that youth for whom our altars smoke twice six days a year.¹ 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 enjoy the cooling shade. On this side, as of old, 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 elm tops.

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.

MELIBOEUS

But we must go hence—some to the thirsty Africans, some to reach Scythia and the chalk-rolling 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

¹ Evidently a monthly ritual.

ECLOGUES

- post aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor aristas?
70 impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,
barbarus has segetes? en quo discordia civis
produxit miseros: his nos consevimus agros.
insere nunc, Meliboee, piros, pone ordine vitis.
ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae.
75 non ego vos posthac viridi proiectus in antro
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
80 fronde super viridi: sunt nobis mitia poma,
castanae molles et pressi copia lactis;
et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant
maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.

II

- PR Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin,
delicias domini, nec, quid speraret, habebat.
tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
adsidue veniebat. ibi haec incondita solus
5 montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani.
"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,
10 Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu

⁷⁴ felix quondam R: q. f. P

¹ pastor Corydon P: C. p. R

ECLOGUE II

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 where 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 housetops yonder are smoking and longer shadows fall from the mountain heights.

II

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 unavailing passion fling these artless strains to the hills and woods:

“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

⁷ coges R: -is P

⁹ lacertos PR: -as P

ECLOGUES

- alia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentis.
 at me cum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustro,
 sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis.
 nonne fuit satius, tristis Amaryllidis iras
 15 atque superba pati fastidia? nonne Menalcan,
 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,
 20 quam dives pecoris, nivei quam lactis abundans:
 mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae;
 lac mihi non aestate novum, non frigore defit.
 canto, quae solitus, si quando armenta vocabat,
 Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho.
 25 nec sum adeo informis: nuper me in litore vidi,
 cum placidum ventis staret mare; non ego Daphnin
 iudice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago.
 "O tantum libeat mecum tibi sordida rura
 atque humilis habitare casas et figere cervos,
 30 haedorumque gregem viridi compellere hibisco!
 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:
 35 haec eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas?
 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.
 40 praeterea duo, nec tuta mihi valle reperti,

¹² me cum *Bentley*: mecum *most edd.*

ECLOGUE II

reapers, spent with the scorching heat, her savoury herbs of garlic and thyme. But as I track your footprints, the corpses under the burning sun echo my voice with that of the shrill cicadas. Was it not better to brook Amaryllis' sullen rage and scornful disdain? or Menalcas, though he was dark and you are fair? Ah, lovely boy, trust not too much to your bloom! The white privets fall, the dark hyacinths are culled!

"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!

"O if you would but live with me in our rude fields and lowly cots, shooting the deer and driving the flock of kids with a green hibiscus switch! 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, as he lay a-dying, 'Now it claims you as its second master.' So said Damoetas; Amyntas, foolish one, felt envious. Nay more, two roes—I found them in a dangerous valley—

²² lac R: lact P, *Sabbadini* (also at 3.6)

ECLOGUES

- 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.
- 45 “Huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis
 ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis; tibi candida Nais,
 pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,
 narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;
 tum, casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis,
- 50 mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha.
 ipse ego cana legam tenera lanigine mala
 castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat;
 addam cerea pruna (honus erit huic quoque pomo);
 et vos, o lauri, carpam et te, proxima myrte,
- 55 sic positae quoniam suavis miscetis odores.
 “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.
- 60 quem fugis, a! demens? habitarunt di quoque silvas
 Dardaniusque Paris. Pallas, quas condidit arces,
 ipsa colat: nobis placeant ante omnia silvae.
 torva leaena lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,
 florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella,
- 65 te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas.
 aspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuveni,
 et sol crescentis decedens duplicat umbras:
 me tamen urit amor; quis enim modus adsit amori?
 a, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!
- 70 semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est.

56 es P²: est PR

ECLOGUE II

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.

“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. Waxen plums I will add—this fruit, too, shall have its honour. You too, O laurels, I will pluck, and you, their neighbour myrtle, for so placed you blend sweet fragrance.

“Corydon, you are a clown! Alexis cares naught for gifts, nor if with gifts you were to vie, would Iollas yield. Alas, alas! what hope, poor fool, has been mine? Madman, I have let in the south wind to my flowers, and boars to my crystal springs! Ah, idiot, 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 love still burns in me; 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.

ECLOGUES

quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?
invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexin."

III

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

Non, verum Aegonis; nuper mihi tradidit Aegon.

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

10 Tum, credo, cum me arbustum videre Miconis
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,
15 et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses.

ECLOGUE III

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

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

Poor sheep, unlucky all the time! While your master fondles Neaera, and is afraid that she prefers me to him, this hired keeper milks his ewes twice an hour, and the flock are robbed of their strength and the lambs of their milk.

DAMOETAS

Think twice before you utter these complaints against a *man*. I know who was with you while the goats looked askance, and in what shrine—but the complacent Nymphs just laughed.

MENALCAS

That day, methinks, when they saw me hacking Micon's trees and tender vine shoots with a malicious pruning knife.

DAMOETAS

Or was it when, by these old beeches, you broke Daphnis' bow and arrows; for you were vexed, spiteful Menalcas, when you saw them given to the boy, and if you hadn't hurt him somehow, you'd have died.

ECLOGUES

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?"
20 Tityre, coge pecus," tu post carecta latebas.

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

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

DAMOETAS

Vis ergo inter nos, quid possit uterque, vicissim
experiamur? ego hanc vitulam (ne forte recuses,
30 bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere fetus)
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.
35 verum, id quod multo tute ipse fatebere maius,
(insanire libet quoniam tibi) pocula ponam
fagina, caelatum divini opus Alcimedontis;
lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis

²⁶ iuncta *P*: vincta *R*

ECLOGUE III

MENALCAS

What can owners do, when thieves are so daring? Didn't I see you, rascal, trapping Damon's goat, while his mongrel barked madly? And when I shouted: "Where is that fellow off to? Tityrus, mind your flock!" you were skulking behind the rushes.

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

You beat him in singing? Why, did you ever own a wax-jointed pipe? Wasn't it you, you dunce, that at the cross-roads used to murder a sorry tune on a scrannel straw?

DAMOETAS

Well, what do you say to us trying together, turn by turn, what each can do? I'll stake this cow. Now don't say no! She comes twice a day to the milking pail, and suckles two calves. Now tell me what stake you will put on our match.

MENALCAS

From the herd I dare not wager anything with you. I've a father at home, and a harsh stepmother; and twice a day both count the flock, and one of them the kids as well. But (and here's what even you will admit is far more), seeing that you are bent on folly, I will stake a pair of beechwood cups, the embossed work of divine Alcimedon. On them a pliant vine, laid on by the graver's skill, is entwined

³⁸ *facili* γ *Servius*: -is V: *faclis* P: *fragilis* R

ECLOGUES

- diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos.
40 in medio duo signa, Conon et—quis fuit alter,
descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem,
tempora quae messor, quae curvus arator haberet?
necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo.

DAMOETAS

- Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,
45 et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho,
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.
50 audiat haec tantum—vel qui venit ecce Palaemon.
efficiam, posthac ne quemquam voce laccessas.

DAMOETAS

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

PALAEEMON

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

² Probably Eudoxus, whose *Phaenomena* was versified by Aratus in one of the most popular Hellenistic poems.

ECLOGUE III

with spreading clusters of pale ivy. In the middle are two figures, Conon and—who was the other,² who marked out with his rod the whole heavens for man, what seasons the reaper should claim and what the stooping ploughman? Not yet have I touched them with my lips, but keep them safely stored.

DAMOETAS

I also have two cups, made by the same Alcimedon, and he has clasped their handles with twining acanthus, and in the centre placed Orpheus with the woods following him. Not yet have I touched them with my lips, but keep them safely stored. If you but look at the cow, you will have no praise for the cups.

MENALCAS

This time you won't get away! Wherever you challenge me, I'll be there. Only let the one to hear us be—why, let it be who's coming now, Palaemon. I'll see to it that after today you challenge nobody to sing.

DAMOETAS

Well, come, if you have any song; with me there'll be no delay; I'll not shrink from any judge. Only, neighbour Palaemon, give this your best attention; it is no trifling matter.

PALAEMON

Sing on, now that we are seated on the soft grass. Every field, every tree is now budding; now the woods are green, now the year is at its loveliest. Begin, Damoetas; then you, Menalcas, must follow. You must sing alternately; the Muses love alternate verses.

ECLOGUES

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

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 congressere palumbes.

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

⁷⁷ vitula *Macrobius* 3.2.15, *Servius*: -am γR

ECLOGUE III

DAMOETAS

With Jove my song begins; of Jove all things are full. He makes the earth fruitful; he cares for my verses.

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

I have found gifts for my darling; for I have myself marked where the wood pigeons have been nesting high in the sky.

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

O how many and how sweet the things that Galatea has whispered to me! Waft some part of them to the gods, ye winds.

MENALCAS

What good is it, Amyntas, that you scorn me not in heart, if while *you* pursue the boars, *I* am left to look after the nets?

DAMOETAS

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

ECLOGUES

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

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

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

³ Phyllis is the mistress of Iollas, and desired by each of the two shepherds: Damoetas taunts Iollas by inviting her on his birthday, but him only at the harvest festival, when continence was enjoined; Menalcas caps this by telling of Phyllis's emotion when they last parted. In 79 the vocative *Iolla*, a necessary balance to *Iolla* in 76, is contemptuous: Page quotes Benoist's happy rendi-

ECLOGUE III

MENALCAS

I love Phyllis most of all; for she wept that I was leaving, and in halting accents cried, Iollas: "Farewell, farewell, my lovely!"³

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

Sweet are the showers to the corn, the arbute to the new-weaned kids, to the breeding flock the bending willow, and to me none but Amyntas!

DAMOETAS

Pollio loves my Muse, homely though she be: Pierian maids, feed fat a calf for your reader.

MENALCAS

Pollio makes new songs himself: feed fat a bull that butts already and spurns the sand with his hooves.

DAMOETAS

May he who loves you, Pollio, come where he rejoices that you, too, have come! For him may honey flow and the bramble bear spices!

MENALCAS

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

tion: "elle m'a dit 'adieu, adieu, beau berger.' Entends-tu cela, Iollas?"

ECLOGUES

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

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

DAMOETAS

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

MENALCAS

Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum

100 ervo γ : arvo *R*

101 exitium pecori *c*: ex. est pec. *R*: ex. pec. est γ

102 hi *Stephanus*: his γR (*taken by Donatus as nominative*)

ECLOGUE III

DAMOETAS

You lads who cull flowers and strawberries that grow so low, begone from here; a chill snake lurks in the grass.

MENALCAS

Venture not too far, my sheep; it is dangerous to trust the bank. Even now the ram is 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, lads; if the heat of the day dries up their milk, as it did of late, in vain will our fingers press the teats.

DAMOETAS

Alas, alas! How lean is my bull on that fat vetch! The same love is fatal to the herd and to the master of the herd.

MENALCAS

With 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 to me be great Apollo—heaven's vault is but three ells wide.⁴

MENALCAS

Tell me in what lands grow flowers inscribed with royal

⁴ Various solutions have been proposed, but the most likely answer to Damoetas' riddle is *Rome and Rhodes*, referring to the wonderful orreries of Archimedes (taken home by Marcus Marcellus) and Posidonius. See further Clausen *ad loc.*

ECLOGUES

nascantur flores, et Phyllida solus habeto.

PALAEEMON

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

IV

- R Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus.
non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;
si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.
Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
5 magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.
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,
10 casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo.
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.
15 ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit

7 demittitur γ: di- R

⁵ The answer to Menalcas' riddle is probably *Sparta and Troy*: the hyacinth was supposed to have sprung from the blood of the Spartan prince Hyacinthus, killed accidentally by Apollo, or of Ajax, who committed suicide at Troy, the markings on the flower's

ECLOGUE IV

names⁵—and have Phyllis for yourself.

PALAEEMON

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

IV

Sicilian⁶ Muses, let us sing a somewhat loftier strain. Not everyone do orchards and the lowly tamarisks delight. If our song is of the woodland, let the woods be worthy of a consul.

Now is come the last age of Cumaean song; the great line of the centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin⁷ returns, the reign of Saturn returns; now a new generation descends from heaven on high. Only do you, pure Lucina, smile on the birth of the child, under whom the iron brood shall at last cease and a golden race spring up throughout the world! Your own Apollo now is king!

And in your consulship, Pollio, yes, yours, shall this glorious age begin, and the mighty months commence their march; under your 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

petals being interpreted as Y or AI, the initials of the two unfortunates.

⁶ Sicilian, because Virgil's model in pastoral poetry, Theocritus, was Sicilian.

⁷ Astraea or Justice, last of the immortals to leave the earth.

ECLOGUES

permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis,
pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

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

At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus,
mollī paulatim flavescet campus arista
incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva
30 et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.

Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo
35 delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella
atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

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

²³ (*codd.*) after 20 Klouček | fundet Campbell: -ent γR

²⁶ at γ: ac R | parentis γ, Servius: -um R

ECLOGUE IV

mingled with gods, and shall himself be seen by them, and shall rule the world to which his father's prowess brought peace.

But for you, child, the earth untilled will pour forth its first pretty gifts, gadding ivy with foxglove everywhere, and the Egyptian bean blended with the laughing briar; unbidden it will pour forth for you a cradle of smiling flowers. Unbidden, the goats will bring home their udders swollen with milk, and the cattle will not fear huge lions. The serpent, too, will perish, and perish will the plant that hides its poison; Assyrian spice will spring up on every soil.

But as soon as you can read of the glories of heroes and your father's deeds, and can know what valour is, slowly will the plains yellow with the waving corn, on wild brambles the purple grape will hang, and the stubborn oak distil dewy honey.

Yet will a few traces of old-time sin live on, to bid men tempt the sea in ships, girdle towns with walls, and cleave the earth with furrows. A second Tiphys will then arise, and a second Argo to carry chosen heroes; a second war will be fought, and great Achilles be sent again to Troy.

Next, when now the strength of years has made you a man, even the trader will quit the sea, nor will the ship of pine exchange wares; every land will bear all fruits. Earth will not suffer the harrow, nor the vine the pruning hook; the sturdy ploughman, too, will now loose his oxen from the yoke. No more will wool be taught to put on varied hues, but of himself the ram in the meadows will change his fleece, now to sweetly blushing purple, now to a saffron

²⁸ *flavescet* γ: -it R

³³ *telluri . . . sulcos* γ: -em . . . -o R

ECLOGUES

- 45 sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos.
 "Talia saecla," suis dixerunt "currite" fusis
 concordēs stabili fatorum numine Parcae.
 Adgrederē o magnos (aderit iam tempus) honores,
 cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum!
- 50 aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
 terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
 PR aspice, venturo laetentur ut omnia saeclo!
- O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae,
 spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta!
- 55 non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus
 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.
- 60 Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem:
 matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses.
 incipe, parve puer: cui non risere parentes,
 nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

V

MENALCAS

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

52 laetentur *P*: -antur *R*

55 vincet *R*: -at *P*

62 cui *codd.*: qui *Quintilian* 10.3.8, whose error in construing
 qui (*plural*) . . . hunc (*singular*) continues to mislead.

ECLOGUE V

yellow; and scarlet shall clothe the grazing lambs at will.

"Ages so blessed, glide on!" cried the Fates to their spindles, voicing in unison the fixed will of Destiny.

O enter upon your high honours—the hour will soon be here—dear offspring of the gods, mighty seed of a Jupiter to be! See how the world bows with its massive dome—earth and expanse of sea and heaven's depth! See how all things rejoice in the age that is at hand!

I pray that the twilight of a long life may then be vouchsafed me, and inspiration enough to hymn your deeds! Then shall neither Thracian Orpheus nor Linus vanquish me in song, though mother give aid to the one and father to the other, Calliope to Orpheus, to Linus fair Apollo. Even were Pan to compete with me and Arcady be judge, then even Pan, with Arcady for judge, would own himself defeated.

Begin, baby boy, to recognize your mother with a smile: ten months have brought your mother long travail. Begin, baby boy! The child who has not won a smile from his parents, no god ever honoured with his table, no goddess with her bed!⁸

V

MENALCAS

Mopsus, now that we have met, good men both, you at blowing on the slender reeds, I at singing verses—why don't we sit together here, where hazels mix with elms?

⁸ As Hercules was honoured (cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 11.602–4).

ECLOGUES

MOPSUS

- 5 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

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

MOPSUS

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

MENALCAS

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

MOPSUS

- 20 "Exstinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnin
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

¹⁵ certet *P*: ut certet *R*

ECLOGUE V

MOPSUS

You are the older, Menalcas: it is right for me to defer to you, whether we pass beneath the shadows 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

He might just as well compete with Apollo in song.

MENALCAS

Begin first, Mopsus, if you have any love songs for Phyllis, or aught in praise of Alcon, or any gibes at Codrus. Begin. Tityrus will tend the grazing kids.

MOPSUS

No, 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 you can bid Amyntas compete with me!

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—you 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

ECLOGUES

- 25 frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla neque amnem
libavit quadrupes nec graminis attigit herbam.
Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur.
“Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris
30 instituit, Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi
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,
35 ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo.
grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,
infelix lolium et steriles nascuntur avenae;
pro molli viola, pro purpureo narcisso
carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.
40 spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras,
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.’”

MENALCAS

- 45 Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,
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.
50 nos tamen haec quocumque modo tibi nostra vicissim
dicemus, Daphninque tuum tollemus ad astra;
Daphnin ad astra feremus: amavit nos quoque Daphnis.

²⁷ ingemuisse *P*: gemuisse *R*

³⁷ nascuntur *PR*: dominantur *late mss* (G.1.154)

ECLOGUE V

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 your death.

“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, you alone give glory to your people. Since the Fates bore you 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, 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 my flock, but fairer I, their shepherd.’”

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.

⁴⁶ *fessis P: lassis R*

⁴⁹ *ab illo P: Apollo R (3.104)*

ECLOGUES

MOPSUS

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

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.
60 nec lupus insidias pecori nec retia cervis
ulla dolum meditantur; amat bonus otia Daphnis.
ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant
intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
ipsa sonant arbusta: ‘deus, deus ille, Menalca!’
65 sis bonus o felixque tuis! en quattuor aras:
ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo.
pocula bina novo spumantia lacte quotannis
craterasque duo statuam tibi pinguis olivi,
et multo in primis hilarans convivia Baccho
70 (ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra)
vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar.
cantabunt mihi Damoetas et Lyctius Aegon;
saltantis Satyros imitabitur Alphesiboeus.
“Haec tibi semper erunt, et cum sollempnia vota
75 reddemus Nymphis, et cum lustrabimus agros.
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
80 agricolae facient; damnabis tu quoque votis.”

80 votis *P*: voti *R*

ECLOGUE V

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 your own! Lo here are four altars—two, see, for you, Daphnis; two for Phoebus! Two cups, foaming with fresh milk, will I year by year set up for you, and two bowls of rich olive oil; and, for 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.

“These rites shall be yours for ever, both when we pay our yearly vows to the Nymphs, and when we purify our fields. So long as the boar loves the mountaintops, and the fish the streams; so long as the bees feed on thyme and the cicadas on dew—so long shall your honour, name, and glory abide. As to Bacchus and Ceres, so to you, year after year, shall the husbandmen pay their vows; you, too, shall hold them to their vows.”

ECLOGUES

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

85 Hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta.
PRV haec nos "formosum Corydon ardebat Alexin,"
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),
90 formosum paribus nodis atque aere, Menalca.

VI

PRV Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu
nostra nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalea.
cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
vellit et admonuit: "pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
5 pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen."
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
10 captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae,
te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebos gratior ulla est

⁸⁹ tum RV: nunc P: tunc P²

⁵ deductum R: di- PV

ECLOGUE VI

MOPSUS

What gifts can I give in return for a song such as yours? Sweeter is it to me than the sound of the South Wind sighing, or the rollers thundering on the beach, or the splash of rivulets tumbling down through rocky glens.

MENALCAS

First let me give you this delicate reed. This taught me "Corydon was aflame for the fair Alexis" and also "Who owns the flock? Is it Meliboeus?"⁹

MOPSUS

And do you take this crook, Menalcas, which Antigenes 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.

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,¹⁰ 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—bards in plenty will you find eager to sing your praises, Varus, and build the story of grim war—now will I woo the rustic Muse on slender reed. Unbidden strains I sing not; still if any there be to read even these my lays—anywhom love of the theme has won—'tis of you, Varus, our tamarisks shall sing, of you all our groves. To Phoebus no page is more

⁹ *Ecl.* 2.1 and *Ecl.* 3.1.

¹⁰ Referring to epic poetry.

ECLOGUES

quam sibi quae Vari praescrisit pagina nomen.

- Pergite, Pierides. Chromis et Mnasyllus in antro
Silenum pueri somno videre iacentem,
- 15 inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho;
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.
- 20 addit se sociam timidisque supervenit Aegle,
Aegle, Naiadum pulcherrima, iamque videnti
PR sanguineis frontem moris et tempora pingit.
ille dolum ridens "quo vincula nectitis?" inquit.
"solvite me, pueri: satis est potuisse videri.
- 25 carmina, quae vultis, cognoscite; carmina vobis,
huic aliud mercedis erit." simul incipit ipse.
tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres
ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus;
nec tantum Phoebos gaudet Parnasia rupes,
30 nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea.
- Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent
et liquidi simul ignis; ut his ex omnia primis,
omnia et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis;
- 35 tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto
coeperit et rerum paulatim sumere formas;
iamque novum terrae stupeant lucescere solem,
altius utque cadant summotis nubibus imbres,
incipiant silvae cum primum surgere cumque
40 rara per ignaros errent animalia montis.

33 ex omnia *P*: exordia *R*

34 omnia *R*: omnisa *P* (*conflation of variants*)

ECLOGUE VI

welcome than that which bears on its front the name of Varus.

Proceed, Pierian maids! The lads Chromis and Mnasylos 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 and fierce beasts sporting in measured dance, and unbending oaks nodding their crests. Not so does the rock of Parnassus rejoice in Phoebus; not so do Rhodope and Ismarus marvel at their Orpheus.

For he sang how, through the vast void, the seeds of earth, and air, and sea, and liquid fire withal were gathered together; how from these elements all nascent things, yes all, and even the young globe of the world grew together; how the earth began to harden, to shut off the Sea god in the deep, and little by little to assume the shapes of things; how next the lands are astounded at the new sun shining and how rains fall as the clouds are lifted higher, when first woods begin to arise and here and there living creatures move over mountains that know them not.

38 utque R: atque P

40 ignaros R: ignotos P

ECLOGUES

- Hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna,
 Caucasiaeque refert volucris furtumque Promethei.
 his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
 clamassent, ut litus "Hyla, Hyla" omne sonaret;
- 45 et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent,
 Pasiphaën nivei solatur amore iuveni.
 a, virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit!
- MPR Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros,
 at non tam turpis pecudum tamen ulla secuta
- 50 concubitus, quamvis collo timuisset aratrum
 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
- 55 aut aliquam in magno sequitur grege. "claudite, Nymphae,
 Dictaeae Nymphae, nemorum iam claudite saltus,
 si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris
 errabunda bovis vestigia; forsitan illum
 aut herba captum viridi aut armenta secutum
- 60 perducant aliquae stabula ad Gortynia vaccae."
 Tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam;
 tum Phaëthontidas musco circumdat amarae
 corticis atque solo proceras erigit alnos.
 tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
- 65 Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum,
 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,
- 70 Ascreao quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat

¹¹ Silenus is said to do what Pasiphaë does for herself.

ECLOGUE VI

Then he tells of the stones that Pyrrha threw, of Saturn's reign, of Caucasian eagles, 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 the whole shore echoed "Hylas! Hylas!" Now he consoles¹¹ Pasiphaë—happy one, if herds had never been!—with her passion for the snowy bull. Ah, unhappy girl, what a madness has gripped you! The daughters of Proetus filled the fields with feigned lowings, yet not one was led by so foul a love for beasts, though each had feared to find the yoke on her neck and often looked for horns on her smooth brow. Ah! unhappy girl, now you roam the hills; he, pillowing his snowy side on soft hyacinths, under a dark ilex chews the pale grass, or courts some heifer in the populous herd. "Close,¹² Nymphs, Nymphs of Dicte, close 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 or following the herd, he will be led home by some cows to our Cretan stalls."

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 you—even those they once gave the old Ascraean,¹³

¹² Pasiphaë herself now speaks. ¹³ Hesiod, author of the *Works and Days*, born in the village of Ascra in Boeotia.

ECLOGUES

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
75 candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris
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,
80 quo cursu deserta petiverit et quibus ante
infelix sua tecta super volitaverit alis?

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

VII

MELIBOEUS

- MP Forte sub arguta consederat ilice Daphnis,
compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum,
Thyrsis ovis, Corydon distentas lacte capellas,
ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo,
5 et cantare pares et respondere parati.
huc mihi, dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos,
vir gregis ipse caper deerraverat, atque ego Daphnin
aspicio. ille ubi me contra videt, “ocius” inquit
“huc ades, o Meliboe: caper tibi salvus et haedi;

⁷⁴ aut *MP*: ut *R*

ECLOGUE VII

wherewith, as he sang, he would draw the unyielding ash trees down the mountain sides. With these do you tell of the birth of the Grynean wood, that there may be no grove wherein Apollo glories more."

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 hovered above her home?

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.

VII

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 singing match to start, ready to make reply. To this place, while I sheltered my tender myrtles from the frost, my he-goat, the lord of the flock himself, had strayed; and I catch sight of Daphnis. As he in turn saw me, "Quick," he cries, "come hither, Meliboeus; your goat and kids are safe,

ECLOGUES

- 10 et si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra.
huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuveni,
MPV hic viridis tenera praetexit harundine ripas
Mincius, eque sacra resonant examina quercu.”
 Quid facerem? neque ego Alcippen nec Phyllida habe-
 bam,
15 depulsos a lacte domi quae clauderet agnos;
et certamen erat, Corydon cum Thyrside, magnum.
posthabui tamen illorum mea seria ludo.
alternis igitur contendere versibus ambo
coepere, alternos Musae meminisse volebant.
20 hos Corydon, illos referebat in ordine Thyrsis.

CORYDON

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

THYRSIS

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

CORYDON

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

²⁵ crescentem *Pa*: nascentem *MV*

ECLOGUE VII

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."

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 chose to recall.¹⁴ These Corydon, those Thyrsis sang in turn.

CORYDON

Ye Nymphs of Libethra, my delight, either grant me such a strain as ye granted my Codrus—his verses come nearest to Apollo's—or, if such power is not for us all, here on the sacred pine shall hang my tuneful pipe.

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.¹⁵

CORYDON

Lady of Delos, young Micon offers you this head of a bristling boar and the branching antlers of a longlived stag. If this fortune still abides, you shall stand full length in polished marble, your ankles bound high with purple buskins.

¹⁴ The Muses are the daughters of Mnemosyne, "Memory."

¹⁵ It was thought that an evil tongue could, by extravagant praise, provoke the jealousy of the gods. Foxglove was a charm against such bewitchment.

ECLOGUES

THYRSIS

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

CORYDON

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

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.

CORYDON

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

THYRSIS

Hic focus et taedae pingues, hic plurimus ignis
50 semper et adsidua postes fuligine nigri;
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,

⁴⁸ lento *P*, *Servius*: laeto *Ma*

ECLOGUE VII

THYRSIS

A bowl of milk, Priapus, and these cakes once a year, are all you can expect from me; the garden you watch is poor. Now we have made you of marble for the time; but if births make full the flock, then you shall be of gold.

CORYDON

Galatea, child of Nereus, sweeter to me than Hybla's thyme, whiter than the swan, lovelier than pale ivy, as soon as the bulls come back from pasture to the stalls, if you have any love for your Corydon, come to me!

THYRSIS

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

CORYDON

You mossy springs, and lawns softer than sleep, and the green arbuté that shields you with scanty shade, ward the noontide heat from my flock. Now comes the summer's parching, now the buds swell on the pliant tendril.

THYRSIS

With me you will find a hearth and pitchy brands; with me a good fire ever blazing and doorposts black with many a layer of soot. Here we care as much for the chill blasts of Boreas as the wolf for the number of sheep or rushing torrents for their banks.

CORYDON

Here stand junipers and shaggy chestnuts; strewn beneath each tree lies its native fruit; now all nature smiles; but if

ECLOGUES

- 55 omnia nunc rident: at si formosus Alexis
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,
60 Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri.

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.

THYRSIS

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

MELIBOEUS

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

VIII

- MP Pastorum Musam Damonis et Alpheisiboei,
immemor herbarum quos est mirata iuvenna
certantis, quorum stupefactae carmine lynces,
et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus,

⁵⁶ abeat *Ma*: aberit *P*

ECLOGUE VIII

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 glad-some showers.

CORYDON

Dearest is the poplar 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 myrtle nor laurel of Phoebus shall outvie the hazels.

THYRSIS

Fairest is the ash in the woodlands, the pine in the gardens, the poplar by rivers, the fir on mountaintops; but if you, lovely Lycidas, come often to me, the ash in the woodlands and the pine in the gardens would yield to you.

MELIBOEUS

So much I remember, and how Thyrsis strove in vain against defeat. From that day Corydon is the one and only Corydon for us.¹⁶

VIII

The pastoral Muse of Damon and Alpheisiboeus, at whose rivalry the heifer marvelled and forgot to graze, at whose song lynxes stood spellbound, and rivers were changed

¹⁶ 'For us shepherds' (cf. Theocritus 8.92 *παρὰ ποιμέσι*).

ECLOGUES

5 Damonis Musam dicemus et Alphisiboei.

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
10 sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno?
a te principium, tibi desinam: accipe iussis
carmina coepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum
inter victricis hederam tibi serpere lauros.

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

DAMON

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

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.

25 incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

Mopso Nysa datur: quid non speremus amantes?
iungentur iam grypes equis, aevoque sequenti

²⁰ adloquor *PaV*: -ar *M*

¹⁷ This eclogue is dedicated to Virgil's patron Pollio. As Octavian's man, it seems, he was governor of Illyricum in 39 and from

ECLOGUE VIII

and stayed their current—the Muse of Damon and Alpheſiboëus I will ſing.

But you,¹⁷ whether you are already ſailing paſt the rocks of great Timavus or coaſting the ſhore of the Illyrian ſea—ſay, will that day ever dawn when I may tell your deeds? Shall I be ever free to ſpread your ſongs throughout the world, that alone are worthy of the buſkin of Sophocles? From you is my beginning; in your honour ſhall I end. Accept the ſongs eſſayed at your bidding, and grant that, amid the conqueror's laurels, this ivy may creep about your brows.

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 wiſſing 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 has evertuneful 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 maes, and, in the age to

there ſucceſſfully campaigned againſt the Parthini; for this he was awarded a triumph and was on his way home to celebrate it when the poem was compoſed.

ECLOGUES

cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula dammae.
 Mopse, novas incide faces: tibi ducitur uxor;
 30 sparge, marite, nuces: tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam.

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

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

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

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

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

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

46 incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

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

²⁸ timidi *aV*: -ae *M*: -e *P*

³⁴ promissaque *M(a)*: de- *P*

⁴³ nudis *Pa*: duris *MV* (A.4.366)

ECLOGUE VIII

come, the timid deer shall come with hounds to drink.
Mopsus, cut new torches! For you they bring the bride!
Scatter the nuts, bridegroom! For you the evening star
quits Oeta!

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

O wedded to a worthy lord! even while you scorn all men,
and while you hate my pipe and my goats, my shaggy eye-
brows and unkempt beard, and think that no god reck-
s aught of the deeds of men!

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

Within our garden hedge I saw you—I was guide for
both—a little child with your mother, gathering dewy ap-
ples. My eleventh year ended, the next had just greeted
me; from the ground I could now reach the frail boughs. In
the moment I saw you I lost my heart, and a fatal frenzy
swept me away.

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

Now I know what Love is; on naked rock Tmarus bore
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 mother¹⁸ to stain her hands in her
children's blood; cruel, too, were you, O mother. Who was
the more cruel, the mother or that wicked boy? It was that
wicked boy. Yet you too, mother, were cruel.

¹⁸ Medea.

ECLOGUES

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

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

incipi Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

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

desine Maenaios, iam desine, tibia, versus.”

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

ALPHESIBOEUS

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

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daph-
nin.

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

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daph-
nin.

terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore
licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum

ECLOGUE VIII

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 alders bloom with daffodils, 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 peak I will throw myself into the waves; take this as my last dying gift!

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

Thus Damon. Tell, Pierian maids, the answer of Alphesiboeus; we cannot all do everything.

ALPHESIBOEUS

"Bring out water, and wind soft wool round this altar; and burn rich herbs and male frankincense, 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 transformed 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 you, marked with three different hues, and three times round this altar I draw your

ECLOGUES

- 75 effigiem duco; numero deus impare gaudet.
77 nocte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores;
nocte, Amarylli, modo et 'Veneris' dic 'vincula necto.'
ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daph-
nin.
- 80 limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit
uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.
sparge molam et fragilis incende bitumine laurus.
Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum.
ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daph-
nin.
- 85 talis amor Daphnin, qualis cum fessa iuvenum
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.
- 90 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daph-
nin.
has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
pignora cara sui: quae nunc ego limine in ipso,
Terra, tibi mando; debent haec pignora Daphnin.
ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daph-
nin.
- 95 has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena
ipse dedit Moeris (nascuntur plurima Ponto),
his ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere silvis

⁷⁶ = refrain: 68 etc. MPa] del. Herrmann

ECLOGUE VIII

image. In an uneven number heaven delights. 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 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 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, Earth, to you. 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

ECLOGUES

Moerim, saepe animas imis excire sepulcris
atque satas alio vidi traducere messis.

100 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daph-
 nin.

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

 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daph-
 nin.

105 ‘aspice, corripuit tremulis altaria flammis
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, Daph-
 nis.”

IX

LYCIDAS

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

MOERIS

O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri
(quod numquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
diceret: “haec mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.”

5 nunc victi, tristes, quoniam Fors omnia versat,
hos illi (quod nec vertat bene) mittimus haedos.

¹⁰⁷ Hylax *ed. Asc.* 1500: Hylas *codd.*

¹⁰⁹ parcite carmina *Pa: c. p. M*

ECLOGUE IX

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 their aid I will assail Daphnis; he recks naught of gods or songs.

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

'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!'¹⁹ '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

LYCIDAS

Whither afoot, Moeris? Is it, where 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, old tenants!" Now, beaten and cowed, since Chance rules all, we send him these kids—our curse go with them!

¹⁹ Direct speech of Amaryllis.

ECLOGUES

LYCIDAS

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

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
15 ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix,
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
20 spargeret aut viridi fontis induceret umbra?
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
25 occursare capro (cornu ferit ille) caveto.”

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 cycni.”

⁹ veteres . . . fagos *M*: -is . . . -i *Pa*

ECLOGUE IX

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.

MOERIS

You had heard, and so the story ran. But amid the weapons of war, Lycidas, our songs avail as much as, they say, Dodona's doves 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 your songs, Menalcas, almost torn from us, along with yourself? 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 you the other day, when you were off 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

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

ECLOGUES

LYCIDAS

- 30 Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos,
sic cytiso pastae distendant ubera vaccae:
incipere, si quid habes. et me fecere poetam
Pierides, sunt et mihi carmina, me quoque dicunt
vatem pastores; sed non ego credulus illis.
35 nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna
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?”
40 hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum
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
45 audieram? numeros memini, si verba tenerem.
“Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?
ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,
astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo
duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.
50 insere, Daphni, piros; carpent tua poma nepotes.”

³⁰ Cyrneas *Ma*, *Servius*: Grynaeas *P*

³⁵ Vario *Pa*, *Servius*: Varo *M*

ECLOGUE IX

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 trust them not. For as yet, methinks, I sing nothing worthy of a Varius or a Cinna, but cackle as a goose²⁰ among melodious swans.

MOERIS

That's what I'm about, Lycidas, silently turning it over in my mind, in case I can recall it. And no mean song it is. "Come to me, Galatea! What pleasure lives in waves? Here is rosy spring; here, by the streams, Earth scatters her flowers of a thousand hues; here the white poplar bends over the cave, and the clinging vines weave shady bowers. Come to me; leave the wild waves to lash the shore."

LYCIDAS

What of the lines I heard you singing alone beneath the cloudless night? The tune I remember, could I but keep the words. "Daphnis, why are you gazing at the old constellations rising? See! the star²¹ 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 your pears, Daphnis; your children's children shall gather the fruits you have sown."

²⁰ An unflattering pun on the name of Anser, a contemporary erotic poet (cf. Propertius, 2.34.84, Ovid, *Trist.* 2.435).

²¹ This is Horace's *Iulium sidus* (*Carm.* 1.12.47), the comet which appeared just after the death of Julius Caesar and was commonly supposed to signify his deification.

ECLOGUES

MOERIS

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

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 sepulcrum
60 incipit apparere Bianoris. hic, ubi densas
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;
65 cantantes ut eamus, ego hoc te fasce levabo.

MOERIS

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

X

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

ECLOGUE X

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; the wolves have seen Moeris first. Still Menalcas will repeat you your songs, often as you will.

LYCIDAS

Your pleas merely increase my longing. Now the whole sea plain lies hushed to hear you, 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 the farmers 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. So 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 has come.

X

My last task this—vouchsafe me it, Arethusa²²! A few verses I must sing for my Gallus, yet such as Lycoris herself may read! Who would refuse verses to Gallus? If, when you glide beneath Sicilian waves, you would not have briny Doris blend her stream with yours, begin! Let us tell of Gallus' anxious loves, while the blunt-nosed goats crop the

²² Invoked as a Sicilian Muse and inspirer of Theocritus.

ECLOGUES

non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvae.

Quae nemora aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae

- MPR Naïdes, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat?
 11 nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi
 ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe.
 illum etiam lauri, etiam flevete myricae,
 pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem
 15 Maenalus, et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei.
 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,
 20 uvidus hiberna venit de glande Menalcas.
 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,
 25 florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans.
 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
 30 nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae."
 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!
 35 atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrique fuisset
 aut custos gregis aut maturaev vinitor uvae!
 certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas

²³ castra MR: saxa P (from 15?)

ECLOGUE X

tender shrubs. We sing to no deaf ears; the woods echo every note.

What groves, what glades were your abode, you virgin Naiads, when Gallus was pining with unrequited love? 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, stand around—they think no shame of us, and think you no shame of the flock, heavenly poet; even fair Adonis fed sheep beside the streams. The shepherd came, too; slowly the swineherds came; Menalcas came, dripping, from the winter's mast.²³ All ask: "Whence this love of yours?" Apollo came. "Gallus," he said, "what madness this? Your sweetheart Lycoris has 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."

But sadly Gallus replied: "Yet you, Arcadians, will sing this tale to your mountains; Arcadians only know how to sing. How softly then would my bones repose, if in other days your pipes should tell my love! And oh 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

²³ Acorns, steeped in water, were food for cattle in winter.

ECLOGUES

- seu quicumque furor (quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?
 et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra),
 40 mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret;
 sarta 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
 45 tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis:
 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!
 50 "Ibo et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu
 carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor avena.
 certum est in silvis, inter spelaea ferarum,
 malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores
 arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores.
 55 interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala Nymphis,
 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
 60 spicula—tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris,
 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,
 65 nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus
 Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,
 nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,

40 iaceret *R*: -es *MP*

ECLOGUE X

if Amyntas be dark? violets, too, are black and black are hyacinths—my darling would be lying at my side among the willows, and under the creeping vine above—Phyllis plucking me flowers for a garland, Amyntas singing me songs. Here are cold springs, Lycoris, here soft meadows, here woodland; here with you, only the passage of time would wear me away. But now a mad passion for the stern god of war keeps me in arms, amid clashing steel and fronting foes; while you, far from your native soil—O that I could but disbelieve such a tale!—gaze, heartless one, on Alpine snows and the frozen Rhine, apart from me, all alone. Ah, may the frosts not harm you! Ah, may the jagged ice not cut your tender feet!

“I will be gone, and the strains I composed in Chalcidian verse²⁴ 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, and you, my love, will grow with them. Meanwhile, I will roam with the Nymphs on Maenalus, or hunt fierce boars. No frosts will stay me from surrounding with my hounds the glades of Parthenius. Already I see myself traversing rocks and echoing groves; it is a joy to shoot the Cretan shaft from my Parthian bow! Once more Hamadryads and even songs have lost their charms for me; once more farewell, even ye woods! No toils of ours can change that god, not though amid the keenest frosts we drink the Hebrus and brave the Thracian snows and wintry sleet, not though, when the dying bark withers on the lofty elm, we

²⁴ Gallus’ imitations of Euphorion of Chalcis.

ECLOGUES

Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancri.
omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori.”

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

ECLOGUE X

drive to and fro the Ethiopians' sheep beneath the star of Cancer! Love conquers all; let us, too, yield to Love!"

These strains, Muses divine, it will be enough for your bard to have sung, as he sits and weaves a basket of slender willow. These strains ye shall make of highest worth in Gallus' eyes—Gallus, for whom my love grows from hour to hour as fast as the green alder shoots up when spring is young. Let us arise. The shade is oft perilous to the singer—perilous the juniper's shade, hurtful the shade even to the crops. Get home, my full-fed goats, get home—the Evening Star draws on.

GEORGICS

The Greek title (= *Farming*) was not an original one. It had been borne by, among others, a didactic poem of Nicander no longer extant, which Virgil doubtless knew and probably used, as he used his *Theriaca*. But his debt is unlikely to have been great.

Some idea of the meticulous attention to detail shown by Virgil in this, his most finished work, may be gathered from the four references to his patron Maecenas, one in each book: in the first and last the bare vocative of his name is placed in the second verse; in the second and third in the forty-first (perhaps on line 1 of his second page), an unobtrusive and almost perfunctory compliment scarcely on the same plane as his invocation of Octavian in 1.24ff.

LIBER I

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

Title: P. Vergili Maronis Georgicon libri MP: . . . Georg. GR

¹ The subjects of the four books are here enumerated: (1) tillage; (2) viticulture; (3) the rearing of cattle; and (4) the keeping of

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 cattle need, what care the herd in breeding, what skill the thrifty bees—hence shall I begin my song.¹ O 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 you Fauns, the rustics' ever present gods (come trip it, Fauns, and Dryad maids withall!), 'tis of your bounties I sing. And Neptune, for whom Earth, smitten by your mighty trident, first sent forth the neighing steed; you, too, spirit of the groves,² for whom thrice a hundred snowy steers crop Cea's rich thickets; you too, Pan, guardian of the sheep, leaving your native woods and glades of Lycaeus, as you love your own Maenalus, come of your grace, Tegean lord! Come, Minerva, inventress of the olive; you, too, youth,³ who showed to man the crooked

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.

² Aristaeus.

³ Triptolemus, son of Celeus, king of Eleusis, and favourite of Demeter.

GEORGICS

- 20 et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum;
 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
- 25 concilia incertum est, urbesne invisere, Caesar,
 terrarumque velis curam, et te maximus orbis
 auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
 accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto;
 an deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae
- 30 numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule,
 teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis;
 anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
 qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
 panditur (ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
- 35 Scorpios et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit):
 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),
- 40 da facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis,
 AMPR ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis
 ingredi et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.
 Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus umor
 liquitur et Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit,

²⁵ urbesne *M*: urbisne *PR* (*and see Gellius* 13.21.4)

³⁵ reliquit *MR*: -inquit *P*

⁴ One of the signs of the Zodiac, named in Greek Erigone. The Claws are those of the Scorpion, a huge constellation, which takes up almost two twelfths of the heavens: to tidy up the arithmetic, it

BOOK I

plough; and you, Silvanus, with a young uprooted cypress in your hand; and gods and goddesses all, whose love guards our fields—both you who nurse the young fruits, springing up unsown, and you who on the seedlings send down from heaven plenteous rain! And you above all, Caesar, whom we know not what company of the gods shall claim ere long; whether you choose to watch over cities and care for our lands, that so the great globe may receive you as the giver of increase and lord of the seasons, wreathing your brows with your mother's myrtle; whether you come as god of the boundless sea and sailors worship your deity alone, while farthest Thule owns your lordship and Tethys with the dowry of all her waves buys you to wed her daughter; or whether you add yourself as a new star to the lingering months, where, between the Virgin⁴ and the grasping Claws, a space is opening (lo! for you even now the blazing Scorpion draws in his arms, and has left more than a due portion of the heaven!)—whatever you are to be (for Tartarus hopes not for you as king, and may such monstrous lust of empire never seize you, though Greece is enchanted by the Elysian fields, and Proserpine reclaimed cares not to follow her mother), grant me a calm voyage, give assent to my bold emprise, and pitying with me the rustics who know not their way, enter upon your kingdom, and learn even now to hearken to our prayers!

In the dawning spring, when icy streams trickle from snowy mountains, and the crumbling clod breaks at the

was refashioned as two constellations, the Scorpion proper and its Claws, which became the new Libra, the sign of Augustus. As a good courtier Virgil states that the heavens adjusted their boundaries to make way for the Emperor.

GEORGICS

- 45 depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro
 ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.
 illa seges demum votis respondet avari
 agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit;
 illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes.
- 50 ac prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor,
 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,
- 55 arborei fetus alibi, atque iniussa virescunt
 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?
- 60 continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis
 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
- 65 fortes invertant tauri, glaebasque iacentis
 pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas;
 at si non fuerit tellus fecunda, sub ipsum
 Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulco:
 illic, officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae,
- 70 hic, sterilem exiguus ne deserat umor harenam.
 Alternis idem tonsas cessare novalis
 et segnem patiēre situ durescere campum;
 aut ibi flava seres mutato sidere farra,
 unde prius laetum siliqua quassante legumen
- 75 aut tenuis fetus viciae tristisque lupini
 sustuleris fragilis calamos silvamque sonantem.

BOOK I

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. And 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.

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 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

GEORGICS

- urit enim lini campum seges, urit avenae,
urunt Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno:
sed tamen alternis facilis labor, arida tantum
80 ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola neve
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
85 atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis;
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
90 spiramenta, novas veniat qua sucus in herbas,
seu durat magis et venas adstringit hiantis,
ne tenues pluviae rapideve potentia solis
acrior aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.
Mulum adeo, rastris glaebas qui frangit inertis
95 vimineasque trahit crates, iuvat arva, neque illum
flava Ceres alto nequiquam spectat Olympo;
et qui, proscisso quae suscitatur aequore terga,
rursus in obliquum verso perrumpit aratro
exercetque frequens tellurem atque imperat arvis.
100 Umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas,
agricolae: hiberno laetissima pulvere farra,
laetus ager; nullo tantum se Mysia cultu
iactat et ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messes.

102 Mysia MPR: Moesia A: Servius knows both

5 I.e. she rewards him richly.

BOOK I

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.

Much service does he do the land who with the mattock breaks up the sluggish clods, and drags over it hurdles of osier; nor is it without reward that golden Ceres looks on him from Olympian heights.⁵ 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.

For moist summers and sunny winters, pray, 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 at his own harvests.⁶ Need I tell of

⁶ 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.

GEORGICS

- quid dicam, iacto qui semine comminus arva
 105 insequitur cumulosque ruit male pinguis harenae,
 deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis
 et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
 ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
 elicit⁷ illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
 110 saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva.
 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?
 115 praesertim incertis si mensibus amnis abundans
 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
 120 Strymoniaeque grues et amarum intiba fibris
 efficiunt 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.
 125 ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni:
 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,
 130 praedarique lupos iussit pontumque moveri,
 mellaque decussit foliis, ignemque removit,

⁷ The water, which runs in a banked-up channel on a hillside or other high ground, is tapped by the farmer for the fields below.

BOOK I

him who flings the seed, then, hoe in hand, closes with the soil, and levels the hillocks of barren sand; then 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 channelled slope decoys the water?⁷ Down it falls, and waking a hoarse murmur amid the smooth stones, slakes the thirsty soil with its gushing stream. Need I tell of him who, lest the stalk droop with overweighted ears, grazes down his luxuriant crop in the young blade as soon as the growing corn is even with the furrow's top, or of him who draws off a marsh's gathered moisture with absorbent sand⁸—chiefly when, in treacherous months, a river at the full overflows, and far and wide cloaks all in mud, till the hollow ditches steam with warm vapour?

Nor yet, after all that the toil of man and beast has achieved in oft turning the land, does the rascally goose do no mischief, or the Strymonian cranes, or the bitter fibres of chicory; nor is the shade of trees harmless. The great Father himself has willed that the path of husbandry should not run smooth, who first made art awake the fields, sharpening men's wits by care, nor letting his kingdom slumber in heavy lethargy. Before the reign of Jove⁹ no tillers subjugated the land: even to mark possession of the plain or apportion it by boundaries was sacrilege; man made gain for the common good, and Earth of her own accord gave her gifts all the more freely when none demanded them. Jove it was who put the noxious venom into deadly snakes, who bade the wolf turn robber and the ocean swell with tempest, who stripped honey from the

⁸ I.e. by filling in the marshy place with sand.

⁹ In the Golden Age, when Saturn reigned.

GEORGICS

- et passim rivis currentia vina repressit,
 ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes
 paulatim, et sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam,
 135 ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem.
 tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas;
 navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit,
 Pleiades, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton;
 tum laqueis captare feras et fallere visco
 140 inventum et magnos canibus circumdare saltus;
 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),
 145 tum variae venere artes. labor omnia vicit
 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.
 150 mox et frumentis labor additus, ut mala culmos
 esset robigo segnisque horreret in arvis
 carduus; intereunt segetes, subit aspera silva,
 lappaeque tribolique, interque nitentia culta
 infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae.
 155 quod nisi et adsiduis herbam insectabere rastris
 et sonitu terrebis aves et ruris opaci
 falce premes umbras votisque vocaveris imbrem,
 heu magnum alterius frustra spectabis acervum
 concussaque famem in silvis solabere quercu.

146 urgens *R*: surgens *AMP*

155 herbam *M*: terram *APR* (3.534)

157 umbras *AP*: -am *MR*

BOOK I

leaves, hid fire from view, and stayed the wine that once ran everywhere in streams, so that experience, from taking thought, might little by little forge all manner of skills, seeking in ploughed furrows the blade of corn, striking forth the spark hidden in the veins of flint. Then first did rivers feel upon their backs boats of hollowed alder, then the mariner grouped and named the stars, Pleiads and Hyads and Lycaon's daughter, the radiant Bear. Then was discovered how to catch game with traps, snare birds with lime, and how to encircle vast coverts with hunting dogs. Already one man is lashing a broad stream with his casting net, seeking the bottom, while another trawls through the sea his dripping meshes. Then came unyielding iron and the blade of the rasping saw (for primitive man used wedges to cleave wood until it split), and art followed hard on art. Toil triumphed over every obstacle, unrelenting Toil, and Want that pinches when life is hard.

Ceres was the first to teach men to turn the earth with iron, when the acorns and the arbutes of the sacred wood began to fail, and Dodona withheld her 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 of burs and caltrops, and amid the smiling corn luckless dandelion and barren oats hold sway. Therefore, unless your hoe is ever ready to assail the weeds, your voice to terrify the birds, your knife to check the shade over the darkened land, and your prayers to invoke the rain, in vain, poor man, you will gaze on your neighbour's large store of grain, and you will be shaking oaks in the woods to assuage your hunger.

GEORGICS

160 Dicendum et quae sint duris agrestibus arma,
 quis sine nec potuere seri nec surgere messes:
 vomis et inflexi primum grave robur aratri,
 tardaue Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra,
 tribulaue traheaeque et iniquo pondere rastri;

165 virgea praeterea Celei vilisque supellex,
 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
 170 in burim et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri.
 huic a stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
 binae aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso.
 caeditur et tilia ante iugo levis altaque fagus
 stivaque, quae currus a tergo torqueat imos,
 175 et suspensa focus explorat robora fumus.

 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,
 180 ne subeant herbae neu pulvere victa fatiscat,
 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
 185 monstra ferunt, populatque ingentem farris acervum
 curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae.

 Contemplator item, cum se nux plurima silvis
 induet in florem et ramos curvabit olentis:
 si superant fetus, pariter frumenta sequentur,

¹⁰ Demeter, identified with Ceres.

BOOK I

I must tell, too, of the hardy farmers' weapons, without which the crops could be neither sown nor raised. First the share and the curved plough's heavy frame, the slow-rolling wains of the Mother¹⁰ of Eleusis, sledges and drags, and hoes of cruel weight; further, the common wickerware 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,¹¹ to turn the car below from the rear; and the wood is hung above the hearth for the smoke to season.

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, fearful of a destitute old age.

Mark, too, when in the woods the walnut clothes itself thickly in blossom and bends its fragrant boughs: if the fruit prevails, the corn crops will keep pace with it, and a

¹¹ Taking *stivaque* as explanatory of *fagus*, a sort of hendiadys.

GEORGICS

- 190 magnaque cum magno veniet tritura calore;
 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,
 195 grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset,
 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
 200 in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri,
 non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
 remigiis subigit, si brachchia forte remisit,
 atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.
 Praeterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis
 205 Haedorumque dies servandi et lucidus Anguis,
 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,
 210 exercete, viri, tauros, serite hordea campis
 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.
 215 vere fabis satio; tum te quoque, Medica, putres

²⁰³ in *AMR*: *om. P*

²⁰⁸ die *AMP*: diei *R*: dies *Gellius*

9.14.7 ²¹³ aratris *MP*: rastris *AR* (1.155)

¹² Arcturus, the brightest star in Boötes, by his morning rising in September indicated the approach of autumn, just as his eve-

BOOK I

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 worse 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! head-long down the current the channel sweeps it away.

Furthermore, we must watch the star of Arcturus, the days of the Kids, and the gleaming Snake,¹² even as they do who, sailing homeward over windswept seas, brave the Pontus and the jaws of oyster-breeding Abydus. When the Balance makes the hours of daytime and sleep equal,¹³ 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 furrows welcome you, Median clover, and

ning rising at the end of February indicated that winter was past: both were accompanied by storms. The Kids are two stars in the constellation Auriga. The Snake is Draco and, being close to the pole, does not rise or set.

¹³ At the autumnal equinox (about September 22).

GEORGICS

- 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
 220 exercebis humum solisque instabis aristis,
 ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur
 Cnosiaque ardentis decedat stella Coronae,
 debita quam sulcis committas semina quamque
 invitae properes anni spem credere terrae.
 225 multi ante occasum Maiae coepere; sed illos
 exspectata seges vanis elusit avenis.
 si vero viciamque seres vilemque phaselum,
 nec Pelusiacae curam aspernabere lentis,
 haud obscura cadens mittet tibi signa Bootes;
 230 incipe et ad medias sementem extende pruinas.
 Idcirco certis dimensum partibus orbem
 per duodena regit mundi sol aureus astra.
 quinque tenent caelum zonae: quarum una corusco
 semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni;
 235 quam circum extremae dextra laevaue trahuntur
 caeruleae, glacie concretae atque imbribus atris;
 has inter mediamque duae mortalibus aegris
 munere concessae divum, et via secta per ambas,
 obliquus qua se signorum verteret ordo.
 240 mundus, ut ad Scythiam Riphaeasque arduus arces
 consurgit, premitur Libyae devexus in Austros.
 hic vertex nobis semper sublimis; at illum

²¹⁸ adverso *M*: averso *APR*: *Servius* knows both

²²⁶ avenis *P*: aristis *AMR* (1.220)

²²⁹ mittet *PR*: -it *AM*

BOOK I

the millet claims our yearly care, when the snow-white Bull with gilded horns ushers in the year, and the Dog sets, retiring before the Bull's confronting star.¹⁴ 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 Atlas¹⁵ pass from your sight in the morn, and let the Cretan star of the blazing Crown¹⁶ 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 emptystraws. 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.

To this end the golden Sun rules his circuit, portioned out in fixed divisions, through the world's twelve constellations.¹⁷ 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 path¹⁸ 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,

¹⁴ The Sun enters Taurus on April 17.

¹⁵ The Pleiades set in the morning of November 11.

¹⁶ The evening setting of Corona was in late November.

¹⁷ The twelve signs of the Zodiac.

¹⁸ The ecliptic or Sun's path through the constellations.

GEORGICS

- sub pedibus Styx atra videt Manesque profundi.
 maximus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis
 245 circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos,
 Arctos Oceani metuentes aequore tingui.
 illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox,
 semper et obtenta densentur nocte tenebrae;
 aut redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit,
 250 nosque ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis,
 illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.
 hinc tempestates dubio praediscere caelo
 possumus, hinc mennisque diem tempusque serendi,
 et quando infidum remis impellere marmor
 255 conveniat, quando armatas deducere classis,
 aut tempestivam silvis evertere pinum.
 nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus,
 temporibusque parem diversis quattuor annum.
 Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber,
 260 multa, forent quae mox caelo properanda sereno,
 maturare datur: durum procudit arator
 vomeris obtusi dentem, cavat arbore lintres,
 aut pecori signum aut numeros impressit acervis.
 exacuunt alii vallos furcasque bicornis
 265 atque Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti.
 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
 270 religio vetuit, segeti praetendere saepem,
 insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,

²⁴⁸ densentur *PR*: -antur *AM*

²⁵² praediscere *MP*: -dicere *AR*

BOOK I

beneath our feet, is seen 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 beneath 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.

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.¹⁹ Others sharpen stakes and two-pronged forks, or make bands of Amerian 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. Even on holy days, the laws of God and man permit you to do certain tasks. No scruples ever forbade us to guide down the rills,²⁰ to defend a crop with a hedge, to set snares for birds, to fire

¹⁹ *numeros* must designate labels or tickets, giving information about contents and weight.

²⁰ I.e. for irrigation.

GEORGICS

- balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri.
 saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli
 vilibus aut onerat pomis, lapidemque revertens
 275 incusum aut atrae massam picis urbe reportat.
 Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna
 felicis operum. quintam fuge: pallidus Orcus
 Eumenidesque satae; tum partu Terra nefando
 Coeumque Iapetumque creat saevumque Typhoea
 280 et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres.
 MPR ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
 scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum;
 ter pater exstructos disiecit fulmine montis.
 septima post decimam felix et ponere vitem
 285 et prensos domitare boves et licia telae
 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
 290 tondentur, noctes lentus non deficit umor.
 et quidam seros hiberni ad luminis ignes
 pervigilat ferroque faces inspicat acuto;
 interea longum cantu solata laborem
 arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas,
 295 aut dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem
 et foliis undam trepidi despumat aëni.
 at rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu,
 et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges.

296 trepidi . . . aeni *P: -is . . . -is MR*

²¹ Otus and Ephialtes were sons of Aloeus and Iphimedia, and

BOOK I

brambles, or to plunge bleating flocks into the health-giving stream. Oft, too, the driver 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.

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 brethren²¹ who were banded to break down Heaven. Thrice did they essay 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.

There are many things, too, that 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 froth of the bubbling cauldron.²² But Ceres' golden grain is cut down in noonday heat, and in noonday heat the floor threshes the

so not sons of Earth at all, but Virgil has here deserted Hesiod for Homer (*Odyssey* 11.305-320).

²² Virgil does not say that the bubbling cauldron threatens to boil over, but this is suggested by the hypermeter.

GEORGICS

- nudus ara, sere nudus; hiems ignava colono.
 300 frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur
 mutuaque inter se laeti convivia curant.
 invitat genialis hiems curasque resolvit,
 ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae,
 puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.
 305 sed tamen et quernas glandes tum stringere tempus
 et lauri bacas oleamque cruentaque myrta,
 tum gruibus pedicas et retia ponere cervis
 auritosque sequi lepores, tum figere dammas
 stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae,
 310 cum nix alta iacet, glaciem cum flumina trudunt.
 Quid tempestates autumnii et sidera dicam,
 atque, ubi iam breviorque dies et mollior aestas,
 quae vigilanda viris, vel cum ruit imbriferum ver,
 spicea iam campis cum messis inhorrui et cum
 315 frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent?
 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
 320 sublimem expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro
 verrit hiems culmumque levem stipulasque volantis.
 saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum
 MR et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbris atris
 collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether,
 325 et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores
 diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt
 cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor.
 ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca

³²¹ verrit *Meiser*: ferret *codd.*

BOOK I

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 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.

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, when the farmer was bringing the reaper into his golden fields and was just beginning to strip the barley from the frail stalk, I have seen all the winds close in conflict, tearing up the heavy corn far and wide from its deepest roots and tossing it on high; so in a black whirlwind did the storm sweep away the light straw 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

GEORGICS

- 330 fulmina molitur dextra: quo maxima motu
 terra tremit; fugere ferae et mortalia corda
 per gentes humilis stravit pavor: ille flagranti
 aut Atho aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo
 deicit; ingeminant Austri et densissimus imber,
 nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc litora plangunt.
 335 hoc metuens caeli menses et sidera serva,
 frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet,
 quos ignis caelo Cyllenius erret in orbis.
 in primis venerare deos, atque annua magna
 sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis
 340 extremae sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno.
 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,
 345 terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges,
 omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes,
 et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta; neque ante
 falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristas,
 quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu
 350 det motus incompósitos et carmina dicat.
 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
 355 agricolae propius stabulis armenta tenerent.

³³² Atho *Valerianus* (cf. *Theocritus* 7.77): Athon *codd.*

³³⁴ plangunt *Mγ*: -it *R* (*sc.* imber)

BOOK I

bolts with flashing hand. At that shock the mighty earth shivers; far flee the beasts and all over the world prostrating terror lays low men's hearts: he with blazing bolt dashes down Athos or Rhodope or the Ceraunian peaks. The winds redouble; more and more thickens the rain; now woods, now shores wail with the mighty blast. 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.²³ 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 lambs are 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.

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

²³ 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.

GEORGICS

- continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti
 incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis
 montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe
 litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur.
 360 iam sibi tum a curvis male temperat unda carinis,
 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.
 365 saepe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis
 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.
 370 at Boreae de parte trucidis cum fulminat et cum
 Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus, omnia plenis
 rura natant fossis atque omnis navita ponto
 umida vela legit. numquam imprudentibus imber
 375 aëriae fugere grues, aut bucula caelum
 suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras,
 aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo
 et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querelam.
 saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova
 380 angustum formica terens iter, et bibit ingens
 arcus, et e pastu decedens agmine magno
 corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis.
 iam varias pelagi volucres et quae Asia circum
 dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri,
 385 certatim largos umeris infundere rores,

360 a R: *om. Mγ*

BOOK I

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 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. 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 immemorial 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, you may see the manifold birds of the sea, and such as, in Cayster's sweet pools, rummage round about the Asian meadows, now rivalling each other in pouring the copious spray over their shoulders, now

383 *varias Servius: -ae My R | et quae γ, Servius: at(d)que MR*

GEORGICS

- 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.
- 390 ne nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellae
 nescivere hiemem, testa cum ardente viderent
 scintillare oleum et putris concrecere fungos.
- Nec minus ex imbri soles et aperta serena
 prospicere et certis poteris cognoscere signis:
- 395 nam neque tum stellis acies obtunsa videtur
 nec fratris radiis obnoxia surgere Luna,
 tenuia nec lanæ per caelum vellera ferri;
 non tepidum ad solem pinnae in litore pandunt
 dilectae Thetidi alcyones, non ore solutos
- 400 immundi meminere sues iactare manipulos.
 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
- 405 et pro purpureo poenas dat Scylla capillo:
 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.
- 410 tum liquidas corvi presso ter gutture voces
 aut quater ingeminant, et saepe cubilibus altis

³⁸⁶ undas *M*: -am γR

²⁴ This paragraph (393–423) seems to be an experiment with rhymed quatrains: 5 verses unrhymed; then first *-unt*, *-os*, *-os*,

BOOK I

dashing their heads in the waves, now running into the waters, and aimlessly exulting in the joy of the bath. Then the villainous 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.

Nor²⁴ 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,²⁵ 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

-unt; followed by -o, -us, -us, -o and *pennis, auras, auras, pennis*; the scheme is broken in the next five lines, the second and fourth of which, however, end with *altis, actis*; then a last quatrain -is -or, -or, -is. Like the first 5 verses the final 5 are unrhymed. See further Owen Ewald in *HSCP* 93 (1990) 311-3.

²⁵ The moon's light is then so radiant that it seems to be her own and not reflected from the sun.

GEORGICS

nescio qua praeter solitum dulcedine laeti
inter se in foliis strepitant; iuvat imbribus actis
progeniem parvam dulcisque revisere nidos.
415 haud equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis
ingenium aut rerum Fato prudentia maior;
verum ubi tempestas et caeli mobilis umor
mutavere vias et Iuppiter uvidus Austris
denset erant quae rara modo, et quae densa relaxat,
420 vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
concipiunt: hinc ille avium concentus in agris
et laetae pecudes et ovantes gutture corvi.

Si vero solem ad rapidum lunasque sequentis
425 ordine respicies, numquam te crastina fallat
hora, neque insidiis noctis capiere serenae.
luna revertentis cum primum colligit ignis,
si nigrum obscuro comprehenderit aëra cornu,
maximus agricolis pelagoque parabitur imber:
430 at si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem,
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
435 exactum ad mensem pluvia ventisque carebunt,
votaque 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,
440 et quae mane refert et quae surgentibus astris.
ille ubi nascentem maculis variaverit ortum

⁴¹⁸ uvidus *M*: umidus γR

BOOK I

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 gladness of the cattle, and the exulting cries of the rooks.

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 surer 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.

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

439 sequentur M: -untur γR (*because of refert in 440*)

GEORGICS

- conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe,
 suspecti tibi sint imbres; namque urget ab alto
 arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique sinister.
 445 aut ubi sub lucem densa inter nubila sese
 diversi rumpent radii, aut ubi pallida surget
 Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile,
 heu! male tum mitis defendet pampinus uvas:
 tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando.
 450 hoc etiam, emenso cum iam decedit Olympo,
 profuerit meminisse magis; nam saepe videmus
 ipsius in vultu varios errare colores:
 caeruleus pluviam denuntiat, igneus Euros;
 sin maculae incipiunt rutilo immiscerier igni,
 455 omnia tum pariter vento nimisque videbis
 fervere. non illa quisquam me nocte per altum
 ire neque a terra moneat convellere funem.
 at si, cum referetque diem condetque relatum,
 lucidus orbis erit, frustra terreberet nimbis
 460 et claro silvas cernes Aquilone moveri.
 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
 465 saepe monet fraudemque et operta tumescere bella.
 ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam,
 cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit
 impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.
 tempore quamquam illo tellus quoque et aequora ponti,
 470 obscenaque canes importunaeque volucres

461 vehat *Gellius* 13.11.1, *Servius*: veat γ: ferat MR

BOOK I

chequered with spots his early dawn, and is shrunk back in the centre of his disc,²⁶ 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 often we see fitful hues flit over his face: a dark hue threatens rain, a fiery hue, east winds; but if the spots begin to mingle with glowing fire, then shall you see all nature rioting with wind and storm clouds alike. On such a night let none urge me to travel on 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.

In short, the message of late evening, 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? He and no other warns us when dark uprisings threaten, when treachery and hidden wars are gathering strength. He and no other was moved to pity Rome on the day that Caesar died, when he veiled his radiant face in gloom and darkness, and a godless age feared everlasting night. Yet in this hour Earth also and the plains of Ocean, ill-boding dogs and birds that spell mischief,

²⁶ 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.

GEORGICS

signa dabant. quotiens Cyclopum effervere in agros
 vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
 flammaramque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa!
 armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo
 475 audiit, insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes.
 vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentis
 ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris
 visa sub obscurum noctis, pecudesque locutae,
 infandum! sistunt amnes terraeque dehiscunt,
 480 et maestum inlacrimat templis ebur aeraque sudant.
 proluit insano contorquens vertice silvas
 fluviorum rex Eridanus camposque per omnis
 cum stabulis armenta tulit. nec tempore eodem
 tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces
 485 aut puteis manare cruor cessavit, et altae
 per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes.
 non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno
 fulgura nec diri totiens arsere cometae.
 ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
 490 Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi;
 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
 495 exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila,
 aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,
 grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.

²⁷ Virgil probably meant the *second* battle of Philippi, fought on October 23, 42 B.C., about three weeks after the first (indecisive) engagement. But even in the Augustan age some, Ovid and

BOOK I

sent signs which heralded disaster. How oft before our eyes did Etna deluge the fields of the Cyclopes with a torrent from her burst furnaces, hurling thereon balls of fire and molten rocks. Germany heard the noise of battle sweep across the sky and, event without precedent, the Alps rocked with earthquakes. A voice boomed through the silent groves for all to hear, a deafening voice, and phantoms of unearthly pallor were seen in the falling darkness. Horror beyond words, beasts uttered human speech; rivers stood still, the earth gaped open; in the temples ivory images wept for grief, and beads of sweat covered bronze statues. King of waterways, the Po swept whole forests along in the swirl of his frenzied current, carrying with him over the plain cattle and stalls alike. Nor in that same hour did sinister filaments cease to appear in ominous entrails or blood to flow from wells or our hillside towns to echo all night with the howl of wolves. Never fell more lightning from a cloudless sky; never was comet's alarming glare so often seen. So it was that Philippi beheld for a second time²⁷ Roman armies clash in the shock of matching arms; and Heaven above did not demur at Macedon and the broad Balkan plains being twice glutted with the blood of our fellow citizens. Yes, and a time will come when in those lands the farmer, as he cleaves the soil with his curved plough, will find javelins corroded with rusty mould, or with his heavy hoe will strike empty helmets, and marvel at gigantic bones in the upturned graves.

Manilius, for example, understood him as locating the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.) on the same spot (the road distance between each is about 200 miles), and this fiction became a topos with the poets (see Postgate on Lucan 7.872).

GEORGICS

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

⁵¹³ in spatia *Quintilian* 8.3.78, *Servius*: in spatio *Servius*
Auctus: spatia R: spatio *My*

BOOK I

Gods of my country, Heroes of the land, you, Romulus, and you, mother Vesta, who guard Tuscan Tiber and the Palatine of Rome, at least do not prevent this young prince from succouring a world in ruins! Long enough has our life-blood paid for Laomedon's²⁸ perjury at Troy; long enough have Heaven's courts grudged you, Caesar, to us, complaining that you care for earthly triumphs! For here are right and wrong inverted; so many wars overrun the world, sin walks in so many shapes; respect for the plough is gone; our lands, robbed of the tillers, lie waste, and curved pruning hooks are forged into straight blades. Here Euphrates, there Germany, calls to arms; breaking the covenants which bind them, neighbouring cities draw the sword; the god of unholy strife rages throughout the world, even as when from the starting gates the chariots stream forth and gather speed lap by lap, while the driver, tugging vainly at the reins, is carried along by his steeds, and the car heeds not the curb!

²⁸ Who, having promised to pay Apollo and Neptune for building the walls of Troy, cheated them of their wages.

LIBER II

- M Hactenus arborum cultus et sidera caeli:
nunc te, Bacche, canam, nec non silvestria tecum
virgulta et prolem tarde crescentis olivae.
huc, pater o Linaee (tuis hic omnia plena
5 muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumnno
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.
10 namque aliae nullis hominum cogentibus ipsae
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
15 castaneae, nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet
aesculus, atque habitae Grais oracula quercus.
pullulat ab radice aliis densissima silva,
ut cerasis ulmisque; etiam Parnasia laurus
parva sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra.
20 hos natura modos primum dedit, his genus omne
silvarum fruticumque viret nemorumque sacrorum.

⁸ dereptis *a*: di- *Mγ*

BOOK II

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

Firstly, Nature has manifold ways 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 mast tree, monarch 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.

GEORGICS

- Sunt alii, quos ipse via sibi repperit usus.
hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matrum
deposuit sulcis, hic stirpes obruit arvo
- 25 quadrifidasque sudas et acuto robore vallos;
silvarumque aliae pressos propaginis arcus
exspectant et viva sua plantaria terra;
nil radices egent aliae summumque putator
haud dubitat terrae referens mandare cacumen.
- 30 quin et caudicibus sectis (mirabile dictu)
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.
- 35 Quare agite o proprios generatim discite cultus,
agricolae, fructusque feros mollite colendo,
neu segnes iaceant terrae. iuvat Ismara Baccho
conserere atque olea magnum vestire Taburnum.
tuque ades inceptumque una decurre laborem,
- 40 o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae,
Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.
non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto,
non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
ferrea vox. ades et primi lege litoris oram;
- 45 in manibus terrae: non hic te carmine ficto
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
- 50 inserat aut scrobibus mandet mutata subactis,
exuerint silvestrem animum, cultuque frequenti

²² alii γα: ali(a)e M

BOOK II

Others there are which Experience has in her course discovered for herself. One man tears away 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. 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.

Up, therefore, 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 you, Maecenas, my pride, my justest title to fame, come and traverse with me the toilsome course I have essayed, and spread your sails to speed over an open sea. 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 you with songs of fancy, amid rambling paths and lengthy preludes.

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.¹ Yet even these, if one graft them, or transplant and commit to well-worked trenches, will doff their wild spirit, and under constant tillage will

¹ *Natura* here means "creative power."

GEORGICS

- in quascumque voles artes haud tarda sequentur.
 nec non et sterilis quae stirpibus exit ab imis,
 hoc faciat, vacuos si sit digesta per agros:
 55 nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant
 crescentique adimunt fetus uruntque ferentem.
 iam quae seminibus iactis se sustulit arbos,
 tarda venit, seris factura nepotibus umbram,
 pomaque degenerant sucos oblita priores
 60 et turpis avibus praedam fert uva racemos.
 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;
 65 plantis edurae coryli nascuntur et ingens
 fraxinus Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae,
 Chaoniique patris glandes; etiam ardua palma
 nascitur et casus abies visura marinos.
 inseritur vero et nucis arbutus horrida fetu,
 70 et steriles platani malos gessere valentis;
 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
 75 et tenuis rumpunt tunicas, augustus in ipso
 fit nodo sinus; huc aliena ex arbore germen
 includunt udoque docent inolescere libro.
 aut rursum enodes trunci resecantur et alte
 finditur in solidum cuneis via, deinde feraces
 80 plantae immittuntur: nec longum tempus, et ingens

⁶⁵ edurae *Servius*: et durae *Mγa* ⁶⁹ nucis a. h. fetu *Pomponius Laetus* (*M7*): fetu nucis a. h. (*hypermetrically*) *Mγa*.

BOOK II

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 their olden flavour, and the vine bears sorry clusters, for the birds to pillage.

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.

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

⁷¹ *fagus Priscian* 8.85: *fagos Mya, Servius*

GEORGICS

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

Praeterea genus haud unum nec fortibus ulmis
nec salici lotoque neque Idaeis cyparissis,
85 nec pingues unam in faciem nascuntur olivae,
orchades et radii et amara pausia baca,
pomaque et Alcinoi silvae, nec surculus idem
Crustumii Syriisque piris gravigusque volemis.
non eadem arboribus pendet vindemia nostris,
90 quam Methymnaeo carpit de palmite Lesbos;
sunt Thasiae vites, sunt et Mareotides albae,
MV pinguibus hae terris habiles, levioribus illae,
et passo Psithia utilior tenuisque Lageos,
temptatura pedes olim vincturaque linguam,
95 purpureae preciaeque, et quo te carmine dicam
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
100 aut tantum fluere aut totidem durare per annos.
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;
105 quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem
discere quam multae Zephyro turbentur harenae,

106 discere *d*: dicere *ΜγαV*

² 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.

BOOK II

mighty tree shoots up skyward with joyous boughs, and marvels at its strange leafage and fruits not its own.

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.² So, too, with apples and the gardens of Alcinous; nor are cuttings the same for Crustumian and Syrian pears, and the heavy volema.³ 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, too, better for raisin wine, and the subtle Lagean,⁴ sure some day to trouble the feet and tie the tongue; the Purple and the Precian and you, Rhaetic—how can I do you justice? Yet even so, seek not to rival Falernian cellars! 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 you, vine of Rhodes, welcome to the gods and the banquet's second course, and you, Bumastus,⁵ with your 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 want 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 the

³ This was a large pear, so called (it is said) from filling the *vola* or hollow of the hand.

⁴ The Psithian and Lagean wines are otherwise unknown.

⁵ The word is derived from *μαστός*, "breast," and the prefix *βου-*, indicating size.

GEORGICS

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

- Nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt.
- 110 fluminibus salices crassisque paludibus alni
nascuntur, steriles saxosis montibus orni;
litora myrtetis laetissima; denique apertos
Bacchus amat colles, Aquilonem et frigora taxi.
aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem
- 115 Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos:
divisae arboribus patriae. sola India nigrum
fert hebenum, solis est turea virga Sabaeis.
- M quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno
balsamaque et bacas semper frondentis acanthi?
- 120 quid nemora Aethiopum molli canentia lana,
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?
- 125 et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris.
Media fert tristis sucos tardumque saporem
felicis mali, quo non praesentius ullum,
pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae
miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba,
- 130 auxilium venit ac membris agit atra venena.
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
- 135 ora fivent illo et senibus medicantur anhelis.

129 = 3.283 γα] om. M.

BOOK II

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

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 Sabaean 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?⁶ Why tell of the Ethiopian groves, all white with downy wool,⁷ or how the Seres comb from leaves their fine fleeces?⁸ 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 treetop? 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.

⁶ Not the herb of *Ecl.* 3.45, but the Egyptian acacia, which yields a gum. Virgil seems to mistake the pods for berries.

⁷ *molli lana*, i.e. cotton. ⁸ 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.

GEORGICS

- Sed neque Medorum silvae, ditissima terra,
 nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus
 laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi
- MP totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis.
- 140 haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem
 invertere satis immanis dentibus hydri,
 nec galeis densusque virum seges horruit hastis;
 sed gravidæ fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor
 implere; tenent oleae armentaque laeta.
- 145 hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert,
 hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus
 victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
 Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos.
 hic ver adsiduum atque alienis mensibus aestas:
- 150 bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.
 at rabidæ 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.
- 155 adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem,
 tot congesta manu praeuptis oppida saxis
 fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.
 an mare, quod supra, memorem, quodque adluit infra?
 anne lacus tantos⁹ te, Lari maxime, teque,
- 160 fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens Benace marino?
 an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra
 atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,

¹³⁶ terra *Mγa*: regna *M*²

⁹ Italy cannot boast of such mythical wonders as Colchis,

BOOK II

But neither Media's groves, land of wondrous wealth, nor beauteous Ganges, nor Hermus; whose mud is gold, may rival the glories of Italy—not Bactra nor India, no, not all Araby, though its very sand be incense. Never was our country⁹ ploughed by fire-snorting bulls for the sowing of the grisly dragon's teeth; nor have its fields bristled with the helms and serried lances of warriors. But the land was filled with teeming crops and Bacchus' Massic juice; it is the home of the olive, the home of fattened flocks. Hence comes the war horse which proudly prances over the plain, hence the milk-white herds of the Clitumnus, and the bull, noblest of victims, which, bathed often in its sacred stream, have escorted Roman triumphs to the shrines of the gods. Here spring is perpetual, and summer extends to months other than her own; twice a year the cows calve, twice a year the trees serve us fruit. Here are no ravening tigers or savage brood of lion; no aconite deceives the wretch who picks it, nor yet, sweeping huge coils along the ground, does the scaly snake with his vast train wind himself into a spiral. Count, too, those many stately cities, monument to human toil, and all the towns built by man's hand on rocky crags with rivers gliding beneath their immemorial walls. Shall I tell of the sea that washes Italy's shores above and that which breaks on her coasts below?¹⁰ Or tell of her mighty lakes? Of you, Larius, the greatest, or you, Benacus, who swell with a sea's surge and roar? Shall I tell of her harbours, and the barrier thrown across the Lucrine, and how Ocean clamours aloud in anger, where

where Jason yoked the fire-breathing oxen and sowed the teeth of the dragon. ¹⁰ The *Mare superum* was the Adriatic, the *inferum* the Tyrrhenian.

GEORGICS

- Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso
 Tyrrenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?
 165 haec eadem argenti rivos aerisque metalla
 ostendit venis atque auro plurima fluxit.
 haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam
 adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volscosque verutos
 extulit, haec Decios, Marios magnosque Camillos,
 170 Scipiadas duros bello et te, maxime Caesar,
 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 artem
 175 ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontis,
 Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.
 Nunc locus arborum ingeniis, quae robor a cuique,
 quis color et quae sit rebus natura ferendis.
 difficiles primum terrae collesque maligni,
 180 tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis,
 Palladia gaudent silva vivacis olivae.
 indicio est tractu surgens oleaster eodem
 plurimus et strati bacis silvestribus agri.
 at quae pinguis humus dulcique uligine laeta,
 185 quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus
 (qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus
 despiciere; huc summis liquuntur rupibus amnes

174 artem *P*: -is *Ma*

181 gaudent *P*: -et *Ma*

¹¹ These lines refer to the Portus Julius, a harbour created by Agrippa in 37 B.C. by joining two lakes (Lucrinus and Avernus) lying close to the sea, constructing an entrance for ships, and

BOOK II

the Julian waters echo afar as the sea is flung back, and the Tyrrhenian tide pours into the channels of Avernus?¹¹ This land has also streams of silver and mines of copper to show in her veins, and gold flows profusely in her rivers. She has mothered a vigorous breed of men, Marsians and the Sabine stock, the Ligurian, inured to hardship, and the Volscian spearmen; the Decii, the Marii, the great Camilli, the Scipios, hardy warriors, and you, greatest of all, Caesar, who, already victorious in Asia's farthest bounds, now drive the craven Indian from our hills of Rome.¹² Hail, land of Saturn, mighty mother of crops, mighty mother of men! For you I attempt a theme that claimed praise and skill in days of old; for you I dare to unseal the sacred springs, and through Roman towns to sing the song of Ascrea.

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 often see in the hollow of a mountain valley, for into it from the rocky heights pour

strengthening with a breakwater the strip of land separating the lakes from the sea.

¹² 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.

GEORGICS

- felicemque trahunt limum) quique editus Austro
 et filicem curvis invisam pascit aratris:
- 190 hic tibi praevalidas olim multoque fluentis
 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.
- 195 Sin armenta magis studium vitulosque tueri,
 aut ovium fetum aut urentis culta capellas,
 saltus et saturi petito longinqua Tarenti,
 et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum,
 pascentem niveos herboso flumine cycnos:
- 200 non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina derunt,
 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 imitamur arando),
- 205 optima frumentis: non ullo ex aequore cernes
 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
- 210 eruit; illae altum nidis petiere relictis,
 at rudis enituit impulso vomere campus.
 nam ieiuna quidem clivosi glarea ruris
 vix humilis apibus casias roremque ministrat,
 et tofus scaber et nigris exesa chelydris
- MPR creta negant alios aequae serpentibus agros
 216 dulcem ferre cibum et curvas praebere latebras.
 quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucres

196 fetum *P*: -us *Ma*

BOOK II

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, when the sleek Etruscan has blown his ivory horn beside the altar, and on bellied platters we present the steaming meat of sacrifice.

But if your business is rather the keeping of herds and calves, or breeding sheep, or goats that blight the plants, then haste to the glades and distant meads of rich Tarentum, or to such a plain as unhappy 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.

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 tearing up by their deepest roots the olden homes of the birds—these 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,

GEORGICS

- et bibit umorem et, cum vult, ex se ipsa remittit,
 quaeque suo semper viridi se gramine vestit,
 220 nec scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum,
 illa tibi laetis intexet vitibus ulmos,
 illa ferax oleae est, illam experiere colendo
 et facilem pecori et patientem vomeris unci.
 talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesaevo
 225 ora iugo et vacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris.
 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),
 230 ante locum capies oculis, alteque iubebis
 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
 235 ire loca et scrobibus superabit terra repletis,
 spissus ager: glaebas cunctantis crassaque terga
 exspecta et validis terram proscinde iuvenis.
 salsa autem tellus et quae perhibetur amara
 (frugibus infelix ea, nec mansuescit arando
 240 nec Baccho genus aut pomis sua nomina servat),
 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
 245 scilicet et grandes ibunt per vimina guttae;
 at sapor indicium faciet manifestus, et ora
 tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaro.

²²² oleae *M*: -eo *PR*

²²⁷ requires *MP*: -as *R*

BOOK II

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 Acerrae.

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 test-

²⁴⁷ sensu . . . amaro *codd.*: sensus . . . amaror *Gellius* 1.21

GEORGICS

pinguis item quae sit tellus, hoc denique pacto
 discimus: haud umquam manibus iactata fatiscit,
 250 sed picis in morem ad digitos lentescit habendo.
 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,
 255 quaeque levis. promptum est oculis praediscere nigram,
 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
 260 excoquere et magnos scrobibus concidere montis,
 ante supinatas Aquiloni ostendere glaebas,
 quam laetum infodias vitis genus. optima putri
 arva solo: id venti curant gelidaeque pruinae
 et labefacta movens robustus iugera fossor.
 265 at si quos haud ulla viros vigilantia fugit,
 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,
 270 ut quo quaeque modo steterit, qua parte calores
 austrinos tulerit, quae terga obverterit axi,
 restituant: adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.

Collibus an plano melius sit ponere vitem,
 MPRV quaere prius. si pinguis agros metabere campi,
 275 densa sere; in denso non segnior ubere Bacchus:
 sin tumulis adclive solum collesque supinos,

²⁵⁶ quis cui *a*: quis cui cive *R*: quis cuique *M*: quisquis *P*

²⁶⁵ at *P*: ad *R*: ac *M*

BOOK II

ers' 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 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.

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 before 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.

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

GEORGICS

- indulge ordinibus; nec setius omnis in unguem
 arboribus positis secto via limite quadret.
 ut saepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortis
 280 explicuit legio et campo stetit agmen aperto,
 directaeque 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;
 285 non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem,
 sed quia non aliter vires dabit omnibus aequas
 terra neque in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami.
 Forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia quaeras.
 ausim vel tenui vitem committere sulco.
 290 altior ac penitus terrae defigitur arbos,
 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,
 295 multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit.
 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
 301 (tantus amor terrae), neu ferro laede retunso
 semina, neve oleae silvestris insere truncos.
 nam saepe incautis pastoribus excidit ignis,
 qui furtim pingui primum sub cortice tectus
 305 roborum comprehendit, frondesque elapsus in altas

287 se *MV*: *om. PR* 292 radice *RV*: -em *MP*

294 nepotes *MPR*: per annos *V* (4.208)

BOOK II

the ranks room; yet none the less, when the trees are set, let all the paths, with clear-cut line, square to a nicety. 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, 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.

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.

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 treetop—so strong is their love of the earth—nor hurt young plants with a blunted knife, nor engraft wild trunks of olive. For oft from thoughtless shepherds falls a spark, which, lurking at first unseen under the rich bark, fastens on the trunk, and,

GEORGICS

- 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,
 310 praesertim si tempestas a vertice silvis
 incubuit, glomeratque ferens incendia ventus.
 hoc ubi, non a stirpe valent caesaeque reverti
 possunt atque ima similes revirescere terra;
 infelix superat foliis oleaster amaris.
- 315 Nec tibi tam prudens quisquam persuadeat auctor
 tellurem Borea rigidam spirante movere.
 rura gelu tunc claudit hiems nec semine iacto
 concretam patitur radicem adfigere terrae.
 optima vinetis satio, cum vere rubente
 320 candida venit avis longis invisâ colubris,
 prima vel autumnî 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.
- 325 tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether
 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;
- 330 parturit almus ager Zephyrique tepentibus auris
 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,

³¹⁶ movere *M*: -eri *PR*

³³⁰ tepentibus *M*: trem- *PR*

BOOK II

gliding to the leaves aloft, sends to heaven a mighty roar; then, running on, reigns supreme among all the boughs and high treetops, 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 olden bloom: the luckless oleaster with bitter leaves alone survives.

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,¹³ the foe of long snakes, is come, or close on autumn's first cold, while the hot sun does not as yet touch winter with his car, and summer now is waning. Spring it is that clothes the glades and forests with leaves, in spring the soil swells and craves the vital seed. Then does Heaven, sovereign father, descend in fruitful showers into the womb of his joyful consort and, mightily mingling with her mighty frame, gives life to every embryo within. Then secluded thickets echo with melodious birdsong and at the trysting hour the herds renew their loves; the bounteous earth prepares to give birth, and the meadows ungirdle to the Zephyr's balmy breeze; the tender moisture avails for all. The grass safely dares to face the nascent suns, nor does the vine tendril fear the South Wind's rising or showers launched from the skies by the blustering North, but puts

¹³ The white stork, *ciconia alba*.

GEORGICS

- 335 sed trudit gemmas et frondes explicat omnis.
 non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
 inluxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
 crediderim: ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
 orbis et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
 340 cum primae lucem pecudes hausere, virumque
 terrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis,
 immissaeque ferae silvis et sidera caelo.
 nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem,
 si non tanta quies iret frigusque caloremque
 345 inter, et exciperet caeli indulgentia terras.
 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
 350 halitus atque animos tollent sata. iamque reperti,
 qui saxo super atque ingentis pondere testae
 MPRV urgerent: hoc effusos munimen ad imbres,
 hoc, ubi hiulca siti findit Canis aestifer arva.
 Seminibus positis superest diducere terram
 355 saepius ad capita et duros iactare bidentis,
 aut presso exercere solum sub vomere et ipsa
 flectere luctantis inter vineta iuencos;
 tum levis calamos et rasae hastilia virgae
 fraxineasque aptare sudes furcasque valentis,
 360 viribus eniti quarum et contemnere ventos

³⁴¹ terrea *M*²: ferrea *MPR*

³⁵⁹ valentis *MPR*: bicornes *V* (1.264)

BOOK II

forth buds and unfurls its every leaf. Such days as these, I can imagine well, shone at the dawn of the infant world and took no different course: springtime it was, the whole wide world was keeping spring, and the east winds spared their icy blasts: then the first cattle drank in the light, the earthborn race of men reared its head from the stony plains, and the woods were stocked with game, the firmament with stars. Nor could the tender beings endure the world's harshness, did not between the seasons' cold and heat¹⁴ come such repose,¹⁵ and earth receive the blessing of a clement sky.

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.

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

¹⁴ Most of the poet's (less than twenty) hypermetric lines end in *-que -que*: the elision somehow hurries one on to the following line and here, as at *Aeneid* 3.684, encourages the reader to construe *inter* as a postposition.

¹⁵ I.e. after the cold of winter and before the heat of summer.

GEORGICS

adsuescant summasque sequi tabulata per ulmos.

Ac dum prima novis adolescit frondibus aetas,
 parcendum teneris, et dum se laetus ad auras
 palmes agit laxis per purum immissus habenis,
 365 ipsa acie nondum falcis temptanda, sed uncis
 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
 370 exerce imperia et ramos compeisce fluentis.

Texendae saepes etiam et pecus omne tenendum,
 praecipue dum frons tenera imprudensque laborum;
 cui super indignas hiemes solemque potentem
 silvestres uri adsidue capreaeque sequaces
 375 inludunt, pascuntur oves avidaeque iuvencae.
 frigora nec tantum cana concreta pruina
 aut gravis incumbens scopulis arentibus aestas,
 MPR quantum illi nocuere greges durique venenum
 dentis et admorso signata in stirpe cicatrix.
 380 non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
 caeditur et veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi,
 praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum
 Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti
 mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.
 385 nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni

365 acie MR: acies PV

379 admorso γ Servius: amorso M: admorsu R: ad morsum P

16 The plays are *tragedies* (from *τράγος*, a goat), which originated in the celebration of the vintage.

BOOK II

learn to mount, scorn the winds, and run from tier to tier amid the elm tops.

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—before they shrink from the knife—then at last set up an iron sway and check the flowing branches.

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 plays¹⁶ enter on the stage; for this the sons of Theseus set up prizes for wit in their villages¹⁷ and at the crossways, and gaily danced in the soft meadows on oiled goatskins. Even so Ausonia's swains,¹⁸ a race sent from Troy, disport with rude verses

¹⁷ Virgil here derives *comedy* from κώμη, a village; more accurately it comes from κῶμος, a band of revellers.

¹⁸ I.e. the Italians, whom Virgil, already having in view the myth upon which the *Aeneid* is founded, boldly calls Trojan colonists.

GEORGICS

- versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto,
 oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis,
 et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibi que
 oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.
 390 hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea fetu,
 complentur vallesque cavae saltusque profundi
 et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum.
 ergo rite suum Baccho dicemus honorem
 carminibus patriis lancesque et liba feremus,
 395 et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram,
 pinguiaque in veribus torrebimus exta columnis.
 Est etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter,
 cui numquam exhausti satis est: namque omne quotannis
 terque quaterque solum scindendum glaebaque versis
 400 aeternum frangenda bidentibus, omne levandum
 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,
 405 iam tum acer curas venientem extendit in annum
 rusticus, et curvo Saturni dente relictam
 persequitur vitem attondens fingitque putando.
 primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato
 sarmenta et vallos primus sub tecta referto;
 410 postremus metito. bis vitibus ingruit umbra,
 bis segetem densis obducunt sentibus herbae;
 durus uterque labor: laudato ingentia rura,
 exiguum colito. nec non etiam aspera rusti
 vimina per silvam et ripis fluvialis harundo
 415 caeditur, incultique exercet cura salicti.

BOOK II

and laughter unrestrained, and put on hideous masks of hollow cork, and call on you, Bacchus, in joyous songs, and to you 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.

There is, too, this other task of dressing the vines whereon never is enough care taken; for thrice or four times each year must all your soil be split open, 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: "Give praise to large estates, farm a small one."¹⁹ 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

¹⁹ An old adage already used by Cato: it is more profitable to till a small farm well than a large one badly.

GEORGICS

iam vinctae vites, iam falcem arbusta reponunt,
iam canit effectos extremus vinitor antes:
sollicitanda tamen tellus pulvisque movendus,
et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis.

420 Contra, non ulla est oleis cultura, neque illae
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.

425 hoc pinguem et placitam Paci nutritor olivam.
 Poma quoque, ut primum truncos sensere valentis
et vires habuere suas, ad sidera raptim
vi propria nituntur opisque haud indiga nostrae.
nec minus interea fetu nemus omne gravescit,
430 sanguineisque inculta rubent aviaria bacis.
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,
435 aut illae pecori frondem aut pastoribus umbram
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.
440 ipsae Caucasio steriles in vertice silvae,
quas animosi Euri adsidue franguntque feruntque,
dant alios aliae fetus, dant utile lignum
navigiis pinos, domibus cedrumque cupressosque;

425 nutritor R: -itur MP

433 PR: om. M] del. Ribbeck

435 umbram MP: -as R (4.146)

BOOK II

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.

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 fang, yields moisture enough for the plants, and teeming fruits, when opened by the plough. After this mode nurture the plump olive, favoured of Peace.

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?²⁰ 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.

²⁰ Why tell of larger trees, when even willows and broom are so useful?

GEORGICS

- hinc radios trivere rotis, hinc tympana plaustis
 445 agricolae, et pandas ratibus posuere carinas.
 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
 450 non formam accipiunt ferroque cavantur acuto.
 nec non et torrentem undam levis innatat alnus
 missa Pado, nec non et apes examina condunt
 corticibusque cavis vitiosaeque ilicis alvo.
 quid memorandum aeque Baccheia dona tulerunt?
 455 Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit; ille furentis
 Centauros leto domuit, Rhoetumque Pholumque
 et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratera minantem.
 O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
 agricolas! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
 460 fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus.
 si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
 mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
 nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
 inlusasque auro vestes Ephyreiaque aera,
 465 alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,
 nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi:
 at segura quies et nescia fallere vita,
 dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis,
 speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe
 470 mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni
 non absunt; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,

464 inlusas *M*², *Servius*: inclusas *MPR*

467 vita *M*: -am *PR*

469 et *M*: at *P*: ad *R*

BOOK II

From these the farmers turn spokes for wheels, or drums²¹ 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, launched upon the Po, swims the raging stream; 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, Rhoetus, and Pholus, and Hylaeus, as he aimed his massive flagon at the Lapiths.

O farmers, happy beyond measure, could they but know their blessings! For them, far from the clash of arms, most righteous²² Earth, unbidden, pours forth from her soil an easy sustenance. If no stately mansion with proud portals disgorges from its halls at dawn a flood of those who have come to greet its lord, if they never gaze at doors inlaid with lovely tortoiseshell or at draperies tricked with gold or at bronzes of Ephyra, if their wool's whiteness is not stained with Assyrian dyes or the service of their clear oil is not spoiled with cassia: yet they have sleep free from anxiety, a life that is innocent of guile and rich with untold treasures. The peace of broad domains, caverns, and natural lakes, and cool vales, the lowing of oxen, and soft slumbers beneath the trees—all are theirs. They have woodland glades and the haunts of game; a youth hardened to toil

²¹ Wheels of solid wood.

²² Because she pays her debts in fullest measure.

GEORGICS

et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
sacra deum sanctique patres: extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

- 475 Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae,
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
480 obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant,
quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
sin, has ne possim naturae accedere pratis,
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,
485 rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
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!
- 490 Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.
fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestis,
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.
495 illum non populi fascēs, non purpura regum
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.

⁴⁸⁸ convallibus *M(P)*: in vallibus *R*

⁴⁹¹ inexorabile *MP*: ineluctabile *R* (A. 8.334)

BOOK II

and inured to scanty fare; worship of gods and reverence for age; among them, as she departed from the earth, Justice left the last imprint of her feet.

But as for me—first may the Muses, sweet beyond compare, whose holy emblems, under the spell of a mighty love, I bear,²³ take me to themselves, and show me heaven's pathways, the stars, the sun's many eclipses, 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 laggard 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 waters and the woods, though I be unknown to fame. 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' giant shade!

Blessed is he who has succeeded in learning the laws of nature's working, has cast beneath his feet all fear and fate's implacable decree, and the howl of insatiable Death. But happy, too, is he who knows the rural gods, Pan and aged Silvanus and the sisterhood of the Nymphs. Him no honours the people give can move, no purple worn by despots, no strife which leads brother to betray brother; untroubled is he by Dacian incursion swooping down from a Danube leagued in war, untroubled by Rome's policies spelling doom to kingdoms; if he has not felt pity for the poor, he has never envied the rich. He plucks the fruits

²³ Since the poet is a priest of the Muses.

GEORGICS

- 500 quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura
 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;
 505 hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque penates,
 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
 510 corripuit; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum,
 exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant
 atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.

Agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro:

- hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes
 515 sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvencos.
 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,
 520 glande sues laeti redeunt, dant arbuta silvae;
 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
 525 lactea demittunt, pinguesque in gramine laeto

⁵¹² patriam quaerunt *MR*: qu. p. *P*

⁵¹³ dimovit *PR*: molitus *M* (1.494)

⁵¹⁴ nepotes *PR*: penates *M* (A.8.543)

BOOK II

which his boughs, which his willing fields, have freely borne; nor has he beheld the iron rigours of the law, the Forum's madness, or the public archives.²⁴ Others brave with oars seas unknown, dash upon the sword, or press their way into courts and the chambers of kings. One wreaks ruin on a city and its wretched homes, and all to drink from a jewelled cup and sleep on Tyrian purple; another hoards wealth and gloats over buried gold; one stares in admiration at the rostra; another, open-mouthed, is carried away by the applause of high and low which rolls again and again along the benches.²⁵ They steep themselves in their brothers' blood and glory in it; they barter their sweet homes and hearths for exile and seek a country that lies beneath an alien sun.

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 cows 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 cows droop milk-laden udders,

²⁴ A reference to the Tabularium, or Hall of Records, standing across the west end of the Forum Romanum.

²⁵ I.e. of the theatres, where popular statesmen would be warmly applauded by all classes of citizens.

GEORGICS

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
 530 velocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo,
 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,
 MPRV septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.
 536 ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante
 impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvenis,
 aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat;
 necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
 540 impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis.

Sed nos immensum spatii confecimus aequor,
 et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.

⁵³¹ praedura *M*²*PR*: perdura *M* | palaestrae *M*: -stra *PR*,
Servius

⁵⁴² fumantia *M*: spum- *PR*

BOOK II

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 upon you, 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.

Such a life the old Sabines once lived, such Remus and his brother. Thus, surely, Etruria waxed strong; and Rome has thus become the fairest thing on earth, and with a single city's wall enclosed her seven hills. Nay, before the Cretan king²⁶ 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.

But in our course we have traversed a mighty plain, and now it is time to unyoke the necks of our smoking steeds.

²⁶ Jupiter.

LIBER III

- FMPRV Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus
pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycaeii.
cetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,
omnia iam vulgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum
5 aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?
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.
10 primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas;
primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas
FMPR et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
15 Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas.
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 Molorci,
20 cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu.

³ carmine *P*: -a *FMR*

¹⁹ linquens *FMR*: pubes *P* (1.343)

²⁰ decernet *F*²: -it *FMPR*

BOOK III

You, too, great Pales, we will sing, and you, famed shepherd of Amphrysus,¹ and you, 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 you, 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 lazy windings and fringes his banks with slender reeds.² 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 will leave Alpheus³ and the groves of Molorcus,⁴ to compete in the foot race and with the brutal boxing glove. My

¹ Apollo.

² Virgil's proposed poem is described allegorically as a temple, in which Caesar is to be the deity.

³ The river of Elis which flows past Olympia.

⁴ A poet's way of referring to Nemea.

GEORGICS

- ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus olivae
 MPR dona feram. iam nunc sollempnis ducere pompas
 ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuencos,
 vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque
 25 purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.
 in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
 Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini,
 atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem
 Nilum ac navali surgentis aere columnas.
 30 addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten
 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,
 35 Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis
 nomina Trosque parens et Troiae Cynthius auctor.
 Invidia infelix Furias annemque severum
 Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis
 immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.
 40 Interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
 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,
 45 et vox adsensu nemorum ingeminata remugit.
 mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas

³⁸ anguis *MP*: orbes *R* (4.484)

⁵ Representing Oriental forces that fought under Antony at Actium.

BOOK III

brows graced with leaves of cut olive, I myself will award the prizes. Even now I long to escort the stately procession to the shrine and witness the slaughter of the steers; and see how the scene on the stage changes as the sets revolve and how Britons raise the crimson curtain they are woven into. On the temple doors I have sculptured in solid gold and ivory the battle of Ganges' hordes⁵ and the arms of conquering Quirites; there, too, the Nile in flood and billowing with war, and lofty columns clad with the bronze prows of hostile fleets. I will add Asia's vanquished cities, the routed Niphates,⁶ and the Parthian relying on flight and arrows launched behind him; two trophies snatched by force from far-sundered foes, and the two nations that yielded a double triumph from Ocean's either shore.⁷ Here in Parian marble shall stand statues breathing life, the lineage of Assaracus and the glorious names of Jupiter's race, Tros, our ancestor, and Cynthian Apollo, architect of Troy. Wretched Envy shall cower before the Furies and Hell's stern stream, before the snaky bonds and ghastly wheel of Ixion, and the stone beyond the trickster's mastering.⁸

Meanwhile, haste we to the Dryads' woodlands and untrodden glades, no easy task, Maecenas, that you have laid upon me. Without your inspiration my mind can essay no lofty theme; arise then, break with slow delay! With mighty clamour Cithaeron calls, and Taygetus' hounds and 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

⁶ A mountain in Parthia, and hence the Parthians.

⁷ The shores of Spain and Palestine.

⁸ The stone of Sisypheus.

GEORGICS

Caesaris et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,
Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.

- Seu quis Olympiacae miratus praemia palmae
- 50 pascit equos, seu quis fortis ad aratra iuencos,
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,
- 55 pes etiam; et camuris hirtae sub cornibus aures.
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.
- 60 aetas Lucinam iustosque pati hymenaeos
desinit ante decem, post quattuor incipit annos;
cetera nec feturae habilis nec fortis aratris.
interea, superat gregibus dum laeta iuventas,
solve mares; mitte in Venerem pecuaria primus,
- 65 atque aliam ex alia generando suffice prolem.
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:
- 70 semper enim refice ac, ne post amissa requiras,
anteveni et subolem armento sortire quotannis.
- Nec non et pecori est idem delectus equino.
tu modo, quos in spem statues submittere gentis,
praecipuum iam inde a teneris impende laborem.
- 75 continuo pecoris generosi pullus in arvis
altius ingreditur et mollia crura reponit;

⁵⁰ pascit *MR*: -et *P*

BOOK III

through as many years as Caesar is distant from the far-off birth of Tithonus.

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 gloomy age, and suffering; and stern death's ruthlessness sweeps us away. Ever will there be some cows 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.

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 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

GEORGICS

- primus et ire viam et fluvios temptare minacis
 audet et ignoto sese committere ponti,
 nec vanos horret strepitus. illi ardua cervix
 80 argutumque caput, brevis alvus obesaque terga,
 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,
 85 collectumque fremens volvit sub naribus ignem.
 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
 90 Cyllarus et, quorum Grai meminere poetae,
 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.
 95 Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis aut iam segnior
 annis
 deficit, abde domo, nec turpi ignosce senectae,
 120 quamvis saepe fuga versos ille egerit hostis
 121 et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenae,
 122 Neptunique ipsa deducat origine gentem.
 frigidus in Venerem senior, frustraque laborem
 ingratum trahit; et, si quando ad proelia ventum est,
 ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis,

77 minacis *MR*: -antis *P*

85 fremens *M*: premens *PR*

88 sonat *MP*: quatit *R* (A.8.596)

122 gentem *MP*: nomen *R* (A.10.618)

BOOK III

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 Amyclaeon Pollux, and those whose fame Greek poets recount, the two steeds of Mars,⁹ and the pair of the great Achilles.¹⁰ Such, too, was Saturn himself, when at his wife's¹¹ coming he fled swiftly, flinging his horse's mane over his shoulders, and with shrill neigh filled the heights of Pelion.

Yet even such a steed do you shut up in the stalls when he begins to fail, worn with disease or burdened with years; and pity not his inglorious old age, though oft he has driven the foe in flight and claims Epirus or valiant Mycenae for his birthplace, and traces his line to Neptune himself for founder.¹² The aged stallion is cold to passion, and he vainly struggles with a thankless task; when he comes to the fray his ardour is futile—as when a great fire rages in the stubble, but there is no strength in it. Therefore note above all their spirit and years; then, other merits

⁹ See Homer, *Iliad* 15.119. ¹⁰ Homer, *Iliad* 16.148.

¹¹ Rhea or Ops, whom Saturn, when in love with Philyra, tried to elude by changing himself into a horse.

¹² Neptune was supposed to have produced the horse either in Thessaly or in Attica by a blow of his trident (cf. 1.12).

GEORGICS

- 100 incassum furit. ergo animos aevumque notabis
 praecipue; hinc alias artes prolemque parentum,
 et quis cuique dolor victo, quae gloria palmae.
 nonne vides, cum praecipiti certamine campum
 corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
 105 cum spes adrectae iuvenum, exsultantiaque haurit
 corda pavor pulsans? illi instant verbere torto
 et proni dant lora, volat vi fervidus axis;
 iamque humiles iamque elati sublime videntur
 aëra per vacuum ferri atque adsurgere in auras.
 110 nec mora nec requies; at fulvae nimbus harenae
 tollitur, umescunt spumis flatuque sequentum:
 tantus amor laudum, tantae est victoria curae.
 primus Erichonius currus et quattuor ausus
 iungere equos rapidusque rotis insistere victor.
 115 frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere
 impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis
 insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos.
 aequus uterque labor, aequae iuvenemque magistri
 exquirunt calidumque animis et cursibus acrem.
- 123 His animadversis instant sub tempus et omnis
 impendunt curas denso distendere pingui,
 125 quem legere ducem et pecori dixere maritum,
 florentisque secant herbas fluviosque ministrant
 farraque, ne blando nequeat superesse labori
 invalidique patrum referant ieiunia nati.
 ipsa autem macie tenuant armenta volentes,
 130 atque, ubi concubitus primos iam nota voluptas

¹²⁰⁻¹²² *after 96 Bentley*

¹²⁵ pecori . . . maritum *MR*: pecoris . . . magistrum *P*

¹³⁰ voluptas *MR*: voluntas *P*

BOOK III

and the stock of their sires, the grief each shows at defeat or the pride in victory. 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. 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;¹³ equally the trainers seek out a young steed, hot of spirit and keen in the race.

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 them to union, they withhold leafy fodder and de-

¹³ Breeding racers or chargers.

GEORGICS

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.
 135 hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtunsior usus
 sit genitali arvo et sulcos oblimet inertis,
 sed rapiat sitiens Venerem interiusque recondat.

Rursus cura patrum cadere et succedere matrum
 incipit. exactis gravidae cum mensibus errant,
 140 non illas gravibus quisquam iuga ducere plaustris,
 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,
 145 speluncaequae tegant et saxea procubet umbra.
 FMPR est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem
 plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo
 Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,
 asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis
 150 diffugiunt armenta, furit mugitibus aether
 concussus silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri.
 hoc quondam monstro horribilis exercuit iras
 Inachiae Iuno pestem meditata iuvencae.
 hunc quoque (nam mediis fervoribus acrior instat)
 155 arcebis gravido pecori, armentaque pasces
 sole recens orto aut noctem ducentibus astris.

Post partum cura in vitulos traducitur omnis;
 continuoque notas et nomina gentis inurunt,
 et quos aut pecori malint submittere habendo
 160 aut aris servare sacros aut scindere terram

¹⁴ The gadfly.

¹⁵ Io, daughter of Inachus.

BOOK III

bar 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.

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 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*.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ This, too—for in midday 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.

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 cattle

GEORGICS

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,

165 dum faciles animi iuvenum, dum mobilis aetas.

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;

170 atque illis iam saepe rotae ducantur inanes
 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
 175 nec vescas salicum frondes ulvamque palustrem,
 sed frumenta manu carpes sata; nec tibi fetae
 more patrum nivea implebunt multraria vaccae,
 sed tota in dulcis consument ubera natos.

Sin ad bella magis studium turmasque ferocis,

180 aut Alpheia rotis praelabi flumina Pisae

AFMPR et Iovis in luco currus agitare volantis:

primus equi labor est animos atque arma videre
 bellantum lituosque pati, tractuque gementem
 ferre rotam et stabulo frenos audire sonantis;

185 tum magis atque magis blandis gaudere magistri
 laudibus et plausae sonitum cervicis amare.

atque haec iam primo depulsus ab ubere matris
 audeat, inque vicem det mollibus ora capistris

¹⁶³ studium *MP*: -ia *FR*

BOOK III

graze in the green pastures; but school while yet calves those that you will shape for the farm's pursuits and service; 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,¹⁶ and force them to step together. Then let them now draw empty carts often 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.

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 grove¹⁷ 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 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 sum-

¹⁶ No yoke is to be used, but the collars are to be tied together.

¹⁷ The Altis or sacred grove of wild olive, in which the Olympic racecourse was situated.

GEORGICS

- invalidus etiamque tremens, etiam inscius aevi.
 190 at tribus exactis ubi quarta accesserit aestas,
 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,
 195 aequora vix summa vestigia ponat harena:
 qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris
 incubuit, Scythiaeque hiemes atque arida differt
 nubila; tum segetes altae campique natantes
 lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaeque sonorem
 200 dant silvae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus;
 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.
 205 tum demum crassa magnum farragine corpus
 crescere iam domitis sinito: namque ante domandum
 ingentis tollent animos, prensique negabunt
 verbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis.
 Sed non ulla magis vires industria firmat,
 210 quam Venerem et caeci stimulos avertere amoris,
 sive boum sive est cui gratior usus equorum.
 atque ideo tauros procul atque in sola relegant
 pascua, post montem oppositum et trans flumina lata,
 214 aut intus clausos satura ad praesepia servant.
 AMPR carpit enim vires paulatim uritque videndo
 femina, nec nemorum patitur meminisse nec herbae
 dulcibus illa quidem inlecebris, et saepe superbos

190 accesserit *AM*: acceperit *PR* (occ- *F*)

202 hic *AMP*: hinc *FR* 203 aget *AFR*: -it *MP*

BOOK III

mers are past and the fourth is come, let him soon begin to run round the circuit,¹⁸ to make his steps ring evenly, to bend his legs in alternating curves,¹⁹ 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 treetops 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.

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, with her soft enchantments, suffer him to remember woods or pastures; oft she drives her proud lovers to settle their mutual contest with clash of horns. She is grazing in

¹⁸ The ring or "circling course" (115) for breaking horses in.

¹⁹ Cf. 117 "round his proud paces."

GEORGICS

- cornibus inter se subigit decernere amantis.
 pascitur in magna Sila formosa iuvenca:
 220 illi alternantes multa vi proelia miscent
 MPR vulneribus crebris, lavit ater corpora sanguis,
 versaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vasto
 cum gemitu; reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus.
 nec mos bellantis una stabulare, sed alter
 225 victus abit longeque ignotis exsulat oris,
 multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi
 victoris, tum quos amisit inultus amores,
 et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis.
 ergo omni cura viris exercet et inter
 230 dura iacet pernox instrato saxa cubili,
 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.
 235 post ubi collectum robur viresque refectae,
 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
 240 monte minor procumbit; at ima exaestuât unda
 verticibus nigramque alte subiectat harenam.
 Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,
 et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque volucres,
 in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem.
 245 tempore non alio catulorum oblita leaena
 saevior erravit campis, nec funera vulgo

219 Sila *M*²: silva *AMPR*: *Servius* knows both

223 reboant *PR*: resonant *M*

BOOK III

Sila's great forest, a lovely heifer: the bulls in alternate on-set 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 headlong 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.

Every single race on earth, man and beast, the tribes of the sea, cattle and birds brilliant of hue, rush into fires of passion: all feel the same Love. At no other season does the lioness forget her cubs, or prowl over the plains more fierce; never does the shapeless bear spread death and havoc so widely through the forest; then savage is the boar,

²³⁰ pernox Σ *Juvenal* 8.10, known to *Servius Auctus*: pernix codd.

GEORGICS

- tam multa informes ursi stragemque dedere
 per silvas; tum saevus aper, tum pessima tigris;
 heu male tum Libyae solis erratur in agris.
- 250 nonne vides, ut tota tremor pertemptet equorum
 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.
- 255 ipse ruit dentesque Sabellicus exacuit sus,
 et pede prosubigit terram, fricat arbore costas,
 atque hinc atque illinc umeros ad vulnera durat.
 quid iuvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem
 durus amor? nempe abruptis turbata procellis
- 260 nocte natat caeca serus freta; quem super ingens
 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
- 265 atque canum? quid quae imbelles dant proelia cervi?
 scilicet ante omnis furor est insignis equarum;
 et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, quo tempore Glauci
 Potniades malis membra absumpsere quadrigae.
 illas ducit amor trans Gargara transque sonantem
- 270 Ascanium; superant montis et flumina tranant.
 continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis
 (vere magis, quia vere calor redit ossibus), illae
 ore omnes versae in Zephyrum stant rupibus altis
 exceptantque levis auras, et saepe sine ullis

²⁵⁷ umeros *M*: umerosque *PR*

²⁶³ super *MR*: supra *P*

²⁷⁴ exceptantque *R*, *Servius*: ex(s)pectantque *MP*

BOOK III

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 parent can call him back, nor thought of the maiden doomed to die on his untimely corpse.²⁰ What of Bacchus' spotted lynxes,²¹ 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 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

²⁰ Hero, whose lover, Leander, used to swim the Hellespont to visit her, but was eventually drowned.

²¹ Lynxes and tigers drew the chariot of Bacchus from India.

GEORGICS

- 275 coniugiis vento gravidæ (mirabile dictu)
 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.
- 280 hic demum, hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt
 pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus,
 hippomanes, quod saepe malae legere novercae
 miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba.
 Sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus,
 FMPR singula dum capti circumvectamur amore.
- 286 hoc satis armentis: superat pars altera curae,
 lanigeros agitare greges hirtasque capellas.
 hic labor, hinc laudem fortes sperate coloni.
 nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum
- 290 quam sit et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem:
 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.
- 295 Incipiens stabulis edico in mollibus herbam
 carpere ovis, dum mox frondosa reducitur aestas,
 et multa duram stipula filicumque manipulis
 sternere subter humum, glacies ne frigida laedat
 molle pecus scabiemque ferat turpisque podagras.
- 300 post hinc digressus iubeo frondentia capris
 arbuta sufficere et fluvios praebere recentis,
 et stabula a ventis hiberno opponere soli
 ad medium conversa diem, cum frigidus olim

²² Aristotle, from whom the legend derives (*History of Animals* 6.22, 577a9), was speaking of Crete, where the mares ran

BOOK III

and crags and lowly dales, not towards your rising, East Wind, nor the Sun's, but to the North, and the Northwest, or thither where rises the blackest South, saddening the sky with chilly rain.²² Then, and then only, does the slimy "horse madness," as shepherds rightly name it, drip slowly from the groin—horse madness, which cruel stepdames often gather, mixing herbs and baleful spells.

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.²³ Now, worshipful Pales, now must we sing in lofty strain.

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 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

until stopped by the sea. The direction there would naturally be north or south.

²³ Virgil himself is the pathfinder. In this metaphorical way he claims originality.

GEORGICS

- iam cadit extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno.
 305 hae quoque non cura nobis levioere tuendae,
 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,
 310 laeta magis pressis manabunt flumina mammis.
 nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta
 Cinyphii tondent hirci saetasque comantis
 usum in castrorum et miseris velamina nautis.
 pascuntur vero silvas et summa Lycaei,
 315 horrentisque rubos et amantis ardua dumos;
 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,
 320 avertes, victumque feres et virgea laetus
 pabula, nec tota claudes faenilia bruma.
 At vero Zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aestas
 in saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittet,
 Luciferi primo cum sidere frigida rura
 325 carpamus, dum mane novum, dum gramina canent,
 et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba.
 inde ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora
 et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae,
 ad puteos aut alta greges ad stagna iubebo
 330 currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam;
 aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem,

305 hae P: haec *FMR*, *Servius* | tuendae *FPR*: -a *M*, *Servius*

323 mittet *M*: -es *FPR*

329 iubebo *FP*: -eto *MR*

BOOK III

year.²⁴ 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 plentiful 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.

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 brought thirst to all, and the plaintive cicadas thrill 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, anywhere that Jove's mighty oak with

²⁴ Aquarius sets in February, and the old Roman year began in March (cf. September, 7th month, etc.).

GEORGICS

- sicubi magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus
 ingentis tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum
 ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra;
 335 tum tenuis dare rursus aquas et pascere rursus
 solis ad occasum, cum frigidus aëra vesper
 temperat, et saltus reficit iam roscida luna,
 litoraque alcyonem resonant, acalanthida dumi.
 Quid tibi pastores Libyae, quid pascua versu
 340 prosequar et raris habitata mapalia tectis?
 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
 345 armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque pharetram;
 non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis
 iniusto sub fasce viam cum carpit, et hosti
 ante exspectatum positus stat in agmine castris.
 MPR At non, qua Scythiae gentes Maeotiaque unda,
 350 turbidus et torquens flaventis Hister harenas,
 MPRV quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem.
 illic clausa tenent stabulis armenta, neque ullae
 aut herbae campo apparent aut arbore frondes;
 sed iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto
 355 terra gelu late septemque adsurgit in ulnas.
 semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri.
 tum Sol pallentis haud umquam discutit umbras,
 nec cum invectus equis altum petit aethera, nec cum
 praecipitem Oceani rubro lavit aequore currum.
 360 concrescunt subitae currenti in flumine crustae,

²⁵ The epithets are merely ornamental, Spartan dogs and Cretan archers being the most famous of their kind.

BOOK III

its ancient trunk stretches out giant branches, or where some 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 star of eve freshens 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.

Why follow 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 quiver²⁵—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.

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 Northwest blasts, with icy breath. 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

GEORGICS

undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,
 puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hospita plaustis;
 aeraque dissiliunt vulgo, vestesque rigescunt
 indutae, caeduntque securibus umida vina,
 365 et totae solidam in glaciem vertere lacunae,
 stiriaque impexis induruit horrida barbis.
 interea toto non setius aëre ninguit:
 intereunt pecudes, stant circumfusa pruinis
 corpora magna boum, confertoque agmine cervi
 370 torpent mole nova et summis vix cornibus exstant.
 hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis
 puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine pinnae,
 sed frustra oppositum trudentis pectore montem
 comminus obtruncant ferro, graviterque rudentis
 375 caedunt, et magno laeti clamore reportant.
 ipsi in defossis specubus secreta sub alta
 otia agunt terra, congestaque robora, totasque
 advolvere focis ulmos, ignique dedere.
 hic noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula laeti
 380 fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis.
 talis Hyperboreo septem subiecta trioni
 gens effrena virum Riphaeo tunditur Euro
 et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora saetis.
 Si tibi lanitium curae, primum aspera silva
 385 lappaeque tribolique absint; fuge pabula laeta,
 continuoque greges villis lege mollibus albos.
 illum autem, quamvis aries sit candidus ipse,
 nigra subest udo tantum cui lingua palato,
 reice, ne maculis infuscet vellera pullis

369 conferto *MP*: confecto *RV*

BOOK III

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 a scare of the crimson feather,²⁶ 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, whole elm trees, and throwing them on the fire. Here they spend the night in play, and with barm and sour service berries²⁷ 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 Riphaean East Wind, their bodies clothed in the tawny furs of beasts.

If wool be your care, first clear away the prickly growth of burs and caltrops; shun rich pastures, and 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 newborn lambs; and look about for

²⁶ A cord with scarlet feathers was stretched along the edge of a wood so as to drive the game back and force it into the nets.

²⁷ I.e. by causing fermentation in the juice of such berries, and so producing an intoxicating drink.

GEORGICS

- 390 nascentum, plenoque alium circumspice campo.
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, cytismus lotosque frequentis
- 395 ipse manu salsasque ferat praesepibus herbas:
hinc et amant fluvios magis, et magis ubera tendunt
et salis occultum referunt in lacte saporem.
multi etiam excretos prohibent a matribus haedos,
primaque ferratis praefigunt ora capistris.
- 400 quod surgente die mulsero horisque diurnis,
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
- 405 velocis Spartaee catulos acremque Molossum
pasce sero pingui. numquam custodibus illis
nocturnum stabulis furem incursusque luporum
aut impacatos a tergo horrebus Hiberos.
saepe etiam cursu timidos agitabis onagros,
- 410 et canibus leporem, canibus venabere dammas;
saepe volutabis pulsos silvestribus apros
latratu turbabis agens, montisque per altos
ingentem clamore premes ad retia cervum.
- Disce et odoratam stabulis accendere cedrum,
- 415 galbaneoque agitare gravis nidore chelydros.
saepe sub immotis praesepibus aut mala tactu

³⁹⁵ ipse *MV*: ille *PR*

³⁹⁸ etiam *P*: iam *MR*

⁴¹² turbabis *P*: terrebis *R*

BOOK III

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 you, O Moon, calling you to the depths of the woods;²⁸ nor did you scorn his call.

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 into cheese at night; what they drew at night or sunset, they press at dawn: they ship it in baskets which a shepherd takes to town, or else they salt it sparingly and put it by for the winter.

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 Spaniards²⁹ 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.

Learn, too, to burn in your stalls fragrant cedar and with fumes of Syrian gum to banish the noisome water snakes. Often under unclesed sheds has lurked a viper, deadly to touch, and shrunk in terror from the light; or

²⁸ It seems that Pan changed himself into a ram with a beautiful snow-white fleece and in this form lured the Moon into the woods. ²⁹ Here equivalent to "brigands."

GEORGICS

- vipera delituit caelumque exterrita fugit,
 aut tecto adsuetus coluber succedere et umbrae
 (pestis acerba boum) pecorique adspergere virus,
 420 fovit humum. cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor,
 tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem
 deice. iamque fuga timidum caput abdidit alte,
 cum medii nexus extremaeque agmina caudae
 solvuntur, tardosque trahit sinus ultimus orbis.
 425 est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus anguis,
 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,
 430 stagna colit, ripisque habitans hic piscibus atram
 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.
 435 ne mihi tum mollis sub divo carpere somnos
 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.
 440 Morborum quoque te causas et signa docebo.
 turpis ovis temptat scabies, ubi frigidus imber
 altius ad vivum persedit et horrida cano
 bruma gelu, vel cum tonsis inlotus adhaesit
 sudor, et hirsuti secuerunt corpora vepres.

426 pectore *MR* (A.2.474): corpore *P*

433 exsilit *R*: extulit *M*: exiit *P*

435 ne *PR*: nec *M*

BOOK III

an adder, sore plague of cows, that is wont to glide under the sheltering thatch and sprinkle venom on the cattle, has hugged the ground. Snatch up in your 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 serpent³⁰ 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. Let me not then be tempted 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!

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 into the quick, or when the sweat, unwashed, clings to the shorn flock, and prickly briars tear the flesh. Therefore the keepers bathe

³⁰ The serpent described is the amphibious *chersydrus* (i.e. land-water snake); Virgil is indebted to Nicander, *Theriaca* 366-371.

GEORGICS

- 445 dulcibus idcirco fluviis pecus omne magistri
perfundunt, udisque aries in gurgite villis
mersatur, missusque secundo defluit amni;
aut tonsum tristi contingunt corpus amurca,
et spumas miscent argenti et sulpura viva
- 450 Idaeasque pices et pinguis unguine ceras
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,
- 455 dum medicas adhibere manus ad vulnera pastor
abnegat, et meliora deos sedet omina poscens.
quin etiam, ima dolor balantum lapsus ad ossa
cum furit atque artus depascitur arida febris,
profuit incensos aestus avertere et inter
- 460 ima ferire pedis salientem sanguine venam,
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
- 465 videris, aut summas carpentem ignavius herbas
extremamque sequi, aut medio procumbere campo
pascentem, et serae solam decedere nocti,
continuo culpam ferro compesce, prius quam
dira per incautum serpant contagia vulgus.
- 470 non tam creber agens hiemem ruit aequore turbo,
quam multae pecudum pestes. nec singula morbi
corpora corripiunt, sed tota aestiva repente,
spemque gregemque simul cunctamque ab origine
gentem.

BOOK III

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, calling upon the gods for happier omens. 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 Bisaltæ 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 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

⁴⁴⁹ et sulphura viva *MPR*] vivaque sulphura *Macrobius* 5.14.4

⁴⁵⁶ omina *M*: omnia *PR*

GEORGICS

475 tum sciat, aërias Alp̄is et Norica si quis
 castella in tumulis et Iapydis arva Timavi
 nunc quoque post tanto videat, desertaque regna
 pastorum et longe saltus lateque vacantis.

Hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est
 tempestas totoque autumn̄i incanduit aestu,
 480 et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum,
 corruptitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo.
 nec via mortis erat simplex; sed ubi ignea venis
 omnibus acta sitis miseros adduxerat artus,
 rursus abundabat fluidus liquor omniaque in se
 485 ossa minutatim morbo conlapsa trahebat.
 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,
 490 inde neque impositis ardent altaria fibris,
 nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates,
 ac vix suppositi tinguntur sanguine cultri
 summaque ieiuna sanie infuscatur harena.
 hinc laetis vituli vulgo moriuntur in herbis
 495 et dulcis animas plena ad praesepia reddunt;
 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
 500 crebra ferit; demissae aures, incertus ibidem
 sudor et ille quidem moriturus frigidus; aret
 pellis et ad tactum tractanti dura resistit.

475 Iapydis *M*: Iapygis *PR* | arva χ : arma *MR*: ora *P* (A. 1. 244f)

483 adduxerat *MR*: attraxerat *P*

BOOK III

after—the towering Alps and the forts on the Noric hills, and the fields of Illyrian Timavus with the shepherds' realm derelict, and their glades far and wide untenanted.

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. Nor was the pathway to death uniform;³¹ 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. Often 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, before 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 cows 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 beats the ground repeatedly with his hoof; his ears droop, on them breaks out a fitful sweat—sweat that is cold as death draws nigh; the skin is dry and, hard to the touch, withstands the stroking hand. Such are the signs they yield

³¹ In the course of the disease opposite symptoms succeeded each other.

GEORGICS

- haec ante exitium primis dant signa diebus;
 sin in processu coepit crudescere morbus,
 505 tum vero ardentes oculi atque attractus ab alto
 spiritus, interdum gemitu gravis, imaque longo
 ilia singultu tendunt, it naribus ater
 sanguis, et obsessas fauces premit aspera lingua.
 profuit inserto latices infundere cornu
 510 Lenaeos; ea visa salus morientibus una:
 mox erat hoc ipsum exitio, furiisque relecti
 ardebant, ipsique suos iam morte sub aegra
 (di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum!)
 discissos nudis laniabant dentibus artus.
 515 Ecce autem duro fumans sub vomere taurus
 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.
 520 non umbrae aliorum nemorum, non mollia possunt
 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.
 525 quid labor aut benefacta iuvant? quid vomere terras
 invertisse gravis? atqui non Massica Bacchi
 munera, non illis epulae nocuere repostae:
 frondibus et victu pascuntur simplicis herbae,
 pocula sunt fontes liquidi atque exercita cursu
 530 flumina, nec somnos abruptit cura salubris.
 Tempore non alio dicunt regionibus illis
 quaesitas ad sacra boves Iunonis et uris

519 relinquit *MR*: reliquit *P*

BOOK III

before 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.

But lo, the bull, smoking under the ploughshare'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.

Only at that time, they say, were cattle in those regions sought in vain for the rites of Juno, and chariots were drawn by ill-matched buffaloes to her lofty treasure

GEORGICS

- imparibus ductos alta ad donaria currus.
 ergo aegre rastris terram rimantur, et ipsis
 535 unguibus infodiunt fruges, montisque per altos
 contenta cervice trahunt stridentia plaustra.
 non lupus insidias explorat ovilia circum
 nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat; acrior illum
 cura domat. timidi dammae cervique fugaces
 540 nunc interque canes et circum tecta vagantur.
 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
 545 vipera et attoniti squamis astantibus hydri.
 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,
 550 Phillyrides Chiron Amythaoniusque Melampus.
 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
 555 arentesque sonant ripae collesque supini.
 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
 560 aut undis abolere potest aut vincere flamma.

⁵³⁵ altos *MR*: arduos *P*

⁵⁴⁴ defensa *MR*: -presa *P* (A.2.793)

⁵⁴⁵ astantibus *MR*: serpentibus *P* (A.7.658)

BOOK III

house.³² 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 cattle. 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

³² 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.

GEORGICS

ne tondere quidem morbo inlueque peresa
vellera nec telas possunt attingere putris:
verum etiam invisos si quis temptarat amictus,
ardentes papulae atque immundus olentia sudor
565 membra sequebatur, nec longo deinde moranti
tempore contactos artus sacer ignis edebat.

⁵⁶³ temptarat *PR*: -aret *M*

BOOK III

fleeces, eaten up with sores 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 he had not long to wait before the accursed fire was feeding on his stricken limbs.

LIBER IV

- MPR Protinus aërii mellis caelestia dona
exsequar. hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem.
admiranda tibi levium spectacula rerum
magnanimosque duces totiusque ordine gentis
5 mores et studia et populos et proelia dicam.
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
10 ferre domum prohibent) neque oves haedique petulci
floribus insultent, aut errans bucula campo
decutiat rorem et surgentis atterat herbas.
absint et picti squalentia terga lacerti
pinguibus a stabulis, meropesque aliaeque volucres
15 et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis:
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,
20 palmaque vestibulum aut ingens oleaster inumbret,
ut, cum prima novi ducent examina reges
vere suo, ludetque favis emissa iuventus,

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 to you unfold. Slight is the field of toil; but not slight the glory, if adverse powers leave one free, and Apollo hearkens unto prayer.

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,¹ 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

¹ The swallow.

GEORGICS

vicina invitet decedere ripa calori,
 obviaque hospitii teneat frondentibus arbos.
 25 in medium, seu stabit iners seu profluet umor,
 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.

30 haec circum casiae virides et olentia late
 serpylla et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae
 floreat, inriguumque bibant violaria fontem.

Ipsa autem, seu corticibus tibi suta cavatis
 seu lento fuerint alvaria vimine texta,
 35 angustos habeant aditus: nam frigore mella
 cogit hiems, eademque calor liquefacta remittit.
 MP utraque vis apibus pariter metuenda; neque illae
 nequiquam in tectis certatim tenuia cera
 spiramenta linunt, fucoque et floribus oras
 40 explent, collectumque haec ipsa ad munera gluten
 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.
 45 tu tamen et levi rimosa cubilia limo
 ungue fovens circum, et raras superinice frondes.
 neu propius tectis taxum sine, neve rubentis
 ure foco cancos, altae neu crede paludi,
 aut ubi odor caeni gravis aut ubi concava pulsu
 50 saxa sonant vocisque offensa resultat imago.

Quod superest, ubi pulsam hiemem Sol aureus egit
 sub terras caelumque aestiva luce reclusit,

²⁵ profluet MR: profluit P γ
 fodere M²

⁴³ fovere Pa: fodiere M¹:

BOOK IV

the combs, a bank near by may tempt them to quit 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.

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 entrances 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. Often, 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 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.

For the rest, when the golden Sun has driven winter in rout beneath the earth, and with summer light unlocked

GEORGICS

illae continuo saltus silvasque peragrant
 purpureosque metunt flores et flumina libant
 55 summa leves. hinc nescio qua dulcedine laetae
 progeniem nidosque foveant, hinc arte recentis
 excidunt ceras et mella tenacia fingunt.
 hinc ubi iam emissum caveis ad sidera caeli
 nare per aestatem liquidam suspexeris agmen
 60 obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem,
 contemplator: aquas dulcis et frondea semper
 tecta petunt. huc tu iussos adsperge saporis,
 trita melisphylla et cerinthae ignobile gramen,
 tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum.
 65 ipsae considunt medicatis sedibus, ipsae
 intima more suo sese in cunabula condunt.

Sin autem ad pugnam exierint—nam saepe duobus
 regibus incessit magno discordia motu;
 continuoque animos vulgi et trepidantia bello
 70 corda licet longe praesciscere; namque morantis
 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
 75 et circa regem atque ipsa ad praetoria densae
 miscentur magnisque vocant clamoribus hostem:
 ergo ubi ver nactae sudum camposque patentes,
 erumpunt portis: concurritur, aethere in alto
 fit sonitus, magnum mixtae glomerantur in orbem

² The worship of Cybele was accompanied by the clash of cymbals. ³ The sentence beginning *sin autem* is never concluded, the parenthesis (*nam saepe . . .*) passing into a long description of the battle.

BOOK IV

the sky, straightway they 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.² Of themselves will they settle on the scented resting places; of themselves, after their wont, will hide far within their cradling cells.

But, if haply for battle they have gone forth³—for strife with terrible turmoil has often 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 broken trumpet blasts. Then, all afire, they flock together: their wings flash, they sharpen their stings with their beaks⁴ 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

⁴ An inaccuracy: the poet has in mind the cleaning of the antennae with their legs which is part of every bee's toilet.

GEORGICS

- 80 praecipitesque cadunt; non densior aëre grando,
 nec de concussa tantum pluit ilice glandis.
 ipsi per medias acies insignibus alis
 ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant,
 usque adeo obnixa non cedere, dum gravis aut hos
- 85 aut hos versa fuga victor dare terga subegit.
 hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta
 pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescent.
- Verum ubi ductores acie revocaveris ambo,
 deterior qui visus, eum, ne prodigus obsit,
- 90 dede neci; melior vacua sine regnet in aula.
 alter erit maculis auro squalentibus ardens
nam duo sunt genera: hic melior, insignis et ore
 et rutilus clarus squamis; ille horridus alter
 desidia latamque trahens inglorius alvum.
- 95 ut binae regum facies, ita corpora plebis.
 namque aliae turpes horrent, ceu pulvere ab alto
- FMP cum venit et sicco terram spuit ore viator
 aridus; elucent aliae et fulgore coruscant
 ardentes auro et paribus lita corpora guttis.
- 100 haec potior suboles, hinc caeli tempore certo
 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,
- 105 instabilis animos ludo prohibebis inani.
 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

87 quiescent *Pa*: -unt *M*

88 ambo *Ma*: ambos *P*

BOOK IV

ball, then tumble headlong: no thicker is hail from the sky, not so dense 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 savage conflicts, by the tossing of a little dust will be quelled and laid to rest.

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 other 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.

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

GEORGICS

- 110 et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna
 Hellespontiacy servet tutela Priapi.
 ipse thymum tinosque ferens de montibus altis
 tecta serat late circum, cui talia curae;
 ipse labore manum duro terat, ipse feracis
 115 figat humo plantas et amicos inriget imbres.
 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,
 120 quoque modo potis gauderent intiba rivis
 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.
 MP namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus arcis,
 126 qua niger umectat flaventia culta Galaesus,
 Corycium vidisse senem, cui pauca relictis
 iugera ruris erant, nec fertilis illa iuvencis
 nec pecori opportuna seges nec commoda Baccho:
 130 hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum
 lilia verbenasque premens vescumque papaver
 regum aequabat opes animis, seraque revertens
 nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.
 primus vere rosam atque autumnis carpere poma,
 135 et cum tristis hiems etiamnum frigore saxa

112 tinos *MP*: pinos *Fa*

113 late circum *FMA*: c. l *P*

125 arcis *P*: altis *M^{2a}* (112): autis *M*

129 pecori *MPa*: Cereri *Salmastius* (2.229)

BOOK IV

the watchman against thieves and birds, guardian Priapus, lord of the Hellespont, protect them with his willow hook.⁵ Let him to whom such care falls, himself bring thyme and laurestines 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.

In fact, were I not, with my task well-nigh done, about to furl my sails and making haste to turn my prow to land, perchance I might sing what careful tendance clothes rich gardens in flower, and might sing of Paestum whose rose beds bloom twice yearly, how the endive rejoices in drinking streams, the verdant banks in celery; how the cucumber, coiling through the grass, swells into a paunch. Nor should I have passed in silence the late-flowering narcissus, the twining tendril of the acanthus, pale ivy sprays, or the shore-loving myrtle. For I call to mind how once under the towers of the Oebalian citadel,⁶ where dark Galaesus waters the yellowing corn, I saw an old Cilician, who occupied a few acres of unclaimed land, not rich enough for ploughing, nor fit for pasturage, nor suited to the vine. Even so, planting cabbages here and there among the brambles, and white lilies and vervain and fine-seeded poppies, in happiness he equalled the wealth of kings, and returning home late at night he used to load his table with an unbought banquet. First he was in the spring to gather roses, and apples in the fall; and when grim winter was still

⁵ Rude wooden figures of Priapus, sickle in hand, were set up in gardens to protect them against thieves and birds.

⁶ Tarentum, founded by colonists from Sparta, of which Oebalus was king.

GEORGICS

rumperet et glacie cursus frenaret aquarum,
 ille comam mollis iam tondebat hyacinthi
 aestatem increpitans seram Zephyrosque morantis.

- ergo apibus fetis idem atque examine multo
 140 primus abundare et spumantia cogere pressis
 mella favis; illi tiliae atque uberrima tinus,
 quotque in flore novo pomis se fertilis arbos
 induerat, totidem autumnu matura tenebat.
 ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos
 145 eduramque pirum et spinos iam pruna ferentis
 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
 150 addidit expediam, pro qua mercede canoros
 Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae
 Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro.
 FMP solae communis natos, consortia tecta
 urbis habent, magnisque agitant sub legibus aevum.
 155 et patriam solae et certos novere penates,
 venturaeque hiemis memores aestate laborem
 experiuntur et in medium quaesita reponunt.
 namque aliae victu invigilant et foedere pacto
 exercentur agris; pars intra saepta domorum
 160 narcissi lacrimam et lentum de cortice gluten
 prima favis ponunt fundamina, deinde tenacis

¹⁴¹ tinus *M*: pinus *Pa*

¹⁴⁸ me *b*²: *om. codd. (haplography)*

⁷ He was even able to transplant full-grown trees.

⁸ Knowing that one of his children was fated to depose him,

BOOK IV

bursting rocks with her frost and braking the current of rivers with ice, already he was cutting soft-haired hyacinths and chiding laggard summer and the loitering zephyrs. Thus it was that he was still the first to be enriched with teeming bees and a plenteous swarm, and first to gather from the squeezed comb the frothing honey; his limes and laurestines were ever luxuriant, and all the fruits which clothed his fertile trees in their early blossoming, so many they kept in the ripeness of autumn. He would also plant out elms in rows, though late in season, pears when quite hard, blackthorns already hung with sloes, and planes already offering to drinkers the service of their shade.⁷ But all this I must pass by, constrained by narrow bounds, and leave to others after me to record.

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.⁸ 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

Saturn 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 honey.

GEORGICS

- suspendunt ceras; aliae spem gentis adultos
 educunt fetus; aliae purissima mella
 stipant et liquido distendunt nectare cellas;
 165 sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti,
 inque vicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,
 aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
 ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent:
 fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.
 170 ac veluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis
 cum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras
 accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
 aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus Aetna;
 illi inter sese magna vi bracchia tollunt
 MP in numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum:
 176 non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis,
 Cecropias innatus apes amor urget habendi
 munere quamque suo. grandaevus oppida curae
 et munire favos et daedala fingere tecta.
 180 at fessae multa referunt se nocte minores,
 MPR crura thymo plenae; pascuntur et arbuta passim
 et glaucas salices casiamque crocumque rubentem
 et pinguem tiliam et ferrugineos hyacinthos.
 omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus:
 185 mane ruunt portis, nusquam mora; rursus easdem
 Vesper ubi e pastu tandem decedere campis
 admonuit, tum tecta petunt, tum corpora curant;
 fit sonitus, mussantque oras et limina circum.
 post, ubi iam thalamis se composuere, siletur
 190 in noctem, fessosque sopor suus occupat artus.
 nec vero a stabulis pluvia impendente recedunt

¹⁷³ Aetna *M*: antrum *FP* (A.8.451)

BOOK IV

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 load of incomers, or in martial array drive 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 oxhide 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

GEORGICS

- longius, aut credunt caelo adventantibus Euris,
 sed circum tutae sub moenibus urbis aquantur
 excursusque brevis temptant, et saepe lapillos,
 195 ut cumbae instabiles fluctu iactante saburram,
 tollunt, his sese per inania nubila librant.
 203 saepe etiam duris errando in cotibus alas
 204 attrivere, ultroque animam sub fasce dedere:
 205 tantus amor florum et generandi gloria mellis.
 Illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem,
 quod neque concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes
 in Venerem solvunt aut fetus nixibus edunt;
 200 verum ipsae e foliis natos, e suavis herbis
 ore legunt, ipsae regem parvosque Quirites
 sufficiunt, aulasque et cerea regna refingunt.
 206 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.
 210 Praeterea regem non sic Aegyptus et ingens
 Lydia nec populi Parthorum aut Medus Hydaspes
 observant. rege incolumi mens omnibus una est;
 amisso rupere fidem, constructaque mella
 diripuerunt ipsae et crates solvere favorum.
 215 ille operum custos, illum admirantur et omnes
 circumstant fremitu denso stipantque frequentes,

203–205 *after 196 Bentley: after 202 MPR (Courtney suggests that this displacement and that of 236ff have their origin in physical damage to a single leaf of an archetype)*

200 e¹ MR: om. P | e² MP: sed R

202 refingunt R: -figunt M: -lingunt P

203–205 *see after 196*

BOOK IV

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. 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.

You will also 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 themselves⁹ 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. Therefore, though the limit of a narrow span awaits the bees themselves—for it never stretches 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.

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

⁹ Unaided by the male.

GEORGICS

et saepe attollunt umeris et corpora bello
 obiectant pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem.

220 His quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti
 esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus
 aethrios dixere; deum namque ire per omnia,
 terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
 hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
 quemque sibi tenuis nascentem arcessere vitas;
 225 scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri
 omnia, nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
 sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo.

Si quando sedem angustam servataque mella
 thesauris relines, prius haustu sparsus aquarum
 230 ora fove, fumosque manu praetende sequacis.
 236 illis ira modum supra est, laesaeque venenum
 237 morsibus inspirant, et spicula caeca relinquunt
 238 adfixae venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt.
 231 bis gravidos cogunt fetus, duo tempora messis,
 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.
 239 sin duram metues hiemem parcesque futuro

221 omnia *Peerlkamp*: omnis *codd.*

228 angustam *R*: augustam *MP* 230 ora fove *M²*: ore fove

R, *Servius*: ore fave *MP*, *Servius Auctus*

236-238 *after 230 Bentley*

¹⁰ 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.

BOOK IV

their shoulders, for him expose their bodies to battle, and seek amid wounds a glorious death.

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;¹⁰ for God, they say, pervades all things, earth and sea's expanse and heaven's depth; from him the flocks and herds, men and beasts of every sort draw, each at birth, the slender stream of life; to 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.

Whenever you would break into the close-packed 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 Pleiad¹¹ 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. But if you fear a rigorous winter, and

¹¹ Taygete, one of the Pleiades and personified as a beautiful goddess, stands for the whole group, which rises in May and sets in November. The sun does not enter the constellation Pisces until mid-February, and perhaps Virgil uses "the watery Fish" loosely to mean winter.

GEORGICS

- 240 contusosque animos et res miserabere fractas,
 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;
- 245 aut asper crabro imparibus se immiscuit armis,
 aut dirum tiniae genus, aut invisā Minervae
 laxos in foribus suspendit aranea cassis.
 quo magis exhaustae fuerint, hoc acrius omnes
 incumbent generis lapsi sarcire ruinas
- 250 complebuntque foros et floribus horrea textent.
 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 vultum
- 255 deformat macies; tum corpora luce carentum
 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.
- 260 tum sonus auditur gravior, tractimque susurrant,
 frigidus ut quondam silvis immurmurat Auster,
 ut mare sollicitum stridit refluentibus undis,
 aestuat ut clausis rapidus fornacibus ignis.
 hic iam galbaneos suadebo incendere odores
- 265 mellaque harundineis inferre canalibus, ultro
 hortantem et fessas ad pabula nota vocantem.
 proderit et tunsum gallae admiscere saporem
 arentisque rosas, aut igni pingua multo

241 suffire γ , *Servius*: -ferre *MR*: -fere *P*

262 stridit *MP*: -et *R*

BOOK IV

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 often 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 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.

But, since to bees as well has 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; 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

GEORGICS

- defruta vel psithia passos de vite racemos,
 270 Cecropiumque thymum et grave olentia centaurea.
 est etiam flos in pratis, cui nomen amello
 fecere agricolae, facilis quaerentibus herba;
 namque uno ingentem tollit de caespite silvam,
 aureus ipse, sed in foliis, quae plurima circum
 275 funduntur, violae sublucescunt purpura nigrae;
 saepe deum nexis ornatae torquibus arae;
 asper in ore sapor; tonsis in vallibus illum
 pastores et curva legunt prope flumina Mellae.
 huius odorato radices incoque Baccho
 280 pabulaque in foribus plenis appone canistris.
 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 iuvenicis
 285 insincerus apes tulerit cruor. altius omnem
 expeditiam prima repetens ab origine famam.
 nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
 accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum
 et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis,
 290 quaque pharetratae vicinia Persidis urget,
 292 et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora
 293 usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis,
 291 et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena,
 omnis in hac certam regio iacit arte salutem.

291 before 294 R: before 292 P (by which ms the lines are numbered): before 293 M

¹² Aristaeus (1.14).

¹³ Egypt is here described according to its boundaries on the

BOOK IV

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 to the tongue; shepherds cull it in meadows cropped by the flock, and by Mella's winding streams. This plant's roots you must boil in fragrant wine, and set for food at their doors in full baskets.

But if anyone's whole stock has failed him, and he knows not how to restore the race in a new line, then it is also time to reveal the famed device of the Arcadian master,¹² and the mode whereby often, 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 Macedonian Canopus¹³ dwell by the still waters of the flooded Nile, and sail in painted barges about their fields, there, where the borderland of quivered Persia¹⁴ presses close and the rushing river splits up into seven separate mouths after sweeping all the way down from the swarthy Indians¹⁵ and with its black sands fertilizes verdant Egypt, there the whole region rests its sure hope of salvation upon this device.

west (Canopus), on the east (290), and on the south (293).

¹⁴ Referring to the Parthian bowmen: "Parthian" and "Persian" are almost equivalent in the Roman poets.

¹⁵ The Ethiopians.

GEORGICS

- 295 Exiguus primum atque ipsos contractus in usus
 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
- 300 quaeritur; huic geminae nares et spiritus oris
 multa reluctanti obstruitur, plagisque perempto
 tunsa per integram solvuntur viscera pellem.
 sic positum in clauso linquunt et ramea costis
 subiciunt fragmenta, thymum casiasque recentis.
- 305 hoc geritur Zephyris primum impellentibus undas,
 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,
- 310 trunca pedum primo, mox et stridentia pinnis,
 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.
- 315 Quis deus hanc, Musae, quis nobis extudit artem?
 unde nova ingressus hominum experientia cepit?
 pastor Aristaeus fugiens Peneia Tempe,
 amissis, ut fama, apibus morboque fameque,
 tristis ad extremi sacrum caput astitit amnis,
- 320 multa querens, atque hac adfatus voce parentem:
 “mater, Cyrene mater, quae gurgitis huius
 ima tenes, quid me praeclara stirpe deorum
 (si modo, quem perhibes, pater est Thymbraeus Apollo)

²⁹⁵ in *MP*: ad *R*, *Servius*

³¹¹ carpunt *MP*: captant *R* (A.3.514)

BOOK IV

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 summer's growth. Struggle as he will, 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, before ever the meadows blush with their fresh hues, before 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.

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 much complaint called on his mother thus: "O mother, mother Cyrene, who dwell in this flood's depths, why, from the gods' glorious line—if indeed, as you say, Thymbraean Apollo is my father—did you give me

³¹⁹ *sacrum PR: placidum M (A. I. 127)*

GEORGICS

invisum fatis genuisti? aut quo tibi nostri
 325 pulsus amor? quid me caelum sperare iubebas?
 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,
 330 fer stabulis inimicum ignem atque interfice messes,
 ure sata et validam in vitis molire bipennem,
 tanta meae si te ceperunt taedia laudis."

At mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti
 sensit. eam circum Milesia vellera Nymphae
 335 carpebant, hyali saturo fucata colore,
 Drymoque Xanthoque Ligeaque Phyllodoceque,
 caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla,
Nesae Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque,
 Cydippe et flava Lycorias, altera virgo,
 340 altera tum primos Lucinae experta labores,
 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.
 GMPR inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem
 346 Volcani Martisque dolos et dulcia furta,
 aque Chao densos divum numerabat amores.
 carmine quo captae dum fuis mollia pensa
 devolvunt, iterum maternas impulit auris
 350 luctus Aristaei, vitreisque sedilibus omnes
 obstipuere; sed ante alias Arethusa sorores

327 pecudum *M*: pecorum *PR*

331 validam *PR*: duram *M* (A.2.479)

338 = *Aen.* 5.826 (*ac*)] *om.* *MPR*

BOOK IV

birth, to be hated of the fates? Or whither is your love for me banished? Why did you 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 you are my mother, I resign. Come, and with your own hand tear up my fruitful woods; put 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 has seized you.”

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 Phyllodoce, their shining tresses floating over snowy necks; *Nesaea and Spio, Thalia and Cymodoce*; 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;¹⁶ 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,

¹⁶ They are dressed as huntresses.

³³⁹ C. et MP: C-que et R

³⁴⁷ aque γ, *Servius*: atque GMPR

GEORGICS

- prospiciens summa flavum caput extulit unda,
 et procul: "o gemitu non frustra exterrita tanto,
 Cyrene soror, ipse tibi, tua maxima cura,
 355 tristic Aristaeus nostri genitoris ad undam
 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
 360 flumina, qua iuvenis gressus inferret. at illum
 curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda,
 accepitque sinu vasto misitque sub amnem.
 iamque domum mirans genetricis et umida regna
 speluncisque lacus clausos lucosque sonantis
 365 ibat, et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum
 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
 370 saxosusque sonans Hypanis Mysusque Caicus,
 et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
 Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta
 in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis.
 postquam est in thalami pendentia pumice tecta
 375 perventum et nati fletus cognovit inanis
 Cyrene, manibus liquidos dant ordine fontis
 germanae, tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis;
 pars epulis onerant mensas et plena reponunt

355 nostri *Peerlkamp*: Penei *codd.* (*a gloss*)

378 mensas *GMR*: aras *P* (A.5.101)

BOOK IV

looking forth, raised her golden head above the water's brim, and cried from afar: "O sister Cyrene, not vain was your alarm at this loud lament. 'Tis even he, your own beloved, your Aristaeus, standing sadly and in tears by the waters of our father,¹⁷ and crying out on you by name for cruelty."

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 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 earth¹⁸—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 Caicus, and Eridanus, on whose bull's brow¹⁹ are two gilded horns: no other stream of mightier force flows through the fertile fields to join the violet sea. 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

¹⁷ Peneus. ¹⁸ The rivers are distinct below the earth, even as they are above. ¹⁹ The rivers resemble bulls through their violence and their roar.

GEORGICS

pocula, Panchaeis adolescentum ignibus arae.
 380 et mater "cape Maeonii carchesia Bacchi:
 Oceano libemus" ait: simul ipsa precatur
 Oceanumque patrem rerum Nymphasque sorores,
 centum quae silvas, centum quae flumina servant.
 ter liquido ardentem perfundit nectare Vestam,
 385 ter flamma ad summum tecti subiecta reluxit.
 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.
 390 hic nunc Emathiae portus patriamque revisit
 Pallenen; hunc et Nymphae veneramur et ipse
 grandaevus Nereus; novit namque omnia vates,
 quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur;
 quippe ita Neptuno visum est, immania cuius
 395 armenta et turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas.
 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
 400 tende; doli circum haec demum frangentur inanes.
 ipsa ego te, medios cum sol accenderit aestus,
 cum sitiunt herbae et pecori iam gratior umbra est,
 in secreta senis ducam, quo fessus ab undis
 se recipit, facile ut somno adgrediare iacentem.
 405 verum ubi correptum manibus vinclisque tenebis,
 tum variae eludent species atque ora ferarum.
 fiet enim subito sus horridus atraque tigris

²⁰ I.e. Arabian incense (cf. 2.139).

BOOK IV

blaze up with Panchaeon fires.²⁰ Then cried his mother: "Take the goblets of Maeonian wine;²¹ pour we a libation to Ocean!" And she prayed to Ocean, universal father, and the sister Nymphs, who guard a hundred forests and a hundred streams. Thrice with clear nectar she sprinkles the glowing hearth; thrice the flame, shooting up to the rooftop, gleamed afresh. With this omen to cheer his heart, she thus herself began:

"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 before long to happen—for so has it seemed good to Neptune, whose monstrous herds and unsightly seals he pastures beneath the wave. Him, my son, you must first take in fetters, that he may unfold to you all the cause of the sickness, and bless the issue. For without force he will give you no counsel, nor shall you 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 you to the aged one's retreat, whither when weary he retires, so that you may assail him with ease as he lies asleep. But when you hold him in the grasp of hands and fetters, then will manifold forms baffle you, and figures of wild beasts. For of a sudden he will become a bristly boar, a deadly tiger, a

²¹ Lydian wine, from the vineyards of Mount Tmolus (2.98).

GEORGICS

- squamosusque draco et fulva cervice leaena,
 aut acrem flammae sonitum dabit atque ita vinclis
 410 excidet, aut in aquas tenuis dilapsus abibit.
 sed quanto ille magis formas se vertet in omnis
 tam tu, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla,
 donec talis erit mutato corpore, qualem
 videris, incepto tegeret cum lumina somno.”
 415 Haec ait et liquidum ambrosiae defundit odorem,
 quo totum nati corpus perduxit; at illi
 dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura
 atque habilis membris venit vigor. est specus ingens
 exesi latere in montis, quo plurima vento
 MPR cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos,
 421 deprensus olim statio tutissima nautis;
 intus se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxi.
 hic iuvenem in latebris aversum a lumine Nympha
 collocat, ipsa procul nebulis obscura resistit.
 425 iam rapidus torrens sitientis Sirius Indos
 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
 430 ibat: eum vasti circum gens umida ponti
 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
 435 auditisque lupos acuunt balatibus agni,
 MPRV considit scopulo medius, numerumque recenset.

⁴¹² tam tu *Ribbeck* (A. 7.787): tantu *MP*: tanto *R*, *Servius*

⁴¹⁵ defundit *G*: dif- *M*: per- *P*: depromit *R*

BOOK IV

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, should you tighten his fetters, until after his last changes of body he become such as you saw when he closed his eyes at the beginning of slumber."

She spoke, 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 separates into receding inlets—at times a haven most sure for storm-caught mariners. Within, Proteus shelters himself with the barrier of a huge 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 cave. 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 sheepfold 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

436 *considit PR: -sedit M*

GEORGICS

- cuius Aristaeo quoniam est oblata facultas,
 vix defessa senem passus componere membra
 cum clamore ruit magno, manicisque iacentem
 440 occupat. ille suae contra non immemor artis
 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
 445 "nam quis te, iuvenum confidentissime, nostras
 iussit adire domos? quidve hinc petis?" inquit. at ille
 "scis, Proteu, scis ipse; neque est te fallere quicquam;
 sed tu desine velle. deum praecepta secuti
 venimus hinc lassis quaesitum oracula rebus."
 450 tantum effatus. ad haec vates vi denique multa
 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
 455 haudquaquam ad meritum poenas, ni fata resistant,
 suscitatur, et rapta graviter pro coniuge saevit.
 illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps,
 immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella
 servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba.
 460 at chorus aequalis Dryadum clamore supremos
 implevit montis; flerunt Rhodopeiae arces
 MRV altaque Pangaea et Rhesi Mavortia tellus
 atque Getae atque Hebrus et Actias Orithyia.
 ipse cava solans aegrum testudine amorem
 MR te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum,

454 luis MPV: lues R, Servius 455 ad P: ob MR

461 implevit V: -erunt MR: -eruit P (*conflation of variants*)

BOOK IV

and counts their number. Soon as the chance came to Aristaeus, he scarce suffered the aged one to settle his weary limbs, before 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 you invade our home? Or what seek you hence?" But he: "You know, Proteus; you know of yourself, nor may one deceive you in aught, but give up your 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 gnashing his teeth, thus opened his lips to tell of fate's decrees:

"It is a god, no other, whose anger pursues you: great is the crime you are paying for; this punishment, far less than you deserve, unhappy Orpheus arouses against you—did not Fate interpose—and rages implacably for the loss of his bride. She, in headlong flight along the river, if only she might escape you, saw not, doomed maiden, amid the deep grass the monstrous serpent at her feet that guarded the banks. But her sister band of Dryads filled the mountain-tops with their cries; the towers of Rhodope wept, and the Pangæan heights, and the martial land²² of Rhesus, the Getae and Hebrus and Orithyia, Acte's child. But he, solacing an aching heart with music from his hollow shell, sang of you, dear wife, sang of you to himself on the lonely

²² Thrace.

GEORGICS

- 466 te veniente die, te decedente canebat.
 Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,
 et caligantem nigra formidine lucum
 ingressus, Manisque adiit regemque tremendum
- 470 nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda.
 FMR at cantu commotae Erebi de sedibus imis
 umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum,
 quam multa in foliis avium se milia condunt,
 Vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber,
- 475 matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita
 magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
 impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum,
 quos circum limus niger et deformis harundo
 Cocyti tardaue palus inamabilis unda
- 480 alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coercet.
 quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti
 Tartara caeruleosque implexae crinibus anguis
 Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,
 atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis.
- 485 "Iamque pedem referens casus evaserat omnis,
 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:
- 490 restitit, Eurydicenque suam iam luce sub ipsa
 immemor heu! victusque animi respexit. ibi omnis
 effusus labor atque immitis rupta tyranni
 foedera, terque fragor stagnis auditus Avernis.

⁴⁷² After this verse *R* inserts *Aen.* 6.311, 310, 312

⁴⁷³ foliis *FR*: silvis *Mγ* (*A.*6.309)

⁴⁸² implexae *Mγ*, *Servius*: innexae *FR* (*A.*6.281)

BOOK IV

shore, of you as day drew nigh, of you as day departed. He even passed through the jaws of Taenarum, the lofty portals of Dis, the grove that is murky with black terror, and made his way to the land of the dead with its fearful king and hearts no human prayers can soften. Stirred by his song, up from the lowest realms of Erebus came the insubstantial shades, the phantoms of those who lie in darkness, as many as the myriads of birds that shelter among the leaves when evening or a wintry shower drives them from the hills—women and men, and figures of great-souled heroes, their life now done, boys and girls unwed, and sons placed on the pyre before their fathers' eyes. But round them are the black ooze and unsightly reeds of Cocytus, the unlovely mere enchaining them with its sluggish water, and Styx holding them fast within his ninefold circles. Still more: the very house of Death and deepest abysses of Hell were spellbound, and the Furies with livid snakes entwined in their hair; Cerberus stood agape and his triple jaws forgot to bark; the wind subsided, and Ixion's wheel came to a stop.

“And now, as he retraced his steps, he had avoided all mischance, and the regained Eurydice was nearing the upper world, following behind—for that condition had Proserpine imposed—when a sudden frenzy seized Orpheus, unwary in his love, a frenzy meet for pardon, did Hell know how to pardon! He halted, and on the very verge of light, unmindful, alas, and vanquished in purpose, on Eurydice, now regained looked back! In that instant all his toil was spilt like water, the ruthless tyrant's pact was broken, and thrice a peal of thunder was heard amid the

GEORGICS

- illa 'quis et me' inquit 'miseram et te perdidit, Orpheu,
 495 quis tantus furor? en iterum crudelia retro
 fata vocant conditque natantia lumina somnus.
 iamque vale: feror ingenti circumdata nocte
 MR invalidasque tibi tendens, heu! non tua, palmas.'
 dixit et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras
 500 commixtus tenuis, fugit diversa, neque illum
 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?
 505 quo fletu manis, quae numina voce moveret?
 illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba.
 septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine mensis
 rupe sub aëria deserti ad Strymonis undam
 flevisse, et gelidis haec evolvisse sub antris
 510 mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus:
 qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra
 amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
 observans nido implumis detraxit; at illa
 flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
 515 integrat, et maestis late loca questibus implet.
 nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei:
 solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem
 arvaque Riphaeis numquam viduata pruinis
 lustrabat, raptam Eurydicen atque inrita Ditis
 520 dona querens. spretae Ciconum quo munere matres
 inter sacra deum nocturnique orgia Bacchi

505 quo *M*: quos *R*: quod γ | quae *MR*: qua γ

509 flevisse *M* γ : flesse sibi *R* | antris *M* γ : astris *R*

BOOK IV

pools of Avernus. She cried: 'What madness, Orpheus, what dreadful madness has brought disaster alike upon you and me, poor soul? See, again the cruel Fates call me back, and sleep seals my swimming eyes. And now farewell! I am borne away, covered in night's vast pall, and stretching towards you strengthless hands, regained, alas! no more.' She spoke, and straightway from his sight, like smoke mingling with thin air, vanished afar and saw him not again, as he vainly clutched at the shadows with so much left unsaid; nor did the ferryman²³ of Orcus suffer him again to pass the barrier of the marsh. What could he do? Whither turn, twice robbed of his wife? With what tears move Hell? To what deities address his prayers? She indeed, already death-cold, was afloat in the Stygian barque. Of him they tell that for seven whole months day after day beneath a lofty crag beside lonely Strymon's stream he wept, and in the shelter of cool dales unfolded this his tale, charming tigers and drawing oaks with his song: even as the nightingale, mourning beneath a poplar's shade, bewails her young ones' loss, when a heartless ploughman, watching their resting place, has plucked them unfledged from the nest: the mother weeps all night long, as, perched on a branch, she repeats her piteous song and fills all around with plaintive lamentation. No thought of love or wedding song could bend his soul. Alone he roamed the frozen North, along the icy Tanais, and the fields ever wedded to Rhiphaean snows, mourning his lost Eurydice and Pluto's cancelled boon; till the Ciconian women, resenting such devotion, in the midst of their sacred rites and their midnight Bacchic orgies, tore the

²³ Charon.

GEORGICS

FMRV discerptum latos iuvenem sparsere per agros.
 tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum
 gurgite cum medio portans Oeagrius Hebrus
 525 volveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua,
 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.
 530 at non Cyrene, namque ultro adfata timentem:
 “nate, licet tristis animo deponere curas.

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;
 536 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,
 540 delige et intacta totidem cervice iuencas.
 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,
 545 inferias Orphei Lethaea papavera mittes,
 et nigram mactabis ovem, lucumque revises:
 placatam Eurydicen vitula venerabere caesa.”

Haud mora: continuo matris praecepta facessit;

531 deponere *FγRV*: com- *M* (A.4.341)

²⁴ Thracian, Oeagrus being (besides Orpheus' father) King of Thrace.

BOOK IV

youth limb from limb and flung him over the far-spread plains. And even when Oeagrian²⁴ Hebrus rolled in mid-current that head, severed from its marble neck, the disembodied voice and the tongue, now cold for ever, called with departing breath on Eurydice—ah, poor Eurydice! ‘Eurydice’ the banks re-echoed, all along the stream.”

Thus Proteus, and at a bound plunged into the deep sea, and where he plunged, whirled the water into foam beneath the eddy. Cyrene stayed, and straightway spoke to the startled youth: “You may dismiss from your mind the care that troubles it. This is the whole cause of the sickness, and hence it is that the Nymphs, with whom she used to tread the dance in the deep groves, have sent this wretched havoc on your bees. You must offer a suppliant’s gifts, sue for peace, and pay homage to the gentle maidens of the woods; for they will grant pardon to prayers, and relax their wrath. But first I will tell you in order the manner of your supplication. Pick out four choice bulls, of surpassing form, that now graze among your 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. Later, when the ninth²⁵ Dawn displays her rising beams, you must offer to Orpheus funeral dues of Lethe’s poppies, slay a black ewe, and revisit the grove. Then with Eurydice appeased you should honour her with the slaying of a calf.”

Tarrying not, he straightway does his mother’s bidding.

²⁵ A sacrifice to the dead was offered on the ninth day after the funeral.

GEORGICS

- GMRV ad delubra venit, monstratas excitat aras,
GMR quattuor eximios praestanti corpore tauros
551 ducit et intacta totidem cervice iuvenas.
post ubi nona suos Aurora induxerat ortus,
inferias Orphei mittit, lucumque revisit.
hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum
555 aspiciunt, liquefacta boum per viscera toto
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
560 et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
565 carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

BOOK IV

He comes to the shrine, raises the altars appointed, and leads there four choice bulls, of surpassing form, and as many heifers of unyoked neck. Later, when the ninth Dawn had ushered in her rising beams, he offers to 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 treetop they stream together, and hang in clusters from the bending boughs.

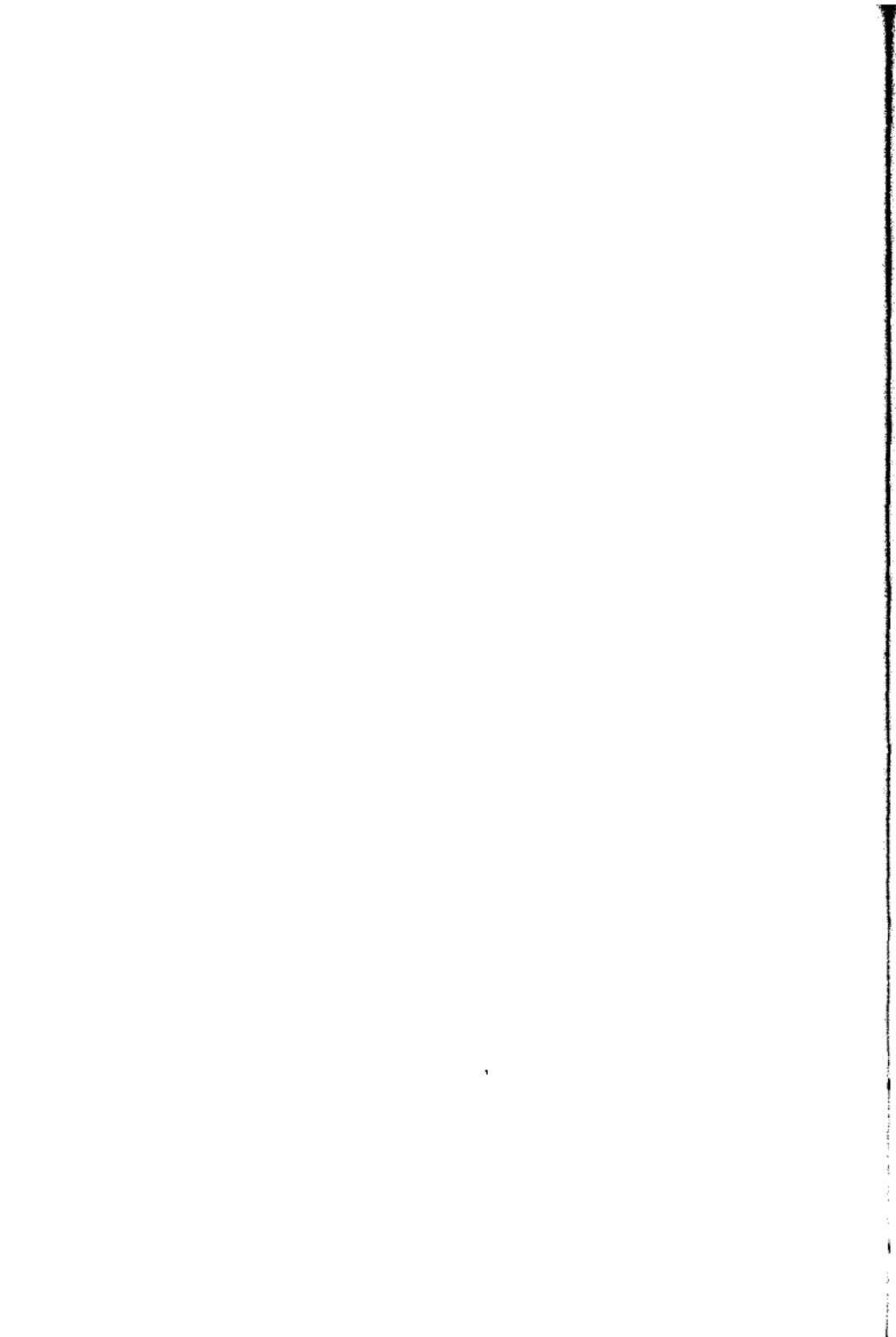
So much²⁶ I sang in addition to the care of fields, of cattle, and of trees, while great Caesar thundered in war by deep Euphrates²⁷ and bestowed a victor's laws on willing nations, and essayed the path to Heaven. In those days I, Virgil, was nursed by sweet Parthenope,²⁸ and rejoiced in the arts of inglorious ease—I who toyed with shepherds' songs, and, in youth's boldness, sang of you, Tityrus, under the canopy of a spreading beech.²⁹

²⁶ I.e. Book 4, on the care of bees, in addition to the care of fields (Book 1), cattle (Book 2), and trees (Book 3). The whole passage constitutes an epilogue to the poem, as well as a *sphragis* or personal signature of the poet.

²⁷ After the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) Octavian made a triumphal progress through the East.

²⁸ Naples.

²⁹ I.e. composed the *Eclogues*, an echo of the first line identifying the whole work.



AENEID

As frontispiece in some first century *de luxe* edition of the *Aeneid* there appeared (just as in Mackail's) a portrait of Virgil beneath which the editor had composed the following elegant prelude to the epic:

*Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi
ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
gratum opus agricolis: at nunc horrentia Martis ...*

*I am he who once tuned my song on a slender reed,
then, leaving the woodland, compelled the neighbouring
fields to serve the husbandman, however grasping—
a work welcome to farmers: but now of Mars' bristling ...*

Misled by the word *ego* (as they were by *Mantua me genuit* in the poet's epitaph) the ancient commentators jumped to the erroneous conclusion that these verses were composed by the poet himself and then deleted by his editor Varius. They are well worth preserving as editorial ornament, but are not to be attributed to Virgil. That the epic began with the words *Arma virumque* is proved not only by the unanimous witness of the manuscripts but by the explicit references of Propertius (2.34.63), Ovid (*Trist.* 2.533), Persius (1.96), and Martial (8.56.19).

LIBER I

MRV Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit
litora—multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
5 multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
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
10 insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

Urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni)
Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe
ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli;
15 quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
posthabita coluisse Samo; hic illius arma,
hic currus fuit, hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,
si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.

Title (explicit): P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber . . . MPR
²Lavinaque γR, Servius, CIL 2.4967.31: -niaque MVp: -nia M²
(to secure correct metre). See further Goold (1992) 115

¹ Many of the great senatorial families of Rome, including the Julii, claimed descent from the families of Alba Longa.

BOOK I

Arms and the man I sing, who first from the coasts of Troy, exiled by fate, came to Italy and Lavine 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,¹ and the lofty walls of Rome.²

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 heavenly spirits cherish resentment so dire?

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's aim and cher-

² Reference is thus made to three stages of growth—Lavinium founded by Aeneas, Alba Longa by Ascanius, Rome by Romulus and Remus.

AENEID

20 progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
 audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;
 hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
 venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas.
 id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli,
 25 prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis
 (necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores
 exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum
 MR iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae,
 et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores)—
 his accensa super, iactatos aequore toto
 30 Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,
 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
 35 vela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant,
 cum Iuno, aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus,
 haec secum: "mene incepto desistere victam
 nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem!
 quippe vetor fati. Pallasne exurere classem
 40 Argivum atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto
 unius ob noxam et furias Aiakis Oilei?
 ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem
 disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis;
 illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammis
 45 turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto;
 ast ego, quae divum incedo regina, Iovisque

³ Hated, because sprung from Dardanus, son of Jupiter and Electra, Juno's rival.

⁴ Minerva destroyed Ajax and his fleet because on the night of

BOOK I

ished 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: so rolled the wheel 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 remain the judgment of Paris and the outrage to her slighted beauty, her hatred of the race³ 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 Roman race.

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, spoke thus to herself: "What! I resign my purpose, baffled, and fail to turn from Italy the Teucrian king! The fates, doubtless, 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.⁴ Yet I, who move as queen of gods, at once sister

Troy's fall he assaulted Cassandra who had sought sanctuary in her temple.

AENEID

et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos
bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat
praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?"

50 Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans
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.

55 illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
circum claustra fremunt; celsa sedet Aeolus arce
sceptrata tenens, mollitque animos et temperat iras;
ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum
quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.

60 sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris,
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:

65 "Aeole, namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex
et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento,
gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor,
Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penates:
incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppes,

70 aut age diversos et disice corpora ponto.
sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae:
quarum quae forma pulcherrima, Deiopea,
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo,
omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos

75 exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem."

Aeolus haec contra: "tuus, o regina, quid optes,
explorare labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est.

BOOK I

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?"

Thus inwardly brooding with heart inflamed, the goddess came to Aeolia, motherland 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:

"Aeolus—for to you the father of gods and king of men has 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 vanquished gods. Hurl fury into your winds, sink and overwhelm the ships, or drive the men asunder and scatter their bodies on the deep. Twice seven nymphs have I of wondrous beauty, of whom Deiopea, fairest of form, I will link to you in sure wedlock, making her yours for ever, that for such service of yours she may spend all her years with you, and make you father of fair offspring."

Thus answered Aeolus: "Your task, O queen, is to search out your desire; my duty is to do your bidding. To

AENEID

tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu scepra Iovemque
 concilias, tu das epulis accumbere divum,
 80 nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem.”

Haec ubi dicta, cavum conversa cuspide montem
 impulit in latus; ac venti, velut agmine facto,
 quo data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.
 incubuere mari totumque a sedibus imis

85 una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
 Africus et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus;
 insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum.
 eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque
 Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.

90 intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether,
 praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.

extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra;
 ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas
 talia voce refert: “o terque quaterque beati,

95 quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
 contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis
 Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis
 non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
 saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
 100 Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
 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

105 dat latus; insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.
 hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens

¹⁰⁴ prora *p*, known to Servius Auctus: -am *MγR*

BOOK I

your grace I owe all this my realm, to your grace my sceptre and Jove's favour; you grant me a couch at the feasts of the gods, and make me lord of clouds and storms."

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 Southwester, 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,⁵ bravest of the Danaan race, ah! that I could not fall on the Ilian plains and gasp out this lifeblood at your hand—where, under the spear of Aeacides, fierce Hector lies prostrate, and mighty Sarpedon; where Simois seizes and sweeps beneath his waves so many shields and helms and bodies of the brave!"

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 bil-

⁵ Diomedes, who had fought with Aeneas in single combat before Troy; cf. Homer, *Iliad* 5.239ff.

AENEID

- terram inter fluctus aperit; furit aestus harenis.
 tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet
 (saxa vocant Itali, mediis quae in fluctibus, Aras,
 110 dorsum immane mari summo), tris Euris ab alto
 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
 115 in puppim ferit; excutitur pronusque magister
 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 Troïa gaza per undas.
 120 iam validam Ilionei navem, iam fortis Achatae,
 et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes,
 vicit hiems; laxis laterum compagibus omnes
 accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt.
 Interea magno misceri murmure pontum
 125 emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis
 stagna refusa vadis, graviter commotus; et alto
 prospiciens, summa placidum caput extulit unda.
 disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem,
 fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina.
 130 nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae.
 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?
 135 quos ego—! sed motos praestat componere fluctus:
 post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis.

BOOK I

low'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 sandbanks, 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.

Meanwhile Neptune saw the sea in a turmoil of wild uproar, the storm let loose and the still waters seething up from their lowest depths. Greatly troubled was he, and gazing out over the deep he raised a composed countenance above the water's surface. He sees Aeneas' fleet scattered over all the sea, the Trojans overwhelmed by the waves and by the falling heavens, nor did Juno's wiles and wrath escape her brother's eye. East Wind and West he calls before him, then speaks thus:

"Has pride in your birth so gained control of you? Do you now dare, winds, without command of mine, to mingle earth and sky, and raise confusion thus? Whom I—! But better it is to calm the troubled waves: hereafter with another penalty shall you pay me for your crimes. Speed your

AENEID

maturate fugam regique haec dicite vestro:
 non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem,
 sed mihi sorte datum. tenet ille immania saxa,
 140 vestras, Eure, domos; illa se iactet in aula
 Aeolus et clauso ventorum carcere regnet."

Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida aequora placat
 collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit.
 Cymothoë simul et Triton adnixus acuto
 145 detrudunt navis scopulo; levat ipse tridenti
 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,
 150 iamque faces et saxa volant (furor arma ministrat),
 tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
 conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant;
 ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet:
 sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
 155 prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto
 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
 160 efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
 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
 165 desuper, horrentique atrum nemos imminet umbra;
 fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,
 intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
 Nympharum domus. hic fessas non vincula navis

BOOK I

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 you and yours, East Wind; in that hall let Aeolus lord it and rule within the barred prison of the winds.”

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 levers them up with his trident, opens the vast quicksands, allays the flood, and on light wheels glides over the topmost waters. And as, when oftentimes in a great nation tumult has risen, the base rabble rage angrily, and now brands and stones fly, madness lending arms; then, if perchance they set eyes on a man honoured for noble character and service, they are silent and stand by with attentive ears; with speech he sways their passion and soothes their breasts: just 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.

The wearied followers of Aeneas 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. 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

AENEID

- ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.
 170 huc septem Aeneas collectis navibus omni
 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
 175 suscepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum
 nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.
 tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma
 expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas
 et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.
 180 Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit et omne
 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
 FMR prospicit errantis; hos tota armenta sequuntur
 186 a tergo et longum per vallis pascitur agmen.
 constitit hic arcumque manu celerisque sagittas
 corripuit, fidus quae tela gerebat Achates,
 ductoresque ipsos primum, capita alta ferentis
 190 cornibus arboreis, sternit, tum vulgus et omnem
 miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam;
 nec prius absistit, quam septem ingentia victor
 corpora fundat humi et numerum cum navibus aequet.
 hinc portum petit et socios partitur in omnis.
 195 vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes
 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.

BOOK I

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. 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.

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 Caïcus on the high stern. There is no ship in sight; he descries three stags straying on the shore; whole herds follow behind these and in long line graze down 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:

“O comrades—for ere this we have not been ignorant of misfortune—you who have suffered worse, this also

193 *humi Servius* (5.78): *humo FMγR* (G.2.460)

AENEID

- 200 vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis
 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
 205 tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
 ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
 durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.”
- Talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus aeger
 spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.
- 210 illi se praedae accingunt dapibusque futuris;
 tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant;
 pars in frusta secant veribusque trementia figunt,
 litore aëna locant alii flammasque ministrant.
 tum victu revocant vires, fusique per herbam
 215 implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae.
 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.
- 220 praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,
 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
- 225 litoraue et latos populos, sic vertice caeli
 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

224 despiciens *FMR*: di- *Servius*

BOOK I

God will end. You drew near to Scylla's fury and her deep-echoing crags; you have known, too, the rocks of the Cyclopes; recall your courage and banish sad fear. Perhaps even this distress it will some day be a joy to recall. Through varied fortunes, through countless hazards, we journey towards Latium, where fate promises a home of peace. There it is granted that Troy's realm shall rise again; endure, and live for a happier day."

Such words he spoke, while sick with deep distress he feigns hope on his face, and deep in his heart stifles his anguish. The others prepare 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. More than the rest does loyal Aeneas in silence mourn the loss now of valiant Orontes, now of Amycus, the cruel doom of Lycus, brave Gyas, and brave Cloanthus.

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, spoke to him: "You that with eternal sway rule the world of men and

AENEID

- 230 aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres,
 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,
 FMRV hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucrici,
 236 qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent,
 pollicitus. quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?
 hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas
 solabar, fatis contraria fata rependens;
 240 nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos
 insequitur. quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?
 Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
 Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus
 regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi,
 245 unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
 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:
 250 nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnuis arcem,
 navibus (infandum!) amissis unius ob iram
 prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.
 hic pietatis honos? sic nos in scepra reponis?”
 Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum
 255 vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat,
 oscula libavit natae, dehinc talia fatur:
 “parce metu, Cytherea; manent immota tuorum

²³⁶ *omnis FV: omni MγR*

⁶ The Timavus, which rises in the Julian Alps, after flowing for

BOOK I

gods, and frighten with your bolt, what great crime could my Aeneas—could my Trojans—have wrought against you, to whom, after many disasters borne, the whole world is barred for Italy's sake? Surely it was your 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 you? 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, great king, do you grant? Antenor could escape the Achaean 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.⁶ 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, your offspring, to whom you 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. And thus is piety honoured? Is this the way you restore us to empire?"

Smiling on her with that look wherewith he clears sky and storms, the Father of men and gods gently kissed his daughter's lips, and then spoke thus: "Spare your fears, Lady of Cythera; your children's fates abide unmoved. You

eighteen miles underground, reappears in several springs and then pursues a short but swift course to the Adriatic.

AENEID

- fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
 moenia, sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
- 260 magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit.
 FMR hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
 longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo)
 bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces
 contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
- 265 tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
 ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
 at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
 additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),
- MR triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
 270 imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
 transferet, et Longam multa vi munit Albam.
 hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
 gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos
 Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
- 275 inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
 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. quin aspera Iuno,
 280 quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
 consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
 Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
 sic placitum. veniet lustris labentibus aetas,
 cum domus Assaraci Pthiam clarasque Mycenae
 285 servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.
 nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,

⁷ After conquering the Rutulians Aeneas will spend three winters in camp before founding Lavinium.

BOOK I

will see Lavinium's city and its promised walls; and great-souled Aeneas you will raise on high to the starry heaven. No thought has turned me. This your son—for, since this care gnaws at your heart, I will speak and, further unrolling the scroll of fate, will disclose its secrets—shall wage a great war in Italy, 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.⁷ But the lad Ascanius, now surnamed Iulus—Ilus he was, while the Ilian state stood firm in sovereignty—shall fulfil in empire 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 and call the people Romans after his own name. For these I set no bounds in space or time; but have given empire without end. Spiteful 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 toga. Thus is it decreed. There shall come a day, as the sacred seasons glide past, when the house of Assaracus⁸ shall bring into bondage Phthia and famed Mycenae, and hold lordship over vanquished Argos.⁹ From this noble line shall be born the Tro-

⁸ The Trojan race, in their Roman descendants.

⁹ Greece became a Roman province in 146 B.C.

AENEID

- imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,
 Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
 hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum,
 290 accipies segura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
 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
 295 saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis
 post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.”
 Haec ait et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,
 ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces
 hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido
 300 finibus arceret. volat ille per aëra magnum
 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.
 305 At pius Aeneas, per noctem plurima volvens,
 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.
 310 classem in convexo nemorum sub rupe cavata
 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,

¹⁰ Augustus Caesar.

¹¹ This refers to the temple of Janus, which Augustus closed in 29 B.C., after it had remained open more than two centuries.

BOOK I

jan Caesar, who shall extend his empire to the ocean, his glory to the stars, a Julius,¹⁰ name descended from great Iulus! Him, in days to come, shall you, anxious no more, welcome to heaven, laden with Eastern spoils; he, too, shall be invoked in vows. Then wars shall cease and savage ages soften; hoary Faith and Vesta, Quirinus with his brother Remus, shall give laws. The gates of war, grim with iron and close-fitting bars, shall be closed;¹¹ 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."

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.

But loyal 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, in the midst of the forest,

AENEID

- 315 virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma,
Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
Harpalyce volucrumque fuga praevortitur Eurum.
namque umeris de more habilem suspenderit arcum
venatrix dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
320 nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis.
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."
325 Sic Venus, et Veneris contra sic filius orsus:
"nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,
o—quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi vultus
mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; o dea certe!
an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?
330 sis felix nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem,
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."
335 Tum Venus: "haud equidem tali me dignor honore;
virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram
purpureoque alte suras vincire cothurno.
Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem;
sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.
340 imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta,
germanum fugiens. longa est iniuria, longae
ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.
huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus auri

³¹⁷ Eurum *Rutgers* (8.223): Hebrum *codd.*

³³³ vastis et *P.*: et vastis *MR*

BOOK I

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 out-strips the winged East Wind 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 perchance you 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."

Thus Venus; and thus in answer Venus' son began: "None of your sisters have I heard or seen—but by what name should I call you, maiden? for your face is not mortal nor has your voice a human ring; O goddess surely! sister of Phoebus, or one of the race of Nymphs? Show grace to us, whoever you may be, and lighten this our burden. Inform us, pray, beneath what sky, on what coasts of the world, we are cast; knowing nothing of countries or peoples we wander driven hither by wind and huge billows. Many a victim shall fall for you at our hand before your altars."

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. It is the Punic realm you see, 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

³⁴³ auri *Huet: agri codd.* (10.563)

AENEID

- 345 Phoenicum et magno miserae dilectus amore,
 cui pater intactam dederat primisque iugarat
 ominibus. sed regna Tyri germanus habebat
 Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnis.
 quos inter medius venit furor. ille Sychaeum
 350 impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore
 clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum
 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
 355 crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro
 nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne rexit.
 tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet
 auxiliumque viae veteres tellure recludit
 thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri.
 360 his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat.
 conveniunt quibus aut odium crudele tyranni
 aut metus acer erat; navis, quae forte paratae,
 corripunt onerantque auro; portantur avari
 Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti.
 365 devenere locos ubi nunc ingentia cernes
 moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,
 mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
 taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.
 426 iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.

³⁶⁵ cernes *PR*: -is *M*

⁴²⁶ *after 368 A.Y. Campbell: after 425 FMPR*

¹² The legend ran that the settlers purchased from the natives

BOOK I

in gold of the Phoenicians, 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 for gold, strikes down Sychaeus unawares by stealthy blow, without a thought for 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 pale face in wondrous wise, he laid bare the cruel altars and his breast pierced with steel, unveiling all the secret horror of the house. Then he bids her take speedy flight and leave her country, and to aid her journey brought to light treasures long hidden underground, a mass of gold and silver known to none. Moved by this, Dido made ready her flight and her company. Then all assemble 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 enterprise a woman. They came to the place where today you will see 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,¹² and they are choosing laws and magistrates, and an august sen-

as much ground as a bull's hide would enclose, whereupon they cut the hide into extremely thin strips, which circled a large tract of land. The story probably arose from a false etymology, the Phoenician *bosra* 'citadel' being confused with the Greek *βύρσα* 'bull's hide.'

AENEID

- 369 sed vos qui tandem? quibus aut venistis ab oris?
 quove tenetis iter?" quaerenti talibus ille
 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.
 375 nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per auris
 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;
 380 Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo.
 GMPR bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,
 matre dea monstrante viam, data fata secutus;
 vix septem convulsae undis Euroque supersunt.
 ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,
 385 Europa atque Asia pulsus." nec plura querentem
 passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est:
 "Quisquis es, haud, credo, invisus caelestibus auras
 vitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adveneris urbem.
perge modo atque hinc te reginae ad limina perfer.
 390 namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam
 nuntio et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam,
 ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.
 aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos,
 aethera quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto
 395 turbabat caelo; nunc terras ordine longo

369 aut venistis *P*: audvenistis *M*: advenistis *R*

374 componet *M*: -at *PR*

380 et . . . summo] *suspect* (6.123)

389 *GMPR*] *del. Rau* (cf. 401)

BOOK I

ate. But who, pray, are you, or from what coasts come, or whither hold you your course?" As she questioned thus he replied, sighing and drawing every word deep from his breast:

"O goddess, should I, tracing back from the first beginning, go on to tell, and you have leisure to hear the story of our woes, sooner would heaven close and evening lay the day to rest. From ancient Troy, if perchance the name of Troy has come to your ears, sailing over distant seas, the storm at its own caprice drove us to the Libyan coast. I am the loyal Aeneas, who carry with me in my fleet my household gods, snatched from the foe; my fame is known to the heavens above. It is Italy I seek, my fathers' land, and a race sprung from Jupiter most high. With twice ten ships I embarked on the Phrygian sea, following the fates 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." His further complaint Venus suffered not, but in the midst of his lament broke in thus:

"Whoever you are, not hateful, I think, to the powers of heaven do you draw the breath of life, since you have reached the Tyrian city. *Only go forward and make your way to the queen's palace.* For I bring you tidings of your comrades restored and of your fleet recovered, driven to safe haven by shifting winds—unless my parents were false, and vain the augury they taught me. Look at those twelve swans in exultant line, which Jove's bird, swooping from the expanse of heaven, was harrying in the open air; now in long array they seem either to be settling in their

AENEID

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
 400 aut portum tenet aut pleno subit ostia velo.
 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,
 405 et vera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem
 agnovit, 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?”
 410 talibus incusat gressumque ad moenia tendit.
 at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit
 et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,
 cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset
 molirive moram aut veniendi poscere causas.
 415 ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit
 laeta suas, ubi templum illi centumque Sabaeo
 ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.

Corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat.
 FMPR iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi
 420 imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces.
 miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
 miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.
 instant ardentes Tyrii, pars ducere muros
 molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,
 425 pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco;

BOOK I

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 your ships and the men of your company have reached harbour already or under full sail enter the river's mouth. Only go forward and where the path leads you, direct your steps!"

She spoke, 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 for his mother, and as she fled pursued her with these words: "Why, cruel like others, do you so often mock your son 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, 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 Sabaeian incense and are fragrant with garlands ever fresh.

Meanwhile they 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. Here some

AENEID

- 427 hic portus alii effodiunt, hic alta theatri
 fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
 rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora apta futuris.
- 430 qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura
 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
- 435 ignavum fucos pecus a praesepebus arcent;
 fervet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.
 "o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!"
 Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.
 infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)
- 440 per medios miscetque viris neque cernitur ulli.
 Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,
 quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
 effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
 monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
- 445 egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.
 hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido
 condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae,
 aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexaeque
 aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis.
- 450 hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem
 leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
 ausus et adfflictis melius confidere rebus.
 namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo,
 reginam opperiens, dum, quae fortuna sit urbi,
 artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem
- 455

⁴²⁶ see after 368 ⁴²⁷ alta MPR: lata F | theatri M: -is FPR

⁴²⁹ apta Bentley: alta codd. (427) ⁴⁴¹ umbrae F: -a MPR

BOOK I

are digging harbours, here others lay the deep foundations of their theatre and hew out of the cliffs vast columns, fit 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!

Amid the city was a grove, luxuriant in shade, the spot where first the Phoenicians, tossed by waves and whirlwind, dug up the token which queenly Juno had pointed out, a head of the spirited horse;¹³ 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. In this grove first 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 or-

¹³ A horse's head was the symbol of Carthage and is common on Carthaginian coins.

AENEID

miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnās
 bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem,
 Atridas Priamumque et saevum ambobus Achillem.
 constitit et lacrimans, "quis iam locus," inquit, "Achate,
 460 quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?
 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
 465 multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine vultum.
 namque videbat, uti bellantes Pergama circum
 hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus,
 hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.
 nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis
 470 agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno
 Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus,
 ardentisque avertit equos in castra, prius quam
 pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.
 parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
 475 infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,
 fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
 lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur
 per terram et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.
 interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
 480 crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant,
 suppliciter tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;
 diva solo fixos oculos avera tenebat.
 ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectors muros
 exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.

¹⁴ The Atridae (Agamemnon and Menelaus) and Priam, a loose use of *ambobus*.

BOOK I

der the battles of Ilium, the warfare now known by fame throughout the world, the sons of Atreus, and Priam, and Achilles, fierce in his wrath against both.¹⁴ He stopped and weeping cried: "Is there any place, Achates, any land on earth not full of our sorrow? See, there is Priam! Here, too, virtue finds its due reward; here, too, are tears for misfortune and human sorrows pierce the heart. Dispel your fears; this fame will bring you some salvation."

So he speaks, and feasts his soul on the unsubstantial portraiture, sighing oft, 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 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 laid waste with many a death, and turned the fiery steeds away to the camp, before they could taste Trojan fodder or drink of Xanthus. Elsewhere Troilus, his armour 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, still 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, 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.

AENEID

485 tum vero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo,
 ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici
 tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.
 se quoque principibus permixtum agnovit Achivis,
 Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.

490 ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
 Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
 aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,
 bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,
 495 dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,
 regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
 incessit, magna iuvenum stipante caterva.
 qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
 exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
 500 hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
 fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis;
 Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus:
 talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat
 per medios, instans operi regnisque futuris.
 505 tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,
 saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.
 iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem
 partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat:
 cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno
 510 Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum
 Teucrorumque alios, ater quos aequore turbo
 dispulerat penitusque alias avexerat oras.
 obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achatas

⁵¹² avexerat *MR*: averterat *FP*

⁵¹³ percussus *FPR*: -culsus *M*

BOOK I

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.¹⁵ Penthesilea in fury leads the crescent-shielded ranks of the Amazons and blazes amid her thousands; a golden belt she binds below her naked breast, and, as a warrior queen, dares battle, a maid clashing with men.

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 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

¹⁵ Memnon was leader of the Ethiopians.

AENEID

- laetitiaque metuque; avidi coniungere dextras
 515 ardebant, sed res animos incognita turbat.
 dissimulant et nube cava specularunt amicti,
 quae fortuna viris, classem quo litore linquant,
 quid veniant; cunctis nam lecti navibus ibant
 orantes veniam et templum clamore petebant.
- 520 Postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi,
 maximus Ilioneus placido sic pectore coepit:
 MPR “o regina, novam cui condere Iuppiter urbem
 iustitiaque dedit gentes frenare superbas,
 Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti,
 525 oramus: prohibe infandos a navibus ignis,
 parce pio generi et propius res aspice nostras.
 non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penates
 venimus aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas;
 non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis.
- 530 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
 terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glabrae;
 Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.
 hic cursus fuit . . .
- 535 cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion
 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
- 540 permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae;
 bella cient primaque vetant consistere terra.
 si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,

⁵¹⁸ cunctis P: -i FMR | lecti FMP: le(c R²)tis R

BOOK I

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.

When they had entered, and freedom to speak before the queen was granted, the eldest, Ilioneus, with placid mien thus began: "Queen, to whom Jupiter has granted 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 you: 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 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 lay our course . . .¹⁶ 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 you think light of human kin-

¹⁶ This is the first of some sixty incomplete verses in the *Aeneid*, found in all twelve books.

AENEID

at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi.
 rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter
 545 nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis.
 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
 550 armaque, Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes.
 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;
 555 sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum,
 pontus habet Libyae nec spes iam restat Iuli,
 at freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas,
 unde huc advecti, regemque petamus Acesten.”
 talibus Ilioneus; cuncti simul ore fremebant
 560 Dardanidae . . .

Tum breviter Dido vultum demissa profatur:
 “solvite corde metum, Teucri, secludite curas.
 res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
 moliri et late finis custode tueri.
 565 quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem
 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
 570 sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten,
 auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.

⁵⁵⁰ armaque γR: arvaque M (P missing)

BOOK I

ship and mortal arms, yet look unto gods who will remember right and wrong. A king we had, Aeneas: none more just or dutiful than he, or more renowned in war and 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 would you regret to have taken the first step in the strife of courtesy. In Sicilian regions, too, there are cities and a supply of arms, 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, so that, if we are granted to find king and comrades and steer our course to Italy, Italy and Latium we may gladly seek; but if our salvation is cut off, if you, noble father of the Trojan people, are the prey of the Libyan gulf, and a nation's hope no longer lives in Iulus, that we at least may seek the straits of Sicily, whence we came hither, and the homes there ready, and Acestes for our king." So spoke Ilioneus, and all the sons of Dardanus loudly shouted assent . . .

Then Dido, lowering her eyes, 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 that great war? Not so dull are our Punic hearts, and not so far from this Tyrian city does the sun yoke his steeds.¹⁷ Whether your choice be great Hesperia and the fields of Saturn,¹⁸ or the lands of Eryx and Acestes for your king, I will send you hence guarded

¹⁷ I.e. we do not live so far out of the world.

¹⁸ Saturn lived in Italy in the Golden Age.

AENEID

vultis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis?
urbem quam statuo vestra est; subducite navis;
Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

575 atque utinam rex ipse Noto compulsus eodem
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
580 et pater Aeneas iamdudum erumpere nubem
ardebant. prior Aeneas compellat Achates:

"nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?
omnia tuta vides, classem sociosque receptos.
585 unus abest, medio in fluctu quem vidimus ipsi
submersum; dictis respondent cetera matris."

FMPR Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa repente
scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.

BFMPR restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit,
os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram

590 caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae
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
595 improvisus ait: "coram, quem quaeritis, adsum,
Troïus Aeneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.

o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,
quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque
omnibus exhaustos iam casibus, omnium egenos,

600 urbe, domo socias, grates persolvere dignas
non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est

599 exhaustos *BMFR*: -is *F*

BOOK I

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 alike. 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 perchance he strays shipwrecked in forest or in town.”

Stirred in spirit by these words, brave Achates and father Aeneas had long burned to break through the cloud. First Achates addresses Aeneas: “Goddess-born, what purpose now rises in your heart? You see that all is safe, comrades and fleet restored. One¹⁹ only is wanting, whom our own eyes saw engulfed amid the waves; all else agrees with your mother’s words.”

Scarce had he said this, when the encircling cloud suddenly parts and clears into open heaven. Aeneas stood forth, gleaming in the clear light, godlike 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: “I, whom you seek, am here before you, Aeneas of Troy, snatched from the Libyan waves. O you who alone have pitied Troy’s unutterable woes, you who grant us—the remnant left by the Greeks, now outworn by every mischance of land and sea, and destitute of all—a share in your city and home, to pay you fitting thanks, Dido, is not in our power, nor in theirs who

¹⁹ Orontes.

AENEID

gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.
 di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
 usquam iustitiae est, et mens sibi conscia recti
 605 praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt
 saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
 in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
 lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
 FMPR semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,
 610 quae me cumque vocant terrae.” sic fatus, amicum
 Ilionea petit dextra laevaue Serestum,
 MPR post alios, fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.
 Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido,
 casu deinde viri tanto, et sic ore locuta est:
 615 “quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus
 insequitur? quae vis immanibus applicat oris?
 tune ille Aeneas, quem Dardanio Anchisae
 alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?
 atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire
 620 finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem
 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.
 625 ipse hostis Teucros insigni laude ferebat
 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.
 630 non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.”
 Sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit

604 iustitiae *BFPR*: -a *M*

BOOK I

anywhere survive of Trojan race, scattered over the wide world. May the gods, if any divine powers have regard for the good, if there is any justice anywhere—may the gods and the consciousness of right bring you worthy rewards! What happy ages bore you? What glorious parents gave birth to so noble a child? While rivers run to ocean, while on the mountains shadows move over slopes, while heaven feeds the stars, ever shall your honour, your name, and your praises abide, 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.

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 you, goddess-born, amidst such perils? What violence drives you to savage shores? Are you that Aeneas whom gracious Venus bore to Dardanian Anchises by the wave of Phrygian Simois? Indeed, 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, your name and the Pelasgian kings. Foe though he was, he often lauded the Teucrians with highest praise and claimed 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 in this land I should at last find rest. Not ignorant of ill I learn to aid distress.”

Thus she speaks, and at once leads Aeneas into the

AENEID

tecta, simul divum templis indicit honorem.

nec minus interea sociis ad litora mittit

viginti tauros, magnorum horrentia centum

635 terga suum, pinguis centum cum matribus agnos,
munera laetitiamque dei . . .

at domus interior regali splendida luxu

instruitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis:

640 arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo,

ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro

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,

645 Ascanio ferat haec ipsumque ad moenia ducat;

omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.

munera praeterea, Iliacis erepta ruinis,
ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem,

BMPR et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho,

650 ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis,

Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,
extulerat, matris Ledaе mirabile donum;

praeterea sceptrum, Ilione quod gesserat olim,

BFMPR maxima natarum Priami, colloque monile

655 bacatum et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam.

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 furentem

660 incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem:

quippe domum timet ambigam Tyriosque bilinguis;

⁶³⁶ dei MPR: dii ('= diei') Gellius 9.14.8

BOOK I

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, the joyous gifts of the god²⁰ . . . 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.

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 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 Pergamus and her unlawful marriage—she had brought them from Mycenae, the wondrous gift of her mother Leda—the sceptre too, which Ilione, Priam's eldest daughter, once had borne, a necklace hung with pearls, and a coronet with double circlet of jewels and gold. Speeding these commands, Achates bent his way towards the ships.

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

²⁰ Bacchus (734).

AENEID

urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat.
ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem:

- “Nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia, solus,
665 nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoëa temnis,
ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.
frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum
litora iactetur odiis Iunonis acerbae,
FMPR nota tibi, et nostro doluisti saepe dolore.
670 nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur
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,
675 sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore.
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.
680 hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera
MPR aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam,
ne qua scire dolos mediusve occurrere possit.
tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam
falle dolo, et notos pueri puer indue vultus,
GMPR ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido
686 regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.”
BGMPR paret Amor dictis carae genetricis et alas
690 exuit et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli.

⁶⁶⁸ iactetur *F*: -que *BMγR*, *Servius* | acerbae *BFP*: iniquae *MR*
(8.292) ⁶⁷⁰ nunc *F*: hunc *MγR*

BOOK I

double-tongued Tyrians; Juno's fury chafes her, and at nightfall her care rushes back. Therefore to winged Love she speaks these words:

"Son, my strength, my mighty power—O son, who alone scorn the mighty father's Typhoean²¹ darts, to you I flee and suppliant sue your godhead. How your brother Aeneas is tossed on the sea about all coasts by bitter Juno's hate is known to you, and often have you grieved in our grief. Phoenician Dido now holds him, staying him with soft words, and I dread what may be 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 fast in strong love for Aeneas. How you can 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, so that he may by no means learn my wiles or come between to thwart them. For but a single night, feign by craft his form and, boy that you are, don the boy's familiar face, so that when, in the fullness of her joy, amid the royal feast and the flowing wine, Dido takes you to her bosom, embraces you and imprints sweet kisses, you may breathe into her a hidden fire and beguile her with your poison." Love obeys his dear mother's words, lays by his wings, and walks joyously with

²¹ So called because with them Jupiter slew the Titan Typhoeus.

AENEID

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.

- 695 Iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido
 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
 700 conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro.
 dant manibus famuli lymphas Cereremque canistris
 expediunt tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis.
 quinquaginta intus famulae, quibus ordine longam
 cura penum struere et flammis adolere Penates;
 705 centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri,
 qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.
 nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes
 convenere; toris iussi discumbere pictis,
 GMPR mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum
 710 flagrantisque dei vultus simulataque verba
 pallamque et pictum croceo velamen acantho.
 praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,
 expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo
 Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur.
 715 ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit
 et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem,
 reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto
 haeret et interdum gremio fovet, inscia Dido,
 insidat quantus miserae deus. at memor ille

⁷⁰¹ m. famuli GR: m. famulae MP: famuli m. B

⁷⁰³ longam *Charisius* 74.30: -o BMRγ

BOOK I

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.

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 arrange the long feast in order and keep the hearth aglow with fire. A hundred more there are, with as many pages of like age, to load the board with viands and set out the cups. 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. With her eyes, with all her heart she clings to him and repeatedly fondles him in her lap, knowing not, poor Dido, how great a god settles there to

⁷⁰⁶ onerent . . . ponant *MP*: onerant . . . ponunt *BGR*

⁷¹⁹ insidat *MP*: insideat *GR*: *Servius knows both*

AENEID

- 720 matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum
incipit et vivo temptat praevertere amore
iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda.
- MPR Postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae,
crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.
- 725 fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant
atria; dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
- BMPR implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
730 a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis.
“Tuppiter, 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;
735 et vos, o, coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes.”
dixit et in mensam laticum libavit honorem
primaque libato summo tenuis attigit ore;
tum Bitiae dedit increpitans; ille impiger hausit
spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro;
- 740 post alii proceres. cithara crinitus Iopas
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;
- 745 quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur.
nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat
- MPR infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem,
750 multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa;
nunc, quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis,

BOOK I

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 her heart unused to love.

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 you appoint laws for host and guest—grant that this be a day of joy for Tyrians and the voyagers from Troy, and that our children may remember it! May Bacchus, giver of joy, be near, and bounteous Juno; and do you, Tyrians, grace the gathering with friendly spirit!" She spoke, and on the board 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 man and beast, 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. No less did unhappy Dido prolong the night with varied talk and drank deep draughts of love, asking much of Priam, of Hector much; now of the armour in which

AENEID

nunc, quales Diomedis equi, nunc, quantus Achilles.
“immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
insidias” inquit “Danaum casusque tuorum
755 erroresque tuos; nam te iam septima portat
omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.”

BOOK I

came the son of Dawn; now of the wondrous steeds of Diomedes; now of the greatness of Achilles. "Nay, more," she cries, "tell us, my guest, from the first beginning the treachery of the Greeks, the sad fate of your people, and your own wanderings; for already a seventh summer bears you a wanderer over every land and sea."²²

²² The last two verses (*erroresque . . . aestas*) seem to have been added after the composition of Book 3.

LIBER II

MPR Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant.
inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto:
“Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
5 eruerint Danaï, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi
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.
10 sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
incipiam.

“Fracti bello fatisque repulsi
ductores Danaum, tot iam labentibus annis,
15 instar montis equum divina Palladis arte
aedificant sectaque intexunt abiete costas;
votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur.
huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim
includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas
20 ingentis utrumque armato milite complent.

“Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama
insula, dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant,
nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis:

BOOK II

All were hushed, and kept their rapt gaze upon him; then from his raised couch father Aeneas thus began:

“Too deep for words, O queen, is the grief you bid me renew, how the Greeks overthrew Troy’s wealth and woeful realm—the sights most piteous that I saw myself and wherein I played no small role. What Myrmidon or Dolopian, or soldier of the stern Ulysses, could refrain from tears in telling such a tale? And now dewy night is speeding from the sky and the setting stars counsel sleep. Yet if such is your desire to learn of our disasters, and in few words to hear of Troy’s last agony, though my mind shudders to remember and has recoiled in pain, I will begin.

“Broken in war and thwarted 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 pretend it is an offering for their safe return; this is the rumour that goes abroad. Here, within its dark sides, they stealthily enclose the choicest of their stalwart men and deep within they fill the huge cavern of the belly with armed soldiery.

“There lies in sight an island well known to fame, Tenedos, rich in wealth while Priam’s kingdom stood, now but a bay and an unsafe anchorage for ships. Hither they

AENEID

- huc se propecti deserto in litore condunt.
 25 nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenae.
 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,
 30 classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant.
 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.
 35 at Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,
 aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona
 praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis,
 aut terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras.
 scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.
 40 "Primus ibi ante omnis, magna comitante caterva,
 Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce
 et procul: 'o miseri, quae tanta insania, cives?
 creditis avectos hostis? aut ulla putatis
 dona carere dolis Danaum? sic notus Ulixes?
 45 aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi,
 aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,
 inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi,
 aut aliquis latet error; equo ne credite, Teucra.
 quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.'
 50 sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam
 in latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum
 contorsit. stetit illa tremens, uteroque recusso
 insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae.

BOOK II

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 itself from its 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; either it was treachery or the doom of Troy was already tending that way. 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 belly. The wavering crowd is torn into opposing factions.

"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: 'My poor countrymen, what monstrous madness is this? Do you believe the foe has sailed away? Do you think that any gifts of the Greeks are free from treachery? Is Ulysses known to be this sort of man? 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 inside. Men of Troy, trust not the horse. 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 cavity's reverberation the vaults rang hollow, sending forth a moan.

AENEID

et si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,
 55 impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras,
 Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta, maneres.

“Ecce manus iuvenem interea post terga revinctum
 pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant
 Dardanidae, qui se ignotum venientibus ultro,
 60 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.
 65 accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno
 disce omnis . . .

namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus, inermis,
 constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit,
 ‘heu! quae nunc tellus,’ inquit, ‘quae me aequora possunt
 70 accipere? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat,
 cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
 Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?’
 MP quo gemitu conversi animi, compressus et omnis
 impetus. hortamur fari, quo sanguine cretus,
 75 quidve ferat; memoret, quae sit fiducia capto.
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.
 81 fando aliquod si forte tuas pervenit ad auris
 Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama

⁵⁶ staret *M*: -es *PR*

BOOK II

And had the gods' decrees, had our mind not been perverse, he would have driven us to violate with steel the Argive den, and Troy would now be standing, and you, lofty citadel of Priam, would still abide!

"But meanwhile 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, deliberately, stranger though he was, he had placed himself in their path, confident in spirit and ready for either event, either 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 a single crime 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 can 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 and what tidings he brings. 'Tell us,' we cry, 'on what you rely, now that you are our prisoner.' *At last he lays aside his fear and speaks these words:*

"Surely, king,' he says, 'whatever befalls, I will tell all to you, 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 it chance that speech to your ears has brought some rumour of Palamedes, son of Belus, and the glory of his fame—

76 = 3.612] *om. MPa (proved interpolated by 78 inquit)*

AENEID

- gloria, quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi
 insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,
 85 demisere neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent:
 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
 90 gessimus. invidia postquam pellacis Ulixi
 (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,
 95 si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos,
 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.
 100 nec requievit enim, donec Calchante ministro—
 sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo?
 quidve moror? si omnis uno ordine habetis Achivos
 idque audire sat est, iamdudum sumite poenas:
 hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridae.’
 105 “Tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas,
 MP ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae.
 prosequitur pavitans et ficto pectore fatur:
 “Saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relicta
 moliri et longo fessi discedere bello:
 110 fecissentque utinam! saepe illos aspera ponti
 interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis;

⁹⁰ pellacis *MV*, *Servius*: fallacis *Pa*

¹⁰⁵ causas *PaV*, *Servius*: casus *M*

BOOK II

whom under false evidence, by wicked witnessing, 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 terrify me with new charges; hence would he sow dark rumours in the crowd and with guilty fear seek weapons. Nor indeed did he rest until with Calchas as his tool—but why do I vainly unroll this unwelcome tale? Or why delay you? If you 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!

“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 emotion:

“Often the Greeks longed to quit Troy, compass a retreat, and depart, weary with the long war; and how I wish that they had done so! Often a fierce tempest on the deep cut them off and the gale scared them from going. Above

AENEID

- praecipue, cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis
 staret equus, toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.
 suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi
 115 mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat:
 “sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,
 cum primum Iliacas, Danaï, venistis ad oras:
 sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum
 Argolica.” vulgi quae vox ut venit ad auris,
 120 obstipuerè animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
 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
 125 artificis scelus et taciti ventura videbant.
 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.
 130 adsensere omnes et, quae sibi quisque timebat,
 unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.
 “Tamque dies infanda aderat, mihi sacra parari
 et salsae fruges et circum tempora vittae.
 eripui, fateor, leto me et vincula rupi
 135 limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva
 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
 140 effugia et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt.
 quod te per superos et conscia numina veri,

¹¹⁴ scitatum *M*²: -antem *MP*: *Servius knows both*

BOOK II

all, when this horse was ready, a structure compacted of maple beams, storm clouds thundered 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 you appeased the winds, when first, Greeks, you came to the Ilian coasts; with blood must you 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 that the gods will. And now many predicated that I was the target of 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. Reluctantly, 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 to one man's ruin.

"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, in case they would. And now no hope have I of seeing my ancient homeland, 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 you, by the gods above, by the powers

AENEID

per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam
intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum
tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.'

145 "His lacrimis vitam damus et miserescimus ultro.

ipse viro primus manicas atque arta levari
vincla iubet Priamus dictisque ita fatur amicis:
'quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios;
noster eris. mihi que haec edissere vera roganti:

150 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
155 testor numen,' ait, 'vos arae ensesque nefandi,
quos fugi, vittaeque deum, quas hostia gessi:
fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura,

MPV fas odisse viros atque omnia ferre sub auras,
si qua tegunt; teneor patriae nec legibus ullis.

160 tu modo promissis maneat servataque serves,
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,
165 fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo
Palladium, caesis summae custodibus arcis,
corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis
virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas:

FMPV ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
spes Danaum, fractae vires, aversa deae mens.

¹⁴² restet *P*: restat *M*

BOOK II

that know the truth, by whatever faith may still be found unstained anywhere among mortals, pity such distress; pity a soul that bears sorrow undeserved!

“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: ‘Whoever you are, from now on forget the Greeks you have lost; you will be one of us. 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? What is their aim? What religious offering is it? What engine of war?’ He ceased; the other, schooled in Pelasgian guile and craft, lifted to the stars his unfettered hands: ‘You, everlasting fires,’ he cries, ‘and your inviolable majesty, be my witness; you, altars, and accursed swords which I escaped, and chaplets of the gods, which I wore as victim, grant that I may rightly 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. But Troy, stand by your promises and, yourself preserved, preserve your faith, if my tidings prove true and pay you a large return!

“All the hope of the Danaans and their confidence in beginning the war always rested on the help of Pallas. But from the time that the ungodly son of Tydeus¹ and Ulysses, the author 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, stealing backward, receded; their strength was broken and the

¹ Diomedes.

AENEID

- 171 nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstis.
vix positum castris simulacrum, arsere coruscae
luminibus flammae arrectis salsusque per artus
sudor iit, terque ipsa solo (mirabile dictu)
- 175 emicuit parmamque ferens hastamque trementem.
extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas,
nec posse Argolicis exscindi Pergama telis,
omina ni repetant Argis numenque reducant,
quod pelago et curvis secum avexere carinis.
- 180 et nunc quod patrias vento petiere Mycenae,
arma deosque parant comites, pelagoque remenso
improvisi aderunt. ita digerit omnia Calchas.
hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso
FMP effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret.
- 185 hanc tamen immensam Calchas attollere molem
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,
- 190 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.’
- 195 “Talibus insidiis perique arte Sinonis
credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis,
quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles,

¹⁸⁷ posset *Pa*: -it *FM*

² The words indicate an apparition, which appears and disappears suddenly like lightning.

BOOK II

heart of the goddess estranged. 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 forth² 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 to build it up to heaven, so 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,³ and such would be the doom awaiting our offspring!

“Through such snares and craft of forsworn Sinon the story won belief, and we were ensnared by wiles and forced tears—we whom neither the son of Tydeus nor

³ Mycenae, put for Greece in general.

AENEID

non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.
 MP “Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum
 200 obicitur magis atque improvida pectora turbat.
 Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,
 sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.
 ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta
 (horresco referens) immensis orbibus angues
 205 incumbunt pelago pariterque ad litora tendunt:
 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
 210 ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni
 sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.
 diffugimus visu exsanguis. illi agmine certo
 Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum
 corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
 215 implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus;
 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.
 220 ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos,
 perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno,
 clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit,
 qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram
 taurus et incertam excussit cervice securim.
 225 at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
 effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,
 sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur.

201 Neptuno *Ma*: -i *P*

226 effugiunt *Pa*: diff- *M*

BOOK II

Achilles of Larissa laid low, not ten years, not a thousand ships!

“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 speak—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 noise as the water foams. 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 make for Laocoön; and first each serpent enfolds in its embrace the small 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’s feet and the circle of her shield. Then indeed a strange

AENEID

- tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis
 insinuat pavor, et scelus expendisse merentem
- 230 Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspide robur
 laeserit et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam.
 ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae
 numina conclamant . . .
- dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.
- 235 accingunt omnes operi pedibusque rotarum
 subiciunt lapsus et stuppea vincula collo
 intendunt. scandit fatalis machina muros,
 feta armis. pueri circum innuptaeque puellae
 sacra canunt funemque manu contingere gaudent;
- 240 illa subit mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi.
 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
- 245 et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.
 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.
- 250 "Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox,
 involvens umbra magna terramque polumque
 Myrmidonumque dolos; fusi per moenia Teucrici
 conticuere, sopor fessos complectitur artus.
- FMP et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat
- 255 a Tenedo, tacitae per amica silentia lunae
 litora nota petens, flammam cum regia puppis
 extulerat, fatisque deum defensum iniquis

251 magna *Ma*: -am *P*

BOOK II

terror steals through the shuddering hearts of all, and they say that Laocoön 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 hemp 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 my country! O Ilium, home of gods, and you Dardan battlements, famed in war! Four times at the gates' very threshold it halted, and four times from its belly the armour clashed; yet we press on, heedless and blind with rage, 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, wreath the shrines of the gods with festal boughs throughout the city.

"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. And now the Argive host, with marshalled ships, was moving from Tenedos, amid the friendly silence of the mute moon, seeking the well-known shores, when the royal galley had raised the beacon light—and Sinon, shielded by the gods' malign doom, stealthily sets free

AENEID

- inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim
 laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras
 260 reddit equus, laetique cavo se robore promunt
 Thessandrus Sthenelusque duces et dirus Ulixes,
 demissum lapsi per funem, Acamasque Thoasque
 Pelidesque Neoptolemus primusque Machaon
 et Menelaus et ipse doli fabricator Epeos.
 265 invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam,
 caeduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnis
 accipiunt socios atque agmina conscia iungunt.
 "Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
 incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.
 270 in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector
 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
 275 Hectore, qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli
 vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!
 squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis
 vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
 accepit patrios. ultro flens ipse videbar
 280 compellare virum et maestas expromere voces:
 '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
 285 defessi aspiciamus! quae causa indigna serenos
 foedavit vultus? aut cur haec vulnera cerno?'
 ille nihil, nec me quaerentem vana moratur,
 FMPV sed graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens,
 'heu! fuge, nate dea, teque his,' ait, 'eripe flammis.

BOOK II

from the barriers of pine the Danaans shut within the womb. The opened horse restores them to the air, and joyfully from the hollow wood come forth Thessandrus and Sthenelus the captains, and dread Ulysses, sliding down the lowered rope; Acamas and Thoas and Neoptolemus of Peleus' line, prince Machaon, Menelaus, and Epeus himself, who devised the fraud. They storm the city, buried in sleep and wine; they slay the watch, and at the open gates welcome all their comrades and unite confederate bands.

“It was the hour when the first rest of weary mortals begins, and by grace of the gods steals over them most sweet. In slumbers, I dreamed that Hector, most sorrowful and shedding floods of tears, stood before my eyes, 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 he was 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 received around his native walls. I dreamed I wept myself, hailing him first, and uttering words of grief: ‘O light of the Dardan land, surest hope of the Trojans, what long delay has held you? From what shores, Hector, the long looked for, do you come? Oh, how gladly after the many deaths of your kin, after woes untold of citizens and city, our weary eyes behold you! What shameful cause has marred that unclouded face? Why do I see these wounds?’ He answers not, nor heeds my idle questioning, but drawing heavy sighs from his bosom's depths, ‘Ah, flee, goddess-born,’ he cries, ‘and

AENEID

- 290 hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia.
 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
- 295 magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto.
 sic ait, et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem
 aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.
 “Diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,
 et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis
- 300 Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta recessit,
 clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.
 excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti
 ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus adsto:
 in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
- 305 incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
 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
- MPV insidiae. iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam
- 311 Volcano superante domus; iam proximus ardet
 Ucalegon; Sigea igni freta lata relucent.
 exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.
- MP arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
- 315 sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
 cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
 praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.
 “Ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achivum,
 Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos,

³¹⁷ praecipitant *Ma*: -at *P*

BOOK II

escape from these flames. The foe 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 entrusts to you her holy things and household gods; take them to share your fortunes: seek for them the mighty city, which, when you have wandered over the deep, you shall at last establish!' So he speaks and in his hands brings forth from the inner shrine the fillets, great Vesta, and the undying fire.

"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 cornfield 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, spellbound 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. Frenzy and anger drive my soul headlong and I think how glorious it is to die in arms!

"But lo! Panthus, escaping from Achaean swords—
Panthus, son of Othrys, priest of Phoebus on the citadel—

AENEID

- 320 sacra manu victosque deos parvumque nepotem
 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
- 325 Dardaniae. fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
 gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos
 transtulit; incensa Danai dominantur in urbe.
 arduus armatos mediis in moenibus astans
 fundit equus victorque Sinon incendia miscet
- 330 insultans. portis alii bipatientibus adsunt,
 milia quot magnis unquam venere Mycenis;
 obsedere alii telis angusta viarum
 oppositis; stat ferri acies mucrone corusco
 stricta, parata neci; vix primi proelia temptant
- 335 portarum vigiles et caeco Marte resistunt.’
 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 Rhipeus et maximus armis
- 340 Epytus, oblatis per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque,
 et lateri adglomerant nostro, iuvenisque Coroebus
 Mygdonides: illis ad Troiam forte diebus
 venerat, insano Cassandrae incensus amore,
 et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
- 345 infelix, qui non sponsae praecepta furentis
 audierit . . .
 quos ubi confertos audere in proelia vidi,
 incipio super his: ‘iuvenes, fortissima frustra
 pectora, si vobis audentem extrema cupido

³³³ oppositis *M*: -ti *b* (*P* missing)

BOOK II

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 no more, Ilium is no more, nor 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.' 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 Rhipheus and Epytus, mighty in arms, Hypanis and Dymas, with young Coroebus, 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 thereupon begin thus: 'My men, hearts vainly valiant, if your desire is fixed to follow me in my final venture, you see what is the

³⁴⁹ *audentem b, Servius (auden . . . P): -endi Mγa*

AENEID

- 350 certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis.
 excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
 di, quibus imperium hoc steterat; succurritis urbi
 incensae. moriamur et in media arma ruamus.
 una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.'
- 355 "Sic animis iuvenum furor additus. inde, lupi ceu
 raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
 exegit caecos rabies catulique relict
 faucibus expectant siccis, per tela, per hostis
 vadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus
- 360 urbis iter; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra.
 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
- 365 corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum
 limina. nec soli poenas dant sanguine Teucri:
 quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus
 victoresque cadunt Danaï. crudelis ubique
 luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.
- 370 "Primus se Danaum magna comitante caterva
 Androgeos offert nobis, socia agmina credens
 inscius, atque ultro verbis compellat amicis:
 'festinate, viri! nam quae tam sera moratur
 segnities? alii rapiunt incensa feruntque
- 375 Pergama; vos celsis nunc primum a navibus itis?'
 dixit et extemplo (neque enim responsa dabantur
 fida satis) sensit medios delapsus in hostis.
 obstipuit retroque pedem cum voce repressit.
 improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
- 380 pressit humi nitens, trepidusque repente refugit
 attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem;

BOOK II

fate of our cause. All the gods on whom this empire was stayed have gone forth, leaving shrine and altar; the city you aid is in flames. Let us die, and rush into the battle's midst! One chance the vanquished have, to hope for none.'

"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? 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 lifeblood; 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.

"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: 'Hurry, men; what sloth keeps you back so long? Others sack and ravage burning Pergamus; are you 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, af-

AENEID

haud secus Androgeos visu tremefactus abibat.
 inruimus densis et circumfundimur armis,
 ignarosque loci passim et formidine captos
 385 sternimus. adspirat primo Fortuna labori.
 atque hic successu exultans animisque Coroebus,
 'o socii, qua prima' inquit 'fortuna salutis
 monstrat iter, quaque ostendit se dextra, sequamur:
 mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis
 390 aptemus. dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?
 arma dabunt ipsi.' sic fatus deinde comantem
 Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum
 induitur laterique Argivum accommodat ensem.
 hoc Rhipeus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus
 395 laeta facit; spoliis se quisque recentibus armat.
 vadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro,
 multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem
 conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco.
 diffugiunt alii ad navis et litora cursu
 400 fida petunt, pars ingentem formidine turpi
 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,
 405 ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra,
 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.
 410 hic primum ex alto delubri culmine telis
 nostrorum obruimur oriturque miserrima caedes

³⁸³ circumfundimur *M*: -fundimus *a*: -fudimus *P*

BOOK II

frighted at the sight, was drawing away. We 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, flushed with success and courage, Coroebus cries: 'Comrades, where fortune first points out the road to safety and where she shows herself auspicious, let us follow. Let us change the shields and don Danaan emblems; whether this is 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 Rhipeus, 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 we send down to Orcus. Some scatter to the ships and make with speed for safe shores; some in base terror again climb the huge horse and hide in the familiar womb.

"Alas, it is wrong for man to rely on the gods for anything against their will! Lo! Priam's daughter, the 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

³⁹⁶ *immixti Pa: -is M*

³⁹⁸ *demitimus a (9.527): di- MP*

AENEID

- armorum facie et Graiarum errore iubarum.
 tum Danai gemitu atque ereptae virginis ira
 undique collecti invadunt, acerrimus Aiax
 415 et gemini Atridae Dolopumque exercitus omnis:
 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.
 420 illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram
 fudimus insidiis totaque agitavimus urbe,
 apparent; primi clipeos mentitaque tela
 agnoscunt atque ora sono discordia signant.
 ilicet obruimur numero, primusque Coroebus
 425 Penelei dextra divae armipotentis ad aram
 procumbit; cadit et Rhipeus, iustissimus unus
 qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi
 (dis aliter visum); pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque
 confixi a sociis; nec te tua plurima, Panthu,
 430 labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit.
 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,
 435 Iphitus et Pelias mecum (quorum Iphitus aevo
 iam gravior, Pelias et vulnere tardus Ulixi),
 FMP protinus ad sedes Priami clamore vocati.
 "Hic vero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nusquam
 bella forent, nulli tota morentur in urbe,
 440 sic Martem indomitum Danaosque ad tecta ruentis
 cernimus obsessumque acta testudine limen.

⁴²² primi *Ma*: Priami *P*

BOOK II

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, 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 outnumbered; and first Coroebus falls at the hand of Peneleus by the altar of the warrior goddess; Rhipeus, too, falls, most just of all the Trojans, most zealous for the right, but Heaven's will was otherwise; Hypanis and Dymas perish, pierced by friends; nor could all your goodness, Panthus, nor Apollo's fillet shield you in your fall! O ashes of Ilium! O funeral flames of my kin! I call you to witness that in your doom I shunned no fight or hazard, and had the fates willed my death at the hands of the Greeks, that I had earned that death! We are torn from there, Iphitus and Pelias with me, 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.

“Here indeed is a mighty battle, as if no fighting were taking place elsewhere, 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 assault-

AENEID

haerent parietibus scalae postisque sub ipsos
nituntur gradibus clipeosque ad tela sinistris
protecti obiciunt, prensant fastigia dextris.

- 445 Dardanidae contra turris ac tota domorum
culmina convellunt; his se, quando ultima cernunt,
extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis;
auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum,
devolvunt: alii strictis mucronibus imas
450 obsedere fores; has servant agmine denso.
instaurati animi regis succurrere tectis
auxilioque levare viros vimque addere victis.

- “Limen erat caecaeque fores et pervius usus
tectorum inter se Priami postesque relictis
455 a tergo, infelix qua se, dum regna manebant,
saepius Andromache ferre incommitata solebat
ad soceros et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat.
evado ad summi fastigia culminis, unde
tela manu miseri iactabant inrita Teucris.
460 turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra
eductam tectis, unde omnis Troia videri
et Danaum solitae naves et Achaica castra,
adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantis
iuncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis
465 sedibus impulimusque; ea lapsa repente ruinam
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
MPV exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna;

⁴⁴³ ad tela *Servius*: ac tela *MPa*: ad tecta *F*

⁴⁴⁵ tota *P*: tecta *FM*, *Servius* (12.132): tuta *a*

BOOK II

ing mantlet of shields. Ladders hug the walls, under the very doorposts men force a way on the rungs; with left hands they hold up protecting shields against the darts, and with right they clutch the battlements. The Trojans in turn tear down the towers and all the rooftop 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 stately 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.

“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 often 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 their useless missiles. A tower stood on the sheer edge, rising skyward from the rooftop, 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 . . .

“Just before the entrance court and at the very portal is Pyrrhus, proudly gleaming in the sheen of brazen arms:

AENEID

- 471 qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,
 frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,
 nunc positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa
 lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga,
- 475 arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.
 una ingens Periphās et equorum agitator Achillis,
 armiger Automedon, una omnis Scyria pubes
 succedunt tecto et flammās ad culmina iactant.
 ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni
- 480 limina perrumpit postisque a cardine vellit
 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
- 485 armatosque vident stantis in limine primo.
 "At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
 miscetur, penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes
 femineis ululant; ferit aurea sidera clamor.
 tum pavidāe tectis matres ingentibus errant
- 490 amplexaeque tenent postis atque oscula figunt.
 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
- 495 immissi Danaī et late loca milite complent.
 non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
 MP exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
 fertur in arva furens cum camposque per omnis
 cum stabulis armenta trahit. vidi ipse furentem
- 500 caede Neoptolemum geminosque in limine Atridas,

BOOK II

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 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 on 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.

“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 on them. 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

AENEID

- vidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras
 sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis.
 quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum,
 barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi
 505 procubuere; tenent Danai, qua deficit ignis.
 “Forsitan et, Priami fuerint quae fata, requiras.
 urbis uti captae casum convulsaque vidit
 limina tectorum et medium in penetralibus hostem,
 arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo
 510 circumdat nequiquam umeris et inutile ferrum
 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.
 515 hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum,
 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,
 520 impulit his cingi telis? aut quo ruis?’ inquit.
 ‘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
 525 ad sese et sacra longaevum in sede locavit.
 “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
 530 insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta.

⁵⁰³ tanta *Ma*: ampla *P* (cf. *Propertius* 3.22.41)

BOOK II

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, the doors proud with the spoils of barbaric gold, fall low; where the fire fails, the Greeks hold sway.

“Perhaps, too, you may inquire what was Priam’s fate. When he saw the fall of the captured city, saw the doors of his palace shattered, 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. In the middle of the palace 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 husband,’ she cries, ‘what dreadful thought has driven you to don these weapons? Where are you rushing to? The hour calls not for such aid or such defenders, not though my own Hector were here himself! Come hither, pray; this altar will guard us all, or you will die with us!’ Thus she spoke, then drew the aged man to her and placed him on the holy seat.

“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 at any moment will catch him and overwhelm him with the

AENEID

- ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum,
 concidit ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit.
 hic Priamus, quamquam in media iam morte tenetur,
 non tamen abstinuit nec voci iraeque pepercit:
 535 'at tibi pro scelere,' exclamat 'pro talibus ausis
 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 vultus.
- 540 at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles
 talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque
 supplicis erubuit corpusque exsanguie sepulcro
 reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit.'
 sic fatus senior, telumque imbelles sine ictu
 545 coniecit, rauco quod protinus aere repulsum
 et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pependit.
 cui Pyrrhus: 'referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis
 Pelidae genitori; illi mea tristia facta
 degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento;
 550 nunc morere.' hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
 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
 555 sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem
 Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
 regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,
 avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.
 "At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.
 560 obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago,
 ut regem aequaeuum crudeli vulnere vidi
 vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa

BOOK II

spear. 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 death's closest grasp, yet held not back nor spared his voice and wrath: 'For your crime, for deeds so heinous,' he cries, 'if in heaven there is any righteousness to mark such sins, may the gods pay you fitting thanks and render you due rewards, who has made me look on my own son's murder, and defiled with death a father's face! Not so did Achilles deal with his foe Priam, that Achilles whose sonship you falsely claim, 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 spoke 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 you shall bear this news and go as messenger to my sire, Peleus' son; be sure to tell him 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 who was 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 neck, a corpse without a name!

"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 Creïsa,

AENEID

et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli.
 respicio et, quae sit me circum copia, lustrō.
 565 deseruere omnes defessi, et corpora saltu
 ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere.

SERV *“Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
 servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem
 Tyndarida aspicio; dant clara incendia lucem
 570 erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.
 illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros
 et Danaum poenam et deserti coniugis iras
 praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,
 abdiderat sese atque aris invisā sedebat.
 575 exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
 ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.
 ‘scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae
 aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho?
 coniugiumque domumque, patris natosque videbit
 580 Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?
 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;
 585 exstinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentes
 laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit
 ultricis flammae et cineres satiassē meorum.’
 talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar,*

567–588 *These verses, not given in any ancient ms or quoted by any ancient commentator, rest solely on the authority of Servius, who says that they were removed by Virgil's editors. Long suspected, they are now pronounced spurious by the most recent critics. See further Goold (1970).*

BOOK II

the pillaged house, and the fate of little Iulus. I look back and scan the force about me. All, outworn, have deserted me and flung their bodies to the ground or dropped helpless into the flames.

“And now I alone was left, when I saw, sheltered in Vesta’s shrine and silently hiding in the unfrequented fane, the daughter of Tyndareus;⁴ 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 Pergamum, the vengeance of the Greeks, and the wrath of the husband she abandoned—she, the undoing alike of her motherland and ours—had hidden herself and was crouching, hateful creature, by the altars. Fire blazed up in my heart; there comes an angry desire to avenge my ruined country and exact a penalty for her sin. ‘So is she to look unscathed on Sparta and her native Mycenae, and parade a queen in the triumph she has won? Is she to see husband and home, parents and children, attended by a train of Ilian ladies and Phrygian captives? For this is Priam to have perished by the sword? Troy burnt in flames? The Dardan shore so often soaked in blood? Not so! For though there is no glorious renown in punishing a woman and such victory gains no honour, yet I shall win praise for blotting out villainy and exacting just recompense; and it will be a joy to have filled my soul with the flame of revenge and satisfied the ashes of my people.’ Such words I blurted out and in frenzied mind was rushing on,

⁴ Helen.

⁵⁸⁴ nec habet late mss: habet haec mss of Servius

⁵⁸⁷ flammae late mss: famam mss of Servius

AENEID

- MP cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam
 590 obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit
 alma parens, confessa deam qualisque videri
 caelicolis et quanta solet, dextraque prehensum
 continuit roseoque haec insuper addidit ore:
 'nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
 595 quid furis? aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?
 non prius aspicias, ubi fessum aetate parentem
 liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa,
 Ascaniusque puer? quos omnis undique Graiae
 circum errant acies et, ni mea cura resistat,
 600 iam flammae tulerint, inimicus et hauserit ensis.
 non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisita Lacaenae
 culpatusve Paris; divum inclementia, divum,
 has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.
 aspice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
 605 mortalis hebetat visus tibi et umida circum
 caligat, nubem eripiam; tu ne qua parentis
 iussa time neu praeceptis parere recusa):
 hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis
 saxa vides mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,
 610 Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
 fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem
 eruit. hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas
 prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen
 ferro accincta vocat . . .
 615 iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas
 insedit, nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.
 ipse pater Danais animos viresque secundas
 sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitatur arma.
 eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori.

BOOK II

when my gracious mother, never before so brilliant to behold, came before my eyes, in pure radiance gleaming through the night, manifesting her deity, in beauty and stature such as she is wont to appear to the lords of heaven. She caught me by the hand and stayed me, and spoke these words besides with roseate lips: 'My son, what resentment thus stirs ungovernable wrath? Why this rage? Whither has your care for me fled? Will you not first see where you have left your father, age-worn Anchises, whether Creïsa your wife and the boy Ascanius still live? All these the Greek lines compass round on every side, and did not my love prevent it, by now the flames would have swept them away and the hostile sword would have 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 your sight, dulls your mortal vision and with dank pall enshrouds you, I will tear away; fear no commands of your mother nor refuse to obey her counsels—here, where you see shattered piles and rocks torn from rocks, and smoke eddying up mixed with dust, Neptune shakes the walls and foundations that his mighty trident has 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. My father himself gives the Greeks courage and auspicious strength; he himself stirs up the gods against the Dardan arms. Hasten your flight, my son, and

AENEID

- 620 nusquam abero et tutum patrio te limine sistam.
 dixerat et spissis noctis se condidit umbris.
 apparent dirae facies inimicae Troiae
 MPV numina magna deum . . .
- “Tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignis
 625 Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia;
 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,
 630 vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
 congemuit traxitque iugis avulsa ruinam.
 descendo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis
 expedor; dant tela locum flammaeque recedunt.
 “Atque ubi iam patriae perventum ad limina sedis
 635 antiquasque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos
 optabam primum montis primumque petebam,
 abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia
 exsiliumque pati. ‘vos o, quibus integer aevi
 sanguis,’ ait, ‘solidaeque suo stant robore vires,
 640 vos agitate fugam . . .
 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.
 645 ipse manu mortem inveniam: miserebitur hostis
 exuviasque petet. facilis iactura sepulcri.

620 nusquam *Pa*: numquam *M*

632 deo *M²aV²*, *Servius*: dea *MP²V*: de *P*

645 manu mortem *M*, *Servius*: -um -e *P*: -um -em *a*: -um -i *V*

BOOK II

put an end to your toil. Nowhere will I leave you but will set you safely on your father's threshold.' She spoke, and vanished in the thick shades of night. Dread shapes come to view and, hating Troy, great presences divine . . .

"Then, indeed, it seemed to me that all Ilium was sinking into the flames and that Neptune's Troy was being overturned 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 me passage and the flames retire.

"And now, when I had reached the door of my father's house, my ancient 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. 'You,' he cried, 'whose blood has the freshness of youth and whose strength stands sound in native vigour, you must 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 it is that I have seen one destruction, and have survived one capture of the city.⁵ To my body, thus lying, yea thus, bid farewell and depart!⁶ I shall find a warrior's death; the foe will take pity and seek my spoils. Light is the loss of burial. Hated of heaven

⁵ Troy was once before destroyed by Hercules, after Laomedon deceived him.

⁶ I.e. treat me as a corpse laid out for burial.

AENEID

iam pridem invisus divis et inutilis annos
demoror, ex quo me divum pater atque hominum rex
fulminis adflavit ventis et contigit igni.'

- 650 "Talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat.
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.
655 rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto.
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,
660 et sedet hoc animo perituraeque addere Troiae
teque tuosque iuvat, patet isti ianua leto,
iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,
natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras.
hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis
665 eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque
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
670 proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.'

"Hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram
insertabam aptans meque extra tecta ferebam.
FMPV ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx
haerebat parvumque patri tendebat Iulum:

⁶⁶³ natum *PV*: gnatum *Ma*

⁶⁶⁷ mactatos *aV2*: -o *MPV*

BOOK II

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.⁷

“So he persisted in his speech and remained unshaken. But we were dissolved in tears—my wife Creïsa, Ascanius, and all our household—pleading that our father not bring 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? ‘Did you think, my father, that I could go forth leaving you? 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 your mind and it is your pleasure to cast yourself and your kin into the wreck of Troy, for this death the gate is open 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 you saved 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!’

“Once more I strap on my sword, pass my left arm into the shield, as I fit it on, and was hurrying forth from the house, when lo! on the threshold my wife clung to me, clasping my feet and holding up little Iulus to his father. ‘If

⁷ Anchises was blasted by a lightning bolt for boasting of the love of Venus.

AENEID

- 675 'si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum;
 sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,
 hanc primum tutare domum. cui parvus Iulus,
 cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquo?'
 "Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat,
 680 cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum.
 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.
 685 nos pavidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem
 excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis.
 at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
 extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit:
 'Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
 690 aspice nos, hoc tantum, et, si pietate meremur,
 da deinde auxilium, 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.
 695 illam, summa super labentem culmina tecti,
 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
 MPV adfaturque deos et sanctum sidus adorat.
 701 'iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et, qua ducitis, adsum.
 di patrii, servate domum, servate nepotem.
 vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numine Troia est.
 cedo equidem nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso.'

680 subitum *F*²: -u *Fa*: -o *MPV*

683 mollis *MPa*: -i *V*

BOOK II

you go to die, take us, too, with you for any fate. But if from past experience, you place some hope in the armour you have donned, guard first this house. To whom do you abandon little Iulus, your father, and me, once called your wife?’

“So crying, she filled all the house with moaning; when a sudden portent appears, wondrous to tell. For between the hands and faces of his sad parents, from above the head of Iulus a light tongue of flame was seen to shed a gleam and, harmless in its touch, lick his soft locks and pasture round his temples. Trembling with alarm, we quickly 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 you are moved by any prayers, look upon us—this only do I ask—and if our goodness earn it, give us your aid, Father, and ratify this omen!’

“Scarcely had the aged man thus spoken, when with sudden crash there was thunder on the left and a star shot from heaven, gliding through the darkness, 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. At this, indeed, my father was overcome and, rising to his feet, salutes the gods, and worships the holy star. ‘Now, now there is no delay; I follow, and where you lead, there am I. Gods of my fathers! save my house, save my grandson. Yours is this omen, and under your protection stands Troy. Yes, I yield, and refuse not, my son, to go in your company.’ He ceased,

⁶⁹¹ *auxilium FMPaV: augurium Probus E.6.31, Servius (3.89)*

AENEID

- 705 dixerat ille, et iam per moenia clarior ignis
 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,
- 710 una salus ambobus erit. mihi parvus Iulus
 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
- 715 religione patrum multos servata per annos;
 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
- 720 abluero . . .'
 haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
 veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
 succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
 implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis;
- 725 pone subit coniunx. ferimur per opaca locorum,
 et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant
- MP tela neque adverso glomerati examine Grai,
 nunc omnes terrent aerae, sonus excitat omnis
 suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.
- 730 "Iamque propinquabam portis omnemque videbar
 evasisse viam, subito cum creber ad auris
 visus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram
 prospiciens, 'nate,' exclamat, 'fuge, nate; propinquant;
 ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.'
- 735 hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum
 confusam eripuit mentem. namque avia cursu

BOOK II

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 support you, and this task will not weigh me down. However things may fall, we two will have one common peril, one salvation. Let little Iulus come with me, and let my wife follow our steps at a distance. You 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 spot we will come from different directions. Father, take in your arms the sacred emblems of our country's household gods; for me, fresh from fierce battle and recent slaughter; it would be sinful to handle them until I have washed myself clean in running water . . .' 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.

"And now I was nearing the gates, and thought I had accomplished all my journey, 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 malign power stole my distracted wits. For while I plunge down byways and leave

AENEID

- dum sequor et nota excedo regione viarum,
 heu! misero coniunx fato mi erepta Creusa.
 substitit? erravitne via seu lassa resedit?
 740 incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris,
 nec prius amissam respexi animumve reflexi,
 quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam
 venimus. hic demum collectis omnibus una
 defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit.
 745 quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque,
 aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?
 Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque Penates
 commendo sociis et curva valle recondo;
 ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis.
 750 stat casus renovare omnis omnemque reverti
 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 lustrō.
 755 horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent.
 inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset,
 me refero. inruerant Danaï et tectum omne tenebant.
 ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento
 volvitur; exsuperant flammae, furit aestus ad auras.
 760 procedo et Priami sedes arcemque reviso.
 et iam porticibus vacuis Iunonis asylo
 custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Ulixes
 praedam adservabant. huc undique Troia gaza
 incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum
 765 crateresque auro solidi captivaque vestis

⁷³⁸ fato mi *Ribbeck*: fatone *codd.*

⁷³⁹ lassa *P²a*: lapsa *M*: rapta *P*

BOOK II

the course of the streets I know, alas! my wife Creïsa was snatched from me by an unhappy fate. Did she halt? Did she stray from the path or sit down in exhaustion? I do not know. Never again was she restored to my eyes, nor did I look back for my lost one, or cast a thought behind, until we came to the mound and ancient Ceres' hallowed home. Here at last, when all were gathered, she alone was missing and had vanished from the company, her child, and her husband. What man or god did I not reproach in my frenzy? 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.

“First I seek again the walls and dark gateway by which I had left the city; 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 I turn homeward in case—in case she had made her way there! The Danaï had rushed in and filled all the house. Forthwith 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 the treasures from all parts of Troy, torn from blazing shrines, tables of the gods, bowls of solid gold, and plun-

741 *animumve Pa: -que M*

758 *vento Pa: tecti M (302)*

AENEID

congeritur. pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres
stant circum . . .

- ausus quin etiam voces iactare per umbram
implevi clamore vias, maestusque Creusam
770 nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi.
quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine furenti
infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae
visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.
obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.
775 tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
'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.
780 longa tibi exsilia, et vastum maris aequor arandum;
et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.
illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx
parta tibi. lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae.
785 non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
aspiciam aut Graiis servitum matribus ibo,
Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus . . .
sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.
iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem.'
790 haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem
dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.
ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;
ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,

771 furenti *Ma*: ruenti *P* 775 = 3.153, 8.35. *Servius Auctus*
notes that many copies omitted this verse.

778 portare *M*: asp. *Pa* (te hinc c. asportare *Servius*)

BOOK II

dered 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 Creïsa again and again. As I rushed in my quest madly and endlessly among the buildings of the city, there rose before my eyes the sad phantom and ghost of Creïsa herself, a form larger than her wont. I was appalled, my hair stood up, and the voice choked in my throat. Then thus she spoke to me and with these words dispelled 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 you should take Creïsa from here in your company cannot be, nor does the mighty lord of high Olympus allow it. Long exile is your lot, a vast stretch of sea you must plough; and you will come to the land Hesperia, where amid the rich fields of husbandmen the Lydian Tiber flows with gentle sweep. There in store for you are happy days, kingship, and a royal wife. Banish tears for your beloved Creïsa. 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 gods⁸ keeps me on these shores. And now farewell, and guard your love for our common child.' When thus she had spoken, she left me weeping and eager 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

⁸ Cybele.

⁷⁸³ *laetae Pa: Italae M* (8.626)

AENEID

par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
795 sic demum socios consumpta nocte reviso.
 "Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum
 invenio admirans numerum, matresque virosque,
 collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile vulgus.
 undique convenere, animis opibusque parati,
800 in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras.
 iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae
 ducebatque diem, Danaïque obsessa tenebant
 limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur.
 cessi et sublato montis genitore petivi.

804 montis *Ma*: -em *P*, *Servius*

BOOK II

winged dream. Thus at last, when night is spent, I revisit my companions.

“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 me to lead them over the sea to whatever lands I will. 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 hills.

LIBER III

- FMP "Postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem
immeritam visum superis, ceciditque superbum
Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia,
diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras
- 5 auguriis agimur divum, classemque sub ipsa
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:
- 10 litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo
et campos, ubi Troia fuit. feror exsul in altum
cum sociis natoque, Penatibus et magnis dis.
"Terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis
(Thracas arant), acri quondam regnata Lycurgo
- 15 hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique Penates,
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
- 20 auspiciis coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem
caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum.
forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo

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. Close to 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, my household gods and the great deities.

“At a distance lies the war god’s land, of widespread plains, tilled by Thracians, and once ruled by fierce Lycurgus; friendly of old to Troy, with allied gods, in happier times. To it I sail 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.

“I was offering sacrifice to my mother, daughter of Dione, and the other gods, that they might bless 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

AENEID

- virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.
 accessi, viridemque ab humo convellere silvam
 25 conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras,
 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
 30 membra quatit, gelidusque coit formidine sanguis.
 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
 35 Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis,
 rite secundarent visus omenque levarent.
 tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu
 adgredior genibusque adversae obductor harenae
 (eloquar, an sileam?), gemitus lacrimabilis imo
 40 auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad auris:
 '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.
 45 nam Polydorus ego. hic confixum ferrea texit
 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
 50 infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum
 Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis
 Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione videret.
 ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum et Fortuna recessit,
 res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus

BOOK III

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 trickle drops of black blood 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 Gradius, 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 sands—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, do you tear me? Spare me in the tomb at last; spare the pollution of your pure hands! I, born of Troy, am no stranger to you; 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 choked in my throat.

"This Polydorus, with great weight of gold, luckless Priam had once sent in secret to be reared by the Thracian king, when he now lost hope in the arms of Dardania and saw the city beleaguered. When the power of Troy was crushed and Fortune withdrew, the Thracian, following Agamemnon's cause and triumphant arms, severs every

AENEID

- MP fas omne abrumpit; Polydorum obruncat et auro
 56 vi potitur. quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
 auri sacra fames? postquam pavor ossa reliquit,
 delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentem
 monstra deum refero et, quae sit sententia, posco.
 60 omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra,
 linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus Austros.
 ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens
 aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant Manibus arae,
 caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso,
 65 et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae;
 inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte
 sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulcro
 condimus et magna supremum voce ciemus.
 “Inde ubi prima fides pelago, placataque venti
 70 dant maria et lenis crepitans vocat Auster in altum,
 deducunt socii navis et litora complent.
 provehimur portu, terraeque urbesque recedunt.
 sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus
 Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo,
 75 quam pius Arquitenens oras et litora circum
 errantem Mycono e celsa Gyaroque revinxit,
 immotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos.
 huc feror; haec fessos tuto placidissima portu
 FMP accipit. egressi veneramur Apollinis urbem.
 80 rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos,
 vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro
 occurrit, veterem Anchisen agnovit amicum;
 iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus.
 “Templa dei saxo venerabar structa vetusto:

⁸² a(d)gnovit *FPA*: -noscit *M*

BOOK III

sacred tie, slays Polydorus, and takes the gold perforce. To what crime do you not drive the hearts of men, 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 judgement. 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 ribbons 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.

"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. In mid-sea lies a holy land,¹ 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, defying 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 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.

"I was paying homage to the god's temple, built of an-

¹ Delos, birthplace of Apollo and Diana.

AENEID

- 85 'da propriam, Thymbraee, domum, da moenia fessis
 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.'
- 90 "Vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente,
 liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri
 mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.
 summissi petimus terram, et vox fertur ad auris:
 'Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
- 95 prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
 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
- 100 laetitia et cuncti, quae sint ea moenia, quaerunt,
 quo Phoebus vocet errantis iubeatque reverti.
 tum genitor, veterum volvens monumenta virorum,
 'audite, o proceres,' ait, 'et spes discite vestra.
 Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto,
- 105 mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae.
 centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna;
 maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,
 Teucus Rhoeteas primum est advectus ad oras
 optavitque locum regno. nondum Ilium et arces
- 110 Pergameae steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
 hinc Mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera
 Idaeumque nemus, hinc fida silentia sacris,
 et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones.

⁹³ et vox *Ma*: vox *FP* ¹⁰⁸ ad *M*: in *FPa*

¹¹¹ *Cybeli Fa, Servius*: -e *MP*, known to *Servius*: -ae *Heinsius*

BOOK III

cient stone: 'Grant us, 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? Whither do you bid us go? Where fix our home? Grant, father, an omen, and inspire our hearts!'

"Scarcely had I said this, 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: 'Long-suffering sons of Dardanus, the land which bore 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, 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 had Ilium and the towers of Pergamus been reared; men dwelt in the low valleys. Hence came the Mother who haunts Cybelus, the Corybantian cymbals and the grove of Ida; hence came the faithful silence of her mysteries, and yoked lions submitted to our lady's

AENEID

- ergo agite et, divum ducunt qua iussa, sequamur;
 115 placemus ventos et Cnosia regna petamus.
 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,
 120 nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.
 “Fama volat pulsum regnis cessisse paternis
 Idomenea ducem, desertaque litora Cretae,
 hoste vacare domum sedesque astare relictas.
 linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque volamus,
 125 bacchatamque iugis Naxon viridemque Donysam,
 Olearon niveamque Paron sparsasque per aequor
 Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta consita terris.
 nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor;
 hortantur socii, ‘Cretam proavosque petamus.’
 130 prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis
 et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris.
 ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis
 Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem
 hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.
 135 iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes;
 conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus;
 iura domosque dabam: subito cum tabida membris,
 corrupto caeli tractu, miserandaque venit
 arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus.
 140 linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant
 corpora; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros;
 arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat.
 rursus ad oraclum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso

¹²³ domum *FP*: -os *Ma*

¹²⁷ consita χ : -cita *FMPa*

BOOK III

chariot. Come then, and let us follow where the gods' bidding leads, let us appease the winds and seek the realm of Cnosus! 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 spoke, and on the altars slew the sacrifices due, a bull to Neptune, a bull to you, fair Apollo, a black sheep to the storm god, a white to the favouring Zephyrs.

"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 sown thick with islands. 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 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 sustenance. My father urges us to recross the sea and go again to Phoebus and Ortygia's oracle, to pray for

AENEID

- hortatur pater ire mari veniamque precari,
 145 quam fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum
 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
 150 extuleram, visi ante oculos astare iacentis
 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,
 155 hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.
 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
 160 magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem.
 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;
 165 Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.
 hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus
 Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.
 surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti
 170 haud dubitanda refer, Corythum terrasque requirat
 Ausonias; Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva.’
 “Talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum
 (nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere vultus

BOOK III

favour, and ask what end he grants to our weary lot, whence he bids us seek aid for our distress, whither bend our course.

“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 spoke to me and with these words dispelled my cares. ‘What Apollo is going to tell you when you reach Ortygia, he here utters, and he sends us unbidden to your threshold. We followed you and your arms when Dardania was burned; under you we traversed on ships the swelling sea; we, too, shall exalt to heaven your sons that are to be, and give empire to their city. Prepare mighty walls for the mighty, and do not shrink from the long toil of flight. You must change your home. Not these the shores the Delian Apollo counselled, not in Crete did he bid you settle. A place² 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 bear to your aged parent these certain tidings, to seek Corythus and the lands of Ausonia. Jupiter denies you the Dictaeon fields.’

“Awed by this vision and the voice of gods—nor was that a mere dream, but openly I seemed to know their

² Cf. 1.530ff.

AENEID

- 175 velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar;
 tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor)
 corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas
 ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo
 intemerata focis. perfecto laetus honore
 Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando.
- 180 agnovit prolem ambiguam geminosque parentes,
 seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum.
 tum memorat: 'nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,
 sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat.
 nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro,
- 185 et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare.
 sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos litora Teucros
 crederet? aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret?
 cedamus Phoebo et moniti meliora sequamur.'
 sic ait et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes.
- 190 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,
- 195 noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.
 continuo venti volvunt mare magna que surgunt
 aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto.
 involvere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum
 abstulit; ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.
- 200 excutimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis.
 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.

BOOK III

looks, their filleted hair, and their living faces; and 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 new error touching ancient lands. Then he speaks: 'Son, tested 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? And 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.

"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 dark lightning fires. We are hurled from our course and wander 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

²⁰⁴ After this verse Servius Auctus quotes 3 verses, 'said' to have been found 'circled' in the margin. See Introduction.

AENEID

- 205 quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem
 visa, aperire procul montis ac volvere fumum.
 vela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mora, nautae
 adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.
- FMP "Servatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum
 FGMP excipiunt. Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae
 211 insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno
 Harpyiaequae colunt aliae, Phineia postquam
 clausa domus mensasque metu liquere priores.
 tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla
 215 pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
 virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
 GMP proluvies, uncaeque manus, et pallida semper
 ora fame . . .
 huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce
 220 laeta boum passim campis armenta videmus
 caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.
 inruimus ferro et divos ipsumque vocamus
 in partem praedamque Iovem: tum litore curvo
 exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis.
 225 at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt
 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
 230 *arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris,*
 instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem;
 rursum ex diverso caeli caecisque latebris
 turba sonans praedam pedibus circumvolat uncis,

²¹⁰ excipiunt (F)GPa: acc- Ma

²³⁰ = 1.311 MPa] del. Ribbeck

BOOK III

as many starless nights. On the fourth day at length land first was seen to rise, disclosing mountains afar and curling smoke. The sails come down; we bend to the oars; without delay the sailors lustily churn the foam and sweep the blue waters.

“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 . . . 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 quivering 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

AENEID

- 235 polluit ore dapes. sociis tunc, arma capessant,
 edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum.
 haud secus ac iussi faciunt tectosque per herbam
 disponunt enses et scuta latentia condunt.
 ergo ubi delapsae sonitum per curva dedere
 litora, dat signum specula Misenus ab alta
 240 aere cavo. invadunt socii et nova proelia temptant,
 obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucris.
 sed neque vim plumis ullam nec vulnera tergo
 accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae
 semesam praedam et vestigia foeda relinquunt.
 245 "Una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,
 infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem:
 'bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvenis,
 Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
 et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?
 250 accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta.
 quae Phoebos pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
 praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
 Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis:
 ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit;
 255 sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
 quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
 ambasas subigat malis absumere mensas.'
 dixit et in silvam pinnis ablata refugit.
 at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis
 260 deriguit; cecidere animi, nec iam amplius armis,
 sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem,
 sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaque volucres.
 et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis
 numina magna vocat meritosque indicit honores:
 265 'di, prohibete minas, di, talem avertite casum

BOOK III

with their lips. Then I bid my comrades seize arms and declare war on the fell race. They do as they are bidden, 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 cattle and slain bullocks, is it war you are ready to bring upon us, sons of Laomedon, and would you 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. That you may reach Italy you sail the seas and invoke the winds: to Italy you shall go and freely enter her harbours; but you 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!'

"She spoke 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 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: 'O gods, stay their threats! Gods, turn aside

AENEID

et placidi servate pios! tum litore funem
 deripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentis.
 tendunt vela Noti; fugimus spumantibus undis,
 qua cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat.
 270 iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos
 Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis.
 effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna,
 et terram altricem saevi execramur Ulixi;
 mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis
 275 et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.
 hunc petimus fessi et parvae succedimus urbi;
 ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes.
 "Ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti
 lustramurque Iovi votisque incendimus aras
 280 Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.
 exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras
 nudati socii; iuvat evasisse tot urbes
 Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis.
 interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum
 285 et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas:
 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;
 290 certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.
 protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces,
 litoraque Epiri legimus portuque subimus
 Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem.
 "Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris,

²⁹² portuque *Pa*: -usque *M*

BOOK III

this misfortune 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, Laertes' 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 stand ranged on the shore.

"So having at last won land un hoped for, we offer to Jove dues of cleansing, kindle the altars with offerings, and through 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 the towering heights of the Phaeacians, skirt the shores of Epirus, enter the Chaonian harbour, and draw near Buthrotum's lofty city.

"Here the rumour of a tale beyond belief fills our ears,

AENEID

- 295 Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbes,
 coniugio Aeacidæ Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum,
 et patrio Andromachen iterum cessisse marito.
 obstipui, miroque incensum pectus amore
 compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos.
- FMP progredior portu, classis et litora linquens,
 301 sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona
 ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam
 libabat cineri Andromache, Manisque vocabat
 Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem
- 305 et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacra verat aras.
 ut me conspexit venientem et Troïa circum
 arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstros
 deriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,
 labitur et longo vix tandem tempore fatur:
- 310 'verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers,
 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:
- 315 'vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco;
 ne dubita, nam vera vides . . .
 heu! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto
 excipit? aut quæ digna satis fortuna revisit,
 Hectoris Andromache? Pyrrhin conubia servas?'
- 320 deiecit vultum et demissa voce locuta est:
 "O felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,
 hostilem ad tumulum Troiæ sub moenibus altis
 iussa mori, quæ sortitus non pertulit ullos
 nec victoris eri tetigit cubile!

³¹² effudit *FMa*: -fundit *P*

BOOK III

that Priam's son, Helenus, is reigning over Greek cities, having won the wife and kingdom of Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, 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 this strange fortune. I advance from the harbour, leaving shore and fleet, just when, as it happened, Andromache, in a grove outside 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 twin altars, there to shed her tears. When she caught sight of me coming, and saw to her amazement the arms of Troy around, awed by these great marvels she stiffened even as she gazed, and the warmth forsook her limbs. She swoons, and at last after a long time speaks: 'Are you a real form, a real messenger, coming to me, goddess-born? Are you alive? Or if the light of life has left you, where is Hector?' She spoke, and shedding a flood of tears filled all the place with her cries. To her in her frenzy I can scarcely 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 what you see is real . . . Ah! What fate has befallen you, since you lost such a husband? What fortune worthy of you, Hector's Andromache, is yours again? Are you still wedded to Pyrrhus?' She cast down her eyes, and with lowered voice spoke:

"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 knew, as captive, a conquering master's bed! We, our homeland

AENEID

- 325 nos patria incensa diversa per aequora vectae
 stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum,
 servitio enixae, tulimus; qui deinde, secutus
 Ledaeam Hermionen Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos,
 me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam.
- 330 ast illum ereptae magno flammatus amore
 coniugis et scelerum Furiis agitated Orestes
 excipit incautum patriasque obruncat ad aras.
 morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit
 pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos
- 335 Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit,
 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,
- 340 quem tibi iam Troia . . . ?
 ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?
 MP ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis
 et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?
 talia fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat
- 345 incassum fletus, cum sese a moenibus heros
 Priamides multis Helenus comitantibus adfert,
 agnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit
 et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fundit.
 procedo et parvam Troiam simulataque magnis
- 350 Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum
 agnosco, Scaetaeque amplector limina portae.
 nec non et Teucrici socia simul urbe fruuntur.
 illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis;
 aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi,

³³⁰ flammatus *FPA*: in- *M*

BOOK III

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 a Spartan marriage, 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 you what winds, what fates gave a course? What god has driven you 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 . . .³ 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? Such words she poured forth weeping, and was vainly raising 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 embrace the portals of a Scaean gate. No less, too, my Teucrians enjoy with me the friendly city. The king welcomed them amid broad colonnades; in the centre of the hall they poured libations of wine and held the bowls, while the

³ The only incomplete line in the *Aeneid* where the sense is also incomplete.

AENEID

- 355 impositis auro dapibus, paterasque tenebant.
 “Iamque dies alterque dies processit, et aurae
 vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro:
 his vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso:
 “Troiugena, interpretis divum, qui numina Phoebi,
 360 qui tripoda ac Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis
 et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pinnae,
 fare age (namque omnis cursum mihi prospera dixit
 religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi
 Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas;
 365 sola novum dictuque nefas Harpyia Celaeno
 prodigium canit et tristis denuntiat iras
 obscenamque famem), quae prima pericula vito?
 quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?”
 hic Helenus, caesis primum de more iuvenicis,
 370 exorat pacem divum vittasque resolvit
 sacрати 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
 375 auspiciis manifesta fides (sic fata deum rex
 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
 380 scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno.
 principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam
 vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,

³⁶⁰ tripoda ac *Mackail*: -as *MPa*, *Servius* | Clarii *Servius*: Clarii
 et χ: Clari *MPa*

³⁶² omnis *P*: -em *Ma*

BOOK III

feast was served on gold.

“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: ‘O son of Troy, interpreter of the gods, who know the will of Phoebus, the tripod and laurel of the Clarian,⁴ the stars, and tongues of birds and omens of the flying wing, come, tell me—for every sign from heaven has uttered favourable words to me about 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? And by what course may I surmount such suffering?’ 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 your gates, Phoebus, thrilled with your full presence, and then with a priest’s inspired lips thus prophesies:

“Goddess-born, since there is clear proof that under higher auspices you journey over 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 to you in speech, that so more safely you may traverse the seas of your sojourn, and find rest in Ausonia’s haven; for the Fates forbid Helenus to know more and Saturnian Juno stays her utterance. First of all, the Italy which now you deem so near, and whose harbours you are, unwitting one, preparing to enter as if they were

⁴ Clarus was a town in Ionia, famous for its shrine and oracle of Apollo.

AENEID

- longa procul longis via dividit in via terris.
 ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda
 385 et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor
 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
 390 litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
 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;
 395 fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo.
 has autem terras Itali que hanc litoris oram,
 proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu,
 effuge; cuncta malis habitantur moenia Grai.
 hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri
 400 et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos
 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,
 405 purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,
 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.
 410 "Ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae
 ventus et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,
 laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur
 aequora circuitu; dextrum fuge litus et undas.

BOOK III

close by, a distant path which is no path sunders widely. First in the Trinacrian wave you must strain the oar, and traverse with your ships the salt Ausonian main, past the nether lakes and Aeaean Circe's isle, before you can build your city in a land of safety. I will declare tokens to you; keep them stored in your mind. When, in your distress, by the waters of a secluded stream, you find a sow lying under the oaks on the shore, just delivered of a litter of thirty young, a white mother reclining on the ground, and white the young at her teats—there shall be the city's site, there a sure rest from your toils. And fear not the gnawing of tables that awaits you; the Fates will find a way, and Apollo be present at your 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 your ships have crossed the seas and anchored, and when you then raise altars and pay vows on the shore, veil your hair with the covering of a purple robe, that in the worship of the gods no hostile face may intrude amid the holy fires and mar the omens. Hold to this mode of sacrifice, you and your company; let your children's children in purity stand fast.

“But when, on departing thence, the wind has borne you to the Sicilian coast, and the barriers of narrow Pelorus open out, make for the land on the left and the seas on the left, long though the circuit be; shun the shore and waters

AENEID

- haec loca vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina
 415 (tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
 dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
 una foret; venit medio vi pontus et undis
 Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
 litore diductas angusto interluit aestu.
 420 dextrum Scylla latus, laevum implacata Charybdis
 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
 425 ora exsertantem et navis in saxa trahentem.
 prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo
 pube tenus, postrema immani corpore pistrix,
 delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.
 praestat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni
 430 cessantem, longos et circumflectere cursus,
 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,
 435 unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum
 praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo:
 Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora,
 Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem
 supplicibus supera donis: sic denique victor
 440 Trinacria finis Italos mittere relicta.
 huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem
 divinosque lacus et Averno sonantia silvis,
 insanam vatem aspicias, quae rupe sub ima
 fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.

BOOK III

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 force between, cut off with its waters the Hesperian from the Sicilian coast, and with narrow tideway washes fields and cities on severed shores. Scylla guards the right side; insatiate Charybdis the left; and at the bottom of her seething chasm thrice she sucks the vast waves into the abyss, and again in turn throws them upwards, lashing the stars with spray. But Scylla a cavern confines in dark recesses, from which she thrusts forth her mouths and draws ships on to 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 slowly to round the promontory of Trinacrian Pachynus and double back on a long course than once get sight of misshapen Scylla in her vast cavern, and of the rocks that echo 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, Goddess-born, this one in lieu of all I will foretell, and again and again repeat the warning: mighty Juno's power honour first with prayer; to Juno joyfully chant vows, and win over the mighty mistress with suppliant gifts. So at last you will leave Trinacria behind and be sped triumphantly to the bounds of Italy. And when, thither borne, you draw near to the town of Cumae, the haunted lakes, and Avernus with its rustling woods, you will see an inspired prophetess, who deep in a rocky cave sings the Fates and entrusts to leaves

AENEID

- 445 quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo,
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,
- 450 numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo
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
- 455 vela vocet possisque sinus implere secundos,
quin adeas vatem precibusque oracula poscas
GMP ipsa canat vocemque volens atque ora resolvat.
illa tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella
et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem,
- 460 expediet, cursusque dabit venerata secundos.
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 ac secto elephanto
- 465 imperat ad navis ferri, stipatque carinis
ingens argentum Dodonaeosque lebetas,
loricam consertam hamis auroque trlicem,
et conum insignis galeae cristasque comantis,
arma Neoptolemi. sunt et sua dona parenti.
- 470 addit equos additque duces . . .
remigium supplet; socios simul instruit armis.
“Interea classem velis aptare iubebat
Anchises, fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti.
quem Phoebi interpres multo compellat honore:

⁴⁶⁴ ac secto *Schaper*: sectoque *codd.*

BOOK III

signs and symbols. Whatever verses the maid has traced on leaves she arranges in order and stores away in the cave. These remain unmoved in their places and do not quit their rank; but when at the turn of a hinge a light breeze has stirred them, and the open door has scattered the tender foliage, never thereafter does she care to catch them, as they flutter in the rocky cave, nor to recover their places and unite the verses; inquirers depart no wiser than they came, and loathe the Sibyl's seat. Here let no loss of time by delay be of such importance in your eyes—though comrades chide, though the voyage urgently calls your sails to the deep and you have the chance to swell their folds with favouring gales—that you do not visit 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, how you are to flee or face each toil, she will unfold to you; and, reverently besought, she will grant you a prosperous voyage. These are the warnings that you are permitted to hear from my voice. Go, then, and by your deeds exalt Troy in greatness unto heaven!

“When the seer had thus spoken with friendly lips, he next gives commands 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 triple-woven with hooks of gold, and a brilliant pointed helm with crested plumes, the arms of Neoptolemus. There are gifts, too, for my father. He includes horses and includes guides . . . he fills up our crews, and also equips my comrades with arms.

“Meanwhile Anchises bade us fit the ships with sails, so that the favouring wind would meet no delay. Him the interpreter of Phoebus with deep respect addresses:

AENEID

- 475 'coniugio, Anchise, Veneris dignate superbo,
 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.
- 480 vade,' ait, 'o felix nati pietate. quid ultra
 provehor et fando surgentis demoror Austros?'
 nec minus Andromache, digressu maesta supremo,
 fert picturatas auri subtemine vestes
 et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem, nec cedit honore,
- 485 textilibusque onerat donis ac talia fatur:
 '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.
- 490 sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat;
 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.
- 495 vobis parta quies; nullum maris aequor arandum,
 arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
 quaerenda. effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis,
 quam vestrae fecere manus, melioribus, opto,
 auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obvia Grais.
- 500 si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva
 intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,
 cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,
 Epiro Hesperiam, quibus idem Dardanus auctor
 atque idem casus, unam faciemus utramque
- 505 Troiam animis; maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.'

BOOK III

‘Anchises, deemed worthy of lofty wedlock with Venus, the gods’ charge, twice rescued from the fall of Pergamus, see! before you is the land of Ausonia! Make sail and seize it! And yet past this shore you must drift upon the sea; far away is that part of Ausonia which Apollo reveals. Go forth,’ he cries, ‘blest in your son’s love. Why do I continue 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 does she fail in courtesy, but loads him with gifts from the loom, and thus speaks: ‘Take these last gifts of your kin, you 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 yours!’ My tears welled up as I spoke to them my parting words: ‘Live and be happy, as should those whose destiny is now achieved; we are still summoned from fate to fate. Your rest is won. No seas have you to plough, nor have you to seek Ausonian fields that move for ever backward. You see a copy of Xanthus and a Troy, which your own hands have built, under happier omens, I pray, and better shielded from 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, Hesperia allied to Epirus—who have the same Dardanus for ancestor and the same disastrous story—of these two we shall make one Troy in spirit. May that duty await our children’s children!’

475 Anchise *Pa*: -a *M*², *Servius*: -ae *M*

480 ait *GPa*: age *M* (462)

483 subtemine *Pa*: -tegmine *GM*

484 honore *Pa*: -i *GM*: *Servius* knows both

503 Hesperiam *GMPa*: -ia *Servius*

AENEID

- “Provehimur pelago vicina Ceraunia iuxta,
 unde iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis.
 sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci.
 sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam,
 510 sortiti remos, passimque in litore sicco
 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;
 515 sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo,
 Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,
 armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.
 postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno,
 dat clarum e puppi signum; nos castra movemus
 520 temptamusque viam et velorum pandimus alas.
 iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis,
 cum procul obscuros colles humilemque videmus
 Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates,
 Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.
 525 tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
 induit implevitque mero divosque vocavit
 stans celsa in puppi . . .
 ‘di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes,
 ferite viam vento facilem et spirate secundi!’
 530 crebrescunt optatae aurae, portusque patescit
 iam propior, templumque apparet in Arce Minervae.
 MP vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent.
 portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum;
 obiectae salsa spumant aspargine cautes,
 535 ipse latet; gemino demittunt bracchia muro
 turriti scopuli, refugitque ab litore templum.
 quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi,

BOOK III

“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. Not 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!’ cries Achates the foremost; Italy my comrades 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 . . . ‘O gods, lords of the sea and earth and storms, carry 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.⁵ My comrades furl the sails and shoreward 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 lies away from the shore. Here, as a first omen, four steeds I saw on the turf, graz-

⁵ A reference to *Castrum Minervae*, near the *Portus Veneris* in Calabria, the modern *Castro*.

AENEID

tondentis campum late, candore nivali.
 et pater Anchises: 'bellum, o terra hospita, portas;
 540 bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.
 sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti
 quadrupedes et frena iugo concordia ferre:
 spes et pacis,' ait. Tum numina sancta precamur
 Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis,
 545 et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu,
 praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite
 Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores.

"Haud mora, continuo perfectis ordine votis
 cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum
 550 Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva.
 hinc sinus Herculei, si vera est fama, Tarenti
 cernitur; attollit se diva Lacinia contra
 Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.
 tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna,
 555 et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa
 audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces,
 exsultantque vada atque aestu miscentur harenae.
 et pater Anchises: 'nimirum hic illa Charybdis;
 hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat.
 560 eripite, o socii, pariterque insurgite remis.'
 MPV haud minus ac iussi faciunt, primusque rudentem
 contorsit laevas proram Palinurus ad undas;
 laevam cuncta cohors remis ventisque petivit.
 565 tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite et idem
 subducta ad Manis imos desedimus unda;

556 ad litora *MPa*: ab -e *M*²

558 hic *MP*: haec *γα*

563 remis ventisque *Pa*: ventis remisque *M*

BOOK III

ing at large over the plain, as white as snow. Then father Anchises: 'Tis war you bring, 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 chariot 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 veil our heads in Phrygian robe, and, following the urgent charge which Helenus had given, duly offer to Argive Juno the prescribed sacrifice.

"At once, soon as our vows are paid in full, we point seaward 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,⁶ 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 beating of the rocks, and recurrent crash of waves upon the shore; the shoals dash up and the sands mingle with the surge. Then father Anchises: 'Surely here 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 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

⁶ There was a temple of Juno on the Lacinian promontory.

AENEID

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.

- 570 "Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens
 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;
 575 interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis
 erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras
 cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exaestuat imo.
 fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus
 urgeri mole hac ingentemque insuper Aetnam
 580 impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis,
 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.
 585 nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra
 siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo,
 MP et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat.

- "Postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo
 umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,
 590 cum subito e silvis, macie confecta suprema,
 ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu
 procedit supplexque manus ad litora tendit.
 respicimus. dira inluvies, immissaque barba,
 consertum tegumen spinis; at cetera Graius,
 595 et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis.

581 mutet *MPa*: -at *M²P²*

BOOK III

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.

"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 turns 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 bright with starlight, but mists darkened the sky and the dead of night held fast the moon in cloud.

"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 gaze at him. Ghastly in his squalor, with unshorn beard, and garb fastened with thorns, he was yet in all else a Greek, and had once been sent to Troy in his country's arms. When far off he saw the

AENEID

isque ubi Dardanios habitus et Troïa vidit
 arma procul, paulum aspectu conterritus haesit
 continuitque gradum; mox sese ad litora praeceps
 cum fletu precibusque tulit: ‘per sidera testor,
 600 per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen,
 tollite me, Teucri; quascumque abducite terras;
 hoc sat erit. scio me Danais e classibus unum,
 et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse Penates.
 pro quo, si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri,
 605 spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto:
 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.
 610 ipse pater dextram Anchises, haud multa moratus,
 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
 615 paupere (mansissetque utinam fortuna!) profectus.
 hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina linquunt,
 immemores socii vasto Cyclopi in antro
 deseruere. domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,
 intus opaca, ingens. ipse arduus, altaque pulsat
 620 sidera—di, talem terris avertite pestem!—
 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
 625 frangeret ad saxum, sanieque aspersa natarent

600 lumen *M²P²a*: numen *MP*

BOOK III

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, 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, strew 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 who he is, of what blood born, and 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:

"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 my luck had continued thus!—I set out for Troy. Here my comrades, when running away from 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—O 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, as he lounged in the midst of the cave, smashed them on the rock, and the spattered courts swam with gore; I watched while he devoured

AENEID

- 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.
- 630 nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus
 cervicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum
 immensus, saniem eructans et frustra cruento
 per somnum commixta mero, nos, magna precati
 numina sortitique vices, una undique circum
- 635 fundimur et telo lumen terebramus acuto
 ingens, quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,
 Argolici clipei aut Phoebæ lampadis instar,
 et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras.
 sed fugite, o miseri, fugite atque ab litore funem
- 640 rumpite . . .
 nam qualis quantusque cavo Polyphemus in antro
 lanigeras claudit pecudes atque ubera pressat,
 centum alii curva hæc habitant ad litora vulgo
 infandi Cyclopes et altis montibus errant.
- 645 tertia iam lunæ se cornua lumine complent,
 cum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum
 lustra domosque traho vastosque ab rupe Cyclopas
 prospicio sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco.
 victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna,
- 650 dant rami, et vulsis pascunt radicibus herbae.
 omnia conlustrans hanc primum ad litora classem
 prospexi venientem. huic me, quaecumque fuisset,
 addixi; satis est gentem effugisse nefandam.
 vos animam hanc potius quocumque absomite leto.
- 655 "Vix ea fatus erat, summo cum monte videmus
 ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem
 pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem,

BOOK III

their limbs, all dripping with black blood-clots, and the warm joints quivered beneath his teeth. But not unpunished! Ulysses did not stand for this, nor did the man of Ithaca forget who he was at this dreadful time. 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 an Argive shield or the lamp of Phoebus. And so at last we gladly avenged our dead comrades. But flee, 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 curved shores and roam the high mountains. For the third time now the moon's horns are filling 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 uptorn roots. Scanning all the view, I saw this fleet drawing to the shore. To it, prove what it might, I surrendered myself. It is enough to have escaped that accursed brood! Take away this life of mine—it is better so—by any death whatever!

“Scarce had he spoken when on the mountaintop we saw the giant himself, the shepherd Polyphemus, moving his mighty bulk among his flocks and seeking the well-

AENEID

monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ad-
emptum.

trunca manu pinus regit et vestigia firmat;

FMP lanigeræ comitantur oves; ea sola voluptas

661 solamenque mali . . .

postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora venit,

luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem

dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per aequor

665 iam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.

nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare recepto

supplice sic merito tacitique incidere funem,

verrimus et proni certantibus aequora remis.

sensit, et ad sonitum vocis vestigia torsit.

670 verum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas

nec potis Ionios fluctus aequare sequendo,

clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes

contremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus

Italiae curvisque immugiit Aetna cavernis.

675 at genus e silvis Cyclopum et montibus altis

excitum ruit ad portus et litora complent.

cernimus astantis nequiquam lumine torvo

Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentis,

concilium horrendum: quales cum vertice celso

680 aëriæ quercus aut coniferae cyparissi

constiterunt, silva alta Iovis lucusve Dianae.

praecipitis metus acer agit quocumque rudentis

excudere et ventis intendere vela secundis.

contra, iussa monent Heleni, Scyllamque Charybdi

FMPR inter, utrimque viam leti discrimine parvo,

668 verrimus *F*: vertimus *MP* 670 dextra *P*: -am *FM*

673 contremuere *M*: in- *FP* (3.581)

BOOK III

known shore—a monster awful, hideous, huge, and eyeless. 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! . . . As soon as he touched the deep waves and reached the sea, he washed therein 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. Desperately 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 eager 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 in his pursuit keep up with the Ionian rollers, he raises a mighty roar, at which the sea and all its waves shuddered and the land of Italy was terrified 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 brotherhood, their heads towering to the sky, a grim conclave: even as when on a mountaintop 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 any favouring breeze. However, the instructions of Helenus warn me not to pursue a course between Scylla and Charybdis—a passage which on either side is

⁶⁸⁴ Scyllamque Charybдинque *Heinsius* (1.218, G.2.344):
Scyllam atque Charybдин (-im, -is) *codd.*

⁶⁸⁵ inter] *the anastrophe known to Servius Auctus* | utrimque
Nisbet: -amque *codd.*

AENEID

- 686 ni teneam cursus: certum est dare lintea retro.
 ecce autem Boreas angusta ab sede Pelori
 missus adest; vivo praetervehor ostia saxo
- 689 Pantagiae Megarosque sinus Thapsumque iacentem.
 MPR talia monstrabat relegens errata retrorsus
 MPRV litora Achaemenides, comes infelicis Ulixi.
- “Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra
 Plemyrrium undosum; nomen dixere priores
 Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem
- 695 occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc
 ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.
 iussi numina magna loci veneramur et inde
 exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori.
 hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni
- 700 radimus, et fatis numquam concessa moveri
 apparet Camerina procul campique Geloi
 immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.
 arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
 moenia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum;
- 705 teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa Selinus,
 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,
- 710 amitto Anchisen; hic me, pater optime, fessum
 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;

⁶⁸⁶ ni *FMRp*: nec *P* | teneam *Servius Auctus*: -eant *codd.*

⁷⁰⁸ actus *P*: actis *MRV*

BOOK III

but a hair's breadth removed from death. It is resolved to sail back again, when the North Wind comes blowing from the narrow strait of Pelorus. Past Pantagia's mouth with its living rock I voyage—past the Megarian bay and low-lying Thapsus. Such were the coasts pointed out by Achaemenides, comrade of the luckless Ulysses, as he retraced his former wanderings.

“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 your 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 far 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 favourable winds granted by the gods, I leave you 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, you leave 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

AENEID

715 hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris.”
Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus
MPR fata renarrabat divum cursusque docebat.
conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit.

BOOK III

god drove me to your shores.”

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 ending, took his rest.

LIBER IV

- FGMPR At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.
multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat
gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus
5 verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
Postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras
umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,
cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem:
“Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!
10 quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,
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! quae bella exhausta canebat!
15 si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet,
ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali,
postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit
si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
huic uni forsant potui succumbere culpae.
20 Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei
coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede Penates
solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem

¹ Cf. 1.348ff.

BOOK IV

But the queen, long since smitten with a grievous love-pang, feeds the wound with her lifeblood, and is wasted with fire unseen. Oft to her mind rushes back the hero's valour, oft his glorious stock; his looks and words cling fast to her bosom, and longing withholds calm rest from her limbs.

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 who has entered our home? How noble his mien! How brave in heart and feats of arms! I believe it well—nor is my confidence vain—that he is sprung from gods. It is 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 tired of the bridal bed and torch, to this one fault, perhaps, 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,¹ he alone has swayed my will and over-

AENEID

- impulit. agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.
 sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat
 25 vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
 pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,
 ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.
 ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
 abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.”
 30 sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis.
 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?
 35 esto; aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
 non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas
 ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
 FMPR dives alit; placitone etiam pugnabis amori?
 nec venit in mentem, quorum consederis arvis?
 40 hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
 et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;
 hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes
 Barcaei. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam
 germanique minas . . . ?
 45 dis equidem auspiciis reor et Iunone secunda
 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!
 50 tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis
 indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi,

²⁶ Erebo *FGPRp*, *Servius*: -i *M*

⁴⁰ insuperabile *FMPp*: intract- *R* (1.339)

BOOK IV

thrown my tottering soul. I feel again a spark of that former 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 in Erebus—before, Shame, I violate you or break your 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 breast with upwelling tears.

Anna replies: “O you who are dearer to your sister than the light, are you, lonely and sad, going to pine away all your youth long, and know not sweet children or love’s rewards? Do you think that dust or buried shades give heed to that? Grant that until now no wooers moved your sorrow, not in Libya, nor before then in Tyre; that Iarbas was slighted, and other lords whom the African land, rich in triumphs, rears; will you wrestle also with a love that pleases? And does it not come to your mind whose lands you have settled in? On this side Gaetolian cities, a race invincible in war, unbridled Numidians, and the unfriendly Syrtis hem you in; on that side lies a tract barren with drought, and Barcaeans, raging far and wide. Why speak of the wars rising from Tyre, and your brother’s threats . . . ? I certainly believe that it was with the gods’ favour and Juno’s aid that the Ilian ships held their course hither with the wind. What a city you will see rise here, my sister, what a realm, by reason of such a marriage! With Teucrian arms beside us, to what heights will Punic glory soar? Only ask favour of the gods and, with sacrifice duly offered, be lavish with your welcome, and weave pleas for delay, while at

AENEID

dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion,
quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.”

- His dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore
55 spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.
principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras
exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis
legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,
60 Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae;
ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit
aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiat ad aras,
instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis
pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.
65 heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,
quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas
interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
70 quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum
nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.
nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit
75 Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam;
incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit;
nunc eadem labente die convivium quaerit,
Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores
exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.
80 post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim

⁵⁴ incensum *MR*: impenso *F(P)p*, known to *Servius Auctus* |
inflammavit *M*: fl- *FPRp*

BOOK IV

sea winter rages fiercely and Orion is stormy—while the ships are shattered, and the skies intractable!”

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, above all to Juno, guardian of the bonds of marriage. 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, the 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 Dictaeon woods and glades, but fast to her side clings the deadly shaft. Now through the city's midst she leads Aeneas with her, and displays her Sidonian wealth and the city built; she begins to speak and stops with the word half-spoken. Now, as day wanes, she seeks that same banquet, again in her madness craves to hear the sorrows of Ilium and again hangs on the speaker's lips. Then when all have gone their ways, and in

⁵⁸ *legiferae MPP: frugi- FR*

AENEID

- luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,
 sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis
 incubat. illum absens absentem auditque videtque,
 aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,
 85 detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.
 non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus
 exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello
 tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta minaeque
 murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.
 90 Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri
 cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori,
 talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:
 MPR “egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis
 tuque puerque tuus; magnum et memorabile numen,
 95 una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est.
 nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra
 suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.
 sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamina tanta?
 quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
 100 exercemus? habes, tota quod mente petisti:
 ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.
 communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus
 auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito
 dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.”
 105 Olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam,
 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?
 110 sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam

⁹⁸ certamina tanta *Heinsius*: -e -o *codd.*

BOOK IV

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 look of his father, she holds Ascanius on her lap, in case she may beguile a passion beyond 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—great menacing walls and cranes that touch the sky.

Soon as the loved wife of Jove saw that Dido 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 you win, you and your 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, you have held in suspicion the homes of high Carthage. But what shall be the end? And what is the point of all this contest now? Why do we not rather strive for an enduring peace and a plighted wedlock? What you sought with all your heart you have; 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 your power as dowry!"

To her—for she knew that with feigned purpose she had spoken, to turn the empire from Italy to Libya's shores—Venus thus began in reply: "Who so mad as to refuse such terms, or prefer to strive against you in war, as long as Fortune favour the fulfilment of your word? But the Fates send me adrift, uncertain whether Jupiter wills

AENEID

- esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis
 miserive probet populos aut foedera iungi.
 tu coniunx; tibi fas animum temptare precando.
 perge, sequar." tum sic excepit regia Iuno:
- 115 "mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat
 MR confieri possit, paucis, adverte, docebo.
 venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido
 in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus
 extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.
- 120 his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimum,
 dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,
 desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.
 diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca;
 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
- 125 devenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas,
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo;
 hic hymenaeus erit." non adversata petenti
 adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.
- Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
- 130 it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus;
 retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,
 Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.
 reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
 Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro
- 135 stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
 tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva,
 Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo.
 cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
 aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.
- 140 nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus

126 = 1.73 *MγRp*] del. Peerlkamp

BOOK IV

that there be one city for the Tyrians and the wanderers from Troy, or approves the blending of peoples and the league of union. You are his wife; it is lawful for you to try to persuade his heart with entreaty. Go on; I will follow!" Then queenly Juno thus replied: "With me shall rest that task. Now in what way the present purpose can be achieved, hearken and I will explain in brief. Aeneas and unhappy Dido plan to go hunting together in the forest, as soon as tomorrow'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 I can be sure of your good will, *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.

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, a buckle of gold clasps her purple cloak. With her pace a Phrygian train and joyous

AENEID

- incedunt; ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
 infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
 qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
 MRV deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo
 145 instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
 Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;
 ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem
 fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
 tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat
 150 Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
 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
 155 pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt.
 at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri
 gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,
 spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
 optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.
 160 Interea magno misceri murmure caelum
 incipit; insequitur commixta grandine nimbus,
 MPRV et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus
 Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros
 tecta metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.
 165 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
 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
 170 causa fuit. neque enim specie famave movetur
 nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem;
 coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

BOOK IV

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, and with soft foliage 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, 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.

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 mountaintop screamed the Nymphs. That day the first of death, the first of calamity was cause. 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.

AENEID

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
 Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum.
 175 mobilitate viget viresque acquirit eundo;
 parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras
 ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
 illam Terra parens, ira inritata deorum,
 extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
 180 progenuit, pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,
 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,
 185 stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
 luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti,
 turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
 tam ficti praviq̄ue tenax quam nuntia veri.
 haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
 190 gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:
 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.
 195 haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.
 MPR protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban
 incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.
 Hic Hammone satus, rapta Garamantide Nympha,
 200 templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,
 centum aras posuit vigilemque sacra verat ignem,
 excubias divum aeternas; pecudumque cruore
 pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.
 isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro

BOOK IV

At once Rumour runs through Libya's great cities—Rumour the swiftest of all evils. 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. Mother Earth, provoked to anger against the gods, brought her forth last, they say, 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 beneath—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, and droops not her eyes in sweet sleep; by day she sits on guard on high rooftop or lofty turrets, and affrights great cities, clinging to the false and wrong, yet heralding truth. Now exulting in 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.

He, the 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

¹⁷⁴ qua MPR(p): quo V: *Servius knows both*

AENEID

- dicitur ante aras media inter numina divum
 205 multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis:
 "Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
 gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,
 aspicias haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques,
 nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes
 210 terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?
 femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
 exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
 cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
 reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.
 215 et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu,
 Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
 MP subnexus, rapto potitur: nos munera templis
 quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem."
 Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem
 220 audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit
 regia et oblitos fama melioris amantis.
 tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:
 "vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pinnis
 Dardaniumque ducem, Tyrias Karthagine qui nunc
 225 exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
 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
 230 Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
 proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
 si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum

²¹⁷ subnexus χ: -nixus MPap

²²⁴ Tyrias Winbolt: Tyria codd.

BOOK IV

tale, they say, before the altars and amid the divine presences he often besought Jove in prayer with upturned hands: "Almighty Jupiter, to whom now the Moorish race, feasting on embroidered couches, pour a Lenaeon offering, do you see these things? Is it vainly, father, that we shudder at you, when you hurl your thunderbolts? 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 coastland to plough and terms of tenure, has spurned my offers of marriage, and welcomed Aeneas into her realm as lord. And now that Paris with his eunuch train, his chin and perfumed locks bound with a Lydian turban,² grasps the spoil; while we bring offerings to your temples, yours forsooth, and cherish an idle story."

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 at Carthage is looking forward to Tyrian cities, unmindful of those granted him 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 who 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

² The Lydian, or rather Phrygian, turban had on either side a ribbon, which could be tied under the chin.

AENEID

- nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
 FMP Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?
 235 quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur
 nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?
 naviget: haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto.”
 Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat
 imperio, et primum pedibus talaria nequit
 240 aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra
 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.
 245 illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat
 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;
 250 nix umeros infusa tegit; tum flumina mento
 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
 255 piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta.
 haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat
 litus harenosum ad Libyae, ventosque secabat
 MP materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.
 Ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
 260 Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem
 conspicit. atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva
 ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
 demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido

BOOK IV

he shoulders not the burden, does he, the father, grudge Ascanius the towers of Rome? What is his plan? In what hope does he tarry among a hostile people and pays no heed to Ausonia's race and the Lavinian fields? Let him set sail; this is the sum; be this the message from me."

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; 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;³ relying on this, 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. 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.

So soon as with winged feet he reached the huts, he sees Aeneas founding towers and building new houses. And 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

³ An allusion to the Roman custom of opening the eyes of the dead on the funeral pyre.

AENEID

- fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro.
 265 continuo invadit: "tu nunc Karthaginis altae
 fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem
 extruis? heu! regni rerumque oblite tuarum!
 ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
 regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet;
 270 ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras.
 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
 275 respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
 debentur." tali Cyllenius ore locutus
 mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit
 et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.
 At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
 280 arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.
 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?
 285 utque animum nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc
 FMP in partis que rapit varias perque omnia versat,
 haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:
 Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
 classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
 290 arma parent et, quae rebus sit causa novandis,
 dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
 nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
 temptaturum aditus et, quae mollissima fandi

269 et *Mp*: ac *Pa*

BOOK IV

thread of gold. At once he assails him: "Are you now laying the foundations of lofty Carthage, and building up a fair city, and all for a woman's whim? Alas! With never a thought of your own realm and fate! The ruler of the gods himself, who sways heaven and earth with his power, sends me down to you from bright Olympus. He himself bids me bring this charge through the swift breezes: What are you planning? In what hope do you waste idle hours in Libyan lands? If the glory of such a fortune does not stir you, *and for your own fame's sake you do not shoulder the burden*, have regard for growing Ascanius, the promise of Iulus your heir, to whom the kingdom of Italy and the Roman land are due." Such words the Cyllenian spoke, and while yet speaking left the sight of men and far away from their eyes vanished into thin air.

But in truth Aeneas, aghast at the sight, was struck dumb; his hair stood up in terror and the voice choked in 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 as he casts his swift mind this way and that, takes it in different directions and considers every possibility, this, as he wavered, seemed the better counsel; he calls Mnestheus and Sergestus, 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 nothing, nor expects the breaking of so strong a love, will essay an approach and

273 (*adapted from 233*) *c] om. MPap, del. edd.*

285 *utque Heinsius: atque codd.*

AENEID

tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes
295 imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.

At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
praesensit motusque exceptit prima futuros,
omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti
detulit armari classem cursumque parari.

300 saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris

AFMP Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.
tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:

305 "Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
FMP posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
quin etiam hiberno moliri sidere classem

310 et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,
MP crudelis? quid? si non arva aliena domosque
ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,
Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?
mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te

315 (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),
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.

320 te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem

295 et *FMPap*: ac *M*²

309 moliri *FPA*: -iris *Mp*

312 et *Ma*: sed *P(p)*

BOOK IV

seek the happiest season for speech, the plan auspicious for his purpose. At once all gladly obey his command and do his bidding.

But the queen—who may deceive a lover?—divined his guile, and early caught news of the coming stir, fearful even when all was safe. The same heartless Rumour brought her the maddening news that they are arming the fleet and making ready for sailing. Helpless in mind she rages, and all aflame raves through the city, like some Thyiad startled by the shaken emblems, when she has heard the Bacchic cry: the biennial revels fire her and at night Cithaeron summons her with its din.⁴ At length she thus accosts Aeneas first:

“False one! Did you really hope to cloak so foul a crime, and to steal from my land in silence? Does neither our love restrain you, nor the pledge once given, nor the doom of a cruel death for Dido? Even in the winter season do you actually hasten to labour at your fleet, and to journey over the sea in the midst of northern gales, heartless one? What! If you were not in quest of alien lands and homes unknown, were ancient Troy yet standing, would Troy be sought by your ships over stormy seas? Is it from me you are fleeing? By these tears and your right hand, I pray you—since nothing else, alas, have I left myself—by the marriage that is ours, by the nuptial rites begun, if ever I deserved well of you, or if anything of mine has been sweet in your sight, pity a falling house, and if yet there be any room for prayers, put away, I pray, this purpose. Because of you the Libyan tribes and Numidian chiefs hate me, the Tyrians

⁴ Every other year a Bacchic festival was celebrated on Mount Cithaeron near Thebes.

AENEID

- extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
 fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes,
 hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat?
 325 quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater
 destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?
 saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
 ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
 luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
 330 non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.”
 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
 335 promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,
 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.
 340 me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
 auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
 urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
 reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
 et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.
 345 sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
 Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;
 hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces
 Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
 quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra
 350 invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna.
 me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris

BOOK IV

are my foes; because of you I have also lost my honour and that former fame by which alone I was winning a title to the stars. To whose mercy do you leave me on the point of death, 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 captive? At least, if before your flight a child of yours had been born to me, if in my hall a baby Aeneas were playing, whose face, in spite of all, would bring back yours, I should not think myself utterly vanquished and forlorn.”

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, Queen, that you have deserved of me the utmost you can set forth in speech, nor shall my memory of Elissa be bitter, while I have memory of myself, and while breath governs these limbs. For my conduct few words will I say. I did not hope—think not that—to veil my flight in stealth. I never held out a bridegroom's torch or entered such a compact. Had destiny permitted me to shape my life after my own pleasure and order my sorrows at my own will, my first care would be the city of Troy and the sweet relics of my king. Priam's high house would still abide and my own hand would 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.⁵ There is my love, there my country! If the towers of Carthage and the sight of Libyan city charm you, a Phoenician, why, pray, grudge the Trojans their settling on Ausonian land? We, too, have the right to seek a foreign realm. Each time the night with

⁵ Oracles of Apollo, cf. 143 above.

AENEID

nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
 admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
 me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
 355 quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
 nunc etiam interpret 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.
 360 desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis.
 Italiam non sponte sequor . . .”

Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur,
 huc illuc volvens oculos, totumque pererrat
 luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur:
 365 “nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
 perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
 Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
 nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?
 num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
 370 num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?
 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;
 375 amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi.
 heu! furiis incensa feror: nunc augur Apollo,
 nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
 interpret divum fert horrida iussa per auras.
 scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
 380 sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello:

³⁷⁸ iussa *Pap*: dicta *M* (226)

BOOK IV

dewy shades veils the earth, each time the starry fires arise, in my dreams my father Anchises' troubled ghost brings me warning and terror; the thought of young Ascanius comes to me and the wrong done to one so dear, whom I am cheating of a Hesperian kingdom and predestined lands. Now, too, the messenger of the gods sent from Jove himself—I swear by both our lives—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 inflame yourself and me with your complaints. It is not by my wish that I make for Italy . . .”

As thus he spoke, 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: “False one, no goddess was your mother, nor was Dardanus founder of your line, but rugged Caucasus on his flinty rocks begot you, and Hyrcanian tigresses suckled you. For why hide my feelings? For what greater wrongs do I hold myself 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, neither mighty Juno nor the Saturnian sire looks on these things with righteous eyes! Nowhere is faith secure. I welcomed him, a castaway on the shore, a beggar, 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 detain you not; I dispute not your words. Go, make for Italy with the

AENEID

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
 385 et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
 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,
 390 linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
 dicere. suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra
 marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.
 At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
 solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
 395 multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,
 iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.
 tum vero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas
 deducunt toto navis. natat uncta carina,
 frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis
 400 infabricata fugae studio . . .
 migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis.
 ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum
 cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt;
 it nigrum campis agmen, praedamque per herbas
 405 convectant calle angusto; pars grandia trudunt
 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

³⁹⁰ parantem *Pa(p)*: volentem *M* (2.790)

⁴⁰² velut *Pp*: veluti *Ma*

BOOK IV

winds; seek your kingdom over the waves. Yet I trust, if the righteous gods have any power, that on the rocks midway you will drain the cup of vengeance and often call on Dido's name. Though far away, I will chase you with murky brands and, when chill death has severed soul and body, everywhere my shade shall haunt you. Relentless one, you will repay! I shall hear, and the tale will reach me in the depths of the world below!" 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, and ready to say much. Her maids support her, carry her swooning form to her marble bower, and lay her on her bed.

But loyal 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 yours, Dido, at such a sight! or what sighs did you utter, viewing

AENEID

- 410 prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
 misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!
 improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!
 ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando
 cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,
 415 ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.
 "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,
 420 et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum
 exsequere, Anna, mihi: solam nam perfidus ille
 te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;
 sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noris.
 i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum.
 425 non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem
 Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,
 nec patris Anchisae cineres Manisve revelli;
 cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?
 quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:
 430 exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis.
 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.
 435 extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis);
 quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam."
 Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus

423 noris Π5, *Baehrens*: noras *MPap*

427 cineres *Pa*, *Servius*: -em *Mp*

428 negat *Map*: -et *P*

BOOK IV

from the top of the fortress the beach aglow far and near, and seeing before your eyes the whole sea astir with loud cries! O relentless Love, to what do you 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 love, lest she leave anything untried and go to death in vain.

“Anna, you see the bustle all along the shore; from all sides they have gathered; already the canvas invites 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 you alone that traitor made his friend, to you he confided even his secret thoughts, you alone will know 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 tore up the ashes and disturbed the spirit of his father Anchises. Why does he refuse 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 your sister—which, when he has granted it, I will repay with full interest in my death.”

Such was her prayer and such the tearful pleas the un-

⁴³⁶ *dederit M P p*: -is a, *Servius* | *cumulatam P a p*, *Servius*: -a M

AENEID

- fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur
 fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
 440 fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.
 ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
 Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
 FMP eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
 consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
 445 ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
 haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
 tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
 mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.
 450 Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
 mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.
 quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,
 vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris,
 (horrendum dictu) latices nigrescere sacros
 455 fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem;
 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:
 460 hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
 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
 465 terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furem
 in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui
 sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur

⁴⁴⁶ radice *Fa*: -em *MPp*⁴⁵⁶ sorori *MPap*: s. est *F*

BOOK IV

happy sister bears again and again. But by no tearful pleas is he moved, nor in yielding mood does he pay 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 with the strength of years, there comes a roar, the trunk 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 agony: his mind stands steadfast; his tears fall without effect.

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 no one—not even 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 housetops 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 drives her in her frenzy; and ever she seems to be left lonely,

⁴⁶⁴ priorum *FPap*: pi- *M*: *Servius* knows both

AENEID

ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,
 Euiadum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus
 470 et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas,
 aut Agamemnonius Poenis agitated Orestes,
 armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
 cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.

Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
 475 decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque
 exigit, et maestam dictis adgressa sororem
 consilium vultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:
 "inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori),
 quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem.
 480 Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem
 ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum:
 hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
 Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
 485 quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,
 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;
 490 nocturnosque movet Manis; mugire videbis
 sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.
 testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
 dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes.
 tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras
 495 erige et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit
 impius, exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem,

⁴⁶⁹ Euiadum *S. Allen, Courtney: Eumenidum FMPa*

⁴⁷¹ Poenis *Markland: scaenis codd. (cf. 3.331)*

BOOK IV

everwending, companionless, an endless way, and seeking her Tyrians in a land forlorn—even as raving Pentheus sees the Bacchants' bands, and a double sun and two-fold Thebes rise to view; or as when Agamemnon's son, Orestes, hounded by the Furies, flees from his mother, who is armed with brands and black serpents, while at the doorway crouch avenging Fiends.

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. "Sister mine, I have found a way—wish your sister joy—to return him to me or release me from my love for him. Near Ocean's bound and the setting sun lies Ethiopia, 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 slumbrous 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 you will see earth rumbling under your feet and ash trees coming down from mountains. I call heaven to witness and you, dear sister mine, and your dear life, that against my will I arm myself with magic arts! Secretly raise up a pyre in the inner court under the sky, and heap up on it the arms that heartless one left hanging in my bower, and all his attire

⁴⁷³ *Dirae FMap: divae P*

⁴⁸⁶ *trans. Ribbeck after 517 (with molam) perhaps rightly*

AENEID

- quo perii, superimponas; abolere nefandi
 cuncta viri monumenta iuvat, monstratque sacerdos.”
 haec effata silet; pallor simul occupat ora.
- 500 non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris
 germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
 concipit aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei.
 ergo iussa parat . . .
- At regina, pyra penentrali in sede sub auras
- 505 erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,
 intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat
 funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum
 effigiemque toro locat, haud ignara futuri.
 stant arae circum et crinis effusa sacerdos
- 510 ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque
 tergemnamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.
 sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni;
 falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis
 pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;
- 515 quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
 et matri praereptus amor . . .
 ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta,
 unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,
 testatur moritura deos et conscia fati
- 520 sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis
 curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.
- MP Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
 corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
 aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
- 525 cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,

⁴⁹⁷ superimponas *Pa*: -ant *FMp*

⁴⁹⁸ iuvat *Fap*: iubet *MP*

BOOK IV

and the bridal bed that was my undoing. I want to 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 does she fear anything worse than when Sychaeus died. So she makes ready as bidden . . .

But the queen, when in the heart of her home the pyre rose heavenward, piled high with pine logs and hewn ilex, hangs the place with garlands and crowns it with funeral boughs. On top, upon the couch, she lays the dress he wore, the sword he left, and an image of him, knowing what was to come. Round about stand altars, and 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, cut 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 before the mother snatched it . . . She herself, with holy meal and holy hands, stood beside the altars, one foot unsandalled and girdle loosened; soon to die, she calls on the gods and on the stars, witnesses of her doom; then she prays to whatever power, righteous and mindful, watches over lovers unequally allied.

It was night, and over the earth weary creatures were tasting the peace of 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 col-

AENEID

- 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
 530 solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
 accipit; ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
 saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
 sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat:
 “en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores
 535 experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,
 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?
 540 quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusve superbis
 invisam accipiet? nescis, heu! perdita, necdum
 Laomedontaeae sentis periuria gentis?
 quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis?
 an Tyriis omni que manu stipata meorum
 545 inferar et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli,
 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.
 550 non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
 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,

528 = 9.225 a late hand in M] om. MPap

541 invisam MPap: inrisam M²

BOOK IV

oured birds, both those that far and near haunt the limpid lakes, and those that dwell in the thorny thickets of the countryside, are couched in sleep beneath the silent night. *They were soothing their cares, their hearts oblivious of sorrows.* But not so the soul-racked Phoenician queen; she never sinks into sleep, nor draws darkness 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 alone revolves her thoughts in her heart: "See, 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 thankful for aid once given, and gratitude for past kindness stands firm in their mindful hearts? But who—suppose that I wished it—will suffer me, or take one so hated on those haughty ships? Ah! lost one, do you not yet understand nor perceive the treason of Laomedon's race? What then? Shall I on my own accompany the exultant sailors in their flight? Or, surrounded by 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 you deserve, and with the sword end your sorrow. Won over by my tears, you, my sister, you were the 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, like some wild creature, and not know such cares! The faith vowed to the ashes of Sychaeus I have not kept." Such were the cries that kept bursting from her heart.

But now that all was duly ordered, and now that he was

AENEID

- FMP carpebat somnos, rebus iam rite paratis.
 556 huic se forma dei vultu redeuntis eodem
 obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,
 omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque
 et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventa:
 560 "nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,
 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.
 565 non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?
 iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis
 conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,
 si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
 heia age, rumpe moras! varium et mutabile semper
 570 femina." sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae.
 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
 575 festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis
 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
 580 fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.
 idem omnis simul ardor habet; rapiuntque ruuntque;
 litora deseruere; latet sub classibus aequor;
 adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.

559 iuventa FM: -ae Pap, Servius 564 variosque . . .
 concitat aestus FPP: -ioque . . . fluctuat -u Ma (532)

BOOK IV

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 aspects like Mercury, in voice and colouring, in golden hair and the graceful limbs of youth: "Goddess-born, when such hazard threatens, can you still slumber? Do you not see the perils that from henceforth hem you in, madman? Do you not hear the kindly breezes blowing? She, resolved on death, revolves in her heart fell craft and crime, and awakens the swirling surge of passion. Will you not flee hence in haste, while hasty flight is possible? Soon you will see the waters a welter of timbers, see fierce brands ablaze, and soon the shore flashing with flames, if dawn finds you lingering in these lands. Up then, break off delay! A fickle and changeable thing is woman ever." So he spoke and melted into the black night.

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 again spurs us to hasten our flight and cut the twisted cables. We follow you, holy among gods, whoever you are, and again joyfully obey your command. Oh, be with us, give your 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.

AENEID

- MP Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
 585 Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
 regina, e speculis ut primum albescere lucem
 vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,
 litoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,
 terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
 590 flaventisque abscissa comas, "pro Iuppiter! ibit
 hic," ait, "et nostris inluserit advena regnis?
 non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,
 deripientque rates alii navalibus? ite,
 ferte citi flammas, date tela, impellite remos!
 595 quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat?
 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!
 600 non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis
 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
 605 implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque
 cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.
 Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
 tuque harum interpret curarum et conscia Iuno,
 nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes
 610 et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
 accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen
 et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus

⁵⁸⁶ primum *FP*: -am *Pap*

⁵⁹³ deripient *Heinsius*: di- *codd.*

BOOK IV

And now early Dawn, leaving the saffron bed of Tithonus, was sprinkling her fresh rays upon the earth. Soon as the queen from her watchtower 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 intruder have made of our realm a laughingstock? Will pursuers not fetch arms and give chase from all the city, and some of them speed ships from the docks? Go, haste to bring fire, serve arms, ply oars! What say I? Where am I? What madness turns my brain? Unhappy Dido, do only now your sinful deeds come home to you? Then was the time, when you gave your crown away. Behold the pledge and promise of him who, so they say, carries with him his ancestral gods and bore his worn-out father on his shoulders! Could I not have seized him, torn him limb from limb, and scattered the pieces on the waves? Could I not have put his men to the sword, and Ascanius himself, and served him up as a meal at his father's table? But perhaps the issue of battle had been doubtful? Suppose it had been: doomed to death, whom had I to fear? I should have carried fire into his camp, filled his decks with flame, blotted out father and son together with the whole race, and immolated myself on top of all. O Sun, whose rays survey all that is done on earth; and Juno, agent and witness of my unhappy love; Hecate, whose name is wailed by night in city streets; and Avenging Furies and gods of dying Elissa: hear me now; turn your anger upon the sins that merit it, and listen to my prayers! If that accursed wretch must

⁵⁹⁸ portare *Pa*: -asse *M*: -arese *p* (conflation of variants)

AENEID

- infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,
 et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:
- 615 at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
 finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,
 auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum
 funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
 tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
- 620 sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.
 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.
- 625 exoriare, aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
 qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,
 nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.
 litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
 imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.”
- 630 Haec ait, et partis animum versabat in omnis,
 invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.
 tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei,
 namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat:
- 635 “Annam, cara mihi nutrix, huc siste sororem;
 dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympa,
 et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.
 sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.
 sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,

⁶ The curse is a prophecy, foretelling that Aeneas will be attacked and harassed by the Rutulians, separated from his son, forced to seek Evander's help, will suffer the deaths of dear friends, and be forced to submit to a peace which sacrifices the name of Troy. So far the later books of the *Aeneid*. Legend told

BOOK IV

needs reach harbour and come to shore, if Jove's ordinances so demand and this is the outcome fixed: yet even so, harassed in war by the arms of a fearless nation, expelled from his territory and torn from Iulus' embrace, let him plead for aid and see his friends cruelly slaughtered! Nor yet, when he has submitted to the terms of an unjust peace, may he enjoy his kingship or the life he longs for, but perish before his time and lie unburied on a lonely strand! This is my prayer; this last utterance I pour out with my blood. Then do you, Tyrians, persecute with hate his stock and all the race to come, and to my dust offer this tribute! Let no love or treaty unite the nations! Arise from my ashes, unknown avenger, to harass the Trojan settlers with fire and sword—today, hereafter, whenever strength be ours! May coast with coast conflict, I pray, and sea with sea, arms with arms; war may they have, themselves and their children's children!"⁶

With this curse she turned her mind in every direction, seeking how most quickly to end the life she loathed. Then briefly she addressed Barce, the nurse of Sychaeus, for the pyre's black ashes held her own back in her country of long ago. "Dear nurse, bring my sister Anna here. Bid her hasten to sprinkle her body with river water and bring with her the victims and offerings ordained for atonement. This done, let her come; and veil your brows, too, with a pure chaplet. I am minded to fulfil the rites of Stygian Jove

that his reign was brief and that he met an unnatural death at the river Numicius, his body disappearing and so not given burial. The unknown avenger is Hannibal, leader of the Carthaginians. Dido's closure on a hypermetric line suggests most effectively the never-ending enmity between her descendants and Aeneas'.

AENEID

- perficere est animus finemque imponere curis
 640 Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae.”
 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,
 645 interiora domus inrumpit limina, et altos
 conscendit furibunda rogos, enseque recludit
 Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
 hic, postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile
 conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
 650 incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba:
 FMP “dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
 accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.
 vixi et, quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi,
 et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
 655 urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,
 ultra 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,
 660 sed moriamur,” ait. “sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.
 hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
 Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.”
 Dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
 conlapsam aspiciunt comites, enseque cruore
 665 spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta
 atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
 lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
 tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,

640 flammae Pap: -is M

BOOK IV

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." She spoke; the nurse hastened her steps with an old woman's zeal. But Dido, trembling and frantic with her dreadful design, rolling bloodshot eyes, her quivering cheeks flecked with burning spots, and pale at the imminence of death, bursts into the inner courts of the house, climbs the high pyre in a frenzy and unsheathes the Dardan sword, a gift sought for no such purpose. 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 last words: "O relics once dear, while God and Fate allowed, take my spirit, and release me from my woes! My life is done and 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, 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!"

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 stricken city. The palace rings with lamentation, with sobbing and women's shrieks, and

⁶⁴¹ celerabat *Map*: -brabat *P*: *Servius knows both* | anili *M*: -em

Pap

⁶⁵¹ sinebat *MPa*: -ant *Fp*

AENEID

non aliter, quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
 670 Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes
 culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.

Audiit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu
 unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis
 per medios ruit ac morientem nomine clamat:
 675 "hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?
 hoc rogos iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?
 quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem
 sprevisti moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses;
 idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.
 680 his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi
 voce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis abessem?
 exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque
 Sidonios urbemque tuam. date vulnera lymphis
 abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,
 685 ore legam." sic fata gradus evaserat altos,
 semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat
 cum gemitu atque atos siccabat veste cruores.
 illa, gravis oculos conata attollere, rursus
 MP deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.
 690 ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit;
 ter revoluta toro est, oculisque errantibus alto
 quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.

Tum Iuno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem
 difficilisque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
 695 quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
 nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,

BOOK IV

heaven echoes with loud wails—as though all Carthage or ancient Tyre were falling before the inrushing 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 your purpose, sister? Did you aim your fraud at me? Was this for me the meaning of your pyre, this the meaning of your altar and fires? Forlorn, what shall I first lament? Did you scorn in death your sister's company? You should have summoned me to share your fate; the same sword stroke, the same moment would have taken us both! Did these hands indeed build the pyre, and did my voice call on our father's gods, in order that, when you were lying thus, I, cruel one, should be far away? You have destroyed yourself and me together, sister, the Sidonian senate and people, and your city! Bring me water to bathe her wounds and catch with my lips whatever last breath may linger!" 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 dress the dark streams of blood. She, trying to lift her heavy eyes, swoons again, and the deep-set wound gurgles in her breast. Thrice rising, she struggled to prop herself on her elbow, thrice on the bed rolled back, with wandering eyes sought high heaven's light, and when she found it, moaned.

Then almighty Juno, pitying her long agony and painful dying, sent Iris down from heaven to release her struggling soul from the prison of her flesh. For since she perished neither in the course of fate nor by a death she

AENEID

sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,
nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
700 ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis,
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
devolat et supra caput adstitit. "hunc ego Diti
sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo":
705 sic ait et dextra crinem secat; omnis et una
dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.

BOOK IV

had earned, but wretchedly before her day, in the heat of sudden frenzy, not yet had Proserpine taken from her head the golden lock and consigned her to the Stygian underworld.⁷ So Iris on dewy saffron wings flits down through the sky, trailing athwart the sun a thousand shifting tints, and halted above her head. "This offering, sacred to Dis, I take as bidden, and from your body set you free": so she speaks and with her hand severs the lock; and therewith all the warmth passed away, and the life vanished into the winds.

⁷ 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. Proserpine evidently being unwilling to perform this service for the suicide Dido, Juno takes pity on her and sends Iris to do it.

LIBER V

MP Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat,
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem
5 causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
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,
10 olli caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber,
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
15 colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis,
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
20 consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aër.
nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum
sufficimus. superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat, vertamus iter. nec litora longe
fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,

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.

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 have you in mind, 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: "Noble Aeneas, not even if Jupiter should use his authority to guarantee it, 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, I think, are the friendly shores of your brother

AENEID

- 25 si modo rite memor servata remetior astra.”
 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,
 30 quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten
 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.
- 35 At procul ex celso miratus vertice montis
 adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes,
 MPR horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae,
 Troïa Crimiso conceptum flumine mater
 quem genuit. veterum non immemor ille parentum
 40 gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti
 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:
 45 “Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum,
 annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,
 ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis
 condidimus terra maestasque sacravimus aras.
 iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
 50 semper honoratum (sic di voluistis) habebo.
 hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,
 Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,
 annua vota tamen sollempnisque ordine pompas

²⁹ demittere *p.* di- *MPa*

³⁸ Crimiso *Güthling*; Criniso *codd.*

BOOK V

Eryx and the Sicilian ports, if my memory prove true as I retrace the stars I watched before." Then loyal Aeneas: "I myself have long seen that the winds will so have it, and that in vain you steer against them. Shift the sails to a new course. Could any land be more welcome to me, any to which 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.

But afar off, on a high hilltop, 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 Crimisus. 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.

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 speaks from a mounded eminence: "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 a day of honour. Were I spending it in exile in the Gaetolian Syrtes, or caught on the Argolic sea or in Mycenae's town, yet would I perform the yearly vow with rites of solemn ordinance and

AENEID

- exsequeretur strueremque suis altaria donis.
 55 nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis
 (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
 60 urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.
 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
 65 Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,
 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,
 70 cuncti adsint meritaque exspectent praemia palmae.
 ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis.”
 Sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto.
 MPRV hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes,
 hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.
 75 ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat
 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:
 80 “salve, sancte parens, iterum; salvete, recepti
 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
 85 septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,

BOOK V

pile the altars with due gifts. But now, lo! by my sire's own dust and bones we stand—not, I think, without the purpose and will of heaven—and carried hither we 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 footrace, 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.”

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, ashes, rescued though in vain, and you, soul and shade of my sire! Not with you was I suffered to seek the destined bounds and fields of Italy, nor Ausonian Tiber, whatever that name imports.” So had he spoken, when from the foot of the shrine a slippery serpent trailed seven huge coils, fold upon fold seven times, peace-

AENEID

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.

- 90 obstipuit visu Aeneas. ille agmine longo
tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens
libavitque dapes, rursusque innoxius imo
successit tumulo, et depasta altaria liquit.
hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
95 incertus, geniumne loci famulumne parentis
esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis
MPR totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuencos;
vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat
Anchisae magni Manisque Acheronte remissos.
100 nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti
dona ferunt; onerant aras mactantque iuencos;
ordine aëna locant alii fusique per herbam
subiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.

- Expectata dies aderat, nonamque serena
105 Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant,
famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae
excierat; laeto complerant litora coetu,
visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.
FMPR munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur
110 in medio, sacri tripodes viridesque coronae
et palmae, pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro
perfusae vestes, argenti aurique talentum;
et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.

Prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis

⁸⁹ iacit *MPVp*: trahit *R* (4.701)

⁹⁶ binas *M*: quinas *PVp*: -que binas *R*

BOOK V

fully circling the mound and gliding among the altars; his back chequered with blue spots, and his scales ablaze with the sheen of dappled gold, as in the clouds the rainbow darts a thousand shifting tints athwart the sun. Aeneas was awestruck at the sight. At last, sliding 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, spreading over the grass, put live coals under the spits and roast the flesh.

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' reward; armour and purple-dyed garments, with a talent's weight of silver and gold. Then from the central mound the trumpet proclaims the opening of the games.

For the first contest enter four well-matched ships

107 complerant *PRp*: -ebant *M*

112 talentum *MPp*: -a *FR*

AENEID

- 115 quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae.
 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
- 120 impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi;
 Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,
 Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
 caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.
- Est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra
- 125 litora, quod tumidis submersum tunditur olim
 fluctibus, hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cori;
 tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda
 campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.
 hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam
- 130 constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti
 scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.
 tum loca sorte legunt, ipsique in puppibus auro
 ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori;
 cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus
- 135 nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit.
 considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis;
 intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit
 corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.
 inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes,
- 140 haud mora, prosiluere suis; ferit aethera clamor
 nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis.
 infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit

¹ Virgil's choice of families claiming Trojan descent is strange: of the Memmii the most known, Gaius, Lucretius' patron and Catullus' praetor in Bithynia, was an unsavoury character; the

BOOK V

of heavy oars, picked from all the fleet. 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, driven forward 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 your family, Cluentius of Rome!¹

Far out at sea, over against the foaming shores, lies a rock which at times the swollen waves beat and submerge, when stormy Northwesters 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

Sergii were disgraced by Catiline; and Aulus Cluentius, though defended by Cicero on a charge of murder, was privately admitted by him to have been guilty.

AENEID

convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
 non tam praecipites biugo certamine campum
 145 corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus;
 nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
 concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent.
 tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum
 consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant
 150 litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant.

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
 155 Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem;
 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,
 160 cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite victor
 rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten:
 "quo tantum mihi dexter abis? huc derige gressum;
 litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes;
 altum alii teneant." dixit, sed caeca Menoetes
 165 saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas.
 "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
 170 radit iter laevum interior subitoque priorem
 praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.

¹⁶² derige PR: di- Mp | gressum MPR: cursum p, Seneca,
*benef.*6.7 ¹⁶³ laeva MPP: -as R

BOOK V

gapes open, upturn by the oars and triple-pointed beaks. Not with such headlong speed in the two-horse chariot race do the cars seize the plain and dart forth from their stalls! Not so wildly 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.

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? Direct her path this way; 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 hidden 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

AENEID

tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens,
nec lacrimis caruere genae, segnemque Menoeten,
oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis,
175 in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta;
ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister,
hortaturque viros clavumque ad litora torquet.
at gravis, ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est,
iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes
180 summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit.
illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem
et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.

Hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,
Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.
185 Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat,
nec tota tamen ille prior praeaeunte carina;
parte prior, partem rostro premit aemula Pristis.
at media socios incedens nave per ipsos
hortatur Mnestheus: "nunc, nunc insurgite remis,
190 Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema
delegi comites; nunc illas promite vires,
nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi
Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.
non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque vincere certo;
195 quamquam o—sed superent, quibus hoc, Neptune,
dedisti—
extremos pudeat rediisse; hoc vincite, cives,
et prohibete nefas." olli certamine summo
procumbunt; vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis,
subtrahiturque solum; tum creber anhelitus artus
200 aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis.

184 Mnestheique *Heinsius*: -sthiue *codd.*

BOOK V

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, when with difficulty he rose at last from the sea bottom, old as he was and dripping in his drenched clothes, made heavily for the top of the crag and sat 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.

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; but he is ahead not by a whole boat's length; he leads by a part, but the rival Dragon overlaps a part with her prow. Then, pacing amidships among his crew, Mnestheus cheers them on: "Now, now, rise to the oars, comrades of Hector, you whom in Troy's last hour I chose as my followers; now put forth that strength, that courage, which you showed in Gaetolian quicksands, on the Ionian sea, and amid Malea's racing waves! No longer do I, Mnestheus, seek the first place, no longer do I strive to win; yet oh!—but let those conquer to whom you, Neptune, have granted it—it would be 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 sea floor flies from under them. Then rapid panting shakes their limbs and parched mouths, and sweat streams

- attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem.
 namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget
 interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
 infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.
- 205 concussae cautes, et acuto in murice remi
 obnixa crepuere, inlisaque prora pependit.
 consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur
 ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos
 expediunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.
- 210 at laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso
 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,
- 215 fertur in arva volans plausumque exterrita pinnis
 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.
- 220 et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto
 Sergestum brevibusque vadis frustra que vocantem
 auxilia et fractis discentem currere remis.
 inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram
 consequitur; cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.
- 225 Solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus;
 quem petit et summis adnixus viribus urget.
 tum vero ingeminat clamor, cunctique sequentem
 instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.
 hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem
- 230 ni teneant, vitamque volunt pro laude pacisci:
 hos successus alit; possunt, quia posse videntur.
 et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,

BOOK V

down all their limbs. Mere chance brought them the glory they craved. For while Sergestus, mad at heart, drives his prow inward towards the rocks and enters on the perilous course, he stuck 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 rescued from the flood their broken oars. But Mnestheus, cheered and enlivened by his very success, with swift play of oars and a prayer to the winds, seeks the shoreward waters and glides down the open sea. Just 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.

And now, hard on the very goal, Cloanthus alone is left. For him Mnestheus 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 now that their prows were abreast, they might perhaps have won the prize, had

AENEID

- ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus
 fudissetque preces divosque in vota vocasset.
 235 “di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,
 vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
 constituam ante aras voti reus, extaque salsos
 proiciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam.”
 dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis
 240 Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque virgo,
 MPRV et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem
 impulit: illa Noto citius volucrique sagitta
 ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto.
 Tum satus Anchisa, cunctis ex more vocatis,
 245 victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum
 declarat viridique advelat tempora lauro,
 muneraque in navis ternos optare iuencos
 vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.
 250 ipsi praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:
 victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
 purpura Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,
 intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
 velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat,
 acer, anhelanti similis; quem praepes ab Ida
 255 sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis;
 longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
 custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.
 at qui deinde locum tenuit virtute secundum,
 levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem
 260 loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse
 victor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto,

²³⁵ aequora *M*: -e *PRp* ²³⁸ et *MRp*: ac *P* (776)

²⁴¹ Neptunus γ^1 ²⁴⁹ praecipue *M*, *Nonius*

BOOK V

not Cloanthus, stretching both hands seawards, poured forth prayers, and called the gods to hear his vows. "You 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 spoke, and under the deep waves the whole band of Nereids and of Phorcus, and the virgin Panopea, heard him, and the sire Portunus with his own great hand drove him on his way. Swifter than wind or winged arrow the ship speeds landward, and found shelter in the deep harbour.

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, and, woven in, the royal boy,² with javelin and speedy foot, on leafy Ida tires fleet stags, eager and seemingly breathless; him Jove's swift armour bearer³ 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

² Ganymede.

³ The eagle who carries the thunderbolt.

AENEID

- donat habere viro, decus et tutamen in armis.
 vix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant
 multiplicem, conixi umeris; indutus at olim
 265 Demoleos cursu palantis Troas agebat.
 tertia dona facit geminos ex aere lebetas
 cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.
 Iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi
 puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis,
 270 cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revulsus,
 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
 275 seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator;
 nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus,
 parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla
 arduus attollens; pars vulnere clauda retentat
 nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem:
 280 tali remigio navis se tarda movebat;
 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,
 285 Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati.
 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
 290 consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit.

270 revolsam R

279 nexantem RV: nix- MPP

BOOK V

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.

And now all had their gifts and, proud of their wealth, were going their way, their brows bound with purple fillets, when with great difficulty, by dint of much skill, cleared from the cruel rocks, oars lost, and one tier crippled, Sergestus, amid jeers, brought in his inglorious barque. Just as often, when caught on the highway, a serpent 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 twists in coils and twines himself upon his own limbs—with such oarage, the ship moved slowly on; but it 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.

This contest sped, loyal 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 spot, with many thousands, the hero betook himself into the midst of the company and sat down on a raised seat.

281 plenis . . . velis *Mp* (1.400): v. . . . p. *PRV*

285 ubere *PVp*: -a *MR* (3.392)

AENEID

- hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu,
 invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.
- MPR undique conveniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani,
 Nisus et Euryalus primi . . .
- 295 Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa,
 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;
- 300 tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque,
 adsueta silvis, comites senioris Acestae;
 multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.
 Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus:
 "accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.
- 305 nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.
 Cnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro
 spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem;
 omnibus hic erit unus honos. tres praemia primi
 accipient flavaque caput nectentur oliva.
- 310 primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto;
 alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis
 Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro
 balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;
 tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito."
- 315 Haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt signoque repente
 corripunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt,
 effusi nimbo similes. simul ultima signant,
 primus abit longaeque ante omnia corpora Nisus
 emicat, et ventis et fulminis ocior alis;
- 320 proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo,
 insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto
 tertius Euryalus . . .

BOOK V

Here, for any who might perhaps wish to vie in speed of foot, he lures valour with hope of rewards and sets up prizes. From all sides flock Trojans and Sicilians among them, Nisus and Euryalus foremost . . . Euryalus famed for beauty and flower of youth, Nisus for tender love for the boy. Next followed princely Dioreas, of Priam's noble race; then Salius and Patron together; of these one was an Acarnanian, the other of Arcadian blood, a Tegean born; then two Sicilian youths, Helymus and Panopes, inured to the forests and attendants on old Acestes; with many besides, whose fame is hidden 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 Cretan 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 splendid 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."

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. As soon as they sight 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, with some space left between them, Euryalus third . . . and,

²⁹⁹ Arcadio *MR*: -a *Pp* | Tegeaeae *P*: Tegeae *p*: -geae de *M*²*P*²:
-gere de *M*: -gaea de *R*

AENEID

- Euryalumque Helymus sequitur; quo deinde sub ipso
 ecce volat calcemque terit iam calce Dioces,
 325 incumbens umero; spatio et si plura supersint,
 transeat elapsus prior ambiguumve relinquat.
 iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
 finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus
 labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvenis
 330 fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas.
 hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso
 haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso
 concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore,
 non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:
 335 nam sese opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens,
 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, Dioces.
 340 Hic totum caveae consessum ingentis et ora
 prima patrum magnis Salio clamoribus implet,
 ereptumque dolo reddi sibi poscit honorem.
 tutatur favor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae,
 gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.
 345 adiuvat et magna proclamat voce Dioces,
 qui subiit palmae frustra ad praemia venit
 ultima, si primi Salio reddentur honores.
 tum pater Aeneas, "vestra," inquit, "munera vobis
 certa manent, pueri, et palmam movet ordine nemo;
 350 me liceat casus miserari insontis amici."
 sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis
 dat Salio, villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.

³²³ quo *P²p*: quod *MR*: quem *P*

BOOK V

after Euryalus, Helymus; then, close upon him, lo! Dioces flies, now grazing foot with foot and pressing close at his shoulder. And had more of the course remained, he would have shot past him to the fore or left 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, spilt by chance where steers were slain, had soaked the ground and greensward. Here, even in the joy of triumph, the youth could not hold his stumbling steps on the ground he trod, but fell prone, right in the filthy slime and blood of sacrifice. 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 Dioces, now third prize.

Hereupon Salius fills with loud clamour the whole course of the great theatre and the gazing elders in front, claiming that the prize wrested from him by fraud be given back. Good will befriends Euryalus, and his seemly tears and worth, that shows more winsome in a fair form. Dioces backs him, making loud protest; he has reached the palm, but in vain won the last prize, if the highest honours are 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 Gaetolian lion, heavy with shaggy hair and gilded claws.

³²⁶ -ve *Heinsius*: -que *codd.* ³⁴⁷ reddentur *P*: -antur *MR*:
-untur *M²p* ³⁵⁰ miserari *Mp*: -eri *PR*

AENEID

- hic Nisus, "si tanta," inquit, "sunt praemia victis,
 et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso
 355 digna dabis, primam merui qui laude coronam,
 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 artes,
 360 Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum;
 hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.
 Post ubi confecti cursus et dona peregit:
 "nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,
 adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis."
 365 sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem,
 victori velatum auro vittisque iuencum,
 ensem atque insignem galeam solacia victo.
 nec mora; continuo vastis cum viribus effert
 ora Dares magnoque virum se murmure tollit,
 370 solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra,
 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.
 375 talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit,
 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.
 380 ergo alacris cunctosque putans excedere palma
 Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus
 tum laeva taurum cornu tenet atque ita fatur:

359 artes *Mp*: -em *PR*

BOOK V

Then said Nisus: "If such be the prize for defeat, and you have pity for the fallen, what fit reward will you give Nisus? The first crown I had earned by merit, had not Fortune's malice fallen on me, as on Salius." And with these 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, that Greeks had taken down from Neptune's hallowed doorway. This he bestows on the noble youth, a lordly prize.

Then, when the races were ended and the gifts assigned, "Now," he cries, "whoever has 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 delay, Dares shows himself in all his huge strength, rising amid a mighty murmuring of the throng—Dares, who alone was wont to face Paris: he it was 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 by the horn with his left hand, speaking thus:

374 *perculit Pp: -tulit M: -cutit R*

382 *laeva MRp: -vo P*

AENEID

“nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,
 quae finis standi? quo me decet usque teneri?
 385 ducere dona iube.” cuncti simul ore fremebant
 Dardanidae reddique viro promissa iuebant.

Hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,
 proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae:
 “Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,
 390 tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli
 dona sines? ubi nunc nobis deus ille, magister
 nequiquam memoratus, Eryx? ubi fama per omnem
 Trinacriam et spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis?”
 ille sub haec: “non laudis amor nec gloria cessit
 395 pulsa metu; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta
 sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.
 si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste
 exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
 haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
 400 venissem, nec dona moror.” sic deinde locutus
 in medium geminos immani pondere caestus
 proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus
 ferre manum duroque intendere bracchia tergo.
 obstipuere animi: tantorum ingentia septem
 405 terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigeabant.
 ante omnis stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat,
 magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa
 huc illuc vinclorum immensa volumina versat.
 tum senior talis referebat pectore voces:
 410 “quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma
 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,

BOOK V

“Goddess-born, if no man dare trust himself to the fray, what end shall there be to my standing here? How long is it fitting to keep me waiting? Bid me lead your gift away!” At once all the Dardans shouted applause, and bade the promised prize be duly given him.

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, will you so tamely let gifts so great be carried off without a struggle? Where now, pray, is the divine Eryx, whom you called your teacher—all in vain? Where is your renown over all Sicily, and those spoils that hung in your house?” At this he said: “No cowardice has banished love of honour or thought of renown; 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, in which yonder braggart boldly exults—had I now that youth, then not from lure of prize or goodly steer would I have 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 oxhides, 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 your brother Eryx once wore; you see them still stained with blood and spattered brains. With these he faced great Alcides; with these was I wont to fight, while

AENEID

415 dum melior vires sanguis dabat, aemula necdum
 temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.
 sed si nostra Dares haec Troïus arma recusat,
 idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,
 aequemus pugnas. Erycis tibi terga remitto
 420 (solve metus), et tu Troianos exue caestus.”
 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
 425 et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.
 constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque
 bracciaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.
 abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu
 immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacesunt,
 430 ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa,
 hic membris et mole valens; sed tarda trementi
 genua labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
 multa viri nequiquam inter se vulnera iactant,
 multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectora vastos
 435 dant sonitus, erratque auris et tempora circum
 crebra manus, duro crepitant sub vulnere malae.
 stat gravis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem,
 corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.
 ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem
 440 aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis,
 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
 445 praevидit celerique elapsus corpore cessit;
 Entellus vires in ventum effudit et ultro

BOOK V

sounder blood gave me strength, nor yet had envious age sprinkled my temples with snow. But if the Trojan Dares declines these weapons of ours, and this is resolved on by good Aeneas and approved by my patron Acestes, let us make the battle even. At your wish I waive the gauntlets of Eryx; dismiss your fears; and take off your 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.

Then, with a father's care, the son of Anchises brought out gloves of like weight and with equal weapons bound the hands of both. Straightway each took his stand, poised on his toes, 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 to no avail, but many they rain on hollow flank, while their chests ring loudly; hands flash about ears and brows, and cheeks rattle under the hard strokes. Solidly stands Entellus, motionless, unmoved in stance, shunning blows with body and watchful eyes alone. The other, like one who assails some high city with siege works or besets a mountain stronghold in arms, tries now this approach 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, and in his huge bulk this mighty

AENEID

- ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto
 MPRV concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho
 aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.
 450 consurgunt studiis Teucri et Trinacria pubes;
 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.
 455 tum pudor incendit vires et conscia virtus,
 praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto,
 nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra.
 nec mora, nec requies; quam multa grandine nimbi
 culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros
 460 creber utraque manu pulsatur versaturque Daretam.
 Tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras
 et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,
 sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Daretam
 eripuit, mulcens dictis, ac talia fatur:
 465 "infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?
 non vires alias conversaque numina sentis?
 cede deo." dixitque et proelia voce diremit.
 ast illum fidi aequales, genua aegra trahentem
 iactantemque utroque caput crassumque cruorem
 470 ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes,
 ducunt ad navis; galeamque enseque vocati
 accipiunt, palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.
 hic victor, superans animis tauroque superbus,
 "nate dea vosque haec," inquit, "cognoscite, Teucri,
 475 et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires,
 et qua servetis revocatum a morte Daretam."

⁴⁴⁹ radicibus *MPp*: -itus *RV*

BOOK V

man fell in his might to earth, as at times falls on Erymanthus or mighty Ida a hollow pine, upturned 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 with the left. No stint, no stay is there—thick as the hail when storm clouds rattle on the roof, so thick are the blows from either hand as the hero beats and batters Dares.

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 your mind? Do you not see 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, 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. At this the victor, triumphant in spirit and glorying in the bull, cries: "O Goddess-born and you Trojans, learn what strength I had in my youthful frame, and from what a death you recall and

⁴⁵⁷ ille *PRV*: illa *p*: deinde *M*

⁴⁷⁰ eiectantem *Pp*: iect- *MV*: iact- *R*

AENEID

- dixit et adversi contra stetit ora iuveni,
 qui donum astabat pugnae, durosque reducta
 libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus,
 480 arduus, effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro:
 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."
 485 Protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta
 invitat qui forte velint et praemia dicit,
 ingentique manu malum de nave Seresti
 erigit et volucrem traiecto in fune columbam,
 quo tendant ferrum, malo suspendit ab alto.
 490 convenere viri deiectamque aerea sortem
 accepit galea; et primus clamore secundo
 Hyrtacidae ante omnis exit locus Hippocoontis.
 quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine victor
 consequitur, viridi Mnestheus evinctus oliva.
 495 tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater,
 Pandare, qui quondam, iussus confundere foedus,
 in medios telum torsisti primus Achivos.
 extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,
 ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem.
 MPR Tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus
 501 pro se quisque viri et depromunt tela pharetris,
 primaque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta
 Hyrtacidae iuvenis volucris diverberat auras,
 et venit adversique infigitur arbore mali.
 505 intremuit malus, micuitque exterrita pinnis
 ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.

486 dicit *Pp*: ponit *MRV* (292)491 primus *MPp*: -um *RV*

BOOK V

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 you, Eryx, instead of the death of Dares; here victorious I lay down the gauntlet and my art!"

Straightway Aeneas invites all, who may so wish, to contend with swift arrows, and proclaims the prizes. With his mighty hand he raises the mast from Serestus' ship, and from the high pole, on a cord passed round 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, your brother, famous Pandarus who of old, when bidden to confound the treaty, first hurled a shaft amid the Achaeans. Last, and in the helmet's depths, lay Acestes himself, daring to lay hand to the task of youth.

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

505 micuitque Slater: timuitque codd.

AENEID

- post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu,
 alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.
 ast ipsam miserandus avem contingere ferro
 510 non valuit; nodos et vincula linea rupit,
 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,
 515 iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus, et alis
 plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.
 decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris
 aëriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam.
 amissa solus palma superabat Acestes;
 520 qui tamen aërias telum contendit in auras,
 ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.
 hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum
 augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens
 seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.
 525 namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo
 signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit
 consumpta in ventos, caelo ceu saepe refixa
 transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.
 attonitis haesere animis, superosque precati
 530 Trinacrii Teucrique viri; nec maximus omen
 abnuit Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten
 muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur:
 "sume, pater: nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi
 talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores.

512 atra MR: alta P (511) 518 aeriis MRp: aetheriis P
 520 contendit MRp: -torsit P (12.266)
 522 subitum χ: -o codd.

BOOK V

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 hemp 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 upward into the air he aimed his bolt, displaying his veteran skill and the twanging of his bow. On this a sudden portent meets their eyes, destined to prove of mighty consequence, as momentous events revealed later, when in after years fear-inspiring seers declared its import.⁴ For, flying amid the misty clouds, the reed caught fire, marked its path with flames, then vanished away into thin air—as often shooting stars, unfastened from the firmament, 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 has willed by these auspices that you are to receive honours, though not sharing in the lot. You shall have this

⁴ The portent, which Aeneas interpreted as redounding to the credit of Acestes, signified the pro-Roman role that his city, Segesta (cf. 718), was to play in the First Punic War.

AENEID

- 535 ipsius Anchisae longaeui hoc munus habebis,
 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
- 540 et primum ante omnis victorem appellat Acesten.
 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.
- 545 At pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso
 custodem ad sese comitemque impubis Iuli
 Epytiden vocat et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:
 “vade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum
 agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum
- 550 ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat in armis,
 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
- 555 Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaeque iuventus.
 omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;
 cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,
 pars levis umero pharetras; it pectore summo
 flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.
- 560 tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur
 ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti
 agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.
 una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem

⁵⁵¹ decedere *MRp*: dis- *P*

⁵⁵⁸ it *M*², *Servius*: et *MRp*: iet *P* (*conflation of variants*)

BOOK V

gift, once the aged Anchises' own, a bowl embossed with figures, that in days gone by, as a princely prize, Cisseus of Thrace gave to my father Anchises, a memorial of himself and a pledge of his 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 whose winged shaft had lodged in the mast.

But father Aeneas, before the match was over, calls to him Epytides, guardian and companion of young Iulus, and thus speaks into his faithful ear: "Go now," he cries, "and tell Ascanius, if he has his company of boys ready, and has marshalled his cavalcade, 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 spearshafts tipped with iron; some have polished quivers on their shoulders; high on the breast around the neck passes a pliant circlet of twisted gold. Three in number are the troops of horses and three the captains that ride to and fro; each is followed by twice six boys, glittering in tripartite array under their respective trainers.⁵ One line of youths in triumphal joy is led by a

⁵ The three troops each comprised a captain and twelve boys (these divided into two squads of six), and each troop was accompanied by its trainer. The three captains were Priam the younger, Atys, and Iulus; only one of the trainers is named, Epytides, but he was the chief.

AENEID

- 565 nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite,
 progenies, auctura Italos; quem Thracius albis
 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.
- 570 extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus
 Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido
 esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris.
 cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Acestae
 fertur equis . . .
- 575 Excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes
 Dardanidae veterumque agnoscunt ora parentum.
 postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum
 lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis
 Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.
- 580 olli discurrere pares atque agmina terni
 diductis solvere choris rursusque vocati
 convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.
 inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus
 adversi spatii, alternosque orbibus orbes
- 585 impediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;
 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

573 Trinacriis χ : -ii PR: -iae M²P²p: -ae M

581 diductis Pp: de- MR

⁶ The three troops rode in double column down the middle of the arena; at the end, one column turned left, the other right,

BOOK V

little Priam, renewing his grandsire's name—your 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, the boyish love of the boy Iulus. Last, and in beauty excelling all, Iulus rode on a Sidonian horse, that fairest Dido had given in remembrance of herself and as a pledge of her love. The rest of the youth ride on the Sicilian steeds of old Acestes . . .

The Dardans welcome the anxious boys with applause and rejoice, as they gaze, to recognize in them the features of their departed fathers. When they had ridden gaily round the whole concourse before the eyes of their kin, Epytides, as they stood expectant, shouted the signal from afar and cracked his whip. Thereupon they galloped apart in matching order, the three troops breaking their column and dividing into their separate squads; then at the word of command they wheeled about and charged each other with levelled lances.⁶ Next they perform other movements and countermovements, confronting one another in the lists; they weave circle with alternate circle, and with real arms awake the mimicry of war. Now they turn their backs in flight, now point their spears aggressively, and now ride side by side in peace. As once in high Crete, it is said, the Labyrinth held a path woven with blind walls, and a be-

and rode back along the sides of the arena; there at the word of command each squad wheeled round to face its counterpart and charged. Presumably the captains remained in the middle at focal points to effect the regrouping of their troops. Page (*Aeneid I-VI*, p. 428) illustrates the maneuver with a helpful diagram.

AENEID

- 590 mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
frangeret indeprensus et inremeabilis error:
haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu
impediunt texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,
delphinum similes, qui per maria umida nando
- 595 Carpathium Libycumque secant *luduntque per undas*.
hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus
Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,
rettulit et Priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,
quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troïa pubes;
- 600 Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro
accepit Roma et patrium servavit honorem;
Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.
hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.
- Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.
- 605 dum variis tumulto referunt sollemnia ludis,
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
- 610 nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo.
conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat
desertosque videt portus classemque relictam.
at procul in sola secretae Troades acta
amissum Anchisen flebant cunctaeque profundum
- 615 pontum aspectabant flentes. "heul tot vada fessis

591 frangeret *PRp*, *Servius*: falleret *M*

595 *luduntque per undas R] om. MPp, del. edd.*

604 hinc *PRp*: hic *M*

BOOK V

wildering 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 sons of Troy 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 the heritage and kept it as an ancestral observance; and today the boys are called Troy and the troop Trojan.⁷ Thus far were solemnized the sports in honour of the holy sire.

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. Iris, 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

⁷ The equestrian display introduced by Sulla and known as the *ludus Troiae* was expanded by Augustus into a magnificent spectacle performed by youths of noble birth. In compliment to him Virgil connects them with Aeneas and Ascanius.

AENEID

- et tantum superesse maris!" vox omnibus una.
 urbem orant; taedet pelagi perferre laborem.
 ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi
 conicit et faciemque deae vestemque reponit;
 620 fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli,
 cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent,
 ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert:
 "o miserae, quas non manus," inquit, "Achaica bello
 traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens
 625 infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?
 septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,
 cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa
 sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum
 Italiam sequimur fugientem et volvimur undis.
 630 hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes;
 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?
 635 quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppis.
 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
 640 Neptuno; deus ipse faces animumque ministrat."
 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,
 645 Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix:
 "non Beroe vobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres,

BOOK V

wastes of sea!" Such is the one cry of all. It is a city they crave; of the sea's hardships they have had enough. 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 this form joins the throng of Dardan mothers. "Ah, wretched we," she cries, "whom Achaean hands dragged not to death in war beneath our native walls! Ah, hapless race, for what destruction does Fortune reserve you? 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 over the great 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 it is time that deeds be done; such portents brook no delay. Lo, four altars to Neptune! The god himself lends the brands and the resolve."

Thus speaking, she first fiercely seized the deadly flame, and raising her brand aloft, with full force brandished it and threw. Startled are the minds of the Trojan women, their wits bewildered. At this one from out their throng, and she the eldest, Pyrgo, royal nurse for Priam's many sons, spoke: "This, look, mothers, is not Beroë; this is

AENEID

est Dorycli coniunx; divini signa decoris
ardentisque notate oculos, qui spiritus illi,
qui vultus vocisque sonus vel gressus eunti.
650 ipsa egomet dudum Beroen digressa reliqui
aegram, indignantem, tali quod sola careret
munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.”
haec effata . . .

at matres primo ancipites oculisque malignis
655 ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem
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
660 conclamant rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem;
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
665 incensas perfert navis Eumelus, et ipsi
respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.
primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit
castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri.
670 “quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis,” inquit,
“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.
675 accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.
ast illae diversa metu per litora passim

⁶⁴⁹ qui *Mp*: quis *PR*

BOOK V

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 spoke . . . But at first the matrons were gazing on the ships doubtfully and with jealous eyes, torn between an unhappy yearning for the land now reached and the destined kingdom that beckons them on, 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, 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.

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 is this?" he cries. "Whither now, whither are you bound, my wretched countrywomen? It is not the foe, not the hostile Argive camp you burn, but your own hopes. I am your own Ascanius!" And before his fleet 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 this way and that, and

AENEID

- diffugiunt silvasque et sicubi concava furtim
 saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque
 mutatae agnoscunt, excussaque pectore Iuno est.
- 680 Sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia vires
 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.
- 685 tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem
 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
- 690 nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto;
 vel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,
 si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra."
 vix haec ediderat, cum effusis imbribus atra
 tempestas sine more furit tonitruque tremescunt
- 695 ardua terrarum et campi; ruit aethere toto
 turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris,
 implenturque super puppes, semusta madescunt
 robora, restinctus donec vapor omnis et omnes,
 quattuor amissis, servatae a peste carinae.
- 700 At pater Aeneas, casu concussus acerbo,
 nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
 mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis,
 oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.
 tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
- 705 quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte,
 (haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira

680 flamma P: -ae Rp: -am M

BOOK V

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.

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 loyal Aeneas rent the garment from his shoulders, and called the gods to his aid, lifting up his hands: "Almighty Jupiter, if you do not yet utterly abhor the Trojans to their last man, if your loving-kindness of old has any regard for human sorrows, grant to the fleet to escape the flame even now, Father, and snatch from doom the slender fortunes of the Trojans! Or if I deserve it, do you with levelled thunderbolt send down to death the little that remains, and here overwhelm us with your 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 rushes down 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 heat is quenched, and all the hulls save four are rescued from destruction.

But father Aeneas, stunned by the bitter blow, now this way, now that, within his heart turned over mighty cares, pondering whether, forgetful of fate, he should settle in Sicilian fields, or aim to reach Italian shores. 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 por-

AENEID

magna deum vel quae fatorum posceret ordo),
is que his Aenean solatus vocibus inquit:

- “nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
710 quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.
est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes;
hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem,
huic trade, amissis superant qui navibus et quos
pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est;
715 longae vosque senes ac fessas aequore matres
et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est
delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi;
urbem appellabunt permissio nomine Acestam.”

- Talibus incensus dictis senioris amici
720 tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnis.
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,
725 care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fati,
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,
730 defer in Italiam. gens dura atque aspera cultu
debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
infernās accede domos et Averno per alta
congressus pete, nate, meos. non me impia namque
Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum
735 concilia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla
nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.
tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.

BOOK V

tended, or what the course of fate demanded—he with these words essays to comfort Aeneas: “Let us go, goddess-born, where the Fates, in their ebb and flow, draw us; come what may, endurance must master every fortune. You have Trojan Acestes, of divine stock; take him to share your counsels, a willing partner; to him entrust those who, their ships thus lost, are left over, and those who have grown weary of your great emprise and of your fortunes. Choose out the old men full of years and sea-worn matrons, and all of your company who are weak and fearful of peril, and let the wearied find their city in this land. This city, if you permit the name, they shall call Acesta.”⁸

Then, indeed, kindled by these 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: “Son, dearer to me than life, in days when life was mine; son, tested by Ilium’s fate! I come hither by Jove’s command, who drove the fire from your 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 to Italy. A people hard and rugged in nurture must you subdue in Latium. Yet first approach 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 you; and then you will learn of all your race, and what city is given to you. And

⁸ It was called Egesta by the Greeks, Segesta by the Romans.

AENEID

- iamque vale; torquet medios Nox umida cursus,
 et me saevus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.”
- 740 dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras.
 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
- 745 farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.
 Extemplo socios primumque accersit Acesten
 et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
 edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet.
 haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes.
- 750 transcribunt urbi matres populumque volentem
 deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentes.
 ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt
 robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque,
 exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.
- 755 interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro
 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
- 760 fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos
 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.
- 765 exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus;
 complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur.

⁷⁴⁶ accersit *MR* (6.119): accessit *Pm*

⁷⁶¹ additur *MR*: -us *P*

BOOK V

now farewell; dewy Night wheels her midway course, and the cruel East has breathed on me with panting steeds." He spoke, and passed like smoke into thin air. "Where are you rushing now?" cries Aeneas. "Where are you hurrying? Whom do you flee, or who bars you 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.

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 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.

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 often upon them, calls them again to sea. Along the winding shore arises a mighty wail; embracing one another, they linger a night and a day.

AENEID

- ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam
 visa maris facies et non tolerabile numen,
 ire volunt omnemque fugae perferre laborem.
 770 quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis
 et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.
 tris Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
 caedere deinde iubet solvique ex ordine funem.
 ipse, caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae,
 775 stans procul in prora pateram tenet extaque salsos
 proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit.
 prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis.
certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.
- At Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis
 780 adloquitur talisque effundit pectore questus:
 "Iunonis gravis ira nec exsaturabile pectus
 cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis;
 quam nec longa dies, pietas nec mitigat ulla,
 FMMPR nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.
 785 non media de gente Phrygum exedisce nefandis
 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
 790 quam molem subito excierit; maria omnia caelo
 miscuit, Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,
 in regnis hoc ausa tuis . . .
 per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis
 exussit foede puppis et classe subegit
 795 amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae.

⁷⁶⁸ numen *P*: nomen *M*: caelum *R* (4.53) ⁷⁷² agnam *PR*:
 agnos *M* ⁷⁷⁸ = 3.290 *MPR* (*but before 777 P*)] *del. Reeve*

BOOK V

Now the very mothers, the very men to whom once the face of the sea seemed cruel and its power intolerable, are ready 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. *With rival strokes his comrades lash the sea and sweep the waters.*

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 does she rest, still unbent by Fate and Jove's command. It is not enough that from the midst of the Phrygian race in her fell hate she 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. You are yourself 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 your realm ... And, wickedly driving on the Trojan matrons, she has foully burnt their ships, and forced them—their fleet lost—to abandon their comrades to an unknown shore. Grant, I

⁷⁸⁶ traxe R: traxere FP: traxisse M

⁷⁹⁴ exussit FR: excussit MP

⁷⁹⁵ ignotae FP: -a MR | terrae FPR: -a M

AENEID

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:
- 800 “fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis,
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 Troïa Achilles
- 805 exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris,
milia multa daret leto, gementque repleti
amnes nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset
in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti
congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis
- 810 nube cava rapui, cuperem cum vertere ab imo
structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troïae.
nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle timores.
tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.
unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
MPR unum pro multis dabitur caput . . .”
- 816 His ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis,
iungit equos auro Genitor spumantiaque addit
frena feris manibusque omnis effundit habenas.
caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru;
- 820 subsidunt undae tumidumque sub axe tonanti
sternitur aequor aquis; fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi.
tum variae comitum facies, immania cete,
et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon
Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis;

⁸¹² timores PR: -em FM

BOOK V

pray, that the remnant may commit their sails safely to you across the waters; grant them to gain Laurentine Tiber, if I ask what is right, if those walls are granted by the Fates."

Then Saturn's son, lord of the deep sea, spoke thus: "You have every right, Cytherean, to put trust in this, my realm, from which you are born. 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 my care been for 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 it was I who, in a 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; dispel your fears. In safety, as you pray, shall he reach the haven of Avernus. One only shall there be whom, lost in the flood, you will seek in vain; one life shall be given for many . . ."

When with these words he had soothed to gladness the goddess's 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

AENEID

- 825 laeva tenent Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo,
Nesaeae Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque.
Hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim
gaudia pertemptant mentem; iubet ociosus omnis
attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis.
- 830 una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,
nunc dextros solvere sinus; una ardua torquent
cornua detorquentque; ferunt sua flamina classem.
princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat
agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.
- 835 iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam
contigerat; placida laxabant membra quiete
sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae:
cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,
- 840 te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans
insonti; puppique deus consedit in alta,
Phorbanti similis, funditque has ore loquelas:
“Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem,
aequatae spirant aerae, datur hora quieti.
- 845 pone caput fessosque oculos furare labori.
ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.”
cui vix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur:
“mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos
ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?”
- 850 Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus auris,
et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?”
taliam dicta dabat clavumque adfixus et haerens
nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat.
ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem

⁸²⁵ tenent *P*: tent *R* (= ten<en>t): tenet *M*

BOOK V

keep the left, and maiden Panopea, Nesaea and Spio, Thalia and Cymodoce.

At this, soothing joys in their turn 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 yardarms 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. 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 rest; when Sleep, sliding lightly down from the stars of heaven, parted the dusky air and cleft the gloom, seeking you, Palinurus, and bringing you 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; the breezes breathe steadily; the hour is given to rest. Lay down your head and steal your weary eyes from toil. I myself for a space will take your duty in your stead." To him, scarce lifting his eyes, speaks Palinurus: "Me do you 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

829 *velis P: remis MR* (136)
flamina M (832)

843 *ipsa aequora PR: sua*

851 *caeli MR: -o P*

AENEID

- 855 vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat
tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.
vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus,
et super incumbens cum puppis parte revulsa
cumque gubernaclo liquidas proiecit in undas
- 860 praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem;
ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras.
currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis
promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.
iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat,
- 865 difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos,
(tum rauca adsiduo longe saepe saxa sonabant),
cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro
sensit et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis,
multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:
- 870 "o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena."

860 saepe *PR*: voce *M* (6.506)

BOOK V

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 vainly on his comrades again and again. 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 drifting aimlessly, her pilot lost, and himself steered her amid the waves of night, often sighing and stunned at heart by his friend's mischance. "Ah, too trustful in the calm of sky and sea, naked you will lie, Palinurus, on an unknown strand!"

LIBER VI

- MPR Sic fatur lacrimans classique immittit habenas,
et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris.
obvertunt pelago proras, tum dente tenaci
ancora fundabat navis, et litora curvae
- 5 praetexunt puppes. iuvenum manus emicat ardens
litus in Hesperium; quaerit pars semina flammae
abstrusa in venis silicis, pars densa ferarum
tectata rapit silvas, inventaque flumina monstrat.
at pius Aeneas arces, quibus altus Apollo
- 10 praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
antrum immane, petit, magnam cui mentem animumque
Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura.
iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta.
- Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna,
- 15 praepetibus pinnis ausus se credere caelo,
insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos
Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce.
redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebæ, sacravit
remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.
- 20 in foribus letum Androgeo; tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi, miserum! septena quotannis

²⁰ Androgeo *bc*, *Servius*: -gei MPR

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 despoil the woods, the thick coverts of game, and point to new-found streams. But loyal Aeneas seeks the heights, where Apollo sits enthroned,¹ 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.

Daedalus, it is 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, Phoebus, the orage 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

¹ Cumae was on high ground, capped by two summits, on one of which was the temple of Apollo.

AENEID

corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.
 contra elata mari respondet Cnosia tellus:

hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto

25 Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis

FMPR Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae;

hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;

magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem

Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,

30 caeca regens filo vestigia. tu quoque magnam

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 Achatēs

35 adforet atque una Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,

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.”

40 talibus adfata Aenean (nec sacra morantur

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.

45 ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo, “poscere fata

tempus” ait: “deus, ecce, deus!” cui talia fanti

ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,

non comptae mansere comae, sed pectus anhelum,

et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque videri

39 de more *MPRm*, *Servius* (4.57+): ex more *F* (5.244+)

BOOK VI

stands the urn, the lots now drawn. Opposite, rising from the sea, the Cretan land faces this; here is the cruel love of the bull, Pasiphaë craftily mated, and the mongrel breed of the Minotaur, a hybrid offspring, record of monstrous love; there that house of toil, a maze inextricable; but Daedalus, pitying the princess's great love, himself unwound the deceptive tangle of the palace, guiding blind feet with the thread. You, too, Icarus, would have large share in such a work, did grief permit: twice had he essayed to fashion your 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, Deiphobe, daughter of Glaucus, who thus addresses 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 the men to do her sacred bidding—the priestess calls the Teucrians into the lofty fane.

The huge side of the Euboean rock is hewn into a cavern, into which lead a hundred wide mouths, a hundred gateways, from which rush as many voices, the answers of the Sibyl.² They had come to the threshold, when the maiden cries: "Tis time to ask the oracles; the god, lo! the god!" As thus she spoke before the doors, suddenly not 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

² The volcanic hills of Cumae are pierced by many grottos. One of these, the *antrum* of the Sibyl, could be approached through the temple.

AENEID

- 50 nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
 MPR iam propiore dei. "cessas in vota precesque,
 Tros," ait, "Aenea? cessas? neque enim ante dehiscant
 attonitae magna ora domus." et talia fata
 conticuit. gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit
 55 ossa tremor, funditque preces rex pectore ab imo:
 "Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores,
 Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque
 corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras
 tot maria intravi duce te penitusque repostas
 60 Massylum gentes praetentaque Syrtibus arva;
 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
 65 gloria Dardaniae. tuque, o sanctissima vates,
 praescia venturi, da (non indebita posco
 regna meis fati) Latio considerare Teucros
 errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae.
 tum Phoebus et Triviae solido de marmore templum
 70 instituiam festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.
 te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris.
 hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata
 dicta meae genti ponam, lectosque sacrabo,
 alma, viros. foliis tantum ne carmina manda,
 75 ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis;
 ipsa canas oro." finem dedit ore loquendi.

⁵⁷ *derexti Ribbeck: di-codd.*

³ 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.

BOOK VI

voice a mortal ring, since now she feels the nearer breath of deity. "Are you slow to vow and to pray?" she cries. "Are you slow, Trojan Aeneas? For till then the mighty mouths of the awestruck house will not gape open." So she spoke and was mute. A chill shudder ran through the Teucrians' sturdy frames, and their king pours forth prayers from his inmost heart: "Phoebus, who never failed to pity Troy's sore agony, who guided the Dardan shaft and hand of Paris against the body of Aeacus' son, under your guidance did I enter so many seas, skirting mighty lands, the far remote Massylian tribes, and fields the Syrtes fringe; now at last is Italy's ever receding shore within our grasp; thus far only may Troy's fortune have followed us! You, too, may now fitly spare the race of Pergamus, you gods and goddesses all, to whom Troy and Dardania's great glory were an offence. And you, most holy prophetess, who foreknow 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.³ You also a stately shrine awaits in our realm;⁴ for here I will place your oracles and mystic utterances, told to my people, and ordain chosen men, O gracious one. Only trust not your verses to leaves, lest they fly in disorder, the sport of rushing winds; chant them yourself, I pray." His lips ceased speaking.

⁴ Referring to the secret place for the Sibylline books, which were deposited under the statue of Apollo in the temple on the Palatine.

AENEID

- At Phoebi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
 bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
 excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat
 80 os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.
 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
 85 Dardanidae venient (mitte hanc de pectore curam);
 sed non et venisse volent. bella, horrida bella
 et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
 non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
 defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
 90 natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno
 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 . . .
 95 tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
 qua 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,
 100 obscuris vera involvens; ea frena furenti
 concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo.
 ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt,

⁸⁴ terrae *MPm*: terra *R*

⁹⁶ qua *b*²: quam *codd.*: *Servius knows both*

BOOK VI

But the prophetess, not yet brooking the sway of Phoebus, storms wildly in the cavern, if so she may shake the mighty god from 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: "O you that have at length survived the great perils of the sea—yet by land more grievous woes lie in wait—into the realm of Lavinium the sons of Dardanus shall come, relieve your heart of this care. Yet they shall not also rejoice in their coming. Wars, grim wars I see, and the Tiber foaming with streams of blood. You will not lack a Simois, nor a Xanthus,⁵ nor a Doric camp. Even now in Latium a new Achilles has been born, himself a goddess's son;⁶ nor shall Juno anywhere fail to dog the Trojans, while you, a suppliant in your need, what races, what cities of Italy will you not implore! The cause of all this Trojan woe is again an alien bride, again a foreign marriage!⁷ . . . Yield not to ills, but go forth all the bolder to face them as far as your destiny will allow! The road to safety, little though you think it, shall first issue from a Grecian city."⁸

In these words the Cumaean Sibyl chants from the shrine her dread enigmas and booms from the cavern, wrapping truth in darkness—so does Apollo shake the reins as she rages, and ply the goad beneath her breast. As soon as the frenzy ceased and the raving lips were hushed,

⁵ The rivers Simois and Xanthus of Troyland will have their counterparts in the Numicius and Tiber of Latium.

⁶ Turnus.

⁷ Lavinia will be a second Helen.

⁸ Pallanteum, city of Evander, on the site of the later Rome.

AENEID

- incipit Aeneas heros: "non ulla laborum,
o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
105 omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.
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.
110 illum ego per flammam et mille sequentia tela
eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi;
ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum
atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat,
invalidus, vires ultra sortemque senectae.
115 quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem,
idem orans mandata dabat. gnatique patrisque,
alma, precor, miserere; potes namque omnia, nec te
nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis.
si potuit Manis accersere coniugis Orpheus
120 Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris;
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,
125 cum sic orsa loqui vates: "sate sanguine divum,
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
130 Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus,

¹¹³ pelagique . . . caelique PR: c. . . p. M

¹²² Servius punctuates after Thesea

¹²⁶ Averno MP: -i R: Servius knows both

BOOK VI

Aeneas the hero begins: "For me no form of toils arises, O maiden, strange or unlooked for; all this have I foreseen and debated in my mind. 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; show the way and open the hallowed portals! Amid flames and a thousand pursuing spears, I rescued him on these shoulders, and brought him safe from the enemy's midst. He, the partner of my journey, 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. He it was who prayed and charged me humbly to seek you and draw near to your threshold. Pity both son and sire, I beseech you, gracious one; for you are all-powerful, and not in vain did Hecate make you 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 many times comes and goes his way—why speak of Theseus, why of Hercules the mighty—I, too, have descent from Jove most high!"⁹

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 one's 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

⁹ Through his mother Venus, a daughter of Jupiter.

AENEID

- dis geniti potuere. tenent media omnia silvae,
 Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.
 quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est
 bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre
 135 Tartara, et insano iuvat indulgere labori,
 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.
 140 sed non ante datur telluris operta subire,
 auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fetus.
 hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
 instituit; primo avulso non deficit alter
 aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.
 145 ergo alte vestiga oculis et rite repertum
 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
 150 (heu! nescis) totamque incestat funere classem,
 dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes.
 sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro.
 duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt.
 sic demum lucos Stygis et regna invia vivis
 155 aspicias." dixit pressoque obmutuit ore.
 Aeneas maesto defixus lumina vultu
 ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecosque volutat
 eventus animo secum. cui fidus Achates
 it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit.
 160 multa inter sese vario sermone serebant,

133 est MR: om. P

141 quis PR: qui M

BOOK VI

gods, have availed. In all the mid-space lie woods, and Cocytus girds it, gliding with murky folds. But if such love is in your heart—if such a yearning, twice to swim the Stygian lake, twice to see black Tartarus—and if you are 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;¹⁰ this all the grove hides, and shadows veil in the dim valleys. But it is not given to pass beneath earth's hidden places, before someone has plucked from the tree the golden-tressed fruitage. This has 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 your hand; for of itself will it follow you, freely and with ease, if Fate be calling you; else with no force will you avail to win it or rend it with hard steel. Moreover, there lies the dead body of your friend—ah, you know it not!—and defiles all the fleet with death, while you seek counsel and hover on our threshold. Bear him first to his own place and hide him in the tomb. Lead black cattle; be these your first peace offerings. Only so will you survey the Stygian groves and realms the living may not tread.” She spoke, and with closed lips was silent.

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

¹⁰ Proserpine.

AENEID

- quem socium exanimem vates, quod corpus humandum
diceret. atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,
ut venire, vident indigna morte peremptum,
Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter
165 aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu.
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta.
postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles,
Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros
170 addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.
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.
175 ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant,
praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae,
haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulcri
congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.
itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum;
180 procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus illex
fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
scinditur, advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos.
Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.
185 atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat,
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.”
190 vix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae
ipsa sub ora viri caelo venire volantes

BOOK VI

comrade spoke the soothsayer, of what body for burial? And as they came, they see on the dry beach Misenus, cut 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 by chance he made 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 to pile up trees for the altar of his tomb and rear 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; ash logs and splintering oak are cleft with wedges, and from the mountains they roll down huge ash trees.

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—did the seer say of you, Misenus." Scarce had he said these words when under his very eyes twin doves, as it chanced, came flying from the

161 exanimem *M*: -um *PR*

177 sepulchri *MR*: -o *P*

186 forte *MP*: voce *R* (9.403)

AENEID

- et viridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros
 maternas agnovit aves laetusque precatur:
 "este duces o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras
 195 derigite in lucos, ubi pinguem dives opacat
 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,
 200 quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum.
 inde ubi venere ad fauces grave olentis Averni,
 tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aëra lapsae
 sedibus optatis geminae super arbore sidunt,
 discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.
 205 quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum
 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.
 210 corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit
 cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.
 Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucrici
 flebant, et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.
 principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
 215 ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris
 intexunt latera, et feralis ante cupressos
 constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis.
 pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis
 FMPR expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.
 220 fit gemitus. tum membra toro defleta reponunt
 purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,

¹⁹³ agnovit *M*: -noscit *PR*

BOOK VI

sky and lit on the green grass. Then the great hero knew them for his mother's birds, and prays with joy: "Be my guides, if any way there be, and through the air steer a course into the grove, where the rich bough overshades the fruitful ground! And you, goddess-mother, fail not my dark hour!" So speaking, he checked his steps, marking what signs they bring, where they direct their course. As they fed, they advanced in flight just so far as a pursuer's eyes could keep them within sight; then, when they came to the jaws of noisome Avernus, they swiftly rise and, dropping through the unclouded air, perch side by side on their chosen goal—a tree, through whose branches flashed the contrasting glimmer 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.

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 somber foliage, set in front funereal cypresses, and adorn it above with gleaming arms. Some heat water, setting cauldrons 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,

²⁰³ *geminae R: -a MP*

AENEID

- coniciunt. pars ingenti subiere feretro,
 triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum
 aversi tenuere facem. congesta cremantur
 225 turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.
 postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
 reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,
 ossaque lecta cado textit Corynaeus aëno.
 idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
 230 spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae,
 lustravitque viros, dixitque novissima verba.
 at pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
 imponit, suaque arma viro remumque tubamque,
 monte sub aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
 235 dicitur, aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen.
- His actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.
 spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatus,
 scruposa, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
 quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
 240 tendere iter pinnis: talis sese halitus atris
 faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat
unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornum.
 quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuvenco
 constituit, frontique invergit vina sacerdos,
 245 et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas
 ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima,
 voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem.
 supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem
 succipiunt pateris. ipse atri velleris agnam
 250 Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaetaeque sorori

225 dapes *FMR*: ferunt *P* (5.101)
 (3.647) 241 supera *F*: super *MPR*

231 viros *FM*: domos *PR*

BOOK VI

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, viands, and bowls of flowing oil. After the ashes fell in and 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 spoke the words of farewell. But loyal Aeneas heaps over him a massive tomb, with the soldier's own arms, his oar and trumpet, beneath a lofty hill, which now from him is called Misenus, and keeps from age to age an ever living name.

This done, he fulfils with haste the Sibyl's behest. A deep cave there was, yawning wide and vast, of jagged rock, and sheltered by darklake and woodland gloom, over which no flying creatures could safely wing their way; such a vapour from those black jaws was wafted to the vaulted sky *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 mother¹¹ of the Eumenides and her great sister, and to

¹¹ Night, who, with her sister Terra, was a daughter of Chaos.

²⁴² R: *before 241* γ] *om.* FMP | Aornum γ: Avernum R

²⁴⁹ succipiunt FP, Servius: susc-MR

AENEID

- ense ferit sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.
 tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras
 et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,
 pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
 255 ecce autem primi sub lumina solis et ortus
 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;
 260 tuque invade viam vaginaque eripe ferrum:
 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 silen-
 tes
 265 et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,
 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,
 270 quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
 est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
 Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.
 MPR vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci
 Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,
 275 pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus
 et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,

254 super χ : superque *codd.*

255 lumina *PR*: limina *FM*

¹² Pluto.

¹³ Hecate.

BOOK VI

you, Proserpine, a barren heifer. Then for the Stygian king¹² he inaugurates an altar by night, and lays upon the flames whole carcasses of bulls, pouring fat oil over the blazing entrails. But just before the rays and dawning of the early sun the ground rumbled underfoot, the wooded ridges began to quiver, and through the gloom dogs seemed to howl as the goddess¹³ drew nigh. "Away! away! you that are uninitiated!" shrieks the seer, "withdraw from all the grove! And you, rush on the road and unsheathe your sword! Now, Aeneas, is the hour for courage, now for a dauntless heart!" So much she said, and plunged madly into the opened cave; he, with fearless steps, keeps pace with his advancing guide.

You gods, who hold the domain of spirits! You voiceless shades! You, Chaos, and you, Phlegethon, you broad, hushed 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!

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 niggard light of a fitful 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,¹⁴ even within the very jaws of Hell, Grief and avenging Cares have set their bed; there pale Diseases dwell, sad Age, and Fear, and Hunger,

¹⁴ 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 to the interior. There Aeneas finds a vast domain, divided into several parts. He first follows a path leading to Acheron.

AENEID

terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque:
 tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis
 Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum
 280 ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens,
 vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit
 ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo
 vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.
 285 multaue praeterea variarum monstra ferarum,
 Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque bifformes
 et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernae,
 horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
 Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricorporis umbrae.
 290 corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
 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.

295 Hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.
 turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
 aestuat, atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
 portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
 terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
 300 canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma,
 sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.

²⁸⁹ *After this verse Servius Auctus quotes four verses, 'said to have been left by the poet but removed by his editors.' See Introduction.*

³⁰⁰ flamma P: -ae MR

BOOK VI

temptress to sin, 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-dealing War, and the Furies' iron cells, and maddening Strife, her snaky locks entwined with bloody ribbons.

In the midst an elm, shadowy and vast, spreads her boughs and aged arms, the home which, men say, false Dreams hold, 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.¹⁵ 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 would rush upon them and vainly cleave shadows with steel.

From here 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 ferryman¹⁶ 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,

¹⁵ Geryon, a giant with three bodies, slain by Hercules.

¹⁶ The *portitor* is properly a harbour master, but he must often have acted as a ferryman, and the closeness of the word to *portare* probably helped to establish this as the primary meaning.

AENEID

ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat
 et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
 iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.
 305 huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat,
 matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita
 magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae
 impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:
 quam multa in silvis autumnii frigore primo
 310 lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto
 quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus
 trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.
 stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum
 tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.
 315 navita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos,
 ast alios longe submotos arcet harena.

Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu
 "dic," ait, "o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem?
 quidve petunt animae? vel quo discrimine ripas
 320 hae linqunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?"
 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.
 325 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;
 330 tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt."
 constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit,
 multa putans sortemque animo miseratus iniquam.
 cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis

BOOK VI

he poles the boat, tends the sails, and in his murky craft conveys the dead—now aged, but a god's old age is hardy and green. Hither 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 drop and fall, and thick as the 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 away, back from the brink.

Then aroused and amazed by the disorder, Aeneas cries: "Tell me, maiden, what means the crowding to the river? What seek the spirits? By what rule do these leave the banks, and those sweep the lurid stream with oars?" To him thus briefly spoke the aged priestess: "Anchises' son, true offspring of gods, you are looking at the deep pools of Cocytus and the Stygian marsh, by whose power the gods fear to swear falsely. All this crowd that you see is helpless and graveless; yonder ferryman is Charon; those whom the flood carries are the buried. He may not carry them over the dreadful banks and hoarse-voiced waters until 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." Anchises' son paused and stayed his steps, pondering much, and pitying in his heart their unjust lot. There he espies, doleful

AENEID

- Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
 335 quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos
 obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.
 Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,
 qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat,
 exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis.
 340 hunc ubi vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra,
 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,
 345 qui fore te ponto incolumem finisque canebat
 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 revulsum,
 350 cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam,
 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.
 355 tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes
 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,
 360 prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis,
 ferro invasisset praedamque ignara putasset.
 nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti.
 quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras,

336 virosque *MR*: -umque *P*

BOOK VI

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 Wind overwhelmed, engulfing alike ship and sailors.

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 thus: "What god, Palinurus, tore you from us and plunged you beneath the open ocean? O tell me! For Apollo, never before found false, with this one answer tricked my soul, for he foretold that you would escape the sea and reach Ausonian shores. Is this how he keeps his promise?" But he answered: "Neither did tripod of Phoebus fail you, my captain, Anchises' son, nor did a god plunge me in the deep. For by chance the helm to which I clung, steering our course, was violently torn from me, and as I fell headlong, I dragged it down with me. By the rough seas I swear that not for myself did I feel such fear as for your ship, lest, stripped of its gear and deprived of its helmsman, it might fail amid such surging waves. Three stormy nights over the measureless seas the South Wind 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 you, by your father,

AENEID

per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,
 365 eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram
 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),
 370 da dextram misero et tecum me tolle per undas,
 sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.”

Talia fatus erat, coepit cum talia vates:
 “unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
 tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
 375 Eumenidum aspicias ripamve iniussus adibis?
 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
 380 et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollemnia mittent,
 aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.”
 his dictis curae emotae, pulsusque parumper
 corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terra.

Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant.
 385 navita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda
 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.
 390 umbrarum hic locus est, Somni Noctisque soporae;

383 terra *Servius*: -ae *codd.*

BOOK VI

by the rising hope of Iulus, snatch me from these woes, unconquered one! Either cast earth on me,¹⁷ for that you can, by seeking again the haven of Velia; or if there be a way, if your goddess-mother shows you one—for not without divine favour, I believe, are you trying to sail these great streams and the Stygian mere—give your hand to one so unhappy, and take me with you across the waves, that at least in death I may find a quiet resting place!”

So had he spoken, and the soothsayer thus began: “Whence, Palinurus, comes this wild longing of yours? Are you, unburied, to look upon the Stygian waters and the Furies’ stern river,¹⁸ 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 your hard lot; for the neighbouring people, in their cities far and wide, shall be driven by celestial portents to appease your dust, and shall build a tomb, and to the tomb pay solemn offerings; and for ever the place shall bear the name of Palinurus.”¹⁹ By these words his cares are dispelled and for a little space grief is driven from his anguished heart; the land rejoices in the name.

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, un hailed, accosts and rebukes them: “Whoever you are who come to our river in arms, tell me, even from there, why you come, and check your step. This is the land of Shadows, of Sleep and drowsy

¹⁷ Three handfuls of earth sprinkled on a corpse constituted technical burial. ¹⁸ Cocytus.

¹⁹ Today it is still called Capo Palinuro.

AENEID

- corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.
 nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem
 FMPR accepisse lacu nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
 dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.
 395 Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit,
 ipsius a solio regis, traxitque trementem;
 hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti."
 quae contra breviter fata est Amphraysia vates:
 "nullae hic insidiae tales (absiste moveri),
 400 nec vim tela ferunt; licet ingens ianitor antro
 aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras;
 casta licet patruī servet Proserpina limen.
 Troīus Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,
 ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.
 405 si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,
 at ramum hunc" (aperit ramum, qui veste latebat)
 "agnoscas." tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.
 nec plura his. ille admirans venerabile donum
 fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum,
 410 caeruleam advertit puppim ripaeque propinquat.
 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.
 415 tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque
 informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.
 Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
 personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.
 cui vates, horrere videns iam colla colubris,
 420 melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
 obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens

BOOK VI

Night; living bodies I may not carry in the Stygian boat. And in truth it brought me no joy that I took Heracles on his journey over 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." In answer the Amphrysian²⁰ soothsayer spoke 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 in no wise moves you, yet know this bough"—and she shows the bough, hidden in her robe. At this his swelling breast subsides from its anger. 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; at once 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.

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

²⁰ The Sibyl is so called because she is a servant of Apollo, the "shepherd of Amphrysus" (*Georg.* 3.2).

AENEID

corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resolvit
 fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro.

MPR occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto
 425 evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.

Continuo auditae voces vagitus et ingens
 infantumque animae flentes, in limine primo
 quos dulcis vitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos
 abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.

430 hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis.
 nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes:
 quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum
 consiliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina discit.
 proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum

435 insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi
 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.

440 Nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem
 Lugentes Campi; sic illos nomine dicunt.
 hic, quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,
 secreti celant calles et myrtea circum
 silva tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.

445 his Phaedram Procrinque locis maestamque Eriphylen,
 crudelis nati monstrantem vulnera, cernit,
 Euadnenque et Pasiphaën; his Laodamia
 it comes et iuvenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus
 rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram.

450 inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido

⁴³³ consiliumque *P*: conc- *MR*

BOOK VI

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.

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 death.²¹ 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; he it is who calls a conclave 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.

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

²¹ Infants are placed in the entrance of Hades because they had died at the entrance of life.

AENEID

- errabat silva in magna. quam Troïus heros
 ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras
 obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
 aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,
 455 demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est:
 "infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo
 venerat extinctam, ferroque extrema secutam?
 funeris heu! tibi causa fui? per sidera iuro,
 per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
 460 invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.
 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.
 465 siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.
 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
 470 nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
 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.
 475 nec minus Aeneas, casu percussus iniquo,
 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
 480 Parthenopaeus et Adraсти pallentis imago.

⁴⁷⁵ percussus R: con- MR (5.700)

BOOK VI

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 near 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! Was the tale true then that came to me, that you were dead and had sought your doom with the sword? Was I, alas! the cause of your death? By the stars I swear, by the world above, and whatever is sacred in the grave below, unwillingly, queen, I parted from your 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 you distress so deep. Stay your step and withdraw not from our view. Whom do you flee? This is the last word Fate suffers me to say to you.” With these words amid springing tears Aeneas strove to 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, stricken by her unjust doom, Aeneas attends her with tears afar and pities her as she goes.

Thence he toils along the way that offered itself. And now they gained the farthest fields,²² where the renowned in war dwell apart. Here Tydeus meets him; here Parthe-

²² The neutral region, neither Elysium nor Tartarus.

AENEID

hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci
 Dardanidae, quos ille omnis longo ordine cernens
 ingemuit, Glaucumque Medontaque Thersilochumque,
 tris Antenoridas, Cererique sacrum Polyboeten,
 485 Idaeumque etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem.
 circumstant animae dextra laevaue frequentes.
 nec vidisse semel satis est; iuvat usque morari
 et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas.
 490 at Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaequae phalanges,
 ut videre virum fulgentiaque arma per umbras,
 FMPR ingenti trepidare metu: pars vertere terga,
 ceu quondam petiere rates; pars tollere vocem
 exiguam, inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis.

Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
 495 Deiphobum videt et lacerum crudeliter ora,
 ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
 auribus et truncas inhoneste vulnere naris.
 vix adeo agnovit pavitantem ac dira tegentem
 supplicia, et notis compellat vocibus ultro:
 500 "Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucrici,
 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.
 505 tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem
 constitui et magna Manis ter voce vocavi.
 nomen et arma locum servant; te, amice, nequivi
 conspiciere et patria decedens ponere terra."

486 frequentes MR: frem- P 488 discere MP: poscere R
 (1.414) 495 videt et Heinsius: vidit et M: vidit FP: videt R
 498 ac MP: et FR 505 litore FPR: in l. M, Servius

BOOK VI

nopaeus, 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 chariot, 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, to pace 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.²³

And here he sees Deiphobus, son of Priam, his whole frame mangled and his face cruelly torn—his face and either hand—his ears wrenched from despoiled temples, and his nostrils lopped by a shameful wound. Scarce, indeed, did he know the quivering form that tried to hide its awful punishment; then, with familiar accents, unhailed, he accosts him: "Deiphobus, strong in battle, scion of Teucer's high lineage, who chose to exact so cruel a penalty? Who had power to deal thus with you? Rumour told me that on that last night, weary with endless slaughter of Pelasgians, you had fallen upon a heap of mingled carnage. Then I myself set up a cenotaph upon the Rhoetean shore, and with loud cry called thrice upon your spirit. Your name and arms guard the place; you, my friend, I could not see,

²³ Being unsubstantial shades, they can only raise a faint echo of their former voices.

AENEID

- ad quae Priamides: "nihil o tibi, amice, relictum;
 510 omnia Deiphobo solvisti et funeris umbris.
 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.
 515 cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit
 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.
 520 tum me, confectum curis somnoque gravatum,
 infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem
 dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti.
 egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis
 emovet, et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem;
 525 intra tecta vocat Menelaum et limina pandit,
 scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
 et famam extinguere veterum sic posse malorum.
 quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo, comes additus una
 hortator scelerum Aeolides. di, talia Graeis
 530 instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco.
 sed te qui vivum casus, age fare vicissim,
 attulerint. pelagine venis erroribus actus
 an monitu divum? aut quae te fortuna fatigat,
 ut tristis sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?"
 535 Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis

528 additus *PR*: -ur *FM*

533 aut *Reeve*: an *codd.*

²⁴ He disdains to name Helen.

BOOK VI

nor bury, as I departed, in your native land." To this the son of Priam: "Nothing, my friend, have you left undone; all dues you have paid to Deiphobus and the dead man's shade. But me my own fate and the Laconian woman's²⁴ death-dealing crime overwhelmed in these woes. It was she who left these memorials! For how we spent that last night amid deluding joys, you know; and all too well must you remember! When the fateful horse leapt over the heights of Troy, and brought armed infantry 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 inside 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 this a great boon, and so the fame of old misdeeds might be blotted out. Why prolong the story? They burst into my chamber; with them comes their fellow counsellor of sin, the son of Aeolus.²⁵ O gods, with like penalties repay the Greeks, if with pious lips I pray for vengeance! But come, tell in turn what chance has brought you here, alive. Have you come here driven by your ocean-wanderings, or at Heaven's command? Or what doom compels you to visit these sad, sunless dwellings, this land of disorder?"

²⁵ Ulysses was son of Laertes, but gossip made him the son of Sisyphus, whose father was Aeolus.

AENEID

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.

540 hic locus est, partis ubi se via findit in ambas:
 dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
 hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum
 exercet poenas, et ad impia Tartara mittit."

Deiphobus contra: "ne saevi, magna sacerdos;
 545 discedam, explebo numerum reddarque tenebris.
 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,
 550 quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
 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,

555 Tisiphoneque sedens, palla succincta cruenta,
 vestibulum exsomis servat noctesque diesque.
 hinc exaudiri gemitus, et saeva sonare
 verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.
 constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit.

MPR "quae scelerum facies? o virgo, effare: quibusve
 561 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,

547 torsit *FP*: pressit *MR* (197)

559 strepitumque *FPR*,

Servius: -uque *M* | hausit *P*, *Servius*: haesit *FMR*

BOOK VI

During this 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:²⁶ 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 wicked, and sends them on to pitiless Tartarus." In reply Deiphobus said: "Be not angry, great priestess; I will go my way; I will make the count complete and return to the darkness. Go, you who are our glory, go; enjoy a happier fate!" Thus much he said and, as he spoke, turned his steps.

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 a huge gate, and pillars of solid adamant, that no might of man, nay, not even the sons of heaven, could uproot in war; there stands an iron tower, soaring high, and Tisiphone, sitting girt with bloody pall, keeps sleepless watch over the portal night and day. From it are heard groans, the sound of the savage lash, the clank of iron and the dragging of chains. Aeneas stopped, and terrified drank in the tumult. "What forms of crime are these? Say, O maiden! With what penalties are they scourged? What is this vast wailing on the wind?" Then the seer thus began to speak: "Famed chieftain of the Teucrians, no pure soul may tread the ac-

²⁶ Thus far the way has led through neutral ground.

AENEID

- 565 ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit.
 Cnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna
 castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri,
 quae quis apud superos, furto laetatus inani,
 distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
- 570 continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello
 Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra
 intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum.
 tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
 panduntur portae. cernis, custodia qualis
- 575 vestibulo sedeat, facies quae limina servet?
 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.
- 580 hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes,
 fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo.
 hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi
 corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
 adgressi superisque Iovem detrudere regnis.
- 585 vidi et crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas,
 dum flammam Iovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.
 quattuor hic invectus equis et lampada quassans
 per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem
- FMPR ibat ovans, divumque sibi poscebat honorem,
 590 demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen
 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.

586 flammam MR: -am P

591 pulsu FMP: cursu R (5.549)

BOOK VI

cursed threshold; but when Hecate set me over the groves of Avernus, she taught me the gods' penalties and guided me through all. Cretan 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, 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. Do you see what sentry²⁷ 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 the upward view of the sky toward 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 tried 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. Borne by four horses and brandishing a torch, he 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

²⁷ Tisiphone.

AENEID

- 595 nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum,
 cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus
 porrigitur, rostroque immanis vultur obunco
 immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis
 viscera, rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
 600 pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.
 quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque et
 quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique
 imminet adsimilis? lucent genialibus altis
 aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae
 605 regifico luxu; Furiarum maxima iuxta
 accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,
 exurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore.
 "Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
 pulsatusve parens, et fraus innexa clienti,
 610 aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis
 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,
 615 quam poenam, aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit.
 saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum
 dstricti pendent; sedet aeternumque sedebit
 infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis
 admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras:
 620 'discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos.'
 vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem

595 omniparentis *P*: -potentis *FMR*

597 obunco *M*: ab- *FR*: ad- *P*

601 et *add. Madvig: om. codd.*

602 quo *R*: quos *MP*: quod *F*

617 dstricti *MR*: di- *FP*

BOOK VI

him headlong with furious whirlwind. Likewise one might see Tityos, nursling of Earth the mother of all. Over nine full acres his body is stretched, and a monstrous vulture with crooked beak gnaws at his deathless liver and vitals fruitful of 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 Lapiths, Ixion and Pirithoüs, and of him²⁸ over whom hangs a black crag that seems ready to slip and fall at any moment?²⁹ High festal couches gleam with backs of gold, and before their eyes is spread a banquet in royal splendour. Reclining hard by, the eldest Fury stays their hands from touch of the table, springing forth with uplifted torch and thunderous cries.

“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 the standard of treason, and feared not to break allegiance with their lords—all these, immured, await their doom. Seek not to learn that doom, or what form of crime, or fate, overwhelmed 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!’

²⁸ Tantalus.

²⁹ The hypermetric *cadentique* contrives to suggest the reality of the threat posed by the rock which seems to be toppling.

AENEID

imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit;
 hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos
 ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti.

625 non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
 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,
 630 acceleremus,” ait. “Cyclopum educta caminis
 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.
 635 occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti
 spargit aqua ramumque adverso in limine figit.

His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,
 devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
 Fortunatorum Nemorum sedesque beatas.
 640 largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
 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.
 645 nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
 obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,
 iamque fidem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.
 hic genus antiquum Teucris, pulcherrima proles,
 magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis,
 650 Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor.

630 educta *M*: ducta *FPR*

647 fidem *Markland*: eadem *codd*.

BOOK VI

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."

So spoke the aged priestess of Phoebus; then adds: "But come now, hasten your step and fulfil the task in hand. Let us hasten. I descry the ramparts 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 near the doors. Aeneas wins the entrance, sprinkles his body with fresh water, and plants the bough full on the threshold.

This at length performed and the task of the goddess fulfilled, they came to a land of joy, the pleasant lawns 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 tread the rhythm of a dance and chant songs. There, too, the long-robed Thracian priest³⁰ matches their measures with the seven clear notes,³¹ striking the lyre now with his fingers, now with his ivory quill. Here is Teucer's ancient line, family most fair, high-souled

³⁰ Orpheus, a priest of Apollo.

³¹ The notes of the scale, corresponding to the lyre's seven strings.

AENEID

- 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
- FGMPR 656 pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.
 conspicit ecce alios dextra laevaue per herbam
 vescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis
 inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne
 plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.
- FMPR 661 Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
 quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
 quique pii vates et Phoebos digna locuti,
 inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
 quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo:
- 665 omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.
 quos circumfusos sic est adfata Sibylla,
 Musaeum ante omnis; medium nam plurima turba
 hunc habet atque umeris exstantem suspicit altis:
 "dicite, felices animae, tuque, optime vates,
 670 quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? illius ergo
 venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis."
 atque huic responsum paucis ita reddidit heros:
 "nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis '¹
- FGMPR 675 riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis
 incolimus. sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas,
 hoc superate iugum, et facili iam tramite sistam."
 dixit et ante tulit gressum camposque nitentis
 desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina relinquunt.

651 miratur PR: -antur FM

³² The Eridanus or Po has an underground course of about

BOOK VI

heroes born in happier years—Ilius 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 unyoked steeds browse freely over the plain. The same pride in chariot and arms that was theirs in life, the same care in keeping sleek steeds, attends them now that they are hidden beneath the earth. Others he sees, to right and left, feasting on the sward, and chanting in chorus a joyous paean within a fragrant laurel grove, from where the full flood of the Eridanus rolls upward through the forest.³²

Here is the band of those who suffered wounds, fighting for their country; those who in lifetime were priests and pure, good bards, whose songs were meet for Phoebus; or they who ennobled life by arts discovered and they who by service have won remembrance among men—the brows of all bound with headbands white as snow. These, as they streamed round, the Sibyl thus addressed, Musaeus before all; for he is centre of that vast throng that gazes up to him, as with shoulders high he towers aloft: "Say, happy souls, and you, best of bards, what land, what place holds Anchises? For his sake are we come, and have sailed across the great rivers of Erebus." And to her the hero thus made brief reply: "None has a fixed home. We dwell in shady groves, and live on cushioned riverbanks and in meadows fresh with streams. But if the wish in your heart so inclines, surmount this ridge, and soon I will set you on an easy path." He spoke and stepped on before, and from above points out the shining fields. Then they leave

two miles near its source, and so was said to spring from the lower world.

AENEID

- At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
 680 inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras
 lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
 forte recensebat numerum carosque nepotes
 fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.
 isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
 FMPR Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,
 686 effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore:
 "venisti tandem, tuaque expectata parenti
 FGMPR vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri,
 nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?
 690 sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum,
 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!"
 695 ille autem: "tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago
 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.
 700 ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum,
 ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,
 par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
 Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
 seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae
 705 Lethaeumque, domos placidas qui praenatat, amnem.
 hunc circum innumerae gentes populi que volabant;
 ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
 floribus insidunt variis et candida circum

702 = 2.794 FGMR] *om. P* 707 velut *PR*: veluti *FGM*

BOOK VI

the mountaintops.

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 counting over the full number of his people and beloved children, their fates and fortunes, their works and ways. And as he saw Aeneas coming towards him over the sward, he eagerly stretched forth both hands, while tears streamed from his eyes and a cry fell from his lips: "Have you come at last, and has the duty that your father expected vanquished the toil-some way? Is it given me to see your face, my son, and hear and utter familiar tones? Even so I mused and deemed the hour would come, counting the days, nor has my yearning failed me. Over what lands, what wide seas have you journeyed to my welcome! What dangers have beset you, my son! How I feared the realm of Libya might work you harm!" But he answered: "Your shade, father, your sad shade, meeting me repeatedly, drove me to seek these portals. My ships ride the Tuscan sea. Grant me to clasp your hand, grant me, father, and withdraw not from my embrace!" 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.

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 summertime, bees light on many-

AENEID

- lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.
 710 horrescit visu subito causasque requirit
 inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
 quive viri tanto compleverint agmine ripas.
 tum pater Anchises: "animae, quibus altera fato
 corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam
 715 securos latices et longa oblivia potant.
 has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram,
 iampridem hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,
 quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta."
 "o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
 720 sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti
 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
 FMPR lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra
 726 spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
 mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
 inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
 et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.
 730 igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo
 seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
 terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
 hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque
 auras
 dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.
 735 quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,

⁷²⁴ terras *GM* (1.58; 4.269; 7.571): terram *FPR*

⁷³¹ noxia corpora *FMR*: c. n. *P*

⁷³⁴ dispiciunt γ : de- *FMPR*

BOOK VI

hued blossoms and stream round lustrous lilies and all the fields murmur with the humming. Aeneas is startled 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 said 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 you to your face, yea, to count this, my children’s seed, that so you may rejoice with me the more at finding Italy.” “But, father, must we think that any souls pass aloft from here to the world above and return a second time to bodily fetters? What mad longing for life possesses their sorry hearts?” “I will surely tell you, my son, and keep you not in doubt,” Anchises replies, and reveals each truth in order.

“First, know that heaven and earth and the watery plains, the moon’s bright sphere and Titan’s star,³³ a spirit within sustains; in all the limbs mind moves the mass and mingles with the mighty frame. Thence³⁴ spring the races of man and beast, the life of winged creatures, and the monsters that ocean bears beneath his marble surface. Fiery is the vigour and divine the source of those seeds of life, so far as harmful bodies clog them not, or earthly limbs and frames born but to die. Hence their fears and desires, their griefs and joys; nor do they discern the heavenly light, penned as they are in the gloom of their dark dungeon.

³³ The Sun (4.119).

³⁴ From this spirit, which is of the nature of fire and is the source of all life.

AENEID

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
740 supplicia expendunt. aliae panduntur inanes
suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
infectum eluitur scelus aut exurit igni,
745 donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit
aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem:
743 quisque suos patimur manis. exinde per amplum
744 mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus.
748 has omnis, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,
750 scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant
rursus, et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.”

Dixerat Anchises, natumque unaque Sibyllam
conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem,
et tumulum capit unde omnis longo ordine posset
755 adversos legere et venientum discere vultus.
MPR “Nunc age, Dardanium prolem quae deinde sequatur

⁷⁴⁶ relinquit *FM*: reliquit *PR* ^{743, 744} transposed after 747
by *ed. Parmensis* (1479): the verses were first omitted by
homoeoteleuton (per amplum / per annos) and then replaced not
after 747 ignem, but, wrongly, after 742 igni. The similar omission
and wrong replacement of 8.654 (the verse belongs after 641) were
also first corrected in that edition. ⁷⁴⁷ aurai *P*: aurae *FMR*

⁷⁵⁰ supera *FPR*: super *M* | ut *MR*: aut *F*: ne *P*

³⁵ On death human beings undergo a long period of purgato-
rial chastisement (of a kind appropriate to the individual) until the

BOOK VI

Still more! When life's last ray has fled, the wretches are not entirely freed from all evil and all the plagues of the body; and it needs must be that many a taint, long ingrained, should in wondrous wise become deeply rooted in their being. Therefore are they schooled with punishments, and pay penance for bygone sins. Some are hung stretched out to the empty winds; from others the stain of guilt is washed away under swirling floods or burned out by fire till length of days, when time's cycle is complete, has removed the inbred taint and leaves unsoiled the ethereal sense and pure flame of spirit: each of us undergoes his own purgatory. Then we are sent to spacious Elysium, a few of us to possess the blissful fields. All these that you see, when they have rolled time's wheel through a thousand years, the god summons in vast throng to Lethe's river, so that, their memories effaced, they may once more revisit the vault above and conceive the desire of return to the body."³⁵

Anchises paused, and drew his son and with him the Sibyl into the heart of the assembly and buzzing throng, then chose a mound whence he might scan face to face the whole of the long procession and note their faces as they came.

soul is completely purified; they then attain the bliss of Elysium (the elect, for ever); the majority, after a thousand years, drink of the water of oblivion so that they may be born in new bodies without memory of their former existence. The passage is quite clear but since editors and commentators fail to realize the dislocation of 743f (for which Varius may be responsible), they are faced with an impossible task in explaining a text in which purgatory comes after entry into paradise.

AENEID

gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
 inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,
 expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo.

- 760 ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta,
 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
 765 educet silvis regem regumque parentem,
 unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.
 proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,
 et Capys et Numitor et qui te nomine reddet
 Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis
 770 egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam.
 qui iuvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, vires
 atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu!
 hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,
 hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
 775 Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque;
 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
 780 et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
 en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma
 imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,
 septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,

³⁶ The descendants of Aeneas and his Italian wife, Lavinia.

³⁷ Given in olden days to a young warrior after winning his first success.

BOOK VI

“Now then, the glory henceforth to attend the Trojan race, what children of Italian stock³⁶ are held in store by fate, glorious souls waiting to inherit our name, this shall I reveal in speech and inform you of your destiny. The youth you see leaning on an untipped spear³⁷ holds by lot of life the most immediate place: he first shall rise into the upper air with Italian blood in his veins, Silvius of Alban name, last-born of your children, whom late in your old age your wife Lavinia shall rear in the woodlands, a king and father of kings, with whom our race shall hold sway in Alba Longa. He next is Procas, pride of the Trojan nation, then Capys and Numitor and he who will resurrect you by his name, Aeneas Silvius, no less eminent in goodness and in arms, if ever he come to reign over Alba.³⁸ What fine young men are these! Mark the strength they display and the civic oak³⁹ that shades their brows! These to your honour will build Nomentum and Gabii and Fidena’s town; these shall crown hills with Collatia’s towers, and Pometii, the Fort of Inuus, Bola and Cora: one day to be famous names, these now are nameless places. Further, a son of Mars shall keep his grandsire company, Romulus, whom his mother Ilia shall bear of Assaracus’ stock. Do you see how twin plumes⁴⁰ stand upright on his head and how the Father of the gods stamps him with divine majesty? Lo, under his auspices, my son, shall that glorious Rome extend her empire to earth’s ends, her ambitions to the skies, and shall

³⁸ He was kept out of his kingdom for fifty years.

³⁹ A garland given to one who saved the life of a citizen in battle.

⁴⁰ Mars wore a double-plumed helmet.

AENEID

- felix prole virum: qualis Berecynthia mater
 785 invehitur curru Phrygias turrata per urbes
 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
 790 progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
 hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
 Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
 saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
 Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
 795 proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,
 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,
 800 et septemgemi turbant trepida ostia Nili.
 nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
 fixerit aepipedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
 pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu;
 nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
 805 Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.
 et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,
 aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?

787 *supera M²: super MPR* 803 *pacarit P: pacaret MR*
 806 *virtutem . . . factis M, Servius (10.468): virtute . . . vires PR*

41 Cybele, the *Magna Mater*, appears in works of art wearing a mural crown, i.e. representing walls and battlements, she having first taught men to fortify cities. 42 Julius Caesar, deified after his death, had adopted Augustus.

BOOK VI

embrace seven hills with a single city's wall, blessed in a brood of heroes; even as the Berecynthian mother,⁴¹ turret-crowned, rides in her chariot through Phrygian towns, happy in a progeny of gods, clasping a hundred grandsons, all denizens of heaven, all tenants of celestial heights.

“Turn hither now your two-eyed gaze, and behold this nation, the Romans that are yours. Here is Caesar and all the seed of Iulus destined to pass under heaven's spacious sphere. And this in truth is he whom you so often hear promised you, Augustus Caesar, son of a god,⁴² who will again establish a golden age in Latium amid fields once ruled by Saturn; he will advance his empire beyond the Garamants and Indians to a land which lies beyond our stars, beyond the path of year and sun,⁴³ where sky-bearing Atlas wheels on his shoulders the blazing star-studded sphere. Against his coming both Caspian realms and the Maeotic land even now shudder at the oracles of their gods, and the mouths of sevenfold Nile quiver in alarm. Not even Hercules traversed so much of earth's extent, though he pierced the stag of brazen foot, quieted the woods of Erymanthus, and made Lerna tremble at his bow;⁴⁴ nor he either, who guides his car with vine-leaf reins, triumphant Bacchus, driving his tigers down from Nysa's lofty peak. And do we still hesitate to make known our worth by exploits or shrink in fear from settling on

⁴³ Beyond (Virgil's continuation shows this to mean south of) those parts of the earth lying beneath the Zodiac.

⁴⁴ Referring to three of the labours of Hercules: the capture or killing of the Cerynaean (Arcadian) stag, the boar of Erymanthus, and the hydra of Lerna.

AENEID

"Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
 sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanaque menta
 810 regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem
 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
 815 agmina. quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus
 nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.
 vis et Tarquinius reges animamque superbam
 ultoris Bruti, fascesque videre receptos?
 consulis imperium hic primus saevasque secures
 820 accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventis
 ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,
 infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:
 vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.

"Quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi
 825 aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.
 illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,
 concordēs animae nunc et dum nocte prementur,
 heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae
 attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt,
 830 aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci
 descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois!
 ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella

809 nosco *MP*: noscon *R* 819 primus *PR*: primum *M*

825 aspice] *At an early stage of composition this line was followed by 855-9 (aspice . . .), verses which after the death of the younger Marcellus were moved to their present position to make way for the moving tribute to him.*

827 prementur *PR*: premuntur *M*

BOOK VI

Western soil?

“But who is he apart, crowned with sprays of olive, offering sacrifice? Ah, I recognize the hoary hair and beard of that king of Rome⁴⁵ who will make the infant city secure on a basis of laws, called from the needy land of lowly Cures to sovereign might. Him shall Tullus next succeed, the breaker of his country’s peace, who will rouse to war an inactive folk and armies long unused to triumphs. Hard on his heels follows over-boastful Ancus, who even now enjoys too much the breeze of popular favour. Would you also see the Tarquin kings, the proud spirit of Brutus the Avenger, and the fasces regained? He first shall receive a consul’s power and the cruel axes, and when his sons would stir up revolt, the father will hale them to execution in fair freedom’s name, unhappy man, however later ages will extol that deed; yet shall a patriot’s love prevail and unquenched thirst for fame.⁴⁶

“Now behold over there the Decii and the Drusi, Torquatus of the cruel axe, and Camillus bringing the standards home! But they whom you see, resplendent in matching arms, souls now in harmony and as long as they are imprisoned in night, alas, if once they attain the light of life, what mutual strife, what battles and bloodshed will they cause, the bride’s father swooping from Alpine ramparts and Monoecus’ fort, her husband confronting him

⁴⁵ Numa, the second king.

⁴⁶ Brutus put his sons to death for plotting to restore the Tarquins.

⁴⁷ Caesar and Pompey, who married Julia, Caesar’s daughter. Caesar came down from Gaul into Italy; Pompey’s troops came largely from Greece and Asia Minor.

AENEID

- neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires;
 tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo,
 835 proice tela manu, sanguis meus! . . .
- “Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corinθο
 victor aget currum caesis insignis Achivis.
 eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae
 ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,
 840 ultus avos Troiae templa et temerata Minervae.
 quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat?
 quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
 Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem
 Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?
 845 quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,
 unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.
 excudent alii spirantia mollius aera
 (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
 orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
 850 describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
 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:
 855 “aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
 ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.

845 tu *MR*: tun *P*

846 restituis *MP*: -es *R*

848 credo *MR* (4.12): cedo *P* (2.704)

⁴⁸ Lucius Mummius, who destroyed Corinth, 146 B.C.

⁴⁹ Lucius Aemilius Paullus defeated Perseus, the last king of Macedon, who claimed descent from Achilles, at Pydna, 168 B.C.

BOOK VI

with forces from the East!⁴⁷ Steel not your hearts, my sons, to such wicked war nor vent violent valour on the vitals of your land. And you who draw your lineage from heaven, be you the first to show mercy; cast the sword from your hand, child of my blood! . . .

“He yonder,⁴⁸ triumphant over Corinth, shall drive a victor’s chariot to the lofty Capitol, famed for Achaeans he has slain. Yon other⁴⁹ shall uproot Argos, Agamemnon’s Mycenae, and even an heir of Aeacus, seed of mighty Achilles: he will avenge his Trojan sires and Minerva’s polluted shrine. Who, lordly Cato,⁵⁰ could leave you unsung, or you, Cossus;⁵¹ who the Gracchan race or the Scipios twain, two thunderbolts of war and the ruin of Carthage, or Fabricius, in penury a prince, or you, Serranus, sowing seed in the soil? Whither, O Fabii, do ye hurry me all breathless? You are he, the mightiest,⁵² who could, as no one else, through inaction preserve our state. Others, I doubt not, shall with softer mould beat out the breathing bronze, coax from the marble features to the life, plead cases with greater eloquence and with a pointer trace heaven’s motions and predict the risings of the stars: you, Roman, be sure to rule the world (be these your arts), to crown peace with justice, to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud.”

Thus Father Anchises, and as they marvel, adds: “Behold⁵³ how Marcellus advances, graced with the spoils of

⁵⁰ Cato the Elder (the censor).

⁵¹ The second Roman to win *spolia opima* (see on 859).

⁵² Quintus Fabius Maximus, the opponent of Hannibal, who by his tactics was dubbed *Cunctator*.

⁵³ See textual note on 825 *aspice*.

AENEID

- FMPR hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.”
- 860 Atque hic Aeneas (una namque ire videbat
egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,
sed frons laeta parum et deiecto lumina vultu)
“quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?
filius, ane aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?
865 qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!
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
870 esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.
- MPR quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!
- 875 nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam
ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.
- FMPR heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello
dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
880 obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem
seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!
tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis

865 qui *FP*: quis *MR*

⁵⁴ *Spolia opima* were the spoils taken when a general slew the general of the enemy. Marcus Claudius Marcellus won them at

BOOK VI

the chief he slew, and towers triumphant over all! When the Roman state is reeling under a brutal shock, he will steady it, will ride down Carthaginians and the insurgent Gaul, and offer up to Father Quirinus a third set of spoils."⁵⁴

At this Aeneas said—for by his side he saw a youth of passing beauty in resplendent arms, but with joyless mien and eyes downcast: "Who, father, is he that thus attends the warrior on his way? Is it his son, or some other of his progeny's heroic line? What a stir among his entourage! What majesty is his! But death's dark shadow flickers mournfully about his head."

Then, as his tears well up, Father Anchises begins: "My son, seek not to taste the bitter grief of your people; only a glimpse of him will fate give earth nor suffer him to stay long. Too powerful, O gods above, you deemed the Roman people, had these gifts of yours been lasting. What sobbing of the brave will the famed Field⁵⁵ waft to Mars' mighty city! What a cortege will you behold, Father Tiber, as you glide past the new-built tomb!⁵⁶ No youth of Trojan stock will ever raise his Latin ancestry so high in hope nor the land of Romulus ever boast of any son like this. Alas for his goodness, alas for his chivalrous honour and his sword arm unconquerable in the fight! In arms none would have faced him unscathed, marched he on foot against his foe or dug with spurs the flanks of his foaming steed. Child of a nation's sorrow, could you but shatter the cruel barrier of

Clastidium in 222 B.C. by killing the chief of the Insubrian Gauls. His only predecessors in the feat were Romulus and Cossus (841).

⁵⁵ The Campus Martius.

⁵⁶ The Mausoleum of Augustus, built in 27 B.C.

AENEID

- 885 purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
 his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
 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,
 890 exim bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,
 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,
 895 altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
 sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.
 his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
 prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna:
 ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit;
 900 tum se ad Caietae recto fert litore portum.
ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.

889 venientis *FPR*: melioris *M* (4.221)

897 ibi *FPR*: ubi *M* (5.816)

901 (= 3.277, *its original position*) *FM²P²R²*] *del. Bentley*

BOOK VI

fate! You are to be Marcellus. Grant me to scatter in handfuls lilies of purple blossom, to heap at least these gifts on my descendant's shade and perform an unavailing duty." Thus they wander at large over the whole region in the wide airy plain, taking note of all. After Anchises had led his son over every scene, kindling his soul with longing for the glory that was to be, he then tells of the wars that the hero next must wage, the Laurentine peoples and Latinus' town, and how he is to face or flee each peril.

Two gates of Sleep⁵⁷ there are, whereof the one, they say, is horn and offers a ready exit to true shades, the other shining with sheen of polished ivory, but delusive dreams issue upward through it from the world below. Thither Anchises, discoursing thus, escorts his son and with him the Sibyl, and sends them forth by the ivory gate: Aeneas speeds his way to the ships and rejoins his comrades; then straight along the shore he sails for Caieta's haven. *The anchor is cast from the prow; the sterns stand ranged on the shore.*

⁵⁷ The gates of Sleep are taken from Homer, *Odyssey* 19, 562–7, where Penelope speaks of her dream of Odysseus' vengeance as a delusion. By making Aeneas leave by the gate of delusive dreams Virgil represents his vision of Rome's destiny as a dream which he is not to remember on his return to the real world; the poet will have us know that from the beginning of Book 7 his hero has not been endowed with superhuman knowledge to confront the problems which face him. See further Goold (1992) 122f.