



## About this booklet

The aim of this booklet is to help identify teacher and student preferences for the content and design of *Suburani* Book 3, which is intended to develop students' ability to read and appreciate Classical Latin literature.

Nothing you see in these demonstration materials is set in stone – every aspect of the proposed publication is up for discussion and debate. We have created this booklet only with the intention of starting discussions, and we are quite happy to change direction completely.

### *Prior learning assumption*

*Suburani* Book 3 will assume a knowledge of the language (accidence, syntax, and vocabulary) and cultural topics of *Suburani* Books 1 and 2.

## Current thinking

At present we are thinking of taking a **thematic** approach to Latin literature, with about **eight to ten chapters/themes** in total. The number of lines of literature in each chapter/theme is also a matter of debate – perhaps **250 to 300 lines**?

## Three different approaches to the texts

This booklet contains materials and layouts for three sample chapters: **Love**, **Displacement**, and **Humans & Nature**. While **Love** is imagined as the first chapter in Book 3, the position of **Displacement** and **Humans & Nature** is undefined.

To promote discussion and debate, the three chapters in this booklet have been designed differently. All three include Classical Latin texts, and notes on culture. However, they differ in their provision, within the student book, of vocabulary, notes, and language notes and exercises to support the literature, as follows:

<b>Love</b>	Provides texts and vocabulary, but no notes. Includes language points and exercises.
<b>Displacement</b>	Provides texts, vocabulary, and notes. Includes language points and exercises.
<b>Humans &amp; Nature</b>	Provides texts only, with no vocabulary or notes.

We are wondering whether notes and/or vocabulary (and possibly questions) should be included in the student book, or provided elsewhere. For example, through the *Suburani* website we can provide interactive versions of the texts which display commentary, parsing, and vocabulary together onscreen at a single click. And we could create a separate Study Book to house vocabulary, notes, and questions.

- Do you prefer a cleaner, simpler book, with supporting materials online or in a Study Book, or do you like everything in the same place, even if that makes the book heavier and less visually appealing?

## Layout options

**1. Love** –his demonstration chapter contains:

- 135 lines/744 words
- spread over 15 pages

In this style, eight chapters of 300 lines per chapter, plus reference materials, would require **342 pages**.

**Each chapter would be about 34 pages.**

**2. Displacement** – this demonstration chapter contains:

- 116 lines/967 words
- spread over 21 pages

In this style, eight chapters of 300 lines per chapter, plus reference materials, would require **509 pages**.

**Each chapter would be about 54 pages.**

**3. Humans & Nature** – this demonstration chapter contains:

- 216 lines/1603 words
- spread over 19 pages

In this style, eight chapters of 300 lines per chapter, plus reference materials, would require **286 pages**.

**Each chapter would be about 26 pages.**

Which is your preferred style?

Is the likely size of the book acceptable? Or should we have fewer chapters? Or fewer lines per chapter?

If not in the book, how should notes and vocabulary on the texts be provided? Online (if so as photocopiable printouts and/or electronic editions)? And/or in a separate Study Book?

## Language content of Book 3

Book 3 is likely to cover the following language topics:

### Verbs

- Future perfect active and passive
- Present subjunctive active and passive
- Perfect subjunctive active and passive
- Semi-deponent verbs
- Gerund and gerundive
- Supine

### Nouns

- Irregular? (e.g. **bōs**, **filiābus**, etc.)
- Greek

### Syntax

- **quī** + subjunctive
- Conditional sentences
- Subordinate clauses in indirect speech
- Oratio obliqua
- Sequence of tenses
- Independent uses of the subjunctive
- Gerund with **esse**
- Gerundive attraction
- Uses of the ablative case
- Uses of the dative case
- Uses of the supine

## Reference materials

In addition to the chapters of literature, the back of Book 3 will contain the following sections:

- **Vocabulary learning lists** for each chapter (identifying high frequency vocabulary met in the chapter and not previously included in the Book 1 and 2 learning lists);
- **Latin to English dictionary**, including the headword of every item of vocabulary in the Latin texts, together with contextualized definitions;
- **Reference grammar**, containing the language content of Books 1, 2, and 3;
- **Latin meter**, including examples and explanations;
- **Figures of syntax** and **figures of rhetoric**, together with definitions and examples;
- **Ancient authors** – index of the lives and works of those quoted in the book;
- **Timeline**
- **Grammar index**

## Digital Support

Examples of interactive resources which can be provided online alongside the print book.

Vergil: Aeneid 1, 1-123

Arma virumque canō, Trōiae quī prīmus ab ōris  
 Itāliam fātō profugus Lāvīniaque vēnit  
 lītora, multum ille et terrīs iactātus et altō  
 vī superum, saevae memorem lūnōnis ob īram,  
 multa quoque et bellō passus, dum conderet urbem 5  
 īnferretque deōs Latīō; genus unde Latīnum  
 Albānīque patrēs atque altae moenia Rōmae.  
 Mūsa, mihi causās memorā, quō nūmine laesō  
 quidve dolēns rēgīna deum tot volvere cāsūs  
 īnsignem pietāte virum, tot adīre labōrēs 10  
 impulerit. tantaene animīs caelestibus īrae?  
 Urbs antiq̄ua fuit (Tyrīi tenuēre colōnī)  
 Karthāgō, Itāliam contrā Tiberīnaque longē  
 ōstia, dīves opum studiisque asperrima bellī,  
 quam lūnō fertur terrīs magis omnibus ūnam 15  
 urbs, urbis city  
 noun: accusative feminine singular

Word check    ēs ↔ īs    v ↔ u

Vergil: Aeneid 1, 1-123

Arma virumque canō, Trōiae quī prīmus ab ōris  
 Itāliam fātō profugus Lāvīniaque vēnit  
 lītora, multum ille et terrīs iactātus et altō  
 vī superum, saevae memorem lūnōnis ob īram,  
 multa quoque et bellō passus, dum conderet urbem 5  
 īnferretque deōs Latīō; genus unde Latīnum  
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 Mūsa, mihi causās memorā, quō nūmine laesō  
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 īnsignem pietāte virum, tot adīre labōrēs 10  
 impulerit. tantaene animīs caelestibus īrae?  
 Urbs antiq̄ua fuit (Tyrīi tenuēre colōnī)  
 Karthāgō, Itāliam contrā Tiberīnaque longē  
 ōstia, dīves opum studiisque asperrima bellī,  
 quam lūnō fertur terrīs magis omnibus ūnam  
 posthabīlā coluisse Samō. hīc illius arma,  
 hīc currus fuit; hoc rēgnum dea gentibus esse,  
 sī quā fāta sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.  
 prōgeniem sed enim Trōiānō ā sanguine dūcī  
 audierat Tyrīās olīm quae verteret arcēs; 20  
 hīnc populū lātē rēgem bellōque superbum  
 ventūrū excidiō Libyae; sic volvere Parcās.  
 id metuēns veterisque memor Sātūrnīa bellī,  
 nōna quod ad Trōiām nō cōfīce cesserat Arēte  
 multum much, a lot  
 adverb

[3] multum ... iactātus  
 'much buffeted'. multum is an adverb, qualifying iactātus. The verb iactō describes a ship or sailor being tossed about on the sea in a storm. It can also be used metaphorically to express the idea of suffering physical or mental hardship or torment. Both ideas can be represented by translating the verb twice: 'who suffered much as he was tossed about ...'.

[3] ille  
 'he (who was)'. The pronoun repeats the subject, but is not necessary for either sense or grammar.

[3] et ... et  
 'both ... and'

[3] terris ... altō  
 = in terris ... in altō. The ablative is used without a preposition to express the idea of in or on a place; this is frequent in poetry. See Cambridge Latin Grammar, page 55, 15.2c and note.

[3] altō  
 'the sea'. The neuter form of the adjective (altum) is used as a noun: a poetic alternative to mare.

Analysis    Culture    Grammar    Style    Metre

### Digital commentary

Notes on the text scroll alongside the Latin. Vocabulary and parsing are also provided for every word.

Vergil: Aeneid 1, 1-123

memorō, memorāre, memorāvī, memorātum	verb	say, speak
moenia, moenium	noun	walls
unde	adverb	from where
urbs, urbis	noun	city

### Text Explorer

Vocabulary and parsing are provided for every word. Words the student did not know and clicked on are saved by the program, which automatically generates a Word check list.

Aeneid 1: AP selections scanned    Scansion

Ārmā vīrūmq̄ue cānō, || Trōiāe quī prīmus ab ōris  
 Itāliām fātō || profūglūs Lāvīniāque vēnit  
 lītora, multum ille et terrīs iactātus et altō  
 vī superūm, saevae || memōrēm lūnōnis ob īram,  
 mūltā quōque et bellō || pāsūs, dūm cōnderēt urbem  
 īnferretque deōs || Latīō; gēnūs undē Latīnum  
 Albānīque patrēs || atque altae moeniā Rōmae.  
 Mūsa, mihi causās || memōrā, quō nūmine laesō  
 quidve dolēns rēgīna || dēlūm tot volverē cāsūs  
 īnsignem pietāte || vīrūm, tot adīrē labōrēs  
 impulerit. tantaene || animīs caelestibus īrae?

### Scansion

The student can turn scansion on and off. The font can also be changed between serif and sans-serif for accessibility.

Check your understanding: Vergil: Aeneid 2, 40-49

Prīmus ibi <sup>1</sup> ante omnēs magnā comitante catervā  
 Lāocoōn <sup>2</sup> ardēns summā dēcurrit ab arce <sup>3</sup>,  
 et procul 'ō miserī, quae tanta insānia, civēs <sup>4</sup>?  
 crēditis āvectōs hostēs? aut ūlla putātis  
 dōna carēre dolīs Danaum <sup>5</sup>? sic nōtus Ulixēs <sup>6</sup>?  
 aut hōc inclūsī lignō occultantur Achivī <sup>7</sup>,  
 aut haec in nostrōs fabricāta est māchina mūrōs <sup>8</sup>,  
 īnspectūra domōs ventūraque dēsuper urbī <sup>9</sup>,  
 aut aliquis latet error; equō nē crēdite, Teucrī <sup>10</sup>.  
 quidquid id est, timeō Danaōs et dōna ferentēs.'

40

45

6 (1 OF 3) Why does Laocoon mention Ulysses? Click two.

Ulysses will help the Trojans.

He suspects the Greeks are playing a trick on them. Ulysses is famous.

Ulysses is famous for his cunning.

» Laocoon suspects the Greeks are playing a trick on the Trojans and Ulysses is well-known for being a trickster. Laocoon does not know that the wooden horse was Ulysses' idea - it's a good guess.

### Check your understanding

Comprehension questions on the text help students cement their understanding.

## Questions to consider

When reviewing this booklet, please consider the following questions:

### *Thematic approach, and number of lines*

- Do you like the thematic approach, or would you rather the texts be arranged in another way?
- If you like the thematic approach, which themes would you like to see included?
- How many themes/chapters should Book 3 contain, and how many lines of literature would you like for each theme/chapter?
- Roughly how many lines of literature should Book 3 contain in total?

### *Where to place vocabulary, notes, and questions*

- Should commentaries/notes be provided alongside the texts, or would you prefer to have these online (in interactive and/or printable format), and/or in a separate study book?
- Should vocabulary be provided alongside the texts, or is it preferable to have this online (in interactive and/or printable format), in a separate study book, or just in the dictionary at the back of the book?
- Should questions on the texts be included in the student book, or are they better placed in teaching notes or a separate study book?
- If notes, vocabulary, and questions are provided alongside the texts, then together with content on language and culture, and a reference section, a book with 300 lines on eight themes is likely to run to almost 500 pages. Is that too much?
- Of the three chapters demonstrated in this booklet, which feels the most visually appealing?
- Of the three chapters, which do you think would be most useful in the classroom?

### *Introduction to literature*

Book 2 itself paves the way to literature: some of the stories from Chapter 17 onwards are adaptations of Classical Latin, and much of Chapters 30 to 32 is adapted literature. With that in mind ...

- Is the introduction to unadapted text as shown in **Love** adequate, or do students require adapted versions of these texts before reading the original?
- Should use be made of adapted versions of the texts in general throughout the book, from time to time, or is such an approach unnecessary?
- Should any use be made of any *Suburani* characters in Book 3 (if so, what?), or is it time to leave them behind?

### *Language topics*

- Are there any language topics you would like to see in Book 3 which are missing from those listed above?
- Are there any included above which you feel are unnecessary?



Love



The Romans fell prey to love: the same powerful emotion that we experience today. But is there just one love and does it affect us all in the same way? Is there good love and bad love? Can love be dangerous, painful, natural, transformational, brought by the gods, physical, beautiful, inspirational?

### QUESTIONS

Compare the painting below with the Roman fresco on the previous page.

1. What similarities and differences are there in the way the artists have depicted the couples?
2. Are the emotions of love universal?

*The Austrian painter Gustav Klimt painted 'The Kiss' in 1907. It was part of his 'Golden Phase' in which he used gold leaf extensively in his artwork.*



# The power of emotion

The authors of the poems below wrote about being gripped by powerful emotions. Love and hate overwhelmed them, and in their poetry they tried to put their feelings into words. Do you think we can choose who we love? Can we control our emotions, or do they control us?

## ōdī et amō

ōdī et amō. quārē id faciam, fortasse requīris.  
nescio, sed fierī sentio et excrucior.

Catullus, *Poem 85*

ōdī *I hate*  
quārē *why*  
faciam *I do*

fierī *to happen*  
excruciō *I torture*

## difficilis facilis

difficilis facilis, iūcundus acerbus es īdem;  
nec tēcum possum vīvere nec sine tē.

Martial, *Epigrams 12.46*

iūcundus *pleasing*  
acerbus *bitter*

## nōn amo tē

nōn amo tē, Sabidī, nec possum dīcere quārē.  
hoc tantum possum dīcere: nōn amo tē.

Martial, *Epigrams 3.8*

tantum *only*

### DISCUSSION

1. How do Catullus and Martial speak about their feelings?
2. How close are the emotions of love and hate?

## Quantifying love

Can the power of love be put into words? In the following poem, how does Catullus express the power of his desire for Lesbia? Do you think the poem is meant to convince Catullus' lover of the power of his love, or is it meant to persuade his readers?

### vīvāmus, mea Lesbia

vīvāmus, mea Lesbia, atque amēmus,  
rūmōrēsque senum sevēriōrum  
omnēs ūnīus aestimēmus assis.  
sōlēs occidere et redīre possunt:  
nōbīs, cum semel occidit brevis lūx,  
nox est perpetua ūna dormienda.  
dā mī bāsia mīlle, deinde centum,  
deinde usque altera mīlia, deinde centum.  
dein, cum mīlia multa fēcerimus,  
conturbābimus illa, nē sciāmus,  
aut nēquis malus invidēre possit,  
cum tantum sciat esse bāsiorum.

Catullus, *Poem 5*

vīvāmus *let us live*  
amēmus *let us love*  
rumor *rumor*  
sevērus *strict*  
aestimēmus *let us value*  
ūnīus assis *(worth) one penny*  
occido *I die, set*  
semel *once*  
perpetuus *everlasting*  
dormienda *that has to be*  
10 *slept through*  
mī = mihi  
bāsium *kiss*  
dein = deinde  
conturbō *I mix up*  
nēquis *so that no one*  
invidēō *I am envious*  
possit *may*

## Catullus and Lesbia

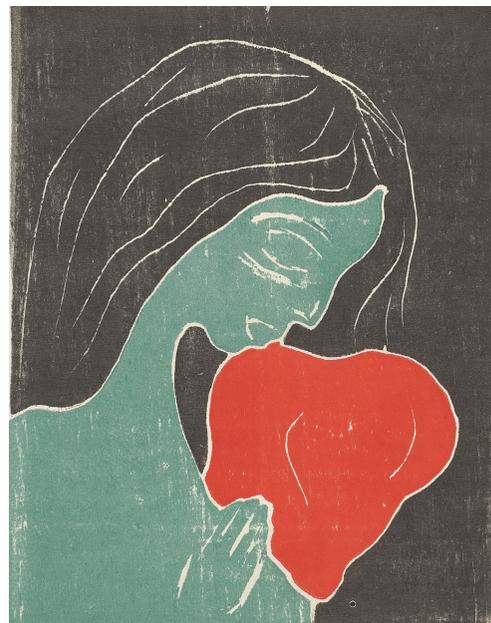
Very little is known about Catullus' life. He lived in the first century BC and was a contemporary of Cicero and Julius Caesar.

Over one hundred of his poems survive. Many are love poems, some of which are addressed to a woman he calls Lesbia. The name means 'woman from Lesbos' and recalls the Greek female poet Sappho, who lived on the island of Lesbos. Lesbia was either a fictional lover or an alias for a real Roman woman. There is a possibility that Lesbia was a Roman noblewoman called Clodia. The poems express Catullus' feelings for Lesbia at various points in their relationship.

### DISCUSSION

Love is the theme of many poems and songs. Do you think the writers are always writing about their own experiences and emotions?

The Norwegian artist Edvard Munch created 'The Heart' in 1899. It is a woodcut printed on paper.



## Language note 1: present subjunctive

1. Look at the following sentences, which you met in Book 1:

**in temporibus dūrīs vīvimus.**

*We live in hard times.*

**iō, Nerō! nōs tē amāmus!**

*Hurrah, Nero! We love you!*

**vīvimus** (*we live*) and **amāmus** (*we love*) are forms of the **present indicative**.

2. Now look at the following extract:

**vīvāmus, mea Lesbia, atque amēmus,**

*Let us live, my Lesbia, and let us love,*

**vīvāmus** (*let us live*) and **amēmus** (*let us love*) are forms of the **present subjunctive**.

3. As in paragraph 2, the present subjunctive can be used to mean *let's do something*. For example:

**rūmōrēs senum ūnīus assis aestimēmus.**

*Let's value old men's rumors at a single penny.*

When the present subjunctive is used in this way, it is known as the **hortatory** or **jussive** subjunctive.

4. Like the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, which you met in Book 2, the present subjunctive is also used after **cum** (meaning *since, because*), **ut** (meaning *to, in order to, so that*), and in other situations, such as indirect questions. For example:

**quārē id faciam, fortasse requīris.**

*Perhaps you ask why I do this.*

5. Study the forms of the present subjunctive:

<b>vocem</b>	<b>teneam</b>	<b>mittam</b>	<b>audiam</b>	<b>capiam</b>
<b>vocēs</b>	<b>teneās</b>	<b>mittās</b>	<b>audiās</b>	<b>capiās</b>
<b>vocet</b>	<b>teneat</b>	<b>mittat</b>	<b>audiat</b>	<b>capiat</b>
<b>vocēmus</b>	<b>teneāmus</b>	<b>mittāmus</b>	<b>audiāmus</b>	<b>capiāmus</b>
<b>vocētis</b>	<b>teneātis</b>	<b>mittātis</b>	<b>audiātis</b>	<b>capiātis</b>
<b>vocent</b>	<b>teneant</b>	<b>mittant</b>	<b>audiant</b>	<b>capiant</b>

6. Compare the forms of the present subjunctive above with the forms of the present indicative on page xxx. Notice that the first conjugation has an 'e' in its endings, and the others have an 'a'.

## mellītōs oculōs tuōs

mellītōs oculōs tuōs, luventī,  
 sīquis mē sinat usque bāsiāre,  
 usque ad mīlia bāsiem trecenta,  
 nec mī umquam videar satur futūrus,  
 nōn sī dēnsior Āfricīs aristīs  
 sit nostrae seges ōsculātiōnis.

Catullus, Poem 48

5

mellītus *honey-sweet,*  
*honeyed*  
 sīquis *if any one*  
 sinō *I allow*  
 bāsiō *I kiss*  
 trecentī *300*  
 satur *satisfied*  
 Āfricus *African*  
 arista *ear of corn*  
 seges *crop*  
 ōsculātiō *kiss*

### DISCUSSION

Here Catullus is writing to Luventius, not to Lesbia. What do you think that tells us about Catullus' love?

## Language note 2: present subjunctive of sum and possum

1. Look at the following extracts:

**nēquis malus invidēre possit,**

*So that no evil person is able to be jealous,*

**dī magnī, facite ut vērē prōmittere possit,**

*Great gods, ensure that she is able to promise truthfully,*

**possit** is the subjunctive form of the present indicative **potest**.

2. Note the present subjunctive forms of **sum** and **possum**:

<b>sim</b>	<b>possim</b>
<b>sīs</b>	<b>possīs</b>
<b>sit</b>	<b>possit</b>
<b>sīmus</b>	<b>possīmus</b>
<b>sītis</b>	<b>possītis</b>
<b>sint</b>	<b>possint</b>

## Language practice 1

Choose the most appropriate word to complete each sentence, then translate.

sītis    spectēmus    possim    currās    sit    videant

- prope flūmen ambulant ut piscēs ..... .
- rēgīna, fac ut fābulam meam nārrāre ..... .
- cum fessī ..... , necesse est vōbīs dormīre.
- templum, quod Britannī hīc aedificāvērunt, ..... .
- prīnceps rogat cūr tū per aulam ..... .
- cum Rōma pulchra ..... , omnēs urbem mīrantur.

# Eternal devotion

Can we ever be sure that love will last? What promises are made in the texts on this page, and what worries are expressed? Catullus wishes for everlasting love (Poem 109), but also worries about the fickle nature of it (Poem 70). Pliny writes a letter to his wife expressing his devotion, and the funerary altar of Claudia Pieris commemorates a lifelong love between a husband and wife. Can the bond of marriage secure a lasting love?

## iucundum, mea vita

iūcundum, mea vīta, mihi prōpōnis amōrem  
hunc nostrum inter nōs perpetuumque fore.  
dī magnī, facite ut vērē prōmittere possit,  
atque id sincērē dīcat et ex animō,  
ut liceat nōbīs tōtā perdūcere vītā  
aeternum hoc sānctae foedus amīctitiae.

Catullus, Poem 109

prōpōnō *I claim, say*  
sincērē *sincerely*  
perdūcō *I continue*  
aeternus *eternal*  
sānctus *sacred*  
foedus, n. *pact, contract*

5

## epistula ad uxorem meam

incrēdibile est quantō dēsīderiō tuī tenear. in causā amor prīmum, deinde  
quod nōn cōnsuēvimus abesse. inde est quod magnam noctium partem  
in imāgine tuā vigil exigō; inde quod interdiū, quibus hōrīs tē vīsere  
solēbam, ad diaetam tuam ipsī mē, ut vērissimē dīcitur, pedēs dūcunt;  
quod dēnique aeger et maestus ac similis exclusō ā vacuō līmine recēdō.

Pliny, Letters 7.5

dēsīderium *longing*  
cōnsuēscō *I am used to*  
vigil *awake*  
exigō *I spend*  
interdiū *during the day*  
vīsō *I visit*  
diaeta *room*  
dēnique *finally*  
maestus *sorrowful*  
exclūdō *I shut out*  
līmen *threshold, doorway*  
recēdō *I withdraw*

5

## mulier mea

nūllī sē dīcit mulier mea nūbere mälle  
quam mihi, nōn sī sē Iuppiter ipse petat.  
dīcit: sed mulier cupidō quod dīcit amanti,  
in ventō et rapidā scrībere oportet aquā.

Catullus, Poem 70

mulier *woman*  
nūbō (+dat.) *I marry*

cupidus *eager*

*Funerary monument set up by a husband for his wife, 2nd century AD.*

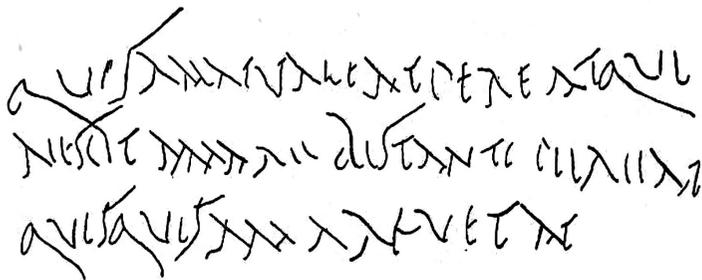
To blessed Claudia Pieris, his most beloved and most extraordinary and incomparable wife. Annius Telesphorus put this up here for her, well-deserved.



# Writing your love on the walls

The graffiti on this page were found on the walls of Pompeii. What do you think inspired the authors to write these messages, and who was meant to read them? How do people declare their love publicly now?

## quis amat valeat



quis amat valeat. pereat quī  
nescit amāre. bis tantō pereat,  
quisquis amāre vetat.

valeō *I am strong*  
bis *twice*  
quisquis *whoever*  
vetō *I forbid*

## Vibius Restitūtus hīc

Vibius Restitūtus hīc  
sōlus dormīvit et Urbānam  
suam dēsīderābat.

dēsīderō *I long for*

# Roman graffiti

The excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii have revealed thousands of writings from the people who lived there before the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. On the walls of bars, shops, theaters, private houses, baths, and basilicas, fragments of writing from a variety of people have been uncovered. Some are practical (the price of wine, the date of an upcoming gladiatorial show), political (election notices), funny, philosophical, or written in anger or love. The graffiti from Pompeii were sometimes scratched into the plaster of the walls, which made it hard to create smooth curves, and affected the way that letters were formed, as you can see in the line drawings.

Unlike inscriptions (carved into stone), which usually publicly commemorated an event or person and which were created at some cost, the graffiti from Pompeii give us some insight into the interests of a different group of people: the common people

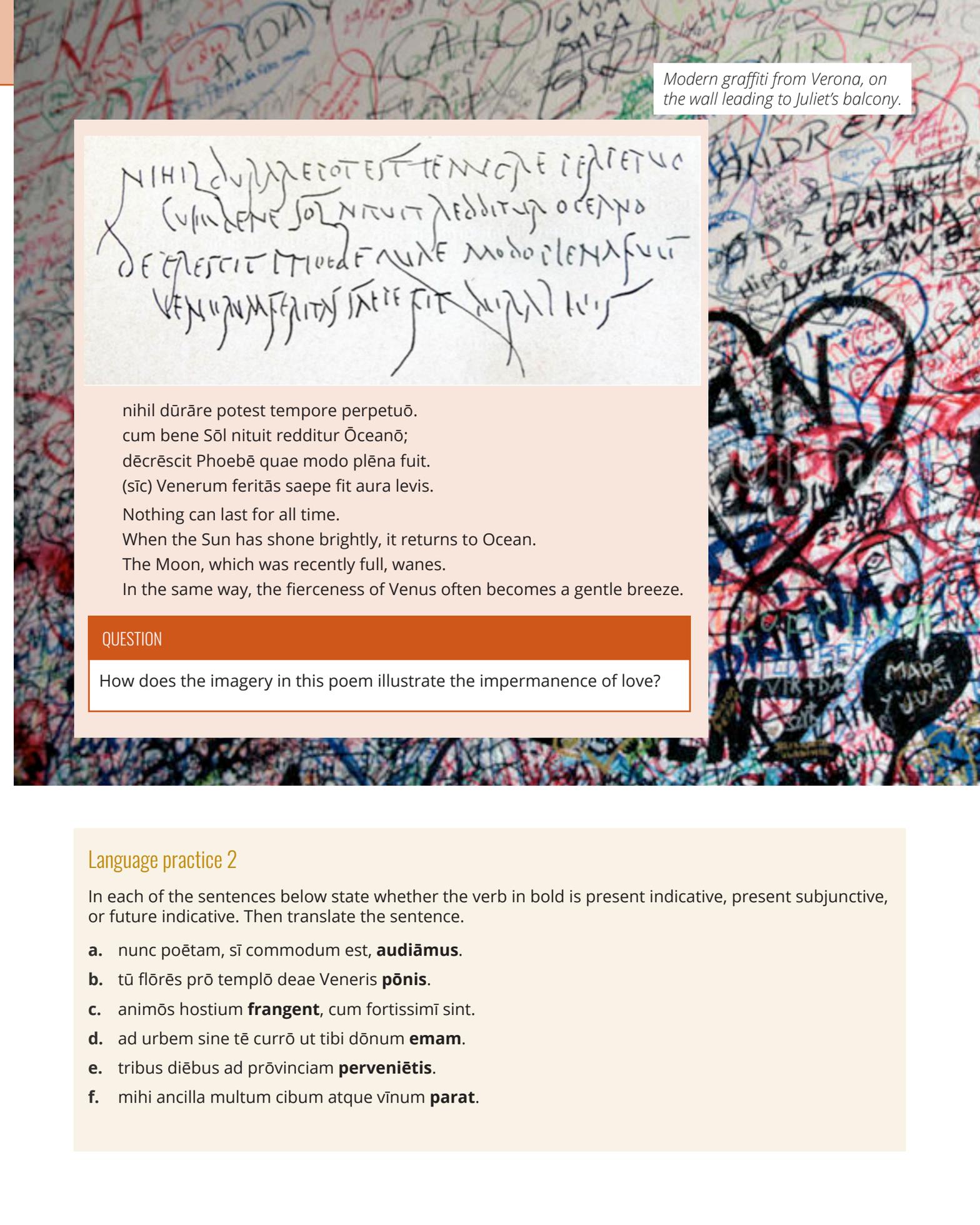
of the town, who were writing what was on their mind. Some graffiti, as in the modern world, are trivial ('Aufidius was here, bye!'), but some are more sophisticated. There are graffiti of poetry by Virgil, Ovid, and Lucretius, quotations from philosophers, personal messages left for friends or enemies, as well as reviews of bars, baths, and brothels, riddles, rude jokes, and games.

The poems on these pages might have been composed by the people who wrote them on the walls, or perhaps they were well-known bits of poetry. The first poem ('quis amat valeat'), was found in several places, including in two private homes.

### QUESTION

Plutarch wrote about graffiti: 'Nothing useful or pleasant has been written there: merely so-and-so commemorates so-and-so wishing him well, and someone else is the best of friends, and much twaddle of this sort.' Do you agree?

Modern graffiti from Verona, on the wall leading to Juliet's balcony.



NIHIL DŪRĀRE POTEST TEMPORE PERPETUŌ.  
CUM BENE SŌL NITUIT REDDITUR ŌCEANŌ;  
DĒCRĒSCIT PHOEBĒ QUAE MODO PLĒNA FUIT.  
(SĪC) VENERUM FERITĀS SAEPE FIT AURA LEVIS.

nihil dūrāre potest tempore perpetuō.  
cum bene Sōl nituit redditur Ōceanō;  
dēcrēscit Phoebē quae modo plēna fuit.  
(sīc) Venerum feritās saepe fit aura levis.

Nothing can last for all time.

When the Sun has shone brightly, it returns to Ocean.

The Moon, which was recently full, wanes.

In the same way, the fierceness of Venus often becomes a gentle breeze.

#### QUESTION

How does the imagery in this poem illustrate the impermanence of love?

### Language practice 2

In each of the sentences below state whether the verb in bold is present indicative, present subjunctive, or future indicative. Then translate the sentence.

- nunc poētā, sī commodum est, **audiāmus**.
- tū flōrēs prō templō deae Veneris **pōnis**.
- animōs hostium **frangent**, cum fortissimī sint.
- ad urbem sine tē currō ut tibi dōnum **emam**.
- tribus diēbus ad prōvinciam **perveniētis**.
- mihi ancilla multum cibum atque vīnum **parat**.

## Love personified

Ancient myths often tell of the gods toying with the hearts and emotions of mortal men and women. In these stories humans cannot control who they fall in love with. In Roman religion the goddess of love was Venus, counterpart of the Greek Aphrodite. Venus had many children with both gods and men. One child, Cupid, born from her adulterous relations with Mars the god of war, assisted his mother in directing the power of love. By the time of the Roman Empire, Cupid was commonly depicted as a little boy with wings, an image still familiar today. Often pictured armed with a bow and quiver, he would shoot his victims with arrows, causing instant infatuation.

In literature humans were regularly depicted as the victims of the omnipotent divinities, unable to resist or control the effects of Cupid's arrows. Does this then release them from any responsibility, and justify the actions or decisions of any man or woman who is in love? If love is a divine force, is it futile for humans to resist? As Gallus, a lovesick man in Vergil's *Eclogues* puts it:

**omnia vincit amor, et nōs cēdāmus amōrī**

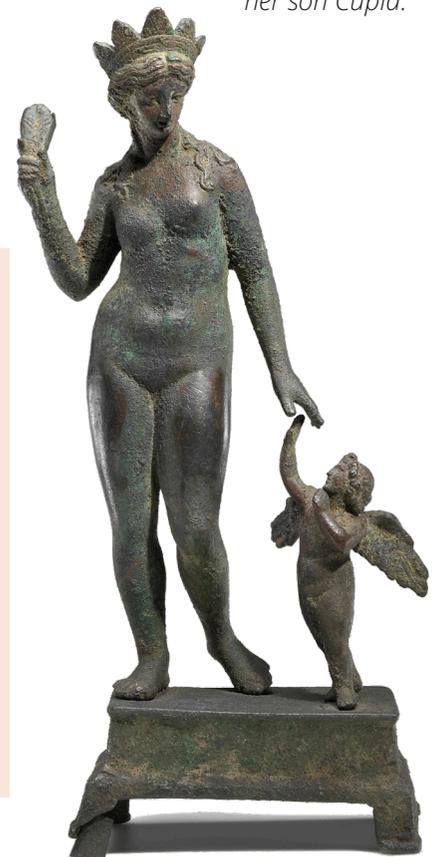
Love conquers all and let us surrender to love.

Elsewhere in the *Eclogues* Vergil says that it is not only humans but also animals who are driven by sexual desire. Trying to explain what love is and how it controls us is a natural reaction to being subject to a force that is so powerful and yet intangible. The figures of Venus and Cupid were one way to explain this mysterious emotion.

## Venus the destroyer

Venus was the goddess of love and was feared for her power over men and women. Why might falling in love be something to be feared? What types of love can be destructive?

*A bronze statuette about 12 inches high showing Venus with her son Cupid.*



### quisquis amat, veniat

Graffito found on a wall in Pompeii:

quisquis amat, veniat. Venerī volō frangere costās  
fustibus et lumbōs dēbilitāre deae.  
sī potest illa mihi tenerum pertundere pectus  
quīt ego nōn possim caput illae frangere fuste?

Anyone who loves, let him go. As for Venus, I want to break her ribs with clubs and weaken the goddess' loins. If she can pierce my tender breast, Why shouldn't I be able to break her head with my club?

# Venus the creator

The introduction to Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (*On the Nature of Things*), a poem explaining Epicurean philosophy, begins with a hymn to the creative power of Venus and presents another side of the goddess. How closely linked do you think love and creativity are?

Mother of the descendants of Aeneas, delight of men and gods, life-giving Venus, you, beneath the falling stars of heaven, fill the ship-bearing sea and the fruitful earth with life, since it is because of you that every kind of living thing is conceived and, once it is born, sees the light of the sun. The winds flee from you, goddess, the clouds of the sky flee from you and your arrival; for you the sweet, resourceful earth produces flowers, for you the calm waters of the sea laugh, and the sky is peaceful and gleams as the light spreads. For as soon as the springtime face of day has been revealed and the life-giving breeze of the west wind is unlocked and vigorous, the birds of the air are the first to show signs of you, goddess, and your arrival, their hearts struck by your force.

inde ferae pecudēs persultant pābula laeta  
et rapidōs trānant amnēs: ita capta lepōre  
tē sequitur cupidē quō quamque indūcere pergis.  
dēnique per maria ac montēs fluviōsque rapācēs  
frondiferāsque domōs avium campōsque virentēs  
omnibus incutiēns blandum per pectora amōrem  
efficis ut cupidē generātim saecla propāgent.

Since you alone control the universe and without you nothing rises into the bright shores of light, nor does anything become joyful or lovely, I am eager for you to be my partner in writing the verses that I am trying to compose about the nature of things.

Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* 1.1–25

5

pecus *animal*  
persultō *I leap*  
pābulum *pasture*  
trānō *I swim across*

10

amnis *river*  
lepōs *charm*  
cupidē *lovingly*  
quisque *each one*  
indūcō *I lead*

15

pergō *I continue*  
fluvius *river*  
rapāx *rushing*  
frondifer *leafy*  
campus *field*

20

vireō *I am full of life*  
incutiō *I inspire, instil*  
blandus *gentle*  
efficiō *I make, bring about*  
generātim *each by its own*  
*kind*  
saeclum *generation*  
propāgō *I increase*

## DISCUSSION

Compare these two statements:

**potest illa mihi tenerum pertundere pectus** (from the poem on p.18, line 3)

**omnibus incutiēns blandum per pectora amōrem** (Lucretius, line 19)

What similarities and differences are there in the ways the power of Venus is depicted in these two sources?

# Dido: a destructive love

A marble statue of Cupid bending his bow.



Aeneas, having escaped from Troy, landed at Carthage, where he was given a warm welcome by Queen Dido. His mother, Venus, sent her son Cupid to make Dido fall in love with Aeneas. In the passage below, Vergil compares Dido, who has been wounded by love, to a deer that is shot by a hunter and runs through the forests of Crete (*nemora Crēsia*) below Mount Dicte.

## Dido falls in love

Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.66–85; 304–319; 651–662

ēst mollēs flamma medullās  
intereā, et tacitum vīvit sub pectore vulnus.  
ūritur infēlix Dīdō tōtāque vagātur  
urbe furēns, quālis coniectā cerva sagittā,  
quam procul incautam nemora inter Crēsia fixit  
pāstor agēns tēlis, līquitque volātile ferrum  
nescius; illa fugā silvās saltūsque peragrat  
Dictaeōs; haeret laterī lētālis harundō.

5

### QUESTION

How is Dido affected by her love for Aeneas? Pick out words and phrases from the text that show her state of mind.

ēst = edit *eats, devours*  
mollis *soft*  
medulla *marrow (of bones)*  
ūrō *I burn*  
furō *I lose control*  
cerva *deer*  
sagitta *arrow*  
incautus *unwary*  
nemus *forest*  
Crēsius *Cretan, of Crete*  
pāstor *shepherd*  
linquō *I leave*  
volātilis *flying*  
ferrum *iron*  
nescius *unaware*  
saltus *mountain pass*  
peragrō *I travel throughout*  
Dictaeus *of Dicte (a mountain in Crete)*  
latus *side, flank*  
lētālis *deadly*  
harundō *reed, arrow*

### Style note: similes

1. Similes in Latin literature are often developed at length and have more than one point of comparison with the main narrative. Consider how these multiple correspondences help to color and inform our interpretation of the narrative.
2. In the simile above, both Dido and the deer wander far through their domains (**Dīdō tōtāque vagātur urbe**, and the deer **silvās saltūsque peragrat Dictaeōs**), reflecting a loss of direction and purpose. Dido's lack of control (**furēns**) is softened by the deer's **fugā**.
3. Some elements of the simile may require us to imagine a correspondence. We must assume the **pāstor** is intended to correspond to Aeneas, shepherding his people to a new home, and the simile aims to distance Aeneas from responsibility for the love he has inspired. Through his correspondence with the **pāstor**, Aeneas is both **nescius** and **procul**. It is Cupid and his arrow, not Aeneas, that will be **lētālis** for Dido.
4. Why do you think Vergil chose to compare Dido to a deer? How would our impression of Dido change if she were compared instead to a lion, or an eagle?

nunc media Aenēan sēcum per moenia dūcit,  
 Sīdoniāsque ostentat opēs urbemque parātam;  
 incipit effārī, mediāque in vōce resistit;  
 nunc eadem lābente diē convīvia quaerit,  
 Īliacōsque iterum dēmēns audīre labōrēs  
 exposcit, pendetque iterum nārrantis ab ōre.  
 post, ubi dīgressī, lūmenque obscūra vicissim  
 lūna premit suādentque cadentia sīdera somnōs,  
 sōla domō maeret vacuā, strātīsque relictīs  
 incubat, illum absēns absentem auditque videtque;  
 aut gremiō Ascanium, genitōris imāgine capta,  
 dētinet, ĩnfandum sī fallere possit amōrem.

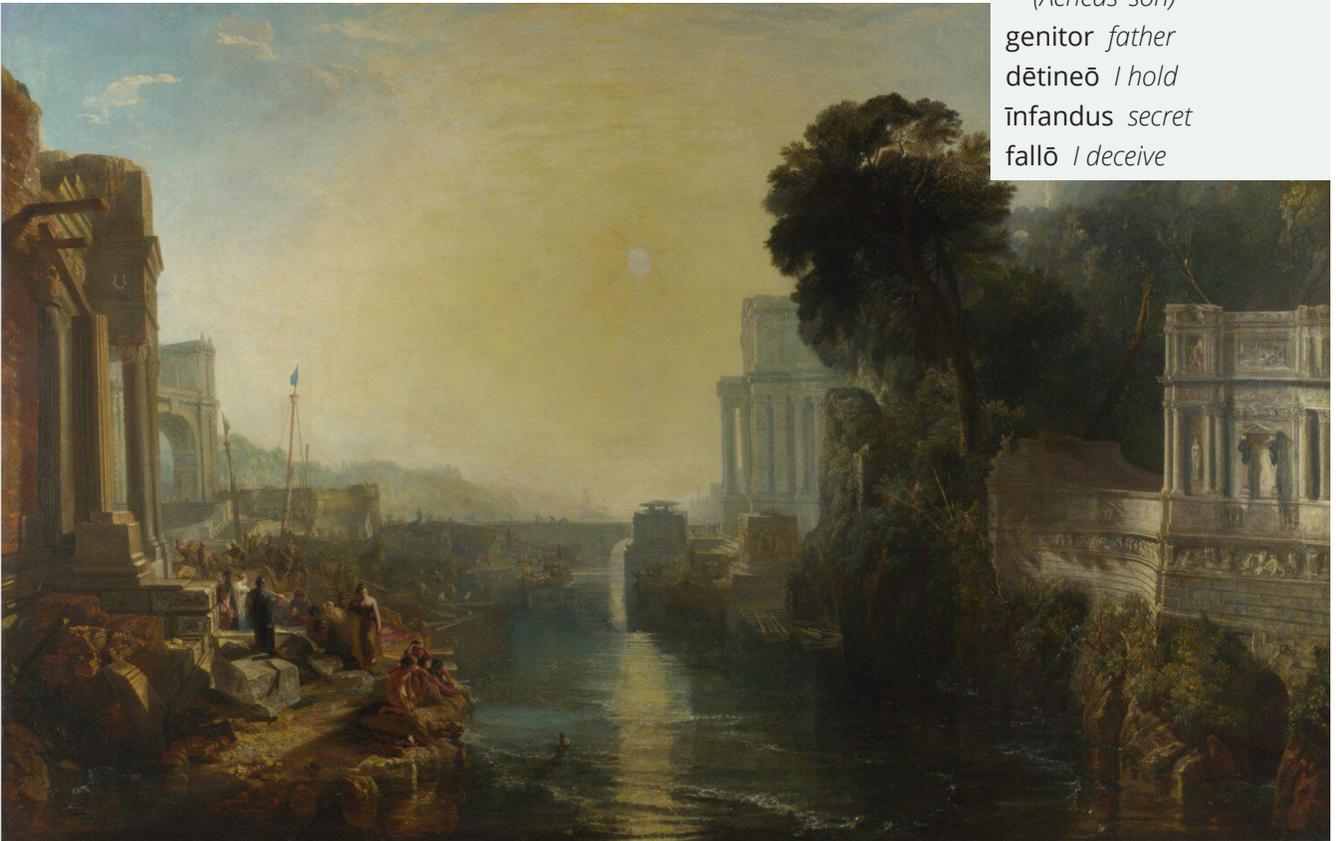
10

15

20

Sīdōnius *Phoenician*  
 ostentō *I show*  
 opēs (pl.) *wealth*  
 effor *I speak*  
 resistō *I stop*  
 convīvium *banquet*  
 Īliacus *Trojan*  
 dēmēns *mad*  
 exposcō *I demand*  
 pendeō *I hang*  
 dīgredior *I leave*  
 vicissim *in turn*  
 premō *I curb, reduce*  
 suādeō *I urge*  
 maereō *I grieve*  
 strātum *couch*  
 incubō *I lie on*  
 gremium *lap*  
 Ascanius *Ascanius*  
 (*Aeneas' son*)  
 genitor *father*  
 dētineō *I hold*  
 ĩnfandus *secret*  
 fallō *I deceive*

'Dido building Carthage' by Joseph Mallord William Turner was painted in 1815. It was based on John Dryden's English translation of Vergil's 'Aeneid'. Dido stands near the front on the left overseeing building works and Aeneas stands nearby in full armor.



Jupiter sends Mercury to deliver a message to Aeneas, reminding him that his destiny is to sail to Italy to found the Roman race. He commands Aeneas to leave Carthage, and Aeneas secretly prepares to set sail. When Dido finds out she is furious and begs him to stay.

## Dido's plea

tandem hīs Aenēān compellat vōcibus ultrō:  
 'dissimulāre etiam spērāstī, perfide, tantum  
 posse nefās tacitusque meā discēdere terrā?  
 nec tē noster amor nec tē data dextera quondam  
 nec moritūra tenet crūdēlī fūnere Dīdō?  
 quīn etiam hībernō mōlīris sīdere classem  
 et mediīs properās Aquilōnibus īre per altum,  
 crūdēlis? quid, sī nōn arva aliēna domōsque  
 ignōtās peterēs, et Troia antīqua manēret,  
 Troia per undōsum peterētur classibus aequor?  
 mēne fugis? per ego hās lacrimās dextramque tuam tē  
 (quandō aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa relīquī),  
 per cōnūbia nostra, per inceptōs hymenaeōs,  
 sī bene quid dē tē meruī, fuit aut tibi quicquam  
 dulce meum, miserēre domūs lābentis et istam,  
 ōrō, sī quis adhūc precibus locus, exue mentem.'

25

30

35

compellō *I address*  
 ultrō *of her own accord*  
 dissimulō *I hide*  
 spērāstī = spērāvistī  
 perfidus *treacherous*  
 nefās *sin*  
 dextera *pledge; right hand*  
 fūnus *death*  
 quīn *indeed*  
 hībernus *wintry*  
 mōlior *I strive*  
 classis *fleet*  
 properō *I hurry*  
 Aquilō *North Wind*  
 arvum *field*  
 Troia *Troy*  
 undōsus *full of waves*  
 cōnūbium *marriage*  
 hymenaeus *wedding*  
 prex *prayer*  
 exuō *I cast off, change*

### Style note: word order

1. Look at the following extracts from the poem you have just read:

**tandem hīs Aenēān compellat vōcibus ultrō:**

*At last she addresses Aeneas herself with these words:*

**spērāstī ... tacitusque meā discēdere terrā?**

*Did you hope to leave my land silently?*

In Latin literature, it is not unusual for a noun-adjective pair to be separated from each other by one or more words.

2. Now look at this line:

**nunc eadem lābente diē convīvia quaerit,**

*Now as the day slips away she requests the same banquets,*

Sometimes one noun-adjective pair may surround another.

Abandoned by Aeneas, Dido has decided to take her own life. She contrasts the achievements of her life before she met Aeneas (founding a great city), with the fate that befell her since Aeneas arrived and she fell prey to a doomed love. In her final speech she addresses the reminders (*exuviae*) of her love affair that she has placed on the funeral pyre: Aeneas' clothes and their shared bed. How does Dido speak about love now?

## The death of Dido

'dulcēs exuviae, dum fāta deusque sinēbat,  
accipite hanc animam mēque hīs exsolvite cūrīs.  
vīxī et quem dederat cursum Fortūna perēgī,  
et nunc magna meī sub terrās ībit imāgō.  
urbem praeclāram statuī, mea moenia vīdī,  
ulta virum poenās inimīcō ā frātre recēpī,  
fēlīx, heu nimium fēlīx, sī lītora tantum  
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carīnae.'  
dīxit, et ōs impressa torō 'moriēmur inultae,  
sed moriāmur' ait. 'sīc, sīc iuvat īre sub umbrās.  
hauriat hunc oculīs ignem crūdēlis ab altō  
Dardanus, et nostrae sēcum ferat ōmina mortis.'

40

45

exuviae *reminders*  
sinō *I permit*  
anima *soul*  
exsolvō *I release*  
peragō *I finish*  
praeclārus *glorious*  
statuō *I build*  
ulcīscor *I avenge*  
recipiō *I carry out*  
heu! *oh no!, alas!*  
Dardanius *Trojan*  
carīna *keel (of ship)*  
torus *marriage bed*  
inultus *unavenged*  
āiō *I say*  
iuvat *it is pleasing*

### QUESTION

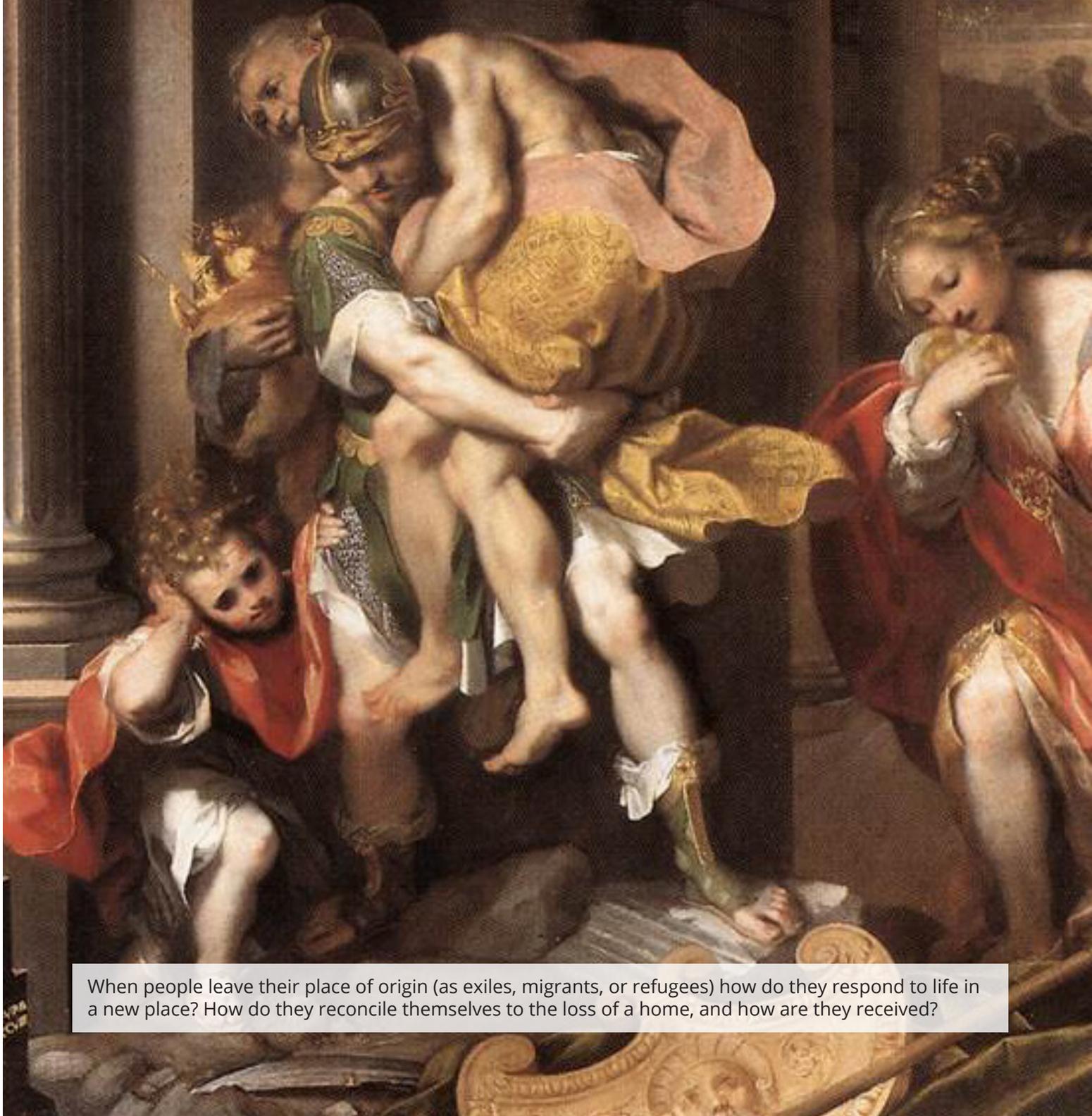
Writers often portray love as being inescapable. Do you think that humans have the power to determine whom they love and what love makes them do?



Sketch for 'Dido on the Funeral Pyre' by Henry Fuseli, 1781. Dido's sister Anna grieves at the dead queen's feet. Above the goddess Iris, sent by Juno, cuts a lock of her hair to free her soul from her body.



# Displacement



When people leave their place of origin (as exiles, migrants, or refugees) how do they respond to life in a new place? How do they reconcile themselves to the loss of a home, and how are they received?

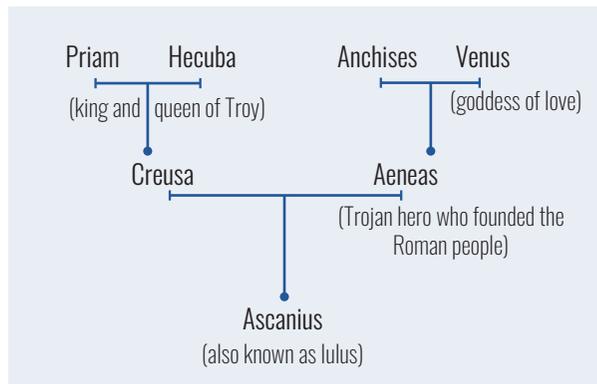
# Fleeing from war

In this passage, Aeneas leaves his home in Troy when the city is sacked by the Greeks. Guided by a divine omen, he has made the choice to leave his people and safeguard his family, rather than to fight any longer for a doomed cause. In this moment of crisis, what are his priorities?

## Aeneas flees from Troy

Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.705-720

*The Greeks have captured Troy. The Trojan prince Aeneas has decided to abandon the burning city and lead his family and a band of exiles to find a new home. When they are shipwrecked on the shores of Carthage and received kindly by Queen Dido, Aeneas tells her the story of the sack of Troy and his escape and subsequent wanderings. When this passage starts, Aeneas' father, Anchises, who at first refused to leave Troy, has at last agreed to go.*



dīxerat ille. et iam per moenia clārior ignis  
 audītur, propiusque aestūs incendia volvunt.  
 'ergō age, cāre pater, cervīcī impōnere nostrae.  
 ipse subībō umerīs, nec mē labor iste gravābit.  
 quō rēs cumque cadent, ūnum et commūne perīclum,  
 ūna salūs ambōbus erit. mihi parvus Iūlus  
 sit comes, et longē servet vestīgia coniūnx.

5

cervix *neck*  
 gravō *I burden*  
 commūnis *shared*  
 vestīgium *footprint*

- 1 **ille** = Anchises, who has just agreed to leave Troy.  
**moenia**: 'city walls'. Here = 'city'. It is a common feature of poetic language to use the word for part of an object to refer to the whole. This is known as synecdoche.  
**clārior**: the primary meaning here is 'louder', but the sense of 'brighter', referring to the flames, is also present.
- 2 **audītur ... volvunt**: Latin writers often use the present tense to describe events in the past. The effect is to make the narrative more vivid and immediate. This is known as the historic present tense.  
**aestūs incendia volvunt**: 'the blaze rolls the flames'. Both **aestūs** ('flames; burning heat') and **incendia** ('fires') are plural.
- 3 **cervīcī impōnere nostrae**: 'cling to my neck.' **impōnere** + dative = 'put yourself on'. Notice the word order. The noun + adjective phrase (**cervīcī ... nostrae**) is separated by another word (**impōnere**). This is a frequent arrangement of words in poetry.  
**nostrae**: translate as 'my'. Using the plural form for the singular is a common feature of poetry.
- 4 **subībō umerīs**: 'I shall carry you on my shoulders.' Lit. 'I shall go under (you) with my shoulders.'
- 5 **quō ... cumque**: 'in whatever way/however'. The single word **quōcumque** is separated into two parts.  
**perīclum** = **perīculum**
- 7 **sit ... servet**: 'let him be' ... 'let her preserve'. Present subjunctives.  
**servet vestīgia**: **servāre vestīgia** literally translates as 'to preserve the footsteps'.

## QUESTIONS

**A**

1. In lines 1–2, in what ways is the situation becoming more dangerous?
2. What does Aeneas do here to help his father (lines 3–4)?
3. In lines 6–7, what does Aeneas say his son and his wife should do?

**B**

4. How does Vergil's writing create an impression of increasing danger (lines 1–2)?
5. In lines 3–7, how do Aeneas' words show his concern for his family?
6. **ūnum ... ūna** (lines 5–6): What is the effect of the repetition?

*This relief sculpture of Aeneas escaping from Troy is from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, in Turkey. The female figure is Aeneas' mother, the goddess Venus. It was Venus who urged Aeneas to leave Troy to found a new land for the Trojans in the west, and she protected them on their journey.*



## Aeneas makes arrangements for their departure

vōs, famulī, quae dīcam, animīs advertite vestrīs.  
 est urbe ēgressīs tumulus templumque vetustum  
 dēsertae Cereris, iuxtāque antīqua cupressus  
 religiōne patrum multōs servāta per annōs.  
 hanc ex dīversō sēdem veniēmus in ūnam.  
 tū, genitor, cape sacra manū patriōsque Penātēs;  
 mē, bellō ē tantō dīgressum et caede recentī,  
 attrectāre nefās, dōnec mē flūmine vīvō  
 abluerō.'

	famulus	attendant
	tumulus	hill
10	vetustus	ancient
	cupressus	cypress-tree
	rēligiō	reverence
	dīversus	separate
	patrius	of our fathers
15	dīgredior	I leave
	recēns	recent
	attrectō	I touch
	dōnec	until
	abluō	I wash, purify

### QUESTIONS

#### A

1. Who is Aeneas going to give instructions to in line 8?
2. In lines 9–11, where is the place described by Aeneas? What landmarks does he mention?
3. Why has Aeneas described the place in such detail (line 12)?
4. In lines 13–16, what does Aeneas tell his father to do? Why can't Aeneas do this himself?

#### B

5. What is special about the place Aeneas describes? Pick out some words and phrases which help to create this impression (lines 9–11).
6. **dēsertae Cereris** (line 10): why do you think the adjective **dēsertae** is used?
7. Look at the whole passage. What kind of man does Aeneas appear to be here?

### Language note 1: future perfect tense

1. Look at this sentence:

**mē nefās est eōs attrectāre dōnec mē abluerō.**

*It is sinful for me to touch them until I shall have washed myself.*

In more natural English:

*It is sinful for me to touch them until I have washed myself.*

or *It is sinful for me to touch them until I wash myself.*

2. The verb **abluerō** is in the future perfect tense. The future perfect tense is used to describe an action or event that occurs in the future, but before another action or event. English uses the present or the perfect tense. The future perfect tense is often used with **dōnec** meaning *until*.
3. The future perfect tense is formed by adding the future of **sum** to the perfect stem. See page xxx.

- 8 **quae ... dīcam: quae = ea quae.** The relative clause comes before the main clause.
- 9 **animīs ... vestrīs:** the adjective and noun are separated.
- 9 **est:** 'there is'. This is often the best way to translate **est** when it is the first word in the sentence, introducing the description of a place.
- 10 **urbe ēgressīs:** 'for those who have left the city'. This could be translated 'as you leave the city.'
- 10 **dēsertae Cereris:** Ceres (Greek: Demeter) was the Roman goddess of agriculture and fertility. Her daughter Proserpina (Greek: Persephone) was abducted by Pluto (Greek: Hades), the god of the Underworld, to be his queen.
- 11 **multōs ... per annōs:** the adjective and noun are separated by a preposition and another word. This is a common arrangement of words in Latin poetry.
- 12 **hanc ... sēdem ... in ūnam = in hanc ūnam sēdem.**
- 12 **ex dīversō:** 'from different directions.'
- 13 **sacra manū patriōsque Penātēs:** the 'sacred things' are the statues of the native gods of Troy. The Penates are the household gods. Venus had instructed Aeneas to take the Penates with him.
- 14 **bellō ē tantō:** separation of noun and adjective.
- 14 **caede recentī:** 'covered in freshly-spilt blood.' Literally, 'with recent slaughter'. Aeneas has been involved in fighting, so he is covered in blood. Blood was regarded as impure, and anyone who had touched blood had to purify themselves with water before taking part in any religious ceremony or touching anything of religious importance.
- 14-15 **mē ... nefās = mē nefās est,** 'It is wrong for me'. **nefās est** is an impersonal verb. Forms of **esse** are often omitted in poetry.
- 15 **flūmine vivō:** 'in fresh water.' The ablative is used without a preposition; translate as 'in' or 'with'.
- 15-16 **dōnec ... abluerō:** 'until I [will] have washed'. **abluerō** is the future perfect tense, which is translated as 'I shall have'. English uses the present or perfect tense.



*A terracotta amphora with black figure painting from the last quarter of the 6th century BC. Aeneas, wearing his armor, carries his father on his back as he flees Troy.*

# Roman attitudes towards refugees

The passages below show two different accounts from Roman literature of refugees being received. What different attitudes towards refugees are shown in the writings of Vergil and Ammianus? How are refugees treated in your country, and how do you expect the Romans might have welcomed them?

## Dido's reception of Aeneas

When Aeneas and his followers, refugees from Troy, are shipwrecked on the coast of Carthage they receive a warm welcome from Queen Dido. Dido herself is a refugee from Phoenicia, modern Lebanon.

'quārē agite, ō tēctīs, iuvenēs, succēdite nostrīs.  
mē quoque per multōs similis fortūna labōrēs  
iactātam hāc dēmum voluit cōnsistere terrā.  
nōn ignāra malī, miserīs succurrere discō.'

quārē *therefore*  
succēdō *I enter*  
dēmum *at last*  
succurrō (+ dat.) *I run to help*

Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.627–30

## Language note 2: contracted verb forms

- Some Latin verb forms can be contracted. These are called contracted verb forms. The following contracted verb forms are commonly used by Roman authors:
  - Verbs ending **-ērunt**, in the 3rd person plural of the perfect tense, are often contracted to **-ēre**:
 

<b>amāvērunt</b>	<b>amāvēre</b>
<b>dīxērunt</b>	<b>dīxēre</b>
  - Perfect stems ending **-v** are often contracted, for example:
 

<b>portāvisse</b>	<b>portāsse</b>
<b>portāverant</b>	<b>portārant</b>
<b>portāvissent</b>	<b>portāsset</b>
- There are two contracted verb forms in the first two sections of the passage from Ammianus on the following page: **occupāvēre** and **flāgitāsset**.
- Before reading the passage use the rules above to expand and translate these forms.



Thousands of migrants stranded in the camp of Idomeni in Greece decide to cross the Macedonian border, walking for hours and crossing the river, helped by volunteers.

## The Thervingi seek refuge

Ammianus *History* 31.4.1–5

<b>Alavīvus</b>	Leader of the Thervingi
<b>Danubium</b>	River Danube (also called the <b>Histrum</b> )
<b>Valēns</b>	Roman emperor

In AD 376 a crowd of Gothic peoples (mostly from the Thervingi tribe) came to the banks of the Danube, the northern limit of the Roman Empire. They were men, women, and children who had been driven from their lands, perhaps because of pressures from the Huns who had invaded from the east. The Thervingi sought refuge in the Roman province of Thrace, and begged Emperor Valens to allow them to cross the Danube and settle within the Empire.

### The Thervingi send ambassadors

itaque duce Alavivō rīpās occupāvēre Danubiī, missisque ōrātōribus ad Valentem, suscipī sē humilī prece poscēbant, et quiētē victūrōs sē pollicentēs, et datūrōs (sī rēs flāgitasset) auxilia.

ōrātōr *ambassador*  
humilis *humble*  
polliceor *I promise*  
flāgitō *I demand*

- 1 **occupāvēre**: the Gothic peoples are the subject.
- 2–3 **victūrōs ... datūrōs = victūrōs esse ... datūrōs esse**; future infinitives of **vīvō** and **dō**. **esse** is often omitted in the future and perfect infinitives.
- 3 **auxilia**: auxiliary troops. It was usual for peoples accepted into the Roman Empire to promise military support.

### Rumors spread about the Thervingi

dum aguntur haec in externīs, novōs maiōrēsque solitīs cāsūs versāre gentēs arctōās, rūmōrēs terribilēs diffūdērunt: multitūdinem barbaram abditārum nātiōnum, vī subitā sēdibus pulsam, circā flūmen Histrum vagārī cum cāritātibus suīs dissēminantēs.

externus *foreign*  
solitus *usual*  
cāsūs *disturbance*  
versō *I stir up*  
arctōus *northern*  
diffundō *I spread*  
abdō *I remove, displace*  
subitus *sudden*  
vagor *I roam*  
cāritās *love*  
dissēminō *I scatter*

- 4 **maiōrēs solitīs**: 'unusually great', lit. 'greater than what was usual'.
- 4–5 **novōs ... diffūdērunt**: break this down as you read from left to right. First, translate the phrase **novōs maiōrēsque solitīs casūs** and note the case of **novōs casūs**. Next, look at **versāre gentēs arctōās**. What were the peoples in the north doing? Finally, translate **rūmōrēs terribilēs diffūdērunt**. Now it becomes clear that the earlier part of the sentence is an indirect statement (accusative and infinitive), describing the rumors.
- 5–7 **multitudinem ... vagārī**: the colon before **multitudinem** indicates that the indirect speech is continued from the previous sentence.
- 7 **cum cāritātibus suīs**: 'with their families', lit. 'with their loved ones'.

#### QUESTION

What language does Ammianus use to describe the Gothic peoples and their plight? Does it make him seem sympathetic towards them?

### Roman reaction to the plight of the Thervingi

quae rēs aspernanter ā nostrīs inter initia ipsa accepta est, hanc ob causam, quod illīs tractibus nōn nisi perācta aut sōpīta audīrī procul agentibus cōnsuēverant bella.

10

8 **quae rēs**: 'this news', lit. 'which thing'. **quae** is a connecting relative.

**nostrīs**: 'our peoples', i.e. people within the Roman Empire.

**inter initia**: 'at first', lit. 'among the beginnings'.

8–9 **hanc ob causam, quod**: 'for this reason, that'.

9 **illīs tractibus = in illīs tractibus**. The ablative case is sometimes used without the preposition **in** to denote place.

9–10 **quod ... bella**: Ammianus is saying that normally wars had been fought and completed before people living in the Roman Empire heard about them.

**audīrī: audiō** here = 'hear about'.

**procul agentibus**: 'by those living far away'. The ablative goes with **audīrī**.

aspernanter *scornfully*

tractus *region*

sōpiō *I make calm*

cōnsuēsco *I am*

*accustomed*

### A change in Rome's response

vērūm pūbēscēte fidē gestōrum, cui rōbur adventus gentīlium addiderat lēgātōrum, precibus et obtestātiōne petentium citrā flūmen suscipī plēbem extorrem, negōtium laetitiaē fuit potius quam timōrī, ērudītīs adūlātōribus in maius fortūnam p̄ncipis extollentibus, quae, ex ultimīs terrīs tot tīrōcinia trahēns, eī nec opīnantī offerret ut, collātīs in ūnum suīs et aliēnigenīs vīribus, invictum habēret exercitum, et p̄ō mīlītārī supplēmentō, quod p̄vīnciātīm annuum pendēbātur, thēsaurīs accēderet aurī cumulus magnus. hācque spē mittuntur dīversī, quī cum vehiculīs plēbem trānsferant truculentam.

15

11–18 **vērūm ... magnus**: this is a single, very long sentence. As you read from left to right, break the sentence down into its constituent clauses, using the punctuation to help you.

11 **fidē gestōrum**: 'belief in what had happened'. **gerō** here = 'I do', so **gesta** means 'things that have been done'.

12–13 **citrā ... extorrem**: an indirect statement dependent on **petentium**, 'imploping [that]'.

13 **negōtium ... timōrī**: 'the affair was a cause of rejoicing rather than fear'. The dative case here expresses the idea 'cause of' or 'reason for'.

14 **in maius**: 'to a greater extent', 'even more'.

14–15 **quae ... offerret**: the subjunctive verb in the relative clause is generic, 'fortune (of such a kind) that would offer'.

15 **nec opīnantī**: '(to him) not even expecting'. Translate as 'unexpectedly'. **nec** here = 'not even'.

16 **vīribus**: the plural of **vis** ('force') generally means 'strength'. Here = 'troops'.

17–18 **thēsaurīs ... magnus**: some of the Thervingi would prefer to contribute money to the imperial treasury rather than provide recruits or serve in the army themselves.

18 **dīversī**: 'various officials', lit. 'various men'.

18–19 **quī ... trānsferant**: 'to transport'. The subjunctive verb in the relative clause expresses purpose (equivalent to **ut** + subjunctive).

pūbēscō *I grow*

fidēs *confidence*

rōbur, n. *strength*

gentīlis *of the same race*

obtestātiō *entreaty*

citrā (+ acc.) *on our side of*

plēbēs *people, mob*

extorris *exiled*

timor *fear*

ērudītus *skilled*

adūlātōr *flatterer*

extollō *I praise*

tīrōcinium *young soldier*

opīnor *I believe*

cōnferō *I combine*

aliēnigenus *foreign*

invictus *invincible*

mīlītāris *military*

supplēmentum *levy*

p̄vīnciātīm *province by province*

thēsaurus *treasury*

accēdō *I come to*

cumulus *heap*

trānsferō *I transport*

truculentus *aggressive*

# Caesar's *Gallic War*

Gaius Julius Caesar came from a distinguished family, and, as expected for a man of his class, he followed a military and political career. He was consul in 59 BC, and in the following year became governor of two provinces: Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum, and Gallia Transalpina. As governor of Gallia Transalpina, he had the opportunity to acquire the military success and wealth that he needed to further his political career in Rome. For almost ten years he conducted a war which led to the subjugation of the whole of Gaul. His account of his campaigns in Gaul, known now as *dē Bellō Gallicō* (*The Gallic War*), was originally called *Commentārii dē Bellō Gallicō* (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*).

Caesar reported events in which he was personally involved, writing in the third person, and in a style that is factual and unadorned.

The extracts here are taken from the beginning of *The Gallic War* and narrate events which took place between 61 and 58 BC, when Caesar was just over forty years old. He describes the attempt of the Helvetii, a people who lived in what is now Switzerland, to migrate westwards, crossing through the Roman province. This was the start of Caesar's war in Gaul.

## QUESTION

Why do you think Caesar chose to write the account of his own achievements in the third person?

# Migration of the Helvetii

Caesar's account of the migration of the Helvetii sheds some light on the reasons people choose to move. Why might whole populations leave their lands and settle elsewhere? What obstacles might they face?

Caesar *Gallic War*, extracts from 1.1–28

## The Helvetii

<b>Gallia</b>	Gaul; the region of western Europe comprising modern France, part of Belgium and the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Northern Italy. In 58 BC the Roman province of Gaul was Gallia Transalpina, now southern France.
<b>Belgae</b>	A people living in Gaul
<b>Aquītānī</b>	A people living in Gaul
<b>Celtae</b>	Celts, a people living in Gaul. The Romans called them <b>Gallī</b> (Gauls).
<b>Helvētīī</b>	One of the Celtic peoples whom Caesar calls <b>Gallī</b>
<b>Germānī</b>	A people in the region bordering northern Gaul

Gallia est omnis dīvisā in partēs trēs, quārum ūnam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquītānī, tertiam quī ipsōrum linguā Celtae, nostrā Gallī appellāntur.

Helvētīī reliquōs Gallōs virtūte praecēdunt, quod ferē cotīdiānīs proeliīs cum Germānīs contendunt, cum aut suīs finibus eōs prohibent aut ipsī 5 in eōrum finibus bellum gerunt.

incolō *I inhabit*  
 appellō *I call*  
 reliquus *remaining, other*  
 praecēdō *I surpass, excel*  
 cotīdiānus *daily*  
 finis *boundary (pl. = territory)*

1 **Gallia ... omnis:** 'Gaul as a whole,' i.e. not just the Roman province.

4–5 **Helvētīī ... proeliīs cum Germānīs contendunt:** the territory of the Helvetii bordered that of the Germani.

## The conspiracy of Orgetorix

**Orgetorix** An Helvetian nobleman

apud Helvētiōs longē nōbilissimus fuit et dītissimus Orgetorix. is, M. Messāllā et M. Pūpiō Pīsōne cōsulibus, rēgnī cupiditāte inductus coniūrātiōnem nōbilitātis fēcit, et cīvitātī persuāsit ut dē finibus suīs cum omnibus cōpiīs exīrent: perfacile esse, cum virtūte omnibus praestārent, tōtīus Galliae imperiō potīrī.

7–8 **M. Messāllā et M. Pūpiō Pīsōne cōsulibus:** 'in the consulship of M. Messalla and M. Pupio Pisone,' lit. 'when Marcus Messalla and Marcus Pupio Pisone were consuls,' i.e. 61 BC. The Romans dated the year by the names of the consuls who held office, expressed in an ablative absolute phrase.

8 **rēgnī cupiditāte:** 'by his desire for royal power'. **cupiditās** takes a genitive of the thing that is desired.

10 **cōpiīs:** here = 'resources,' 'wealth.'

**perfacile esse:** the accusative and infinitive construction indicates that this is an indirect statement. There is no verb of speaking to introduce the indirect speech, but **persuāsit** in the previous sentence contains the idea that Orgetorix was speaking. The colon after **exīrent** shows that what follows is indirect speech. Latin authors regularly assume a verb of speaking. When translating into English, start with 'He said ...'.

*This coin was minted by the Helvetii and shows the profile of the nobleman Orgetorix. On the other side is a stylized image of a horse and his name, spelled {O}RCIITH{R}{IX}.*



## The territory of the Helvetii

**Rhēnus** River Rhine  
**Sēquānī** A people living in Gaul  
**mōns lūra** Jura mountains; a mountain range on the border between France and Switzerland  
**Lemannus** Lake Geneva  
**Rhodanus** River Rhone

id hōc facilius eīs persuāsit, quod undique locī nātūrā Helvētīī continentur: ūnā ex parte flūmine Rhēnō lātissimō atque altissimō, quī agrum Helvētium ā Germānīs dīvidit; alterā ex parte monte lūrā altissimō, quī est inter Sēquanōs et Helvētiōs; tertiā lacū Lemannō et flūmine Rhodanō, quī prōvinciam nostram ab Helvētīīs dīvidit.

12 **hōc facilius:** 'the more easily', lit. '(by this much) more easily.'

13 **ūnā ex parte:** 'on one side.'

14 **agrum:** here = 'territory.'

16 **prōvinciam nostram:** the Roman province, which at this time was Gallia Transalpina, now southern France.

dīs, dītis = dīves, dīvitis  
 nōbilitās nobility,  
 aristocracy

cīvitās citizens

perfacilis very easy

praestō I surpass

potior (+ abl.) I obtain, get

10

15

contineō I keep in, enclose

lacus lake

hīs rēbus fiēbat ut et minus lātē vagārentur et minus facile finitimīs bellum īferre possent: quā ex parte hominēs bellandī cupidī magnō dolōre adficiēbantur. prō multitudīne autem hominum et prō glōriā bellī atque fortitūdinis angustōs sē finēs habēre arbitrābantur, quī in longitūdinem mīlia passuum CCXL, in lātitudinē CLXXX patēbant.

20

bellō *I make war*  
 adficiō *I affect, move*  
 arbitror *I consider, reckon*  
 longitūdō *length*  
 lātitudō *width*

- 16–17 **hīs rēbus**: 'as a result of these circumstances/obstacles,' lit. 'from these things.' Caesar often uses the word **rēs** where English would have a more specific word. When translating, it is often necessary to avoid 'thing', and think of another English word which suits the context.
- 17 **fiēbat ut: fit ut** + a subjunctive verb means 'it happens/comes about that.'
- et ... et**: 'both ... and.'
- 18 **quā ex parte**: 'for this reason.' **quā** is a connecting relative.
- bellandī cupidī**: 'keen to make war,' lit. 'desirous of making war.' **bellandī** is a gerund.
- 19 **prō**: 'in proportion to,' 'considering,' lit. 'in return for.'
- 19–20 **glōriā bellī atque fortitūdinis**: 'their glorious reputation for bravery in war,' lit. 'the glory that was the result of war and bravery.' The nouns in the genitive case define **glōria**.
- 20 **angustōs**: 'small,' lit. 'narrow.'
- 21 **mīlia passuum**: a Roman mile was 1,000 paces, **mīle passuum**, equivalent to approximately 0.9 of a modern mile. The extent of the Helvetii's territory was therefore about 220 miles by 165 miles.

*A map showing Gaul and the territory of the Helvetii.*



### The Helvetii make plans to migrate

hīs rēbus adductī et auctōritāte Orgetorīgis permōtī, cōstituērunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinērent comparāre, iūmentōrum et carrōrum quam maximum numerum coemere, sēmentēs quam maximās facere ut in itinere cōpia frūmentī suppeteret, cum proximīs cīvitātibus pācem et amīcitiā cōfirmāre. ad eās rēs cōficiendās biennium sibi satis esse dūxērunt: in tertium annum profectiōnem lēge cōfirmant.

- 22 **rēbus: rēs** could be translated here as 'considerations' or 'feelings.'  
**auctōritāte:** here = 'influence.'
- 23 **ea quae ... pertinērent:** 'the things which, they thought, were needed.' **pertinērent** is subjunctive because Caesar is reporting what the Helvetii were thinking; it is therefore equivalent to indirect speech. Subordinate clauses in indirect speech have subjunctive verbs.
- 24 **quam maximum numerum:** 'as many as possible', lit. 'as large a number as possible.'
- 26 **cīvitātibus:** 'peoples' or 'tribes.'  
**ad eās rēs cōficiendās:** 'to complete these preparations.'
- 27 **in tertium annum:** 'for the third year.' They were to make preparations for two years and leave at the beginning of the third year.
- 28 **cōfirmant:** Roman authors often use a present tense verb for an action that occurred in the past; this is known as the historic present tense. The effect is to make the narrative more vivid and immediate. In this passage Caesar mixes past and present tense verbs, sometimes in the same sentence. When translating, it is often more natural in English to use the past tense throughout.

permovēō *I stir up, influence*  
 comparō *I prepare*  
 iūmentum *baggage animal*  
 carrus *cart*  
 coemō *I buy*  
 sēmentis *crop sowing*  
 suppetō *I am available*  
 cōfirmō *I confirm, strengthen*  
 biennium *period of two years*  
 profectiō *departure*  
 dūcō *I calculate, reckon*

*Orgetorix conspired with two noblemen from neighboring peoples, the Sequani and the Aedui. Each was to seize power over their own people, then ultimately they would unite to take control of the whole of Gaul. However, after the plot was revealed to the Helvetii, Orgetorix died, perhaps by his own hand.*

### Preparations for the migration

post eius mortem nihilōminus Helvētīī id quod cōstituerant facere cōnantur, ut ē finibus suis exeant. ubi iam sē ad eam rem parātōs esse arbitrātī sunt, oppida sua omnia, numerō ad duodecim, vīcōs ad quadringentōs, reliqua prīvāta aedificia incendunt; frūmentum omne, praeterquam quod sēcum portātūrī erant, combūrunt, ut domum reditiōnis spē sublātā parātīōrēs ad omnia perīcula subeunda essent; trium mēnsūm molita cibāria sibi quemque domō efferre iubent.

- 29 **eius:** Orgetorix
- 29–30 **cōstituerant ... ut: cōstituō** can be used either with an infinitive or, as here, with **ut** + subjunctive verb (indirect command).
- 31 **oppida ... vīcōs:** an **oppidum** was a walled settlement, often built on a hill for defence. A **vīcus** was an unfortified village.
- 33 **quod = id quod,** referring to **frūmentum**.  
**portātūrī erant:** 'they were going to carry.' The future participle + a part of **sum** is an alternative way of forming the future tense; it is known as the periphrastic future.
- 35 **trium mēnsūm molita cibāria:** 'three months' supply of flour.'

ad *about*  
 duodecim *twelve*  
 quadringentī *400*  
 praeterquam *except*  
 combūrō *I burn*  
 reditiō *return*  
 sublātus *removed*  
 molō *I grind*  
 cibāria, n. pl. *grain*

There were only two possible routes the Helvetii could take. They chose the easier route, which involved crossing the River Rhone, which divided their territory from that of the Allobriges, which was in part of Gaul controlled by the Romans. The Allobriges had recently (61 BC) been subdued by Rome. The Helvetii thought that they could either persuade the Allobriges to let them pass through or compel them to do so by force. They fixed a day to assemble on the banks of the Rhone – 28th March, 58 BC. When Caesar refused to let the Helvetii pass through the Roman province, they then tried the alternative route. Caesar pursued them, and, after some setbacks, his forces defeated them in battle. The Helvetii surrendered.

Helvētiōs, Tulingōs, Latobrigōs in finēs suōs, unde erant profectī, revertī iussit, et, quod omnibus frūgibus āmissīs domī nihil erat quō famem tolerārent, Allobrogibus imperāvit ut iīs frūmentī cōpiam facerent; ipsōs oppida vīcōsque, quōs incenderant, restituere iussit. id eā maximē ratiōne fēcit, quod nōluit eum locum unde Helvētiī discesserant vacāre, 40 nē propter bonitātem agrōrum Germānī, quī trāns Rhēnum incolunt, ex suīs finibus in Helvētiōrum finēs trānsīrent et finitimī Galliae prōvinciae Allobrogibusque essent.

revertor *I return*  
 famēs *hunger*  
 tolerō *I endure; provide*  
*food for*  
 restituō *I rebuild*  
 ratiō *reason*  
 vacō *I am empty*  
 bonitās *excellence*  
 finitimī, m. pl. *bordering*  
*tribes*

- 36 **Tulingōs, Latobrigōs:** the Tulingi and the Latobrigi were neighbors of the Helvetii and had joined the migration.  
 37 **iussit:** the subject is Caesar.  
**ipsōs:** the Helvetii.  
 39–40 **eā ... ratiōne ... quod:** 'for this reason, because' = 'for the following reason.'

Lists were found in the camp of the Helvetii recording the names of the Helvetii and their allies who had joined the migration – men, women, and children. The total number was 368,000, of whom about a quarter were men of fighting age. Caesar ordered a census to be taken of those who returned home: 110,000.

## QUESTIONS



This marble statue of Julius Caesar was created by Nicolas Coustou in 1696.

# Who is a foreigner?

Ovid wrote the poem 'Tristia' from the city of Tomis on the coast of the Black Sea (modern Constanța, Romania), where he was living as an exile.



vix ope castellī dēfendimur; et tamen intus  
 mixta facit Graecīs barbara turba metum.  
 quippe simul nōbīs habitat discrīmine nullō  
 barbarus et tēctī plūs quoque parte tenet.  
 quōrum ut nōn timeās, possīs ōdisse videndō  
 pellibus et longā pectora tēcta comā.  
 hōs quoque, quī genitī Grāiā crēduntur ab urbe,  
 prō patriō cultū Persica brāca tegit.  
 exercent illī sociae commercia linguae:  
 per gestum rēs est significanda mihi.  
 barbarus hīc ego sum, quī nōn intellegor ūllī,  
 et rīdent stolidī uerba Latīna Getae;  
 mēque palam dē mē tūtō mala saepe loquuntur,  
 forsitan obiciunt exiliumque mihi.

Ovid *Tristia* 5.10.27-40

- 1 **ope castellī:** 'by the shelter of the fortress' i.e. the fortified town of Tomis.
- 4 **tēctī plūs parte:** 'more than half of the homes'. **tēctum** meaning 'roof', here = homes. **plūs parte** literally means 'the greater part of'.
- 5 **quōrum ut ... videndō:** 'Even if you don't fear them, you'd hate the sight of.' Lit. 'Though you do not fear them, you are able to hate from seeing.' Here **ut** with the subjunctive **timeās** has the meaning of 'although' or 'even though'. **videndō** is the ablative gerund 'by seeing', i.e. 'at the sight of'.
- 7 **Grāiā:** although now within the Roman Empire, Tomis was originally a Greek colony.
- 8 **prō patriō cultū:** 'instead of their native clothing'.
- 10 **rēs est significanda mihi:** 'I must explain my meaning'. Translate **rēs** here as 'meaning'.
- 11 **ūllī:** dative of agent, 'by anyone'.
- 12 **Getae:** A tribe of people native to Tomis. In AD 6 the Getae came under the control of the Roman Empire in the new province of Moesia.

ops *strength*  
 castellum *fortress*  
 intus *inside*  
 quippe *because*  
 discrīmen *division*  
 pellis *skin, leather clothing*  
 genitus *descendant*  
 Grāius *Greek*  
 cultus *culture*  
 brāca, f. s. *trousers*  
 tegō *I cover*  
 exerceō *I practice, carry out*  
 commercium *trade*  
 socius *common, local*  
 gestus *gesture*  
 significō *I express*  
 stolidus *stupid*  
 palam *openly*  
 forsitan *perhaps*  
 obiciō *I taunt, throw at*  
 exilium *exile*

## DISCUSSION

### barbarus hīc ego sum

1. How has Ovid's status changed?
2. Earlier in this passage Ovid uses **barbara** and **barbarus** to describe the local Scythians. Do you think that he feels he is like them?
3. How would you translate **barbarus** in line 11?

# To Ovid

Pushkin *К Овидию*, translated by Stephanie Sandler.

In his poetry from exile Ovid laments that his removal from Rome, the center of his world, to the edge of the Empire has made him a foreigner. He has lost his ability to communicate and is cut off from life in both Rome and Tomis.

Around 1,800 years later, another exile arrived at these same Pontic shores, on the edge of another empire. Alexander Pushkin, a young Russian poet, was exiled by Tsar Alexander I for his political and revolutionary poems. Aware of Ovid's exile on the Black Sea and their shared fate, in 1821 Pushkin wrote a response to the Roman:

Ovid, I live near the quiet shores  
 To which you once brought your banished native gods  
 And where you left behind your ashes.  
 Your joyless lament made these lands famous,  
 Your tender-voiced lyre has not gone mute ...  
 As a severe Slav, I have not shed any tears,  
 But I understand them. A self-willed exile,  
 Unsatisfied with the world, life and myself,  
 I, with meditative spirit, have now visited  
 This land where you once lived out a sad eternity ...  
 I repeated your songs, Ovid,  
 And believed their sorrowful picture;  
 But my eyes were deceived by your reveries,  
 Your exile held me in thrall, mystified,  
 Since for me the gloomy northern snows were normal.  
 Here the heavenly sky is light for long periods of time,  
 Here the cruel winter storms reign only briefly.

Pushkin finishes his poem by reassuring Ovid that his fame will endure. This statue (*below*) is from modern Constanța, ancient Tomis. Despite Ovid's unflattering portrayal of the natives of Tomis, the modern city enthusiastically embraces the city's most famous resident. In 2017, Rome's city council revoked the decree exiling Ovid, to mark two thousand years from his death and the importance of free, artistic expression.

## DISCUSSION

1. What are the similarities and differences between the experiences of Ovid and Pushkin?
2. Does this poem change how you think about Ovid's poetry from exile?



*'Ovid among the Scythians'* was painted by Eugene Delacroix in 1862. The exiled poet lies on a grassy mound on the left of the painting, wearing a long blue robe. In this depiction the Scythians are treating him kindly and preparing mare's milk for him to drink. Mare's milk was reportedly a Scythian delicacy.



# Exile

Exile, the forced absence from one's home, was common in the ancient world. In Rome during the Republic, however, exile was voluntary. When charged with a capital offence, a person could either stay and face possible conviction and punishment or voluntarily choose to leave Rome and go into exile. In this way exile was not a formal legal penalty, although in effect it was sometimes a substitution for the death penalty. Once the person had left, a decree of *aquā et ignē interdictiō* was enforced which prohibited him from returning under threat of execution. The exile could, however, take with him his wealth and possessions and settle away from Italian soil. In a speech delivered on behalf of his friend Aulus Caecina, and notably before his own exile, Cicero said:

**exilium enim nōn supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii.**

For exile is not a punishment; rather, it is a refuge and shelter from punishment.

This choice between punishment and exile was only open to the wealthier members of society. The lower classes, if guilty of the same crimes, were sentenced to forced labor or executed.

The situation changed at the emergence of the Principate, when the punishment of exile was formalized. There were now varying degrees of severity, and exile could be temporary or permanent. Some varieties of the sentence also included the loss of citizenship and confiscation of property. The power of the emperor was absolute, and at his whim anyone could be driven from Italian soil without trial. Those who suffered such a fate included senators, officials and imperial freedmen who had fallen out of favor, artists, teachers, and even members of the imperial family. Some who were exiled were guilty of no crime other than displeasing the emperor.

Suetonius records one such anecdote about Emperor Nero banishing a man because, when he was procurator in Egypt, he had bathed in some baths which had been built for Nero's own visit.

In some cases the location of

one's exile was expressly chosen. For instance, Augustus exiled his daughter Julia to the island of Pandateria (modern Ventotene), near the Bay of Naples, where she lived out the rest of her life. Her daughter, Agrippina the Elder, and Nero's first wife Octavia, were both later exiled to the same island (from which Agrippina was then recalled and where Octavia was assassinated).

In his writing from Tomis Ovid records two reasons for his own exile: *carmen* (a poem) and *error* (a mistake). The poem was *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*), advice on how to conduct a love affair, which fell foul of laws introduced by Augustus to improve the morals of contemporary society. The mistake was possibly connected to the love affairs of Augustus' granddaughter, Julia.

## The fate of an exile

Those exiles who retained their citizenship and some or all of their property could maintain a pleasant lifestyle in their new surroundings. Some were even accompanied into exile by family and friends, and continued in their previous professions. Inscriptions provide evidence of generous donations bequeathed to cities as thanks for their hospitality. Of those exiled in the Imperial period we know most about the experiences of Ovid and Seneca, who both continued writing and maintained constant communication with friends and family still in Rome. The suffering of their condition came primarily from their separation from life in Rome, and from the alienation and isolation.

For those exiled, there remained some hope of recall and pardon, most commonly during the Principate at the accession of a new emperor.

*The small island of Ventotene, called Pandateria by the Romans, is only 2 miles long. It is situated less than 30 miles from the Italian mainland.*





## Thoughts of home

Ovid wrote another poem while in exile, *Epistulae ex Ponto* (*Letters from the Black Sea*). In these lines he expresses his longing for Rome:

**nesciō quā nātāle solum dulcēdine cūctōs  
dūcit et inmemorēs nōn sinīt esse suī.  
quid melius Rōmā? Scythicō quid frīgore peius?**

Our native soil draws us all with some charm (I don't know what) and does not let us forget her. What is better than Rome? What is worse than Scythian cold?

*Letters from the Black Sea* 1.3.35–37

The artist Max Ernst was forced to flee from his native Germany, and later France, because the Nazis considered his art to be immoral. Living as a refugee

in the United States, and separated from his native land, Ernst painted his vision of the destruction of Europe. *Europe after the rain II* (above) was displayed in New York in 1942 as part of the 'Artists in Exile' exhibition, which collected works from various artist refugees fleeing Nazi persecution.

### QUESTION

- Look at the painting above:
  - What view of Europe is depicted here?
  - What emotions are evoked in the viewer?
- Both Max Ernst and Ovid were artists living in exile. What are the similarities and differences in the way that Ernst and Ovid reflect on their native lands?

## Language practice 1

Look back at the Language Note on page 28 and the charts on pages xxx to xxx. Then fill in the gaps below. Question **a.** is done for you.

### Perfect tense

- |           |            |                     |
|-----------|------------|---------------------|
| <b>a.</b> | vagāvērunt | they have wandered  |
| <b>b.</b> | discessī   | .....               |
| <b>c.</b> | persuāsīt  | .....               |
| <b>d.</b> | .....      | .....               |
| <b>e.</b> | .....      | you (s.) have heard |
| <b>f.</b> | .....      | .....               |

### Future perfect tense

- |              |                          |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| vagāverint   | they will have wandered  |
| discesserō   | .....                    |
| .....        | s/he will have persuaded |
| incenderimus | .....                    |
| .....        | .....                    |
| .....        | you (pl.) will have said |

# The punishment of separation

Cicero has been sent into exile, and he writes to his wife Terentia to explain his emotions at his forced separation from his family. What effect does exile have on Cicero? And how might Terentia be affected by the separation?

Cicero, *To his friends and family* 14.4

<b>Tullius</b>	Cicero's full name was Marcus Tullius Cicero
<b>Terentia</b>	Cicero's wife, Terentia
<b>Tullia</b>	Cicero's daughter, Tullia
<b>Cicerō</b>	Cicero's son, also called Cicero
<b>M. Laēnius Flaccus</b>	Marcus Laenius Flaccus
<b>Brundisium</b>	Brundisium (modern Brindisi); a port on the southeast coast of Italy; a regular departure point for ships sailing to Greece.

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) played a leading part in the violent events in the first century BC that led to the fall of the Republic. Although not born into the senatorial class, he succeeded in becoming consul. During his consulship, in 63 BC, a conspiracy to overthrow the state was uncovered. Cicero dealt swiftly with the emergency. He had the ringleaders arrested (although the leader, Catiline, escaped). He then presided at a meeting of the Senate at which he called for the conspirators to be put to death. They were executed that same evening. Although Cicero had saved the state, he had broken the law – a Roman citizen could be put to death only after appeal to the people. This proved to be a danger to him in his future political career. A political and personal enemy of Cicero, Clodius, proposed that he should be banished for putting citizens to death without trial. In 58 BC Cicero went into exile.

Cicero wrote this letter to his wife, Terentia, when he was in Brundisium, waiting for a ship that would take him to exile in Greece.

Tullius s.d. Terentiae et Tulliae et Cicerōnī suīs.

ego minus saepe dō ad vōs litterās quam possum, proptereā quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera, tum vērō, cum aut scrībō ad vōs aut vestrās legō, cōnficior lacrimīs sic ut ferre nōn possim. quod utinam minus vītāe cupidī fuissēmus! certē nihil aut nōn multum in vītā malī vīdissēmus. quod sī nōs ad aliquam alicuius commodī aliquandō recipērandī spem fortūna reservāvit, minus est errātum ā nōbīs. sī haec mala fixa sunt, ego vērō tē quam prīmum, mea vītā, cupiō vidēre et in tuō complexū ēmorī, quoniam neque dī, quōs tū castissimē coluistī, neque hominēs, quibus ego semper servīvī, nōbīs grātiā rettulērunt. 10

utinam *if only*  
 commodum *opportunity, position*  
 recipēō *I regain, recover*  
 reservō *I hold in reserve*  
 ēmorior *I die*  
 castus *pure, pious*  
 serviō *I serve*

## QUESTIONS

1. Look at lines 1–10. Pick out words and phrases in which Cicero describes his feelings. How would you describe his emotional state?
2. In lines 4–5, why does he say that he wishes he had been less keen to continue living?
3. **quod sī nōs ad aliquam alicuius commodī aliquandō recipērandī spem fortūna reservāvit** (lines 6–7): what do you think is the effect of using the words **aliquam**, **alicuius**, and **aliquandō**?

- 1 **s.d: salūtem dicit or dat:** 'sends greeting to'. This is a regular way of starting a letter.
- 2 **propterea quod:** 'because.'
- 3 **cum ... tum:** 'not only ... but also.'
- cum ... scribō ... legō:** **cum** is used with an indicative form of the verb when it refers strictly to time.  
**vestrās = vestras epistulās.**
- 4 **quod:** here introduces a wish. It could be translated as 'now' or 'but'.
- 5 **utinam ... fuissēmus:** 'I wish I had been'. In this letter, as often, Cicero uses the plural to refer to himself.
- 5-6 **nihil aut nōn multum ... malī:** 'nothing or not much (of) trouble.' **malum** here could be translated as 'trouble' or 'misfortune'.
- 6 **vīdissēmus:** 'we would have seen.'
- 6-7 **quod sī ... sī:** Cicero considers two alternatives: what might happen if his circumstances change for the better and what he will do if his situation doesn't change.
- quod sī nōs ad aliquam alicuius commodī aliquandō reciprandī spem fortūna reservāvit:** 'But if fortune has reserved for me any hope of recovering some position at some time.' **quod sī = 'but if.'**
- 7 **minus est errātum ā nōbīs:** 'my mistake was less.' Literally, 'it was mistaken less by me'. The mistake Cicero refers to is his decision to go into exile rather than kill himself.
- 8 **quam prīmum:** 'as soon as possible.'
- 9 **ēmorī = morī.**

### Language note 3: utinam + subjunctive

1. Look at this sentence:

**utinam minus vītae cupidī fuissēmus!**

*Would that we had been less desirous of life!*

In more natural English:

*We wish we had been less desirous of life!*

2. The word **utinam** introduces a wish. If the wish is for something in the past, the verb is pluperfect subjunctive. If the wish is for something in the present an imperfect subjunctive is used. If the wish is for something in the future, the verb is present subjunctive. For example:

**utinam ibi fuissem!** *I wish I had been there!*

**utinam Rōmae essēmus!** *I wish we were in Rome!*



*A marble bust of Cicero from the first half of the first century AD.*

## Cicero's host in Brundisium

nōs Brundisī apud M. Laēnium Flaccum diēs XIII fuimus, virum optimum, quī perīculum fortūnārū et capitis suī prae meā salūte neglēxit neque lēgis improbissimae poenā dēductus est quō minus hospitīi et amīcitiae iūs officiumque praestāret. huic utinam aliquandō grātiā referre possīmus! habēbimus quidem semper.

mea Terentia, fīdissima atque optima uxor, et mea cārissima filiola et spēs reliqua nostra, Cicerō, valēte. Pr. K. Māi. Brundisiō.

prae *in favor of*  
 neglegō *I neglect*  
 improbus *unjust*  
 dēducō *I deter, put off*  
 hospitium *hospitality*  
 iūs *right*  
 officium *duty, courtesy*  
 praestō *I show, provide*  
 fidus *faithful*  
 Pr. = prīdiē  
 K. = Kalendae  
 Māius *May*

15

- 12 **perīculum fortūnārū et capitis suī ... neglēxit:** 'has disregarded the danger to his own property and life.' The penalty for offering shelter or help to someone who had been exiled was confiscation of property or even death.  
**lēgis improbissimae:** Cicero is referring to the law that anyone who executed a Roman citizen without trial should be exiled. See the introduction.
- 13 **dēductus est quō minus ... praestāret:** 'has been deterred from offering.'
- 14 **iūs officiumque:** 'the right and duty.' Among the upperclass, families were connected by ties of **amicitia** ('friendship'). This meant they expected to give and receive favors. For example, a traveler would expect to be offered accommodation at the home of someone who had a tie of amicitia with his own family.
- 15 **habēbimus = grātiā habēbimus.**
- 16 **filiola:** 'my little/darling daughter.' The suffix **-ola** (masculine **-olus**), added to **filia**, expresses affection; words like this are called diminutives.

### QUESTION

What does this letter show about Cicero's relationships with his family? Pick out some words and phrases to support your ideas.



*This Roman cameo shows a hand, reaching out to pinch an ear, and would have been intended as a gift to a loved one as a memento. Above, there is another object, perhaps a knotted scarf or a diadem. The motif of the hand pinching or touching the ear as a stimulus to memory is recorded by Pliny the Elder. Surrounding the imagery, an inscription in Greek addresses a man: 'Remember me, your dear sweetheart, and fare well, Sophronios.' Without photographs, tokens like this one would have been a way to remember loved ones while they were away.*

# Cicero's return from exile

What emotions do people experience when they return home? Do they feel joy at reunions and an end to their suffering, a sense of renewed belonging, or can they now feel like strangers in their own country?

*Cicero was in exile for over a year. When he returned to Rome he gave a speech in the Senate, thanking the senators for recalling him. This extract comes from near the beginning of the speech.*

quī mihi frātre[m] optātissimū[m], mē frātrī amantissimō, liberīs nostrīs  
parentēs, nōbīs liberōs, quī dignitātem, quī ordinem, quī fortunās,  
quī amplissimam rem pūblicam, quī patriam, quā nihil potest esse  
iūcundius, quī dēnique nōsmet ipsōs nōbīs reddidistis.

optō *I desire*  
dignitās *dignity*  
ōrdō *rank*

*Cicero, In the Senate after his Return 1*

- 1 **quī:** translate as 'you', i.e. senators. Literally, '(and) you.' The relative pronoun connects this sentence to the previous one.  
**frātre[m]:** Cicero had a brother, Quintus.  
**nostrīs:** here, and later in the sentence, Cicero refers to himself in the plural.
- 2 **ordinem:** 'rank'. Cicero was demoted from the Senate when he went into exile. Now he has been restored to the senatorial order.  
**fortunās:** here = 'wealth' or 'property'. Cicero's property had been confiscated.
- 3 **quā:** 'than which', referring back to **patriam**. Ablative of comparison.
- 4 **nōsmet:** emphatic form of **nōs**.

## Style note:

## QUESTIONS

Read the sentence aloud, or listen to it being read, before answering these questions:

1. In what ways does Cicero use various kinds of repetition to emphasize his remarks?
2. What other rhetorical techniques does Cicero employ? What do you think is the effect?
3. **nōsmet ipsōs nōbīs reddidistis:** what do you think Cicero means here? (Looking back at Cicero's letter on the previous pages will help to answer this question.)



# Humans and Nature

*A fresco from Stabiae showing Flora, the goddess of Spring.*

What does it mean for humans to live in harmony with nature? And how can we understand and accept the unseen natural forces that control the world we live in?

# The Ages of Man

In Greek and Roman mythology the Ages of Man are the different stages of human existence. At the start of his *Metamorphoses* Ovid describes four ages: the Golden Age, the Silver Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. At each stage humans become more skilled and industrious, but also more greedy. What stage are we in now?

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.89–112; 116–124; 132–142

## The Golden Age

*The Golden Age of man was defined by peace. With no immortality, there was no need for laws and punishment. Humans lived in harmony with nature, foraging and collecting what she produced naturally.*

The Golden Age came first. Without any punishment, without laws, of its own accord it maintained trust and right. There was no punishment or fear, and no threatening words were read on bronze tablets. No crowd of suppliants feared the face of their judge; rather all were safe, without anyone inflicting punishment. 5

nōndum caesa suīs, peregrīnum ut vīseret orbem,  
montibus in liquidās pīnus dēscenderat undās,  
nūllaque mortālēs praeter sua lītora nōrant;  
nōndum praecipitēs cingēbant oppida fossae;  
nōn tuba dērēctī, nōn aeris cornua flexī, 10  
nōn galeae, nōn ēnsis erat: sine mīlitis ūsū  
mollia sēcūrae peragēbant ōtia gentēs.  
ipsa quoque inmūnis rāstrōque intācta nec ūllīs  
saucia vōmeribus per sē dabat omnia tellūs,

Satisfied with food that was produced without cultivation, people 15  
collected fruit from trees and mountain strawberries and wild  
cherries and blackberries clinging to tough brambles and acorns  
which had fallen from Jupiter's spreading oak tree. Spring lasted  
forever, and the gentle west winds with their warm breezes  
caressed the flowers which had been produced without seed. 20  
Soon the unplowed earth was bearing crops as well, and soil that  
had not been left fallow was white with heavy ears of corn. Rivers  
of milk were now flowing, now rivers of nectar, and yellow honey  
was dripping from the green oak tree.

## The Silver Age

*In the Silver Age the four seasons are introduced by Jupiter and as a result humans start building shelters and cultivating the earth.*

Jupiter shortened spring's old duration and divided the year 25  
 into four seasons: winter and summer, changeable autumn,  
 and brief spring. Then for the first time the air glared white,  
 burned with dry heat, and icicles hung down, frozen by the  
 winds. Then for the first time people went inside houses  
 (caves and thick bushes and branches fastened together with 30  
 bark had been their homes). Then seeds of corn were first  
 planted in long furrows, and oxen groaned, weighed down by  
 the yoke.

## The Bronze and Iron Ages

*The Bronze Age saw a new desire for warfare, followed by the Iron Age in which mankind forgot the virtues of honor and peace, and became corrupted by greed. No longer satisfied with what the earth provides, they seek things hidden beneath the ground or beyond the waves.*

vēla dabant ventīs nec adhūc bene nōverat illōs  
 nāvita, quaeque prius steterant in montibus altīs, 35  
 flūctibus ignōtīs īnsultāvēre carīnae,  
 commūnemque prius ceu lūmina sōlis et aurās  
 cautus humum longō signāvit līmite mēnsor.  
 nec tantum segetēs alimentaue dēbita dīves  
 poscēbātur humus, sed itum est in vīscera terrae, 40  
 quāsque recondiderat Stygiisque admōverat umbrīs,  
 effodiuntur opēs, inrītāmenta malōrum.  
 iamque nocēns ferrum ferrōque nocentius aurum  
 prōdierat.

### QUESTIONS

- Ovid begins his description of the Golden Age by describing what mankind did not need. Give some examples from lines 6 to 12.
- nūllaque mortālēs praeter sua lītora nōrant** (line 8). Would the world be a better place if this were true now?
- Then seeds of corn were first buried in the long furrows* (lines 31–32): why might planting crops have negative consequences for mankind?
- itum est in vīscera terrae ... effodiuntur opēs** (lines 40–42). Do you think the advantages of this activity today outweigh its disadvantages?
- Do you think there has ever been a Golden Age in human history? Or in the history of the planet before humans? Could there be a Golden Age in the future?

# Exploiting the earth

Underneath the surface of the earth the Romans found metals and gems, as we still do now. To what extent do you think Roman society was dependent on materials dug out of the ground? To what extent is ours?

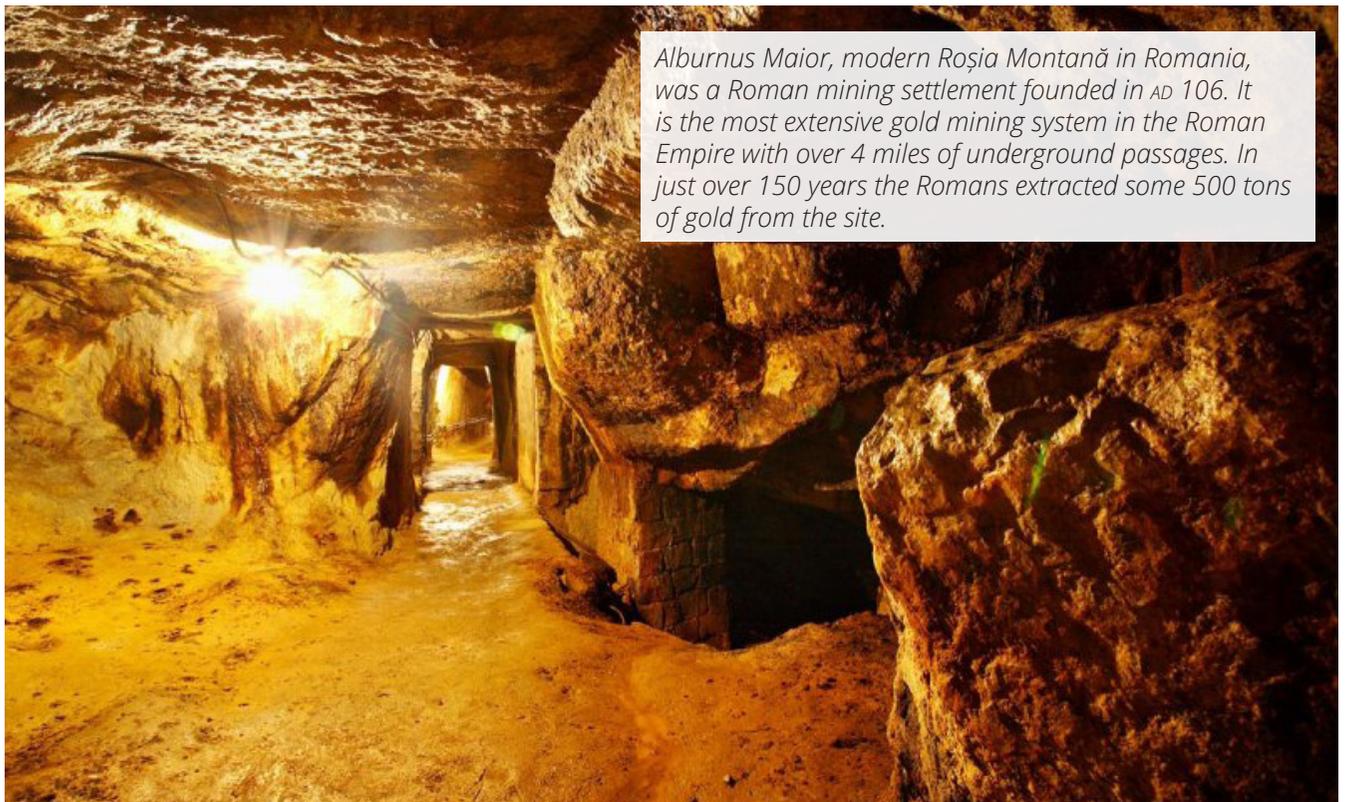
My subject now will be metals – real wealth and the standard of payment for commodities. These resources are carefully sought inside the earth in a variety of ways.

alibī dīvitīis foditur quaerente vītā aurum, argentum, ēlectrum, aes, alibī  
dēliciīs gemmās et parietum lignōrumque pigmenta, alibī temeritātī 5  
ferrum, aurō etiam grātius inter bella caedēsque. persequimur omnēs  
eius fibrās vīvimusque super excavātam, mīrantēs dēhīscere aliquandō  
aut intremēscere illam, ceu vērō nōn hōc indignātiōne sacrae parentis  
exprimī possit. īmus in vīscera et in sēde Mānium opēs quaerimus,  
tamquam parum benignā fertilīque qua calcātur. 10

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 33.1

## QUESTIONS

1. What uses for metals and gems does Pliny list, and what do you think his opinion of them is?
2. How does Pliny show that he disapproves of extensive mining? Pick out words and phrases that demonstrate his disapproval.



*Alburnus Maior, modern Roșia Montană in Romania, was a Roman mining settlement founded in AD 106. It is the most extensive gold mining system in the Roman Empire with over 4 miles of underground passages. In just over 150 years the Romans extracted some 500 tons of gold from the site.*

# Man cultivates nature

Can humans work with nature, to amplify its resources and allow both humans and nature to thrive? Lucretius explains how humans first discovered how to cultivate the land, and how the landscape changed as a result.

## The origins of agriculture

But first Nature herself, the creator of things (**rĕrum nĕtura creĕtrĭx**), was the model for sowing seeds and the origin of grafting, since the berries and acorns that fell from the trees put forth below masses of shoots in season. From nature men also learned to graft shoots to branches and to dig new cuttings into the earth in the fields. Then they began to try out one method after another of cultivating their beloved little farms 5 and they saw that, with care and kind attention, wild fruits became mild in the earth.

inque diēs magis in montem succĕdere silvās  
cōgĕbant īnfrāque locum concĕdere cultīs,  
prāta lacūs rĭvōs segetēs vĭnĕtaque laeta  
collibus et campīs ut habĕrent, atque oleārū  
caerula distinguēns inter plaga currere posset  
per tumulōs et convallēs campōsque profūsa.

10

You see that now all the countryside is patterned with varied beauty. Men decorate the land by planting sweet fruit trees here and there, and they mark boundaries with hedges of fertile bushes. 15

Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* 5.1361–1378

This wall painting is from the House of the Centenary in Pompeii. It shows Bacchus, the god of wine, wearing a bunch of grapes. Behind him stands Mount Vesuvius, its slopes covered in vineyards. Before the eruption of the volcano, Mount Vesuvius had long been cultivated for producing wine and other crops. In fact, the volcanic ash that had spread across the land in previous eruptions was high in nutrients that made the soil fertile. These included zinc, chlorine, iron, cobalt, nitrogen, and boron.



# The works of man

*In this passage Cicero praises the hands which nature has given to man and details the fruits of man's labor, listing the many ways in which humans have learned to tame nature for their own benefit.*

Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 2.60

illa necessitātis, cultus dīcō agrōrum extrūctiōnēsque tēctōrum, tegumenta corporum vel texta vel sūta omnemque fabricam aeris et ferrī; ex quō intellegitur ad inventa animō percepta sēnsibus adhibitīs opificum manibus omnia nōs cōnsecūtōs, ut tēctī ut vestītī ut salvī esse possēmus, urbēs mūrōs domicilia dēlūbra habērēmus.

5

## Finding and storing food

iam vērō operibus hominum id est manibus cibī etiam varietās invenītur et cōpia. nam et agrī multa efferunt manū quaesīta, quae vel statim cōnsūmantur vel mandentur condita vetustātī.

## Making use of other animals

et praetereā vēscimur bēstiīs et terrēnīs et aquātilibus et volantibus partim capiendō partim alendō. efficimus etiam domitū nostrō quadripedum vectiōnēs, quōrum celeritās atque vīs nōbīs ipsīs adfert vim et celeritātem. nōs onera quibusdam bēstiīs nōs iuga inpōnimus; nōs elephantōrum acūtissimīs sēnsibus nōs sagācitāte canum ad ūtilitātem nostram abūtimur.

10

## Obtaining natural resources

nōs ē terrae cavernīs ferrum ēlicimus rem ad colendōs agrōs necessāriam, nōs aeris argentī aurī vēnās penitus abditās invenīmus et ad ūsum aptās et ad ōrnātum decōrās. arborum autem cōnfectiōne omnīque māteriā et cultā et silvestrī partim ad calficiendum corpus ignī adhibitō et ad mītigandum cibum ūtimur, partim ad aedificandum, ut tēctīs saeptī frīgora calōrēsque pellāmus; magnōs vērō ūsūs adfert ad nāvīgia faciēda, quōrum cursibus suppeditantur omnēs undique ad vītā cōpia.

15

20

## Taming nature

quāsque rēs violentissimās nātūra genuit eārum moderātiōnem nōs sōlī habēmus, maris atque ventōrum, propter nauticārum rērum scientiam, plūrimisque maritimīs rēbus fruimur atque ūtimur. terrēnōrum item commodōrum omnis est in homine dominātus: nōs campīs nōs montibus fruimur, nostrī sunt amnēs nostrī lacūs, nōs frūgēs serimus nōs arborēs; nōs aquārum inductiōnibus terrīs fēcunditātem damus, nōs flūmina arcēmus dērigimus āvertimus; nostrīs dēnique manibus in rērum nātūrā quasi alteram nātūram efficere cōnāmur. 25

### DISCUSSION

Look back at the passages from Pliny (p. 50), Lucretius (p. 51) and Cicero (pp. 52–53). To what extent do these authors agree on how natural it is for humans to control and benefit from their environment?

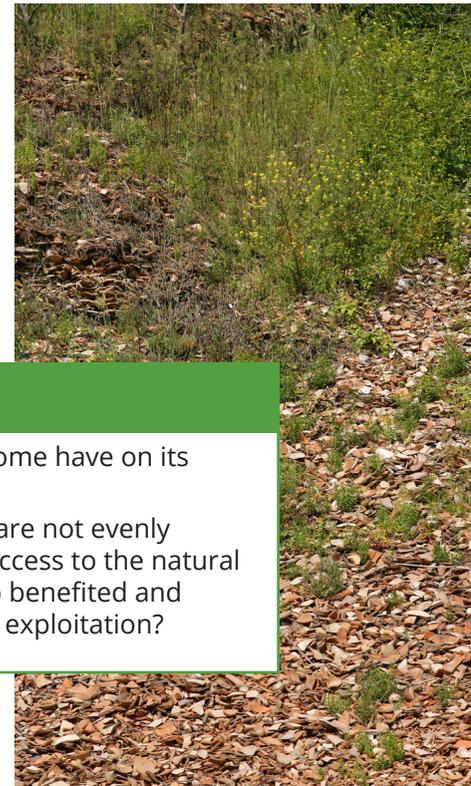
## Humans and natural resources

The existence of Roman civilization relied on the land. All production, both agricultural and artisanal, depended on what humans could grow from the soil, take from the sea, or extract from below the surface. The increased industrialization of the Roman Empire saw a growing demand for many resources. Wood, for example, was needed for construction and shipbuilding, but also as a fuel, not just for private use inside homes but on a vast scale in industry to smelt metal ores in the mining process, in metalworking, ceramics, and glass production. During the imperial period the demand for energy-packed charcoal (the black residue left after burning wood) to heat the baths was so great that the slopes of the Apennine mountains were almost completely stripped of trees.

Pliny the Elder condemned this overuse of natural resources, blaming man's abuse of the environment on his desire for luxury, something that is mirrored in Ovid's progression of the Ages of Man. He also accused mankind of poisoning his natural environment. The smelting of gold and silver ore released lead, which contaminated the surrounding soil and water reserves.

Other than a few critics, there is little evidence that the Romans were concerned at the depletion of natural resources or that they made any attempt to restore the natural balance. Generally, if they could no longer source the materials they needed locally, they imported them from further away.

Along the Tiber river in Rome stands an artificial hill made almost entirely of broken amphorae which had been imported to Rome containing olive oil. In modern times this hill has been given the name Monte Testaccio. Because they had been contaminated by the smell of the oil, they were not worth recycling or reusing and so were dumped on this waste heap. The scale was enormous: estimates of the total number of amphorae making up Monte Testaccio range from 30 to 50 million. It was not, however, without thought; broken shards were layered carefully to prevent landslides, and limestone was added to stop the oil soaked into the amphorae going rancid.



### QUESTIONS

1. What impact did Rome have on its environment?
2. Natural resources are not evenly spread. Who had access to the natural resources and who benefited and profited from their exploitation?

## Humans and animals

The passages on this spread show some examples of how the Romans captured and exhibited wild animals as a display of their power and wealth. How do the authors on these pages write about the animals?

*Pliny writes a letter to his friend Maximus in Verona, praising him for putting on games for his wife's funeral, and commiserating with him because the animals he had ordered did not arrive in time.*

rēctē fēcistī quod gladiātōrium mūnus Vērōnēnsibus nostrīs prōmīsistī, ā  
quibus ōlim amāris suspiceris ōrnāris. inde etiam uxōrem cārissimam tibi et  
probātissimam habuistī, cuius memoriae aut opus aliquod aut spectāculum atque  
hoc potissimum, quod maximē fūnerī, dēbēbātur.

Moreover, the request was made to you with the agreement of so many people that to  
refuse seemed harsh rather than firm. And your conduct has been outstanding in this  
way too: in giving the show, you have been so ready and so generous. For greatness of  
character is displayed in these actions too.

5

vellem Āfricānae, quās coēmerās plūrimās, ad praefinītum diem occurrissent: sed  
licet cessāverint illae tempestāte dētentae, tū tamen meruistī ut acceptum tibi  
fieret, quod quōminus exhibērēs, nōn per tē stetit. valē.

10

Pliny, *Letters* 6.34

*In his letters while governor of Cilicia (in southern Asia Minor), Cicero writes regularly about leopards, a very sought after export of the region. In this letter he is replying to one of the many requests from Marcus Caelius Rufus, an aedile in Rome, who had begged him repeatedly to provide leopards for the games he was putting on.*

dē panthērīs per eōs quī vēnārī solent agitur mandātū meō  
dīligerter. sed mīra paucitās est, et eās quae sunt valdē aiunt  
querī quod nihil cuiquam īnsidiārum in meā prōvinciā nisi sibi  
fiat. itaque cōstituisse dīcuntur in Cāriam ex nostrā prōvinciā  
dēcēdere. sed tamen sēdulō fit et in prīmīs ā Patiscō. quicquid erit,  
tibi erit; sed quid esset plānē nesciēbāmus.

Cicero, *To his friends and family* 2.11



5

*This small statuette of a leopard is only about 2 inches wide. It is made of bronze, and the spots would have been inlaid with copper.*

Martial's 'On the Spectacles' is a collection of epigrams celebrating the shows held at the newly completed Colosseum, and praising Emperor Titus. In this short epigram he describes an elephant's reaction to the Emperor.

quod pius et supplex elephās tē, Caesar, adōrat  
 hic modo quī taurō tam metuendus erat,  
 nōn facit hoc iussus, nūllō docente magistrō;  
 crēde mihi, nostrum sentit et ille deum.

Martial, *On the Spectacles* 17

## Capturing animals

Marcus Caelius Rufus would have been sorely disappointed by Cicero's reply to his request. He needed the leopards in order to put on a good show and gain political popularity. He says in another letter that his opponent Curio had already sourced many exotic animals from the provinces; he would have no chance in winning the voters' support if he too couldn't provide a decent spectacle. During the Republic spectacles featuring both local and exotic animals were an important part of Roman culture. Obtaining wild animals – wild animals were viewed as far superior to those which had been purposefully bred – was an ostentatious display of power and wealth by the patron to the people.

During the Principate these displays of generosity by the emperor became more lavish and grew in scale. Augustus wrote in his autobiographical *Rēs Gestae Divī Augustī* (*Deeds of the Divine Augustus*) that during his reign he had 3,500 African animals brought to Rome and killed for entertainment. About 55 years later in AD 70, when Emperor Titus inaugurated the new Colosseum he brought in

5,000 wild beasts. And in AD 108 Emperor Trajan, to celebrate his victory over the Dacians, put on games which lasted for 120 days and in which some 11,000 animals were killed in the arena.

The scale of the importation and slaughter of these wild animals was immense. If the numbers found in literary sources, such as those above, can be believed, the Roman desire to see wild beasts hunted in public spectacles will have impacted on the numbers of these animals in the wild. The overhunting and trafficking of these animals to supply demand may have caused the migration or annihilation of certain species from North Africa, as Ammianus writes about the hippopotamus:

This monstrous and once rare kind of beast the Roman people first saw when Scaurus was aedile\*; and for many ages after that more hippopotami were often brought to Rome. But now they can not be found anywhere, since, as the inhabitants of those regions suppose, they were forced from weariness of the multitude that hunted them to take refuge in the land of the Blemmyae\*\*.

\* 58 BC.

\*\* The Blemmyae were an Ethiopian people who lived south of Egypt.

*A mosaic from Veii in Italy showing an elephant being loaded on to a ship.*



# Natural disasters

## The earthquake of AD 17

Humans have always been confronted with natural disasters. Every year lands are devastated by floods, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions. These two passages look at the effects of various natural disasters in the ancient world and some of the ways the Romans explained them.

*Tacitus' description of the earthquake of AD 17 in the region of Lydia in the province of Asia Minor.*

eōdem annō duodecim celebrēs Asiae urbēs conlāpsae nocturnō mōtū terrae, quō imprōvisior graviorque pestis fuit. neque solitum in tālī cāsū effugium subveniēbat in aperta prōrumpendī, quia dīductīs terrīs hauriēbantur. sēdisse inmēnsōs montēs, vīsa in arduō quae plāna fuerint, effulsisse inter ruīnam ignēs memorant. asperrima in Sardiānōs luēs plūrimum in eōsdem misericordiae trāxit.

5

Tacitus, *Annals* 2.47

*Location of some of the affected towns and cities in Asia Minor.*



The earthquake of AD 17 caused the destruction of many towns in Asia Minor. In response, Emperor Tiberius suspended taxes due from some of these cities for five years. In addition, he sent extra funds to help pay for the restoration of the region.

This coin (*below*), minted in Rome in AD 22–23, shows the seated Tiberius. Around him is inscribed:

**CIVITATIBVS ASIAE RESTITVTIS**

*The cities of Asia re-established*

On the obverse is printed S C: Senatus Consultu 'by decree of the Senate'. Around this is the legend:

**TI CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTVS P M TR POT XXIII**

*Tiberius Caesar, Divi Augusti Filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiae Potestatis 24*



## The earthquake and tsunami of AD 365

*In this passage Ammianus describes the earthquake and following tsunami of AD 365. The gigantic wave devastated Alexandria and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.*

paulō enim post lūcis exortum, dēnsitāte praevia fulgurum ācrius vibrātōrum, tremefacta concutitur omnis terrēnī stabilitas ponderis, mareque dispulsum, retrō flūctibus ēvolūtīs abscessit, ut retēctā vorāgine profundōrum, speciēs natantium multifōrmēs līmō cernerentur haerentēs, valliumque vastitātēs et montium tunc (ut opīnārī dabātur), suspicerent radiōs sōlis, quōs p̄migenia rērum nātūra sub immēnsīs gurgitibus āmendāvit. 5

multīs igitur nāvibus velut āridā humō cōnexīs, et licenter per exiguās undārum reliquiās pālantibus plūrimīs, ut piscēs manibus colligerent et similia: marīnī fremitūs velut gravātī repulsam, versā vice cōnsurgunt, perque vada ferventia īnsulīs et continentis terrae porrēctīs spatiīs violenter illīsī, innumera quaedam in cīvitatibus, et ubi reperta sunt aedificia, complānārunt: proinde ut elementōrum furente discordiā, involūta faciēs mundī, mīrāculōrum speciēs ostendēbat. 10

relāpsa enim aequōrum magnitūdō cum minimē spērārētur, mīlia multa necāvit hominum et submersit, recurrentiumque aestuum incitātā vertīgine, quaedam nāvēs, postquam ūmentis substantiae cōsensuit tumor, pessum datae vīsaē sunt, exanimātaque naufragiīs corpora supīna iacēbant aut prōna. 15

ingentēs aliae nāvēs, extrūsae ravidīs flātibus, culminibus īnsēdēre tēctōrum (ut Alexandriāe contigit) et ad secundum lapidem ferē procul ā lītore contortae sunt aliquae, ut Lacōnicam prope Mothonen oppidum nōs trānseundō cōnspeimus, diuturnā cariē fatīscentem. 20

*Ammianus, History 26.10.16–19*

### QUESTIONS

1. What were the effects of the earthquakes described by Tacitus and Ammianus?
2. How do Tacitus and Ammianus emphasize the horrors of the natural disasters they describe?

# Mount Etna

Vergil, in his epic narrative the *Aeneid*, and Lucretius, in his philosophical treatise *On the Nature of Things*, both describe the natural phenomena observed at Mount Etna, the volcano on the island of Sicily. Lucretius and Vergil both lived before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, when knowledge of volcanic activity was limited. How does each explain the behavior of Mount Etna?

Īnsula Sĭcanium iuxtā latus Aeoliamque  
 ērigitur Liparēn, fūmantibus ardua saxīs,  
 quam subter specus et Cyclōpum exēsa camīnīs  
 antra Aetnaea tonant validīque incūdibus ictūs  
 audītī referunt gemitūs strīduntque cavernīs  
 strictūrae Chalybum et fornācibus ignis anhēlat,  
 Volcānī domus et Volcānia nōmine tellūs.  
 hōc tunc ignipotēns caelō dēscendit ab altō.  
 ferrum exercēbant vastō Cŷclōpes in antrō,  
 Brontēsque Steropēsque et nūdus membra Pyragmōn. 5  
 hīs ĩnfōrmātum manibus iam parte polītā  
 fulmen erat, tōtō genitor quae plūrima caelō  
 dēicit in terrās, pars imperfecta manēbat. 10

Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.416–432

nunc tamen illa modīs quibus irrītāta repente  
 flamma forās vastīs Aetnae fornācibus efflet,  
 expediam. prīmum tōtīus subcava montis  
 est nātūra, ferē silicum suffulta cavernīs.  
 omnibus est porrō in spēluncīs ventus et āēr. 5  
 ventus enim fit, ubi est agitandō percitus āēr.  
 hīc ubi percaluit calefēcitque omnia circum  
 saxa furēns, quā contingit, terramque, et ab ollīs  
 excussit calidum flammīs vēlōcibus ignem,  
 tollit sē ac rēctīs ita faucibus ēicit altē. 10  
 fert itaque ārdōrem longē longēque favillam  
 differt et crassā volvit cālīgine fūmum  
 extrūditque simul mīrandō pondere saxa.  
 nē dubitēs quīn haec animāi turbida sit vīs.

Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* 6.680–93

A recent photo of lava pouring from Mount Etna in Sicily. It is one of the world's most active volcanoes.



## QUESTIONS

1. Why do you think the two sources differ in their explanations of the phenomena observed at Mount Etna?
2. Choose one of the two passages. How does the author use language to express the power of nature at Mount Etna?

# What are the causes of natural disasters?

Humans often try to explain natural disasters using mythology and attributing the cause in part to the displeasure of the gods. Why might people in the ancient world have invented stories and myths to explain the phenomena? What does Seneca encourage people to do instead?

*Seneca wrote this part of his 'Natural Questions' in the aftermath of the earthquake at Pompeii in AD 62. His aim is to assuage people's fear by trying to persuade his readers to view earthquakes as natural occurrences, not anomalies to be dreaded.*

illud quoque prōderit praesūmere animō, nihil hōrum deōs facere, nec irā  
nūminum aut caelum concutī aut terram: suās ista causās habent.

nōbīs autem ignōrantibus vērum omnia terribiliōra sunt, utique quōrum  
metum rāritās auget: leuius accidunt familiāria, at ex īnsolitō formīdō maior est.  
quārē autem quicquam nōbīs īnsolitum est? quia nātūram oculīs, nōn ratiōne,  
comprehendimus nec cōgitāmus quid illa facere possit, sed tantum quid fēcerit.  
damus itaque huius neglegentiae poenās tamquam novīs territī, cum illa nōn sint  
nova sed īnsolita.

5

quid ergō? nōn religiōnem incutit mentibus, et quidem pūblicē, sīve dēficere sōl  
vīsus est, sīve lūna, cuius obscurātiō frequentior, aut parte suī aut tōta dēlituit?  
longēque magis illa, actae in trānsversum facēs et caelī magna pars ārdēns et  
crīnīta sīdera et plūrēs sōlis orbēs et stēllae per diem vīsae subitīque trānscursūs  
igniū multam post sē lūcem trahentium? nihil hōrum sine timōre mīrāmur: et  
cum timendī sit causa nescīre, nōn est tantī scīre, nē timeās?

10

Seneca, *Natural Questions* 6.3

## DISCUSSION

How do you think religion or science can offer comfort to people who are the victims of natural disasters?

# Human response to natural disasters



This relief from the house of Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeii shows a scene from the AD 62 earthquake. The building in the center-left is thought to be the Temple of Jupiter from the Forum of Pompeii.

## Turning to the gods

In a society without any accepted scientific explanation for the natural disasters which occurred, many affected by the devastation these events caused turned to religion. Religion, both state-controlled and private worship, was pervasive in everyday life. It was therefore normal to associate the phenomena with the divine. Seeing natural disasters as a result of a disturbance of *pāx deōrum* also offered guidance on how to react to the devastation: to ameliorate the situation by placating the gods.

The relief on the lararium from the house of Caecilius Iucundus (above) shows scenes from the AD 62 earthquake at Pompeii, depicting certain recognizable monuments. For the survivors who erected this monument to their household gods in the aftermath of the quake it would act as a daily reminder of their gratitude to the gods for saving them. In continuing to tend to the Lares and maintain peaceful relations with the gods, they could hope to escape another disaster.

Tacitus also mentions the earthquake at Pompeii when describing certain bad omens for Nero's reign. He wrote:

In the same year the gymnasium was struck by lightning and burned down, and a statue of Nero inside was melted into a shapeless mass of bronze. Moreover, a large part of the busy town of Pompeii in Campania was destroyed by an earthquake.

## Turning to science

In *Natural Questions* Seneca addresses the response to the same earthquake in Pompeii. He offers various explanations for the cause of the earthquake, building on works of previous authors. In this way he aims to dispel fear in the disaster by rationalizing the causes of earthquakes, trying to persuade the reader to view earthquakes as natural anomalies which cannot be evaded or prevented. By allowing scientific reason and investigation to prevail over superstition, he works to free the reader from fear.

## Earthquake legends from other civilizations

Other civilizations around the world also attribute earthquakes and other natural disasters to divine or invisible forces. Some consider earthquakes or volcanoes to be a warning sent to mankind, or a punishment for their sins. Other cultures do not view such occurrences as destructive, and instead celebrate them. This is particularly the case for volcanic eruptions since they emit ash, which greatly enriches the soil and nourishes the crops.

The widely differing views offered by traditional myths and scientific explanations can often produce scepticism on both sides.

### RESEARCH

Find out about a myth from another culture which explains the causes of volcanoes or earthquakes. For example: India, Japan, Hawaii, or New Zealand.

# The eruption of Mount Vesuvius

*In a previous letter to the historian Tacitus, Pliny the Younger wrote that he had been at Misenum along with his mother and uncle, the elder Pliny, when they saw a strange cloud rising from the distant Mount Vesuvius. Pliny the Elder decided to investigate this scientific phenomenon, although his expedition soon turned into a rescue mission once he received a letter from a terrified friend living in the vicinity of the mountain. Pliny the Younger remained behind and in this letter to Tacitus he recounts his own actions at Misenum, as he first tried to reassure his mother, and then made the decision to leave the house and seek a safer refuge. The eruption is thought to have taken place in the autumn of AD 79*

vix cōsiderāmus, et nox – nōn quālis illūnis aut nūbila, sed quālis in locīs clausīs  
lūmine exstinctō. audirēs ululātūs fēminārum, infāntum quirītātūs, clāmōrēs  
virōrum; aliī parentēs aliī līberōs aliī coniugēs vōcibus requirēbant, vōcibus  
nōscitābant; hī suum cāsū, illī suōrum miserābantur; erant quī metū mortis  
mortem precārentur; multī ad deōs manūs tollere, plūrēs nusquam iam deōs ūllōs  
aeternamque illam et novissimam noctem mundō interpretābantur. nec dēfuērunt  
quī fictīs mentītīsque terrōribus vēra perīcula augērent.

Pliny, *Letters* 6.20

*'Vesuvius' was created by Andy Warhol in 1985. It was one of a series of sixteen paintings of the same subject, each rendered in different bright hues. They were created for his solo exhibition at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples.*



# The limits of human nature

Are there certain things that humans cannot and should not do? There are lots of things that humans do now which are not natural, is there any limit to what we should try to do?

*Daedalus was an Athenian inventor and craftsman. In a fit of jealous rage he had pushed his nephew, who was his apprentice, off the Acropolis, and as a punishment he was banished to Crete. There he was welcomed by King Minos, who had heard of Daedalus' ingenuity and skill. After Minos' wife had become impregnated by a bull and given birth to the Minotaur, Daedalus was tasked with constructing the Labyrinth, a prison of twisting passageways from which the monster could not escape. Theseus, an Athenian prince, was sent to Athens as a sacrifice for the Minotaur. With the help of Minos' daughter Ariadne, he killed the Minotaur and escaped from the Labyrinth, sailing away with Ariadne. Minos, enraged by his failure, imprisoned Daedalus and his son Icarus in a tall tower, from which Daedalus was planning to escape.*

## Daedalus creates the wings

Daedalus intereā Crētēn longumque perōsus  
 exsilium tāctusque locī nātālis amōre  
 clausus erat pelagō. 'terrās licet' inquit 'et undās  
 obstruat: at caelum certē patet; ībimus illāc.  
 omnia possideat, nōn possidet āera Mīnōs.'  
 dīxit et ignōtās animum dīmīttit in artēs  
 nātūramque novat. nam pōnit in ōrdine pennās,  
 ā minimā coeptās, longam breviōre sequentī,  
 ut clīvō crēvisse putēs. sīc rūstica quondam  
 fistula disparibus paulātim surgit avēnīs.  
 tum līnō mediās et cērīs adligat īmās,  
 atque ita compositās parvō curvāmine flectit,  
 ut vērās imitētur avēs. puer Īcarus ūnā  
 stābat et, ignārus sua sē tractāre perīcla,  
 ōre renīdentī modo, quās vaga mōverat aura,  
 captābat plūmās, flāvam modo pollice cēram  
 mollībat lūsūque suō mīrābile patris  
 impediēbat opus. postquam manus ultima coeptō  
 imposita est, geminās opifex librāvit in ālās  
 ipse suum corpus mōtāque pendit in aurā.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.183–235

5

10

15

20



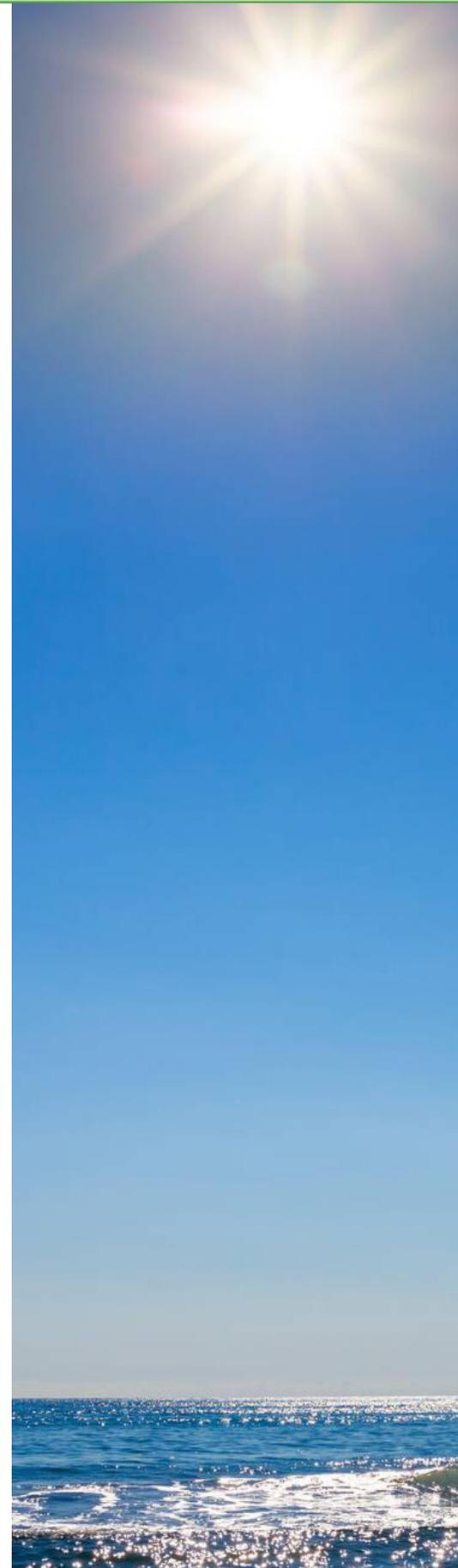
*A marble relief showing the craftsman Daedalus fashioning and fitting wings for his son Icarus.*

## Daedalus gives his son a warning

Instruit et nātum 'mediō' que 'ut līmite currās,  
 Īcare,' ait 'moneō, nē, sī dēmissior ībis,  
 unda gravet pennās, sī celsior, ignis adūrat.  
 inter utrumque volā. nec tē spectāre Boōtēn  
 aut Helicēn iubeō strictumque Ōrīōnis ēnsem: 25  
 mē duce carpe viam.' pariter praecepta volandī  
 trādit et ignōtās umerīs accommodat ālās.  
 inter opus monitūsque genae maduēre senīlēs,  
 et patriae tremuēre manūs. dedit ōscula nātō  
 nōn iterum repetenda suō, pennīsque levātus 30  
 ante volat comitīque timet, velut āles, ab altō  
 quae teneram prōlem prōdūxit in āera nīdō,  
 hortāturque sequī damnōsāsque ērudit artēs  
 et movet ipse suās et natī respicit ālās.

## Daedalus and Icarus take flight

hōs aliquis tremulā dum captat harundine piscēs, 35  
 aut pāstor baculō stīvāve innīxus arātor  
 vīdit et obstipuit, quīque aethera carpere possent  
 crēdidit esse deōs. et iam lūnōnia laevā  
 parte Samos (fuerant Dēlosque Parosque relictāe),  
 dextra Lebinthos erat fēcundaque melle Calymnē, 40  
 cum puer audācī coepit gaudēre volātū  
 dēseruitque ducem caelīque cupīdine tractus  
 altius ēgit iter. rapidī vīcīnia sōlis  
 mollit odōrātās, pennārum vincula, cērās.  
 tābuerant cērae: nūdōs quatit ille lacertōs, 45  
 rēmigiōque carēns nōn ūllās percipit aurās,  
 ōraque caeruleā patrium clāmantia nōmen  
 excipiuntur aquā: quae nōmen trāxit ab illō.



## Icarus' fate

at pater infēlix, nec iam pater, 'Icare,' dīxit,  
 'Icare,' dīxit 'ubi es? quā tē regiōne requīram?'  
 'Icare' dīcēbat: pennās adspexit in undīs  
 dēvōitque suās artēs corpusque sepulcrō  
 condidit, et tellūs ā nōmine dicta sepultī.

50

### QUESTIONS

1. From your reading of Ovid's poem, who or what do you think is to blame for Icarus' death?
2. Is Ovid's telling of the Daedalus and Icarus story critical of the characters or sympathetic towards them?
3. What techniques has Ovid used as a poet to bring this story to life for his readers?



*Henri Matisse created 'Icarus' in 1947 by cutting out colored paper and building a collage. The design was then printed.*



## Landscape with the Fall of Icarus

According to Brueghel  
when Icarus fell  
it was spring

a farmer was ploughing  
his field  
the whole pageantry

of the year was  
awake tingling  
near

the edge of the sea  
concerned  
with itself

sweating in the sun  
that melted  
the wings' wax

unsignificantly  
off the coast  
there was

a splash quite unnoticed  
this was  
Icarus drowning

William Carlos Williams (1883-1963)

The myth of the escape of Daedalus and Icarus, and Ovid's retelling of it, has inspired many artists. *Landscape with the Fall of Icarus* (above) was painted in around 1560. It was thought to be by the Dutch Renaissance painter Pieter Bruegel the Elder, but recent analysis has led some experts to believe it to be a copy by an unknown artist.

William Carlos Williams was a twentieth century American poet who wrote in free form verse. The poem he wrote in response to Bruegel's painting was published in his last book, *Pictures from Brueghel and Other Poems*, which, among other works, included ten poems, each based on a painting by Bruegel.

The subject of many of Bruegel's paintings were peasants and the ordinary people. As in the painting above, the supposed subject is often hard to spot in the composition, and the focus is instead given to normal, daily life.

### QUESTIONS

1. The plowman, the shepherd, and the fisherman are all mentioned in Ovid's account. Ovid says they believe what they are seeing to be gods flying in the the air. Is this the impression given in the painting?
2. Bruegel did not make Icarus' fall the focus of his composition. Why do you think Bruegel presented the scene in this way?





