

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
Brigham Young University

Classical Series

THE AENEID OF VIRGIL

Books I-VI

873.1
4263p
v1

THE AENEID OF VIRGIL

Books I-VI

EDITED

With Introduction and Notes

BY

T. E. PAGE, M.A.

Formerly Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge
Assistant Master at Charterhouse

MACMILLAN

London · Melbourne · Toronto

ST MARTIN'S PRESS

New York

1967

*This book is copyright in all countries which
are signatories to the Berne Convention*

—
First Edition 1894

*Reprinted 1902, 1906, 1910, 1914, 1920, 1923, 1926, 1931
1938, 1944, 1951, 1955, 1957, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1967*

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY LIMITED
Little Essex Street London WC2
also Bombay Calcutta Madras Melbourne

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA LIMITED
70 Bond Street Toronto 2

ST MARTIN'S PRESS INC
175 Fifth Avenue New York NY 10010

THE LIBRARY
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
PROVO, UTAH

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

INTRODUCTION

P. VERGILIUS¹ MARO was born Oct. 15, B.C. 70, at Andes, a small village near Mantua in Cisalpine Gaul, five years before Horace and seven before C. Octavius, who later, under the names of Octavian and Augustus, was destined to become his great patron. His father was a yeoman, and cultivated a small farm of his own. The boy was educated at Cremona and Mediolanum (Milan), and is said to have subsequently studied at Neapolis (Naples) under Parthenius of Bithynia, from whom he learnt Greek, and at Rome under Siron, an Epicurean philosopher, and Epidius, a rhetorician. His works afford ample evidence of his wide reading, and he certainly merits the epithet of *doctus* to which all the poets of his age aspired ;² a noble passage in the Georgics (2. 475-492) expresses his deep admiration for scientific and philosophic study, while throughout the Aeneid, and especially in the speeches of the fourth and eleventh Books, there are marked traces of

¹ The spelling *Virgilius* is wrong ; but as an English word it seems pedantic to alter 'Virgil,' established as it is by a long literary tradition.

² Ellis, Cat. 35. 16 n.

that rhetorical training which has left such a profound impress on the literature of the succeeding century.

On completing his education he seems to have returned home, and some of the minor poems ascribed to him—*Ciris*, *Copa*, *Culex*, *Dirae*, *Moretum*—may be in reality youthful attempts of his composed during this period. Our first certain knowledge, however, of his poetic career begins in B.C. 42, when, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, the Roman world passed into the hands of the triumvirs Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus. They had promised their victorious veterans the lands of eighteen cities in Italy, among which was Cremona, and subsequently it became necessary to include the neighbouring district of Mantua.¹ Virgil's father was threatened with the loss of his farm,² but the youthful poet had secured the favour of C. Asinius Pollio, governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and of L. Alfenus Varus, his successor (B.C. 41), whose assistance he invokes in the sixth Eclogue. Pollio, himself a scholar and poet,³ accepted the dedication of his earliest Eclogues,⁴ and secured for him an introduction to Octavian at Rome,⁵ as a result of which he obtained the restoration of the farm. His gratitude to the youthful triumvir finds expression in the Eclogue which he prefixed to the others, and which now stands at their head.

¹ Ecl. 9. 28 *Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae.*

² The date of this is usually given as 41 B.C., but a year or two later (say B.C. 39) seems more probable: see *Class. Rev.* vi. p. 450.

³ Hor. Od. 2. 1.

⁴ Ecl. 8. 11 *a te principium.*

⁵ Schol. Dan. on Ecl. 9. 10 *carmina quibus sibi Pollionem intercessorem apud Augustum conciliaverat*

From this time Virgil lived at Rome or Naples enjoying the bounty and friendship of the Emperor and forming part of the select circle of distinguished men, which his minister Maecenas—the great literary patron of the day—gathered round him in his mansion on the Esquiline. It was at the request of Maecenas¹ that he composed the four Books of the Georgics, written between 37 B.C. and 30 B.C., and dedicated to him.² We know little of his life, but it was he who introduced Horace to Maecenas,³ and in Horace's writings we catch an occasional glimpse of him, notably in the description of the famous 'journey to Brundisium' (38 B.C.), when he joined the party of Maecenas at Sinuessa, and, along with Plotius and Varius, is classed by his brother-poet in a memorable phrase among 'the fairest souls and dearest friends on earth,'⁴ while on another occasion Horace makes his starting for a tour in Greece the occasion for an Ode, in which he prays that the ship which bears so dear a trust may restore it safe to the shores of Italy, 'and preserve the half of my life.'⁵

In the opening lines of the third Georgic Virgil had already announced his intention of attempting a loftier theme and producing a great national epic, of which Augustus should be the central figure,⁶ and the Emperor

¹ Georg. 3. 40 *Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur | intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.*

² Georg. 1. 2.

³ Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 54 *optimus olim | Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.*

⁴ Sat. 1. 5. 41 *animae, quales neque candidiores | terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior a'ter.*

⁵ Od. 1. 3. 8 *et servas animae dimidium meae.* Those who choose can suppose that there were two Virgils thus dear to Horace.

⁶ Georg. 3. 16 *in medio mihi Caesar erit.*

himself is said to have written to him from Spain (B.C. 27) encouraging him to publish the poem, which he was known to have in hand, and which Propertius a year or two later heralds as 'something greater than the Iliad.'¹ While he was engaged on its composition in B.C. 23, Marcellus, the nephew and destined heir of Augustus, died, and Virgil introduced into the sixth Book the famous passage (860-887) in which he is described, and of which the story is told that when the poet recited it in the presence of Octavia, the bereaved mother fainted away.² In B.C. 20 he visited Greece and met Augustus, who was returning from Samos, at Athens, whence he accompanied him homewards, but his health, which had been long weak, broke down, and he died at Brundisium Sept. 22, B.C. 19.

He was buried at Naples on the road which leads to Puteoli. The inscription said to have been inscribed on his tomb refers to the places of his birth, death, and burial, and to the subjects of his three great works :

*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope : cecini pascua, rura, duces.*

Virgil was largely read in his own day, and his works, like those of Horace, at once became a standard text-book in schools,³ and were commented on by numerous critics and grammarians, of whom Aulus Gellius in the second century and Macrobius and

¹ Prop. 3. 26. 65 *Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai,
Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.*

² Donatus, § 47 *Octavia, cum recitationi interesset, ad illos de filio suo versus, Tu Marcellus eris, defecisse fertur atque aegre refocillata dena sestertia pro singulo versu Vergilio dari iussit.*

³ Juv. Sat. 7. 226.

Servius in the fourth are the most important. The early Christians in the belief, still unquestioned in the days of Pope,¹ that the fourth Eclogue contained a prophecy of Christ, looked upon him almost with reverence, and it is not merely as the greatest of Italian singers, but also as something of a saint, that Dante claims him as his master and guide in the *Inferno*. In popular esteem he was long regarded as a wizard (possibly owing to his description of the Sibyl and the under world in the sixth Aeneid), and it was customary to consult his works as oracles by opening them at random and accepting the first lines which were chanced upon as prophetic. The emperor Alexander Severus thus consulted the *Sortes Vergilianae*, and opened at the words Aen. 6. 852 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*, while Charles I. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford came upon the famous lines Aen. 4. 615-620 :

*at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,
auxilium inploret, videatque indigna suorum
funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.*

In considering Virgil's writings, it must be borne in mind that, with the exception of satire, Roman poetry is entirely modelled on Greek. Terence copies Menander, Lucretius Empedocles, Horace Alcaeus and Sappho, Propertius Callimachus, and so on. Virgil in his Eclogues professedly imitates Theocritus, in his

¹ See his 'Messiah, a sacred Eclogue in imitation of Virgil's Pollio.' Jerome was wiser—'Maronem sine Christo dicere christianum, quia scripserit: Iam redit et virgo . . . Puerilia sunt haec, et circulatorum ludo similia' (Letter to Paulinus prefixed to the Vulgate).

Georgics Hesiod, and in the Aeneid Homer. The cultured circle of readers for whom he wrote would probably have turned aside with contempt from a poem which relied wholly on native vigour, and did not conform, at any rate outwardly, to one of the accepted standards of literary excellence. They relished some happy reproduction of a Greek phrase, which was 'caviare to the general,' much in the same way that English scholars sometimes dwell with peculiar satisfaction on passages of Milton which it needs a knowledge of Latin to appreciate. Horace in his treatise on Poetry (l. 268) lays down the law which was considered universally binding on all poets :

*vos exemplaria Graeca
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna ;*

and Seneca (Suas. 3) tells us that Virgil borrowed from the Greeks *non surripiendi causa, sed palam imitandi, hoc animo ut vellet adgnosci.*

The Bucolics (Βουκολικά 'songs about herdsmen') consist of ten short poems commonly called Eclogues (*i.e.* 'Selections') and belong to the class of poetry called 'pastoral.' They are largely copied from Theocritus, a Greek poet who flourished during the first half of the third century B.C., and who, though born at Cos and for some time resident in Alexandria, spent the chief portion of his life in Sicily. His poems, called 'Idylls' (Εἰδύλλια) or 'small sketches,' are descriptive for the most part of country life and often take the form of dialogue. Their origin is to be traced to that love of music and song which is developed by the ease and happiness of pastoral life in a southern clime (Lucr. 5. 1379 *seq.*), and to the singing-matches and improvisations common at village feasts, especially among the

Dorians who formed so large a proportion of the colonists of Sicily. The Idylls, however, differ from the Eclogues in a marked manner. They are true to nature ; the scenery is real ; the shepherds are ‘beings of flesh and blood’ ;¹ their broad Doric has the native vigour of the Scotch of Burns. The Eclogues, on the other hand, are highly artificial. They are idealised sketches of rustic life written to suit the taste of polished readers in the metropolis of the world. ‘Grace and tenderness’ are, as Horace notes,² their chief characteristics, and the *Lycidas* of Milton is an enduring monument of his admiration for them, but true pastoral poetry can scarcely be written under such conditions. The shepherds and shepherdesses of the Eclogues, like those depicted on Sèvres porcelain or the canvases of Watteau, are ‘graceful and tender,’ but they are imaginary and unreal.

The Georgics (Γεωργικά) are, as their name implies, a ‘Treatise on Husbandry’ consisting of four Books (containing in all 2184 lines), of which the First deals with husbandry proper, the Second with the rearing of stock, the Third with the cultivation of trees, and the Fourth with bee-keeping. They profess to be an imitation³ of Hesiod, a very ancient poet of Ascra in Boeotia, whose poem entitled ‘Works and Days’⁴

¹ Fritzsche, Theocr. Introd.

² Sat. 1. 10. 44 *molle atque facetum* | *Vergilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae.*

³ G. 2. 176 *Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.* Virgil, however, borrows largely from other writers, e.g. from the *Diosemeia* and *Phaenomena* of the astronomical poet Aratus, from Eratosthenes of Alexandria, and from the *Θηριακά* of Nicander.

⁴ Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι.

consists of a quantity of short sententious precepts thrown into a poetic form. Such poetry is called 'didactic' because its aim is to convey instruction. In early ages, when writing is unknown or little used, proverbs and precepts are naturally cast into a poetic mould for the simple reason that they are thus rendered less liable to alteration and more easy of recollection.¹ Even when prose writing has become common a philosopher or a preacher may endeavour to render his subject more attractive by clothing it in poetic dress and so 'touching it with the Muses' charm,'² while shortly before Virgil began to write Lucretius had so embodied the philosophic system of Epicurus in his *De Rerum Natura*. That splendid poem was constantly in Virgil's mind when he wrote the *Georgics*, but, though he found in Lucretius a source of inspiration and in Hesiod a model, he differs widely from them both. Hesiod wrote didactic poetry because in his day it was practically useful, Lucretius wrote it in the interests of what he believed to be philosophical truth; Virgil's object is on the other hand not primarily to instruct but to please. What he writes is excellent sense, for he thoroughly understood his subject, and his love for agriculture and the 'divine country' is undoubtedly genuine, but he writes to gratify the artistic and literary tastes of his readers and not with any practical aim. The characteristic indeed of the *Georgics* is their consummate art. They are written with slow³ and elaborate care. Each line

¹ The use of rhyming rules is known to all boys.

² Cf. *Lucr.* 1. 934 *Musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.*

³ Allowing seven years for their composition, we get an average of less than a line a day.

has been polished to the utmost perfection, or, to use a phrase attributed to Virgil,¹ 'licked into shape like a bear's cub.' The Aeneid is conventionally spoken of as Virgil's greatest work, and, possibly, the dramatic power of the fourth Book and the imaginative grandeur of the sixth surpass anything in the Georgics, but as a monument of his literary skill they stand unequalled.²

The Aeneid consists of twelve books, and is an epic poem professedly modelled on Homer.³ The first six books describe the wanderings and the second six the wars of Aeneas, so that the whole work constitutes a Roman Odyssey and Iliad in one.

Book I. relates how Aeneas, a Trojan prince, son of Venus and Anchises, while sailing with his fleet from Sicily, encounters a storm stirred up by Aeolus at the request of Juno, who, still cherishing the wrath first aroused in her by the fatal judgment of Paris, desires to destroy the last remnant of the Trojan race, and so prevent their founding in Italy a second and mightier empire. Cast ashore on the African coast Aeneas and his followers are hospitably welcomed by Dido, the Phoenician queen, who is just completing the building of Carthage. At a banquet given in their honour Dido, who through the schemes of Venus has become

¹ Vita Donati, '*carmen se ursae more parere dicens, et lambendo demum effingere.*'

² This statement may be definitely tested in one point. Let any one take the first Georgic and examine the exquisite finish of rhythm exhibited in lines 27, 65, 80, 85, 108, 181, 199, 281-3, 293, 295, 320, 328-334, 341, 356, 378, 388, 389, 406-9, 449, 468, 482, There is nothing like it in the Aeneid.

³ Large portions are also copied from the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, an Alexandrine poet (222-181 B.C.)

enamoured of Aeneas, invites him to tell her his history.

In Book II. Aeneas relates¹ the storm and sack of Troy and his own escape, along with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius.²

In Book III. the narrative is continued, and Aeneas describes how, in pursuit of that 'Western Land' (*Hesperia*) which had been promised him by an oracle, he had wandered to Thrace, Crete, Epirus, and Sicily, where his father had died.

Book IV. resumes the main narrative from the end of Book I. Dido's passion for Aeneas becomes overmastering, and he accepts her love, lingering in Carthage unmindful of his quest, until Jupiter sends Mercury to bid him depart at once. In spite of Dido's pleading he sets sail, and she stabs herself.

In Book V. Aeneas reaches Sicily on the anniversary of his father's death, and celebrates elaborate funeral games in his honour. Juno persuades the matrons to set fire to the ships, but Aeneas prays for rain, which stays the flames, and then, leaving the less adventurous among his followers behind, he sets sail for Italy.

In Book VI. Aeneas lands at Cumae, and with the help of the Sibyl discovers the 'golden bough,' which is a passport through the under world. Through it he passes, guided by the Sibyl, and finally finds Anchises, who points out to him the souls of those who are

¹ This favourite device of beginning a story in the middle and then making some one relate the preceding events in the form of a narrative is borrowed from Homer, who in Books 9-12 of the *Odyssey* makes Ulysses relate the earlier history of his wanderings to Alcinous. Hence the phrase ὕστερον πρότερον 'Ομηρικῶς.

² Otherwise called Iulus, the legendary ancestor of the *gens Iulia*.

destined to become great Romans and describes their future fortunes, after which Aeneas returns safely to the upper air.

Books VII. and VIII. relate how Aeneas lands in Latium, the king of which was Latinus, whose capital was Laurentum. His daughter, Lavinia, had been betrothed to Turnus, leader of the Rutuli, but an oracle of Faunus had declared that she should wed a foreign prince (7. 95). An embassy sent by Aeneas is favourably received by Latinus, who promises him the hand of his daughter. Juno, however, intervenes to disturb this peaceful settlement, Latinus shuts himself up in his palace, and Turnus, supported by Amata, the mother of Lavinia, arms the Latins for war and sends to seek the aid of Diomede (8. 9-17). Aeneas, on the other hand, obtains help from Evander the Arcadian, whose city was Pallanteum, where Rome afterwards stood. Evander offers him the aid of the Etruscans (8. 496), who have risen against their tyrant Mezentius and driven him to seek refuge with Turnus and the Rutuli. Aeneas, accompanied by the Arcadian horse and Pallas, the son of Evander, sets out for the Etruscan camp.

Books IX. and X. Meanwhile Turnus takes advantage of the absence of Aeneas to attack the Trojan encampment at the mouth of the Tiber, which is brought into great peril. Aeneas, however, having made an alliance with Tarchon, the Etruscan leader, the Etruscans embark on their fleet, and, having landed near the Trojan camp in spite of the opposition of Turnus, a fierce battle ensues, in which Pallas, after performing many feats of valour, is finally slain by

Turnus (10. 478 *seq.*). Aeneas avenges his death by the slaughter of many heroes, but Juno manages to save Turnus by inducing him to leave the field in pursuit of a phantom of the Trojan hero. Aeneas slays Mezentius in single combat.

Book XI. opens with an account of the burial of the dead, and especially of the funeral of Pallas. Meantime the embassy of Turnus to Diomedes returns with a refusal, and a council is held in which his rival, Drances, bitterly attacks Turnus, but which is broken up at the news that the Trojans are attacking the city. Turnus hurries to the fray, and is joined by Camilla, with whose story the latter half of the book is occupied.

Book XII., after several minor episodes, relates how Aeneas and Turnus at last meet in single combat, in which the latter is slain.

The Aeneid, it will thus be seen, is a sort of national epic intended to connect the origin of the Romans (and especially of the Julian family) with the gods and heroes of Homeric song, and incidentally serving to dignify many Roman customs and ceremonies by identifying them with the customs and ceremonies of the heroic age. At the same time Aeneas and his followers, as through difficulties and dangers, putting their trust in heaven, they steadily press forward to success, afford a visible personification of those virtues which had slowly and surely secured for Rome the empire of the world, while Aeneas himself 'as a fatherly ruler over his people, their chief in battle, their law-giver in peace, and their high-priest in all spiritual relations,'¹

¹ Sellar's Virgil, p. 344.

is clearly a type of Augustus, the founder of the new monarchy.¹

As a story of war and adventure the Aeneid cannot compete in freshness and life with the Iliad and the Odyssey. It could hardly do so. Between the bard who chants the 'glory of heroes' at the feasts of warrior chiefs in a primitive age and the studious poet who expects the patronage of Augustus and the criticism of Maecenas there is a gulf which nothing can bridge. Indeed the Aeneid and the Homeric poems, though they challenge comparison by their similarity of form, are really so profoundly different in spirit and character that they ought never to be compared. It would be as easy to compare *Chevy Chase* with the *Idylls of the King*. The one is a natural growth, the other an artistic creation. The one describes men who live and breathe as they appeared to men of like passions in their own day; the other attempts to give animation to the ghosts of the past, and make them interesting to men whose thoughts, tastes, and tempers are wholly different. To the Homeric story-teller and his hearers the story is the chief thing and its literary form the second; to Virgil and his readers literary art is the first thing, and the actual facts of the story are comparatively unimportant.

Moreover, Virgil is unhappy in his hero. Compared with Achilles his Aeneas is but the shadow of a man.²

¹ Nor is it unreasonable to see in Dido a type of those seductive charms coupled with unfeminine ambition which the Romans dreaded and detested in Cleopatra.

² The difference is like that between Tennyson's 'Knights of the Round Table' and 'the Doglas and the Persie,' who

'Swapt together till they both swat
With swordes that were of fine myllan.'

He is an abstraction typifying the ideal Roman, in whom reverence for the gods (*pietas*) and manly courage (*virtus*) combine, and who therefore ultimately achieves what he aims at in spite of 'manifold mischances and all the risks of fortune.'¹ Indeed throughout the Aeneid he is so regulated by 'fate,' visions, and superintending deities that it is hard to take a living interest in his acts and doings. *Sum pius Aeneas* is how he introduces himself,² and throughout he justifies the epithet thus attached to him by doing exactly what he ought to do and saying exactly what he ought to say. Once only he exhibits human frailty, and then it is to show that as a human being he can be contemptible. He accepts the love of Dido and then abandons her to despair and death. There is no need to emphasize his crime; Virgil himself has done that sufficiently. The splendid passage (4. 305-392) which describes the final interview between Aeneas and the queen is a masterpiece. To an appeal which would move a stone Aeneas replies with the cold and formal rhetoric of an attorney. Then Dido bursts into an invective which, for concentrated scorn, nervous force, and tragic grandeur, is almost unequalled. Finally, sweeping from the room, she sinks swooning into the arms of her attendants, while Aeneas is left 'stammering and preparing to say many things'—a hero who had, one would think, lost his character for ever. But Virgil seems unmoved by his own genius, and begins the next

¹ Aen. I. 204 *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum.*

² 'Can you bear this?' was the observation of Charles James Fox, a warm admirer of Virgil, but who describes Aeneas as 'always either insipid or odious.'

paragraph quite placidly *at pius Aeneas . . .!* How the man who wrote the lines placed in Dido's mouth could immediately afterwards speak of 'the good Aeneas etc.' is one of the puzzles of literature, and even the fact that the Aeneid was never finished does not explain so glaring an inconsistency. The point is inexplicable, but we ought in fairness to remember the hatred of Rome for Carthage¹ and also that the chilling shadow of imperial patronage rested upon Virgil. He was not only a poet but a poet-laureate. It is the poet who pens the speeches of Dido, while the poet-laureate describes the 'good Aeneas' to gratify a prince who in order to found an empire—*dum conderet urbem*—would certainly not have let a woman's ruin stand in the way of state policy or his own ambition.

Although, however, as an epic poem the Aeneid is wanting in vitality and human interest, the praise of nineteen centuries is sufficient evidence of its striking merits. What those merits are has been already partly indicated in referring to the Georgics. Virgil is a master of melodious rhythm, and he is a master of literary expression. The Latin hexameter, which in Ennius, the father of Latin poetry, is cumbrous and uncouth, and in Lucretius, though powerful and imposing, still lacks grace and versatility, has been moulded by Virgil into a perfect instrument capable of infinite varieties and responsive to every phase of emotion; while as regards his literary power it is impossible to

¹ 'Why, Sir, they (the Romans) would never have borne Virgil's description of Aeneas's treatment of Dido, if she had not been a Carthaginian.'—Boswell's Johnson, c. 51.

read ten lines anywhere without coming across one of those felicitous phrases the charm of which is beyond question as it is beyond analysis. But these external graces are not all. Virgil is a man of deep though controlled feeling. He is a patriot who loves his country with a love 'far brought from out the storied past,' and his pride in her imperial greatness animates the whole poem and lives in many a majestic line.¹ He has pondered long and painfully on the vicissitudes and shortness of human life, but his sadness (which some have censured as 'pessimism'), while it lends pathos to his style, never degenerates into despair, and the lesson which he draws from the certainty of death is the necessity of action.² He is deeply religious and a firm believer in an overruling Power who rewards the good³ and requites the evil,⁴ but the riddle of 'all-powerful Chance and inevitable Doom'⁵ is ever before his mind, and this blending of belief and doubt, of faith and perplexity, congenial as it is to human nature, has a singular attractiveness.

It is unnecessary, after what has been already said about the fourth Book, to point out what a strength of rhetorical force, what a reserve of passionate emotion, underlies the habitual quiet and reflectiveness of Virgil's temper. That book indeed reveals an intensity of

¹ Aen. 3. 157-9; 6. 852-4; 9. 448, 449.

² Aen. 10. 467

*stat sua cuique dies; breve et irreparabile tempus
omnibus est vitae: sed famam extendere factis,
hoc virtutis opus.*

³ Aen. 1. 603.

⁴ Aen. 2. 535.

⁵ Aen. 8. 334 *Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum.*

feeling and a dramatic power, of which the rest of his writings afford little sign ; but there is another book of the Aeneid which rises to a still higher level and places Virgil in the foremost ranks of poetry. The sixth Book is beyond praise ; to it Virgil chiefly owes his fame ; it is here that he exhibits, in fullest measure, the highest poetic powers of imagination and invention ; it is here that we find the Virgil who is worthy to walk side by side with Dante, and with whom John Bunyan and John Milton are to be compared. As we pass with him into the under world, by the sole force of genius he makes a dream seem to us a living fact ; he commands our thoughts to follow whithersoever he leads them, and they obey ; under his guidance we tread with ghostly but unhesitating footsteps that dim and unknown highway which extends beyond the grave.

The subject matter of the second half of the Aeneid is at once less generally interesting and less congenial to Virgil's Muse than that of the first six Books. It was impossible to weave a second Iliad out of such faded legends as may have existed in connexion with the obscure conflicts of Aeneas in Latium ; nor is Virgil in any genuine sense a poet of the battlefield. 'The fierce joy' of combat neither thrills his veins nor pulses in his verse. Aeneas and Turnus each slay their due number of victims ; spears pierce shields of more than epic bulk ; 'Lyrnesian Acmon' hurls a stone which is 'no scanty fragment of a mountain,' and there is bloodshed in abundance ; but purely as a tale of war these Books would, probably, find few readers.

On the other hand they have high merits. They are rich in those *aurea dicta* which are *perpetua semper*

dignissima vita.¹ The episodes, such as the story of Nisus and Euryalus or that of Camilla, have an abiding charm. The debate in the eleventh Book deserves, as a model of rhetoric, to be ranked with Milton's account of the great council held

‘ At Pandemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers.’

But, above all, it is in these Books that Virgil stands revealed as a consummate portrait-painter. The figures of Evander and Pallas, of Turnus and Mezentius, are drawn by a master hand. The first two have in all ages won unstinted admiration, but the poet's artistic power is, perhaps, more truly displayed in the delineation of the second pair. Rough and turbulent though he is, yet, as he stands at bay in the Trojan camp or in the council-chamber of Latinus, as he meets his doom beneath the sword of Aeneas, the figure of Turnus is one which kindles the imagination and touches the heart.² So too it is with Mezentius.³ Hated he is justly by men and abhorred by gods ; but, none the less, as he lies wounded and propped against a tree, with his great beard sweeping over his chest,

¹ Lucr. 3. 13. See, for example, 7. 598 ; 9. 185, 253 ; 10. 111, 467 ; 11. 104 ; 12. 895.

² Although Aeneas is Virgil's hero, still his natural feeling seems to be with Turnus, and, almost in spite of his will, he makes him the more interesting figure. So too in Hebrew story, although Jacob is the national hero, yet in the wonderful narrative of Gen. xxvii. it is with Esau, and not with Jacob, that the writer's human heart appears to beat in genuine sympathy.

³ ‘Chateaubriand says that this is the only figure in the Aeneid “fièrement dessinée,” and Landor describes him as “the hero transcendently above all others in the Aeneid.”’—Sellar, p. 396.

while he sends messenger after messenger to bring tidings of his gallant son, the grim soldier is a pathetic figure, and the delineation of him (II. 856 *seq.*) as he mounts his old war-horse for the last time is unequalled in Latin, perhaps in any, literature.

For an ordinary man, however, to discuss Virgil is almost an impertinence. It needs a poet to appreciate a poet, and the judgment of Alfred Tennyson outweighs that of a host of critics and commentators. There could be no more just and happy tribute from one master to another than the following Ode addressed by the English to the Roman Virgil.

*

TO VIRGIL

WRITTEN AT THE REQUEST OF THE MANTUANS FOR THE
NINETEENTH CENTENARY OF VIRGIL'S DEATH.

I

Roman Virgil, thou that singest
 Ilion's lofty temples robed in fire,
 Ilion falling, Rome arising,
 wars, and filial faith, and Dido's pyre ;

II

Landscape-lover, lord of language
 more than he that sang the Works and Days,
 All the chosen coin of fancy
 flashing out from many a golden phrase ;

III

Thou that singest wheat and woodland,
 tilth and vineyard, hive and horse and herd ;
 All the charm of all the Muses
 often flowering in a lonely word ;

IV

Poet of the happy Tityrus
 piping underneath his beechen bowers ;
 Poet of the poet-satyr
 whom the laughing shepherd bound with flowers.

V

Chanter of the Pollio, glorying
 in the blissful years again to be,
 Summers of the snakeless meadow,
 unlaborious earth and oarless sea ;

VI

Thou that seest Universal
 Nature moved by Universal Mind ;
 Thou majestic in thy sadness
 at the doubtful doom of human kind ;

VII

Light among the vanish'd ages ;
 star that gildest yet this phantom shore ;
 Golden branch amid the shadows,
 kings and realms that pass to rise no more

VIII

Now thy Forum roars no longer,
 fallen every purple Caesar's dome—
 Tho' thine ocean-roll of rhythm
 sound for ever of Imperial Rome—

IX

Now the Rome of slaves hath perish'd,
 and the Rome of freemen holds her place.
 I, from out the Northern Island
 sunder'd once from all the human race,

X

I salute thee, Mantovano,
 I that loved thee since my day began,
 Wielder of the stateliest measure
 ever moulded by the lips of man.

P. VERGILI MARONIS
AENEIDOS

LIBER PRIMUS

ARMA virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
inpulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

10

urbs antiqua fuit—Tyrii tenuere coloni—
Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe
ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli ;
quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
posthabita coluisse Samo : hic illius arma,
hic currus fuit ; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,
si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.
progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci

1. Suet. Vit. Verg. 42. Nisus grammaticus audisse se...aiebat
Varium primi libri correxisse principium his versibus demptis

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

audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces ; 20
 hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
 venturum excidio Libyae : sic volvere Parcas.
 id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli,
 prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis :—
 necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores
 exciderant animo ; manet alta mente repostum
 iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae,
 et genus invisum, et rapti Ganymedis honores :—
 his accensa super iactatos aequore toto
 Troas, reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achilli, 30
 arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos
 errabant acti fati maria omnia circum.
 tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum
 vela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant,
 cum Iuno aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus
 haec secum : ‘ mene incepto desistere victam,
 nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem ?
 quippe vetor fati. Pallasne exurere classem
 Argivom atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto 40
 unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei ?
 ipsa, Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem,
 disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis,
 illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammam
 turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto ;
 ast ego, quae divom incedo regina, Iovisque
 et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos
 bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat
 praeterea, aut supplex aris inponit honorem ?’

taliam flammato secum dea corde volutans 50
 nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,
 Aeoliam venit. hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
 luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras
 imperio premit, ac vinclis et carcere frenat.
 illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis

48 adoret. ... 49 inponat. inponet.

circum claustra fremunt ; celsa sedet Aeolus arce
 sceptrata tenens, mollitque animos et temperat iras :
 ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum
 quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras :
 sed Pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris 60
 hoc metuens, molemque et montes insuper altos
 inposuit, regemque dedit, qui foedere certo
 et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas.
 ad quem tum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est :

‘Aeole, namque tibi divom Pater atque hominum

rex

et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento, ~~■~~
 gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor,
 Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penates :
 incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppes,
 aut age diversos et disice corpora ponto. 70
 sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae,
 quarum quae forma pulcherrima Deiopea,
 conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo,
 omnes ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos
 exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.’

Aeolus haec contra : ‘tuus, o regina, quid optes,
 explorare labor ; mihi iussa capessere fas est.
 tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptrata Iovemque
 concilias, tu das epulis accumbere divom,
 nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem.’ 80

haec ubi dicta, cavum conversa cuspide montem
 inpulit in latus : ac venti velut agmine facto,
 qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.
 incubuere mari, totumque a sedibus imis
 una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
 Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
 insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum.
 eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque
 Teucrorum ex oculis ; ponto nox incubat atra.
 intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether, 90
 praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.

extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra ;
 ingemit, et duplices tendens ad sidera palmas
 talia voce refert : ‘ o terque quaterque beati,
 quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
 contigit oppetere ! o Danaum fortissime gentis
 Tydide, mene Iliacis occumbere campis
 non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
 saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
 Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis 100
 scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit ? ’

talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella
 velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit.
 franguntur remi ; tum prora avertit et undis
 dat latus ; insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.
 hi summo in fluctu pendent, his unda dehiscens
 terram inter fluctus aperit ; furit aestus harenis.
 tres Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet,
 saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras,
 dorsum inmane mari summo ; tres Euris ab alto 110
 in brevibus et Syrtes urguet—miserabile visu—
 inliduntque vadis atque aggere cingit harenae.
 unam, quae Lycios fidumque vehebat Oronten,
 ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
 in puppim ferit : excutitur pronisque magister
 volvitur in caput ; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
 torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat aequore vertex.
 apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,
 arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas.
 iam validam Ilionei navem, iam fortis Achatii, 120
 et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes,
 vicit hiemps ; laxis laterum compagibus omnes
 accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscent.

interea magno misceri murmure pontum
 emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis
 stagna refusa vadis, graviter commotus ; et alto
 prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda.

disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem,
 fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina,
 nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae. 130
 Eurum ad se Zephyrumque vocat, dehinc talia fatur :

‘tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri ?
 iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti,
 miscere, et tantas audetis tollere moles ?
 quos ego— ! sed motos praestat componere fluctus :
 post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis.
 maturate fugam, regique haec dicite vestro :
 non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem,
 sed mihi sorte datum. tenet ille inmania saxa,
 vestras, Eure, domos ; illa se iactet in aula 140
 Aeolus et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.’

sic ait, et dicto citius tumida aequora placat,
 collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit.
 Cymothoë simul et Triton adnixus acuto
 detrudunt naves scopulo ; levat ipse tridenti
 et vastas aperit Syrtes et temperat aequor,
 atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas.
 ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
 seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus,
 iamque faces et saxa volant—furor arma ministrat—
 tum pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem 151
 conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus adstant ;
 ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet :
 sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
 prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto
 flectit equos curruque volans dat lorā secundo. 152

defessi Aeneadae, quae proxima litora, cursu
 contendunt petere, et Libyae vertuntur ad oras.
 est in secessu longo locus : insula portum
 efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto 160
 frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
 hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur
 in caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late
 aequora tuta silent : tum silvis scaena coruscis

desuper horrentique atrum nemus inminet umbra :
 fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum ;
 intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
 Nympharum domus. ^{291ds} hic fessas non vincula naves
 ulla tenent, unco non adligat ancora morsu.
 huc septem Aeneas collectis navibus omni
 ex numero subit ; ac magno telluris amore
 egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena
 et sale tabentes artus in litore ponunt.
 ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates
 succeditque ignem foliis atque arida circum
 nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.
 tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma
 expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas
 et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo. //

170

Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit et omnem 180
 prospectum late pelago petit, Anthea si quem
 iactatum vento videat Phrygiasque biremes,
 aut Capyn, aut celsis in puppibus arma Caïci.
 navem in conspectu nullam, tres litore cervos ^{deu.}
 prospicit errantes ; hos tota armenta sequuntur
 a tergo, et longum per valles pascitur agmen.
 constitit hic, ²⁰² arcumque manu celeresque sagittas
 corripuit, fidus quae tela gerebat Achates,
 ductoresque ipsos primum, capita alta ferentes
 cornibus arboreis, sternit ; tum vulgus et omnem 190
 miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam ;
 nec prius absistit, quam septem ingentia victor
 corpora fundat humi et numerum cum navibus aequet.
 hinc portum petit, et socios partitur in omnes.
 vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes
 litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros,
 dividit, et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet :
 'o socii, neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum,
 o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.
 / vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantes
 accessis scopulos, vos et Cyclopea saxa

200

experti : revocate animos, maestumque timorem
mittite ; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.
per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
ostendunt ; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.'

talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus aeger
spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.
illi se praedae accingunt dapibusque futuris : 210
tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant,
pars in frusta secant veribusque trementia figunt,
litore aëna locant alii flammisque ministrant.
tum victu revocant vires, fusique per herbam
inplentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae.
postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae,
amissos longo socios sermone requirunt
spemque metumque inter dubii, seu vivere credant
sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos.
praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti, 220
nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum
fata Lyci fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.

et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo
despiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentes
litoraue et latos populos, sic vertice caeli
constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis ;
atque illum tales iactantem pectore curas
tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentes
adloquitur Venus : 'o qui res hominumque deumque
aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres, 230
quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,
quid Troes potuere, quibus tot funera passis
cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis ?
certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,
hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucris,
qui mare, qui terras omnes ditione tenerent,
pollicitus : quae te, genitor, sententia vertit ?

hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristesque ruinas
 solabar fatis contraria fata rependens ;
 nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos
 insequitur. / quem das finem, rex magne, laborum ? 240

Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis
 Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus
 regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi,
 unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
 it mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti.
 hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit
 Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit
 Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit :
 nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnuis arcem, 250
 navibus—infandum !—amissis, unius ob iram
 prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.
 hic pietatis honos ? sic nos in scepra reponis ?'

olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum
 vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat,
 oscula libavit natae, dehinc talia fatur :

parce metu, Cytherea : manent inmota tuorum
 fata tibi ; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
 moenia, sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
 magnanimum Aenean ; neque me sententia vertit.
 hic tibi—fabor enim, quando haec te cura re-
 mordet, 261

longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo—
 bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces
 contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet,
 tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas
 ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
 at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
 additur—Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilii regno—
 triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
 imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini 270
 transferet, et longam multa vi munit Albam.
 hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
 gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos

Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
 inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
 Romulus excipiet gentem, et Mavortia condet
 moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
 his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono,
 imperium sine fine dedi. quin aspera Iuno,
 quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat, 280
 consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
 Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam
 si placitum. veniet lustris labentibus aetas,
 cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae
 servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.
 nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
 imperium Oceano famam qui terminet astris,
 Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.

hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum,
 accipies segura; vocabitur hic quoque votis, 290
 aspera tum positae mitescent saecula bellis;
 cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
 iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
 claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
 saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis
 post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

haec ait, et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,
 ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces
 hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido
 finibus arceret. volat ille per aëra magnum 300
 remigio alarum, ac Libyae citus adstitit oris.
 et iam iussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni
 corda volente deo; in primis regina quietum
 accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam.

at pius Aeneas, per noctem plurima volvens,
 ut primum lux alma data est, exire locosque
 explorare novos, quas vento accesserit oras,
 qui teneant, nam inculta videt, hominesne feraene,
 quaerere constituit, sociisque exacta referre.
 classem in convexo nemorum sub rupe cavata 310

arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris
 occulit ; ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate,
 bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.
 cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva,
 virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma,
 Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
 Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.
 namque umeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum
 venatrix, dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
 nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentes. 320
 ac prior ‘heus,’ inquit, ‘iuvenes, monstrate, mearum
 vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum,
 succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,
 aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.’

 sic Venus, et Veneris contra sic filius orsus :
 ‘ nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,
 o—quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi
 vultus

mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat ; o dea certe,—
 an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?—
 sis felix, nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem, 330
 et, quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris
 iactemur, doceas ; ignari hominumque locorumque
 erramus, vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti :
 multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra.’

 tum Venus : ‘ haud equidem tali me dignor honore ;
 virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram,
 purpureoque alte suras vincire cothurno.
 Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem ;
 sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.
 imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta, 340
 germanum fugiens. longa est iniuria, longae
 ambages ; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.
 huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus agri
 Phoenicum, et magno miserae dilectus amore,
 cui pater intactam dederat primisque iugarat

ominibus. sed regna Tyri germanus habebat
 Pygmalion, scelere ante alios inmanior omnes.
 quos inter medius venit furor. ille Sychaeum
 inpius ante aras atque auri caecus amore
 clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum 350
 germanae; factumque diu celavit, et aegram
 multa malus simulans vana spe lusit amantem.
 ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago
 coniugis, ora modis attollens pallida miris;
 crudeles aras traiectaque pectora ferro
 nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne retexit.
 tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet,
 auxiliumque viae veteres tellure recludit
 thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri.
 his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat. 360
 conveniunt, quibus aut odium crudele tyranni
 aut metus acer erat; naves, quae forte paratae,
 corripunt onerantque auro. portantur avari
 Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti.
 devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernis
 moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,
 mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
 taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.
 sed vos qui tandem, quibus aut venistis ab oris,
 quove tenetis iter? quarenti talibus ille 370
 suspirans imoque trahens a pectore vocem:

'o dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam,
 et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum,
 ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo.
 nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per aures
 Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos
 (forte sua) Libycis tempestas appulit oris.
 sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates
 classe veho mecum, fama super aethera notus.
 Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo. 380
 bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,

365 cernes. 374 componat.

matre dea monstrante viam, data fata secutus ;
 vix septem convulsae undis Euroque supersunt.
 ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,
 Europa atque Asia pulsus.' nec plura querentem
 passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est :

' quisquis es, haud, credo, invisus caelestibus auras
 vitales carpis, Tyriam qui adveneris urbem.
 perge modo atque hinc te reginae ad limina perfer.
 namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam 390
 nuntio et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam,
 ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.
 aspice bis senos laetantes agmine cycnos,
 aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto
 turbabat caelo ; nunc terras ordine longo
 aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur :
 ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis
 et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere,
 haud aliter puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum
 aut portum tenet aut pleno subit ostia velo. 400
 perge modo et, qua te ducit via, derige gressum.'

dixit, et avertens rosea cervice refulsit,
 ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem
 spiravere ; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos :
 et vera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem
 adgnovit, tali fugientem est voce secutus :
 ' quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis
 ludis imaginibus ? cur dextrae iungere dextram
 non datur, ac veras audire et reddere voces ?'
 talibus incusat, gressumque ad moenia tendit. 410
 at Venus obscuro gradientes aëre saepsit,
 et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,
 cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset,
 molirive moram aut veniendi poscere causas.
 ipsa Paphum sublimis abit, sedesque revisit
 laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo
 ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.

corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat :

iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urb'
 inminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces. 420
 miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
 miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.
 instant ardentes Tyrii, pars ducere muros
 molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,
 pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco ;
 iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum ;
 hic portus alii effodiunt ; hic lata theatris
 fundamenta petunt alii, inmanesque columnas
 rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.
 qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura 430
 exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
 educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella
 stipant, et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,
 aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto—
 ignavum ^{pecus} fucos ^{pecus} a ^{praesepibus} praesepibus arcent :
 fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.
 o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt !'

Aeneas ait, et fastigia suspicit urbis.
 infert se saeptus nebula—mirabile dictu—
 per medios miscetque viris, neque cernitur ulli. 440

lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,
 quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
 effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
 monstrarat, caput acris equi : sic nam fore bello
 egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.
 hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido
 condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae,
 aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque
 aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis.
 hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem 450
 leniit ; hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
 ausus et adflctis melius confidere rebus.
 namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo
 reginam opperiens, dum, quae fortuna sit urbi,

artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem
 miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
 beliaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem,
 Atridas Priamumque et saevum ambobus Achillem.
 constitit, et lacrimans 'quis iam locus,' inquit,
 'Achate/

quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? 460
 en Priamus! sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi;
 sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.
 solve metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.'
 sic ait, atque animum pictura pascit inani
 multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine vultum.
 namque videbat, uti bellantes Pergama circum
 hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus;
 hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.
 nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis
 adgnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno 470
 Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus,
 ardentesque avertit equos in castra, priusquam
 pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.
 parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
 infelix puer atque inpar congressus Achilli,
 fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
 lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque
 trahuntur

per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.
 interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
 crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant 480
 suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis:
 diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat.
 ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros
 exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.
 tum vero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo,
 ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici
 tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermes,
 se quoque principibus permixtum adgnovit Achivis,
 Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.

ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis 490
 Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet,
 aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,
 bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,
 dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,
 regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
 incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.
 qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
 exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
 hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades ; illa pharetram
fert umero, gradiensque deas supereminet omnes ; 501

Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus :
 talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat
 per medios, instans operi regnisque futuris.
 tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,
 saepta armis, solioque alte subnixa resedit.
 iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem
 partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat ;
 cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno
 Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum, 510
 Teucrorumque alios, ater quos aequore turbo
 dispulerat penitusque alias avexerat oras.
 obstipuit simul ipse simul percussus Achates
 laetitiaque metuque : avidi coniungere dextras
 ardebant, sed res animos incognita turbat.
 dissimulant et nube cava speculantur amicti,
 quae fortuna viris, classem quo litore linquant,
 quid veniant : cunctis nam lecti navibus ibant
 orantes veniam, et templum clamore petebant.

postquam introgressi et coram data copia fancti, 520
 maximus Ilioneus placido sic pectore coepit :
 ‘ o regina, novam cui condere Iuppiter urbem
 iustitiaque dedit gentes frenare superbas,
 Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti,
 oramus : prohibe infandos a navibus ignes,

513 percussus. 518 cuncti.

parce pio generi, et propius res aspice nostras.
 non nos aut ferro Libykos populare Penates
 venimus, aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas ;
 non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis.
 est locus—Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt— 530
 terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae ;
 Oenotri coluere viri ; nunc fama minores
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem ;
 hic cursus fuit,
 cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion
 in vada caeca tulit, penitusque procacibus Austris
 perque undas superante salo perque invia saxa
 dispulit : huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris.
 quod genus hoc hominum ? quaeve hunc tam barbara
 morem
 permittit patria ? hospitio prohibemur harenae ; 540
 bella cient, primaque vetant consistere terra.
 si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
 at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi.
 rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter
 nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis :
 quem si fata virum servant, si vescitur aura
 aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris,
 non metus : officio nec te certasse priorem
 paeniteat : sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes
 armaque, Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes. 550
 quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem
 et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos,
 si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto
 tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus ;
 sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum,
 pontus habet Libyae nec spes iam restat Iuli,
 at freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas,
 unde huc advecti, regemque petamus Acesten.
 talibus Ilioneus ; cuncti simul ore fremebant
 Dardanidae. 560

tum breviter Dido vultum demissa profatur :

‘ solvite corde metum, Teucri, secludite curas.
 res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
 moliri et late fines custode tueri.
 quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem,
 virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli?
 non obtunsa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,
 nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe.
 seu vos Hesperiam magnam Saturniaque arva
 sive Erycis fines regemque optatis Acesten, 570
 auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.
 vultis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis?
 urbem quam státuo, vestra est; subducite naves;
 Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.
 atque utinam rex ipse Noto compulsus eodem
 adforet Aeneas! equidem per litora certos
 dimittam et Libyae lustrare extrema iubebo,
 si quibus eiectus silvis aut urbibus errat.’

his animum arrecti dictis et fortis Achates
 et pater Aeneas iamdudum erumpere nubem 580
 ardebant. prior Aenean compellat Achates:
 ‘ nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?
 omnia tuta vides, classem sociosque receptos.
 unus abest, medio in fluctu quem vidimus ipsi
 submersum; dictis respondent cetera matris.’
 vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa repente
 scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.
 restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit
 os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram
 caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae 590
 purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores:
 quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
 argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro.
 tum sic reginam adloquitur cunctisque repente
 inprovisus ait: ‘ coram, quem quaeritis, adsum
 Troïus Aeneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.
 o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,
 quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque

omnibus exhaustos iam casibus, omnium egenos
 urbe domo socias, grates persolvere dignas 600
 non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique
 est

gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.
 di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
 usquam iustitiae est, et mens sibi conscia recti
 praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt
 saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
 in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
 lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
 semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,
 quae me cumque vocant terrae.' sic fatus amicum
 Ilionea petit dextra, laevaue Serestum, 611
 post alios, fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.

obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido,
 casu deinde viri tanto, et sic ore locuta est:
 quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus
 insequitur? quae vis inmanibus applicat oris?
 tune ille Aeneas, quem Dardanio Anchisae
 alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoëntis ad undam?
 atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire
 finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem 620
 auxilio Beli; genitor tum Belus opimam
 vastabat Cyprum et victor dicione tenebat.
 tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis
 Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi.
 ipse hostis Teucros insigni laude ferebat,
 seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe volebat.
 quare agite o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris.
 me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
 iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra:
 non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.' 630
 sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit
 tecta, simul divom templis indicit honorem.
 nec minus interea sociis ad litora mittit

599 exhaustis. 604 iustitia.

viginti tauros, magnorum horrentia centum
terga suum, pingues centum cum matribus agnos,
munera laetitiamque dei.

at domus interior regali splendida luxu
instruitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis :
arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo,
ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro 640
fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum
per tot ducta viros antiqua ab origine gentis.

Aeneas—neque enim patrius consistere mentem
passus amor—rapidum ad naves praemittit Achaten,
Ascanio ferat haec, ipsumque ad moenia ducat ;
omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.
munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis
ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem
et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho,
ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis, 650
Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,
extulerat, matris Ledaе mirabile donum ;
praeterea sceptrum, Ilione quod gesserat olim,
maxima natarum Priami, colloque monile
bacatum et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam.
haec celerans iter ad naves tendebat Achates.

at Cytherea novas artes, nova pectore versat
consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem
incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem. 660
quippe domum timet ambiguum Tyriosque bilingues ;
urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat.
ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem :
‘ nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia solus,
nate, Patris summi qui tela Typhoïa temnis,
ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.
frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum
litora iactetur odiis Iunonis acerbae,
nota tibi, et nostro doluisti saepe dolore.

636 dii. 642 antiquae. 668 iacteturque. iniquae.

nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur
 vocibus ; et vereor, quo se Iunonia vertant
 hospitia ; haud tanto cessabit cardine rerum.
 quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma
 reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,
 sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore.
 qua facere id possis, nostram nunc accipe mentem.
 regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem

Sidoniam puer ire parat, mea maxima cura,
 dona ferens pelago et flammis restantia Troiae ;
 hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera
 aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam,
 ne qua scire dolos mediusve occurrere possit.
 tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam
 falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue vultus,
 ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido
 regales inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
 cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
 occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.
 paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas
 exiit et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli.

at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem
 inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos
 Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum
 floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur umbra.

iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido
 regia portabat Tyriis duce laetus Achate.
 cum venit, aulaeis iam se regina superbis
 aureâ composuit spondâ mediamque locavit ;
 iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuventus
 conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro.
 dant manibus famûli lymphas, Cereremque canistris
 expediunt, tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis.
 quinquaginta intus famulae, quibus ordine longam
 cura penum struere et flammis adolere Penates ;
 centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri,

670 hunc. 701 famulae. 703 longo.

qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.
 nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes
 convenere, toris iussi discumbere pictis.
 mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum
 fragrantisque dei vultus simulataque verba 710
 pallamque et pictum croceo velamen acantho.
 praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,
 expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo
 Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur.
 ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit
 et magnum falsi inplevit genitoris amorem,
 reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto
 haeret et interdum gremio fovet, inscia Dido,
 insidat quantus miserae deus. at memor ille
 matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum 720
 incipit, et vivo temptat praevertere amore
 iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda.

postquam prima quies epulis, mensaeque remotae,
 crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.
 it strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant
 atria; dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
 incensi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
 hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
 inplevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
 a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis: 730
 ‘Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur,
 hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiâque profectis
 esse velis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.
 adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator et bona Iuno;
 et vos o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes.’
 dixit, et in mensam laticum libavit honorem,
 primaque libato summo tenuis attigit ore;
 tum Bitiae dedit increpitans; ille inpiger hausit
 spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro;
 post alii proceres. cithara crinitus Iopas 740
 personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.

719 insideat. 725 fit.

hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,
unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et
ignes,

Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,
quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur.
nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat
infelix Dido, longumque bibebat amorem,
multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa ; 750
nunc, quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis,
nunc, quales Diomedis equi, nunc, quantus Achilles.
'immo age, et a prima, dic, hospes, origine nobis
insidias,' inquit, 'Danaum casusque tuorum
erroresque tuos ; nam te iam septima portat
omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.'

LIBER SECUNDUS

CONTICUERE omnes, intentique ora tenebant.
inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto :
infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
eruerint Danaï, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi,
et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi
temperet a lacrimis ? et iam nox umida caelo
praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros, 10
et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
incipiam.

fracti bello fatisque repulsi
ductores Danaum, tot iam labentibus annis,
instar montis equum divina Palladis arte
aedificant, sectaque intexunt abiete costas :
votum pro reditu simulant ; ea fama vagatur.
huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim
includunt caeco lateri, penitusque cavernas
ingentes uterumque armato milite complent. 20

est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama
insula, dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant,
nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis :
huc se provecti deserto in litore condunt.
nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenae.

ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucria luctu :
 panduntur portae ; iuvat ire et Dorica castra
 desertosque videre locos litusque relictum.
 hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles ;
 classibus hic locus, his acie certare solebant. 30
 pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae,
 et molem mirantur equi ; primusque Thymoetes
 duci intra muros hortatur et arce locari,
 sive dolo, seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant.
 at Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,
 aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona
 praecipitare iubent, subiectisque urere flammis :
 aut terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras.
 scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

primus ibi ante omnes, magna comitante caterva, 40
 Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce ;
 et procul : ‘ o miseri, quae tanta insania, cives ?
 creditis avectos hostes ? aut ulla putatis
 dona carere dolis Danaum ? sic notus Ulixes ?
 aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi,
 aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros
 inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi ;
 aut aliquis latet error : equo ne credite, Teucri.
 quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.’
 sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam 50
 in latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum
 contorsit. stetit illa tremens, uteroque recusso
 insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae.
 et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,
 inpulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras ;
 Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta, maneres.

ecce, manus iuvenem interea post terga revinctum
 pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant
 Dardanidae, qui se ignotum venientibus ultro,
 hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis, 60
 obtulerat, fidens animi, atque in utrumque paratus,

seu versare dolos, seu certae occumbere morti.
 undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus
 circumfusa ruit, certantque inludere capto.
 accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno
 disce omnes.

namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus inermis
 constitit, atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit :
 ‘heu, quae nunc tellus,’ inquit, ‘quae me aequora
 possunt

accipere ? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat, 70
 cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
 Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt ?’
 quo gemitu conversi animi, compressus et omnis
 impetus. hortamur fari ; quo sanguine cretus,
 quidve ferat, memoret, quae sit fiducia capto.
 ille haec, deposita tandem formidine, fatur :

‘cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque,
 fatebor

vera,’ inquit, ‘neque me Argolica de gente negabo :
 hoc primum ; nec, si miserum Fortuna Sinonem
 finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque inproba finget. 80
 fando aliquod si forte tuas pervenit ad aures
 Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama
 gloria, quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi
 insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,
 demisere neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent ;
 illi me comitem et consanguinitate propinquum
 pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis.
 dum stabat regno incolumis, regumque vigebat
 consiliis, et nos aliquod nomenque decusque
 gessimus. invidia postquam pellacis Ulixi— 90
 haud ignota loquor—superis concessit ab oris,
 afflictus vitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam,
 et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici.
 nec tacui demens ; et me, fors si qua tulisset,
 si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos,

76 omitted. 89 conciliis.

promisi ultorem, et verbis odia aspera movi.
 hinc mihi prima mali labes ; hinc semper Ulixes
 criminibus terrere novis ; hinc spargere voces
 in vulgum ambiguas, et quaerere conscius arma.
 nec requievit enim, donec Calchante ministro— 100
 sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo ?
 quidve moror, si omnes uno ordine habetis Achivos,
 idque audire sat est ? iamdudum sumite poenas :
 hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridae.'

tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas,
 ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae.
 prosequitur pavitans, et ficto pectore fatur :
 ' saepe fugam Danaï Troia cupiere relicta
 moliri et longo fessi discedere bello ;—
 fecissentque utinam !—saepe illos aspera ponti 110
 interclusit hiemps, et terruit Auster euntes.
 praecipue, cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis
 staret equus, toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.
 suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi
 mittimus ; isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat :
sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,
cum primum Iliacas Danaï venistis ad oras :
sanguine quaerendi reditus, animaque litandum
Argolica. vulgi quae vox ut venit ad aures,
 obstipuere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit 120
 ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo.
 hic Ithacus vatem magno Calchanta tumultu
 protrahit in medios ; quae sint ea numina divom,
 flagitat. et mihi iam multi crudele canebant
 artificis scelus, et taciti ventura videbant.
 bis quinos silet ille dies, tectusque recusat
 prodere voce sua quemquam aut opponere morti.
 vix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus,
 composito rumpit vocem, et me destinat arae.
 adsensere omnes, et, quae sibi quisque timebat, 130
 unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.

iamque dies irfanda aderat ; mihi sacra parari,
 et salsae fruges, et circum tempora vittae.
 eripui, fateor, leto me, et vincula rupi ;
 limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva
 delitui, dum vela darent, si forte dedissent.
 nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla videndi,
 nec dulces natos exoptatumque parentem ;
 quos illi fors et poenas ob nostra reposcent
 effugia, et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt. 140
 quod te per superos et conscia numina veri,
 per, si qua est, quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam
 intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum
 tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.'

his lacrimis vitam damus, et miserescimus ultro.

ipse viro primus manicas atque arta levare
 vincla iubet Priamus, dictisque ita fatur amicis :

'quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios :
 noster eris ; mihi que haec edissere vera roganti.
 quo molem hanc inmanis equi statuere ? quis
 auctor ?' 150

quidve petunt ? quae religio aut quae machina belli ?'
 dixerat. ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasga,
 sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas :

'vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum
 testor numen,' ait, 'vos arae ensesque nefandi,
 quos fugi, vittaeque deum, quas hostia gessi :
 fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura,
 fas odisse viros, atque omnia ferre sub auras,
 si qua tegunt : teneor patriae nec legibus ullis.
 tu modo promissis maneat, servataque serves 160
 Troia fidem, si vera feram, si magna rependam.

omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli
 Palladis auxiliis semper stetit. inpius ex quo
 Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulixes,
 fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo
 Palladium, caesis summae custodibus arcis,

corripuere sacram effigiem, manibusque cruentis
 virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas ;
 ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
 spes Danaum ; fractae vires, aversa deae mens. 170
 nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris.
 vix positum castris simulacrum : arsere coruscae
 luminibus flammae arrectis, salsusque per artus
 sudor iit, terque ipsa solo—mirabile dictu—
 emicuit, parmamque ferens hastamque trementem.
 extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas ;
 nec posse Argolicis excindi Pergama telis,
 omina ni repetant Argis, numenque reducant,
 quod pelago et curvis secum avexere carinis.
 et nunc, quod patrias vento petiere Mycenae, 180
 arma deosque parant comites, pelagoque remenso
 improvisi aderunt. ita digerit omnia Calchas.
 hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso
 effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret :
 hanc tamen inmensam Calchas attollere molem
 roboribus textis, caeloque educere iussit,
 ne recipi portis, aut duci in moenia possit,
 neu populum antiqua sub religione tueri.
 nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae,
 tum magnum exitium—quod di prius omen in
 ipsum 190
 convertant !—Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum :
 sin manibus vestris vestram ascendisset in urbem,
 ultro Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello
 venturam, et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.
 talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis
 credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis,
 quos neque Tydides, nec Larissaeus Achilles,
 non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.
 hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum
 obicitur magis, atque inprovida pectora turbat. 200
 Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,

sollemnes taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.
 ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta—
 horresco referens—inmensis orbibus angues
 incumbunt pelago, pariterque ad litora tendunt ;
 pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta iubaeque
 sanguineae superant undas ; pars cetera pontum
 pone legit, sinuantque inmensa volumine terga ;
 fit sonitus spumante salo. iamque arva tenebant,
 ardentesque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni 210
 sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.
 diffugimus visu exsanguis : illi agmine certo
 Laocoonta petunt ; et primum parva duorum
 corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
 inplicat, et miseros morsu depascitur artus ;
 post ipsum, auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem,
 corripunt, spirisque ligant ingentibus ; et iam
 bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum
 terga dati, superant capite et cervicibus altis.
 ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos, 220
 perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno ;
 clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit :
 qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram
 taurus et incertam excussit cervice securim.
 at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
 effugiunt, saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,
 sub pedibusque deae, clipeique sub orbe teguntur.
 tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis
 insinuat pavor ; et scelus expendisse merentem
 Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspide robur 230
 laeserit, et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam.
 ducendum ad sedes simulacrum, orandaque divae
 numina conclamant.
 dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.
 accingunt omnes operi, pedibusque rotarum
 subiciunt lapsus, et stuppea vincula collo
 intendunt. scandit fatalis machina muros,
 226 diffugiunt.

feta armis : pueri circum innuptaeque puellae
 sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent.
 illa subit, mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi. 240
 o patria, o divom domus Ilium, et incluta bello
 moenia Dardanidum ! quater ipso in limine portae
 substitit, atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere.
 instamus tamen inmemores caecique furore,
 et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.
 tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris
 ora, dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris.
 nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset
 ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem.

vertitur interea caelum, et ruit Oceano nox, 250
 involvens umbra magna terramque polumque
 Myrmidonumque dolos ; fusi per moenia Teucris
 conticuere ; sopor fessos complectitur artus.
 et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat
 a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae
 litora nota petens, flammam cum regia puppis
 extulerat, fatisque deum defensus iniquis
 inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim
 laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras
 reddit equus, laetique cavo se robore promunt 260
 Thessandrus Sthenelusque duces, et dirus Ulixes,
 demissum lapsi per funem, Acamasque, Thoasque,
 Pelidesque Neoptolemus, primusque Machaon,
 et Menelaus, et ipse doli fabricator Epeos.
 invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam ;
 caeduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnes
 accipiunt socios, atque agmina conscia iungunt.

tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
 incipit, et dono divom gratissima serpit.
 in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector 270
 visus adesse mihi, largosque effundere fletus,
 raptatus bigis, ut quondam, aterque cruento
 pulvere, perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes.

hei mihi, qualis erat ! quantum mutatus ab illo
 Hectore, qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli,
 vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignes !
 squalentem barbam, et concretos sanguine crines,
 vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
 accepit patrios. ultro flens ipse videbar
 compellare virum, et maestas expromere voces : 280
 ‘ o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,
 quae tantae tenuere morae ? quibus Hector ab oris
 exspectate venis ? ut te post multa tuorum
 funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores
 defessi aspicimus ! quae causa indigna serenos
 foedavit vultus ? aut cur haec vulnera cerno ?’
 ille nihil, nec me quaerentem vana moratur,
 sed graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens,
 ‘ heu ! fuge, nate dea, teque his,’ ait, ‘ eripe flammis.
 hostis habet muros ; ruit alto a culmine Troia. 290
 sat patriae Priamoque datum. si Pergama dextra
 defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.
 sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates ;
 hos cape fatorum comites ; his moenia quaere
 magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto.’
 sic ait, et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem
 aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.
 diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu ;
 et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis
 Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta recessit, 300
 clarescunt sonitus, armorumque ingruit horror.
 excutior somno, et summi fastigia tecti
 ascensu supero, atque arrectis auribus adsto ;
 in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
 incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
 sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores,
 praecipitesque trahit silvas, stupet inscius alto
 accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.
 tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt
 insidiae. iam Deïphobi dedit ampla ruinam 310

Vulcano superante domus ; iam proximus ardet
 Ucalegon ; Sigea igni freta lata relucent :
 exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.
 arma amens capio ; nec sat rationis in armis ;
 sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
 cum sociis ardent animi. furor iraque mentem
 praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achivum,
 Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos,
 sacra manu victosque deos parvumque nepotem 320
 ipse trahit, cursuque amens ad limina tendit.

‘quo res summa loco, Panthu ? quam prendimus
 arcem ?’

vix ea fatus eram, gemitu cum talia reddit :

‘venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
 Dardaniae. fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
 gloria Teucrorum. ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos
 transtulit : incensa Danai dominantur in urbe.

arduus armatos mediis in moenibus adstans
 fundit equus, victorque Sinon incendia miscet
 insultans. portis alii bipatentibus adsunt, 330
 milia quot magnis umquam venero Mycenis ;
 obsedere alii telis angusta viarum

oppositi ; stat ferri acies mucrone corusco
 stricta, parata neci ; vix primi proelia temptant
 portarum vigiles, et caeco Marte resistunt.’

talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divom
 in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,
 quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor.
 addunt se socios Rhipeus et maximus armis
 Epytus, oblatis per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque, 340
 et lateri adglomerant nostro, iuvenisque Coroebus
 Mygdonides. illis ad Troiam forte diebus
 venerat, insano Cassandrae incensus amore,
 et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
 infelix, qui non sponsae praecepta furentis
 audierit.

quos ubi confertos audere in proelia vidi,
 incipio super his : ‘ iuvenes, fortissima frustra
 pectora, si vobis audentem extrema cupido
 certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis : 350
 excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
 di, quibus imperium hoc steterat ; succurritis urbi
 incensae : moriamur, et in media arma ruamus.
 una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.’

sic animis iuvenum furor additus. inde, lupi ceu
 raptores atra in nebula, quos inproba ventris
 exegit caecos rabies, catulique relictis
 faucibus expectant siccis, per tela, per hostes
 vadimus haud dubiam in mortem, mediaeque tenemus
 urbis iter : nox atra cava circumvolat umbra. 360

quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
 explicet, aut possit lacrimis aequare labores ?
 urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos :
 plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim
 corpora, perque domos et religiosa deorum
 limina. nec soli poenas dant sanguine Teucri ;
 quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus,
 victoresque cadunt Danaï. crudelis ubique
 luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.

primus se, Danaum magna comitante caterva, 370
 Androgeos offert nobis, socia agmina credens
 inscius, atque ultro verbis compellat amicis :
 ‘ festinate, viri. nam quae tam sera moratur
 segnities ? alii rapiunt incensa feruntque
 Pergama ; vos celsis nunc primum a navibus itis !’
 dixit ; et extemplo—neque enim responsa dabantur
 fida satis—sensit medios delapsus in hostes.
 obstipuit, retroque pedem cum voce repressit.
 inprovisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
 pressit humi nitens, trepidusque repente refugit 380
 attollentem iras, et caerulea colla tumentem :
 haud secus Androgeos visu tremefactus abibat.

349 audendi.

inruimus densis et circumfundimur armis,
 ignarosque loci passim et formidine captos
 sternimus. adspirat primo fortuna labori.
 atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus,
 'o socii, qua prima,' inquit, 'fortuna salutis
 monstrat iter, quaque ostendit se dextra, sequamur :
 mutemus clipeos, Danaumque insignia nobis
 aptemus. dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat ? 390
 arma dabunt ipsi.' sic fatus deinde comantem
 Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum
 induitur, laterique Argivum adcommodat ensem.
 hoc Rhipeus, hoc ipse Dymas, omnisque iuventus
 laeta facit ; spoliis se quisque recentibus armat.
 vadimus inmixti Danais haud numine nostro,
 multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem
 conserimus ; multos Danaum demittimus Orco.
 diffugiunt alii ad naves, et litora cursu
 fida petunt ; pars ingentem formidine turpi 400
 scandunt rursus equum, et nota conduntur in alvo.

heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis !
 ecce trahebatur passis Priameia virgo
 crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae,
 ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra,
 lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.
 non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus,
 et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen.
 consequimur cuncti et densis incurrimus armis.
 hic primum ex alto delubri culmine telis 410
 nostrorum obruimur, oriturque miserrima caedes
 armorum facie et Graiarum errore iubarum.
 tum Danaï gemitu atque ereptae virginis ira
 undique collecti invadunt, acerrimus Ajax,
 et gemini Atridae, Dolopumque exercitus omnis :
 adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
 confligunt, Zephyrusque, Notusque, et laetus Eois
 Euris equis : stridunt silvae, saevitque tridenti

spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo
 illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram 420
 fudimus insidiis, totaque agitavimus urbe,
 apparent ; primi clipeos mentitaque tela
 adgnoscent, atque ora sono discordia signant.
 ilicet obruimur numero : primusque Coroebus
 Peneleï dextra divae armipotentis ad aram
 procumbit ; cadit et Rhipeus, iustissimus unus
 qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi—
 dis aliter visum—pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque,
 confixi a sociis ; nec te tua plurima, Panthu,
 labentem pietas, nec Apollinis infula texit. 430
 Iliaci cineres, et flamma extrema meorum,
 testor, in occasu vestro nec tela nec ulla
 vitavisse vices Danaum, et, si fata fuissent
 ut caderem, meruisse manu. divellimur inde,
 Iphitus et Pelias mecum, quorum Iphitus aevo
 iam gravior, Pelias et vulnere tardus Ulixi ;
 protinus ad sedes Priami clamore vocati.
 hic vero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nusquam
 bella forent, nulli tota morerentur in urbe,
 sic Martem indomitum, Danaosque ad tecta ruentes
 cernimus, obsessumque acta testudine limen. 441
 haerent parietibus scalae, postesque sub ipsos
 nituntur gradibus, clipeosque ad tela sinistris
 protecti obiciunt, prensant fastigia dextris.
 Dardanidae contra turres ac tecta domorum
 culmina convellunt : his se, quando ultima cernunt,
 extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis ;
 auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum,
 devolvunt : alii strictis mucronibus imas
 obsedere fores ; has servant agmine denso. 450
 instaurati animi, regis succurrere tectis,
 auxilioque levare viros, vimque addere victis.
 limen erat caecaeque fores et pervius usus
 tectorum inter se Priami, postesque relictis

a tergo, infelix qua se, dum regna manebant,
 saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat
 ad soceros, et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat.
 evado ad summi fastigia culminis, unde
 tela manu miseri iactabant inrita Teucri.
 turrin in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra 460
 eductam tectis, unde omnis Troia videri
 et Danaum solitae naves et Achaica castra,
 adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantes
 iuncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis
 sedibus, inpulimusque : ea lapsa repente ruinam
 cum sonitu trahit, et Danaum super agmina late
 incidit. ast alii subeunt ; nec saxa, nec ullum
 telorum interea cessat genus.

vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus
 exultat telis et luce coruscus aëna : 470

qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,
 frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,
 nunc positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa,
 lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga
 arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.
 una ingens Periphas et equorum agitator Achillis
 armiger Automedon, una omnis Scyria pubes
 succedunt tecto, et flammam ad culmina iactant.
 ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni
 limina perrumpit, postesque a cardine vellit 480
 aeratos ; iamque excisa trabe firma cavavit
 robora, et ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram.
 apparet domus intus, et atria longa patescunt ;
 apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum,
 armatosque vident stantes in limine primo.

at domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
 miscetur ; penitusque cavæ plangoribus aedes
 femineis ululant ; ferit aurea sidera clamor.
 tum pavidae tectis matres ingentibus errant,
 amplexaeque tenent postes, atque oscula figunt. 490
 instat vi patria Pyrrhus ; nec claustra, neque ipsi

custodes sufferre valent. labat ariete crebro
 ianua, et emoti procumbunt cardine postes.
 fit via vi : rumpunt aditus, primosque trucidant
 inmissi Danaï, et late loca milite complent.
 non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
 exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
 fertur in arva furens cumulo, camposque per omnes
 cum stabulis armenta trahit. vidi ipse furentem
 caede Neoptolemmum, geminosque in limine Atridas :
 vidi Hecubam centumque nurus, Priamumque per
 aras

501

sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignes.
 quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum,
 barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi,
 procubuere : tenent Danaï, qua deficit ignis.

forsitan et Priami fuerint quae fata, requiras.
 urbis uti captae casum convulsaque vidit
 limina tectorum, et medium in penetralibus hostem,
 arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo
 circumdat nequiquam umeris, et inutile ferrum

510

cingitur, ac densos fertur moriturus in hostes.
 aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe
 ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterrima laurus,
 incumbens arae atque umbra complexa Penates.
 hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum,
 praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae,
 condensae et divom amplexae simulacra sedebant.

ipsum autem sumptis Priamum iuvenilibus armis
 ut vidit, ‘ quae mens tam dira, miserrime coniunx,
 inpulit his cingi telis ? aut quo ruis ? ’ inquit.

520

‘ non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
 tempus eget ; non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector.
 huc tandem concede ; haec ara tuebitur omnes,
 aut moriere simul.’ sic ore effata recepit
 ad sese, et sacra longaevum in sede locavit.
 ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites,
 unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostes

porticibus longis fugit, et vacua atria lustrat
 saucius. illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus 529
 insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta.

ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum,
 concidit, ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit.
 hic Priamus, quamquam in media iam morte tenetur,
 non tamen abstinuit, nec voci iraeque pepercit.

‘at tibi pro scelere,’ exclamat, ‘pro talibus ausis,
 di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet,
 persolvant grates dignas, et praemia reddant
 debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum
 fecisti, et patrios foedasti funere vultus.

at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles 540
 talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque
 supplicis erubuit, corpusque exsanguie sepulchro
 reddidit Hectoreum, meque in mea regna remisit.’

sic fatus senior, telumque inbelle sine ictu
 coniecit, rauco quod protinus aere repulsum,
 et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pependit.
 cui Pyrrhus: ‘referes ergo haec, et nuntius ibis
 Pelidae genitori; illi mea tristia facta
 degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento.

nunc morere.’ hoc dicens, altaria ad ipsa tre-
 mentem 550

traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
 implicuitque comam laeva, dextraque coruscum
 extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.
 haec finis Priami fatorum; hic exitus illum
 sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem
 Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
 regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,
 avulsumque umeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.

at me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.
 obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago, 560
 ut regem aequaevum crudeli vulnere vidi
 vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa,
 et direpta domus, et parvi casus Iuli.

respicio, et quae sit me circum copia lustrō.
deseruere omnes defessi, et corpora saltu
ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere.

iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem
Tyndarida aspicio ; dant clara incendia lucem
erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti. 570

illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros,
et poenas Danaum et deserti coniugis iras
praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,
abdiderat sese, atque aris invisā sedebat.

exarsere ignes animo ; subit ira cadentem
ulcisci patriam, et sceleratas sumere poenas :

‘ scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae
aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho ?

coniugiumque domumque patres natosque videbit,
Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris? 580

occiderit ferro Priamus ? Troia arserit igni ?

Dardaniam toties sudarit sanguine litus ?

non ita. namque, etsi nullum memorabile nomen
feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem,

extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentes

laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit

ultricies flammae, et cineres satiasset meorum.’

talia iactabam, et furiata mente ferebar,

cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam
obtulit, et pura per noctem in luce refulsit 590

alma parens, confessa deam, qualisque videri

caelicolis et quanta solet ; dextraque prehensum

continuit, roseoque haec insuper addidit ore :

‘ nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras ?

quid furis ? aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit ?

non prius aspicias, ubi fessum aetate parentem

liqueris Anchisen ? superet coniunxne Creusa,

Ascaniusque puer ? quos omnes undique Graiae

circumerrant acies, et, ni mea cura resistat,

567-588 *omittunt codices optimi.* 585 *merentis.* 587 *famam.*

iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis. 600
 non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisâ Lacaenae,
 culpatusve Paris, divom inclementia, divom,
 has evertit opes, sternitque a culmine Troiam.
 aspice—namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
 mortales hebetat visus tibi et umida circum
 caligat, nubem eripiam : tu ne qua parentis
 iussa time, neu praeceptis parere recusa—
 hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis
 saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,
 Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti 610
 fundamenta quatit, totamque a sedibus urbem
 eruit. hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas
 prima tenet, sociumque furens a navibus agmen
 ferro accincta vocat.

iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas
 insedit, nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.
 ipse Pater Danais animos viresque secundas
 sufficit ; ipse deos in Dardana suscitât arma.
 eripe, nate, fugam, finemque inpone labori.
 nusquam abero, et tutum patrio te limine sistam.' 620
 dixerat ; et spissis noctis se condidit umbris.
 apparent dirae facies, inimicaque Troiae
 numina magna deum.

tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignes
 Ilium, et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia ;
 ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
 cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
 eruere agricolae certatim ; illa usque minatur
 et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,
 vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum 630
 congemuit traxitque iugis avulsa ruinam.
 descendo, ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostes
 expedior ; dant tela locum, flammaeque recedunt.

atque ubi iam patriae perventum ad limina sedis
 antiquasque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos

616 limbo. 632 dea.

optabam primum montes primumque petebam,
 abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia,
 exsiliumque pati. 'vos o, quibus integer aevi
 sanguis,' ait, 'solidaeque suo stant robore vires
 vos agitate fugam.

640

me si caelicolae voluissent ducere vitam,
 has mihi servassent sedes. satis una superque
 vidimus excidia, et captae superavimus urbi.
 sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus.
 ipse manu mortem inveniam; miserebitur hostis,
 exuviasque petet; facilis iactura sepulchri.
 iam pridem invisus divis et inutilis annos
 demoror, ex quo me divom pater atque hominum rex
 fulminis adflavit ventis, et contigit igni.'

talia perstabat memorans, fixusque manebat. 650

nos contra effusi lacrimis, coniunxque Creusa
 Ascaniusque omnisque domus, ne vertere secum
 cuncta pater fatoque urgenti incumbere vellet.
 abnegat, inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem.
 rursus in arma feror, mortemque miserrimus opto:
 nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?

'mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto
 sperasti? tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?
 si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui,
 et sedet hoc animo, perituraeque addere Troiae 660

teque tuosque iuvat, patet isti ianua leto,
 iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,
 natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obruncat ad aras.
 hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignes
 eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetrabilibus, utque
 Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam
 alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?
 arma, viri, ferte arma: vocat lux ultima victos.
 reddite me Danais; sinite instaurata revisam 669
 proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.'

hinc ferro accingor rursus, clipeoque sinistram

667 mactato.

insertabam aptans, meque extra tecta ferebam.
 ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx
 haerebat, parvumque patri tendebat Iulum :
 ‘ si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum ;
 sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,
 hanc primum tutare domum. cui parvus Iulus,
 cui pater, et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquo?’

talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat ;
 cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum. 680
 namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum
 ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli
 fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia molles
 lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci.
 nos pavidi trepidare metu, crinemque flagrantem
 excutere, et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignes.

at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
 extulit, et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit :
 ‘ Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
 aspice nos—hoc tantum—et, si pietate meremur, 690
 da deinde auxilium, Pater, atque haec omina firma.’

vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore
 intonuit laevum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras
 stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.
 illam, summa super labentem culmina tecti,
 cernimus Idaea claram se condere silva,
 signantemque vias ; tum longo limite sulcus
 dat lucem, et late circum loca sulphure fumant.
 hic vero victus genitor se tollit ad auras,
 adfaturque deos, et sanctum sidus adorat. 700

‘ iam iam nulla mora est ; sequor, et, qua ducitis,
 adsum,
 di patrii ; servate domum, servate nepotem ;
 vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numine Troia
 est.

cedo equidem, nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso.’
 dixerat ille ; et iam per moenia clarior ignis

680 subito. 683 molli.

auditur, propiusque aestus incendia volvunt.

‘ergo age, care pater, cervici inponere nostrae;
 ipse subibo umeris, nec me labor iste gravabit;
 quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periculum,
 una salus ambobus erit. mihi parvus Iulus 710
 sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx.
 vos, famuli, quae dicam, animis advertite vestris.
 est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum
 desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus,
 religione patrum multos servata per annos:
 hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam.
 tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque Penates;
 me, bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti,
 attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
 abluero.’ 720

haec fatus, latos umeros subiectaque colla
 veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis;
 succedoque oneri. dextrae se parvus Iulus
 implicit, sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis:
 pone subit coniunx.

ferimur per opaca locorum;
 et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant
 tela, neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai,
 nunc omnes terrent aerae, sonus excitat omnis
 suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.
 iamque propinquabam portis, omnemque videbar 730
 evasisse viam, subito cum creber ad aures
 visus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram
 prospiciens, ‘nate,’ exclamat, ‘fuge, nate; propin-
 quant;

ardentes clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.’

hic mihi nescio quod trepido malè numen amicum
 confusam eripuit mentem. namque avia cursu
 dum sequor, et nota excedo regione viarum,
 heu! misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa
 substitit? erravitne via seu lassa resedit?
 incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris. 740

nec prius amissam respexi, animumve reflexi,
 quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam
 venimus: hic demum collectis omnibus una
 defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit.
 quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque?
 aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?

Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque Penates
 commendo sociis, et curva valle recondo;
 ipse urbem repeto, et cingor fulgentibus armis.
 stat casus renovare omnes, omnemque reverti 750
 per Troiam, et rursus caput obiectare periclis.

principio muros obscuraque limina portae,
 qua gressum extuleram, repeto; et vestigia retro
 observata sequor per noctem et lumine lustror.
 horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.
 inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte, tulisset,
 me refero. inruerant Danaï, et tectum omne
 tenebant.

ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento
 volvitur; exsuperant flammæ; furit aestus ad auras.
 procedo, et Priami sedes arcemque reviso. 760

et iam porticibus vacuis Iunonis asylo
 custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Ulixes
 praedam adservabant. huc undique Troia gaza
 incensis erepta adytis mensaeque deorum
 crateresque auro solidi captivaeque vestis
 congeritur. pueri et pavidæ longo ordine matres
 stant circum.

ausus quin etiam voces iactare per umbram
 inplevi clamore vias, maestusque Creusam 769
 nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi.
 quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine furenti
 infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae
 visa mihi ante oculos, et nota maior imago.
 obstipui, steteruntque comae, et vox faucibus haesit.
 tum sic adfari, et curas his demere dictis:

755 animo.

'quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,
 o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divom
 eveniunt: nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam
 fas aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi. 779
 longa tibi exsilia, et vastum maris aequor arandum,
 et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
 inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris;
 illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx
 parta tibi; lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae.
 non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
 aspiciam, aut Graeis servitum matribus ibo,
 Dardanis, et divae Veneris nurus:
 sed me magna deum Genetrix his detinet oris.
 iamque vale, et nati conserva communis amorem.'
 haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volen-
 tem 790

dicere deseruit, tenuesque recessit in auras.
 ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;
 ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,
 par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno.
 sic demum socios consumpta nocte reviso.

atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum
 invenio admirans numerum, matresque virosque,
 collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile vulgus.
 undique convenere, animis opibusque parati,
 in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras. 800
 iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae,
 ducebatque diem; Danaique obsessa tenebant
 limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur:
 cessi, et sublato montes genitore petivi."

778 c. hinc portare. hinc asportare. 783 res Italiae.

LIBER TERTIUS

“POSTQUAM res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem
inmeritam visum superis, ceciditque superbum
Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia,
diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras
auguriis agimur divom, classemque sub ipsa
Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae,
incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur,
contrahimusque viros. vix prima inceperat aestas,
et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat,
litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo 10
et campos, ubi Troia fuit. feror exsul in altum
cum sociis natoque, Penatibus et magnis dis.

terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis—
Thraces arant—acri quondam regnata Lycurgo,
hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique Penates,
dum fortuna fuit. feror huc, et litore curvo
moenia prima loco fatis ingressus iniquis,
Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo.

sacra Dionaeae matri divisque ferebam
auspiciis coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem 21
caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum.
forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo
virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.
accessi, viridemque ab humo convellere silvam
conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras,
horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum.
nam quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos

vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae
 et terram tabo maculant. mihi frigidus horror
 membra quatit, gelidusque coit formidine sanguis. 30
 rursus et alterius lentum convellere vimen
 insequor et causas penitus temptare latentes ;
 ater et alterius sequitur de cortice sanguis.
 multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestes
 Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis,
 rite secundarent visus omenque levarent.

tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu
 adgredior genibusque adversae obluctor harenae,—
 eloquar an sileam?—gemitus lacrimabilis imo
 auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad aures : 40

‘quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? iam parce sepulto,
 parce pias scelerare manus : non me tibi Troia
 externum tulit aut cruor hic de stipite manat.
 heu ! fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum.
 nam Polydorus ego : hic confixum ferrea textit
 telorum seges et iaculis increvit acutis.’

tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus
 obstipui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.

hunc Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere
 magno

infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum 50
 Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis
 Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione videret.

ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum, et fortuna recessit,
 res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus,
 fas omne abrumpit ; Polydorum obtruncat, et auro
 vi potitur. quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
 auri sacra fames? postquam pavor ossa reliquit,
 delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentem
 monstra deum refero et quae sit sententia posco.
 omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra, 60
 linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus Austros.
 ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens

61 linquere.

aggeritur tumulo tellus ; stant Manibus arae
 caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso,
 et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae ;
 inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte,
 sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulchro
 condimus et magna supremum voce ciemus.
 inde ubi prima fides pelago, placataque venti
 dant maria et lenis crepitans vocat Auster in
 altum,

70

deducunt socii naves et litora complent.
 provehimur portu, terraeque urbesque recedunt.

sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus
 Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo,
 quam pius Arcitenens oras et litora circum
 errantem Mycono e celsa Gyaroque revinxit
 inmotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos.
 huc feror, haec fessos tuto placidissima portu
 accipit. egressi veneramur Apollinis urbem.
 rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos,
 vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro
 occurrit, veterem Anchisen adgnovit amicum.
 iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus.

81

templa dei saxo venerabar structa vetusto :
 ‘da propriam, Thymbraee, domum ; da moenia fessis
 et genus et mansuram urbem ; serva altera Troiae
 Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achilli.
 quem sequimur ? quove ire iubes ? ubi ponere sedes ?
 da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris.’
 vix ea fatus eram : tremere omnia visa repente,
 liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri
 mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.
 submissi petimus terram, et vox fertur ad aures :
 ‘Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
 prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
 accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.
 hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,

90

75 Arquitenens. 82 adgnoscit.

et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.'

haec Phoebus ; mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu
laetitia, et cuncti quae sint ea moenia quaerunt, 100
quo Phoebus vocet errantes iubeatque reverti.

tum genitor, veterum volvens monimenta virorum,

'audite, o proceres,' ait, 'et spes discite vestras.

Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto,

mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae.

centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna ;

maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,

Teucus Rhoeteas primum est advectus ad oras

optavitque locum regno. nondum Ilium et arces

Pergameae steterant ; habitabant vallibus imis. 110

hinc Mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera

Idaeumque nemus ; hinc fida silentia sacris,

et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones.

ergo agite, et, divom ducunt qua iussa, sequamur ;

placemus ventos et Gnosia regna petamus.

nec longo distant cursu : modo Iuppiter adsit,

tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris.'

sic fatus meritos aris mactavit honores,

taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo,

nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam. 120

fama volat pulsum regnis cecis paternis

Idomenea ducem, desertaque litora Cretae,

hoste vacare domos, sedesque adstare relictas.

linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque volamus,

bacchatamque iugis Naxon viridemque Donusam,

Olearon niveamque Paron sparsasque per aequor

Cycladas et crebris legimus freta concita terris.

nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor ;

hortantur socii Cretam proavosque petamus.

prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntes, 130

et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris.

ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis

Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem

hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.
 iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes ;
 conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus ;
 iura domosque dabam ; subito cum tabida membris
 corrupto caeli tractu miserandaque venit
 arboribusque satisque lucis et letifer annus.
 linquebant dulces animas aut aegra trahebant 140
 corpora ; tum steriles exurere Sirius agros ;
 arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat.
 rursus ad oraclum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso
 hortatur pater ire mari veniamque precari,
 quam fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum
 temptare auxilium iubeat, quo vertere cursus.

nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat :
 effigies sacrae divom Phrygiique Penates,
 quos mecum a Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis
 extuleram, visi ante oculos adstare iacentis 150
 in somnis, multo manifesti lumine, qua se
 plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras ;
 tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis :
 ' quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,
 hic canit, et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.
 nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti,
 nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor,
 idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes
 imperiumque urbi dabimus. tu moenia magnis
 magna para, longumque fugae ne linque laborem. 160
 mutandae sedes. non haec tibi litora suasit
 Delius aut Cretae iussit considerare Apollo.
 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
 terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae ;
 Oenotri coluere viri ; nunc fama minores
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem :
 hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus,
 Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.
 surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti

146 temptari. 166 duxisse.

haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat
Ausonias. Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva.' 171

talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum—
nec sopor illud erat, sed coram adgnosceret vultus
velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar ;
tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor—
corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas
ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo
intemerata focis. perfecto laetus honore
Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando.
adgnovit prolem ambiguum geminosque parentes 180
seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum.

tum memorat: 'nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,
sola mihi tales casus Cassandra canebat.
nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro,
et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare.
sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos litora Teucros
crederet? aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret?
cedamus Phoebo et moniti meliora sequamur.'
sic ait, et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes.

hanc quoque deserimus sedem, paucisque relictis 190
vela damus vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor.

postquam altum tenuere rates nec iam amplius ullae
apparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus,
tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber
noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.
continuo venti volvunt mare magnaue surgunt
aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto;
involvere diem nimbi, et nox umida caelum
abstulit; ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.
excutimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis. 200
ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo
nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in unda.
tres adeo incertos caeca caligine soles
erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.
quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem
visa, aperire procul montes ac volvere fumum.

vela cadunt, remis insurgimus, haud mora, nautae
adnixi torquent spumas et caerulea verrunt.

servatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum
excipiunt. Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae, ²¹⁰
insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno
Harpyiaeque colunt aliae, Phineia postquam
clausa domus mensasque metu liquere priores.
tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla
pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
proluvies, uncaeque manus et pallida semper
ora fame.

huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce
laeta boum passim campis armenta videmus ²²⁰
caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.
inruimus ferro, et divos ipsumque vocamus
in partem praedamque Iovem : tum litore curvo
exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis.
at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt
Harpyiae et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,
diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant
inmundo ; tum vox taetrum dira inter odorem.
rursum in secessu longo sub rupe cavata
arboribus clausa circum atque horrentibus umbris ²³⁰
instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem :
rursum ex diverso caelisque latebris
turba sonans praedam pedibus circumvolat uncis,
polluit ore dapes. sociis tunc arma capessant
edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum.
haud secus ac iussi faciunt, tectosque per herbam
disponunt enses et scuta latentia condunt.
ergo ubi delapsae sonitum per curva dedere
litora, dat signum specula Misenus ab alta
aere cavo. invadunt socii et nova proelia temptant,
obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucres. ²⁴¹
sed neque vim plumis ullam nec vulnera tergo

209 prima. 210 accipiunt. 230 clausam.

accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae
 semesam praedam et vestigia foeda relinquunt.
 una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,
 infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem :
 ‘bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvenis,
 Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
 et patrio Harpyias insontes pellere regno ?
 accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta, 250
 quae Phoebus Pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus

Apollo

praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
 Italiam cursu petitis, ventisque vocatis
 ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit ;
 sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
 quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
 ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.’
 dixit, et in silvam pinnis ablata refugit.
 at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis
 deriguit : cecidere animi, nec iam amplius armis 260
 sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem,
 sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaeque volucres.
 et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis
 numina magna vocat meritosque indicit honores :
 ‘di prohibete minas ; di talem avertite casum
 et placidi servate pios.’ tum litore funem
 deripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentes.
 tendunt vela Noti ; fugimus spumantibus undis,
 qua cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat.
 iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos 270
 Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis.
 effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laërtia regna,
 et terram altricem saevi exsecramur Ulixi.
 mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis
 et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.
 hunc petimus fessi et parvae succedimus urbi ;
 ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes.

268 ferimur.

ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti
 lustramurque Iovi votisque incendimus aras
 Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.
 exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras
 nudati socii ; iuvat evasisse tot urbes
 Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostes.
 interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum,
 et glacialis hiemps Aquilonibus asperat undas :
 aere cavo clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis,
 postibus adversis figo et rem carmine signo :

280

AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIIS VICTORIBUS ARMA.

linquere tum portus iubeo et considerare transtris.
 certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.
 protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces
 litora que Epiri legimus portuque subimus
 Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem.

290

hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat aures,
 Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbes,
 coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum,
 et patrio Andromachen iterum cecidisse marito.
 obstipui, miroque incensum pectus amore
 compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos.

300

progredior portu, classes et litora linquens,
 sollemnes cum forte dapes et tristia dona
 ante urbem in luco falsi Simoëntis ad undam
 libabat cineri Andromache Manesque vocabat
 Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite
 inanem

et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras.
 ut me conspexit venientem et Troia circum
 arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstris
 deriguit visu in medio ; calor ossa reliquit ;
 labitur, et longo vix tandem tempore fatur :
 ‘ verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers,
 nate dea ? vivisne ? aut, si lux alma recessit,
 Hector ubi est ? ’ dixit, lacrimasque effudit et omnem

310

292 portus Chaonios.

inplevit clamore locum. vix pauca furenti
subicio et raris turbatus vocibus hisco :

‘vivo equidem, vitamque extrema per omnia duco ;
ne dubita, nam vera vides.

heu ! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto
excipit, aut quae digna satis fortuna revisit ?

Hectoris Andromache Pyrrhin’ conubia servas ?’

deiecit vultum et demissa voce locuta est :

320

‘o felix una ante alias Priameïa virgo,

hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis

iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos

nec victoris eri tetigit captiva cubile !

nos patria incensa diversa per aequora vectae

stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum,

servitio enixae, tulimus ; qui deinde secutus

Ledaeam Hermionen Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos

me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam.

ast illum ereptae magno flammatus amore

330

coniugis et scelerum Furiis agitatus Orestes

excipit incautum patriasque obtruncat ad aras.

morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit

pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos

Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit,

Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem.

sed tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere ?

aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris ?

quid puer Ascanius ? superatne et vescitur aura ?

quem tibi iam Troia—

340

ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis ?

ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque viriles

et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector ?’

taliam fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat

incassum fletus, cum sese a moenibus heros

Priamides multis Helenus comitantibus adfert

adgnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit,

et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fundit.

319 Andromachen. 330 inflammatus. 348 lacrimans.

procedo, et parvam Troiam simulataque magnis
 Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum 350
 adgnosco Scaeaeque amplector limina portae.
 nec non et Teucri socia simul urbe fruuntur.
 illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis :
 aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi
 inpositis auro dapibus paterasque tenebant.

iamque dies alterque dies processit, et aurae
 vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro :
 his vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso :
 ‘ Troiugena, interpres divom, qui numina Phoebi,
 qui tripodas Clarii et laurus, qui sidera sentis 360
 et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pinnae,
 fare age—namque omnem cursum mihi prospera dixit
 religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi
 Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas ;
 sola novum dictuque nefas Harpyia Celaeno
 prodigium canit et tristes denuntiat iras
 obscenamque famem—quae prima pericula vito ?
 quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores ? ’
 hic Helenus caesis primum de more iuvenicis
 exorat pacem divom vittasque resolvit 370
 sacra capitis, meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,
 ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit,
 atque haec deinde canit divino ex ore sacerdos :

‘ nate dea—nam te maioribus ire per altum
 auspiciis manifesta fides ; sic fata deum rex
 sortitur volvitque vices, is vertitur ordo—
 pauca tibi e multis, quo tutior hospita lustres
 aequora et Ausonio possis considerare portu,
 expediam dictis ; prohibent nam cetera Parcae
 scire Helenum, farique vetat Saturnia Iuno. 380
 principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam
 vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,
 longa procul longis via dividit invia terris.
 ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda

et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor
 infernique lacus Aeaeaeque insula Circae,
 quam tuta possis urbem componere terra.
 signa tibi dicam, tu condita mente teneto :
 cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam
 litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus 390
 triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
 alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,
 is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.
 nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros :
 fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo.
 has autem terras Italique hanc litoris oram,
 proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu,
 effuge : cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graeis.
 hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri
 et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos 400
 Lyctius Idomeneus : hic illa ducis Meliboei
 parva Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro.
 quin ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes,
 et positis aris iam vota in litore solves,
 purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,
 ne qua inter sanctos ignes in honore deorum
 hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.
 hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto,
 hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.
 ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae 410
 ventus, et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,
 laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur
 aequora circuitu ; dextrum fuge litus et undas.
 haec loca vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina—
 tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas—
 dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
 una foret : venit medio vi pontus et undis
 Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaeque et urbes
 litore diductas angusto interluit aestu.
 dextrum Scylla latus, laevum inplacata Charybdis 420
 obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos

sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras
 erigit alternos et sidera verberat unda.
 at Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris
 ora exsertantem et naves in saxa trahentem.
 prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo
 pube tenuis, postrema inmani corpore pistrix
 delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.
 praestat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni
 cessantem, longos et circumflectere cursus, 430
 quam semel informem vasto vidisse sub antro
 Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa.
 praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia, vati
 si qua fides, animum si veris inplet Apollo,
 unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum
 praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo :
 Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora,
 Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem
 supplicibus supera donis ; sic denique victor
 Trinacria fines Italos mittere relicta. 440
 huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem
 divinosque lacus et Averna sonantia silvis,
 insanam vatem aspicias, quae rupe sub ima
 fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.
 quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo,
 digerit in numerum atque antro seclusa relinquit.
 illa manent inmota locis neque ab ordine cedunt.
 verum eadem, verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
 inpulit et teneras turbavit ianua frondes,
 numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo 450
 nec revocare situs aut iungere carmina curat :
 inconsulti abeunt sedemque ordine Sibyllae.
 hic tibi ne qua morae fuerint dispendia tanti,
 quamvis increpitent socii et vi cursus in altum
 vela vocet possisque sinus implere secundos,
 quin adeas vatem precibusque oracula poscas
 ipsa canat vocemque volens atque ora resolvat.
 illa tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella,

et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem,
 expediet, cursusque dabit venerata secundos. 460
 haec sunt, quae nostra liceat te voce moneri.
 vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam.'

quae postquam vates sic ore effatus amico est,
 dona dehinc auro gravia sectoque elephanto
 imperat ad naves ferri, stipatque carinis
 ingens argentum Dodonaeosque lebetas,
 loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem,
 et conum insignis galeae cristasque comantes,
 arma Neoptolemi. sunt et sua dona parenti.
 addit equos additque duces, 470
 remigium supplet, socios simul instruit armis.

interea classem velis aptare iubebat
 Anchises, fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti.
 quem Phoebi interpretes multo compellat honore :
 'coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo,
 cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis,
 ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus : hanc arripe velis.
 et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare necesse est :
 Ausoniae pars illa procul, quam pandit Apollo.
 vade,' ait, 'o felix nati pietate. quid ultra 480
 provehor et fando surgentes demoror Austros ?'
 nec minus Andromache digressu maesta supremo
 fert picturatas auri subtegmine vestes
 et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem, nec cedit honore,
 textilibusque onerat donis ac talia fatur :
 'accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monimenta
 mearum

sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem,
 coniugis Hectoreae. cape dona extrema tuorum,
 o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago.
 sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat, 490
 et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo.'
 hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis :

'vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta

475 Anchisae = Anchise. 484 honori.

iam sua ! nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur :
 vobis parta quies, nullum maris aequor arandum,
 arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
 quaerenda. effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis,
 quam vestrae fecere manus melioribus, opto,
 auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obvia Graeis.
 si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva
 intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,
 cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,
 Epiro, Hesperia, quibus idem Dardanus auctor
 atque idem casus, unam faciemus utramque
 Troiam animis ; maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.'

500

provehimur pelago vicina Ceraunia iuxta,
 unde iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis.
 sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci.
 sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam
 sortiti remos, passimque in litore sicco
 corpora curamus ; fessos sopor inrigat artus.
 necdum orbem medium nox horis acta subibat :
 haud segnis strato surgit Palinurus et omnes
 explorat ventos atque auribus aëra captat ;
 sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo,
 Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,
 armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.
 postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno,
 dat clarum e puppi signum : nos castra movemus
 temptamusque viam et velorum pandimus alas.
 iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis,
 cum procul obscuros colles humilemque videmus
 Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates,
 Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.
 tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
 induit inplevitque mero divosque vocavit
 stans celsa in puppi :

510

520

'di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes,
 ferte viam vento facilem et spirate secundi.'

499 fuerint. 503 Hesperiam. 527 prima.

crebrescunt optatae aurae, portusque patescit 530
 iam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae.
 vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent.
 portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum;
 obiectae salsa spumant adspergine cautes,
 ipse latet: gemino demittunt bracchia muro
 turriti scopuli refugitque ab litore templum.
 quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi
 tondentes campum late, candore nivali.
 et pater Anchises 'bellum, o terra hospita, portas:
 bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.
 sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti 541
 quadrupedes, et frena iugo concordia ferre:
 spes et pacis,' ait. tum numina sancta precamur
 Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantes,
 et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu;
 praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite
 Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores.
 haud mora, continuo perfectis ordine votis
 cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum
 Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva.
 hinc sinus Herculei, si vera est fama, Tarenti 551
 cernitur; attollit se diva Lacinia contra
 Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.
 tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna,
 et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa
 audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces,
 exsultantque vada atque aestu miscentur harenae.
 et pater Anchises: 'nimirum haec illa Charybdis;
 hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat.
 eripite, o socii, pariterque insurgite remis.' 560
 haud minus ac iussi faciunt, primusque rudentem
 contorsit laevas proram Palinurus ad undas:
 laevam cuncta cohors remis ventisque petivit.
 tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem
 subducta ad Manes imos desedimus unda.

535 dimittunt. 558 hic.

ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere,
 ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra.
 interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,
 ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.

portus ab accessu ventorum inmotus et ingens 570
 ipse; sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis,
 interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem
 turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla
 attollitque globos flammaram et sidera lambit;
 interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis
 erigit eructans liquefactaque saxa sub auras
 cum gemitu glomerat fundoque exaestuat imo.
 fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus
 urgueri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam
 inpositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis; 580
 et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem
 murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo.
 noctem illam tecti silvis inmania monstra
 perferimus, nec quae sonitum det causa videmus.
 nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra
 siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo,
 et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat.

postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo,
 umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram :
 cum subito e silvis macie confecta suprema 590
 ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu
 procedit supplexque manus ad litora tendit.
 respicimus : dira inluyies inmissaque barba,
 consertum tegumen spinis; at cetera Graius,
 et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis.
 isque ubi Dardanios habitus et Troia vidit
 arma procul, paulum aspectu conterritus haesit
 continuitque gradum; mox sese ad litora praeceps
 cum fletu precibusque tulit : ‘per sidera testor,
 per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen, 600
 tollite me, Teucris; quascumque abducite terras :

600 numen.

hoc sat erit. scio me Danais e classibus unum
 et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse Penates.
 pro quo, si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri,
 spargite me in fluctus vastoque inmergite ponto.
 si pereo, hominum manibus periisse iuvabit.
 dixerat, et genua amplexus genibusque volutans
 haerebat. qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus,
 hortamur, quae deinde agitet fortuna fateri.
 ipse pater dextram Anchises haud multa moratus 610
 dat iuveni, atque animum praesenti pignore firmat.
 ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur :
 sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Ulixi,
 nomine Achaemenides, Troiam genitore Adamasto
 paupere—mansissetque utinam fortuna !—profectus.
 hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina linquunt,
 inmemores socii vasto Cyclopi in antro
 deseruere. domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,
 intus opaca, ingens. ipse arduus altaque pulsat
 sidera—di talem terris avertite pestem !— 620
 nec visu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli.
 visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro.
 vidi egomet duo de numero cum corpora nostro
 prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro
 frangeret ad saxum, sanieque exspersa natarent
 limina ; vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo
 manderet et tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus.
 haud inpune quidem : nec talia passus Ulixes
 oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto.
 nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus 630
 cervicem inflexam posuit iacuitque per antrum
 inmensus saniem eructans et frustra cruento
 per somnum commixta mero, nos magna precati
 numina sortitique vices una undique circum
 fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto
 ingens, quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,
 Argolici clipei aut Phoebae lampadis instar,
 625 adspersa. 627 trepidi.

et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras.
sed fugite, o miseri, fugite atque ab litore funem
rumpite.

640

nam qualis quantusque cavo Polyphemus in antro
lanigeras claudit pecudes atque ubera pressat,
centum alii curva haec habitant ad litora vulgo
infandi Cyclopes, et altis montibus errant.
tertia iam lunae se cornua lumine complent,
cum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum
lustra domosque traho, vastosque ab rupe Cyclopas
prospicio sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco.
victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna,
dant rami, et vulsis pascunt radicibus herbae.

650

omnia collustrans hanc primum ad litora classem
conspexi venientem. huic me, quaecumque fuisset,
addixi : satis est gentem effugisse nefandam.
vos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto.'

vix ea fatus erat, summo cum monte videmus
ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem
pastorem Polyphemum, et litora nota petentem,
monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen
ademptum.

trunca manu pinus regit et vestigia firmat ;
lanigerae comitantur oves ; ea sola voluptas
solamenque mali.

660

postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora venit,
luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem
dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per aequor
iam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.
nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare recepto
supplice sic merito, tacitique incidere funem,
verrimus et proni certantibus aequora remis.
sensit, et ad sonitum vocis vestigia torsit.

verum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas,
nec potis Ionios fluctus aequare sequendo,
clamorem inmensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes

670

659 manum. 665 fluctu. 668 vertimus. 670 dextram.

contremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus
 Italiae, curvisque inmugiit Aetna cavernis.
 at genus e silvis Cyclopum et montibus altis
 excitum ruit ad portus et litora complent.
 cernimus adstantes nequiquam lumine torvo
 Aetnaeos fratres, caelo capita alta ferentes,
 concilium horrendum : quales cum vertice celso
 aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi 680
 constiterunt, silva alta Iovis lucusve Dianae.
 praecipites metus acer agit quocumque rudentes
 excutere et ventis intendere vela secundis.
 contra iussa monent Heleni, Scyllam atque Charybdis
 inter utramque viam leti discrimine parvo,
 ni teneant cursus : certum est dare lintea retro.
 ecce autem Boreas angusta ab sede Pelori
 missus adest : vivo praetervehor ostia saxo
 Pantagiae Megarosque sinus Thapsumque iacentem.
 talia monstrabat relegens errata retrorsus 690
 litora Achaemenides, comes infelicis Ulixi.

Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra
 Plemurium undosum ; nomen dixere priores
 Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem
 occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc
 ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.
 iussi numina magna loci veneramur ; et inde
 exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori :
 hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni
 radimus, et fatis numquam concessa moveri 700
 apparet Camarina procul, campique Geloi,
 inmanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.
 arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
 moenia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum ;
 teque datis linquo velis, palmosa Selinus,
 et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeïa caecis.
 hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora
 accipit. hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actis
 heu genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,

708 actus.

amitto Anchisen. hic me, pater optime, fessum 710
deseris, heu tantis nequiquam erepte periclis!
nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno.
hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.
hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris.”

sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus
fata renarrabat divom cursusque docebat.
conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit.

LIBER QUARTUS

AT regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
vulnus alit venis, et caeco carpitur igni.
multa viri virtus animo, multusque recursat
gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus
verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras
umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,
cum sic unaniam adloquitur male sana sororem:
Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!
quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes! 10
quem sese ore ferens! quam forti pectore et armis!
credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum:
degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille
iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!
si mihi non animo fixum inmotumque sederet
ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali,
postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit;
si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
huic uni forsant potui succumbere culpae.
Anna—fatebor enim—miseri post fata Sychaei 20
coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede Penates,
solus hic inflexit sensus, animumque labantem
inpulit: adgnosco veteris vestigia flammae.
sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
vel Pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
pallentes umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,

ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo.
 ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
 abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro.
 sic effata sinum lacrimis inplevit obortis.

30

Anna refert: 'o luce magis dilecta sorori,
 solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,
 nec dulces natos, Veneris nec praemia noris?
 id cinerem aut Manes credis curare sepultos?
 esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
 non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas,
 ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
 dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?
 nec venit in mentem, quorum consederis arvis?
 hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
 et Numidae infreni cingunt, et inhospita Syrtis;
 hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes
 Barcaei. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam
 germanique minas?

40

dis equidem auspiciis reor et Iunone secunda
 hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.
 quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
 coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis,
 Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!
 tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis
 indulge hospitio, causasque innecte morandi,
 dum pelago desaevit hiemps et aquosus Orion,
 quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.'

50

his dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore,
 spemque dedit dubiae menti, solvitque pudorem.
 principio delubra adeunt, pacemque per aras
 exquirunt: mactant lectas de more bidentes
 legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,
 Iunoni ante omnes, cui vincla iugalia curae.
 ipsa, tenens dextra pateram, pulcherrima Dido
 candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit;
 aut ante ora deum pingues spatiat ad aras,

60

54 impenso. flammavit. 58 frugiferae.

instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis
 pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.
 heu vatum ignarae mentes ! quid vota furentem,
 quid delubra iuvant ? est molles flamma medullas
 interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
 uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
 urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
 quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit 70
 pastor agens telis, liquitque volatile ferrum
 nescius : illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
 Dictaeos ; haeret lateri letalis harundo.
 nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit,
 Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam ;
 incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit :
 nunc eadem labente die convivium quaerit,
 Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores
 exposcit, pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.
 post, ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim 80
 luna premit, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,
 sola domo maeret vacua, stratisque relictis
 incubat : illum absens absentem auditque videtque,
 aut gremio Ascanium genitoris imagine capta
 detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.
 non coeptae adsurgunt turre ; non arma iuventus
 exercet, portusve aut propugnacula bello
 tuta parant : pendent opera interrupta, minaeque
 murorum ingentes, aequataque machina caelo.
 quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri 90
 cara Iovis coniunx, nec famam obstare furori,
 talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis :
 ‘ egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis
 tuque puerque tuus ; magnum et memorabile nomen,
 una dolo divom si femina victa duorum est.
 nec me adeo fallit, veritam te moenia nostra
 suspectas habuisse domos Carthaginis altae.
 sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto ?

quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
 exercemus? habes, tota quod mente petisti : 100
 ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.
 communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus
 auspiciis ; liceat Phrygio servire marito,
 dotalesque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.'

olli—sensit enim simulata mente locutam,
 quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras—
 sic contra est ingressa Venus : ' quis talia demens
 abnuat, aut tecum malit contendere bello,
 si modo, quod memoras, factum fortuna sequatur ?
 sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam 110
 esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis,
 miscerive probet populos, aut foedera iungi.
 tu coniunx ; tibi fas animum temptare precando.
 perge ; sequar.' tum sic excepit regia Iuno :
 'mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione, quod instat,
 confieri possit, paucis, adverte, docebo.
 venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido
 in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus
 extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.
 his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum, 120
 dum trepidant alae, saltusque indagine cingunt,
 desuper infundam, et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.
 diffugient comites, et nocte tegentur opaca :
 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
 devenient. adero, et, tua si mihi certa voluntas,
 conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo.
 hic hymenaeus erit.' non adversata petenti
 adnuit, atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.

Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
 it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus : 130
 retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,
 Massylique ruunt equites, et odora canum vis.
 reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
 Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro

stat sonipes, ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
 tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva,
 Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo :
 cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
 aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.
 nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus 140
 incedunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
 infert se socium Aeneas, atque agmina iungit.
 qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
 deserit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo,
 instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
 Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi :
 ipse iugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem
 fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat auro ;
 tela sonant umeris : haud illo segnior ibat
 Aeneas ; tantum egregio decus enitet ore. 150
 postquam altos ventum in montes atque invia lustra,
 ecce ferae, saxi deiectae vertice, caprae
 decurrere iugis ; alia de parte patentes
 transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi
 pulverulenta fuga glomerant montesque relinquunt.
 at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri
 gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,
 spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
 optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.
 interea magno misceri murmure caelum 160
 incipit ; insequitur commixta grandine nimbus.
 et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus
 Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros
 tecta metu petiere : ruunt de montibus amnes.
 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
 deveniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
 dant signum : fulsere ignes, et conscius Aether
 conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.
 ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
 causa fuit ; neque enim specie famave movetur, 170
 168 conubii.

nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem :
coniugium vocat ; hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum ;
mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo ;
parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras,
ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.
illam Terra parens, ira inritata deorum,
extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
progenuit, pedibus celerem et pernicipibus alis ; 180
monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore
plumae,

tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures.
nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram
stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno ;
luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti,
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.
haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
gaudens et pariter facta atque infecta canebat : 190
venisse Aenean, Troiano sanguine cretum,
cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido ;
nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere,
regnorum inmemores turpique cupidine captos.
haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.
protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban,
incenditque animum dictis, atque aggerat iras.

hic Hammone satus, rapta Garamantide Nympha,
templa Iovi centum latis inmania regnis,
centum aras posuit, vigilemque sacraverat ignem, 200
excubias divom aeternas, pecudumque cruore
pingue solum, et variis florentia limina sertis.
isque amens animi, et rumore accensus amaro,
dicitur ante aras, media inter numina divom,
multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis :

‘Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
 gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,
 aspicias haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques,
 nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes
 terrificant animos, et inania murmura miscent? 210
 femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
 exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum,
 cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
 reppulit, ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.
 et nunc ille Paris, cum semiviro comitatu,
 Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
 subnixus, raptο potitur: nos munera templis
 quippe tuis ferimus, famamque fovemus inanem.’

talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem
 audiit omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit 220
 regia, et oblitos famae melioris amantes.
 tum sic Mercurium adloquitur, ac talia mandat:
 ‘vade age, nate, voca Zephyros, et labere pinnis,
 Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Carthagine qui nunc
 exspectat, fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
 adloquere, et celeres defer mea dicta per auras.
 non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem
 promisit, Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
 sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
 Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri 230
 proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.

si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum,
 nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
 Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?
 quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur,
 nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?
 naviget: haec summa est; hic nostri nuntius esto.’

dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat
 imperio: et primum pedibus talaria nectit
 aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra 240
 seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.

217 subnexus.

tum virgam capit—hac animas ille evocat Orco
 pallentes, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit ;
 dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat—
 illa fretus agit ventos, et turbida tranat
 nubila. iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
 Atlantis duri, caelum qui vertice fulcit,
 Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris
 piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri ;
 nix umeros infusa tegit : tum flumina mento 250
 praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.
 hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
 constitit ; hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas
 misit, avi similis, quae circum litora, circum
 piscosos scopulos, humilis volat aequora iuxta.
 haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat
 litus harenosum ad Libyae, ventosque secabat
 materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.
 ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
 Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem 260
 conspicit : atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva
 ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena,
 demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido
 fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.
 continuo invadit : ‘ tu nunc Carthaginis altae
 fundamenta locas, pulchramque uxorius urbem
 exstruis, heu regni rerumque oblite tuarum ?
 ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
 regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet ;
 ipse haec ferre iubet celeres mandata per auras : 270
 quid struis ? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris ?
 si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
 nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,
 Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
 respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
 debentur.’ tali Cyllenius ore locutus
 mortales visus medio sermone reliquit,

257 harenosum Libyae. 273 *omittunt codd. plerique.*

et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.

at vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
 arrectaeque horrore comae, et vox faucibus haesit. 280
 ardet abire fuga dulcesque relinquere terras,
 attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
 heu, quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
 audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
 atque animum nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc,
 in partesque rapit varias perque omnia versat.
 haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:

Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum:
 classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant;
 arma parent, et, quae rebus sit causa novandis, 290
 dissimulent: sese interea, quando optima Dido
 nesciat, et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
 temptaturum aditus, et quae mollissima fandi
 tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes
 imperio laeti parent, ac iussa facessunt.

at regina dolos—quis fallere possit amantem?—
 praesensit, motusque excepit prima futuros,
 omnia tuta timens. eadem inopia Fama furenti
 detulit armari classem cursumque parari.
 saevit inops animi, totamque incensa per urbem 300
 bacchatur; qualis commotis excita sacris
 Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
 orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.
 tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:

‘dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
 posse nefas, tacitusque mea decedere terra?
 nec te noster amor, nec te data dextera quondam,
 nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
 quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem,
 et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum, 310
 crudelis? quid? si non arva aliena domosque
 ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,
 Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?

209 moliri.

mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te,—
 quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui—
 per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
 si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
 dulce meum, miserere domus labentis, et istam,
 oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
 te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni 320
 odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem
 extinctus pudor, et, qua sola sidera adibam,
 fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?
 hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.
 quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater
 destruat, aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?
 saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
 ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
 luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
 non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.' 330

dixerat. ille Iovis monitis inmota tenebat
 lumina, et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.
 tandem pauca refert: 'ego te, quae plurima fando
 enumerare vales, numquam, Regina, negabo
 promeritam; nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,
 dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.
 pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto
 speravi, ne finge, fugam; nec coniugis umquam
 praetendi taedas, aut haec in foedera veni.
 me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam 340
 auspiciis, et sponte mea componere curas,
 urbem Troianam primum dulcesque meorum
 reliquias colerem; Priami tecta alta manerent,
 et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.
 sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
 Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes.
 hic amor, haec patria est. si te Carthaginis arces
 Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
 quae tandem, Ausonia Teucros considerare terra,
 invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna. 350

me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
 nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
 admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
 me puer Ascanius, capitisque iniuria cari,
 quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
 nunc etiam interpretes divom, Iove missus ab ipso—
 testor utrumque caput—celeres mandata per auras
 detulit. ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
 intrantem muros, vocemque his auribus hausi.
 desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis; 360
 Italiam non sponte sequor.'

talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur,
 huc illuc volvens oculos, totumque pererrat
 luminibus tacitis, et sic accensa profatur:
 'nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
 perfide; sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
 Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
 nam quid dissimulo? aut quae me ad maiora reservo:
 num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit? 369
 num lacrimas victus dedit, aut miseratus amantem est?
 quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno,
 nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.
 nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem
 excepi, et regni demens in parte locavi;
 amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi.
 heu furiis incensa feror! nunc augur Apollo,
 nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
 interpretes divom fert horrida iussa per auras.
 scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
 sollicitat. neque te teneo, neque dicta refello. 380
 i, sequere Italiam, ventis pete regna per undas.
 spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
 supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido
 saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens;
 et cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
 omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, inprobe, poenas;
 audiam, et haec Manes veniet mihi fama sub imos.'

his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit, et auras
 aegra fugit, seque ex oculis avertit et aufert, 389
 linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
 dicere. succipiunt famulae, collapsaque membra
 marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.

at pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
 solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
 multa gemens, magnoque animum labefactus amore,
 iussa tamen divom exsequitur, classemque revisit.
 tum vero Teucri incumbunt, et litore celsas
 deducunt toto naves. natat uncta carina ;
 frondentesque ferunt remos et robora silvis
 infabricata, fugae studio. 400

migrantes cernas, totaque ex urbe ruentes ;
 ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum
 cum populant, hiemis memores, tectoque reponunt ;
 it nigrum campis agmen, praedamque per herbas
 convectant calle angusto ; pars grandia trudunt
 obnixae frumenta umeris ; pars agmina cogunt
 castigantque moras ; opere omnis semita fervet.
 quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
 quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late
 prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres 410
 misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor ?
 inprobe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis ?
 ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando
 cogitur, et supplex animos submittere amori,
 ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.

‘Anna, vides toto properari litore : circum
 undique convenere ; vocat iam carbasus auras,
 puppibus et laeti nautae inposuere coronas.
 hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, 419
 et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum
 exsequere, Anna, mihi ; solam nam perfidus ille
 te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus ;
 sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras.

i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum,
 non ego cum Danais Troianam exscindere gentem
 Aulide iuravi, classemve ad Pergama misi,
 nec patris Anchisae cinerem Manesve revelli;
 cur mea dicta neget duras demittere in aures?
 quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:
 exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentes. 430
 non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,
 nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat:
 tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,
 dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.
 extremam hanc oro veniam,—miserere sororis—
 quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam.'

talibus orabat, talesque miserrima fletus
 fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur
 fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
 fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit aures. 440
 ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
 Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
 eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
 consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
 ipsa haeret scopulis, et, quantum vertice ad auras
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
 haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
 tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
 mens inmotam manet; lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

tum vero infelix fati exterrita Dido 450
 mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.
 quo magis inceptum peragat, lucemque relinquat,
 vidit, turicremis cum dona inponeret aris,
 horrendum dictu, latices nigrescere sacros,
 fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem.
 hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.
 praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
 coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
 velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:

428 negat. 436 dederis. cumulata. 446 radicem.

hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
 visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret :
 solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
 saepe queri, et longas in fletum ducere voces.
 multaue praeterea vatium praedicta piorum
 terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furem
 in somnis ferus Aeneas ; semperque relinqui
 sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur
 ire viam, et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra.
 Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus,
 et solem geminum, et duplices se ostendere Thebas ;
 aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitated Orestes
 armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
 cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.

460

471

ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
 decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque
 exigit, et maestam dictis adgressa sororem
 consilium vultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat :
 inveni, germana, viam—gratare sorori—
 quae mihi reddat eum, vel eo me solvat amantem.
 Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem
 ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum :
 hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
 Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
 quae dabat, et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,
 spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.
 haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes,
 quas velit, ast aliis duras inmittere curas ;
 sistere aquam fluviis, et vertere sidera retro ;
 nocturnosque ciet Manes ; mugire videbis
 sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos.
 testor, cara, deos, et te, germana, tuumque
 dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes.
 tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras
 erige, et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit

480

490

464 priorum. 473 divae. 490 movet.

inpius, exuviasque omnes, lectumque iugalem,
 quo perii, superinponant: abolere nefandi
 cuncta viri monimenta iuvat monstratque sacerdos.
 haec effata silet; pallor simul occupat ora.
 non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris 500
 germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
 concipit, aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei.
 ergo iussa parat.

at regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras
 erecta, ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,
 intenditque locum sertis, et fronde coronat
 funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum
 effigiemque toro locat, haud ignara futuri.
 stant arae circum, et crines effusa sacerdos
 ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque 510
 tergemnamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.
 sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni;
 falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis
 pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;
 quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
 et matri praereptus amor.
 ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta,
 unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,
 testatur moritura deos et conscia fati
 sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantes 520
 curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.

nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
 corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
 aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
 cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes, pictaeque volucres,
 quaeque lacus late liquidos, quaeque aspera dumis
 rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.

[lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.]

at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
 solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem 530
 accipit: ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens

saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
 sic adeo insistit, secumque ita corde volutat :
 ' en, quid ago ? rursusne procos inrisa priores
 experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,
 quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos ?
 Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum
 iussa sequar ? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos,
 et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti ?
 quis me autem, fac velle, sinet, ratibusve superbis 540
 invisam accipiet ? nescis heu, perdita, necdum
 Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis ?
 quid tum ? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantes ?
 an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum
 inferar, et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli,
 rursus agam pelago, et ventis dare vela iubebo ?
 quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.
 tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem
 his, germana, malis oneras, atque obicis hosti.
 non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam 550
 degere, more ferae, tales nec tangere curas ;
 non servata fides, cineri promissa Sychaeo.'
 tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.

Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi,
 carpebat somnos, rebus iam rite paratis.
 huic se forma dei vultu redeuntis eodem
 obtulit in somnis, rursusque ita visa monere est,
 omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque
 et crines flavos et membra decora iuventa :
 ' nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos ? 560
 nec, quae te circum stent deinde pericula, cernis,
 demens, nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos ?
 illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,
 certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.
 non fugis hinc praiceps, dum praecipitare potestas ?
 iam mare turbari trabibus, saevasque videbis
 collucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,
 541 inrisam. 552 Sychaei. 564 varioque . . . fluctuat aestu.

si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
 heia age, rumpe moras. varium et mutabile semper
 femina.' sic fatus nocti se inmiscuit atrae. 570

tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris
 corripit e somno corpus, sociosque fatigat :
 ' praecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris ;
 solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto
 festinare fugam tortosque incidere funes
 ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,
 quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.
 adsis o placidusque iuves, et sidera caelo
 dextra feras.' dixit, vaginaque eripit ensem
 fulmineum, strictoque ferit retinacula ferro. 580
 idem omnes simul ardor habet ; rapiuntque ruuntque :
 litora deseruere ; latet sub classibus aequor ;
 adnixa torquent spumas et caerulea verrunt.

et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
 Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
 regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem
 vidit, et aequatis classem procedere velis,
 litoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,
 terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
 flaventesque abscissa comas, ' pro Iuppiter ! ibit 590
 hic,' ait, ' et nostris inluserit advena regnis ?
 non arma expedient, totaque ex urbe sequentur,
 deripientque rates alii navalibus ? ite,
 ferte citi flammis, date tela, impellite remos.
 quid loquor ? aut ubi sum ? quae mentem insania
 mutat ?

infelix Dido ! nunc te facta inopia tangunt ?
 tum decuit, cum sceptrum dabas. en dextra fidesque,
 quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penates,
 quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem !
 non potui abreptum divellere corpus, et undis 600
 spargere ? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
 Ascanium, patriisque epulandum ponere mensis ?

576 stimulat.

verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. fuisset ;
 quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem,
 inplessemque foros flammis, natumque patremque
 cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.
 Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
 tuque harum interpret curarum et conscia Iuno,
 nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
 et Dirae ultrices, et di morientis Elissae, 610
 accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen,
 et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus
 infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,
 et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret :
 at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
 finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,
 auxilium inploret, videatque indigna suorum
 funera ; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
 tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
 sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena. 620
 haec precor ; hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine
 fundo.

tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
 exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro
 munera. nullus amor populis, nec foedera sunt.
 exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
 qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,
 nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.
 litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
 inprecor, arma armis ; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.
 haec ait, et partes animum versabat in omnes, 630
 invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.
 tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei ;
 namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat :
 ' Annam cara mihi nutrix huc siste sororem ;
 dic, corpus properet fluviali spargere lympha,
 et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat :
 sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.

632 Sychaei est.

sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,
 perficere est animus, finemque inponere curis,
 Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae.' 640
 sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili.

at trepida et coeptis inmanibus effera Dido,
 sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque trementes
 interfusa genas, et pallida morte futura,
 interiora domus inrumpit limina, et altos
 conscendit furibunda rogos, ensemque recludit
 Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
 hic postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile
 conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata,
 incubuitque toro, dixitque novissima verba: 650

'dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
 accipite hanc animam, meque his exsolve curis.
 vixi, et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi;
 et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
 urbem praeclaram statui; mea moenia vidi;
 ultra virum, poenas inimico a fratre recepi:
 felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
 numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae!
 dixit: et os inpressa toro, 'moriemur inultae,
 sed moriamur,' ait. 'sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras. 660
 hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
 Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.'

dixerat; atque illam media inter talia ferro
 collapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore
 spumantem, sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta
 atria; concussam bacchatur fama per urbem.
 lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
 tecta fremunt; resonat magnis plangoribus aether.
 non aliter quam si inmissis ruat hostibus omnis
 Carthago, aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes 670
 culmina perque hominum volvuntur perque deorum.
 audiit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu
 unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnibus

641 celebrabat. anilem. 651 sinebant.

per medios ruit, ac morientem nomine clamat :
 ‘ hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?
 hoc rogius iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?
 quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem
 sprevisisti moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses :
 idem ambas ferro dolor, atque eadem hora tulisset.
 his etiam struxi manibus, patriosque vocavi 680
 voce deos, sic te ut posita crudelis abessem?
 exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque
 Sidonios, urbemque tuam. date vulnera lymphis
 abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,
 ore legam.’ sic fata gradus evaserat altos,
 semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat
 cum gemitu, atque atros siccabat veste cruores.
 illa, graves oculos conata attollere, rursus
 deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.
 ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit : 690
 ter revoluta toro est, oculisque errantibus alto
 quaesivit caelo lucem, ingemuitque reperta.

tum Iuno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem
 difficilesque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
 quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
 nam, quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,
 sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
 necdum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
 abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
 ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis, 700
 mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
 devolat, et supra caput adstitit: ‘ hunc ego Diti
 sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.’
 sic ait, et dextra crinem secat. omnis et una
 dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

698 nondum.

LIBER QUINTUS

INTEREA medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter, fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat,
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
collucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem
causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto, notumque, furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.
ut pelagus tenuere rates, nec iam amplius ulla
occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,
olli caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber, 10
noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorrui unda tenebris.
ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta :

‘heu! quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
quidve, pater Neptune, paras?’ sic deinde locutus
colligere arma iubet, validisque incumbere remis,
obliquatque sinus in ventum, ac talia fatur :

‘magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor
spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro
consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aër. 20
nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum
sufficimus. superat quoniam fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat, vertamus iter. nec litora longe
fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,
si modo rite memor servata remetior astra.’

6 posset.

tum pius Aeneas: 'equidem sic poscere ventos
iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.
flecte viam velis. an sit mihi gratior ulla,
quove magis fessas optem demittere naves,
quam quae Dardaniam tellus mihi servat Acestem, 30
et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?'
haec ubi dicta, petunt portus, et vela secundi
intendunt Zephyri; fertur cita gurgite classis,
et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae.

at procul excelso miratus vertice montis
adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes,
horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae;
Troia Crimiso conceptum flumine mater
quem genuit. veterum non inmemor ille parentum
gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti 40
excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.

postera cum primo stellas oriente fugarat
clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni
advocat Aeneas, tumulique ex aggere fatur:
'Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divom,
annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,
ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis
condidimus terra, maestasque sacravimus aras.
iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
semper honoratum, sic di voluistis, habebo. 50
hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,
Argolicove mari deprensus, et urbe Mycenae,
annua vota tamen sollempnesque ordine pompas
exsequeretur, strueremque suis altaria donis.
nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis,
haud equidem sine mente reor, sine numine divom,
adsumus, et portus delati intramus amicos.
ergo agite, et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem;
poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis
urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis. 60
bina boum vobis Troia generatus Acestes

35 ex celso. 52 Mycenis.

dat numero capita in naves ; adhibete Penates
 et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.
 praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus alnum
 Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,
 prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis ;
 quique pedum cursu valet, et qui viribus audax
 aut iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis,
 seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu,
 cuncti adsint, meritaque exspectent praemia palmae.
 ore favete omnes, et cingite tempora ramis.' 71

sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto.

hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes,
 hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.
 ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat
 ad tumulum, magna medius comitante caterva.
 hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
 fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,
 purpureosque iacit flores, ac talia fatur :

'salve, sancte parens, iterum ; salvete, recepti 80
 nequiquam cineres, animaeque umbraeque paternae.
 non licuit fines Italos fataliaque arva,
 nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere
 Thybrim.'

dixerat haec, adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis
 septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,
 amplexus placide tumulum, lapsusque per aras ;
 caeruleae cui terga notae, maculosus et auro
 squamam incendebat fulgor, ceu nubibus arcus
 mille iacit varios adverso sole colores.

obstipuit visu Aeneas : ille agmine longo 90
 tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens
 libavitque dapes, rursusque innoxius imo
 successit tumulo, et depasta altaria liquit.
 hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
 incertus, Geniumne loci famulumne parentis
 esse putet : caedit binas de more bidentes,

89 trahit.

totque sues, totidem nigrantes terga iuencos ;
 vinaque fundebat pateris, animamque vocabat
 Anchisae magni Manesque Acheronte remissos.
 nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti 100
 dona ferunt, onerant aras, mactantque iuencos :
 ordine aëna locant alii, fusique per herbam
 subiciunt veribus prunas, et viscera torrent.

expectata dies aderat, nonamque serena
 Auroram Phaëthontis equi iam luce vehabant,
 fama que finitimos et clari nomen Acestae
 excierat : laeto complebant litora coetu,
 visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.
 munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur
 in medio, sacri tripodes viridesque coronae 110
 et palmae pretium victoribus, armaque, et ostro
 perfusae vestes, argenti auri que talenta :
 et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.
 prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis
 quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae :
 velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim,
 mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,
 ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
 urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu
 inpellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi ; 120
 Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,
 Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
 caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.

est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra
 litora, quod tumidis submersum tunditur olim
 fluctibus, hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cori ;
 tranquillo silet, inmotaque attollitur unda
 campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.
 hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam
 constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti 130
 scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.
 tum loca sorte legunt, ipsique in puppibus auro

107 complerant. 112 talentum.

ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori ;
 cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus,
 nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit.
 considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis :
 intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit
 corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.
 inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes,
 haud mora, prosiluerunt suis : ferit aethera clamor 140
 nauticus ; adductis spumant freta versa lacertis.
 infundunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit
 convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
 non tam praecipites biuugo certamine campum
 corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus ;
 nec sic inmissis aurigae undantia lora
 concussere iugis, pronique in verbera pendent.
 tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum
 consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant
 litora ; pulsati colles clamore resultant. 150
 effugit ante alios primisque elabatur undis
 turbam inter fremitumque Gyas ; quem deinde

Cloanthus

consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus
 tarda tenet. post hos aequo discrimine Pristis
 Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem ;
 et nunc Pristis habet, nunc victam praeterit ingens
 Centaurus, nunc una ambae iunctisque feruntur
 frontibus, et longa sulcant vada salsa carina.
 iamque propinquabant scopulo, metamque tenebant,
 cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite victor 160
 rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten :
 ‘quo tantum mihi dexter abis? huc derige gressum ;
 litus ama, et laevas stringat sine palmula cautes ;
 altum alii teneant.’ dixit : sed caeca Menoetes
 saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas.
 ‘quo diversus abis?’ iterum, ‘pete saxa, Menoete,’
 cum clamore Gyas revocabat ; et ecce Cloanthum

respicit instantem tergo et propiora tenentem.
 ille inter navemque Gyae scopulosque sonantes
 radit iter laevum interior, subitoque priorem 170
 praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.
 tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens ;
 nec lacrimis caruere genae ; segnemque Menoeten,
 oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis,
 in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta :
 ipse gubernaculo rector subit, ipse magister,
 hortaturque viros, clavumque ad litora torquet.
 at gravis, ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est
 iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes
 summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit. 180
 illum et labentem Teucris et risere natantem ;
 et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus,
 hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,
 Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.
 Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat,
 nec tota tamen ille prior praeceunte carina ;
 parte prior ; partem rostro premit aemula Pristis.
 at media socios incedens nave per ipsos
 hortatur Mnestheus : ‘ nunc, nunc insurgite remis,
 Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema 190
 delegi comites ; nunc illas promite vires,
 nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi
 Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.
 non iam prima peto Mnestheus, neque vincere certo ;
 quamquam o!—sed superent, quibus hoc, Neptune,
 dedisti ;
 extremos pudeat rediisse : hoc vincite, cives,
 et prohibete nefas.’ olli certamine summo
 procumbunt : vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis,
 subtrahiturque solum ; tum creber anhelitus artus
 aridaque ora quatit ; sudor fluit undique rivis. 200
 attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem.
 namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburguet

interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
 infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.
 concussae cautes, et acuto in murice remi
 obnixi crepuere, inlisaque prora pependit.
 consurgunt nautae, et magno clamore morantur,
 ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos
 expediunt, fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.
 at laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso 210
 agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis
 prona petit maria, et pelago decurrit aperto.
 qualis spelunca subito commota columba,
 cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,
 fertur in arva volans, plausumque exterrita pinnis
 dat tecto ingentem, mox aëre lapsa quieto
 radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas :
 sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis
 aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse volantem.
 et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto 220
 Sergestum brevibusque vadis, frustra que vocantem
 auxilia, et fractis discentem currere remis.
 inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram
 consequitur ; cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.
 solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus,
 quem petit, et summis adnixus viribus urget.
 tum vero ingeminat clamor, cunctique sequentem
 instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.
 hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem
 ni teneant, vitamque volunt pro laude pacisci ; 230
 hos successus alit : possunt, quia posse videntur.
 et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,
 ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus
 fudissetque preces, divosque in vota vocasset :
 ‘ di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,
 vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
 constituam ante aras, voti reus, extaque salsos
 proiciam in fluctus, et vina liquentia fundam.’

208 sudes. 238 porriciam.

dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis
 Nereïdum Phorcique chorus, Panopeaque virgo ; 240
 et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem
 inpulit : illa Noto citius volucrique sagitta
 ad terram fugit, et portu se condidit alto.
 tum satus Anchisa, cunctis ex more vocatis,
 victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum
 declarat, viridique advelat tempora lauro ;
 muneraque in naves ternos optare iuencos
 vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.
 ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores :
 victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum 250
 purpura Maeandro duplici Meliboca cucurrit ;
 intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
 veloces iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat
 acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida
 sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis.
 longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
 custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.
 at qui deinde locum tenuit virtute secundum,
 levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem
 loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse 260
 victor apud rapidum Simoënta sub Ilio alto,
 donat habere viro, decus et tutamen in armis.
 vix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant
 multiplicem, conixi umeris ; indutus at olim
 Demoleos cursu palantes Troas agebat.
 tertia dona facit geminos ex acre lebetas,
 cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.
 iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi
 puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis :
 cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revulsus, 270
 amissis remis, atque ordine debilis uno,
 inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.
 qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,
 aerea quem obliquum rota transiit, aut gravis ictu

seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator ;
 nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus,
 parte ferox, ardensque oculis, et sibila colla
 arduus attollens ; pars vulnere clauda retentat
 nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem.
 tali remigio navis se tarda movebat ; 280

vela facit tamen, et velis subit ostia plenis.
 Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat,
 servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.
 olli serva datur, operum haud ignara Minervae,
 Cressa genus, Pholoë, geminique sub ubere nati.

hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit
 gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curvis
 cingebant silvae, mediaque in valle theatri
 circus erat ; quo se multis cum milibus heros
 consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit. 290

hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu,
 invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.
 undique conveniunt Teucrici mixtique Sicani,
 Nisus et Euryalus primi,
 Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa,
 Nisus amore pio pueri ; quos deinde secutus
 regius egregia Priami de stirpe Dioces ;
 hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,
 alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis ;
 tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque, 300
 adsueta silvis, comites senioris Acestae ;
 multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.

Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus :
 ‘ accipite haec animis, laetasque advertite mentes.
 nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.
 Gnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro
 spicula, caelatamque argento ferre bipennem :
 omnibus hic erit unus honos. tres praemia primi
 accipient, flavaque caput nectentur oliva :
 primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto ; 310

279 nixantem. 285 ubera. 299 Arcadia Tegeae de.

alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis
 Threïciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro
 balteus, et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;
 tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito.
 haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt, signoque repente
 corripiunt spatia audite, limenque relinquunt,
 effusi nimbo similes; simul ultima signant.
 primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus
 emicat, et ventis et fulminis ocior alis.

proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo, 320
 insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto
 tertius Euryalus;

Euryalumque Helymus sequitur; quo deinde sub ipso
 ecce volat, calcemque terit iam calce Diore,
 incumbens umero; spatia et si plura supersint,
 transeat elapsus prior ambiguumve relinquat.
 iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
 finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus
 labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvenis

fusus humum viridesque super madefecerat herbas.
 hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso 331
 haud tenuit titubata solo; sed pronus in ipso
 concidit inmundoque fimo sacroque cruore.

non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:
 nam sese opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens;
 ille autem spissa iacuit revolutus harena.

emicat Euryalus, et munere victor amici
 prima tenet, plausuque volat fremituque secundo.
 post Helymus subit, et nunc tertia palma Diore.

hic totum caveae consessum ingentis et ora 340
 prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus inplet,
 creptumque dolo reddi sibi postulat honorem.
 tutatur favor Euryalum, lacrimaeque decorae,
 gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.
 adiuvat et magna proclamat voce Diore,
 qui subiit palmae, frustra ad praemia venit

326 ambiguumque *codd.*

ultima, si primi Salio reddantur honores.
 tum pater Aeneas, 'vestra,' inquit, 'munera vobis
 certa manent, pueri, et palmam movet ordine nemo :
 me liceat casus miserari insontis amici.' 350

sic fatus, tergum Gaetuli inmane leonis
 dat Salio, villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.
 hic Nisus, 'si tanta,' inquit, 'sunt praemia victis,
 et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso
 digna dabis, primam merui qui laude coronam,
 ni me, quae Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset ?'
 et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat, et udo
 turpia membra fimo. risit pater optimus olli,
 et clipeum efferri iussit, Didymaonis artes,
 Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum. 360
 hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.

post, ubi confecti cursus, et dona peregit :
 'nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens
 adsit, et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis.'
 sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem,
 victori velatum auro vittisque iuvenum,
 ensem atque insignem galeam, solacia victo.
 nec mora ; continuo vastis cum viribus effert
 ora Dares, magnoque virum se murmure tollit ;
 solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra, 370
 idemque ad tumulum, quo maximus occubat Hector,
 victorem Buten, inmani corpore qui se
 Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat,
 perculit, et fulva moribundum extendit harena.
 talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit,
 ostenditque umeros latos, alternaque iactat
 bracchia protendens, et verberat ictibus auras.
 quaeritur huic alius : nec quisquam ex agmine tanto
 audet adire virum manibusque inducere caestus.
 ergo alacris, cunctosque putans excedere palma, 380
 Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus
 tum laeva taurum cornu tenet, atque ita fatur :

350 misereri.

' nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,
 quae finis standi? quo me decet usque teneri?
 ducere dona iube.' cuncti simul ore fremebant
 Dardanidae, reddique viro promissa iubebant.
 hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,
 proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae :
 ' Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,
 tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli 390
 dona sines? ubi nunc nobis deus ille, magister
 nequiquam memoratus, Eryx? ubi fama per omnem
 Trinacriam, et spolia illa tuis pendencia tectis?'
 ille sub haec : ' non laudis amor, nec gloria cessit
 pulsa metu ; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta
 sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.
 si mihi, quae quondam fuerat, quaque improbus iste
 exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
 haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
 venissem, nec dona moror.' sic deinde locutus 400
 in medium geminos inmani pondere caestus
 proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus
 ferre manum duroque intendere bracchia tergo.
 obstipuere animi : tantorum ingentia septem
 terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigeabant.
 ante omnes stupet ipse Dares, longeque recusat ;
 magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa
 huc illuc vinclorum inmensa volumina versat.
 tum senior tales referebat pectore voces :
 ' quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma 410
 vidisset, tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam?
 haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma gerebat :
 sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque infecta cerebro.
 his magnum Alciden contra stetit ; his ego suetus,
 dum melior vires sanguis dabat, aemula necdum
 temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.
 sed, si nostra Dares haec Troïus arma recusat,
 idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,
 aequemus pugnas. Erycis tibi terga remitto ;

solve metus; et tu Troianos exue caestus.' 420
 haec fatus duplicem ex umeris reiecit amictum,
 et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque
 exuit, atque ingens media consistit harena.
 tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos,
 et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.
 constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque,
 bracchiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.
 abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu,
 inmiscentque manus manibus, pugnamque lacessunt;
 ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa, 430
 hic membris et mole valens: sed tarda trementi
 genua labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
 multa viri nequiquam inter se vulnera iactant,
 multa cavo lateri ingeminant, et pectore vastos
 dant sonitus; erratque aures et tempora circum
 crebra manus, duro crepitant sub vulnere malae.
 stat gravis Entellus nisuque inmotus eodem,
 corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.
 ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem
 aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis, 440
 nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
 arte locum, et variis adsultibus inritus urguet.
 ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte
 extulit: ille ictum venientem a vertice velox
 praevидit, celerique elapsus corpore cessit.
 Entellus vires in ventum effudit, et ultro
 ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto
 concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho
 aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.
 consurgunt studiis Teucris et Trinacria pubes; 450
 it clamor caelo, primusque accurrit Acestes,
 aequaevumque ab humo miserans attollit amicum.
 at non tardatus casu neque territus heros
 acrior ad pugnam redit, ac vim suscitatur ira;
 tum pudor incendit vires et conscia virtus,
 449 radicitus.

praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto,
 nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra :
 nec mora, nec requies : quam multa grandine nimbi
 culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros
 creber utraque manu pulsat versatque Dareta. 460
 tum pater Aeneas procedere iongius iras
 et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis ;
 sed finem inposuit pugnae, fessumque Dareta
 eripuit, mulcens dictis, ac talia fatur :
 ‘ infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit ?
 non vires alias conversaque numina sentis ?
 cede deo.’ dixitque et proelia voce diremit.
 ast illum fidi aequales, genua aegra trahentem,
 iactantemque utroque caput, crassumque cruorem
 ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes, 470
 ducunt ad naves ; galeamque ensemque vocati
 accipiunt : palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.
 hic victor, superans animis tauroque superbus :
 ‘ nate dea, vosque haec,’ inquit, ‘ cognoscite Teucri,
 et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires,
 et qua servetis revocatum a morte Dareta.’
 dixit, et adversi contra stetit ora iuvenci,
 qui donum adstabat pugnae ; duosque reducta
 libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus
 arduus, effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro. 480
 sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.
 ille super tales effundit pectore voces :
 hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis
 persolvo : hic victor caestus artemque repono.’
 protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta
 invitat, qui forte velint, et praemia dicit ;
 ingentique manu malum de nave Seresti
 erigit, et volucrem traiecto in fune columbam,
 quo tendant ferrum, malo suspendit ab alto.
 convenere viri, deiectamque aerea sortem 490
 accepit galea ; et primus clamore secundo
 486 ponit. 491 primum.

Hyrtacidae ante omnes exit locus Hippocoontis ;
 quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine victor
 consequitur, viridi Mnestheus evinctus oliva ;
 tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater,
 Pandare, qui quondam, iussus confundere foedus,
 in medios telum torsisti primus Achivos.
 extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,
 ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem.
 tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus 500
 pro se quisque viri, et depromunt tela pharetris.
 primumque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta
 Hyrtacidae iuvenis volucres diverberat auras ;
 et venit, adversique infigitur arbore mali.
 intremuit malus, timuitque exterrita pinnis
 ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.
 post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu,
 alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit :
 ast ipsam miserandus avem contingere ferro
 non valuit ; nodos et vincula linea rupit, 510
 quis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto :
 illa Notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit.
 tum rapidus, iamdudum arcu contenta parato
 tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,
 iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus, et alis
 plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.
 decidit exanimis, vitamque reliquit in astris
 aetheriis, fixamque refert delapsa sagittam.
 amissa solus palma superabat Acestes :
 qui tamen aërias telum contendit in auras, 520
 ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.
 hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum
 augurio monstrum : docuit post exitus ingens,
 seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.
 namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo,
 signavitque viam flammis, tenuesque recessit
 consumpta in ventos : caelo ceu saepe refixa
520 contorsit. 522 subito.

transcurren crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.
 attonitis haesere animis superosque precati
 Trinacrii Teucrique viri: nec maximus omen 530
 abnuat Aeneas; sed laetum amplexus Acesten
 muneribus cumulat magnis, ac talia fatur:
 'sume, pater; nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi
 talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honorem.
 ipsius Anchisae longaevi hoc munus habebis,
 cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim
 Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus
 ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.'
 sic fatus cingit viridanti tempora lauro,
 et primum ante omnes victorem appellat Acesten. 540
 nec bonus Eurytion praelato invidit honori,
 quamvis solus avem caelo deiecit ab alto.
 proximus ingreditur donis qui vincula rupit;
 extremus, volucris qui fixit harundine malum.

at pater Aeneas, nondum certamine misso,
 custodem ad sese comitemque inpubis Iuli
 Epytiden vocat, et fidam sic fatur ad aurem;
 'vade age, et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum
 agmen habet secum, cursusque instruxit equorum,
 ducat avo turmas, et sese ostendat in armis, 550
 dic,' ait. ipse omnem longo decedere circo
 infusum populum, et campos iubet esse patentes.
 incedunt pueri, pariterque ante ora parentum
 frenatis lucent in equis; quos omnis euntes
 Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaeque iuventus.
 omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;
 cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,
 pars leves umero pharetras; it pectore summo
 flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.
 tres equitum numero turmae, ternique vagantur 560
 ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti
 agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.
 una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem

nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Poiite,
 progenies, auctura Italos ; quem Thracius albis
 portat equus bicolor maculis, vestigia primi
 alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.
 alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
 parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.
 extremus formaque ante omnes pulcher Iulus 579
 Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido
 esse sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris :
 cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Acestae
 fertur equis.

excipiunt plausu pavidos, gaudentque tuentes
 Dardanidae, veterumque adgnosunt ora parentum.
 postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum
 lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis
 Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.
 olli discurrere pares, atque agmina terni 580
 diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati
 convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.

inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus
 adversi spatii, alternosque orbibus orbes
 inpediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis :
 et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt
 infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.
 ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta
 parietibus textum caecis iter, ancipitemque
 mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi 590
 falleret indeprencus et inremeabilis error :
 haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu
 inpediunt, texuntque fugas et proelia ludo ;
 delphinum similes, qui per maria umida nando
 Carpathium Libycumque secant luduntque per undas.
 hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus
 Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,
 rettulit, et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,
 quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troïa pubes ;

573 Trinacriae. Trinacrii. 581 deductis.

Albani docuere suos ; hinc maxima porro
 accepit Roma, et patrium servavit honorem ;
 Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.
 hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.

600

hic primum fortuna fidem mutata novavit.
 dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis,
 Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
 Iliacam ad classem, ventosque adspirat eunti,
 multa movens, necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.
 illa, viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum,
 nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo :

610

conspicit ingentem concursum, et litora lustrat,
 desertosque videt portus classemque relictam.
 at procul in sola secretae Troades acta
 amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
 pontum aspectabant flentes : ‘ heu, tot vada fessis,
 et tantum superesse maris ! ’ vox omnibus una.

urbem orant ; taedet pelagi perferre laborem.
 ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi
 conicit, et faciemque deae vestemque reponit :

620

fit Beroë, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli,
 cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent ;
 ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert :

‘ o miserae, quas non manus, ’ inquit, ‘ Achaica bello
 traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus ! o gens
 infelix ! cui te exitio fortuna reservat ?

septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,
 cum freta, cum terras omnes, tot inhospita saxa
 sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum
 Italiam sequimur fugientem, et volvimur undis.

hic Erycis fines fraterni, atque hospes Acestes :
 quis prohibet muros iacere, et dare civibus urbem ?

630

o patria, et rapti nequiquam ex hoste Penates,
 nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia ? nusquam
 Hectoreos amnes, Xanthum et Simoënta, videbo ?
 quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppes.
 nam mihi Cassandrae per somnum vatis imago

ardentes dare visa faces : “ hic quaerite Troiam ;
 hic domus est,” inquit, “ vobis.” iam tempus agi res ;
 nec tantis mora prodigiis. en quattuor arae
 Neptuno : deus ipse faces animumque ministrat.’ 640
 haec memorans prima infensum vi corripit ignem,
 sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat,
 et iacit. arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda
 Iliadum. hic una e multis quae maxima natu,
 Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix :
 ‘ non Beroë vobis, non haec Rhoeteïa, matres,
 est Dorycli coniunx : divini signa decoris,
 ardentesque notate oculos ; qui spiritus illi,
 qui vultus, vocisque sonus, vel gressus eunti.
 ipsa egomet dudum Beroën digressa reliqui 650
 aegram, indignantem, tali quod sola careret
 munere, nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.’
 haec effata.

at matres primo ancipites oculisque malignis
 ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem
 praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna,
 cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis
 ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum :
 tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore
 conclamant, rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem ; 660
 pars spoliant aras, frondem ac virgulta facesque
 coniciunt. furit inmissis Vulcanus habenis
 transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppes.
 nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri
 incensas perfert naves Eumelus, et ipsi
 respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.
 primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestres
 ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit
 castra, nec exanimis possunt retinere magistri.
 ‘ quis furor iste novus ? quo nunc, quo tenditis,’ inquit,
 ‘ heu miserae cives ? non hostem inimicaque castra 671
 Argivom, vestras spes uritis. en, ego vester
 Ascanius !’ galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,

qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.
 adcelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.
 ast illae diversa metu per litora passim
 diffugiunt, silvasque et sicubi concava furtim
 saxa petunt: piget incepti lucisque, suosque
 mutatae adgnoscent, excussaque pectore Iuno est.
 sed non idcirco flammae atque incendia vires 680
 indomitas posuere: udo sub robore vivit
 stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas
 est vapor, et toto descendit corpore pestis;
 nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.
 tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem,
 auxilioque vocare deos, et tendere palmas:
 4 Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum
 Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores
 respicit humanos, da flammam evadere classi
 nunc, Pater, et tenues Teucrum res eripe leto. 690
 vel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,
 si mereor, demitte, tuaque hic obrue dextra.
 vix haec ediderat, cum effusis imbribus atra
 tempestas sine more fuit, tonitruque tremescunt
 ardua terrarum et campi; ruit aethere toto
 turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris;
 implenturque super puppes; semusta madescunt
 robora; restinctus donec vapor omnis, et omnes,
 quattuor amissis, servatae a peste carinae.
 at pater Aeneas, casu concussus acerbo, 700
 nunc huc ingentes nunc illuc pectore curas
 mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis,
 oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.
 tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
 quem docuit, multaue insignem reddidit arte,—
 hac responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira
 magna deum, vel quae fatorum posceret ordo—
 isque his Aenean solatus vocibus infit:
 4 nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque, sequamur:
 680 flammam. flamma. 706 haec *codd.*

quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.
 est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes : 711
 hunc capere consiliis socium et coniunge volentem ;
 huic trade, amissis superant qui navibus, et quos
 pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est ;
 longaevosque senes ac fessas aequore matres,
 et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque periculi est,
 delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi :
 urbem appellabunt permissis nomine Acestam.’

talibus incensus dictis senioris amici
 tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnes. 720
 et nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat :
 visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis
 Anchisae subito tales effundere voces :

‘ nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,
 care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fati,
 imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem
 depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.
 consiliis pare, quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes
 dat senior : lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,
 defer in Italiam : gens dura atque aspera cultu 730
 debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
 infernas accede domos, et Averna per alta
 congressus pete, nate, meos. non me inopia namque
 Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum
 concilia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla
 nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.
 tum genus omne tuum, et, quae dentur moenia, disces.
 iamque vale : torquet medios nox umida cursus,
 et me saevus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.’
 dixerat : et tenues fugit ceu fumus in auras. 740

Aeneas, ‘ quo deinde ruis ? quo proripis ? ’ inquit,
 ‘ quem fugis ? aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet ? ’
 haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitavit ignes ;
 Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
 farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.

720 animum. 734 tristesve.

extemplo socios primumque arcessit Acesten,
 et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
 edocet, et quae nunc animo sententia constet.
 haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes.
 transcribunt urbi matres, populumque volentem 750
 deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentes.
 ipsi transtra novant, flammisque ambesa reponunt
 roboram navigiis, aptant remosque rudentesque,
 exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.
 interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro,
 sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium, et haec loca Troiam
 esse iubet. gaudet regno Troianus Acestes,
 indicitque forum, et patribus dat iura vocatis.
 tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
 fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos 760
 ac lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.
 iamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris
 factus honos; placidi straverunt aequora venti,
 creber et adspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum.
 exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus;
 complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur.
 ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam
 visa maris facies et non tolerabile numen,
 ire volunt, omnemque fugae perferre laborem.
 quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis, 770
 et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.
 tres Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
 caedere deinde iubet, solvique ex ordine funem.
 ipse, caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae,
 stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
 proicit in fluctus, ac vina liquentia fundit.
 prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntes.
 certatim socii feriunt mare, et aequora verrunt.
 at Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis
 adloquitur, talesque effundit pectore questus: 780
 ‘Iunonis gravis ira nec exsaturabile pectus

cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnes ;
 quam nec longa dies, pietas nec mitigat ulla,
 nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.
 non media de gente Phrygum exedissee nefandis
 urbem odiis satis est, nec poenam traxe per omnem :
 reliquias Troiae, cineres atque ossa peremptae
 insequitur. causas tanti sciat illa furoris.
 ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis,
 quam molem subito excierit : maria omnia caelo 790
 miscuit, Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,
 in regnis hoc ausa tuis.

per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis
 exussit foede puppes ; et classe subegit
 amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae.

quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas
 vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim,
 si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae.'

tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti :
 'fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis, 800
 unde genus ducis. merui quoque ; saepe furores
 compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque.
 nec minor in terris—Xanthum Simoëntaque testor—
 Aeneae mihi cura tui. cum Troïa Achilles
 exanimata sequens inpingeret agmina muris,
 milia multa daret leto, gemerentque repleti
 amnes, nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset
 in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti
 congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis 810
 nube cava rapui, cuperem cum vertere ab imo
 structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.
 nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi : pelle timores.
 tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Avernî.
 unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeres ;
 unum pro multis dabitur caput.'

his ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis,
 iungit equos auro genitor, spumantiaque addit

811 periturae.

frena feris, manibusque omnes effundit habenas :
 caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru.
 subsidunt undae, tumidumque sub axe tonanti 820
 sternitur aequor aquis ; fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi.
 tum variae comitum facies, inmania cete,
 et senior Glauci chorus, Inousque Palaemon,
 Tritonesque citi, Phorcique exercitus omnis :
 laeva tenet Thetis, et Melite, Panopeaque virgo,
 Nesaeae, Spioque, Thaliaque Cymodoceque.

his patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim
 gaudia pertemptant mentem ; iubet ocius omnes
 attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis.

una omnes fecere pedem, pariterque sinistros, 830
 nunc dextros solvere sinus ; una ardua torquent
 cornua detorquentque : ferunt sua flamina classem.

princeps ante omnes densum Palinurus agebat
 agmen ; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.

iamque fere mediam caeli nox umida metam
 contigerat ; placida laxabant membra quiete
 sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae ;

cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
 aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,
 te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans 840

insonanti ; puppique deus consedit in alta,
 Phorbanti similis, funditque has ore loquellas :

‘ Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem ;
 aequatae spirant aerae ; datur hora quieti :

pone caput, fessosque oculos furare labori.

ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.’

cui vix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur :

‘ mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos
 ignorare iubes ? mene huic confidere monstro ?

Aenean credam—quid enim ?—fallacibus auris 850
 et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni ?’

talia dicta dabat, clavumque adfixus et haerens
 nusquam amittebat, oculosque sub astra tenebat.

821 equis. 829 remis. 851 et caelo, totiens.

ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem
vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat
tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.
vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus :
et super incumbens cum puppis parte revulsa
cumque gubernaculo liquidas proiecit in undas
praecipitem, ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem : 860
ipse volans tenues se sustulit ales ad auras.
currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis,
promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.
iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat,
difficiles quondam, multorumque ossibus albos ;
tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant,
cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro
sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis,
multa gemens, casuque animum concussus amici :
' o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno, 870
nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena ! '

LIBER SEXTUS

Sic fatur lacrimans, classique inmittit habenas,
et tandem Euboïcis Cumarum adlabitur oris.
obvertunt pelago proras ; tum dente tenaci
ancora fundabat naves, et litora curvae
praetexunt puppes. iuvenum manus emicat ardens
litus in Hesperium ; quaerit pars semina flammae
abstrusa in venis silicis ; pars densa ferarum
tecta rapit silvas, inventaque flumina monstrat.
at pius Aeneas arces, quibus altus Apollo
praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae, 10
antrum inmane, petit, magnam cui mentem ani-
mumque

Delius inspirat vates, aperitque futura.
iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta.

Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoïa regna,
praepetibus pinnis ausus se credere caelo,
insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos,
Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce.
redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacravit
remigium alarum, posuitque inmania templa.
in foribus letum Androgeo ; tum pendere poenas 20
Cecropidae iussi—miserum !—septena quotannis
corpora natorum ; stat ductis sortibus urna.
contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus :
hic crudelis amor tauri, suppostaque furto

20 Androgei.

Pasiphaë, mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
 Minotaurus inest, Veneris monimenta nefandae ;
 hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error ;
 magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
 Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,
 caeca regens filo vestigia. tu quoque magnam 30
 partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes.
 bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro ;
 bis patriae cecidere manus. quin protinus omnia
 perlegerent oculis, ni iam praemissus Achates
 adforet, atque una Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,
 Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi :
 non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit ;
 nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuencos
 praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentes.
 talibus adfata Aenean—nec sacra morantur 40
 iussa viri—Teucros vocat alta in templa sacerdos.

excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum,
 quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum ;
 unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae.
 ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo, ‘poscere fata
 tempus,’ ait ; ‘deus, ecce, deus !’ cui talia fanti
 ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
 non comptae mansere comae ; sed pectus anhelum,
 et rabie fera corda tument ; maiorque videri
 nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando 50
 iam propiore dei. ‘cessas in vota precesque,
 Tros,’ ait, ‘Aenea, cessas ? neque enim ante dehiscent
 attonitae magna ora domus.’ et talia fata
 conticuit. gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit
 ossa tremor, funditque preces rex pectore ab imo :
 ‘Phoebe, graves Troiae semper miserate labores,
 Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque
 corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras
 tot maria intravi duce te penitusque repostas
 Massylum gentes, praetentaque Syrtibus arva, 60
 37 poscunt. 57 direxti *codd.*

iam tandem Italiae fugientes prendimus oras ;
 hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta.
 vos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti,
 dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens
 gloria Dardaniae. tuque, o sanctissima vates,
 praescia venturi, da—non indebita posco
 regna meis fatis—Latio considerare Teucros,
 errantesque deos agitataque numina Troiae.
 tum Phoebos et Triviae solido de marmore templum
 instituum, festosque dies de nomine Phoebi. 70
 te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris ;
 hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata,
 dicta meae genti, ponam lectosque sacrabo,
 alma, viros. foliis tantum ne carmina manda,
 ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis :
 ipsa canas oro.’ finem dedit ore loquendi.

at, Phoebi nondum patiens, inmanis in antro
 bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
 excussisse deum : tanto magis ille fatigat
 os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premo.
 ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum 81
 sponte sua vatisque ferunt responsa per auras :
 ‘o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis—
 sed terrae graviora manent : in regna Lavini
 Dardanidae venient, mitte hanc de pectore curam,
 sed non et venisse volent. bella, horrida bella,
 et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
 non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
 defuerint ; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
 natus et ipse dea ; nec Teucris addita Iuno 90
 usquam aberit ; cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
 quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes !
 causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris,
 externique iterum thalami.

tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
 qua tua te fortuna sinet. via prima salutis,

84 terra. 96 qua *Seneca*. quam *codd*.

quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.'

talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla
 horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit,
 obscuris vera involvens; ea frena furenti 100
 concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo.
 ut primum cessit furor, et rabida ora quierunt,
 incipit Aeneas heros: 'non ulla laborum,
 o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
 omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.
 unum oro: quando hic inferni ianua regis
 dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso,
 ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
 contingat; doceas iter, et sacra ostia pandas.
 illum ego per flammam et mille sequentia tela 110
 eripui his umeris, medioque ex hoste recepi;
 ille, meum comitatus iter, maria omnia mecum
 atque omnes pelagique minas caelique ferebat,
 invalidus, vires ultra sortemque senectae.
 quin, ut te supplex peterem, tua limina adirem,
 idem orans mandata dabat. natiq; patrisque,
 alma, precor, miserere, potes namque omnia, nec te
 nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernus.
 si potuit Manes arcessere coniugis Orpheus,
 Threïcia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris; 120
 si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
 itque reditque viam totiens—quid Thesea magnum,
 quid memorem Alciden?—et mi genus ab Iove
 summo.'

talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat;
 cum sic orsa loqui vates: 'sate sanguine divom,
 Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Averno;
 noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;
 sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
 hoc opus, hic labor est. pauci, quos aequus amavit
 Iuppiter, aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus, 130
 dis geniti potuere. tenent media omnia silvae,

109 contingam. 115 et tua. 126 Avernus.

Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.
 quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido
 bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre
 Tartara, et insano iuvat indulgere labori,
 accipe, quae peragenda prius. latet arbore opaca
 aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus,
 Iunoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis
 lucus, et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbrae.
 sed non ante datur telluris operta subire, 140
 auricomos quam qui decerpserit arbore fetus.
 hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
 instituit: primo avulso non deficit alter
 aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.
 ergo alte vestiga oculis et rite repertum
 carpe manu; namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,
 si te fata vocant: aliter non viribus ullis
 vincere nec duro poteris convellere ferro.
 praeterea iacet exanimum tibi corpus amici—
 heu nescis!—totamque incestat funere classem, 150
 dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes.
 sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulchro.
 duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt.
 sic demum lucos Stygis et regna invia vivis
 aspicias.' dixit, pressoque obmutuit ore.

Aeneas maesto defixus lumina vultu
 ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecosque volutat
 eventus animo secum: cui fidus Achates
 it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit.
 multa inter sese vario sermone serebant, 160
 quem socium exanimum vates, quod corpus humandum
 diceret; atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,
 ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum,
 Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter
 aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu.
 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
 et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta.

postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles,
 Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros
 addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus. 170
 sed tum forte cava dum personat aequora concha,
 demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,
 aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
 inter saxa virum spumosa inmerserat unda.
 ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant,
 praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae,
 haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulchri
 congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.
 itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum;
 procumbunt piceae; sonat icta securibus ilex; 180
 fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
 scinditur; advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos.
 nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
 hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.
 atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat,
 aspectans silvam inmensam, et sic forte precatur:
 ‘ si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
 ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere
 heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est.’
 vix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae 190
 ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes
 et viridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros
 maternas adgnoscit aves, laetusque precatur:
 ‘ este duces, o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras
 derigite in lucos, ubi pinguem dives opacat
 ramus humum. tuque o dubiis ne defice rebus,
 diva parens.’ sic effatus vestigia pressit
 observans, quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.
 pascentes illae tantum prodire volando,
 quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum. 200
 inde ubi venere ad fauces grave olentis Averni,
 tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aëra lapsae
 sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt,
 177 sepulchro. 186 voce. 203 geminae.

discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.
 quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum
 fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,
 et croceo fetu teretes circumdare truncos :
 talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
 ilice, sic leni crepitabat bractea vento.
 corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit

210

cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.
 nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucri
 flebant, et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.
 principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
 ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris
 intexunt latera, et ferales ante cupressos
 constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis.
 pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis
 expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.

220

fit gemitus. tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
 purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
 coniciunt. pars ingenti subiere feretro,
 triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum
 aversi tenere facem. congesta cremantur
 turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.

postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
 reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,
 ossaque lecta cado textit Corynaeus aëno.

idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
 spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae,
 lustravitque viros, dixitque novissima verba.

230

at pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulchrum
 inponit, suaque arma viro remumque tubamque,
 monte sub aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
 dicitur, aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen.

his actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.
 spelunca alta fuit vastoque inmanis hiatu,
 scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris ;
 quam super haud ullae poterant inpune volantes

tendere iter pinnis : talis sese halitus atris
 faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat :
 [unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornon.]
 quattuor hic primum nigrantes terga iuencos
 constituit, frontique invergit vina sacerdos ;
 et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas
 ignibus inponit sacris, libamina prima,
 voce vocans Hecaten, caeloque Ereboque potentem.
 supponunt alii cultros, tepidumque cruorem
 succipiunt pateris. ipse atri velleris agnam
 Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaëque sorori
 ense ferit, sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.
 tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras,
 et solida inponit taurorum viscera flammis,
 pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
 ecce autem, primi sub lumina solis et ortus,
 sub pedibus mugire solum, et iuga coepta moveri
 silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram,
 adventante dea. ‘procul o, procul este, profani,’
 conclamat vates, ‘totoque absistite luco :
 tuque invade viam, vaginaque eripe ferrum ;
 nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.’
 tantum effata, furens antro se inmisit aperto :
 ille ducem haud timidis vadentem passibus aequat.

di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque
 silentes,

et Chaos, et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,
 sit mihi fas audita loqui ; sit numine vestro
 pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.

ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,
 perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna :
 quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
 est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
 Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.
 vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci
 Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,

241 super. 254 superque. 273 primis.

pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
 et Metus, et malesuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas,
 terribiles visu formae, Letumque, Labosque;
 tum consanguineus Leti Sopor, et mala mentis
 Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
 ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia de-

mens,

280

vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.
 in medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit
 ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo
 vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.
 multaue praeterea variarum monstra ferarum
 Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllaeque bifformes,
 et centumgeminus Briareus, ac belua Lernae
 horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
 Gorgones, Harpyiaeque, et forma tricorporis umbrae.
 corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
 Aeneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert,
 et, ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas
 admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,
 inruat, et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.

290

hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.
 turbidus hic caeno vastaue voragine gurges
 aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
 portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
 terribili squalore Charon: cui plurima mento
 canities inculta iacet; stant lumina flamma;
 sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.
 ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat,
 et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
 iam senior; sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.
 huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat,
 matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita
 magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
 inpositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:
 quam multa in silvis autumnii frigore primo

300

300 flammae.

lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto 310
 quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus
 trans pontum fugat et terris inmittit apricis.
 stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum,
 tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore ;
 navita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos,
 ast alios longe submotos arcet harena.

Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu,
 'dic,' ait, 'o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem ?
 quidve petunt animae ? vel quo discrimine ripas
 hae relinquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt ?' 320
 olli sic brevis fata est longaeva sacerdos :

'Anchisâ generate, deum certissima proles,
 Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem,
 di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.
 haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba
 est ;

portitor ille Charon ; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.
 nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
 transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
 centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum ;
 tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisit.' 330
 constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit,
 multa putans, sortemque animi miseratus iniquam.
 cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentes
 Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
 quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos
 obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.

ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,
 qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat,
 exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis.
 hunc ubi vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra, 340
 sic prior adloquitur : 'quis te, Palinure, deorum
 eripuit nobis, medioque sub aequore mersit ?
 dic age. namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,
 hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,

qui fore te ponto incolumem finesque canebat
 venturum Ausonios. en haec promissa fides est?'
 ille autem: 'neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit,
 dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit.
 namque gubernaculum, multa vi forte revulsum,
 cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam, 350
 praecipitans traxi mecum. maria aspera iuro
 non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem,
 quam tua ne, spoliata armis, excussa magistro,
 deficeret tantis navis surgentibus undis.
 tres Notus hibernas inmensa per aequora noctes
 vexit me violentus aqua; vix lumine quarto
 prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda.
 paulatim adnabam terrae; iam tuta tenebam,
 ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum
 prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis
 ferro invasisset, praedamque ignara putasset. 361
 nunc me fluctus habet, versantque in litore venti.
 quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras,
 per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,
 eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram
 inice, namque potes, portusque require Velinos;
 aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix
 ostendit—neque enim, credo, sine numine divom
 flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem—
 da dextram misero, et tecum me tolle per undas; 370
 sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.'
 talia fatus erat, coepit cum talia vates:
 'unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
 tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
 Eumenidum aspicias, ripamve iniussus adibis?
 desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.
 sed cape dicta memor, duri solacia casus:
 nam tua finitimi, longe lateque per urbes
 prodigiis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt,
 et statuent tumulum, et tumulo sollemnia mittent,
 aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.' 381

his dictis curae emotae, pulsusque parumper
corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terrae.

ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propin-
quant. ↓

navita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda
per tacitum nemus ire pedemque advertere ripae,
sic prior adgreditur dictis, atque increpat ultro :

‘ quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,
fare age, quid venias, iam istinc, et comprime gressum.
umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae ; 390
corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.

nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem
accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.

Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit
ipsius a solio regis, traxitque trementem ;
hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti.’

quae contra breviter fata est Amphrysia vates :

‘ nullae hic insidiae tales—absiste moveri—
nec vim tela ferunt : licet ingens ianitor antro 400
aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras ;
casta licet patruī servet Proserpina limen.

Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,
ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.

si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,
at ramum hunc’—aperit ramum, qui veste latebat—

‘ adgnoscas.’ tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.
nec plura his. ille admirans venerabile donum
fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum, 410
caeruleam advertit puppim ripaeque propinquat.

inde alias animas, quae per iuga longa sedebant,
deturbat, laxatque foros : simul accipit alveo
ingentem Aenean. gemuit sub pondere cumba
sutilis, et multam accepit rimosā paludem.

tandem trans fluvium incolumes vatemque virumque
informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.

Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
 personat, adverso recubans inmanis in antro.
 cui vates, horrere videns iam colla colubris,
 melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam 420
 obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
 corripit obiectam, atque inmania terga resolvit
 fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro.
 occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto,
 evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.
 continuo auditae voces, vagitus et ingens,
 infantumque animae flentes in limine primo,
 quos dulcis vitae exsortes et ab ubere raptos
 abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.
 hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis. 430
 nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes :
 quaesitor Minos urnam movet ; ille silentum
 conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit.
 proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum
 insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
 proiecere animas. quam vellent aethere in alto
 nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores !
 fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis unda
 adligat, et noviens Styx interfusa coerces.
 nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in
 omnem 440
 Lugentes Campi ; sic illos nomine dicunt.
 hic, quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,
 secreti celant calles et myrtea circum
 silva tegit : curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.
 his Phaedram Procrimque locis, maestamque Eriphylen,
 crudelis nati monstrantem vulnera, cernit,
 Euadnenque, et Pasiphaën ; his Laodamia
 it comes, et iuvenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus,
 rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram.
 inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido 450
 errabat silva in magna : quam Troïus heros,
 438 fata obstant. tristis undae.

ut primum iuxta stetit adgnovitque per umbras
 obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
 aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,
 demisit lacrimas, dulcique adfatus amore est :
 infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo
 venerat extinctam, ferroque extrema secutam ?
 funeris heu tibi causa fui ? per sidera iuro,
 per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
 invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. 460
 sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
 per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
 imperiis egere suis ; nec credere quivi
 hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.
 siste gradum, teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.
 quem fugis ? extremum fato, quod te adloquor, hoc est.
 talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem
 lenibat dictis animum, lacrimasque ciebat.
 illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat ;
 nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur, 470
 quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.
 tandem corripuit sese, atque inimica refugit
 in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi
 respondet curis, aequatque Sychaeus amorem.
 nec minus Aeneas, casu concussus iniquo,
 prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem.
 inde datum molitur iter. iamque arva tenebant
 ultima, quae bello clari secreta frequentant.
 hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclutus armis
 Parthenopaeus et Adrasti pallentis imago ; 480
 hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci
 Dardanidae, quos ille omnes longo ordine cernens
 ingemuit, Glaucumque, Medontaque, Thersilochum-
 que,
 tres Antenoridas, Cererique sacrum Polypheten,
 Idaeumque, etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem.
 circumstant animae dextra laevaue frequentes.

nec vidisse semel satis est ; iuvat usque morari
 et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas.
 at Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaeque phalanges
 ut videre virum fulgentiaque arma per umbras, 490
 ingenti trepidare metu ; pars vertere terga,
 ceu quondam petiere rates ; pars tollere vocem
 exiguam : inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes.

atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
 Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora,
 ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
 auribus, et truncas inhonesto vulnere nares.
 vix adeo adgnovit pavitantem et dira tegentem
 supplicia, et notis compellat vocibus ultro :
 ‘ Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teu-
 cri, 500

quis tam crudeles optavit sumere poenas ?
 cui tantum de te licuit ? mihi fama suprema
 nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum
 procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum.
 tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem
 constitui, et magna Manes ter voce vocavi.
 nomen et arma locum servant ; te, amice, nequivi
 conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra.’
 ad quae Priamides : ‘ nihil o, tibi, amice, relictum ;
 omnia Deiphobo solvisti et funeris umbris. 510

sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae
 his mersere malis : illa haec monumenta reliquit.
 namque ut supremam falsa inter gaudia noctem
 egerimus, nosti ; et nimium meminisse necesse est.
 cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit
 Pergama, et armatum peditem gravis attulit alvo :
 illa, chorum simulans, euantes orgia circum
 ducebat Phrygias ; flammam media ipsa tenebat
 ingentem, et summa Danaos ex arce vocabat.
 tum me confectum curis somnoque gravatum 520
 infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem

495 videt et. 505 in litore. 516 alveo.

dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti.
 egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis
 emovet, et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem;
 intra tecta vocat Menelaum, et limina pandit,
 scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
 et famam exstingui veterum sic posse malorum.
 quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo; comes additur una
 hortator scelerum Aeolides. di, talia Grais
 instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco. 530

sed te qui vivum casus, age fare vicissim,
 attulerint. pelagine venis erroribus actus,
 an monitu divom? an quae te fortuna fatigat,
 ut tristes sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?'
 hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis
 iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem;
 et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus;
 sed comes admonuit breviterque adfata Sibylla est:
 nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas.
 hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas: 540
 dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
 hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum
 exercet poenas et ad inopia Tartara mittit.
 Deiphobus contra: 'ne saevi, magna sacerdos;
 discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris.
 i decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere fatis.'
 tantum effatus, et in verbo vestigia torsit.

respicit Aeneas subito, et sub rupe sinistra
 moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro;
 quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis 550
 Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.
 porta adversa ingens, solidoque adamante columnae,
 vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi excindere ferro
 caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,
 Tisiphoneque sedens, palla succincta cruenta,
 vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.
 hinc exaudiri gemitus, et saeva sonare

524 amovet. 528 additus. 547 pressit.

verbera : tum stridor ferri, tractaeque catenae.
 constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit :
 ' quae scelerum facies ? o virgo, effare ; quibusve 560
 urguntur poenis ? quis tantus plangor ad auras ?'
 tum vates sic orsa loqui : ' dux inclute Teucrum,
 nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen ;
 sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis,
 ipsa deum poenas docuit, perque omnia duxit.
 Gnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
 castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri,
 quae quis apud superos, furto laetatus inani,
 distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
 continuo sontes ultrix accincta flagello 570
 Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra
 intentans angues vocat agmina saeva sororum.
 tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
 panduntur portae. cernis, custodia qualis
 vestibulo sedeat ? facies quae limina servet ?
 quinquaginta atris inmanis hiatibus Hydra
 saevior intus habet sedem. tum Tartarus ipse
 bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras,
 quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.
 hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes, 580
 fulmine deiecti, fundo volvuntur in imo :
 hic et Aloïdas geminos, inmania vidi
 corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
 adgressi, superisque Iovem detrudere regnis.
 vidi et crudeles dantem Salmonea poenas,
 dum flammam Iovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.
 quattuor hic invectus equis et lampada quassans
 per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem
 ibat ovans, divomque sibi poscebat honorem,
 demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen 590
 aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.
 at Pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum
 contorsit, non ille faces, nec fumea taedis
 559 strepituque . . . haesit. 561 aures. 591 cursu.

lumina, praecipitemque inmani turbine adegit.
 nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum,
 cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus
 porrigitur; rostroque inmanis vultur obunco
 immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis
 viscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
 pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis. 600

quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque?
 quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique
 inminet adsimilis: lucent genialibus altis
 aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae
 regifico luxu; Furiarum maxima iuxta
 accubat, et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,
 exurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore.
 hic, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
 pulsatusve parens, et fraus innexa clienti,
 aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis, 610

nec partem posuere suis, quae maxima turba est,
 quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti
 inopia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras,
 inclusi poenam exspectant. ne quaere doceri
 quam poenam, aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit.
 saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisve rotarum
 districti pendent; sedet aeternumque sedebit
 infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
 admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras:

“discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos.” 620
 vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
 inposuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit;
 hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos:
 ausi omnes inmane nefas, ausoque potiti.
 non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
 ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,
 omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.’

haec ubi dicta dedit Phoebi longaeva sacerdos:
 ‘sed iam age, carpe viam, et susceptum perfice munus.

post 601 fortasse excidit versus. 602 quo. 604 paternae.

adceleremus,' ait ; ' Cyclopum educta caminis 630
 moenia conspicio, atque adverso fornice portas,
 haec ubi nos praecepta iubent deponere dona.'
 dixerat, et pariter gressi per opaca viarum
 corripiunt spatium medium, foribusque propinquant.
 occupat Aeneas aditum, corpusque recenti
 spargit aqua, ramumque adverso in limine figit.

his demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,
 devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
 Fortunatorum Nemorum sedesque beatas.
 largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit 640
 purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.
 pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,
 contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena ;
 pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.
 nec non Threïcius longa cum veste sacerdos
 obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,
 iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.
 hic genus antiquum Teucris, pulcherrima proles,
 magnanimi heroës, nati melioribus annis,
 Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor. 650
 arma procul currusque virum miratur inanes.
 stant terra defixae hastae, passimque soluti
 per campos pascuntur equi. quae gratia currum
 armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentes
 pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.
 conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laevaue per herbam
 vescentes laetumque choro paeana canentes
 inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne
 plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.
 hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi, 660
 quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
 quique pii vates et Phoebæ digna locuti,
 inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
 quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.
 omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta,

630 ducta. 651 mirantur. 664 aliquos.

quos circumfusos sic est adfata Sibylla,
 Musaeum ante omnes—medium nam plurima turba
 hunc habet, atque umeris exstantem suspicit altis—
 ‘dicite, felices animae, tuque, optime vates :
 quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? illius ergo 670
 venimus, et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnes.’
 atque huic responsum paucis ita reddidit heros :
 ‘nulli certa domus ; lucis habitamus opacis,
 riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis
 incolimus. sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas,
 hoc superate iugum ; et facili iam tramite sistam.’
 dixit, et ante tulit gressum, camposque nitentes
 desuper ostentat ; dehinc summa cacumina linqunt.

at pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
 inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras 680
 lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
 forte recensebat numerum carosque nepotes,
 fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.
 isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
 Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,
 effusaeque genis lacrimae, et vox excidit ore :
 ‘venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti
 vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri,
 nate, tua, et notas audire et reddere voces?
 sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum 690
 tempora dinumerans, nec me mea cura fefellit.
 quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum
 accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!
 quam metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!’
 ille autem : ‘tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago,
 saepius occurrens, haec limina tendere adegit.
 stant sale Tyrrheno classes. da iungere dextram,
 da, genitor ; teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro.’
 sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat.
 ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum : 700
 ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,
 par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.

interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
 seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae,
 Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem.
 hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant ;
 ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
 floribus insidunt variis, et candida circum
 lilia funduntur ; strepit omnis murmure campus.

horrescit visu subito causasque requirit 71c

inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
 quive viri tanto compleverint agmine ripas.
 tum pater Anchises : ‘animae, quibus altera fato
 corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam
 securos latices et longa oblivia potant.

has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram,
 iampridem hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum ;
 quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.’

‘o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum
 est

sublimes animas, iterumque in tarda reverti 72c
 corpora ? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido ?’

‘dicam equidem, nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo’ ;
 suscipit Anchises atque ordine singula pandit.

‘principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentes
 lucentemque globum Lunae Titaniaque astra
 spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
 mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
 inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
 et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.
 igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo 73o

seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
 terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
 hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque
 auras

dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.
 quin et supremo cum lumine vita relinquit,
 non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes

704 silvis. 723 suspicit. 734 despiciunt *codd.* respiciunt *Serv.*

corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est
 multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
 ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum
 supplicia expendunt. aliae panduntur inanes 740
 suspensae ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
 infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.
 quisque suos patimur Manes; exinde per amplum
 mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus,
 donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
 concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
 aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.
 has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
 Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,
 scilicet inmemores supera ut convexa revisant 750
 rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.'

dixerat Anchises, natumque unaque Sibyllam
 conventus trahit in medios, turbamque sonantem,
 et tumulum capit, unde omnes longo ordine posset
 adversos legere et venientum discere vultus.
 'nunc age, Dardanium prolem quae deinde sequatur
 gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
 inlustres animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,
 expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo.
 ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta, 760
 proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras
 aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget,
 Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles;
 quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx
 educet silvis regem regumque parentem;
 unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.
 proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,
 et Capys, et Numitor, et qui te nomine reddet
 Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis
 egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam. 770
 qui iuvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, vires,
 atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu!

hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam,
 hi Collatinas inponent montibus arces,
 Pometios, Castrumque Inui, Bolamque, Coramque.
 haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine
 terrae.

quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet
 Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater
 educet. viden' ut geminae stant vertice cristae, 780
 et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
 en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma
 imperium terris animos aequabit Olympo,
 septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,
 felix prole virum : qualis Berecyntia mater
 invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
 laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
 omnes caelicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.
 huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem
 Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar, et omnis Iuli
 progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem. 790
 hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
 Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
 saecula qui rursus Latio, regnata per arva
 Saturno quondam ; super et Garamantas et Indos
 proferet imperium ; iacet extra sidera tellus,
 extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.
 huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna
 responsis horrent divom et Maeotia tellus,
 et septemgemi turbant trepida ostia Nili. 800
 nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
 fixerit aripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
 pacarit nemora, et Lernam tremefecerit arcu ;
 nec, qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis,
 Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigres.
 et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis ?
 aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra ?

787 super alta. 801 obibit. 806 virtute . . . vires.

quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
 sacra ferens? nosco crines incanaque menta
 regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem 810
 fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
 missus in imperium magnum. cui deinde subibit,
 otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit
 Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis
 agmina. quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus,
 nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.
 vis et Tarquinius reges animamque superbam
 ultoris Bruti fascesque videre receptos?
 consulis imperium hic primus saevasque secures
 accipiet, natosque pater, nova bella moventes, 820
 ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,
 infelix! utcumque ferent ea facta minores,
 vincet amor patriae laudumque inmensa cupido.
 quin Decios Drususque procul, saevumque securi
 aspice Torquatum, et referentem signa Camillum.
 illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,
 concordēs animae nunc, et dum nocte premuntur,
 heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae
 attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt,
 aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci 830
 descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois!
 ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella,
 neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires:
 tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo;
 proice tela manu, sanguis meus!
 ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho
 victor aget currum, caesis insignis Achivis.
 eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae,
 ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,
 ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae. 840
 quis te, magne Cato, tacitum, aut te, Cosse, relinquat?
 quis Gracchi genus, aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
 Scipiadas, cladem Libya, parvoque potentem

827 prementur.

Fabricium, vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?
 quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,
 unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.
 excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
 credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
 orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
 describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent :
 tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento—
 hae tibi erunt artes—pacisque inponere morem,
 parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.’

850

sic pater Anchises, atque haec mirantibus addit :
 ‘aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
 ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes!
 hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
 sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
 tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.’
 atque hic Aeneas, una namque ire videbat
 egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,
 sed frons laeta parum, et deiecto lumina vultu :
 ‘quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?
 filius, ane aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?
 qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!
 sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.’
 tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis :
 ‘o nate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum.
 ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
 esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago
 visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.
 quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
 Campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
 funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!
 nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
 in tantum spe tollet avos; nec Romula quondam
 ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.
 heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello
 dextera! non illi se quisquam inpune tulisset

860

870

obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem,
 seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos. 880
 heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!
 tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis
 purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
 his saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani
 munere.' sic tota passim regione vagantur
 aëris in campis latis, atque omnia lustrant.
 quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit,
 incenditque animum famae venientis amore,
 exin bella viro memorat, quae deinde gerenda, 890
 Laurentesque docet populos urbemque Latini,
 et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.

sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
 cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
 altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
 sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.
 his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
 prosequitur dictis, portaque emittit eburna:
 ille viam secat ad naves, sociosque revisit;
 tum se ad Caietae recto fert litore portum. 900
 ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.

NOTES

In the notes, when reference is made to a line in the *same* book, the number of the line only is given (e.g. 'cf. 229'); when the reference is to *another* book of the Aeneid, the number of the book is added (e.g. 'see 6. 10'). The Georgics are indicated by 'G.' and the Eclogues by 'Ecl.'

BOOK I

The following lines are sometimes placed at the commencement of the Aeneid,

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

'I am that (bard) who once tuned his lay (*i.e.* the Eclogues) on a slender straw, and then quitting the woods compelled the neighbouring ploughlands to answer the demands of the tiller however grasping, a work dear to husbandmen (*i.e.* and who subsequently wrote the Georgics); but now of war's bristling arms I sing....'

The lines however are to be rejected for many reasons:

- (1) They are not in any good MSS., but are first mentioned by Suetonius.
- (2) *Arma virumque* are quoted as the first words of the Aeneid by Ovid (Tr. 2. 533), Martial (8. 56. 19 *protinus Italiam concepit et arma virumque*), and Persius (1. 96).
- (3) The commencement *arma...* is an imitation of the first line of the Iliad *μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά,...* and that of the Odyssey, *ἄνδρα μοι, ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα....*
- (4) That a summary of the poet's history should be introduced in the same opening sentence with a summary of the hero's history is extremely harsh. Moreover, the sentence becomes very long and ugly; the omission too of *sum* twice over in the first line is very objectionable.

Milton thought the lines genuine and has imitated them at the commencement of *Paradise Regained*; so too Spenser, *Faerie Queene* 1. 1 'Lo! I the man whose muse whylome did mask'; and Tasso, *Geru. Lib.* 1. 1. Dryden rejected them.

1—7. *My song is of arms and the hero who, after many wanderings and wars, conveyed the homeless gods of Troy to Italy and founded a city which was to be the mother of Rome.*

1. *primus*] 'first': the previous settlement of Antenor at Patavium (242-248) is disregarded, (1) as comparatively unimportant, (2) as not being strictly in Italy but in Cisalpine Gaul.

2. *fato*] Some editors mark off *fato profugus* with commas, thus confining the force of *fato* strictly to *profugus*, but it clearly goes rather more with *venit* than with *profugus*. Virgil does not wish so much to emphasise that it was 'his destiny to be an exile' as that it was 'his destiny to reach Italy'—'came by fate an exile to Italy.' The word *fato* strongly marks the fact that the fortunes of Aeneas and Rome were guided not by idle chance but by sure destiny; that Aeneas was 'fated' to escape the destruction of Troy and rule over the Trojans 'himself and his sons' sons,' is foretold *Hom. Il.* 20. 302-308.

Lavinaque: The MSS. vary between this and *Laviniaque*, which can be scanned by treating the second *i* as = *y* (cf. 5. 589 n), but it is improbable that Virgil would have used such a license in these opening lines. There seems no objection to the form *Lavinus* as an adj. from *Lavinium*, for the poets continually coin adjectives from proper names in any shape which is most convenient, e.g. we have *Dardanus* king of Troy, *Dardania* 'Troy,' but *Dardanus* as well as *Dardanius* 'Trojan.' Conington compares the regular adjectives *Campanus* from *Campania*, *Apulus* from *Apulia*, and *Lucanus* from *Lucania*.

3. *multum ille...*] 'much buffeted truly both by land and sea...much too having suffered in war also....' *Ille* is pleonastic, but is inserted to draw marked attention to the person spoken of: it rivets our gaze on the storm-tossed and war-worn hero: cf. 5. 186 n. The passage is imitated from *Hom. Od.* 1. 1 $\delta\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ | $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\eta$... $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ δ' δ' γ' $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\epsilon\alpha$, where δ' $\gamma\epsilon$ may be compared with *ille* here. By his careful double reference (1) to the wars and (2) to the wanderings of Aeneas Virgil emphatically marks the Aeneid as parallel (1) to the Iliad and (2) to the Odyssey. Some place a semi-colon after *litora* and make *iactatus* and *passus* verbs not participles, but this mars the sweep of the sentence.

4. *superum*] For contracted gen. cf. 3. 53 n. *Iunonis ob iram*: cf. 27 n.

5. **dum conderet urbem**] Expresses the aim and object of all his wanderings and sufferings; he endured them 'until he could found a city,' 'ere he could found a city'; cf. 10. 800 *sequuntur | dum genitor...abiret*; G. 4. 457. *Dum*, when it means 'while,' usually takes the present indicative.

6. **deos**] *i.e.* the *Penates* or 'household gods,' on whose safety the fortunes of the 'house of Troy' depended: a city regarded as a great family had its public *Penates* as each family had its private ones. **unde**: 'whence,' a perfectly vague word referring first of all to Aeneas (= *a quo*), but also embracing his followers 'from whom (came) the Latin race and the Alban sires ..' For the movement from Lavinium to Alba and finally to Rome see 265 *seq.*

7. **Romæ**] Notice the climax of the sentence.

8—11. *Relate, O Muse, the cause of Juno's wrath against Aeneas.*

8. **quo numine laeso**] 'for what insult to her godhead?'; literally 'what godhead of hers having been insulted?' which is = 'her godhead having been insulted in what?' That this is the meaning is clear from the parallel clause *quidve dolens* 'or aggrieved at what?'

Beware of the rendering 'what god having been insulted?', for it is clear that Juno alone is referred to, so that *numen* here cannot = 'an individual deity,' but must = 'deity' in the abstract.

laeso...dolens...iræ: Henry well notes that 'injury' first causes 'pain,' and then pain 'wrath.'

9. **volvere casus**] The idea expressed in *volvere* is that of a *cycle* of disasters which have to be passed through in due order. Cf. 22 *sic volvere Parcas* 'that so the Fates ordain,' the idea being that the Fates set certain events in a fixed order which becomes the 'orbit,' as it were, in which they must move. The metaphor is probably derived from the movements of the heavenly bodies and the seasons, cf. 234 *volventibus annis*, 269 *volvendis mensibus*.

10. **insignem pietate virum**] Virgil throughout speaks of Aeneas as 'famed for piety,' *e.g.* 378. *Pietas*, from which we derive both 'piety' and 'pity,' has many shades of meaning. In men it is a dutiful regard and affection for those who have a natural claim upon them—(1) for the gods, and especially those of their own home or country; (2) for parents, relatives, and fatherland—*parentes, propinqui, patria*. It is that inward quality which, together with bravery in action, constitutes the leader of men (151 *pietate gravem et meritis...virum*) and the ideal hero (544 *Aeneas...quo iustior alter | nec pietate fuit nec*

bello maior et armis). Aeneas is especially 'pious' (1) from his care of the Penates, (2) for having carried his father from the flames of Troy.

But as the gods have a claim on men, so men have a claim on the gods, who ought to have regard to good men (1. 603 *si qua pius respectant numina*). This *pietas* in the gods may be either 'righteousness,' to which men may appeal when wronged (2. 536 *di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet*; 4. 382; 6. 530), or 'tender mercy' and 'pity' (5. 688 *si quid pietas antiqua labores | respicit humanos*), and similarly even in men the word may describe 'pity' (5. 296 *amore pio* 'tender affection'; 9. 493 *figite me, si qua est pietas... O Rutuli* 'in pity slay me'; Ov. A. A. 2. 391 *tunc* (in sickness) *amor et pietas tua sit manifesta puellae*).

Inpius on the other hand describes something monstrous and unnatural. Cf. 1. 294; 4. 298 *inpia Fama*, and especially 4. 496 where it is applied by Dido in bitter scorn to Aeneas.

adire inpulerit: 'drove to face.' For the infinitive cf. 2. 64 n.

11. Cf. Milton, Par. L. 6. 788 'in heavenly breasts could such perverseness dwell?'; Pope, Rape of the Lock, 1. 12 'and in soft bosoms dwells such mighty rage?'

12—33. *Carthage, a Tyrian settlement, lies opposite Italy, a city dear above all others to Juno and for which she sought to secure undisputed empire. But she had heard that a race sprung from Troy should one day overthrow it, and therefore, fearing this and also mindful of all her ancient causes for anger against Troy, she was pursuing the scanty remnant of the Trojans and seeking to thwart their mighty task of founding Rome.*

12. *antiqua*] 'ancient,' *i.e.* from the poet's point of view. It was being built when Aeneas landed in Africa, cf. 423 *seq.* *Tyrii...coloni*: a parenthesis, employed to introduce an explanation, cf. 150, 268, 530.

13. *longe*] The adverb qualifies and explains *Italiam contra Tiberinaque ostia*: the city 'confronts Italy and the mouths of Tiber' but 'from afar,' from the opposite side of the Mediterranean. Of course when Virgil speaks of Carthage as 'opposed to Italy' he is thinking of its historical as well as its geographical position, cf. 20 n., and 4. 628.

14. *dives opum*] 'rich in wealth'; the gen. follows adjectives which indicate *want* or *fulness*, cf. 343; 441 *laetissimus umbrae*.

15. *magis omnibus unam*] lit. 'alone more than all (other) lands,' *i.e.* 'far more than all other lauds.' *Unam* increases the

force of *magis omnibus* which is virtually a superlative ('more than all' = 'most'), cf. 2. 426 n.

16. **Samo**] The *Heraeum* or 'temple of Hera' (Juno) at Samos was one of the most famous buildings in the ancient world. When he speaks of her love for Carthage, Virgil probably identifies Juno with the Phoenician goddess Astarte, the Ashtaroth of Scripture. **Samo: hic.** For the hiatus cf. 3. 606 n. **hic: i.e.** at Carthage.

17. **hoc regnum...**] 'that this be an empire to the nations (*i.e.* hold sway over them) even then she makes her object and her care.' *Hoc ... esse* is an acc. and infinitive following the sense of 'wish' or 'desire' contained strongly in *tendit* and less strongly in *fovet*. *Fovet* describes the 'cherishing' care which a mother bestows on the bringing up of a child.

18. **si qua fata sinant**] 'if destiny should any way permit': *si qua* with the subj. expresses great doubt and almost despair of the result; cf. 6. 882. Juno hopes against hope.

19. **sed enim**] 'but indeed.' In this phrase, as in ἀλλὰ γάρ, there is always what Kennedy calls 'a refined ellipsis,' which must be supplied from the context: so here 'but (in spite of her efforts she had her fears,) for she had heard....' Cf. 2. 164 n.; 5. 395; 6. 28 n. **duci:** 'was springing,' lit. 'was being drawn out'; the metaphor is from a thread. We talk of 'a line of descent.'

20. **quae verteret**] 'to overthrow': the subj. expresses the end or purpose for which the Trojan race was being preserved, cf. 62 n. The rivalry between Rome and Carthage led to the three Punic wars (B.C. 265-242, 218-201, 149-146) and ended in the total destruction of Carthage by Scipio B.C. 146.

21. **hinc**] 'thence,' *i.e.* from the race of Troy. **populum late regem,** 'a widely ruling race'; the adv. *late* can qualify the subst. *regem* because it is really adjectival in force, cf. 180 *prospectum late*, and Hor. Od. 3. 17. 9 *late tyrannus*.

22. **venturum...**] 'should come for a destruction to Libya,' *i.e.* to be the ruin of Libya. *Libyae* is the dat. of 'the person interested,' *excidio* the dat. expressing 'the result of an action'; cf. 299 *pateant ... hospitio Teucris* = 'may be open for a lodging for the Trojans (= to welcome the Trojans).' **volvère,** cf. 9 n.

24. **prima**] 'first': the 'old war,' which she had 'first waged' at Troy, is contrasted with the fresh attacks on the Trojans which her zeal for Carthage inspired.

The temple of Juno in Argolis was famous, cf. Soph. El. 8.

25. **necdum etiam...**] Lines 25-28 interrupt the construction. After *metuens* and *memor* we should expect some-

thing like *necdum oblita* 'nor even yet forgetting,' but instead of this Virgil gives the earliest causes of Juno's wrath in a parenthesis, and then sums up the parenthesis and resumes the main sentence with the words *his accensa super* 29. The outline of the sentence is this: 'Juno fearing this...and remembering...(nor were...forgotten; there remains treasured...), thereby inflamed still more...(she) was driving the Trojans...'

The *causae irarum* are given in lines 27, 28.

26. *manet*] emphatic by position. *repostum*: by Syncope for *repositum*, cf. 4. 606 n.

27. *iudicium Paridis*] explained by the next three words. The shepherd Paris was chosen arbiter in a contest for the apple, which was the prize of beauty, by Juno, Minerva, and Venus. He decided in favour of Venus; hence to Juno his 'judgment' was 'an outrage on her slighted beauty.' See Tennyson's *Oenone*.

28. *genus invisum*] The race was 'hateful' to Juno, because Dardanus its ancestor was the son of Jupiter by Electra, of whom Juno was jealous. *Ganymedis*: cf. 5. 252 n.

29. *his*] 'by these things,' the things mentioned in lines 25-28; *super* adverbially, 'in addition' to the things mentioned 23, 24.

30. *Troas, reliquias Danaum...*] lit. 'the Trojans, the leavings of the Greeks...,' i.e. 'all that were left by the Greeks...' The words *reliquias...Achilli* are in apposition to *Troas*, and call pathetic attention to the difference between what the Trojans were once and had then become. Cf. Tennyson, Charge of the Light Brigade:

'All that was left of them,
Left of six hundred.'

For *Danaum* gen. plur. cf. 3. 53 n., and for *Achilli*, 120 n. *rēliquias*: the first syllable of this word is lengthened by metrical necessity; hence it is sometimes written *relliquias*; Virgil does not use the adjective *reliquus*, apparently not caring to make it a trisyllable or to scan it *rēlicūus* as Lucretius does; cf. Munro, *Lucr.* 1. 560 n.

33. *tantae molis erat*] lit. 'of so great effort' or 'work it was'—'So great a task it was to found the race of Rome.'

34—49. *As soon as the Trojans set sail from Sicily, Juno begins to compare her own failure to destroy them with the vengeance which Pallas had taken on the Greek fleet and Ajax son of Oileus, and indignantly asks who after such a failure will worship her as queen of heaven.*

34. *vix e conspectu...*] Virgil following the example of Homer plunges at once 'into the heart of his subject' (*in medias res* Hor. A. P. 148), assuming in his readers a general acquaintance with the outline of the story of Aeneas. See Introduction.

35. *aere*] The prows were covered with brass. *ruebant*: 'were driving before them.'

37. *haec secum*] 'Thus to herself': lit. 'these things (she speaks) with herself': the verb of 'saying' is often omitted where the sense is clear, cf. 76, 335, 370, 559. *mene...*: 'am I then to yield from my purpose defeated?' This use of an acc. and infinitive interrogatively without a principal verb expresses strong indignation, cf. 97. The speaker contemplates the fact described by the acc. and infinitive and asks himself whether it is possible.

39. *quippe...*] *Quippe* gives a reason with considerable emphasis; the particular force of this emphasis must be judged from the context. Here it expresses indignant scorn—'Because—a fine reason indeed!—I am forbidden by the fates.' Cf. 59 where *quippe* emphasises the good reason there is for keeping the winds under strong control—'Because assuredly (otherwise) they would...'; 661 where it marks that the reason Venus has for her conduct is a strong one; 4. 217.

Pallasne...: mark the emphatic position; Juno has a woman's hatred of a rival. *exurere...submergere*: notice how skilfully Virgil suggests the double horror of destruction by fire and water. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 650 where the poet is describing the same event:

ξυνώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρῖν,
Πῦρ καὶ Θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πιστ' ἔδειξάτην
φθείροντε τὸν δυστηνὸν Ἀργείων στρατόν.

40. *Argivom*] gen. plur., cf. 3. 53 n. *ipsos*: 'themselves,' the Argives in contrast with their fleet.

41. *unius ob...*] The second half of the line introduced with *et* explains and makes clear the first, 'for one man's guilt and the frenzy of Ajax' being='for one man's guilt, namely the frenzy of Ajax.' Cf. 27, 54.

Ajax son of Oileus (so called to distinguish him from the greater Ajax son of Telamon) outraged Cassandra on the night of the sack of Troy in the temple of Pallas where she had taken refuge. '*Furias*=*furorem* (*ἄτην*) inspired by the Furies': Kennedy. For the gen. *Oili* or *Oilei* cf. 120 n.

42. *ipsa*] emphatic, 'herself,' 'with her own hands.' Juno desires strongly to accentuate the power of Pallas in contrast

with her own weakness. *Iovis ignem*: *i.e.* the lightning, which set fire to the ships.

44. *illum*] 'him however,' 'but him.' By placing this strong pronoun emphatically first Virgil marks the contrast so forcibly that he is able to join *corripuit* to the preceding verbs without any connecting particle such as 'but,'—'she both scattered the barks and upheaved the sea with storm, *him* she seized...,' cf. 184 n. *transfixo pectore*: pierced, that is, with a thunderbolt.

46. *incedo*] 'move'; the word is a stately one and indicates majesty of movement (cf. 405, 497; 5. 68, 553) such as befits a queen. When Juno walks among the gods, her very movements mark her dignity. Cf. Shak. *Tempest* iv. i. 101-2

'High'st queen of state

Great Juno comes; I know her by her gait.'

47. *soror*] Both Juno and Jupiter were children of Saturn, as was also Neptune, cf. 130.

48. *et quisquam...*] 'and does any one worship the power of Juno after that?' *et* introduces an indignant question here, cf. the Greek use of *καί* in such phrases as *καί πῶς*; We use 'and' similarly in English, *e.g.*

'And shall they scorn Tre, Pol, and Pen?

And shall Trelawney die?'

49. *praeterea*] A rare use of the word, which usually means 'besides': here it clearly means 'after this,' *i.e.* after I have been thus proved to be so feeble, cf. G. 4. 502 *neque... praeterea vidit* 'nor saw after that.' For *inponit* many MSS. have *inponet*; Donatus read *adoret... inponat*.

50—64. *Juno proceeds to Aeolia, the country where King Aeolus keeps the winds imprisoned in caverns, from which they can only go forth by his permission.*

50. *talia...*] 'pondering such thoughts to herself with heart aflame.' *volutans*: describes 'constant turning over' in the mind, cf. 305 *volvens*.

51. *loca...*] 'a land teeming with raving (south-)winds.' *Austri* is used loosely to describe any 'violent winds,' just as *Zephyri* is often = 'gentle breezes.'

52. *Aeoliam*] Aeolus in Homer (*Od.* 10, *ad in.*) dwells in a floating island: Virgil (8. 416 *Aeoliam... Liparen*) identifies Aeolia with Lipara, one of the volcanic islands off the N. coast of Sicily.

53. Observe the accommodation of sound to sense; the line composed of four massy spondaic words expresses the strength

and power of the 'struggling winds and echoing tempests.' So too 55 is wholly spondaic and the effect is heightened by the alliteration in *illi indignantes, magno murmure montis, and circum claustra.*

56. *celsa...*] 'Aeolus sits in a lofty citadel wielding the sceptre.' Conington rightly observes that 'the citadel is the natural dwelling-place of a despotic governor,' and that so here Aeolia is supposed to have an *arx* in which the despot Aeolus dwells holding sway over his unruly subjects. Where the *arx* was situated in relation to the prison of the winds does not matter: in such passages as this a poet's aim is to *seem* definite and precise, though of course he cannot really be so.

58. *ni faciat...*] 'save that he does so, surely they would ravage and carry off with them.' *ni faciat...ferant* would in prose be *ni faceret...ferrent*, but the pres. subj. is more vivid and represents the event as still possible. For *quippe* cf. 39 n.: the natural order would be *quippe, ni faciat*, 'for surely, otherwise': but *quippe* is transposed to give it emphasis, cf. 4. 217 *nos munera templis | quippe tuis ferimus*; Cic. pro Mil. 12 *mouet me quippe lumen curiae.*

59. *rapidi*] This word is usually explained (= *qui rapitur*) 'that is hurried' or 'hurries along,' 'swift,' but the active force (= *qui rapit*) is much more suitable to describe the action of the winds here, especially in connection with *ferre* which is regularly used of plunderers (*raptores*) carrying off their spoils. See Kennedy's Excursus on Ecl. 1. 85, and cf. 117 *rapidus vortex* 'devouring eddy.'

61. *molem et montes*] 'massy mountains.' A good instance of Hendiadys, cf. 3. 223 n.

62. *qui foedere...*] 'who by sure covenant might be skilled to tighten, and when bidden to let loose their reins.' The *foedus* represents 'the covenant' made by Jove with Aeolus in accordance with which he was to exercise his dominion over the winds; the phrase is from Lucr. 1. 586 *foedera naturai*; cf. G. 1. 60.

qui sciret: the subj. expresses the purpose for which Aeolus had been appointed king; for this use of *qui* in a final sense with the subjunctive, cf. 20, 236, 287.

63. *premere*] Cf. 11. 600 *pressis habenis.*

65—75. 'O Aeolus, since thou hast power over the winds, scatter and destroy the hated Trojans; as thy reward thou shalt receive the fairest of my attendant nymphs to be thy bride.'

65. *Aeole, namque...*] The clause introduced by *namque* explains why she appeals to Aeolus—'Aeolus, (on thee I call)

for to thee...': cf. 731 *Iuppiter, ... nam. divom...*: cf. Il. 1. 544 *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*; Ennius 6. 25 *tum cum corde suo divom pater atque hominum rex | haec fatur*. Virgil uses the monosyllabic ending to give archaic dignity, cf. 3. 12 n.; 3. 375.

66. *et mulcere dedit...*] 'hath granted with the wind both to calm and to arouse the waves': *vento* is emphatic and goes with both infinitives, the ancients continually speaking of the winds calming as well as rousing the sea, cf. 5. 763 *placidi straverunt aequora venti*. For the infinitive after *do* equivalent to a verbal noun, cf. 5. 247 n.

69. *incute...*] 'hurl rage into the winds': a curious variation of the use of *incutere* in the common phrase *incutere timorem alicui* 'to strike terror into any one'; Ennius has *Romanis incutit iram. submersas obrue puppes*: perhaps 'o'erwhelm the sunken barks' = 'so that they sink,' cf. next line; Conington however prefers 'sink and o'erwhelm.'

70. *age diversos*] 'drive scattered,' *i.e.* 'so that they become scattered.' For this proleptic use, in which the adjective expresses by 'anticipation' (*πρόληψις*) that which is the effect of the verb, cf. 259; 659 *furentem incendat* 'kindle to frenzy'; 3. 141 *steriles exurere* 'parch barren'; 3. 236, 462 *ingentem fer ad sidera*.

72. *Deiopea*] What should be the acc. after *iungam* is placed in the relative clause and attracted to the case of the relative.

73. *conubio*] For the quantity of the *u* cf. 4. 213 n.

propriam dicabo: 'I will consecrate her thine for ever.' *Proprius* expresses *abiding* possession (cf. 3. 85 n.), and *dico* being a religious word recalls the fact that Juno specially presided over marriage under the title of *Iuno Pronuba* (cf. 4. 166).

75. *et pulchra...*] 'and make thee sire of goodly children.' The abl. *pulchra prole* is most simply explained as instrumental, 'make thee a father by (bearing) goodly children.' That it can be a descriptive abl., as many take it, seems impossible: *pulchra prole parens* by itself is surely not Latin, and such passages as 5. 77, Ecl. 3. 39 are not in point.

76—80. *Aeolus replies*: "'Tis thine to command, mine to obey, for to thee I owe my kingdom.'

76. *tuus...*] 'Thy task it is to search out thy desire (*i.e.* determine exactly its nature); mine the duty to' Note the emphatic position of *tuus* and *mihī* making clear the antithesis; cf. 184 n. The completeness of the obedience he

owes her is also emphasised by the threefold repetition of *tu* in the following lines.

78. **quodcumque hoc regni]** lit. 'whatever of empire this is' = 'all my empire here': *hoc* is deictic. It is usual to describe the phrase as depreciatory = 'this realm such as it is,' 'this poor realm,' and to compare Lucr. 2. 16 *hoc aevi quodcumque est* which is commonly rendered 'our brief life,' though Munro rightly explains *omne hoc aevum*. Aeolus is not depreciating the extent of his empire, but emphasising the fact that he owes it *all* to Juno.

79. **concilias]** This verb which is=(1) 'make favourable' or 'friendly' and (2) 'win' or 'secure for,' goes strictly with *Iovem* and more loosely with *quodcumque hoc regni* and *sceptra* — 'Thou dost win for me all this my realm, my sceptre too and the favour of Jove.'

80. **nimborum ... potentem]** 'powerful over the clouds.'

81—101. *Then he smote the side of the mountain with his spear, and straightway all the winds swept down upon the sea, threatening the Trojans with instant destruction. Aeneas terror-stricken raised his hands to heaven and cried aloud, lamenting that he had not been allowed to die in battle on the plains of Troy like so many of his happier comrades.*

81. **cavum conversa cuspide]** Notice the alliteration, which, together with the double *in* and double dactyl *inpūlit| in lātūs* followed by a pause in the next line, marks the ring of the blow on the hollow mountain side. **conversa:** *i.e.* the butt end of it with which he opens the doors, cf. Lucr. 7. 574 *verbere conversae cessantes excitat hastae*; Ov. Met. 14. 299.

82. **latus]** The gates or barriers (*claustra* 56) of the prison (*carcer*) are supposed to be in the side of the mountain. **ac:** 'and forthwith'; cf. 227 n.

84. **incubuere]** The perfect of instantaneous action; 'straightway they settle on the sea,' cf. 90 *intonuere*, and 5. 140 n.

85. **una...]** Cf. Od. 5. 295

σὺν δ' Ἐβρός τε Νότος τ' ἔπεσε Ζέφυρός τε δυσαῆς,
καὶ Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης, μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων.

The language of poetry continually describes a storm under the image of all the winds being abroad at once, the fury of the storm being caused by their fierce shocks and encounters, cf. 2. 416, Daniel vii. 2, Hor. Od. 1. 9. 10; Scott, The Fire-King,

'When the winds from the four points of heaven were abroad';

Milton, Par. Reg. 4. 413. *creber procellis*: 'with thick-gathered tempests'; *Africus* is represented as leading them on.

88. *eripiunt...*] Cf. Hom. Od. 5. 293

σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε
γαίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανὸθεν νύξ.

90. *intonuere...*] 'sudden the poles thunder, and the sky lightens with quick-following flashes.' The use of the plural *poli* is clearly intentional: the thunder seems to be heard not only over their head but under their feet; it echoes from pole to pole. For the two poles cf. G. 1. 242. Milton's imitation (Par. Reg. 4. 409) 'either tropic now | gan thunder' is hardly successful. *aether*, the fine fiery (cf. *αἴθω*) element which surrounds the universe, is naturally spoken of as the home of the lightning; cf. 5. 517 n.

92. *extemplo...*] 'straightway the limbs of Aeneas are relaxed with chilling terror.' Virgil here again closely copies his model, cf. Hom. Od. 5. 297 καὶ τότ' Ὀδυσσῆος λῦτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ, and so too in the speech which follows. See Introduction p. x.

93. *duplices...palmas*] Not his 'folded hands,' but 'both his upturned hands.' *Duplices* is often = 'both' of a pair of things, e.g. *duplices oculi*, Lucr. 6. 1145. The ancient attitude of prayer was standing with hands uplifted and upturned, cf. 3. 177 n.

94. *o terque...*] Hom. Od. 5. 306

τρισμακάρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τέτρακίς, οἱ τότ' ἔδλοντο
Τροίην ἐν εὐρείῃ.

95. *quis*] = *quibus*: 'whose happy chance it was to meet their doom' *Contingo* usually describes a fortunate chance, *accido* an unfortunate one, 'an accident.'

97. *mene ... non potuisse?*] 'could not I have fallen?' 'to think that it was not in my power to fall!': for construction cf. 37 n. Diomedes (*Tydidēs*) wounded, and would have slain, Aeneas but for the interposition of Venus, Hom. Il. 5. 297-317. *occumbere*: just as *oppetere* (96), *obire* are often used absolutely = 'to meet (death),' 'to die,' so *occumbere* is often used = 'to fall (before the attack of death).' The force of *ob* in these words is to indicate 'opposition': death is the barrier to which we must all come, or the assailant before whom we must all fall. For the full phrase cf. 2. 62 *certae occumbere morti*.

99. *saevus ubi...*] 'where fierce Hector lies prostrate beneath (lit. 'by') the spear....' *Iacet* is certainly not = 'lies

buried,' for we cannot construe 'lies buried (slain) by the spear'; moreover Sarpedon's body was carried away to Lycia, and Aeneas is not contemplating the happy burial but the happy death of his comrades. Both *iacet* and *volvit* are graphic presents: Aeneas sees in spirit the death of Hector and Sarpedon, cf. 2. 274 n.

ubi...ubi...ubi: pathetic emphasis of repetition.

102—123. *Meantime the fury of the storm grows fiercer; three ships are driven on to sunken reefs, three among quicksands; the bark of Orontes sinks before the very eyes of Aeneas; the sea is covered with wreckage as the gale breaks first on one ship then on another.*

102. *talia iactanti*] Ethic dative: 'to him' while thus 'hurling' his cry of despair to heaven the events which follow occur. For *iactanti* of passionate speech cf. 2. 588, 768; Shak. Hamlet 1. 4. 133 'These are but wild and whirling words, my lord.' *stridens* pronounced *streedens* describes the whistling of the gale as it strikes the sail 'full in front (*adversa*).'

104. *tum prora avertit*] 'then the prow swings round'; *averto* is used intransitively, cf. 2. 229 n. The squall striking the sail full in front stops the ship, so that she no longer answers to her helm but the bow swings round and 'exposes the side to the waves.' Good MSS. give *proram*, 'then it (the squall) swings the prow round,' but after *franguntur remi* this return to the nominative *procella* is very harsh.

105. *insequitur...*] Note the accommodation of sound to sense, the monosyllabic ending expressing the heavy fall of the mass of water, cf. 5. 481 *procumbit humi bos*. *cumulo*: abl. used adverbially = 'in a heap,' cf. 2. 323 n.

106. *his unda...*] 'for others (*i.e.* the crews of other ships) the yawning main opens land between the waves'; they sink so low in the trough of the waves that they seem likely to touch bottom. The next three words make the point clear; 'the churning waters boil with sand,' *i.e.* are thick and discoloured with sand showing that the water is extremely shallow; cf. 3. 557.

For the general sense cf. Psalm cvii. 26 'They mount up to heaven, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble.'

109. *Aras*] Varro and Pliny mention a reef bearing this name between Sicily and Sardinia, but it is vain to seek to identify the particular rocks Virgil had in view, as he merely introduces the local colouring to give a sense of reality to his

story, and the name 'altar' would apply naturally to any such rocks.

110. *dorsum inmane...*] 'an ugly ridge upon the surface of the sea,' *i.e.* in fine weather; in a storm they were hid (*latentia*). *Inmane* does not describe their size, which could not have been great, but their dangerous character.

111. *in brevia et Syrtes*] 'towards shallows and the Syrtes' = 'the shallows of the Syrtes,' by Hendiadys, cf. 3. 223 n. Some print *syrtes*, and undoubtedly the word may indicate any 'sandbank,' but the sandbanks on this part of the African coast, especially the *Syrtis Major* and *Minor*, were so well known that to print with a capital seems better. For the danger of these Syrtes cf. Acts xxvii. 17 φοβούμενοι τε μή εἰς τὴν Σύρτιν ἐκπέσωσιν, χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, οὕτως ἐφέροντο.

114. *ipsius*] *i.e.* of Aeneas. *ingens a vertice pontus*: cf. Hom. Od. 5. 313 ἔλασεν μέγα κύμα κατ' ἀκρῆς | δεινὸν ἐπεσσύμενον. The phrase *a vertice* 'from the height' is a strong one and expresses the fall of something sheer downwards with nothing to check or impede its fall, cf. 5. 444; G. 2. 310: the common rendering 'from above' is inadequate.

115—117. Notice the violent pause after *ferit* and the two dactyls *volvitur in caput* followed by a similar pause to express the shock of the falling wave. Then line 117 with its dactyls and strong alliteration (*torquet vorat aequore vertex*) represents the fierce whirl of the eddy.

116. *ast illam...*] 'but the ship thrice the wave whirls driving it round and round (lit. round in the same spot) and (then) the devouring eddy swallows it in the sea.' For *rapidus* cf. 59 n.

118. *apparent...*] 'here and there are seen swimmers..., (and) arms of heroes, and planks....' *Rari* is in artistic contrast to *vasto*.

119. *arma*] *e.g.* wicker shields and leather helmets. So Livy 1. 37 has *fluitantia arma*.

120. *iam...iam...et qua...et qua*] The repeated particles mark the strong feeling excited by each fresh disaster. Cf. 220 n.

Iliinei: *Achati*: in forming the genitive of Greek nouns the poets take great license. Nouns in *εὐς* either have a Greek gen. *ῆος*, or are treated like Latin words in *ἔυς* and have gen. *ἔϊ* usually contracted into *ἔϊ* or *ἔι*. Nouns in *ῆς* either take gen. *ἔι* (= *ov*) or *ἔς* like Latin nouns in *es*. Cf. 30 *Achilli*; 41 *Oili*; 220 *Oronti*.

121. *et qua vectus...*] = *et (eam) qua vectus...* 'and that in which Abas sailed...the storm o'ermastered.'

123. *rimisque fatiscunt*] 'and gape with chinks,' caused by the starting of their timbers.

124—131. *Neptune aroused by the storm appears and, seeing the danger of Aeneas, at once comprehends its reason. He therefore summons the gods of the winds and addresses them.*

124. *magno misceri murmure*] A favourite alliteration in describing any uproar; cf. 55; 4. 160.

125. *et imis...*] 'and his pools upheaved from their lowest depths.' The *stagna* are 'the deep unfathomed pools of ocean' which are ordinarily undisturbed, but which the tempest causes to shift their position. *refusus* seems used of a liquid which flows *up* instead of flowing *down*, cf. 6. 107 n.; Ov. Met. 11. 657 *fletu super ora refuso* 'tears upwelling o'er the face.'

126. *graviter commotus*] 'grievously troubled,' the phrase describes at once the disturbance of the sea and the anger of the sea-god. *alto*: dat. = *in altum* 'over the sea,' cf. 2. 19 n.

127. *placidum*] In contrast with the angry storm and also to express his dignity (cf. our 'serene highness') and dignified self-control in spite of his anger (cf. 126 *graviter commotus*).

129. *caeli ruina*] 'the downfall of the sky,' the sky itself seems to come down in thunder, lightning, and storm, cf. Hor. Od. 1. 16. 11 *tremendo* | *Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu*; G. 1. 210. The phrase is here opposed to *fluctibus*: sea and sky conspire to destroy the Trojans.

130. *nec latuere...*] 'nor did the wiles of Juno escape her brother.' *Nec latuere*: Litotes, cf. 5. 56 n.: directly Neptune saw the Trojan fleet he at once detected Juno's plot. *fratrem*: cf. 47 n.

132—141. 'Should you venture to produce such confusion again, your punishment will be severe. Now away, and inform your lord that the sea is my domain while the prison of the winds is his.'

132. *generis fiducia vestri*] 'trust in your birth,' spoken contemptuously, as the winds were only very third-rate deities, being the offspring of the Titan *Astraeus* and *Aurora*.

133. *iam*] emphatic; the winds had been disorderly before, but *now* things were coming to a climax.

134. *moles*] 'masses' of water; he points to the waves.

135. **quos ego—! sed...**] A famous instance of the rhetorical figure called *Aposiopesis* (*ἀποσιώπησις*), by which the speaker 'breaks off in silence' leaving the sentence incomplete but the sense perfectly clear. It is characteristic of passionate speech, cf. 5. 195 *quamquam o—sed superent*; Ter. And. 1. 1. 137 *quem quidem ego si sensero—sed quid opus est verbis?* The figure in English is generally used in comic writers, and there is a touch of comedy in Neptune's style here, but it is always difficult to scold with dignity.

136. **post]** 'hereafter,' *i.e.* if the same thing occurs again. **non simili**: 'not by a like' = 'by a very different punishment' *i.e.* by a far heavier one. A good instance of *Litotes*, cf. 5. 56 n.

138. **tridentem]** The symbol of Neptune's authority over the sea.

139. **sorte]** The three sons of Saturn—Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto—were said to have divided his empire by lot, receiving respectively the heaven, the sea, and the under-world, cf. Hom. Il. 15. 187 *seq.* **datum**: sc. *esse*.

140. **vestras, Eure, domos]** 'the dwellings, Eurus, of thee and thy comrades.' Neptune in addressing Eurus is really addressing all the winds; hence *vestras*; cf. 375.

141. **clauso]** emphatic: he may give what orders he likes to the winds provided he keeps them imprisoned, but not otherwise.

142—156. *Straightway Neptune calms the water and rescues the ships. At his presence all turmoil ceases, as the violence of a mob ceases on the appearance of some famous and venerable man.*

142. **dicto citius]** 'more swiftly than his word,' *i.e.* before his command was uttered. *Dicto* is not the speech just made, as Conington takes it, but the command implied in *tumida aequora placat*, which is effective almost before it is uttered. The phrase expresses the perfect ease with which the will of the deity is executed: cf. the nobler and more sober phrase Ps. xxxiii. 9 'he spake, and it was done.'

145. **ipse]** 'the god himself.'

146. **aperit Syrtes]** 'opens' or 'makes a way through the Syrtes,' in which some of the ships were embedded, cf. 112.

148—154. The outline of the sentence is this 'And as, when faction has gathered head...and...and now..., then if haply they have seen some one..., they are silent (and) he...soothes, so all the tumult of the sea fell, soon as the sire...guides his steeds....' The guiding words *veluti* and *sic, cum* and *tum* should be carefully noticed.

Scenes such as that which affords the basis for this noble simile must have been familiar to dwellers in Rome during the troubled years which preceded the establishment of the empire.

148. *cum saepe*] 'when often' = 'when, as often happens'; cf. 5. 273 *qualis saepe*; 10. 723 *ceu saepe*, 'as oft' = 'as, which often happens'; Munro, *Lucr.* 5. 1231 n.

magnò in populo: 'in a mighty nation,' such as the Roman nation (*populus Romanus*) of which Virgil is thinking. Others give 'in a vast concourse.'

149. *ignobile vulgus*] 'the base rabble.'

151. *tum pietate...*] 'then, if perchance they have beheld some man honoured for uprightness and noble deeds, they are silent...he sways their passion with his words....' For the emphatic *ille* cf. 44 n. *Gravis* 'weighty' is the opposite of *levis* 'light,' 'quick,' 'versatile,' 'unstable,' and expresses the possession of all those qualities which were specially typical of the Roman character; *gravitas* was the essential characteristic of a great man. Both this word and *levitas* deserve study in a good dictionary.

pietate: the inward character; *meritis*: actual good service performed as statesman or soldier. So *pietas* is contrasted with *bellum et arma* 544.

155. *genitor*] 'the sire.' The same phrase is used of Neptune 5. 817, cf. 5. 14 *pater Neptune*. Is it a mere title of respect, or does Virgil identify Neptune with *Ἔκκεανός, ὄσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται*, *Il.* 14. 246?

caeloque invectus aperto: 'driving beneath the cloudless sky'; lit. 'the sky being cloudless.' *Invectus* does not govern *caelo* but is merely 'borne upon (a chariot),' 'driving': he was driving not 'in' or 'through' the sky, but along the top of the waves.

156. *flectit equos...*] The exact opposite of G. 1. 514 *fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas*. There the driver 'is borne along by his steeds, and the chariot does not hear (or 'obey') the reins': here Neptune 'guides his steeds, and gives the reins to his obedient car.' *Currus* is not the chariot alone, but the chariot and horses together, or perhaps the horses alone, cf. 7. 163, G. 3. 92 where it is certainly = 'team.' *Secundus*, from *sequor*, is used of anything which goes with you and not against you (cf. *vento secundo, secundo anne*) and is here almost = *qui obsequitur*. Henry 1. 432-437.

157—179. *Aeneas with seven ships finds a natural harbour protected on either side by rocks and in front by an island, while at the back are woods and a cave with a spring of fresh water.*

They land and, after Achates has lighted a fire, prepare some of their soaked corn for cooking.

157. **Aeneadae]** An interesting use of the patronymic = 'followers of Aeneas.' In early times it was usual to refer the origin of a race to some distinguished chief or prince from whom it was supposed to be descended (cf. 'Children of Israel'; *Dardanidae* 'Trojans'; *Aeneadae* Lucr. 1. 1 'Romans'), and so the actual living leader or king came to be regarded as the 'father' of his followers who are spoken of as his 'children.'

For **litora** placed in the relative clause instead of as acc. after *petere*, cf. 72 n. **cursu**: abl. used adverbially; lit. 'with running,' then = 'at speed,' 'hurriedly,' cf. 2. 323 n.

158. **contendunt petere]** 'vie with one another in seeking,' for the inf. cf. 2. 64 n.

160. **obiectu laterum...**] 'with the barrier of its sides, by which every wave from the main is broken....' The island forms a natural breakwater 'by throwing its sides across' the mouth of the bay, which it so 'makes into a harbour' (*portum efficit*).

161. **inque sinus...**] The same phrase occurs G. 4. 420, where, however, the wave is not stopped by any breakwater but by a rocky shore (*exesi latere in montis*).

Sinus may have two meanings: (1) a horizontal curve, and so a bay or indentation of the shore; (2) a vertical curve, and so an undulation, billow, or ripple (cf. 11. 624; G. 3. 237).

(1) Conington explains 'divides itself into the shore's retreating curves,' the huge wave which comes from the sea being broken up into small bodies of water which creep gently up into each little curve of the shore.

(2) Henry (1. 444-455) on the other hand says 'divides itself into retreating curves' or 'ripples,' the great wave, after striking the island, being driven back in a quantity of smaller waves which fall back seawards in a series of small hills and hollows.

162. **rupes...scopuli]** The *rupes* are the long ridges of rock which form the sides of the harbour; the *gemini scopuli* are the two tower-like crags in which these ridges terminate. *Scopulus* = *σκόπελος* which, as its derivation from *σκοπέω* shows, originally means 'a look-out place,' cf. 180. **minantur in caelum**: 'tower threatening towards heaven,' 'loom heavenwards.'

164. **tuta]** 'sheltered.' **tum**: introduces a fresh feature in the view; 'then too a background of waving woods above and

a grove overhangs gloomy with dreadful darkness.' *Scaena* seems used as in G. 3. 24 where it certainly means 'background.' Originally rustic plays seem to have been acted in some convenient spot where trees or shrubs formed a natural background, or a background was made of boughs, cf. Ov. Ars Am. 1. 106 *frondes | simpliciter positae scaena sine arte fuit*. Servius rightly refers Virgil's use of *scaena* here to this primitive custom—*Dicta scaena ἀπὸ τῆς σκιᾶς, apud antiquos enim theatralis scaena parietem non habuit, sed de frondibus umbracula quaerebant*.

coruscis: refers to the movement of the tree tops which are 'gleaming' as they wave to and fro. There is thus perhaps an artistic contrast between them and the lower part of the grove which 'lowers gloomy with awe-inspiring shade.' Many however take *horrenti umbra* as 'bristling shade,' but this seems a mere repetition of *coruscis*.

167. *vivo*] 'natural': the rock forms seats without being artificially hewn; cf. 3. 688 n., G. 2. 469 *vivi lacus*.

168. *Nympharum domus*] Hom. Od. 13. 104 *ἰδὸν νυμφᾶων*. The Nymphs were often associated with grottoes and most frequently with springs of fresh water; hence in later poets *nymph* is sometimes = 'water,' cf. *lymp*ha.

hic fessas...: 'here no bonds (*i.e.* cables) confine the weary barks, no anchor with crooked fang fetters them.' For *fessas* Conington well compares Rom. and Juliet Act 5. Sc. 4 'thy sea-sick, weary bark.' The passage is copied from Hom. Od. 9. 136 *ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὐορμος, ἔν' οὐ χρεῶν πείσματός ἐστιν | οὔτ' εὐνάς βαλέειν*. The substitution of *ancora* for *εὐνάς* ('large stones') is an anachronism, as anchors were unknown in Homeric times, cf. too *biremes* 182.

171. *subit*] 'seeks shelter.' *telluris amore*: 'longing for the land.'

173. *tabentes*] must be rendered 'dripping,' but *tabes* means 'wasting away,' 'decay,' 'the moisture of decay,' so that *tabentes* strongly suggests the misery of their plight.

175. *sucepit*] For the spelling cf. 6. 249 n.

176. *rapuitque in fomite flammam*] 'and quickly caught the flame on tinder.' Servius says that *fomes* means 'chips' (*assulae*) and derives it from *foveo—quod ignem fovent*. Virgil seems to describe first a spark struck from the flint, then its reception on one or two dry leaves round which other 'dry food' of the same nature is placed, and finally a flame breaking out which is 'eagerly caught' on small pieces of wood. For *fomes* cf. Lucan 8. 776 *excitat invalidas admoto fomite flammās*.

Others render 'and fanned the flame amid the tinder,' but this use of *rapere* needs proof.

177. *Cerealia arma*] 'the implements of Ceres': a dignified phrase (cf. the French *batterie de cuisine*) for the implements used in preparing corn for food; e.g. a hand-mill.

178. *fessi rerum*] 'weary of their fortunes.' The genitive seems to depend on the sense of 'having had enough of' contained in *fessus*, cf. Hor. Od. 2. 6. 7 *lasso maris*.

179. *et torrere...*] For making grain into meal (*farina*) it was commonly pounded (*pinso*, cf. *pistor*) in a mortar with a pestle, for which Virgil uses the phrase *frangere saxo*. Before this was done, however, it was usual to roast or dry it (cf. G. 1. 267), and so far from this roasting being a special process used here because the grain was wet (cf. 177), it was quite common to steep it before roasting. See Henry 1. 479.

180—207. *Aeneas mounts a rock which commands the sea; none however of the missing ships are in sight, but he sees a herd of deer upon the shore and shoots seven, which he divides among the crews together with wine, bidding them take courage in their present distress by recalling the greater evils which they had already passed through in safety; one day their troubles would be a happy memory; the path was difficult and dangerous but the goal was glorious and great.*

180. *scopulum*] Cf. 163 n. *et omnem...petit*: these words explain why he climbs the crag; 'he seeks all the view far and wide over the sea.' *Prospectus* being a verbal noun is qualified by the adverb *late*, cf. 21 n., and is allowed the verbal construction with *pelago*= 'over the deep,' cf. 126 *alto prospiciens*.

Omnem is usually explained as a transference (Hypallage) of the adjective from its proper noun (*pelago*) to another—'a view over all the sea'; but, though such transference makes the sense easier and more prosaic, Virgil could not have written *omnem prospectum* unless the adjective could properly apply to the noun. Aeneas was on the shore with a partial view, but by climbing the rock he knew he would get 'all the view,' i.e. the full view he wished.

181. *Anthea si quem...videat*] 'in hopes (lit. 'to see if') he may detect Antheus it may be...or Capys...or Caicus'; literally 'any Antheus.' Editors say that *si quem* is put for *sicubi*= 'if he can see Antheus anywhere,' but this does violence to the language. The expression is an exact parallel to Aesch. Ag. 55 ὑπατος δ' αἰῶν ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων | ἢ Πάν ἢ Ζεὺς, 'but hearing from heaven Apollo it may be or Pan or Zeus....'

183. *in puppibus arma*] The arms were hung on the bulwarks for show; 'like the shields,' as Papillon says, 'of the old Norse Vikings.' For *celsis* cf. 3. 527 n.

184. *navem...nullam, tres...cervos*] Note the order of the words. This is one of the cases where Greek would use *μέν* and *δέ* to mark the contrasted clauses, but Latin simply puts them side by side, 'no ship within sight (he views, but) three stags he views...' Cf. 76, 209, 247 *ille...nos*; 381 *bis denis...vix septem*, 467, 468; 2. 374 n. *alii...vos*; 4. 184 *nocte...luce*; 5. 125 *tumidis...tranquillo*, and constantly.

189. *capita alta...*] 'carrying their heads high with branching antlers.'

190. *tum vulgus et...*] 'then the common herd and general mob he routs pursuing them with his darts....'

193. *fundat*] The subj. here after *priusquam* expresses purpose: he does not mean to stop until he has got seven, one for each ship. Cf. 492; 3. 384 n.

195. *vina...*] 'the wine too he then divides, which kind-hearted Acastes had stowed in jars...' *Deinde* must go with *dividit*: Virgil frequently places this word in odd positions, cf. 5. 14 n. For the construction *vina cadis onerare*, which clearly means 'to put wine in jars so that it forms their *onus* or burden,' cf. 8. 180 *onerantque canistris | dona...Cereris*, where bread is put in the baskets: the ordinary construction is *onerare cados vino*, cf. 362 *naves...onerant auro*.

196. *heros*] 'like a hero,' cf. 412 n. Generous gifts 'to parting guests' marked the heroic age; cf. Hom. Od. 4. 617 *πόρεν δέ ἐ Φαίδιμος ἥρωσ...* Conington has 'A brave man's bounty to the brave.' Henry calls *heros* a mere 'eke,' while A. Calvert notes that '*heros* occurs twenty times in V. and always at the end of a line, except 6. 103.'

198. *o socii,...*] 'O my comrades, for neither are we before this ignorant of ills, O ye who have borne heavier woes, to these too God shall grant an end.' The sentence is thrown into a highly rhetorical form: if put into logical shape the force of *enim* is at once clear—'God will deliver us from these evils too, for we have already experienced many and heavier ones.' Some make *neque enim...malorum* a parenthesis, but spoil the sentence.

Ante can go with the present *sumus*: because 'we are not before this ignorant of evils' is = 'we have before this had knowledge of evils.' Cf. Hom. Od. 4. 810 *οὐ τι πάρος γε πωλείαι*; 5. 88.

For the sense cf. Hom. Od. 12. 208

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμενός εἰμεν.

200. vos et...vos et] Notice the strong emphasis of the repeated pronoun—'you are the men who both faced...and have known,' **penitus sonantes**: 'deep-echoing,' *i.e.* from their caverns, to the rage of Scylla's hounds (*Scyllaeam rabiem*). For Scylla cf. 3. 424.

201. **accestis**] By Syncope for *accessistis*, cf. 4. 606 n.

202. **expertis**] sc. *estis*, a rare omission, cf. 2. 2 n.

203. **forsan et haec...**] 'perchance even these things it shall one day be a joy to recall.' This famous thought is from Hom. Od. 15. 400 *μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἀλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ | ὅστις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθη*. Cf. too Eur. Frag. 131 *ὡς ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνησθαι πόνων*; Cic. ad Fam. 5. 12 *habet enim praeteriti doloris secura recordatio delectationem*.

204. **per varios...**] 'through hazards manifold, through all these perils of fortune our path leads to Latium.' **tot** is often used in reference to any number which is notorious, as here, where all knew how many 'perils of fortune' they had passed, = 'so many (as you all know).' Cf. 10, 232, 240, 642.

208 — 222. Thus *Aeneas*, concealing his own anxieties, encourages his followers: they, after preparing and enjoying the feast, long discuss the fate of their comrades.

209. **spem vultu...**] 'feigns hope with his face, (but) buries deep in his heart his anguish.' Notice how the strong antithesis between the contrasted clauses (cf. 184 n.) is brought out by the elaborately inverted order of the antithetical words in each—*spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*. This inversion of order in antithetical clauses is often called *chiasmus*.

211. **viscera**] This passage shows the meaning of *viscera* = 'the carcase,' that which is left when the hide is stripped off.

212. **pars...secant...locant alii**] *Pars* takes a plural verb because it is = 'some,' as is clear here, where in the second clause *alii* is substituted for it, cf. 4. 405. In Greek *οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ*.

213. **aëna**] Conington says: 'There is a doubt about the purpose of the *aëna*. Boiled meat was unknown to the Homeric age,' and he suggests that the water was for bathing!

Those who have seen a gipsy encampment will probably understand what the *aëna* were, while for learned readers, who may be disposed to accept the astounding statement that 'boiled meat was unknown to the Homeric age,' it may be well to point out the antiquity of this process by a reference to 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14, where in the days of Eli (? 1150 B.C.) 'the

flesh' is described as seething in 'the pan or kettle or caldron or pot.'

214. *fusi*] 'stretched'; the word expresses lying at ease.

215. *inplentur*] A good instance of the close connection between the middle and passive forms of verbs, for this word is either 'they fill themselves' or 'they are filled,' cf. 713 *explerimentem*, and 2. 383 n. For the gen. after verbs or adjectives implying 'want' and 'fulness,' cf. Lat. Primer, § 253. With *ferina* sc. *caro* = 'venison,' cf. *agnina* 'lamb,' *vitulina* 'veal.'

216. *postquam...*] Cf. Od. 12. 309

*αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,
μνησάμενοι δὴ ἔπειτα φίλους ἔκλαιον ἑταίρους.*

mensaeque remotae: 'and (after) the feast was removed.' They clearly had no 'tables,' but, as ancient tables were small so that the food was often brought in on the tables and the tables taken away with the food, *mensae* can be put for the food itself, cf. the common phrase *mensa secunda* = 'dessert.'

217. *requirunt*] From the sense of 'seek to recover' *requiro* acquires the sense of 'miss,' 'feel the want of': here it is = 'regretfully recall.'

218. *seu vivere...*] '(doubtful) whether they are to deem them living or that they suffer the final doom and no longer hear when called.' In addition to the general reference to the dead not hearing there seems to be a special reference to the practice of thrice calling on the dead at funerals, cf. 6. 506 n. *seu...sive*: in prose *utrum...an*.

220. *nunc...nunc...fortemque...fortemque*] Pathetic repetition, cf. 120 n.

221. *secum*] 'in his heart'; lit. 'with himself.' He does not express his grief in words, cf. 208, 209.

223—253. *As Jupiter contemplates from heaven the sad plight of the Trojans, Venus addresses him with tears: 'For what crime have Aeneas and his followers deserved to suffer thus? Thou didst surely promise me that from them should spring the imperial race of Rome and with that thought I consoled myself for the fall of Troy, but still their old fortune pursues them. Antenor was allowed to escape and found at Patavium a Trojan colony, but we, thine own offspring,—we are betrayed and driven far away from Italy. Is this the reward of piety, this the promised restoration of empire?'*

224. *mare velivolum*] 'the sea studded with sails': the adj. is pictorial and represents the sea as it appeared to Jupi-

ter looking down from heaven, cf. *iacentes* 'outstretched (beneath his view).'

225. *latos*] 'wide-extended,' *i.e.* occupying wide territories.

sic] summing up all the words *aethere...populus*; 'thus (*i.e.* gazing down...) stood': the word is added to fix the mind on the attitude of the person described. Cf. Plat. Phaedo 61 D *Σωκράτης καθεζόμενος οὕτως ἤδη τὰ λοιπὰ διελέγετο*, and Henry well quotes St. John iv. 6 *lesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic supra fontem*. Cf. 7. 668.

vertice caeli: in Homer he sits actually 'on the highest peak of many-ridged Olympus' (Il. 5. 756), but Virgil transforms this concrete phrase into one which is scarcely more definite than when Milton (Par. Lost 2. 190) writes 'He from Heaven's height | All these our motions vain sees and derides.'

226. *regnis*] dat. = *in regna*, cf. 2. 19 n.

227. *atque illum...*] When a sentence is thus introduced by the strong connecting particle *atque*, the event described in it is very closely connected (here in time) with the preceding sentence, cf. 82. The real sequence of thought is 'As Jupiter stood pensive, lo! Venus suddenly accosts him.' Cf. 4. 261 n., 4.663 *dixerat atque illam...aspiciunt* 'she finished speaking, and that moment they see her'; 6. 162 *multa serebant...atque vident* 'they were talking when lo! they see'; Ecl. 7. 7 *caper deeraverat atque ego...aspicio*; G. 1. 203. The same is the force of *et ecce* 5. 167 n. *revocabat et ecce...respicit* 'was calling back when lo! he sees'; so too *que et* 5. 467 *dixitque et...diremit* 'he spoke and at once parted.'

228. *tristior*] 'sadder than her wont,' because she was usually *φιλομειδής Ἀφροδίτη*. *lacrimis oculos suffusa*: 'having her eyes suffused with tears': for construction of *oculos* see Appendix.

230. *et fulmine terres*] Cf. Ps. civ. 7 'at the voice of thy thunder they are afraid.'

231. *quid meus...*] 'what so great offence has my Aeneas, what have the Trojans been able to commit...to whom all the world is barred on account of (*i.e.* to prevent their reaching) Italy?' *Tantum* should strictly be followed by *quibus claudatur* = *ut eis claudatur* 'so great that all the world is barred to them,' but the indicative is more vivid and definite.

234. *hinc*] 'hence' *i.e.* from Aeneas and the Trojans; in the next line the words *revocato a sanguine Teuceri* ('from Teucer's line restored') are added to preclude all doubt.

volventibus annis: the Homeric περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, 'as the years rolled on.'

236. **qui...tenerent]** 'to hold the sea, to hold all lands with their dominion'; *tenerent* subj. after *qui* final, cf. 63 n.; for *dicione tenere* cf. 622; 7. 737 *dicione premebat*. MS. authority is somewhat in favour of *omnis* (= *omnes*), but many read *omni* and explain 'with every sort of dominion' = 'with complete dominion.' The phrase *omnis dicio*, however, needs justification; the Romans well knew what 'dominion' was, and would have attached no meaning whatever to the phrase 'every sort of dominion.' See Dict. s. v.

237. **pollicitus]** 'thou didst promise'; the omission of *es* is very rare, but cf. 2. 2 n. Some suppose an anacoluthon 'having promised—what purpose causes thee to change?', but this is harsh. **quae te sententia vertit?** is often called 'a Virgilian inversion' for *cur sententiam vertisti?* but the phrase is perfectly natural: so we say 'what whim has made you turn round?'

238. **hoc]** 'with this' *i.e.* thy promise. **occasum...solabar:** lit. 'solaced the fall' *i.e.* 'found solace for the fall'; Conington compares Cic. Mil. 35 *solari brevitatem vitae*.

239. **fatis...]** 'with fates (*i.e.* happier fates) repaying' or 'compensating opposite (*i.e.* unhappy) fates.' *Hoc* and *fatis* are exactly parallel. For *rependo* cf. Ov. Her. 15. 32 *ingenio formae damna rependo meae*; A. A. 2. 677 *illae munditiis annorum damna rependunt*.

240. **eadem fortuna]** The proverbial evil fortune (*Troiana fortuna* 6. 62) of Troy.

242. **Antenor...nos (250)]** Observe the antithesis marked by the position of the words: 'Antenor could...(but) we cannot,' cf. 184 n.

mediis; penetrare; intima; superare: these words and the description of the Timavus, 245, 246, all emphasise the difficulties Antenor had power to overcome and in spite of which (*tamen* 247) he was successful.

Livy, who was himself a native of Patavium, says (1. 1) that Antenor left Troy with a body of Trojans and refugees from Paphlagonia called *Heneti* and came *in intimum maris Adriatici sinum* and there settled his followers after driving out the inhabitants who were called *Euganei*: the place where they first landed was called *Troia* ('whence,' he adds, 'the *pagus Troianus* has its name') but the general body of colonists were called *Veneti*.

243. *Illyricos sinus*] Clearly by 'Illyrian gulfs' Virgil means the Adriatic gulf along the shores of Illyria, after passing which Antenor would come to the 'inmost (*i.e.* lying farthest up the gulf) realms of the Liburni': see Atlas, and for *intima* cf. Livy's phrase above.

245. *unde...*] 'whence (*i.e.* from the *fons*) through nine mouths the flood comes bursting and buries the fields beneath a sounding sea.' Henry, who carefully examined the district, makes this passage perfectly clear (l. 521-551). The Reça, which rises at the foot of M. Albio, the last of the Julian Alps eastward, becomes subterranean at San Canziano sixteen miles from its source, and after flowing underground for eighteen miles emerges at S. Giovanni di Tuba in numerous springs, and then, after a course of scarcely more than a mile through the flat marshy litoral, discharges itself into the Adriatic. It is this latter part which is Virgil's Timavus; the *ora* are the 'springs' from which it emerges, and he describes it in a state of flood caused by the melting of the snow on the Alps. The *arva* are the marshy meadows on either side of the river, and *pelago premit arva sonanti* is exactly the *πελαγίζειν* which Herodotus uses of the Nile inundation 2. 92, *ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίση*. Servius, quoting Varro, says that owing to these inundations the river was locally called *mare*.

247. *urbem Patavi*] Cf. 5. 52 n.

Patavi: the close gen. of nouns in *ium* is regular in Virgil, cf. 258 *Lavini*.

248. *genti nomen dedit*] 'gave a name to the race'; the phrase indicates that he settled his followers there as a people with a definite name. The name was certainly 'Trojan,' cf. 242 n. and *Troia* here. *arma fixit Troia*: 'hung up the arms of Troy' *i.e.* in the temples as a sign of peace. For this custom of dedicating the instruments of any calling on retiring from it, cf. 6. 18 n.

249. *placida...*] 'in peaceful calm reposing rests.' The words might describe the unbroken rest of death, and many so take them, but Antenor is surely not described as happier than Aeneas because he is dead. He is happier because he has founded his city and finished his wars and wanderings. See Henry, and for *compono* and *placida pace* of living persons 8. 322-5.

250. *nos*] *i.e.* I and my son; Venus identifies herself with Aeneas and his fortunes. *caeli...*: 'to whom thou dost grant the heights of heaven' *i.e.* promise a dwelling in heaven.

Aeneas was supposed not to have died but to have been taken up to heaven, where he became one of the *Di Indigetes* 'native gods'—benefactors of the human race like Hercules and Romulus who were deified for their merits. *adnuis*: with special reference to the famous 'nod' of Jupiter (cf. Il. 1. 528-530) by which he expresses his almighty will.

253. *sic nos in...*] 'is it thus thou dost restore us to empire?'

254—296. *With a smile Jove kissed his daughter and replied: 'Fear not, my promise is sure and my purpose unaltered. Aeneas shall conquer Latium and reign in Lavinium for three years; then Ascanius shall hold sway for thirty and transfer the seat of empire to Alba where it shall be maintained for three hundred years. Then shall come Romulus, who shall found Rome and call the Romans after his own name. Boundless and everlasting shall be their dominion; even Juno shall relent and join with me in protecting them. Yea, the day shall come when they in turn shall conquer Greece, and last of all thy great descendant Caesar shall win deity for himself and restore to a troubled world the blessings of universal peace.'*

254. *olli*] an archaic form of the dative of *ille* (cf. *olim* = *ollim*) used frequently by Virgil in the Aeneid, cf. 4. 105; 5. 10.

256. *oscula...*] 'lightly touched his daughter's lips': the ordinary meaning of *oscula* is 'kisses.'

257. *parce metu*] lit. 'spare thy fear' = 'cease thy fear.'

metu: contracted form of the dative, regular in Virgil, cf. 156 *curru*; 3. 292 *portu*, 692 *sinu*.

258. *Lāvini*] Cf. 2 *Lāvinaque*. The poets allow themselves considerable freedom with regard to the quantities of proper names. Cf. 343 *Sŷchaeus*, 348 *Sŷchaeus*. Other instances are 446 *Sidōnius*, 678 *Sidōnius*; 657 *Cythērea*, 681 *Cythēra*.

259. *sublimem*] proleptic, cf. 70 n., 'thou shalt bear aloft.'

261. *haec te cura remordet*] 'this care consumes thee,' 'eats deep into thy heart.' Conington says that *re* in *remordet* indicates 'frequent repetition' (= 'keeps biting'), but surely *re-* in composition has no such meaning. From Lucr. 3. 827 *peccata remordent*, 4. 1135 *aut cum conscius ipse animus se forte remordet* the meaning seems clearly to be 'eats back' and so 'eats deep.' Care, crime, and conscious guilt are like a worm which keeps eating further back into whatever it attacks. Cf. *reseco* 'cut deep,' *repono* 'place far back.'

262. *longius...*] 'and further unrolling (them) will bring to light the secret records of fate.' *Volvens = evolvens*: ancient books being wrapped round rollers, to read them it was necessary to unroll them; hence *evolvere librum* = 'read a book,' and *volumen* 'a roll' or 'book.' For the 'book of Fate' cf. Scott, *Marmion* 6. 20. 18

' From Fate's dark book a leaf been torn,
And Flodden had been Bannockbourne.'

264. *moresque...*] 'and shall set up customs and walls for his warriors.' *Mores* is a wider term than *leges*, including not only laws but all customs and institutions. *Mores* are the inward, *moenia* the outward defences of a community. *Mores ponere* is formed on the analogy of *leges ponere* 'to set up laws,' laws being actually 'set up' on tables of wood or brass; cf. 6. 662.

266. *ternaque...*] 'and three winters have been spent in camp after the conquest of the Rutuli.' The conquest of the Rutuli and their prince Turnus forms the subject of the second half of the *Aeneid*. The word *hiberna* seems to describe Aeneas as still in camp during these three years while he was establishing his rule and founding Lavinium. *terna*: with *castra*, which has no singular, Latin regularly uses *bina* for 'two' and *terna* for 'three.' *Rutulis subactis*: perhaps abl. absolute, but probably dative, 'have passed to the Rutulians conquered,' cf. Thuc. 3. 29. 2 *ἡμέραι ... ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐαλωκυία ἐπτά.*

267. *cognomen*] Cf. 3. 133 n.

Iulo: Virgil is attempting to connect the Julian family and therefore the Emperor with Aeneas. He accordingly gives to Ascanius a second name *Ilus* (the name of one of the kings of Ilium), and then says that on the fall of Troy this name was changed to *Iulus*, a name indicative of youthful beauty (*ἰουλος* 'young down' on the face), from which the transition to *Iulius* was easy, cf. 288.

For the change of *Ilus* into *Iulus*, cf. such changes as Sarai to Sarah (Gen. xvii. 5), Abram to Abraham, Saul to Paul.

268. *res stetit...regno*] 'while Ilium's state stood strong in empire.' *Res Ilia* like *respublica*.

269. *triginta...*] 'shall with his empire fulfil thirty mighty circles with their rolling months.' That the *orbes* are 'yearly circles' is clear from the context. *volvendis*: 'rolling'; Latin suffers from the absence of a present part. pass. and in some words seeks to supply its place by the gerundive. Cf. 9. 7 *volvenda dies*, Enn. Ann. 520 *clamor ad caelum volvendus*,

and Lucretius has *volvenda aetas, sidera, glans plumbea* (Lucr. 5. 514 Munro).

271. *longam*] Cf. Livy 1. 3 *Ascanius...aliam (urbem) sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata.*

272. *hic*] 'here' *i.e.* at Alba, just mentioned: English idiom puts 'there.' *iam*: marks a fresh stage in the history, 'by now,' 'when this point is reached,' 'then.' *regnabitur*: 'empire shall be held under (the rule of) Hector's race'; for intransitive verbs used impersonally in the passive, cf. 6. 45 n. *totos*: cf. *magno* 269; the poet dwells on the fulness of the time.

273. *donec...*] 'until Ilia, a royal priestess, pregnant by Mars, shall bring forth twin children.' Ilia is usually called Rhea Silvia; she was daughter of King Amulius, a vestal virgin (*sacerdos*), and mother of Romulus and Remus. *partu dabit = pariet.*

275. *lupae...*] 'exulting in the tawny robe of his wolf-nurse.' Virgil describes Romulus as wearing a wolf-skin; doubtless this was a part of his traditional attire, cf. Prop. 5. 10. 20.

278. *nec metas...*] 'I fix neither bounds nor periods to their fortune'; *metas* describes limits in extent, *tempora* in duration. *rerum*: a very general word = 'fortunes'; here 'great fortunes,' but in 178, 462 the reverse.

280. *metu*] 'in her fears,' cf. 23. *fatigat*: 'vexes,' 'harasses.'

281. *in melius referet*] 'shall change for the better.' For *in melius* cf. 3. 232 n.

282. *gentemque togatam*] 'and the nation of the gown.' The *toga* was the characteristic dress of Romans when engaged in civil (as opposed to warlike) duties. It was a somewhat cumbersome dress, and from this period began to fall into disuse except on formal occasions (Mayor's Juv. 3. 172 n.), and Augustus, who liked old habits, is said to have been accustomed to quote this line ironically (Suet. Aug. 40).

283. *sic placitum*] 'such is my pleasure' or 'will.' A formal phrase expressive of a divine resolution which admits of no change or question, cf. Hor. Od. 2. 17. 15 *sic potenti* | *Iustitiae placitumque Parcis*; Od. 1. 33. 10 *sic visum Veneri.*

lustris labentibus: 'as the sacred seasons glide along.' The *lustrum* being a religious period, the use of *lustris* here gives the phrase a solemn sound. Conington oddly says:

'*lustra* being strictly a Roman measure of time, Jupiter is thus made to speak the language of the great nation.' But how else could he speak in a Roman poem?

The taking of Corinth by Mummius B.C. 146 completed the Roman subjugation of Greece.

284. *Phthiam*] Achilles came from Phthia, Agamemnon from Mycenae, Diomedes from Argos.

286. *Caesar*] Certainly not Julius Caesar but the Emperor Augustus, as the whole passage shows. The emperor, whose original name was *C. Octavius*, when adopted by Julius Caesar became *C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus*. He was usually called Octavian until he took the appellation of Augustus B.C. 27; the name *Iulius* (288) is only given him here in order to mark his connection with the son of Aeneas.

287. *imperium...*] 'to bound his empire with the ocean, his glory with the stars.' *Oceanus* is in Homer the stream which flows round the whole earth, so that Virgil's meaning is that his empire shall cover the earth and his glory reach to heaven. Cf. 6. 782; Milton, *Par. Lost* 12. 369

'He shall ascend

The throne hereditary, and bound his reign

With Earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heav'ns.'

289. *hunc tu*] Mark the emphatic pronouns placed rhetorically side by side. Venus with her own hand shall conduct her great descendant into the assembly of the gods.

olim: 'one day,' 'in days to come.' This word from *ille*, *olle* = 'at that time,' 'not at this particular time,' bears various senses according to the connection in which it is used—(1) 'at some time past,' (2) 'at some time future,' as here and 3. 502; 4. 607 *nunc*, *olim*, (3) 'at some time or other,' 'from time to time,' 3. 502 n. It is admirably vague, and therefore exactly suited to a passage like this: court-poets allude to the day when the prince, whom they address, shall enter heaven as indefinitely distant, cf. Hor. *Od.* 1. 2. 45 *serus in caelum redeas*.

spoliis Orientis onustum: cf. G. 2. 171 *extremis Asiae iam victor ab oris*. After the battle of Actium B.C. 31 Octavian reduced Egypt, and after a progress through Judaea, Syria, and Asia Minor celebrated his triumph at Rome B.C. 29. At that time he dedicated a temple to Julius Caesar (*Divus Iulius*, cf. Ovid, *ex P.* 2. 2. 85), and began himself to accept divine honours (cf. 290), while the temple of Janus was closed as a sign of universal peace (cf. 294-296).

290. *hic quoque*] Augustus also (*i.e.* as well as Aeneas) 'shall be invoked with vows' as one of the *Di Indigetes*.

291. *aspera...*] 'then rough ages shall grow gentle and wars shall cease,' *i.e.* the golden age shall return; cf. 6. 792.

Note the peculiar order of the words in this line—two adjectives, a verb, and two nouns. Dryden speaks of such verses as 'those which they call golden, or two substantives and two adjectives, with a verb betwixt them to keep the peace.' Catullus is very fond of them (cf. 64. 59, 129, 263, 264, 309, 339, 344, 383), and Virgil uses them to mark the commencement or close of a highly oratorical passage; cf.

Ecl. 4. 4 *ultima Cumaei venit iam temporis aetas*.

G. 1. 468 *inpiamque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem*.

G. 1. 497 *grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris*.

292. *cana Fides*] 'gray-headed Truth,' or 'Honour'; *cana* is used partly = 'venerable,' partly = 'ancient,' because simplicity and honesty are assumed to be characteristic of primitive times. *Vesta*: the goddess of the hearth (*ἑστία*) is specially introduced in order to represent the nation as one family. So too *Remo cum fratre Q.* (cf. G. 2. 533) symbolises the brotherly love which had succeeded the civil wars and the strife of brother against brother. Virgil thinks of the brothers as deified heroes (hence *Quirinus* not *Romulus*) now reunited in the common guardianship of Rome. For the opposite idea, of the murder of Remus by Romulus as a type of civil discord, cf. Hor. Epod. 7. 18.

293. *dirae...*] 'the gates of war grim with iron and close-fastened bars'; by Hendiadys = 'close-fastened bars of iron,' cf. 3. 223 n. The temple of Janus was closed when there was peace throughout the Roman state: tradition (Livy 1. 19) relates that it was only so closed three times, viz. by Numa, by T. Manlius after the first Punic war, and by Augustus B.C. 29. Virgil copying Ennius (*postquam Discordia tetra | belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*) imagines the god of war confined as a prisoner within the temple, cf. 7. 607 seq.

294. *Furor inpius*] 'unhallowed Frenzy': the adj. *inpius* is specially used by the Roman poets when speaking of civil war, because it is a violation of the laws of nature, cf. 10 n. Notice the alliteration of *inpius intus | saeva sedens super* marking strong emphasis.

297—304. *Jupiter despatches Mercury to induce the Carthaginians to welcome Aeneas*.

297. *demittit...ut...pateant...ne...arceret*] *Pateant* follows the tense of the vivid present *demittit*, while *arceret* is past, because *ne...arceret* expresses not the direct object for which Mercury is sent, but the fear which was in Jupiter's mind before

he sent him at all—'he sends down that...the towers may be open (for he was afraid) lest Dido...should drive away.' **Maia genitum**: Mercury, the messenger of the gods.

299. **hospitio Teucris**] Cf. 22 n. **ne fati...**: '(fearing) lest Dido in ignorance of destiny should drive them from her coasts.' The words *fati nescia* are effective so long as they are left vague and mysterious, but admit of no clear explanation, for why should Dido drive away the Trojans because she was 'in ignorance of destiny'? Surely Dido would have been much more likely to drive them away if she had been acquainted with destiny, for Aeneas was to cause her death and the descendants of the Trojans were to destroy Carthage.

Editors discuss how Dido, whether ignorant of it or not, could resist destiny. Such discussions on 'fate' and 'free-will' are justly relegated by Milton to the councils of Pandemonium (Par. Lost 2. 560), and, though they have often perplexed theologians, may safely be dismissed by students of poetry.

301. **remigio alarum**] Cf. 6. 18 n.

302. **et iam iussa facit, ponuntque...**] 'and now he performs his task and (forthwith) the Carthaginians lay aside their fierce thoughts at the will of heaven.' *Facit ponuntque*: by this collocation Virgil indicates that the effect follows the cause at once, cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9 'he commanded and it stood fast.'

303. **quietum...animum mentemque benignam**] 'a gentle spirit and kindly purpose.' *Animus* is usually the seat of the emotions, *mens* of the intellect, but the distinction cannot always be strictly maintained. Cf. 6. 11 n.

305—324. *Aeneas determines to explore the country, and, after concealing his ships in a cove, sets out with Achates. Venus meets them disguised as a huntress and enquires of them whether they have met any of her companions.*

305. **per noctem...**] 'pondering full many things throughout the night, when first kindly light was granted resolves (*constituit* 309) to go forth and explore the strange land, (resolves) to discover what....' *Quaerere* (309) is pleonastic, for the clauses *quas...feraene* depend, in the first instance, on *explorare* (= 'to find out what...').

volvens is equivalent to a relative clause with an imperfect: 'Aeneas, who was pondering throughout the night, at dawn resolves.'

306. **lux alma**] *Alma*=*quae alit*, 'kindly,' 'fostering,' because light is essential to life; cf. Newman's 'Lead, kindly

Light,' and Milton, Par. L. 3. 22 (addressing light) 'thy vital lamp.' Here the epithet helps to contrast the resolution which morning brings with the doubts which had disturbed the night. In 3. 311 *lux alma* is the 'light of life' as opposed to the night of death.

307. *vento*] abl. of instrument, 'by the wind'—'to what coast the wind has driven him.'

308. *hominesne feraene*] The question of *qui teneant* is resolved into two parts: he wishes to see 'who occupy the land,' *i.e.* whether men or beasts do so. *inculta*: 'desert wastes.' For *vidēt homines* cf. 651 n.

309. *exacta*] 'the end,' 'result of his enquiries.'

310. *in convexo nemorum*] 'beneath overarching groves,' lit. 'in a vaulted' or 'overarched place of the groves.' For *in convexo* cf. 3. 232 n. Virgil clearly has in mind some creek over which the trees form an arch or vault.

312. *comitatus Achate*] 'accompanied by Achates.' The use of the abl. of the person without *ab* after *comitatus* is certain, cf. Tac. Ann. 14. 8 *Obarito, centurione classiaro, comitatum*, and elsewhere *comitatus viris, ministris* and the like, where some endeavour to explain the abl. by saying *viris = turba virorum*.

313. *bina*] simply poetical for 'two,' cf. 381 *bis denis*; 393 *bis senos*. *lato ferro*: 'with broad iron head.'

314. *mater sese tulit obvia*] 'his mother advanced to meet,' lit. 'bore herself' or 'advanced opposite.' For *obvia* where the acc. might be expected cf. 2. 388 n.

315. *virginis os...*] 'wearing the face and mien of a maiden and the arms of a maiden, of Spartan birth or like Thracian Harpalyce....' Virgil first emphasises the maidenly (315) and then the vigorous appearance of Venus (316, 317): to the Greeks and Romans vigorous health was an essential element of beauty. Spartan women were regularly trained in athletic exercises, and the description of Thracian Harpalyce speaks for itself. *gerens*: this word is used in Latin not only of things which you can take off as *arma*, but of the eyes, face, forehead or the like, where we should say 'showing' or 'displaying,' cf. 2. 278 *vulneraque illa gerens*.

316. *equos fatigat*] 'wearies horses,' *i.e.* tires them out by her fleetness of foot. *Threissa*: *Θρηῖξ* forms fem. *Θρηῖσσα* (in Attic *Θρηῖξ* *Θρηῖσσα*).

317. *volucremque...*] 'and outstrips in flight the swift Hebrus.' The Roman poets accustomed to swift mountain

streams constantly speak of rivers as 'swift'; they therefore credit famous rivers with special swiftness, as Virgil does the Hebrus here, though it is said not to be a rapid river. The emendation *Eurum* is not needed, though Madvig calls it (Adv. 6. 2) *necessaria certissimaque coniectura*, cf. Sen. Theb. 607 *rapidusque campos fertiles Hebrus secat* where emendation is impossible. See Henry.

318. *de more*] 'according to custom'; whose the custom was is at once made clear by the word *venatrix*.

319. *dederatque...*] 'and had given her hair to the winds to scatter.' The infinitive seems epexegetic, further 'explaining' the phrase *dederat ventis*; cf. 5. 247 n.

320. *nuda genu...*] 'her knee bare and (having) her robe's flowing folds gathered in a knot.' *Genu* is acc. of respect, and *sinus* may either be the same ('gathered as to the folds') or more probably the direct acc. after *collecta* in a middle sense, see Appendix.

Editors, who attempt to explain the exact arrangement of the robe of Venus, are as infelicitous as their sex usually are when discussing ladies' raiment. It is clear however that the robe if it were not gathered up in a knot would be a flowing robe, and at 404 it actually does 'flow down' to her feet, while Henry shows that *colligere* is the regular form for 'gathering' or 'tucking up' a lady's dress, being the opposite of *demittere*, cf. Ov. A. A. 1. 153 *pallia si terrae nimium demissa iacebunt*, | *collige*; Amor. 3. 2. 25. Throughout his description Virgil clearly has in mind statues of the huntress Diana, cf. 323, 337.

321. *prior inquit*] *φθάνει προσαγορεύουσα*, 'she addresses them first,' *i.e.* before they address her. *monstrate...vidistis si quam*: 'point her out if you have seen any...', not 'tell me whether you have seen,' which would require *si videritis*.

323. *succinctam pharetra...*] The adj. *succinctus* 'girt up' expresses that the hanging robe is drawn up and held by a girdle so as to leave the lower limbs free (cf. 1 Kings xviii. 46 'Elijah girded up his loins and ran before Ahab'); hence *succincta* is used of the huntress Diana, cf. Ov. Met. 10. 536 *nuda genu, vestem ritu succincta Dianae*. Here *succinctam pharetra* means that the quiver hangs from the belt which holds the robe up, cf. Livy 7. 5 *cultro succinctus* 'with a knife in his belt.' With *tegmine* the word is perhaps used more loosely = 'girded' or 'equipped,' cf. 7. 188. Render 'girded with a quiver and a spotted lynx's hide.'

Madvig would read *maculoso* and construe 'pressing on the track of a lynx with spotted hide or foaming boar,' but there is no authority for *maculoso*, and *tegmen* is the hide of a dead beast (cf. 275), not the skin of a living one.

325—334. *Aeneas answers that he has seen none of her companions, and prays her, as being surely some goddess, to aid them and tell them in what land they are.*

326. *audita mihi*] 'heard by me'; dat. of the agent common after the perfect passive. The dat. in these cases seems due originally to the presence of *sum*; as you can say *est mihi* so you can say *est mihi audita* or *audita mihi est*. From the perfect passive the usage naturally extends to its participle (Madvig, de Fin. 1. 4. 11). Cf. 2. 247 *credita Teucris* 'believed by,' 3. 14 *regnata Lycurgo* 'governed by,' 275 *formidatus nautis* 'dreaded by,' and constantly.

327. *o—quam te memorem*] 'O—how am I to address thee, maiden?' He breaks off after the *o* and leaves the vocative unexpressed, because he is sure that she is no mortal maiden but divine, and he fears to address her wrongly. In the words *o dea certe* he resumes his address, using the general term 'goddess'; then line 329 *an Phoebi soror?...una?* is a parenthesis in which he hazards a guess in the shape of a question as to who she is.

328. *nec vox hominem sonat*] 'nor has thy voice a mortal ring.' Just as you can say *humanum sonat* (cf. 6. 50 n.) so you can more rarely say *hominem sonat*. Cf. 10. 211 *frons hominem praefert*; Hor. Ep. 2. 2. 125 *Satyrum movetur*, Sat. 1. 5. 63 *saltare Cyclopa* 'to dance a Cyclops' dance.'

330. *sis felix*] 'mayest thou be propitious' or 'gracious,' cf. Ecl. 5. 65 *sis bonus o felixque tuis*.

331. *quo sub caelo tandem*] 'beneath what sky indeed.' *Tandem* is commonly used in questions to add emphasis, cf. 369 *qui tandem* 'who of all men' or (if it were in comedy) 'who in the world,' Cic. Cat. 1. 1 *quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?*

332. *locorumque*] For *que* elided before the vowel at the commencement of the next line, cf. 4. 558 n.

334. *multa...*] *i.e.* if thou dost grant our request. *tibi:* 'in thy honour.'

335—371. *Venus explains that her attire is only that of a Tyrian maiden, and that the country is a part of Libya in which the Tyrian Dido holds sway. She then briefly relates the story of Dido, and how her brother Pygmalion king of Tyre*

murdered her husband Sychaeus for his wealth, after which the ghost of Sychaeus appeared to her urging her with the help of certain buried treasure, which he revealed, to gather together companions and fly; and how she had set sail and on reaching the place where they now were had purchased from the natives the spot on which she was now building Carthage. Finally Venus in her turn asks who Aeneas is and he replies.

336. *virginibus Tyriis*] Emphatic by position marking the sense—'I am no goddess of the chase, (for) Tyrian maidens wear this garb.'

337. *purpureoque...*] These 'purple buskins bound high upon the leg' are clearly the regular mark of Diana, for Virgil describes her statue *Ecl.* 7. 32 as *puniceo suras evincta cothurno*. Hence the mistake of Aeneas which Venus has to explain to him. Purple was a badge of distinction worn by priests and princes and at Rome by senators and knights, but a Tyrian maiden might naturally wear purple, which came chiefly from Tyre, whence *puniceus* 'Phoenician' = 'purple'; cf. the emphatic position of *Punica* in the next line.

339. *sed...*] 'but the neighbouring lands are Libyan, a race unconquerable in war.' *Genus* is in loose apposition to *fines Libyci*, which really means 'the neighbours are Libyans,' cf. 4. 40 *Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello*.

340. *imperium regit*] 'sways the sovereignty': *imperium* is the act or office of commanding, not the country or 'empire' over which the command is exercised, though it often approximates to this sense, cf. 287. It is here cognate acc. after *regit*.

341. *longa est...*] 'long is the (tale of) injustice, long the perplexed story.' It is clear from the second clause that *longa* in the first means 'long (to tell of).' *Ambages* is used literally 6. 29 for the 'windings' of a labyrinth, but its metaphorical sense is very common, cf. G. 2. 45 *per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo*, and such phrases as *mitte ambages* 'come to the point,' *positis ambagibus*.

342. *summa...*] 'I will trace the chief heads of the story.'

343. *Sÿchaeus...Sÿchaeum* (348)] Cf. 258 n. *ditissimus agri*: 'richest in land,' cf. 14 n. Some would alter *agri* to *auri*, on the ground that Tyre was a purely commercial city entirely unconcerned in agriculture and dependent on imported corn for food (cf. 1 Kings v. 11, Acts xii. 20). Virgil is however really thinking of the Roman nobles and their great estates.

345. *intactam*] 'a maiden.' *primisque*... : 'and had united her (to him) in earliest wedlock': *ominibus* refers to taking the auspices, without which the Romans never entered on any solemn or important business. It was especially necessary that marriage should be celebrated at certain lucky seasons and on lucky days.

347. *scelere ante*...] 'in crime beyond all other men more monstrous.' After *ante alios omnes* the comparative *inmanior* is very striking. The phrase expresses an intense degree of cruelty (*auctionem auctioni addit*, Priscian). Cf. 4. 141 *ante alios pulcherrimus omnes*, and our own phrase 'the Most Highest' which is common in the Prayer Book (e.g. Ps. lxxxii. 6). For other strengthenings of superlatives, cf. 2. 426 n.

349. *inpius ante aras*...] 'godlessly before the altars and blinded with lust of gold.' Virgil marks that his avarice made him blind to the monstrous nature of his deed, which was not only murder, but the murder of a kinsman treacherously (cf. *clam, incautum*) in a manner which was specially 'impious,' that is to say, on the very hearth and before the altar of the household gods. That *aras* refers to the altars of the *Penates* is clear from *domus* 356 and expressly stated 4. 20 *post fata Sychaei | coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede Penates*.

350. *securus amorum*...] 'heedless of his sister's love (for her husband).'

351. *et aegram*...] 'and by many pretexts cruelly deceived her pining love with empty hope.'

354. *ora modis*...] 'uplifting a visage pale in wondrous wise.' The phrase is from Lucr. 1. 123 *simulacra modis pallentia miris*, which Virgil copies *verbatim* G. 1. 477. The alliteration of *modis miris* gives a mystical character to the words.

356. *nudavit*] 'laid bare': metaphorically with *aras*, literally with *pectora*. *caecum*: 'dark' and so 'secret,' 'hidden.'

358. *auxiliumque*...] 'and to aid her flight discloses treasures long hid in the earth.'

360. *his*] *i.e.* by the vision and its revelations.

361. *odium crudele tyranni*] Some take this as an instance of Hypallage (cf. 180 n.), = 'hatred of the cruel tyrant,' but this is needless. Cruel tyranny begets 'cruel hatred of the tyrant'; so we speak not only of 'cruel wrong' but also of 'cruel suffering.' Moreover the ancients connect *crudelis* with *crudus* and *crucor*, so that *crudele odium* suggests that the wound, which causes the feeling of hatred, is still fresh, raw, bleeding.

362. *quæ forte paratae*] sc. *erant*; 'which by chance were ready' *i.e.* ready equipped for sea, merchantmen perhaps just about to sail.

364. *Pygmalionis opes*] *i.e.* the buried treasure; the treasure which Pygmalion had murdered Sychaeus to gain.

365. *cernis*] She points out to him Carthage in the distance. Many MSS. have *cernes*, but *nunc cernes* 'where thou shalt (presently) see huge walls now standing' is harsh.

367. *mercatique...*] 'and purchased ground—called from the deed Byrsa—"as much as they could enclose with an oxhide."' The story was that they purchased from the natives as much ground as an oxhide would enclose, whereupon they cut the hide into narrow strips. *Byrsa* is a corruption of *Bosra* (cf. Is. lxiii. 1 Bozrah) the Phoenician word for 'castle,' which would naturally be applied to the 'citadel of new Carthage' (366). The word *Bosra* not being understood was interpreted as being the Greek *βύρσα* 'a hide,' and the story probably arose from the false etymology. Such corruptions of names are not uncommon, *e.g.* 'Charterhouse' which is 'Chartreuse' is often corrupted into 'Charter House,' and in any Peerage fanciful derivations of names with stories invented to match are frequent. *possent*: subj. because the line is a quotation from the terms of the agreement.

370. *quaerenti talibus...*] 'to her so questioning (lit. 'in such words') he (answered) sighing....'

372—386. '*The full tale of our woe is too long to tell, but, briefly, I am Aeneas the Trojan, driven by storm on to this coast while voyaging to Italy. Of my twenty ships but seven shattered by storm remain, and I am helpless.*' Thereupon *Venus* interrupting him replies.

372. *si prima...*] 'if going back to their first commencement I told and thou hadst leisure to hear the record of our woes, sooner will evening lay the day to rest and close the sky.' *Repetens ab*: lit. 'tracing back the record from,' 'beginning from,' cf. ἀρχεσθαι ἀπό. *Annales*: originally 'the yearly register' of events kept by the *pontifices*; then applied to the writings of the early chroniclers and even to poetical histories such as the *Annales* of Ennius; finally used for a definite 'history' as the *Annals* of Tacitus.

374. *ante*] *i.e.* before the tale is ended. *componet*: this reading has much better MS. authority than *componat*. The construction *si...pergam* (subj.)...*componet* (fut.) is irregular, but not unfrequent; cf. Cic. Tusc. 5. 35. 102 *dies deficiet, si velim paupertatis causam defendere*: Ov. Fast. 1. 123; Hor.

Od. 3. 3. 7. The fut. marks much greater *certainty* than the subjunctive.

clauso Olympo: the sky is 'closed' at night as a house is closed, and similarly it is 'opened' in the morning, cf. 10. 1 *panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi*.

375. **si vestras...**] 'if haply through your ears the name of Troy has passed.' *Si forte* with the indicative often expresses no doubt whatever as to the fact, but merely puts it hypothetically. Aeneas does not doubt that she has heard of Troy, cf. 378-380: when he says 'if haply you have heard of Troy' he means 'and I am sure you have heard of Troy,' only he expresses himself with affected modesty. **vestras**: *i.e.* of you and your countrymen, cf. 140 n.

377. **forte sua**] 'by its own chance,' 'at its own caprice.'

378. **sum pius...**] Cf. Od. 9. 19 where Ulysses says to Alcinous

εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισι
ἀνθρώποισι μέλω καὶ μεν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἔκει.

In the heroic age a stranger declared his name and lineage to his host. Homer makes the hero Ulysses not only do this but add the description of himself which was conventionally accepted in the popular poetry of the time, in which he was regularly called 'Ulysses the Crafty.' Virgil tries to imitate this early simplicity of style, but his *sum pius Aeneas* jars on the ear. 'Can you bear this?' is Fox's criticism.

380. **Italiam...**] 'I seek the Italy of my sires and a race (sprung) from highest Jove.' Dardanus the son of Jupiter (28 n.) and ancestor of the Trojans was said originally to have come from Italy (3. 167), so that in Italy Aeneas hopes to find his 'country' and his 'kin.'

381. **bis denis...vix septem...**] Contrasted clauses put side by side and simply marked by emphatic words, cf. 184 n. **denis**: 'ten,' cf. 313 n. **conscendi aequor**: 'I climbed the Phrygian main,' *i.e.* I put out to sea from Troy. The ancients always speak of going *up* from the coast either inland or out to sea; cf. ἀνάγεσθαι 'to put to sea' and our phrase 'the high seas.' The word *conscendi* also suggests the idea of 'going on board.'

382. **data fata secutus**] 'following declared destiny.' The reference is chiefly to the oracle given by Apollo at Delos, 3. 94-98. Many render *fata* here 'oracles,' but though *fata* may mean 'oracles' (cf. Pacuvius in Cic. de Div. 1. 31. 66 *neque me Apollo fatis fandis...ciet*), for 'fate' is 'the utterance'

(cf. *fari*) of deity, it weakens the phrase so to render it here where Aeneas wishes to emphasise the fact that he is under the special guidance of destiny, cf. 2 n.

383. *vix septem*] Not 'scarcely seven,' which is absurd, but 'scarcely (*i.e.* with difficulty) do seven shattered by wind and wave survive.'

384. *ignotus, egens*] Asyndeton marking excited feeling. The words are in strong antithesis to *pious* and *notus* above. For the contrast in *pious* and *egens* cf. Ps. xxxvii. 25 'yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging their bread.' *Libyæ deserta*: again in bitter contrast with *Europa atque Asia*.

385. *nec plura...*] 'nor enduring his further plaint thus mid his grief Venus interposed.' *Querentem* is not put for *queri* but is to be taken strictly; Aeneas continuing his complaint is a grief which his mother cannot bear. The infinitive would mean 'nor did she permit him to complain further,' which gives an alien sense.

387—401. 'Proceed to Carthage, for it is by heaven's favour that thou art come thither. I announce to thee the safety of thy comrades. Behold a happy omen—twelve swans, lately chased by an eagle through the sky, return joyously safe to earth.'

387. *quisquis es*] Not 'whoever thou art,' for she has just been definitely told, but 'whatever thy fortunes,' referring to his mistaken view that he was 'hated of heaven'; cf. 2. 148. *auras vitales carpis*: 'thou breathest the breath of life,' cf. Lucr. 3. 405 *vivit et aetherias vitales suscipit auras*; Gen. ii. 7 'breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.'

388. *qui adveneris*] 'seeing thou art come'; *qui* is causal, hence the subjunctive, cf. 2. 248 n.

391. *in tutum*] 'to safety,' 'to a safe (place),' cf. 3. 232 n.

392. *ni frustra...*] 'unless to no purpose my parents have falsely taught me augury.' *Vanus* (= *vacuus*, cf. *vacuus*), 'empty,' describes that which has nothing in it, which is 'unreal,' 'false.'

393-396. In this much-disputed passage Virgil is obscure because he has attempted too great elaboration in his comparison. The omen is described in 393-396 and its interpretation given in 397-400. The points of comparison between the omen and its interpretation are these:

Twelve swans have been chased by an eagle through the open sky. The eagle disappears.	Twelve ships have been driven by a storm over the open sea. The storm ceases.
The swans have some already alighted on the earth, some are hovering in the air making ready to alight.	The ships are some already in harbour, some just entering it with expanded sails.

Render, 'Behold twice six swans in joyous troop, which (erewhile) the bird of Jove swooping from the expanse of aether was scattering through the open sky; now, as thou seest, in long array they are (either) alighting or gazing down on the place where their comrades have alighted: as safe-returned they sport with noisy pinions and have (first) circled the sky in company with utterances of song, not otherwise do thy barks and thy Trojan youth either hold the harbour or enter its mouth with spreading sails.'

393. *bis senos*] One ship had sunk, Aeneas had seven, and twelve make up the original twenty. *agmine*: emphatic, their 'orderly array' is opposed to the 'rout' described in *turbabat*. *cycnos*: selected because sacred to Venus.

394. *aetheria plaga*] The phrase describes the supreme height (*aetheria*) and unbounded range (*plaga*) of the eagle's domain from which he swoops down.

396. *aut capere...*] By comparison with 400 *capere terras* is parallel to *portum tenet* and *captas despectare* to *pleno subit ostia velo*. Now as *portum tenet* describes those ships which have reached their goal and are no longer sailing, as opposed to those which are only near their goal and have still their sails spread, so *capere terras* must describe those swans which are on the ground and are no longer flying, and *captas despectare* those swans which are still only near the ground and have their wings still spread. Hence *capere terras* = 'occupy the ground,' and *captas despectare* 'gaze down on the ground already occupied (by the others).'

Many render 'mark a spot (on which to alight) or gaze down on the spot so marked.' But if *capere* = *capere oculis* (cf. G. 2. 230 *locum capies oculis*), then *captas despectare* becomes absurdly tautological. *Capere*, moreover, cannot by itself stand for *capere oculis*; the addition of *oculis* makes all the difference. Further, if all the swans are in the air, Virgil's elaborate comparison between the twofold position of the swans and the twofold position of the ships is ruined. The point also of *pleno velo* in 400 entirely disappears.

397. *stridentibus alis*] Cf. Milton, Par. L. 1. 768 'with the hiss of rustling wings.'

398. *et coetu cinxere...*] Virgil seems to mark the force of this line by the change of tense from *ludunt* to *cinxere* and *dedere*; what he describes in this line *precedes* what he describes in the previous line; the swans as they alight 'sport with noisy wing' *after* they have first circled round the sky in triumph with songs of joy.

402—417. *Venus reveals her deity and disappears. Aeneas reproaches her for thus deceiving him and wends his way to Carthage, Venus rendering him and his comrade invisible and herself departing to her temple at Paphos.*

402. *avertens...*] 'as she turned her roseate neck flashed clear'; lit. 'she shone out with roseate neck.' *Avertens*: intrans. cf. 104 n.

refulsit: the compound verb expresses that something stands out brightly *against* a dark background or in comparison with a previous obscurity, cf. 588; 2. 590; 6. 204.

403. *ambrosiae...*] Cf. Il. 1. 529 ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χαίται ἐπεβρώσαντο ἀνακτος | κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο. *Ambrosia* is either (1) the food of the gods or (2) an unguent of the gods, the word in this sense being probably derived from the Oriental *ambar* the name of the perfume ambergris; here clearly the adj. is connected with its second meaning, cf. G. 4. 415 *ambrosiae odorem*. 'Fragrance' was regularly associated by the ancients with the presence of deity (cf. Eur. Hipp. 1391 θεῖον ὀσμῆς πνεῦμα, Aesch. P. V. 115), and the gods always delight in 'incense' and the 'smell' of burnt-offerings.

404. *pedes...*] Cf. 320 n. A long flowing robe marks a goddess, see any illustrated Class. Dict.

405. *et vera...*] 'and by her gait she was revealed true goddess'; for *incessu* cf. 46 n. *deā*: *ille*: Virgil has hiatus after a short vowel only here and Ecl. 2. 53 *poma*: *honos*. In both cases there is a strong pause, and here the pause should be intensified to mark the astonishment of Aeneas.

407. *crudelis tu quoque*] *i.e.* thou as well as everything else.

409. *veras*] *i.e.* without disguise (cf. *falsis imaginibus*).

411. *obsкуро aëre*] Copied from Hom. Od. 7. 14, where Minerva pours round Ulysses ἥερα πολλήν to make him invisible, cf. Il. 3. 380, where Venus rescues Paris by hiding him ἥερι πολλῇ. The Greek ἀήρ, the lower denser air, as opposed to the bright upper air αἰθήρ, can bear the meaning 'mist,' 'cloud,' but as the Latin *aer* has not naturally this meaning Virgil adds

the epithet *obscuro*. Later on he calls the encircling cloud *nebula* 439 or *nubes* 516, 580, 587.

412. **et multo...**] 'and divinely enfolded them with a thick mantle of cloud.' *Dea* strictly is in apposition with *Venus*, but really, as its position shows, goes with *circumfudit*, and indicates that the 'enfolding' was an exertion of divine power. In the second of two parallel clauses special attention is often called to the subject of the sentence by the insertion of a pleonastic *ille* (cf. 5. 186 n.), or as here by a second substantive in apposition to the subject and calling attention to some special characteristic, cf. 196 *heros*; 692 *dea*; 3. 373 *sacerdos*; 5. 130 *pater*, 521 *pater*, 610 *virgo*, 841 *deus*; 6. 538.

415. **sublimis**] 'through the sky,' cf. Od. 8. 362

ἦ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἔκανε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη,
ἐς Πάφον, ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμὸς τε θηήεις.

Virgil's exaggeration of Homer's single 'incense-bearing altar' into a 'hundred altars' which 'glow with Sabaeen incense and are fragrant with fresh wreaths of flowers' is characteristic.

416. **Sabaeo**] Cf. 1 Kings x. 10, where the Queen of Sheba gives to Solomon 'of spice very great store'; Jeremiah vi. 20 'incense from Sheba.'

418—440. *Following the path they mount a hill which overlooks the city, and stand wondering at its vastness and the busy scene presented to their view, as the various workmen and builders pursue their various tasks like bees in the busiest part of summer. With a sigh of envy Aeneas gazes and then enters the city invisible.*

418. **corripuere viam...**] 'meantime they have devoured the way...and by now were climbing.' Mark the change of tense in the verbs. For *corripere viam* cf. 5. 316 n.

419. **plurimus**] 'in huge mass.'

421. **miratur...miratur**] Emphatic repetition to express the greatness of his wonder, cf. 909 *mirantur...mirantur*. **magalia quondam**: 'erewhile barbaric huts'; in G. 3. 340 Virgil uses *māpalia* for an 'encampment' of nomad Libyans; the words are Phoenician.

422. **miratur...**] Virgil is probably thinking of the view of Rome from the Esquiline, from his palace on which Horace tells us that Maecenas loved *mirari beatae | fumum et opes strepitumque Romae* (Od. 3. 29. 11). The resemblance in the language of the two poets is certainly noteworthy.

strata viarum: almost = *stratas vias* 'paved roads,' but with more stress on the adj. which almost becomes a subst. 'the paving of the roads,' cf. 2. 332 n. The Roman roads were often actually paved with great blocks of volcanic basalt (*silices*, cf. Munro, *Lucr.* 1. 371). Nothing is more typical of the Roman character than their marked admiration for good roads as the visible evidence of order and good government.

423. **instant ardentēs...**] 'hotly the Tyrians press on, some to build walls, some....' *Ducere* is dependent on the idea of 'desire' contained in *instant* (cf. 2. 64 n.), and the nom. *Tyrii* is split up into two nominatives (*pars...pars*) in apposition with it. Some place a colon after *Tyrii*, and make *ducere* an historic infinitive.

ducere muros: this phrase describes 'building' a wall not in respect of its height but of its length; it is 'to draw out a line of wall,' cf. Greek *ἐλαύνειν τεῖχος*. So 'to dig a trench' might be *ducere fossam*.

425. **concludere sulco**] 'to enclose with a trench.' Some suggest that Virgil has in mind the regular practice in founding a city of marking out its walls with 'a furrow' (*sulcus*); cf. 5. 755 n.

426. **iura...**] 'laws and magistrates they choose and a reverend senate': *legunt* is used somewhat loosely with *iura* = 'make' or 'frame.' There was an actual senate at Carthage called *Gerousia* (*γερωσία*) from about B.C. 400. No doubt the making of laws is described elsewhere by Virgil as accompanying the building of a town (3. 137; 5. 758), but the insertion of this line here *between* the description of building operations is very harsh and ruins the balance of the clauses *pars...pars* followed by *hic...alii...*, *hic...alii*. Many strike it out, and probably Virgil would have done the same had he lived to revise the *Aeneid*, but there is no evidence that he did not write it.

427. **hic portus...**] The harbour of Carthage, called Cothon, was as a matter of fact artificial.

429. **excidunt**] 'quarry.'

430. **qualis apes...**] The full construction would be *talis est labor qualis labor exercet apes...* 'their labour is such as is the labour which keeps bees busy....' Render: 'As bees in early summer mid flowery meads are busy in the sunshine with their labour.' The passage is a reproduction of G. 4. 162-169, and is copied by Milton, *Par. L.* 1. 768:

‘As bees

In springtime, when the sun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive...’

432. *liquentia*] From *liquor* deponent, but elsewhere Virgil has *liquens* from *liqueo*. The quantity of the *i* seems to have been uncertain, cf. Lucr. 4. 1259 *liquidis et liquida*, but ultimately in all words except the verb *liquor* became short.

435. *ignavum*...] ‘drive the drones, a slothful herd, from the enclosure.’ For the peculiar order *ignavum fucos pecus*, cf. Ecl. 3. 3 *infelix o semper oves pecus*; G. 4. 246 *aut dirum tineae genus*.

437. *o fortunati*...] ‘The want of a city is the keynote of the Aeneid.’ Conington.

438. *suspicit*] ‘looks up to’: a skilful word, intimating that by now he has descended from the hill (420) and come close up to the city.

440. *miscetque viris*] After *miscet* supply *se* from the preceding line; ‘and mixes with the throng.’ *neque cernitur ulli*: the dat. of the agent is rare except after the perfect passive (cf. 326 n.), but seems certain; cf. 494; 3. 398 *malis habitantur moenia Graiis*; Ecl. 4. 16 *heroas videbit...et ipse videbitur illis*; Ecl. 6. 72 *tibi dicatur* ‘be sung of by you’; Ov. Fast. 5. 110 *nullaque laudetur plusve minusve mihi*; Tr. 1. 1. 127 *nobis habitabitur orbis*. Some here take *ulli* as dat. of the person affected—‘nor is visible to any.’

441—493. *In the centre of the city was a grove surrounding a magnificent temple of Juno. Here first a gleam of hope broke upon Aeneas, for, while examining the wonders of the temple, he suddenly comes upon a representation of the tale of Troy. His assurance of receiving sympathy and aid grows strong as he gazes with tears on the various pictures, which portray (1) the victory of the Trojans under Hector, (2) that of the Greeks under Achilles, (3) the death of Rhesus, (4) that of Troilus, (5) the Trojan women supplicating Pallas, (6) Priam supplicating Achilles, (7) the combat of Memnon, (8) that of the Amazons.*

It will be observed that the subjects of the pictures form pairs.

441. *laetissimus umbrae*] ‘most bounteous in shade,’ ‘with wealth of shade.’ For the gen. cf. 14 n.

442. *quo...loco*...] ‘the spot in which the Phoenicians... first dug up the sign which queenly Juno pointed out,’ *i.e.* as a sign to be looked for.

444. *caput equi*] A horse is common on coins of Carthage.

sic nam fore... oblique construction, as is at once made clear by *fore*, dependent on the sense of 'telling' contained in *monstrarat*: 'for (she had told them) that so (*i.e.* if they found the sign, and in agreement with its significance) the race should be glorious in war and plenteous in store throughout the ages.' The horse is a sign of war (cf. 3. 539 *bello armantur equi*) and wealth (cf. Aesch. P. V. 466 ἵππους, ἀγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλοῦτου χλιδῆς; Is. ii. 7 'Their land also is full of silver and gold... their land also is full of horses'). Cf. for these two characteristics of Carthage 14.

447. **donis...**] 'wealthy with offerings and the presence of the goddess.' The description would apply to many shrines in Catholic countries. A temple specially favoured by the presence of the deity was sure also to be rich in offerings; cf. Callimachus, Hymn to Diana 248 where he says of her temple at Ephesus τοῦδ' οὔτι θεώτερον ὄψεται ἤως | οὐδ' ἀφνειότερον.

448. **aerea...**] 'of bronze was its threshold that rose high on steps, bronze-riveted the architrave, the doors with their grating hinges were of bronze.' Henry in a masterly note (1. 691-701) explains *limina* of the whole doorway or entrance, *fores* of the actual doors, and *trabes* of the great cross-beams or girders above it which support the roof. These are *nexae aere* not because the rivets were of bronze but as being 'united of bronze,' *i.e.* consisting of plates of bronze riveted together, cf. Ov. Her. 19. 134 *nexis angue Medusa comis*; Met. 7. 412 *nexis adamante catenis* where *nexis adamante* = ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι (Prom. Vinct. 148). He refers to the fact that the Pantheon, which was being built when Virgil was writing the Aeneid, had actually over its portico such girders of gilded bronze, not made solid but *riveted together* out of plates of bronze. For *trabes* for girders supporting a roof, cf. Hor. Od. 2. 18. 3 *nec trabes Hymettiae premunt columnas*; 4. 1. 20 *sub trabe citrea*.

The reading *nixae* adopted by many editors has no MS. authority, though Servius says '*multi nixae legunt.*' Henry's explanation, however, removes this passage from the number of disputable passages in Virgil.

452. **et ad afflictis...**] 'and better trust his crushed fortunes' *i.e.* put more trust in his fortunes though hitherto adverse.

455. **artificumque manus inter se]** It is the variety of the works of art *among themselves*, the way in which they set off and enhance one another's beauty which he admires. *A. manus inter se similes, dissimiles* would be ordinary Latin; so would *a. manus inter se mirabiles*, and so why not *a. manus inter se... miratur*? For *miratur* put *mirabiles putat* and all is clear. See a bold use of *inter se* 2. 454. So almost Conington 'the crafts-

men's rival skill'; Henry 'the handiworks of the respective artists.' Peerlkamp's *mirantur* (reproduced as a novelty Class. Rev. Feb. 1891); Ribbeck's *intrans* and Madvig's *intra* are specimens of useless conjecture. For *manus* = 'work wrought by the hands,' cf. 2. 306 n.

456. *ex ordine*] 'in order': the battles are depicted one after (*ex*) the other.

458. *Atridas*] Agamemnon and Menelaus the leaders of the Greeks. *ambobus*: *i.e.* the Atreidae and Priam. Achilles was naturally 'wrathful' against Priam; his wrath against the Atreidae was due to Agamemnon having taken away his captive Briseis, in consequence of which he withdrew in anger to his tent. It is to this wrath against Agamemnon that Homer refers in the first words of the Iliad—*μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος*.

459. *lacrimans*] The reference to the 'tears' of Aeneas here and 465, 470 seems excessive. The expression of the emotions however varies immensely. Modern Englishmen take a pride in suppressing it; other nations, and especially southern ones, are more demonstrative. With the ancient Greeks and Italians tears were considered perfectly consistent with the heroic character. Cf. 2. 271, 279 where the ghost of Hector is weeping and Aeneas weeps when addressing it; 3. 348 where Helenus weeps for joy 'at every word' he utters; 5. 173 where Gyas weeps with passion at being passed in a race; 5. 343 where Euryalus weeps when he wants a prize. None the less here it seems feeble to refer *three* times to the tears of Aeneas as he contemplates these pictures. *iam*: 'by this time.'

461. *sunt hic...*] lit. 'there are here too to fame its own rewards'; 'here too fame has its fitting rewards.' For this use of *suus* cf. 3. 469.

462. *sunt...*] '(here too) there are tears for events and mortal destinies touch (mortal) hearts.' *Rerum* is the genitive of that which *causes* the tears; cf. 2. 413 n. *Mortalia* expresses generally the troubles to which mortal men (*mortales*) are subject, and the record of them touches other men because they know that they also are exposed to the like.

464. *pascit inani*] A sort of Oxymoron: food is substantial; here Aeneas 'feeds' his heart on that which is unsubstantial, unreal, vain. The pictures could not really feed his heart which hungered for his lost comrades.

466. *bellantes Pergama circum*] Note the position of these words which qualify all the nominatives in the next two lines—'warring around the walls of Pergamus here the Greeks

fled (and) the Trojan youth pursued, there the Phrygians (fled, and) Achilles...pressed on.'

467. *fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus*] This and the next line are excellent illustrations of the co-ordination of contrasted clauses in Latin, where Greek would have μέν and δέ, cf. 184 n.

469. *Rhesi*] Rhesus was a Thracian prince who came to assist the Trojans. An oracle had declared that Troy would never be taken if once his famous snow-white horses tasted the grass or water of Troy. Therefore on the first night of his landing Ulysses and Diomedes (*Tydidēs*) entered his camp, slew him and carried off his horses.

470. *primo prodita somno*] 'betrayed by earliest slumber.' The earliest sleep is the deepest (cf. 2. 268) and is said to 'betray' them because, while they 'trust' themselves to it, the enemy can attack them undiscovered.

472. *priusquam...gustassent*] 'before they had tasted': the subjunctive expresses his *purpose* in driving them away, cf. 192.

475. *infelix...atque inpar...*] 'unhappy boy and unequally matched with Achilles.' *Atque* marks very close connection (cf. 227 n.) and thus, along with the balance of the adjectives *infelix* and *inpar*, makes clear the relation of thought, 'unhappy because unequally matched with Achilles.' Such co-ordination of two thoughts one of which is really subordinate to the other is very frequent in poetry. *puer*: cf. Hor. Od. 2. 9. 15 *inpubem...Troilon*.

476. *fertur equis...*] 'is whirled along by his steeds and fallen backward clings to the empty car still grasping the reins.' For *fertur equis* = 'is run away with,' cf. G. 1. 513 *fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas*.

478. *et versa...*] 'and the dust is scored by his inverted spear.' *pulvis*: Ennius lengthens this final *is* Ann. 286 *iamque fere pulvis ad caelum*, and perhaps the *is* was originally long (*pulvis* = *pulvis-s*) as in *sanguis* = *sanguin-s*, but see 5. 521 n.

479. *non aequae*] Litotes (cf. 5. 56 n.) = 'angry.' The scene is from Il. 6. 297 *seq.*

480. *peplumque ferebant*] The πέπλος was the special robe of Pallas. At Athens it was a crocus-coloured garment richly embroidered and carried in procession to the temple of Athena Polias at the festival of the great Panathenaea.

481. *suppliciter*] 'in suppliant fashion,' as explained in the next words 'mourning and beating their breasts.' *tunsae pectora*: for construction see Appendix.

483. *ter...*] 'Thrice *had* Achilles dragged Hector...and *was* selling....' The change of tense marks that the first action preceded the second. Virgil describes more than the painter could portray. The painter in depicting the interview of Achilles and Priam could only suggest what had previously been done with Hector by depicting the corpse as mangled. In Homer (Il. 24. 14) Hector is not dragged round Troy but round the tomb of Patroclus, and Apollo guards the body from disfigurement. Macrobius 4. 3 notes the pathos of Iliacos '*id est, patriae muros quos ipse defenderat.*'

Hectora: exanimum corpus] Apparently Virgil contrasts the living Hector with the 'lifeless corpse,' cf. 2. 273 n.

488. *se quoque...*] 'himself too he recognised mingling (in combat) with the champions of Greece.' *principios permixtum*: cf. Hom. Il. 4. 354 *προμάχοισι μίγνεντα* and such phrases as *ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα, προμάχων ἀν' ὄμιλον*.

489. *Eoasque...*] Memnon, son of Aurora, brought the Ethiopians (*Eoas acies*) to assist Troy. His exploits and those of the Amazons form part of the later legends which clustered round the Iliad and were treated by the 'Cyclic poets.' He was the hero of the lost *Aethiopsis* by Arctinus of Miletus and the Amazons are said to have been also introduced in it.

490. *Amazonidum*] The usual form is *Amazon* 'Ἀμαζών, from which 'amazon' has passed into English, and the word is sometimes derived from *á* and *μαζός* (=without a breast) and explained by a legend that the right breast was removed in order not to impede the use of the bow.

lunatis agmina peltis: 'hosts with crescent shields.' The abl. seems a poetic extension of the use of the abl. of quality.

492. *aurea...*] 'binding a golden girdle beneath (one) breast left bare.' The girdle is placed slanting across her breast.

493. *audetque..*] 'and dares a maid to combat men.' Notice the assonance of *viris virgo*; so an old poet (in Cic. Off. 1. 18. 61) has *vos autem, iuvenes, animum geritis muliebre[m] | illa virago viri*. Cf. Gen. ii. 23 *vocabitur Virago, quoniam de viro sumpta est*.

494—519. *Meantime Dido advances to the temple with her retinue, queenly as Diana among her nymphs, and taking her seat on a throne was administering justice, when Aeneas sees a group of his lost comrades making their way to her presence. He longs to greet them, but deems it wiser first to hear their story and the cause of their coming.*

494. *Aeneae*] dat. of the agent, cf. 440 n., 'while these marvels are being viewed *by* Aeneas.'

495. *obtutuque...*] 'and stands rooted in one (unbroken) gaze.'

498. *qualis...*] The simile is from Hom. Od. 6. 102, where it is applied to Nausicaa among her maidens.

499. *quam mille...*] 'in whose train a thousand Oreads troop on either side.'

500. *Oreades; illa*] Note the antithesis. The mountain-nymphs only serve as a background to enhance by comparison the beauty of the central figure of their queen.

502. *Latonae...*] 'joy thrills Latona's secret soul,' *i.e.* as she contemplates her daughter. Cf. Hom. Od. 6. 106 γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ.

504. *instans...*] 'urging on the labour of her rising empire.' For the Hendiadys cf. 3. 223 n.

505. *tum...*] 'then at the doors of the goddess, beneath the temple's central vault, hedged in with arms and resting on a lofty throne she took her seat.' The *fores* are the doors of the shrine (*cella*) at the back of the main hall, which has an arched or vaulted roof. At Rome it was common for the senate to meet in the hall of a temple, *e.g.* in that of Concord, and Virgil makes Dido follow this Roman custom. The relation of the shrine of the goddess to the great hall where Dido sits may be roughly compared with that of the choir of St. Paul's to the space beneath the dome.

507. *iura...*] 'she was giving ordinances and laws to her subjects.' *Ius* is often used for the whole body of the law whereas *lex* is a single definite law, but here there is no distinction between *iura* and *leges*, cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 16. 41 *qui leges iuraque servat*.

508. *partibus iustis*] 'with just division' or 'apportionment.'

512. *penitusque...*] 'and had carried far away to other coasts'; for this use of *penitus* cf. 536; 6. 59 *penitusque repostas | Massylum gentes*.

513. *obstipuit...*] 'amazed was the chief, amazed too Achates smitten with joy and fear.' *Simul... simul*, like ἀμα μὲν... ἄμα δέ, are frequently used even in prose as a rhetorical form of 'both...and.' Some place a comma after *ipse* and thus make *percussus* a verb, but Virgil does not describe Aeneas as experiencing one emotion and Achates a different one. The repetition of *simul* marks that the effect produced on both is one and the same; both are amazed, both smitten with joy and fear. For *percussus* many MSS. have *perculsus* from *percello*

'to strike' or 'overthrow': the two words are constantly confused and in cases like the present either may stand.

514. **avid]** Closely with *ardebant*, 'eagerly they burned to....'

515. **res incognita]** 'ignorance of the event.' They did not know what had happened to their comrades and feared (cf. *metu* 514) that they might have incurred some great danger.

516. **dissimulant]** 'they conceal (their eagerness),' *i.e.* the *ardor* implied in *ardebant*. **cava:** 'hollow,' and so 'enfold-ing,' 'enshrouding.'

518. **quid veniant]** 'why they come.' *Quid* is really the cognate acc. after *veniant* (lit. 'what coming they come'), but it is constantly used with intransitive verbs simply = 'why?' Many MSS. give *quid veniant cuncti*, but there is no point in asking 'why they come in a body.'

520—560. *Ilioneus as spokesman addresses Dido: 'Great Queen, we pray thee save our ships from being burned. We are unhappy Trojans driven on thy shore with no hostile purpose but under stress of storm while sailing for Italy. Why refuse us the hospitality of the shore? Heaven forbids such wrong. Aeneas was our prince and, if he still lives, will well requite thy kindness; kinsfolk too we have in Sicily. Grant us permission to refit our fleet that, if Aeneas survives, we may pursue our voyage to Italy, if not, that we may return to Sicily, whence we came.'*

521. **maximus]** sc. *natu*, 'eldest'; cf. 654: so *minores* 532 = 'a younger generation,' 'descendants,' and commonly *maiores* = 'ancestors.'

522. **condere...dedit]** 'granted to found,' cf. 5. 247 n. **gentes superbas:** *i.e.* the neighbouring Libyan tribes.

524. **ventis...]** 'carried by the winds over every sea.' **vecti maria** is an extension of the use of the cognate accusative; as you can be said *ire iter*, *ire viam* 'to go a road,' so you can be said *vehi maria* 'to sail the seas,' cf. 3. 191 *currimus aequor*; 5. 235 *aequora curro*; 5. 627 *cum freta, cum terras...ferimur*; 5. 862; and so constantly in Greek, *e.g.* Soph. O. C. 1686 *πόντιον κλύδων' ἀλώμεναι*.

526. **propius aspice]** 'graciously regard' or 'incline thy face to our fortunes.' The phrase is the opposite of 'turning away the face' as a sign of refusal or disregard. Cf. *propitius*.

527. **populare...venimus]** 'have come to devastate.' The use of the infinitive to express a purpose is extremely rare, but it is sometimes found (especially in the comic poets) after verbs of motion, cf. 3. 5 *agimur quaerere* 'are driven to seek'; Plaut.

Cas. 3. 5. 48 *ego huc missa sum ludere*; Hor. Od. 1. 2. 8 *Proteus pecus egit...visere*. Penates: 'hearths' or 'homes.'

530—533. These lines are repeated 3. 163-166.

Hesperiam...dicunt] An explanatory parenthesis, cf. 12. The word *Hesperia* is of Greek formation = ἑσπερία (sc. γῆ) 'the Western land,' but is not found in classical Greek. Roman poets often use it loosely = Italy, though, of course, only a Greek writer could so use it properly. Virgil, however, employs the word accurately with reference to that 'land of the West' which oracles bade Æneas quit his eastern home to seek. Cf. 3. 185.

531. *terra...*] 'an ancient land, mighty in war and wealth of soil.' *Uber glebae* is the Homeric οὐθαρ ἀρούρης (Il. 6. 141).

532. *coluere*] 'tilled it,' *i.e.* of old, the exact force of the perfect being at once made clear by the antithetical clause which follows, 'now 'tis said that a younger generation has called it Italy.' Italus is said to have been king or chief (cf. *ducis*) of the Oenotrians.

534. *hic cursus fuit*] 'this (*i.e.* hither) was our course.' For the unfinished verse cf. 2. 233 n.

535. *cum subito...*] 'when rising with sudden waves stormy Orion...' The style is peculiarly Virgilian here: Orion is said himself to 'rise with waves' because he makes the sea do so, and *adsurgens* suggests not merely the rising of the waves but the rising of the constellation. It was the setting of Orion in November (Hor. Od. 1. 28. 21 *deveni Orionis*, 3. 27. 18 *pronus Orion*) which was accompanied with stormy weather, not his rising about midsummer, but as this storm occurred in summer (cf. 756) Virgil finds it convenient to connect his rising as well as his setting with stormy weather.

537. *perque...perque*] Rhetorical repetition to emphasise strongly the dangers they had passed through: 'amid waves, while the surge breaks over us, amid pathless rocks.' Cf. 2. 51 n.

539. *quaeve...*] 'or what so barbarous country allows?' *i.e.* 'or what is this country which is so barbarous as to allow?'

541. *prima terra*] 'on the very border of the land.'

542. *mortalia arma*] 'mortal arms,' *i.e.* 'arms of mortals,' cf. G. 3. 319 *curae mortalis* 'care of men'; Lucr. 5. 121 *mortali sermone*.

543. *at sperate...*] 'yet look forward to gods who remember right and wrong,' *i.e.* be sure that in the time to come the gods will reward you according to your deserving. *Fandi* and *nefandi* are used here as the genitives of *fas* and *nefas*, which are indeclinable.

544. *quo iustior...*] 'than whom there was neither any more righteous in piety nor greater in war and deeds of arms.' To speak of a man as *iustus pietate* implies that he fulfils all the claims which are imposed on him by duty to the gods: so in the New Testament *δικαιος* is constantly combined with *δσιος*, *εὐλαβής* and the like.

Conington speaks of *iustior pietate* as 'a very harsh combination involving an unexampled inversion,' and therefore puts a comma after *alter*, saying that *nec* is omitted before *iustior*, 'than whom (neither) was any juster, nor greater in piety nor in war.' No doubt the first *nec* of two can be occasionally omitted where the sense is *perfectly clear* (cf. Aesch. Ag. 532), but here where the omission of *nec* is most perplexing, and rendered more perplexing by the double *nec* in the second clause, such an omission is impossible. Moreover it is clear that Aeneas is not described as first 'just,' secondly 'pious,' and thirdly 'a great warrior,' but as possessing two qualities often contrasted and rarely combined, viz. goodness and greatness.

546. *si vescitur...*] 'if he feeds on heavenly air nor as yet lies amid the cruel shades.' Cf. 3. 339 *vescitur aura*; Lucr. 5. 857 *vesci vitalibus auris*. Munro (Lucr. 5. 72 n.) regards *vesci* in these passages as = 'use,' 'enjoy,' and *arte hac vescimur, vescatur armis* are quoted. This may be so, but at the same time there is no doubt that Virgil often speaks of *air* and *aether* as the sources of life, so that he may well use the expression 'feeds on heavenly air.' The adj. *aetheria* suggests the idea of 'light' and so affords an artistic contrast with *umbris*. The ideas of 'air,' 'aether,' 'light,' and 'life' are so intertwined in Latin poetry that it is often hard to accurately disentangle them.

548. *non metus...*] '(then) we have no fear, nor wouldst thou repent to have first entered a contest of courtesy.'

549. *et*] 'also.' If Aeneas is dead, they have also friends in Sicily who can protect them and recompense Dido.

552. *silvis aptare trabes*] 'in the forests to shape planks,' i.e. for repairing their ships.

553. *si datur...*] 'that (*ut*), if it is granted...to sail to Italy, Italy and Latium we may joyfully seek, but if..., (that) at any rate (*at*) we may seek the seas of Sicania.'

556. *spes Iuli*] As Aeneas is their safety (*salus*) in the present, so Iulus is their hope in the future. *Iuli* is the objective genitive; their hope looks to him as its object. If *spes Iuli* meant the hope entertained by Iulus it would be the subjective genitive.

557. *at*] For *at* introducing the apodosis after *si*, *sin*, *quamvis* = 'yet' or 'at any rate,' cf. 543 ; 4. 615 ; 6. 406 ; G. 4. 208, 241.

559. *simul ore fremebant*] 'shouted assent with their voice'; cf. Il. 1. 22 *ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοί*.

561—578. *Dido* replies bidding them be of a good cheer: *well does she know their famous story; whether they wish to depart or stay they may count on her aid; would that their great leader had also been cast upon her shores; at any rate she will send scouts to search for him.*

561. *vultum demissa*] 'with downcast face'; see Appendix.

563. *res dura*] 'hard fortune,' 'stern necessity.' *cogunt talia moliri*: 'drive me to such hard deeds,' *i.e.* as driving strangers from my coasts. *Molior*, from *moles*, always denotes doing something with difficulty (cf. 414, 424) or, as here, which is burdensome or repugnant to the feelings. *custode*: the singular used collectively = 'guards,' so *miles* is constantly used = 'troops.'

565. *quis nesciat?*] Potential subjunctive—'who can be ignorant?' *Aeneadam*: cf. 157 n.

566. *virtutesque virosque*] Note the assonance—'its warlike deeds and warriors.' *incendia*: 'conflagration'; so we speak of both a war and a fire 'breaking out.'

568. *nec tam...*] 'nor does the sun yoke his steeds so distant from our Tyrian town.' The meaning is the same as that of our common phrase 'we are not so out of the world.' The land lying along the coast of the Mediterranean represents to the ancients the habitable and civilised portion of the globe, and over this belt or zone of the earth the sun moves in heaven, while outside of it (*extra anni solisque vias* 6. 797) lies the domain of barbarism and darkness. Henry, however, explains *aversus* 'turning his back on us,' 'leaving us benighted.'

571. *auxilio tutos*] 'guarded by an escort.'

572. *vultis et...*] 'is it your wish moreover to settle in this kingdom with me on equal terms? The city which I build is yours.' It is hard to say what is the proper punctuation of this sentence: many editors put a colon after *iuvabo* and a comma after *regnis*, in which case *si* has to be supplied from the first half of the sentence—'if you desire...I will assist, if also you wish to settle...the city is yours.' Perhaps the punctuation given in the text is simpler and more vigorous.

573. *urbem quam statuo, vestra est*] A well-known instance of the noun being expressed in the relative clause

instead of in the main sentence, or, as it is more usually called, of the attraction of the antecedent to the case of the relative. The peculiar form of the sentence throws great emphasis on *urbem*, to which Dido points with pride as she offers to share it with the Trojans. Similar sentences with similar emphasis are not uncommon in the vivid speech of comedy, e.g. Ter. Eun. 4. 3. 11 *Eunuchum quem dedisti nobis, quas turbas dedit*; and see Jebb on Soph. O. T. 449.

574. *Tros...*] 'Trojan and Tyrian by me shall be treated with no distinction.' Note the assonance in *Tros* and *Tyrius*: like in name they shall be treated alike.

576. *equidem*] This word (from *ē* demonstrative and *quidem*) has no connection with *ego* but is a simple adverb, and can be used with the 2nd and 3rd person. None the less, Virgil certainly seems to treat it as if it were = *ego quidem*. So here it seems to be = 'I indeed,' cf. 619; 4. 12; 4. 45; 4. 330; 5. 26; 5. 56; 5. 399; 6. 848.

578. *si...errat*] 'in case he is wandering,' not 'to see if he is wandering' which would be *si...erret*, cf. 181.

579—612. *While Dido speaks, Achates and Aeneas were longing to reveal themselves, and, as Achates is asking Aeneas what he proposes, the cloud suddenly parts revealing the form of Aeneas clothed in radiant beauty which Venus had shed around him. He thanks Dido for her splendid generosity and compassion, praying that heaven may reward her and promising his own undying gratitude. Then he greets his lost comrades.*

580. *erumpere nubem*] 'to burst from the cloud.' *Erumpo* is, like *rumpo*, originally active = 'cause to burst forth'; it is usually however intransitive = 'burst forth'; then here from this intransitive use a transitive one is developed and, because 'burst forth from' has the general meaning of 'quit,' 'leave,' Virgil boldly writes *erumpere nubem*, just as he writes 5. 438 *tela exit* 'avoids the blows,' cf. 2. 542 n.

584. *unus abest...*] Cf. 113.

587. *purgat*] Supply *se* from *scindit se*; 'disperses itself.' Bowen has 'clears into cloudless splendour of heaven.' For *aether* as opposed to *aer* cf. 411 n.

588. *restitit...refulsit*] For the force of the compounds cf. 402 n. As the cloud rolled back the figure of Aeneas 'stood clear against it': we should say 'stood out.'

589—593. Copied from Hom. Od. 23. 156-162 (also Od. 6. 229)—

αὐτὰρ κὰκ κεφαλῆς κάλλος πολὺ χεῦεν Ἀθήνη,
μείζονά τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα· κὰδ δὲ κάρητος

οὐλας ἤκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνῳ ἀνθει ὁμοίας.
 ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνῆρ
 ἴδρις, δν' Ἡφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
 τέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελελεῖ,
 ὡς μὲν τῷ περιέχευε χάριν κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ὤμοις.

589. *namque...*] 'for his mother herself had upon her son breathed grace of clustering locks and the radiant light of youth and joyful glory on his eyes.' *Adflarat* is usually said to go with *caesariem* by zeugma = 'had bestowed,' but this is erroneous. The emphasis is wholly on *decoram* (cf. *decus* 592): Venus bestows on him not 'hair' surely but a special grace or beauty which is added to his hair, and this grace is described as 'breathed upon him' (*i.e.* bestowed in some divine mysterious manner) equally with the 'radiance' of youth and the 'lustre' of his eyes.

591. *purpureum*] For this word, which is certainly not = 'rosy' here but 'radiant,' cf. 6. 641 n.

592. *quale...*] 'such grace as (the craftsman's) hands add to ivory, or (such grace as is added) when silver or Parian marble is surrounded with yellow gold,' *i.e.* apparently 'gilded,' cf. Homer's *περιχεύεται*.

594. *cunctis*] with *inprovisus*: his sudden appearance was 'unexpected by all.'

598. *reliquias Danaum*] Cf. 30 n. 'O thou, who with us, the leavings of the Greeks, with us worn out at last by all hazards of land and sea, of all things destitute, dost share thy city, thy home.'

599. *omnium*] 'The only instance in which Virg. has forced this intractable word into a hexameter,' Conington. The ugly elision is made easier by the emphasis which repetition (*omnibus...omnium*) throws very strongly on the first syllable.

600. *urbe domo*] Rhetorical asyndeton.

601. *non opis est...*] 'is not in (lit. 'of') our power nor (in the power of) whatever everywhere exists of the Trojan race.' *Quidquid est* followed by a gen. is = 'whatever there is of a thing,' 'all of it,' cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 1 *o deorum quidquid in caelo regit* 'O all ye gods'; *Sat.* 1. 6. 1.

603. *di tibi...*] 'may heaven—if any deities regard the good, if anywhere is aught of justice—and the consciousness of right bring thee worthy recompense.' Aeneas cannot recompense her, he can only pray that she may receive the two greatest of all blessings—the favour of heaven and the approval of a good conscience. Cf. 9. 252 *quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis* |

praemia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum | di moresque dabunt vestri.

Editors spoil this fine passage by reading *iustitia*, which has practically no authority except the Medicean MS., and even there it is corrected into *iustitiae* (see Henry l. 780). They then render, 'may heaven—if any deities regard the good, if justice and conscious rectitude are of any account anywhere—reward thee.' Conington makes perfect nonsense by writing 'are of account anywhere *on earth*,' for what men think of goodness on earth cannot be a ground for appealing to the gods in heaven.

For *si quis* with indic. = 'as surely as there is some,' cf. 3. 433 n.

605. *quae te tam...*] 'what so happy ages gave thee birth,' *i.e.* what ages were so happy as to give thee birth? The sentence is only a question in form; its real meaning is 'happy the age which gave thee birth.'

607. *dum montibus...*] 'while on the hills the shadows glide over the hollows.'

608. *polus dum sidera pascet*] A reminiscence of *Lucretius*. 1. 231 *unde aether sidera pascit?* where the *aether* which surrounds the universe and keeps the stars alive and burning is said to 'feed' them, cf. 5. 517 n. Virgil's phrase, however, differs from that of *Lucretius*, and seems rather to compare the stars to a countless flock whose pasture-ground is the sky.

610. *quae...cumque*] *Tmesis*.

613—630. *In amazement Dido asks whether he is really that famous Aeneas whose story she had heard from Teucer when he sought the aid of her father Belus to found a new kingdom in Cyprus. Then she bids him welcome as one who has herself learned in misery to sympathise with misfortune.*

613. *primo*] An adj. in agreement with *aspectu*, but to be taken adverbially. Dido is struck with amazement, firstly at the grace and beauty of Aeneas (cf. 589-91) and then at the thought of his misfortunes.

616. *inmanibus*] 'cruel,' referring to the dangerous nature of the coast and the savage character of the inhabitants.

617. *Dardanio Anchisae*] As regards the hiatus and spondee in the fifth foot it may be observed that Virgil allows himself this license only in lines containing proper names, and only three times, viz. here and 3. 74 *Neptunō Aegaeo*; 11. 31 *Parrhasiō Evandro*. These lines are generally said to be imitations of Greek rhythm, but though hiatus in the fifth foot

is common in Homer (*e.g.* Il. 1. 1 Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλλῆος) and though spondaic endings are also common (*e.g.* Ἀτρεΐδαο, Πηλείωνα), yet they rarely consist of a trisyllabic word, and if they do there is no hiatus.

618. *alma Venus*] For *alma* cf. 305 n. It is the regular and recurring epithet of Venus (cf. Lucr. 1. 2) as the giver of life, but is of course specially applicable to her in her relations to Aeneas.

619. *Teucrum*] Ajax the brother of Teucer slew himself in wrath at being refused the arms of Achilles by the Greek leaders, and when Teucer returned home to his father Telamon in Salamis, being driven away by him for not having avenged his brother, he founded a second Salamis in Cyprus.

621. *Beli*] A Phoenician word = 'Lord,' found in Scripture as 'Baal' and in 'Beelzebub.'

624. *regesque Pelasgi*] 'and the Grecian kings,' *i.e.* Agamemnon and Menelaus, who led the Greek host against Troy.

626. *seque ortum...volebat*] 'and claimed that he sprang from the ancient stock of the Teuceri.' Teucer was the first king of Troy, whence the Trojans were called *Teuceri*. The Grecian Teucer was the son of Telamon by Hesione a daughter of Laomedon king of Troy, and so, as his name implies, really of Trojan origin. For *volebat* cf. Cic. de Off. 2. 78 *se populares volunt*.

628. *per multos labores iactatam*] 'tempest-tossed through many toils'; a concise phrase = 'having passed tempest-tossed through many toils.' For *iactatam* cf. 3.

630. *non ignara mali*] Litotes: 'not ignorant of' = 'well schooled in.' *disco*: 'I learn': the present is more modest than the perfect.

631—642. *Dido leads Aeneas into the palace and proclaims a public sacrifice of thanksgiving. Supplies for a feast are despatched to his comrades on the shore, while for Aeneas a banquet of royal splendour is prepared.*

631. *sic memorat: simul...ducit, simul...*] The use of *simul...simul* here is not the same as at 513. The first *simul* connects *ducit* very closely with *memorat*; her action almost coincides with her words, so eager is she. The second *simul* rhetorically repeats the first. Translate 'So speaks she, and at once leads..., at once...proclaims a sacrifice.' Conington gives 'She speaks and speaking leads the way....'

632. *indicit*] Cf. 3. 264 ; 5. 758 ; the word is a technical one for the 'proclamation' by the pontifices of a special festival or one the exact date of which was not fixed, cf. *Ov. Fast.* 1. 659 '*lux haec indicitur, inquit | Musa, 'quid a Fastis non stata sacra petis?'*

634. *viginti...centum...centum*] The numbers, as is usual with imitators of the true epic style, are exaggerated and conventional.

636. *munera laetitiamque dei*] '(she sends) gifts and the joy of the god,' *i.e.* a present of wine which 'makes glad the heart,' cf. 734 *laetitiae Bacchus dator*. Abundance of flesh and wine constitutes the essence of a feast, and the connection between wine and cheerfulness is so established that the phrase is tolerably clear without any special explanation of who the 'god' is.

MS. authority is wholly in favour of *dei*, but a reading *dii* is accepted by many editors chiefly on the authority of Gellius, who asserts that *dei* was substituted for it by copyists ignorant of the form *dii* as the genitive of *dies*. In that case we must render 'gifts for their enjoyment of the day,' but it is difficult to see what point the addition of *dii* has and we certainly miss the wine.

639. *arte...*] '(there are) coverlets cunningly embroidered and of proud purple.' The *vestes* are *vestes stragulae* used for covering the couches on which they reclined. The Phoenicians were not only celebrated for their purple-dyed robes but also for their skill in embroidery, cf. 337 n.

640. *ingens...*] 'massy silver plate upon the board.' *caelataque in auro...* : drinking-vessels of gold and silver carved in relief, often with figures representing historical or legendary events, were much valued at Rome and are continually referred to: see Marquardt² p. 680 *seq.*

643—656. *Aeneas sends Achates to the ships for Ascanius, bidding him also bring royal ornaments and jewels for Dido.*

643. *consistere*] 'to rest.'

644. *rapidum*] Predicate : he sends him in haste.

645. *ferat*] The subj. of oblique command, after the idea of 'bidding' which is contained in the preceding line—he despatches Achates (with the commission) to report the news to Ascanius.

646. *omnis...*] 'in Ascanius all his loving sire's thoughts are centred.'

648. *signis auroque*] Hendiadys: 'with figures wrought in gold,' *i.e.* in gold thread.

649. *acantho*] The design of the border was copied from the acanthus. The acanthus or bearsfoot had a leaf resembling a bear's claw. 'The picturesque shape of its leaves,' says Kennedy, 'made it a favourite plant with ancient artists, and the Corinthian capital is said to have been imagined by the sculptor Callimachus from seeing its leaves curling above a flower-basket left on a maiden's tomb.'

650. *Argivae: Mycenis*] Menelaus the husband of Helen was king of Sparta, and it was from there that Paris carried her away to Troy. Homer however speaks of her (Il. 2. 161) as 'Ἀργείην Ἑλένην meaning simply 'Grecian,' and Virgil describes her as coming from Mycenae because that was the city of Agamemnon the leader of the Greek host.

651. *peterēt*] Virgil, like the other poets, frequently lengthens by ictus the final syllable of the 3rd person sing., cf. 308 *vidēt*; 5.853 *amittebāt*, and elsewhere *aberāt*, *canit*, *dabāt*, *erit*, see Nettleship, Excursus to Book 12. For *hymenaeos*, cf. 6. 623 n.

654. *colloque...*] 'and for the neck a collar hung with pearls.' According to Marquardt² 703 *monile bacatum* is a necklet with jewels shaped like a berry (*bacae*), probably pearls, hanging from it.

655. *duplicem...*] The words may describe two circlets, one of gold the other of jewels, but more probably Virgil merely means that the 'coronet' was made of gold studded or diversified with jewels.

657—694. *Venus, fearful lest Juno should change Dido's feelings towards the Trojans, summons her son Cupid and begs him to aid her design of making Dido fall in love with Aeneas, to which end he is to take upon him the form of Ascanius so that when Dido welcomes him at the banquet, he may use the opportunity to inspire her with passion. Cupid joyfully obeys, while Ascanius wrapt in a magic trance is removed to Idalia.*

657. *versat*] 'keeps turning over (in her mind),' 'ponders'; but 2.62 *versare dolos* is 'to practise wiles.'

659. *furentem*] Proleptic; 'fire to frenzy,' 'kindle to madness,' cf. 70 n.

660. *ossibus...*] 'and entwine the fire with her bones': the fire enwraps her bones and winds among them so as to consume them. The bones (and especially the marrow of the bones) were considered the seat of feeling, and love is a fire which feeds on them, cf. 4. 66 *est molles flamma medullas*; 4. 101.

661. *quippe*] 'yes, for,' cf. 39 n. *ambiguum*: 'doubtful,' *i.e.* which seemed friendly but might prove the opposite, cf. 671. *bilingues*: 'double-tongued,' *i.e.* saying one thing and meaning another. It became the fashion at Rome during the Punic wars to attribute 'perfidy' to the Carthaginians (cf. Livy 21. 4. 9 *perfidia plus quam Punica*; Hor. Od. 4. 4. 49 *perfidus Hannibal*), and Virgil therefore assigns the same quality to Dido's followers. The word *bilinguis* refers primarily to the forked tongue of a serpent.

662. *urit atrox Iuno*] 'angry Juno frets her,' = 'the thought of Juno's anger keeps her uneasy.' *Uro* is not merely used to express the effect of heat and cold (= 'burn,' 'nip') but also of anything which chafes or galls the skin producing a sore, as for instance a heavy burden (Hor. Ep. 1. 13. 6 *uret sarcina*) or a tight shoe (Hor. Ep. 1. 10. 43); and so here of producing a mental sore.

665. *tela Typhoia*] 'the bolts which slew Typhoeus,' but which Love laughs to scorn. Love was frequently represented on ancient works of art breaking a thunderbolt.

667. *frater ut...*] 'how thy brother Aeneas is tossed...is well known to thee.' *iactetur*: other instances of this lengthening of *-ur* in verbs before a vowel where the ictus is on the lengthened syllable are 2. 411 *obruimur*; 4. 222 *adloquitur*; 5. 284 *datur*. Most MSS. have *iacteturque* which gives no meaning.

669. *nota*] The plural for the sing. in cases like the present (where we use the idiom 'it is well known that...', 'it is impossible to...', and the like) is fairly common in Greek, *e.g.* *σχέτλια, δίκαια, αδύνατά ἐστιν* (cf. Kühner § 366), but very rare in Latin.

doluisti...dolore: 'grieved with my grief.' The repetition emphasises the idea of sympathy, cf. Rom. xii. 15 'Rejoice with them that do rejoice and weep with them that weep.'

670. *moratur*] 'detains,' 'keeps at her side.'

671. *vereor quo...*] 'I fear the issue of this Junonian welcome: she (Juno) will not rest at such a turning-point of fortune.' As Carthage was under the special care of Juno (15), Venus bitterly calls the hospitality offered to Aeneas not 'Carthaginian' but 'Junonian,' thereby clearly showing the danger there was in accepting it. *quo se...vertant*: cf. the common phrase *quod bene vertat* 'may it turn out well.'

673. *capere...*] 'to conquer with guile and compass with fire': the metaphor is from attacking a town.

674. **ne quo...**] 'so that no deity may have power to change her,' *i.e.* so that Juno may be unable to change her love for Aeneas to hatred.

677. **accitu**] 'at the summons': similar ablatives of verbal nouns used adverbially are *iussu*, *iniussu*, *permissu*, *rogatu*.

678. **Sidoniam**] Tyre was itself founded by Sidon: hence Carthage may be called 'Sidonian.'

679. **pelago et flammis restantia**] *Pelago* and *flammis* are datives of relation; 'sea and fire' have done their worst, but there are some things 'left over to sea and fire,' still undestroyed; similar phrases are *bello superstes*, *superesse labori*. If a person ate half a goose the remaining half might be said *restare*, and the person who after eating half had the remainder before him might be put in the dative (*dat. incommodi*).

Some say that *de* is supplied before *pelago*, but this is not Latin.

680. **sopitum somno**] 'soothed in slumber.' *Sopio* is practically the same word as *somnus* = *sopnus* (*ὑπνος*), but the combination of *somnus* with *sopor* and *sopio* is common, the alliteration conveying the idea of repose, cf. 6. 390 *somni noctisque soporae*; Lucr. 4. 453 *suavi devinxit membra sopore* | *somnus*; and in English Ps. cxxi. 4 'shall neither slumber nor sleep.'

super alta Cythera: 'on Cythera's heights.'

682. **mediusve occurrere**] 'or mar (my schemes) by intervention.'

683. **noctem...**] 'for not more (than) one night.' With numerals *quam* is often omitted after comparatives, especially *plus* and *amplius*, e.g. *amplius sex menses*, *amplius triennium*, G. 4. 207 *neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas*.

684. **falle**] 'imitate,' 'counterfeit.' So most editors, but *fallere faciem Iuli* = 'to assume falsely the appearance of Iulus' is very remarkable Latin, for *fallere* with acc. is 'to hide,' 'make to disappear,' not 'make to appear': on the other hand to take from *noctem* to *dolo* as a parenthesis, with Deuticke, seems harsh. Probably the strange use of *fallo* is justifiable because the words immediately following *et notos pueri puer indue vultus* make its meaning clear.

686. **regales inter mensas**] 'amid the royal feast.' **laticem Lyaeum**: for *Lyaeus* used as adj. cf. 4. 552 n.

688. **fallasque veneno**] 'cheat her with poison,' 'poison her unawares': the 'secret fire' and the 'poison' are the fatal passion for Aeneas with which Cupid is to fill Dido.

690. *et gressu...*] 'and moves exulting in the gait of Iulus': *gressu* is emphatic, marking that he now walks instead of flying, and *gaudens* expresses his boyish delight in the part he is playing.

691. *at Venus...*] 'but for Ascanius Venus makes peaceful repose flow through his limbs, and fondling him in her bosom divinely carries him....' The advance of sleep over the limbs is compared to the rapid and peaceful movement of water through irrigation channels on to thirsty land. In Italy the practice of irrigation was universal (G. l. 106), so that the metaphor would be more vivid than it is to us. *Inrigare* can be used either of making the stream flow, as here and *Lucr.* 4. 907 *somnus per membra quietem inriget*, or of the stream itself = 'flow over,' 'water,' as 3. 511 *fessos sopor inrigat artus* 'sleep o'erflows our weary limbs.' For a somewhat similar metaphor cf. Keble's

'When the soft dews of kindly sleep
My wearied eyelids gently steep.'

694. *floribus...*] 'cradles him with flowers and fragrance-breathing shade'; lit. 'breathing on him with fragrant shade.'

695—722. *Cupid arrives when Dido has just taken her place and the feast is commencing. His beauty and the gifts he brings excite the admiration of the Carthaginians, but Dido cannot gaze her fill, and he, after embracing Aeneas, eagerly pursues his task of making her forget her dead love in the passion for a living one.*

697. *cum venit...*] 'as he draws near, the queen amid stately tapestries has now laid herself on a golden couch,' i.e. he arrives just when the queen had taken her place. *Aulaeis superbis* is called by editors 'an abl. of circumstance' or 'of attendant circumstances.' *Aulaea* are strictly 'tapestries' hung between the columns in a hall (*αὐλή*), and they were continually used for decorative purposes at great feasts, cf. *Hor. Od.* 3. 29. 15 *cenae sine aulaeis et ostro*, and see *Marquardt*² 310.

698. *aurēā*] a dissyllable by Synizesis (*συνίξησις* 'a sinking together'), cf. 726; 5. 352 *aurēis*; 6. 280 *ferrēi*, 412 *alvō*, 678 *dehinc*; 7. 609 *aerē*.

700. *stratoque...*] 'and stretch themselves on purple coverlets,' lit. 'on purple laid (upon the couches).' On the couches were 'coverlets' (*stragulae vestes*, cf. 639 n.) of purple. For *discumbitur* used impersonally cf. 6. 45 n. The force of *dis-* is not to express that they 'take their several places,' but to describe the loose position of the limbs as opposed to the stiffness of a person standing: *discumbo* is a regular word for

lying down at meals and can be used of a single person, cf. Juv. 5. 12 *tu discumbere iussus* 'invited to dinner.'

701. *dant...*] For this description of a feast cf. Od. 1. 130 *seq.*, especially 136

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχῶρ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
καλῆ χρυσεῖη ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,

and 147 *σίτον δὲ δμῶαι παρενήγεον ἐν κανέοισι.*

Cereremque...: 'and serve the bread from baskets.'

702. *tonsis mantelia villis*] 'napkins with close-shorn nap,' *i.e.* delicate and smooth, not rough and coarse.

703. *quibus...*] 'whose task it was to arrange in order the long feast and keep the hearth aglow with fire.' Opposed to the attendants in the hall are the fifty female servants who get ready the feast 'within,' or as we should say 'in the kitchen'; they naturally have to keep up the fire and get the long succession of dishes (*longa penus*) ready for carrying into the hall. *Struere* describes the arrangement of each course on the *ferculum* or tray on which it was served, and Servius rightly explains it *ordinare, componere; unde et structores dicuntur ferculorum compositores*. The Penates are the gods of the larder (*penus*), and images or paintings of them were placed over the kitchen hearth (Mau's *Pompeii*, p. 262), so that to keep a good fire on it is = 'to magnify the Penates with fire.'

This is all very simple, but, when a poet attempts to describe getting a dinner ready in heroic verse, he is apt to become obscure, and consequently many editors explain *flammis adolere Penates* of 'honouring the Penates by burning incense,' or the like. This is nonsense. What did the cooks (*famulae*) in the kitchen (*intus*) want with incense? A good fire is the fittest honour for the gods of the larder.

For *longam* the MSS. give *longo*, but *longam* was read by the oldest grammarian Charisius and the poet Ausonius (310-390 A.D.) who has '*cui non longa penus, huic quoque prompta fames.*' The alteration of the difficult *longam* into the easy *ordine longo* would be readily made by copyists.

For *adolere* cf. 3. 547 n.

707. *et*] 'also,' as well as Dido and the Trojans. *laeta*: 'festal.'

708. *toris pictis*] 'on the embroidered couches,' *i.e.* adorned with embroidered coverlets, cf. 4. 206. *Pictus* = *pictus acu*, cf. 11. 777 *pictus acu tunicas*; so too *picto limbo* 4. 137 'with embroidered border'; 3. 483 *picturatas vestes* and commonly *toga picta*.

709. *mirantur...mirantur*] Cf. 421 n.

710. *flagrantesque...pallamque* (711)] These two lines describe the two-fold objects of their admiration more fully and in inverted order. *Que...que* = *τε...καί*, 'both...and': in translating perhaps they are best omitted—'they marvel at the gifts of Aeneas, they marvel at Iulus, at the glowing countenance..., at the robe and....'

712. *pesti...*] 'doomed to impending destruction.' She slew herself on a funeral pyre when deserted by Aeneas, cf. 4. 660-665.

713. *expleri mentem...*] 'cannot satisfy her soul and glows as she gazes,' lit. 'with gazing.' *Expleri mentem* can be explained as = 'be satisfied as to her soul,' or as a middle use of the passive, cf. 2. 383 n.

715. *pependit*] Used strictly with *collo* 'hung upon the neck' and loosely with *complexu* 'in the arms' of Aeneas.

716. *falsi*] 'deceived.'

717. *haec oculis, haec...*] 'with her eyes, with her every thought she clings to him, and anon fondles him in her bosom, little knowing, poor queen, how mighty a god settles there to her sorrow.'

720. *abolere Sychæum*] 'to do away with (the memory of) Sychæus.'

721. *et vivo...*] 'and essays with a living love to surprise her long passionless soul and unaccustomed heart.' The force of *prae* in *praevertere* seems to be 'before she can detect what is happening,' or perhaps 'before the memory of Sychæus returns.'

723—756. *When the feast was finished and the wine brought in Dido commanded silence, and filling a goblet with wine prayed that the day might be a happy and joyous one for the Trojans. Then she poured a libation and having tasted the goblet passed it among the chiefs. The bard Iopas too sang the story of the universe, and the hours sped in varied conversation, Dido above all asking many a question about Troy and at last directly begging Aeneas to relate to them the story of his misfortunes and long wanderings over land and sea.*

723. *postquam prima...*] 'when first there was rest (or 'pause') to the feasting,' cf. 216.

724. *vina coronant*] Cf. 3. 525 *magnum cratera corona | induit*, which clearly shows that Virgil by the words 'crown the wine' means literally surrounding the bowl with an actual

chaplet of flowers, although the Homeric phrase which he imitates *κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοίο* (Il. 1. 470) is held to mean 'wreathed the bowls with wine,' 'filled them brimming high with wine.'

725. *it strepitus...*] After their hunger is appeased and the wine introduced they begin to talk. Many MSS. have *fit*.

726. *dependent...*] Conington rightly remarks that 'the mention of the lamps here seems to show that they are now first lighted, so that *incensi* is emphatic.' The lines are imitated by Milton, *Par. Lost* 1. 726

'From the archèd roof,
Pendent by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
With naphtha and asphaltus, yielded light
As from a sky.'

728. *hic*] 'here,' 'at this point' of time; in English we should say 'then.'

gravem gemmis auroque] These jewelled cups were frequent and highly valued at Rome, but were introduced from the East, cf. Cic. in *Verr.* 4. 27. 62 *pocula ex auro, quae, ut mos est regius, et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis.*

729. *quam...*] 'which Belus and all (*i.e.* the kings) after Belus were wont (to fill).' The words describe the 'loving-cup' as valuable not merely intrinsically but also for its history. Belus seems here put for the founder of the Tyrian dynasty, but the word is probably in its origin a title not a name, cf. 621 n.

731. *nam te...*] 'for they say that thou dost appoint the laws of hospitality,' lit. 'for *hospites*,' those who are either guests or hosts. She appeals to Jupiter under his special attribute as 'god of strangers,' Ζεὺς Ξένιος. For *nam* cf. 65 n.

732. *hunc laetum...*] 'may it be thy pleasure that this be a day of joy to....'

736. *in mensam...*] 'on the table she offered libation (lit. 'poured as a libation an offering') of wine, and first, after the libation, just touched (the goblet) with the edge of her lips.' *libato*: probably here supply *honore*, though the word might be used absolutely, 'libation having been made' cf. *auspicato*, *cognito*, *permissio* and the like.

738. *ille inpiger...*] 'he like a warrior drained the foaming cup and swilled himself with the brimming gold.' Virgil points a marked contrast between the dainty sip which Dido

takes and the goodly draught in which Bitias indulges when challenged to show himself a man (cf. *increpitans*). The poet's humour breaks out in the mock-heroic phrase *pleno se proluit auro*, which Sidgwick refers to as an instance of 'Virgil's ornate-emphatic style,' and which most translators try in vain to translate with dignity, whereas of course the *se proluit* is intentionally rough, cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 5. 16 *multa prolutus vappa nauta* 'a sailor soaked with swipes.'

740. *crinitus*] Long hair is always the sign of a bard; so too Apollo their patron has 'flowing locks,' cf. Hor. Od. 3. 4. 61 *qui rore puro Castaliae lavit | crines solutos*. In heroic times the bard

'high-placed in hall, a welcome guest'

was a conspicuous figure at feasts, as formerly in England and especially in Scotland; cf. the account of Phemius, Hom. Od. 1. 325, and Demodocus Od. 8. 499.

741. *personat*] 'makes the hall ring.' For Atlas cf. Od. 1. 52

*"Ατλαντος θυγάτηρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅς τε θαλάσσης
πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς
μακράς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι.*

There seems to have been a story that Atlas was originally an astronomer after whom the 'heaven-bearing' mountain was named. Virgil here clearly introduces him as locally connected with Africa.

742. *hic...*]

'Sang of the moons that wander, of suns eclipsed and in pain,
Whence the beginning of man and of beast, of the fire and
the rain.'—Bowen.

The Homeric bards chant deeds of chivalry, but Virgil makes Iopas a philosopher who had probed the secrets of nature. He had a great admiration for the poet-philosopher Lucretius, and in a noble passage G. 2. 475 *seq.*, which he partly repeats here, he describes the study of nature as the loftiest theme with which the Muses can deal. Iopas represents his ideal, and the ideal of Virgil was that of Goethe.

errantem lunam: referring to its revolutions, cf. G. 1. 337 *quos ignis caeli Cyllenius erret in orbis*; Hor. Sat. 1. 8. 21 *vaga luna*; Shak. Mid. Night's Dream 4. 1. 103 'swifter than the wandering moon.' *solisque labores*: cf. G. 2. 478 *lunaeque labores*; the strict word for an eclipse *defectus* 'a failing' or 'fading' is replaced by the poetical word 'suffering,' 'trouble.'

743. *unde...*] This hymn of creation forms part of the song of Silenus, Ecl. 6. 31-41.

744. *pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones*] Cf. 3. 516 n.

745, 746. Repeated from G. 2. 481, 482. There is an artistic contrast between *properent* and *tardis*: the winter suns hasten to their bath in Ocean, while the nights are so slow that something seems to bar their progress.

747. *ingeminant plausu*] 'redouble with applause,' cf. 9. 811 *ingeminant hastis*. The phrase is a studied variation from the ordinary *ingeminant plausum*, which some MSS. give.

749. *longumque...*] 'and drank in a lasting love,' *i.e.* as she listened to Aeneas. *Longus* is a strong adjective in Latin and might be rendered 'everlasting' or 'undying,' cf. 6. 715 *longa oblivia*; Hor. Od. 3. 11. 38 *longus somnus* 'the sleep of death'; 4. 9. 37 *longa nocte* 'eternal night.'

750. *multa super...super...multa*] Observe the emphatic repetition marking her growing excitement; so too *nunc quibus...nunc quales...nunc quantus*.

751. *Auroræ filius*] Memnon, cf. 489 n. His arms were made by Vulcan, cf. 8. 384.

752. *Diomedis equi*] The horses of Diomedes were famous (cf. Il. 23. 377), but they were the horses which he had taken from Aeneas himself in battle (Il. 5. 323). Hence various suggestions have been made that Dido asks Aeneas about some other horses of Diomedes, but her question must in any case have been an awkward one. Virgil makes her ask indiscriminately about everything at Troy, and when ladies indulge in such enquiries they often make slips.

quantus] Primarily no doubt of actual size (cf. 6. 413 n.), but also including the idea of greatness in other respects, cf. Hom. Il. 24. 629 *Πρίαμος θαύμαζ' Ἀχιλλῆα | ὄστος ἔην ὀλοῦ τε*.

753. *immo age...*] 'nay rather, come tell us...,' *i.e.* in preference to answering separate questions relate the whole story at length. This Aeneas does in the 2nd and 3rd books which contain one a history of the sack of Troy, the other of his wanderings.

754. *insidias Danaum*] The 'wiles' by which they induced the Trojans to receive the wooden horse within the walls.

755. *nam te iam septima...*] 'for by now the seventh summer carries thee a wanderer over every land and sea.' Heyne (in an excursus on Book III.) considers that Aeneas spent the winter after the fall of Troy in preparing his fleet and set sail early (3. 8) in the next year, which is thus the second of his wanderings; he then passes the winter in Thrace and leaves in the third year; that year and the next are spent in Crete; it is toward the end of the fifth year that he reaches Actium; the sixth year he visits Epirus and Sicily, and reaches Carthage in the seventh.

BOOK II

1—13. *Amid deep silence Aeneas begins thus: 'Although to tell such a tale is to renew sorrow, yet, O queen, I will obey thy wish.'*

Aeneas relates his adventures to Dido in this and the next book just as Ulysses relates his wanderings to Alcinous in books 9-12 of the Odyssey.

1. *conticuere...tenebant*] The perf. describes a single completed act—'silence fell on all': the imperf. expresses duration—'turning their faces (towards Aeneas) they were keeping them (turned towards him).' *Ora* is partly dependent on *intenti* and partly on *tenebant*; *intenti ora* = 'having their faces turned to' is very good Latin, see Appendix.

2. *orsus*] sc. *est*. The omission of *est* or *sunt* is very common, e.g. 165 *adgressi*, 168 *ausi*, 172 *positum*, 196 *credita*, *capti*. In the first and second persons however the substantive verb is rarely so omitted, but cf. 1. 558 *adrecti (sumus)*; 2. 25 *rati (sumus)*, 651; 5. 414 *suetus (eram)*; 1. 202 *experti (estis)*; 5. 192; 1. 237 *pollicitus (es)*?; 5. 687 *exosus (es)*. This omission is specially common with deponent verbs.

3. *infandum*] emphatic by position, and used with reference to its derivation (cf. *fando* 6), 'too grievous to tell is the sorrow thou biddest me renew.' *Ut* = 'how' (in 4) is dependent on the general sense of 'telling' contained in the words *infandum renovare dolorem*, which are really = *narrare*, and the substantival clauses *quae...vidi* and *quorum...fui* describe more particularly what events the 'tale' will relate, 'to tell how...the Greeks overthrew, both the things which... and those of which....'

5. *quaeque...*] He will describe only the things he 'saw and shared' himself. *que...et* = $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota$.

6. *fando*] 'in telling,' 'while he tells.'

7. *Ulixi*] For the gen. cf. 1. 120 n.

8. *temperet...*] 'could refrain from tears'; cf. Caes. B. G. 1. 7 *temperare ab iniuria*.

caelo praecipitat: 'hurries downwards in heaven,' *i.e.* the night is far spent: night is said to 'rise' and 'sink' or 'set' just as the 'sun' and the 'day' are said to do so, cf. 250 n.

10. *amor...cognoscere*] 'love to learn.' The inf. after nouns which signify desire or eagerness is not uncommon in poetry, cf. 3. 298 *amore compellare*; 2. 575 *ira ulcisci*; 5. 183 *spes superare*; 6. 133 *cupido innare*, 655 *cura pascere*, and similarly 3. 670 *adfectare potestas*. For this inf. after verbs cf. 64 n.

11. *supremum...*] 'to hear of Troy's last agony': *supremus* is used as in the well-known phrase *dies supremus* (cf. 324 *summa dies*) = 'day of death.'

12. *refūgit*] Observe the quantity. The difference in tense between *horret* and *refugit* is remarkable: *horret* describes his present state—'he shudders to recall'; *refugit* refers to the sudden starting back (cf. 380) which was the feeling he instinctively experienced when the request was first made to him (cf. Gk. use of ἀπέπτυσσα, ἐπήνεσα, ἤσθην, etc.). A very similar change of tense occurs in the first verse of the *Magnificat* St. Luke i. 47 *μεγαλύνει...ἠγαλλίασε*.

13—39. *Foiled in all their efforts to capture Troy the Greeks build a huge wooden horse, in which are concealed certain chosen heroes. They then circulate a rumour that this is intended as a votive offering to Minerva to ensure their safe return home, and set sail. At Tenedos however they stop, while meantime the Trojans visit their deserted camp and debate what is to be done with the horse.*

14. *Danaum*] For the contracted gen. cf. 3. 53 n. *tot*: Troy was taken in the tenth year of the siege.

15. *instar montis equum*] With one exception (6. 865) *instar* is always used with a gen. (*e.g.* 3. 637 *Phoebae lampadis instar*, 7. 707 *magni agminis instar*), and it is only found in nom. and acc. It is probably to be connected with STA, *σταυρός* and *instaurare*, and is = 'something set up,' and then 'an image of,' 'thing resembling': here it is in apposition to *equum*, 'a horse the image of a mountain,' *i.e.* huge as a mountain.

divina Palladis arte: cf. Od. 8. 492 *ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ*. Pallas not only favoured the Greeks, but was also the patroness of all handicrafts.

16. **secta abiete]** 'with planks of pine.' **intexunt** : 'interweave'; the process of placing the planks horizontally across the ribs is compared to the passing of the horizontal threads of the woof across the vertical threads of the warp in weaving. Cf. 112 *contextus* ; 186 *textis*. **abiete** : scanned as a dactyl, cf. 5. 589 n.

17. **ea fama vagatur]** 'that rumour (*i.e.* of its being a votive offering) is spread abroad.'

18. **delecta virum corpora]** A periphrasis for 'chosen heroes,' but also suggesting that they were stout and stalwart.

sortiti is used loosely = 'having selected.'

19. **caeco lateri]** Explaining *huc*, and = *in caecum latus*, a use of the dat. of which Virgil is fond, cf. 36 *pelago* = *in pelagus*, 47 *urbi*, 85 *demisere neci*, 186 *caelo educere* 'heavenwards,' 276 *iaculatus puppibus*, also 398, 553, 688 ; 1. 180 *prospectum pelago* 'seawards,' 226 ; 4. 392 *referunt thalamo*, 600 *undis spargere* ; 5. 233 *ponto*, 451 *caelo*, 691 *morti demitte* ; 6. 126 *descensus Averno*, 297 *Cocyto*.

21. **in conspectu]** Tenedos is about 4 miles from the coast of the Troad.

22. **dives opum]** 'rich in wealth' : for the gen. cf. 1. 14 n.

25. **vento]** abl. of instrument : 'by the aid of the wind,' 'with a favouring breeze.'

26. 'The sound of the spondaic line is effective, as of the lifting of a heavy weight,' Sidgwick.

27. **panduntur portae]** The well-known sign of peace, cf. Hor. Od. 3. 5. 25 *portasque non clausas*, A. P. 199 *apertis otia portis*.

29. **hic...solebant]** These words represent what the Trojans said to one another as they visited the various spots.

31. **pars stupet...et mirantur]** Note the change of construction. *Minervae* is the objective gen. after *donum*—'gift to Minerva.' **innuptae** : 'ever maiden.'

33. **duci...hortatur]** 'urges that it be drawn.' **arce** : the citadel of Troy was called Pergama, and like the Acropolis at Athens would contain the temples of the gods and other sacred objects.

34. **dolo]** Thymoetes was a Trojan, who had a grudge against Priam for putting his wife's son to death to satisfy an oracle.

iam : 'by now,' 'at last.' **sic ferebant** : *fero* is often thus used without an object after words like *ut*, *ita*, *sic* to indicate

the 'set' or 'tendency' of events, wishes, etc., e.g. *ita tempora rei publicae ferre, ut opinio nostra fert, si fert ita corde voluntas*: cf. 94 n.

37. *subjectisque*] Three courses are suggested: (1) to hurl the horse into the sea, (2) to burn it, (3) to examine it. Of these the first two are similar, both involving the horse's destruction: hence Virgil couples them with *que*, the real alternative between either (1) or (2) and (3) being marked by *aut...aut*.

39. *scinditur...*] The 'opposite sides' are the opposite views of Thymoetes and Capys.

40—56. *Laocoon warns us that it is some treacherous device of the Greeks, and would have driven us to examine it had not our evil destiny prevailed.*

42. *et procul*] 'and from afar (he cries).' For the omission of the verb cf. 287 *ille nihil*, 547 *cui Pyrrhus*.

44. *sic notus Ulixes?*] 'is this your knowledge of Ulysses?' Ulysses is mentioned as the accepted type of Greek cunning—*πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς*.

47. *inspectura...*] Laocoon regards the horse as an 'engine of war' (*machina*) which was intended, like the Roman *turris* (see Dict. Ant.), to 'spy out their dwellings and fall upon the city from above,' *i.e.* to be used as a post of observation and for the discharge of missiles on the defenders of the walls.

49. *et*] 'even.' The gifts of foes were proverbially fatal, cf. Soph. Aj. 664

*ἀλλ' ἐστ' ἀληθὴς ἡ βροτῶν παροιμία,
ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοῦκ ὀνήσιμα.*

So Hector was lashed to the chariot of Achilles by the girdle which Ajax gave him, while Ajax slew himself with Hector's sword: Dido kills herself with the sword given her by Aeneas 4. 647.

51. *in latus inque...*] 'against the flank and against the belly of the beast with its curving timbers.' Observe the nervous force of the repeated pronoun. When it is thus repeated a copula is not needed (cf. 358 *per tela per hostes*) and is unusual: the addition of it may be partly for metrical convenience, but it also adds a certain vehemence to the style, cf. 337 *in flammis et in arma feror*; 1. 537; 2. 364 *perque domos...perque vias*; 4. 671 n.; 5. 859 *cum puppis parte...cumque gubernaculo*.

52. *stetit...*] 'it (the spear) stuck quivering.'

recusso needs explanation. Editors slur it over as practically = *repercusso*. This is wrong for two reasons. (1) The

ancients understood what an echo was, viz. 'the striking back' of a sound which has struck some resisting substance (cf. G. 4. 50 *vocisque offensa resultat imago*): therefore *vox repercussa* is good sense and good Latin, but *saxum repercussum*, *uter repercussus* are not. (2) It is not of an 'echo' in its strict sense that Virgil is speaking: *repercussus* expresses the striking back of sound from the surface of the object struck, but what is described here is the exact opposite, the roll or reverberation of sound set up *inside* the object struck, as every word in the next line shows—*insonuere, cavae, gemitum, cavernae*. The womb is described as 'struck back' by the spear with the effect of making the interior reverberate: the same effect would be produced by hammering on the door of a large hall. Kennedy rightly renders 'and by the reverberation of the womb the caverns sounded hollow.'

53. *cavae cavernae*] The repetition of sound is intentional. Cf. Ps. xlii. 7 'Deep calleth unto deep.'

54. *si fata...*] Sound and sense point out that *non laeva fuissent* must be mentally supplied with the first clause—'if heaven's destiny, if our mind had not been perverse': no English word fully represents *laevus*, which as applied to destiny means 'unfavourable,' 'misleading,' as applied to human judgment 'foolish,' 'misled.'

Conington says that *non laeva* go strictly together, and that to *fata* only *fuissent* is to be supplied—'had fate so willed, had our mind been wise,' but *si fata fuissent* cannot mean 'had fate so willed,' and 433, which he compares, is quite different.

55. *inpulerat*] 'he had surely driven us.' The indicative in the apodosis of a conditional sentence is more vivid and picturesque than the subjunctive: it puts what would have happened before the reader with more reality and force: cf. 6. 358 *iam tenebam...ni gens...invasisset*; Hor. Od. 2. 17. 28 *sustulerat...nisi Faunus ictum...levasset*; 3. 16. 3.

56. The MSS. vary between *staret* and *stares*, *maneret* and *maneres*, but the reading of the text has good authority, and seems in itself preferable, because it avoids the awkward sound of *staret...maneret* or *stares...maneres*, and also because the change from simple narrative (*Troia staret*) to direct address (*arx alta, maneres*) is pathetic and effective.

Staret...maneres are not parallel to *inpulerat* but subordinate: 'he had surely urged...and (then, in that case) Troy would still be standing and, thou, O...'

57—76. *Some shepherds bring in a Greek who has purposely allowed himself to be made prisoner: we, pitying his feigned distress, ask his story.*

57. *manus revinctum*] 'having his hands bound behind him.' For the construction of *manus*, see Appendix.

60. *hoc...*] 'that he might compass this very thing and open Troy to the Greeks.' *Struere* is commonly used with such words as *insidias*, *crimina*, *pericula* in the sense of 'fabricate,' 'devise.' Editors say '*hoc ipsum*, i.e. that he might be brought before the king,' but surely the words are explained by the second half of the line: the 'very thing' which Sinon was plotting was 'to open Troy to the Greeks'; his being brought before the king was merely incidental.

61. *fidens animi*] 'confident in spirit'; for the locative *animi* cf. 4. 203 n.

62. *versare dolos*] lit. 'to keep wiles turning'—'to practise shifts and wiles.'

64. *certant inludere*] *Certare* 'to contend' is allowed to take an infinitive as if it were a verb expressing 'wish' or 'desire,' because it means 'am emulous and eager to,' 'strive emulously to.' The infinitive is so convenient a form, and the final dactyl or trochee which it affords so useful metrically, that the poets continually employ it where it would be impermissible in prose, to extend, complete, or fully explain ('Prolative,' 'Complementary,' or 'Epexegetic' Inf.) the meaning of a verb. The following instances occur in this book, 55 *inpulerat foedare*, 105 *ardemus scitari*, 165 *adgressi avellere*, 220 *tendit divellere*, 239 *contingere gaudent*, 316 *glomerare ardent*, 451 *instaurati animi succurrere*, 520 *inpulit cingi*, 627 *instant eruere*, and see 10 n.

Cf. also 1. 10 *adire inpulerit*, 158 *contendunt petere*, 357 *suadet celerare*, 423 *instant ardentis ducere*, 514 *coniungere ardebant*; 3. 31 *convellere insequor*, 42 *parce scelerare*, 451 *curat revocare*; 4. 238 *parere parabant*, 281 *ardet abire*, 443, 575 *festinare instimulet*; 5. 21 *obniti sufficimus*, 69 *fidit committere*, 155 *tendunt superare*, 194 *vincere certo*; 6. 178 *congerere certant*, 198 *tendere pergant*, 696 *tendere adegit*.

iuventus...ruit, certantque: the change to the plural verb is natural and necessary: the whole body rushes up and they (its separate members) vie with one another in mocking...

66. *omnes*] sc. *Danaos*: 'from one charge (i.e. from the charge which I shall bring against one Greek) learn to know them all.'

67. *namque*] The Gk. $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ introducing a narrative: it may be omitted in English.

68. *circumspexit*] The heavy spondaic ending may be intended to suggest the slow and weary way in which he hopelessly scanned the hostile ranks. Cf. 5. 320 *intervallo*, to

suggest size. In 3. 549 *antennarum* and 8. 167 *intertextam* the ending seems merely introduced for the sake of variety.

69. *nunc...iam...denique*] Observe the emphasis.

72. *poenas cum sanguine poscunt*] 'cry for vengeance and my life,' lit. 'demand vengeance along with my blood': in 366 *dant sanguine poenas*, *sanguine* is the instrumental abl.

74. *hortamur fari...*] 'we urge him to speak, of what stock he is or what his purpose, let him answer, what is his reliance as a prisoner.' From *quo sanguine* we have the words of the Trojans in oblique narration, 'Of what race are you? What is your object? Answer! What do you rely on?' The disjointed form of the sentence is intentional and dramatic.

Editors, not seeing this and puzzled by *memoret* thrown in between the interrogative clauses, either place a colon after *fari* and render—'We bid him speak: let him say of what race he is...', or, thinking the position of *memoret* in that case very harsh, put a comma after *fari* and a colon after *ferat*—'We bid him say of what race he is....; let him tell us what he relies on.'

77—104. *Sinon's tale.* He had come to Troy as a companion and relative of Palamedes: when Ulysses had compassed Palamedes' death, he had openly exhibited his anger and so himself incurred the hatred of Ulysses, who endeavours to destroy him—but why go on, he asks, if they hate all Greeks: let them kill him and so gratify Ulysses and the Atridae.

77—80. Observe Sinon's ostentatious profession of honesty. Cf. Hamlet, act 3 sc. 2. 240, 'The lady doth protest too much, methinks': The Pickwick Papers, c. 33 p. 361, 1st ed. 'My Lord and Jury,' said Mrs. Cluppins, 'I will not deceive you.'

77. *fuerit quodcumque*] 'whatever shall have come of it,' 'whatever the result.' When an event is spoken of as likely to happen *after* some event which is itself future, the future-perfect is used in Latin, as here, 'I will confess, whatever shall (as the result of my confession) have happened.'

Some take *cuncta quodcumque* by a natural looseness = 'everything which' and *fuerit* as a perf. subj. 'I will confess everything, whatever has taken place,' but the subjunctive seems strange.

80. *vanum*] one who is deceived himself; *mendacem*: one who desires to deceive others.—Henry. *inproba*: cf. 356 n.

81. *fando aliquod...*] 'if in talk any name of Palamedes,' i.e. any such name as Palamedes. Notice the artful diffidence of *si forte* and *aliquod*.

82. *Belidae*] Belus was father of Danaus, one of whose daughters was Amymone, whose son was Nauplius the father of Palamedes (but see Heyne's Ex.). From *Belus* the patronymic should be *Belides*, but Virgil lengthens the penultimate as if it were from a noun in *eus*, e.g. *Tydidēs* from *Tydeus*.

83. *falsa sub prodicione*] 'on a false information.' The phrase is formed on the analogy of *sub crimine*='on (lit. 'under') the charge.' The *falsa proditio* consisted in 'fraudulently bringing forward' a letter of Priam which Ulysses had himself hidden in the tent of Palamedes: on this false charge he was condemned as a traitor (*proditor*), but *falsa proditio* cannot mean 'a false charge of treachery' as some take it.

84. *insontem infando indicio*] Observe the indignant hammerlike emphasis of the repeated *in*, combined as it is with a double elision. *quia bella vetabat* gives the *real* reason for persecuting him; if it were the reason *they assigned* we should have *vetaret*.

85. Note the two contrasted clauses put side by side without any conjunction by a frequent Latin idiom: in Gk. we should have τότε μὲν...νῦν δέ. *cassum lumine*: 'bereft of light,' i.e. dead, cf. 11. 104 *aethere cassis*.

Render: 'innocent, infamously betrayed the Greeks did to death, (but) now when dead lament.'

86. *illi*] The pronoun emphatically marks the commencement of the apodosis after the long protasis—'as *his* comrade and akin in blood my father sent me hither.'

87. *pauper in arma*] The words are designedly placed together: the father's poverty compelled him to send his son to seek his fortune as a soldier in early youth.

88. *stabat*] The nom. is Palamedes, the person with whom the entire preceding sentence is concerned. *regno* here rather 'royalty' than 'kingdom'—'while he stood safe in his princely place and was powerful in the counsels of princes, I too....'

90. *pellax*] First occurs here in Latin and is a very strong word: it describes one who lures (*pellicit*) another on to crime. It is from an old word *lacio*: '*lakit decipiendo inducit, lax etenim fraus est,*' Festus. It is the Homeric πολύμητις, ποικιλομήτης maliciously translated.

91. *superis ab oris*] 'from this world above,' lit. 'from the upper coasts.' The idea of *orae* is that of a dividing line which separates the world above from the world below; cf. Lucr. 1. 22 *in luminis oras* 'into the borders of light.'

92. 'Crushed I dragged on life in gloom and grief.'

93. *mecum indignabar...nec tacui*] Observe the change of tense marking the sudden outbreak—'I kept in my heart brooding wrathfully over...and then I broke silence.'

94. *fors...Argos*] The pluperfects are due to oblique narration, cf. 189; 3. 652 n.: his words would be 'I, if fortune shall ever have given me opportunity, if ever I shall have returned...'

tulisset is used almost absolutely = 'offer'; what 'chance offers' is of course 'the chance required,' cf. Cic. ad Att. 7. 14 ad fin. *Sed haec, ut fors tulerit* 'But (I will deal with) these matters, as chance shall offer.' The assonance of *fors* and *ferre* (cf. 5. 710) probably started the phrase.

97. *hinc*] 'hence': the word may mean 'from this time' or 'from this cause,' and Virgil takes advantage of its double meaning.

prima mali labes: cf. Il. 11. 604 *κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή*. The manner in which Virgil varies the ordinary phrase 'beginning of trouble' deserves notice. *Labes* is = 'a slipping,' 'falling down,' the commencement of a downward career—hence 'the first slip towards destruction.'

98. *terrere*] Historic inf. = 'kept terrifying,' cf. 3. 141 n.

hinc spargere...ambiguas: a perfect description of the dissemination of slander. *Spargere* describes both a 'scattering' which seems to be haphazard, and also the 'sowing' of seed which is intended to bring forth a hundredfold: *in vulgum* refers to the ground in which the seed is thrown and where it is sure to germinate: *ambiguas* is used of words which may mean something or nothing, so that the speaker can repudiate them while the hearer is sure to understand their real meaning. Render 'and sow scattered hints among the rabble.' Cf. Par. Lost 5. 703

'Tells the suggested cause and casts between
Ambiguous words and jealousies.'

99. *vulgum*] masc. here only in Virgil, and so once in Caesar and twice in Sallust.

quaerere conscius arma: 'conscious of guilt sought weapons (to destroy me).' The 'weapons' are the natural weapons of Ulysses—guile and treachery. This the sequel shows, and indeed the next line makes it sufficiently clear, 'for neither did he rest until with Calchas for his tool...'

Conington gives 'to seek allies as a conspirator' = *quaerere arma consciorum*. This is a strained explanation and also destroys the force of *consciis* which gives the motive of Ulysses'

conduct. Moreover he did not 'seek allies' or '*arma consiorum*'; he needed only a single 'subordinate' whom Virgil expressly names.

101. *sed...*] Notice the skill with which Sinon breaks off just when he has fully roused their curiosity (cf. 105). *Sed... autem* is a conversational phrase, common in Plautus and Terence, and artfully introduced here to give a natural tone to the words. 'But indeed why do I idly retrace this ungrateful tale?'

102. *uno ordine habetis*] 'hold in one rank,' 'deem alike.'

103. *idque audire sat est*] 'and to bear *that* name (the name of Greek) is enough': cf. for this use of *audio* = 'I am called' Hor. Ep. 1. 16. 17 *si curas esse quod audis*, 1. 7. 38 *rexque paterque | audisti*.

The rendering 'and to hear that (*i.e.* that I am a Greek)' seems tame.

'*iamdudum... = sumite poenas iamdudum sumendas*,' Wagner. *Iamdudum*, which refers to past time, when joined to the imperative, which refers to future time, forms a combination as forcible as it is illogical; it emphasises the command with a reproach—'Take your vengeance, ye should have taken it long since!' Cf. Ov. Met. 11. 482 *ardua iamdudum demittite cornua* = 'Lower your sails and look sharp about it'; Met. 13. 457.

104. For the thought cf. Il. 1. 255 *ἢ κεν γηθήσαι Πριάμοις Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες*; 2 Sam. i. 20.

105—144. *Urged to continue his tale, he relates that the Greeks had long desired to return home but had been detained by evil omens, until an oracle declared that the sacrifice of a human life was needed to appease the gods: by the devices of Ulysses he had been selected as the victim, but had succeeded in escaping when already at the altar.*

105. *ardemus scitari*] 'we burn (with eagerness) to enquire,' cf. 64 n.

108. *saepe...saepe* (110)] Notice this simple and vigorous method of connecting clauses by a repeated word: 'Often the Greeks desired...often the wild winter of the sea prevented them.' In prose this would be 'As often as they desired...a storm prevented them.' Cf. 116 *sanguine...sanguine*.

112. *trabibus contextus acernis*] For the metaphor in *contextunt* cf. 16 n. In 16 Virgil talks of 'planks of *pine*,' here of 'beams of *maple*,' and 186 of 'woven *oak*-timbers.' Sidgwick calls this 'a natural poetic variation': as a matter of fact it is a curious illustration of Virgil's *art*. He prefers the

particular to the general, and therefore prefers to name some particular tree rather than to speak simply of wood, but he also loves variety (cf. the names for Greeks *Danai*, *Achivi*, *Pelasgi*, *Grai*), and is consequently led to this artificial and unnatural method of giving three different names to the same wood. The difficulty he labours under in endeavouring to lend a poetical character to his description of the horse is also shown by his using the same metaphor (*intexunt*, *contextus*, *textis*) in all three passages.

114. *scitatum...mittimus*] 'we send E. to consult.' For the supine many MSS. have the part. *scitantem*. Either construction is good Latin, cf. Livy 5. 15 *missi sciscitatum oratores*, 21. 6 *legati...Romam missi auxilium orantes*.

The great oracle of Phoebus was at Delphi, but he had also oracles at Delos, Patara, and other places.

116. *virgine*] Iphigeneia daughter of Agamemnon sacrificed at Aulis to appease Artemis, who detained the expedition there with contrary winds.

118. *quaerendi*] 'must be won'; cf. *quaestus* = 'gain.'

119. *Argolica*] Very emphatic by position at the end of the sentence and the beginning of a line. It is the thought that an *Argive* life must be sacrificed which terrifies them.

121. *tremor cui fata parent*] *Cui parent* is oblique question loosely dependent on *tremor*: they shivered as they asked themselves 'for whom fate prepares (this doom),' or, perhaps better, 'for whom they are to prepare doom.'

122. *magno tumultu*] 'amid mighty uproar.'

123. *quæ sint...*] 'demands what that heavenly intimation means (lit. is).' The oracle is the expression of 'divine purpose' (*numina divom*), but the seer is needed to interpret it.

124. *et mihi iam...*] 'and against me already many were divining the schemer's cruel crime, and silently foreseeing the future.'

The sentence is hard. Conington, who makes *mihi...canebant* = 'warned me' has to explain *taciti* of 'private whispering for fear of Ulysses.' Sidgwick gives 'and others in silence,' and it is just possible that *multi* may be supplied in the second clause; cf. Livy 23. 19 *et praecipitasse se quosdam...constabat, et stare inermes in muris nuda corpora ad ictus telorum praebentes*.

It seems simplest to take *mihi* as a pure ethic dative of the person affected: they saw against whom the device of Ulysses was directed. *Canere*, which is commonly used of delivering

an oracle (cf. 3. 155 n.), here describes the prophetic foreboding which they felt but did not utter, as the next words show.

126. *tectus*] Both literally and metaphorically: 'shut up in his tent,' and 'concealing his thoughts.'

129. *rumpit vocem*] 'breaks silence,' lit. 'makes an utterance break forth,' cf. 3. 246 and in Greek *ρήγνυναι φωνήν*.

130. *quae...tulere*] 'the ills each feared for himself they saw with patience turned to one unhappy man's destruction.' The sentence is bitterly sarcastic: we all endure the ills of others easily, but we do so with especial ease when their suffering brings relief to ourselves. For the construction of *conversa tulere*, cf. 1. 385 *querentem passa*.

Others take *conversa tulere* as = *converterunt et tulerunt* 'turned and heaped,' but (1) some word like *mala* must be supplied and *mala ferre* can only mean 'bear evils' and *mala conversa...ferre* 'to see with patience evils turned...,' (2) *converterunt et tulerunt* would describe very vigorous action, whereas the people do not act but merely cheerfully acquiesce in what is done by Ulysses, (3) the whole sneer of the sentence is sacrificed.

132. *sacra*] Defined in the next line.

133. *salsae fruges*] A little meal mixed with salt (*mola salsa*) was sprinkled on the head of the victim just before sacrifice.

135. *limosoque...*] Virgil probably thought of Marius taking refuge in the marshes of Minturnae B.C. 88.

136. *dum vela...dedissent*] These words give in *oratio obliqua* the thought which was in Sinon's mind when he hid himself: he would say to himself 'I will lie hid until they set sail (*dum vela dent*) if haply they shall have set sail (*si forte dederint*),' and the use of the fut. perf. *dederint* is that explained 79 n. = 'if haply after waiting I shall find that they have set sail.' After the past tense *delitui*, *dent* passes into *darent* and *dederint* into *dedissent*.

Kennedy and Heyne punctuate *dum vela*, *darent si forte*, *dedissent*, but the natural order of the words is against this, and Virgil uses *si forte* with a plup. subj. again 756, and cf. 94.

139. *quos...*] 'from whom perchance too they will claim punishment as due (*re-*) for my flight.' Verbs of 'asking,' 'claiming' etc. take a double acc. after them. *fors et* is a common combination, and is probably rightly explained by Conington as an archaism, *fors et reposcent* 'there is a chance and they will claim' being = 'there is a chance that they

will claim': otherwise *et* might be taken = 'even'—'they will even claim.' Cf. 5. 232 *fors...cepissent*; 11. 50 *fors et vota facit*; Hor. Od. 1. 28. 31 *fors et debita iura...te maneant*.

140. *hanc*] 'this of mine.'

141. *quod*] 'as to which thing,' 'wherefore': this use of *quod* is common in adjurations; cf. 6. 363.

conscia...: 'the powers that know the truth' and therefore punish lies.

142. *per, si qua est, quæ restet...*] 'by (pledge) if any pledge there be such as still remains anywhere among men inviolable.'

The accusative after *per* is the whole clause *si qua...fides*, cf. 6. 459 *per sidera iuro, | per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub ima est*, where the clause *si qua...est* is exactly parallel to *sidera* and *superos*, and in Greek, Soph. Phil. 469 *πρὸς δ' εἴ τί σοι κατ' οἰκὸν ἐστὶ προσφιλές*. *fides* = *ἕρκος*.

Simon's words express a despairing doubt whether there is any pledge left which men think too sacred to violate; hence the subj. *restet* (cf. the use of the subj. after *nemo est qui, nihil est quod*), whereas *restat*, which Conington reads with poor authority, would imply that there does actually exist such a pledge.

144. *animi...*] 'a soul that bears sorrow undeserved.'

145—198. *We pity him, and Priam orders his chains to be removed and questions him about the horse. He protests that he may reveal the secret without being a traitor seeing, that the Greeks had sought his life. He then explains that the wrath of Pallas had been aroused by the crime of Diomedes and Ulysses in carrying off the Palladium, and that the horse was intended as an offering to the goddess in its stead, but that it had been made of such great size that the Trojans might not be able to bring it into the city, for that if they brought it uninjured to the temple of the goddess then the victory of Troy over Greece was assured. We believe him, to our ruin.*

145. *ultro*] This word, which is connected with *ultra*, is used of acts which are purely voluntary, which go *beyond* what might be expected. Here they not only 'grant life to his tears' but go farther and actively shew 'pity' for him. Cf. 193 n.; also 279, 372, 4. 304 where *ultro compellare* is to address a person without waiting for him to address you; 3. 155 *ultro mittit* 'he sends without waiting for you to come to him'; 5. 55 *ultro adsumus* 'we are here beyond what we could expect'; 5. 446 *ultro concidit* of a boxer who misses his aim and so literally goes farther than he expected; 6. 387.

146. *viro*] Ethic dative. This dative of *vir* really supplies the place of a pronominal adjective of the third person—'bids his handcuffs be removed.'

148. *amissos...*] 'from now henceforth forget the Greeks thou hast lost,' *i.e.* who by their acts are no longer thy countrymen.

150. *quo...*] 'to what end have they built this huge and monstrous horse?'

151. *quae religio*] 'what sacred offering is it?'

153. *exutas vinclis*] Observe the skill of this touch: Sinon with blackest treachery lifts his 'unbound' hands to heaven in order to deceive the very man who had 'unbound' them.

154. *ignes*] *i.e.* the heavenly bodies.

155. *numen*] 'power,' 'majesty.'

157. *fas...iura*] Usually *fas* = 'divine law,' *ius* = 'human law'; so here Sinon asserts that a higher and divine law empowers him to 'break the solemn oath of the Greeks,' *i.e.* which he had sworn to the Greeks. In using the phrase *sacrata iura* Virgil is clearly thinking of *sacramentum*, 'the military oath': *iura* are the rights or claims which an oath (*iusiurandum*) imposes. Perhaps *Gr. sacr. iura* as opposed to *patriae leges* (159) represent the duties of a *soldier* in contrast to those of a *citizen*.

158. *ferre sub auras*] 'divulge,' 'openly proclaim': so Hor. Od. 1. 18. 13 has *sub divum rapiam* of 'disclosing' sacred mysteries.

159. *si qua tegunt*] 'whate'er their secret purpose.'

160. *promissis maneas*] So commonly *stare iureiurando, opinione, iudicii* etc., the abl. being probably local. We say 'abide by (not 'in') thy promise.'

servataque serves: 'preserve faith with thy preserver,' Conington.

162. *coepti fiducia belli*] 'confidence in beginning the war,' cf. 643 n.

163. *Palladis...*] 'by Pallas' aid ever stood (firm).' Note that *Palladis* is emphatic, and in position exactly parallel to *Palladium* 166. *Sto* is a very strong word in Latin and is = 'stand firm,' 'fixed,' 'immovable,' cf. G. 4. 208 *stat Fortuna domus*, Hor. Od. 3. 3. 42 *stet Capitolium*: it is here also emphatic by position. *Auxiliis* is instrumental ablative.

ex quo...ex illo (169). Note the very clear definition of time, 'from the day when...from that very day.'

164. *sed enim*] 'but indeed.' For this elliptical phrase cf. 1. 19 n. Fully expressed the thought here would be 'it ever stood, *but* (there came a change) *for*...'

166. *Palladium*] This seems to have been a peculiarly sacred image of *Pallas*, with the preservation of which the safety of Troy was linked by fate (*fatale*). The figure did not represent the goddess, as she is usually represented (*e.g.* 175) armed with helmet and spear and shield, but wearing 'maiden fillets' (168) as a sign of her perpetual virginity.

summae arcis] *i.e.* the acropolis, on which was the temple.

168. *virgineas vittas*] The fillet worn by maidens differed from that of matrons. The adj. also suggests 'purity' and so a contrast with the pollution of 'blood-stained hands.' *Contingere* is = 'touch,' 'handle,' with the implied sense of 'defile,' cf. our word 'contagion,' and for the sense 718, and Is. lix. 3 'your hands are defiled with blood.'

169. *ex illo*...] 'thenceforth the hope of the Greeks (began) to ebb and stealing backward to depart: their strength was crushed, the goddess wroth.' *fluere*: historic inf., cf. 3. 141 n.

The metaphor in *fluere*... is from the ebbing of the tide. Notice how language and rhythm describe the slow, silent, imperceptible character of the process, and then contrast the harsh abruptness of *fractae vires, aversa deae mens*: the tide of fortune ebbs slowly and unperceived and then comes the sudden shock of surprise. For *fluere* cf. Soph. El. 1000 *δαίμων | ἡμῶν ἀπορρέϊ*.

171. *nec dubiis*] 'and with no doubtful portents Tritonia gave signs thereof (*i.e.* of her anger).'

172. *vix positum (erat)...arsere*] 'scarce was the image placed...there flashed forth.'

The poets are very fond of affecting a primitive simplicity of style by which two clauses are simply placed side by side or united by 'and,' where the second clause would usually be made dependent on the first and joined to it by a temporal conj. such as 'when.' So here we should expect 'scarce was the image placed...when there flashed forth.' Cf. 692 *vix ea fatus erat...subitoque fragore | intonuit* 'scarce had he spoken...when it thundered'; 3. 8 n., 90 *vix...fatus eram...visa (sunt)*; 5. 857 *vix laxaverat...et proiecit*.

173. *salsus*] Sweat is naturally salt: the epithet is added here to give a sense of reality. The sweating of images was a frequent prodigy, see Dict. s. v. *sudo*: *artus* are of course the limbs of the image.

175. *emicuit*] 'flashed forth,' the apparition suddenly appearing like lightning and then disappearing. *tremementem*: 'quivering.'

For the figure of Pallas see any illustrated Class. Dict.

176. *temptanda*] because of the *hazards* of the deep. *canit*: 'proclaims,' cf. 3. 155 n.

177. *nec posse...*] 'and that Pergamus cannot...'; oblique narration.

178. *omina ni...*] It was the custom of Roman generals, if anything 'unlucky' occurred on an expedition, to return to Rome and 'seek fresh auspices (*auspicia repetere*).' Livy 8. 30. 2.

numen: the Palladium, which, Sinon remarks, 'they have now carried away with them.' He pretends that the Greeks were required to commence their expedition again with entirely fresh and favourable auspices, in order that the presence of the Palladium, which now brought them woe owing to its pollution (167), might after they had thus purified themselves be 'conducted back' auspiciously and exercise its mysterious influence for weal instead of woe.

Editors perplex the passage, *e. g.* Conington, who explains 'and bring back that favour of heaven which they brought away with them from Greece to Troy at the beginning of the expedition.' How are the words 'from Greece to Troy' and 'at the beginning of the expedition' to be got from the text, and if the words belong to Calchas, why *avexere*, not *avexerint*!

179. *quod...avexere*] Not subj. because the words are an explanatory remark of Sinon's. So too we have Sinon's words 180-188, but 189-194 the words of Calchas in *oratio obliqua*.

180. *quod...petiere*] 'as to the fact that they have sought,' 'whereas they have sought.' This use of *quod* is very common in letter-writing, *e.g.* Cic. Fam. 1. 7 *quod scribis te velle...* 'as to the wish you express....' P. Sch. Lat. Gr. § 103. 2.

181. *arma...*] 'they are procuring (fresh) forces and gods to accompany them.' The gods are supposed to have deserted them and they must therefore return home and induce them again to join the expedition.

182. *digerit*] 'arranges' *i.e.* explains. Omens are an expression of the will of the gods, but to the ignorant seem confused and confusing: the seer sees their plan and purpose and places by the side of each sign the thing signified, thus 'arranging the omens.'

183. **hanc**] Deictic and emphatic. The connection between this *hanc* and *hanc tamen* (185) is marked, and *immensam molem* is rather in apposition to the second *hanc* than in agreement with it. 'This image at his warning they reared... to expiate their fatal sacrilege; yet, see you, he bade them rear it a monster immeasurable....'

188. **populum...**] 'protect the people under (the shelter of) their ancient worship.' The horse was sent *pro Palladio* and if duly welcomed and worshipped would afford the same protection as the Palladium.

189. **nam...**] Note oblique speech. *Minervae*: objective gen., cf. 31 n.

190. **quod...**] 'and may heaven rather direct that (evil) augury upon its author,' *i.e.* Calchas.

192. **vestris vestram**] Repetition to emphasise the necessity of their doing it *themselves*.

193. **ultro**] See 145 n. Asia would not be content with defending itself against the Greeks, but would go farther and actually carry an offensive war into Greece.

194. **ea fata**] *i.e.* the fate of being attacked by the Trojans. **nostros**: *i.e.* of us the Greeks—'that such destiny awaited our descendants.'

196. **coactis**] A word specially used of 'forced,' 'false,' 'unreal tears,' *e.g.* Ov. Am. 1. 8. 83 *discant oculi lacrimare coacti*.

197, 198. The strong simplicity of these two lines deserves attention. Note the effect of the stately epithet *Larissaeus*, also of the change from the ordinary particles *neque...neque* to the less usual and more rhetorical *non...non*.

For the 'thousand ships' cf. Aesch. Ag. 45 *στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοαύταν*.

199—249. *Laocoon was at this moment sacrificing a bull when lo! two huge snakes are seen cleaving the deep from Tenedos. They reach land and make straight for Laocoon and enfold first his two sons then himself in their deadly coils, then they make for the temple of Pallas and disappear beneath the image of the goddess. We regard this as a clear sign of her wrath against Laocoon for hurling his spear against the horse, and immediately make a breach in the walls and drag it into the city and the citadel—alas for our unhappy land!—amid joy and festivity.*

199. **aliud maius...**] 'another portent greater and more terrible.'

The well-known group of statuary representing the death of Laocoon and his sons was discovered A. D. 1506 near the baths of Titus on the Esquiline hill, and is now in the Vatican.

201. *ductus sorte*] 'drawn by lot,' *i.e.* chosen by lot. According to some he was a priest of Apollo appointed by lot to perform this special sacrifice, but the point is obscure and trivial.

203. *ecce...*] Be careful in translating to retain the dramatic order of the Latin: 'But lo! from Tenedos over the peaceful deep—I shudder while I tell the tale—with huge coils two snakes are seen breasting the sea and side by side making for the shore.'

Any old picture of the sea-serpent will well illustrate Virgil here.

206. *iubae*] A traditional adornment of serpents, which Milton accepts, describing them (Par. Lost 7. 496) as 'with brazen eyes | and hairy mane terrific.'

207. *pars cetera...*] 'the rest behind them skims the sea, and in rolling folds they writhe their monstrous backs.' For *legit* cf. 3. 127 n.

209. *sonitus spumante salo*] Imitative alliteration.

210. *oculos suffecti*] 'having their eyes suffused'; see Appendix.

212. *agmine certo*] 'with unswerving advance.' *Agmen* has two senses: (1) 'an army on the march,' (2) 'march,' 'advance': here Virgil takes advantage of this double meaning and describes the 'advance' of the serpents by a word which also compares them with an 'army on the march' as it moves in a long, winding, glittering line. Cf. 782 *leni fluit agmine Thybris*; 5. 90.

216. *auxilio*] 'for an assistance,' *i.e.* to help: dat. of Purpose. The force of *sub* in *subeuntem* is the same as in *succurrere*, *subsidium*: it conveys the idea of *support*, cf. 467.

218. *bis...*] 'twice encircling his waist, twice flinging round his neck their scaly backs they tower above him with....' *Circum* and *dati* are separated by Tmesis, and *terga circum-dati*, which is exactly parallel to *amplexi medium*, is a good illustration of the *middle* use of the pass. part., for which see Appendix.

220. *ille*] Notice how the change of subject is at once marked by the prominent position of the pronoun. *tendit divellere*: 'strains' or 'struggles to tear asunder.'

223. *qualis mugitus*] *sc. est.* 'As is the bellowing when

a wounded bull has fled from the altar and dashed from its neck the ill-aimed axe.' The simile may be suggested by the fact that Laocoon was engaged at the time in sacrificing a bull, 202: moreover the bellowing and struggling of a victim at the altar were ominous of disaster.

225. *lapsu*] Ablative of manner; 'with gliding escape,' 'glide away and escape,' cf. 323 n. *delubra summa*=, as the next line shows, the temples on the acropolis.

227. 'It is worthy of remark that the statues of Pallas were often represented with serpents at the base, and we find them on tiles and vases associated with the goddess.'—Howson.

teguntur: 'conceal themselves.'

229. *insinuat*] 'creeps.' Virgil uses many transitive verbs as intransitive, cf. 94 *tulisset*, 235 *accingunt*; 1. 104 *avertit*, 402 *avertens*; 3. 607 *volutans*; 5. 227 *ingeminat*.

scelus expendisse: a contracted phrase='had paid (the penalty of) crime'; cf. 11. 258 *scelerum poenas expendimus omnes*. *merentem* is emphatic, 'deservedly, seeing that he outraged...' The connection of thought is also marked in *scelus* and *sceleratam*.

230. *qui...laeserit*] For *qui* causal cf. 248.

231. *tergo*] But cf. 51 where it is the 'side,' 'belly,' 'womb,' that is struck: *tergum* seems often used like *tergus*='skin,' 'hide' (1. 368, cf. 1. 211), and so here for any part of the framework of the horse's body.

233. The Aeneid was left unfinished. It is said by Donatus in his Life of Virgil that in consequence the poet on his deathbed desired that it should be burnt, but ultimately left it in the hands of Varius and Tucca to edit '*ea condicione, ne quid adderent quod a se editum non esset, et versus etiam imperfectos, si qui erant, relinquerent.*' Such 'imperfect verses' are common in this book, see 346, 468, 614, 640, 720, 767; for such a noble fragment as 623 Virgil may well have dreaded any addition, while the traditional completion of 787 *et tua coniunx* is worthy to be original.

234. *dividimus...*] The *muri* which they divide are the city walls, and the *moenia* which are 'laid bare' are the 'buildings' within (cf. 298, 328; 4. 75 *media per moenia* 'through the city'; 6. 549 *moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro*). Some render 'and so lay open the fortifications' (*moenia* from *munio*), but it is clear that the *murus* here surrounds and protects the *moenia* which are inside it and so cannot be 'fortifications.'

At 242 reference is made to 'the gate' at which the horse enters. There is no inconsistency; in ancient towns the gate was merely an opening in the lower part of the wall, and it would be natural to 'divide the wall' at a point where there was a gate.

235. *rotarum lapsus*] 'smooth-gliding wheels.' Cf. 4. 88 and Soph. El. 718 *τροχῶν βάσεις*.

237. *intendunt*] The word is not used loosely for 'fasten on,' 'throw over,' but rather describes the 'drawing taut' of a rope so placed when they begin to haul up the horse—'draw taut upon its neck the hempen bands.'

238. *pueri...puellae*] 'Young men and maidens' (Ps. cxlviii. 12) continually occupy a prominent position in religious festivities: cf. Hor. Carm. Sec. 6 *virgines lectas puerosque castos*.

239. *sacra...*] 'chant holy hymns, and delight to lay their hands upon the rope.' Virgil is probably thinking of the practice of noble youths laying their hands on the traces of the cars (*tensae*) on which the images of the gods were carried at Rome. For *contingere gaudent* cf. 64 n.; *gaudent* is='are joyfully eager to.'

Notice how throughout Virgil dwells on the joy and delight of the Trojans: the 'irony' of such situations was especially appreciated by the ancients.

241. *o patria...*] Note the pathos of this outburst.

242. *quater...*] 'four times on the very threshold of the gate it stuck, and four times in its womb weapons clashed.' To trip upon the threshold was in itself ominous (for which reason brides were lifted over it), but in this case the sudden jerk also made the weapons of the armed men inside the horse rattle and so give clear warning of evil.

244. *inmemores*] 'unmindful'; *i.e.* not heeding or laying to heart the omen.

246. *fatis...*] 'Cassandra opens her lips with (utterance of) disasters to come—lips by heaven's command never believed by the Trojans.' Having offended Apollo Cassandra was doomed always to prophesy truly and never to be believed.

247. *credita*] 'believed': verbs which govern a dat. in the active only take a personal passive, says Munro (Lucr. 2. 156), 'by a license which is altogether rare: Horace has *imperor* and *invidior*; Ovid thus uses *credor* more than once; Virgil has the partic. *creditus*.' Teucris: 'by the Trojans,' dat. of Agent common after past part. pass., cf. 1. 326 n.

248. *miseri, quibus...esset*] The position of *quibus*

connects it with *miseri*: the exclamatory *miseri* is explained and justified by the words which follow—'poor wretches! for that was our last day.' For this *qui* causal (= *quippe qui*) cf. 229, 345 *infelix, qui non...audierit*, 'unhappy, because he did not obey'; 1. 388; 5. 623 *miseræ, quas non...traxerit*; 6. 590 *demens, qui...simularet*.

Others render 'though that was our last day.'

250—267. *At night, while we sleep peacefully, the fleet sails back from Tenedos and the Greeks descend from the horse and open the gates to their comrades.*

250. *vertitur...*] 'meantime the heaven revolves and night rises from the deep.' The heaven is regarded as consisting of two hemispheres, one bright and the other dark, which revolve, causing day and night. Cf. Par. Lost 9. 51 'and now from end to end | night's hemisphere had veil'd th' horizon round.'

ruit Oceano nox: a Homeric rhythm, cf. Od. 5. 294 ὀρώπει δ' οὐρανὸθεν νόξ. For *ruit* of upward movement cf. 6. 539 n.; 10. 257 *ruebat matura iam luce dies*.

251. Note the monotony and heaviness of this line.

252. *fusi per moenia*] Not 'scattered over the walls,' but 'lying at ease throughout the town': *fusus* describes the attitude of one who lies down anyhow, without any care or fear of being disturbed, cf. 1. 214 n.

254. *instructis navibus*] 'with its array of ships.'

255. *tacitæ...*] 'through the friendly silence of the peaceful moon.' Virgil dwells on the 'light' and 'quiet' which make their passage easy, and ignores the danger which attends an attack by moonlight. The moonlight is also mentioned 340, but 250, 360, 397, 420 the darkness is dwelt on. In agricultural writers *luna silenti* is = 'when there is no moon' (cf. Milton, S. A. 87), and some so explain here.

256. *cum...extulerat*] 'when the royal bark had raised aloft a fire signal.'

There are two ways of taking the sentence *et iam...Sinon*:

(1) 'And now the fleet...was moving when [the signal was displayed...and Sinon loosens].'

(2) 'And now the fleet...was moving [when the signal had been given] and Sinon loosens.'

In (1) *extulerat* and *laxat* are parallel to one another and both dependent on *cum*; in (2) *ibat* and *laxat* are parallel and *cum...extulerat* is an ordinary temporal clause.

The second method is perfectly simple and clear: it describes the fleet as starting as soon as the royal vessel had given the signal, and Sinon, for whose benefit also the signal

was intended, as at the same time opening the horse: *laxat* is a graphic present and perfectly parallel to *ibat*.

The first method leaves the pluperfect *extulerat* absolutely unexplained: Sidgwick, following Conington, calls it a momentary pluperfect, 'forthwith uplifted,' but no such pluperfect exists: 'the fleet was moving when suddenly the king raised a signal' can only be *ibat classis cum rex extulit*.

258. *inclusos Danaos et...laxat claustra*] Notice the Zeugma: '(releases) the imprisoned Greeks and...loosens the bars.'

263. *primusque Machaon*] The force of the adj. is not clear, for, if it means that he came out 'first,' why is he mentioned seventh? Nor can it mean 'peerless,' for Machaon was not a notable warrior. It may be an echo of Il. 11. 505 *παῦσεν ἀριστεύοντα Μαχάονα ποιμένα λαῶν*.

265. *somno vinoque sepultam*] Ennius (A. 8) has the fuller phrase *vino domiti somnoque sepulti* 'o'ercome with wine and buried in slumber': and if the order here were *vino somnoque* we might give the same rendering of this passage and say that (by zeugma) *sepultam* is used strictly with *somno* and loosely with *vino*: the order however precludes this, and *somno vinoque* must be taken as an instance of Hendiadys = 'drunken sleep,' cf. 3. 630.

267. *agmina...*] 'unite their confederate bands.'

268—297. *While asleep Hector appeared to me in a vision covered with blood and wounds. Deeply grieved I asked him what had befallen him, but, without answering my question, he urged me to escape from Troy and carry with me its tutelary gods.*

268. Henry compares Spenser, Vision of Bellay, 1

'It was the time when rest, soft sliding down
From heaven's height into men's heavy eyes,
In the forgetfulness of sleep doth drown
The careful thoughts of mortal miseries.'

mortalibus aegris: 'to weary mortals,' cf. Hom. Od. 11. 19 *δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι*. The phrase is sometimes quoted as an instance of Virgil's 'pessimism,' but the epithet here has also a special force: when men are weary and worn out sleep is most welcome and most sound.

272. *raptatus...*] After slaying Hector Achilles fastened him to his chariot and thrice dragged him round the walls of Troy.

aterque...: 'and begrimed with bloody dust.'

273. *perque...*] 'and having thongs passed through his swelling feet'; for *traiectus lora* see Appendix.

tumentes: dead limbs would not thus swell. Virgil seems to have adopted the post-Homeric account that Achilles dragged Hector alive round Troy, cf. l. 483 n.; Soph. Aj. 1029.

274. *mutatus...*] 'changed from that glorious Hector who returns having donned the spoils of Achilles or after hurling.' Hector slew Patroclus, who was wearing the armour of his friend Achilles. It was the constant object of the besieged to set fire to the ships of the Greeks, which were drawn up on the beach and protected by a stockade.

275. *redit*] the present is graphic and vivid; the speaker seems to see Hector 'as he returns.' *Notabis usum Praesentis in re, cuius recens viget in animo memoria*, says Wagner, and though the use here is bold it does not seem to justify Kennedy's remark that 'no instance of historic present is to be compared with it for audacity.' Cf. 663 n.; l. 99.

278. *gerens*] goes back in construction to *qualis erat*, 'Alas how he looked...wearing a ragged beard and his locks matted with gore....' For *vulnera gerens* cf. l. 315 n.

vulnera: *i.e.* the wounds he received while being dragged round the walls: 'wounds inflicted in battle are not to be thought of,' says Conington, 'for in Homer Hector receives scarcely any'; moreover such old scars would rouse not pity but pride.

279. *ultro*] *i.e.* without waiting for him to speak. *flens ipse*: 'weeping myself,' *i.e.* as well as Hector, cf. 271. For heroes weeping cf. l. 459 n.

281. *lux Dardaniae*] So in Greek *φῶς* is commonly applied to persons, cf. also 2 Sam. xxi. 17 where David is called 'the light of Israel,' and St. Luke ii. 32 *φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν*.

283. *expectate*] Probably voc. by attraction for nom.—'from what shore, O Hector, dost thou come long looked for?'

ut: exclamatory='how!' to be taken with *aspicimus*. The particular force of 'how!' must be inferred from the context, viz. 'how gladly'—'how gladly...do our weary eyes behold thee!'

285. *quae causa...*] 'what cruel cause has marred the fairness of thy face?'

Indignus when used of a person suffering means 'undeserving,' but when of the thing suffered 'undeserved' and so 'cruel,' 'shameful.' *Serenus* is usually an epithet of the sky

or the weather, and means 'sunny' with the associated idea of 'calm.'

Virgil strangely makes Aeneas ignorant of Hector's fate.

287. *ille nihil*] 'nought (answered) he, nor heeds my idle question.' For *moratur* cf. 5. 400 *nec dona moror* 'nor care I for gifts,' *moror* being only used in this sense after a negative.

290. *ruit...*] Cf. 603 and Il. 13. 772 ὄλετο πᾶσα κατ' ἄκρης Ἰλιος αἰπεινῆ; the phrase expresses an utter fall, 'from top to bottom.'

291. *sat...*] 'the claims of Priam and thy country are satisfied.' *dextra* : *i.e.* by deeds of valour.

292. *etiam hac*] *Hac* is deictic : 'even by this (of mine) also,' *i.e.* as well as by thine.

294. *his moenia...*] 'for these seek thou a city, a mighty city, which after wandering o'er the sea thou shalt at last establish.' Some place a comma after *quaere* instead of after *magna*.

296. *vittas Vestamque*] A good instance of Hendiadys = '(an image of) Vesta wearing a fillet'; cf. 3. 223 n.

297. *aeternumque...*] The fire that was kept continually burning on the altar of Vesta at Rome was supposed to secure the continual existence of the state, and to have been brought by Aeneas from Troy, the mother city of Rome.

For the connection of Vesta with the Penates cf. 3. 12 n.

298—317. *Moved by the increasing uproar without, I mount the roof of my father's house to view the conflagration, and then, scarce knowing what I do, seize my arms and am preparing to sally forth.*

298. *miscentur moenia luctu*] Virgil is fond of using *misceo* in a peculiar manner, cf. 329, 487; 4. 411 *misceri clamoribus aequor*. Here the city is said to be 'confounded,' because 'confusion reigns in the city'—'throughout the city with manifold cries of agony confusion reigns.'

301. *armorumque...*] 'the alarm of battle rolls onward.'

302. *excitior*] Almost a middle. *fastigia* : this word, which strictly indicates a *gable-roof*, must not be pressed, but taken as simply = 'roof,' cf. 444, 458.

304. *in segetem...*] Note the construction : *adsto veluti (cum in segetem...silvas) stupet...pastor* : 'with ears pricked up I stand, as (when fire falls...or a torrent o'erwhelms...) the unwitting shepherd is dazed as he hears....'

For the simile cf. Hom. Il. 4. 452.

305. **rapidus...torrens]** The whole phrase goes closely together, *montano flumine* being a sort of abl. of quality—'a whirling mountain torrent.'

306. **sternit...sternit]** This vigorous and rhetorical method of joining clauses by repeating an important word has been already referred to (108 n.), but is at once so effective and so useful that the attention of young students may be drawn to the following instances, 325 *fuimus...fuit*; 358 n.; 483 *apparet...apparent*; 499 *vidi...vidi*; 560 *subiit...subiit*.

laeta: a common epithet of crops = 'joyous,' 'bounteous'; cf. Ps. lxxv. 13 'the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they sing.'

labores = 'things produced by labour,' *i.e.* the crops, cf. Ps. cxxviii. 2 'thou shalt eat the labour of thy hands.' Similar words are 5. 359 *artes*, 'works of art'; 1. 455 *manus* 'objects of handiwork'; 6. 683 *manus* 'exploits.'

307. **inscius]** Because he has just been roused by the sound, and is still dazed and ignorant of its cause.

309. **tum vero...]** 'then truly the proof was plain': the warnings of Hector were confirmed by the plain evidence of my senses. *Fides* is here not 'faith,' 'belief,' but 'that which causes faith,' or 'belief'; cf. Soph. El. 887 *τὴν ἰδοῦσα πιστῆν*;

310. **dedit ruinam]** 'has made' or 'caused ruin,' *i.e.* has fallen in ruin; cf. 482 *dedit fenestram*; 6. 76 *finem dedit*; Lucr. 2. 1149 *moenia...dabunt labem putresque ruinas*. The Latin *do* represents two roots, *da* (from which *δίδωμι*) and *dha* (from which *τίθημι*), and Virgil and Lucretius are fond of using it in the sense of 'place,' 'make,' which is still found in compounds, e.g. *abdo* 'I place apart,' *condo* 'I place together,' *v.* Munro Lucr. 4. 41.

311. **superante]** With a double force = 'vanquishing' and also 'towering over.'

312. **Ucalegon]** The name of the owner put for the house. Cf. 3. 275 *Apollo* = 'the temple of Apollo,' 552 *diva Lacinia* = her temple; 5. 498 *Acestes* = the lot with the name of Acestes on it.

314. **nec sat...]** 'nor in (taking) arms is there reason good': *sat rationis* is 'sufficient reason' to justify me in taking them: with *armis* supply *capientis* from *capio*.

315. **glomerare]** Dependent on the sense of 'desire' in *ardent animi*—'my spirit burns to gather together a troop for war.'

316. **furor...]** 'rage and wrath urge on my soul, and I

think how glorious it is to die in battle': lit. 'it occurs to me that it is glorious....'

318—369. *Panthus flying from the citadel meets me and tells me that all is lost and that the Greeks are masters of Troy. His words only add fuel to my wrath and I rush to battle. Some Trojans join me and I exhort them to a last desperate effort. Fierce as famished wolves we fight our way towards the heart of the city through scenes of woe and death.*

318. *Panthūs*] = Πάνθοος, Πάνθους, cf. 322 *Panthū* = Πάνθοος, Πάνθου.

320. *manu...ipse*] 'with his own hand,' cf. 4. 344 n.
limina: i.e. of Anchises' house.

322. *res summa*] Nettleship shows by quotations that *res summa* is an old Latin phrase for the later *res publica*, and explains 'How fares the state?' 'How stands the common weal?', but it seems simpler to take it as = 'the main battle,' and to render either 'How stands' or 'Where is the main battle?'

quam prendimus arcem? cannot mean 'what citadel are we seizing?' It would be ridiculous for Aeneas to ask the flying Panthus such a question, for (1) 'we' is naturally = 'you and I,' and Aeneas and Panthus were not seizing any citadel, or (2), if 'we' be taken as = 'our fellow-countrymen,' Aeneas has no reason for supposing that they were seizing a citadel, for if they had been, Panthus would naturally be with them and not running away.

The phrase is therefore to be rendered 'What place of defence are we to occupy?', the indicative being used vividly for the more customary subjunctive, cf. 3. 88 n.

323. *gemitu*] The abl. used almost adverbially, 'with a groan,' 'groaning.' Cf. 225 *lapsu*, 498 *cumulo* 'in a heap,' 565 *saltu*, 736 *cursu*; 1. 105 *cumulo*, 157 *cursu*, 677 n. *accitu*; 3. 417 *medio, vi*; 5. 450 *studiis* 'eagerly.'

324. *ineluctabile tempus*] Cf. 'the inevitable hour,' Gray's *Elegy*.

325. *fuimus...*] The perfect of *sum* is often used euphemistically. He, who 'has been,' 'is not' and so 'is dead,' 'is non-existent.' Cf. 3. 11 *ubi Troia fuit*; Tib. 3. 5. 3 *sive erimus seu nos fata fuisse velint* 'whether we shall be alive or dead'; Gen. xlii. 13 'the youngest is this day with our father, and one is not'; St. Matt. ii. 18. 'We Trojans are no more: Ilium is no more and the mighty glory of Dardania.'

326. *ferus...*] 'wrathful Jupiter has removed all to Argos.' The reference is to a belief that the gods quitted a conquered city, cf. 351 n.; Jupiter, the greatest of the gods, is here described as not merely having departed but having gone over to the enemy. *Omnia* is perfectly general and suggests a thorough flitting, not merely a temporary departure.

328. *arduus ..*] 'as it stands towering at the city's centre the horse pours forth armed men, and triumphant Sinon spreads fire and confusion.'

330. *portis bipatentibus*] 'the wide-open gates'; the gates with both halves flung back.

alii: 'some' *i.e.* of the Greeks.

332. *angusta viarum*] Probably not merely = *angustas vias* 'narrow ways,' but 'the narrow places of the streets.' Cf. 725 *per opaca locorum* 'by those spots that were in shadow'; 1. 422 n. *strata viarum*; 6. 633.

333. *stat...*] Observe the force and vigour of *stat*: the firmly gripped sword is personified as 'standing firm' and impatient for the slaughter.

334. *primi*] Certainly not 'at the entrance,' as Conington takes it, but strictly with *vix*, 'scarcely do the first guards': the guards who are first attacked make a brief and blind resistance, the rest none.

335. *caeco Marte*] 'in blind' or 'aimless warfare.' *Caecus* is often used metaphorically, *e.g.* as an epithet of 'fear,' 'passion,' 'frenzy' or the like, and cf. 4. 209 n. Those who take it literally here of fighting 'in the dark' are perplexed by the mention of the moonlight immediately after in 340, but cf. 360 n.

337. *quo tristis...*] 'whither the baleful Fury, whither the roar (of battle) summons me.' The 'Fury' is the personification of the power that delights in carnage.

340. *oblati per lunam*] 'meeting us in the moonlight': *per lunam* on the analogy of *per noctem*, cf. 6. 270.

341. *adglomerant*] It is better to consider *se* as mentally carried on from *addunt se* than to regard *adglomerant* as used intransitively: 'join the band at our side.'

342. *illis diebus*] Not merely = *eo tempore*, but *ille* must be emphatic—'in those (last fatal) days.' *forte*, 'as it happened.'

343. *insano*] Not merely a general epithet of love, but with special force because his love brought him to his death.

344. *gener*] He does not seem ever to have married Cassandra, and so *gener* must describe what he wished to be — ‘hoping to become his son was bringing aid to Priam.’ Cf. 4. 35 *mariti* = ‘suitors.’

345. *infelix, qui non...audierit*] ‘Unhappy, not to have hearkened to the warnings....’ Cf. 248 n. She had doubtless warned him of the danger his suit involved.

furentis: ‘mad’ in the sense of ‘inspired,’ for inspiration involves the loss of self-control, the god taking possession of the inspired person and this possession being accompanied by the outward signs of madness, see 6. 77 *seq.*

347. *quos...*] ‘and, when I saw their close ranks bold for battle, I thus thereto begin.’

348. *super*] Adverbially, ‘in addition’: they were already eager, and his words were intended to make them more eager, cf. 355. *his* = *his verbis*.

To take *super his* together as ‘after these things’ gives no sense, as there is nothing to which ‘these things’ can refer.

349. *si vobis...*] ‘if your longing to follow one who dares a last hazard is surely fixed.’ For *sedet* cf. 660 n.

351. *excessere...*] Cf. 326 n., and the account of Josephus (Bell. Jud. 6. 5. 3) that before the capture of Jerusalem by Titus the gates of the temple opened of themselves, and a voice more than human was heard exclaiming ‘Let us go hence’ (*μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν*); so too Tac. Hist. 5. 13 *audita maior humana vox, excedere Deos*. There was a regular formula (*carmen quo di evocantur*) for summoning the gods of a besieged city to leave it; Macr. 3. 9.

352. *quibus*] Instrumental abl., ‘by whose aid this empire once stood.’

353. *moriatur...*] ‘Let us die, and dash into the thickest of the fray.’ Usually taken as an instance of *ὑστερον πρότερον* = ‘Let us dash into the fray and die.’ *Et...ruamus* is, however, really an explanatory clause and the sense is ‘Let us die by dashing....,’ cf. 6. 361 n. Of course the passionate *moriatur* must not be taken too literally, but is really = ‘let us dare death by dashing...,’ for, as the next line shows, he does not urge them to die but to dare to die, such a desperate resolve being necessary since ‘the only safety for the vanquished is to despair of safety.’ Cf. Milton, Par. Lost, l. 190 ‘What reinforcement we may gain from hope, | If not, what resolution from despair.’

355. *animis*] ‘courage,’ to which is now added ‘frenzy’ (*furor*). *lupi ceu*: Homer twice ends a line with *λύκοι ὡς*: the peculiar rhythm gives vigour, cf. the powerful effect of *aversa deae mens*, 170.

356. *inproba*] A favourite word with Virgil: it expresses an absence of all moderation, of all regard for consequences or for the rights of others. So a famished wolf about to attack a sheepfold is *asper et inprobus ira* 9. 62; geese that devastate the crops are 'unscrupulous' (*inprobus anser* G. 1. 119); Love is 'insatiate' in his tyranny (*inprobe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis* 4. 412), and Fortune in her attacks (2. 80); the toil of the husbandman must be 'unflinching' (*labor omnia vicit inprobus* G. 1. 146); the boxer Dares is 'shameless' in his bluster (5. 397 *inprobus...exultat*). So here the rage of hunger which drives the wolves forth in blind fury is *inproba* because it is 'reckless,' 'uncontrollable.'

358. *siccis*] 'thirsty,' *i.e.* for blood.

per tela, per hostes: see 306 n. and observe here 361 *quis...quis*; 364 *perque...perque*; 368 *ubique...ubique*.

359. *mediaeque...*] 'and hold our way towards the heart of the city': *mediae urbis* is a gen. of quality.

360. *nox...*] 'black night hovers round us with enfolding gloom.' Prosaic editors find this inconsistent with the 'moonlight' of 255 and 340; but cf. 397 *caecam noctem*; 420 *obscura nocte*; 621 *spissis noctis umbris*. Some explain that the moon was at times obscured by clouds. This is needless. Fiction has its privileges, and when Virgil needs some light he introduces the moon, at other times when he thinks of the confusion of the night attack he speaks of 'darkness' and 'black night.'

Henry, comparing 6. 866, takes *nox atra* metaphorically of 'death'; but where 'night' is *literally* present (cf. next line *noctis*) it is impossible to use the word *metaphorically*. Undoubtedly, however, the 'black night' which 'hovers round them' is mentioned as *symbolical* of the death which awaits them.

361, 2] Cf. Hom. Od. 3. 113 *τίς κεν ἐκέῖνα | πάντα γε μύθησαιτο καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*;

funera fando, lacrimis labores: note the alliteration—'losses,' 'language,' 'tears,' 'troubles.'

364. *plurima...*] 'unnumbered throughout the streets, throughout the dwellings and hallowed...lie scattered lifeless corpses.'

"*passim* has here its etymological sense 'dispersedly,'" Conington. Editors generally explain *inertia* as 'unwarlike,' 'helpless,' as though *inertia corpora sternuntur* meant 'the bodies of the helpless (*i.e.* of women and children) are being cut down,' but surely *corpora inertia* more naturally means 'lifeless corpses,' the epithet pathetically contrasting their

present condition with their former life and vigour: nor need *sternuntur* mean 'are being laid low,' for the passive of *sterno* can be used as equivalent to an intransitive verb = 'lie stretched,' e.g. *sternuntur campi*, so that a perfect is not necessary.

366. *poenas dant sanguine*] 'pay forfeit with their life.'

367. *victis, virtus, victores*] Note the assonance—'vanquished,' 'valour,' 'victors.'

369. *pavōr et*] Cf. 5. 521 n. *plurima mortis imago*: 'many a form of death,' i.e. death in many a form. Cf. Thuc. 3. 81 *πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου*.

370—401. *The Greek Androgeos joins us thinking that we were Greeks: discovering his mistake he attempts to fly, but we cut him and his followers down. Coroebus urges us to disguise ourselves in the armour of the fallen men; we do so and thus disguised are able to destroy many Greeks.*

370. *se offert*] Not merely 'meets' but 'comes to meet.' Thinking they were Greeks, who had but lately landed, he goes up to them to urge them on as laggards.

371. *socia*] Predicate: 'deeming our ranks friendly.' *Androgeōs* a Gk. form = *Ἀνδρογέως*, but 392 *Androgei*, as if from *Androgeus*.

372. *inscius*] For emphatic adj. at beginning of a line followed by a pause, cf. 4. 310 n.

ultra: see 145 n.: 'unaccosted by us he addresses us': *φθάνει προσαγορεύων*.

374. *alii...vos*] The prominent position of these words marks the contrast; *οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι...ὑμεῖς δέ*. Cf. 1. 184 n.

rapiunt...feruntque: the ordinary phrase is *ferre et agere* (*φέρειν καὶ ἀγειν*), e.g. Liv. 22. 3 *res sociorum ferri agique vidit*, where strictly *ferre* is used of 'carrying off' portable property and *agere* of 'driving away' captives or cattle, but here any distinction between *rapiunt* and *ferunt* is unnecessary. Translate, 'plunder and pillage.'

376. *neque enim...*] 'for indeed no answer that he could well trust was being given (by us).'

377. *sensit delapsus*] An imitation of the Greek construction after verbs of 'feeling,' 'knowing,' etc. = *ἦσθετο ἐμπεσών*, 'he felt that he had fallen.' Cf. G. 2. 510 *gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum*.

378. *retroque...*] 'and (shrinking) backwards checked his foot and voice.'

379. **aspris**] = *asperis*: a very harsh instance of Syncope. For the simile cf. Hom. Il. 3. 33

ἀψ δ' ἐτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο κῆρ' ἀλεείνων.

ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλινόρσος ἀπέστη,...

380. **nitens**] Conington explains of 'advancing with effort' because of the briars, but its position seems to connect the word with *pressit humi*—'has trampled on as he plants his foot'; the word too as noting his firm tread is in graphic contrast with the 'sudden jump back' which follows, a contrast which is also emphasised by the rhythm, the spondaic *nitens* being followed by *trēpid|ūsque rē|pēntē rē-* in which the repetition of *re* and of the weak caesura is obviously intentional.

381. **attollentem...**] 'raising up its wrath and puffing out (lit. swelling as to) its deep blue neck': cf. G. 3. 421 *tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem*.

382. **abibat**] Note the full force of the imperfect.

383. **circumfundimur**] A middle use; cf. 227 *teguntur* 'hide themselves,' 302 *excutor* 'I rouse myself,' 393 n., 401 *conduntur*, 510 *cingitur ferrum* (cf. 520 *cingi telis*) 633 *expedior*, 707 *inponere* 'place thyself on'; 1. 215 *inplentur*, 713 *expleri mentem*; 3. 279 *lustramur Iovi*, 405 *velare comas* 'cover thy hair,' 545; 4. 493 *accingier artes*; 5. 309 *caput nectentur oliva*; 6. 184.

386. **successu exsultans animisque**] Note the different use of the two ablatives: the 'success' causes his exultation and his exultation is exhibited 'in his high spirit.'

387. **o socii...**] 'comrades,' he cries, 'where fortune first points out the road to safety, and where she shows herself propitious, let us follow.' What the road is which fortune points out to them he explains in the next line.

388. **ostendit se dextra**] The construction is a natural variation of the ordinary *ostendit se dextram*: 'Fortune on the right hand (*dextra*) shows herself (on the right hand, *dextram*).' Cf. 1. 314 *sese tulit obvia*; 3. 310 *verane te facies...adfers*; 6. 879 *se...tulisset obvius*.

389. **insignia**] This word is used of those parts of dress or armour which serve to 'distinguish' the wearer (as in such phrases as *imperatoris insignia*; *pontificalia ins.*; *regia ins.*) and of course such 'marks of distinction' usually denote superior rank or dignity: here however *Danaum insignia* describes those portions of their armour (as helmets, shields

swords, see 392, 3) which distinguish the Greeks from the Trojans.

In 392 *insigne* is clearly the 'badge' or 'device' upon the shield (cf. 7. 657 *clipeoque insigne paternum | centum angues... gerit*) and not the shield itself. We have no word in English which can be used equally of the 'badge' upon a shield and of the shield itself as marking the character of the bearer.

390. *dolus...*] The full construction would be something like (*utrum*) *dolus (sit adhibendus) an virtus, quis...*; 'who in (the case of) a foe would ask whether fraud or courage is to be employed.' The question is an apology for his conduct on the principle that 'anything is fair in love and war.' The terseness of the Latin is highly rhetorical: Sidgwick well renders: 'Fraud or valour, who would ask in war?'

391. *arma...*] 'they themselves (*i.e.* although they are our foes) shall give us weapons.'

sic fatus deinde...: 'so having spoken thereafter...', cf. 5. 14 n.

392. *clipei insigne decorum*] put for 'the shield with its fair device.'

393. *induitur*] 'he dons': a middle use, cf. 383 n.

394. *ipse*] We do not know anything of Dymas and therefore cannot say why he is thus specially distinguished: Virgil probably adds *ipse* for the sake of variety, and also by thus particularising him to give a sense of reality to the narrative.

396. *haud numine nostro*] 'guided not by gods of our own.' By putting on the Greek armour they are supposed to pass under the guidance of the Greek gods, and as the Greek gods were victorious they might hope for success when under their protection. The peculiar negative form of the expression shows however that this is not the only idea Virgil wishes the words to convey: the gods that guided them were also 'not their own' in the sense of being 'hostile'; under their guidance they were being guided to fresh disaster, see 410-413.

398. *demittimus Orco*] Cf. Hom. Il. 1. 3 $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ "Αἰδὶ προΐαψεν.

400. *fida*] 'trustworthy,' 'safe,' because their ships were there.

formidine turpi: 'dishonourable panic.' By his use of *turpi* and of the words *nota conduntur in alvo* it is clear that Virgil wishes to suggest that the flight of the Greeks had something almost grotesque about it.

402—452. *Our good fortune was short-lived, for Coroebus, seeing Cassandra being dragged away by Ajax into captivity, madly attempts to save her and we follow him. Our position is most pitiable, for Ajax turns on us in fury at being robbed of his prey, while the Trojans from a temple rain missiles upon us mistaking us for Greeks, and lastly the various bodies of Greeks whom we had met and discomfited on our road begin to collect and, detecting our disguise, join in overwhelming us. My comrades fall thick around me: I court death in despair and, had it been my destiny to die, must have perished, but in the confusion I and two friends get separated from the fight and are attracted by shouts to the palace of Priam. We find it furiously assailed and desperately defended and resolve to assist its defenders.*

402. *heu nihil...*] 'alas, no trust may any place in the gods against their will.'

Their own gods were unpropitious to the Trojans: Aeneas and his comrades for a while seemed to have secured the protection of the Greek gods by putting on Greek armour (396 n.); they are now to find that the gods are not so easily balked and misled; they had trusted in the gods who favoured Greece, thinking to have cheated them against their will, and now find that they have not succeeded.

404. *a templo adytisque*] These words emphasise the sacrilegious character of the act: she was 'being dragged from the sanctuary, ay, and shrine of Minerva.' *Templum* is the whole building including the sacred enclosure (*τέμενος*) in which it stands: *adytum* (*ἄδυτον*) 'the unenterable place' is the innermost shrine in which was the image of the deity. Cassandra was said to have been clinging to the image of the goddess, and Ajax son of Oileus used such violence that he dragged the image away with her. The subject was frequently represented in Greek art.

The precincts of religious buildings have in all ages furnished places of refuge, and the name of 'The Sanctuary' at Westminster still survives. Any one taking refuge at the altar was specially inviolable, cf. 1 Kings ii. 28 *seq.*, where Joab is killed though he 'caught hold on the horns of the altar,' and St. Matt. xxiii. 35 'Zacharias son of Barachias whom ye slew between the temple and the altar.'

406. *arcebant*] 'confined' so that she could not stretch them heavenward. *palmas*: because the open 'palm' was uplifted in prayer, cf. 3. 177 n.

407. *non tulit...*] 'Coroebus with maddened soul brooked not that sight.'

408. *sese iniecit periturus*] There is no reason to take *periturus* here as a variety for *periturum* (cf. 388 n.); 'resolved to die he flung himself into the thickest of their ranks.'

411. *nostrorum*] Notice this gen. of *noster* used as a substantive = 'of our friends,' and distinguish it from *nostrum*, *nostrum*. *obruimūr*: cf. l. 667 n. *miserrima*: because inflicted by friends.

412. *facie*] abl. of cause: 'by reason of' or 'thanks to the appearance of our arms and deception of our Grecian plumes.'

413. *ereptae virginis ira*] 'wrath at the rescue of the maid.' Sidgwick calls this the 'gen. of reference,' but surely the gen. denotes that which *causes* the anger; the 'rescue of the maiden' causes, brings with it, involves anger: the anger is not *directed at* the rescue, but *arises from* it. Cf. 412 *errore iubarum* 'mistake caused by the plumes,' 784 *lacrimas Creusae* 'the tears that Creusa causes'; l. 462 *sunt lacrimae rerum* 'tears caused by events'; Livy 5. 33 *ira corruptae uxoris ab Lucimone* 'anger caused by his wife's seduction.' So in Greek the causal gen. is common after *χολοῦσθαι*, *μηνίειν*, *ἀχθεσθαι*.

For *erepta virgo* = 'the carrying off of the maiden,' cf. 643 n.

414. *acerrimus*] 'most fiercely,' as being especially aggrieved.

415. *gemini Atridae*] 'the twin Atridae': so they are regularly called in Greek *δισσοὶ Ἀτρεΐδαι*, not because they were actually twins, for Agamemnon was the elder, but because of their famous union in the siege of Troy.

416. *adversi...*] 'as at times, when a hurricane bursts, the winds dash together face to face.' For all the winds being let loose at once cf. l. 85 n. The simile here is intended specially to bring out the *confusion* of the battle that was raging.

418. *equis*] The wind-god comes riding upon the winds; cf. Hor. Od. 4. 4. 44 *Eurus* | *per Siculas equitavit undas*. Note the effective alliteration of *stridunt silvae*, *saevit*.

419. *Nereus*] The sea-god is graphically described as eagerly aiding the winds in increasing the disturbance—'foaming he rages with his trident and stirs up the sea from its lowest depths.' Note the skill of *saevit spumeus*, the adj. being equally applicable to the angry sea-god or the angry sea.

421. *fudimus insidiis*] 'we routed with our wiles.' *agitivimus*: 'hunted': so commonly *agitare feras*.

422. *primi...*] Hitherto all had been confusion (cf. 416 n.), Greeks and Trojans being armed alike: now that these new

comers appear 'they first recognise the shields and lying weapons' which the Trojans wore. The effect is instantaneous; the confusion, which had hitherto saved the Trojans, ceases and 'straightway we are overwhelmed with numbers' (424).

423. *ora...*] 'mark our lips disagreeing in speech (from their own).' In Homer Trojans and Greeks alike speak Greek, and Virgil's words here do not necessarily imply more than a divergency of accent or dialect.

426. *iustissimus unus*] 'most righteous of all men.' *Unus* which has by itself a superlative force (cf. 5.704) is sometimes added to superlatives or expressions equivalent to a superlative to give emphasis, cf. 1. 15 *magis omnibus unam*; 3. 321 *felix una ante alias*. So *solus* in 11. 821 *fida ante alias quae solo Camillae*, and in Greek Il. 12.243 *εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης*. For other strengthenings of superlatives cf. 1. 347 n.

427. *aequi*] 'justice,' cf. 3. 232 n.

428. *dis aliter visum*] An interjectional phrase expressive of pious but melancholy acquiescence in what is inscrutable—'Heaven willed it otherwise.' Cf. Hom. Od. 1. 234 *νῦν δ' ἐτέρως ἐβόλοντο θεοὶ κακὰ μητιώωντες*. The force of *aliter* is clear: their will is other than we should have expected in the case of such a man. Seneca, says Conington, recommends the use of the expression *Di melius* as a nobler and wiser ejaculation.

430. *infula...*] 'A flock of wool knotted regularly along a *vitta* or riband, fastened by this riband round the head and hanging down over each side of the head,' Munro, Lucr. 1. 87. It was worn by priests, and its sacred character might have been expected to afford protection to the wearer.

431. *flamma extrema meorum*] 'O funeral fire of my countrymen.' The burning town became the funeral pyre of those who fell.

432. *testor...*] 'I call you to witness that in the hour of your fall I shunned....' For the omission of *me* cf. 3. 201 n.

433. *vices Danaum*] Servius explains *vices* here as = '*pugnas, quia per vicissitudinem pugnabatur*,' and so Conington and Wagner take the phrase as meaning 'hand-to-hand encounters with the Greeks.' This view is probably right in the main, though *vices* cannot by itself = *pugnas*: the *vices Danaum* are the 'answering blows of the Greeks' as Aeneas wildly attacked them hoping to meet one such 'answering blow' that might prove fatal. Perhaps the French *riposte* expresses *vices*.

Others, considering that *vices* is frequently used in connec-

tion with the changes and chances of Fortune, take it here 'hazard of the Greeks,' 'hazard of encounter with the Greeks.'

434. *ut caderem*] These words are very carefully placed: they must be taken with *si fata fuissent* (which needs something to complete its meaning and cannot by itself = 'had fate so willed'), but they also are mentally carried on to *meruisse manu*. 'Had fate been that I should fall by my deeds I earned it (*i.e.* the right to fall).'

divellimur inde: 'we are torn away thence (*i.e.* from the fight), Iphitus and Pelias at my side.' *Iphitus et Pelias mecum* is the real nom. to *divellimur*, being = 'I and Iphitus and Pelias.' By his use of the strong word *divellimur* and by the emphatic position he assigns it, Virgil calls attention to the fact that what happened to Aeneas was caused by force and due to the violence of the fray, and also vigorously marks the change of scene.

Conington places only a comma after *Ulixi* and connects *divellimur* with *vocati*, sacrificing its force and neglecting *protinus* (437), which marks progress and change in the action.

436. *et*] 'also.' *vulnere Ulixi*: 'a wound inflicted by U.'

438. *ingentem pugnam*] Governed by *cernimus*, but in 440 Virgil repeats and expands the accusative: 'here indeed (we behold) a mighty battle, as if other warfare there were none...so do we behold the war-god uncontrolled and....'

ceu cetera nusquam bella forent: lit. 'as if the rest of the engagements existed nowhere.'

441. *acta testudine*] 'by the advancing roof (or 'pent-house') of shields,' lit. 'by the tortoise brought up against it.' The *testudo* (see drawing in Smith's Dict. Ant.) consists of a body of men who locked their oblong shields together over their heads so as to form a sloping roof over them, and so advanced to the assault of a fortified place.

442. *parietibus*] Note the scansion, and cf. 5. 589 n.

Virgil describes an assault at and around the gate of the palace, and the object of the assailants is twofold, (1) to burst open the gates, (2) to scale the walls. The besieged are of course chiefly on the roof, but a certain number are also drawn up (450) behind the gate in case it should be forced. The gate must be imagined as standing slightly back from the line of the front of the house, leaving an open space, which is flanked and commanded by the walls and forms the *vestibulum*, cf. 469. The walls are of moderate height, such as may be scaled, and guarded with a parapet (*fastigia*, 444) and small turrets (445, 460).

postesque...] 'right up under the very doors they force their way climbing (lit. 'by the steps' or 'rungs' of the ladders).' The phrase emphasises the boldness of the assault as being made exactly where the defence was strongest. The rendering 'force their way to the gate by the steps (leading up to it)' is impossible, for the position of the words prevents it: you first plant scaling ladders, then climb up them, then try to lay hold of the battlements and climb over.

443. **clipeosque...protecti obiciunt**] 'and with their left hands present their shields against the missiles to shelter themselves.' *Protecti* may be either 'thus protected,' or it may be used in a middle sense and so partly govern *clipeos*, 'placing them (the shields) before them,' see Appendix.

445. **tecta...culmina**] 'roof-covering.'

446. **his se...**] 'with such missiles, seeing that the end is come, now in death's extremity they prepare to defend themselves.'

448. **auratas trabes**] Cf. 1. 448 n.

449. **imas...**] 'are stationed at (*i.e.* to guard) the doors below (*i.e.* in opposition to those on the roof).'

451. **instaurati...**] 'our courage is renewed to succour the royal palace': the inf. depends on the general sense of *eagerness* contained in *instaurati animi*, cf. 64 n.

453—485. *We gain entrance by a door in the rear, join the defenders on the roof and by overturning a tower on the assailants check them for a while, but they are soon reinforced by others and the fight continues. Pyrrhus especially distinguishes himself in the assault and with a huge axe makes an opening in the door.*

453. **pervius usus...**] 'a passage serving to connect the halls of Priam with one another.' The 'halls of Priam' are probably his palace and that of his son Hector, which communicated with one another by means of this private door in the rear.

455. **a tergo**] With *postes* not with *relicti*: it was 'a gate in the rear' or 'postern,' which 'had been left' undefended by those inside and unobserved by the assailants.

457. **soceros**] 'parents,' the father and mother of her husband, Priam and Hecuba.

trahebat: cf. 320 *parvumque nepotem ipse trahit*; the word is used for *duco* to suggest that the boy can scarcely keep pace with his mother who seems to 'draw him after her.'

458. *evado*] 'I climb up': for *e* or *ex* in composition = 'upwards,' 'on high,' cf. 461 *eductam* 'rising high'; 553 *extulit*; 688; and 3. 567 n.

summi fastigia culminis: 'the summit of the highest roof.' For *fastigium* cf. 302 n.

460. *in praecipiti*] 'on a sheer edge,' the phrase describes the position of anything when, if it falls, there is nothing whatever to stop its fall. *summisque...*: 'and rising aloft to the stars with its highest roof.'

Notice that the construction is *turrim...adgressi* (part.)... *convellimus*, and that in the clause *unde...videri* the verb is *solitae* (*sunt*)—'whence often we were wont to view all Troy....'

463. *qua summa...*] 'where its topmost stories afforded weak (or 'yielding') joinings.' The lower stories of the tower form part of the main building; 'its topmost stories' are those which rise from the level of the roof: at the point where these topmost stories spring from the roof they apply their crowbars, because at this point they would find 'a joining' and also be enabled to get some leverage. *Labantes* 'tottering' cannot strictly be applied to *injuratae*, but describes the effect on the tower of the attack on 'the joinings.'

464. *altis sedibus*] 'from its lofty place.' Conington explains as if the words meant 'from its deep foundation,' but in his translation rightly gives 'from its eminence.'

Notice carefully the elaborate accommodation of sound to sense in the words *convellimus...incidit*, and also the change from the present of continued action *convellimus* to the perfect *inpulimus* describing a single act.

465. *ruinam trahit*] Cf. 631. The phrase is exceedingly graphic: when anything high falls after swaying to and fro, it does not fall in separate pieces or collapse, but the highest part seems to lean forward and then suddenly 'drag after it' the rest in its fall. The notion of *continuity* is very strong in *traho*.

467. *subeunt*] Cf. 216 n.

469. *vestibulum*] Cf. 442 n. and 6. 273 n.

470. *telis...*] 'flashing with arms and brazen sheen.' Editors place a comma after *exsultat*, but *coruscus* and *exsultat* go closely together: it is as he 'moves proudly' that his armour flashes. For *luce aena* cf. Il. 13. 341 ἀγῆ χαλκείν κοούθων ἀπο λαμπομενάων.

471. *qualis ubi...*] Cf. Il. 22. 93, where Hector is awaiting the attack of Achilles,

ὡς δὲ δράκων ἐπὶ χειρὶ ὀρέστερος ἄνδρα μένησιν,
βεβρωκὼς κακὰ φάρμακ'· ἔδν δέ τέ μιν χόλος αἰνός,
σμερδαλέον δὲ δέδορκεν ἐλισσόμενος περὶ χειρῆ·
ὦς Ἐκτωρ....

The elaboration of Virgil's art is very clear here when contrasted with Homer's natural simplicity. Notice how the simile serves to bring out (1) the youthful vigour of Pyrrhus, (2) the malignancy of his attack, (3) the exceeding brightness of his appearance.

in lucem: 'towards the light': the words strictly go with the verb of motion *convolvit* 474, but are thrown forward to emphasise the main idea which is that of 'light' (cf. *luce* in the preceding line), and the construction is influenced by the idea of an attack, advance, or assault which pervades the whole simile.

mala: 'baneful.'

472. *tumidum*] 'gorged' *i.e.* with 'the baneful herbs,' which he is digesting and transmuting into venom. The snake which has spent the winter in a state of torpor is skilfully described as employing it in recruiting his deadly powers.

473. *nunc...*] 'now, his old husk doffed, fresh and glistening with youth.' This line and 475 are repeated from G. 3. 437, 440: Virgil in his country life had probably often seen what he describes.

novus iuventa: probably with a reference to his other name Neoptolemus (Νεοπτόλεμος, 'young warrior') which is used 501.

Papillon compares Shelley's *Hellas ad fin.*

'The earth doth like a snake renew
Her winter weeds outworn.'

See too Tennyson, *The Two Voices*, where he describes the dragon-fly,

'An inner impulse rent the veil
Of his old husk; from head to tail
Came out clear plates of sapphire mail.'

475. *arduus...*] 'rearing his head to the sun as he darts from his mouth his forked tongue.' Cf. Tennyson, *In Mem. c.* 110 'to flicker with his double tongue.'

Micare is strictly used of a quick jerky movement backwards and forwards (cf. *micare digitis*, which describes a game in which a number of fingers are sharply shot forward), and the

meaning 'to sparkle' is only secondary: *ore* is probably a local abl.—the serpent 'flickers at' or 'from his mouth with (instrumental abl.) forked tongue.' The use of the plural *linguis* is probably intentional: the tongue moves so quickly that it seems several tongues. The tongue of a serpent has only two not three forks.

479. *dura limina*] 'the stubborn door,' Conington: *limina* is used loosely, and *dura* describes both the material of which the door was made and also the character of the resistance it offered.

480. *perrumpit, vellit*] The presents mark action still going on and incomplete, 'is striving to burst through...and rend': in contrast are the perfects *cavavit* and *dedit*, 'and at last hewing out a panel he has hollowed the stout oak, and made....'

482. *dedit*] Cf. 310 n. *lato ore*: 'with broad opening.'

483. *apparet...apparent*] Note the pictorial power of the repetition and also its pathos, as emphasising the profanation which the venerable palace was suffering.

484. *penetralia*] 'chambers': the word is used skilfully to suggest awe, being often used of the shrine of a deity, e.g. 5. 744 *penetralia Vestae*.

485. *armatos*] See 459. *in limine primo*: 'on the very threshold.'

486—505. *Within the palace resounds with the shrieks of the women, but Pyrrhus pursues his relentless assault, and at last the gate is forced and the Greeks pour in like a flood. With my own eyes I saw the massacre which ensued and the Greeks destroying what the fire had spared.*

486. *domus interior*] The phrase merely contrasts what is going on within the house with what is going on without (cf. 1. 637), and does not describe any particular part of the house.

Those who think that there is any difference between this phrase and *domus intus* 483 can of course explain of the inner apartments of the *γυναικωνίτις* (see plan in Dict. of Ant.).

487. *miscetur*] Cf. 298 n. *cavae aedes*: 'hollow' or 'vaulted halls,' the adjective suggesting the idea of 'echoing.' Virgil may have had in his mind the word *cavaedium* which seems to have been used of the opening in the roof of the *atrium* over the *impluvium*.

488. *ululant*] Notice that the halls themselves 'shriek'; Henry compares Soph. Trach. 205 *ἀνολοιξάτω δόμος*; Is. xiv. 31

'Howl, O gate; cry, O city.' *aurea*: Sidgwick rightly notes that the epithet is added to suggest a contrast between the glory of the heavens above and the agony on which they look down.

491. *vi patria*] His father was Achilles.

492. *sufferre valent*] 'can withstand (him).' *labat*...: 'beneath the incessant battering the door reels'; while Pyrrhus plies his axe (*bipenni* 479) his followers aid him by battering the door. Henry takes *ariete crebro* metaphorically of the 'battering' by Pyrrhus with his axe, but it is hard to see how *aries* could possibly be put for an 'axe' or the 'blow of an axe.' You may use a spade to strike with, but you cannot call it a club.

493. *emoti procumbunt cardine postes*] 'wrenched from their sockets the doors fall flat.' To understand this passage it is necessary to remember that *cardo* in no way resembles a modern 'hinge' or *postis* a modern 'door-post.' Ancient doors were not hung on hinges but turned on two pivots, which formed part of the door itself, and of which the lower one turned in a socket in the *limen* or sill and the upper one in a socket in the *limen superum* or lintel. The term *cardo* can be used either of the pivot or of the socket in which it moves.

It is clear that to make a door under these conditions the first thing required is a stout post, the ends of which can be turned so as to form pivots while to the post is attached the framework of the door, which is supported by it. Hence *postis*, as being an integral part of the door and the most important part of it, is often put for the door itself.

It is clear also that the two sockets not only serve for the pivots to turn in, but also afford all the support which the 'door-post' and consequently the door has. Hence in battering at a double door, if the bar (*claustra* 491) which fastens the two halves does not give, it is plain that the only thing to do is to 'wrench the posts from their supporting sockets,' when they and the doors must at once fall down.

494. *rumpunt aditus*] 'they burst an entrance': *aditus* is a cogn. acc.: their 'entrance' is 'a bursting in.'

496. *non sic*] 'not with such violence': the words serve to introduce the simile and also mark that it can only imperfectly suggest the actual scene.

aggeribus...: 'when a great stream bursting its barriers has gone forth foaming and overpowered the resistance of its banks.' Henry compares 1 Chron. xiv. 11 'Then David

said, God hath broken in upon mine enemies by mine hand, like the breaking forth of waters.' *exiit*: some read *exiit*, cf. 5. 274.

498. *fertur...*] 'it rushes raging on to the fields in a heap.' Observe the effect of the double alliteration here, and also the peculiar movement of the verse *Fērtūr | in ārvā | Fūrēns Cūmālo Camposque.... cumulo*: cf. 323 n.

499. *vidi ipse*] Cf. 5, where the words mark the trustworthiness of the speaker: here they claim the sympathy of his hearers.

furem caede: 'mad with carnage,' or, as we should say, 'drunk with blood.'

501. *centumque nurus*] Priam is supposed to have had fifty sons and fifty daughters, the sons being married, and each having his marriage-chamber (*quingenta thalami*, 503) in the palace. Here therefore *centum nurus* refers to Hecuba's fifty daughters and fifty daughters-in-law: Virgil, wishing to describe the whole number as grouped round Hecuba, had to either speak of them as 'her hundred daughters' (*centum natae*) or 'her hundred daughters-in-law' (*centum nurus*), and for convenience chooses the latter, which is perfectly natural, and only seems extraordinary to us because our English word 'daughter-in-law' is so unpoetical.

per aras: 'among the altars,' cf. 550.

503. *illi*] 'those famous'; see the description in Il. 6. 244 *πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λιθοιο κ.τ.λ.*

spes tanta nepotum: in apposition to *thalami*: Conington renders 'the splendid promise of children's children.'

504. *barbarico*] certainly = 'Phrygian,' 'Trojan.' The adj. *βάρβαρος* was applied by the Greeks to all nations who did not speak Greek, but more especially to the dwellers in Asia and the East, and in the phrase 'barbaric gold' the suggestion of Oriental magnificence is certainly present; cf. Milton, P. L. 2. 3

'Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.'

That Aeneas a Trojan should speak of Trojan gold as 'barbaric' is curious, but in strict accordance with the literary use of the word as = 'non-Greek,' e.g. the Persian messenger in Aeschylus *Persae* 425 speaks of the Persian host as 'the barbaric host,' and when Plautus (*Tr. Prol.* 19) wishes to say that he has translated a Greek play into Latin he writes '*Plautus vertit barbare.*'

The epithet is taken from the *Andromache* of Ennius, which Virgil closely imitates here :

*o pater, o patria, o Priami domus
saeptum altisono cardine templum.
vidi ego te adstante ope barbarica...*

Others take *barbarico auro spoliisque* = 'gold and spoils won from barbarians.'

506—558. Perhaps you may ask for an account of Priam's death. Seeing the ruin of his city and palace, he feebly buckles on his long unused armour, but Hecuba remonstrates with him on his folly, and draws him to the altar where she and her daughters had taken refuge. Pyrrhus however suddenly appears pursuing Polites, one of Priam's sons, and slays him under his father's eyes. Maddened by the sight Priam curses him for a deed which proves him no true son of the great Achilles, and at the same time hurls at him a feeble dart. Pyrrhus in reply jeeringly bids him go and tell Achilles himself how degenerate his son is, and slays the old man at the altar.

511. *cingitur*] Cf. 383 n. ; 'girds on (himself) the useless sword': note the different construction with *cingor* 520. *fertur* : 'is rushing,' *i.e.* until Hecuba draws him back.

512. *aedibus...*] In a Roman house there was an opening in the centre of the roof of the *atrium*, beneath which was the *impluvium*, and near this seems to have been the altar of the Penates (514). Roughly speaking, the Roman *atrium* with its smaller rooms opening into it corresponds to the Homeric ἀθή, which was an enclosed court, unroofed but surrounded with a pillared portico (528) and rooms opening into the portico, and with an altar of Zeus Ἐρκεῖος 'the god of the homestead' in the centre. Virgil's description here applies fairly to either a Greek or a Roman house. *nudoque...* : 'and beneath the open height of heaven.'

514. *complexa*] 'enfolding.'

516. *praecipites...*] 'like doves driven headlong home by a black tempest.'

519. *mens dira*] 'monstrous thought.'

520. *inpulit...*] 'drove thee to gird thyself with such weapons.'

521. *istis*] Deictic and scornful ; she points to his armour and weapons—'the time needs not such defenders, no not if my own Hector were here to aid.'

523. *tandem*] The word indicates impatience and anger: 'come hither at length' is = 'come hither, for it is high time.'

omnes: emphatic, as is *simul* in the next line: they will all live or die together.

526. *elapsus*...] 'escaped from Pyrrhus' murderous sword.'

528. *porticibus*] Abl. of the road by which one goes: 'flies adown the long cloisters': cf. 771.

529. *saucius*] Note the dramatic force of the position of the adjective. *infesto vulnere*: 'with ever-threatened wound,' *i.e.* with his weapon ready any moment to strike him.

530. *iam iamque*...] 'now, now he holds him in his grasp,' not meaning that he does actually so hold him, but that he is so close on him that every moment he seems to have caught him; cf. 12. 754 *iam iamque tenet, similisque tenenti | increpuit malis* of a hound hunting a deer.

premit hasta: Conington explains 'is close upon him with his spear,' but this makes the words a mere repetition of *infesto vulnere insequitur*, and also does not account for Priam's wrath, which is surely roused at his son being slain before his eyes. Wagner and Heyne accordingly explain *premit* as = *percutit, transfigit* 'pins' or 'pierces,' this last mortal wound just leaving Polites strength enough to stagger to his father's feet.

533. *quamquam*...] 'although hemmed in with death on every side': the expression is proverbial for being in imminent danger of death, being 'in the jaws of death,' cf. Cic. Cat. 4. 18 *ex media morte reservatum*; Verr. 5. 12 *ex media morte eripere*.

534. *abstinuit*] 'refrained.' *voci*...: 'spared (*i.e.* forbore to use) passionate utterance,' cf. 296 n.

535. *at tibi*] This use of *at* is very frequent in imprecations: it marks a sudden outburst of words that will not be controlled—'nay,' he cries, 'may the gods....' The pronoun is also regularly placed immediately after *at* to emphasise at once the person on whom the curse is imprecated, cf. Plant. Most. 1. 1. 37 *at te di omnes perdant*; Catull. 3. 13 *at vobis male sit*.

536. *si qua est*...] 'if there is any righteousness in heaven,' *i.e.* as surely as there is righteousness in heaven. For *si* in appeals cf. 3. 433 n. For *pictas*, = the 'righteousness' of the gods which redresses wrong, cf. 1. 10 n.

538. *qui...fecisti*] Not 'seeing that thou hast made,' which would be *qui feceris*, but direct personal address 'thou, who hast made.'

fecisti me cernere : caused me to see,' a rare construction instead of *fecisti ut cernerem* ; cf. Ov. Her. 17. 174 *illum forma timere facit*, Cic. Br. 38 *actio tales oratores videri facit quales ipsi se videri volunt* ; Pub. Sch. Lat. Gr. § 166.

539. **patrios**] Emphatic: the 'defilement' is not due to the mere contact with a dead body, but to the fact that it was the dead body of a son.

540. **satum quo...**] 'whom falsely thou callest thy sire' : lit. 'from whom thou dost falsely state that thou art sprung.' His conduct showed him no true son of Achilles.

541. **talis...**] 'so dealt with Priam though his foe' : *in hoste* lit. 'in the case of a foe.' **fidem** : this word often means 'protection,' as in the phrases *in fidem et clientelam se committere*, *in alicuius fidem ac potestatem venire*, *di vostram fidem!*, and here *iura fidemque* seems to mean 'claim to protection.'

542. **erubuit**] 'blushed at,' *i.e.* 'reverenced.' Many intransitive verbs thus acquire a secondary meaning and become transitive, cf. 31 *stupet* 'is amazed at' ; 3. 394 *horresce* 'shudder at' ; 3. 648 *tremisco* ; and so *exire*, *evadere* = 'escape from,' 5. 438 n. ; 6. 177 *festino* 'perform hurriedly,' 517 *euantes orgia* 'celebrating with the cry *euoe*.'

After Achilles had slain Hector, Priam went to beg the dead body and it was restored to him.

544. **sine ictu**] The spear struck the shield of Pyrrhus, but too feebly to pierce it and 'strike' him—'ineffectually hurled his unwarlike missile.'

545. **rauco**] 'hollow-sounding,' 'echoing.'

546. **umbone pependit**] The *umbo* is a projecting boss in the centre of the shield, intended to cause a weapon to glance aside. Here we must suppose that it is strengthened or covered with leather which the spear just pierces and in which it is caught so as to 'hang idly from the boss.'

547. **referes**] The future is used almost as an imperative (cf. 'Thou shalt not steal') : 'therefore (*i.e.* as thou tauntest me with cruelty) thou shalt bear thy tale...' As the phrase *reddere epistolam* describes duly delivering a letter, so *referre* is here duly to deliver a message entrusted to one, cf. 3. 170 n.

548. **illi**] Emphatic—'to him take heed to tell my baneful deeds and that N. is no true son of his.'

552. **dextraque...**] 'and with his right raised high the flashing sword and buried it to the hilt in his side.' For *extulit* cf. 458 n. and for *lateri* 19 n.

554. **Priami fatorum]** The 'fate of Priam' became proverbial as an instance of a great reverse of fortune: cf. Arist. Eth. 1. 10. 14 Πριαμικαὶ τύχαι. The pathos and simplicity of these closing words deserve attention.

555. **sorte tulit]** 'by fate befell him.' Cf. 600 *tulerint*; 4. 679; 5. 356 *me fortuna...tulisset*.

556. **populis terrisque]** Abl. of the instrument: 'once by so many (subject) peoples and lands exalted (to be) the lord of Asia.' The numerous subject peoples and lands raise him to the proud position in which he can be described as 'lord of Asia': by making a slight pause after *superbum* the meaning becomes clear. Others render 'once for so many peoples...the haughty lord of Asia.'

557. **iacet...]** Virgil must surely in writing this have had before his mind the fate of Pompey.

559—566. *The sight recalls to my mind my own deserted father, and I remember the danger of my own household. Looking round I find that all my comrades have disappeared.*

559. **tum primum]** Hitherto he had felt the courage of despair; 'but then first a horrible dread stood round about me.' Observe how the 'dread' is spoken of not as an inward feeling but as a real external presence, cf. Ezekiel vii. 18 'horror shall cover them.'

561. **aequaeuum]** 'of like age' with Anchises.

563. **direpta domus]** 'my home plundered': the picture of his house as already plundered presented itself to his imagination in his fear. It had not been actually plundered. **domūs et:** cf. 5. 521 n.

565. **salto]** Cf. 323 n. Translate: 'and with a bound have flung their bodies to the ground (*i.e.* from the roof) or have let them drop fainting into the flames.'

567—633. *I chance to see Helen hiding at the entrance of the temple of Vesta, where she had taken refuge fearing the wrath both of the Trojans and the Greeks. A passionate desire came over me to slay her as I thought of her returning in queenly state to Sparta while my country lay in ashes. 'Surely,' I was saying to myself, 'vengeance demands that I should kill even a woman,' when suddenly my goddess mother revealed herself to me in all her heavenly beauty, and rebuked my wrath, reminding me of the hazardous position of my father, my wife, my son. 'Not Helen' she said 'but heaven causes the fall of Troy: look, for I open thine eyes, and see where Neptune and Juno and*

Pallas, ay, and the great Father himself are busy with the work of destruction. Away! I will guide thee safe to thy home.' She vanished, and I looked and saw that it was even as she had said; I saw the awful forms of the destroying deities, I saw all Troy sink into the flames, and then I make my way homewards.

Lines 567—588 are found in very few good MSS., and are said by Servius to have been written by Virgil but omitted by Varius and Tucca, his literary executors, when editing the Aeneid after his death. It is an objection to them that a different account is given of Helen's action 6. 511-527, where she is described as guiding the Greeks, but in an unfinished and unrevised poem, in which incidents are borrowed from many sources, such discrepancies are natural. The question of style depends much on individual judgment, but Fox (quoted by Henry 2. 277) justly says, 'If the lines are spurious they are the happiest imitation of Virgil I ever saw.' Moreover in the speech of Venus 594 seems a clear reference to 575, and 601 to the description of Helen, and to be difficult of explanation if this passage be struck out.

567. *iamque adeo*] Virgil frequently places *adeo* thus second in a clause to strengthen the preceding word: here it emphasises the transition in the narrative, which is marked by *iamque*, as being an important one. Cf. 5. 268 *iamque adeo donati omnes*; 5. 864; 3. 203 *tres adeo*; 4. 96 n. *nec me adeo*; 4. 533 *sic adeo insistit*; 6. 498 *vix adeo*.

super separated by tmesis from *eram*.

570. *erranti*] As Aeneas only descends at 632 we must suppose him still on the roof: it is on the roof that he is 'wandering and casting his glance everywhere over all things' in vague uncertainty what to do, when he sees Helen.

571. *illa sibi...praemetuens*] The rare word *praemetuo* suggests two ideas, (1) fear of a thing, here of 'the hostile Trojans etc.,' (2) a desire to take precautions against the evil anticipated (in which case it takes a dative of the person on whose behalf the 'cautious fear' is shown); cf. Caes. B. G. 7. 49 *Caesar praemetuens suis*.

Here it has both constructions, for *sibi* does not go with *infestos* but with *praemetuens*, its position being due to the Latin tendency to bring pronouns together—'She in cautious fear for herself, yes, fearing the hatred of the Trojans....'

573. *Erinyes*] So Aeschylus calls Helen *νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινός* (Ag. 749).

574. *invisa*] This word may either be (1) the participle of *invideo*—‘she was crouching a hateful being,’ or (2) from *in* and *visus*—‘she was crouching (so as to be) unseen.’ Virgil’s use of the word 601, 647=‘hateful’ is strongly in favour of the former meaning: moreover it is very harsh to describe her as ‘sitting unseen’ at the very moment she is discovered, whereas the description of her as ‘hateful’ naturally precedes the outburst of hate described in the next line.

575. *exarsere...*] ‘the fire kindled in my soul’; cf. Ps. xxxix. 3 ‘while I was musing the fire burned; then spake I with my tongue.’

ira: ‘angry longing’; hence the inf. *ulcisci*, cf. 10 n.

576 *sceleratas poenas*: 584 *feminea poena*: 585 *merentes* (or *merentis*) *poenas*. Of these three phrases following so closely on one another, the second alone is clear, for *feminea poena* is certainly ‘taking vengeance on a woman.’ Some say that similarly *sceleratas p.* can mean ‘vengeance on the guilty’ and that *sumpsisse merentes poenas* can=*s. poenas merentes ut sumantur*, ‘to have exacted vengeance deserving to be exacted.’ Others maintain that ‘guilty vengeance’ cannot mean ‘vengeance on guilt’ but is=‘sacrilegious vengeance,’ *i.e.* on a suppliant at the altar, while in 585 they read *merentis* and render ‘vengeance on one who deserved it,’ cf. 229 *merentem*. It would seem that Virgil must have altered this passage on revision.

577. *scilicet*] ‘doubtless,’ ‘of course,’ marking strongly the indignant bitterness of the words which follow. The sentence is really affirmative in form, and its interrogative character is imparted to it by the tone in which it is uttered. Conington renders ‘So she is to see Sparta again in safety?’

579. *coniugium*] ‘wedlock’ and so ‘her husband,’ cf. 11. 270. *patres*=*parentes*: apparently only Tyndarus the father of Helen was alive, and she had only one daughter Hermione, but Virgil rhetorically exaggerates Helen’s happiness.

580. *ministris*] The captive Trojan women would become her ‘servants.’

581. *occiderit*] The Future Perfect is often used to describe an event which precedes an event described by the simple Future. Thus you say *ego veniam cum tu discesseris*; put as a question this becomes *egone veniam cum tu discesseris?*, and, if this sentence is broken up into two indignant contrasted clauses, it becomes *egone veniam? tu discesseris?* Translate ‘Shall it be for this (*i.e.* that this result might

follow) that Priam has fallen by the sword?' Cf. 4. 590 *ibit... et inluserit?* = 'shall he go after mocking?'

Wagner notices the balance of the three questions *aspiciet? ibit? videbit?* with the three questions *occiderit? arserit? sudarit?* and that they correspond to one another in inverse order; 3. 4 her home happy, my king murdered; 2. 5 she in triumph, Troy in flames; 1. 6 she safe at Sparta, the Dardan coast reeking with blood.

585. *nefas*] 'guilt,' put with great force for 'a guilty creature,' cf. Hor. Od. 1. 15. 21 *Laertiaden, exitium tuae genti*, where 'the son of Laertes, ruin to thy race' is much more forcible than 'ruinous to thy race' would be.

exstinxisse laudabor: the word *laudabor* is here = *cum laude dicar* and so is followed by an infinitive.

586. *animumque...*] 'and it shall be my joy to have filled my soul with avenging fire (or 'fury') and to have satisfied the ashes of my kindred.'

Nettleship instead of *flammae* prints *famam*, and marks the passage as corrupt. He says that *flammae* is a late correction: it is however an excellent one, and rightly accepted by most editors, nor is there anything to object to in the passage. *Explere* is not elsewhere followed by a genitive, but verbs and adjectives expressing *fulness* are commonly so followed and 1. 215 we have *implentur Bacchi*. The expression 'avenging flame' is vigorous and perfectly clear (cf. 575 *ignes*), the ideas of 'fire' and 'fury' being closely akin, cf. Jeremiah xxi. 12 'lest my fury go out like fire,' Lam. ii. 4 'poured out fury like fire.' With *satiasse* it is clear that some such idea as 'with vengeance' is easily supplied: the dead are naturally thought of as hungering for vengeance and needing to be 'fed full' of it.

Doubtless the whole style of the passage is bold, but this is exactly what it ought to be: the 'wild and whirling words' (*iactabam*, cf. 1. 102 n.) mark the 'frenzy of his soul' (*furiata mente*).

588. *ferebar*] 'I was rushing (to slay her).'

590. *refulsit*] 'shone out': cf. 1. 402 n.

591. *confessa deam*] Not for *confessa se deam esse*, but *deam* is boldly put as the direct acc. after *confessa*—'acknowledging (*i.e.* revealing) the goddess.'

qualisque...: 'beauteous and stately as she ever appears to the dwellers in heaven': not merely superior beauty but superior size always characterises the ancient gods and heroes. Cf. 1. 752 n.; 5. 241 n.

595. *aut quonam...*] 'or whither pray hath departed thy care for me?' The next sentence immediately makes clear what 'care for me' means: if he cares for his mother, Aeneas must show some regard for his father.

596. *prius*] 'first,' *i.e.* before thinking of anything else. *ubi*: *i.e.* 'in what position' or 'plight.'

597. *superet coniunxne*] Oblique question dependent on *aspicies*; the direct question would be *superatne coniunx?*, and the position of *ne* here seems purely for convenience.

599. *ni...resistat...tulerint*] The ordinary conditional sentence *ni...resistat...ferant* would = 'did not my care still keep preventing it, the flames would be destroying': the rarer form used here is = 'did not my care still keep preventing it, the flames would ere now have destroyed.' The contrast is marked between the present of continuous effort and the perfect which marks the quick ruin which would at once follow any relaxation of that effort.

600. *hauserit*] we should say 'devoured' here, though we talk of a sword 'drinking blood.'

601. *tibi*] Ethic Dative: 'Tis not, I tell thee,...

602. *divom...*] Note the force of the repeated *divom*: it is the emphasis which is placed on this word which makes the omission of 'but' before it possible. The old reading *verum inclementia* exhibits clearly by contrast the power of the text.

604. *aspice* is connected with 608 *hic*...

namque...: 'for all the cloud that now drawn over thy sight dalls thy mortal vision and with dank darkness surrounds thee—lo! I will remove it: do thou fear nought thy mother commands...'

So Iliad 5. 127 Pallas opens the eyes of Diomedes

*ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,
ὄφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα,*

and cf. 2 Kings vi. 17 'And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw, and behold the mountain was full of chariots of fire....'

609. *mixtoque...*] 'and the smoke rolling in billows mingled with dust'; the dust is from the falling houses.

610. *Neptunus...*] As being 'the Earth-Shaker.'

612. *saevissima*] As being the bitterest enemy of Troy.

613. *prima*] 'leading the onset' or 'in the van': the force of the word is made clear by what follows: she is leading the

way while she 'summons her confederate host' to follow her. Conington with less force explains 'at the entrance of the gate.'

616. *nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva*] Two explanations seem equally possible :

(1) With Wagner to take *saeva* as nom. and *nimbo* of the dark cloud which usually veils the deities from sight (cf. 12. 416 *Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo*), and from which now Pallas is seen 'shining forth and terrible with the Gorgon' (cf. 6. 825 *saevumque securi Torquatium*).

(2) With Conington to take *saeva* as abl. and compare Il. 18. 203 and 15. 308 where Apollo appears *εἰμένος ἑμοῖν νεφέλην*, *ἔχε δ' αἰγίδα θούρην*, and explain *nimbo et Gorgone saeva* of the *aegis* with which Pallas is regularly represented, and which is described at length Il. 5. 738-742 as a shield (or breast-plate) 'girt round with terror' and having the Gorgon's head in the centre—'flashing forth with her storm-cloud and grim Gorgon.' The objection to this is that *nimbus* is usually a *dark* cloud, but on the other hand the idea here may be to suggest the moment when the lightning 'flashes forth from the storm-cloud.'

Kennedy with one MS. reads *limbo* 'the border of her robe,' referring to the well-known *πέπλος*.

617. *ipse Pater...*] Note the skill with which the poet abstains from any attempt to point out or portray the figure of 'the Father himself.'

619. *eripe fugam*] 'quickly secure flight.' His chance of flight was doubtful unless he quickly 'snatched it out' of the hazards which environed him.

622. *inimica*] Predicate, while *magna* is an attribute: 'the mighty powers of the gods appear fighting against Troy.'

624. *tum vero omne...*] *Omne* is emphatic: the flames have gradually been making head, but at that supreme moment Aeneas seems to see 'all Ilium sinking into the flames and Neptune-reared Troy overturned from its foundations.' The poet for the sake of vivid effect represents the destruction as culminating in one universal crash, and proceeds to emphasise the idea by his simile of a tree which is long attacked, then quivers and rocks, and at last sinks crashing to the ground.

625. *Neptunia*] Cf. 3. 3 n.

626. *ac veluti...cum*] 'even as...when,' cf. 4. 402 ; 6. 707, and see 4. 441 n. '*Particulae serviunt comparationi qua praegressa illustrantur*,' Wagner.

'Even as some ancient ash on a mountain summit, which

hacked with steel and hard-plied axes the woodmen strive eagerly to uproot ; it ever threatens (to fall)....'

630. *vulneribus...*] 'until little by little o'ermastered by the blows it has given one last deep groan and, torn from its native ridge, come crashing down.' The tree, it will be observed, is uprooted, not cut down. Conington and others take *iugis* with *traxit ruinam* ('fallen in ruined length along the ridge'), but *avulsa* must go with *iugis*, for the tree must be 'torn away' from something, and Conington's supposition that the 'tree is torn away from the stump with ropes' is purely gratuitous and also neglects *erueret*. For *trahere ruinam* see 465 n.

632. *deo*] Indefinitely for *dea* ; 'with a deity for guide.'

633. *expedior*] 'I make my way.'

633—670. *When I reach home Anchises refuses to be removed: 'I have already lived too long,' he cries, 'bid me the last farewell and leave me here to die.' He resists all our entreaties, and I, resolved not to fly without him, and maddened at the thought of seeing him and my wife and child butchered by Pyrrhus before my eyes, prepare to rush again to battle and sell my life as dearly as I may.*

634. *ubi perventum*] *sc. est mihi*, 'when I reached,' cf. 6. 45 n.

635. *tollere*] Cf. 707, 708.

638. *integer aevi sanguis*] It would be natural to explain *aevi* as the Greek gen. after negative adjectives = *χρόνον ἀθικτος* 'untouched by time,' but cf. 5. 73 *aevi maturus* 'ripe in regard to time' ; Hor. Od. 1. 22. 1 *integer vitae* 'holy in regard to life' ; Cat. 12. 9 *leporum disertus* ; Tac. Ann. 14. 40 *spernendus morum*, which show that it is a gen. of respect—'blood (*i.e.* vigour) untouched as regards age,' 'youthful vigour still unmarred.'

641. *me*] Emphatic by position and so marking the contrast, = 'but me.' *ducere vitam* : 'lengthen (my thread of) life,' cf. 3. 315 : a metaphor from spinning ; each man 'draws out' the thread of his existence until at the appointed hour

'Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears
And slits the thin-spun life.'—Milton, Lycidas 75.

642. *satis...*] 'enough and more than enough (is it) that I have seen one sack' : the reference is to the sack of the city by Hercules whom Laomedon had defrauded. Cf. 3. 476 n.

643. *captae superavimus urbi*] *Superare* is used here exactly as *superesse* with the dat. = 'survive.'

capta urbs : 'the capture of the city.' Latin idiom has a considerable dislike to verbal nouns and, where we use such a noun followed by a genitive, it often employs a noun and past part. in agreement, cf. 413 *erepta virgo* 'the carrying off of the maiden'; 1. 515 *res incognita* 'ignorance of the facts'; 5. 665 *incensas perfert naves* 'the burning of the ships'; Hor. Od. 2. 4. 10 *ademptus Hector* 'the loss of Hector,' and the phrases *ab urbe condita*, *ante Christum natum*.

644. **sic o sic...**] 'thus lying, yea thus, bid my body farewell and depart.' He urges them to regard him, not as a frail old man lying stretched upon a bed, but as already a corpse laid out (*positum*) upon the bier: *adfati* refers to the last 'greeting and farewell' *Hare Vale* addressed to the dead at the close of a funeral, cf. 6. 231 n.

645. **ipse manu**] must mean 'with my own hand' (cf. 4. 344 n.), and Heyne's note '*manu* : *non mea sed hostis*,' which Conington dubiously approves, is impossible. The words do not however describe suicide, but his intention to act as Priam had done and court death by attacking the foe: when the old man takes his sword into his hand it is not to slay but to be slain. The next words explain what he means: the foe will ruthlessly slay him for the sake of his armour.

Those who speak of the foe 'killing him for pity' miss the point of **miserebitur hostis**: the words of Anchises are uttered in bitterness of soul: the foeman's pity is no pity and will consist in pitilessly slaying him: of course the death thus inflicted will be really pity, for it will relieve him from the burden of life, but it will not be inflicted in pity.

646. **facilis iactura sepulchri**] Again remark the exceeding bitterness and despair: the 'loss of sepulture' is throughout antiquity regarded as almost the greatest loss which can befall a man: when Anchises speaks of it as 'a light thing,' his words are intended to startle us by their utter hopelessness (*summa omnium rerum desperatio*, Wagner).

647. **annos demoror**] The advancing years have long since claimed him as their victim: by living he 'delays them,' 'balks their eagerness.' Cf. Hor. Od. 3. 27. 50 *inpudens Orcum moror*.

649. **fulminis...**] 'breathed upon me with the blast of his thunderbolt and smote me with his lightning.' He is said to have been so punished for boasting of the love of Venus.

651. **effusi lacrimis**] sc. *sumus*, 'were poured forth in tears': a very strong expression, as though they wholly melted

into tears. *ne vellet* is oblique petition dependent on the idea of *entreaty* contained in the preceding words.

653. *fatoque...*] 'and seek to add fresh weight to our heavy destiny': fate was pressing hardly (*urgenti*) enough on them without this fresh burden. Servius compares the phrases *currentem incitare, praecipitantem impellere*.

654. *inceptoque...*] Sidgwick gives 'unmoved in place and purpose': his unchanged attitude is the outward sign of his unchanged resolution.

656. *quae iam...*] 'what chance (of safety) was offered now?'

658. *sperasti?*] 'didst thou dream?': for *spero* with present inf. = 'expect' cf. 4. 292 n.

tantumque...: 'and did such impiety fall from a father's lips?'; *patrio* is emphatic and marks the nature of the impiety, which consisted in urging a son to quit his father.

660. *sedet hoc animo*] 'this (purpose) is firm seated in thy soul': for *sedet* used to express fixity of purpose cf. 4. 15; 5. 418. It is exactly = *stat* 750 n.

661. *isti*] 'that of thine,' 'that which thou seekest': this scornful use of *iste* is very common in arguing with an opponent. *patet ianua* is used metaphorically, cf. 2 Cor. ii. 12 'a door was opened unto me of the Lord.'

662. *multo de sanguine*] '(fresh) from all the blood.'

663. *qui obtruncat*] 'he who butchers': the present is not merely more vivid than the past here (cf. 274 n.) but suggests that his butcher work is still unfinished.

664. *hoc erat ..., quod me ... eripis, ut ... cernam?*] The phrase *quod me eripis* is lit. 'as to the fact of thy saving me,' 'whereas thou savest me'; it is here used as equivalent to a simple noun 'thy saving of me' and is the nom. to *erat*, the sentence being 'thy saving me...was (*i.e.* meant) this!' The meaning of *hoc* is explained by the clause *ut ... cernam*. Translate: 'For *this* then thou art bringing me safe through sword and fire, that I may behold....'

Erat is used (like *ἦν ἄρα*) to imply that this *was* all along the design of Venus, though it is only now that Aeneas discovers it to be so. Conington strangely remarks on *ut cernam* following *erat* as a 'confusion of tenses': there is no confusion, for *hoc erat* really means 'this *is*, I now see, the object of thy saving me, namely that I *may* behold.' For the idiom cf. 7. 128 *haec erat illa fames* 'this then *is* the hunger foretold long ago.'

668. **arma...arma**] The repetition is dramatic, cf. Rich. III. act 5. sc. 4 'a horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!'; Hor. Od. 1. 35. 15 *ad arma...ad arma*.

669. **sinite revisam**] 'permit me to seek again'; for the omission of *ut* in the dependent clause of *Petitio obliqua* cf. the common phrases *fac abeas*; *velim facias*; *licet venias*, and also Ter. And. 5. 3. 30 *sine te hoc exorem*; Livy 33. 45 *permissum est ipsi faceret*. *instaurata* is used proleptically—he will 'renew' the battle by reseeking it.

670. **numquam hodie**] Cf. Ecl. 3. 49 *numquam hodie effugies*. *Numquam* loses its sense of time and becomes an emphatic negative, cf. use of *nusquam* 5. 853.

671—678. *I am putting on my armour when my wife begs me either to take her and my son to die with me or to stay and guard them.*

671. **clipeoque...**] 'and was passing my left arm into (the handle of) my shield, fitting it on': the arm was passed through a strap or handle in the centre of the shield inside.

673. **complexa pedes**] Usually the suppliant clasps the knees, the substitution of the *feet* here marks her as at once deprecating and hindering his departure.

674. **patri**] Emphatic; not 'to me' but 'to his father,' because it is to the paternal affection of Aeneas that she appeals by her act.

675. **si periturus...**] 'if to die thou art going forth, us too take thou to all things at thy side.' *Tecum* is emphatic by position, and *in omnia* is = 'to death or aught that may befall.'

676. **expertus**] 'having (already) tried them,' *i.e.* arms.

678. **et coniunx...**] 'and (to whom) am I, once called thy wife, being abandoned?' Creusa says 'once called thy wife' because Aeneas was about to *leave* her, and the meaning of *coniugium* is *union* between man and wife 'till death them do part.'

679—691. *Now a marvel occurred: a tongue of fire was seen to play harmlessly around the head of Iulus. We were terrified, but Anchises joyfully prayed the gods to confirm the happy omen.*

681. **manus inter...**] Creusa is on her knees holding up Iulus to Aeneas and, as he holds out his hands to receive him, the boy is 'between the hands and faces of his sad parents.' Virgil wishes to depict the exact position of the group.

682. **ecce...**] 'lo! a flickering point of flame seemed...'
Apex is strictly used of the point in which the cap of a Flamen

ended (something like the spike on the top of a modern helmet), but it is here used for a sort of 'tongue (cf. *lambere*) of fire.' The sign was held to portend the presence and favour of deity, cf. *Ov. Fast.* 6. 635, and see *Acts* ii. 3.

The explanations of *apex* as a 'tuft' or 'lock of his hair,' or 'a pointed cap' worn by the boy, seem unnatural.

683. *tactu innoxia*] might be 'harmless to be touched'; cf. 680 *dictu mirabile*, but seems more fittingly to be 'harmless with its touch': the flame touches the hair but does not burn it.

molles: some MSS. have *molli*, but the great majority have *mollis* (= *molles*).

684. *pasci*] 'pasture,' Conington. The word does not so much express 'feeding,' for the flame consumes nothing, as gentle peaceful movement as of sheep when feeding.

685. *nos pavid...*] 'we in startled fear make trembling haste': *trepido* exactly describes nervous haste combining as it does the two ideas of trembling and eagerness, cf. *Hor. Od.* 2. 3. 11 *obliquo laborat | lymphæ fugax trepidare rivo*.

For the infinitives cf. 98 n.

690. *aspice nos—hoc tantum—et...*] 'regard us—'tis my only prayer—and....' Wagner's punctuation is less simple but very tempting—*aspice nos hoc tantum, et...*: he explains *hoc tantum* as a cognate acc. after *aspice*, 'this only (regard) regard us,' 'in this one thing have regard to us,' *τοῦτο μόνον ἡμᾶς ἐπιβλεψον*.

691. *deinde*] This word emphasises the idea that there is a natural sequence, first due reverence from man and then due reward from Heaven. 'If we deserve it by our reverence (*i.e.* if we have first done our part) do thou thereafter grant us aid.'

omina firma: *i.e.* confirm the first omen by a second, and thus show that the first sign was not an accidental event but the sure indication of thy will.

692—725. *Immediately he had ended his prayer we heard thunder on the left hand and saw a shooting star. My father at once accepts the augury and declares his readiness to go with us. I take him on my shoulders and lead Iulus by the hand, while Creusa follows at a distance, and I name a lonely temple of Ceres outside the walls to my attendants as our rendezvous.*

693. *intonuit lævum*] Thunder on the left was a good omen in Roman augury: *lævum* is cognate acc. after *intonuit*, 'it thundered (a thundering) on the left,' cf. 6. 50 n.; 9. 630

genitor...intonuit laevum; 11. 700 *horrendumque intonat armis* (*Aeneas*).

694. *facem...luce*] lit. 'trailing a torch accompanied with much light'; Conington well renders 'with a torch-like train and a blaze of light.'

697. *signantemque vias*] 'and marking its path (in heaven)'; the words are to be joined with *claram*; it is by its 'brightness' that it 'marks its path.'

tum: *i.e.* after its departure: the path (*limes*) it had taken seemed, even after it had disappeared, like a glistening furrow (*sulcus*) which had been ploughed in the sky.

699. *se tollit ad auras*] Hitherto he had been seated (654) and almost prostrate on a couch (644); at the first omen he 'lifted his eyes and hands to heaven' (687), but now 'he raises himself erect to heaven,' his attitude being not only the ordinary attitude of prayer, but also expressive of his readiness to depart.

The change in his conduct is strongly emphasised by *hic vero* 'hereupon indeed,' 'then truly,' and it is only misplaced ingenuity which has suggested that *vero victus* go together.

701. *nulla mora*] Not 'there is no time for delay,' but 'there is no delay on my part,' as the next words show. The promptness of his obedience is strongly marked by the present *sequor* ('I follow,' not *sequar* 'I will follow'), and by the still more vigorous *adsum* 'Here am I.' Alter the line to *sequar et, qua ducitis, ibo* and its force appears by contrast. *Adsum* is the word used by any one who is asked for, *e.g.* a servant, and replies that he is 'Here.'

Editors who place a full stop after *adsum* mar the sense, which clearly is that Anchises is obeying the guidance of the *gods*.

702. *domum*] 'house' in the sense of 'race': the fiery tongue had marked his 'grandchild' and by implication his descendants as under divine protection.

703. *vestroque in numine Troia est*] Clearly these words do not refer to the actual city of Troy, which was deserted by the gods and all but destroyed. The phrase is highly rhetorical and dramatic: as he utters it the speaker's gaze rests on the son and grandson who are now in themselves Troy, and are starting in obedience to a 'divine augury' (cf. *vestrum augurium*) and 'relying on divine will' to found the second Troy.

For *in numine* cf. Soph. O. C. 1443 ταῦτα δ' ἐν τῷ δαίμονι, O. T. 314 ἐν σοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν.

705. *clarior*] Not with *auditur*, for can *clarior ignis auditur* mean 'the fire is heard more clearly'? Surely, when applied to *ignis*, *clarus* must mean 'bright (to sight).' Render 'and now we hear the flames that burn ever brighter through the town': the emphasis is on *auditur*; you only *hear* a fire when it is very near.

706. *aestus incendia volvunt*] 'the conflagration rolls a fiery flood.'

707. *inponere*] 'place thyself on,' cf. 383 n.

709. *quo res cumque cadent*] 'howe'er (lit. whithersoever) things shall fall': the metaphor in *cado* is from dice, cf. the common use of *πίπτω*.

711. *longe*] Virgil puts in this word to prepare us for the account of Creusa's loss in 735; we must suppose that the object of Creusa's following 'at a distance' is to avoid attracting attention to the party by their numbers.

712. *quae dicam*] A substantival clause forming the direct object of *advertite*; *dicam* is future indicative—'what I shall say,' 'my words.'

animis advertite vestris: *advertere* is usually active, and the phrase *animum advertere* 'to turn the attention to' followed by the dat. or *ad* with acc. is common, or the two words may be blended into one *animadvertere* and followed by a simple accusative: here however *advertite* is used intransitively 'turn towards (*i.e.* regard) my words with your minds.'

713. *est urbe egressis*] lit. 'there is to you having quitted the city'; 'as you quit the city there is....'

714. *desertae Cereris*] 'of lonesome Ceres': temples of Ceres were often built outside the walls in lonely spots (Henry 2. 333), but the poet also thinks of Ceres as 'forlorn' of Proserpine. *Ceres Deserta* = Δημήτηρ Ἀχάλα 'the *Mater Dolorosa* of the Greeks' (W. Pater, Gk. Stud. p. 148).

715. *religione...*] Trees of venerable antiquity are naturally regarded with a certain 'religious awe'; see Stanley's description of 'the oak of Mamre,' 'the oak of Bethel,' etc. (Sinai and Palestine, Index, s.v. *Oaks*) which he describes as 'invested with a kind of religious sanctity.'

716. *ex diverso*] 'from different directions.'

718. *me...*] 'for me, who am come fresh from all yon war and carnage, 'tis sacrilege to touch them, until...': *digressum e caede recenti* is literally 'coming from fresh bloodshed,' but 'coming fresh from bloodshed' gives the true emphasis in English.

719. *flumine vivo*] *i.e.* a running stream. Cf. The Teaching

of the Twelve Apostles c. 7, where it is enjoined that baptism shall take place *ἐν ὑδατι ζῶντι* 'in running water.'

721. *latos umeros*] Acc. after *insternor* used in a middle sense, 'I cover my broad shoulders,' cf. 383 n. *latos umeros* is the common Homeric *εὐρέας ὤμων*, but the adjective also suggests that they afforded a roomy seat. Cf. Tennyson, *The Passing of Arthur*, 'Make broad thy shoulders to receive my weight.' *subiecta*: 'stooping,' so as to be ready to receive Anchises.

723. *dextrae se implicuit*] 'entwined his hand in mine.'

725—751. *We make our way through the darkness, and every sound startles me in my anxious fear for those I guard. Just as I come near to the gate we seem to hear footsteps, and my father warns me that he sees the gleam of arms. A sudden infatuation deprives me of my judgment and I quit the path, and it is only on reaching the temple of Ceres that we discover Creusa to be missing. In a frenzy of anxiety I make my way back into the town to search for her.*

725. *per opaca locorum*] Cf. 332 n. They pick those spots that are 'in shadow' and not illuminated by the flames.

727. *adverso...*] 'the Greeks massed in opposing ranks': *ex* is used, like *ἐκ* in Greek, in a pregnant sense; the Greeks were not merely massed *in* opposing ranks, but hurling weapons *from* those ranks.

729. *suspensum*] A pictorial word representing the attitude of a man advancing cautiously, and who 'hangs hesitating' before each step. The idea of 'anxiety' is also suggested, cf. 3. 372 n.

731. *evasisse viam*] 'to have passed the road in safety': *viam* is the direct acc. after *evasisse*, and *evadere* is used in two senses, partly (1) = 'to come to the end of,' partly (2) = 'escape,' the road being regarded as something perilous.

cum creber...: 'when thick upon my ear seemed to come the tramp of feet.'

735. *hic mihi...*] 'here in my alarm some unfriendly power—I know not what—perplexed and robbed me of my wits.' *Nescio quod numen* is inadequately rendered 'some power': Aeneas cannot explain what it was which drove him to act as he did; he can only describe it as 'some mysterious power'; 'some power he knows not what.'

male amicum: *i.e.* unfriendly. When *male* qualifies an adj. which has a good sense, it negatives that good sense, cf. 23 *male fida* = *infida*; 4. 8 *male sana*; when however it qualifies

an adj. which has a bad sense, it intensifies the bad sense, cf. Hor. Od. 1. 17. 25 *male dispari* 'very ill-matched'; Sat. 1. 3. 31 *male laxus calceus* 'abominably loose.'

736. *avia cursu sequor*] 'I hurriedly pursue a pathless course'; *cursu* lit. 'at a run,' see 323 n.

737. *regione*] 'direction,' the original meaning of the word, which is from *rego* 'I direct,' cf. Liv. 21. 31 *recta regione iter instituit*.

738. *heu!...incertum*] The disjointed sentences mark vividly the tumult of his feelings. 'Alas! poor wretch my wife—torn from me by fate did Creusa halt?—or did she wander from the path or sit down weary?—I know not.'

Misero is an ethic dative, and *seu* makes *resedit* an alternative to *erravit* (as Kennedy rightly notes), the second question being a double one, 'did she (either) wander...or sit down?'

Editors agree in placing a comma after *substitit* and a comma after *resedit*, thus making only one sentence, *incertum (est)* being the principal sentence and *fato...substitit* and *erravitne...resedit* dependent clauses in oblique interrogation. With this punctuation however it is quite impossible to explain the use of the indicatives *substitit* etc. instead of the subjunctive, and *an* instead of *ne* would be required in the second clause.

741. *nec...*] She was lost, but he never cast a glance or a thought behind him: this is expressed by saying 'I neither looked back for her lost or cast a thought behind me.'

742. *tumulum*] The temple would stand on 'a mound.' *antiquaë* refers rather to the temple than to the goddess, cf. 713.

743. *hic demum*] 'here and here only,' 'here and not before': 6. 154 n.

744. *fefellit*] She was missing and so 'deceived her companions': a person deceives his companions who gives them the slip and is absent when supposed to be present.

745. *deorumque*] For the hypermetric line cf. 4. 558 n.

750. *stat*] 'I am resolved'; 'my purpose is fixed,' cf. 660 n.

751. *caput*] 'my life.'

752—795. *First I return to my home but find it in flames: then I make for the palace of Priam and the citadel, where I find the Greeks guarding the spoil in the sanctuary of Juno. Recklessly I cry aloud repeating Creusa's name, and am rushing wildly on, when suddenly her ghostly form appears and bids me cease my vain search and press on my journey to that far land*

where a happier fate at last awaits me; 'fear not for me' she said, 'I shall not become a captive, for the mighty Mother of the gods commands me to abide here in her service.' Thrice I attempted to embrace her, but her figure eluded my grasp and disappeared. Then I return to my comrades.

754. *lumine lustrō*] 'scan with my eyes.'

755. *animos*] This word in the plural is usually = 'spirit,' 'courage' (cf. 451, 799), but here is merely = 'heart.' There is good authority for *animo*, and it is impossible to say whether *animosimul* or *animossimul* is original.

756. *si forte...*] 'if haply—if haply—she had returned home'; his thought is put in *oratio obliqua*: he would say 'I will go to my house if haply she shall have returned thither': this becomes 'I returned (*refero* is historic present) to my house if haply she had...,' cf. 94 n. *si forte* 'if haply' is frequently used as here = 'in the hope that possibly': the repetition of the words indicates that he dwells fondly on the hope and at the same time feels that it is only a poor one.

765. *auro solidi*] 'solid with gold,' *i.e.* of solid gold.

768. *voces iactare*] 'to fling cries'; cf. 1. 102 n.

770. *ingeminans*] 'redoubling,' 'repeating' the name 'Creusa.'

771. *tectis furenti*] 'rushing madly among the houses'; for construction of *tectis* cf. 528 n.

773. *nota maior imago*] Like the gods (cf. 591 n.) the dead are of more than human size, cf. Juv. 13. 221; Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 503 *pulcher et humano maior*, of Romulus appearing after death.

774. *stetērunt*] Note the quantity; 3. 48; 681 *constitērunt*; Ecl. 4. 61 *tulērunt*. Lucretius shortens this syllable frequently, cf. Munro, *Lucr.* 1. 406.

777. *non...sine numine*] Litotes: 'not without the will' is = 'most certainly by the will.' Cf. 5. 56 n.

779. *fas aut ille...*] *Fas* is here almost = *fata* (cf. 6. 436 *fas obstat*) and describes that immutable 'law' which even the gods obey, and of which the decrees of Jupiter are the utterance.

ille seems applied to Jupiter almost as a title (see Con. here and 7. 110), cf. Plaut. *Most.* 2. 1. 51 *ita ille faxit Iuppiter*, and it might be explained as deictic, the speaker pointing upward to the sky. In 7. 110 however *sic Iuppiter ille monebat* it occurs in ordinary narrative, and this seems to

show that the use of the word, though originally deictic, had become conventional.

780. *exsilia...et aequor arandum*] *Arandum* goes strictly with *aequor* and loosely with *exsilia* as conveying the general meaning of 'passing over' or 'through'—'long years of exile (must thou traverse), and vast expanse of sea must thou plough.'

781. *Lydius*] Because the Etruscans were supposed to have originally come from Lydia (Herod. 1. 94) and the Tiber is regularly called 'Tuscan' (*Tuscum Tiberim* G. 1. 499) as flowing along the border of Etruria.

782. *arva inter opima virum*] 'amid rich ploughlands of (sturdy) husbandmen.' Each word is carefully chosen by a poet who loved the soil of his country and saw in the restoration of its old homesteads carefully tilled by sturdy yeomen the great hope of renewed national greatness: *arva* from *aro* is strictly used for fields carefully cultivated by the plough as opposed to great tracts of land only used for pasture; *opima* indicates that they were kept in prime condition, fat and fertile; *virum* suggests the old yeomen farmers, each owning his own farm (as opposed to the slave-gangs on great estates), who once had formed the backbone of the Roman armies. *Virum* goes with *arva* = 'lands worked by husbandmen,' and the phrase recalls the Homeric *ἔργα ἀνδρῶν*. To take *opima virum* 'rich in men' (cf. *dives opum* 22) is less natural, see Henry, who in forty instances quoted in Forcellini finds *opimus* used thirty-eight times absolutely and twice with abl.

leni agmine is from Ennius A. 177 *quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen*.

783. *res regnum regia*] Notice the rhetorical alliteration: 'riches, royalty and a royal bride.'

784. *parta tibi*] 'is won for thee': prophecy sees and describes the future as already present.

lacrimas Creusae: 'tears for Creusa,' lit. 'of Creusa,' *i.e.* which the loss of Creusa causes, cf. 413 n.

786. *servitum ibo*] 'shall go to be a slave,' cf. Hor. Od. 1. 2. 15 *ire deiectum* 'advance to overthrow.'

788. *sed me...*] The 'great Mother of the gods' is Cybele, who was specially worshipped at Pessinus in Phrygia, but also on Mount Ida and was therefore favourable to the Trojans. She is often identified with the Earth 'the great mother of all things.' Virgil purposely uses ambiguous words here in describing what becomes of Creusa.

792. Cf. Od. 11. 206, of Ulysses and his mother's shade,

τρίς μὲν ἐφωρμήθην, ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει,
τρίς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἦ καὶ ὄνειρψ
ἔπτατο.

Wordsworth's Laodamia,

'Forth sprang the impassioned Queen her Lord to clasp;
Again that consummation she essayed;
But unsubstantial Form eludes her grasp
As often as that eager grasp was made.'

collo dare brachia circum] An elegant variation of the ordinary *circumdare brachia collo*; clearly *collo dare* are to be taken together and *circum* is adverbial.

794. **volucris somno]** Sidgwick explains as = 'winged sleep,' but surely the ghostly form of Creusa, which flies away, is compared, not to 'sleep,' but to a form seen in sleep, 'a vision of the night'; cf. Job xx. 8 'He shall fly away as a dream and shall not be found; yea, he shall be chased away as a vision of the night.'

796—804. *I find my comrades joined by a miserable throng of other fugitives, who are eager to follow me to any land. The dawn was just breaking and as there was no hope left of doing any good by remaining, I proceed with my father to the mountains.*

798. **exsilio]** 'for exile,' Dat. of Purpose, cf. 1. 22 *venturum excidio* 'will come for a destruction.'

799. **animis opibusque parati]** 'ready with heart and wealth'; they had made up their minds to follow him and also made preparations for doing so by collecting such treasures as they could. Some word like *ire* must be mentally supplied after *parati*.

800. **deducere]** A technical word for *conducting a colony*: lit. 'to lead down,' *i.e.* from the mother-city to the place chosen. '**velim** = οἶπερ ἂν βούλωμαι.' Howson.

803. **opis]** *i.e.* of affording help: Troy was irretrievably lost.

BOOK III

1—12. *We build a fleet in the harbour of Antandros and set sail at the first commencement of summer.*

1. **res Asiae]** ‘the fortunes of Asia’: Troy is regarded as holding the sovereignty of Asia, *i.e.* of that part of Asia Minor which lies along the coast of the Aegaeon (cf. 2. 557 where Priam is called *regnatorem Asiae*). The phrase is a stately one and the intention is to afford a strong contrast between the former greatness of Troy and its present fall, cf. below *superbum Ilium* and *Neptunia Troia*.

2. **inmeritam]** ‘guiltless’: Paris alone had sinned, but the innocent suffered with the guilty.

visum superis: ‘it was the pleasure of heaven’; this use of *visum* = ἔδοξεν is common, cf. 2. 428 *dis aliter visum*; Hor. Od. 1. 33. 10 *sic visum Veneri*.

3. **humo]** ‘from the ground’: the city had been burnt to the ground, and long afterwards the smoke continues to rise from the ground. Virgil rhetorically speaks of the ashes as still smoking when Aeneas sets sail, for this must be the force of the change from the past *cecidit* to the present *fumat*.

Neptunia: ‘Neptune-built.’ Having been reared by a god the city might have been thought indestructible. It was not so, however, for the story was that Laomedon, having induced Neptune and Apollo to build the walls of Troy, cheated them of their promised reward and so brought upon it their everlasting hatred (cf. Hor. Od. 3. 3. 21 *destituit deos | mercede pacta Laomedon*), cf. 248 n.

4. **diversa exsilia]** The words can only mean ‘places of exile lying far apart,’ cf. 1. 376 *diversa per aequora* and commonly *diversi loci*: so we might speak of ‘banishment to the ends of the earth.’ The phrase, like *desertas terras* and 7 *incerti quo fata ferant*, must not be examined in the light of what actually befell the fugitives or of Creusa’s definite and cheering

prophecy 2. 781, with which it is inconsistent, but is intended simply to emphasise the doubt and despondency with which they quit Troy for ever.

Some explain of 'exile in a distant land *i.e.* Italy'; giving a forced sense to *diversus* and neglecting the plural *exsilia*. Moreover Virgil, if he were thinking of Italy, could not possibly use the words *desertas terras* (cf. 2. 783), and the explanation of Servius '*desertas a Dardano*' is absurd.

quaerere...agimur : for the infinitive cf. 1. 527 n.

5. *auguriis divom*] no doubt with especial reference to the 'divine augury' described 2. 679-704, when a mysterious tongue of fire was seen to play round the head of Iulus, and was followed by thunder on the left hand and a shooting star.

6. *Antandro*] 'Cf. Thuc. 4. 52 "Αντανδρον...ναυς γὰρ εὐπορία ἦν ποιεῖσθαι αὐτόθεν ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς Ἰδῆς ἐπικειμένης.' Henry.

Phrygiae Idae : the epithet is added for the sake of ornament, and also because the poet is shortly about to refer to the Cretan Ida, see 105. The historic Phrygia did not include the Troad but was in the interior S.E. of it; the Roman writers however constantly use *Phrygius* = 'Trojan.'

molimur : 'we build.' This word is a favourite with Virgil of doing or making anything that needs effort, cf. 1. 424 *molirique arcem*, 563 n.; 4. 233, 309 n.; G. 1. 494 *terram molitus aratro* 'laboriously ploughing.'

7. *quo fata...*] 'whither fate leads, where rest is granted us.' The present is not used for the future: their fate is spoken of as already determined, although they do not know what it will prove to be.

8. *vix prima...et...cum* (10)] 'scarcely had earliest summer begun *and* Anchises was advising...*when* I leave.' Other editors prefer to make the apodosis begin at *et pater*, rendering 'scarcely had summer begun *when* Anchises began to urge...and then (*cum*)....' There is not much to choose between the two views. Cf. 2. 172 n.

9. *dare fatis vela*] an elegant variation of the common phrase *dare ventis vela*, intended to emphasise their complete dependence on destiny.

11. *ubi Troia fuit*] 'where Troy was': for *fuit* cf. 2. 325 n. Notice the pathos and rhetorical power of these simple words placed emphatically last.

12. *Penatibus et magnis dis*] The peculiar ending of the line is an imitation of a line of Ennius *dono ducite doque*

volentibu' cum magnis dis: Virgil introduces it here that the archaic sound of the line may give a sense of stateliness and solemnity to the words, cf. 375 ; 1. 65.

As in a house the Penates are the gods who specially protect that house, so the Penates of a city are the national gods who specially protect that city. On the preservation of the Trojan Penates the preservation of the Trojan race depended and the hope of a new Troy. Some think that they are here to be identified with the *di magni*, others think not, but that the *di magni* are images of the 'greater gods' (*di maiores*), such as Jupiter, Juno, etc. It is impossible to decide, and probably Virgil was himself not displeased with the ambiguity of the phrase, which derives a certain awe from its obscurity. In 148 *effigies sacrae divom Phrygiquae Penates* there is much the same doubt as to whether the 'images of the gods' and the 'Penates' are the same or different: in 2. 296 Hector tells Aeneas that 'Troy entrusts to him her Penates,' and then brings him an image of Vesta.

13—18. *We land in Thrace and I begin to found a town and name it after myself.*

13. *procul*] 'at a little distance,' 'close by': Thrace is only separated from the Troad by the Hellespont. *Procul* often implies no great interval but merely distinct separation, cf. 5. 775 ; 6. 10, 651 ; Ecl. 6. 16 *serta procul, tantum capiti delapsa, iacebant* ; G. 4. 424.

Mavortia: so in Homer, Il. 13. 301 Ares comes 'from Thrace' to battle, and Od. 8. 361 returns to it as his home.

14. *Thraces arant*] A parenthesis. *acri*: because of his fierce persecution of Dionysus and his worship.

regnata Lycurgo: 'ruled over by Lycurgus.' *Regnare* 'to reign,' being an intransitive verb, ought not to have a passive, but for convenience sake (and probably to avoid the ambiguous part. of *rego—rectus*) the past part. is allowed to be used passively. Cf. 6. 794 *regnata Saturno* ; Hor. Od. 2. 6. 11 *regnata Phalantho* ; 3. 29. 27 *regnata Cyro*. Other intransitive verbs thus allowed a pass. part. are 690 *errata* ; 4. 609 *ululata*. *Lycurgo*: dat. of agent common after past part., cf. 1. 326 n.

15. *hospitium...*] 'a land where Trojans were welcome of old and the gods allied.'

Hospitium may mean either (1) 'the relation of host to guest,' 'hospitality,' or (2) 'the place where such hospitality is shown,' and the second sense is perhaps prominent here,

where the word is in apposition with *terra*, cf. 61. At the same time the sense of 'alliance' is very strong in the word, for the relationship between states denoted by the words *hospitium* and *ξενία* or *προξενία* was a distinctly formal one and unless solemnly broken off continued from generation to generation (see Dict. Ant. s.v. *Hospitium*). As, when *hospitium* existed between individuals, the household gods would be supposed to participate in it, so, when it existed between states, the national gods would become allies (*socii*).

16. *dum fortuna fuit*] 'while fortune stayed'; cf. 1. 268 *dum res stetit Ilia*. Conington prints *Fortuna*, thus personifying the 'Fortune of Troy,' who is described as deserting the city after its fall: so too 53.

17. *fatis ingressus iniquis*] 'entering on the task in an evil hour'; lit. 'fate being cruel.'

18. *Aeneadas*] 'men of Aeneas.' There was a city called Aenus (*Αἴνος*) at the mouth of the Hebrus and another called Aenea (*Αἴνεα*) in Chalcidice on the Thermaic gulf, and Virgil probably wishes to connect one of them with the wanderings of Aeneas. Some here think that the town itself was called *Aeneadae*, but surely no town was ever called by a plural patronymic, while the *inhabitants* of a town called Aenea or Aeneas might have the name *Aeneadae* 'devised' (cf. *tingo*) for them.

19—48. *As I was offering sacrifices at the foundation of the town, I happened to endeavour to pluck some myrtle boughs from a mound close by in order to deck the altars. Then a horrible prodigy occurs: from the roots of the first myrtle that I tear up fall drops of gore: in terror I pluck another, and from it too there drops gore. After praying to heaven I make a third trial, when a voice comes from the mound entreating me to desist, for that the blood was the blood of Polydorus and that each branch was one of the spears with which he had been murdered and which had grown up in his body. The tale struck me dumb with terror.*

19. *Dionææ matri*] 'to my mother, Dione's daughter,' *i.e.* to Venus.

20. *auspicibus*] In apposition with *matri* and *divis*: he was offering sacrifices to his mother and the gods 'as protectors of his task,' *i.e.* in hope that by his sacrifices he would induce them to become protectors of his task: *auspicibus* is used proleptically.

Before commencing any important work the Romans were accustomed to 'take the auspices'; the magistrate, general, or chief man who took them was the *auspex*, and his endeavour

was to obtain some omen of divine approval; if he was successful in this the work was said to be done 'under his auspices,' and hence *auspex* obtains the secondary sense of 'leader,' 'protector,' 'guardian.' Here the gods are asked to become *auspices* in order that (1) they might send some favourable omen and (2) so signify their acceptance of the guardianship of the new city.

nitentem : 'of glossy white'; cf. 5. 236 *candentem taurum*.

21. *caelicolum*] = *caelicolarum*, cf. 53 n.

23. *densis...*] 'a myrtle bristling with many a spear-shaft.' Both the myrtle and the cornel afforded good material for spear-shafts (G. 2. 447 *at myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello | cornus*), but of course the description of the shoots here as 'spear-shafts' is designed, cf. 46.

The myrtle would naturally attract his attention, as it was sacred to Venus to whom he was specially sacrificing.

24. *viridem silvam*] 'the green growth': Virgil is fond of using *silva*, not for 'a wood,' 'forest,' but for the thick growth of comparatively small plants, as for instance the lupine (G. 1. 76), or burrs (G. 1. 152).

25. *ramis...*] Decorations not only of flowers but of branches of trees were commonly used on solemn occasions, cf. 64; 2. 248 *delubra deum...festa velamus fronde*.

26. *dictu mirabile*] 'marvellous in telling,' *i.e.* 'marvellous to tell'; see Pub. Sch. Lat. Gr. § 146.

28. *atro...*] 'drops flow with black blood,' = drops of black blood flow.

30. *gelidusque...*] 'and my chilled blood freezes with terror.'

31. *rursus et alterius...ater et alterius* (33)] 'again of a second too...black of the second too....' Observe the parallelism: the intention is to emphasise the fact that the result of the same action was exactly the same in the second attempt, thus proving that what had happened in the first case was not accidental.

convellere insequor : 'I press on to pluck,' cf. 2. 64 n.

34. *movens*] 'pondering.' *Nymphas agrestes* : he prays to the 'nymphs of the country' because certain nymphs such as the Dryades and Hamadryades (from *δρῦς* 'an oak') were the special guardians of woods and trees. There were other classes of Nymphs, such as the sea-Nymphs—*Nereides*, river-Nymphs—*Naiades*, etc.

35. *patrem*] In solemn supplication all the great gods were addressed by this term : cf. 89 and Conington G. 2. 4.

36. **secundarent]** Oblique petition after *venerabar*: 'I prayed them...duly to make the portent favourable and lighten the (heavy) omen.'

All omens were held to have a necessary fulfilment: hence, when an evil omen occurred, prayer was at once addressed to the gods that they would arrange some way in which the omen could be fulfilled without much harm. So too an oracle must be fulfilled, but by prayer a means of fulfilling an apparently evil oracle might be discovered which rendered it harmless, see the instance 257 n. In the present case what seemed an omen of evil immediately receives a full explanation, and the explanation proves of service to Aeneas by warning him of the danger he runs in Thrace, 44.

37. **hastilia]** Plural, because he is trying to uproot the whole plant with all its spear-like shoots. Each spear in the body of Polydorus had taken root there, and produced a quantity of such shoots.

38. **genibusque...]** 'and tug with my knees pressed against the sand': lit. 'struggle with my knees against the opposing sand.'

40. **vox reddita]** 'an answering voice'; the answer is to the act of Aeneas, which forces the ghost of Polydorus to speak.

41. **Aeneā]** Greek voc. *Aiveiā*, cf. 475 *Anchisā*. **iam**: 'at last,' *i.e.* after lacerating my body twice.

parce sepulto, parce...scelerare: notice the varied construction and varied meaning of *parce*: 'spare a buried man... spare (*i.e.* cease) to defile.'

42. **non me...]** 'no stranger to you did Troy bear me, nor does this blood flow from a stock (but from a human body).' *Non* qualifies the whole sentence ('it is not the case that I am a stranger or that...'), so that in translating we may render *aut* by 'nor.'

Conington says that *externus* is to be supplied in the second clause from *externum* in the first, 'nor is this a stranger's blood that flows from the wood,' but this seems needlessly difficult.

tibi: may be the ethic dative (= 'mark you') or dependent on *externus*: in any case it is thrown forward, partly because Latin loves to bring pronouns together, but chiefly to arrest the attention of the person addressed.

45. **hic confixum...]** 'here an iron crop of weapons buried my pierced body, and grew up in it with sharp javelins.' The *iacula acuta* are the javelins with which he was murdered,

and which, when planted in his body, formed 'the iron crop,' which takes root there and grows up 'with its sharp javelins.'

Others take *acutis iaculis* as a dat. = 'into sharp javelins,' but the construction is doubtful, and though the weapons in the body may have grown and shot up into 'spear-shafts' (*hastilia*), it is hardly possible that they can be described as having shot up 'into sharp javelins.' You may find spear-shafts in a myrtle-bush, but certainly not 'sharp javelins': the adjective shows that the javelins are those which originally pierced the body.

47. *ancipiti...*] 'my mind weighed down with doubt and dread': the dread is called *anceps* because it makes him doubtful how to act. For the construction of *mentem pressus* see Appendix.

48. *stetērunt*] Cf. 2. 774 n.

49—72. *Polydorus, you must know, was a son of Priam whom, when the fortunes of Troy grew doubtful, he had sent away secretly with much gold, placing him in the charge of the king of Thrace. He, when Troy fell, murdered Polydorus and seized the gold. O cursed greed of gold, to what crimes dost thou not drive men? However, when I recovered from my terror, I refer the whole matter to my father and a council of the chiefs: they all vote for immediately leaving the accursed land, and so after duly performing funeral rites to lay the ghost of Polydorus, as soon as the wind is favourable we set sail.*

49. *hunc...fames* (57)] Aeneas proceeds to give Dido an account of who Polydorus was. With the facts stated in the first four lines he would naturally be acquainted; the information contained in the following lines represents the rest of the story as it would present itself to his mind after reflecting on what the ghost of Polydorus had told him, or Virgil may assume that he had subsequently heard fuller details of the murder.

The exclamation 56 *quid...fames?* is very skilfully introduced; it gives Aeneas an opportunity of breaking off his explanation, and then, after a pause, resuming his main narrative at *postquam....*

50. *infelix Priamus*] Some have doubted whether *infelix* refers to the general bad fortune of Priam, which was proverbial (cf. 2. 554 n.), or to his special bad fortune in this case: of course the adj. refers to both one and the other—Priam was unfortunate in all things and unfortunate in this.

furtim mandarāt: 'had secretly sent him to'; ὑπεξέπεμψε,

Eur. Hecuba 6, in which play the story of Polydorus is told: The 'Thracian king' was Polymestor, who had married Priam's daughter.

51. iam] 'by now,' *i.e.* towards the end of the war.

52. cingique...] 'and saw the city being surrounded by the siege.' Virgil speaks as though the 'Siege of Troy' was a regular siege and as if Priam sent away Polydorus when he saw that the lines of the besiegers were all but completed. Homer knows nothing of a formal siege or lines of investment.

53. Teucrum] Virgil commonly uses this contracted gen. in *um* (sometimes written *om* when *v* precedes) with (1) proper names as *Teucrum*, *Danaum*, *Argivom*, *Graiuenum*, *Achivom*, *Dardanidum*, *Graium* (4. 228), *Pelasgum*, or (2) names describing a class of persons as *divum* or *divom*, *socium* (5. 174), *decum*, *virum*, *superum*, *caelicolum*; also with one adjective *magnanimum* 3. 704; 6. 307: see too *currum* = *curruum* 6. 653.

54. res] 'fortunes.' *victricia*: *victrix* as a fem adj. should only be used with fem. nouns, and its use here with *arma* is very exceptional.

55. fas omne abrumpit] 'breaks every sacred tie': *fas* is divine law, and *fas omne* is used here for all the obligations imposed on him by the sacred laws of hospitality, kinship, and good faith.

56. potitur] Notice the quantity and cf. 4. 217.

quid non...: 'to what dost thou not drive human hearts?' *Quid* is a sort of cognate acc., *quid cogis* being almost equal 'with what compulsion dost thou compel,' but in explaining this bold construction it must be remembered that great liberty of construction is allowed to the acc. case of neuter pronouns in both Greek and Latin: cf. 4. 412; Livy 4. 26 *cogi aliquid*, 6. 15 *vos id cogendi estis*.

'We can easily conceive how keenly this ejaculation of Aeneas would come home to the feelings and experience of the listening Dido, who would see in Polymestor another Pygmalion.' Howson.

57. sacra] That which is dedicated to a god may be dedicated for preservation or destruction, and so *sacer* may mean 'holy' or 'accursed': the latter sense is very common in the legal phrase SACER ESTO 'let him be accursed.' For the double meaning cf. *ἀνάθημα* and *ἀνάθεμα*. *postquam*...: resuming the main narrative, cf. 49 n.

58. delectos...] 'to chosen chieftains of the people, and my sire above all.' Virgil in writing this has clearly before his

mind the Roman senate to which prodigies were regularly referred. Conington takes *primum* as though Virgil meant that Aeneas consulted Anchises first, *i.e.* before the other chiefs, but the position of the words *primumque parentem* is fatal to this view: *primum* describes Anchises as presiding or holding a chief place in the assembly.

60. **excedere]** The inf. seems to be in apposition to *animus*: their 'mind' or 'decision' is 'to depart.' In the next line *dare* is in the same construction, and the passive *linqui* (for which only poor MSS. have *linquere*) seems introduced simply for the sake of variety, and, if its exact construction must be determined, may be considered to be dependent on the general sense of *omnibus idem animus = omnes iubent*.

61. **linqui pollutum hospitium]** Beyond doubt *hospitium* is here used of the land itself: Thrace was 'a land where the Trojans had a right to hospitality' (*hospitium Troiae* 15 n.); by the murder of Polydorus this sacred right had been violated and the land had become *pollutum hospitium*—'a land of hospitality profaned.'

dare classibus Austros: 'to give the winds to the fleet'; the fleet is supposed to be impatient and longing for the breeze to be again blowing in its sails, cf. 4. 417 *vocat iam carbasus auras* 'the canvas now wooes the breeze.' The use of *Austros* merely = 'winds' is conventional and bad: of course a south wind could not carry them *from* Thrace, cf. 70.

62. **instauramus]** This is a technical word used of repeating a religious ceremony when there had been some error or omission in its first performance (*sacra instaurantur, quia aliquid ex patrio ritu negligentia casuive praetermissum est*, Livy 5. 52). It is a favourite word with Virgil in the sense of 'renew,' cf. 2. 451 *instaurati animi*, 669 *instaurata proelia*, and especially in connection with anything solemn or religious, cf. 4. 63 *instauratque diem donis*; 4. 145; 5. 94 *instaurat honores*; 6. 529 n. It is therefore used strictly here, for though there is 'a mound' (*tumulus*) over the body of Polydorus, and though he is described as 'buried' 41, still it is clear that this first burial was only an accidental or irregular one, and that therefore this second burial with due ritual is a true *instauratio funeris*. Translate 'we solemnly renew the burial.'

63. **aggeritur tumulo tellus]** 'earth is heaped upon the mound'; *i.e.* the mound or hillock, under which the body was lying, is turned into a formal sepulchre (cf. 6. 232 *ingenti mole sepulchrum*; Aesch. Cho. 351 *πολύχωστον τάφον*). Others render 'earth is heaped up to form a mound,' but as the

tumulus already existing over the body has been twice mentioned, 22, 40, they cannot here be described as raising a *tumulus* over it.

stant Manibus arae: 'altars are raised to the dead.' The *Manes* represent the spirits of the departed, which in numberless early religions are regarded as needing worship and propitiation; no inscription is more common than that of D.M. (= *dis Manibus*) on urns, tombstones, and the like, see Smith's Dict. Ant. s.v. *Funus*. Two altars seem commonly to have been erected to a deity, cf. 305; Ecl. 5. 65 *en quattuor aras, | ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo*.

64. **caeruleis]** 'dark-coloured,' 'gloomy.' **atra**: 'funereal.' For *vittis* see Smith's small Dict. Ant.

65. **et circum...]** 'and around (stand) the Ilian women, their hair unloosed according to custom.'

crinem solutae: 'with hair unbound.' For construction see Appendix.

66. **inferimus]** These offerings to the dead were specially called *inferiae*, so that Virgil clearly uses the word *inferimus* here in a technical sense. The spirit was actually supposed to partake of them, cf. 301 n.

67. **sacri]** 'hallowed,' *i.e.* the blood of victims; 5. 78.

animam sepulchro condimus: 'we lay his ghost within the tomb.' The ghost is supposed to inhabit the tomb, but is uneasy and restless until his tomb has been made fit for his habitation by the performance of due funeral rites. According to another theory, less natural but more artistic, the ghosts of the unburied wander a hundred years on the shores of Styx before they are allowed to cross it and enter the kingdom of the dead, 6. 325-330.

68. **supremum ciemus]** 'summon' or 'call upon him for the last time': *supremum* is a cognate acc. used adverbially, cf. 6. 50 n. For this 'last greeting' at funerals cf. 6. 506 n.

69. **inde...]** Conington begins a fresh paragraph here, but wrongly, for the sequence of thought in 60-72 is this: 'they determine to quit the land: therefore we first bury Polydorus and then set sail.' By ending the paragraph at 69 we get 'they determine to quit the land: *therefore* we bury Polydorus,' which is absurd.

70. **lenis crepitans]** 'soft-whispering': Virgil is fond of thus joining an adj. with a present part. where an adverb would be strictly correct, cf. 5. 278 *arduus attollens*, 764 *creber adspirans*; 8. 299 *arduus arma tenens*, 559 *inexpletus*

lacrimans; G. 1. 163 *tarda...volventia plaustra* 'slow-rolling waggons'; 2. 377 *gravis incumbens*; 4. 370 *saxosusque sonans Hypanis*.

71. *deducunt*] 'launch'; the small ships of the ancients were regularly 'drawn up on to the beach' (*subducta* 135) when they came ashore for any time, and so it was necessary 'to launch' (*deducere*) them before starting. Cf. 219 n.

73—83. *We reach the holy island of Delos and, having landed, are admiring the temple of Apollo when Anius, the king of the island and priest of Apollo, meets us, and recognising Anchises as an old friend welcomes us beneath his roof.*

73. *colitur*] 'is inhabited' (cf. 13 *colitur*; 77 *coli*). The word, as Conington notes, represents the Homeric *valei*, *vaierâ*, and is almost = 'there is.'

74. *Nereidum matri*] *i.e.* Doris. For the spondaic ending and hiatus in *Neptuno Aegaeo*, cf. 1. 617 n.

Neptune is styled Aegaeon because the Greeks naturally spoke of their own sea as the favourite haunt of the sea-god, and also because Delos is in the Aegaeon.

75. *pius*] 'dutiful,' because Apollo was born at Delos and so owed it affection and gratitude.

The legend is that Delos was originally a floating island until Zeus fastened it by adamantine chains to the bottom of the sea in order that Leto might be at rest when she became the mother of Apollo in it. Virgil here makes the gratitude of Apollo the cause of its becoming stationary.

For *Arkitenens* good MSS. have *Arquitenens*.

76. *Mycono e celsa*] Myconos is not a lofty but a low island (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7. 463 *humilem Myconon*), but Virgil, ignorant of this, calls it 'lofty,' probably because any island may be described as 'rising' out of the sea.

revinxit: 'bound fast'; the word indicates that the bonds hold it *back* when it would otherwise move, cf. *religare navem* 'to moor a ship.'

77. *inmotamque coli dedit...*] 'and granted (to it) that it remain unmoved and despise the winds.' *Coli* is the ordinary infinitive after *dedit* in the sense of 'allowing,' and must not be confounded with the epexegetic use of the inf. after *dare* which is so common in Virgil, cf. 5. 247 n.

78. *huc...*] 'to it (Delos) I am borne; it most peacefully welcomes us weary in its safe harbour.' Virgil seems to regard Delos not only as no longer driven about by the winds, but also as sheltered by Myconos, Gyaros, and the other Cyclades

so as to be altogether untroubled by the winds (*placidissima*) and so a safe anchorage.

79. *veneramur*] 'we gaze with awe upon.'

80. *idem*] This word (cf. 564 n.) calls marked attention to the combination of two distinct offices in the same person — 'king Anius, king at once of men and priest of Phoebus.' In early times, as the head of a household not only governed his household but also offered sacrifices and the like on its behalf, so the head of the tribe is not only king but high-priest, as for example was the case with the Roman kings.

Cf. Gen. xiv. 18 'And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God.'

rex hominum: so in Homer continually ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν.

81. *lauro*] The laurel was sacred to Apollo, cf. 91.

84—120. *As I stood in awe before the temple I prayed Apollo to grant me a settled home and some sign to guide me to it. Scarce was the prayer uttered when the temple and mountain quaked, the shrine flew open, and an oracular utterance fell upon our ears addressing us as 'sons of Dardanus,' and bidding us seek the land which was our 'ancient mother,' for that there we should found a lasting and universal empire. Anchises interprets the oracle as bidding us go to Crete, the native land of our great ancestor Teucrus and the great Phrygian goddess Cybele. Accordingly we sacrifice to Apollo and to Neptune, to Storm and to the West wind, preparatory to starting.*

84. *templa...venerabar*] *Veneror* means 'to reverence'; hence it can mean 'to do anything reverently' and so, as 79, 'regard reverently,' or, as very frequently, 'pray to,' 'entreat reverently.' Conington says that it has here the sense of entreating, and that so the words of the prayer follow naturally, but surely *templa venerabar* cannot mean 'I was entreating the temple.' The phrase describes Aeneas as standing regarding the temple in a spirit of reverence and worship, which immediately finds expression in the prayer which follows.

85. *propriam*] 'abiding': the word is a very strong one, and describes that which is an inalienable possession, cf. Hor. Od. 2. 2. 22 *propriam laurum* of the 'imperishable crown' which Virtue bestows; Sat. 2. 2. 134 where he speaks of land as *nulli proprius* 'no man's for ever'; Ep. 2. 2. 172. So 167 Italy is to be the 'everlasting home' (*propriae sedes*) of the Trojans. Cf. 1. 73.

86. *mansuram urbem*] 'a continuing city' (Heb. xiii. 14).

altera Troiae Pergama : Aeneas speaks of himself and his followers as 'Troy's second citadel' because they were the men who were to build and guard the citadel in that 'second Troy' which they hoped to found.

87. **reliquias...Achilli]** Repeated from 1. 30 where see notes. The words are in apposition here to *altera Troiae Pergama* which is exactly = *Troas* in 1. 30.

88. **quem sequimur?]** 'who is our guide?' *i.e.* who is to be our guide? In short questions the indicative is often used for the deliberative subjunctive to give greater life, cf. 367 *quae prima pericula vito?* 2. 322 *quam prendimus arcem?* 4. 368 *quid dissimulo?* 10. 675 *accipio? quid ago?*

89. **animis inlabere nostris]** 'steal into our hearts': they pray the god to enter their hearts, and by his presence fill them with inspiration.

90. **vix...fatus eram...visa]** sc. *sunt*, 'scarce had I spoken, (when) all things seemed....' For the construction cf. 2. 172 n.

tremere : the quaking indicates the presence of deity, cf. Ps. cxiv. 7 'Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord.'

91. **liminaquē laurusque]** 'The most decided innovation introduced into the hexameter by Virgil, the lengthening of the first *que* in verse-beginnings like *liminaque laurusque* or verse-endings like *Noemonaque Prytanisque* is an obvious imitation of Homer's *λάμπρον τε Κλυτίον τε, Προθοήνωρ τε Κλονίος τε κ.τ.λ.* In Homer *τε* is mostly lengthened before double consonants, liquids, and sibilants; and Virgil has scrupulously followed his master. Of the sixteen instances collected by Wagner fourteen present *que* lengthened before a double consonant; the other two are 3. 91, and *Eurique Zephyrique* G. 1. 371 : 'Con. Virg. Ex. to Bk. 12. It should be noted that a syllable lengthened has always the ictus on it, and that 12. 363 *Chloreaque Sybarisque* should be added to cases of lengthening before a single consonant.'

The description of Apollo's temple is probably taken from the celebrated temple at Delphi. Both the outside and inside were largely decorated with laurel, which was sacred to the god. The *adytum* is the shrine at the farthest end behind the *πρόναος* and *ναός*. The worshippers are probably conceived as in the *ναός* or main central portion of the temple standing before the threshold (*limina*, cf. 371 n.) of the closed *adytum*. Within the *adytum* sits the priestess on a tripod, the *cortina* (λέβης, 'caldron' or 'basin') being placed on the tripod and forming her seat. The tripod itself was placed over a fissure

in the rock from which mephitic vapours were supposed to rise and help to produce the inspired frenzy. Cf. 6. 91 n.

92. **mons]** The town of Delos was at the foot of Mt. Cynthus. **mugire:** 'bellow,' 'roar,' used of the mysterious indistinct sound which precedes the divine voice.

93. **submissi petimus terram]** 'on bended knees we fall to the ground,' cf. *Lucr.* 1. 92 *muta metu terram genibus submissa petebat.*

94. **Dardanidae duri]** Both words are emphatic: by calling them 'sons of Dardanus' the oracle points out that their 'ancient mother' is Italy from which according to some legends Dardanus came; by addressing them as *duri* it suggests the hardships which await them before arriving at their goal.

quae vos... : 'the land which first bore you from the stock of your fathers shall likewise (*eadem*) welcome your return to (lit. 'with') her fruitful bosom.' The words **ubere laeto** have each a twofold meaning: *uber* means (1) 'a mother's breast,' (2) 'fertility of soil,' cf. the description of Italy 164 *terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae*; *laetus* means (1) 'joyful,' *i.e.* giving you a joyful welcome, (2) 'fertile,' 'fruitful.'

97. **hic]** 'here' *i.e.* in this land just mentioned. English idiom would use 'there': 111 *hinc*. **cunctis dominabitur oris:** probably *cunctis oris* is abl. of place; Rome shall hold sway 'on every coast,' cf. 1. 285 *victis dominabitur Argis*. The use of *dominar* with dat. = 'hold sway over' seems doubtful.

This and the next line are copied from *Il.* 20. 307

*νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.*

98. **et nati...**] 'and his children's children and their children after them.'

99. **haec Phoebus]** 'thus Phoebus (spake)'; cf. 558 *et pater Anchises* 'and Anchises cried.'

100. **ea moenia]** 'those (*i.e.* the promised) walls': Phoebus had mentioned no walls, but in answer to their prayer for 'a city' he had directed them to a land where they should establish an empire, and so virtually promised them walls.

102. **veterum...**] 'pondering the memorials of men of old.' By *veterum monumenta virorum* are meant traditions handed down orally from generation to generation, which before the common use of writing take the place of history; cf. *Ps.* xlv.

1 'we have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us...', and 107 *audita*.

104. *Iovis magni insula*] Crete is 'the island of great Jove,' because he was born there. The story is that, as Saturn devoured his children from fear of being overthrown by one of them, Rhea the mother of Jupiter gave him a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes instead of the infant, and hid Jupiter on Mount Ida in Crete, employing the Corybantes (111) to clash their cymbals and so prevent his cries being heard.

105. *mons Idaeus ubi*] It is the fact that there was a Mt. Ida in Crete as well as at Troy which chiefly induces Anchises to think of Crete as the 'cradle of their race.'

106. *centum urbes*] Il. 2. 649 ἄλλοι θ' οἱ Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο. The nom. to *habitant* is 'they,' i.e. 'the Cretans' naturally supplied from *Creta*. *uberrima regna*: the richness of the land is referred to as explaining the number of its cities.

107. *maximus pater*] 'our great ancestor': Wagner's note is excellent, '*Maximus pater, unde ipsi maiores orti, ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ γένους.*' As founder of their race the Trojans were often called after him *Teucrici*. For *audita* = 'the story' cf. 102 n. Thuc. 1. 20 τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων.

109. *locum*] 'the place' is the 'Rhoetean coast.' *regno*: Dat. of Purpose, 'for a kingdom.'

nondum...: cf. Il. 20. 216

ἐπεὶ οὖπω Ἴλιος ἰρῆ
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾤκεον πολυπίδακος Ἴδης.

110. *steterant*] 'had been built': slightly different in meaning from *stabant* 'were standing.' It has been suggested that it is pluperfect of *sisto* used in a neuter sense, but the form *steti* for *stiti* is very doubtful.

habitant: the nom. is to be inferred, 'they dwelt' meaning 'the inhabitants of the land dwelt.'

111. *hinc*] 'from this place,' i.e. from Crete the place he is talking about. 'Hence (came) the Mother who dwells on Cybelus....'

Rhea, the mother of Jupiter and daughter of Heaven and Earth, was identified with the Oriental goddess Cybele, who was worshipped at Pessinus in Phrygia, from which her image was brought to Rome B.C. 204, and her worship, which was of a highly mystic and orgiastic character, became very

popular there. She was known as *Magna Mater*, *Mater Deum*, or *Mater Idaea*. Lucretius (2. 600-643) regards her as symbolising the universal mother—Earth, explaining the various details of her worship on that supposition, for example stating that the yoked lions of her car (113) symbolise the willing obedience which even the wildest natures pay to their parents.

For *Cybeli* some read *Cybelae*; in either case it must be the name of a mountain.

aera: 'cymbals,' cf. 104 n.

112. *hinc fida silentia sacris*] 'hence (came) true silence to holy mysteries,' *i.e.* the mysteries of Cybele which are guarded by inviolable silence.

113. *et iuncti...*] 'and (hence) yoked lions passed beneath her sovereign car.' The phrase is put shortly for 'and hence came the practice of harnessing lions, etc.' The lions are said *subire currum* to bring out strongly the notion of their extreme submission, although strictly they could only be said *subire iugum*.

116. *longo...*] The distance is about 150 miles. *modo Iuppiter adsit*: 'only let Jove be favourable,' *i.e.* if only Jove is favourable.

118. *meritos*] 'due,' lit. 'deserved.'

119. *taurum...*] The shape of the line is copied from Hom. Il. 11. 727 *ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφείω, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι*.

120. *nigram...*] The colour of the lamb (or sheep) symbolises the nature of the powers to whom it is offered; the anger of the Storm-god is to be appeased by a black victim, the beneficent aid of the Zephyrs secured by a white one.

121—146. *We hear a rumour that Idomeneus had been driven from Crete, and that consequently we should find no enemies and also room for a new settlement. We leave Delos, threading our way through the Cyclades, and with a favourable wind reach Crete, where I immediately begin to build a city and call it Pergamus. And now we were all well at work in our new home, when suddenly a pestilence set in. My father urged me to return to Delos and again consult the oracle.*

122. *Idomeneia*] = Ἰδομενῆα Homeric acc. of Ἰδομενεύς. He had been leader of the Cretan ships in the expedition against Troy, and on his return made a vow to Poseidon during a storm that he would sacrifice whatever first met him on landing. This proved to be his own son, whom he sacrificed and was

consequently expelled by his subjects and went to Italy, cf. 400.

desertaque...: Virgil does not mean that Crete was deserted by all its inhabitants but that the departure of Idomeneus and his followers had left room for Aeneas and his followers, and also relieved them of a formidable enemy.

124. **pelago]** 'on' or 'over the sea.'

125. **bacchatamque iugis Naxon]** Two points deserve notice here, (1) that *bacchatam* from *bacchor* is used in a passive sense, for which see 143 n., (2) that *bacchor* 'to revel,' which being an intransitive verb ought not strictly to admit a passive meaning at all, is used transitively in a secondary sense = 'to honour with revelry,' 'to traverse with revelry'; cf. G. 2. 487 *virginibus bacchata Laconis | Taygete* 'Taygete traversed in revelry by Laconian maidens,' and *χορεύω* in Greek = 'honour with dances,' as in Eur. Ion 463 *παρὰ χορευομένῳ τρίποδι*.

Hence we get the sense 'Naxos traversed by bacchic revels on its ridges.'

Naxos was celebrated for its wine and is frequently mentioned in connection with Dionysus.

126. **niveam]** So called because from it came the celebrated white Parian marble, which was used for statuary.

127. **legimus]** This verb governs the accusatives which precede (*Naxon, Donusam...Cycladas*) in the sense of 'pass by,' but *freta* in a slightly different sense = 'pass over.' It means originally 'pick,' 'gather,' 'cull,' and then gets the meaning 'pass lightly by' or 'over,' being especially used of ships 'skirting' a coast (cf. 292 *litoraue Epiri legimus*), or 'skimming' the surface of the sea, cf. 2. 207 n. : when used of passing the eye over writing it means 'read.'

crebris freta concita terris: 'seas racing round many an isle'; lit. 'straits of the sea stirred by many an island.' The presence of numerous islands causes the existence of narrow passages in which there are strong currents and rough water. *Fretum* is usually derived from *ferveo* and so is strictly used of such 'boiling' or 'seething' channels.

consita (from *consero*), 'sown' or 'strown,' has very slight authority and seems weak especially after *sparsas*.

128. **nauticus clamor]** So in the description of a boat-race (5. 140) at the start *ferit aethera clamor | nauticus*. Conington explains of the *κέλευσμα* or cry with which the boatswain (*κελευστής*) gave the time to the rowers, but surely what Virgil describes here is not this ordinary and necessary shout, but a cry of enthusiasm which bursts from all the men as they

start—'a cheer from all the sailors.' It is what Aeschylus describes when the Greeks charged the Persians at Salamis (Pers. 390)

πρῶτον μὲν ἤχῃ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα
μολπηδὸν ἠύφήμησεν.

vario certamine: 'in varied rivalry.' The ships of the squadron began racing with one another, not all in one race but in several.

129. **hortantur socii...**] Usually a general 'encourages' his soldiers, or a leader his followers, *hortari* being a regular word for such inspiring harangues before a battle and the like. Here the seamen themselves cry aloud the inspiring words 'Let us seek Crete and our ancestors.' *Hortari* is used = 'say encouragingly' and the words *Cretam...petamus* are really an acc. after it, as they constitute the *hortatio* which the sailors utter. By calling the sailors *socii* 'comrades' Virgil makes it clear that he means that they encourage one another. —Translate 'eagerly they cry comrade to comrade: "Let us seek Crete and our forefathers."']

130. **prosequitur...**] The word is technically used of escorting a departing guest part of the way on his road; in Greek *προπέμπω*. So here it is used of the favourable wind which 'escorts them on their way.' **a puppi:** 'astern.'

131. Observe the elision of *-em, -um*, giving in connection with *adlabimur* the sense of smooth, continuous movement. Cf. 6. 2 *et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris*.

132. **optatae**] Conington says that this refers to the choosing of the site with auspices after the Roman fashion, but surely in connection with *avidus* it means simply 'eagerly sought,' 'much desired,' cf. 509; 1. 172. Wagner however explains it as = 'selected,' as though Aeneas selected one of the sites left deserted by Idomeneus (121-3).

133. **Pergameamque voco**] sc. *urbem*, 'and call it the city of Pergama.' **laetam cognomine:** 'rejoicing in the old name.' *Cognomen* is a name which 'corresponds' or 'answers to' something. Hence it is used of a name which corresponds with an old name, and so here the name of this new *Pergama* which corresponds with that of the old *Pergama* is not a *nomen* but a *cognomen*. Cf. 334 where *Chaonia* is a *cognomen* being named 'after the Trojan Chaon,' and so too 350, and in 6. 381 the *nomen Palinuri* when attached to a place becomes 383 *cognomen terrae*. In Roman proper names the *cognomen* follows the *praenomen* and *nomen* and originally indicated some quality from which the individual got his name, e.g.

Cincinnatus, Barbatus, Pius, Torquatus, and so 1. 267 *Iulus* is 'added as a *cognomen* to *Ascanius*' to indicate his youthful beauty.

134. *amare focos...*] 'to cherish their hearths and rear a citadel with its roofs,' *i.e.*, as Kennedy says, 'rear and roof in a citadel.' *Tectis* is abl. of manner, cf. 2. 185 *attollere roboribus*.

135. *fere*] It is obvious that Virgil does not mean that the ships were 'almost beached,' nor is it satisfactory to say that *fere* goes with the general sense of the whole sentence down to *dabam*—'the new colony was almost settled.' *Fere* is constantly used with words indicating time to point out that the time mentioned is not given with strict accuracy, *e.g.* *annos fere decem* 'about ten years,' *meus fere aequalis* 'pretty much my contemporary,' and *iamque fere* 5. 327; 835: so here *fere* goes strictly with *iamque*—'about now then our ships were beached....' The word is skilfully introduced to give an easy and natural tone to the narrative.

With *subductae* supply *erant*, and so too *erat* with *operata* = 'was busied with.'

136. *conubiis*] For the scansion cf. 4. 213 n.

conubiis arvisque...operata: Conington says that 'marrying and cultivation of the soil are two natural symptoms of settled life, though there is something a little quaint to our notions in the juxtaposition': cf. however for a similar juxtaposition St. Luke xiv. 19 'I have bought five yoke of oxen... I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.'

137. *iura domosque dabam*] 'I was appointing laws and habitations.' Whether *domos* refers to actual houses or to sites for building them must depend on whether we consider that Aeneas was building a new town or occupying a deserted one.

subito cum...: 'when suddenly, the expanse of heaven being tainted, there fell a wasting on our limbs and a piteous plague on trees and crops.' Of course *tabida* is an adj. agreeing with *lues*, and the literal rendering is 'a plague fell wasting on our limbs and piteous on trees....'

140. *linquebant...*] Cf. Lucr. 5. 989 *dulcia linquebant labentis lumina vitae*. Observe the melancholy repetition of the ending *-ebant*.

141. *exurere*] Historic infinitive; cf. 153 *adfari...demere*, 666 n. *celerare*; 2. 98 *terrere*, 132 *parari*, 169 *fluere* 'began to ebb,' 685, 775; 5. 655 n., 685; 6. 199 n.

steriles: used proleptically; the Dog-star parched the fields so that they became barren. Cf. 1. 70 n.

143. **remenso**] The past part. of many deponent verbs is, for the sake of convenience, allowed to be used in a passive sense; 'the sea being traversed again.' Cf. 125 *bacchatam*, 460 *venerata* 'entreated,' 475 *dignate* 'thought worthy.'

144. **veniamque precari, quam...**] 'and to pray for his pity (asking) what end....'

145. **unde...**] 'whence (*i.e.* from what quarter) to seek help for our troubles.' *Temptare* is used in a secondary sense = 'seek with hazard or difficulty.'

147—191. *That night the gods, whose images I had brought with me from Troy, appeared to me in a vision and thus addressed me: 'The oracle which Apollo would give thee at Delos, we deliver to thee here. We follow thee ever in thy wanderings and we will give glory and empire to thy posterity: do thou prepare great walls for coming greatness, and shrink not from the long flight before thee. Crete is not to be thy home, but the land called of old Hesperia by the Greeks and now named Italia, the land of Dardanus and Iasius the founder of our race. Report our words to thy father, bidding him seek Ausonia.' Awe-stricken by the visible presence and voice of the gods I start from my bed and, after prayer and offering gifts upon the hearth, I report the whole to Anchises. He at once recognised the mistake he had made owing to the two-fold descent of the Trojans, and added that Cassandra had often uttered the same prophecy, but had never been believed. In obedience to his decision we again set sail.*

150. **visi...**] 'seemed to stand before my eyes as I lay in slumber, palpable in the full light, where....'

For *in somnis* cf. 2. 270; 4. 557. Heyne reads *insomnis* (= 'as I lay sleepless'), arguing from the mention of the moon and the words 173 *nec sopor illud erat...*, that this was no dream but a waking vision. But it is very doubtful whether the ancients would have thought a vision more authentic because a man saw it while lying sleepless instead of seeing it in the orthodox manner when asleep, for it is in deep sleep that the gods regularly appear to men. The mention of the moonlight in the room is perfectly natural, for in a dream you may surely see things which really exist, and the words *nec sopor...* (see note) do not indicate that he was not asleep, but that what he saw was not an empty dream but a genuine appearance of the gods.

151. **manifesti**] a very strong word indicating something

not merely visible but capable of being laid hands on, being derived from *manus* and *fendo* = 'struck by the hand.'

152. *insertas fenestras*] 'windows set in the wall.' So Conington takes this, rightly comparing *Lucr.* 2. 114 where *inserti radii* is used of the sun's rays finding their way into a house. Nettleship however follows Servius in taking the word as an adj. = 'unbarred' from *in* = 'not' and *sero* 'to bind': such an explanation needs some proof in face of the regular use of the word as the part. of *insero*.

154. *quod tibi...*] 'that which Apollo will tell thee when thou hast sailed to Ortygia': more definite and vivid than the logical 'that which Apollo *would* tell thee if thou....'

155. *canit*] Oracles were almost always uttered in hexameter verse, and so *canere* is continually used = 'utter an oracle' or 'prophecy.' Cf. 183 *canebat*, 444 *fala canit*, 445 *carmina* 'oracles,' 457 *canat*; 2. 176; 2. 124 of secret foreboding. Hence too of uttering any solemn words as a vow 438 *cane vota*, or dignified 'recital' of a story 4. 14 *quae bella canebat*.

ultra: 'unmasked,' cf. 2. 145 n.

158. *idem...*] '(we) shall likewise exalt to the stars thy posterity that is yet to be born.'

159. *imperium urbi*] 'empire to thy city.' It is not possible to give in English the effect which these two words placed side by side would convey to a Roman ear. *Imperium*, which originally signifies the military authority exercised by a Roman general in the field, was, when Virgil wrote, the word specially chosen to describe (1) the imperial authority which Rome exercised over her subject states; (2) the actual empire subordinate to this authority and which represented almost the whole civilised world. *Urbi*, though it must be translated 'thy city,' is meant also to be understood in the sense which it continually has = 'the city,' 'Rome.' Of course Aeneas did not himself found Rome, but his voyage to Italy was to result in its foundation; cf. *para* in next line, not *conde*.

magnis: Conington takes this as referring to the speakers who are *magni di* (12), comparing 2. 294 *his moenia quaere* | *magna* where *his* refers to the Penates—'prepare thou mighty walls for mighty deities.' Doubtless this is preferable to Heyne's explanation that *nepotibus* is to be supplied: at the same time in this oracular sentence, which from its marked alliteration (*moenia magnis magna longum linque laborem*) is obviously intended to be very impressive, it would seem that

Virgil leaves the exact meaning of *magnis* designedly ambiguous : whether we explain it 'mighty gods' or 'mighty descendants' or (as dat. of *magna*) 'a mighty destiny' the explanation is appropriate.

162. *Cretae*] 'at' or 'in Crete'; the locative case used in the case of small islands as well as of towns, e.g. *Cypri, Rhodi, Corcyrae*.

163—166. Repeated from 1. 530-533 where see notes.

167. *propriae*] Cf. 85 n.

168. *Iasiusque pater, genus a quo...*] 'and old Iasius, from whom first (sprang) our race': the Trojan deities look upon themselves as actually Trojans and so speak of 'our (*i.e.* the Trojan) race.'

Iasius was a Greek hero connected with the worship of Demeter, and being the son of Jupiter and Electra was brother to Dardanus, with whom he is said to have migrated from Italy to Samothrace, from which island Dardanus passed over to Asia Minor. There is no need to suppose that Virgil means to make Iasius the father of Dardanus, as some suppose, for any eminent and distant ancestor might be called *pater*: the real difficulty is that Virgil speaks of Iasius as the head or original ancestor of the Trojan race, though this distinction can only belong to Dardanus. Some editors therefore propose to take *Iasiusque pater* as almost parenthetical, 'hence came Dardanus (and old Iasius too) from whom (*i.e.* from Dardanus) sprang...', but this is of course unlawful.

170. *refer*] 'report' or 'deliver.' *Re* in composition often has the sense of 'duly' rather than of 'again' or 'back'; thus *referre* is not here 'carry back' but 'carry to the person who ought to receive it.' *Referre* would be used rightly of a post-man delivering a letter at its address. Cf. 333 *reddita* 'duly given,' 666 *recepto* 'duly welcomed'; 4. 392 n.; 5. 386; 6. 152 n.

173. *nec sopor illud erat*] 'nor was that (*i.e.* what I had seen and heard) an empty dream.' It seems necessary to add the word 'empty' in translating, for Virgil is clearly thinking of the Homeric phrase *οὐκ ἄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν*, 'not an empty dream but a true vision' (Od. 19. 547), where what is described is certainly a dream, though a dream which was not to prove unreal but to have an actual accomplishment.

The words *nec sopor...sodor* are parenthetical, and *attonitus* 172 goes grammatically with *corripio* 176 'startled by such vision...(for it was no dream...) I snatch myself from my bed.'

174. *velatas*] 'crowned' or 'garlanded,' *i.e.* with *vittae* 'fillets,' cf. 2. 296 *vittas Vestamque* 'a crowned image of Vesta.'

175. *tum...*] The 'cold sweat' which came upon him after (cf. *tum*) the vision is clearly mentioned as pointing to its reality.

176. *supinas manus*] The most ancient, and perhaps most natural, attitude of prayer was standing with hands uplifted and upturned to heaven, cf. 1. 93 *duplices tendens ad sidera palmas*; Hom. Il. 7. 177 *λαοὶ δ' ἤρῃσαντο θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον*; 1 Tim. ii. 8 'I will therefore that men pray everywhere, *lifting up holy hands.*' By adding the words *cum voce* Virgil explains that the hands uplifted heavenwards are a visible sign of the prayer that wings its way thither also. 'Heavenwards with my prayer I stretch upturned hands.'

177. *munera...*] 'pour pure (or 'undefiled') offerings on the hearth': the pure (*i.e.* unmixed) wine symbolises the purity of him who offers it.

179. *Anchisen facio certum*] 'I inform Anchises': in prose it would be *certiorem facio*.

180. *adgnovit...*] The Trojans themselves are the 'doubtful offspring,' and are so called because they might be considered the offspring of either Dardanus or Teucer (*gemini parentes*). Anchises now recognises this fact and that consequently Apollo's oracle might have two meanings, whereas he had thought that it could only point to Crete.

181. *seque novo veterum...*] Conington happily gives
'And smiles that ancient lands have wrought
Such new confusion in his thought.'

The antithesis between *novo* and *veterum* seems purely ornamental: though the lands and the stories connected with them were 'old,' that is no reason why the mistake of Anchises should be called 'new.' Supposing that a school-master makes a mistake about a passage in Virgil, on his discovering the true meaning it would be odd to say that he had been 'deceived by a new error about an old passage.'

182. *Iliacis exercite fatis*] 'tried' or 'vexed by the (hard) fates of Ilium.'

184. *portendere*] 'that she (Cassandra) used to foretell this (*i.e.* a settlement in Italy) as due to our race.' For *debita* cf. 7. 120 *fatis mihi debita tellus*: the fates apportion destiny; that which they thus apportion to a man is 'owed' to him until he receives it.

186. *quis crederet*] 'who was (then) to believe?' *Quis crederet* is the past of the dubitative subjunctive *quis credat* 'who is to believe?'

187. *tum*] Emphatic. Apollo had punished Cassandra for betraying him by ordaining that she should always prophesy truly but never be believed: after the event the Trojans found that all her prophecies were true, but 'at the time' (*tum*) she moved no one.

188. *meliora*] 'better counsels.'

191. *currimus aequor*] 'hasten over the sea,' cf. l. 524 n.

192—208. *As soon as we got well out of sight of land a great storm came on, and for three days and three nights we drifted without seeing either sun or stars, but on the fourth day we come in sight of land.*

192—195. Copied from Od. 12. 403

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἐλείπομεν, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη
φαίνεται γαίῳων, ἀλλ' οὐρανόσ ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
δὴ τότε κυανέην νεφέλην ἔστησε Κρονίων
νῆός ὑπερ γλαφυρῆς, ἤχλυσε δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς.

193. *caelum undique...*] '(but) sky on every side...': *apparet* is to be supplied from *apparent*. The Latin construction here is less clear to us than the Greek, because of the strong Latin tendency to put contrasted clauses—that is, here *non ullae apparent terrae* and *caelum undique (apparet)*—side by side without any particle to mark the contrast.

194. *caeruleus*] It is always difficult to attach the exact shade of meaning to ancient words describing colour, but by comparing *caeruleus* here with *κυάνεος* in Homer, and recollecting that *κύανος* is a metal used to adorn armour, we see that it exactly represents the colour of a thunder-cloud, which is deep blue or almost black with a sort of metallic lustre. Cf. 432; 5. 87 of spots on a snake.

195. *inhorruit unda tenebris*] 'and the wave shivered with (or 'at the') darkness.' Homer simply has 'the sea grew dark beneath it'; Virgil's phrase is more elaborate.

Inhorrescit mare is found in Pacuvius, and describes the shiver which passes over the sea before a storm, making each little wave crested with foam, so that instead of presenting a smooth surface the sea seems rough and 'bristling.' By adding the word *tenebris* Virgil points out that this 'shivering' is accompanied by a change in the colour of the sea, which becomes dark and dusky. In addition, however, to describing

the actual effect on the sea, Virgil's words are also clearly intended to convey the idea that the sea actually feels and shivers at the impending storm.

Tennyson has imitated the phrase in 'the Lady of Shalott':

'Little breezes dusk and shiver
Thro' the wave that runs for ever.'

196. Notice the imitative alliteration. Bowen translates well:

'Winds roll upwards the billows to mountains, the great seas
sweep
Over us. Scattered and lost we are driven on the floods of
the deep.
Storm mists mantle the sun from the view; night falling in
rain
Covers the sky; from the clouds fire flashes again and again.'

201. **negat discernere**] = *negat se discernere*. The personal pronoun can be occasionally thus omitted when there is no possible ambiguity, cf. 603 *fateor petiisse*; 2. 432 *testor vitavisse*; 4. 492 *testor...invitam accingier*; Livy 23. 63 *id nescire Mago dixit*; Pub. Sch. Lat. Gr. § 155.

negat discernere...nec meminisse: 'says that he does not distinguish...nor remember.' The negative part of *nego* is not carried on to the second clause, but only the part which means 'says.' The words of Palinurus would be '*non discerno...nec memini*': in reporting these words Virgil turns *non discerno* into *negat discernere* but leaves the *nec* before *memini* unaltered.

203. **tres adeo...**] 'three whole nights.' For *adeo* placed after a word to give great emphasis to it, cf. 2. 567 n.

incertos...soles: 'days undistinguishable in the sightless gloom.' The use of *soles* = 'days' is common, and by *incerti soles* Virgil means days on which you could not be sure whether there was any sun in existence or not. *Caligo* is a very strong word for darkness and describes 'a darkness which may be felt.'

It was when leaving Crete that St. Paul fell in with a like storm: cf. Acts xxvii. 20 'and when neither sun nor stars in many days appeared....'

204. **erramus pelago**] 'we drift over the sea.'

206. **volvere fumum**] 'send up wreaths of smoke': the sign of an inhabited country, cf. Od. 10. 99 *καπνὸν δ' οἶον ὀρώμεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἀΐσσοντα*.

207. *vela cadunt*] 'down come the sails': more graphic than 'we lower the sails.'

remis insurgimus: 'we rise on to our oars.' The phrase is used to describe rowing vigorously, cf. 5. 189 in a race *nunc, nunc insurgite remis*. Henry rightly explains of 'the practice of rowers when making a great exertion, especially in a race, to raise themselves from the benches in order that the weight of their bodies returning to their places may be added to the force with which they pull the oar.'

209—277. *The land we had reached proved to be the Strophades, islands occupied by the foul and monstrous Harpies. When we came into the harbour we immediately descried herds of cattle wandering apparently wild: we accordingly slay some and are about to enjoy a rich feast when suddenly the Harpies swoop down upon us and rend and pollute the food. Again in a retired spot we prepare a feast; again they destroy it as before. Then I bid my comrades arm themselves, and when the monstrous creatures appear for the third time they attack them but find them invulnerable, and they fly away leaving the feast again spoiled. One of them however, Celaeno, alighted on a crag and, after reproaching us for our theft of the oxen and attack on their rightful owners, prophesies to us that we shall reach Italy, but shall not found a city until hunger drives us to 'eat our tables.' My comrades are horror-stricken and Anchises solemnly prays the gods to avert the threatened calamity: then we hastily set sail and passing by Zacynthus and some other islands we finally sight Mount Leucates and the temple of Apollo where we land.*

210. *excipiunt*] This word, originally used of hunters who 'catch' game in the nets placed ready for it (cf. 332; 6. 173), is frequently used of 'receiving in succession,' see 318: so here when Aeneas is 'saved from the waves' the land is rightly said *excipere* 'to receive him from the sea.' In 4. 114 of 'catching up' the conversation = 'reply'; 4. 297 of 'catching up' a rumour.

Strophades Graio nomine dictae: the word *Στροφάδες* is really a fem. adj. from *στρέφειν* and *νησοί* is understood. Some take the word to mean 'the Drifting Islands' because they were originally considered to be floating and called *Πλωταί*; others derive the word from the pursuers of the Harpies (see 212 n.) 'turning back' from the pursuit at this point.

stant: *de perpetuitate nominis intelligendum.* Wagner.

211. *insulãe Ionio*] Virgil sometimes shortens a final long vowel or diphthong (when not in arsis) before a word beginning with a vowel, the practice being borrowed from Homer, e.g. Od. 1. 27 Ὀλυμπίου ἀθροοῖ ἦσαν. Cf. 5. 261 *Ilið alto*; 6. 507 *tē, amice*; G. 4. 461 *Rhodopeiae arces*.

212. *Harpiae*] The word, as the presence of *y* in it shows, is Greek, Ἄρπυιαι, and is derived from ἀρπάζω 'to snatch.' In the *Odyssey* they are personified storm-winds. Virgil however follows Apollonius Rhodius, who makes them monstrous half-human birds sent to torment Phineus king of Salmydessus in Thrace by continually carrying off his food, because he had incurred the wrath of the gods (*ira deum* 215) by putting out his son's eyes. He was delivered from them by Zetes and Calais the Argonauts, who drove them away and pursued them to the Strophades.

214. *tristius...*] 'no fouler monster than they, nor any more cruel plague and wrath of the gods e'er rose....'

215. *pestis et ira deum*] A fine expression. The Harpies could naturally be called 'a plague,' and, as a plague is the expression of the wrath of the gods, Virgil having called them 'a plague' is led on to call them 'the wrath of the gods,' i.e. the visible embodiment of that wrath. It is the intervening word *pestis* which paves the way for his boldly speaking of them as *ira deum*.

Others would take the whole phrase as an instance of *Hendiadys* = 'a plague sent by heaven's wrath,' but this weakens the strong vigour of the words.

216. *virginel...*] 'maiden are the faces of the birds,' i.e. they are birds with the faces of maidens.

217. *uncae manus*] 'the hands are taloned,' Conington.

218. *ora fame*] For the unfinished line cf. 2. 233 n.; other such lines in this book are 316, 340 n., 470, 527, 640, 661.

219. *delati*] 'coming to land,' lit. 'carried down.' *Defero* is continually used, like *κατάγω*, of bringing a ship into harbour, the coast line being always regarded as lying low when compared with the high seas, so that the ship is said to be 'brought down.' Cf. 154, 441; 5. 29 *demittere* 'bring to harbour'; 5. 57; 5. 212 *decurrit* 'races shore-ward'; but *deduco* 3. 71; 4. 397 'bring down from land to the sea,' 'launch.'

220. *laeta*] This adj. is continually applied to the produce of the country whether inanimate, as in the well-known phrase *laetae segetes* (G. 1. 1), or living as here. It describes (1) actual joy, the crops or cattle being said to rejoice, (2) an

excellence of condition which makes the owner's heart rejoice. The taste of the reader must decide whether 'glad' or 'fat' is the better rendering here.

221. *caprigenum pecus*] 'goat-born flock.' Probably *caprigenum* is a neut. adj., though it might be a contracted gen. plur. (see. 53 n.) of a word *caprigena* formed like *terrigena*, *Troiugena* etc. The phrase is said to be borrowed from some old writer and is certainly archaic in character.

222. *divos ipsumque...Iovem*] 'the (other) gods and above all Jupiter.'

223. *in partem praedamque*] = *in partem praedae*, a good instance of Hendiadys (*ἐν δὲ δὺοῖν*) or the use of two words or phrases put simply side by side instead of a single complex phrase in which the words qualify each other. Cf. 1. 61 *molem et montes*, 111 *brevia et Syrtes* 'the shoals of the S.,' 210, 293 *ferro et compagibus* 'iron fastenings,' 504, 648 *signis auroque*; 2. 116, 265, 296 *vittas Vestamque* 'a crowned image of V.,' 470, 534 *voci iracque* 'utterance of wrath'; 4. 454; 5. 36 *adventum sociasque rates* 'arrival of the friendly fleet'; 6. 230 *rore et ramo* 'dew from a bough.'

For the sense cf. Liv. 5. 21 *in partem praedae vocati dii*: it was common to reserve a certain portion of the spoils of war and the like as a thank-offering to the gods, and at solemn feasts to offer a portion to them in sacrifice.

224. *exstruimusque...*] 'and pile high the couches and are feasting on the sumptuous banquet.' *Exstruere* is the regular word for 'making up' the couches on which the Romans reclined at meals: here doubtless the couches would be rudely made of turf, but the whole line describes the feast in rather magnificent language in order to bring out in stronger contrast the disappointment which is coming.

225. *lapsu*] 'swoop.'

228. *tum vox...*] 'then (came) hideous cries amid a foul stench': the *vox dira* is the screeching of the birds.

229. *rursum in secessu...rursum ex diverso* (232)] Notice the parallelism, marking vividly how the renewed attempt is immediately followed by a renewed attack.

230. *horrentibus umbris*] 'by quivering' or 'shivering shade.'

231. *arisque reponimus ignem*] *i.e.* in order to perform the sacrifice (223 n.) which had been interrupted.

232. *ex diverso caeli*] 'from an opposite quarter of the sky.' Latin having no article cannot form substantives from

adjectives so easily as Greek; nevertheless the poets use the neuter of many adjectives instead of a substantive, especially as here in conjunction with a preposition. Cf. 192 *altum* 'the deep,' 208 *caerula* 'the sea,' 211 *Ionium* 'the Ionian sea,' 315 *extrema* 'utmost hazards,' 354 *aulai medio* 'in the centre of the hall,' 417 *venit medio*, 422 *in abruptum* 'into the abyss'; 1. 110 *ab alto in brevia*, 219 *extrema*, 281 *in melius* 'for the better,' 310 *in convexo*, 391 *in tutum*, 543 *fandi atque nefandi*; 2. 460 *in praecipiti* 'on an edge'; 4. 184 *medio*, 217 *rapto* 'booty'; 5. 127 *tranquillo* 'in fine weather'; 6. 750 *supera convexa* 'the heavenly vault,' 787 *supera alta*.

This is especially common when abstract ideas are described, e.g. 2. 141 *veri* 'truth,' 427 *aequi* and 4. 188 *ficti, pravi, veri* in one line. So in prose regularly *honestum, rectum, utile*, etc.

234. *sociis...gerendum*] Notice the double construction after *edico*, which in the sense of 'I order' is followed by *capessant* (oblique command) and in the sense of 'I say' by the acc. and infinitive *bellum (esse) gerendum* (oblique statement). 'Then I order my comrades to seize their arms and (say) that war must be waged....'

236. *haud secus ac iussi faciunt*] 'not otherwise than bidden they do,' i.e. they do exactly as they are bidden: cf. 561 *haud minus ac iussi faciunt*. In such cases *ac* or *atque* may be translated 'than,' but it really serves to place the command and the consequent act side by side as exactly corresponding: their conduct and the command are not different but alike: it is the same use as that of *atque* after *simul, par, idem, aequus* etc.

tectosque...: 'and arrange their swords in concealment': *tectos* and *latentia* are both used proleptically, cf. 1. 70 n.

240. *aere cavo*] 'with the hollow brass,' i.e. the trumpet.

nova proelia temptant...foedare: 'attempt a strange combat...to mar with the sword....' The infinitive at once makes clear what the 'strange combat' is: grammatically it is dependent on *temptant*: 'they attempt a strange combat (attempt) to mar....'

243. *sub sidera lapsae*] 'soaring upwards towards the sky.'

245. *praecelsa*] To strengthen an adj. Virgil prefixes *prae* and not the more usual *per*; cf. *praedives, praedulcis, praepinguis, praevalidus*. Deuticke.

246. *infelix vates*] 'ill-boding prophetess.' *rumpitque...vocem*: cf. 2. 129 n.

247. *bellum etiam...bellumne...*] 'war indeed in return for the slaughter of our kine...is it war that ye prepare to wage?' Observe the indignant emphasis of *bellum* placed first strengthened by the angry *etiam* and then repeated.

Notice that *etiam* is not 'also,' as some take it, for then we should need 'in addition to the slaughter...' or some such words to follow. The use of *etiam* in indignant questions is fairly common.

248. *Laomedontiadae*] 'children of Laomedon': the word is used in scorn (cf. 4. 542), for Laomedon's treachery and dishonesty were notorious, cf. 3 n.

249. *patrio*] Celaeno speaks of the Strophades as the 'ancestral domain' of the Harpies though they had not long been settled there (212 n.): this is however only the exaggeration natural in an injured and indignant female, and there is no need to explain that the Harpies as descendants of the sea-gods (241 *pelagi volucres*) can speak of any islands as *patrium regnum*.

251. *quae Phoebos...*] Cf. Aesch. Eum. 19 *Διὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Δοξίας πατρός*. The decrees of Jupiter 'the Almighty Father' are the ultimate cause of all that happens; of them Phoebus is the authorised expounder by means of oracles; for the utterance of these oracles in human speech Phoebus in his turn chooses human beings (*e.g.* Cassandra) to be his mouth-piece, or in exceptional cases, as here, strange half-human monsters.

252. *Furiarum maxima*] 'greatest' or 'eldest of the Furies.' The term 'Furies' is used in a general sense here for those beings whom the gods create to avenge and punish human wickedness, to which class the Harpies belonged.

253. *Italiam petitis...ibitis Italiam*] The repetition of *Italiam* is highly rhetorical; the fulfilment of their desire is promised them with bitter emphasis in order to heighten the effect of the blighting words which follow: 'ye seek Italy, to Italy shall ye go, *but...*' Cf. Acts xxv. 12 'Hast thou appealed unto Caesar? Unto Caesar shalt thou go.'

255. *datam*] 'promised.'

256. *nostraeque iniuria caedis*] 'the wrong of our murder.' "*Caedis*, since the Trojans were murderers in will, if not in deed, as Menelaus says of Ajax (Soph. Aj. 1126) *κτείναντά με...θεὸς γὰρ ἐκσώζει με, τῷδε δ' οἴχομαι*." Conington.

257. *ambesas...absumere mensas*] 'to gnaw round and consume your tables.' The fulfilment of the prophecy is

related 7. 109 seq., where at a feast the Trojans begin to eat the thin cakes which they were using as plates or 'tables' for their meat, and the young Iulus suddenly cries out *Heus, etiam mensas consumimus*. An oracle, being the expression of the immutable decrees of fate, was sure to be fulfilled, but the manner of its fulfilment might be very different from what was expected: it was always open to the gods or fate 'to find out a way' (395 *fata viam invenient...*) by which the letter of an apparently evil oracle might be fulfilled without any really evil results; cf. 36 n. *subigat*: subj. because it expresses the purpose of destiny; 384 n.; 1. 193, 472; Pub. Sch. Gr. § 182.

260. *nec iam...*] 'and now no longer with arms but with vows and supplications they bid me seek for peace.' *Pacem votis exposcere* is a technical phrase; cf. Livy 1. 16 *pacem precibus exposcunt*; 3. 7 *supplicatum ire, pacemque exposcere deum*; Ov. Met. 9. 545 *opemque tuam timidis exposcere votis*; Brissonius de Formulis p. 97. Some say that *exp. pacem* goes only with *votis precibusque*, and that with *armis* some other infinitive, e.g. 'to settle the matter,' is to be supplied, but surely *armis exp. pacem* is a legitimate phrase.

262. *seu sint*] The subjunctive is used because the sentence is virtually oblique, the words of the Trojans being reported.

obscenae. This word is specially applied to things ill-omened; '*apud antiquos omnes fere obscena dicta sunt, quae mali ominis habebantur*,' Festus. So 367 the 'famine' which the Harpies denounce is called *obscenam famem* 'portentous famine'; the wine which Dido offers 4. 457 is turned into *obscenum cruorem* 'ominous gore.' For the appeal to the Harpies here 'whether they be goddesses or ill-omened fowl' cf. Poe's Raven: 'Prophet, said I, thing of evil!—prophet still, if bird or devil!'

264. *meritosque indicit honores*] 'proclaims due offerings': i.e. publicly proclaims that the offerings due under such circumstances are to be forthwith offered. The clause is co-ordinate in form with *numina magna vocat* but subordinate in sense ('he calls on the gods at the same time proclaiming...'), and so the words of his prayer are introduced as though *numina magna vocat* were the preceding clause: 'he calls upon the deities (saying) "Ye gods,..."'. For *indico* cf. 1. 632 n.

267. *excussos laxare rudentes*] Cf. 682 *rudentes excutere*. By *rudentes* here seem meant what are technically called *pedes* (ἄοδες, see Merry's Odyssey, Frontispiece) 'sheets': they are ropes fastened at the two lower ends of the sail and used to

adjust it at a proper angle to the wind, and also for either hauling it in very close when the wind is violent, or letting it out full to the wind when speed is desired, as here. The word *excutere* is also used of driving (*excutere habenas*), and hurling missiles (*excutere tela*), to express the sudden setting free of something which had been previously held back. Render 'fling free the loosened sheets.'

268. *spumantibus undis*] 'over the foaming waves': local abl. cf. 124 *pelagoque volamus*.

270. *nemorosă Zacynthos*] Cf. Hom. Od. 9. 24 Δουλιχίων τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος: 'the evergreen forests on its eastern shore are the admiration of every traveller' (*Times* April 18, 1893). The vowel is short before Z in Zacynthos in imitation of Homer, and also from necessity.

271. *Neritos ardua saxis*] 'Neritus with its steep crags.' Νήριτος in Homer is the name of a mountain in Ithaca, but here, from the context and from his making it feminine, it is clear that Virgil speaks of it as an island.

272. *scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna*] The rocks of Ithaca were famous, and Homer speaks of it as *τρηχεῖα* and *κραναή*: they are referred to here in order to express contempt of 'Laertes' empire.'

273. *altricem Ulixi*] 'that nursed Ulysses': for the gen. *Ulixi* see l. 120 n.

275. *aperitur*] 'comes in sight.' Apollo: *i.e.* his temple, cf. 2. 312 n.

formidatus nautis: 'dreaded by sailors': dat. of agent.

277. *stant litore puppes*] 'the sterns stand ranged along the shore,' *i.e.* at anchor. In anchoring the prow was turned seawards and the sterns towards the shore, cf. 6. 3.

278—293. *Having landed we offer thank-offerings and celebrate solemn games, delighted at having passed safely by so many countries occupied by Greeks. Meanwhile winter comes and goes and, after dedicating the shield of Abas in the temple of Apollo, we set sail northwards along the coast of Epirus and reach Buthrotum.*

278. *insperata*] 'unhoped for,' because of the dangers mentioned in 282, 283.

279. *lustramurque Iovi*] 'we both purify ourselves in honour of Jupiter': *lustramur* is a true middle, cf. 2. 383 n. The purification is preliminary to offering sacrifice and celebrating the sacred games mentioned in the next line. For the celebration of games as a religious observance see the famous

description of the funeral games celebrated at the tomb of Anchises in the Fifth Book, and cf. the *ludi Apollinares, saeculares, Capitolini* etc.

votis: *i.e.* sacrifices offered in fulfilment of a vow. *incendimus aras*: 'we make the altars blaze.'

280. *Actiaque...*] There is some confusion here, for in 276 Virgil certainly makes them land near the promontory Leucates, whereas he now speaks of 'the shore of Actium' which is not in Leucas at all but on the mainland just north of it at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf. He seems to have somewhat neglected geography in his desire to please Augustus by furnishing an ancient precedent for the quinquennial games which he had instituted at Actium in memory of his great victory over Antony and Cleopatra (B.C. 31).

It is difficult to say whether the sense of 'throng' or 'honour' is stronger in *celebramus* here.

281. *palaestras*] 'wrestling-bouts.' Others explain the plural as = 'games,' 'sports' generally, but the words *oleo labente* preclude this, for 'slippery oil' clearly refers to the oil with which the bodies of the wrestlers were anointed to make them slippery.

282. *iuvat evasisse...*] This clause explains the cause of their festal games: 'joyous are they to have escaped....'

283. *fugam tenuisse*] 'to have maintained their flight.'

284. *interea magnum...*] 'meantime the sun is rolling round his mighty circuit,' *i.e.* the year is advancing. *Annum* is the cognate accusative; as the sun can 'revolve a revolution,' so it can 'revolve a yearly circle,' and, whatever be the real derivation of the word, the ancients certainly connected *annus* with *annulus* 'a ring' and regarded it as describing the sun's yearly circuit. For the chronology cf. 1. 755 n.

286. *aere cavo*] The round shield (*clipeus*) would be made by beating out a brass plate until it became hollow.

magni gestamen Abantis: 'once borne by mighty Abas.' We have no knowledge of any Abas among the prominent Greeks who fought against Troy. Abas however, grandson of Danaus, was one of the early kings of Argos, and a shield of his which was supposed to work marvels was preserved in the temple of Hera at Argos. Perhaps Virgil supposes this shield to have been taken by some Argive warrior to Troy and there won by Aeneas. See Heyne's Ex. and also 5. 360 n.

287. *postibus adversis*] 'on the portal front.' *carmine*: 'legend' or 'inscription.' It was customary to attach an

inscription, usually in verse, to any object thus dedicated to a god, see the numerous *Ἀναθηματικά* in the Greek Anthology.

288. *Aeneas...*] The verb is commonly omitted in similar inscriptions: it would be *dedicat* or *dat*, *dicat*, *dedicat* (written D.D.D.), in Greek *ἀνέθηκεν*. *de*: 'from,' *i.e.* won from.

289. Cf. Od. 9. 103, 104

οἱ δ' αἰψ εἴσβαινον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι καθίζον,
ἐξῆς δ' ἐξόμενοι πολὴν ἄλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς,

291. *abscondimus arces*] 'we see (lit. make) the heaven-reaching heights of the Phaeacians disappear.' *Abscondere* seems to be a sailor's word, those who sail away out of sight of land being said to 'make the land disappear'; so in Greek we have *ἀποκρύπτειν γῆν* Plat. Prot. 338 A; cf. Thuc. 5. 65, and the opposite term *ἀναφαίνειν γῆν* = 'to sight land' Acts of the Apostles xxi. 3 *ἀναφάναντες τὴν Κύπρον*. The use of *aperitur* 275 is different, for there *aperitur Apollo* is not = 'Apollo's temple is made to appear by us,' but only another form of *Apollo aperit sese* 'Apollo's temple shows itself.'

aërias...: cf. Od. 5. 279 *δρεα σκίοντα | γαίης Φαιήκων*.

292. *legimus*] Cf. 127 n. *portu*: dative, cf. 1. 257 n.

294—355. *Here a strange rumour reaches me that Priam's son Helenus rules over part of the kingdom of Pyrrhus and is wedded to Andromache: eager to learn the truth of this I press forward from the harbour and outside the town find Andromache offering sacrifice on a cenotaph she had reared to Hector. At sight of me and the Trojans she fainted, taking us for phantoms. When she recovers I assure her that I am alive and ask her if the tale I had heard is true. She relates how she had become the captive of the son of Achilles and borne him a son in slavery; how he had contemptuously handed her over to his servant Helenus who subsequently, when Pyrrhus was slain by Orestes, succeeded to part of his kingdom. She then in turn is proceeding to ask my history when Helenus is seen advancing from the walls and conducts us to his city, which he has built on the model of Troy and in which he entertains us hospitably.*

295. *Priamiden...*] Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus was the son of Achilles and on the fall of Troy Andromache the wife of Hector, who had been slain by Achilles, became his prize, as also did Helenus, a son of Priam gifted with prophetic powers, who warned Pyrrhus of the dangers which would befall those Greek leaders who attempted to return by sea so that he returned to Epirus safely by land. Pyrrhus seems in conse-

quence to have had a high regard for Helenus and to have not only handed over to him Andromache but also, on his departure to Sparta to seek the hand of Hermione, placed some portion of his kingdom (333) under his charge.

It should be noted that, though Achilles was king of the Myrmidons in Thessaly, Pyrrhus is regularly described as king of Epirus, and was regarded as the ancestor of the historical kings of Epirus who bore his name.

296. *coniugio*] used for *coniuge*, cf. 471. *Aeacidae*: the order of descent was Aeacus, Peleus, Achilles, Pyrrhus.

297. *patrio marito*] 'a husband of her own race,' *i.e.* a Trojan. *cessisse*: 'passed to,' 'passed into the possession of,' cf. 333: this use of *cedo* with dat. is also found in prose, *e.g.* Livy 31. 46 *captiva corpora Romanis cessere*.

298. *amore compellare*] 'longing to address,' cf. 2. 10 n.

301. *sollemnes cum forte...*] 'just when, as it chanced, Andromache before the city...was offering a solemn feast and mourning gifts.' Many considering that *libabat* means 'poured' explain *dapes* as = 'libations' (*χοάς*) of milk, honey, and wine: but there is no need thus to limit the natural meaning of *dapes*, for *libo* is a technical word used of offering anything which can be as it were 'poured' upon the altar, *e.g.* corn or fruit: cf. Livy 39. 43 *ubi libare diis dapes...mos esset*. The spirit of the departed was undoubtedly supposed to actually enjoy the feast thus offered and to which it was duly summoned (303 *Manesque vocabat*).

302. *falsi*] 'counterfeit,' 'pretended,' *i.e.* named Simois though it was not the real one.

304. *tumulum...inanem*] a cenotaph.

305. *causam lacrimis*] 'a pretext for her tears': she had built the two altars in order that beside them she might indulge in lamentation. For *geminas* see 63 n.

307. *magnis exterrita monstis*] 'astounded at such mighty portents': she regarded the Trojans as phantoms sent to warn her (*monstrum* = *monestrum*) of some terrible event.

308. *visu in medio*] 'even as she gazed.'

309. *labitur*] Notice the vivid present and also how the solitary dactyl suggests the sudden quickness of her fall, while the labouring spondees which follow describe the slow recovery.

310. *verane...*] 'a true (*i.e.* real) form dost thou present thyself to me, a true messenger?' Many say that grammar requires *veramne te faciem...adfers* 'dost thou present thyself a true form?', but cf. 2. 388 n.

311. *si lux alma recessit*] 'if kindly light has departed,' *i.e.* if thou art dead. For *lux alma* cf. l. 306 n.

312. *Hector ubi est?*] 'If thou art dead and a phantom, she says, 'why is not dead Hector with thee?'

313. *vix pauca furenti...*] 'scarcely as she rages do I interpose brief answers and gasp troubled with disjointed words.' *Subicio* indicates that he can only 'fling in' (cf. *ὑποβάλλω* = 'retort') a few brief words in the intervals of her paroxysm of sorrow: moreover his own agitation is so great that he can scarcely speak; he 'opens his mouth' (*hiscit*) but the words only come out at considerable intervals (*rarae voces*).

315. *vitam duco*] Cf. 2. 641 n. *extrema* are 'things beyond which you cannot go'; 'utmost dangers' or 'difficulties.'

317. *deiectam coniuge tanto*] 'fallen from such a husband': as the wife of Hector Andromache had occupied a lofty position: 'cast down' (*deiectam*) from this it can only be some lowlier lot (*casus*) which 'awaits' or 'is ready to receive' (*excipit*, cf. 210 n.) her. The occurrence of *casus*, *deiectam*, and *excipit* here, all being words which can be used in connection with an actual fall, cannot be accidental.

318. *digna satis*] 'sufficiently worthy,' *i.e.* of thy former eminence.

319. *Hectoris Andromache...*] Conington with very weak authority reads *Andromachen* and joins these words with the preceding line:

'What fortune matches the degree
Of Hector's own Andromache?'

He argues that as it stands the line is 'an unfeeling reproach' to Andromache. But the 'unfeeling reproach' cannot consist in the reference to her relationship to Pyrrhus, for that is referred to in the words *Pyrrhin' conubia servas* whatever way you punctuate: it must therefore consist in the scornful contrast which is supposed to be drawn between 'Hector's wife' and the 'mate of Pyrrhus.' Of course it would be possible thus to accentuate the line, but it is equally possible to read it tenderly and make the contrast one of pity and pathos, not of scorn—'Art thou, Hector's own Andromache, still mated to Pyrrhus?' The rhythm is strongly against Conington's division of the line.

321. *felix una ante alias*] 'O happy alone above others': a very strong superlative, cf. 2. 426 n.

The 'maiden daughter of Priam' was Polyxena, who was

slain by Pyrrhus on the tomb of Achilles: the story forms the subject of the Hecuba of Euripides, who however makes the sacrifice take place in Thrace and not near Troy as Virgil does.

323. *sortitus*] The 'drawing of lots' was for the distribution of the booty and captives. Andromache was not assigned to Pyrrhus by lot, but specially given him as being the son of the slayer of Hector: the word is used however in indignation and this is increased by the use of the contemptuous plural.

324. *nec victoris eri...*] Note the indignant emphasis of each word: the hated 'conqueror' has become the more hated 'master,' and in spite of her loathing and her shame she is compelled as a 'captive' to 'touch' the bed from which she shrinks in abhorrence.

325. *nos*] Strongly antithetical: 'Happy she who..., but we....'

326. *stirpis...*] 'we, bearing children in bondage, have endured the insolence of Achilles' son and his youthful pride.' Conington well remarks, "*servitio enixae* defines *tulimus*: Andromache was the slave of her master's passion and had a son (Molossus) by him."

Andromache bitterly describes Pyrrhus as the 'child of Achilles' who had slain her husband.

327. *deinde*] 'thereafter,' *i.e.* when weary of me.

328. *Ledaeam...*] Hermione was the only child of Menelaus king of Lacedaemon and Helen (daughter of Leda) and before the Trojan war was betrothed to Orestes: afterwards however Menelaus gave her to Pyrrhus who was slain by Orestes in revenge. Not improbably the phrase 'Lacedaemonian nuptials' is used spitefully to suggest the ill-starred marriage of Menelaus with Helen.

329. *me famulo famulamque*] The *que* is not grammatically necessary, for it would be more usual to write 'passed me on to his servant as a servant,' but its addition is very effective: it makes the outrage of Pyrrhus a *double* one, 'passed me on to his servant *and* to be a servant.' Cf. 5. 447 *ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto | concidit* where the heaviness of the man and the heaviness of his fall are regarded as two facts and so the idea of heaviness is made doubly strong.

330. *ereptae coniugis*] *i.e.* Hermione, see 328 n.

331. *scelerum Furiis agitatus*] 'hunted by the Furies of his crimes,' *i.e.* the Furies who were sent to avenge his crimes. Orestes had slain his mother Clytemnestra in revenge for her

murder of his father Agamemnon : the pursuit of him by the Furies (*Εὐμενίδες*) formed the subject of the Eumenides of Aeschylus. Sidgwick prints *furiis* and renders 'stung by the madness born of crime,' stating that if the Furies had been clearly personified Virgil would have written *a Furiis*, but the absolute authority of this grammatical rule is very doubtful, and the hunting of Orestes by the Furies was so well known that the phrase could not possibly suggest any other idea.

332. **excipit incautum**] 'catches unawares': cf. 210 n. and Ecl. 3. 17 *caprum* | *excipere insidiis*.

patriasque obruncat ad aras : Pyrrhus had slain Priam and his son Polites at the altar and Virgil clearly intends us to recall his own description of Pyrrhus 2. 663 *natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obruncat ad aras*. The words here naturally mean that Pyrrhus was slain in his own house, but there is also a story that he was slain while sacrificing at an 'altar reared to his father' at Delphi.

333. **reddita**] 'duly given,' cf. 170 n. What claim Helenus had to this portion of the kingdom is not stated. Possibly Pyrrhus had left Helenus in charge of it, so that it fell in to him naturally, see 295 n.

334. **cognomine**] Cf. 133 n. : 'who by an old (or 'like') name called the plains Chaonian and all the land Chaonia....'

The Chaones (*Χάονες*) seem to have been a Pelasgian people inhabiting Epirus and the derivation of the name here from some unknown Trojan called Chaon seems purely fictitious.

337. **sed tibi**] Mark the force of the pronoun in its emphatic position : I have told you *my* history, 'but now about *yourself*, what winds, what fate have guided you hither?'

339. **vescitur aura**] Cf. 1. 546 n.

340. **quem tibi iam Troia**—] This is the only incomplete line in Virgil which also leaves the sense incomplete. Various attempts have been made to complete it, e.g. *peperit fumante Creusa*. Of course they none of them have any value. Wagner thinks that at the words 'whom to you when now Troy...' Andromache, marking the look of pain on Aeneas' face, guesses that Creusa must be dead, and suddenly substitutes the question in the next line. Such dramatic writing is however quite out of place in an epic narrative : moreover if the mention of Creusa was so utterly painful to Aeneas, how is it that she is at once alluded to in the next line?

341. **ecqua tamen**...] 'has the boy notwithstanding any affection for his lost mother?': *tamen* implies that, having lost her, so young a boy might easily have forgotten his mother.

Virgil does not tell us, nor did he probably consider, how Andromache had heard of 'Creusa's loss.' She had been lost (2. 735 seq.) in the darkness when they were escaping from Troy.

342. *ecquid...*] 'does Aeneas his sire and Hector his uncle (*i.e.* does the fact that Aeneas is his sire etc.) rouse him at all to hereditary valour?' Hector was his uncle because Creusa was sister of Andromache.

ecquid: cognate acc. used adverbially after *excitat*, cf. 56 n.

347. *laetus...lacrimas*] Tears are with the ancients constantly a sign of joy, cf. Aesch. Ag. 270 *χαρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη*.

348. *et multum lacrimas...fundit*] 'and sheds full many a tear between each word': as you can say *multum lacrimare*, (cf. 6. 50 n.), so you can substitute *lacrimas fundere* for *lacrimare* and say *multum lacrimas fundere*, but the form of expression is rare.

349. *parvam...*] 'a tiny Troy and a (tiny) Pergamus mimicking its great namesake.'

350. *arentem Xanthi rivum...*] A contrast to its famous original 'the whirling Xanthus' (Il. 5. 479 *Ξάνθῳ ἐπι δινῆεντι*).

353. *porticibus in amplis*] In a Greek house the 'porticoes' (*στοαί*) ran round the *αὐλή* or enclosed court in front of the house which was open to the sky, see Smith's Dict. of Ant. s. v. *Domus*. In the centre of the court (*aulai medio*) stood the altar on which they poured libations (*libabant pocula Bacchi*).

354. *aulai medio*] This old form of the gen. sing. of the first declension is common in inscriptions, in the old poets, and in Lucretius. Virgil uses it occasionally as an archaism intended to lend an antique dignity to his style: cf. 6. 747 *aurai*; 7. 464 *aquai*; 9. 26 *pictai*.

For *medio* used as a subst. see 232 n.: some MSS. read *in medio*.

356—373. *After several days I consult Helenus about my voyage, telling him that all the gods had urged me to seek the distant shores of Italy, but that the Harpy Celaeno alone had warned me of grievous dangers. He after due sacrifice led me to the temple of Phoebus and then began his prophecy.*

356. *iamque dies...*] Sidgwick remarks "the rhythm suggests the *lingering*, 'day after day passed on'": Virgil clearly does not mean that they only stopped two days.

358. *his vatem adgredior dictis*] 'I thus address (lit. approach with words) the seer,' *i.e.* Helenus who was a prophet, cf. 295 n.; Il. 6. 76 Πριαμίδης Ἐλενος οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος.

359. *Troiugena*] The word is intended to have a stately ring: 'Prince of the Trojan blood,' Bowen. It is a favourite word with Juvenal who applies it satirically to the haughty Roman patricians, 1. 100; 8. 181; 11. 95. For the form cf. 550 *Graiugenum*.

interpres divom: whatever the derivation of *interpres* (=inter-pretis from root φραδ of φράζω, Curtius) it certainly signifies 'a go-between,' 'one who acts as intermediary' between two other parties. It is possible thus to be an intermediary between the gods and men, either by becoming the actual mouthpiece through which a god speaks or by explaining the meaning of omens which a god sends. Helenus is described as being an interpreter of the gods in both ways.

numina: 'will.'

360. *qui...*] See 91 n. *qui sentis*: 'thou that understandest.' *sidera*: cf. 4. 519 *conscia fati sidera*; they were supposed to indicate and even influence the fortunes of men, and astrology was very popular at Rome in Virgil's day.

361. *volucrum...*] There were two methods of divination by means of birds, one by listening to their cry, *augurium*, the other by watching their flight, *auspicium*: the birds which gave omens by their cry were called *oscines*, and those which gave them by their flight *praepetes*.

362. *omnem cursum prospera dixit religio*] *Prospera* goes closely with *dixit* as its position shows: 'religion has favourably told of all my voyage.' There is no need to explain it as an instance of Hypallage (*i.e.* transference of an epithet from its proper word to another) and so = *omnem cursum mihi prosperum dixit religio*. By *religio* is meant the utterance of sacred oracles.

364. *terras temptare repostas*] 'to explore lands remote.'

365. *novum dictuque nefas...prodigium*] The Supine in *u* which is almost always used after adjectives (see 26) is also specially used after the indeclinable substantives *fas* and *nefas*. Virgil however here treats *nefas* as almost a pure adjective—the prodigy is 'startling and unlawful to tell.' Possibly *fas* and *nefas* may have acquired a semi-adjectival character from their constant use in such phrases as *fas est, hoc fas est* etc. where the sense is clearly 'it is lawful,' 'this is lawful': or consider such a sentence as *quid non adeptus est, quod homini fas esset optare?*

367. *quae prima pericula vito*] Cf. 88 n. : 'what perils am I to shun first?' For *obscenam* cf. 262 n.

368. *quidve sequens...possim*] Notice that this question is not in its grammatical character at all parallel to the preceding one. *Quae vito* is put for the more usual deliberative subjunctive; *possim* however is not a deliberative subjunctive, but due to the fact that the sentence is conditional, *quid sequens* being = *quid si sequar* : 'following what (*i.e.* if I were to follow what) should I be able to surmount...?'

369. *de more*] 'according to custom.'

371. *limina*] *i.e.* the threshold of the *adytum*, see 91 n. : the sacrifice would be offered outside the temple and then Aeneas would be led to the shrine from which the oracle was delivered.

372. *ipse manu*] 'with his own hand,' implying careful personal attention, cf. 4. 344 n.

multo suspensum numine ducit : the adj. *suspensus* 'hung up' may be used (1) with reference to the mind, 'anxious,' 'agitated,' 'in suspense,' cf. 4. 9 n. ; (2) with reference to the body, especially of walking in the phrase *suspensio gradu* 'on tiptoe.' Neither meaning is to be excluded here (or 2. 729) : as he passes through the temple to the shrine the soul of Aeneas is agitated by 'the full presence of the god' (*multo numine*), but his gait marks his emotion too; he seems to walk on air. For *sacerdos* pleonastic cf. 1. 412 n.

374—462. *The prophecy of Helenus.*

374—409. *Child of a goddess, seeing that mighty auspices do manifestly, by the decree of destiny, govern thy voyage, I will as far as is permitted unveil the future, that thy course may thereby be safer. Firstly the Italy which thou deemest now so close lies far away, and far must thou go before thou canst safely build thy city. When by a river's bank thou shalt find a white sow with thirty white young ones, there shall be the site of thy city and rest from toil, nor is there need to dread the 'eating of thy tables.' Only avoid the eastern coast of Italy, for it is full of hostile Grecian cities, and when thy fleet at last anchors on the promised shore, take heed when thou payest thy vows to clothe thyself in purple and pray with thy head veiled lest any ill-omened sight disturb thy worship, and let this rule prevail for ever among thy posterity.*

374. Conington rightly sees that *nam* has reference to 377 *parca tibi expediam*, and the peculiarity is that the explanatory clauses with *nam* precede the main sentence. Helenus before

uttering his prophecy wishes to explain why Aeneas is deemed worthy to receive it. The summary gives the connection of the sentence.

maioribus auspiciis: 'with mightier auspices.' The phrase does not merely mean 'mightier than ordinary men enjoy,' but is apparently technical, there being *auspicia maxima* or *maiora* and *auspicia minora*, and its use here has a solemn effect: cf. Cic. de Rep. 2. 4 *idem Pompilius, auspiciis maioribus inventis, duos augures addidit*; Aul. Gell. 13. 15 *auspicia in duas sunt potestates divisa: maxima sunt consulum, praetorum, censorum...reliquorum magistratum minora sunt auspicia*.

375. **manifesta fides**] 'there is plain proof': cf. 2. 309 n. What the proof was Helenus does not say.

sic fata...: 'so doth the king of heaven arrange the fates and move the circle of change: such is the appointed orbit.' The words are intended to bear a mysterious character. Jupiter arranges the destiny of men: he places the 'chances and changes' (*vices*) of their life on a sort of wheel, and as he makes this revolve he causes these changes in their life to follow one another in a circuit (*volvitur vices*), or, in other words, 'the fixed order revolves' or 'comes round' (*is vertitur ordo*) as time rolls onward.

377. **quo**] = *ut eo*, 'that thereby thou mayest more safely traverse strange seas.'

379. **prohibent nam cetera...**] These words explain why Helenus will only unfold 'a scanty portion of a mighty history.' The acc. *cetera* is governed by both *scire* and *fari*: of 'the other things' Helenus is partly ignorant, partly forbidden to speak.

380. **Iuno**] The constant enemy of the Trojans, ever since the fatal judgment of Paris. Cf. 1. 27 n.

381. **Italiam**] Not 'Italy' generally, which was very near, but 'the Italy' which you have been told to seek, *i.e.* the western as opposed to the eastern coast (*nanc oram* 396).

iam: 'now,' *i.e.* now that you have got as far as the opposite shore of Epirus. **rere**: for *reris* from *reor*.

383. **longa procul...**] "The jingle of words is chosen to mark prophetic obscurity: 'long by long lands afar a pathless path divides.'" Kennedy. *Dividit* governs *Italiam* 381 and means 'separates from you': *via invia* refers to crossing a trackless and unknown ocean, and is an imitation of such well-known Greek phrases as $\delta\omega\rho\upsilon\alpha\iota\delta\omega\rho\upsilon\alpha\iota$, $\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$.

384. *ante et...quam* (387)...*possis*] 'first both must thy oar be bent...ere that thou mayest be able....' The subj. after *ante quam* is exactly parallel to *ante...quam...subigat* 257 and expresses the purpose of destiny.

lentandus: a graphic word expressing strong effort. The stout oar must be 'made to bend,' made to seem pliant (*lentus*) owing to the vigour with which the oarsman uses it: cf. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 591 *ἐπεγνάμπτοντο δὲ κῶπαι | ἥύτε κάμπυλα τόξα βιαζομένων ἠρώων*; Cat. Epith. Pel. et Thet. 183 *lentos incurvans gurgite remos*.

385. *salis Ausonii*] The sea near the coast of the Ausones in Campania. *lustrandum*: 'must be traversed.'

386. *inferni lacus*] See 442 n. *Aeaeae insula Circae*: cf. Od. 10. 135 *Αἰαίη νῆσος*; the island subsequently became the promontory of Circeii (*Monte Circello*) on the coast of Latium. The sorceress Circe, who dwelt there, was called *Aeaea* as being connected with Aea in Colchis the land of magic.

388. *tu condita mente teneto*] 'do thou keep them treasured in thy heart': cf. Il. 1. 297 *ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν*. Observe the authoritative form of the imperative, *teneto* not *tene*, cf. 408.

389. *sollicito*] 'in thy distress': the good omen was to come when most needed.

The fulfilment of the prophecy is described 8. 18 seq.: the distress and anxiety of Aeneas were caused by the confederacy of the Latin tribes formed against him by Turnus.

secreti fluminis: 'a secluded stream,' i.e. a stream at some point where it is secluded. The stream was the Tiber.

390. *ilicibus sus*] The monosyllabic ending is used to give a touch of archaic simplicity and rudeness to this quaint old oracle, cf. 12 n.

sus: according to some there was an old Latin word *troia*, whence French *truie*, which meant 'a sow.' Hence the sow symbolises Troy.

391. *triginta...*] 'shall lie just delivered of a litter of thirty young': *caput* is continually used in counting men or animals, as we talk of 'so many head of cattle' or of a 'poll-tax.' The 'thirty' was supposed to indicate (8. 47) that thirty years afterwards Ascanius would found *Alba Longa*, the city from which Rome was founded, and to which *alba* and *albi* in the next line point.

395. *fata viam*] See 257 n. *aderitque...*: 'and Apollo

when invoked shall vouchsafe his presence': *adsis* or *ades* was commonly used in invoking the presence, that is the aid, of a deity, cf. 4. 578.

396. *has...hanc*] almost deictic. The next line however immediately makes the sense perfectly clear, 'this border of the Italian shore' being defined as that 'which lies nearest bathed by the swell of our (*i.e.* the Ionian) sea.'

398. *malis habitantur moenia Graeis*] 'the cities are inhabited by hostile Greeks.' For this dat. of the agent cf. 1. 440 n., *Öv. Tr.* 1. 1. 127 *nobis habitabitur orbis | ultimus* and 5. 3. 21 *nec patria est habitata tibi*.

The Southern part of Italy was so filled with Greek colonies that it was called *Magna Graecia*, and up to recent times Greek was still spoken by considerable numbers of the inhabitants (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Oct. 1889).

399. *Narycii Locri*] *Naryx* was a town of the Opuntian Locrians on the Euboean sea of which Ajax son of Oileus was king; on their return from Troy some of his companions were said to have been wrecked on the coast of Bruttium in S. Italy, where they founded Locri Epizephyrii (or Locri near the promontory of Zephyrium).

401. *Idomeneus*] See 122 n.

hic illa...: 'there is the famous (city) of the Meliboean chieftain, tiny Petelia confident in (lit. resting on) the wall of Philoctetes.' Philoctetes king of Meliboea and other Thesalian towns was cast upon the coast of Italy in the great storm which befell the Greek fleet on its return from Troy. He there founded Petelia on the E. coast of Bruttium: Virgil alludes to it in such terms of praise because in the second Punic war, when the rest of Bruttium joined Hannibal, it remained faithful to Rome and was only taken after a long resistance.

403. *quin ubi...*] 'moreover when the ships are anchored (lit. shall have stopped) beyond the seas.'

404. *iam*] 'at last.'

405. *velare comas*] 'cover thou thy hair,' a good instance of the middle use of the passive, cf. 2. 383 n.

The Romans covered the head during prayer and sacrifice, the Greeks left it uncovered. Virgil is always anxious to dignify and explain old Roman customs by providing them with a historical or legendary authority.

406. *ne qua...*] The sight of anything ill-omened vitiated a sacrifice and therefore the head was to be covered: for a similar reason silence was enjoined on all present lest any ill-omened word should be uttered.

ne qua...facies : 'lest any...face' : it is doubtful whether *quā* is fem. of the indefinite pron. *quis* used adjectivally or = *quae* fem. of *qui* : see Pub. Sch. Gr. § 88 note.

in honore deorum : 'at' or 'during sacrifice to the gods.'

408. **morem sacrorum**] 'ritual rule.'

409. **hac casti...**] 'and pure in this observance let thy posterity remain' : *casti* indicates that by their observance of this rule they will avoid the pollution and guilt of offering worship in a manner displeasing to the gods.

410—462. *When thou dost reach Sicily and the straits of Pelorus open on thy view, steer to the left and avoid the coast upon the right. Once Italy and Sicily were one, but a mighty convulsion rent them asunder, and now the strait between them is occupied on the left side by the awful whirlpool Charybdis, on the right by the devouring monster Scylla : far better is it to take the long voyage round Sicily than once to have seen that terrible being. Furthermore, if I am indeed a prophet, of one thing above all I warn thee to take heed : to Juno address persistent prayer and sacrifice until thou prevail over her, for so, and so only, shalt thou reach Italy. There thou shalt first land at Cumae and consult the Sibyl who writes her prophecies on leaves which lie in her cave tossed about in disorder by every breath of air, so that many who would consult her depart vexed and disappointed : but do thou allow no fear of delay to prevent thee from seeking her and praying her to prophesy to thee with her own lips, for she shall tell thee of all that must befall thee in Italy. Thus much am I allowed to utter in warning : away, and by thy deeds raise the fame of Troy to heaven.*

411. **angusti rarescent claustra Pelori**] 'the barriers of narrow Pelorus shall begin to widen.' The expression is very condensed : the 'barriers of Pelorus' are the opposite headlands (of which Pelorus is one) on the Sicilian and Italian sides. Between these is a narrow strait (cf. *angusti*), but at first, as Aeneas sails up, the land appears continuous and to be an actual barrier : it is only on coming closer that the narrow strait begins gradually to open on the view.

412. **laeva tibi...**] Observe the emphatic position of *laeva*, which is further emphasised by *tibi* (ethic dat. = 'mark you'), and its repetition in the next clause.

It is quite possible to treat *tibi* as dat. of the agent = 'by you' (see l. 440 n.), but this seems to weaken its force.

Turning to the left would take him in a southerly direction and, if he meant to reach Italy, involve the 'long circuit' of Sicily : of course it is not meant that he must go on steering

to the left after reaching the S. point of Sicily, for he must then necessarily steer to the right.

414. *haec loca...*] 'those lands,' *i.e.* the lands just mentioned on the right. *loca dissiluisse* is acc. and inf. after *ferunt*.

415. *tantum...*] A parenthetical reflection on the marvel he is describing—'Such change can age's distant date achieve.' Virgil does not mean that it took an immense time to effect the change (for he clearly describes it as sudden), but he wishes to call attention to the immense difference there is between the surface of the globe now and in time past.

416. *cum protinus...*] 'whereas either shore was (previously) one unbroken line.' *Protinus* goes with *una* and describes not, as usual, continuity in time but continuity in space. Like *continuus* it is derived from *teneo* and expresses a 'holding on' of one thing to another in front of it so that there is no gap between them.

417. *medio*] 'in the midst,' 'between,' used almost as an adverb: so too *vi* 'with violence' = violently, cf. 2. 323 n.

419. *litore diductas*] 'parted on the coast,' 'now separate on the coast.' Formerly the fields and cities were (1) not separated and (2) inland: now they are (1) separated and (2) on the sea-shore. So Henry rightly, 'standing each on its separate shore,' and, lest any one require the plural *litoribus*, cf. 677 where the Cyclopes, who have each an eye, are described *adstantes lumine torvo*.

Nettleship refers to the fact that Seneca quotes the line with the words *aequore diductas* and describes this reading as 'very tempting': it perhaps is so, but it certainly does not account for the existence of the much less commonplace *litore diductas*.

421. *imo ter...*] 'and with lowest whirlpool of her abyss thrice sucks huge waves sheer downwards, and again hurls them up....' The description of Scylla and Charybdis is condensed from the full account Od. 12. 73 *seq.*: cf. line 104

*τῶ δ' ὑπὸ δῖα Χάρυβδιν ἀναρροιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ.
τρὶς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίησιν ἐπ' ἡματι, τρὶς δ' ἀναροιβδεῖ.*

424. *Scyllam*] The Homeric Scylla is a monster with twelve feet and six heads on very long necks which she stretches out of her cave, and catching dolphins and the like or picking off sailors from passing ships. Milton's description of Sin guarding the gates of Hell should be compared, Par. Lost 2. 650.

'The one seem'd woman to the waist, and fair,
 But ended foul in many a scaly fold
 Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed
 With mortal sting : about her middle round
 A cry of Hell-hounds never ceasing bark'd
 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
 A hideous peal : yet when they list would creep,
 If aught disturb'd their noise, into her womb
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd,
 Within unseen. Far less abhorr'd than these
 Vexed Scylla, bathing in the sea that parts
 Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore ;'

and Victor Hugo's description of "La Pieuvre," *Les Travailleurs de la Mer* c. xi.

425. *ora...*] Cf. *Od.* 12. 94 *ἔξω δ' ἐξίσχει κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο βερέθρον* : Homer makes her only pick off a sailor with each head, but Virgil makes her 'drag ships into the rocks,' *i.e.* into the rocky cavern where she lurks.

426. *prima...*] 'in front her aspect is human, and she is a maiden with beauteous bosom as far as the waist, behind....'

427. *pistrix*] This word is also found in the form *pistris* or *pristis* (*πίστις*) ; the latter form is used 5. 116 as the name of a ship which bears this monster for its figure-head.

428. *delphinum...*] 'having dolphins' tails joined to a wolf-bearing womb' : the 'wolves' are ravenous sea-monsters which issue from her womb, see Milton above. For *caudas commissa* see Appendix.

429. *metas*] Down the centre of the Roman *Circus* ran a low wall at each end of which were placed, upon a pedestal, three conical wooden pillars called *metae*, round which the chariots had to turn : hence here the term is applied to the headland of Pachynus round which the Trojans are to turn.

430. *cessantem*] 'lingering,' *i.e.* not taking the speediest route.

431. *quam*] After *praestat* 429 which has the force of a comparative : 'tis better to...than once to have seen....'

432. *caeruleis canibus*] 'sea-hounds' : practically the same as the *lupi* 428. *Caeruleus* 'sea-coloured' is a regular epithet of all creatures that inhabit the sea, cf. 194 n.

433. *si qua est...*] 'if there is any foresight in Helenus, if any faithfulness in the seer, if....' The rhetorical use of *si* or *si forte* with the indic., especially in appeals, deserves notice : it does not imply any doubt of the facts referred to, but the

reverse. When Helenus says 'if I have any foresight then with solemn emphasis I appeal to you to pray to Juno...', he means 'as surely as I have foresight I appeal to you....' For this use of *si* cf. 1. 375 n., 603; 2. 536 *si qua est caelo pietas*; 4. 317 n.; 5. 686; 6. 119. St. Paul is very fond of this method of appeal, e.g. Col. iii. 1 *εἰ οὖν συνηγήρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε*. On the other hand for the extreme doubt expressed by *si qua* with subj. cf. 1. 18 n.; 6. 882.

Notice the extraordinary emphasis which Helenus gives to his words by repetition: *si qua...si qua...si, unum...unum, iterumque...iterumque, Iunoni...Iunoni*.

435. *unum illud*] 'this one thing': *ille*, like *ἐκεῖνος*, is continually used to point with emphasis to something which follows and should be translated in English by 'this.' The words *Iunoni...donis* explain what 'this' is. *proque omnibus unum*: 'yes, this one thing instead of all beside' or 'worth all beside,' i.e. this one thing which is as important as all other counsels put together, cf. Cic. Att. 2. 5 *Plato qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus*. The rendering 'above all things' is wrong.

437. *Iunonis...Iunoni* (438)] Note the emphatic position of the words. It was Juno's implacable wrath which was the foremost cause of his troubles and it was to her deity before all others (cf. *primum*) that he must address his prayers.

438. *cane vota libens*] 'recite thy vows gladly.' The word *libens* was technically used with regard to the payment of vows and V L S (*votum libens solvit*) is common in Inscriptions. For *cane* used of repeating a solemn formula, cf. 155 n.

439. *supera*] 'overcome': a strong word; her obdurate anger is only to be 'overcome' by pertinacious prayer. The same metaphor is kept up in *victor*: 'so (i.e. when thou hast overcome her hatred) at the last victorious thou shalt pass to Italian coasts.'

442. *divinosque lacus*] There are two lakes, the Lucrine nearer the sea and the Avernian more inland and separated from the Lucrine by a narrow strip of land. Though Virgil speaks of them both, it is only of Lake Avernus the fabled entrance to the lower world that he is thinking when he speaks of 'the infernal lakes' 386 or 'the haunted lakes' as here.

Averna sonantia silvis: lit. 'Avernus sounding with its woods' = 'Avernus with its wailing woods.' Notice the sibilant sound of *sonantia silvis* intended to give a mysterious character to the line. The gloomy groves (*nemorum tenebrae*, 6. 238) which surrounded the lake added to the awe it inspired.

Averna seems to be a heteroclite plural from *Avernus* formed on the analogy of *Tartarus*, *Tartara*; *Pergamus*, *Pergama*.

443. *insanam vatem*] 'an inspired (or 'frenzied') prophetess.' Among primitive peoples 'insanity' is often regarded with veneration rather than contempt, the insane person being looked upon as possessed by a superior spirit. The Greeks especially regarded the connection between *μάντις* 'a prophet' and *μαίνομαι* 'I am mad' as clear: both were a form of 'possession by the god' (*ἐνθουσιασμός*).

The *vates* is the 'Sibyl of Cumae,' who in the Sixth Book guides Aeneas through the under world.

444. *fata...*] 'announces destiny and to leaves entrusts her signs and symbols.' Virgil means that she writes her prophecies which are in verse (*carmina*, cf. 155 n.) on leaves, one or two lines on a leaf: she then 'arranges the leaves in order' (*digerit in numerum*) so that the prophecy can be read consecutively and be understood. After this however she neglects them and they get blown about into confusion. Those who come to consult her are clearly supposed to select some of these leaves (called *sortes* 'lots' 6. 72) and from the writing on them to receive advice: but as the leaves are all in disorder and make no sense it often happens that 'unadvised they depart and abhor the dwelling of the Sibyl.' Doubtless Virgil in his description is referring to some well-known characteristic of the famous Sibylline books (cf. 6. 71 n.), and the method of consulting them: they probably consisted of a number of detached and disconnected verses and were consulted by being opened at hazard and the first oracle accepted.

notas et nomina mandat. The passage is intended to suggest some mysterious form of writing: *nomina* cannot mean 'names' but is used with reference to its derivation from *nosco* = 'any mark serving for knowing an object by' and so almost the same as *nota*. In G. 3. 158 they brand on young cattle *notas et nomina gentis* 'marks to show their breed.'

448. *verum eadem...*] *Eadem* is acc. plur. in agreement with *volitantia carmina* below; it is thrown forward to emphasise the contrast with *illa manent inmota*: 'they remain unmoved...but notwithstanding, when as the door revolves a light breeze has stirred them..., never thereafter does she trouble to capture the oracles as they flutter....'

452. *inconsulti*] 'unadvised': they came for *consulta*, the 'decrees' or 'resolutions' of the gods (cf. 6. 151 *dum consulta*

petis) and went away without them. Elsewhere *inconsultus* is usually = 'ill-advised' in the sense of 'foolish.'

453. *hic tibi...*] 'here let no damage of delay be so costly (*i.e.* seem so important) in thine eyes..., that thou shouldst not approach the prophetess....' *Quin* follows *ne...tanti* because these words are = 'let nothing hinder thee' and *quin* would be regular after *nihil impediât*: the usual construction after *tanti est* would be *ut non*.

456. *precibusque oracula poscàs ipsa canat*] 'and with prayers entreat that with her own lips she utter her oracles.' Old editors placed a full stop after *poscàs* spoiling the sense, which certainly is that Aeneas is to beseech her to give him an answer by word of mouth: it is not an oracle given in the ordinary unsatisfactory way but an oracle by word of mouth that he is to pray for. Cf. 6. 74 where Aeneas says to the Sibyl 'commit not thy reply to leaves...I pray thee prophesy thyself (*ipsa canas oro*),' which shows not only the meaning but the construction of the present passage.

457. *volens*] 'graciously': the word is customary in prayers, cf. Hor. Od. 3. 30. 16 *lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam*; Livy 7. 26 *precatus...volens propitiis adesset*.

459. *et quo quemque...*] 'and how thou art to avoid and endure each toil': *fugiasque ferasque* are the oblique forms of the question *quomodo fugiamque feramque* 'how am I to avoid and endure?'

460. *venerata*] Cf. 143 n.

461. *haec sunt quae...liceat*] 'these are such things as thou mayest be warned by my lips.' Note the subj. *liceat*.

462. *ingentem...*] 'by thy deeds raise Troy towering to heaven': *ingentem* is proleptic (cf. 1. 70 n.); Troy, which is now in ruins, is to be exalted to heaven by his exploits.

463—471. *Then Helenus loads us with rich gifts and provides us with fresh rowers and guides.*

464. *auro gravia sectoque elephanto*] 'heavy with gold and sawn ivory,' *i.e.* richly adorned with gold and ivory: *secto elephanto* represents the Homeric *πριστοῦ ἐλεφάντου* and does not so much describe carved ivory as plates of ivory used for inlaying and the like: *gravìa* goes strictly with *auro* and loosely with *elephanto*. Gold and ivory were regularly used for the adornment of such objects as *lecti* and *sellae* throughout antiquity (see Marquardt s.v. *eborarii*).

graviã: the lengthening of final *a* of the neut. pl. seems to

have no parallel in Virgil, but in the fragments of Ennius the final *a* of the neut. pl. is said to be always long. For the ending *elephanto*, cf. 6. 623 n.

466. *ingens argentum*] 'massy silver plate.' *Dodonaeos*: 'like those hung from the oaks at Dodona. These caldrons were struck, according to Strabo, by knucklebones attached to a wand held by a statue. They seem to have been arranged so that if one was struck all resounded.' Howson.

467. *loricam...*] 'a breast-plate sewn together with links and trebly-woven with gold.' The first part of the phrase describes the *lorica* as a piece of chain-armor, the second gives the material of which it was made and the special closeness of the pattern.

In weaving the simplest process is to pass the threads of the woof with the shuttle under alternate threads of the warp and then back again over them. Instead of raising each such thread of the warp separately to pass the shuttle under it, all the alternate threads are passed through 'loops' or 'leashes' (*licia*) the other ends of which are fastened along a rod so that by lifting the rod all the alternate threads can be raised at once. For more complex weaving there were several sets of such leashes, and the adjectives *bilix* and *trilix* (*δίμυτος*, *τρίμυτος*) were applied to the material woven with two and three sets, while more complex stuffs were known as *polymita* (*πολύμυτα*). Here Virgil wishing to describe the exceedingly skilful work of this breast-plate describes it as *trilix*: in 12. 375 we have *lorica bilix*.

469. *sunt et sua dona parenti*] 'there are too his own special gifts for my sire,' 'my sire too has his special gifts,' *i.e.* not arms and the like but gifts suited to his age. Different gifts suit different people: the gifts which suit a particular person are said with reference to that person to be 'his own gifts' (*sua dona*). For *suis* thus throwing its reflexive force on a single noun cf. 493 n.; 1. 461 *sunt sua praemia laudi*; 5. 54 *strueremque suis altaria donis*, 832 *ferunt sua flamina classem*; 6. 233 *sua arma viro* 'the hero's special weapons,' and such phrases as *Magonem cum classe sua* (= *Magonis mittunt*, Livy 33. 32).

470. *equos*] Epirus was celebrated for horses, cf. G. 1. 59 *mittit...Eliadum palmas Epiros equarum*. *duces*: 'guides,' 'pilots.'

471. *remigium*] = *remiges*, cf. 296 n. *supplet*: Aeneas had lost some men in Crete and also left some there (190) so that his numbers needed 'filling up.'

472—505. *Helenu*s bids *Anchis*es a special farewell emphasising again the importance of making for the western coast of Italy; *Andromache* too brings garments of great beauty for *Ascanius*, hoping that he may thus recall her memory and the love she bears him, seeing that he reminds her of her own lost *Astyanax*. Finally I tearfully bid them all farewell, comparing their assured repose with our weary wanderings, and promise that if ever I find a home there shall be peace and love between our cities.

473. *fēret...*] 'that the favourable breeze might not be delayed.' *fērenti*: lit. 'bearing,' the acc. *naves* being naturally supplied; cf. 4. 430 *ventosque fērentes*.

475. *Anchisā*] Some MSS. give *Anchisae* = *Anchisē*: the Greek form would be Ἀγχισίη. In 6. 126 there is the same doubt between *Anchisiade* and *Anchisiada*.

dignate: see 143 n.

476. *bis...*] *Anchis*es had not only been saved when Troy was destroyed by the Greeks, but also when it was previously sacked by *Hercules*, who had been defrauded by *Laomedon*; cf. 2. 642.

477. *tibi*] *Ethic* dative: 'Lo! before thee is the land of *Ausonia*.' *Helenu*s points towards the opposite or eastern shore of Italy and bids him 'seize it with his sails': he then however corrects himself and adds that after all (*tamen*) the nearer shore (*hanc*) is to be avoided, for that it is the distant western coast (*pars illa*) which *Apollo* points out to him.

480. *quid ultra...*] 'why do I proceed further and with talking delay the rising breeze?'

482. *nec minus Andromache*] After detailing at length the care and regard which *Helenu*s had exhibited to *Aeneas* and *Anchis*es, *Virgil* proceeds to describe *Andromache* as showing 'no less' zeal to honour the young *Ascanius*.

digressu maesta supremo: 'mournful at that last parting.'

483. *picturatas...*] 'figured with golden embroidery': *Kennedy*. *Subtegmen* is here used of the gold thread which is 'woven' or 'worked into' the cloth.

484. *nec cedit honore*] *Andromache* has been so distinctly described as rivalling *Helenu*s in her devotion (482 n.) that the meaning seems most obviously to be 'nor does she (*Andromache*) yield (to *Helenu*s) in honour,' *i.e.* in the gifts which she bestows on *Ascanius* to do him honour. This sense of *honor* as 'an honorary gift' is very common: cf. 118

meritos aris mactavit honores; Cic. ad Fam. 16. 9. 3 *Curio misi ut medico honos haberetur*, and our word 'honorarium.' Moreover, as after *nec minus* (482) it is necessary to supply *Heleno*, so after the parallel clause *nec cedit* the dat. *Heleno* is naturally supplied: 'nor less (than Helenus)...nor yields (to Helenus).'

MSS. authority is strongly in favour of *honori*, and some render *nec cedit honori* 'nor does she yield to the munificence (of Helenus),' but it is difficult to see how the gen. *Heleni* can be supplied. Others render 'nor does she yield to the honour (due to Ascanius),' 'she does not fall short of the honour due,' though this seems a very curious and negative way of describing Andromache's overflowing generosity. Conington's explanation is best, 'nor does she flag in (lit. 'give way to') the work of honouring him,' the words being a poetical way of putting what in prose would be *nec cessat honorare*.

486. *manuum...*] 'that they may be to thee a memorial of my hands and long bear witness to the love of Andromache.' *Longum* agrees with *amorem* but is also to be taken closely with *testentur*: the gifts are to be a lasting witness of a love which will be equally lasting.

489. *o mihi...*] 'O sole surviving image to me of my own Astyanax': with *super* the participle of the verb 'to be' is really to be supplied and *sola super* is therefore = *quae sola super es*. The absence of a present part. of *sum* not unfrequently causes difficulty in Latin.

490. *sic oculos...*] Cf. Od. 4. 149 where Menelaus says that Telemachus is like his father Ulysses:

κείνου γὰρ τοιοῦδε πόδες, τοιαῖδε τε χεῖρες,
ὄφθαλμῶν τε βολαί, κεφαλῆ τ' ἐφύπερθέ τε χαῖται.

ferēbat: 'showed,' 'offered,' or 'brought before me.' Conington seems to take it = 'moved.'

491. *et nunc...*] 'and now (if he were alive) he would be a youth of like age with thee.' Cf. Eur. Ion 354 σοὶ ταῦτὸν ἤβης, εἶπερ ἦν, εἶχ' ἄν μέτρον.

493. *vivite...*] 'live happy (as being men) to whom their destiny is already accomplished.' For *sua* we should expect *vestra*, but by using *sua* the speaker places those he is addressing among a class of men, viz. those whose toils are over. Every man has his destiny (*fortuna sua*, cf. 469 n.) to work out, and, until it is worked out, he cannot rest: the fortunes of Helenus are settled, Aeneas and his followers are still 'summoned from one destiny to another.'

For *sua* cf. Hom. Od. 9. 27 οὐ τοι ἐγὼ γε | ἦς γαίης δύναμαι

γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ιδέσθαι where ἡς 'his own' is put for ἐμῆς in order to make the statement general.

494. nos...vobis] Notice the emphatic contrast.

498. melioribus...] 'with happier omens, I pray, and to prove (*quae fuerit*) less exposed to Greeks,' *i.e.* than the old Troy. Some MSS. have *fuerint*, if so we must render 'with happier destinies such as may prove less opposed to Grecian (destinies).'

502. cognatas...] The apodosis begins here: 'hereafter we will make our cities sisters and our peoples kin, (the one people) in Epirus, (the other) in Italy, with the same Dardanus for ancestor, the same story of disaster,—yea we will make both Troys one in heart: may this care (the care to effect this) continue to our posterity.' *Cognatas urbes* and *populos propinquos* are both governed by *faciemus* and then repeated in *utramque Troiam*. Each of their cities is a new 'Troy' and though separated they shall be united in heart. For *olim* describing some indefinite time not the present cf. l. 289 n. The words *Epiro Hesperia* would be in Greek, as Wagner remarks, τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ τοὺς δὲ ἐν Ἑσπερίᾳ. The clause *quibus...casus* gives a double reason why they should be united, *viz.* their common descent and common disasters.

506—524. *We set sail skirting the Ceraunian rocks and at sunset land and encamp: before midnight however Palinurus, finding the weather favourable, sounds the trumpet for starting and we set sail, and, as day dawns, sight Italy in the distance.*

506. *vicina Ceraunia iuxta*] They must therefore have sailed northward and it is from the northern part of the Ceraunian ridge that the distance between Greece and Italy is shortest.

507. *unde iter...*] 'whence the road to Italy and voyage over the waves is shortest.' *iter Italiam*: the acc. follows the idea of motion contained in *iter*, cf. 6. 542.

509. *sternimur*] Middle: 'we cast ourselves down on the bosom of the longed-for land beside the wave.' *optatae*: because they were weary with rowing; Virgil emphasises their fatigue and eagerness for sleep in order to provide a picturesque contrast with the early awakening which the 'never weary' (*haud segnīs* 513) Palinurus is preparing for them.

510. *sortiti remos*] 'having assigned the oars by lots.' It was customary to decide by lot which of the crew should row at a particular time and in what place (cf. Prop. 4. 21. 12

remorumque pares ducite sorte vices; Apoll. Rhod. 1. 395). Much discussion has arisen about the words here because editors cannot understand why Virgil should allude to this arrangement about the oars just when they are landing. The explanation is perfectly simple: Virgil introduces these words because he intends to make the Trojans start again very suddenly, and therefore describes them as making a preparatory arrangement which would be indispensable, if they had to start suddenly, to avoid confusion.

Explanations such as 'they took the oars ashore for safety,' 'to use as tent-poles,' 'casting lots who were to remain on board,' 'having been at the oar all day,' are absurd.

511. *corpora curamus*] 'refresh ourselves': the phrase is a favourite one in Latin and expresses doing anything which conduces to physical health; so elsewhere *cutem curare*, and sarcastically *pelliculam curare*.

inrigat: 'flows into,' lit. 'waters'; cf. 1. 691 n.

512. *nox horis acta*] 'night-driven' or 'sped by the hours.'

513. *haud segnis*] 'not slothful,' *i.e.* very active: Litotes, cf. 5. 56 n.

514. *auribus aëra captat*] 'seeks to catch the air with his ears,' *i.e.* listens for the breeze.

516. *pluvias Hyadas*] Virgil is fond of placing with a Greek proper name a Latin word which suggests its derivation; he here clearly connects the word *Hyades* with *ἕειν* 'to rain'; cf. 693 n. (where three instances occur); 6. 550 *flammis torrentibus ... Phlegethon*; 6. 750 *Lethaei...inmemores*. The device is common in Milton, cf. quotation given on 6. 132; so too Par. Lost 3. 353 'immortal amaranth,' and Scott, Macduff's Cross, 'Dundee, the gift of God, and fair Montrose.'

The prose Roman term for these stars was *Suculae* 'the litter of little pigs,' thus pointing to the derivation of *ἰάδες* from *ῥῆς*; the poets however reject so natural and vulgar an etymology.

geminosque Triones: Kennedy says "the two constellations adjoining the N. Pole were called *Ἄρκτοι Ursa Major and Minor*. Ancient imagination also represented them under the form of a waggon or wain; five out of the seven stars of which each consists forming the wain, the other two the *triones* or ploughing oxen: the two pair *geminii triones*. This term was also extended to the entire constellations; whence *septentriones* mean the constellations with seven stars at the N. Pole and so the North itself."

517. **armatum auro]** Orion is said to be 'armed with gold' because of the brilliancy of the stars which form his belt and sword. He is a Southern constellation, hence *circumspicit*; Palinurus 'turns his gaze round (from the Northern constellations) to Orion.'

Oriona: here the first three syllables are all long, but the first and third syllables may be either long or short.

518. **cuncta...constare]** 'that all is settled'; there is no sign of a change to rough weather.

520. **alas]** The 'wings' are not a part of the sails, but the sails themselves are the wings of the vessel. The gen. describes that of which the wings consist.

523. **Italiam. Italiam...Italiam]** The repetition is intended to represent their joyous and repeated cry. Cf. Hor. Od. 4. 2. 49 *io triumphe...io triumphe*, and the famous *θάλαττα, θάλαττα* Xen. Anab. 4. 7. 24.

525—547. *Anchises immediately offers a solemn libation and prays for a favourable breeze: the breeze springs up and we enter a harbour protected from the sea by two projecting headlands and with a temple of Minerva crowning the heights behind it. The first thing we see is four white horses grazing; and Anchises interprets the omen as promising first war then peace, as horses are chiefly used for war but also at other times submit to be yoked quietly together and serve the purposes of peace. Then we sacrifice to Minerva, whose temple had first welcomed us, with heads duly covered, and also, remembering the precepts of Helenus, offer special honours to Juno.*

527. **celsa]** The stern was raised above the other parts of the deck; it was here that the image of the tutelary god of the vessel was placed; cf. Pers. Sat. 6. 29 *ingentes de puppe dei*. Some MSS. give *prima*, but it is hard to see what could be the meaning of *prima puppis* and the phrase *stans celsa in puppi* is repeated 8. 680; 10. 261; cf. too 1. 183.

529. **ferre viam vento facilem et spirare secundi]** Imitative smoothness effected by a threefold alliteration. 'Waft our course smoothly before the wind and breathe with favouring breath.'

530. **portusque patescit]** 'and a harbour as we now draw nearer opens on our view': the harbour is at first concealed (535 n.) by the projecting headlands which protect it, but as they approach it gradually seems to open. The harbour is just at the heel of Italy and was afterwards known as *Portus Veneris*; it is close to a small place called *Castrum Minervae*.

533. **ab Euroo fluctu curvatus**] 'is hollowed by the Eastern waves': *Euroi fluctus* are 'waves driven on by the East wind.' The abl. *with ab* where the agent is not a person is fairly common in Ovid (e.g. *Fast.* 3. 585 *librantur ab aura*; 5. 709 *traiectus ab ense*), but the editors quote no other instance from Virgil.

The grammatical difficulty is not however the only one; for, as the next line describes the 'barrier of rocks' (*obiectae cautes*) against which the waves dash leaving the harbour calm, how can Virgil specially describe the harbour as 'hollowed out by the Eurus-driven waves'? Is it not possible to render 'the harbour curves like a bow away from the Eurus-driven waves,' i.e. it seems to retire *from* them? Cf. 570 *portus ab accessu ventorum inmotus* 'a harbour calm away from (as being away from) approach of winds.'

535. **ipse latet**] Some have thought that this is inconsistent with *patescit* 530, but in fact the very use of *patescit* implies that the harbour *latet*. If it does not 'lie hid' when you are not close to, why should you describe it as 'opening out' when you do begin to get close? In giving a general description of the harbour Virgil rightly says *latet*; in describing what Aeneas saw as he gradually comes closer to it he rightly says *patescit*.

gemino...: '(on either side) tower-like crags extend their arms downward with (i.e. forming) a double rampart.' On either side is a high rock and from the highest point a ridge stretches out to sea gradually diminishing in height, and these two 'arms' embrace the harbour and form a rampart on each side (*geminus murus*).

For *turriti scopuli* cf. Byron, *Childe Harold* 3. 55 'The castled crag of Drachenfels.'

536. **refugit**] 'recedes' or 'stands back,' i.e. on a hill at the back of the harbour.

537. **quattuor...**] In a triumph the chariot of the victorious general was drawn by four white horses: consequently though the sight of them indicates war it also indicates that the war will end in triumph and peace. **primum omen**: because whatever first meets the eye when coming to a new place was specially considered ominous.

539. **et pater Anchises**] The verb comes 543 *ait*.

bellum ... bello ... bellum. Observe the emphatic repetition, and also the oracular assonance of **armantur** and **armenta**.

541. *sed tamen...*] 'but yet those same steeds at other times are trained to submit to the chariot and endure the rein beneath the yoke in harmony.' *curru*: dat., cf. 1. 257 n.

543. *et*] 'also,' *i.e.* as well as of war.

545. *capita velamur*] 'veil our heads'; cf. 2. 383 n.

546. *praeceptisque...*] 'and according to the behests of Helenus, which he had given as weightiest': see 435-440.

547. *adolemus honores*] 'we make sacrifices blaze.' Probably *adolere* in this active sense of 'burn in sacrifice' is an old religious word; cf. Ecl. 8. 65 *verbenasque adole*; some connect it with *adolescens* and explain it as 'make to grow' (the opposite of *abolere*), 'increase,' 'honour' (cf. 1. 704 *flammis adolere Penates*), and then 'sacrifice,' 'burn in honour of the gods.' Others derive it from *olere* explaining of the 'smell' of the sacrifice which was acceptable to the gods; others take *oleum* to be the root.

548—569. *After sacrifice we immediately sail away from a coast inhabited by Greeks. Then we sight the bay of Tarentum, Lacinia, Caulon, and Scylaceum. At last we see Aetna in the distance and hear strange sounds, while the sea boils around us. Anchises cries that we are near that Charybdis of which Helenus warned us, and we turn eagerly to the left, the ship at one moment being tossed up to heaven at another seeming to sink into the pit, while we hear the roaring of the waves in caverns and see the spray dashed up to the stars. When the wind sinks at sunset we approach the Sicilian coast.*

549. *cornua...*] 'we set' or 'bring round (to the wind) the horns of the sail-clad yards.' *Obverto* means 'to turn a thing so as to face something else or be right opposite to it,' and as the only thing which you can naturally turn 'the horns of the sail-clad yards to face' is the wind, it is natural and necessary to supply *vento* after *obvertimus*. They had been sailing in and now wish to sail out, so that they are obliged to re-adjust the position of the yards (*antemnae*) and re-set the sails, which latter act is implied in *velatarum*, cf. 532 *vela legunt*.

Henry, whom Conington vaguely follows, supplies *terrae* after *obvertimus*. He has to assume that the boats were 'Latin-rigged,' *i.e.* with an *antenna* the thick end of which is fastened down near the prow while the other end tapers away into the *cornu*. Each *antenna* has thus but one *cornu* which when the ship sails away from the land must be turned to the land.

551. *Herculei...*] 'of Tarentum built by Hercules, if

rumour be true.' Tarentum was said to have been founded by Taras a son of Neptune, but it was colonised (B.C. 708) from Sparta by Phalanthus a Heraclid. Moreover many local legends and names connected Hercules with Southern Italy and Tarentum itself founded a colony in Lucania and called it Heraclea.

552. *diva Lacinia*] *Lacinium* is a promontory in Bruttium S. of Croton at the W. extremity of the Tarentine gulf: on it was a famous temple of *Iuno Lacinia* ('Juno of the Lacinian promontory') of which the remains still exist, the promontory itself being called *Capo delle Colonne*. For 'the Lacinian goddess' = 'the temple of the Lacinian goddess' cf. 2. 312 n.

554. *e fluctu*] 'rising from the waves.' "The line of the horizon hides the base, and the summit seems to rise straight from the ocean." Howson.

556. *fractasque ad litora voces*] 'and broken sounds shorewards.' The rendering 'sound of breakers' is tempting but wrong: the *voces* are undoubtedly the sound of the breakers, but the sound of a breaker is not *vox fracta*; each breaker as it breaks gives forth a sound (*vox*) and then there is an interval of quiet until the next breaks, so that instead of a continuous sound you hear 'broken sounds.'

557. *exsultantque...*] 'the depths leap up and the sand mingles with the surge': *i.e.* the sand at the bottom is disturbed by the agitation of the water and mingling with it is carried to the surface. Cf. 1. 107 *furit aestus harenis*.

558. *et pater Anchises*] Cf. 99 n. *nimirum...*: 'assuredly this is that Charybdis,' *i.e.* that Charybdis of which Helenus warned us, see 420 *seq.*

haec illa. This combination is used when what was past or distant becomes vividly present: Helenus had told them about Charybdis and hitherto they had regarded it as 'that Charybdis' which he had told them of, but now 'that Charybdis' (*illa Charybdis*) has become 'this Charybdis' (*haec Charybdis*) here present before their eyes. So 7. 128 when they realise that the hunger which was to compel them to 'eat their tables' is the hunger which has just compelled them to eat the cakes on which their meat was placed, Iulus cries *haec erat illa fames* 'this then was that hunger.' In 4. 675 when Dido's sister finds out what Dido had been planning she cries out *hoc illud fuit*, 'this then is that which you were planning from the first.' So in Greek *τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο*, 'Just what I said': lit. 'this is that.'

560. *eripite*] Many editors say 'supply *nos*,' but *vos* should clearly be supplied: 'save yourselves, my comrades,'

lit. 'snatch yourselves out (of danger).' The omission of the acc. suits the excited tone of the speaker.

561. *haud minus ac...*] Cf. 236 n. *rudentem* seems to express the 'roar' of the waves at the prow when Palinurus turns the vessel's head suddenly and violently to the left.

562. *laevas...laevam*] emphatic repetition; their action exactly corresponds to the equally emphatic command of Helenus, cf. 412 n.

563. *remis ventisque*] 'with oars and sails.' Conington well points out that "*velis remisque* or *ventis remisque* is a regular phrase for 'using every effort.' *Ventis, remis in patriam omni festinatione properari* Cic. Fam. 12. 25; *res... omni contentione, velis, ut ita dicam, remisque fugienda* Cic. Tusc. 3. 11."

564. *tollimur...*] 'we are borne up to heaven on the arching billows and then again with the withdrawing wave lo! we have sunk down to hell.' The old reading was *descendimus*, but *desedimus* has strong authority: we should naturally expect *desedimus* after *tollimur*, but perhaps the perfect is intended to make the contrast more complete and dramatic. *idem* is commonly employed in contrasts: it heightens the contrast when you say that two opposite things happen to the same person or thing, cf. 448.

Cf. Psalm cvii. 26 'They mount up to heaven, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble.'

566. *ter...*] Cf. 421 n.

567. *elisam*] 'dashed heavenward': *e* or *ex* has often this force of 'upwards' in composition, cf. 557 *exsultant*, 576 *erigit eructans*, 577 *exaestuat*; 2. 458 *evado* 'climb up,' 461 *eductam* 'reared high,' 553 *extulit*; 6. 16 *enavit* 'soared aloft,' 130 *evexit*.

rorantia vidimus astra: 'we saw the stars dripping,' cf. Shak. Oth. 2. 1. 13 where the surge

'Seems to cast water on the burning bear
And quench the guards of the ever-fixed pole.'

570—587. *We enter a harbour excellent in itself but just beneath Aetna, which in its eruptions belches forth sometimes smoke and ashes, sometimes balls of fire and molten rocks. It is said that the giant Enceladus was smitten by a thunderbolt and the mountain then piled upon him, and that, as often as he writhes in pain, all the island quakes. All night we heard the strange and awful sounds, but could not tell whence they came as there was no moon or stars.*

570. *ab accessu*] Cf. 533 n.

571. *ipse*] Emphatic and to be taken closely with what follows. The harbour is 'calm and large' and so a good harbour *in itself*, but this goodness is neutralised by the fact that Aetna is so near.

ruinis: 'with desolation,' Kennedy. The mountain is said to 'thunder with desolation' because when it thunders it sends forth ashes and the like, which in their fall (*ruina*) bring desolation and destruction (*ruina*). The word *ruina* is used in a double sense.

Other classical descriptions of an eruption of Aetna are Pind. Pyth. 1. 21; Lucr. 6. 686.

573. *turbine piceo*] 'with pitchy eddies': the smoke does not rise straight up but in wreaths with a spiral movement.

574. *sidera lambit*] 'licks the stars,' *i.e.* with the tongues of fire which it sends forth. *Lambere* is a graphic word expressing the peculiar movement of fire as it just begins to play round anything, cf. 2. 683.

575. *scopulos avulsaque viscera montis*] 'rocks the out-torn bowels of the mountain': we omit the 'and' in English.

576. *erigit eructans*] Observe the alliteration and assonance, the first five letters of *eructans* exactly reproducing *erigit* in a stronger form; notice too the easy dactyl followed by a heavy spondee. The intention is to suggest a sudden and violent explosion of that which has been long pent-up. The succeeding dactyls (*liquēfactāque saxā sub aurās | cum gemitū glōmērat*) express the unchecked stream which issues when once the explosion has taken place, while the similarity in shape and sound of *gemitu* and *glomerat* suggests the succession of 'roars' or 'groans' which accompany the effort to force so much matter quickly through the narrow exit—the sound suggested being much like the intermittent puffs of a railway engine when it is just starting with a heavy load and the pressure of steam is great. The triple *in* of *ingentem*, *insuper*, *inpositam* represents the idea of weight, while lastly the numerous liquids of *intremere omnem murmure Trinacriam* reproduce the vibration of the ground.

577. *cum gemitu glomerat*] 'rolls with a roar.'

578. *Enceladi*] Most poets place the giant Typhoeus under Aetna. *semustum*: the best MSS. have this form, cf. 244 *semesam*, though others have *semiustum*, in which case *i* must be treated as consonantal = *y*.

579. *ingentemque*] 'and that ponderous Aetna piled upon him breathes forth flame from its bursting furnaces.'

582. *caelum subtexere fumo*] The smoke forms a thick 'web' or 'veil' which hides the heaven from below: the expression is from *Lucr.* 5. 466 *subtexunt nubila caelum*; 6. 482 *subtexit caerulea nimbis*.

583. *inmania monstra*] The 'awful portents' which they 'endure all that night' are the mysterious noises of Aetna.

585. *lucidus aethra siderea polus*] 'a sky bright with starlit radiance.'

587. *intempesta* is found as an epithet of night in Cicero and Lucretius, and is generally rendered 'unseasonable,' as describing night 'when no man can work': Kennedy however prefers to take it as = *intemperatus* 'unmitigated,' 'profound.'

588—612. *In the morning a starved and ragged man comes to us from the woods in the attitude of a suppliant. Spite of his squalor and cloak pinned together with thorns we discern that he is a Greek, and he, when he saw that we were Trojans, at first stopped short, but then rushed forward again, adjuring us, though he was a Greek, to save him or at any rate to allow him to perish by human hands. We urge him to tell his tale and Anchises gives him his hand as a pledge of assistance.*

588. *postera iamque...*] 'and now the next day was rising with the earliest day-star.' *Eous* is originally an adjective and is then used as a subst. = 'the Eastern one,' *i.e.* *Lucifer* 'the day-star.' For the position of *iamque* cf. 5. 225 n.

589. *umentem dimoverat umbram*] 'had dispersed the dewy shades (of night).'

591. *forma viri*] Not a mere periphrasis for *vir*: it is the 'form' or 'appearance' of this 'unknown man' which seems 'strange' (*nova*) and startling to them.

miserandaque cultu: 'and piteous in garb.'

593. *respicimus*] The Trojans are on the beach getting ready for sea, when their attention is directed to the stranger and they 'look back.'

inmissaque barba: 'wild-growing beard'; *Ecl.* 8. 34 *promissa barba* occurs in the same sense.

594. *consertum tegumen spinis*] Tacitus imitates this phrase in his description of the Germans (c. 17) *tegumen omnibus saquam, fibula, aut, si desit, spina consertum*. There the 'thorn' is used instead of a buckle 'to pin' or 'fasten' the cloak at the shoulder: here the 'thorns' seem to be used to 'pin' it together where it had become torn and ragged.

cetera Graius: 'in all else a Greek,' lit. 'as to other

things,' *cetera* being an acc. of respect. They must be supposed to see that he was a Greek from his features or perhaps from some weapon he carried: in the next line it would seem that they recognise him as a warrior they had seen at Troy, for otherwise they could not have known that he had been there.

596. *isque* connects what follows closely with what precedes: we recognised him as a Greek 'and he' quickly recognised us as Trojans.

598. *sese tulit*] 'he rushed.'

600. *hoc*] Deictic. *caeli spirabile lumen*: 'this heavenly light we breathe': light and air are both necessary to existence, and when we die we are said either 'to leave the light' or 'leave the upper air'; hence Virgil boldly speaks of light as 'breathed,' cf. G. 2. 340 *cum primae lucem pecudes hausere* 'when the first animals drank light,' i.e. breathed.

601. *tollite*] 'take me on board'; cf. 6. 370 *tecum me tolle per undas*, and Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 42 *tollere rheda* 'give a lift in a carriage.'

quascumque abducite terras: 'carry me away to any land,' cf. 654 *quocumque absumite leto* 'destroy me by any death.' So in prose we have *quacumque ratione* 'by any possible means,' *quocumque modo*, *quacumque de causa*.

602. *sciō*] Virgil only allows the shortening of the final *o* of a verb in *sciō* and *nesciō*, the latter especially in the phrase *nesciō quis*. Other poets shorten *peto*, *puto*, *desino*, *cano*, *nego*, etc., and the usage becomes increasingly frequent in later Latin.

Danais: for proper names used as adjectives cf. 4. 552 n.

603. *bello fateor petiisse*] 'I confess that I attacked in war': for the omission of *me* see 201 n.

605. *spargite me in fluctus*] 'strew me upon the waves': a bold phrase for 'tear me in pieces and then fling them over the sea.'

606. *si perēō, hōmīnum*] Instances of hiatus after a syllable *in arsis* (i.e. with accent on it) are fairly common in Virgil. Here the pause helps, and possibly *h* was regarded as partly consonantal, cf. 1. 16 *Samō: hic*; 5. 735 *colō. huc*. Elsewhere in the first six books of the Aeneid such instances of hiatus occur only in lines containing proper names, cf. 1. 617 n., or for a special effect as 4. 667 *femineō ululatu*. In 4. 235 *spē inimica* is quite exceptional. A full list in Kennedy, App. on 'Virgilian Prosody.'

hominum is strongly emphatic, 'it will be a joy to have

perished by the hands of men.' He feared being killed *and eaten* by the Cyclopes, cf. 626, 627.

607. *genua amplexus...*] 'clasping our knees and at our knees grovelling he clung there.' The repetition *genua genibus* emphasises the earnestness of his supplication; *genibus* seems an abl. of place. The supplicant regularly clasps the knees of the person whose aid he seeks, whence *γουνάφομαι* in Homer = 'I implore' and the phrase *τὰυτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται* (Od. 1. 267). For *volutans* used intransitively cf. 2. 229 n.

608. *qui sit fari,...*] 'we urge him to say who he is, sprung from what race, then to confess what (evil) fortune pursues him.' The somewhat disjointed Latin is intended to imitate the short disjointed sentences in which they questioned him—'Who are you? Say! of what race? What is your history? Speak out!' Cf. 2. 74 n.

deinde goes with *hortamur* understood: we first bid him tell us *who* he is, then we bid him tell us *what* is his history. Virgil often thus places *deinde* in peculiar positions, cf. 5. 14 n. Of course it is just possible with Conington to connect *deinde* with *agitet* and say that "Achaemenides is asked what is his birth and what have been his subsequent fortunes," but unless you have some special fortune at or before your birth it seems foolish to ask about 'your subsequent fortunes.'

610. *multa*] Cognate acc. used adverbially, cf. 4. 395 n.: *haud multa* by Litotes = 'very little.'

611. *praesenti pignore*] The 'present pledge' is the proffered hand, which is the pledge given at once of further aid in the future.

613—654. *The story of Achaemenides.* 'I am Achaemenides the son of Adamastus who, being poor, sent me to seek my fortune with Ulysses at Troy. On our return my comrades carelessly left me behind in the cave of the Cyclops, the blood-stained dwelling of a monster who lives on human flesh. With my own eyes I saw him make a hideous meal of two of my comrades, though right well did Ulysses revenge their death, for, waiting until he was overpowered with drunken slumber, we drove a stake into his eye and blinded him. But fly, wretched men, fly, for there dwell here a hundred other monsters huge and terrible as Polyphemus. For three months I have been hiding from them in the woods living on berries and roots; yours are the first ships I have seen: to you, whoever you should prove to be, I determined to give myself up; if but I can escape that accursed race, then welcome any death!'

The adventures of Ulysses in the cave of the Cyclops are told in the ninth book of the *Odyssey* and Virgil borrows much from it, but the story of Achaemenides being left behind seems to be his own invention.

613. *infelicis Ulixi*] The epithet 'unlucky' represents the Homeric *πολύτλας* 'much-enduring': he was so called because of the many dangers and difficulties which he had to encounter before he could return home to Ithaca and which form the subject of the *Odyssey*.

614. *nomine*] 'by name.' Many here read *nomen*, in which case *nomen Achaemenides* is probably parenthetical, 'I am a companion of Ulysses—my name (is) Achaemenides—who set out....'

Troiam... profectus. *Profectus* is a participle 'having set out,' but it is more convenient to translate it as a verb: 'my sire Adamastus being poor—and would that my fortune (poor though it was) had continued—I set out for Troy.' His father being in humble circumstances had sent him to seek his fortune in the army, but the fortune that he actually experienced made his former lot seem enviable.

618. *domus sanie...*] 'a house (it is) of gore and bloody banquets.' *Sanie dapibusque cruentis* are abl. of quality; you can say *is erat magno corpore* 'he was of great frame,' or *domus est eximia pulchritudine* 'the house is of singular beauty,' and here Virgil employs a similar construction, but purposely uses it in a very bold and harsh manner in order to make the description very striking and terrible. It is with the same purpose that he uses the strong *asyndeton* in the next line 'gloomy within, vast.'

619. *ipse*] *i.e.* the Cyclops himself as opposed to his dwelling. *Ipsē* is constantly used absolutely = 'the Master (of a house)' like the Greek *αὐτός*, *e.g.* *αὐτὸς ἔνδον*; 'Is the master at home?'

621. *nec visu facillis...*] 'not lightly to be looked upon or addressed in speech by any'; *ἀπροσβράτος καὶ ἀπροσῆγορος*. The literal rendering is 'not easy in (or 'as regards') behold-ing nor in speech pleasant to address for any': *visu* and *dictu* though called supines are really ablatives of verbal nouns.

623. *vidi egomet...vidi* (626)] Strongly emphatic: he is not speaking from hearsay.

duo...: cf. *Od.* 9. 289 *σὺν δὲ δῶμα μάρψας ὡς τε σκύλακας ποτὶ γαίῃ | κόπτ'*. In the *Odyssey* the Cyclops thrice repeats this process of making a meal on two men.

624. *resupinus*] Some explain this of the Cyclops 'bending back' so as to get a vigorous blow, but the word clearly describes him as 'reclining at his ease and is intended to enhance our conception of his huge strength; he has not even to take the trouble to get up.

625. *frangeret ad saxum*] 'smashed on a stone.' *exspersa* 'splashed' expresses that, as the blood squirted out, it covered the threshold; it has the authority of Servius, but some MSS. read *adpersa* 'besprinkled.'

626. *fluentia tabo*] 'reeking with gore.'

627. *tepidi*] 'warm,' *i.e.* still warm with life. Many MSS. have *trepidī* which would be a mere repetition of *tremere* 'quivered.'

628. *haud inpune quidem*] 'not unavenged truly (did he do this).'

629. *oblitusve...*] 'nor did the Ithacan forget himself in such an hour,' *i.e.* Ulysses was true to himself and showed his accustomed courage and craft.

630. *expletus*] 'gorged.' *vino sepultus*: 'buried in drunken sleep,' cf. 2. 265 n.

631. *cervicem inflexam posuit*] 'he rested his drooping neck'; lit. 'bent over (his breast).' Homer has (Od. 9. 372) *κεῖτ' ἀποδοχμώσας παχὺν ἀχένα* 'he lay having bent back his thick neck.'

632. *saniem...*] Cf. Hom. Od. 9. 373 *φάρυγος δ' ἐξέσσοντο ὄνως | ψωμοὶ τ' ἀνδρόμεοι· ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο οἰνοβαρείων.*

634. *sortiti vices*] 'having cast lots for our (several) tasks,' lit. 'turns.' When several persons join in performing different parts of a piece of work one workman succeeds the other and so they each take their 'turn.'

circum | *fundimur*: middle, 'we spread ourselves round.' The preposition *circum* is so loosely attached to *fundimur* that it may almost be treated as a separate adverb, and so *circumfundimur* can be divided between two lines. Cf. for a similar division of the word 1. 412 *circum dea fudit amictu.*

635. *terebramus*] Homer (Od. 9. 375-395) elaborately describes how an olive stake was sharpened at one end, raised to a white heat, and then used as a carpenter's 'borer' or 'auger' (*τρύπανον*) to 'bore' out the eye.

636. *ingens*] 'monstrous': notice the force of the spondee followed by a pause at the beginning of the line.

latebat: 'lurked': it was deep-sunk in his forehead and also concealed by the 'grim' (*torva*) and shaggy brow.

637. **Argolici...**] 'the image of an Argolic shield or the lamp of Phoebus.' The 'Argolic shield' was a large round one; the comparison is from Callimachus who describes the eyes of the Cyclopes as *σάκει ἴσα τετραβοείω*. The 'Phoebian lamp' is the sun, cf. 4. 6 *Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras... Aurora*.

For **instar** cf. 2. 15 n.: here it is in apposition with *lumen*.

639. **sed**] The word indicates that he breaks off his narrative.

funem rumpite: 'break the cable': not *solvite* 'unloose,' because they are to waste no time; so below 667 *incidere funem* 'to cut the cable.'

641. **nam qualis quantusque...**] 'for hideous and huge as Polyphemus (is who) folds...(so hideous and huge) a hundred other Cyclopes....' *qualis quantusque*: lit. 'of what sort and of what size.'

643. **haec habitant ad litora**] 'dwell by these shores.'

646. **cum...traho**] 'since I have been dragging.' *Cum* is = 'during which time'; cf. 5. 627 *septima...iam vertitur aestas | cum ferimur*; Cic. Fam. 15. 14. 1 *multi anni sunt cum ille in aere meo est*. The present is used because he has not only been dragging but is still dragging on his life. *Trahere vitam* describes leading a miserable weary existence.

649. **victum infelicem**] 'barren sustenance.' *Infelix* not only means 'wretched,' 'miserable,' but is also specially applied to wild trees the fruit of which is not good for food, cf. G. 2. 314 *infelix oleaster*.

650. **vulsis...**] 'herbs feed me with their torn-up roots.'

651. **hanc**] Deictic, 'this fleet of yours.'

652. **huic me...**] 'to it, whatever it should have proved, I surrendered myself.' *Huic* (sc. *classi*) repeats the *hanc* of the preceding clause. *Quaecumque fuisset* is *quaecumque fuerit* in oblique narration: he would say to himself 'to this fleet, whatever it shall prove to be, I will surrender myself'; cf. 2. 94 n. *quaecumque*: 'whatever,' i.e. whether belonging to friends or foes.

653. **addixi**] A very strong word, being regularly used of the magistrate who 'assigned' a debtor to be the slave of his creditor.

654. **vos**] Emphatic in opposition to *gentem nefandam*:

'do you rather take away my life by any death.' *hanc*: cf. the Greek use of $\delta\delta\epsilon$ in $\delta\delta'$ *ἀνὴρ*, 'this man' = 'I.'

655—691. *Scarcely had he finished speaking when we see the monster Polyphemus coming to the shore with his sheep and guiding his footsteps with a pine-trunk. He advanced into the sea to bathe his eye and we hastily cut our cables in flight: he was attracted by the sound but, failing to reach us, raises a hideous din which made the sea and land shake while Aetna re-echoed from its caverns. At the sound his brethren gather on the shore towering to heaven like some strange group of giant trees, while we speed our flight before the wind; remembering however the warning of Helenus with regard to the danger of attempting to sail between Scylla and Charybdis, we resolve to retrace our course, when suddenly the wind turns to the north and we sail in a southerly direction past Pantagias, Megara and Thapsus which are pointed out to us by Achaemenides who had passed them before with Ulysses.*

656. *ipsum*] 'himself,' 'in person,' thus contrasting their actual sight of him with the description they had heard.

658. *monstrum...*] 'a monster dreadful, shapeless, huge, blind.' Observe the heavy, awkward, spondaic line with its three elisions and absence of all connecting particles (*Asyndeton*): the sound is accommodated to the sense. Some join *ingens* and *lumen*, 'whose huge eye was destroyed,' thus much weakening the line.

659. *trunca manu pinus...*] 'a pine-trunk in his hand guides and supports his footsteps': he uses it as a blind man uses a stick to feel his way and prevent himself from falling.

In Homer (*Od.* 9. 319) the Cyclops has a club as big as a mast. The description of his staff as composed of a pine-tree is intended to suggest the vast size of the Cyclops himself. Cf. the description of Satan's spear in Milton (*P.L.* 1. 292):

'His spear, to equal which the tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great ammiral, were but a wand.'

Conington and others take *manu* with *trunca* = 'lopped by his hand' and say that *manu* expresses personal exertion; the point however is surely not the personal exertion or power which the Cyclops may have displayed in felling and stripping the pine-tree, but the fact that he uses a pine-tree for a staff.

660. *ea sola voluptas | solamenque mali*] 'his sole delight, sole solace of his woe.' Notice the beauty of this sympathetic touch with its musical assonance of *sola* and

solamen: its effect is more powerful from contrast with the hideous description which has preceded.

662. *postquam altos...*] Conington says that this is an instance of ὑστερον πρότερον, as here the Cyclops must 'come to the sea' before he reaches 'the deep waves.' It is doubtful whether this figure of speech exists at all except in the brain of grammarians, cf. 6. 361 n. Here certainly there is no need for it. The Cyclops, whose stature is immense, is described as wading to the *deep* waves and to the level open sea (*aequora*) beyond before he begins to bathe his wound: if he had been but a puny man he would have only gone into shallow water.

663. *inde*] 'thence,' *i.e.* with water from the sea.

664. *dentibus infrendens gemitu*] 'grinding his teeth with groans.' *Frendo* seems an imitative word and Curtius connects it with χρεμετίζειν 'to neigh,' χρόμαδος a crashing sound, and Χρέμης a favourite comic name for grumbling old men.

graditurque...: 'and strides now through the open sea, but the wave has not yet wetted his tall flanks': *medium mare* 'mid ocean' is regular Latin for the sea well away from land.

666. *nos procul...*] Notice the hurrying dactyls. *celerare*: historic inf., specially used in describing quick, sharp action, cf. 141 n.

667. *supplice sic merito*] 'a suppliant so deserving,' *i.e.* who by his warning had so well deserved to be duly taken on board (*recipi*).

668. *verrimus*] Some MSS. have *vertinus* 'upturn,' 'plough.'

669. *ad sonitum vocis*] 'towards the sound of the plashing (of the oars).' For *vocis* cf. 556.

670. *adfectare*] This word seems here used as the frequentative of *adficio* (= 'lay hold of') and to express the frequent clutches he makes at the ships. When Virgil says 'no power is granted him to keep clutching them,' he means 'no power is given him to clutch them, though he keeps trying to do so.' *Adfectare* follows *potestas* just as an infinitive follows *possum* or *potis* (see next line): cf. 2. 10 n.

671. *nec potis...*] 'nor can he in pursuit match the Ionian waves': the wind (cf. 683) and waves are with them and help to carry them away faster than he can follow.

673. *penitus exterrita*] 'was startled from its depths.'

674. *curvisque...*] 'and Aetna roared within its winding

caverns': *curvis* describes the roar as coming from the inmost recesses of Aetna and so balances *penitus*.

676. *ruit...complant*] Observe the change from singular to plural; it may be merely for the sake of variety; more probably however *ruit* is singular because the 'race' or 'family' is first spoken of as a whole and then, as the individual members of it keep crowding to the shore, the idea of plurality becomes more prominent.

677. *adstantes...*] 'standing foiled with glaring eye'; notice the force of the singular *lumine*.

678. *Aetnaeos fratres*] They are so called not merely as dwelling near Aetna but also to suggest that their character is as infernal as their chosen haunt, and also because Virgil regards them not only as shepherds but also as forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter in Aetna, cf. 8. 440 *seq.* *Aetnazi Cyclopes...*

caelo...: 'raising their heads on high to heaven': *caelo*=*ad caelum*, cf. 2. 19 n.

679. *quales cum...*] 'like as when on some lofty summit heaven-reaching oaks or cone-laden cypresses stand gathered, tall forest of Jove or grove of Diana.' *Constiterunt*= 'have stood,' 'have been (at any time by some observer) seen to stand'; it is the gnomic perfect answering to the gnomic aorist in Greek. For the short quantity of the penultimate syllable cf. 2. 774 n. *Silva alta Iovis* corresponds with *aëriæ quercus* as oaks were sacred to Jupiter, and *lucus Dianæ* to *coniferae cyparissi* as the cypress was specially planted round tombs and *Diana* is frequently identified with *Hecate* the goddess of the under world.

682. *agit...excutere*] 'urges us to fling loose our sheets no matter whither.' For *agit excutere* see 2. 64 n.; *agit* here has the sense of 'urges' and needs a complementary infinitive, so that the construction is not parallel with 5 *agimur quaerere* where *agimur* is to be taken literally 'we are driven' and *quaerere* is a true infinitive of purpose. For *rudentes excutere* see 267 n.

684. *contra iussa monent...*] 'on the other hand stands in warning the command of Helenus "Between Scylla and Charybdis the path on either hand is within a hair's breadth of death, if ye fail to hold your course"; 'tis resolved (therefore) to sail back (along our former track). Lo! however the north wind....'

This passage is marked by almost all editors as faulty and one of those which Virgil would have re-written had he lived to revise the Aeneid: it is however tolerably clear.

Discrimen is = *quod discernit* and *discrimen leti* is 'that which divides from death': *parvo discrimine* is an abl. of description, the path on either hand being 'a path of little division from death.' In the words *Scyllam...cursus* we have the warning of Helenus *in oblique narration*: he would say to them *Scyllam atque Charybdis inter utraque via parvo discrimine leti (est), ni tenetis cursus*; put obliquely *utraque via* becomes *utramque viam*, *esse* is omitted, and *ni tenetis* becomes *ni teneant*. Thus the change from the 'we' of the preceding narrative to 'they' in the nominative to *teneant* is at once explained; Helenus would address them as 'you' and 'you' becomes 'they' in oblique narration: in translating I have given the words of Helenus in direct speech for the sake of clearness. The context makes the sense of *teneant* absolutely clear here; the 'course' they must 'hold' is between Scylla and Charybdis without swerving a hair's breadth to one side or the other; cf. however for the phrase 5. 1 *interca Aeneas medium iam classe tenebat | certus iter*; Caes. B. G. 5. 8 *vento intermisso cursum non tenuit*.

When they start they are sailing right before the wind (*ventis secundis*), which being from the S. would drive them direct to the straits; remembering however the warning of Helenus they resolve to turn off in a more N.E. direction so as to retrace their course along the S. coast of Bruttium, when suddenly (*ecce autem*) the wind veers round to the N. and they are enabled to sail S. along the coast of Sicily as they had been directed by Helenus.

Most editors, following the old commentators, take *ni* as an archaic form of *ne* and Conington translates 'On the other hand the injunctions of Helenus warn us not to hold our way between Scylla and Charybdis—either passage a hair's breadth remove from death: so we resolve....' He seems to regard *utramque viam* as in a sort of apposition to *cursus*. This method of taking the passage fails to explain (1) why we have *ne teneant* instead of *ne teneamus*, (2) how it is that, if *utramque viam* is in apposition to *cursus*, it precedes instead of following it, (3) how it is that, although *ne* is frequently spelt *ni* or *nei*, it is only so spelt in the MSS. of Virgil in this one passage, where the spelling distinctly renders the already difficult sense more difficult.

Madvig, whom many follow, reads *contra ac iussa...*, takes *ni* = *ne*, and places a comma after *cursus*: 'They determine to sail back (*i.e.* northward), against Helenus' express warning not to sail between Scylla and Charybdis....' But surely *dare lintea retro* cannot possibly be used of a proposed voyage between Scylla and Charybdis which they had never taken

before. Secondly the insertion of *ac* is pure conjecture and removes none of the difficulties of Conington's explanation while it certainly adds to the ugliness of the first words. Conjectural alterations are becoming the bane of modern scholarship, and to receive a pure guess, such as the addition of *ac* here, into the text, as some editors do, is rash in the extreme, for the mathematical probability that it is not what Virgil wrote is enormous.

688. *vivo...ostia saxo Pantagiae*] 'the mouth of the Pantagias formed of natural rock': the mouth of the river formed a natural harbour without artificial masonry having to be used. For *vivo* = 'natural' cf. 1. 167 n.

689. *iacentem*] 'low-lying.'

690. *talia*] 'such places,' *i.e.* these and other similar places. *relegens errata retrorsus litora*: 'retracing again (lit. 'backwards') the shores by which he had wandered,' *i.e.* when he was with Ulysses. Though *errare* is a neuter verb, yet, as it may have a cognate acc., *e.g.* *errare iter* 'to wander a journey,' *errare litus* 'to wander along a shore,' so it may have a passive part. = 'traversed' or 'passed in wandering.'

692—715. *We sail to Ortygia, where the Grecian river Alpheus emerges after its passage under the sea at the fountain Arethusa. Thence we pass Helorus, Pachynum, Camarina, Gela, Agrigentum, Selinus, Lilybaeum, and reach at last the dreary coast of Drepanum. There I lost my dear father Anchises—a calamity that neither Helenus nor Celaeno had foretold. That was the end of my woes, that the end of my wanderings; from there fortune brought me to your shores.*

692. *Sicanio praetenta sinu*] 'stretching in front of a Sicilian bay': the bay is what was afterwards the famous harbour of Syracuse. It is protected from the sea by the Island of Ortygia on the N. and the promontory of Plemyrion on the S., the entrance between the island and the promontory being very narrow.

693. *Plemurium undosum*] Attention has already been called (516 n.) to Virgil's fondness for adding an epithet to a Greek noun which suggests its derivation: here *undosum* suggests the derivation from *πλημμυρίς* 'flood-tide,' 'flood.' So 698 *stagnantis Helori*, ἕλος being 'a marsh'; 703 *arduis Acragas*, ἄκρος being 'lofty.'

Plemurium is also spelt in the MSS. *Plemmyrium*, and *Plemyrion*. The *υ* of *πλημμυρίς* is long in Attic Greek but the quantity varies in other writers.

priores] 'men of old'.

694. *Alpheum...*] 'the story is that Alpheus, a stream of Elis, forced his secret way hither beneath the sea, and now at thy fountain, O Arethusa, he....' Notice that the oblique narration which follows *fama est* breaks off at *mare* and that *qui...undis* is direct speech.

The Alpheus is the chief river of Peloponnesus; in its course it twice passes underground, and the story was that the river-god Alpheus pursued the nymph Arethusa and that Artemis changed her into the fountain Arethusa in Ortygia, but that Alpheus followed her under the sea and mingled his stream with hers. The fountain is 'on the very edge of the sea, so near that if it were not protected by an embankment it would be overwhelmed by it,' Henry 2. 531.

697. *iussi...*] Who had 'commanded' them or who the 'mighty deities of the place' were Virgil does not say, but his reference to the latter is obviously influenced by the great part which Syracuse played in Greek and Roman history, and *iussi* probably refers to the *iussa Heleni* (684), of which lines 374-462 are only to be considered a summary, so that we need not be surprised by the absence of any mention of Ortygia there.

700. *radimus*] 'scrape,' 'graze': the expression seems borrowed from the chariot-races where the charioteers as they turn round the *meta* at the end of the course almost 'graze' it: cf. 5. 170 *radit iter laevum interior* where the word is used of a boat in a race rounding the rock which serves as a *meta*, and the 'rocks of Pachynus' are called *metas* 429.

fatis numquam...: Servius explains that there was once a pestilential marsh round the city and that when the inhabitants consulted the oracle with regard to draining it they received the reply *μη κίνει Καμάριναν, ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων*; in spite of this they drained the marsh and their enemies advanced over the dry ground and took the city. *numquam concessa moveri* is a translation of *ἀκίνητος* 'not (allowed) to be disturbed' which is constantly used in Greek of things sacred which it is sacrilege to disturb or meddle with.

702. *inmanisque Gelā flūvii...*] 'and Gela named after the name of its mighty river': cf. Thuc. 6. 41 *τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποτάμου τοῦνομα ἐγένετο*, and for the violence of the river Ov. Fast. 4. 470 *verticibus non adeunde Gela*. Others take *inmanis Gela* together, but as Gela was not a 'huge' town they are compelled to make guesses at the meaning of *inmanis*, such as that it is called 'monstrous' because its tyrants were monsters.

Many consider the line spurious (1) because *inmanis* seems meaningless, (2) because the mention of 'Geloan plains' followed by a reference to the town Gela and the river Gela is very awkward, (3) because of the extraordinary lengthening of the final syllable of Gela = Γέλᾱ, (4) because Virgil regularly contracts the gen. of nouns with nom. in *ius*, *ium*, see Pub. Sch. Gr. § 23.

704. **magnanimum**] See 53 n.

quondam: 'once,' 'of old.' Of course when Aeneas visited Sicily none of the towns mentioned were in existence and the whole passage is therefore full of anachronisms. Here however the anachronism is very violent, for the reference is to the victories in horse-racing celebrated by Pindar and won by Theron who was tyrant of Agrigentum B.C. 488-472; these triumphs Virgil, perhaps inadvertently, makes Aeneas describe as won 'of old.' It is just possible to take *quondam* in the very rare sense 'some day,' 'in days to come' (cf. 6. 877), but the context is entirely against this, the whole passage being retrospective and historical, not prophetic.

705. **palmosa Selinus**] " 'abounding in palms,' that is in the *palma agrestis* or dwarf palm. This plant is not to be confounded with the date palm." Nettleship.

706. **vada dura lego...**] 'and thread the waters of Lilybaeum dangerous (or 'difficult') with hidden rocks': *lego* is used to describe the manner in which he 'picks' his way amid the sunken reefs.

707. **inlaetabilis ora**] 'desolate,' 'joyless shore.' The adjective has a double force: the coast is dreary and desolate by nature, but is rendered more dreary and desolate by the death of Anchises. Cf. Tennyson, Locksley Hall:

'O my cousin, shallow-hearted! O my Amy, mine no more!
O the dreary, dreary moorland! O the barren, barren shore!'

710. **pater optime**] Observe the pathetic change from narrative to direct personal address.

fessum deseris: the language is reproachful, 'thou dost abandon me in my weariness,' *i.e.* although worn out with dangers I need all thy help.

711. **neququam**] 'in vain,' because Aeneas had hoped to bring his father in safety to his promised home in Italy.
erepte: voc. for nom. by attraction to *pater optime*.

712. **cum multa horrenda moneret**] 'amid all his warnings of terror'; lit. 'when he warned (me) of many terrible things.'

713. *dira Celaeno*] The adjective is emphatic: *Celaeno* was 'a prophetic of evil' but she had never prophesied such evil as this.

716—718. *Thus did Aeneas end his tale.*

Here the narrative of Aeneas ends and the poet again becomes the narrator.

716. *intentis omnibus unus*] 'alone to the eager throng': the somewhat forced antithesis between *omnibus* and *unus* is intended to place the figure of Aeneas in artistic contrast with the faces of his audience all eagerly turned towards him. The description recalls the words which introduce his narrative; see 2. 1.

717. *fata...*] 'was telling the tale of his heaven-sent destiny.'

718. *factoque...*] 'and here making an end rested.' Notice the suggestion of stillness and repose in the final word *quievit*; it presents a contrast with the tale of adventure which had just been told and the description of Dido's tragic passion which is to follow.

BOOK IV

1—30. Throughout the night Dido cannot rest, for the story and the image of Aeneas recur ever to her mind. At dawn she opens her heart to her sister, and, after dwelling on the charms of her guest, declares that, were she not resolved since the death of Sychaeus to abjure all thoughts of love, she could have yielded to this passion, but that now she prays heaven to destroy her rather than allow her to be unfaithful to the troth she had plighted to the dead.

1. **cura**] regularly used of the 'pain' or 'trouble' caused by love, cf. 6. 444. For the effect of Aeneas' story on Dido, cf. Othello 1. 3. 158 *seq.*

'My story being done,
She gave me for my pains a world of sighs...'

2. **vulnus...**] 'feeds the wound with her veins and is consumed with a hidden fire.' The wound drains her life-blood, and so she is said to 'feed it with her veins.' The double metaphor of 'a wound' and 'fire' is suggested by the fiery arrows of Love, cf. 66-73.

3. **multa...multus**] Closely with *recursat* and so almost adverbially = 'oft...oft.'

6. **lustrabat...umentemque...dimoverat**] 'was lighting... and had dispersed.' Prose would invert the order of the two clauses or make the second subordinate ('when she had dispersed') to the first.

For *lustrare*, cf. 607. The phrase *lustrabat lampade* is copied from Cic. Aratea 237 *lustrantes lumine mundum | orbis stelligeri*, and Lucr. 5. 693 *sol...terras et caelum lumine lustrans*; 5. 1436 *mundi...templum | sol et luna suo lustrantes lumine*, where *lustrare* must be used, like *illustro*, = 'light,' 'illuminate,' though Conington says that there is no authority for such use and here renders 'traverses' (cf. 3. 385) or 'surveys' (cf. 6. 679).

8. **male sana]** 'distraught,' cf. 2. 735 n.

9. **quae me...**] 'what visions affright my anxious soul!' an exclamation rather than a question. She had enjoyed no 'calm repose' (5), but had been disturbed by dreams, which left her anxious and uncertain (*suspensam*, cf. 5. 827), her passion urging her forward and their terror warning her back.

11. **quem sese...**] 'bearing himself with what an aspect, with how brave a heart and arms!' Dido is struck (1) by his noble look, (2) by his noble conduct as exhibited in the story he has just related. It is however on his 'brave heart' rather than his brave looks that she especially dwells; it is that which makes her 'believe' that 'his birth is divine,' because 'fear convicts base-born souls.' Note the antithesis between *forti* and *timor*, *genus* and *degeneres*. Conington and others, with perverse ingenuity, take *armis* as the abl. of *armi*. Aeneas has 'a hero's chest and shoulders'! But even supposing that *forte pectus* could mean 'a fine chest,' *fortes armi* is hopeless. Dido cannot speak of Aeneas as though she were appraising a horse with 'strong forequarters.' *Forti*, too, must mean 'brave' to afford an antithesis to *timor* 13.

12. **nec vana fides]** 'nor is my trust idle'; lit. 'empty,' *i.e.* founded on nothing.

14. **iactatus]** Cf. 1. 3. **quae bella...**: 'of what wars endured did he tell!' *Exhaurire*, like ἀντλείν, is often used metaphorically of 'going through' anything painful or grievous, and so *exhaurire bella* is 'go through' or 'drink to the dregs the miseries of war.' For *canebat* of stately utterance, cf. 3. 155 n.

15. **sederet]** For *sedet* = 'it is settled,' cf. 2. 660 n.

16. **ne]** after the idea of *purpose* contained in *sederet*: her purpose is settled to refuse (*ne vellem*).

17. **postquam...**] 'since my first love betrayed me mocked by death.' The death of her husband had rendered all her hopes of happiness illusory. For Sychaeus and his death cf. 1. 343 *seq.*

19. **culpae]** 'weakness'; the word is a favourite euphemism in connection with love, cf. 172.

21. **coniugis...caede]** 'stained with the husband's blood a brother spilt': *fraterna caede* is not 'murder of a brother,' but 'murder by a brother,' *i.e.* of Sychaeus by his brother-in-law Pygmalion.

22. **inflexit...**] 'hath swayed my sense, my tottering heart o'erthrown,' Rhoades. Some take *labantem* as proleptic, 'has given the impulse so that it should totter,' saying that previously her

mind was 'set immovable,' but *inpulit* with *labantem* certainly describes giving a decisive push to something already shaken (cf. 2. 462, 465).

24. *optem prius...dehiscat...ante...quam violo*] 'I would pray that sooner should earth yawn for me to the abyss...ere that I violate.' *Optem* is the subj. used to express a wish modestly, cf. *nohim, velim*; *dehiscat* the subj. of oblique petition dependent on it. *Prius* is pleonastic, being subsequently repeated by *ante*. The indicative *violo* is remarkable, as after *antequam*, where it is used not to record a simple fact (e.g. *dixit antequam mortuus est*), but to suggest a wish or intention, the subjunctive is regular, e.g. 1. 192, 472; but see G. 4. 85.

25. *umbras, pallentes umbras*] This repetition of a noun to give rhetorical emphasis and also as a convenient method of connecting clauses (Anaphora) should be carefully noticed, cf. 173 *Fama...Fama*, 247 *Atlantis...Atlantis*; 5. 493, 568 *Atys...parvus Atys*; 6. 163 *Misenum...Misenum Aeoliden*, 495 *ora | ora*; Hor. Od. 3. 2. 12 *mori. mors*; 3. 3. 60 *Troiae. Troiae*.

27. *Pudor*] Roman sentiment of the severer type disapproved of second marriages, and the epithet *univira* is common in monumental inscriptions, cf. Prop. 4. 11. 36 *in lapide huic uni nupta fuisse legar*. Only a matron *quae uni viro nupta fuisset* could sacrifice to *Pudicitia*, Liv. 10. 23. See Marquardt, Privatleben der Römer, p. 42. *tua iura resolvo*: 'unloose thy laws.' *Resolvo*, because the laws bind or restrain her conduct.

30. *sinum...*] Cf. Hom. Il. 9. 570 *δέοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι*.

31—53. *Anna urge: her not to let idle sentiment hinder her happiness; though she has refused many suitors, that is no reason for resisting a true affection; the dangerous situation too of her newly-founded realm suggests an alliance, which will ensure prosperity and glory; she must pray for the blessing of heaven and plead with Aeneas to delay his departure.*

31. *luce*] = 'than life,' cf. 5. 724.

32. *solane...*] 'shalt thou waste away in solitary sorrow through all thy youth?' *Sola maerens* and *carpere* go closely together: it is 'by sorrowing in solitude that she will waste away.'

33. *Veneris praemia*] the Homeric *δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης*; "love's guerdon," Rhoades.

34. *id*] 'that,' i.e. what you are talking about—remaining unwedded. *cinerem aut Manes sepultos*: 'ashes or the

buried ghost.' *Cinis* is the material part of the dead man, *Manes* his ghostly part; both parts are equally buried and both can be outraged and torn from the grave (cf. 427 *cinerem Manesve revelli*). There is therefore no need to explain *Manes sepultos* as = *M. sepulorum*. The poet uses the three words *cinerem*, *Manes*, *sepultos* to emphasise the idea of something which being destroyed, dead, and buried is utterly incapable of concern in what goes on among the living.

35. *esto... 38. placitone...*] 'true, no suitors swayed... Iarbas was scorned... wilt thou also (on that account) fight against a love that is dear?' Note that the concessive *esto* 'be it so' refers not to what *precedes* but to what *follows*—'granted that no suitors have hitherto moved you... you need not therefore resist an acceptable lover.' *aegram*: 'sick,' *i.e.* with sorrow for Sychaeus. *mariti*: cf. 2. 344 n.

36. *Libyae*] Locative, 'in Libya.' *Tyro*: poetic abl. of place without preposition, cf. 43; 3. 503. For Iarbas, cf. 196 *seq.*

37. *Africa...dives*] Africa was a land 'rich in triumphs' because of the warlike tribes which Dido had to conquer in it, but the phrase bears a double meaning and is intended also to suggest to Roman ears such 'triumphs' as the victory of Zama (202 B.C.) and the conquest of Carthage (146 B.C.).

38. *placito*] = *qui placuit* 'pleasing.' Many intransitive verbs are allowed a past participle passive which is used in an active sense. Such are *adultus*, 'having grown up,' *concretus* (6. 746), *iuratus*, 'having sworn,' *coniuratus*, *nupta*, *praeteritus*, *suetus*, *tibubatus* (5. 333), and *cenatus*, *potus*, *pransus*.

40. *Gaetulae urbes, genus*] For *genus* in loose apposition to *Gaetulae urbes*, which is almost = *Gaetuli*, cf. 1. 339 n.

41. *infreni*] 'reinless'; (1) because they rode without reins, but (2) also describing their own 'unbridled' and savage character. So too *inhospita* refers (1) to the rough and inhospitable nature of the Syrtis and (2) to the similar character of those who dwell near it.

42. *deserta siti regio*] 'a land of desert drought'; lit. 'deserted by reason of drought.'

43. *Barcaeï*] Barca is a celebrated city in the Cyrenaic Pentapolis, and, as after *hinc... Syrtis* we might expect *hinc... Barcaeï* to refer to dwellers on the West of Carthage, some consider the word corrupt. More probably Virgil's geography is loose.

quid...dicam? A favourite device for bringing a long list to a close, cf. 6. 122 n.

46. **hunc cursum**] 'this course' = 'their course hither,' cf. 1. 534.

47. **quam...**] 'what a city shalt thou see rise here...with such a union!' *Coniugio tali* is abl. of attendant circumstances, or abl. of cause ('by reason of such a union').

49. **quantis rebus**] 'with how great fortune.'

50. **veniam**] 'favour,' *i.e.* in order to avert the evils presaged by her dreams, cf. 9. **sacris litatis**: 'after sacrifice duly offered.' *Litare* is usually intransitive, being followed by an abl. of that with which the sacrifice is performed, cf. 2. 118 *anima litandum*, but *sacra litate* is found Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 630.

51. **causasque...**] 'interweave pretexts for (his) lingering.' 'Reasons' and 'pretexts' are so often akin that *causa* 'a cause' or 'reason' is frequently used = 'a false cause' or 'pretext,' and this sense is regular in *causor* and *excusare*.

52. **desaevit**] 'rages to the end,' 'rages its fill.' Horace in the Odes is very fond of this particular form of compound, *e.g.* 1. 3. 13 *decertantem*; 1. 9. 11 *deproeliantes*, both used of a storm, and also *debacchor*, *debello*, *decanto*. **aquosus Orion**: cf. 1. 535 n.

53. **quassatae**] 'shattered' by the storm (cf. 1. 551) and still unrepaired. **non tractabile**: 'the sky obdurate,' *i.e.* the weather is hopeless, so bad that nothing can be made of it, cf. *Ov. Her.* 19. 71 *est mare, confiteor, nondum tractabile nautae*.

54—89. *With these words Anna fanned the fire of her sister's passion. Then they offer sacrifice in all the temples and poring over the entrails seek to read the future, but what can seer or sacrifice avail against love? Like the hind which a hunter has smitten unawares with a chance shaft, Dido smarting from her wound can find no rest: now she leads Aeneas through her city, essays to speak and stops in mid utterance; now at eve she renews the banquet and begs once more to hear his tale, then at night roams sleepless through the palace conjuring up her lord's absent form, or fondles Ascanius as the living image of his sire. Meanwhile all the works of the new city are idle and neglected.*

54. **inflammavit** has better authority than *flammavit* and seems to give a fuller tone to the verse.

55. **solvitque pudorem**] 'and unshackled shame,' *i.e.* set it free from all restraints. The phrase is bold but perfectly clear when compared with 27: 'shame' or 'modesty' imposes 'laws' (*iura*) which are bonds or restraints on conduct, hence 'shame' itself is imagined as 'bound' and can be described as unbound or unshackled, when it becomes 'shamelessness.'

Henry compares our 'strait-laced,' 'loose conduct,' 'strict honour' etc.

56. **per aras**] passing from altar to altar, 'at every altar.'

57. **bidentes**] Sheep in their second year are distinguished by two prominent teeth of the permanent and second set and appear to have only two teeth; hence this term. See Henry 2. 595.

58. **legiferae...**] Ceres and Bacchus (Demeter and Dionysus) are perpetually united, and (1) as the deities of corn and wine they may be associated with married Love (*sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus*), which without them is said to 'fly out of the window,' or (2) as introducers of civilisation (cf. *legiferae*, and *θεσμοφόρος* applied to both in Greek) they may be specially connected with the founding of cities, as Apollo certainly always was.

59. **ante omnes**] 'before,' *i.e.* above all. Macrobius found a difficulty in *ante*, because Juno is not mentioned first. **vincla iugalia**: 'bonds of wedlock.'

62. **aut...**] 'or in presence of the gods moves stately beside their rich altars and renews the day with offerings....' *Spatiatur* expresses the solemn and stately movement of the queen. *Pingues*, because of the fat of the victims. For *instauro* cf. 3. 62 n. She repeats her offerings again and again throughout the day (not for several days, as some take it, cf. 77) in her eagerness to obtain some sign of divine approval.

64. **pectoribūs**] For the final syllable long before a vowel, cf. 5. 521 n. **inhians**: 'poring over'; the word is a strong one, indicating extreme, open-mouthed, greedy eagerness. **spirantia**: 'living,' 'palpitating.' The entrails were consulted the moment they were laid bare, cf. 12. 214 *viscera vivis eripiunt* and especially Lucan 1. 621-629 where we have *pulmonis anhelii* exactly corresponding to *spirantia* here.

65. **heu...**] 'alas for the ignorant minds of seers! what can vows avail frenzy (lit. one frenzied).' The rendering 'her frenzy' is a mistake. Doubtless the special application of the words is to Dido, but beyond this they also convey a general and philosophic reflection. It is in this art of imparting to special remarks a wide and general bearing that great poets excel.

66. **est**] = *edit*. **molles medullas**: 'her tender heart,' cf. 1. 660 n. and Catull. 45. 16 *ignis mollibus ardet in medullis*.

69. **qualis...**] 'like a hind arrow-smitten, which...a shepherd pursuing with darts has shot from afar and left (in her) the winged steel all unwitting; she in flight scours the groves and glades....'

In a simile it is always hard to say what points are to be pressed, but its striking position (cf. 310 n.) marks *nescius* as emphatic, and it must therefore be supposed that the archer's ignorance implies ignorance on the part of Aeneas of the love he has inspired, thus making Dido's passion more pitiable. Notice too the contrasted positions of *nescius* and *illa*: he ignorant, she dying.

74. *media per moenia*] 'through her city's midst': for *moenia* cf. 2. 234 n.

76. *incipit...*] For this sign of love cf. Hor. Od. 4. 1. 35 *cur facunda parum decoro | inter verba cadit lingua silentio?*

77. *eadem*] Certainly not referring to Dido but agreeing with *convivia* and so parallel to *iterum...iterum*—'at eve she seeks the same feast' and there 'demands a second time to hear ...a second time hangs upon the speaker's lips.'

79. *pendetque...*] Conington says that 'no earlier use of this metaphor is quoted,' but cf. Lucr. 1. 38 *equae tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore*, where the breath of Mars, as he lies in Venus' lap gazing up at her, is said to 'hang from her lips.' The phrase is a very graphic one and describes the listener with head upturned towards the speaker's lips, which are close above, so that he seems literally to hang from them. Our phrase 'hang on the lips' has become so hackneyed that it has lost much of its force.

80. *vicissim*] 'in turn,' *i.e.* as the sun had done before it. The feast begins at sunset (cf. *labente die*) and ends when 'the moon in turn sinks her light in gloom and setting stars invite slumber.'

82. *stratis relictis*] the 'abandoned couch' is the couch on which they had both reclined at the feast.

83. *absens absentem*] 'absent the absent one she sees and hears.' *Absens* is repeated in *absentem* to emphasise the idea of physical absence, which is thus strongly contrasted with his ceaseless presence in her mind.

84. *aut...*] 'or (at some other time) charmed by his father's look detains Ascanius in her lap, if haply she may (*i.e.* in the hope that she may) be able to beguile her cruel passion.' The boy is the 'image of his father' and so Dido tries to cheat her love by petting him as a substitute for Aeneas.

87. *bello tuta*] 'for defence in war'; lit. 'safe (*i.e.* affording security) in war.'

88. *pendent*] Cf. our 'are suspended.' *minaeque...*: 'and the huge up-towering walls.' For *minae murorum* cf. 2. 235

rotarum lapsus; G. 1. 143 *ferri rigor* 'unbending steel.' For *minae*, *minor* used of anything which projects upward cf. *eminere* and 1. 162 *minantur in caelum scopuli*; the sense of 'lowering,' 'threatening to fall' (2. 628) naturally arises from this.

89. *machina*] 'crane,' cf. Vitruv. 10. 1 *machina est continens ex materia coniunctio...ad onerum motus*. The words *pendent interrupta* go only loosely with *machina*, for the crane is not itself 'broken off,' but only 'broken off' in its work. Henry takes *machina* with *murorum* = 'structure,' but the walls have been sufficiently described in the words *minae murorum ingentes*, and the description of the unused crane certainly completes the picture.

90—104. *Juno, seeing that Dido's passion is incurable, sneeringly congratulates Venus on her triumph and suggests that, as she is so afraid of Carthage, it would be better to let Aeneas marry Dido and receive it as her dowry.*

91. *nec famam...*] 'and that fame is no bar to folly,' i.e. that no thought of her honour checks her.

93. *egregiam...*] 'matchless in truth the glory and rich the spoils ye win, thou and thy lad.' The position of *egregiam* marks the sarcasm, cf. 6. 523; Tac. Ann. 1. 59 *egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint*. *Refero* is regular for bringing home spoils in triumph, cf. 10. 862 *spolia...referes*; G. 3. 12 *referam...palmas*; so too *reporto* commonly.

94. *magnum...nomen si...*] 'great and memorable (is) the fame if one woman...' The connection between 'name' and 'fame' is obvious, but to a Roman *nomen* would also suggest the actual name which a conqueror won from the conquered country, e.g. *Africanus, Creticus, Asiaticus*.

MSS. authority is almost wholly for *numen*. Those who accept this either supply *erit* 'Your deity will be famous if...'; or take it as in apposition with *tuque puerque tuus*, Venus and Cupid being called 'a great and famous power,' comparing for the remarkable singular *numen* Ov. Met. 4. 450 *sorores | nocte vocat genitas, grave et implacabile numen*. On the other hand simplicity and 2. 583 *nullum memorabile nomen | feminea in poena*, compared with Ov. Met. 10. 608 *habebis | Hippomene victo magnum et memorabile nomen*, point very strongly to *nomen*.

96. *nec me adeo fallit*] 'nor indeed does it escape me' = 'full well I know.' *Adeo*, which commonly emphasises a single word (cf. 2. 567 n.), here emphasises the phrase *nec me fallit*, which being itself by Litotes = 'I know well,' becomes when thus emphasised a very strong assertion of knowledge.

98. **sed quis...**] 'but what end shall there be, or how far now (are we to go) with such rivalry?' *i.e.* are we never to stop fighting? As the first clause suggests a limit or goal which they must reach, so a verb of motion is naturally supplied in the second, and *certamine tanto* is an ordinary abl. such as may go with any verb of motion. Conington, who renders *quo* 'to what purpose,' cannot in consequence find any explanation of the abl. and is driven to say that *quo*=*quid opus*. The conjecture *certamina tanta* 'to what purpose such rivalry?' is needless.

nunc: *i.e.* after being rivals so long.

99. **quin...exercemus?**] 'why do we not rather pursue?'
cf. Ecl. 2. 71 *quin tu...paras?*

101. **traxitque...**] 'and has drawn fierce passion through her bones'; for the bones as the seat of inmost feeling, and love as a flame which gradually steals over or enwraps them, cf. 1. 660 and note.

102. **communem**] Predicative, and emphatic by position—'In common therefore let us rule...and with equal authority.' As only the *imperator* in a Roman army could take the *auspicia*, the words *auspicia* and *imperium* often bear almost the same meaning.

103. **liceat...**] 'let her serve a Phrygian husband and yield her Tyrians to thy hand a dowry.' The bitterness is marked. *Liceat* is = *per me liceat*—'she may for all I care'; 'Phrygian' is contemptuous for 'Trojan,' cf. 215 n.; so too *servire* for *nubere*.

105—128. *Venus, perceiving Juno's guile, replies that she would at once assent, did she know that Jupiter approved. Juno answers that she will obtain his approval, and that her device is at a hunting party next day to create a storm which shall drive Aeneas and Dido to take refuge alone together in a cave: there shall the nuptials be celebrated. Venus agrees.*

105. **olli**] Cf. 1. 254 n. **enim** explains why Venus gave a treacherous reply; she did so 'for she knew that Juno had spoken with feigned purpose.'

106. **regnum Italiae**] The kingdom which Aeneas was destined to found in Italy. It was Juno's aim that Carthage, not Rome, should be mistress of the world.

108. **tecum**] The word goes with *contendere* but is thrown forward to gain ironical emphasis.

109. **si modo...**] 'so but fortune attend the fulfilment of thy purpose': lit. 'that accomplished which thou dost relate.'

Sequatur: is almost = *secundet*. Good plans often fail without good luck to back them (*fortuna secunda*).

110. *sed fatis...*] “but I | drift doubtful of the fates” Rhoades. For *feror* of aimless movement under the influence of passion or doubt cf. 376 *furiis incensa feror*; 10. 630 *veri | vana feror. si*: ‘whether.’

113. *tibi fas...*] ‘thou hast the right to explore his purpose with entreaty.’

114. *excepit*] Commonly = ‘to receive in succession’ (cf. 3. 210 n.); here used of ‘taking up the conversation’ = ‘replied.’

115. *nunc qua...*] ‘now by what means our present (immediate) purpose may be fulfilled, briefly, mark, I will instruct thee.’ The form *confieri* for *confici* is common, but not in Cicero. *advertite*: sc. *animum*, so after *προσέχω* = ‘attend’ the acc. *νοῦν* is commonly omitted.

117. *venatum*] With *ire*.

119. *radiisque...*] ‘and with his rays laid bare the world,’ which was previously covered in darkness. Conington’s idea that *retexerit* is from *retexo* = *retexuerit* and that the meaning is ‘shall have re-woven his orb with rays’ is purely fanciful. The meaning of the passage is demonstrated by comparing 9. 461 *rebus luce relectis*; Ov. Met. 8. 1 *retegente diem | Lucifero*; Met. 9. 795 *postera lux radiis latum patefecerat orbem*.

121. *dum trepidant alae*] ‘while the huntsmen are busy.’ In a Roman army the cavalry were placed on the ‘wings’; hence the regular word for a troop of horse is *ala equitum*. So here *alae* seems used of the huntsmen who on either side are driving the game up to Aeneas and Dido.

Some think that the *alae* are scarlet feathers (cf. 12. 750; G. 3. 372 *puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine pinnae*) hung on lines round a wood to frighten the game back, but this seems unnatural.

indagine: ‘with toils’ or ‘nets.’

125. *adereo*] ‘I will be present,’ i.e. as the goddess of marriage (cf. 59 and 166).

126. *conubio...*] Cf. 1. 73 n.

127. *hic hymenaeus erit*] ‘this shall be their marriage’; *hae erunt nuptiae*, Servius. The words forcibly call attention to the strange conditions under which their union will be completed.

Others say that ‘marriage’ in Virgil is always *hymenaei* in the plural (e.g. 99, 316), and quoting Ov. Met. 9. 796 *cum*

Venus et Iuno sociosque Hymenaeus ad ignes | *conveniunt* to show that *Hymenaeus* is associated with Venus and Juno at marriages, wish to render 'The god of marriage shall be there,' but this seems weak.

128. *dolis risit...repertis*] 'and smiled at the discovery of her (Juno's) guile'; *dolis repertis* is probably abl. absolute. Venus knew that Juno was deceiving her (cf. 105) and 'assents to her prayer' with a smile, as well she might, for events proved that Juno's schemes to secure the supremacy of Carthage and prevent the founding of Rome were all idle (cf. 1. 263 seq.)

The rendering 'laughed at the trick discovered by Juno' would need *dolos repertos* (cf. 5. 181), while Henry's 'smiled approval on Juno's device' is not justified by this use of *rideo* with the dat. of *persons* (1. 255: Ecl. 4. 62).

129—159. *Next day at dawn the hunting party assemble, and await the queen before the palace. She at length appears arrayed with regal splendour, and Aeneas joins her, beauteous as Apollo when he visits Delos at his festival. When they reach the mountains they find deer in abundance; Ascanius especially distinguishes himself, longing all the while for the chance of some nobler prey—a boar or a lion.*

131. *rara*] 'meshed'; not expressing that these particular nets have wide meshes, but a general epithet of all nets. With these nominatives some verb such as 'are brought' must be supplied (by Zeugma) from *ruunt*, which strictly applies only to the horsemen and dogs.

132. *odora canum vis*] 'the keen-scented strength of hounds.' Copied from Lucr. 4. 681 *permissa canum vis* and 5. 1222 *fida canum vis*, which is again copied from the Homeric *ἰερὴ ἰς Τηλεμάχοιο, ἰς ἀνέμοιο* and the like. *Odorus* elsewhere is always = 'giving forth scent.'

133. *cunctantem*] 'lingering,' possibly over her toilette, as Servius remarks, but the word is not intended to suggest this. It is added to heighten the reader's sense of expectation: there is a pause before the central figure of Dido appears. *primi*: 'chiefs.'

137. *Sidoniam...*] 'clad in a Sidonian robe with brodered border.' For *chlamydem circumdata* = 'having a robe thrown round her,' see Appendix. For Diana wearing the *chlamys* when hunting see illustration Smith's Dict. Ant. For *picto* cf. 1. 708 n.

138. *auro...aurum, aurea*] For the emphasis cf. 1. 448 *aerea...aere...aënis. nodantur in aurum*: 'are knotted on to gold,' i.e. on to golden hairpins or the like.

139. *aurea...*] 'of gold too the buckle that binds up...': the *fibula* here is probably on her girdle, cf. 1. 492.

141. *ante alios pulcherrimus omnes*] For this extremely strong superlative cf. 1. 347 n. and 2. 426 n.

142. *infert...*] 'moves to meet her and unites their companies.' The sentence is perfectly clear: Aeneas joins Dido and as he does so his followers join hers, and so he is said to 'unite' or 'blend' the two companies.

Sidgwick (with others) says " 'joins the troop,' *i.e.* 'to himself,' a variation for 'joins himself to the troop.'" This is not Latin, nor is it sense: Aeneas does not 'join the troop to himself' or 'himself to the troop,' but joins Dido.

143—150. The comparison of Aeneas to Apollo is a pendant to that of Dido to Diana 1. 498. Here however Virgil closely copies Apoll. Rhod. 1. 307.

143. *hibernam Lyciam*] 'his winter dwelling in Lycia'; cf. *hibernum cubiculum* 'a winter bedroom,' *hiberna castra* 'a winter camp.' Some render 'wintry Lycia,' but this would make Apollo quit Lycia and go to Delos in winter, whereas it is clear that a festival at Delos attended by worshippers from a distance (cf. 146) could only take place in spring or summer. Patara the seat of Apollo's oracle was on the sea-coast near the mouth of the Xanthus.

144. *maternam*] It was at Delos that Leto bore Apollo.

145. *instaurat*] Cf. 3. 62 n.

146. *Dryopes*] An ancient people living near Mt. Parnassus. The Agathyrsi are a Sarmatian tribe, and are mentioned to indicate the distance from which pilgrims come to the festival. *picti*: 'painted' or perhaps 'tattooed,' cf. G. 2. 115 *pictique Geloni*. For *Cretesquē*, cf. 3. 91 n.

147. *mollique...*] 'and with soft foliage confines in order his flowing locks and entwines them with (a circlet of) gold.' The 'foliage' is that of the bay, sacred to Apollo. As the god of poetry he is always represented with 'flowing locks,' cf. Hor. Od. 3. 4. 62 *crines solutos*.

149. *tela...*] *i.e.* the arrows in the quiver on his shoulder. A reminiscence of Hom. Il. 1. 46 *ἐκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἷστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χωμένοιο*.

151. *ventum*] sc. *est*; 'when they came'; cf. 6. 45 n.

152. *deiectae...*] 'dislodged (*i.e.* by the drivers) from the crag's top raced down....'

154. **agmina...**] 'mass their dusty bands in flight as they quit the mountains.' For *que* introducing an explanatory clause, cf. 6. 361.

156. **acri]** 'mettled,' 'spirited.'

158. **spumantemque...**] 'and prays that amid the tamer herds a foaming boar may be granted (in answer) to his vows.' Hunters made vows to Diana, cf. Ecl. 7. 29.

160—172. *A storm descends; Aeneas and Dido take refuge in a cave and, amid thunder and lightning, their fatal union is accomplished and Dido thenceforth openly proclaims Aeneas her lover.*

160. **magno misceri murmure]** 'to be troubled with mighty murmurings'; cf. 1. 124.

164. **petiere]** 'eagerly seek'; the perfect of rapidity, cf. *fulsere* 167 and 5. 140 n. **amnes**: torrent streams swollen by the tempest.

165. **speluncam...**] Repeated from 124. The fulfilment of Juno's plan is related in the same words in which it is announced. What looks like a simple accident is thus strongly marked as the result of divine will, and the words acquire a certain ominous character which accords with what follows.

166. **prima...**] 'both primal Earth and bridal Juno give the sign: lightnings flashed and Heaven (blazed) witness of their wedlock, while on mountain heights the Nymphs shrieked.'

Earth as the primal mother and Heaven (*Aether*) as the universal father descending into her lap in fertilising showers are in antiquity the type of wedlock (cf. G. 2. 325; Munro, Lucr. 1. 250; Eur. Fragm. ex Chrysippo Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθήρ, | ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ, | ἡ δ' ὑγροβόλους στάγους νοτίους | παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητούς, | τίκτει δὲ βοράν...). Hence these two deities are naturally introduced here. For Juno as patroness of marriage cf. 59: the *pronuba* was ordinarily a matron who assisted the bride. The lightning flashes take the place of the usual 'nuptial torches' with which the bride was conducted home, and the shriek of the Nymphs is the bridal hymn (*hymenaeus*).

Conington, Henry, and others say that the whole description is one 'not of an inauspicious but of an auspicious marriage' in which heavenly powers take the parts ordinarily performed by men. But surely the whole passage so far from describing anything auspicious is full of awe and terror; the elements are at strife; it is a day of death and doom (169); the marriage itself is no marriage but dishonour (172). Milton felt its true

force and imitates it in describing the effect of the Fall, Par. Lost 9. 782 ; 1000

‘ Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs ; and Nature gave a second groan ;
Sky lour’d, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal sin.’

172. **coniugium...**] ‘ she calls it marriage : with that name she veils her sin.’ For *culpam* cf. 19 n.

173—197. *Rumour flies through Libya—Rumour, a winged monster of huge growth and speed, covered with eyes, tongues, and ears—and tells the tale of Dido’s passion everywhere, but above all to Iarbas, Dido’s rejected suitor.*

173. **Fama...Fama**] For the repetition cf. 25 n. The personification of Rumour is natural, like that of “*Όσσα* Il. 2. 93 *μετὰ δέ σφισιν “Όσσα δεδήει | δρύνουσ’ ἰέναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος.* How far however Virgil is successful in proceeding to an elaborate description of this strange figure is dubious. It is impossible to express many abstract qualities in a visible form. Symbolical figures, when they endeavour to represent more than a simple idea, soon become grotesque, and so while we can conceive Rumour as a bird, and also conceive a bird with an eye on every feather, yet the conception of a bird with an equal number of tongues and ears becomes ludicrous.

175. **mobilitate...**] ‘ is refreshed by (her) speed and wins force by going.’ Whereas all other creatures flag the faster, and grow weaker the farther they go, with Rumour it is the reverse. The language is from Lucr. 6. 340 where the poet is describing the increasing momentum of a falling body and speaking quite literally.

176. **parva...**] ‘ dwarfed at first in fear, presently she rears....’ The description is from that of “*Έρις* ‘Strife’ in Hom. Il. 4. 442 *ἦτ’ ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | οὐρανῶ ἑστήριξε κἄρα καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βάλνει.*

178. **ira...deorum**] ‘ anger against the gods’ : objective genitive. According to the legend Earth produced the Giants because of her anger with the gods for their treatment of the Titans. Strictly Coeus was a Titan, but here Virgil joins him with Enceladus and the Giants ; the two sets of beings, both being children of Earth and both warring against heaven, are often confused.

179. **extremam...sororem**] ‘ last...as their sister.’

181. **monstrum...**] Cf. 3. 658. The eyes as numerous as the feathers are suggested by the plumage of a peacock.

183. **subrigit]** 'pricks.' So *arrigere, erigere aures* commonly.

184. **nocte...186. luce]** Note the position of these guiding words; in Greek we should have μέν and δέ, cf. 1. 184 n. **medio**: 'in the midst,' 'in the space between' heaven and earth; for adjectives used as subst. cf. 3. 232 n.

185. **stridens]** 'hissing'; the word may describe the sound of its flight (cf. 1. 397 *stridentibus alis*) but probably describes its cry. *Stridere* is used of any hard grating sound: the harsh pause after the spondee here adds to the effect of the word. In 190 some would also put a pause after *gaudens*, but there this harshness would be intolerable and *gaudens et* is merely = *et gaudens* with more emphasis on *gaudens*.

186. **sedet custos]** 'sits sentinel,' on the watch for anything that may happen. Some see an opposition between *culmine tecti* and *turribus altis* as between 'cottage roof' and 'palace tower,' but this seems fanciful.

188. **tam...]** 'clutching false and foul no less than reporting truth.' Some take *tenax* with *nuntia*, 'a persevering messenger as well of false as true,' but the order seems against this. **ficti...tenax**: an objective gen. is common after adjectives in *-ax*, e.g. *capax, edax, rapax*.

ficti, pravi, veri. An excellent instance of the use of neut. adjectives as substantives especially to express abstract ideas, such as 'falsehood,' 'depravity,' 'truth.' Cf. 3. 232 n.

190. **facta atque infecta]** "now fable, and now fact," Rhoades.

193. **nunc hiemem...]** 'that now through all the winter's length in wantonness they fondle one another, careless of their kingdoms, the captives of foul lust.' The words describe the devotion of the lovers with malignant exaggeration.

After *quam longa* supply *sit* because the sentence is oblique, and for the full phrase cf. 8. 86 *ea, quam longa est, nocte* 'on that night throughout its length,' lit. 'as long as it is.'

For *fovere inter se* cf. 5. 766 *complexi inter se*, 'embracing one another,' and in prose *inter se amare, diligere, colere* and the like.

English editors all take *fovere hiemem* together = 'spend the winter,' but they quote no authority for this use of *foveo* which is = 'cherish,' 'keep warm,' especially of doing so by holding to the breast, cf. 686 *sinu germanam...fovebat*; 1. 718 *gremio fovet*, and though two lovers may thus 'keep themselves warm through the winter' it is incredible that Virgil can speak of them as 'keeping the winter warm between them.'

198—218. *Iarbas son of Jupiter Ammon, to whom he had reared countless temples throughout his realm, is maddened by the news and addresses his sire with bitter taunts as a powerless deity, who allows his son and suppliant to be scorned by a foreign woman and an eastern adventurer.*

198. *hic...*] 'he son of Ammon and a ravished Garamantian Nymph,' lit. 'a nymph having been carried off (by him).' Hammon or Ammon was a Libyan deity with a ram's head or horns, usually, as here, identified with Jupiter. For the *Garamantes* cf. 6. 794 n.

200. *posuit...sacraverat*] If the change of tense means anything it must mean that he built the temples *after* dedicating, *i.e.* on spots where he had previously dedicated, 'a sleepless fire, the eternal sentry of the gods.' It is then better to take *solum* and *limina* as nominatives—'and the ground (in the temples) was fat with blood...', for if *sacraverat* is allowed to govern *solum* and *limina*, it is impossible to explain why we have *posuit templa* but *sacraverat limina*. The *vigilem ignem* is suggested by the ever-burning fire on the hearth of Vesta at Rome.

203. *amens animi*] 'mad *in* mind.' Cf. 300 *inops animi*; 529 *infelix animi*; 2. 61 *fidens animi*; 5. 202 *furens animi*; 6. 332 *animi miseratus* 'pitying *in* soul'; and commonly in prose *animi aeger*, *anxius*; *animi pendere*, *cruciari* and the like. These instances sufficiently show that *animi* in these phrases is originally not a genitive but a locative. Whether in some cases, *e.g.* *inops animi* (see 300 n.), the genitive or the locative force is the one intended cannot be absolutely determined.

204. *media...*] An impressive phrase: he addresses Jupiter 'in the very presence of the gods' who share his temple and are witnesses to the appeal made to him.

206. *nunc*] 'now,' emphatic, *i.e.* since my piety has so taught them. *pictis toris*: cf. 1. 708 n.

207. *Lenaeum honorem*] 'Lenaeon offering,' *i.e.* offering of wine.

208—218. The intense rhetorical emphasis of these lines must be noted.

209. *nequiquam...caeci...inania*] Emphatic repetition of the same idea—are our terrors 'vain,' thy lightnings 'aimless' and thy thunders 'empty mutterings'? *Caeci ignes* 'blind fires' is a sort of Oxymoron, fire and darkness being opposed.

211. *femina...*] The first word marks the tone. 'A

woman,' and she 'a vagrant,' has 'bought the right to build' a 'tiny' city; I granted her 'the shore to plough' and fixed 'the tenant terms,' and yet rather than be my bride she seeks to be Aeneas' slave.

For the buying of the site of Carthage cf. 1. 367. For *litus arare* as a proverbial expression, = do something vain and unprofitable, cf. Ov. Tr. 5. 2. 48.

213. *loci leges*] "For the legal phrase *lex loci* see the Lex Agraria of 110 B.C. (C. I. L. 200) where the Censors are said *agri, aedifici, loci...legem dicere*, to the tenants—*i.e.* to prescribe the conditions of tenure." Papillon.

conūbia: so 535; 3. 319 in the fifth foot and 4. 316 *per conūbia* in the second: but 126; 1. 73 *conubio*; 3. 136 *conubiis* beginning a line. The *u* in *nūbo* is long, but in *pronūba, innūbus* short, and Munro (Lucr. 3. 776) considers that in *conubium* it is only lengthened in arsis, and that *conubio* where it is in thesis should be scanned *conūbio* not *conubjo* trisyllabic. The quantity was probably unfixed in his time.

214. *dominum*] Emphatic, 'a master' (cf. 103 *servire*), not a husband.

215. *et nunc...*] In these lines his anger, hitherto confined to sarcasm, breaks out in open scorn. The rising feeling is clearly marked by the vehement alliteration of lines 216 and 218.

Paris: the accepted type of a warrior whose conquests are only over women. The reference to his 'eunuch train' is suggested (1) by the general character of Oriental courts and (2) by the eunuch priests of the Phrygian Cybele. For this contempt of the Phrygians cf. 103; 12. 99 *semiviri Phrygis*.

216. *Maeonia...*] 'supporting his chin and reeking love-locks with a Maeonian bonnet.' Maeonian = Lydian is put loosely for Phrygian, as Lydia borders on Phrygia. The *mitra* was an Eastern headgear fastened with strings (*redimicula* 9. 616) under the chin. *Subnixus* has all MSS. authority, and the construction *subnixus mentum mitra*, 'resting his chin on a bonnet (*i.e.* on its strings),' which Henry denies to be Latin, is fully justified by Cat. 68. 72 *plantam innixa solea*, 'supporting her foot on a slipper,' see Ellis *ad loc.* The suggestion *subnexus*, 'having his chin tied up,' is quite needless.

217. *rapto*] 'prey,' 'booty'; cf. 3. 232 n. *potitur*: cf. 3. 56 n. *nos*: in strong contrast with *ille*, '(yet) we.'

218. *quippe*] The ironical force (1. 39 n.) of the word is increased by its position—'yet we to thy temples—yea to thine—bring offerings.'

219—237. *In answer to this prayer Jupiter, summoning Mercury, bids him go and remind Aeneas of his high mission, and that if his own ambition is dead, he has no right thus to ruin his son's hopes.*

219. **aras tenentem**] Cf. 6. 124 n.

222. **adloquitūr ac**] Cf. 1. 667 n.

223. **voca Zephyros**] *i.e.* to aid his flight and make it easier, so that he may go rapidly, cf. 226, 241, 245; 5. 607. **pinnis**: with reference to the winged sandals (*talaria*, 239; cf. *alatis plantis*, 259), for which see illustrations in Class. Dict.

225. **exspectat...**] 'waits regardless of the cities granted him by fate.' *Exspecto* elsewhere always has an object (= 'wait for'), or a dependent clause (= 'wait until') equivalent to an object. Here it is used quite absolutely: he is not waiting for anything or until anything happens, but simply 'waiting' without object or aim.

227. **non illum...**] 'not such did his beauteous mother promise him to us—therefore twice rescuing him from Grecian arms—but (promised) that he should be one to rule...' The change in tense from *promisit* to *vindicat* seems allowable, because the clause *Graium...armis* is parenthetical, and the present *vindicat* may be explained either because the effect of his rescue is regarded as still continuing, or, more probably, because the present is often used even of past events, where the event itself rather than the time at which it takes place is dwelt upon. For gen. plur. *Graium* cf. 3. 53 n. **bis**: once when she rescued him from the hand of Diomedes, Il. 5. 311, the second time at the fall of Troy.

229. **gravidam imperiis**] Probably in connection with *bello frementem* (and compared with 10. 87 *gravidam bellis urbem*) = 'teeming with military commands,' *i.e.* opportunities for a great *imperator*. It is a land where leaders, not lovers, are needed. The rendering 'big' or 'teeming with empires' is easy, but though *imperium* in the sing. gradually passes from 'military command' to become = 'the land over which Rome exercises such command,' 'the Empire,' yet the use of *imperia* = 'empires' seems unknown.

231. **totum...**] Aeneas was never himself 'to make the whole earth pass beneath his laws,' but he was to do so by 'handing down a race from Teucer's lofty line.' *Sub leges mittere* like *sub iugum mittere*.

233. **nec super...**] 'nor for his own fame's sake he essays the task.' *Ipse* is put between *super* and its case because *ipse* and *suus* have such strong attraction for one another.

234. *Ascanio pater*] *Pater* is added to emphasise the argument—not ‘does he,’ but ‘does *the father* grudge his son?’

235. *spē inimica*] For the hiatus cf. 3. 606 n.

237. *hic...*] Either ‘be thou this messenger of ours,’ *i.e.* our messenger of this, or, more simply, ‘be this our message,’ though perhaps Virgil does not elsewhere use *nuntius* = ‘a message.’

238—278. *Mercury immediately makes ready for his flight, taking with him his magic wand. He first alights on the hoary head of Atlas, and then, swooping downward to the sea, skirts the coast of Libya. He finds Aeneas overlooking the building of Carthage, delivers his message, and disappears.*

238 *seq.* Closely copied from Hom. Od. 5. 43

ὡς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος ἀργειφόντης.
αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,
ἀμβρόσια, χρύσεια, τὰ μιν φέρον ἤμὲν ἐφ' ὕγρην
ἦδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἄμα πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.
εἶλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
ὣν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνῶντας ἐγείρει.

240. *sublimem alis*] ‘soaring on wings,’ *i.e.* the wings of the *talaria*, cf. 223 n.

241. *pariter...*] ‘along with the swift breeze,’ which he calls to his aid (226), and which helps to bear him along.

242. *hac...resignat*] A parenthetic description of his wand. Mercury as conductor of the dead was specially known as *πομπαῖος* (cf. *mittit*), *ψυχοπομπός*, *ψυχαγωγός*. After *animas* supply *alias*, cf. 5. 108 n., ‘(some) souls he summons forth..., others he conducts down.’

244. *dat somnos...*]

‘Brings and banishes slumber, reopens the dead man’s eyes.’

Bowen.

The power of giving slumber and taking it away seems connected with his character as the messenger of Jove, from whom he brings good or evil dreams. *lumina morte resignat* must be = ‘unseals eyes in’ or ‘from death.’ Taking ‘unseals in death,’ we may explain it as an allusion to a Roman custom of opening the closed lids of the dead on the pyre (*oculos in rogo patefacere*, *Quiritium magno ritu sacrum est*, Pliny 11. 37), which would thus be described as done by command of Mercury, that they may see their way as he leads them down to Orcus. Otherwise we must render ‘unseals from death’ and explain ‘restores to life,’ the words being thus a mere repetition of

242. In any case the reference first to his power over the dead, then over those asleep, and then again over the dead is very awkward. The rendering 'and again (at another time) seals the eyes in death (not sleep)' ignores the plain meaning of *resignat*.

245. *illa*] Resuming the narrative after the parenthesis—'Relying on it (*i.e.* on its magic power) he drives the winds.' Here the god is said to 'drive' the winds, as previously (223, 241) he has been said to 'fly' or 'be carried along with the winds'; the poet presents the same idea in different shapes which are not strictly consistent; cf. Ps. civ. 3 'Who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind.' For *tranat*, 'cleaves,' cf. 6. 16 n.

247. *duri*] An epithet equally suited to Atlas the 'rocky' mountain and Atlas the 'patient' Titan.

249. *caput...umeros...mento...barba*] The personification of the mountain as an old man with 'pine-wreathed head,' 'snowy mantle,' 'streaming cheeks,' and 'frozen beard,' seems to us overdone. To assign human characteristics to striking physical objects is common and natural; a lofty mountain may be 'a giant bearing heaven on his back,' but when you begin to point out his eyes, nose, etc., the comparison becomes childish.

252. *paribus nitens alis* may be either 'poising on even wing,' *i.e.* just before alighting, or *nitens* may describe active muscular effort = 'making his way,' 'flying with even wing,' for *paribus alis* does not imply wings outstretched at rest, but is used even of active flight (5. 657), the adjective merely contrasting the *balanced* movement of wings with the *alternate* movement of legs.

253. *hinc...*] Again copying Hom. Od. 5. 50

Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβάς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ,
σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῆμα λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς,

τῷ ἔκελος πολέεσσιν ὀχῆσατο κύμασιν Ἐρμῆς.

The point is not that Mercury 'swoops down' from Atlas like a bird from a crag, but that *after* he has swooped down to the sea he assumes the shape and flight of a sea-bird, such as a gull or a cormorant, which keeps close to the water in its pursuit of fish (cf. *piscosos*).

256—259. These lines are omitted by some editors, but MSS. authority for them is overpowering, and they correspond with the passage of Homer (*haud aliter... = τῷ ἔκελος...*) which Virgil is closely copying. They are dull and frigid, but the sense is

clear. Mercury 'was flying between earth and heaven (thus contrasting his present flight with 240 *sublimem alis*, where he is still soaring aloft) to Libya's sandy coast, and cleaving the winds as he came....' Conington, however, omits *ad* before *Libyae*, in spite of the best MSS. (AC. Med., AD. Pal.), and explains " 'he was dividing the shore from the winds,' *i.e.* he was flying close to the shore, so as to be, as it were, between the winds and the land.' This is unintelligible. Others who omit *ad* take *volabat litus* (like *maria vecti*, 1. 524 n.) 'flew along the shore.'

256. *volabat...secabat*] Similar jingles, probably accidental, occur 1. 625; 2. 124; 3. 656; 5. 385; 6. 853, and observe below 260 *fundantem...novantem*.

258. *materno ab avo*] Atlas was father of Maia the mother of Mercury, but to speak of Mercury here as coming from 'his maternal grandsire' is absurd, especially when he is also described as 'Cyllene's child,' *i.e.* not 'the child of Cyllene,' but nursed or reared on Cyllene a mountain in Arcadia. Compare Virgil's tedious conceits about Mercury and Atlas with Shakespeare's lines (Hamlet 3. 4. 58)

'A station like the herald Mercury
New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill.'

259. *magalia*] Cf. 1. 421.

261. *conspicit: atque illi...*] 'he beholds Aeneas founding ..while see! his sword was starred....' For *atque* introducing a sentence in very close relation to the one preceding cf. 1. 227 n. The point here is that when Mercury sees Aeneas he is immediately struck by the magnificence of his apparel, which indicates a woman's wanton (cf. *uxorius* 266) rather than a warrior.

262. *ardebat*] 'blazed.' The *laena* was a thick outer cloak of woollen stuff, and though a gay *laena* (*coccina* Juv. 3. 283, *hyacinthina* Pers. 1. 32) might be a sign of luxury, yet a chief naturally wore a purple one (Hom. Il. 10. 133 *χλαίναν περονήσατο φοινικέσσαν*, | *διπλήν, έκταδίην, ούλη δ' έπενήνοθε λάχνη*), and it is only the context here which suggests the sense of luxurious splendour.

264. *fecerat et...discreverat*] 'had wrought dividing the web with threads of gold': the clause *et discreverat* introduces an explanation of how it was wrought, viz. by interweaving gold threads with the wool.

265. *invadit*] 'attacks,' like *adgreditur* 92 but stronger.

268. *ipse...270. ipse*] Extreme emphasis.

269. *caelum...*] 'with his power guides the heaven and the earth'; *torquet* goes more literally with *caelum* (guides its movement in a circle, cf. 482) than with *terras* (guides its destinies).

271. *teris otia*] 'dost thou waste idle hours?' The assonance of *teris...terris* (cf. 238 *parere...parabat*) is probably accidental; the natural tendency to assonance in Virgil is a very strong one, e.g. note in these few lines *regni rerum, terras torquet, moliris laude laborem, respice regnum Romana*.

274. *spes heredis Iuli*] 'the hopes of thy heir Iulus,' i.e. the hopes of empire which he rightly entertains. Some less naturally render 'the hopes entertained about Iulus,' 'the hopes he inspires.'

277. *medio sermone*] 'even while he spoke'; the phrase indicates that before the words were well completed he was gone. To render 'in the midst of his message' is wrong, for his message is clearly finished.

279—295. *Aeneas awestruck by such a warning ponders anxiously what to do and at last sends orders to prepare the fleet for sea, hoping himself to find a happy opportunity for breaking the news to Dido.*

279. Cf. 2. 774; 3. 48; Hom. Il. 24. 358

ὡς φάτο, σὺν δὲ γέροντι νόος χύτο, δελιδίε δ' αἰνῶς,
ὄρθαι δὲ τρίχες ἔσταν ἐνὶ γναμποτοῖσι μέλεσσιν,
στῆ δὲ ταφῶν.

280. *horrore*] A good instance of *horror* used partly in a metaphorical sense = 'dread,' partly in a literal one = 'bristling.' For the latter sense cf. Hamlet 1. 5. 19 where a tale of dread makes 'each particular hair to stand on end, | like quills upon the fretful porpentine.'

281. *ardet abire*] 'he burns (with desire) to depart'; for the inf. cf. 2. 64 n.

283. *heu, quid agat?*] Aeneas would say to himself *quid agam?* The poet repeats his words in *oratio obliqua* 'alas, (he says) what is he to do?' *quo nunc...*: 'with what address can he now approach the passion-frenzied queen?' *ambire* 'to canvass' is admirably used here to hint at cunning and treachery. The same sense of falsehood is suggested by the rhetorical term *exordium* (cf. Auct. ad Her. 1. 3. 4 *exordium est principium orationis, per quod animus auditoris constituitur*) and also by *sumat* 'adopt.' *Exordia sumet* is found Lucr. 1. 149, where, however, Munro says that the metaphor is from beginning a web.

285, 286. These lines are also found 8. 20, 21. They are the Homeric *διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν* amplified. Cf. Tennyson,

Passing of Arthur, 'this way and that dividing the swift mind.' *celerem*: cf. Cic. Orator 59. 200 *mens qua nihil est celerius*.

286. in *partesque*...] "speeds it on divers tracks all thoughts to scour," Rhoades.

287. *haec*...] 'to him thus balancing (them) this counsel seemed the better.' *Alternanti* may be used intransitively (cf. 2. 229 n.), but *sententias* is easily supplied. Cf. Hom. Il. 14. 23 ὦδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοῦσαστο κέρδιον εἶναι.

289. *aptent*...291. *sese*...*temptaturum*] He summons them *bidding* them 'make ready...' and *saying* 'that he meantime will essay....' The subj. is oblique command, the acc. and inf. oblique narration.

292. *tantos*...] 'dreams not the breaking of such love.' *Spero* is common with the present inf. where it means not 'hope' but 'expect,' and the reference is not to something which may happen in the future but is already happening in the present: cf. 305 *dissimulare sperasti* 'didst thou expect to hide'; 337; 2. 658; 5. 18 (where it is almost 'hope').

293. *temptaturum*...] 'will essay approach and tenderest time (*i.e.* the happiest place and time) for speech, what plan propitious for his purpose' (lit. 'affairs'). Cf. 423 *virī molles aditus et tempora*.

296—330. *Dido quickly hears rumour of what is happening and rushing wildly through the city confronts Aeneas*—'Didst thou seek to leave me secretly, without a word, regardless of our love and of the winter's storms? By all my devotion I adjure thee, change thy purpose. All Africa hates me for my love of thee; wilt thou leave me alone and unprotected, alone, yes, without even a child who might recall at any rate thy face?'

297. *praesensit*] 'divined.' *exceptit*...: 'caught (the news of) his coming departure'; *excipere rumores, voces, sermonem* are found in prose; the word implies that the person who catches the rumour is on the look-out for it, cf. 3. 210 n.

298. *omnia tuta timens*] 'fearing all safety.' *Tuta timere* is 'to fear where all is safe,' 'to fear where no fear is' (cf. Ov. Met. 7. 47 *quid tuta times?*); *omnia t. t.* is a stronger form of the phrase, 'to fear where all is *absolutely* safe.' Dido at once detected the project of Aeneas, because even before, when all was safe, she was full of fear and on the watch.

300. *inops animi*] 'powerless in mind,' with no power to control her rage, cf. the common use of *inpotens*. For *animi* locative cf. 203 n. Here it might perhaps be taken as gen. = 'destitute of purpose.'

301. **qualis...**] 'like a Thyiad startled by the stirring (? waving) of the sacred emblems, when 'mid Bacchic cries biennial revels rouse her and Cithaeron calls (her) by night with shouts.'

The festival of Bacchus was celebrated every other year on Mt. Cithaeron near Thebes, when certain mystic emblems (*sacra*) were brought forth (cf. Hor. Od. 1. 18. 11), and amid cries of Εὐοῖ Βάκχῃ the Bacchanals, also called Thyiads or Maenads from their frenzy, rushed over Cithaeron.

302. **Thyias**] *Θυιάς* from *θύω* 'rage.' **audito Baccho** may mean 'when the voice of Bacchus is heard,' but more probably refers to the well-known cry of his worshippers. **trieterica** = *τριετηρικά*, an adj. applied to festivals taking place 'every third year,' but in Greek reckoning the *third* year is our *second*, so that it really describes a festival taking place every other year. The common rendering 'triennial' is an error. See Sandys on Eur. Bacch. 131.

304. **compellat ultro**] Cf. 2. 145 n.

305. **dissimulare...tacitus...**] The position of these words marks the emphasis, 'didst thou hope also to hide...and in silence...?' **etiam**: because concealment added to his guilt.

307. **nec te...nec te...**] emphatic personal appeal.

309. **moliris classem**] 'thou dost prepare thy fleet'; cf. 3. 6, where, however, the phrase means 'build.'

311. **crudelis**] Virgil is fond of giving great emphasis to an adjective by placing it at the beginning of a line with a pause after it. Cf. 72 *nescius*, 185 *stridens*, 366 *perfide*, 496 *inpius*, 562 *demens*; 2. 345 *infelix*, 372 *inscius*, 529 *saucius*; 5. 480 *ardius*; 6. 172, 590 *demens*, 822 *infelix*, and Homer often has *νήπιος*, *σχέτλιος* so placed.

quid? si...: 'What? Wert thou not seeking foreign fields ...and if ancient Troy remained, would Troy (itself) be sought with thy fleet over stormy seas? Is it from *me* thou fliest?' The argument is that, even if he were going home, he would not start in such weather, and that therefore his haste must be due to eagerness to escape from her. The powerful simplicity of *mene fugis?* is masterly.

314. **per ego has...**] In adjuration emphatic words are often violently misplaced for the sake of emphasis. So in comedy *per ego te deos oro* becomes the regular order, and in Greek *πρὸς σὲ θεῶν*, etc.

315. **quando...**] 'since myself, alas! have left myself naught else,' *i.e.* to which I can appeal. She has stripped herself of all for him.

316. **conubia**] “their secret union had not yet led to a formal marriage; consequently Dido corrects herself and adds *inceptos hymenaeos*,” Deuticke. Some explain *conubia* here = unlawful union as opposed to *hymenaeos* = lawful marriage: but cf. Cat. 64. 140 *non hoc miseræ sperare iubebas, | sed conubia laeta sed optatos hymenaeos*, where *conubia* is used as a synonym of *hymenaeos* and is distinctly opposed to an unlawful union.

317. **si bene quid...**] ‘if in aught I have done thee service, if aught of mine was ever dear to thee’; cf. Soph. Aj. 520 *ἀνδρὶ τοι χρεῶν | μνήμην προσεῖναι, τερπνὸν εἴ τί που πάθοι*. Note that *si quid...* here = ‘as surely as I have done thee some service’ (cf. 3. 433 n.), but in the next line *si quis...locus* expresses real doubt.

318. **labentis**] ‘falling,’ because he, who had been its stay, was going. **istam...**: ‘put away that purpose of thine.’

322. **extinctus...**] ‘perished is honour and that former fame by which alone I was approaching heaven.’ *Sidera adire* is ‘to win immortality.’ By her ‘former fame’ she seems to mean her reputation for fidelity to her dead husband, though the fame of building Carthage, which will now be destroyed (cf. 325), is not excluded.

323. **hospes...**] ‘O guest, since that name only is left in place of “husband.”’ The clause with *quoniam...* explains why she says *hospes*. **de coniuge**: ‘from husband,’ put shortly for ‘from the name of husband.’ “Servius says that Virgil threw intense pathos into this passage when reading it to Augustus”: Conington.

325. **quid moror?**] ‘why do I delay!’ *i.e.* to die, cf. *mori-bundam* 323. **an mea dum...**: ‘or (shall I delay) until...?’

327. **saltem...**] ‘at least had any child of thine been taken into my arms.’ For *suscipio* of the mother, cf. Plaut. Epid. 4. 1. 38, where the mother says to the father *filiam quam ex te suscepi*. *Suscipere liberos* is strictly used of the father who takes up (*tollit*) the child and acknowledges it as his own, but also quite vaguely of either parent merely = ‘have children.’

329. **tamen**] This beautiful *tamen* ‘notwithstanding’ is untranslatable, because the suppressed thought opposed to it must be supplied or suggested in translation. It may be ‘to remind me of thee by his face in spite of all (thy cruelty),’ or ‘though thou art far away,’ or ‘with his face at least, though he can do so with nothing else.’ Each of these thoughts is suggested by *tamen*, but none of them is right by itself. Commentators attempt to define and successfully destroy the force of the word.

Those who like can read *tantum* with some poor MSS. and accept the note of Servius—*similem vultu non moribus*.

331—361. *Aeneas hiding his pain replies*: 'I know my debt to thee and can never forget it, but, in answer to this charge, deceit I never planned and marriage I never purposed. Were my life my own, my first longing would be to rebuild Troy, but heaven's will urges me to Italy. Visions of my sire by night and thoughts of my son's welfare by day bid me depart, while even but now the visible messenger of Jupiter laid on me his commands. Entreat no more: I go, because I must.'

331. *ille...*] Not all Virgil's art can make the figure of Aeneas here appear other than despicable. His conduct had been vile, and Dido's heart-broken appeal brings its vileness into strong relief. No modern dramatist dare place his hero in the position in which Virgil places Aeneas here, or while he listens to the appalling invective of 365-387. See Introduction p. xvii.

332. *obnixus...*] 'struggling smothered his pain within his breast.'

333. *pauca*] Cf. *pauca* 337. His speech is longer than Dido's; Virgil is conscious, however, that as a reply it is inadequate. *te, quae...*: 'that thou hast deserved the most that thou canst relate in speech,' *i.e.* however many claims you put forward are fewer than your real ones.

336. *dum memor...*] 'while I have memory of myself'; cf. Shak. Ham. 1. 5. 96 'while memory holds a seat | In this distracted globe.'

337. *pro re pauca loquar*] The speech of Aeneas begins very formally. The opening 333-336 is the regular and formal *exordium* or *captatio benevolentiae* prescribed in books on rhetoric, after which Aeneas adds that he will 'speak briefly on the charge,' *res* being the subject-matter of the accusation made against him (cf. Sall. Jug. 102. 12 *pauca pro delicto suo verba facit*). He then does so proceed to 'speak on the charge,' the first words of the defence answering to the first words of the accusation, *viz.* that he never hoped 'stealthily to conceal his flight.' *pauca*: the 'few words' (cf. Acts xxiv. 4) of every orator, however lengthy.

338. *nec coniugis...*] 'nor did I ever hold out the bridegroom's torch, nor join such a compact.' *praetendi*: 'put forward as a pretence,' but also with the idea of actually 'holding out' a marriage torch.

340. *meis auspiciis*] 'at my own behest.' A metaphor from an *imperator*, who takes the auspices himself and acts for

himself, while his officers only obey orders. So Aeneas obeys a higher authority.

342. *dulcesque...*] 'and the dear relics of my kin I would honour: Priam's lofty halls should last and (almost='for') I should (ere now) with my hand have reared a restored citadel for the vanquished.' The 'relics' are clearly the remains of Troy; *colerem* partly suggests *incolerem*. Note change of tense in *manerent* and *posuissem*.

344. *manu*] 'with my hand.' Almost pleonastic, but added to emphasise the idea of personal interest or exertion bestowed upon an act; cf. 6. 395. Commonly strengthened by the addition of *ipse*, cf. 2. 320; 3. 372; G. 3. 395; 4. 329.

345. *Gryneus*] He had a temple at Grynium, on the coast of Aeolia. For Apollo's connection with Lycia cf. 143 n.

346. *sortes*] 'oracles,' often written on small tablets or lots.

347. *amor*] Emphatic: 'that is my love (not you).' *si te...*: the argument is in answer to Dido's suggestion that he was only leaving her for 'alien fields,' and is this—'If Libya charms a Phoenician, may not Ausonia charm the Trojans? we too (*et nos*) may seek a foreign realm.'

349. *quae...invidia est*] 'what cause of grudging is it that the Teucrians settle...?' 'Why grudge the Teucrians a settlement?' Cf. Hom. Il. 14. 80 οὐ γὰρ τις νέμεσις φηγέειν κακόν.

353. *et turbida...*] 'and his troubled ghost appals me'; *turbida*, *i.e.* with troubled aspect.

354. *capitis...*] 'the wrong to his dear head.' *Caput* can be put for a person in emotional language and so in Gk. *κάρα* (*e.g.* ὦ φίλον, σκληρὸν κάρα, 613 *infandum caput, festivum, ridiculum, lepidum caput*), or in oaths which are directed against the head as the most vital part, cf. 357 and St. Matt. v. 36 'neither shalt thou swear by thy head.'

357. *testor...*] 'I swear by (lit. call to witness) thy head and mine.' Cf. Ov. Her. 3. 107 *perque tuum nostrumque caput, quae iunximus una*.

358. *manifesto in lumine*] Cf. 3. 151. The phrase is almost='in broad daylight.'

361. *Italiam...sequor*] A fine half line. Its powerful terseness is in striking contrast with the wordy rhetoric of the rest of the speech. Whether Virgil, had he revised the Aeneid, would have felt it necessary to complete the line is difficult to decide. Nothing at any rate could improve these four words thus left rugged and abrupt.

362—392. *With scorn in her glance Dido cries in fury:*

'Thou art no son of a goddess but a stone, a monster, immoveable. The gods are cruel and all is false. I saved him and his from death and now, O madness, he talks of "oracles" and "messengers of heaven"! But go, and mayest thou perish in the waves. I will haunt thee like a Fury and thy suffering shall be my solace in the grave.' She faints and is carried away by her maidens.

362. *aversa*] 'askance.' Cf. Tennyson's imitation, *Dream of Fair Women*, 'But she with sick and scornful looks averse.'

363. *totumque...*] 'and lets her silent glance wander over all his form': she eyes him from head to foot with silent contempt while he is arguing.

364. 'If there is an Apollonius Rhodius where you are, pray look at Medea's speech 4. 365 and you will perceive that even in Dido's finest speech he (Virgil) has imitated a good deal, and especially those expressive and sudden turns, *neque te teneo* etc.; but then he has made wonderful improvements, and, on the whole, it is perhaps the finest thing in all poetry': C. J. Fox, quoted by Henry 2. 712. Virgil also copies Eur. Med. 475 *seq.*, but the result is his own.

366. *perfide*] 'traitor.' Cf. Hom. Il. 16. 33

*νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατήρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεΐς,
οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ, γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα
πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.*

368. *nam...*] 'for why concealment (of my real thoughts)? or for what greater wrongs do I reserve myself (before speaking)?' For the indie. *dissimulo* instead of the deliberative subj. cf. 3. 88 n.

369. *ingemuit*] Note the change of person from *thou* to *he* which continues to 380. Many say that it expresses scorn or hate. Rather it indicates that these lines are a soliloquy; she forgets his presence and argues with herself. A great actress would, I think, so deliver them, first in tones of sorrowful regret which rises into indignation (373-375) and fury (376) but is then controlled into bitter sarcasm (376-380); after which (380) she suddenly turns upon him, bids him go, and withers him with a curse.

370. *victus*] 'yielding.'

371. *quae quibus anteferam?*] lit. 'what shall I put before what?' Where all is hopeless, what thought, word, or deed should come first she knows not, cares not. The expression denotes utter despair.

372. *haec oculis...*] 'regards these things with just eyes.' Even the gods are no longer just.

373. **eiectum...**] 'a castaway on my coast, a beggar I welcomed him...his lost fleet, his comrades I rescued from death.' Observe the three instances of asyndeton (*eiectum egentem; classem socios; excepi reduxi*) marking excited feeling. **eiectum**: a technical word for 'shipwrecked,' = ἐκπεσών.

376. **nunc...nunc...nunc**] Repeating in scorn the *nunc...nunc* of Aeneas (345, 356). Note too the scoffing recapitulation of his list of deities.

378. **horrida**] 'awe-inspiring.' She satirises the description given by Aeneas 356-359.

379. **scilicet**] 'verily,' 'of a surety.' The rendering 'forsooth' gives a false impression, because 'forsooth' is always used sarcastically and *scilicet* is not (cf. G. 1. 493). Dido's words are intensely sarcastic, but intense sarcasm is spoilt by being too carefully labelled.

ea cura...: 'that trouble frets their repose,' *i.e.* trouble about Aeneas. Virgil may be thinking of Hom. Od. 5. 122 θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζῶοντες, but he has chiefly in mind the gods of Epicurus as described by Lucretius (*e.g.* 2. 646), whose 'sacred everlasting calm' is never marred by thought of human sorrow.

381. **i, sequere...**] 'go, follow Italy, with the winds seek a kingdom over the waves.' *sequere Italiam* mocks *Italiam...sequor* 361; those who place a comma after *ventis* neglect this and spoil the rhetorical balance of the line. Servius rightly points out that, in Dido's mouth, *sequere* suggests *fugientem* (cf. 6. 61) and *ventis* and *per undas* the perils of wind and wave.

382. **pia**] 'righteous,' cf. 1. 10 n.

383. **supplicia hausurum**] 'that thou wilt drain the cup of vengeance.' *Haurire* (= ἀντλεῖν) is used even in prose of suffering calamity. **Dido**: probably Gk. acc., though elsewhere Virgil does not inflect the word: it might be voc.

384. **sequar...**] 'though far away I will pursue thee with murky firebrands and, when chill death has severed (my) limbs from soul, my ghost shall haunt thee everywhere.' Blazing torches are borne by the Furies, cf. 7. 457 where Allecto hurls *atro | lumine fumantes...taedas*, and with them they pursue the guilty, Cic. pro Rosc. 67 *perterreri Furiarum taedis ardentibus*; Suet. Nero 34 *confessus exagitari se materna specie, verberibus Furiarum ac taedis ardentibus*.

385. **et cum | frigida | mors**] A purposely harsh beginning.

386. **inprobe**] Cf. 2. 356 n.

387. **audiam...**] Dido says that she will hear 'in the

depths of the grave' what her ghost (*umbra*) does on earth. Conington takes this as showing "that the apparition of a dead person was regarded by Virgil as separable from the spirit below." Rather, perhaps, the logic of the thing was never considered and the dead person, and the *umbra*, *imago* and *Manes* are spoken of indiscriminately.

388. *auras*] 'the day,' 'the (open) air.'

390. *linquens...*] Notice the stammering iteration of this line with its marked repetition of *multa*, three words beginning with *m*, and its double *-antem*.

391. *succipiunt*] For spelling cf. 6. 249 n.

392. *marmoreo...*] 'carry back to her marble chamber and duly place upon the couch.' Note the different use of *re-* in *referunt* and *reponunt*, for which cf. 403 and 3. 170 n. *thalamo*: dat. = *in thalamum*, cf. 2. 19 n.

393—415. *Aeneas returns sorrowing to the ships, and the shore is as busy with workers as when ants are busy laying up corn for winter. Ah, Dido, what a sight was that for thee to gaze on! Well mayest thou give way to tears and attempt a last appeal.*

395. *multa...*] 'much groaning and his heart shaken with strong passion.' *Multa* cogn. acc. used adverbially, cf. 390 *multa cunctantem*; 3. 610 *haud multa moratus*.

397. *incumbunt et ... deducunt naves*] = *incumbunt deducendis navibus*, 'press on the launching of their ships.' For *deduco*, cf. 3. 219 n.

398. *uncta*] 'well pitched.'

399. *frondentes remos*] 'leafy oars,' *i.e.* boughs from which to make oars. Usually they would have prepared the oars on land, now they put on board the rough material in their eagerness to be off. Poor MSS. give *ramos*, but *frondentes ramos* would not suggest the idea of 'oars' which is clearly needed.

402. *ac velut...cum*] Cf. 2. 626 n. Lines 402-407 are worthy of the Georgics and exhibit all their quiet humour, observation, and subtle felicity of expression. They form a fine contrast to the preceding passion.

404. *it | nigrum | campis | agmen*] The slow and stately movement of this line is admirable. It is said to be from Ennius who was describing *elephants*!

405. *pars grandia...*] 'some heave on the giant grains thrusting with their shoulders, others close up the ranks and

chastise delay ; all the track is alive with labour.' Some are workers, others overseers who keep stragglers and loiterers up to the mark.

409. **fervēre**] An older form of the verb, cf. 567 ; 6. 827 *fulgēre* ; G. 4. 556 *stridēre*. For the use of the word to express busy bustle cf. G. 4. 169 *fervet opus* of bees, and our phrase '(the town) is in a ferment.'

411. **misceri clamoribus aequor**] Cf. 2. 298 n.

412. **inprobe amor**] 'O tyrannous love.' For *inprobus* cf. 2. 356 n. : her love is *inprobus* because it compels (cf. *cogis*) Dido and everyone else to yield to it. For *quid cogis* cf. 3. 56 n.

414. **animos**] 'pride.'

415. **ne quid**] 'lest she leave aught unattempted and so die in vain' ; lit. 'about (in that case) to die in vain.' If she left anything unattempted which might have saved her, she would die though she need not have done so.

416—436. '*Anna, they are about to embark and I must learn to bear my grief ; yet, my sister, grant me one favour. He ever trusted thee ; go to him and pray him—for I have never been his enemy—to hear my message. Ask him one last favour—to stay until the weather is fair, and so to grant me brief respite in which to school myself to sorrow.*'

416. **properari**] 'the bustle,' 'stir,' lit. 'that haste is being made,' cf. 6. 45 n.

417. **vocat iam...**] 'already the canvas invites the breeze,' cf. 3. 417 n.

418. **puppibus...**] Repeated from G. 1. 304, where it is a sign of joy at *entering* port.

419. **sperare**] 'expect' : the only hint of her having expected such sorrow is given in 298 *omnia tuta timens*, but Dido's pleas are obviously unreal and merely intended to make her sister and Aeneas believe that she is becoming resigned.

420. **tamen**] The sense is 'I shall bear my sorrow, yet it is severe and therefore do thou help to relieve it.'

422. **colere**] 'made his friend.' For this inf. of custom cf. 11. 822 *quicum partiri curas* ; G. 1. 200 *sic omnia fatis | in peius ruere*.

423. **molles aditus...**] Cf. 293.

424. **hostem**] Note the progress—*coniunx* (324), *hospes*, *hostis*. The word is emphatic : he acts like an enemy, but she, as the next lines show, has given him no cause.

426. *Aulide*] The rendezvous of the Greek fleet on its way to Troy.

427. *nec ...*] 'nor have I torn from the grave the ashes and spirit of his sire': cf. 34 n. As Anchises died in Sicily and was buried there just before Aeneas came to Carthage (3. 709-715), he could hardly have accused Dido or any one of desecrating the tomb. Dido, however, is not alluding to any actual charge brought against her, but names an imaginary crime of great atrocity, such as alone could justify the cruel treatment she has received.

429. *ruit*] Emphatic—'hurry.'

430. *ventos ferentes*] 'favourable breezes,' cf. 3. 473 n.

432. *nec pulchro...*] 'nor that he lose fair Latium': *pulchro* is sarcastic.

433. *tempus inane*] 'empty time.' The meaning must be judged from what precedes and follows. The time she asks for is 'empty' because it is not to be full of love as of old (*nec iam ...oro*), and it is to be so in order that it may offer 'repose and room to passion (*i. e.* rest and time in which to work itself out) until fortune school my conquered soul to sorrow.'

434, 435. Omitting minor points (such as the readings *cumulata* and *relinquam*) the explanation of this passage depends upon whether *dederis* or *dederit* (both of which have good authority) is read. Thus: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{dederis} \\ \textit{dederit} \end{array} \right\}$ 'this last favour I entreat—O pity thy sister—and when $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{thou hast} \\ \textit{he has} \end{array} \right\}$ granted it, I will pay it back with interest by (or 'at') my death.'

The chief objection to *dederis* is that no one can explain what Dido means by repaying her sister at or by her death, such explanations as Wagner's 'by leaving her the kingdom,' and Henry's 'by becoming her guardian angel' being obviously mere guesses. Moreover *extremam veniam* is clearly parallel to *extremum munus* 429, where the boon is asked from Aeneas, not from Anna.

The objection to *dederit* is that the words *miserere sororis* become a weak or meaningless stopgap, but on the other hand the main sense of the lines is clear, 'I will repay his favour with interest by dying and ridding him of me for ever.'

The reference to 'dying' which Dido's words in any case contain, though consistent with *moribundam* 323 and *moritura* 415, is hardly consistent with her language about 'learning

patience' which immediately precedes. Exact consistency, however, is hardly to be looked for in such a passionate appeal.

For *cumulatam veniam remittam* = 'pay back with interest,' 'give back good measure heaped up, running over,' cf. Cic. ad Fam. 13. 4. 1 *cumulatissime gratiam rettulerunt*; Liv. 24. 48 *bene cumulatam gratiam referre*; Liv. 2. 23 *aes alienum cumulatam usuris*.

The passage must always remain obscure, though Peerlkamp's *haec nemo unquam intellexit neque intelliget* is strong.

437—449. *Aeneas remains firm and no more moved by laments and tears than an oak which is fretted by the gusts of heaven, but is too deep-rooted to be overthrown.*

437. *fletus...*] 'such tearful tale her sister bears and bears again,' *i.e.* from Dido to Aeneas. Obviously not 'bears backwards and forwards,' for Aeneas is unmoved.

441. *ac velut...cum...447. haud secus...*] 'and as when... even so....' Note the difference between the use of *ac velut cum* here and 402. Here the simile precedes and prepares the way for the thing described, there the simile follows and illustrates the description.

442. *Alpini Boreae*] 'Alpine North winds.' The plural is rare and perhaps, as *Boreas* is often merely = 'a gale,' so *Boreae* = 'gales,' without any reference to their direction. Still Virgil must have been so well acquainted with the northern gales that sweep down from the Alps on to N. Italy that it is better to take the word more strictly. The plural personifies the N. wind not in the form of a single power but of a host: the 'North winds' rush from the Alps and 'with their blasts on this side and on that strive emulously to uproot....'

443. *it*] 'rises.' *altae*: the leaves are called 'lofty' (cf. G. 2. 55) here in contrast with *consternunt terram*, so as to suggest the picture of their falling. Some render 'deeply strew.'

445. *et quantum...*] Repeated from G. 2. 291, 'and strikes with its root towards Tartarus as far as with its summit to the airs of heaven.' In the Georgics, where the tendency throughout is to exalt and magnify the subject of agriculture, the exaggeration of this phrase is not out of place: here it seems unnatural.

447. *adsiduis...*] 'with ceaseless appeals from this side and from that': she urges her suit at every point.

449. *lacrimae...*] The parallel between the tree buffeted with winds and Aeneas with entreaties would suggest that these tears are his, and we might explain that, as the tree is firm though its leaves fall, so 'his purpose is unmoved, his tears fall fast in vain.' On the other hand, throughout the paragraph

the contrast is clearly between the tears (*fletus...fletibus*) of Dido and the resolution of Aeneas, and so this final line is better taken as summing up that contrast—'his purpose remains unmoved, her tears roll down in vain.'

450—473. *Dido longs for death and her purpose is strengthened by portents; the libation she pours turns to blood; her dead husband's voice summons her away; owls hoot and prophets prophesy doom, while in dreams she seems to fly from Aeneas over deserts, like Pentheus or Orestes from the pursuing Furies.*

450. *fatis*] 'doom,' 'destiny,' which she now feels is irresistibly her enemy.

452. *quo magis...*] 'and that she may the more fulfil her purpose and quit light (*i.e.* die), she saw....' The fact of her seeing such a portent helps to strengthen her half-formed resolve (*inceptum*) to die, and the portent is sent by destiny with that object. *Quo=ut eo* 'that the more on that account,' *i.e.* on account of the vision or portent.

quo...relinquat, vidit. Strict consecution would require *relinqueret*, but the graphic presents (*orat, tacet*) which precede quite excuse the presents *peragat* and *relinquat*, though afterwards past tenses are introduced (*vidit cum...inponeret*).

454. *latices sacros fusaque...vina*] 'the holy libation of outpoured wine'; Hendiadys, cf. 3. 223 n. The libation of wine was a part of the 'offerings' (*dona*) at the altar. *obscenum*: cf. 3. 262 n.

457. *praeterea*] 'moreover,' introducing the second portent. It goes strictly with *fuit...templum* but really with 460 *hinc exaudiri...*; 'moreover there was a temple...hence were heard' being='moreover from a temple, which there was..., were heard....' *templum*: 'a chapel' or 'shrine' dedicated to the *Di Manes* of her 'long-dead husband.'

459. *velleribus...*] The line illustrates the 'wondrous honour' with which she still 'reverenced' the dead: his shrine was still 'garlanded with snowy fillets and festal boughs.' In 3. 64 the altars of the Manes are *caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso* and clearly the *caeruleae vittae* correspond with *vellera nivea* here and *atra cupressus* with *festae frons*. The contrast of adjectives is remarkable, 'dark' and 'snow-white,' 'funereal' and 'festal' (for *festae* certainly suggests 'joy,' cf. 2. 249), and is not this the very thing in her honouring of the dead which made it 'wondrous'? She still honoured him, not with the signs of gloom and death, but with signs of joy and life as being, though dead, her heart's still living lord.

460. *hinc exaudiri...*] Notice the solemn effect of the alliteration in *voces, verba, vocantis, visa, viri*, and see 464 n.; 465 *furentem...ferus*; 466 *semper, sola, sibi, semper*.

462. *solaque...*] 'and alone upon the house-tops with funereal strain the owl would oft complain, drawing out its weary notes into a wail.' For *queri* cf. Gray's Elegy 'The moping owl does to the moon complain.' Superstitions about owls are natural and universal.

464. *piorum*] *Priorum* has better authority though *piorum* is well attested and was known to Servius. Either 'ancient' or 'holy' (cf. 6. 662 *pii vates*) is equally fitting as an epithet of 'seers,' but to read *praeterca praedicta priorum* seems carrying 'alliteration's artful aid' too far.

465. *furentem...ferus*] 'frenzied...fierce.' *agit furentem* is not 'drives to frenzy' (*furentem* proleptic), as some take it, but 'pursues her frenzied.' She dreams of Aeneas as actually in pursuit of her while she flies in frenzied terror, and then again she fancies herself left utterly alone (cf. *relinqui, sola, incomitata, deserta*), while for ever and ever (*semper...semper*) she roams an endless path in search of her lost Tyrians.

469. *Pentheus*] This king of Thebes was driven mad for opposing the worship of Bacchus, and one form of his madness consisted in 'seeing double,' cf. Eur. Bacch. 916 *καὶ μὴν ὄραν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίους δοκῶ | δισσᾶς δὲ Θήβας*.

471. *scaenis agitatedus*] 'hunted on (or 'across') the stage,' cf. 3. 331 n. The reading *scaenis* is undoubted, *Furiis* being only quoted as a reading by Pierius, but found in no MS. The comparison thus drawn between Dido and a stage figure has been much discussed, and it is said that the comparison ought to be between Dido and the real Orestes, and not between Dido and Orestes as represented on the stage. Conington defends Virgil, saying that his 'literary tastes would make him take more interest in the Orestes of tragedy than in his real prototype.' This is so, but 'literary tastes' sometimes lead people astray, and the introduction of the word *scaenis* is an error; it suggests unreality and weakens rather than intensifies the idea of terror which the comparison is intended to convey.

472. *armatam...*] His mother here pursues him in the guise of a Fury (cf. 384), apparently within some house or temple, while the Furies themselves keep ward 'on the threshold' to prevent his escape.

474—503. *Dido having resolved to die settles in her own heart the time and manner, but to deceive her sister pretends that*

she has consulted a sorceress who, that she may either win back Aeneas or cure her passion, advises her to erect a pyre and burn upon it every memorial of her perjured lover. Anna helps her, little dreaming of her real design.

474. **ergo...**] 'wherefore, when overcome with anguish she conceived madness.'

475. **secum ipsa**] 'in her own heart'; opposed to **dictis**.

477. **consilium...**] 'masks her purpose with her face and makes hope bright (or 'sunny') on her brow.' The forehead is continually referred to in Latin as an index of feeling, e.g. *frons laeta, gravis, urbana, proterva, tranquilla, sollicita*. *Frons serena* is the opposite of a 'cloudy' or 'overcast brow,' cf. Cic. in Pis. 9. 20 *frontis nubeculam*; Eur. Hipp. 173 *στύγυδν ὀφρύων νέφος*.

479. **eum...eo**] This weak and vague pronoun is rarely used in poetry except as a means of connecting clauses or the like. Kivala here says: 'The indefinite pronoun *is* is used to designate the person who so occupies her every thought that this indefinite designation is enough.' Possibly, on the other hand, the weak unemphatic pronoun may be used designedly to deceive her sister.

480. **Oceani finem**] 'Ocean's bound' is spoken of because Oceanus was supposed to bound the world on all sides, and seems to do so especially towards the West 'beside the sunset.'

482. **axem...**] 'turns upon his shoulder the heaven studded with glowing stars.' From Enn. A. 30 *qui caelum versat stellis fulgentibus aptum*; Lucr. 6. 357. *Aptus* is here not 'fitted to' but 'with'; so elsewhere Ennius has *apta pinnis* 'equipped with wings.'

483. **hinc...**] 'from thence a priestess...has been shown to me, (once) guardian...and who used to give....' The priestess is no longer in the far West, but at Carthage. The 'gardens,' not the temple, of the Hesperides are usually spoken of, but perhaps *templum* here = *τέμενος* 'any sacred enclosure.' For the Hesperides and the dragon which guarded their golden apples (*sacros ramos*), see Class. Dict.

485. **dabat et servabat...spargens**] The connection of thought is 'she fed the dragon (and so made the apples safe) by scattering....' She fed the dragon in order to induce him to keep guard for her.

486. **soporiferum**] A remarkable instance of the *epitheton ornans* or 'Gradus epithet.' Opium being prepared from poppies they are perpetually called 'sleepy' or 'drowsy' (cf. G. 1. 78 *Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno*), but to give even a

dragon 'sleepy poppies' in order to keep it awake is indefensible. Henry remarks that "honey mixed with poppy (cf. Hor. A. P. 375 *Sardo cum melle papaver*; Ov. F. 4. 151) was the sweetest sweet and greatest delicacy known before the invention of sugar.... The part of the poppy used is not the bitter and narcotic capsule but the seed, which is sweet, esculent, and nutritive." He says that the mixture was and is still used as a conserve or sort of jam.

487. *carminibus*] 'incantations.' *se promittit solvere*: not 'promises that she will,' but 'professes that she does set free hearts.'

488. *aliis*] sc. *mentibus*: she sets free hearts 'such as she will, but on others sends....' The position of the words seems to make this antithesis certain, but some supply *carminibus*—'with (some) incantations she frees...but with others....'

489. Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3. 532 where Medea

καὶ ποταμοὺς ἕστησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεῖνὰ ῥέοντας
ἄστρα τε καὶ μήνης ἱερῆς ἐπέδησε κελεύθους.

490. *ciet*] 'calls up.' Good MSS. have *movet*, which suggests a sacrilegious act and gives an effective alliteration.

videbis: not 'you Anna shall, I promise you, see,' but 'you (*i.e.* you or any one) may see,' lit. 'will see,' *i.e.* if you care to visit her or the like. *videbis...mugire*: you can speak of 'seeing earth bellow' as you speak of seeing an ox do so, for the bellowing is accompanied by visible movement, cf. 6. 256.

491. *et descendere...*] The power of the witch to move trees is not to be compared with that of Orpheus to make them follow his music (Hor. Od. 1. 12. 11), but to such malignant acts as drawing the moon from heaven (Prop. 1. 1. 19) or charming the crops out of a field (Ecl. 8. 99).

492. *testor...accingier*] 'I call to witness the gods...that unwillingly do I arm myself with magic arts.' For the omission of *me* cf. 2. 201 n. *accingier*: an archaic form of the inf., cf. 7. 70 *dominarius*, 8. 493 *defendier*, G. 1. 454 *inmiscerier*. For acc. *artes* after *accingier* used as a middle cf. 2. 383 n.

494. *sub auras*] 'heavenward' and so clearly in the open air, possibly beneath the *impluvium*, cf. 2. 512 n.

496. *inpius*] The word gives the lie to all his claims to be called 'the Good.' For its emphatic position, cf. 310 n.

exuvias...: "his empty raiment and the bridal bed | that was my bane," Rhoades.

497. *superinponant*] Many MSS. give *superinponas*: the word may be written as two or one. *abolere...*: two reasons

are given for thus 'consuming' the objects mentioned, (1) that it is a good thing to get rid of all that can remind you of a villain, (2) that the priestess so enjoins, the latter reason having reference to the well-known rule in witchcraft, that, to cast a spell upon a person, it is necessary, in default of the person, to get hold of something which he has worn, or used, or which is a part of himself (*e.g.* hair), in order that by bewitching or ill-treating it the person himself may be similarly affected. It was especially common so to bewitch, torture, or burn an image of the person, cf. 508 *effigiem*; Ecl. 8. 76, 92; Theocr. 2. 53.

500. *novis...*] 'veils (her) death with this strange rite.'

501. *tantos...furores concipit*] Quite different from *concepit furias* 474. There Dido 'conceived madness,' *i.e.* grew mad herself: here Anna cannot 'conceive (*i.e.* imagine) in her mind such madness' in Dido.

502. *quam morte*] 'than (what had occurred) at the death of Sychaeus.'

504—521. *The pyre having been reared and the relics placed upon it the priestess proceeds with her incantations, while Dido makes her prayer to heaven.*

505. *ingenti*] Not with *erecta*, after which there is a slight pause, but with what follows: it was 'reared heavenward, vast with pine brands and cloven oak'; cf. 6. 214.

506. *intenditque locum sertis*] 'both hangs (or 'festoons') the place with garlands.' The ordinary construction would be *intendereserta loco*, but here *intendere* is allowed to govern *locum* in the secondary sense of 'cover' or 'adorn.' So we say 'hang pictures on a wall' or 'hang a wall with pictures.' Cf. 5. 403 n.

507. *super*] Adverb.

508. *effigiem*] Cf. above 497 n.; Hor. Sat. 1. 8. 30 *lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea. haud ignara...*: 'well-knowing what should be,' *i.e.* what was her real purpose in opposition to her feigned one. Litotes, cf. 5. 56 n.

510. *ter centum...*] 'summons with voice of thunder thrice a hundred gods.' *Tonat* becomes transitive in the secondary sense of 'call' or 'name with a voice of thunder,' 'thunder out.' *Ter centum* clearly go together as the parallel position of *tergeminam* and *tria* shows: 'three hundred' is put for any vague number (cf. G. 1. 15), and moreover the number 'three' is of regular recurrence in magic rites. Many take *ter* with *tonat*. *Chaosque*: cf. 6. 265 n.

511. *tergeminam*] A curious compound from *geminus*

'two-fold,' which yet only means 'three-fold'; cf. 6. 800 *septemgemini Nili* 'sevenfold'; 6. 287 *centumgeminus* 'hundred-fold.'

The goddess who was Luna in heaven, Diana on earth, and Hecate in hell was symbolised by a three-faced image (as her male counterpart *Ianus*=*Dianus* had a two-faced one) which was set up at places where three roads met, cf. 609; Ov. F. 1. 141. As *Hecate* or the Moon (cf. *ad lunam* 513) she was in high repute with witches.

512. *simulatos...*] 'feigned (as being the waters) of Avernian fount.' For lake Avernus with its entrance to hell cf. 6. 107, 118. For *Avernus* as adj. cf. 512 n.

513. *aënis*] 'of bronze.' Bronze was known before iron and was consequently retained in many ceremonial usages when for ordinary purposes iron had taken its place. A still more remarkable survival was that of the flint knife in sacrifices (Liv. 1. 24). *ad lunam*: 'by moonlight.'

514. *pubentes...*] 'herbs rank (lit. vigorous) with milk of black poison.' The herbs are full of sap or juice (*lac*) which, though white, is 'black poison.'

516. *amor*] 'a love-charm'; a bold use of *amor* for something which produces love. The reference is to *hippomanes*, a piece of flesh supposed to be found on the forehead of a 'foal at birth' (*nascentis equi*) from which it was bitten by the mother, unless 'snatched away beforehand' (*praereptus*) to be used as a charm.

517. *mola manibusque piis*] The adj. goes with both nouns, 'with holy hands and offering.' The *mola salsa* or mixture of meal and salt was sprinkled on the altar (Ecl. 8. 82 *sparge molam*), and for *pius* applied to it cf. 5. 745; Hor. Od. 3. 23. 20 *farre pio et saliente mica*; Tibull. 3. 4. 9.

518. *unum...*] 'with one foot unsandalled'; for construction see Appendix. To take off the shoes or sandals is a well-known sign of reverence in the East (cf. Exodus iii. 5), but why one foot only should be bared is dubious. Loosened hair (cf. 509; 6. 48), unsandalled feet, and ungirded robes (cf. Ov. Met. 1. 382) seem all symbolical in worship of some common idea.

520. *sidera*] 'stars that share the secrets of destiny,' cf. 3. 360 n. *tum...*: 'then she prays to whatever power righteously and mindfully hath concern for lovers by love unpaid,' lit. 'those who love according to no just bond,' who give love in return for promised love but are deceived.

522—553. *Night comes bringing rest and repose to all the world, but Dido's passion permits no sleep and she cries to herself — 'What am I to do? am I to recall my African suitors or follow*

the traitorous Trojan and pray his pity? Nay, die rather! But, O my sister, thou shouldst never have urged me to accept his love, but allowed me to live faithful to the dead.'

522—527. The placid and restful rhythm of these verses should be noted. The contrast between the peace of night and Dido's restless misery is from Apoll. Rhod. 3. 743-750 (νύξ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γαίαν ἄγεν κνέφας...ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μήδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος).

523. **quierant**] = *quieverant* from *quiesco*, 'had sunk to rest.'

524. **cum medio...**] 'when the stars wheel midway in their motion': *lapsus* suggests motion which is smooth and steady.

526. **quaeque...**] 'both those that haunt the breadth of liquid lakes and (that haunt) thicket-tangled fields.' Note the smooth liquids in *lacus late liquidos*.

528. This line is wanting in the best MSS., and is perhaps inserted from 9. 225, where it occurs with *laxabant* for *lenibant*. It is certainly unnecessary, but, if read, a colon should be placed after *ager* (525) and the stop after *silenti* be removed.

529. **at non...**] sc. *quierat* from *quierant* above. For *animi* cf. 203 n. **neque...**: 'nor ever is she loosed in slumber or draws the night into eyes or heart.' *Solvitur* both of the actual 'unloosing' of the limbs in sleep and also because sleep sets free from trouble.

531. **rursusque resurgens**] Observe the sound of *rursus* repeated in *resurgens* to illustrate the words *ingeminant curae*—'and surging up anew her passion rages and billows with a mighty flood of anger.'

533. **sic adeo**] The emphasis thrown on *sic* by *adeo* (cf. 2. 567 n.) marks excitement, and that after all the turmoil of her passion this is at last the outcome. 'Thus at last she starts (into speech), and thus debates with herself in her soul.' For *insistit* cf. 12. 47 *sic institit ore*; the word marks vigour and movement, as in *insiste viam* G. 3. 164.

534. **en, quid ago?**] The pres. indic. is sometimes substituted for the deliberative subj. (3. 88 n.), but it would hardly be possible to write *quid ago? experiar? petam?* and take them all as parallel. Therefore *quid ago* is not = *quid agam* 'what am I to do?' but = 'see, what am I doing?' Dido takes herself to task for idly debating any longer, where there is no alternative but death. Then in the following words she rapidly puts all possible alternatives and shows that they are useless.

rursusne...: 'shall I once more make trial of my former suitors, a public laughing-stock?' Her making trial of them again (*i.e.* after rejecting them once) would make her a laughing-

stock. To render 'shall I who have once been laughed at (by them) again seek my former suitors?' is good grammar but impossible sense.

535. **Nomadum]** Contemptuous for Africans: almost = 'gipsies.'

536. **quos...sim dedignata]** 'though I have so often scorned them...'; hence the subj.

537. **igitur]** 'then,' implies that the former suppositions have been negated and *therefore* a fresh one must be put. **ultima:** 'utmost.'

538. **quiane...]** '(shall I do so) because they are thankful for past aid or gratitude for ancient benefits is firm in mindful hearts?' After *iuvat* supply *eos* and *esse* after *levatos*. *Bene* may go with *memores* or *stat* or *facti*; it probably affects them all, but goes strictly with the last.

540. **quis me...]** 'but who—assume that I wish—will grant me leave?'

541. **necdum]** Note the force—'and dost thou not *yet* understand?' For Laomedon's perjury cf. 3. 3 n.; 3. 248 n.

543. **sola fuga]** Both words are emphatic. The question is, shall she join the Trojans 'alone in flight,' or shall she 'pursue' (*inferar*) them at the head of her fleet.

547. **quin morere...]** 'nay, die, as thou hast deserved, and with the sword end sorrow.'

550. **non licuit...]** 'it was not allowed me to lead my life blamelessly, far from bridal chambers, untamed, untutored in such cares.' The words *more ferae* are only strange because in English the words 'beast' or 'wild beast' always have a bad sense; but a beast may be either (1) a symbol of brutality or (2) as here, of simple, untrained, uncorrupted nature, cf. *Ov. F.* 2. 291 where the happy, primitive, innocent life of the Arcadians is called *vita ferae similis*. The phrase is also partly suggested by the Greek *ἄδμητος* 'untamed' = unmarried.

552. **cineri Sychaeo]** 'the ashes of Sychaeus': *Sychaeus* is an adjective here. The poets continually for convenience thus use proper names as adjectives, either without change or, if needful, altering the termination to *-us*. Cf. 1. 686 *laticem Lyaeum*; 3. 440 *fines Italos*, 602 *Danaïs classibus*, 689 *Megarosque sinus*; 5. 250 *Meliboea purpura*; 6. 57 *Dardana tela*, 118 *lucis Avernis*, 877 *Romula tellus*.

554—570. *Aeneas is sleeping ready to depart at dawn, when in a dream Mercury reappears and warns him that Dido's angry mood threatens danger unless he sets sail at once.*

554. **certus eundi]** 'resolved to depart'; the gen. is an extension of the gen. after adjectives of Knowledge or Ignorance. cf. 6. 66 n. Note the different construction 564.

556. **forma dei]** 'the shape of the god,' because this was only a phantom 'in all things like to Mercury,' but not the actual god who had been sent before.

558. **coloremque]** A hypermetric line, the final *que* cutting off before the vowel at the beginning of the next line. The license also occurs 629; 1. 332, 448; 2. 745; 5. 753. In 5. 422 it is used to suggest size, and 6. 602 an overhanging rock.

559. **decora]** Mercury is always a graceful figure (cf. 258 n.), especially as the patron 'of grace-giving (athletic) exercise' (*decorae palaestrae* Hor. Od. 1. 10. 3).

560. **hoc sub casu]** 'beneath such hazard,' 'when such hazard overhangs.' **ducere somnos:** probably 'drink in slumber,' cf. 3. 511.

561. **deinde]** 'in the future,' 'hereafter.' **demens:** for position of the adj. cf. 311 n. and 6. 172.

565—567. The excited alliteration deserves notice.

566. **iam]** 'soon.' **turbari trabibus:** 'crowded with craft' seems the accepted rendering. **saevas:** 'fierce,' as indicating danger.

569. **rumpe moras]** 'break off delay.' **varium...:** 'a varying and changeful thing is woman ever,' cf. the catch
souvent femme varie,
bien fol est qui s'y fie.

571—583. *Aeneas arouses his men and, telling them of the vision, bids them start at once. He himself cuts his cable with his sword and they all put to sea in haste.*

571. **subitis...]** 'startled by the sudden vision' or 'phantom.' For the plural cf. 5. 81.

573. **praecipites...]** 'with speed, my men, awake and take your places on the thwarts'; *praecipites* goes with the whole expression *vigilate et considite*, but chiefly with *considerite*. Deuticke takes *fatigat praecipites* together almost = *agit praecipites* and remarks, with regard to the speaker not beginning his words with the beginning of a verse, that this occurs nowhere in Homer but 81 times in Virgil.

575. **incidere funes]** 'to cut the cables'; cf. the same phrase 3. 667 of hurried flight, and below 580 where *retinacula* = *funes*, the cables or ropes by which the ship is made fast to some object on shore. When there is danger in going ashore these must be cut. **tortos:** 'twisted,' *i.e.* with twisted strands.

576. *instimulat*] 'goads you on to hasten....' Many MSS. give the weaker *stimulat*; for the inf. after it cf. 2. 64 n.

577. *quisquis es*] 'whoe'er thou art,' 'whate'er thy name.' Aeneas had no doubt that it was Mercury, but, as the names which men in their ignorance give the gods may be wrong or displeasing to them, the ancients often in their prayers added some such phrase as this which apologises for any mistake in the name, and asks the proper power, whatever his name, to accept the prayer; cf. 9. 208 *ita me referat...Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis*; Aesch. Ag. 160 Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν; Plat. Crat. 400 ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς νόμος ἐστίν ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι, οἷτινές τε καὶ ὀπότεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι, and th. famous ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ 'to an unknown God,' Acts xvii. 23.

578. *adsis...*] 'mayest thou be present and graciously assist us'; for *adsis* cf. 3. 395 n.

579. *ensem fulmineum*] 'his lightning sword'; the adj. emphasises the speed with which he drew it. For cutting the cable cf. Hom. Od. 10. 126.

581. *rapiduntque ruuntque*] An imitative phrase, like our 'helter skelter,' 'hustle and bustle' etc.

582. *deseruere*] Instantaneous perfect, cf. 5. 140 n.

583. *adnixi...*] Repeated from 3. 208.

584—631. *At dawn Dido sees the Trojan ships well on their way and in a storm of passion cries, 'Man the fleet! Pursue him! Alas, 'tis madness: now, too late, I feel my folly in trusting his belauded piety. Why did I not fall on him and his to slay them, or, if I had failed, to perish myself? I pray the gods to regard my sufferings and, if he must indeed reach Italy, yet harassed with war may he perish miserably before his time, and may the race of Tyre wage unceasing war with his descendants; may my avenger arise to pursue them with fire and sword; may my people and his people be foes, themselves and their children's children.'* Thereupon she debates with herself the manner of her death.

584, 585. Cf. Hom. Il. 11. 1, Od. 5. 1

Ἦως δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγανού Τιθωνοῖο
δρυσθ', ἔν' ἀθανάτοισι φῶς φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν.

586. *ut...vidit...* 588. *litoraue sensit...* 591. *ait*] The sentence is, 'when she saw...and perceived..., she cries.'

587. *aequatis velis*] 'with even sails,' *i.e.* even with one another. The word is pictorial. The even set of the sails when a fleet of ships is sailing in company at once strikes the eye. Others give 'with square-set sails,' which means nothing.

589. *pectus percussa...*] 'smiting her comely breast and tearing her golden hair': for construction see Appendix.

590. *pro Iuppiter...*] 'Now heaven forefend! Shall this wanderer depart and have mocked...?' *i.e.* depart and so succeed in mocking, depart after mocking. As soon as he was gone he could say *inlusi*. For the Fut. Perf. thus used, cf. 2. 581 n. *advena*: in scorn.

592. *expedient*] The nom. is omitted, being obvious, to give vigour suited to the vehemence of 592-596.

595. *quae mentem...*] "what madness warps my wit," Rhoades. *mutat*: 'changes,' *i.e.* from a *mens sana* to a *mens insana*.

596. The tone sinks to sad regret, rising again to rage in 600. *facta inopia*: because she had done wrong to her dead lord; she is 'unhappy' (*infelix*) because her deeds had been 'unrighteous' (*inopia*). *tangunt*: cf. l. 462.

597. *tum decuit...*] = *t. d. inopia facta te tangere*, 'then ought they (to have touched thee) when thou wast offering (him) thy sceptre.' The thought of the wrong she was doing ought to have come home to her then: it has indeed come home now, but too late.

Some explain *facta inopia* of the evil deeds of Aeneas. But, until he deceived her, how could his evil deeds touch her? 'Because,' they say, 'she ought to have distrusted a descendant of Laomedon' (542).

598. *quem*] *eius quem*. 'Lo! this is the pledge and promise of him who, they say, carries....' Note the sneer in *aiunt*.

602. *patriisque...*] 'and serve him for a banquet at his father's board.' The reference is to the 'Thyestean banquet,' when Atreus served up to his brother Thyestes the flesh of his two sons.

603. *verum...*] 'but the issue of the combat had (=would have) been doubtful. Suppose it had, whom was I to fear, (being) resolved on death? I should have carried fire....'

Lines 600-2 suggest that it would have been better to fight Aeneas and destroy him. *Verum... fortuna* introduces an objection to this. *Fuisset...* says, 'suppose the objection valid, yet I had no one to fear, for one who is prepared to die fears no one.' Then *faces... dedissem* confirms this argument, for '(if I had fought with him) I should have destroyed him before perishing myself.'

Fuerat is put for the subj. vividly (cf. 2. 55 n.) and because the indic. is necessary to bring out the contrast with the subsequent *fuisset*. *Quem metui* is 'whom did I fear?' put

vigorously for 'whom was I to fear?' Put in the present tense the argument would be: 'But the issue is doubtful. Suppose it is, whom need I fear since I dare to die? I shall (or 'can') at any rate fire the camp....'

606. *exstinxem*] By Syncope (*συγκοπή*, 'a striking together') for *exstinxissem*. Cf. 682 *exstinxti*, 1. 26 *repostum*, 201 *accestis*, 249 *compostus*; 2. 379 n. *aspris*; 5. 269 *taenis* (?), 786 *traxe*; 6. 24 *supposta*, 57 *direxti*. *memet*...: 'have flung myself upon the pile.'

607. *Sol*...] Cf. Hom. Il. 3. 277 'Ἡελίος θ', θες πάντ' ἐφορᾶς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, and Soph. Aj. 845, where Ajax about to commit suicide cries σὺ δ', ὦ τὸν αἰπὺν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν | Ἥλιε. The 'all-beholding Sun' (Shelley; cf. Aesch. Prom. 91) is the universal witness to whose evidence all can appeal. Here, however, *lustras* (cf. 6 n.) is perhaps not so much 'behold' as 'illumine'; with his 'fires he illumines all that is done upon earth,' so that nothing can be hid or kept in darkness.

608. *tuque*...] 'and thou, O Juno, mediator and witness of these woes.' *Interpres* has two meanings, (1) a person who acts as agent between two others, (2) one who explains what is dark or mysterious. So *Iuno pronuba* (59, 166) is *interpres* because (1) she brings man and woman together in wedlock and (2) explains its mysteries and 'troubles' (*curae*).

609. *Hecate*] Cf. 511 n. *ululata*: 'worshipped with wails'; for intransitive verb thus used passively cf. 3. 14 n.

610. *di morientis*] Probably the *di Manes* (cf. 3. 63 n.)

611. *accipite*...] 'hearken to these things, turn your (divine) regard to ills that have earned it.' After *accipite* supply *animis* (for which cf. 5. 305) or more probably *auribus*. *Malis* goes both with *meritum* and *advertite*: they were to have regard to her ills because that regard had been earned by those ills.

613. *infandum caput*] 'that accursed one'; cf. 354 n.

614. *hic terminus haeret*] 'that bound stands fixed.' A truly Roman image of immovability, derived from the 'boundary-stones' which everywhere marked their fields under the protection of the god *Terminus*; cf. Lucr. 1. 77 *alte terminus haerens*; Hor. C. S. 26 *stabilisque rerum terminus*.

615—629. In this curse of Dido's—as in the famous Blessing of Jacob—the speaker is on the eve of death (Il. 22. 355) gifted with prophetic power. The later books of the Aeneid tell how Aeneas was 'harassed in war' by the Rutuli, driven to leave his son, 'implore aid' from Evander, and accept a peace which

sacrificed the name of Troy (12. 828), while other legends relate that after a brief reign of three years he fell in battle and his corpse was undiscovered. The reference to Hannibal and the Punic wars in 622-629 is obvious. It was on this passage that Charles I. is said to have opened when he consulted the *Sortes Vergilianae* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

617. *indigna*] 'cruel,' cf. 6. 163.

618. *cum se...*] 'when he shall have surrendered himself beneath the conditions of a cruel peace.'

620. *sed cadat...*] 'but let him die before his day and (lie) unburied amid the waste': some verb like *iaceat* must be supplied from *cadat* in the second clause.

623. *exercete...*] 'hound with hate, and offer that tribute to my dust': *exercere* = 'keep busy,' 'allow no rest to.'

625. *exoriare...*] 'Arise, O thou unknown Avenger, from my bones, to pursue....' Deuticke well remarks on 'the wild passion, which in the same breath speaks of a person (*aliquis*, some yet unknown person) and to that person.' The comic *aperite aliquis ostium* (Ter. Ad. 4. 4. 25) 'open the door, some one!' exhibits the same vehemence. *nostris ex ossibus*: because in his hatred of Rome Hannibal was her true descendant.

627. *dabunt se*] 'present themselves,' 'occur'; cf. G. 1. 287.

629. *inprecor*] 'I invoke.' The hypermetric line at the end of a speech is very remarkable, and marks the rush and vehemence of her words, while it also indicates that there is no break between her words and what follows. Most editors begin a fresh paragraph with *haec ait*, but this is surely wrong.

631. *invisam...*] 'seeking how with all speed to be rid of hateful day.' *Abrumpere lucem* is a variation of *abrumpere vitam* (8. 579), where *abrumpere* is used strictly = 'to break off' what would otherwise continue. Here *lucem* is substituted for *vitam* to give force to *invisam*, for 'light' is always connected with cheerfulness (cf. Gray's 'Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day'), but *abrumpere* loses its strict force.

632—662. *Dido sends Barce to bid her sister Anna bring at once all that is needful for her magic rite. Meanwhile in a frenzy of passion she mounts the pyre and draws a sword given her by Aeneas; then after a tearful pause, as she gazes on the memorials around her, she speaks her latest words, recalling the greatness of her life—a life happy indeed had Trojan keels never touched her shore—and with a curse on her betrayer stabs herself.*

632. *nutricem*] The 'nurse' or 'foster-mother' was held in high esteem, cf. 5. 645; 7. 1; Genesis xxxv. 8.

633. *namque suam*] '(she addressed the nurse of Sychaeus, not her own) for her own....' *Suam* in this line is absolutely irregular, for there is no word to which it can refer: it defies grammar. The explanation of it seems to be that *namque* assumes a thought in the preceding line which, if fully expressed, would be *adfata est nutricem Sychaei non suam*, and *suam* here is put irregularly in contrast to this implied *non suam*.

635. *dic...properet*] 'bid her make speed'; 5. 550.

637. *sic*] 'so,' *i.e.* when she has done what lines 636-7 require. Dido wishes to gain time.

638. *Iovi Stygio*] Cf. 6. 138 n.

639. *finemque...*] 'and put an end to my troubles by giving to the flame the funeral pyre of the Trojan monster.' The clause introduced by *que* in 640 is really explanatory. The *rogus D. c.* is that on which his *effigies* (508) is placed. The periphrasis *Dardanium caput* is probably meant to mark abhorrence, cf. 354 n.

641. *anili*] The MSS. are divided between this and *anilem*. *Anilem* is perhaps more dignified, 'in her zeal she hastened her aged steps,' but *anili* 'she hastened with an old wife's eagerness' is more natural, and the touch of humour in fine contrast with the tragedy of the context.

642. *coeptis...*] 'maddened by her awful purpose.'

643. *sanguineam*] 'bloodshot.' *maculisque...*: 'and her quivering cheeks flecked with spots': we call them 'hectic spots.'

644. Henry compares Par. Lost 10. 1008 'so much of death her thoughts | had entertained as dyed her cheeks with pale.'

647. *non hos...*] 'a gift not begged for such a purpose.' In 507 *ensem relictum* seems to describe a sword left behind by chance, but here the sword is clearly described as a gift which Dido had begged from Aeneas, and which was to be a fatal gift (cf. 2. 49 n.) Editors who speak of the sword as given in return for the one which Dido had given Aeneas misunderstand 261, where there is no mention of Dido giving Aeneas a sword.

649. *lacrimis...*] 'pausing in tearful thought.' Some call the ablatives causal, some modal: cf. 5. 207.

651. *dulces...*] 'O relics (once) dear while fate....'

653—656. The monumental simplicity and grandeur of these lines should be noted. *vixi*: 'I have lived my life.' The word conveys the idea that the life thus lived has not been an empty and useless one, cf. Hor. Od. 3. 29. 41 *ille potens sui* | *lactusque*

deget, cui licet in diem | dixisse 'vixi,' i.e. 'I have lived' and not merely existed.

654. *et nunc...*] 'and now I shall pass beneath the earth a mighty ghost.'

659. *os inpressa toro*] 'pressing her lips upon the couch,' *i.e.* in a passionate kiss. So Medea in Apoll. Rhod. 4. 26 *κύσσε δ' ἔδν λέχος*. Whether a question or a comma should be placed after *moriemur inultae* is hard to say. The comma is simpler, 'I shall die unavenged but (still) let me die,' whereas with a question the thought is more complex, 'shall I die unavenged? (I shall) but (still) let me die.' *inultae* is very emphatic: to die unavenged or to leave the dead unavenged (cf. 656) was repugnant to ancient sentiment, cf. 'the avenger of blood,' Deut. xix. 6, and the 'Goel' of Job xix. 25.

660. *sic, sic iuvat...*] 'thus, thus 'tis joy to pass beneath the shades': *iuvat* is a strong word, cf. 2. 27; 3. 606; G. 3. 292. What exact meaning to attach to *sic* every one must judge for himself. Some take it as summing up (cf. 1. 225 n.) all that precedes = 'with this sword, on this couch, etc.': others refer it specially to *inultae*—'even so' = unavenged. Conington makes her stab herself at each utterance of the word, but this seems too theatrical. Wagner gives *sic, sic = adeo*, 'so pleasant is it...,' which can hardly be right.

662. *omina*] Anything seen when *setting out* on a journey was specially ominous, cf. Hor. Od. 3. 27. 1.

663—693. *Dido sinks dying: a wail of despair arises among her maidens, and spreading through the palace and city alarms her sister, who rushes to the spot and with bitter laments and reproaches attempts to staunch the wound. The death agony begins.*

663. *dixerat: atque...*] 'she had spoken and (forthwith) amid such words...'; for *atque* cf. 1. 227 n. *ferro*: 'on the sword,' *περι ξίφει*.

665. *it clamor*] 'a cry rises,' *i.e.* the death-wail, so common and so striking in many countries, see Henry 2. 838.

666. *concussam...*] 'rumour rushes wildly through the startled town.'

667. *lamentis...*] 'with lamentation and mourning and wail of women the houses ring.' Note the wild and imitative rhythm of 667.

669. *non aliter...*] The simile is from Il. 22. 410, where the wailing for Hector is *ἑναλίγκιον, ὡς εἰ ἅπανα | Ἴλιος ὀφρυβέσσα πύρι σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης*.

671. *perque...perque*] Effective repetition: the flames 'roll on' in wave after wave. Cf. 2. 51 n.

675. *hoc illud...*] 'Was this then thy purpose?' cf. 3. 558 n. *me*: emphatic, 'was it me thou didst assail with guile?' (cf. 12. 359 *bello petisti*).

678. *vocasses*] = *vocare debebas* or *utinam vocasses*. 'To the same doom thou shouldst have invited me, the same pang...should have removed both of us,' or 'would that thou hadst invited....' Cf. 8. 643; 10. 854; 11. 162 *Troum arma secutum | obruerent Rutuli telis; animam ipse dedissem*.

Some take the second clause (*idem...tulisset*) not as parallel to the first but dependent—'would that thou hadst invited... (for then) the same pang...would have removed,' cf. Cic. de Off. 2. 75 *utinam...tum essem natus: non essem passus*.

680. *his*] Deictic and rhetorical. *struxi*: *i.e.* the pyre. *voce vocavi*, 'called aloud upon,' cf. 6. 247 n.

681. *sic posita*] 'lying thus'; *sic* is deictic and *posita* describes a person stretched out dead or dying, cf. 2. 644.

682. *populumque patresque S.*] The 'people' and the 'Fathers' constitute the whole nation, the phrase being modelled on the well-known *Senatus Populusque Romanus*.

683. *date vulnera lymphis abluam...*] 'grant me to lave her wound with water and gather with my mouth whatever latest breath flickers over hers.' The words are in strong contrast with her previous passionate speech; her passion is over, she has but one care—to perform the last acts of tenderness and love to her dying sister. For this contrast and the construction *date abluam* cf. carefully 6. 883; similar constructions are 5. 163 *stringat sine*, 717 *habeant sine*. This rendering, strongly advocated by Kennedy, is first suggested by Servius, who has *date = permittite*.

The old explanation was to say that *date vulnera lymphis* was a 'Virgilian inversion' for *date lymphas vulneribus* and then to take *abluam* = 'I will lave.' Such a ludicrous inversion is impossible in sane language. It is possible to explain *date* (sc. *lymphas*), *vulnera lymphis abluam*.

684. *extremus ..*] Referring to the custom of the next of kin receiving in the mouth the last breath of the dying in order to continue the existence of the spirit; cf. Cic. Verr. 2. 5. 45 *matres...filiorum postremum spiritum ore excipere*; Ov. Met. 12. 424; Tyler Prim. Cult. 1. 433. Conington wrongly explains 'trying to preserve the last spark of life in her sister.'

685. *sic fata...evaserat*] 'so saying (*i.e.* while so speaking) ...she had climbed.' *Fata* is really a present, cf. 6. 335 n. For *evaserat* cf. 2. 458 n.

686. **semianimem**] For the scansion cf. 5. 589 n.

689. **deficit**] 'swoons': the sign of life shown in lifting her eyes disappears. **infixum**...: 'the deep-planted wound sobs within her breast.' Deuticke quotes Celsus 5. 26. 9 *pulmone icto spirandi difficultas est*. What exact sound *stridit* represents is uncertain, but it clearly indicates the painfulness of her breathing. What the fashionable rendering 'the sword grides' or 'grided' means, those who print it know.

692. **quaesivit**...] The dim eyes of the dying queen 'roam' vaguely in search of the light, and then, when they have at last turned heavenward and found it, she 'groans deeply' and—the rest is silence.

Henry, whom Nettleship quotes with approval, says of this *ingemuit* 'show me anything like it in the Iliad.' The description of Dido's death is no doubt exceedingly realistic and pathetic, but it is a question whether both in poetry and on the stage death agonies are not better omitted, and whether Greek reserve is not more touching because less emotional.

693—705. *Juno in pity sends Iris from heaven to cut off the fatal lock and end her pain.*

695. **quae**...] 'to unfetter her struggling soul from the clinging limbs.' The soul was supposed to be intertwined with the body, and so to have difficulty in disentangling itself, cf. Lucr. 2. 950 *vitales animae nodos a corpore solvit*.

696. **fato**] 'in the course of nature' as opposed to a violent death (cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 71 *fato concedere*; 14. 62 *fato obire*).

698. Cf. Eur. Alc. 74 where Death says

στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὡς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει·
 ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν
 ὄτου τόδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἀγνίσει τρίχα.

It was customary to commence a sacrifice by plucking off hairs on the forehead of the victim (cf. 6. 245), and the dying are treated as the victims of death.

701. **adverso sole**] 'against the sun,' or opposite to it, as the rainbow must be.

702. **hunc**] sc. *crinem*.

705. **in ventos**...] 'her life passed into the air.' 'Life,' 'breath,' 'spirit,' *anima*, *ἀνεμος* are so closely connected in human speech that poets naturally speak of life passing 'into the winds.' Cf. Shakespeare, Richard III. 1. 4. 37

'The envious flood

Kept in my soul, and would not let it forth
 To seek the empty, vast and wandering air.'

BOOK V

1—7. *The Trojans, as they sail away, see the blaze from Dido's pyre, and, though ignorant of its cause, their thoughts forebode some calamity.*

1. **medium...tenebat...iter]** 'was holding his mid sea-way.' The phrase merely indicates that he was well on his way, clear of the shore, cf. *medium aequor* 3. 664 n. and such vague phrases as our 'in mid career.' In 8 *ut pelagus tenuere* (note the difference of tense) expresses that they were not only 'getting well on their way' but were definitely 'out at sea,' 'out of sight of land.'

2. **certus]** "unwavering, as an arrow going straight to its mark.... Neither love nor stormy water deterred him from his purpose." Conington.

Aquilone: in 4. 562 they start with the 'Zephyr'; in 19 'changed winds' blow *vespere ab atro* but, 32, become *Zephyri secundi*. Probably 'Zephyr' and 'Aquila' in passages like these merely indicate gentle and rude breezes without much reference to direction. Cf. 1. 536 where they are driven to Africa 'by boisterous Auster.'

5. **duri...]** 'but cruel pangs when mighty love is profaned and the knowledge of what a frenzied woman can do lead....' **duri dolores** ought strictly to be 'the thought of the cruel pangs...' so as to be parallel to *notum*. **polluto:** because love is sacred. **notum:** the neuter participle used as a noun, cf. Livy 27. 37 *mentes turbavit nuntiatum...*; 7. 8 *diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem*; 7. 22 *temptatum*.

8—34. *When they get out of sight of land, so violent a tempest threatens that Palinurus tells Aeneas that it is impossible to make head against it, and advises him to run for shelter to the neighbouring harbours of Sicily under Mt. Eryx; to this Aeneas agrees, and they land in the country of Acestes near the tomb of Anchises.*

8—11. Repeated from 3. 192-195, where see notes.

13. **quianam]** An archaism, like *olli* above (cf. 1. 254 n.)
14. **pater]** Cf. 1. 155 n. **sic deinde locutus:** 'having thus spoken he then...'; cf. 400, and 7. 135 *sic deinde effatus*. The place of *deinde* should be after the participle, the force of which it sums up (cf. 2. 391 *sic fatus deinde...induitur*; Il. 14. 223 *μειδήσασα δ' ἔπειτα ἐφ' ἐγκάθετο κόλπῳ*); probably the transposition is merely for metrical convenience, but Virgil elsewhere places *deinde* in curious positions, cf. 1. 195 n., 3. 609 n. See too 303 n.
15. **colligere arma]** 'to gather in the tackling,' *i.e.* make everything (sails included) snug, so as to be ready for a gale. Many with Servius explain as = *vela contrahere* 'take the sails in a reef,' but as *vela legere* is = 'furl the sails' (3. 532) the stronger *colligere* cannot merely = 'shorten sail'; moreover *arma*, like *δπλα* or *σκεύη* (see Lex.), is a perfectly general word for the 'equipment,' 'tackling,' of a ship, cf. 6. 353. **incumbere remis:** Od. 9. 489 *ἐμβαλέειν κώπης* 'bend over the oars.'
16. **obliquat]** 'sets slantwise.' Cf. Dryden, Ast. Redux, 'But those that 'gainst stiff gales *laveering* go.'
17. **auctor spondeat]** 'should pledge his warrant.' Both words are formal, *spondeo* being regularly used of entering into a legal engagement, and *auctor* is (1) a legal term = 'security,' 'guarantor,' and (2) a senatorial word = 'supporter,' 'proposer of a motion.' **hoc caelo:** 'with such a sky.' **sperem contingere:** cf. 4. 292 n.
19. **transversa fremunt]** 'roar athwart (our course)'; for *transversa* used adverbially cf. 6. 50 n. **vespere ab atro:** cf. Il. 12. 240 *ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα*.
20. **in nubem...]** 'the air thickens (or 'condenses') into cloud': so Cicero (de Nat. D. 2. 101) speaking literally '*aer tum fusus et extenuatus sublime fertur, tum autem concretus in nubes cogitur*.' Note the distinction between *aer* and *aethera* (13).
21. **contra]** with *tendere*, as 27, 'make head' or 'keep on our course against (the gale).' **tantum:** *i.e.* *quantum opus est* = 'enough,' cf. 9. 806 *subsistere tantum*. Others take *obniti contra* together, 'have not strength to struggle against the gale or make such an effort,' but surely *obniti contra* is pleonastic, and 27 shows that *contra* cannot be wholly separated from *tendere*. For *sufficimus* followed by inf. cf. 2. 64 n.
23. **litora...fraterna Erycis]** 'the brotherly shores of Eryx,' cf. 630: not merely = 'the shores of my brother Eryx,' but describing the shore itself as animated with feelings of brotherhood. Merely to describe phrases like this as instances of Hypallage ('transference of epithet') is to rob them of their

poetry. Eryx was brother of Aeneas (*germanus* 412) as being a son of Venus and the Argonaut Butes.

25. *si modo...*] 'if only with due memory I retrace the stars observed before,' *i.e.* on the voyage from Sicily to Carthage. *servata*: regularly of 'observing' the stars, cf. 6. 338.

26. *equidem*] Cf. 1. 576 n.

27. *iamdudum...cerno*] 'I have long since marked,' lit. 'I am already marking for a long while.' Some take *iamdudum* *poscere* together, 'have long since so demanded.'

28. *an sit...*] 'or could there be any land more welcome or to which I long more eagerly....' *An* introduces a question to which there can be no answer, 'or' being = 'or, if any one objects, let him answer this question,' which it is assumed no one can do. Hence argument is often rhetorically closed by a question introduced by *an*. *quove optem* is parallel to *gratior*, and *quove* = 'or such that to it.'

29. *fessas*] Cf. 1. 168 n. *demittere*: 'bring to harbour,' cf. 3. 219 n.

30. *Acesten*] Cf. 1. 195, and for the death of Anchises 3. 710.

32. *secundi*] When they changed their course the wind which had been against them became directly astern, and so Virgil speaks of 'following' or 'favourable Zephyrs' instead of 'blasts gathering from the gloomy west.'

35—41. *Acestes hurries to meet us, and welcomes our return with a feast.*

35. *miratus*] 'viewing with wonder.' *excelso*: others read *ex celso*.

36. *adventum sociasque rates*] Hendiadys, cf. 3. 223 n.

37. *horridus...*] 'bristling with javelins and the fell of a Libyan she-bear.' *Horridus in* goes with both *jaculis* and *pelle*, cf. the imitation of Tac. Hist. 2. 88 *tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes*. To say *horridus in jaculis* by itself would be too harsh, even if a man carried not merely two (cf. 1. 313) but several javelins.

38. *Troia...*] 'whom a Trojan mother bare, son of the river-god Crimisus.' The mother was *Egesta* or *Segesta*; Crimisus is a river in Sicily.

40. *gratatur reduces*] 'congratulates them on their return'; supply *esse*, cf. Tac. A. 6. 21 *incolumem fore gratatur*. 'Congratulates them returning' would need the dative, cf. 4. 478.

gaza agresti: 'with rustic splendour'; almost an instance of

oxymoron, for *gaza*, a Persian word, suggests Oriental magnificence (*Persicos apparatus* Hor. Od. 1. 38. 1).

42—71. *Next morning Aeneas summons the Trojans and informs them that it is the anniversary of his father's funeral, a day ever to be honoured, and especially then when heaven had brought them to his tomb. He urges them therefore to observe the festival, for which Acestes had furnished oxen, and promises that on the ninth day thereafter there shall be contests in rowing, running, boxing, and archery.*

The description of the games 42-603 is modelled on the 23rd Book of the *Iliad*, which describes the funeral games celebrated by Achilles in honour of Patroclus. See too Dict. of Ant. s.v. *Funus*.

42. *postera...*] 'when the next day with its light (*clara*) at earliest dawn....' *primo oriente*: the construction is the same as 3. 588 *primo Eoo*, only here 'the rising sun' (*oriens*) is put for the 'day-star' (*Eous*): the abl. is of time.

45. *genus...*] 'a race sprung from the lofty lineage of heaven,' cf. next note and 6. 500. Dardanus was son of Jupiter.

47. *divini parentis*] 'of my divine sire.' Honours paid at the grave and to the spirit of a dead ancestor are among the earliest and most universal forms of worship. Especially in the case of a king or chief the reverence due to him when alive is due also to his spirit after death; hence any great hero or the legendary ancestor of a race is soon regarded as really divine. So Anchises is here spoken of as 'divine,' in 45 Dardanus is son of Jupiter, and in later times the departed emperors are regularly deified.

48. *maestas*] Always of *outward* mourning (cf. *maeror*), and so here of the cypress-garlands with which the altars were decorated, cf. 3. 63.

49. *nisi fallor*] A natural remark in antiquity, when there were no Calendars, and the first day of each month (*Kalendae*) was 'proclaimed' (*καλεῖν*).

51. *agerem*] governing *hunc* = 'spend,' 'pass.'

52. *deprensus*] 'caught.' Three meanings have been given to the word: (1) 'caught by a storm,' cf. G. 4. 421 *deprensis statio tutissima nautis*; (2) 'caught' or 'surprised' by the anniversary; (3) 'caught' by the Greeks and so a prisoner, thus making the word parallel to *exsul*. The third explanation agrees best with the true emphasis of the line which is on the words *Argolico* and *Mycenae*, while it also brings out better the parallelism with the preceding line—'an exile in Africa, a prisoner in Greece.'

urbe Mycenae] Latin usually has *urbs Roma*, not *urbs Romae*; our idiom is the opposite, and we say 'the city of

Jericho,' while such phrases as 'this city Jericho' (Josh. vi. 26), 'the city Adam' (Josh. iii. 16) are antiquated. For the present construction cf. 1. 247 *urbem Patavi*; 565 *Troiae urbem*; 3. 293 *Buthroti urbem*. For the singular form *Mycena* instead of *Mycenae* cf. 6. 773 *urbemque Fidenam* though the town is usually called *Fidenae*.

54. **exsequerer**] This word with *vota* bears its ordinary meaning of 'fulfil,' but with *pompas* ('funeral procession') it certainly rather means 'follow forth,' 'conduct,' cf. Cic. Tusc. 1. 48 *hunc laude exsequi* 'to carry to the tomb with praise,' and the common use of *exsequiae*. *suis* referring to *altaria*, 'the gifts to which they have a solemn claim,' cf. 3. 469 n.

55. **ultra**] Cf. 2. 145 n. : 'beyond hope.'

56. **haud...**] 'not methinks without the purpose, without the will of heaven,' *i.e.* in accordance with the decided purpose of heaven. An instance of the well-known rhetorical figure *Litotes* (*λιτότης* 'simplicity') or *Meiosis* (*μείωσις* 'a making less') by which a mild and negative form of expression is intentionally used instead of a very strong affirmative one. A famous instance in English is St. Paul's 'Shall I praise you in this? *I praise you not*,' 1 Cor. xi. 22. Cf. 284, 618; 4. 508 *haud ignara* = 'well-knowing'; 1. 130 *nec latuere*, 136 *non simili* = 'very different,' 479 *non aequae* = 'angry'; 2. 777 *non sine numine*; 3. 87 *inmitis* = 'cruel,' 513 *haud segnis*, 610 *haud multa* = 'very little'; 6. 438 *inamabilis* = 'hateful.'

57. **delati**] Cf. 3. 219 n.

58. **laetum honorem**] 'the joyous rite' or 'ceremony'—joyous because their presence there that day was clear proof that the spirit of Anchises and the gods watched over them.

59. **poscamus ventos**] Clearly not 'let us summon the winds (by prayer to aid us),' but 'let us pray (Anchises) for (favourable) winds.' They pray to the deified Anchises (47 *divinus parens*), just as Pyrrhus prays to his sire Achilles, Eur. Hec. 525 *seq.*, for a favourable voyage home. The words which follow—'and may he grant that after founding a city I may year by year offer him these rites *in a temple dedicated* (to him)'—suggest that the spirit of the dead will be well recompensed for answering their prayer. Virgil clearly here has in mind the festival called *Parentalia*, held annually at Rome in honour of the dead on the 18th of February, and described by Ovid as instituted by Aeneas in honour of Anchises, Fast. 2. 543.

62. **adhibete Penates**] Cf. Hor. Od. 4. 5. 31 *alteris | te mensis adhibet deum*. The gods thus 'summoned' were believed to actually attend and partake of the feast.

64. *si...extulerit*] 'should the ninth dawn...bring kindly day.' Cf. Cat. 14. 17 *nam, si luxerit, ad librariorum | curram scrinia*, where Ellis says that the use of *si* does 'not imply any doubt, though originally perhaps connected with some superstitious fear of speaking too confidently'; cf. 6. 770, 829. To emphasise *almum* ('if the ninth day is fine') is unnecessary; it is merely an ordinary epithet of *dies*.

nona: there seems to have been some sort of celebration on the ninth day after a funeral, cf. Porphyrius on Hor. Epod. 17. 48 *novemdiale dicitur sacrificium, quod mortuis fit nona die, qua sepulti sunt*, but perhaps 'the ninth day' is used simply like our 'a week to-day,' the Roman week being of nine days; see *nundinae* in Dict.

65. *radiisque...*] Cf. 4. 119.

67. *et qui...*] 'and (for him) who in pride of strength either advances superior (*i.e.* to show his superiority) with the javelin and light arrows, or if any has courage to join battle with the raw-hide glove.' Two classes of competition are here mentioned, (1) javelin-throwing and archery, (2) boxing: in the actual description of the games 485 *seq.* there is no mention of the javelin. *incedit*: 'steps forth,' a pictorial word, cf. 1. 46 n. *seu* follows *aut* here in the sense of 'or if,' and seems to imply a doubt whether any one will have the courage to undertake this dangerous contest, for which and *caestus* see 403 *seq.*

71. *ore favete*] As the utterance of ill-omened words vitiated any sacred rite, it was customary before commencing to ask the bystanders 'to be favourable with their lips,' *i.e.* to utter none but favourable words, and as the safest way to do this was to be silent, the phrase often means 'be silent.' So in Gk. *εὐφημίῃτε*, and cf. Hor. Od. 3. 1. 2 *favete linguis*; Prop. 4. 6. 1 *sacra facit vates, sint ora faventia sacris*.

72—103. *Crowning their brows with myrtle they follow Aeneas to the tomb, where, offering solemn libations, he salutes the ghost of his sire, when lo! a snake of strange size and beauty glides from the mound, tastes the offerings and disappears. Aeneas thereupon deeming it the tutelary deity of the spot, or the attendant spirit of Anchises, renews the sacrifice, which is followed by a sacrificial feast.*

72. *materna*] *i.e.* sacred to Venus; cf. G. 2. 64 *Paphiae myrtus*.

73. *aevi maturus*] 'ripe in years,' cf. 2. 638 n.

77. *hic...*] 'there (*i.e.* at the tomb) with libation due he pours upon the ground two goblets of pure wine, two....' Note the solemn repetition of *duo* following the solemn alliteration in

75, 76. *carchesia*: tankards somewhat narrowing in the middle with two handles reaching to the foot, see Marquardt. *mero Baccho*: descriptive ablative. For these offerings to the dead, cf. 3. 66 n., 3. 301 n.

79. *purpureos*] Probably 'bright,' cf. 6. 641 n. For the custom cf. 6. 883.

80. *salve...*] 'Hail, reverend sire, once more: hail, O ashes, welcomed once more in vain.' For this greeting of the dead cf. 6. 506 n., and Il. 23. 179 *χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισιν*. *iterum*: 'a second time,' in reference to the *salve* uttered at the actual funeral which is now repeated. Thus *iterum* exactly balances *recepti*; he can repeat the greeting because he has revisited the tomb. For *recepti* = 'recovered,' cf. 1. 553, 583.

81. *nequiquam* is a natural expression of regret: to say *salve, pater recepte* would be a real joy, to say *salvete, cineres recepti* is an empty delight, a reminder that 'all is vanity.' This regret is emphasised in the next two lines.

Some place a colon after *parens*, 'hail, O my sire: hail, I repeat, ye ashes,' but the obvious emphasis of the line is on the fact of this being his *second visit* to the tomb and not on the trivial circumstance that he now utters *salve* twice. Many render 'O ashes rescued in vain' and explain as = 'O my sire now dead and whom consequently I rescued in vain from Troy'; Conington, who accepts this view of the sense, tries to evade the impossibility of making 'O rescued ashes' = 'O ashes of him I once rescued' by doing violence to the clear grammar and actually taking *recepti* as gen. sing., 'of him I rescued in vain.'

animae, umbrae] The plurals are curious, and perhaps suggested by the common use of *di Manes* with reference to the ghost of a single person, and cf. *umbris* 4. 571 of a single 'shade.'

83. *quicumque est*] 'whate'er it be': in artistic contrast with its after fame. "Dramatic irony," Sidgwick.

84. *adytis...*] 'from deepest cell.' The word *adytis* at once suggests the retreat of a serpent and the shrine of a divinity. The serpent clearly represents the spirit of the dead, which a wide-spread primitive belief regards as inhabiting (or visiting, cf. 98 n.) the tomb, and which by partaking of the offerings indicates his happy acceptance of them. In Pompeian houses a serpent is frequently painted near the altar of the Lares, and is said to represent the Genius of the master of the House. Mau's *Pompeii* (translated by Kelsey, pp. 263-267) gives two illustrations in which a serpent is tasting the offerings.

85. *septem...*] 'seven circuits huge (and) sevenfold coilings trailed.' *Gyri* describe the circuits round the altar, *volumina*

the undulations of the serpent's body ; cf. carefully G. 3. 191 *carpere mox gyrum incipiat...sinuetque volumina crurum* where the horse moves in a circle by rolling its feet just as the serpent does here by rolling its body. *Traxit* governs both *gyros* and *volumina* but in slightly different senses; the snake 'trails a circle' by forming one as it moves, and 'trails the coilings' of its body literally. Of course a quantity of 'coilings' produce a 'circuit,' and perhaps Henry is right when he says that Virgil assigns 'seven coilings to each circuit' (*septena*), but indeed exact explanation spoils the line, which with its slow mysterious sound appeals more to the imagination than to the intellect.

87. *caeruleae...*] 'whose back dark blue spots (dappled) and a brightness flecked with gold made to glow.' To govern *terga* some word such as *distinguebant* must be supplied for the general sense of *incendebat*. Cf. Il. 2. 308 *δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφονός*; Hes. Sc. H. 166 *στίγματα δ' ὡς ἐπέφαντο ἰδεῖν δεινοῖσι δράκουσι | κνάνα κατὰ νῶτα*.

89. *mille jacet...*] Cf. 4. 701.

90. *Aeneas: ille*] Note juxtaposition of contrasted words. *agmine*: cf. 2. 212 n.

94. *hoc magis...*] 'more eagerly therefore does he renew the interrupted sacrifice to his sire, doubtful whether to deem it...' An interrupted sacrifice needed a solemn 'renewal' (cf. 3. 62 n.): on this occasion Aeneas is encouraged to renew it because, though still doubtful what the serpent may be, he has no doubt that it indicates the presence of some supernatural power.

95. *Genium...*] "the tutelary deity of places or persons was represented under the form of a serpent (*e.g.* at Pompeii and in Etruscan tombs, see Dennis' *Etruria* i. 170, 287); as also was the *famulus* (*δαίμων*) or 'familiar' supposed to attend demigods and heroes, the predecessor of the black cat of mediaeval witchcraft. Cf. Val. Fl. 3. 457 *placidi quas protinus angues, | umbrarum famuli linguis rapuere coruscis*." Papillon.

96. *bidentes...sues...iuuencos*] The technical name for this sacrifice was *Suovetaurilia*. *nigrantes*: cf. 6. 153 n.

98. *animamque...*] Cf. Il. 23. 219 *seq.* Just as the gods are summoned to a feast (62), so the dead are summoned to come and enjoy the offerings made to them.

100. *quae cuique est copia, laeti*] 'each according to his abundance, cheerfully.' Cf. Acts xi. 29 'then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief'; Ezra ii. 69; 2 Cor. ix. 7.

102. *ordine...*] Cf. 1. 213, 214 and notes.

104—123. *On the appointed day a great concourse comes together; the prizes are displayed; Mnestheus, Gyas, Sergestus and Cloanthus enter their vessels for the boat-race.*

105. **Phaëthontis**] ‘the sun,’ not the Phaethon of mythology. It is the Homeric *ἥελιος φαέθων*.

106. **nomen**] ‘kindred,’ ‘race’; so commonly *nomen Latinum*.

108. **visuri...**] ‘(some) to see...others ready also to contend’: the first *pars* is omitted, the sense being perfectly clear; cf. 557, 660, and 4. 242, where *alias* is omitted in the first of two parallel clauses.

110. **sacri tripodes**] Tripods were regular prizes in Greek games, cf. Il. 23. 259; Hor. Od. 4. 8. 3 *tripodas, praemia fortium | Graiorum*. **sacri**: because commonly used as votive offerings, *ἀναθηματικοί*, see Lex. s.v. *τρίπους*.

111. **palmae**] Cf. Hor. Od. 1. 1. 5 *palmaeque nobilis*. A branch of palm was carried by victors in all the Greek games; the Romans introduced the practice B.C. 293; in Christian times it symbolises the victory of the martyr.

113. **et tuba...**] ‘and from a central mound the trumpet proclaims the games begun.’ *Committere ludos* like *committere praelium*.

114. **pares**] ‘well-matched.’

116. **remige**] ‘oarsmen’; abl. of instrument. The sing. used collectively, cf. *milite*, ‘troops,’ 2. 495. **Pristim**: a sea-monster, cf. *pistrix* 3. 427 n. Each ship is clearly named after its ‘figure-head,’ *insigne, παράσημον*, see illustrations in Dict. of Ant. s.v. *Navis*.

117. **mox...**] ‘soon (to be) Mnestheus of Italy, from whom the race of Memmius has name.’ Virgil makes three of the chiefs ancestors of Roman families. ‘Trojan’ descent was as common at Rome as Norman descent is with us, and those whose forefathers ‘had come over’ with Aeneas were numerous. The names, however, here selected are curious. The Memmii were plebeians, and the best known of them, to whom Lucretius dedicated his *de Rerum Natura*, was an ignoble person (see Munro); the Sergii were aristocrats, but the only noted Sergius was Catiline; of the Cluentii we only know one who was defended by Cicero.

Mnestheus...Memmi: a fanciful etymology from *μνησθαι...meminisse*, cf. 6. 844, and 3. 516 n.

118. **ingentemque...**] ‘and Gyas with huge effort (drives on) the huge Chimaera’; cf. Lucr. 4. 902 *trudit agens magnam magno*

molimine navem. Or perhaps *magna mole* is descriptive abl., 'with its mighty mass.' *ingentem...ingenti*: repetition to emphasise the idea, cf. 447 *gravis graviterque*; 10. 842; 12. 640 *ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum*; Lucr. 1. 741; Il. 16. 776 κείτο μέγας μεγαλωστί.

119. *urbis opus*] 'huge as a city,' cf. Ov. Fast. 6. 641 *urbis opus domus una fuit*; Cic. Verr. 5. 4. 89 *quae navis... urbis instar habere videretur.* *versu*: 'line' or 'tier' of oars. Thucydides (1. 13) places the invention of triremes *after* the heroic age, about 700 B.C.

122. *magna*] fem. agreeing with the ship (*navis*) rather than its name (*Centaurus*).

124—150. *The course is out to sea round a rock and home. They draw lots for places, and after a pause of breathless excitement the signal is given and they dash away amid the cheers of the onlookers.*

125. *quod tumidis...*] 'which 'mid the swell of the billows oft-times is dashed and hidden...(but) in calm is noiseless as it rises from the motionless waters a broad surface and welcome resting-place for basking gulls.' Notice the contrasted clauses marked simply by contrasted words (*tumidis...tranquillo*) placed first, cf. 1. 184 n. For *olim* cf. 1. 289 n. *tranquillo*: neut. adj. put for a subst. (cf. 3. 232 n.) and used as abl. of time, like *aestate*, *hieme*. *apricis*: cf. Pers. 5. 179 *aprici senes*: the spectacle Virgil describes may be seen to perfection on a sunny day in the Orkneys.

129. *Aeneas...nautis pater*] *Pater* is in apposition to *Aeneas* but its place indicates its meaning; he sets up the mark 'for the sailors with a father's care (for them),' cf. 1. 196 n., 1. 412 n.

130. *unde...*] 'so that they might see to turn back from it and there...'; *unde* = *ut inde*, and therefore with subj.

133. *ductores*] 'chiefs,' 'captains,' to be distinguished from the 'steersman,' *rector*, *magister*, 161, 176.

134. *populea*] the poplar was sacred to Hercules, the hero of athletes.

136. *intentaque...*] 'and their arms are strained over the oars; straining they wait the signal, while throbbing fear drains their bounding hearts and the eager passion for renown.' Notice *intenta* used literally and *intenti* metaphorically. For *pulsans...* cf. Il. 23. 370 πάτασσε δὲ θυμὸς ἐκάστων | νίκης ἰεμένων. *pavor*: 'fear,' here expresses nervous excitement; if it be from *pavio*, *παίω*, then it merely means 'throbbing,' not necessarily of

fear. **haurit** describes the excitement as causing a 'drain' on the heart, a sense of exhaustion.

140. **prosiluere**] Perfect of rapidity, cf. 145 *corripuere*, 147 *concussere*, 243 *condidit*; 1. 84 *incubuere*, 90 *intonuere*; 4. 164, 167, 562. **clamor nauticus**: cf. 3. 128 n.

141. **versa**] 'ploughed' as in *vertere terram*, cf. *sulcos* 142; or perhaps from *verro*, cf. 3. 668 *verrimus aequora*; 4. 583.

143. **rostris tridentibus**] See illustrations in Dict. of Ant.

144. **non tam...**] 'not with such headlong speed do the chariots pouring from their prison seize upon (cf. 316 n.) the plain and race along, nor with such zeal do the charioteers shake the reins over their liberated teams and bend forward to the lash.' The change of tense in *corripuere ruuntque* and *concussere...pendent* seems to draw a contrast between one sudden act and a continuous state: the chariots dash out and then go on racing, the charioteers start their teams with a shake of the reins and then remain bending over them. **iugis**: here of 'a pair' of horses; elsewhere of 'a yoke' of oxen, or 'a pair' of eagles: for *inmissis* cf. Livy 40. 40 *effrenatos equos inmittere*.

148. **studiis faventum**] 'cheers' or 'zeal of partisans.'

150. **colles resultant**] 'the hills re-echo.' Strictly the sound strikes the hills and then the echo 'leaps back' from them, cf. G. 4. 49 *concava pulsu | saxa sonant vocisque offensa resultat imago*.

151—182. *The race. Gyas gets off first, Cloanthus next, with the other two behind and almost level. As they come to the rock which forms the turning-point, Menoetes, the steersman of Gyas, keeps too much away from the rock towards the right, so that Cloanthus keeping closer in gets in front of him and has the lead for home, while Gyas in his anger pitches Menoetes overboard, to the huge delight of the onlookers.*

151. **primisque...**] 'and shoots out foremost o'er the wave': *primis undis*, lit. 'the first waves,' because the waves near Gyas are the waves over which a boat first passes. The old reading *primus* gives the sense.

153. **pondere pinus tarda tenet**] Alliteration to emphasise the idea of size.

154. **aequo discrimine**] 'at equal distance,' *i.e.* they were each the same distance behind Cloanthus, being level with one another.

155. **tendunt...**] 'strive to win the lead,' *i.e.* one from the

other. Notice *priorem*, not *primum*: the translation 'foremost place' is misleading; they are racing for *third* place. For *tendunt superare* cf. 2. 64 n. *Locum priorem* is a sort of cognate acc.: 'the leading place' is that in which the victory consists.

156. *habet*] 'has it,' *i.e.* the lead.

160. *medio in gurgite*] Not merely 'in mid ocean,' but closely with *victor*, 'victorious in the half-course'—who looked like winning half-way.

162. *mihi*] Ethic dat. indicating strong personal interest in the question put. 'Pray' and 'Prithee' are accepted renderings, but a navy captain would perhaps put it otherwise.

163. *litus...*] 'hug the shore and let the oar-blades graze the rocks upon the left: others may keep the open sea.' For *ama* cf. Hor. Od. 1. 25. 3 *amatque ianua limen*.

166. *quo...*] 'where are you going out of the road?' again (crying) 'make for the rocks, Menoetes' with a shout he was calling him back (*i.e.* from his wrong course). The vivid irregularity of the words is to be noted. *revocabat...et ecce...respicit*: 'he was calling him back...when on a sudden he sees.' For this use of *et ecce* cf. *καὶ ἰδοὺ* in the Greek Testament, and see note on *atque* 1. 227.

168. *propiora tenentem*] 'holding his course closer (to the rock).'

170. *radit iter...*] 'grazes his path (cf. 3. 700 n.) nearer in upon the left.'

172. *dolor*] 'indignation.' *ossibus*: 'in his bones,' the marrow of which was considered the seat of deepest feeling, cf. 1. 660 n.; 9. 66 *duris dolor ossibus ardet*.

173. *nec lacrimis...*] Copied from Homer (Il. 23. 385 *τοῖο δ' ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν χύτο δάκρυα χλωμένοιο*), where Diomedes weeps at losing his whip in the race. For these tears of rage cf. 1. 459 n.

174. *decoris*] 'dignity': *inhonestum est irasci, duci praesertium*, Servius. *socium*: for contracted gen. cf. 3. 53 n.

175. *deturbat*] 'pitches': a vivid and almost vulgar word; cf. 6. 412, where it is used of Charon's 'bustling' the ghosts 'out' of his bark; so in Plautus *deturbare in viam* 'to kick out of doors.'

177. *clavumque...*] 'and turns the rudder shorewards.' *Clavus* is strictly 'the tiller,' but Virgil clearly means 'moves

the tiller so as to bring the boat's head shorewards'; the phrase is the opposite of 165 *proram pelagi detorquet ad undas*.

178. **at gravis...**] 'but heavily,..., being now advanced in years and dripping in soaked raiment...'; line 179 explains *gravis*.

181. **risere...rident]** The repetition imitates the repeated outbursts of laughter; so too the participles *labentem, natantem, revomentem*, and the triple *et*. 'They laughed at him tumbling and laughed at him swimming, and now they laugh at him belching up the brine.' In Il. 23. 784 the assembly 'laughed pleasantly' (*ἠδὲ γέλασσαν*) when Ajax in the race tumbled into a lot of filth (*δνθος*). Such merriment is natural, but we could spare the description of it in poetry.

183—219. *The race continued. Sergestus and Mnestheus vie with one another in their efforts to catch Gyas, Sergestus having a slight lead. Mnestheus exhorts his men to save him from the disgrace of being last, and they make a great effort, when Sergestus, keeping too close in, suddenly runs on the rock. Encouraged by this good luck Mnestheus races along, his vessel moving with the speed and smoothness of a dove's flight.*

183. **spes...superare]** 'hope was kindled...to pass'; for the inf. after *spes* cf. 2. 10 n. **Mnesthei** = *Μνησθεῖ*.

185. **capit...**] 'draws ahead and nears the rock, but yet, see! not leading with his whole length in front, (but) leading with a part (while) part...'

186. **ille]** This pleonastic use of the pronoun in the second of two clauses is pictorial and draws marked attention to the subject of the sentence; cf. 334 *non ille*, where the intention is to depict vividly the devotion of Nisus; 457 *nunc ille*, where the personal prowess of Entellus is emphasised; 1. 3 n.; 6. 593 n.; Hor. Od. 1. 9. 16.

189. **insurgite remis]** Cf. 3. 207 n.

190. **Hectorei]** Emphatic: Hector's comrades would expect the foremost place, cf. 6. 166. **Troiae s. s.:** 'in Troy's final doom' or 'fortune.'

192. **usi]** sc. *estis*. The omission of *estis* is rare, but cf. 2. 2 n.

193. **sequacibus]** 'racing'; off Malea the sea was notoriously dangerous.

194. **Mnestheus]** Added pleonastically at the end with proud resignation—'No longer do I, Mnestheus, seek the first place.' **vincere certo:** cf. 2. 64 n.

195. *quamquam* o!—sed] ‘and yet O—but let those win....’; he intended to say, ‘and yet O if I could win (*o si superare*),’ but breaks off. For the Aposiopesis, cf. l. 135 n.

196. *hoc vincite*] ‘surpass that,’ ‘do better than that (*viz.* ‘coming in last’), and (so) avert a crime.’ *Hoc*, as usual, points back to something just mentioned—*extremos rediisse*. Others join it with *nefas*, ‘defeat and avert that crime,’ *viz.* of coming in last; but in a highly rhetorical passage, if Virgil had meant this, he would have written *hoc vincite cives | hoc prohibete nefas*. The rendering ‘be this your victory,’ *viz.* *not* to come in last, assumes that *hoc* can be = *non extremos rediisse*, but it is hard to supply this from the preceding words.

199. *subtrahiturque solum*] ‘and the ocean floor flies from beneath them.’ *tum creber*..., cf. Il. 16. 109 *καὶ δὲ οἱ ἰδρῶς | πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων πολὺς ἔρρεεν, οὐδὲ πη εἶχεν | ἀμπνεῦσαι*.

202. *namque*...] ‘for while with mad eagerness (*lit.* mad in spirit) he drives his prow toward the rocks on the inside,’ *i.e.* between Mnestheus and the rock. *animi*: locative, cf. 4. 203 n. *iniquo*: ‘scanty’; he tries to get in where there is not room.

205. *murice*] A ‘rock-ridge’ jagged like the shell of the *murex*.

207. *consurgunt*...] ‘up jump the sailors, brought to a standstill ‘mid loud clamours.’ *morantur* is not otiose, as some think, but emphasises the idea of a sudden stop as contrasted with their previous speed and the activity which immediately follows.

210. *successuque*...] ‘spurred on by his very success,’ cf.

231. Success, especially when due to good luck, often induces men to take matters more easily; here the opposite happens. This contrast between what might have been expected to occur and what actually occurs is expressed in *ipso*.

211. *agmine*] Either the ‘line’ of oars, or else their ‘sweep,’ ‘movement.’

212. *prona maria*] The adjective has a double force—(1) ‘shoreward,’ (2) ‘favourable,’ ‘smooth,’ ‘sloping.’ The first meaning is opposed to *in altum*, ‘up to the high sea’: the second suggests that the course was easy with wind and tide in their favour; cf. Ov. Her. 18. 121, where Leander says to Hero, *ad te via prona videtur, | a te cum redeo clivus inertis aquae*; Pliny Paneg. 87 *precatu est aberunt prona maria*.

213. *spelunca*] Virgil seems to be describing the rock-dove or rock-pigeon which breeds on precipices, is a remarkable flier,

and the ancestor of all our domestic pigeons (see Darwin, *Origin of Species*).

214. **cui...**] 'whose home and dear nestlings are in the crannied crag'; for *nidi* cf. 12. 475 *nidisque loquacibus escas*; G. 4. 17.

215—217. Note the imitative rhythm. **plausumque...**, 'and frightened from her cell flaps loudly with her wings, (but) soon gliding through the restful air skims her liquid path, and stirs no pinion in her flight.' Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 934 *οὐδὲ τινάσσει* [*ῥιπήν, εὐκήλοισιν ἐνευδιόων πτερύγεσσιν*.

218. **ultima aequora**] 'final reach.' **impetus**: 'swing,' 'rush'; we have borrowed the word itself in this sense in modern English.

220—243. *The race concluded. Mnestheus, after passing Sergestus, soon overtakes Gyas, who is steering badly, and begins to press on the leader Cloanthus. The excitement is intense, but Cloanthus makes a vow to the sea-gods and by their aid just comes in first.*

221. **brevibus vadis**] 'shallows'; so *brevia* alone 1. 111.

222. **fractis...**] 'learning to race with broken oars': a humorous expression.

224. **cedit**] sc. *Chimaera*.

225. **solus iamque...**] *Iamque* is transposed purely for convenience: 'and now Cloanthus alone is left at the very end (of the course).' Cf. 3. 588.

227. **ingeminat**] 'redoubles': intransitive, cf. 2. 229 n.

228. **instigant studiis**] 'spur on with cheers': *instigo* is connected with *στίζω, στιγμή, stimulus (= stigmulus)*.

229. **hi...**] 'The one think scorn not to retain their sure glory and secured prize, and are ready to barter life for honour; the others success inspires; they are strong, for they trust their strength.' **proprium, partum**: 'sure' and 'secured,' *i.e.* in anticipation. **possunt...**: cf. Liv. 22. 3. 4 *dum se putant vincere, vicere*. Confidence gives capacity, and men often do what they think they can do.

232. **fors...cepissent**] 'perchance they would have taken,' cf. 2. 139 n.

233. **palmas utrasque**] Cf. 6. 685, and 5. 855 *utraque tempora*. The plural of *uterque* is thus used even in prose of things of which there is 'a pair,' *e.g.* Cic. Verr. 2. 4. 14 *binos habebam (scyphos); iubeo promi utrosque. ponto*: 'seawards,' cf. 2. 19 n.

234. *in vota vocasset*] 'had summoned to hear his vow; cf. 514.

235. *aequora curro*] 'traverse the waters,' cf. 1. 524 n.

236. *laetus*] cf. *libens* 3. 438 n.

237. *voti reus*] 'condemned in my vow,' *i.e.* to payment of my vow: in prose *damnatus voti*. A vow is a promise to do something for the gods if they first do something for you; when they have done their part you become *voti reus*. *Reus* is commonly followed by *gen.* of that for which any one is answerable, e.g. *infelicis belli, parricidii, peculatus reus*.

238. *proiciam*] It has been usual to draw a distinction between *proicere* 'to fling' (perhaps contemptuously) and *porricere* (from *porro iacere*) 'to offer,' and Servius says '*exta proiciuntur in fluctus, aris porriciuntur hoc est porriguntur: nisi forte dicamus etiam fluctibus offerri,*' while Varro (R. R. 1. 29. 3) says that *exta deis porrigere* is the correct phrase. It is highly improbable that there were three phrases which might be used, *proicere, porricere, and porrigere*, and probably *porricere* is an invention of grammarians. Anyhow MS. authority is very strong for *proiciam* here and 776. See Nettleship's admirable note. *liquentia*: cf. 1. 432 n.

241. *manu magna*] Cf II. 15. 694 τὸν δὲ Ζεὺς ὤσεν ὄπισθεν | χειρὶ μάλα μεγάλῃ: cf. 487 *ingenti manu* of Aeneas; 6. 413 *ingentem Aenean*. With the ancients gods and heroes are literally taller and bigger than mere mortals. *Portunus*: 'god of harbours,' identified with the Greek *Melicerta* (G. 1. 437) or *Palaemon* (5. 823).

242. *inpulit: illa...*] Note the pause, followed by rapid dactyls.

243. *condidit*] Perfect of rapidity: the boat shoots forward and, almost before you can see it, 'has found a resting-place' in the harbour's depths. Cf. 140 n.

244—267. *Aeneas distributes rewards to all the crews. The captains have special prizes, the first a robe embroidered with the story of Ganymede, the second a suit of massy armour wrought with gold, the third a pair of vases and silver cups.*

247. *muneraque...*] 'and as gifts for the crews he grants them choice of three bullocks for each ship....'

optare iuencos...et...dat ferre talentum: The inf. after *do* is extremely common in Virgil: (1) sometimes it is equivalent to a verbal noun used as the direct object of the verb, as here *optare dat* is 'gives them the choosing' or 'choice';

cf. 1. 66 *mulcere dedit* 'gave the calming,' 79 *das accumbere*, 522 *condere dedit* 'granted the founding'; (2) sometimes it seems rather epexegetic or added to give further 'explanation,' as in *dat ferre talentum* 'he gives them a talent to take away,' cf. 1. 319 *dederatque comam diffundere ventis* 'had given her hair to the winds to toss'; 5. 260 *loricam...donat habere*, 307, 538; Hom. Il. 23. 512 δῶκε δ' ἄγειν ἐτάροισιν ὑπερθύμοισι γυναιῖκα | καὶ τρίποδ' ὠτώνετα φέρειν.

250. **quam...**] 'round which broad (=in a broad stripe) Meliboean purple ran in double wave.' **Meliboea**: cf. Lucr. 2. 500 *Meliboeaque fulgens* | *purpura Thessalico concharum tacta colore*. This Meliboea was on the coast of Thessaly between Ossa and Pelion. For *Meliboeus* as adj. cf. 4. 552 n. **Maeandro**: whence our word 'meander,' and cf. Cic. Pis. 22. 53 *quos tu Maeandros, quae deverticula flexionesque quaesisti?*

252. **puer regius**] Ganymedes, son of Tros, carried off while hunting on Mt. Ida by an eagle to be cup-bearer of Jove, cf. 1. 28. The 'embroidered' figure of Ganymede is represented twice, first hunting, then being carried away.

254. **quem...**] 'whom the swift thunder-bearing bird of Jove snatched from Ida to the sky with crooked talons.' **sublimem**: proleptic. **armiger**: because he carries the thunder-bolt (see the coins of the Ptolemies in Smith's Class. Dict.), cf. Hor. 4. 4. 1 *ministerium fulminis alitem*. The rendering 'armour-bearer' is deceiving.

257. **in auras**] 'to the sky.' The dogs are depicted as gazing upwards and barking at the disappearing eagle.

259. **lēvibus**] Note the quantity. **trilicem loricam**: cf. 3. 467 n.

261. **sub Iliō alto**] Cf. 3. 211 n.

262. **viro**] picking up *huic* from 259, but also suggesting that the present was one suited for 'a hero to hold.'

263. **vix illam...**] Modelled on Il. 5. 303 where Diomedes seizes a stone δ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέρειεν | οἶσι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσ'. ὁ δὲ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος. **conixi umeris**: 'with straining shoulders'; the words emphasise the effort with which the two men staggered under it, whereas Demoleos could wear it and 'drive the Trojans in flight at full speed.' Some render 'labouring shoulder to shoulder,' as though *cum* in *conitor* could = 'together,' 'side by side,' whereas it merely strengthens the simple *nitōr*. The fact that it takes *two* men to carry it sufficiently emphasised in the preceding line.

266. **geminos ex aere lebetas**] 'a pair of brazen caldrons.'

The adverbial expression *ex aere* is so closely held in between *geminos* and *lebetas* that it is allowed to practically qualify *lebetas* = *aereos*.

267. *aspera signis*] 'embossed with figures,' 'with figures in relief.'

268—285. *Sergestus struggles on with difficulty, like a serpent which writhes along maimed with a blow. With the help of sails, however, he manages to get home and receives a consolation prize.*

268. *iamque adeo*] Cf. 2. 567 n.

269. *taenis*] 'fillets': a rare contraction for *taeniis*.

271. *ordine...*] 'maimed on one side,' lit. 'rendered hard to handle (*debilis* = *dehabilis*) by one row (of oars being broken).' The oars on one side are smashed, so the ship can only wriggle along like the serpent which has one half of its body almost useless.

273. *qualis saepe*] Cf. 1. 148. *aggere*: 'rampart.' The Roman roads were raised, and on Lincoln Heath the dust from the old Roman road is still called 'rampar' dust.'

274. *transiit*] Some read *transit* contracted, cf. 2. 497. *gravis ictu*: 'with a heavy blow (of his stick)'; for construction cf. 387.

275. *saxo*] 'on the stone' or 'rock'; for the *silices* with which Roman streets and roads were paved, see Munro *Lucr.* 1. 571; 2. 449. Others say 'half-killed with a stone' (cf. *G.* 3. 420 *cape saxa manu* of attacking a snake), but after *ictu* a second abl. of the same kind seems harsh.

276. *nequiquam...*]

'In slow retreat without avail

It strives its lengthening coils to trail.'—Conington.

For *dat tortus* cf. our phrases 'give a start,' 'groan,' 'wriggle,' etc.

278. *arduus attollens*] Cf. 3. 70 n. *pars...*: '(the other) half maimed with the wound keeps it back, twining (itself) in knots and twisting itself into its own limbs.' Note the repetition of sound in *nexantem nodis, se sua, ...antem...antem* suggesting the repeated struggles, cf. 4. 390 n. MSS. are divided between *nixantem* and *nexantem*. Many object to *nexantem* because it repeats the idea of *plicantem*, which is exactly the reason why it is right. Virgil wishes to emphasise the idea of repeated and complicated writhing. Our 'twines and twists' exactly illustrates this device of repetition. *Nixantem nodis* is explained as 'working itself on with its coils,' 'struggling with knotty spires' (*sic*).

282. *promisso munere*] Every one was to have some reward, see 70 and 305.

284. *datūr*] Cf. 1. 667 n. *operum Minervae*: *i.e.* weaving and spinning.

286—361. *The foot-race.*

286—314. *Aeneas proceeds to a grassy spot shaped like a circus and offers prizes for a foot-race, for which many competitors enter; he promises rewards to all and describes the three first prizes.*

286. *misso*] ‘despatched.’ Cf. Cic. ad Fam. 5. 12 *ante ludorum missionem* = ‘end,’ ‘dismissal.’

288. *theatri circus*] ‘the circle of a theatre’: *circus* describes the shape of the course, and *theatri* indicates that it was surrounded by grass slopes on which the spectators could sit and which made it into a natural ‘theatre,’ the latter word being used in a general sense (= ‘a place for seeing,’ cf. *θεάομαι, θέατρον*) and not in the special sense in which it differs from *circus* and *amphitheatrum*.

289. *quo se...*] ‘whither the hero...betook himself into the midst of the assembly and seated himself upon a raised mound.’ *Consessus* is ‘the seated throng,’ cf. 340, and when Aeneas reached the circus he became *consessu medius* ‘central in the seated throng.’ There is no other instance of *exstructum* thus used absolutely as a noun. Ribbeck suggests that a verse is lost after this.

291. *hic...*] ‘then, whoso perchance are willing to strive... he lures their courage with rewards and sets up prizes.’ *velint*: subj., because he does not lure ‘those who do wish’ but ‘any who may possibly wish,’ cf. 456.

294. For the broken line cf. 2. 233. How these two youths, the Jonathan and David of Virgil’s story, met their deaths in a night attack on the Rutuli is told 9. 176 *seq.*

296. *amore pio*] ‘tender’ (cf. 1. 10 n.) or ‘pure affection for the youth,’ cf. Ov. Tr. 4. 5. 30 *quo pius affectu Castora frater amat*.

302. *quos fama...*] ‘whom report holds in darkness.’ Rumour or report, which makes some illustrious, in their case gives no light and so leaves their names obscure.

303. *sic deinde locutus*] ‘thus thereafter spake.’ For the usual meaning of this phrase cf. 14 n.

307. *caelatam argento*] ‘chased with silver,’ probably on the handle. *ferre* after *dabo* (cf. 247 n.): he gives these things to each man ‘to take away with him.’

308. *unus*] This distinction shall be one (*i.e.* ‘alike,’ ‘the

same') for all; cf. 616. *praemia*: here 'special prizes' opposed to those which all will receive.

309. *caput nectentur*] 'shall have their head crowned': for this middle use of the passive cf. 2. 383 n. *flava oliva*: cf. Aesch. Pers. 617 ξανθῆς ἐλαίας; 'its leaves are of a yellowish green,' Martyn. Henry with less probability explains by referring to the 'yellow pollen which the olive sheds so copiously in the flowering season as to cover the leaves, trunk, and branches.'

311. *Amazoniam...Threiciis*] Ornamental epithets, though used with much fitness here, as both the Amazons and Thracians were not only noted archers but also allied with Troy during the siege.

312. *lato...*] 'which a baldric of broad gold encircles and a buckle clasps with shapely (or 'polished') jewel.'

315—339. *Nisus takes a long lead followed by Salius and then Euryalus. Next comes Helymus with Dioreas close up. As they near the goal Nisus slips and falls in some blood, but manages when on the ground to trip up Salius so that his friend Euryalus comes in first.*

316. *corripiunt spatia*] 'they seize upon the course.' When a man walks or runs vigorously he seems to 'seize' or 'devour' the way; hence very often in poetry *carpere viam* (6. 629), *iter*, *fugam*, or more strongly *corripere viam* (cf. 1. 418 and the words *raptim*, *rapidus*), and so here *corripere spatia*. *Spatia*, which often means 'rounds,' 'laps' (G. 1. 513), is here, and 325, merely 'course,' *στάδιον*.

317. *effusi...*] 'poured forth like a cloud,' *i.e.* like the rain-drops from a bursting cloud in summer. Cf. G. 4. 312 (of bees) *ut aestivis effusus nubibus imber*, | *erupere*. *simul...*: 'together they mark the goal,' *i.e.* they fix their eyes on it. Homer has (Il. 23. 757) *στὰν δὲ μεταστοιχί, σήμηγε δὲ τέρματ'* 'Achilles marked out the goal.' Some therefore here give 'at the same time they (*i.e.* the proper officers) mark out the goal,' but this is unnatural. Virgil's phrase echoes the sound of Homer's here but not its sense.

319. *fulminis alis*] 'the winged lightning.'

320. *proximus*] Whereas *secundus*, unlike our 'second,' implies close sequence, *proximus* is merely = 'next' without at all suggesting nearness; cf. Hor. Od. 1. 12. 19, where he says that there is nothing 'second' (*secundum*) to Jove, but Pallas is 'next' in honour (*proximos occupavit honores*). Note the ending *intervallo* suggesting the huge portentous size of the gap between first and second; cf. 2. 68 n.

323. quo...] 'and then just close behind him, see! Diores flies grazing foot with foot.' Cf. Il. 23. 763 *ἔπισθεν | ἰχθῖα τύπτε πόδεσσι*. *calce*: loosely here = 'foot,' as of course it cannot be taken literally.

325. spatia...] 'and did more of the course remain he would (either) shoot past him to the front or leave the issue doubtful (*i.e.* make it a dead heat)'; cf. Il. 23. 382 *καὶ νύ κεν ἢ παρέλασσε, ἢ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν*. The sense is thus absolutely clear. Unfortunately the MSS. give *ambiguumque*, and, although *que* and *ve* are perpetually confused in MSS., many retain this. They explain (1) 'and would pass him who is now doubtful,' *i.e.* would make him doubtful no longer but clearly defeated, or (2) 'and would leave him behind doubtful,' *i.e.* whether to go on or give up. As to the first of these views, the position of Helymus is not doubtful, for he is definitely described as in front of Diores. As to the second, it is absurd to say that a man just passed at the end of a race would begin to 'doubt' whether to go on or not. Moreover both renderings give a strained meaning to *ambiguum relinquere*, which naturally means 'to leave doubtful' or 'undecided'; cf. Lucr. 4. 1137 *in ambiguo relinquere*; Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 55 *ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior*.

327. iamque fere] Cf. 3. 135 n. *spatio extremo*: 'at the finish,' 'in the final reach.'

329. ut forte...] "Not 'where,' but 'as it chanced that,' a loose use of *ut* giving the circumstances, cf. 388; 667; 7. 509; 12. 270." Sidgwick.

330. fusus...] 'as by chance streaming from slaughtered steers it (the blood) had....' *caesis*: *i.e.* in sacrifice, cf. *sacro* 333.

331. presso...] 'could not hold his tottering steps as he trod the spot.' *titubata* = *quae titubaverunt* only here, but cf. 4. 38 n. Note the imitative alliteration in *tenuit titubata*.

334. non...non ille...] Cf. 186 n. The emphatic *non... non* and the pleonastic *ille* call marked attention to the heroic devotion of Nisus. To us the action seems comic or contemptible.

336. spissa harena] 'the compact sand.' The phrase is more applicable to an actual arena in a circus than to the 'grassy mead' described in 287.

337. Euryalūs et] Cf. 521 n.

339. palma] 'prize,' *i.e.* prize-winner. So often in English.

340—361. *Salius* enters an objection on the ground of a foul, but the good looks of *Euryalus*, who is supported by *Diores*, are in

his favour. Aeneas disallows the objection, but presents Salius with a lion's skin and consoles Nisus with a shield.

340. *ora prima patrum*] "gazing sires in front," Rhoades. At Rome from the earliest times the senators had special seats in the circus (Liv. 1. 35. 8) on the front or lowest of the tiers of seats (*ima cavea* as opposed to *media*, *summa cavea*).

342. *reddi poscit*] In prose *posco* requires *ut* with subj. 'Claims that the prize stolen from him by fraud be restored.'

343. *lacrimae*] Cf. 1. 459 n. *decorae*: 'graceful,' *i.e.* in the young and beautiful.

344. *gratior...*] 'merit that shows more winning (when) clothed in beauty.' *Veniens* is pictorial: lit. 'presenting itself,' 'coming forward,' cf. 373; 400; G. 1. 29 *an deus immensi venias maris*.

346. *subiit palmae*] 'reached (lit. come up to) a prize.' *venit...si reddantur*: a slight variety of the ordinary form of conditional sentence. It ought to be 'who will have come in third to no purpose, should the first prize be given to S.' Instead Virgil vigorously puts 'who has come in third to no purpose, should....' Or you may explain, 'who has (actually) come in third (a victory which will be) of no advantage to him, should....' Others say that *reddantur* is subj. because the clause gives the words or thoughts of Dioces.

350. *me*] Not with *liceat* but with *miserari*: 'permit that I compassionate the mishap of an undeserving friend.'

352. *aureis*] 'gilded.' For the synzesis cf. 1. 648 n.

354. *te lapsorum miseret*] Nisus gives a humorous turn to the *casus miserari* of Aeneas: if 'pity for the fallen' is your principle, he says, what will you do for me?

355. *merui...ni me...tulisset*] 'I who deserved by merit the first crown, had not the same cruel fortune, as Salius, befallen me.' The sentence is irregular, and put more fully would be 'I who deserved (and should have received) the first crown, had not....' *laude*: cf. 1. 461. *tulisset*: cf. 2. 55 n.

357. *simul his dictis*] *Simul* may be either (1) adv., 'at the same time that he said this,' cf. 10. 856 *simul hoc dicens*, or (2) prep. governing abl., 'along with these words,' as it is found in Hor., Ov., Tac. *ostentabat*: 'kept displaying.'

358. *risit pater optimus olli*] 'on him the gracious sire smiled.' Cf. 1. 254, and note the humour of the dignified *pater optimus* and archaic *olli*.

359. *Didymaonis artes*] 'the product of Didymaon's art,'

cf. 2. 306 n. For the plural cf. Hes. Sc. H. 312 τρίπος, κλυτὰ ἔργα περίφρονος Ἡφαίστοιο.

360. The line can only mean 'taken down by the Greeks (*Danaïds* dat. of agent) from Neptune's hallowed door-post,' and it is usual to say that the shield had 'been taken by the Greeks from some *Trojan* temple and afterwards recovered by Aeneas, though Virgil does not tell us how or when.' This is pure guesswork and also spoils the sense, for why should Virgil add to his description of the shield a statement that it had 'been carried off by the Greeks (from a Trojan temple)'? Obviously such a statement does not add to but detracts from its value to a Trojan, and Virgil clearly wishes to enhance the value of the shield in the eyes of the youthful Trojan to whom it is presented as a 'glorious gift' to a 'very goodly youth.'

Why should not some Greek hero setting out for Troy have 'taken down' (not 'taken,' for *refixum* does not suggest 'plundering') such a shield from a *Greek* temple and then lost it in combat with some Trojan? In that case the line would describe the shield as (1) of special beauty, as such an ἀνάθημα would naturally be, and (2) as a glorious trophy recalling the defeat of some Greek champion. For the use of dedicated arms under stress of circumstances cf. Liv. 24. 21, Eur. Her. 695, 1 Sam. xxi. 9, while in 3. 286 the 'shield of Abas,' which Aeneas dedicates, seems to be the famous 'shield of Abas' usually kept in the temple of Juno at Argos, and which must have been brought to Troy by some Argive champion from whom Aeneas had won it. But the decisive passage for the use of a dedicated shield in battle is Arrian, *Anabasis* 6. 9 ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ (Alexander the Great) Πυκέστας, ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπίδα φέρων, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος λαβὼν ἄμα οἱ εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος· καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐφέρετο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. See too Tac. Ann. 15. 53.

362—386. *Aeneas proclaims a boxing-match. Dares, the opponent of Paris and conqueror of Butes, stands forward, and, as no one accepts his challenge, demands the prize.*

363. *virtus animusque...praesens*] 'courage and a keen spirit.' Our phrase 'presence of mind' indicates coolness or calmness in the presence of danger, but *animus praesens* is a readiness or eagerness to go and face danger. It is commonly joined with *virtus*, cf. Caes. B. G. 5. 43 *militum virtus atque praesentia animi*; Ter. Ph. 5. 8. 64 *animo virili praesentique ut sis para*. The line here is from Od. 18. 61 ξεῖν', εἴ σ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ.

364. *evinctis*] 'bound.' The *caestus* consisted of leather thongs, studded with lead, which were bound round the hand and arm, cf. 401-405.

366. *velatum auro vittisque*] 'decked with gold and fillets.' The horns were gilded (Od. 3. 386 χρυσοῦν κέρασιν

περιχέυας) and then crowned with garlands. Others take *auro vittisque* as = *vittis auratis*, but fillets 'decked with gold' are unknown.

368. *vastis viribus, magno murmure*] The alliteration gives weight. *magno murmure*: 'amid mighty murmurs (of admiration).'

370. *Paridem*] In Homer Paris is unwarlike and effeminate, and cf. 4. 215.

372. *inmani...*] 'who with huge bulk strode forth a champion (lit. 'presenting himself,' 'coming into the arena') from the Bebrycian family of Amycus.' *Veniens* is pictorial, cf. 344 n. The ending *qui se* suggests heaviness. Many render 'who boasted himself as sprung (*veniens*),' saying that *se ferebat* is = *iactabat*, but, though *iactabat veniens* might be = 'he boasted as springing,' *se ferebat veniens* is not Latin, for *venientem* would be necessary. Moreover the meaning of *se ferebat* is settled by 4. 11; 8. 198 *vasta se mole ferebat*; 9. 597 *ingentem sese clamore ferebat*. The Bebryces were a Thracian race in Bithynia, whose king Amycus was slain in a contest with Pollux.

377. *verberat...*] 'beats the air with blows'; a sign of vanity. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 26 οὐτω πυκτεύω, ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρω.

380. *cunctosque...*] 'deeming that all resign (lit. retire from) the prize.'

383. *pugnae*] Here accurately 'a fight with fists,' cf. *pugnus*, πύξ, *Faust*, 'fist' and (?) 'box.'

384. *quo...usque*] By tmesis = *quousque?* 'how long?'

385. *ducere*] 'bid me take the prize.' The sense cannot be 'bid bring,' for the bull was there.

386. *reddi*] 'be duly given.'

387—425. *Acestes upbraids Entellus for leaving such a prize uncontested. Entellus answers that he is too old or else, with or without a prize, he would have been only too eager to fight. He then flings into the arena a monstrous pair of 'gloves,' with which his master Eryx once faced Hercules, but when Dares objects, he offers to let Aeneas provide 'gloves' for both and, doffing his cloak, steps forward.*

388. *ut*] 'as he chanced to be sitting next him on a green bank of turf.' *Ut* marks that the fact of Acestes speaking happened quite simply in accordance with the fact that Entellus was sitting next him, cf. 329 n. *toro*: cf. 6. 674.

391. *sines*] A few MSS. have *sinis*. The present ('are you letting?') is much harsher than the future ('will you let?'),

which suggests a hope that Entellus will not let the prize be taken without a contest. *nobis*: ethic dative expressing lively concern = 'pray' or 'I ask.' *deus magister*: 'divine teacher': for *deus* applied to superhuman merit cf. Cic. de Orat. 1. 106 *te in dicendo semper putavi deum*. Moreover Eryx as son of Venus was half-divine, and in 483 is spoken of as a deified hero.

392. *nequiquam memoratus*] 'idly famed,' *i.e.* if his pupil refused to fight.

394. *sub haec*] 'thereupon'; lit. 'immediately after these things.' So in prose *sub haec dicta, sub mentionem, sub hanc vocem*. *gloria*: 'pride,' 'ambition.'

395. *sed enim*] 'but (it is no use) for...,' 'but indeed,' cf. 1. 19 n.

397. *si mihi...*] 'had I what once was mine, what makes you braggart (cf. 4. 412 n.) boldly proud, had I now my vanished (*illa*) youth, (then), not truly for greed of prize or goodly steer, I had stepped forward, nor aught care I for guerdon.' Note in the first two lines how *iuventas* is kept with rhetorical skill until last. The clause *haud...venissem* really means 'I should have stepped forward at once, but not for the sake of the prize, for I despise prizes.' For *nec...moror* cf. 2. 287 n.

402. *quibus*] 'with which,' '(armed) with which': cf. 414 *his*, 'with these.'

403. *ferre manum*] *Conferre manum* is common = 'to join in a hand-to-hand engagement,' but the boxer armed with the *caestus* of course 'advances his hand to battle' in a very literal sense. Virgil loves thus to slightly alter a common phrase. So too *intendere brachia tergo* 'to make tight his arms with thongs,' not *intendere tergum brachiis* 'make tight the thongs on his arms,' cf. 843; 4. 506 n.

404. *obstipuere...*] 'Their souls (the souls of the on-lookers) were amazed, so vast were the seven huge ox-hides stiff with...'. The sevenfold shield of Ajax (Il. 7. 222) was *ἑπταβόειον | ταύρων ζατρεφέων*, but Virgil's exaggeration here is unnatural and suggests the epic style of a sporting paper. These brutal weapons are very clearly seen in the famous bronze of a boxer found at Rome in 1855 (see Front. to Lanciani's Rome).

406. *longeque recusat*] 'and refuses from afar.' A graphic phrase: his objection to the weapons is emphasised by an involuntary movement backwards expressive of terror.

409. *senior*] 'the old man,' *i.e.* Entellus.

410. *quid...*] *i.e.* if you are astonished at these, what would you have said, if any of you had seen the gloves of Hercules? The thought is from Apoll. Rhod. 2. 145.

411. *tristem*] Because Hercules killed Eryx.

412. *germanus Eryx tuus*] Cf. 23 n.

413. *sanguine...*] The coarse realism of this line, the brag of 410, and the brutality of the whole scene somewhat surprise us in Virgil, but are quite in accordance with the traditions of prize-fighting in all ages. The 'blood and brains' belong to former opponents of Eryx.

414. *his...*] 'with these (cf. 402 n.) he faced the great Alcides: with these I was wont (to fight, to face my opponents) while....' Others render 'to these I was accustomed,' but parallelism strongly suggests the other rendering.

415. *aemula...*] 'nor yet had jealous age sprinkled my brows with snow'; lit. 'was age hoary, scattered on both my temples.' *Aemula*, because age jealously robs us of our former powers, cf. Hor. Od. 1. 11. 7 *invida aetas*.

418. *idque...*] 'and that is determined by good Aeneas, (and) approved by Acestes' judgment.' *sedet*: 'is settled,' cf. 2. 660 n. Some take *auctor Acestes* as not = 'the authority of A.' but 'my backer A.'

421. *duplicem...*] Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 32 ὁ δ' ἐρεμνὴν δίπτυχα λώπην...κάββαλε, said of Amycus in his fight with Pollux, which Virgil freely copies here. The outer garment woven of double thickness is perpetually mentioned in Homer, e.g. Od. 19. 225 χλαῖνα διπλῆ; 13. 224 δίπτυχον λώπην; Il. 3. 125 δίπλακα μαρμαρέην.

422. Note the alliteration and double caesura intended with the hypermetric ending to suggest bulk.

423. *exuit*] 'strips,' *i.e.* of their covering, cf. 2. 153. For the ordinary construction of *exuere* cf. 420.

426—452. *After some preliminary sparring, in which Dares exhibits great activity while Entellus, who is old and out of condition, stands on the defensive, the latter attempts a knock-down blow, but, this being dodged by Dares, overbalances himself and falls.*

426. *constitit...*] 'straightway each took his stand rising upon tip-toe'; cf. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 90 ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερβείς...πόδεσσι.

429. *inmiscentque...*] Apoll. Rhod. 2. 78 χερσὶν ἐναντία χεῖρας ἔμιξεν. *pugnamque lacessunt*, 'and provoke the fray.' This sparring is merely preliminary to real fighting,

which it is intended to 'stir up' or 'provoke.' The usual construction is *laccessere aliquem, bello, praelio, ictibus, maledictis*, and the like.

430. *pedum motu*] 'in nimbleness of foot.' He dances round his opponent; cf. 442 *adsultibus*.

431. *sed tarda...*] 'but his slow knees totter and shake,' lit. 'to him shaking.' *genua*: dissyllabic, *u* being made consonantal, cf. 589 n.

433. *multa...*] 'many a damaging blow the rival champions hurl idly, many they rain on hollow flank and make loud music on the chest.' Some of the blows delivered miss, some hit; the latter are distinguished both by the part struck and the sound produced; they either echo feebly about the hollow ribs, or make a good thud (*vastos sonitus*) on the solid chest. *vulnera* poetically = *ictus*; cf. 438 *tela*.

436. *crebra...crepitant*] Imitative alliteration.

437. *nisu eodem*] 'in one firm poise.'

438. *corpore...*] 'merely with his body (*i.e.* by slightly moving or bending it) and watchful eyes evades the thrusts.' For *corpore* cf. Cic. Cat. 1. 6 *tuas petitiones parva declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi*.

exit, here transitive in a secondary sense (cf. 2. 542 n.); so too *evadere* 3. 282; 5. 689; and 11. 750 *vim viribus exit*.

439. *molibus*] Conington says "works of offence such as mounds, walls, redoubts." Surely not. The man who sits down solemnly to besiege a city with earthworks etc. conducts his attack in a manner absolutely unlike the restless Dares. *Molibus* goes with *celsam*: the town 'with its towering bulwarks' is exactly like Entellus *mole valens*, and the assailant does not formally lay siege to it but '(tries) now one approach, now another, and cunningly roams round every point, plying it with varied attacks,' exactly as Dares does. *Sedet* in 440 does not imply inactivity but is merely = 'encamps.'

444. *venientem...*] 'swiftly the other foresaw the blow shooting sheer downwards.' For *a vertice* cf. 1. 114 n. The repeated *w*-sound gives the idea of weight or force. Cf. 500.

446. *ultro*] 'toppling over'; cf. 2. 145 n. The connection with *ultra* is marked here.

447. *ipse*] 'himself'; it was Dares he expected to see on the ground. For *gravis graviterque* cf. 118 n.

448. *cava*] 'hollow,' *i.e.* with age. *Erymantho*: for the ending cf. 6. 623 n.

450. *studiis*] 'eagerly': abl. used adverbially, cf. 2. 323 n.

451. *caelo*] 'heavenwards.'

453—484. *Entellus renews the combat with fury and attacks Dares with a perfect tempest of blows, until Aeneas stops the fight. Dares is led away in piteous plight, while Entellus, to show his strength, kills the bullock he received as a prize with a single blow and then declares his determination never to fight again.*

454. *vim...*] 'rouses his violence with wrath; shame too fires his strength and conscious worth (*i.e.* the consciousness of worth).'

457. *nunc ille*] 'now, look you! with his left.' For the pleonastic *ille* cf. 186 n.

458. *quam multa...*] 'thick as the hail when storm-clouds rattle on the roofs, so with swift-following strokes ceaselessly with either hand the hero beats and buffets Dares.' The alliteration in *culminibus crepitant*, the sibilants in *densis ictibus heros*, the weak caesuras in 460, and the assonance in the two frequentative verbs *pulsat versat*—all emphasise the idea of a ceaseless storm of blows. *versat*: lit. 'keeps turning,' *i.e.* knocking from side to side.

466. *non vires alias...*] 'seest thou not that strength alters and gods change? Yield to heaven.' Editors needlessly debate whether the 'strength' was that of Entellus or of Dares, for the words apply equally to both. The strength of one champion was greater and that of the other less, because the gods had deserted the one and gone over to the other. Dares is urged to recognise this fact and give in, as he may do without shame, for he will be yielding not to man but God.

467. *dixitque et...*] 'he spoke and straightway parted...': the strong conjunctive particles *que et* mark that the act follows the word instantaneously, cf. 1. 227 n.

468. *ast...*] From Il. 23. 695

φίλοι δ' ἀμφέσταν ἑταῖροι,
ὃ μιν ἄγον δι' ἀγῶνος ἐφελκομένοισι πόδεσσιν
αἶμα παχὺ πτύοντα, κάρη βάλλονθ' ἐτέρωσε.

Virgil's exaggeration of his model in *crassumque...dentes* is hardly an improvement.

471. *galeamque ensemque*] The second prize, cf. 367. *vocati*: 'duly summoned.'

473. *superans animis*] 'triumphant in spirit.'

476. *et qua...*] 'and from what death ye reclaimed and preserve Dares.'

478. *durosque...*] 'and drawing back his right hand balanced the iron glove between its horns towering, then dashed it....' *Libravit* is not 'swung,' as many render it, but describes the 'balancing' or 'poising' of the hand necessary to ensure a true stroke. Note the position and force of *arduus*.

481. A well-known instance of sound accommodated to sense. *tremens*: 'quivering.'

483. *hanc tibi...*] The deified Eryx demands the sacrifice of some life, and so the bull is sacrificed instead of Dares. The force of *meliores* is disputed. Some explain (1) 'better' than that of such a coward as Dares, and so Henry—'the usual brutal scoff of the conqueror.' This view they support by 12. 296, where the savage Messapus cuts down Aulestes at the altar crying, '*haec melior magnis data victima divis.*' But in 12. 296 the force of *melior* is absolutely determined by the context, and there is no reason for interpreting the words of Eryx here by the brutal cry of Messapus. It is much better to explain (2) that the life of a bull is a better offering than that of a man—*quae sine piaculi contagione mactata est*, Donatus. Cf. Ov. Fast. 6. 162 *hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus*, where a pig is sacrificed for a child.

485—499. *The archery match. A dove tied by a string to a mast is the mark. The four competitors draw lots for the order in which they shall shoot.*

486. *invitat...*] 'he invites any who perchance may wish': for subj. cf. 290 n.

487. *ingentique manu*] Cf. 241 n.

488. *volucrem...*] 'a fluttering dove on a rope passed round her,' *i.e.* passed round her foot. The words *traiecto in fune* cannot mean 'passed round the mast,' for (1) their position forbids it, (2) the attachment to the mast is mentioned in the next line, and (3) lines 510, 511 clearly show the meaning.

490. *deiectamque...*] 'a brazen helmet received the lot cast into it.' The ancient method of drawing lots was by writing the names on pebbles, which were then cast into an urn or helmet which was shaken (cf. 6. 432) until one lot leapt out (*exire, excidere*, cf. Il. 3. 325 κλήρος ὄρουσεν; 7. 182 ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κλήρος κυνέης; Hor. Od. 2. 3. 26 *omnium | versatur urna serius ocibus | sors exitura*, and in Gk. πάλος 'a lot' from πάλω 'to shake').

492. *locus*] 'the place,' *i.e.* the lot which gave him his place.

493. **Mnestheus...Mnestheus]** Cf. 4. 25 n.
496. **Pandare...**] Pandarus was incited (cf. *iussus*) by Athene to shoot at Menelaus and so 'confound the treaty' (cf. Il. 4. 269 *ἐπεὶ σὺν γ' ὄρκι' ἔχευαν Τρῶες*) which had been made between the Greeks and Trojans. See Il. 4. 86 *seq.*
498. **Acestes]** *i.e.* the lot which represented him, cf. 2. 312 n.
- 500—544. *Hippocoon hits the mast, Mnestheus cuts the cord, Eurytion hits the dove. Acestes shoots into the air, and his arrow takes fire, vanishing like a shooting star. Aeneas accepts the startling omen as favourable and bestows the first prize on Acestes.*
500. **validis...incurvant viribus arcus]** Alliteration to express effort.
501. **pro se quisque]** 'each with all his might'; cf. 12. 552 *pro se quisque viri summa nituntur opum vi*; Il. 1. 272.
505. **timuitque...**] 'and the bird fluttered with her wings in fright, while all around echoed with their loud beating.' The exact correspondence of phrase with 215 (*plausumque exterrita pinnis | dat...ingentem*) and the use of *plaudentem* 516 settle the meaning of *ingenti plausu* here. Still many render 'with huge cheers,' and refer to the fact that in Homer the man who cuts the string is cheered (Il. 23. 869 *ἀτὰρ κελάδησαν Ἀχαιοί*).
507. **adducto arcu]** 'with bowstring drawn close,' *i.e.* to his breast.
508. **pariterque...**] 'and directed eye and shaft in harmony'; the phrase describes a true aim.
509. **ipsam...nodos]** The emphatic position of the words marks the antithesis: 'the bird *indeed* itself...he could not hit, *but* he cut the knots'; cf. 1. 184 n. Homer has (Il. 23. 865) *ὄρνιθος μὲν ἄμαρτε...αὐτὰρ ὁ μῆρινθον βάλε*.
512. **Notos atque...in nubila]** 'to the south and the clouds.' For the position of the preposition cf. 2. 654; 6. 416, 692; 8. 143 *non legatos nec...per artem*.
514. **fratrem...**] He appeals to Pandarus as a sort of deified hero who guarded archers, just as Eutellus (483) appealed to Eryx.
516. **nigra]** An artist's touch: the bird shows clear on the background of 'black' cloud.
517. **vitamque...**] 'and left its life among the stars of ether.' The ether, or fine fiery substance which surrounds the universe, was considered to be the source of life in all bodies celestial (cf. 1. 608 n.) as well as terrestrial (see note on 6. 724-751). At death this ethereal substance quits the body and reseeks its native

place; G. 4. 219-227. Here there is an artistic contrast between the life which remains in heaven and the body which falls back to earth. For a noble use of a like contrast cf. Eccl. xii. 7.

521. *ostentans...*] ‘displaying his veteran skill,’ Papillon. For *pater* added thus cf. 1. 412 n.

patēr arcumque: Virgil occasionally thus lengthens the final syllables of nouns in arsis, cf. 2. 369 *pavōr et*; 6. 768 *Numitōr et*; 2. 563 *domūs et*; 3. 112 *nemus hinc*; 5. 337 *Euryalūs et*; 4. 64 *pectoribus inhians*; 1. 478 n. *pulvis*. Probably he regarded these peculiar scansiones ‘as antiquarian ornaments’ (Nettleship, see his Appendix to Con. vol. 3). For similar lengthening of verbal endings see 1. 651 n.; 667 n.

522. *magnoque...*] ‘and destined to be a portent of great presage; long afterwards the mighty event (or ‘issue’) proved it, when (lit. ‘and’) awful seers proclaimed the late fulfilment of the omen.’ The arrow taking fire was a portent presaging some great event which should occur long after (cf. Il. 2. 324 *τέρας ... ὄψιμον ὀψιτέλεστον*), and accordingly long after some great event was explained by the seers or diviners to be a fulfilment of this portent. That the portent, though startling, was a good one is shown by the conduct of Aeneas (and cf. *laetum* 531). Thus much is plain, but Virgil deliberately leaves the event which was the fulfilment of the portent a mystery. Commentators therefore vex their souls idly to explain what that event was. It cannot be the burning of the ships described 659 *seq.* because of *sera* 524; the ascent of Aeneas to heaven or the apotheosis of Julius Caesar (cf. the *Iulium sidus*) are good guesses, though some say that it must be something which happened to Acestes or the Sicilians.

526. *signavitque...*] ‘and marked its path (cf. 2. 697) with flame, and vanished thinly wasting into air (cf. 4. 705).’

527. *refixa*] The stars are often spoken of as ‘studding’ the firmament (4. 482), and shooting stars (*volantia sidera*) are stars which have got ‘unfastened,’ ‘unloosed.’ *crinem*: cf. *stella crinita* = ἀστήρ κομήτης.

529. *attonitis...*] ‘stood motionless in amazement of soul.’ Their amazement expresses itself in their motionless attitude.

530. *nec...omen abnuit*] ‘nor does he reject (*i.e.* he warmly welcomes) the omen.’ An ominous word or event was, if bad, immediately deprecated, or, if good, welcomed, so as to avoid the evil and make sure of the good. Hence in Gk. commonly ἐδεξάμην τὸν ὄρνιν, τὸ ῥηθέν, and the opposite ἀπέπτυσα.

534. *exsortem...*] ‘receive (cf. 385) a special distinction.’ Cf. 8. 552 *ducunt exsortem (equum) Aeneae*, and in Gk. com-

monly *ἐξαιρετον δίδοναι* or *λαμβάνειν τι*, of giving or receiving a special distinction, the phrase originally applying to something which in distributing booty by lot was 'picked out' specially for the chief, cf. 3. 323 n. The MSS. rather support *honores*; if so *exsortem* must go with *te* = 'specially,' 'out of due course'; but *exsors* applied to persons usually means 'having no share in,' cf. 6. 428, and see Dict.

535. *Anchisae munus*] 'a gift of Anchises,' *i.e.* something which had been given to Anchises and was treasured by him as 'a gift.' Such gifts to honoured guests or friends were common in the heroic age, and were set much store by and guarded as treasures, *κειμήλια* (cf. Od. 1. 311-313, and our 'heirlooms,' 'keepsakes').

536. *inpressum signis*] 'embossed with figures.' Apparently *inpressum* is the Gk. *ἐμπαιστός* applied to work executed in relief (probably not by hammering but by actually fastening metal figures on to the surface; see Marquardt).

537. *in magno munere*] 'by way of' or 'as a mighty gift.' The phrase is short for *in magni muneris loco*, cf. Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 48, where *hoc in beneficii loco petitum est* is immediately followed by *hoc in summo beneficio impetratum est*.

538. *ferre*] Cf. 248 n. *sui*: 'of himself.'

541. *praelato...*] 'grudge the honour set before his own.' The usual construction is *invidere aliquid alicui* 'to begrudge a thing to a person,' but Papillon compares Cic. Rull. 102 *honori inviderunt meo*; Phil. 6. 4 *invidebit meae gloriae*.

543. *proximus...*] 'comes forward next in gifts,' *i.e.* next as regards receiving a prize.

545—603. *Aeneas sends a message to Ascanius bidding him bring up his youthful band of horsemen. They advance in three companies headed by Priam, Atys, and Ascanius, and after moving in procession round the ring, exhibit a 'Military Ride,' in which the movements are as intricate as the Labyrinth and as lively as those of a shoal of dolphins. The show became regular afterwards, first at Alba Longa, then at Rome.*

545. *misso*] Cf. 286 n.

547. *Epytiden*] Cf. Il. 17. 323 *Περιφαντι...κῆρυκ' Ἡπυτίδῃ*, where Periphas is described as an aged herald in the service of Anchises, and *Ἡπυτίδῃ* clearly describes his profession as 'a loud-voiced herald' (*ἡπύτα κῆρυξ* Il. 7. 384).

548. *Ascanio*] with *dic* 551, 'to Ascanius,...give order to lead (*ducat* after *dic* jussive, cf. 4. 635) on his companies in honour of his grandsire (*avo*, ethic dat., cf. 603).'

552. *infusum*] The people had 'streamed in' to get a closer view of the last two contests.

553. *incedunt*] 'advance,' in solemn procession, cf. 1. 46 n.

554. *frenatis*] 'bridled.' A graphic word suggesting mettlesome steeds and skilful riders.

556. *omnibus...*] 'the locks of all are duly crowned with a close-trimmed wreath.' *In morem* merely suggests order and uniformity as opposed to disorder (cf. *sine more* 694). For *tonsa corona* cf. 774 and G. 3. 21 *ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus olivae*; it seems to describe a wreath which was 'close-clipped' and 'trim.'

In 673 Ascanius is described as wearing a helmet, and commentators ask 'How then could the wreath press the hair?' The difficulty probably never struck Virgil, but we may assume, if we like, (1) that the wreath was worn over the helmet, or (2) with Henry, that the lads as they ride round have not yet donned their helmets, which might indeed have rendered them hard to recognise (cf. 575 and 672). The rendering 'have their hair cut short (*premo* = 'prune,' 'trim') in a close-shorn ring' or 'crop' is clever but unnatural.

557. *ferunt*] The nom. is *pars* = 'some' understood, cf. 108 n.

559. *obtorti*] Clearly a reference to the golden *torques* which was a common military decoration, see Dict. s.v.

560. *terni*] Merely = 'three.' The *ductores* are the boy-captains named immediately afterwards, and they are each at the head of a company (*turma*) of twelve. The three companies are separated one from the other and advance 'in divided array,' and each company has not only 'a captain' but 'a trainer,' *magister*, of whom Epitydes was probably the chief (cf. 579). That the *ductores* and *magistri* are not the same is shown by 668, where the *magistri* vainly try to control Ascanius, cf. 133 n.

564. *avi*] It was a Greek custom to give a boy his grandfather's name, cf. Arist. Av. 283.

565. *auctura Italos*] 'destined to increase the Italian race,' *i.e.* by the number and fame of his descendants.

566. *bicolor...*] 'dappled with patches of white.' *vestigia* ...: "and displays | white-stepping pasterns, and white-towering brow," Rhoades. *primi pedis*: not 'fore-foot' but 'pastern'; so elsewhere *primi digiti* 'finger-tips'; Prop. 2. 26. 11 *primas palmas*.

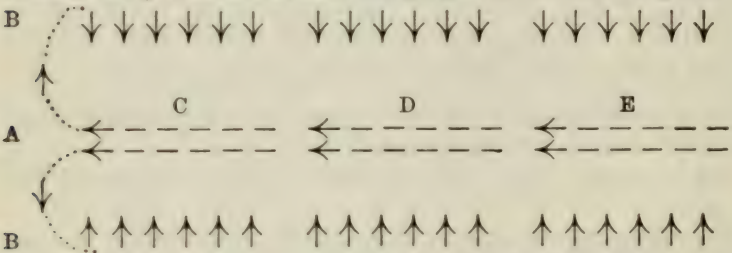
568. *Atys...parvus Atys*] Cf. 4. 25 n. "It is a subtle touch in Virgil to introduce Atys, the ancestor of the gens *Atia*,

as the bosom friend of Iulus, for the mother of Octavian was Atia, and she was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Julia, sister of C. Julius Caesar." Deuticke.

575. *excipiunt...*] 'welcome the timorous youths with cheers, and rejoice to gaze upon them, tracing (in them) the features of their sires of old.'

577. *postquam...*] 'after they had ridden proudly round the whole concourse of their gazing comrades'; for *lūstro* in this sense of 'traverse' cf. 3. 385. Many render 'scanned,' and *lustrare* is commonly used (as 6. 679) = 'pass in review,' 'review (troops),' but how can troops 'review' spectators?

580. *olli...*] 'they galloped apart in equal ranks and their three companies divided their line with parted bands; then recalled they wheeled round charging with hostile weapons.'



The youths after riding round in double file, forming an *agmen*, pass up the middle of the circus until they are in position A, then they gallop apart, eighteen on the right to the right, and eighteen on the left to the left, until they nearly reach the edge of the circus, when they wheel round into the position B, B, and then charge. *parēs*: because each 'pair' or file in the *agmen* would become 'a pair' of opponents in the charge. *terni* are the youths in each of the three companies (previously called *turmac*) C, D, E, here called *agmina* because in position A they are in position for marching. The *chori* are the three halves of these three companies. What the three *ductores* do is not stated, but on no theory can they be divided equally between the two bodies.

584. *adversi...*] 'confronting one another in the lists, and interweave alternate circles with circles.' The first manoeuvre described is simple, but is followed by 'fresh charges' and 'fresh retreats,' in the course of which the two opposing divisions and their various parts wheel in and out in the most elaborate manner. Of course in this 'mimicry of war' there could be no actual charge, but just when the two squadrons were meeting the actual shock would be avoided by skilful

wheeling in and out of the six companies. Combined figure-skating illustrates the matter.

588. **Labyrinthus**] See Dict. of Ant. s.v., also 6. 27 *seq.*

589. **parietibus...**] 'had a way woven with blind walls and deceit perplexing with a thousand paths, so that in it (*qua* = *ut ea* 'so that there') undetected and irretraceable error made delusive the tokens of the track.' Partly imitated from Catullus 64. 114 *ne Labyrinthis e flexibus egredientem | tecti frustraretur inextricabilis error.*

parietibus: scanned *pārjetibus*, *i* having its consonantal sound *y*, cf. 663; 1. 2. n.; 2. 16 *abiete* as a dactyl; 6. 33 *omnia* at end of line as dissyllable, and so above 432 *genua* as a trochee.

593. **texuntque...**] "weaving the sportive web of flight and fray," Rhoades.

594. **delphinum similes...**] As the first simile suggests the complexity so this suggests the vivacity of the evolutions.

596. **hunc...**] The *ludus Troiae* was introduced at Rome by Sulla, revived by Julius Caesar, and became common under the empire, especially under Augustus who frequently celebrated it (Suet. Aug. 43 *Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime*). To gratify his patron Virgil here invents for it a legendary pedigree. The first performance in Sicily has just been described, and now he attributes the deliberate 'revival' (*rettulit* 598) of it as an 'institution' (*morem*) to Ascanius, who introduces it at Alba, whence it passes 'in succession' (*porro*) to Rome and is there carefully 'observed as a ceremony of their forefathers' which still indicates its origin by its name (cf. 602).

598. **priscos Latinos**] The phrase is technical (cf. Liv. 1. 3 who says of Latinus Silvius, great-grandson of Ascanius, *ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini appellati*) and seems to describe the early inhabitants of the district round Alba as opposed to the later 'Latin league.' Some print *Priscos*.

602. **Troiaque...**] 'and now the boys are called "Troy," their troop (is called) Trojan.' Others place the comma after *nunc*, 'and it (*i.e.* the game) is called Troy, the boys (are called) the Trojan troop'; but the natural pause of the line and the singular *dicitur* favour the other rendering.

604—640. *Juno sends Iris from heaven to where the Trojan women on the beach were mingling with their lamentations for Anchises regrets for their own troubles. Iris, in the disguise of Beroe, reminds them of their ceaseless wanderings, urging them to fire the fleet and so make sure of stopping in Sicily.*

604. *hic...*] 'here first Fortune changing plighted a new pledge,' *i.e.* of evil instead of good. *Novare* can = (1) 'to renew' or (2) 'to make new,' 'alter,' generally with the idea of altering for the worse. Here the force of *fidem novavit* is made clear by *mutata*, which really partly governs *fidem* (cf. 2. 1 n.)

607. *ventos*] To aid her flight, cf. 4. 223 n.

608. *movens*] 'plotting,' cf. 3. 34. *nequum...*: 'her ancient grudge not yet fed full'; cf. Shak. Merch. of V. 1. 3. 48 'I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.' For Juno's anger cf. 1. 25-28. For *saturata dolorem* cf. Appendix.

609. *per mille coloribus arcum*] 'along the bow of a thousand hues.' The position of *per* is possible because *mille coloribus* is = an adj. 'many-hued.'

610. *cito...*] 'flies down on speedy path.' *virgo*: pleonastic, cf. 1. 412 n., but here without much special force.

611. *lustrat*] Certainly 'traverses' here and not 'sees' (cf. 578 n.), which would be intolerable between *conspicit* and *videt*.

614. Note the heavy spondees of this and the next line with the emphatic *flebant* and *flentes*. The mourning of the women is a part of the funeral 'solemnities,' of which the games form the men's portion. Naturally, therefore, the tears of the ladies for 'the lost Anchises' are blended with some tears for themselves, as they 'gaze on the deep ocean' and think on the gay time their lords are having.

615. *heu, tot vada...superesse*] Acc. and infinitive of indignation or strong emotion—"Alas, (to think) that so many floods remain..." is the one cry of all.' Cf. the similar construction 1. 37 n.

617. *urbem orant*] The desire for a 'city' is the leading thought of the Aeneid, cf. 1. 437.

618. *haud ignara nocendi*] 'not unskilled (=well skilled) in working ill.' Litotes, cf. 56 n.

619. *deae vestemque*] A long flowing robe marks a goddess, cf. 1. 404.

621. *cui...fuissent*] 'who had once had family and name and children,' *i.e.* while Troy still stood. The subj. *fuissent*, because the line gives, not an explanatory remark of Virgil's, but the *thought* which induced Iris to assume the shape of Beroë. As one who 'had seen better days' Iris thinks that she is sure to be discontented. Others say *cui=quippe cui*, but this causal *qui* needs some introductory word, cf. next note.

623. *miserae, quas non...traxerit*] 'wretched in that

(*quas* = *quippe quas*, cf. 2. 248 n.) no Grecian hand dragged you to death....

626. *septima*...] 'already the seventh summer...rolls along wherein we traverse all seas, all lands, voyaging past so many cruel rocks, beneath so many cruel stars, still pursuing over the mighty sea a flying Italy, and tossed upon the billows.' For *septima vertitur aestas...cum ferimur* cf. 3. 646 n. In 1. 755 (see notes there) they reach Carthage in the 'seventh summer' and, as they spend the winter there (4. 193), Virgil's chronology here is loose. For *ferimur* with an acc. = 'traverse' cf. 1. 524 n. *emensae*, 'measuring out,' suggests slowness and weariness and is equally applicable to passing *by* rocks and *beneath* stars, but an English equivalent to so admirable a word is not to be had. For its *present* sense cf. 6. 335 n. *fugientem Italiam*: cf. 3. 496; 6. 61.

631. *iacere*] Common of 'throwing up' works, 'laying' foundations, e.g. *vallum, aggerem, molem, fundamenta iacere*.

633. *iam*] 'at last.' For the desire to revive the old names in a new land see 3. 349 where it is actually carried out by Helenus, and cf. Boston, New York, etc.

636. *Cassandrae*] Cf. 2. 246 and note.

638. *iam*...] 'now is the time for deeds.' Note the terse stimulating language with the abrupt monosyllabic ending, for which cf. 2. 170.

639. *nec tantis*...] 'such mighty prodigies (*i.e.* as the vision of Cassandra) admit no delay.' *en quattuor*...: how the altars came to be there the poet does not explain nor need we inquire.

641—663. *Iris flings the first torch herself, but an aged nurse checks the crowd from following her example by crying out that she is not Beroë but some divine being. As the women stand hesitating the goddess soars heavenward, when a fury seizes upon them and they fire the ships.*

642. *conixa*...] Cf. Tennyson, *Passing of Arthur*, 'and strongly wheel'd and threw it.' Notice the strong pause after *et iacit* and in the next line after *Iliadum*, imitating in the one case the pause which follows a vigorous effort, in the other the pause of astonishment.

645. *tot*] 'all': he had fifty sons and fifty daughters. For *tot* referring to a well-known number cf. 1. 204 n.

646. *vobis*] Ethic dat., 'see you,' 'let me tell you.'

648. *ardentesque...oculos*] Cf. Il. 1. 199 *αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω* | *Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην δεινὴ δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν*. *spiritus*:

'spirit,' 'fire,' see Dict. s.v. and Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 310 *Turbonis in armis* | *spiritum et incessum*, where *incessum* answers to *gressus* ('gait') here.

651. *indignantem quod...careret*] 'chafing because she alone had no share in such a ceremony...'; the subj. because Beroë's own words are quoted.

654. *at matres...*] 'but the matrons at first doubtful and distracted between...were gazing at the ships with jealous eyes, when suddenly...then however (659) startled by the marvel... they cry out and seize...' *Primo* is answered by *tum vero*; *spectare* is the historic inf. and denotes that they began to gaze and continued gazing until suddenly startled by the flight of Iris, when they break out into a sudden cry, as expressed in the graphic present *conclamant*. *miserum*: 'unhappy,' 'infatuate.' *fatis vocantia regna*: 'the realm which summons them with the voice of destiny,' *i.e.* Italy.

658. *secuit arcum*] Cf. 6. 899 *secat viam*, only in this case the 'bow' itself forms the 'path' along which the goddess wings her way. As fishes (cf. 595) and birds literally 'cut' or 'cleave' water and air as they move, so *secare* comes to be used of vigorous active movement with an acc. of that over which, not through which, it takes place. Iris 'cleaves her way along the bow': she ascends by it, as she had descended by it (609), cf. Ov. Met. 11. 632 *remeat per quos modo venerat arcus*. Those who render 'traced a rainbow' forget that a rainbow is stationary; a flying goddess might, like a rocket, be said to 'trace a curve' or 'trace a bow,' but could not possibly 'trace a rainbow.'

660. *conclamant,...*] 'they cry out, and (some) snatch fire from the household hearths, others....' *Penetrales foci* are the hearths in the centre of each home at which the Penates are worshipped, cf. Ellis, Cat. 68. 102. The fire thus snatched from the 'household hearths' in the camp is contrasted with that taken from the altars of Neptune (640). For *pars* omitted cf. 108 n.

662. *inmissis habenis*] 'with loosened reins'; the fire 'races' along.

663. *pictas abiete puppes*] 'painted sterns of pine'; *abiete* is abl. of material, and it is its position between *pictas* and *puppes* which allows it to be used so boldly = *abiernas*, cf. 266 n., 609 n. Others prefer to call it an abl. of respect, 'painted in (respect to) their pine-wood.' To say that the phrase is = *picta abiete puppes* explains nothing, and ships are 'made of pine' and then painted, not 'made of painted pine.' The Homeric *μυλοπάριοι* (Il. 2. 637), used as an epithet of

ships, is said to describe the actual painting of a 'vermilion-cheeked' face at the prow (Leaf *ad loc.*)

664—684. *Eumelus carries the news to the circus, and Ascanius gallops off and appeals to the women to desist. They come to their senses and fly panic-stricken; the Trojans arrive and endeavour to quench the flames.*

664. **cuneos**] For these wedge-shaped divisions of the seats see plan in Dict. of Ant. s.v. *Theatrum*.

665. **ipsi**] He 'bears news of the burning of the ships' to them, and they turning round see the smoke 'themselves.'

667. **ut**] Cf. 329, 388, where the explanation given of *ut* is proved by the *sic* which follows it here.

669. **exanimis**] 'breathless,' with running after him. **magistri**: cf. 560 n.

672. **vestras spes uritis**] 'ye burn your own hopes,' *i.e.* the ships which are your only hope. With us 'to burn your ships' is proverbially = 'to do something desperate.'

673. **galeam...**] '(therewith) he flung before his feet his empty helm': *inanem* is graphic. His object is clearly that he may be recognised, and this makes for Henry's view referred to, 556 n.

676. **diversa per litora passim**] 'scattering on all sides o'er the shore'; lit. 'over shores (*i.e.* parts of the shore) lying in different directions.'

677. **et sicubi...**] = *et saxa c. petunt sicubi saxa c. sunt*, 'wherever there are hollow rocks they make for them.'

679. **excussaue...**] 'and Juno is shaken from their heart'; *i.e.* the madness inspired by Juno. In antiquity the deity is supposed to take actual 'possession' of an inspired or frenzied person, cf. 6. 79.

681. **udo...**] 'beneath the moist timbers the tow still lives (*i.e.* keeps alight).' The tow would be used for caulking the timbers.

682. **lentusque...**] 'and the smouldering heat consumes....'

685—699. *Aeneas prays Jupiter either to send help or to annihilate them on the spot, and a great storm of rain extinguishes the flames.*

685. **umeris...**] 'rent the robe from his shoulders,' as a sign of grief, cf. 12. 609 *it scissa veste Latinus*. The custom was Oriental, and is often referred to in the Bible.

686. **auxilio vocare deos**] = *vocare deos ut sint auxilio*.

687. **exosus]** = *exosus es*, cf. 2. 2 n. **ad unum:** 'to the last man.'

688. **si quid...]** 'if thy tender mercy of old hath any regard for human woes'; cf. Ps. xxv. 6 'Remember, O Lord, thy tender mercies and thy lovingkindnesses; for they have been ever of old.' For *pietas* cf. 1. 10 n.

690. **tenues res]** 'threadbare fortunes.'

691. **vel tu].** The pronoun emphasises the direct personal character of the appeal. **quod superest:** 'the little that is left,' 'this poor remnant,' *i.e.* of the Trojans: accusative after *demitte*. For this use of *quod superest* cf. 796. 'Save or slay us,' says Aeneas; 'we are such a little remnant that we can bear no further loss.'

Others give 'Or do thou—for that alone is left—slay me,' but to omit so emphatic a word as *me* is impossible. Look at the famous prayer of Moses, Ex. xxxii. 32 'and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book.' In what language could 'me' be omitted? **morti**=*ad mortem*, cf. 2. 19 n.

694. **sine more]** 'rudely,' 'wildly'; the opposite of *in morem* 556. Others give 'without bounds,' or 'without example'; and Calvert quotes Ex. ix. 24 'hail, and fire mingled with the hail, very grievous, such as there was none like it....'

695. **ardua terrarum]** 'the lofty places of the earth.'

697. **inplentur super]** = *superinplentur*, 'are filled to overflowing.'

700—718. *Aeneas in his trouble hesitates whether not to give up his quest and settle in Sicily. The seer Nautes urges him to persevere, but to leave the infirm and timid behind to found a city in Sicily by the help of Acastes.*

701. **nunc...]** 'now this way and now that shifted and pondered in his heart mighty cares.' Virgil is fond of elaborate renderings of Homer's simple *διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν*, cf. 720; 4. 286, 630.

704. **unum]** 'above all else,' cf. 2. 426 n.

706. **hac...]** 'by this (art of divination) he gave replies (declaring) either what the great wrath of the gods portended or the order of destiny demanded.' Throughout the Aeneid two supernatural forces are regarded as affecting men, (1) the will of particular deities, (2) destiny: *e.g.* (1) Juno continually tries to keep the Trojans from Italy, and (2) destiny has decreed that they shall reach it. It is the function of the seer, when consulted as to either one or the other, to give 'answers' concerning

them. *Quae* here does not agree with *responsa*, but *responsa dabit* = 'he answered and told them what things...'

MS. authority is wholly for *haec*. If read it must mean 'she (Pallas) gave replies (through his lips) either as to what...,' but *haec* would naturally refer to *arte*, and it is obvious that the point to be emphasised is, not that Pallas has prophetic power, but that Nautes has it by her assistance. To render 'he gave answers such as these (*haec*), that is, either what...' seems intolerable.

708. *solatus*] with present force = 'consoling,' cf. 6. 335 n. *isque* picks up the nominative *Nautes* from 704.

710. *quidquid...*] 'whate'er shall hap all fortune is to be conquered by enduring.' Note the assonance in *fortuna ferendo*, suggesting the derivation of *fors* from *fero*, cf. 6. 160. Conington quotes 22 as "parallel" to this line, but Henry rightly calls it "a point-blank opposite."

713. *amissis...*] 'those who are left shipless (*i.e.* by the fire) and those who are weary of...'

716. *quidquid...*] 'all that is infirm or fearful among thy band (*tecum*)'; *quidquid*, a vague neuter, includes men, women, and children alike.

717. *habeant...sine*] 'let them possess.'

718. *Acestam*] The city is to be called after Acestes, to whom Aeneas 'grants' (cf. *permissio*) the honour of being its founder. Cf. Thuc. 6. 2 τῶν Τρώων τινες διαφυγόντες Ἀχαιοὺς... ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Σικελίαν... πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν Ἔργη τε καὶ Ἐγέστα. Virgil connects the name *Egesta* with *Acestes*; *Segesta* is probably an alteration from *Egesta* to avoid the ill-omened sound *egestas*.

719—745. *At first Aeneas is perplexed, but in the night Anchises appears, bidding him follow the counsel of Nautes and sail to Italy with his bravest followers, where he is to appeal to the Sibyl, and, under her guidance, seek Anchises in Elysium, that he may learn the fortune of himself and his descendants. Then at dawn the vision vanishes, and Aeneas prays to the Penates.*

720. *tum vero*] These words resume and emphasise the preceding clause — 'fevered by such words...then indeed his soul is torn with all anxieties.' He was anxious before (701), but, after the advice of Nautes, *then* he was indeed perplexed: hence the motive for the vision of Anchises. Cf. Liv. 2. 29 *quo repulso tum vero...*; Sall. Cat. 61. 1 *confecto praelio tum vero...*

722. **caelo delapsa**] Anchises himself is in Elysium (cf. 733), but the 'vision' or 'semblance' (*facies*) of Anchises comes 'from heaven,' being sent by Jupiter (726) just as visions and dreams constantly are.

724. From Cat. 64. 215 *nate, mihi longa iucundior unice vita.*

725. **nate, Iliacis...**] Repeated from 3. 182.

730. **gens...**] 'a people hard and rugged in their rearing must thou overcome in Latium. Yet of Pluto first...': *ante, i.e.* on landing at Cumae (cf. the prophecy of Helenus 3. 441) before reaching Latium. The striking rhythm *Ditis | tamen ante* (only here in books 1-6, but 8. 362 and eleven times in books 10-12) seems intended to throw great emphasis on *Ditis*.

733. **non me...**] 'for accursed Tartarus with its sorrowful shades does not possess me, but I haunt the pleasant assemblies of the blessed in Elysium.' MS. authority is strong for *tristes umbrae* in apposition to *Tartara*, but some read *tristesve* or *tristesque*, the meaning being the same in any case. *Tristes umbrae* and *amoena concilia* both describe place, though they also suggest the persons who occupy it; hence to render *umbrae* 'spirits that sorrow' is inaccurate, and *amoena* certainly describes place only, cf. 6. 633. Conington, who reads *tristesve*, says that the division is *threefold*, into Tartarus, Elysium, and the region which is neither one nor the other, described 6. 426-540, but the contrast between the good and the bad, gloom and gladness, Tartarus and Elysium, is too strongly marked to admit of such an out of the way division.

735. **colo. huc**] Hiatus helped by the full stop, cf. 3. 606 n.

736. **nigrarum**] Because offered to the gods below, cf. 6. 153 n. **multo sanguine**: 'when many a victim has been offered.'

738. Calvert quotes Shak. Mids. N. D. 3. 2. 379

'For night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast,
And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger;
At whose approach ghosts, wandering here and there,
Troop home to churchyards.'

So the Ghost in Hamlet 1. 5. 58 'But, soft! methinks I scent the morning air.' The phrase 'dark night wheels her course midway' is = the night is far advanced, and so not inconsistent with a reference to the 'breath of Dawn.' **saevus**: because it separates us.

741. **quo deinde ruis?**] 'whither then art thou rushing?' *Deinde* is exactly our 'then' or 'now' used in indignant

questions. *proripis*: sc. *te*, the omission of which marks the excited style.

743. *sopitos*...] 'rouses the slumbering flame,' *i.e.* on the hearth, by which were kept the images of the household gods (*Lares*). The fire in the temple of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, at Rome was supposed to have been actually brought by Aeneas from Troy, and this public hearth-fire is thus traced back to the very beginnings of the race, so that *Vesta* is the 'hoary-headed' (*cana*) goddess, cf. 1. 292.

745. *farre pio*] Cf. 4. 517 n. *veneratur*: 'worships, 'adores.' The *mola salsa*, consisting of 'sacred meal' mingled with salt, was regularly offered to the Penates (cf. Hor. Od. 3. 23. 20), and especially to expiate ill-omened dreams, cf. Tib. 3. 4. 9 *omina noctis* | *farre pio placant et saliente sale*.

746—761. *Aeneas communicates his resolve to Acestes and his followers. They make lists of those who are to stay behind and repair the fleet while Aeneas marks out the new town.*

748. *et quæ*...] 'and what resolve is now established in his soul'; *nunc* in contrast with the doubts of 701, 702.

750. *transcribunt*...] 'they enrol matrons for the town and set ashore such folk as desire it—souls with no craving for high renown.' *Transcribo* describes a formal enrolment (cf. *adscriptus, conscriptus*) on a new register.

752. *ipsi*] 'they themselves'; in vigorous contrast to the spiritless creatures they leave behind. *reponunt*: 'replace,' *i.e.* with new timbers which they put in place of those 'half consumed by the flames.'

754. *exigui*...] 'few in number but manhood quick for war.' *Virtus* is a natural apposition to *exigui*, being almost = *vir*. The opposite of *vivida bello* is given 11. 338 *frigida bello* | *dextera*.

755. *designat aratro*] The details of this Roman custom are given by Servius—*Conditores civitatis taurum in dextram, vaccam intrinsecus iungebant, et incincti ritu Gabino, id est, togæ parte caput velati, parte succincti tenebant stivam ut glebæ omnes intrinsecus caderent, et ita sulco ducto loca murorum designabant, aratrum suspendentes circa loca portarum.*

758. *indicitque*...] 'proclaims a court and gives laws to his assembled senators.' *Indicit* as in the common phrases *indicare iustitiam, ferias, concilium*, etc.; the 'court' is for the administration of justice, while the senators meet to make laws, but it will be noted that Virgil makes Acestes 'present' these laws to the senate, who accept them from him much as

the Roman senate did from Augustus. It is the senate not of the Republic but of the Empire which he has in view.

759. For this noted temple see Tac. Ann. 4. 43.

761. *lucus late sacer*] Nettleship explains *lucus* as, properly speaking, not a grove, but a field = 'lea,' so that these words are literally 'a wide space of consecrated ground.'

762—778. *The wind blows fair, and after a sad parting from their comrades Aeneas offers sacrifice and the fleet sets sail.*

762. *iamque...*] 'and now the whole people have feasted nine days, and the sacrifice at the altars is complete; peaceful breezes have laid the sea to rest, and oft with its breath the South wind summons them to the deep.' Virgil seems to describe a nine days' feast (following the games which themselves took place on 'the ninth day,' see 64 n.) held to celebrate the founding of the new city. For *placidi...* cf. Ecl. 2. 26 *cum placidum ventis staret mare*; Soph. Aj. 674 *δεινῶν ἄγμα πνευμάτων ἐκόλμισε | στένοντα πόντον*, where *δεινῶν* is less elegant than *placidi*. For *creber adspirans* cf. 3. 70 n.

766. *complexi...*] 'embracing one another (cf. 4. 193 n.) they linger out a night and a day.' *Noctem diemque*: not acc. of time but governed by *morantur*.

768. *numen*] 'power' or 'caprice' (Henry). *Nomen* which Conington reads (= 'the very name') has poor authority, but the two words are often confused.

773. *ex ordine*] 'in order due,' 'solemnly' (cf. *ex more*), *i.e.* after the sacrifices just mentioned are duly finished. The rendering 'one after the other' is weak and would require *funes*, not *funem*.

774. *tonsae*] Cf. 556 n.

775. *procul*] 'apart'; a pictorial word. The figure of Aeneas stands out in the picture apart from everything else.

776. *proicit*] Cf. 238 n. Line 777 = 3. 130; 778 = 3. 290.

779—826. *Venus, fearful lest after this fresh proof of her unquenched hate Juno should rouse another storm, appeals to Neptune to bring Aeneas in safety to the Tiber. He promises his aid, reminding her how he had already saved Aeneas, not only from the perils of the sea, but also on land when hard pressed by Achilles; he adds, however, that one life must be sacrificed. Then he drives over the sea to calm it, followed by his train of sea-deities.*

782. *preces...*] 'to stoop to every prayer,' *i.e.* to the humblest prayers.

783. *pietas...*] ‘and no pity softens,’ cf. 1. 10 n. Others give ‘and no piety (of Aeneas) softens,’ but there is no mention of Aeneas here and the two lines are wholly concerned with Juno’s character—she is unforgetting, unpitying, untamable. The change to the nom. in 784 (which Conington calls harsh) is thus rendered easy, for ‘Juno’ is the only possible nominative—‘her...whom no pity melts, nor bending to Jove’s behest and destiny doth she rest.’

785. *non...*] ‘’tis not enough for her monstrous hate to have devoured their city (torn) from the very vitals of the Phrygians.’ The Trojans are spoken of as a body the heart of which (*i.e.* Troy) Juno plucks out and devours, and then proceeds to outrage the maimed and mutilated remains. Virgil often places very strong language in the mouth of irate goddesses, and he was thinking of how Zeus tells Hera that she would not be satisfied until she ‘ate Priam and the sons of Priam raw’ (*εἰ... ὤμῶν βεβρώθους Πριάμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας*, Il. 4. 34).

786. *traxe*] = *traxisse*, by Syncope, cf. 4. 606 n.

788. *causas...*] A truly bitter sneer. ‘Let her (*illa*) understand the reasons for such frenzy,’ says Venus, as though she herself found it inexplicable, and Neptune knew nothing of Paris and the apple.

790. Cf. 1. 133, 134. *molem* : ‘turmoil.’

791. *Aeoliis*] As caused by Aeolus letting loose the winds at Juno’s request, cf. 1. 76 *seq.* Venus speaks of ‘Aeolian tempests’ first to express her contempt and secondly to irritate Neptune.

793. *per scelus...actis*] ‘driven along the path of crime,’ ‘driven to crime’; cf. 786 *poenam traxe per omnem* ‘made to pass through every punishment’; Hor. Od. 1. 3. 26 *gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas*.

794. *classe amissa*] Exaggeration; so too *ignotae*.

796. *quod superest...*] ‘as to what is left (*i.e.* of the Trojans after all the disasters just described) may it be granted them, I pray, to trust their sails in safety to thy charge....’ Venus first recites the losses which the Trojans have suffered (785-795) and then makes those losses the ground of her appeal in favour of the ‘little remnant,’ cf. 691.

Others take *quod superest* for a mere formula of transition (as often in Lucretius) = ‘moreover,’ ‘furthermore,’ but first to give a list of Trojan losses and then say ‘moreover grant them a safe voyage to Italy’ is nonsense. Henry explains ‘may it be lawful for them—the only thing that is left for you to do

for them—to reach Italy,' but the position of *quod superest* forbids this parenthetical use.

797. *tibi*] With *vela dare*: the common phrase is *vela dare ventis*, but *dare vela Neptuno* is as simple as *dare fatis vela* 3. 9. Many explain *tibi* as ethic dat. = 'may it be lawful in thy sight,' but *liceat tibi* cannot mean this.

798. *ea*] 'those walls,' *i.e.* walls by the Tiber, which has just been mentioned.

800. *Cytherea*] Note the apt name. It was at Cythera that she was born from the sea-foam.

801. *merui quoque*] *i.e.* in addition to your owing your birth to me, 'I have also earned' your confidence by repeated kindnesses.

803. The contest between Aeneas and Achilles is described Il. 20. 158 *seq.* Neptune saved Aeneas by casting a mist over the eyes of Achilles. In Il. 21 the rivers Xanthus and Simois are described as rising against Achilles.

805. *exanimata...*] 'in pursuit dashed the disheartened ranks of Troy against its walls.'

806. *gemenetque...*] From Il. 21. 218 where Xanthus says

πλήθει γὰρ δὴ μοι νεκύων ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα,
οὐδέ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἄλα δῖαν
στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι.

810. *nube cava*] Cf. 1. 516 n. In Il. 20. 321 Neptune saves Aeneas by bringing a mist over the eyes of Achilles, but the 'hollow cloud' is the conventional arrangement in 'heroic' times. *cum*: 'although.' For the 'perjury' which made Neptune desire 'to overthrow Troy from its base' cf. 3. 3 n.

813. *portus Averni*] *i.e.* of Cumae, near which was Lake Avernus.

815. *caput*] 'life.' For the sense cf. Jonah i. 12 'Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you'; John xi. 49.

816. *laeta*] Proleptic. His words 'soothed' her soul and made it 'joyful.'

817. *iungit auro*] = *iungit aureo iugo*, 'yokes with gold.' *genitor*: cf. 1. 155 n.

821. *sternitur...*] 'the sea is laid to rest in' or 'with regard to its waters.'

822. *tum*] 'then'; supply 'come' or 'follow.' *cete* = κήτη.

823. *senior*] 'aged,' like their leader Glaucus (see Class.

Dict.), a Boeotian fisherman who was changed into a sea-god, and became a sort of typical 'old man of the sea.' Plato (Rep. 611 c) comically describes this venerable being as being so 'broken and battered by the waves and overgrown with oyster-shells and sea-weed' as to retain few traces of his original shape.

Of the other names *Palaemon* is mentioned under his Greek name of Melicertes, G. 1. 437; *Triton* 1. 144; 6. 173; *Phorcus* and *Panopaea* 240; while Thetis is the mother of Achilles. Deuticke says that Virgil is here thinking of a marine group by Scopas in the Circus Flaminius, described by Pliny, N. H. 36. 5. 26. Anyhow the lines sound well and leave a vague impression of learning; cf. the list of the Ocean Nymphs, G. 4. 334 *seq.* Milton revels in these rolling lists of names, cf. Par. L. 1. 582; Par. R. 2. 186 'Calisto, Clymene, | Daphne or Semele, Antiopa | Or Amydone, Syrinx'; 2. 361; 2. 446; 3. 316; and the aged dame who yearned for 'that blessed word Mesopotamia' exactly appreciated the effect which such combinations of sound are intended to produce.

827—871. *The fleet sails with fair winds, Palinurus leading the way. At midnight the god Sleep descends from heaven, and, taking the shape of a sailor, endeavours to persuade Palinurus to give up the helm to him and enjoy some rest. Palinurus refusing, the god first throws him into a profound sleep and then casts him overboard. Aeneas wakes, discovers the loss of his pilot, and takes his place.*

827. **suspensam blanda**] Contrasted words. Instead of 'doubt' or 'anxiety' (described above 700, 720) now 'in turn soothing joys thrill his heart.' For *suspensam* cf. 4. 9 n.

829. **intendi...**] 'the yard-arms to be hung with sails,' cf. 403 n.; 4. 506 n.

830. **fecere pedem**] Usually explained 'adjusted the sheet,' *fecere* being used loosely, and *pedes* being the sheets or ropes (cf. 3. 267) at the bottom of a sail, by which its 'swelling folds' (*sinus*) can be 'let loose' (*solvere*) to the left or right. Torr, however (Ancient Ships, p. 97), explains *pes* of the lower corner of the sail when formed into a triangular shape by brailing up one half, as was regularly done in tacking. In this case *fecere pedem* is exactly like *vela facit* 281, and for *pedem* used not of the sheets but of a corner of the sail cf. Cat. 4. 19-21. Note the force of **una, pariter, una**: Virgil emphasises the way in which the whole fleet act together.

832. **sua**] 'favourable.' The winds which suit the fleet are 'its own winds.' For *suus* referring to a single word cf. 3. 469 n.

834. **ad hunc**] 'after him,' 'following his lead'; cf. the use of *ad* in *ad arbitrium, nutum, voluptatem alicuius* and the like.

835. *mediam metam*] Night in her car (cf. 721) is supposed to ascend the sky, like the sun, and at midnight half her career is done and she begins to descend; the mid point in her career is therefore compared to the *meta* round which the chariots pass half-way in their round. Conington refers to Cic. Div. 2. 6 and Pliny 2. 47, where night is described as the shadow of the earth which rests over the earth in the shape of 'a cone' (*meta*), and suggests that *meta* may here = 'arch of the sky,' but the explanation is unnatural.

839. *aëra...*] 'parted the air cleaving the gloom,' *i.e.* in his flight.

840. *somnia tristia*] "grim dreams, *i.e.* death; the rest are sleeping and dreaming quietly, but Palinurus' dreams are to be of another sort." Nettleship.

841. *deus*] Not wholly pleonastic (cf. 1. 412 n.) but added to suggest the idea of the divine power which he will exert.

842. *Phorbanti*] Some sailor on the ship. *loquellas*: the remarkable diminutive suggests the soft insinuating words he uses, cf. Lucr. 1. 39 (of Venus entreating Mars) *suaves ex ore loquellas | funde*.

845. *furare labori*] 'steal from toil.' The dat. is usual after verbs of 'taking away,' such as *abstraho*, *demo*, *eripio*, *eximo*.

847. *vix...*] 'scarcely lifting his eyes,' *i.e.* keeping them steadily fixed on the prow and the star he was steering by, without attending to his interlocutor. The explanation 'with scarce lifted eyes,' as though they were already feeling the drowsy influence of the god, is forced and inconsistent with the very energetic reply which follows.

848. *mene*] With indignant emphasis—'Is it *me* whom thou biddest be ignorant of the calm sea's face (*i.e.* of how false it is) and of the peaceful waves?'

850. *Aenean...*] 'shall I trust Aeneas—what indeed?—to the treacherous breezes, and (shall I do it though) so often beguiled by the treachery of a calm sky?' *Aenean* is emphatic; 'assume that I am reckless about myself,' he says, 'can I expose Aeneas to such risk?' *Quid enim* negatives the question *Aenean credam?* as monstrous, and such a vivid and natural parenthesis fits in with the vigorous tone of Palinurus' words. It is usual to print *Aenean credam quid enim* 'why indeed should I trust Aen.?' which gives the same sense less forcibly, and does not explain the position of *quid enim*. For *fraude* cf. Lucr. 5. 1002 *placidi pellacia ponti*.

Many, disliking to take *et* as = 'and that too,' supply *monstro* after *credam*, 'shall I indeed trust Aeneas to it, though often deceived by treacherous breezes and....' Servius read *et caelo* and took *sereni* as a noun, 'shall I trust him to the treacherous breezes and the sky, though so oft deceived by the guile of cloudless calm?'

853. *nusquam*] stronger than *numquam*. *amittebāt oculosque*: cf. 1. 651 n. *sub astra*: *i.e.* by which he was steering.

855. *utraque tempora*] Cf. 233 n.

856. *cunctantique...*] 'and despite his efforts (*i.e.* his struggles to keep awake) loosens his swimming eyes': *solvit* in opposition to *tenebat* 853, which describes an 'intent' gaze.

857. *vix...quies laxaverat...et proiecit*] 'scarce had slumber relaxed...when he (*i.e.* the god) flung him'; for construction cf. 2. 172 n.

858. *cum...cumque*] For this cf. 2. 51 n.

862. *currit iter*] 'speeds on its path,' cf. 1. 524 n.

864. *iamque adeo*] Cf. 2. 567 n. The rocks of the Sirens (see Od. 12. 39) seem to have been placed in the south of the bay of Naples.

865. *quondam*] 'of old,' from the point of view of Virgil rather than of Aeneas. Cf. Od. 12. 45 *πολὺς δ' ἀμφ' ὀστεόφιν εἶς | ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων*.

866. *tum...*] 'then the rocks were booming hoarse...when the father perceived....' The noise of the surge roused him from his slumbers, when he perceived his loss and danger. Note the imitative sibilants in the line.

871. *nudus*] 'unburied.' To be left 'unburied' in a 'strange (*ignota*)' land was reckoned the worst of calamities.

BOOK VI

1—13. *Aeneas lands in Italy and proceeds to the temple of Apollo to consult the Sibyl.*

1. **sic fatur lacrimans**] Hom. Il. 1. 357 ὡς φάτο δακρυχέων.

inmittit habenas: a metaphor specially applicable to the loosening of the sheets (*rudentes*) so that the sails might be filled.

2. For the elision of *-em, -um*, cf. 3. 131 n. **tandem**: *i.e.* after long wanderings. **Euboicis**: Cumae was founded from Chalcis in Euboea.

3. **obvertunt...**] Cf. 901. They seem to have turned the ship round with her prow towards the sea, dropped the anchor from the prow, backed water until the anchor held, and then made the ship fast in that position, ready for immediate departure, by attaching stern-cables (*retinacula, πρυμνήσια*) to the shore.

4. **fundabat...et...praetexunt**] The change of tense marks the clause with *fundabat* as logically dependent on the clause with *praetexunt*—‘they fringe the shore *for*’ or ‘while the anchor held them.’

5. **emicat ardens**] ‘flashes forth aglow’: they were in hot haste, because they had at last reached ‘the promised land.’

6. **semina flammae**] σπέρμα πυρός Od. 5. 490. The ‘seeds of flame’ are the sparks supposed to be hidden in the flint until struck out of it: from them comes the ‘full-blown flame,’ *flammae flos* Lucr. 1. 900, πυρός ἄνθος Aesch. Prom. V. 8.

8. **rapit**] ‘hurries over,’ ‘scours’ (cf. 629 *carpe viam*, 634 *corripunt spatium*, Stat. Theb. 5. 3 *campum sonipes rapit*), clearly to find game, as the description of the woods as *ferarum tecta* shows. A fire, fresh meat, and water are the three things with which mariners of old first concerned themselves on landing (see V. Bérard’s *Les Phéniciens et l’Odyssée*). Others explain ‘scour in search of water.’

To render 'strip,' 'rob,' *i.e.* of firewood, is wrong; the lighting a fire has been already described. What would be the use of 'seeds of flame' before you got firewood?

9. It is often difficult to realise the descriptions of Virgil. He purposely throws over his scenery 'the magic veil of Poesy' (*der Dichtung zauberische Hülle*, Schiller), thus with true art stimulating the imagination but not satisfying it. Thus much, however, seems fairly clear. The temple is high up and approached through a sacred grove (*Triviae lucos* 13). The great outer doors are described at length 14-33. It is here that the Sibyl, who has been summoned by Achates (34), joins Aeneas and after a sacrifice (40) conducts him with his followers 'into the lofty temple.' At the back of the temple where the *cella* (cf. 1. 505 n.) usually is, there is in this case the prophetic cave of the Sibyl (*antrum inmane* 11, *antro* 77, *adyto* 98), hewn out of the face of the rock (42). It is at the threshold (*limen* 45) of this cave that Aeneas consults the oracle, and before its doors (*fores* 47) the Sibyl begins to feel 'the power of the deity now nearer,' and bids Aeneas offer prayer (56-76). While he is thus praying she is clearly supposed to pass (by some side entrance) into the recess, where she feels the full *afflatus* and whence her reply issues, the peculiarity of this particular oracle being that the voice of the Sibyl reaches the hearer through a quantity of perforations in the volcanic rock which all communicate with the recess in which she stands. These are the 'great mouths of the house' (53) which 'will open their lips' (*dehiscent* 52) in prophecy, and the 'hundred huge openings' (81). See Henry *ad loc.*, and cf. 3. 91 n.; also description of the temple at Delphi, Journ. Hell. Stud. vol. ix. part 2, p. 282.

The acropolis of Cumae is a volcanic eminence and "the rock is perforated in every direction with passages and shafts" (Baedeker).

altus: closely with *praesidet*. Apollo is identified with his temple, and the temple 'sits throned upon the rocky height.'

10. *procul*] perfectly vague: 'hard by,' cf. 3. 13 n.

11. *mentem animumque*] Poetic fulness of expression. Strictly speaking *mens* is the 'intelligence' or 'insight' into the future which attends inspiration, while *animus* is either the inspiration itself or the 'fervour,' 'exaltation' which it causes. Both words are the direct acc. after *inspirat*: 'inspiration' is regarded as something almost material; the god 'breathes into' his prophetess 'mighty insight and inspiration'; cf. Gen. ii. 7 'God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.'

13. *Triviae lucos*] The grove surrounding the temple (*aurea tecta*) is described as sacred to Trivia, and (35) the Sibyl is

called 'priestess of Phoebus and Trivia.' These two deities, as the male and female representatives of the same power, are continually found together under different names, *Phoebus* and *Phoebe*, *Sol* and *Luna*, *Ianus* (*Dianus*) and *Diana*, *Cynthia* and *Cynthia*, etc. Here the title *Trivia* is specially chosen as being the name applicable to Diana as a goddess of the under world, in which capacity she is also spoken of as *Hecate*: cf. 247 *Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem*.

14—41. *Description of the temple and the carvings of Daedalus on the gates: the Sibyl summons them to enter.*

14—33. Daedalus (cf. δαιδάλλω) is in mythology the accepted type of a 'cunning workman.'

Minos king of Crete had a wife Pasiphae: she, having excited the anger of Venus, was smitten by her with a 'cruel passion for a bull' (*crudelis amor tauri* 24) of singular beauty which belonged to Minos. Daedalus assisted her in gratifying her passion 'by stealth' (*furto*), and the 'memorial of this unhallowed love' (*Ven. mon. nef.* 26) was the monster half man, half beast (*biformis*), called the Minotaur. For the guardianship of this monster Daedalus constructed the famous labyrinth (27), and for his sustenance the Athenians, who had murdered Androgeos (20) the son of Minos, were compelled to furnish annually seven youths and seven maidens selected by lot (21, 22). From this tribute they were delivered by Theseus, who, having won the affection of Ariadne (*reginae* 28) daughter of Minos, entered the labyrinth and, being provided by her on the advice of Daedalus with a thread with which to retrace his steps, was enabled to find his way out after killing the Minotaur. Daedalus, to escape from Crete and the anger of Minos, invented wings for himself and his son Icarus (31), but Icarus, forgetting that they were fastened on with wax, flew too near the sun, and thus losing his wings fell into the sea near Samos, thence called *Icarium mare*, and perished; but Daedalus arrived safely in Italy.

Virgil's narrative assumes familiarity on the part of his hearers with these well-known legends, which were continually represented in ancient art.

16. *enavit*] 'soared aloft.' Movement through air (*liquidum aëra* 202) is naturally compared with movement through water: hence here the metaphor from swimming, and 19 from rowing. Cf. 4. 245.

For *ex* in composition meaning 'upwards,' 'on high,' cf. *elata* 23, *evadere* 128, *evexit* 130, *educere* 178, 630, and 3. 567 n.

The words 'towards the icy north' describe the direction of

his flight at first, for Samos, where he lost Icarus, is due north of Crete.

17. *Chalcidica*] because Cumae was founded from Chalcis in Euboea.

levis...adstitit: not 'alighted,' but 'stayed' or 'hung hovering': the next words 'here first restored to earth' describe the alighting.

18. *sacravit remigium alarum*] The wings were dedicated as a thank-offering, and also as a sign that he had ceased to use them, it being customary on retiring from any calling to dedicate the instruments of it. So a retired soldier dedicates his arms as a sign that his wars are over (cf. 1. 248 where Antenor does so), a poet his lyre (Hor. Od. 3. 26. 3), or a faded beauty her mirror. Poetical inscriptions for such *ἀναθήματα* are numerous in the Greek Anthology. *remigium alarum*: 'the orage of his wings'; cf. Aesch. Ag. 52 *πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι*.

20. *Androgeo*] Gk. gen., *Ἀνδρόγεως, ...-εω*. *tum*: *i.e.* as a second subject on another panel of the door.

23. *contra*] These subjects are carved on the *opposite* half of the folding doors (*valvae*).

25. *genus...proles...Minotaurus...monimenta*] All in apposition.

28. *sed enim*] 'but indeed.' For this elliptical phrase cf. 1. 19 n. Fully expressed here it would be 'a maze not to be unravelled, *but* (it was unravelled) *for...*'

29. *ipse*] 'himself,' *i.e.* although he had made the maze.

30. *vestigia*] *i.e.* of Theseus. *tu*: notice the force of the change to direct address.

31. *partem...haberes*] 'shouldest have thy portion.' *sineret dolor* is usually explained as = *si sineret dolor*, 'did grief permit,' 'had grief permitted.' Sidgwick, however, speaks of it as a *jussive* subj. used vividly for the *conditional*, 'Let grief have permitted, thou wouldest have had,' and undoubtedly the protasis of a conditional sentence can be replaced by an imperative. Thus *pone Tigellinum...lucibus* (Juv. 1. 155) is = *si pones...lucibus*, cf. the English 'Seek and ye shall find'; and not improbably such a sentence, if made to refer to past time, would become *poneres* or *posuisses Tigellinum...luceres*, the imperative being replaced by a *jussive* subjunctive. Cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 15 *decies centena dedisses...quinque diebus nil erat* 'had you given...in five days there was (*i.e.* would be) nothing.'

32. **conatus erat**] Who 'had essayed' is clear from the context: strictly *pater* must be supplied from *patriae*, but Virgil with consummate art reserves the mention of the word 'father' to the second clause: 'twice he (the craftsman) had essayed; twice *the father* failed.'

33. **omnia**] Dissyllable, *i* being sounded as *y*, cf. 5. 589 n.

34. **praemissus**] To give the Sibyl notice of Aeneas' approach.

37. **ista**] As often, deictic and contemptuous: she points scornfully to the wonders they were gazing at (*spectacula*)—'such sights as those.'

38. **grege intacto**] A herd none of which had been used for work.

39. **praestiterit**] Polite use of the subj. perfect to express a wish or request; cf. Gk. use of opt. with *ἄν*, and the similar use of the same mood to politely modify an assertion in *pace tua dixerim, crediderim, affirmaverim*.

40. **morantur iussa**] 'delay commands' = 'delay obeying them.' The parenthesis states that they perform the sacrifice as commanded, after which the Sibyl leads them into the temple.

42—76. *The Sibyl bids Aeneas pray: he prays that she will promise him at last a happy end of his wanderings and a home in Italy.*

43. **aditus**] The fissures or holes through which the voice of the petitioner enters, which become *ostia* 'mouths' when the voice of the oracle comes back in answer.

45. **ventum erat**] 'they had come.' Intransitive verbs are frequently used in the passive *impersonally*, cf. 179 *itur*; 1. 272 *regnabitur*, 700 *discumbitur*; 2. 634 *ubi perventum*; 4. 151 *ventum*, 416 *properari*. **fata**: "'oracles': its literal meaning being 'utterances' (fa-ri)," Sidgwick.

47. **unus**] 'the same' as it had been before.

48. **comptae...comae**] Effective assonance. Cf. 160 n., 204 *auri aura*, 247 n. *voce vocans*, 462 *senta situ*, 801 *turbant trepida*.

49. **maiorque videri**] sc. *est* or *facta est*. **videri**: epexegetic inf. (cf. 2. 64 n.), fully explaining in what sense *maior* is used, viz. not 'greater' in dignity, age, or the like, but 'greater in aspect,' cf. 164 *praestantior ciere* 'skilled to rouse'; 4. 564 *certa mori*.

50. **mortale sonans**] *mortale* is really a cognate acc., but is equivalent to an adverb qualifying *sonans*. Instead of *mortalem sonum sonans* you can say briefly *mortale sonans*, 'with human utterance.' Cf. 201 *grave olentis*, 288 *horrendum stridens* 'hissing horribly,' 401 *aeternum latrans* 'ceaselessly barking,'

467 *torva tuentem*, 481 *multum fletu*; 3. 68 *supremum ciemus*; 4. 395 n. *multa gemens*; 5. 19 *transversa fremunt*. So Horace has *dulce ridere* 'smile sweetly,' etc.; and in Gk. ἡδὺ γελᾶν. Cf. too 1. 328 *hominem sonat*.

51. *cessas in vota*] A novel construction formed on the analogy of *studium in...*, *acer in...*: as you can exhibit 'zeal towards anything,' so you can exhibit 'slackness towards it.'

A 'vow' is a promise to do something in case your prayer is answered—'Grant me this (66)...then I will build (69).' Cf. Deut. xxiii. 21.

52. *neque enim*] The Sibyl's indignant question is really a command; 'Delay not to pray,' she says, 'for neither, until thou prayest (*ante*), will the portals open.'

53. *attonitae*] '*Sensit etiam domus praesentiam dei*,' Wagner, and cf. 3. 90. So in the Old Testament (*e.g.* Ps. cxiv. 6) the earth and the mountains 'tremble at the presence of the Lord.' The 'house' is spoken of as possessing sense and feeling, and the words *ora* and *dehiscent* are used to make the idea of personality more vivid.

54. *dura...tremor*] An artistic contrast. For the sense cf. Job iv. 14, where Eliphaz is describing a vision of God,

'Fear came upon me and trembling
Which made all my bones to shake.'

56. Editors who place a full stop after *oras* 61 entirely destroy the sense. As any one may see by turning to the Prayer Book, a prayer frequently begins with the name of the Deity to whom it is addressed, proceeds to recite the grounds of the appeal, and concludes with the petition. So here: "O Phoebus, thou who didst ever pity...thou under whose guidance ..., now, now at last we grasp the ever-flying coasts of Italy, grant that now at last the 'luck of Troy' may cease." The words *iam...prendimus* form part of the recital, the petition begins with the words *hac Troiana*.

57. Cf. Il. 22. 359, where Hector prophesies to Achilles of vengeance to come,

ἡματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἔσθλὸν ἔοντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιῆσι πύλῃσιν.

59. *tot*] 'so many,' *i.e.* as thou knowest. *Tot* is frequently thus used absolutely in appeals. *duce te*: Apollo had been his guide *in* danger, but not *into* danger.

61. *iam...*] Strictly this line should form a subordinate clause, 'since now we grasp..., grant,' but the asyndeton is much more vivid and rhetorical. *fugientes prendimus*: antithetical juxtaposition.

62. *hac Troiana...*] 'thus far may the luck of Troy have followed us.' *Hactenus* and *fuert* are both emphatic. *Hactenus*, from its constant use in such phrases as *sed haec hactenus* = 'but enough of this,' almost acquires a secondary sense of 'thus far but no farther,' and this sense is here fully brought out by the very remarkable subj. *fuert secuta*, which is certainly not put merely = *sit secuta*, but suggests the well-known use of *fuert* 'have been' = 'is not' (cf. 2. 325 n.) 'Thus far may it have followed us' therefore becomes = 'Thus far only may it have followed us and now may that following cease.'

The 'luck of Troy' was proverbial, cf. Arist. Eth. 1. 10. 14 *Πριαμικαὶ τύχαι*; Dem. 387. 12 *Ἰλιάς κακῶν*.

63. *vos*] e.g. Juno, Poseidon, Minerva. *iam*: emphatic. *fas est*: not 'it is lawful,' but 'it is right': *fas* and *nefas* represent the unchanging laws of right and wrong which are binding even on the gods.

66. *praescia venturi*] The gen. of the object is very common in poetry after adjectives implying knowledge, as *consciis*, *insciis*, *nesciis*, *doctus*, *docilis*, etc., cf. 5. 284 *operum ignara*; 4. 554 *certus eundi*, and present participles used as adjectives, cf. 77 *Phoebi patiens*, and see Pub. Sch. Lat. Gr. § 136.

non indebita: a skilful form of expression in claiming the fulfilment of a promise.

68. *agitata*] 'storm-tossed.'

69. *tum...*] Here begins the vow. The 'temple' referred to is doubtless the temple built B.C. 28 by Augustus to Apollo on the Palatine hill in memory of the battle of Actium.

70. *festos dies*] The *ludi Apollinares* instituted B.C. 212.

71. *penetralla*] The Sibylline books were, it was said, originally nine in number and were offered by the Sibyl to Tarquinius Superbus. When he refused to purchase them she burnt three, and asked the same price for the six remaining: on his again refusing them she burnt three more, and asked the same price for the last three, which he bought. They were placed in a stone chest in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (*penetralla*) and were in the charge of two officers (*duumviri*) of high rank, but about 367 B.C. the number was increased to 10, and subsequently to 15 (*quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, cf. 73 *lectosque sacrabo...viros*). The books were consulted on occasions of national danger, and perished by fire B.C. 82, after which a fresh collection was made, see Conington, Ecl. 4. 4 n.

74. The seer Helenus (3. 445) had warned Aeneas that the Sibyl's predictions were written on 'leaves' which she carefully arranged, but that, when the doors of the cave were opened, the

wind blew them about in confusion, so that those who sought a reply 'departed unadvised and abhorring the dwelling of the Sibyl.' It certainly seems that Virgil both there and here is referring to some well-known characteristic of the Sibylline books and of the method of consulting them: his use of the term *sortes* suggests the *chance* selection of one of a number of oracles each contained on a separate leaf. Virgil himself was so consulted in the Middle Ages, cf. Int. p. ix.

carmina: 'oracles,' because they were delivered in hexameter verse; so 76 *canas* 'utter thy oracles,' and cf. 3. 155 n.

76. **ipsa]** 'with thine own lips': Aeneas asks for the *spoken* and not the written word of prophecy. Cf. 3. 456 n.

finem dedit: 'made an end.' For *do* cf. 2. 310 n.

77—97. *The Sibyl, inspired by Apollo, promises Aeneas a lasting settlement in Italy, but only after long wars.*

77—80. The priestess is represented as struggling violently against the mastery of the god, who gradually tames her as a man might tame an unruly steed. Cf. 100-102, Aesch. Ag. 1150 *θεόφοροι δύναι*, and the vivid picture of demoniacal 'possession,' St. Mark ix. 18-26.

Phoebi patiens: 'brooking the control of Phoebus.'

78. **si]** 'if,' *i.e.* 'to see if,' 'in the hope that.'

79. **excussisse]** Some say that the perfect expresses suddenness, but it is used strictly; her hope is 'to have flung off the god' and so to be rid of him.

tanto magis: sc. *quanto magis illa bacchatur*—'the more she raves so much the more he....'

fatigat os rabidum: 'wearies her foaming mouth': so a strong curb might be used to 'wear out' a horse, and would, if cruelly used, fill its mouth with blood and foam. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 1066

*χαλινὸν οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν
πρὶν αἱματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος,*

said of Cassandra just before she breaks into prophecy. The whole passage of Aeschylus should be compared as affording a dramatic picture of prophetic frenzy, which for tragic horror can only be compared with the sleep-walking scene in Macbeth.

80. **tingitque premendo]** "and trains with strong control," Kennedy.

83. **o tandem...]** 'O thou that at last hast ended thy perils on the sea—but by land worse awaits thee :...'

Some make *sed terrae graviora manent* a mere parenthesis,

but the asyndeton in the text as printed is highly dramatic: the first words of promise and of hope are suddenly broken off and the prophetic announcement ends with gloomy warning. Virgil seems to depict Aeneas starting with joy and then suddenly checked with a menacing 'but....' The words which follow explain what the 'more grievous woes by land' were.

84. *terrae*] probably locative, or gen. after *pericula* understood.

86. *sed non et venisse volent*] Note the emphatic position of *non*.

87. *cerno*] *i.e.* in prophetic vision, cf. our word 'seer.'

89. *alius...Achilles*] The 'other Achilles' was Turnus, son of the goddess Venilia and king of the Rutuli; his contest with Aeneas forms the subject of the later books of the Aeneid.

90. *Teucris addita Iuno*] The use of *addita* is noticeable: it expresses that Juno and Juno's wrath 'could not be got rid of': Kennedy renders "*dogging* (with inveterate hatred)." Cf. Hor. Od. 3. 4. 78, of the vulture that ever preyed on Tityos, *nequitiae additus custos*; Plaut. Aul. 3. 6. 20 *custodem addidit*; Stat. Theb. 2. 320 *mortalibus addita cura*. For Juno's wrath cf. 1. 23 *seq.*

92. *quas...non*] = 'all.' The abrupt change to a question is rhetorical.

93. *coniunx iterum hospita*] In the first case Helen, wife of Menelaus, who welcomed Paris; in the second Lavinia, daughter of king Latinus, who was betrothed to Aeneas, thus exciting the anger of her suitor Turnus.

94. For the unfinished line cf. 2. 233 n.

95, 96. MS. authority supports *quam* for *qua*, 'yield not thou to calamity, but face it more boldly than thy Fortune shall allow.' Such an expression, however, as 'more boldly than thy Fortune shall allow' represents a defiance of Destiny, which, though perhaps rhetorical, is not in harmony with Virgil's religious spirit. With him even the gods can only effect their purpose *si qua fata sinant* (1. 18), and cf. 146, 147: within the limits of fate free-will and action have scope, but they cannot pass them. Moreover, to throw the force of the comparative *audentior* forward on to *quam* spoils 95, for *audentior* is certainly opposed to *cede malis*: calamity should teach men not to lose courage but to show more courage—'yield not thou to calamity, but with bolder heart advance to meet it, by such road as thy Destiny shall allow thee.'

qua = *qua via* suits admirably with *ito* and with *via prima salutis*. Moreover, though a man cannot be 'bolder than

Destiny shall allow,' he surely can push forward on the road that Destiny allows him all the more courageously because his progress is continually checked by calamity. The Sibyl's advice to Aeneas is not an empty exaggeration, but a wise maxim or rule of life, applicable not only to him but to all who, like him, through difficulty and through danger press forward along their appointed path and seek steadfastly a 'continuing city' (Heb. xiii. 14; *mansuram urbem* 3. 86).

Conington reads *quam*, but renders it 'as,' 'as far as,' which seems dubious Latin. Nettleship says: *scribendum videtur quam, tua enim Fortuna Fortuna Troiana est.*

97. **Graia ab urbe]** The city of Pallanteum, the capital of Evander, who aided Aeneas.

98—123. *Aeneas accepts the hard struggle which awaits him, only asking that he may first be allowed to pass through the neighbouring entrance of Avernus and visit his father in the world beneath.*

98. **adyto...Cumaea Sibylla]** *γ* only occurs in Latin when pure Greek words are represented in Latin letters. Latin had no symbol for the Gk. sound *υ* (intermediate between the Latin *u* pronounced as *oo* in *boot* and short *i*), and therefore at a late period, as is shown by its late position in the alphabet, introduced the letter *Y*, the Gk. *Υ*, to enable them to write Gk. words, as here *adytum* *ἄδyton*, *Sibylla* *Σίβυλλα*. *Cumaea* is probably right, not *Cymaea*, because, though the original name of the town was *Kύμη*, its later one was *Κοῦμαι*.

100. **ea frena...]** 'such reins..., 'i.e. 'so does he shake the reins as she rages, and ply the goad.' The words describe Apollo, who has now absolute possession of the Sibyl, as keeping alive her wild excitement until she has wholly delivered the oracle. Any one who has seen a jaded horse urged at a 'finish' will need no explanation of the metaphor, which is, however, here taken from driving, not riding.

103. **heros]** Not otiose: the next lines define 'heroism,' which, as distinguished from foolhardiness, is the deliberate facing of danger 'grasped and gone through in the mind beforehand.'

107. **tenebrosa...]** 'the gloomy marsh where Acheron wells up.' Acheron being one of the rivers of hell, lake Avernus is described as being an outlet for its subterranean waters. Murray describes the lake as a circular basin, the centre of an old volcano, and adds: "its waters are supplied by sources from the bottom." *refuso*: cf. l. 126.

109. **contingat...doceas]** Both dependent on *oro*: oblique

petition. *ire contingat*: 'may it be my (happy) fortune to go': *contingit* usually of happy, *accidit* of unhappy occurrences.

114. *vires ultra...*] Not with *invalidus* but with *maria... ferebat*. The 'lot' or 'portion of old age' is properly *repose*.

117. *potes...omnia*] 'thou hast all power': *omnia* is a cognate acc. Public Sch. Lat. Gr. § 127.

118. *lucis...Avernus*] For *Avernus* as adj. = 'Avernian,' cf. 4. 552 n.

119. *si potuit...*] For *si* with indicative in appeals implying no doubt of the fact but the reverse cf. 3. 433 n.

Here the appeal is not made directly but suggested, 'If Orpheus was able..., if Pollux redeemed his brother (to say nothing of Theseus and Hercules), I too am sprung from highest Jove,' *i.e.* surely I who have equal claims may be granted an equal favour.

Orpheus the Thracian bard was allowed to descend into the under world to bring back his wife Eurydice. Pollux and Castor were sons of Leda, but Pollux was the son of Jupiter and so immortal, and on Castor's death received permission to share his immortality with his brother, so that one day they both died and the next were in heaven, and thus 'by alternate death he redeemed his brother.'

122. *quid memorem?*] A favourite device for cutting short a long list. Cf. 601; 4. 43; Heb. xii. 32 'And what more shall I say? For the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Samson....' Notice *Theseä* for *Θησέᾱ*, cf. 585 *Salmōnēä*. Henry punctuates *quid Theseä, magnum quid....*

123. Aeneas was grandson of Jupiter, his mother Venus being daughter of Jupiter and Dione.

124—155. *The Sibyl bids him seek the golden bough, which can alone secure for the bearer a passage through the world below. First, however, he must bury one of his comrades, who had just been drowned.*

124. *aras tenebat*] A sign of supplication; cf. 4. 219; Hor. Od. 3. 23. 17 *inmunis aram si tetigit manus*; 1 Kings ii. 28 'Joab...laid hold on the horns of the altar.'

126. *descensus Averno*] = *in Avernum*, cf. 2. 19 n.

129. *pauci*] Emphatic by position. *aequus* 'level' should mean 'impartial,' as in our word 'equity,' but from its constant opposition to *iniquus* 'hostile' it acquires the meaning of 'favourable,' 'partial.'

130. *ardens...*] Observe the skill of *ardens* in connection

with *aethera*; the fiery spirit rises to that aether or elemental fire to which it is akin. Cf. Hor. Od. 3. 3. 9

*hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
enisus arces attingit igneas.*

131. **potuere**] Emphatic by position; it repeats the *potuit* of Aeneas' appeal, but repeats it with the emphasis of warning. **media omnia**: 'all the intervening space' between here and the under world.

132. For the rivers of hell cf. Milton, Par. Lost 2. 577

'Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, named of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Far off from these a slow and silent stream,
Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls.'

137. 'A bough golden both in leaves and pliant stem.'

Heyne connects the golden bough with the bough carried by suppliants, and the *aurea virga* used by Mercury in conducting the dead to Hades.

138. **Iunoni infernae**] As Juno is queen of heaven, so *Iuno inferna* 'the queen of hell' is put for Proserpine, cf. 4. 638 *Iovi Stygio* = Pluto, and in Gk. *Ζεύς χθόνιος*.

141. **quam qui decerpserit**] 'to none is it granted ere that some one has plucked.' Deuticke says "*qui, scitis = si quis*. Cf. G. 1. 201; 2. 488; Cic. pro Domo 51 *poena est, qui receperit*; pro Caec. 39 *huiusce rei vos statuetis nullum experiendi ius constitutum, qui obtiterit armatis hominibus*; de Off. 1. 37 *negat enim ius esse, qui miles non sit, cum hoste pugnare*." Many MSS. read *quis*.

142. **sibi pulchra suum**] Notice the emphasis of the position of *pulchra*: she claims it 'for herself as her own special offering,' and she does so by right of beauty. For Proserpine's beauty cf. Milton, Par. Lost 4. 268

'Proserpine gath'ring flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered.'

145. **alte vestiga**] Some say 'search deep,' but Kennedy rightly "track with your eyes aloft." *Vestigo* being usually employed of tracking footprints (*vestigia*) on the ground, *alte* is needed here to make its meaning clear.

rite: closely with *carpe manu*. *Rite* is a religious word and suggests that there were certain forms and observances which

Aeneas must respect: he is duly to *pluck it with his hand* and to use no other means, and it is added in explanation of the rule 'for of itself....'

149. The dead body of a comrade must be duly buried before Aeneas ventures to approach the dwellings of the dead. *tibi*: ethic dative of the person interested.

151. *consulta*] A rare word except in the phrase *senatus consultum*: here 'decrees,' *i.e.* of the gods.

152. *refer*] Closely with *suis*: he has a 'home' or 'resting-place'; 'duly place him in it.' For this sense of *re-* in composition cf. 220 *reponunt* 'duly place,' 330 *revisunt* 'duly visit'; and 3. 170 n.

153. *nigras*] 'Black victims' were always offered to the gods below; cf. 243; 5. 97, 736.

154. *sic demum*] 'so, and so only,' 'then, and not before.' Cf. 330, 573 *tum demum*; 637 *his demum exactis* 'this being accomplished, and not before,' 'only when this was done'; 2. 743 *hic demum* 'here only.' *Demum* is only used with pronouns, as *is demum* 'he only,' or adverbs, such as *tum*, *ibi*, *nunc*, *iam*; in 637 *his exactis* is almost equivalent to *tum*.

156—211. *They find Misenus drowned and prepare for the funeral; while hewing wood for the pyre Aeneas is attracted by two doves, the sacred birds of Venus, which guide him to the golden bough.*

156. *maesto...*] 'with downcast eyes and sorrowing face': the phrase describes mingled mourning and meditation. For *defixus lumina* see Appendix.

157. *caecosque...*] 'and ponders in his mind the mysterious issue.'

159. A beautiful line expressing the slow melancholy tread. Notice *figit* 'plants,' not *ponit* 'places.'

160. *sermone serebant*] An alliterative phrase, cf. 48 n., but also referring to the derivation (mentioned by Varro, L. L. 6. 7. 8 *sermo est a serie*) of *sermo* from *sero*, 'conversation' being the 'linking' together of short remarks into one chain. Cf. 845 *Serrane serentem*, 5. 710 *fortuna ferendo*, and 3. 516 n.

161. *quem diceret*] Oblique question: '(discussing) what lifeless comrade...the prophetess told of.'

162. The sentence is *multa...serebant...atque...vident*: 'much were they debating...and (=when) lo! they see.' For *atque* cf. 1. 227 n.

164. *Misenum*] Pathetic repetition, cf. 495 *ora* | *ora*. Below the repetition of *Hector* adds dignity. Cf. 4. 25 n.

165. *aere ciere...accendere cantu*] Note the ringing assonance of this description of a trumpeter.

167. 'At Hector's side he would face the fray famous with trumpet and famous with spear.' *et...et* give great force. *circum*: an imitation of the Gk. *οι περι τινα* = his attendants, followers.

171. *sed tum*: *τότε δ' ὄν*—resuming the narrative after the descriptive parenthesis: 'but then,' *i.e.* on the occasion when he met his death.

dum personat: 'while he made the sea re-echo': *dum* takes the present idiomatically even when referring to past time, cf. 338. *concha*: he had mockingly challenged Triton on his own instrument, 'the hollow shell': to explain *concha* as = *lituo* is absurd.

172. *demens*] The adj. thus placed emphatically at the beginning of the line has almost the force of an interjection—'Madman!'; cf. 4. 310 n.

vocat in certamina divos: so *Thamyris* 'challenged' the Muses and lost his sight, *Marsyas* challenged *Apollo* with the flute and was flayed alive.

173. *exceptum*] The word is especially used of 'lying in wait for' and so 'catching': it is continually used of hunters, cf. 3. 210 n.

si credere dignum est. These words, says *Sidgwick*, "skilfully redeem the touch of grotesqueness which V. felt in the story." Surely they may more justly be regarded as one of the 'props' (*tigilla, tibicines*) which *Virgil* *interponi a se dicebat, ad sustinendum opus, donec solidae columnae advenirent* (*Donatus* c. 9). To draw attention to the absurdity of a story, which you are relating as true, is not skilful poetry but the reverse. In *G.* 3. 391 the words are introduced rightly in referring to a fairy tale as a fairy tale.

176. *iussa...festinant*] 'quickly perform the commands.' For *festino* transitive in secondary sense of 'do hurriedly,' cf. 2. 542 n.

aram sepulchri 'the funeral altar'; most explain 'the pyre in shape like an altar,' but surely the pyre is described not merely as like an altar but as itself being an altar; a funeral pyre resembles an altar in more than shape.

178. *congerere*] Epexegetic, cf. 2. 64 n.

180. Observe the triple alliteration, imitating the ring of the woodman's axe.

182. *montibus*] A bold ablative = 'from the mountains,' or possibly *ingentes montibus ornos* should be taken closely together, 'huge mountain-ashes,' cf. 187 *arbore* 'on the tree.'

184. He not only 'encourages' them with words but by example. *accingitur*: a middle use, 'girds himself,' cf. 2. 383 n.

186. *sic forte precatur*] MSS. strongly support *forte*, but Conington and others read *voce*. *Forte* seems clearly right when the connection with *forte* 190 is observed. By repeating the word Virgil emphasises the remarkable coincidence of the two events: 'thus, as it happened, he prayed... when, as it happened, two doves....' It is from two ordinary events occurring thus, as it happened, together that Aeneas infers that the apparent accident is no accident, but a divine intimation.

187. *si*] = *O si, εἰ γάρ*, 'would that' or 'if only that golden bough would show itself.'

188. *vere heu nimium*] Observe the order, 'truly—alas! too truly—.'

193. *maternas...*] 'recognises his mother's birds': doves were sacred to Venus.

195. *pinguem dives*] Artistic juxtaposition: the 'richness' of the produce suggests the 'wealth' or 'fatness' of the soil.

196. *dubiis...rebus*] 'fail not this crisis of my fate': let not thine aid be wanting to assist my fortunes when they are wavering (*dubiae*) in the balance.

199. *prodire*] Historic infinitive; common in vivid narrative. Cf. 256 *mugire*, 491 *trepidare*, 557 *exaudiri*, and 3. 141 n. 'They as they fed kept advancing just so far in flight as the eyes of those following them with their gaze could mark them.'

200. *possent*] Subj. because Virgil dwells on the *purpose* or at any rate the *result* of the action of the birds.

202. *tollunt...*] 'swiftly they tower and then down dropping through the yielding air....' The air is called 'liquid' because it is 'yielding' like a fluid (cf. Milton's phrase 'the buxom air,' where buxom = German *beugsam* means 'yielding').

203. *gemina*] 'two-fold,' *i.e.* with two sorts of foliage. Conington with poor authority reads *geminae*.

204. 'Whence with hue diverse shone out the gleam of gold.' *refulsit*: of anything bright which stands out against a dark background, cf. 1. 402 n.

aura is several times used of the scent which is given off by

anything (e.g. G. 4. 417 *dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura*), and is here used of the 'radiance' or 'effulgence' which is given off from the gold. The effective assonance of the phrase helps to modify its strangeness.

206. *nova*] 'fresh'; the fresh green leaves of the mistletoe are contrasted with the bare leafless oak.

quod non sua...: 'which no parent tree sows.' Other plants have their own tree (*suam arborem*) 'whose seed is in itself' from which they are produced; of each of them it may be said *sua seminat arbor* 'its own tree sows it,' but with the mistletoe this is not so. Virgil probably refers to the belief that mistletoe is produced in some mysterious manner and not from seed at all. As a matter of fact it is a parasitic plant, the fruit of which is eaten by birds, and the seed sown by their rubbing their beaks, with the seed adhering, on the bark of trees: hence 'missel-' or 'mistle-thrush.'

Most take *sua arbor* as = 'the tree on which it grows' and render, either (1) taking *non* with *seminat*, 'which its own tree sows not,' or (2) taking *non sua* together, 'which a tree sows not its own,' i.e. different from that on which it grows; but it seems unnatural to call the oak the mistletoe's 'own tree.'

207. *croceo fetu*] 'and with its yellow growth embrace the shapely trunks.' The colour of mistletoe is a yellowish green. Seen with the sun shining through it the leaves are edged and veined with gold and the stem seems powdered with gold dust.

209. *sic leni...*] 'so tinkled (or 'crackled') the metal foil in the gentle breeze.'

211. *cunctantem*] 'close-clinging': the adj. is used in artistic opposition to *avidus*, but somewhat awkwardly when we remember 147.

212—235. *Meantime the funeral rites of Misenus are performed.*

213. *flebant*] Note the emphatic spondee followed by a pause (cf. Ecl. 5. 21 *extinctum nymphæ crudeli funere Daphnim | flebant*), and also the heaviness of *...ebant ...ebant*. 'Wept, and to the thankless dust the last duties paid.'

214. Cf. 4. 504 *pyra...erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta*, which shows that *robore* here = 'oak.' The pyre was 'fat with pine torches and cloven oak': *pinguem* goes strictly with *taedis* = 'resinous,' and loosely with *robore secto*.

216. *cupressos*] Always connected with death, cf. Hor. Od. 2. 14. 23 *invisas cupressos*, Epod. 5. 18 *cupressos funebres*.

218. **pars...pars** (222)] *οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ...*: hence the plural verb. Cf. 492, 642.

219. From Ennius, '*Tarquinii corpus bona femina lavit et unxit.*'

220. **toro**] The same as *feretro* 222: it would be placed on the pyre.

defleta seems a technical word for 'lamenting the dead,' cf. 11. 59; Lucr. 3. 907 *cinefactum te prope busto | insatiabiliter deflevimus.* 'Then, when the dirge was done, they duly place his limbs upon the couch.'

221. **nota**] Apparently 'purple robes' are spoken of as 'well-known wrappings' of the dead, because they were commonly used at the burial of the great; cf. 11. 72 where Aeneas wraps the corpse of Pallas in robes *auroque ostroque rigentes*, and Il. 24. 796 *πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες* of Hector's bones.

223. **triste ministerium**] 'A cognate acc. in apposition to the action of the verb,' Conington. 'Some shouldered the huge bier—sad service,' *i.e.* the shouldering was a sad service. The construction is very common in Greek.

more parentum: with *aversi*: the point is, not that it was 'the custom of their sires' to kindle the pyre, but to do so 'with averted face.' The face was also averted in performing magic rites, cf. Theocr. 24. 93.

225. **dapes**] The flesh doubtless of victims (cf. 11. 197) sacrificed to Death. **fuso crateres olivo**: 'bowls of poured-out oil.'

226. Cf. Il. 9. 212 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἔμαράνθη*, and Il. 23. 251 *βαθεῖα δὲ κάππεσε τέφρῃ*, which passage should be compared throughout.

228. **lecta**] 'gathered up.' **cado**: the funeral urn.

229. **socios pura circumtulit unda**] *circumferre* originally = 'carry round,' then came to mean 'carry round lustral water,' and then 'purify.' Servius says '*circumtulit, purgavit. Antiquum verbum est,*' and cf. Plautus Am. 2. 2. 153 *quin tu istanc iubes pro cerrita circumferri?* 'Why don't you have her sprinkled with holy water as a madwoman?'

230. **rore et ramo**] Hendiadys, 'dew from a bough,' cf. 3. 223 n.

felicis olivae: 'fruitful olive': the opposite is *infelix oleaster* G. 2. 314.

231. **novissima verba**] Certainly not the word *ilicet*, as some take it, with which the mourners were dismissed, but the last 'greeting and farewell' *Have Vale* to the dead, cf. 11. 97

salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, | aeternumque vale; Cat. 101. 10 *atque in supremum, frater, have atque vale.*

233. *suaque arma viro...*] 'his own arms for the hero, an oar and a trumpet.' That some special 'arms' are meant is shown by the position of the word *arma* between the emphatic words *sua* and *viro*, and all ambiguity is at once removed by the addition of the words *remumque tubamque*, which are in apposition to and explain *arma*. For *suus* cf. 3. 469 n.

235. 'It still bears the name Punta di Miseno,' Conington. So too the name Punta di Palinuro still remains, cf. 381. In both cases the prophecy has helped to bring about its own fulfilment.

It is an isolated mass of rock forming the W. horn of the Gulf of Puteoli, 300 feet high and commanding a magnificent view of the Bay of Naples.

236—263. *Aeneas prepares for his enterprise by sacrificing victims to the powers of darkness at the entrance to Avernus.*

237. *inmanis hiatus*] Henry rightly calls attention to the broad gaping *a*-sounds, here and 493 *clamor frustratur hiantes*, and especially 576.

239. 'O'er which unharmed no birds could wing their flight,' referring to the supposed derivation of Avernus from *ἄορνος* 'birdless,' cf. 242, which is, however, wanting in some MSS. and is marked as a gloss by most editors. Probably it is spurious, as, though Virgil is fond of *suggesting* derivations (cf. 3. 516 n.), he does not usually condescend to write notes on his own poetry, and 242 is really an explanatory note put into a hexameter.

Lucr. 6. 740 gives the same account of birds not being able to fly across Lake Avernus, and also explains the fact as due to the sulphurous exhalations of the district.

244. *invergit vina*] Servius says that this phrase was specially used when the libation was to the gods below, the *patera* being actually 'turned over' bottom upward.

245. Cf. Od. 3. 445 *πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη | εὔχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων,* and 4. 698 n.

246. *libamina prima*] *ἀπαρχαί*, 'first-fruits.' *Libo* = *λείβω*, originally to pour out a few drops of wine as an offering, is then used of offering a small portion of anything, such offering of a portion being a symbol of the dedication of the whole.

247. *voce vocans*] 'calling upon...with his voice,' cf. 506, 4. 680 *vocavi voce deos*. This religious phrase marks *audible* invocation of a god: at the same time the assonance has a solemn effect, cf. the well-known assonance between 'sing' and

'song,' *e.g.* Is. xxxviii. 20 'we will sing my songs,' Rev. xv. 3 'they sing the song of Moses.' Hecaten: cf. 4. 511 n.

249. *succipiunt*] *antique: nam modo 'suscipiunt' dicunt, Servius.* Archaic forms and archaic words are commonly preserved in religious and legal formulae, and poets affect the use of them as being dignified and imposing. Nettleship, however, (on 4. 391) thinks that *suscipere* 'to take up' and *succipere* 'to catch from below' are really different words.

250. *matri Eumenidum*] Night: she and her 'great sister' Earth were the daughters of Chaos.

251. *sterilem vaccam*] So Hom. Od. 10. 522 *στειραν βοῶν*, offered to the shades.

252. *nocturnas*] Sacrifices to the gods below were offered at night: it was actually night, cf. 255.

253. *solida viscera*] 'whole carcasses': a holocaust. This was by no means usual; the ordinary practice was to burn only certain portions of the victim, the remainder belonging to the priests and being eaten or even sold, cf. the continual references to eating 'meat offered to idols' in the New Testament.

254. *supēr oleum*] For nouns in *r* thus lengthened cf. 5. 521 n., and for verbs 1. 667 n. Being a trilled consonant, *r* can be dwelt upon in pronunciation and so easily made to lengthen a preceding vowel. *super* with *fundens* by tmesis.

256. *coepta moveri*] The passive of *coepi* is used with passive infinitives.

257. *canes*] The hounds are hell-hounds which accompany Hecate.

258. *procul...*] Cf. Callim. Hymn to Apollo 2, *έκάς, έκάς, δστις άλιτρούς*. The comrades of Aeneas are meant.

262. *antro se inmisit*] 'she flung herself into the cave.'

264—267. *Virgil prays the powers of darkness for permission to attempt so awful a theme.*

264. *silentes*] So 432 *silentum* absolutely = 'the dead,' Ps. cxv. 17 'they that go down into silence.' Not only is there a reference to the silence of the grave, but the ghosts are described as being actually voiceless or possessing only a thin almost inaudible voice 492. Throughout the under world everything loses the substance and reality of the upper world; all is negative; the shades are 'silent'; it is 'a vast land dark and still' 265; 'the empty palace and unsubstantial realm of Dis' 269; the light is only just not darkness 270; bodies are without substance 292, without weight 413; there is no movement 462; everything is *inmanis* 'without measure' or 'proportion.'

265. **Chaos]** Cf. 4. 510 *Erebumque Chaosque*. Not here the formless void before creation, but almost = 'the pit,' the Hebrew 'Sheol.'

nocte tacentia: cf. 1 Sam. ii. 9 'the wicked shall be *silent* in *darkness*.'

266. **audita loqui]** 'to speak that which I have heard.' Observe the skill with which Virgil appeals to the authority of tradition. Cf. Ps. xlv. 1 'We have heard with our ears, O God, and our fathers have told us....'

sit numine vestro: 'may it be (lawful) by your good pleasure to reveal....'

268—294. *Description of the vestibule and entrance of Orcus.*

268. Note the grave and heavy spondees, also the skill and boldness of *ibant*: we pass with Aeneas and the Sibyl from the upper to the under world almost without being startled.

270. **per incertam lunam]** For *per lunam* cf. 2. 3. It is tempting to translate 'through the fitful moonlight,' but from Virgil's use of *incertos caeca caligine soles* 3. 203, and the reference here to 'heaven hid with shade' and 'murky night,' it is clear that *luna incerta* means 'a moon which gives no sure sign of its presence'; cf. Hor. Od. 2. 16. 2 *atra nubes | condidit lunam neque certa fulgent | sidera nautis*. There is a moon, but it is hidden and only gives just enough light to make sight possible but no more; cf. Milton's description of hell, P. Lost l. 63 'no light, but rather darkness visible.'

'E'en as beneath the doubtful moon, when niggard light doth fall,' Morris.

273. **vestibulum...]** As in a Roman house the street-door opened outwards, it was not placed on a level with the front of the house but somewhat back, thus leaving a recess which was 'the vestibule' (not connected with *vestis* but perhaps = *ve-sti-bu-lum* 'Austritt,' cf. *ve-stig-ium*). The street-door opened into a hall or passage (*ostium*) at the end of which was the large *atrium*. The *vestibulum* or *ostium* or both might be termed *fauces* 'a narrow entrance.' Cf. 2. 442 n.

274. **ultrices Curae]** 'avenging Cares,' *i.e.* stings of conscience, cf. Juv. 13. 195 *occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum*.

275. **tristisque Senectus]** Il. 10. 79 γήραι λυγρῶ.

276. **turpis]** not 'dishonourable' but 'disfiguring'—'squalid Want.'

278. **consanguineus Leti Sopor]** 'Death's twin-brother

Sleep.' Cf. Il. 14. 231 *ἐνθ' Ἰππῶ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο*; Shelley, Queen Mab 1

'How wonderful is Death,
Death and his brother Sleep!'

279. *adverso in limine*] 'on the threshold fronting them'; War is specially placed in the very gate of death.

280. The Furies are mentioned 570 as *in Orcus*, but such inconsistencies are natural. *ferrei*: a dissyllable by Synizesis; cf. l. 698 n. *thalami*: '*cogitandum de servorum ianitorum cellis*,' Heyne.

282. *in medio...*] Possibly Virgil is thinking of the shrubs placed round the *impluvium* in the centre of the *atrium* (cf. 2. 512), but the analogy of a Roman house must not be pressed, as 286 we find 'the doors' again mentioned. *ulmus*: a funereal tree; cf. Leaf on Il. 6. 419.

283. *vulgo tenere*] 'throng.' The nom. to *haerent* is *somnia*, as though not *ferunt somnia* (acc.) but *somnia* (nom.) *feruntur* had preceded: *haerent* = 'roost,' dreams being spoken of as birds of night.

286. *Scyllae*] *i.e.* monsters like Scylla. The plur. also Lucr. 4. 732; 5. 891.

289. *Gorgonēs*] *Γόργονες* as if from *Γοργών*; usually *Γοργώ, ...οῦς*.

forma...: Geryon, a monster with three bodies who lived in Spain and was slain by Hercules. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 870 *τρισώματος Γηρυών*; Lucr. 5. 28 *tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai*.

292. *docta comes*] She is like 'the Interpreter' of Bunyan.

tenues...vitas...: 'that the thin ghosts flit bodiless wearing a hollow semblance of shape.' The shades are described as 'thin lives,' by which probably Virgil is referring to the theory that the vital principle consists of a substance or essence 'thin' or 'rarefied' beyond comparison, cf. Lucr. 3. 243 *qua nequ mobilius quicquam neque tenuius exstat*; their 'lives' are without a body but wear (*sub*) a hollow semblance of shape.

Notice how each word emphasises the idea of unsubstantiality, and how 294 presents this idea to the mind under a vivid image.

293. *volito* expresses the rapid uncertain movement of anything without weight, cf. Od. 10. 495 *τοὶ δὲ σκιάι ἀίσσουσιν*.

294. *inruat*] Graphic present. *umbras*: emphatic at end. For the idea cf. Milton, P. L. 6. 329 where Michael is contending with Satan: 'The griding sword with discontinuous wound | Pass'd through him, but th' ethereal substance closed | Not long divisible'

295—336. *They approach the ferry over the Styx and the Sibyl explains that the throng of ghosts eager but unable to cross are the unburied, who must therefore wander a hundred years upon its banks.*

297. **Cocyto]** 'into Cocytus,' cf. 2. 19 n. Virgil's arrangement of the infernal rivers admits of no explanation: the river here called Acheron, over which Charon ferries the souls, is usually called the Styx, and so 385.

299. **cui...]** 'on whose chin (lit. 'to whom on his chin') hangs unkempt a mass of grizzly beard: his eyes stare with flame.' MS. authority is strong for *flammae*.

301. **nodo]** Fastened on his left shoulder with a 'knot' instead of the more usual *fibula* (buckle).

302. **conto subigit]** 'pushes along with a pole': the force of *sub* is clear; he starts the boat by pushing against the bottom. Afterwards when he gets away from the bank he 'attends to the sails.'

303. **subvectat]** *Sub* seems used of bringing *up* to the bank they wish to reach.

304. **cruda]** full of blood, fresh, full of sap, vigorous; the opposite of *aridus* 'wizened.' **viridis** is a common epithet of youth; the opposite is 'the sere and yellow leaf.' **deo**: not otiose: it is because he is a god that his 'age is fresh and green.'

'Aged in years, but a God's old age is unwithered and hale.'

Bowen.

307. **magnanimum]** gen. plur. contracted, cf. 3. 53 n.

309.

'Many as forest leaves that in autumn's earliest frost
Flutter and fall, or as birds that in bebies flock to the coast
Over the sea's deep hollows, when winter, chilly and froze,
Drives them across far waters to land on a sunnier shore.'

Bowen.

311. For **frigidus annus** cf. Hor. Od. 3. 23. 8 *pomifer annus* = 'autumn,' Epod. 2. 29 *annus hibernus*, and for the simile Par. Lost 1. 302, where Milton describes the evil spirits gathering
'Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa.'

Observe how skilfully 'leaves' and 'birds' are selected in this comparison with ghosts and their movements, cf. *volito* above.

313. **orantes transmittere]** The usual construction with *oro* is the subj.; here the inf. depends on the sense of *desire* contained in it. Cf. 2. 64 n.; Ecl. 2. 43 *abducere orat*.

314. 'With hands outstretched in (passionate) longing for the farther shore.'

316. *submotos*] The verb is technically used of the lictors who clear a way for the consul or make a crowd 'move on.' Cf. Hor. Od. 2. 16. 10 *submouet lictor...tumultus*; Livy 3. 48 *i, lictor, submove turbam*.

317. *enim*] Not='for,' but adding emphasis to the word it follows, 'Aeneas marvelling in good truth and moved...' cf. G. 2. 508 *hunc plausus hiantem | per cuneos geminatus enim... | corripuit* 'redoubled, yes, redoubled'; Aen. 8. 84 *quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno, | mactat* 'to thee, yes, to thee.'

This seems better than making *miratus...tumultu* parenthetic, and *miratus* and *motus* finite verbs—'Aeneas, for he marvelled ..., says.'

318. *quid vult*] = *quid sibi vult* 'what means?'

319. *quo discrimine*] here in its strict sense = *id, quod discernit*: 'by what rule of choice.'

324. Cf. Od. 5. 185, 6

*καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὃς τε μέγιστος
ὄρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.*

Iuro takes a cognate acc. of the deity or thing which forms the oath. The original Styx is a small river in Arcadia which in summer contains but little water—'just enough to swear by,' says one traveller—but the scenery is unequalled for its 'wild and desolate grandeur' (see Frazer's *Greek Sketches*).

325. *inops*] not 'helpless,' as Sidgwick, but 'poor,' for the reference is to the *coin* usually placed between the lips of the dead with which to pay their passage.

328. *sedibus*] Here absolutely of 'the last resting-place,' the grave, man's 'long home' (Eccl. xii. 5), cf. 371, 152.

332. *animi*] Locative, 'in mind'; cf. 4. 203 n.

333. *mortis honore carentes*] 'Lacking the honour of death,' the rites due to the majesty of death. Cf. Alexander's Feast

'Those are Grecian ghosts that in battle were slain
And *unburied* remain
Inglorious on the plain!'

335, 336. Note the alliteration throughout, and the whirl and rush of 336, with the weak caesura after *Auster* followed by the elision of the long *a* in *aqua*, and with the continually recurring *w* sound.

vectos: 'while voyaging.' The absence of a present

part. pass. in Latin renders it necessary not unfrequently to use the past part. in a present sense, cf. 1. 481 *tunsae pectora* 'beating their breasts'; 4. 685; 5. 555 *mirata fremit* 'murmurs marvelling', 628 *emensae*, 708 *solatus infit* 'solacing replies,' 766 *complexi morantur*, and see Appendix.

337—383. *Palinurus approaches and relates the story of his death and begs Aeneas to take him with him across the stream: the Sibyl tells him that this cannot be, but promises him burial and that the spot where he died shall bear his name for ever.*

337. *sese...agebat*] 'was approaching,' 'was making his way to us.'

338. *Libyco cursu*] 'on the Libyan voyage,' *i.e.* the voyage from Libya.

339. *mediis effusus in undis*] not = *medias in undas* 'into the midst of the sea,' but 'falling overboard in mid ocean': he was three days (355) getting to land.

341. *prior adloquitur*] *φθάνει προσαγορεύων*, 'is the first to address him,' cf. 387 *prior adgreditur dictis*, 835 *prior...proice* 'be first to fling away.'

347. *ille autem*] 'but he (replies).' *cortina*: the priestess at Delphi sat in the *ἄδυτον*; 'in it over a deep narrow cleft was placed the tripod; on the tripod the *λέβης* or *cortina* or pot, in shape of a half sphere; its lid was the *ὄλμος* or hollow cover on which the Pythia sat,' Munro, *Lucr.* 1. 739. Cf. 3. 91 n.

348. *nec me...*] In answer to 341, 'nor did any god drown me in the deep,' but the emphasis must be placed on the words *aequore mersit*, as in our phrase 'you were not born to be drowned.'

The ancients had a great respect for language which appears to say one thing and is subsequently found to have meant another. An oracle such as this ('safe from the perils of the sea thou shalt reach the borders of Italy') is not merely considered free from fraud, but even deserving of admiration for the skill with which 'it wraps truth in darkness' (cf. *obscuris vera involvens* 100). The sayings of the gods are dark parables which men hear but do not understand.

349. *namque...*] In 5. 855 the god Sleep first casts him into slumber and, as when asleep he still clings faithfully to the rudder, flings him rudder and all into the sea. *Palinurus* can only account for finding himself afloat on the rudder by saying that it was 'torn away with much violence by chance.'

351. *maria aspera iuro*] The 'oath referential,' cf. Sheridan, *The Rivals*, Act 1, Sc. 2.

352. *cepisse*] = *concepisse* 'felt.'

353. *excussa magistro*] Cf. 1. 115 *excutitur magister* 'the helmsman is dashed overboard.' *Excusso magistro* would be more usual, but the form of the phrase here is due partly to Virgil's fondness for variety, partly to a desire to make the phrase parallel to the preceding one, 'robbed of its defence (the rudder), reft of its guide.'

354. Observe the *sibilant* character of this line expressive of the *whistling* of the wind, cf. Hor. Od. 1. 2. 1 *iam satis terris nivis atque dirae | grandinis misit Pater*.

355. *hibernas*] 'winter nights, and consequently long,' says Conington, but the ancients did not sail in winter: the word is used metaphorically = 'wintry,' 'stormy.'

357. *summa ab unda*] 'from the crest of a wave.' Cf. Od. 5. 392 *γαῖαν | ὄξυ μάλα προιδών, μέγαλον ὑπὸ κύματος ἀρθείς*.

358. *iam...tenebam, ni gens...invasisset*] One of the many ways in which a hypothetical sentence can be made more vivid, 'already I *was* in safety, had not the barbarous folk...attacked me.' Grammarians explain the construction as = *tenebam (et tenuissem) ni...* Cf. 2. 55 n.; 8. 522; Cic. Leg. 1. 19 *labebar longius, nisi me retinuissem*.

359. *madida cum veste gravatum*] 'with dripping garments, weighed down.' A very rare form of expression and hard to distinguish in sense from *madida veste gravatum* 'weighed down *by* my dripping garments.'

360. *montis*] 'a rock,' 'boulder.'

361. *ferro invasisset praedamque...putasset. 365. terram inice...portusque require*] Usually explained as instances of *ὑστερον πρότερον*. This figure is said to occur 'when of two things that which naturally comes first is mentioned last' (see Pub. Sch. Gr. § 215). Of course that a good writer should thus mention last what 'naturally comes first' is impossible. Putting the cart before the horse is folly even when the plain fact is disguised under a Greek name.

On the other hand Virgil does continually append to the main clause, which naturally comes first, an *explanatory clause introduced by que* (or sometimes *et*), and this clause, which is really subordinate to the main clause and naturally follows it, often refers to something which is prior in point of time to what the main clause describes.

Thus in 361 'had attacked me and thought...' is = 'had

attacked me thinking...,' and 365 'bury me...and make for the harbour' is='bury me, making for the harbour...'. To explain these cases as 'ὑστερον πρότερον' and say that Virgil ought to have written 'had thought me a prey and attacked me' or 'make for the harbour and bury me' is absurd. He puts his main thought first and then adds a phrase which is logically subordinate though in strict grammar co-ordinate, metrical convenience of course encouraging this common poetical device. Cf. 2. 208 *pontum legit sinuatque* 'skims the sea twisting,' 223 *fugit...et excussit* 'escaped after dashing'; 4. 154 *agmina...fuga glomerant montesque relinquunt*='as they quit the hills'; 4. 639 n.; 4. 264 *fecerat...et discreverat* 'had made (the cloak), embroidering it.' See 2. 353 n.; 3. 662 n.; and especially 6. 567 *castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri* 'he scourges them and hears their guile, compelling them to confess'; Eur. Hec. 266 *κείνη γὰρ ὤλεσέν νιν ἐς Τροίαν τ' ἄγει* 'destroyed by taking to Troy.'

361. *praedam*] Being ignorant of the facts (*ignara*) they considered him a shipwrecked sailor, who would probably have secured any money he possessed in his girdle before the ship went to pieces.

363. *quod*] 'wherefore,' cf. 2. 141 n.

365. *invicte*] Adding to the force of the appeal, 'Save me, for thou art unconquerable.'

aut tu...aut tu (367): notice the exceedingly strong *personal* emphasis.

366. *terram inice*] The 'sprinkling of earth' thrice over the dead (cf. Hor. Od. 1. 28. 36 *iniecto ter pulvere*) constituted technical burial.

namque potes: as being a living man who will return to the world above.

371. 'That in a home at least peaceful I may rest in death.' Palinurus does not complain that after so many wanderings he has only found rest from his labours in death: to this he submits: he only asks that this rest may be at any rate in the peaceful dwellings on the farther shore of the Styx. *Saltem* is not to be taken with *in morte*.

374. *inhumatus...iniussus*] 'unburied...unbidden.'

tu...aspicies? 'Shalt thou (alone of all men)...behold?' an indignant form of question. Be careful of the rendering 'Wilt thou behold?' where 'wilt' is='dost thou wish to?'

376. *desine fata deum...*] The gods, like men, have free-will: they can in particular cases issue their decrees (*fata*)

and such decrees can 'be turned aside by prayer.' Here, however, by *fata deum* Virgil means those general laws for the government of the universe, which are not only 'laws of the gods' but 'laws for the gods' and which even they cannot alter. 'Cease to hope that heaven's sure decrees can be turned aside by prayer.'

378. *nam*] So often γάρ in Gk. introducing a narrative or statement: not = 'for' giving a reason, but 'I tell thee.'

379. *ossa piabunt*] The corpse is outraged by being left unburied, and must be 'appeased' by burial and expiatory sacrifices.

383. *gaudet cognomine terrae*] 'he rejoices in the land named after him'; for *cognomen* cf. 3. 133 n. MSS. very decidedly support *terrae*, which is clearly right. Servius, however, knew a reading *terra*, which he explained by making *cognomine* an adj., but the adj. is rare and the abl. in *e* very doubtful. Henry accepts *terra*, explaining 'the land delights in the name.'

384—416. *Charon at first refuses to receive them, but on seeing the charmed bough at once ferries them across.*

384. *ergo...*] 'and so they proceed on the journey they had begun': *peragunt*, lit. 'they are accomplishing.'

385. *iam inde*] = ἀπ' ὅθεν, lit. 'already from thence'; 'from where he was without waiting to get nearer'; cf. 389 *iam istinc* 'there, from where you are.'

387. *increpat ultro*] 'upbraids them unprovoked,' cf. 2. 145 n.

389. 'Come say why you come, just from where you are, and check your steps.' Note the disjointed vehemence of the line.

390. *somni noctisque soporae*] 'of sleep and slumbrous night.' For the assonance cf. 1. 680 n.

392. *Alciden*] Hercules as the last and greatest of his feats brought up Cerberus from the under world.

nec...sum laetatus: according to Servius he was kept in chains for a year.

393. Theseus aided his friend Pirithous in an attempt to carry off Proserpine.

accepisse lacu: 'to have welcomed on my pool,' cf. 412 *accipit alveo*; 3. 78 *portu accipit*; 1. 685.

395. *manu*] As often = 'with (personal) violence,' cf. 4. 344 n.

397. *dominam*] Not with *Ditis*, says Conington, for

domina 'a mistress of servants' is not used of a wife, but rather with *thalamo*, 'essayed to carry off its mistress from the chamber of Dis.' The position of the words however seems to show that *dominam* and *Ditis* do go together, and surely 'Pluto's Queen' is good sense: her queenly dominion, however, is exercised not over Pluto but over the world below.

398. *Amphraysia*] *i.e.* of Apollo, because he tended the sheep of Admetus by the river Amphrysus (G. 3. 2). 399. *absiste moveri*] 'cease to be troubled'; for inf. cf. 376; 3. 42; 2. 64 n.

400. *licet...terreat*] = *per nos licet*. 'The huge door-keeper may (for all we care) still with his everlasting howl scare the bloodless ghosts.'

402. *casta...*] 'Chastely may Proserpine keep within her uncle's threshold.' She was daughter of Jupiter the brother of Pluto. 'Keeping within doors' was held with the Greeks and Romans to be a sign of chastity (cf. Hor. Od. 1. 25. 3 *amatque ianua limen*). The tone throughout is contemptuous: hence the 'bloodless' ghosts, the emphasis on *casta*, and the use of *patruus* 'uncle,' uncles being proverbially strict and severe (Hor. Od. 3. 12. 3).

405. *imago*] 'vision.' 'If no vision moves' = if the vision moves thee not at all.

408. *nec plura his*] 'nor (was there) more than this (said)': the discussion was ended; he gives way at once.

409. *fatalis virgæ*] 'fated rod,' 'rod of destiny,' cf. 146, 147.

411. *alias animas*] 'the other ghosts,' not classing Aeneas as a ghost, but putting Aeneas on one side and the ghosts in contrast on the other. So commonly in Gk. ἄλλος, cf. Od. 6. 84 ἄμα τῆγε (their mistress) καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι.

iuga only here = ζυγά 'cross-benches,' for which the regular Latin word is *transtra*. For *deturbat* cf. 5. 175 n.

413. *ingentem*] Literally of actual size, cf. 5. 241 n. *zemit*: a fine touch of realism, though Conington speaks of it as 'rather grotesque.'

414. *sutilis*] The boat is described as consisting of hides 'stitched' together and stretched on a framework of wood: cf. the old British coracles.

Notice the artistic feeling of the description here: the boat is not only old-fashioned (*sutilis*) but old and 'leaky' (*rimosa*); the water is a 'marshy ooze' (*paludem*); the landing-place is not solid ground but 'shapeless mud' and 'grey sedge.'

417—439. *Cerberus, who guards the entrance, is rendered harmless by a drugged cake: here dwell the ghosts of those who died before their time.*

420. 'Flings to him a cake made drowsy with honey and drugged meal.' Virgil may be thinking of the 'honey-cake' (*ἡ μελιτόσσσα μάζα, μελιτούττα*) placed at the side of a corpse by the Greeks. *Offa* is, however, not so much a cake as a 'lump' or 'ball' of anything like bread; these were often flung to dogs, probably after being used for wiping the fingers at table, cf. *ἀπομαγαλιά*.

422. *inmania*...] 'unstiffens his monstrous back, sprawling on the ground.' *Resolvit* and *fusus* vividly express the effect of the opiate; just before his back had been rigid and every muscle strained with excitement.

424. *sepulto*] The context makes the sense clear: 'buried (in sleep).' Cf. 2. 265 *somno vinoque sepultum*.

426. Virgil places on the threshold of this region those who had died before their time, infants, men unjustly executed, and suicides; and there was undoubtedly a belief that those who died prematurely were not allowed to enter the lower world, cf. Pl. *Most.* 2. 2. 67 *nam me Acheruntem recipere Orcus noluit, | quia praemature vita careo* (see Nettleship in *Con.*) It is useless, however, here or later to examine too accurately into the reason of his arrangement. Unlike Dante or Milton he is not a teacher inculcating clear theological views; his arrangement must be judged rather by artistic considerations, and even so we must not look for extreme definiteness where the poet is intentionally, and indeed necessarily, vague and mysterious.

vagitus: regularly of the 'wail of infants,' cf. *Lucr.* 2. 576 *miscetur funere vagor | quem pueri tollunt visentes luminis oras*.

427. *in limine primo*] Doubtless a connection is suggested between 'the threshold of the grave' and those who have only just passed the threshold of life, but to put a stop after *flentes* and connect *vitae* with *limine* is unnatural: *vitae* goes with *exsortes*.

429. 'A black day carried off and plunged in bitter death.' *Dies atri* in the Roman calendar were unlucky days, marked with black, on which no legal business could be transacted. *acerbo*: contrasted with *dulcis* above, but the word is specially used even in prose of premature, 'untimely' death.

430. *mortis*] With *damnati*, 'condemned to death on a false charge,' cf. *Hor. Od.* 2. 14. 19 *damnatis longi laboris*.

431. *nec vero hae...*] Though denied justice on earth they find it here. So Dryden—

Those whom form of laws
Condemned to die, when traitors judged the cause;
Nor want they lots, nor judges to review
Their wrongful sentence and award a new.

sine sorte, sine iudice: with a reference to the *sortitio iudicum* ('appointment of the jury by lot') in a Roman court by the magistrate investigating the case (*quaesitor*), who here is Minos who 'shakes the urn and holds assize among the silent, and examines the record of their lives.'

432. **urnam movet**] Because the names were placed on tablets, and the urn shaken until one 'leapt out.' Cf. 5. 490 n.

434. The opinion of suicide here expressed differs strikingly from the language of Horace—*Catonis nobile letum* Od. 1. 12.

35. Horace had in view the teaching of the Stoics: Virgil is thinking of the famous lines Od. 11. 489

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἔων θητευέμεν ἄλλω
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρω, ᾧ μὴ βίωτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκροῖσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

438. **fas obstat**] *fas* here almost = 'fate'; cf. Par. Lost 2. 610 'But fate withstands.' Many MSS. give *fata obstant*.

inamabilis: 'unlovely'; Litotes, and so = 'hateful.'

440—476. *The Fields of Lamentation wherein the victims of cruel love wander at large: Aeneas meets Dido and vainly endeavours to soothe her.*

440. **partem fusi...in omnem**] '*Amplissimi sunt hi campi, quia tales animae amant solitudinem,*' Wagner.

441. **Lugentes Campi**] A phrase worthy of Bunyan, and apparently Virgil's own.

442. 'Whom love un pitying has consumed with cruel wasting.'

443. **secreti calles**] 'sequestered glades'; for *calles* not = 'paths' (cf. 9. 383) but 'the open, clear, grassy parts in a wood ...used for grazing cattle,' see Henry 3. 332-334. **myrtea**: because the myrtle is sacred to Venus.

445. Phaedra, wife of Theseus, slew herself in consequence of her unreturned passion for her step-son Hippolytus; Procris jealously watched her husband Cephalus and was accidentally killed by him when out hunting; Eriphyle was killed by her son Alcmaeon because she had been bribed by the gift of a necklace to persuade her husband Amphiarus to join the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, where he perished; Evadne, wife of Capaneus, who was also slain at Thebes, flung herself on his funeral pyre; Laodamia, wife of Protesilaus, obtained permission for her husband to return to life for three hours and then died with him; Caeneus had been a maiden, but was changed by Poseidon into a young man.

450. **recens a vulnere**] 'Her wound still fresh': she had

stabbed herself with the sword of Aeneas on his departure, cf. 4. 646.

451. *quam*] Governed by *iuxta*.

453. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius 4. 1479

τὼς ἰδέειν, ὡς τις τε νέω ἐνὶ ἡματι μῆνην
ἦ ἶδεν, ἢ ἔδοκῆσεν ἐπαχλύουσαν ἰδέσθαι.

obscuram: with *quam*, 'a dim shape, as when a man at the month's beginning sees, or deems he saw, the moon rising through clouds.' The construction is *qualem videt lunam qui videt lunam*.

456. *verus*...] 'true then, it seems, was the report I had heard that thou wert dead and with the sword hadst sought thy doom.'

459. *et si qua fides*...] 'and by whatever pledge is valid in the grave.' For the construction cf. 2. 142 n.

462. *loca senta situ*] Cf. Od. 10. 512 'Ἄτδεω δόμον εὐρώεντα.

For *sentus* cf. Ter. Eun. 2. 2. 5 *vidco sentum, squalidum, aegrum, pannis annisque obsitum*: *sentis* is 'a thorn' and *sentosus* 'thorny,' and so it may mean 'rough,' 'ragged.'

situs is (1) 'a being left alone,' 'neglect,' 'absence of movement,' cf. Liv. 33. 45 *marcescere otio situque civitatem*, or (2) the effect of being so left alone, 'rust,' 'mouldiness,' 'decay,' cf. Liv. 22. 16 *stagna perhorrida situ*, where however, as here, both meanings seem combined.

The phrase here describes the condition of land left to itself, full of thorns and thistles—'through a land ragged and forlorn and through abysmal night.'

466. *extremum*...] 'tis fated that the words I now address thee are the last.' *Quod* is a cognate acc. after *adloquor*, and *quod te adloquor* is virtually a substantive.

467. *ardentem*...] 'her fierce and grim-eyed wrath.' Henry, however, takes the construction to be that of 'the whole and the part affected'—'was soothing her fierce and grimly eyeing him, (was soothing) her rage,' cf. 10. 698 *Latagum saxo...occupat os faciemque*.

468. *lenibat*] 'was soothing,' *i.e.* endeavouring to soothe. Many verbs may express an action which is incomplete or only attempted; thus *lenio* may = 'I endeavour to soothe'; *do* is often = 'I offer,' where the gift is not accepted; *ἀναγκάζω* is 'I seek to compel,' where the compulsion is successfully resisted.

471. *stet*] The monosyllabic *sto* is used in preference to any of its compounds to express immovable fixity: the smallness of

the word is its strength. Cf. Hor. Od. 3. 3. 42 *stat Capitolium*, Virg. G. 4. 208 *stat fortuna domus*. Marpesia cautes: Henry quotes Burns' Duncan Gray:

'Duncan fleech'd and Duncan pray'd ;
Ha, ha, the wooing o't !
Meg was deaf *as Ailsa Craig* ;
Ha, ha, the wooing o't !'

472. **tandem corripuit sese**] 'at length she started'; used of the sudden convulsive movement with which she breaks from her trance.

473. **coniunx...**] 'her husband of old days
Gives grief for grief, and loving heart beside her loving lays.'
Morris.

476. **prosequitur**] This word is used, like *προπέμπω*, of escorting a person a part of the way as a mark of honour or esteem, cf. 898; here of the tearful gaze that 'attends her afar and pities her as she goes.'

477—493. *The place of those who died in battle: the Trojans hurry eagerly to meet and question him: the Greeks are terrified.*

477. 'Thence he toils along the appointed path': *molitur* suggests difficulty, cf. 3. 6 n.

478. **ultima**] Because this is the *end* of the neutral region; after this the road divides to Tartarus and Elysium, cf. 540. **secreta**: 'set apart.'

479. Tydeus, Parthenopaeus and Adrastus were three of the seven heroes who fought against Thebes, Adrastus king of Argos being their leader.

481. **multum flet**] *πολυδάκρυτοι*, cf. 50 n. **ad superos** = *apud superos* 568, 'much lamented upon earth,' 'among men'; cf. Cic. Phil. 14. 32 *illi...etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luunt*.

483. **Glaucumque...**] Trojan warriors, the list being taken from Il. 17. 216 *Γλαῦκόν τε Μέδοντά τε Θερσίλοχόν τε*.

484. Il. 11. 59

*τρῆϊς τ' Ἀνηγορίδας, Πόλυβον καὶ Ἀγήγορα δῖον
ἤϊθέον τ' Ἀκάμαντα.*

Il. 13. 791 *καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολυφήτην*: why Virgil describes him as 'dedicated to Ceres' is not known.

485. **etiam**] = *et iam* 'even yet,' 'still': a use fairly common even in prose, and cf. G. 3. 189 *invalidus etiamque tremens etiam inscius aevi*.

487. *iuvat...*] ‘they delight to linger still, and to pace beside him, and to inquire the cause of his coming.’

489. *Danaum*] For contracted gen. plur. cf. *Pelasgum* 503, *Teucrum* 562, *Graium* 588, and even *currum* 653. See 3. 53 n.

492. The Greek ships were drawn up along the shore and fenced in: the Greeks were several times driven by sallies of the besieged to take refuge behind this stockade.

pars tollere... Observe the order: ‘some raised a shout—a ghostly shout: even while begun the war-cry mocks their gaping mouths.’ *Exiguam* is *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*; it astonishes the reader, as their inability to utter the war-cry astonishes the ghosts. For the sound of 493 cf. 237 n.

494—547. *Here he sees Deiphobus cruelly mangled, and hears the history of his death: the Sibyl reminds him that they must not linger but hasten on their way.*

498. *vix adeo...*] ‘scarce, scarce he recognised him cowering and seeking to hide those hideous wounds, and unaddressed accosts him in well-known accents.’ For *adeo* placed after a word to give great emphasis to it cf. 2. 567 n., and for *ultra* 2. 145 n.

500. *genus...*] ‘thou scion of Teucer’s lofty lineage.’

501. *quis...*] ‘who chose to exact such cruel vengeance?’ *optavit* is used strictly: it is the *choice* of such specially cruel vengeance which excites indignation. The construction is partly ‘chose such cruel vengeance to exact (it),’ partly ‘chose to exact such cruel vengeance.’

502. *cui tantum...*] “who has had his will of you so far?” Conington.

suprema nocte: as *suprema lux* or *supremum lumen* (735) would = ‘last day,’ ‘day of death,’ so the night that witnessed Troy’s destruction is *suprema nox*.

505. *egomet*] Emphatic, ‘with my own hands.’ *tumulum inanem*: a cenotaph.

506. *Manes ter...*] The reference is to the ‘last greeting’ (*novissima verba* 231) to the dead which formed a part of the funeral ceremony, cf. 2. 644 *positum adfati discedite corpus*; 3. 68 *animam...supremum voce ciemus*; Od. 9. 65 *ἐτάρων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἀῦσαι | οἱ θάνον*. Many say that the triple cry was *Vale, vale, vale*, but from 11. 97 *salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, aeternumque vale*, Cat. 101. 10 *atque in supremum, frater, Have atque vale*, and the occurrence of *Have vale* in inscriptions, it would seem that these were the real words—at once a greeting and a farewell.

507. *tē amice*] A Greek license, e.g. Od. 11. 63 καταβῆναι ἰών; rare in Latin, but cf. Ecl. 8. 108 *quī amant*.

509. *nihil...relictum*] 'nought by thee, my friend, has been neglected.'

510. *funeris umbris*] 'the ghost of the dead': *funus* here = 'corpse.'

511. *Lacaenae*] Contemptuous: he will not *name* her.

512. *illa*] Very emphatic, '*she* (Helen the beautiful)': *haec*: deictic. The antithesis is marked, 'these are the memorials she has left': the contrast between the beauty of Helen and the ruin she caused is famous, cf. Aesch. Ag. 689 ἐλένας, ἔλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις.

513. Under the pretence of a votive offering the wooden horse was allowed to enter Troy: the Trojans, deceived by a feigned departure of the Greeks, celebrated a feast, and when the city was buried in slumber, the warriors concealed in the belly of the horse descended and opened the gates to their comrades.

515. *salu...*] So Ennius *Nam maximo saltu superabit gravidus armatis equus | qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama*, and cf. Aesch. Ag. 825. The phrase vividly describes the horse as something living and animated with an eager desire for Troy's destruction. For the actual dragging it in cf. 2. 234.

516. *gravis*] Certainly represents the *gravidus* of Ennius = 'pregnant': at the same time Virgil's word suggests the *fatal* character of the offspring who were to come forth from that 'heavy womb.'

517. *euantes orgia*] 'celebrating with Bacchic cries the (sacred) revels'; for the transitive force of *euantes* cf. 2. 542 n. Torchlight processions of women at night were common in the worship of Bacchus.

520. Cf. Il. 10. 98 καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ.

521, 2. Cf. Od. 13. 79

καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐπιπτεν,
νήγρετος, ἠδιστος, θανάτῳ ἀγχιιστα εἰκώς.

523. *egregia*] In bitter scorn: 'my peerless wife,' cf. 4. 93 n.

524. *emovet...subduxerat*] 'removes, and from beneath my pillow had stolen my trusty sword.' In so far as it is not due merely to love of variety, the change of tense in *subduxerat* indicates that this action had preceded the other.

526. *scilicet*] Strongly accentuates the scorn, which is also

marked in *amanti*: 'doubtless hoping that this would be a noble gift to her lover.'

529. *hortator scelerum Aeolides*] *i.e.* Ulysses. He is called 'child of Aeolus' designedly: his mother was wife of Laertes, but Sisyphus (son of Aeolus) is here described as really his father. Sisyphus is the type of ill-used cleverness (*Σίσυφος* cf. *σοφός*), and the character of Ulysses, it is hinted, proves his relation to him. So too he is described not as *πολύμητις* 'the wise counsellor,' but as a wretch who to others 'persuades the crimes' he dare not perpetrate himself.

530. *instaurate*] A religious word, *instaurare sacra* being used of repeating a rite not duly carried out, cf. 3. 62 n.: so fitly used here in prayer, 'renew that scene for (the benefit of) the Greeks, if with holy lips I claim the vengeance due.'

For *si* 'as surely as' cf. 3. 433 n. He grounds his appeal on the 'holiness' of the lips that utter it. For *prio* cf. 1. 10 n.

533. *an quae...*] 'or what Fortune dogs thee, so that thou didst approach these sad sunless halls, the dwelling of disorder?' Conington compares Job x. 22 'a land...of the shadow of death, without any order.'

fatigat...ut adires: *i.e.* still pursues you (and did pursue you) so that....

535. 'Amid such interchange of speech...Aurora in her heavenly course had already passed the central pole,' *i.e.* it was past midday upon earth. *Axis*, the central axis around which the heavens seem to revolve, then loosely 'the pole' or 'zenith.'

537. 'And perchance they would in such wise have spent all the allotted time.'

539. *nox ruit*] 'night is rising' or 'coming on,' *i.e.* it is near *nightfall*, as we say, but *ruit* means 'rises,' cf. 2. 250 n.; when 'night falls' (2. 8 *nox praecipitat*) in Virgil it is sinking to its close.

540. *ambas*] The word 'both' can only be used when two things have been already mentioned, or where reference is made to things notoriously two in number, *e.g.* 'with both eyes.' Virgil therefore by using *ambas* assumes that every one knows these famous two ways. Cf. Plat. Gorg. 524 *δικάσουσιν...έν τῶν τριόδω ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τῶ ὁδῶ* ('the two ways'), *ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δ' εἰς Τάρταρον*. See Deuticke.

541. *dextera*] Thrown prominently forward as a guiding word. The sentence seems hard to us because we can neither throw forward a relative clause as Latin and Gk. can, nor place

the principal subst. in the relative clause. We should say 'By this on the right, which leads..., is our path to Elysium': the Latin says 'On the right hand which (road) leads...by this is our path.'

Elysium : acc. after the idea of motion in *iter*, cf. 3. 507.

543. How the 'road exacts the punishment of evil-doers' is at once explained by the succeeding words. A strange phrase is often made clear by the context, cf. 545. *impia* : either 'unholy,' cf. 563 *sceleratum limen*, or 'pitiless,' cf. 1. 10 n.

545. **explebo numerum**] Explained by what follows, 'I will fill up the tale (or 'number' of ghosts) and get me back into the darkness.' He had quitted the ranks of dead warriors in their 'sunless dwelling' (534) and was following Aeneas, who was passing on to the sunny realms of Elysium; from this brighter path he steps back into the gloom and so fills up the place he had left vacant.

548—627. *Aeneas looking round sees opposite him a vast and awful fortress whence come groans and sounds of woe. The Sibyl explains that this is the abode of the damned, which she alone of those who are righteous has been allowed to enter: she recounts its horrors.*

548. **respicit**] Aeneas, who has turned to the right towards Elysium, 'suddenly looks back' after the departing Deiphobus, and so finds himself confronted by the portals of Tartarus, which Virgil thus gains the opportunity of describing.

549. **moenia**] 'buildings,' cf. 2. 234 n.

550. **flammis torrentibus...Phlegethon**] Virgil suggests the derivation of *Phlegethon* from $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$, cf. 3. 516 n. **ambit** : like a moat.

552. 'Confronting him (is) a mighty gate and columns of solid adamant.' The doorposts are called *columnae* because of their size.

554. **stat...**] 'stands fronting the breeze.'

555. **succincta**] 'with girded loins,' suggesting activity; cf. 1 Kings xviii. 46 'he girded up his loins and ran before Ahab.'

557. 'Hence are heard groans and fierce stripes echo; then too the grating of iron and trailing chains (are heard).'

561. 'What is this vast wailing on the wind?'

563. A skilful *inversion* of the rule that the guilty may not tread on holy ground: 'no holy foot may tread that guilty threshold.' The Sibyl explains that she is an exception.

566. 'Here Rhadamanthus holds his iron sway.' Conington needlessly puts a comma after *habet*.

567. *castigatque auditque dolos*] Sidgwick remarks that this is 'a famous line from its inversion of the natural order of justice,' and so Conington calls it 'a ὑστερον πρότερον'; in that case it may be illustrated by the story of Keate at Eton, who flogged the candidates for Confirmation first and then allowed them to explain that they were not the victims whom he had been expecting. But Rhadamanthus is an inquisitor who employs the lash to extort confession; 'he flogs them and hears their guile, compelling them to confess,' *subigitque fateri* being an explanatory clause (cf. 361 n.). So Claud. Ruf. 2. 478 *quos nolle fateri | viderit (Minos), ad rigidi transmittit verbera fratris. | nam iuxta Rhadamanthus agit*. For the sense Henry compares Hamlet 3. 3. 60

'Tis not so above;

There is no shuffling, there the action lies
In his true nature; and we ourselves compelled,
Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults,
To give in evidence.'

dolos: *dolus* is continually used legally of fraud: it is *dolus malus*, 'malice prepense,' which constitutes the criminality of an action.

568. *quis* after a relative = *aliquis*. *furto*: any fraudulent act. *inani*: because sin must bring suffering. For *laetatus...* cf. Ps. lxxiii. 11 (Prayer-Book Version), 'Tush, say they, how should God perceive it? is there knowledge in the most High?' *seram*: 'late,' 'too late': the opportunity for expiation is lost when death comes.

569. *commissa piacula*] *piaculum*, 'a sin-offering,' naturally then means 'expiation,' and lastly 'crime.' Most editors here render 'crimes committed,' but in this case *commissa* loses any real force and *piacula* is used carelessly: moreover you cannot 'delay crimes committed.' The sense of *committere* is 'to incur': 'and compels confession, whenever any one on earth, exulting in vain deceit, has delayed to late death the due (incurred) atonement.'

570. *continuo*] As soon as Rhadamanthus has pronounced them 'guilty' Tisiphone drives them off to Tartarus.

571. *quatit*] Cf. 12. 337 *equos... fumantes sudore quatit*; G. 3. 132 *cursu quatunt et sole fatigant*; Cic. de Nat. D. 2. 42 *Arctophylax prae se quatit Arctum*. From these passages it is clear that the word indicates 'keeping in restless motion,' 'worrying,' 'hounding along'; it is to be taken closely with *accincta flagello* and *insultans*. The idea seems

taken from a brutal drover urging on a crowd of terrified animals: 'Straightway vengeful T., armed with a scourge, hounds on the guilty wretches, leaping upon them.'

573. So Milton, Par. Lost 2. 879, of the gate of hell:

'On a sudden open fly
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound
The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder.'

574. *custodia*] 'Watch,' φυλακή; = *custodes*, watchmen, φύλακες.

576. For rhythm cf. 237 n. Note *inmanis* here and 582, 594, 597: the vague adjective is useful.

578. *bis patet...*] 'yawns sheer downward twice as far... as is the view upward....' Conington remarks: 'Virgil has copied Homer, doubling his measurement, τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἄτδεω, ὅσον οὐρανόσ ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης Il. 8. 16; a mode of "excelling by ill imitating" which has been often resorted to. Milton has similarly attempted to improve on both, placing the rebel angels in a region "as far removed from God and light of heaven As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole." Par. Lost 1. 73.'

580. *genus...pubes...deiecti...volvuntur*] Sense construction: cf. 660 *manus...passi*. *volvuntur...*: 'writhe at the bottom of the pit.'

585. *dantem...poenas, dum...imitatur*] He is still suffering the punishment which fell upon him 'even while he was imitating....' The punishment appears more terrible because it overtakes him in the very hour of his pride and guilt: cf. Ps. lxxviii. 30 'But while the meat was yet in their mouths, the heavy wrath of God came upon them.'

588. *mediaeque per Elidis urbem*] = *mediam per E. u.* 'right through the city of Elis'—the very town where the Olympian Jupiter was specially worshipped. Some render 'through his city in mid Elis,' and speak of a town built by Salmons and destroyed by lightning, but surely *Elidis urbem* can only mean 'Elis,' 'the city called Elis.'

590. *demens, qui...simularet*] 'Madman! to mimic the clouds and inimitable thunderbolt...,' cf. 2. 248 n. *aere i.e.* with his car of brass.

593. *contorsit*] Stronger than *torsit*: the 'whirl in sending a missile is to secure spin and so steadiness of flight.

non ille: *ille* is pleonastic, but is added to emphasise

strongly the contrast between 'the Almighty Father' and Salmoneus. Cf. 5. 186 n.

594. *inmani turbine*] Probably of the 'whirl' of the thunderbolt, cf. 12. 531 *praecipitem scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi | excutit*; or perhaps of the 'awful whirl' of the falling body, cf. Pope's Homer II. 1, of the fall of Vulcan:

'Hurled *headlong* down from the ethereal height,
Tost all the day *in rapid circles* round.'

596. *cernere erat*] ἤν ἰδέιν, 'it was (allowed) to see.'

598. 'Feeding on the deathless liver and entrails fruitful in punishment,' *i.e.* ever producing fresh material for punishment.

599. *rimaturque epulis*] 'gropes at his feast,' not 'for his feast.'

600. *renatis*] they grow again as fast as they are eaten.

602. Observe accommodation of sound to sense: the overhanging syllable suggests the overhanging rock, cf. 4. 558 n. *iam iam* 'now, now,' *i.e.* every moment about to slip. Nettleship reads *quo* with very fair authority and considers that the preceding line has been lost, for he says 602-607 'clearly refer to Tantalus,' cf. Cic. de Fin. 1. 18 *mors quae, quasi saxum Tantalos, semper impendet*; Lucr. 3. 980 *impedens magnum timet aëre saxum | Tantalus*.

603. *lucent...*] 'golden gleam the supports to festal cushions high-piled.' *Fulcra* are not 'feet,' but ornamental supports or rests for the cushions of a couch, see illustration etc. in Class. Rev. iii. 322, where the *fulcrum* exhibits on a boss a bust of the *Genius* in relief; cf. *genialibus* here, and Juv. 6. 22 *sacri genium contemnere fulcri*. *paratae*: the reading *paternae* must be 'such as he had shared in heaven with his sire (Zeus).'

606. *accubat*] Kennedy says 'watches nigh,' but surely it is 'lies beside them,' *i.e.* at the banquet, which she forbids them to taste.

608. *invisi fratres*] Cf. Deut. xxviii. 54 'his eye shall be evil toward his brother': the opposite of 'brotherly love.'

609. *fraus innexa clienti*] 'guile devised against a dependant.' The laws of the XII Tables say *Patronus, si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto*. Cf. 613, where the reciprocal duty of the inferior to his 'lord' is referred to.

610. *incubuere*] G. 2. 507 *defossoque incubat auro*. *reperitis*: not 'found by accident,' for there could hardly be 'a very great throng' of such discoverers of treasure, but, as Henry takes it, 'gained' or 'won' with trouble and difficulty after searching, cf. *reperitus* clearly so used 718, and the common use of *quaestus* 'gain' from *quaero*.

611. 'And not set aside a portion for their kinsfolk—and these (the misers) are the greatest throng.' The strong simplicity of the words *quae maxima turba est* deserves attention.

613. *arma inopia...dominorum*] If the word *dominorum* is to be pressed, then there must be a reference to the Servile war B.C. 73-71, and possibly to the enlistment of slaves by Sex. Pompeius B.C. 36. On the other hand *inopius* is continually applied to *civil* war, e.g. Hor. Od. 2. 1. 30 *inopia proelia*. Virgil is purposely suggestive rather than definite: 'those who have taken up arms in an unhallowed cause nor feared to violate the loyalty owed to their lords.'

615. *quam poenam*] sc. *expectant*.

Possibly the subj. of oblique question *expectant...merserit* might be more regular, but the indicative is not only correct, but much better suited to the interjectional and vivid character of the Sibyl's words.

By saying that the words *ne quaere...* are interjectional in character I mean that they do not constitute a real prohibition (as is shown by the fact that the Sibyl immediately goes on to describe the very punishments which she bids him not seek to learn) but are an exclamation, and that as regards the sense we might substitute for them *infanda est quam expectant poenam* 'too awful to relate is that penalty!' For the indicative in such exclamatory sentences cf. 779 *viden' ut stant*, 855 *aspice ut ingreditur*.

In any case the indicative is correct, for to the words '*poenam expectant*' Aeneas might have replied *doce poenam, quam expectant, et formam fortunamque quae mersit viros* 'teach me that punishment, which they await, and the form, etc.,' but the Sibyl checks the request which is rising to his lips with the words 'seek not to learn that punishment, which they await, or the form, etc.'

To *forma fortunave* supply *poenae* from the context: there are 'forms of punishment' as there are 'forms of guilt' (*scelerum formae* 626), and the form which befalls each sinner is *fortuna poenae*.

Mersit is found in two MSS., but is clearly a correction, and there is no authority for making *mersit* = *merserit* on the analogy of forms such as *faxim, ausim*, etc.

616. Sisyphus is doomed to roll a stone continually uphill which continually rolls back again. Ixion is pinioned on a revolving wheel. Theseus (inconsistently with 122) is doomed to some form of sedentary life for ever. Phlegyas, father of Ixion, set fire to Apollo's temple at Delphi.

619. **testatur]** 'testifies'; lit. 'calls to witness': he makes a solemn appeal to all to hear his words of warning. Of course the warning was useless in hell, but it is really addressed by the poet to men on earth.

621, 622. Macrobius states that these lines are copied from Varius:

*vendidit hic Latium populis, agrosque Quiritum
eripuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit.*

dominum: 'master (of slaves)': a hateful word to a free Roman. Domitian ordered the formal despatches of his procurators to begin with the words *dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet*.

fixit...: 'he set up and pulled down laws for bribes': laws were written on tablets of brass and set up in the forum.

623. **hymenaeos]** A Gk. word and therefore a Gk. rhythm is allowed, cf. 895; 3. 464 *elephanto*; 4. 99, 316 *hymenaeos*; 3. 680 *cyparissi*, and elsewhere *hyacinthus*. So too with proper names, cf. 5. 448 *Erymantho*, and elsewhere *Melicertae*, *Adamasto*.

624. **ausi...** 'All dar'd the worst of ill and what they dar'd attain'd,' Dryden.

625. Cf. Il. 2. 489

*οὐδ' εἰ μοι δέκα μὲν γλωσσαι δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,
φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη.*

627. **percurrere nomina]** 'hastily recount the names.'

628—636. *The Sibyl points to the Palace of Pluto and bids him there deposit the bough.*

629. **carpe viam]** 'seize the way,' i.e. quickly pursue thy way. Cf. 5. 316 n.

633. **per opaca viarum]** A favourite periphrasis which throws the emphasis on the adjective. Cf. 2. 332 n.

635. **corpusque...**] A ceremony of purification usual on entering a sacred place or commencing a holy rite. Cf. the 'holy water' placed at the entrance of Roman Catholic churches.

637—678. *Thence they proceed to the abode of the blessed, where dwell the souls of the great and good: the Sibyl inquires where Anchises is to be found, and Musaeus offers to guide them.*

637 **his demum exactis]** 'this done, then (but not before) ...,' cf. 154 n.

638. **virecta]** "is the general reading of MSS., yet the form seems to spring from the false analogy of *carectum*, *salictum* etc., in which the *c* belongs to the stems *carex*, *salix*, etc." Kennedy.

639. Fortunatorum] Cf. *Fortunatae Insulae*, μακάρων νῆσοι, 'the Islands of the Blessed,' used of certain islands in the far West, which the souls of the blessed were sometimes fabled to inherit after death.

640. Cf. Od. 6. 45 of heaven: ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη | πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη.

'Here the fields are clothed with ampler ether and with dazzling light.' Opposed to the gloom, which hangs like a pall over the rest of Orcus, is the brilliant atmosphere of Elysium, which conveys the idea of ampler space.

vestit. Cf. Milton, Par. Lost 4. 609

'And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw,'

used of the moon rising.

641. *purpureo*] The ancient purple had two characteristics, (1) its rich colour, the colour of clotted blood, (2) its peculiar sheen or radiance. Hence *purpureus* means (1) 'purple' or (2), as here, 'dazzling,' 'radiant,' *lumine purpureo* being = Homer's λευκὴ αἴγλη. Cf. 883; 5. 79 *purpureos flores*; 1. 590 *lumenque iuventae purpureum*.

suum: 'not ours'; cf. in contrast Rev. xxi. 23 'And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon...for the glory of God did lighten it.'

642. *pars...*] Cf. Par. Lost 2. 528

'Part on the plain or in the air sublime
Upon the wing or in swift race contend,
As at the Olympian games or Pythian fields;
Part curb their fiery steeds

. Others more mild

Retreated in a silent valley sing.'

644. 'Some with their feet beat the dance and recite songs.' Cf. Od. 8. 264 *πέπληγρον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσίν*, where, however, *χορὸν* is the 'dancing floor.'

645. *Threicius...sacerdos*] 'the Thracian seer': Orpheus, who was not merely a poet but a prophet and the founder of the Orphic mysteries. Cf. 661, 662. The 'long robe' seems especially to have been worn by musicians: cf. Hor. A. P. 215 *tibicen*, *traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem*; Ovid, Fast. 6. 596.

646. *obloquitur*] 'accompanies the measure with the seven distinct notes.' The 'differences of seven sounds' are the seven distinct notes of the seven strings of the lyre: these Orpheus 'utters as an accompaniment (*obloquitur*) to the

measure (*numeris*) which the others are marking with their hands and feet.'

647. *digitis ; pectine*] According as he played quietly or loudly. The *pecten* or *plectrum* was held in the right hand.

650. The list is : Zeus, Dardanus, Erichthonius,

Tros { Assaracus, Capys, Anchises.
 { Ilus, Laomedon, Priam.

651. *inanes*] not 'empty,' for that is expressed by *procul*, but 'unreal,' 'ghostly.' *procul* : cf. 10 and 3. 13 n.

653. *quae gratia currum*] A very rare form of the gen. Cf. Martial 2. 5. 3 *duo milia passum*. Some MSS. give *curruum*, the final syllable being elided with *armorum*.

'What delight in chariots was theirs in life, what care to feed their glossy steeds, the same attends them....'

654. *cura pascere*] For the inf. cf. 2. 10 n.

657. *laetumque...*] Il. 1. 473 *καλὸν αἰδίδοντες παίηονα*.

658. *unde superne...*] 'from whence (as its source) in the upper world rolls the full flood of Eridanus.' The Po at one point near its source flows under ground for some distance, and therefore, when it emerges, is fabled to flow from a source in the under world : see Heyne and Conington. But may not the words mean 'There where (falling) from on high the stream....'

662. *pii vates*] 'holy bards,' such as Musæus, cf. 669.

663. 'And those who have ennobled life by the discovery of arts and who by merit have won a memorial among their fellows.'

Excoluere suggests *cultus*, which is the Latin word for 'civilisation,' all that tends to make life less savage and barbarous.

For *alios* the MSS. support *aliquos*, 'those whose worth has earned them the grateful recollection of some on earth': but Virgil is describing not those whose memory is cherished in some small home circle, but those who by conspicuous merit have earned the gratitude of their fellows and whose names are held in everlasting remembrance.

Aliquos is out of harmony with the context, and adapted to the thought of Wordsworth rather than of Virgil.

For this list cf. the list of 'famous men,' whose 'praises are reported,' given in Ecclesiasticus xlv. 1-15.

665. *vitta*] The *vitta* marks priests, and so sanctity.

668. *umeris exstantem*] Cf. 413 n. So Saul 'from his shoulders and upward was higher than any of the people.' 1 Sam. ix. 2.

674. *riparumque toros*] The banks form couches ; they

seem designed for resting on, cf. 5. 388 *viridante toro...herbae*: 'soft-cushioned banks and meadows fresh with brooks we haunt.'

675. *si fert*] 'if so the purpose in thy heart tends': *fert* is used absolutely.

679—702. *The meeting of Aeneas and Anchises.*

680. *superum...*] 'destined to pass to the light above.' Virgil explains how later on.

681. *lustrabat...*] 'was regarding in eager meditation.'

683. Observe the balance and alliteration of this line:

Fataque Fortunasque) virum (Moresque Manusque.

manus: 'things wrought by the hand,' 'exploits,' cf. 2. 306 n.

686. *vox excidit ore*] Merely = the Homeric *ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων*.

691. 'Nor has my anxiety deceived me.'

694. *ne quid...*] *i.e.* lest Dido might induce you to stay in Africa.

696. *tendere adegit*] The inf. is due to the sense of *compelling* contained in *adegit*, cf. 567 *subigit fateri*, and 2. 64 n.

700—702. Repeated from 2. 792, where see notes.

703—723. *Aeneas notices the souls crowding along the banks of Lethe and inquires what they are; he is told that they are souls destined again to become incorporate, many of them as his own descendants.*

704. *virgulta sonantia silvae*] 'the rustling thickets of a wood.' *Silvae* has very strong MSS. authority, but Conington and others accept *silvis*, which is probably an error due to a recollection of *sonantia silvis* in 3. 442 and *virgulta sonantia lauro* 12. 522. Conington says 'the brakes rustle with the woods of which they form a part,' but brakes, though they can make a sound with their leaves, twigs, or the laurel-bushes of which they are composed (as in 12. 522), certainly cannot do so 'with the woods of which they form a part.' *Silvis* could only mean 'in the woods,' or perhaps 'for the woods,' as though the brakes made music for the woods.

707. *ac velut...*] 'even as when amid the meadows the bees in sunny summer settle on the many-coloured flowers.' For *ac velut...ubi* cf. 2. 626 n.

711. *quae sint...*] Oblique question after the sense of *causas requirit*, 'and in ignorance asks the reason, (asks) what is yonder river stretching onward, and what men....'

ea flumina porro: 'longo inde cursu praetextentia ripas,' Heyne.

713. quibus] dat. fato: ablative.

715. longa] As often = 'everlasting'; 1. 749 n.; Luc. 1. 457 *longae...vitae | mors media est*, 'an everlasting life.'

For the sense cf. Wordsworth's Ode to Immortality,
'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting.'

716, 717. The two clauses are connected by the emphatic repetition of *has* and *hanc*: 'These truly long I have yearned to tell thee of and show thee face to face, yea to count over to thee this the race of my children.'

719. 'O father, must we indeed deem that any souls pass aloft from hence to upper air and a second time return to dull bodies?' The change of speaker is marked by the prominent position of *o pater*.

721. lucis] 'light,' as the type of 'life' in its brighter aspect. Hence to call 'desire for the light' *dira* is almost a paradox. But these lines are tinged with a deep sadness, and the feeling of the Roman poet is that of the Hebrew 'preacher,' cf. Ecl. xi. 7 'Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun; but . . . all that cometh is vanity.'

723. suscipit] So in Gk. ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, and cf. Addison
'Soon as the evening shades prevail
The moon takes up the wondrous tale.'

724—751. *Anchises explains what life is, and how it comes to pass that certain souls are restored to their original purity and then, after drinking of Lethe, allowed to again animate living men.*

The tastes of Virgil were philosophic. In the 52nd year of his age he proposed, says Donatus, to spend three years on polishing and revising the Aeneid '*ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret*'; cf. his famous reference to philosophy, G. 2. 490 *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*.

The theory which he puts forward here seems to regard 'life' as something possessing *substance*, cf. 292 n.; this vital substance permeates the universe and is the source of life throughout it (*anima mundi*); it is conceived of as analogous to air or fire (Cic. de Nat. D. 2. 15 *ignis ille corporeus, vitalis et salutaris omnia conservat, alit, auget, sustinet sensusque afficit*, or in Stoic language πνεῦμα ἐνθερμον: πῦρ τεχνικὸν ὁδῶ βάδιζον εἰς γένεσιν, ὕπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα πυροειδὲς καὶ τεχνοειδὲς: πνεῦμα νοερὸν καὶ

πυρῶδες); hence it is often identified with that fine and fiery element *aether*, which, as being lighter than

‘the cumbrous elements earth, flood, air, fire,’

rises above them all to the highest place, and so becomes the source of life to the celestial bodies. Cf. Milton, *Par. Lost* 3. 715-723.

United with this physical conception is an ethical one (derived from Plato) that in man the soul becomes *infected* by the body:

‘The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being.’

Milton, *Comus* 467.

Hence after death must come purgatory and purification until all this taint is removed. Then after drinking of the waters of Lethe the soul may again become incorporate.

724. *principio*] ‘In the first place’: a formal commencement, didactic in tone, and borrowed from Lucretius.

725. *Titaniaque astra*] The Sun and Moon were said to be children of the Titan Hyperion, and the Sun is frequently called *Titan*. Hence most editors explain this phrase as a periphrasis for ‘the sun,’ but the plural scarcely allows this: Wagner joins closely with what precedes—‘the moon, yes (both) the Titanian stars,’ but this is unnatural. Surely ‘Titanian stars’ may mean ‘the sun and stars,’ the sun being included among the stars as the greatest of the heavenly bodies, and the epithet ‘Titanian’ being applied to them all to suggest size, vastness, and splendour, though perhaps strictly applicable to the sun only.

726. *spiritus...*] ‘a spirit (*πνεῦμα*) from within sustains; and mind, permeating the members, moves the whole mass, and mingles with its mighty frame.’ Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, 3. 22 ‘One all-extending, all-preserving Soul.’

728. *inde*] ‘thence (*i.e.* from the *spiritus, mens infusa*) comes the race....’

729. *et quae*] ‘and (of those) monsters which....’

730. *igneus...*] ‘fiery is the force and heavenly the origin of those sparks, in as far as baneful bodies do not clog (them) and earthly limbs make (them) dull and dying members.’

The *semina* are small portions of the elemental fire which is the source of life, and from each such ‘spark’ or ‘seed’ grows a separate human life.

731. *quantum non* = ‘save in so far as’: the seeds are in

their nature and essence 'fiery,' but this fiery nature can only exhibit itself to a certain extent because clogged and dulled by the body.

For the sense cf. Pope

'Vital spark of heavenly flame,
Quit, oh quit this mortal frame!'

733. *hinc...*] 'hence (*i.e.* from the union with material substance) come fear and desire, pleasure and pain, and they (the souls of men) have no vision through the sky, imprisoned in darkness and a blind dungeon.'

The best MSS. give *despiciunt*, which must be an error. Many have *respiciunt* = 'look back to the sky,' which is their true home.

metuunt... Virgil describes the four passions (*πάθη, perturbationes*) which disturb the calmness and clearness of the pure soul. The classification is popular but also Stoical: cf. Cic. Tusc. 4. 6, who thus divides them:

<i>libido</i> <i>ἐπιθυμία</i>	<i>laetitia</i> <i>ἡδονή</i>	<i>ex bonis nascuntur</i>
<i>metus</i> <i>φόβος</i>	<i>aegritudo</i> <i>λύπη</i>	<i>ex malis nascuntur</i>
of things Future	of things Present	

734. *clausae...*] An obvious reference to Plato's explanation of *σῶμα* as = *σῆμα*, cf. Phaedo 62. 8.

735. *supremo...lumine*] 'on the day of death,' or, possibly 'with its last ray.'

736. *non tamen...*] 'nevertheless not wholly, alas! does evil quit them, nor do all bodily plagues utterly depart, and it must needs be that much long growing with their growth should in wondrous wise become deeply engrained.' For *concreta* = *quae concreverunt* cf. 4. 38 n.

739. *exercentur poenis*] 'they are plied with penance.'

740. The purification is by *air, water, and fire*.

panduntur...suspensae. Some explain of crucifixion, and compare for *suspensae* the well-known use of *κρέμασθαι* in the New Test.; but the notion of crucifixion—a slavish punishment—is entirely alien from the context here. That which is washed surely needs to be 'hung up' and 'spread wide' to the winds.

742. *infectum eluitur scelus*] 'the guilty stain is washed out.'

No doubt a person is usually described as *infectus scelere* 'stained with guilt,' but here Virgil takes advantage of the original meaning of *inficio* (= 'make' or 'put in') to use *infectum scelus* = 'inwrought guilt,' at the same time suggesting the meaning of 'stain' which ordinarily attaches to *infectus*. Wagner quotes Cic. ad Att. 1. 13 *vereor ne hoc quod infectum est serpat longius*.

For the phrase cf. Article IX. 'this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated'; Ps. li. 2 'Wash me throughly from my wickedness.'

exuritur igni: the metaphor is from purging away the dross from gold so as to leave it pure, cf. Rev. iii. 18 *χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός*.

743. *quisque...*] A strange phrase but perfectly clear: 'we bear each one of us his own ghostly doom.' Every one has a life after death; each man has after death *sui Manes* 'his own ghost,' and 'endures' such things as befall that 'ghost' or dead self. Deuticke well quotes Auson. Ephem. 56 *tormentaue sera gehennae | anticipat patiturque suos mens saucia Manes*; Ov. Met. 9. 406 *seductaque suos Manes tellure videbit | vivus adhuc vates*.

exinde: *i.e.* after this penance done.

745. *donec...*] As the passage stands it must mean that, when the purgatorial cleansing above described is over, thereafter (*exinde*) we pass into Elysium and there dwell 'until lapse of time, the cycle at last completed, hath removed the ingrown corruption and (so) leaves pure the ethereal sense and breath of elemental fire.' It seems perfectly natural to suppose that the rest of Elysium completes the cleansing of the souls. *Pauci* seems added to mark that these purified souls bear but a small proportion to the whole number of the dead, and is no more inconsistent with *innumerae gentes* 706 and *has omnes* 748 than the 'few chosen' of one part of Scripture with the 'great multitude whom no man can number' of another.

Some object to this and consider that, as the soul of Anchises does not apparently return to life, Elysium is the *eternal* home of certain especially blessed spirits; they therefore make *exinde...tenemus* a parenthesis; but this is extremely harsh. Moreover, why should there be exceptions to the law of returning to life, since certainly the noble souls about to be passed in review are not excepted? No doubt, as a logical conclusion from Virgil's statements, Anchises ought to return to life with the rest, but Virgil simply ignores this. He is a poet describing a purely imaginary world and strict logical accuracy must not be expected.

748. *has omnes...*] At 743 Anchises, standing in the Elysian fields, includes himself among those who inhabit them and says 'we': here, as his own return to life is at any rate distant and certainly cannot be referred to without awkwardness, he ceases to speak in the first person and pointing to the crowd on the bank, which had prompted Aeneas' question, says 'all these, when they have rolled the wheel (of time) for....'

rotam volvere: *i.e.* passed through the appointed cycle of a thousand years. The cycle is suggested by Plato's *περίοδος χιλιαστής*, *Phaedr.* 249 A; *χιλιαστής πορεία*, *Rep.* 615 A.

749. *Lethæum...scilicet inmemores*] 'to Lethe's stream ...of a surety that all-forgetting....' *Scilicet* pointedly draws attention to the connection of *Lethæum* and *inmemores*. Cf. 3. 516 n. *supera convexa*: 'the heavenly vault,' cf. 3. 232 n.

752—853. *Anchises points out to Aeneas the various souls who are fated to become famous Romans, and relates their names and exploits. He concludes by promising Rome the empire of the world.*

753. *sonantem*] Cf. 709 *strepit omnis murmure campus*.

754. 'From which he might be able to scan them all fronting him in long array, and learn their faces as they came.'

756. *nunc age...*] Anchises begins to speak. 'Come now, what glory in the days to come attends the race of Dardanus..., of souls glorious and the heirs of our name I will tell in speech.'

Animas is the acc. after *expediam*; first come two oblique questions, then a direct accusative. For *in nomen ituras* cf. the common phrase *in nomen adsciscere* 'to adopt.'

760. *pura...hasta*] Servius says that this is a headless spear given in old days to a warrior who had won his first victory (*qui tum primum vicisset in proelio*).

761. 'by lot holds the nearest place in light: he first....'

763. *Silvius*] *Alba Longa*, on the Alban Mount, is regularly connected by legend with the settlement of Aeneas in Italy. The first king is here said to have been Silvius, the son of Aeneas by Lavinia, daughter of Latinus king of Latium (*Italo commixtus sanguine*), though usually he is described as the son of Ascanius and grandson of Aeneas. A legendary explanation is also given of the name, which was borne by all the kings of Alba (*Albanum nomen*), as though the child had been 'born in the woods.' A list of 15 kings of Alba is usually given, in

which after Aeneas, Ascanius, and Silvius comes Aeneas Silvius, then Capys eighth in order, and Procas the fourteenth, whose brother was Numitor the father of Rhea Silvia (*Ilia mater* 778) and grandfather (*avo* 777) of Romulus and Remus.

postuma: not 'posthumous,' 'born after the father's death,' but, as the next line shows, 'last,' 'latest born.' Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 2. 1. 40.

768. **te nomine reddet**] 'shall recall thee by his name.'

769. **pariter...**] Conington says 'whether you look at his piety or his valour he is equally distinguished,' and if so, *vel* is put after *pariter* very remarkably for *et*. But surely the words recall the description of Aeneas 403 *Aeneas pietate insignis et armis*, and mean 'equally illustrious with thee (either) for piety or valour,' 'whose fame for (either) piety or valour may be matched with thine': *vel* is thus separated from *pariter*, and is used naturally, *pariter* receives its full meaning, and we get the forcible sense that this second Aeneas is a counterpart of the first not only in name but in nature.

770. **si umquam...**] According to tradition he was kept out of his kingdom for 52 years. **regnandam**: 'to be governed,' 3. 14 n.

772. **civili...quercu**] The *corona civica*; it was given to him who had saved the life of a citizen in war: it was assigned as a perpetual honour to Augustus. A coin of Galba's is given in Smith's *Class. Dict.* with the inscription SPQR OB C S (*civem servatum*).

773. These are all old Latin towns near Rome: Nomentum is N.E. of Rome, about 14 miles off; Gabii to the E.: Fidenae (for the singular form cf. 5. 52 n.) 5 miles to the N.E.; Collatia is on the right bank of the Anio; Pometii is usually called Suessa Pometia and is in the territory of the Volsci, as is Cora; Castrum Inui is to the S. on the coast; Bola is unknown.

779. **vidēn'**] Notice the quantity: it has become almost an interjection: hence too the construction with *ut stant*.

780. **pater ipse...**] 'his sire himself marks for the world above with his own badge of dignity.' The 'double-crested helm' seems to have been (see Henry 3. 412) a distinction of Mars, and he who wears it in Elysium is marked out as destined to be the son of Mars.

Some take *pater superum* as = 'the father of the gods'; but in connection with Romulus, who has just been called *Mavor-tius*, *pater* must = Mars. As well what is the 'peculiar honour' of Jupiter?

781. *auspiciis*] Refers specially to the favourable omen of the twelve vultures by which he secured the right to name Rome after himself, and also to the fact that he was always represented in augural dress, with the *trabea* and *lituus*.

782. See 1. 287 and note.

783. 'And shall with her ramparts enfold in one the seven hills.'

784. *Berecynthia mater*] Cybele, who was worshipped on Mt. Berecynthus in Phrygia. She is called *mater* as being identified with the earth, and so commonly called *Magna Mater* 'the Great Mother'; she was also identified with Rhea, the wife of Cronos and mother of Zeus, and was therefore also known as *Mater Deum* 'Mother of the Gods.'

The city of Rome is compared to her because the goddess was represented as wearing a mural crown (see *Lucr.* 2. 606), and Rome has 'a diadem of towers' (cf. *turrita* 785); also because, while the goddess 'rejoices in a brood of gods' (*laeta deum partu*), Rome 'is blessed with a race of heroes' (*felix prole virum*).

787. *supera alta tenentes*] The Homeric *ὑπέρτατα δώματ' ἔχοντες*.

792. *Divi genus*] 'son of a god,' *i.e.* of Julius Caesar, who after his death received divine honours and was called *Divus*. So on coins *Augustus Divi F(ilius)*.

aurea condet...: 'who shall once more establish the golden age for Latium, amid the plough-lands where Saturn once held sway.' In the old national religion Saturnus ('the god of sowing'), the husband of Ops ('wealth'), is the type of prosperity and his reign was the golden age. It was in Latium that he ruled and disappeared (*latebat*). Notice the subtle use of *arva* (from *aro*) in this connection; Virgil hints that the existence in old days of numerous small farms cultivated with the plough by sturdy yeomen was not unconnected with national prosperity.

793. *regnata...Saturno*] 'ruled over by Saturn,' cf. 3. 14 n.

794. The Garamantes were the most southern nation of Africa known (*extremi Garamantes* *Ecl.* 8. 44), subdued by L. Cornelius Balbus B.C. 19.

795. *iacet extra sidera...*] 'Earth (*i.e.* o'er which he shall extend his sway) lies beyond the stars.' The sudden change of construction is dramatic: Anchises speaks as though describing a land he actually saw before him.

The sun's apparent annual path through the stars is the

Ecliptic, and a belt on each side of this imaginary line is the Zodiac, which is divided into the twelve constellations or Signs of the Zodiac: beneath this, according to Virgil, lies a similar belt of earth, which is the world he knows, and the lands north and south of it are *extra sidera, extra anni solisque vias*.

796. *caelifer Atlas*] Atlas is either a rebellious Titan condemned to support heaven, or Mt. Atlas in Mauretania, which is not unnaturally described as 'heaven-supporting.' Cf. 4. 246 *seq.*

798. *huius in adventum*] 'for (*i.e.* in expectation of) his coming.'

799. *horrent*] 'shiver,' used of the shivering fear caused by the oracles, but also suggesting skilfully the cold of the Caspian and the Crimea. There is thus a contrast with *trepida*, which describes an excited state of fear, the hot haste of panic, and also suggests the warmth of Egypt (cf. G. 1. 296 *trepidī aēni* 'a boiling caldron').

801—805. Augustus is compared to Hercules and Bacchus, who are the accepted types of heroic virtue used in the interests of mankind and rewarded with divine honours, cf. Hor. Od. 3. 3. 9-16, where he is also compared to Hercules, Bacchus, and Quirinus. To capture or slay the 'brazen-footed stag,' and the boar on Mt. Erymanthus in Arcadia, and to destroy the many-headed Hydra at Lerna in Argolis, were three of the twelve 'labours' assigned to Hercules. The progress of Bacchus in a car drawn by tigers from Mt. Nysa in India, where he was born, represents the advance and triumph of civilisation.

804. *iuga flectit*] 'guides his car.'

806. *et dubitamus...*] 'and are we still (*i.e.* after contemplating the glory of Augustus) hesitating to make our worth known by deeds?'

et is the 'and' of indignant question, cf. 1. 48 n. So too G. 2. 433 *et dubitant homines serere atque impendere curam?* Cic. pro lege Man. 14. 42 *et quisquam dubitabit...?* Tusc. Disp. 1. 38. 92 *et dubitas...?* So 'καὶ indignantis' in Gk., *e.g.* καὶ πῶς;

virtus is not merely 'valour' but 'manliness,' 'all that may become a man,' 'worth': *virtutem extendere factis* is to employ our powers actively, to see that they have free scope and opportunity for development; the opposite of it is 'to hide our talent in a napkin,' to be sluggish and inactive. For a similar phrase cf. 10. 468 *sed famam extendere factis | hoc virtutis opus*. Some with good authority read *virtute extendere vires* 'by valour to extend our strength.'

dubitamus. The change to the first person plural should be noticed: such a change from 'you' to 'we' is common where the speaker wishes to rebuke with gentleness, and here Anchises wishes to soften the reproach of 'hesitation' which his words might seem to convey. At the same time it seems not improbable that the use of the first person here is to be explained by saying that Virgil is not so much thinking of Anchises and Aeneas as addressing an appeal with his own living voice to his fellow-Romans: as he recited the passage a gesture would suffice to show the real reference of his indignant words.

810. **regis...**] Numa Pompilius, a native of Cures in the Sabine country, whom the Romans regarded as the founder (cf. *fundabit*) of their religious and legal institutions. Hence he is represented as a venerable priest 'offering sacrifice' and 'decked with boughs of olive,' which is the symbol of peace.

primam urbem: 'infant city.'

814. **Tullus]** Tullus Hostilius, 3rd King of Rome; destroyed Alba.

815. **Ancus]** Ancus Martius, 4th King; conqueror of the Latins.

816. **popularibus auris]** Popular favour is compared to a breeze because of its fickle and treacherous nature.

817. The 5th King was Tarquinius of Tarquinii in Etruria. He was succeeded by Servius Tullius, and L. Tarquinius Superbus, who was banished in a rising headed by Brutus (510 B.C.), who thus avenged (*ultoris*) the outrage committed on Lucretia the wife of T. Collatinus by Sextus Tarquin, and recovered (*receptos*) for the people the right of electing their own rulers, being himself elected first *consul* with T. Collatinus (cf. 819). His two sons joined an insurrection to restore the Tarquins, and he ordered their execution.

Twelve lictors preceded the kings carrying a bundle of rods (*fasces*) and an axe as the token of their power to inflict scourging and death. Later the axe was only carried with the *fasces* when the consul was at the head of an army in the field.

superbam. The 'proud soul' of Brutus was a match for Tarquin the Proud.

820. **natosque pater]** Juxtaposition for emphasis.

822. **utcumque ferent...**] (1) Most explain 'However posterity shall view that deed, with him love of country will prevail,' but the addition of the words *laudumque immensa cupido* makes this very doubtful, for if the opinion of posterity is so dubious, how could the 'thirst for fame' prevail?

(2) The simplest way perhaps is to connect *infelix* not with what precedes, but with what follows (as Augustine did)—‘unhappy, however posterity extol (*ferent=ferent laudibus*) that deed.’ Then after this parenthetic tribute to the father’s grief the poet returns to the patriot’s devotion—‘the love of country will prevail and the measureless passion for renown.’

(3) A third rendering is possible—‘Whenever posterity shall relate that deed, his love of country shall win the day,’ *i.e.* the verdict will be in his favour.

View (2) is certainly simplest from a rhetorical point of view. Any one reciting this could make the point at once clear by dropping the voice in 822 and raising it again in 823.

824. P. Decius Mus was the name of two plebeian consuls who solemnly devoted themselves to death in battle, the father B.C. 340 in a war against the Latins, the son B.C. 295 in the battle of Sentinum against the Gauls.

M. Livius Drusus Salinator was consul with C. Claudius Nero and defeated Hasdrubal at the river Metaurus B.C. 207. The mention of Drusus is intended as a compliment to Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus.

825. *Torquatam*] T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus was called Torquatus from slaying a gigantic Gaul (B.C. 361) and taking the chain (*torques*) he wore round his neck. When consul B.C. 340 he put his own son to death (cf. *saevum securi*) for engaging in combat with the enemy contrary to orders.

M. Furius Camillus recovered Rome from the Gauls, who had taken it under Brennus B.C. 390.

826. *illae autem...*] Caesar and Pompeius. Pompeius (cf. *gener* 831) married Julia the daughter of Caesar (*socer* 830), but she died in B.C. 54; he was overthrown by Caesar at Pharsalia B.C. 48.

paribus in armis: ‘in like armour,’ *i.e.* both in Roman arms, indicating *civil* war, cf. Luc. Phars. 1. 6 *obvia signis | signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis. fulgère*: cf. 4. 409 n.

827. *dum nocte premuntur*] ‘while darkness imprisons them.’

830. The legions with which Caesar crushed Pompeius were those which had served with him in Gaul B.C. 58-50. The Alps formed the ‘rampart’ or ‘barrier’ of Italy on the N.

831. *adversis instructus Eois*] ‘arrayed against him with the forces of the East’; lit. ‘with opposing Eastern (forces).’ The forces of Pompeius were largely drawn from the East, where he had held military command B.C. 66-61.

833. The heavy beat of the repeated *v* is intended to express the strength of the strokes.

835. *sanguis meus*] nom. for vocative. The *gens Iulia* claimed descent from Iulus the grandson of Anchises.

836. *ille*] Deictic, 'yonder hero'; L. Mummius, surnamed Achaicus (cf. *caesis insignis Achivis*), who destroyed Corinth B.C. 146.

838. *ille...*] 'yon other....' It is possible that Virgil is purposely vague here; if, however, some special leader must be considered as referred to, then it is best to refer *Aeaciden* to Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, who seems to have claimed descent from Achilles and who was crushed by L. Aemilius Paullus in the great battle of Pydna B.C. 168, and the words about Argos and Mycenae must be regarded as rhetorical amplification.

Aeacides is usually applied to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus (B.C. 306-272).

840. *templa et temerata Minervae*] The temple was 'violated' by Ajax son of Oileus, who on the night of the capture of Troy carried off from it Cassandra, who had taken refuge at the altar.

841. *magne Cato*] M. Porcius Cato 'the Censor,' who died B.C. 149 aged 85; the famous opponent of Carthage. Ser. Cornelius Cossus slew Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, and won the *spolia opima* (cf. 856 n.) B.C. 428. *tacitum*: in passive sense, 'untold,' 'unsung.'

842. *Gracchi genus*] The two most famous Gracchi were the great 'tribunes of the people,' Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who was killed in a sedition B.C. 133, and his brother Caius, who was also killed B.C. 121. Possibly Virgil is not so much thinking of these famous reformers as of an earlier Tib. Sempronius Gracchus twice consul (B.C. 215, 212) in the Second Punic War.

duo fulmina belli: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major defeated Hannibal at Zama B.C. 202 and died B.C. 183; his adopted son P. C. Sc. Af. Minor (son of Aemilius Paullus) destroyed Carthage B.C. 146.

Cicero (pro Balbo 34) speaks of two Scipios as *fulmina nostri imperii*, and Lucretius (3. 1034) has *Scipiades, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror*. Munro remarks 'When we think of the words *scipio* and *scapus*, and the English *shaft*, and *σκήπτων*, *σκήπτρον*, *σκήπτρον*, and then *σκήπτρός*, *σκήπτω* and cognate words, and their connection with the thunderbolt, we might be tempted to think that the Scipios loved to refer their name to it rather than to the more homely staff. I find but one recorded coin of

the family, and it has on the reverse a Jupiter with thunderbolt in the right and sceptre in the left hand ; which might recall both meanings of the word.'

843. *parvoque potentem*] 'with little great.' The contrast is between the *greatness* of his public services and the *smallness* of his private means. Fabricius and Serranus are types of the old Roman generals, who left the ploughshare to lead an army and then returned to it again.

Conington and others explain the phrase as = *parvo opulentum* because to his simple tastes 'a little' was 'wealth': no doubt in the fashionable language of the day (and so often in Horace) *potens* was often used = 'rich,' but to so explain it here is unduly to narrow Virgil's meaning.

C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul B.C. 282 and 278, in the war against Pyrrhus was famous for the stern simplicity of his life and the firmness with which he refused the bribes of Pyrrhus.

C. Atilius Regulus Serranus, consul B.C. 257, defeated the Carthaginians off the Liparaean Islands ; Virgil here gives what was no doubt the popular etymology of his name Serranus, viz. that he was found *sowing* when summoned to be consul. On coins the name is found as *Saranus*, and it is generally connected with Saranum, a town in Umbria.

845. *quo...*] A device for cutting short a list which is growing tedious. A long array of heroes of the great Fabian *gens* is supposed to claim the poet's attention, but the poet is 'weary' and selects only him who was 'the Greatest.'

Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator was appointed dictator after the defeat of the Trasimene Lake B.C. 217, and wore out Hannibal by 'delay' and by continually hampering his movements while avoiding a pitched battle.

846. This line is from the *Annales* of Ennius, and is clearly a famous one, being quoted also by Cicero.

847—853. In no passage has the spirit of Roman ambition found nobler expression than in the splendid arrogance of these famous lines.

847. *excudent*] 'shall (if they wish) beat out' ; the concessive future, but partly also prophetic.

alii : he is clearly thinking of the Greeks.

mollis : the word indicates that the lines of the statue are soft, flowing, smooth, and natural : the opposite is *durius* (cf. Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 22 *quid fustum durius esset*), which describes what is hard, stiff, unnatural.

'Others, I doubt not, shall more smoothly fashion the

breathing brass (*i.e.* statues which seem alive), shall shape from marble the living face....'

848. **credo equidem**] The words have a concessive force: the concession is, however, only made in order to bring out more forcibly by contrast the claim which follows in 851-853.

Ducere is generally used of modelling any ductile material, such as clay; here, however, of 'bringing out' the lineaments of the face from marble.

849. **caeli meatus**] 'the movements of heaven' = the movements of the heavenly bodies.

850. **radio**] 'the rod'; used for drawing astronomical diagrams on sand, cf. Ecl. 3. 41.

851. 'Be thy study, O Roman, to govern the nations with thy sway—these shall be *thy* arts—and to enforce the custom of peace.' Bowen gives: 'the ways of peace proclaim.'

852. **hae...artes**] Parenthetical, the construction of *memento* being carried on to *inponere*. The 'arts' of government are opposed to the arts of sculpture, oratory, etc.

Inponere is generally used of imposing something *onerous*, as labour, taxes, tribute, or the like; so too *leges inponere* is common. The present phrase, however, is almost an instance of Oxymoron: what is imposed is not a burden but a blessing, not a 'law' enforced by pressure but a 'habit' or 'custom' developing naturally under new and favourable conditions. Conington and others, who say that *mos* is = *lex*, quite miss the delicate force of the variation.

Many MSS. read *paci*, which is without meaning.

853. **parcere...**] Cf. Hor. C. Saec. 51, where he speaks of Augustus as *bellante prior, iacentem | lenis in hostem*.

854—901. *The attention of Aeneas is attracted by a youthful figure of singular beauty: Anchises tells him that he sees one in whom all the hopes of Rome were to be centred only to be disappointed—the young Marcellus. Shortly afterwards he dismisses Aeneas to upper air by the Ivory Gate of Sleep.*

M. Claudius Marcellus, five times consul, in his first consulship B.C. 222 slew Britomartus king of the Insubrian Gauls and so won the *spolia opima*, which were the spoils taken when the general slew the general of the enemy (*quae dux duci detraxit* Liv. 4. 20), and which according to tradition were only thrice won, once by Romulus, once by Cossus (841 n.), and for the last time by Marcellus. They are usually spoken of as dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius and not to Quirinus, but a statue of Quirinus may have stood beside that of Jupiter, see Liv. 4. 20 s.f.

857. 'He shall stablish the fortune of Rome when a great upheaving shakes it; he shall trample beneath his steed....'

Tumultus is specially used of a war in Italy or a rising of the Gauls. Cicero derives the word from *timor multus* and explains it as *perturbatio tanta ut maior (quam in bello) timor oriatur* (Phil. 8. 1. 2).

858. *sistet, sternet*] Antithesis, heightened by assonance.

860—887. See Introduction p. viii.

861. *iuvenem*] The young Marcellus was the son of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, and C. Marcellus. Augustus adopted him as his son in 25 B.C. and gave him his only child Julia in marriage. He was marked out as the emperor's successor, but died in the 20th year of his age B.C. 23.

The construction is 'And hereupon Aeneas (said), for he saw a youth walking at his side..., but his (the youth's) brow (was) very sad....'

865. *instar*] The word is only here used without a genitive. For its use by Virgil cf. 2. 15 *instar montis equum*; 3. 637 *Phoebae lampadis instar*; 7. 707 *magni agminis instar*; 12. 923 *volat atri turbinis instar*: in all these cases the person or thing to which it is applied is described as *worthy to be compared with* something else, which is always something great and grand. So too Cicero writes *unus ille dies immortalitatis instar fuit*, and *Plato unus mihi instar est omnium*, and it is generally so used of comparison with what is *great*, though once we find *instar puncti*. Considering these passages and the probable connection of *instar* with STA, *σταυρός* and *instaurare* = 'something set up,' it would seem originally to mean 'an image' or 'model,' and here, when used absolutely, to describe that which is the ideal of shape, the standard of beauty. The rare and peculiar use of the word is no doubt intentional.

866. *sed nox...*] Cf. Od. 20. 351 *νυκτι μὲν ἰμῶν | εἰλύεται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γούνα*. The line describes Night as hovering round him on ghostly pinions and already casting over his bright and youthful form the shadow of the grave. To many the words *quantum instar...umbra* will unconsciously recall another figure stamped with no earthly loveliness and with no earthly sorrow, to portray which has been for centuries the ambition, and the despair, of art.

869. *tantum*] Adverbial; 'merely,' 'only.' Fate will 'only allow a glimpse' of him, nothing more.

870. 'Too great, O gods, ye deemed the Roman race would

be, had such a gift been abiding.' The construction is *visa (est) nimium potens (futura)*.

872. *ille... Campus*] In connection with 'the city of Mavors,' 'that Field' is obviously the Campus Martius, in which five years before Augustus had erected a mausoleum for his family (*tumululum recentem*).

873. *aget*] 'shall bear,' 'send.'

876. 'Nor shall any youth raise so high with hope the grandsires of Rome.' Conington says that *avos Latinos* refers to the dead heroes who are supposed still to watch with interest the fortunes of the race: but surely they are the men who when Marcellus was alive were alive too and 'grandsires.' Such men know that their own active career is over and watch with eager hope the early promise of the young.

878. *prisca fides*] 'ancient honour'; *priscus* is always used of that which belongs to the 'good old time.'

invicta: as often, rather 'invincible' than 'unconquered.'

879. *tulisset*] "Anchises speaks as if Marcellus were already dead, sorrowfully forecasting the centuries and realising the sad event to be": Sidgwick.

882. *heu, miserande puer...*] Nearly all editors with one consent place a comma after *rumpas*: 'Alas, unhappy youth, if by any means thou mayest break the barrier of cruel fate, thou shalt be Marcellus.'

This is wrong for many reasons:

(1) The form of conditional sentence is remarkable — *si rumpas...eris*. The editors render 'if any way thou mayest break,' 'if ever thou canst break,' but where is the 'can' or 'may' in *rumpas*? The words ought to be rendered 'in case you are breaking...you will be,' which is nonsense. *Si ruperis...eris* is needed if the words are to mean 'if you succeed in breaking...you will be': cf. 828 *si...attigerint...ciebunt*.

(2) Virgil has given a list of heroic souls 'destined to bear the Roman name' (758, cf. *has omnes* 748): for the crown and consummation of this list he reserves the name of Marcellus. Nowhere, if the vague possibility *si lumina vitae attigerint* 828 be excepted, is any hint given that any 'barriers of cruel fate' hindered the passage of any soul to the world above. Why should such a barrier be so emphatically referred to in the case of Marcellus? The soul which Anchises contemplates was fated to become Marcellus: fate does not oppose, but has irrevocably determined its birth.

(3) The phrase *si qua...rumpas* expresses great doubt and almost despair of the result (cf. l. 18 *si qua fata sinant*, where

a hope is referred to which Juno, as she utters it, feels to be vain, and which Virgil, as he wrote, knew to have been so): it could not have been used by a writer who knew that Marcellus had been born, much less recited in the very presence of the mother that bare him.

Conington partly sees this, and suggests that the words *tu Marcellus eris* mean 'you shall be a true Marcellus,' but this not only does violence to the Latin but affords a terrible instance of bathos. The Marcellus whom Virgil describes in this passage does not borrow lustre from the Marcelli but adds an undying lustre to their name. Imagine Virgil reciting this passage to Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus and his sister Octavia, and telling them that the lost heir of the empire was 'a true Marcellus!'

(4) To Virgil's hearers the 'cruelty of fate' could have but one meaning: it was the cruelty which had cut short in its early promise so dear a life. The barrier which had been interposed was the one barrier which cannot be broken—death. Cf. Liv. 1. 42. 2 *nec rupit fati necessitatem*.

(5) If a comma is placed after *rumpas*, then the words *si...* *rumpas* cease to have any necessary force: they are a purely meaningless parenthesis introduced into the very climax of this splendid peroration. Those who so take them must have a strange opinion of the rhetorical skill of Virgil.

Wagner rightly places a mark of exclamation after *rumpas*. Anchises has been dwelling in imagination on what might have been: under the influence of so bright a vision the prophecy on his lips passes suddenly into prayer—a prayer which the speaker, even as he utters it, knows to be uttered in vain. The change of tone, the burst of impassioned feeling, is marked emphatically by the change to the second person singular: this change editors fail to notice, but its effect is unmistakable directly the passage is recited.

By this punctuation only do the words *tu Marcellus eris* obtain their full force. They form the climax of this splendid scene. It is easy to point out the skill with which the mention of the name of Marcellus is reserved to the last; it is not so easy to make clear the effect of these three simple words in the position in which Virgil has placed them. Before the vision of Anchises, and before Virgil's spell-bound audience, have passed in review the heroes of the Roman race. Upon the last figure the poet has concentrated all the resources of his skill; by every art the minds of his hearers have been wrought to the highest pitch of expectancy, and when, after the passionate outburst of prayer

heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!

there fell from Virgil's lips, in slow, measured, and almost ghostly accents, the final words *tu Marcellus eris*, then it is not hard to believe that, as tradition relates, the mother of Marcellus swooned.

I have characterised the words *tu Marcellus eris* as 'final words' and 'a climax,' for such in reality they are. The end has been reached. The words which follow are directly intended to calm and soothe. They fall upon the ear like the peaceful accents of the Benediction after some great preacher has stirred our feelings to their depths. So too Horace loves to let an excited ode die tranquilly away in words of simple and unimpassioned melody, *e.g.* Od. 3. 5.

883. Kennedy rightly says that the construction is this: *dare spargam manibus plenis lilia, purpureos flores, et adcumulem*; *dare* being followed by a subj. like many verbs of permitting, granting, allowing. 'I admit,' he adds, 'that the verb *dare* is preferred to *sinere* because *lilies* must be *given* to Anchises for his purpose. The flowers are conceived as objects of *dare*, but constructed otherwise: viz. *lilia* as nearer (accus.) object of *spargam*.' He renders: 'Grant me to strew by handfuls purple lily flowers, and with such gifts at least to endow...'

The rendering 'give me lilies..., let me scatter purple flowers,' assigns a meaning to the subjunctive *spargam* which it will not bear.

887. *aëris in campis*] An imitation of *ἡερόεις* 'cloudy,' 'murky,' applied to *Τάρταρος* Il. 8. 13; cf. Od. 20. 64 *ἡερόεντα κέλευθα* 'the dark road of death.'

892. *quo...modo fugiat*] The oblique form of the question *quomodo fugiam?* 'how am I to avoid?'

893. *sunt geminae...*] Cf. Od. 19. 562

δοιαὶ γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων·

αἱ μὲν γὰρ κέρασσι τετεύχεται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι,

where Homer goes on fancifully to connect *κέραος* with *κράννειν* 'to accomplish,' because dreams which pass through the gate of horn come true, and *ἐλέφας* with *ἐλεφαίρεσθαι* 'to become light,' because dreams through the ivory gate come to nothing.

897. *his ibi tum...*] 'There then with such words (as those referred to 890) does Anchises escort his son...and sends him forth by the ivory gate.' Why Virgil makes him depart by the ivory gate is a puzzle. Possibly he wishes to mark the time as *before* midnight (Aeneas enters at dawn 235, and is half-way at noon 535), at which time he may suppose the ivory gate to be closed, and the gate of horn opened to send forth true dreams which come *after* midnight, cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 33 *post mediam noctem visus cum somnia vera*. See W. Everett in *Class. Rev.* April 1900.

APPENDIX

ON PASSIVE PARTICIPLES USED WITH AN ACCUSATIVE

THESE cases are numerous in Virgil, and the accusative used to be explained as an accusative of respect. Thus in 1. 320 *nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentes*, the construction of *nuda genu* ('bare as to her knee') seems exactly parallel with *sinus collecta* ('gathered as to the folds of her robe'), which may also be compared with 2. 381 *colla tumentem* and 5. 97 *nigrantes terga*, where *colla* and *terga* seem undoubtedly accusatives of respect.

On the other hand, traces of a use of the Latin passive, almost like a Greek middle, with a certain active force and an accusative directly dependent on it, are fairly clear (cf. 2. 510 *cingitur ferrum* 'he girds on his sword,' περιβάλλεται τὸ ξίφος; 4. 493 *accingier artes*; 1. 713 *expleri mentem nequit*; 3. 405 *velare comas* 'cover thy hair'); so that it would seem that, in the frequent cases where an accusative is closely joined with the passive participle, the participle is really used as a middle form and directly governs the accusative. At any rate the following instances will enable any one to form a fair judgment:—

1. 228. *lacrimis oculos suffusa*, 'having her eyes suffused with tears.'
481. *tristes et tunsae pectora palmis*, 'beating * their breasts.'
561. *vultum demissa*, 'having her face cast down.'
579. *his animum arrecti dictis*.
658. *faciem mutatus et ora*.
2. 57. *manus revinctum*, 'having his arms bound.'
210. *ardentes oculos suffecti sanguine*.
218. *bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum | terga dati*, 'twice flinging * their backs round his neck.'
221. *perfusus sanie vittas*, 'having his fillets soaked with gore.'

2. 273. *perque pedes traiectus lora*, 'having a thong passed through his feet.'
275. *exuvias indutus*.
443. *clipeosque ad tela sinistris | protecti obiciunt*, 'holding * their shields before them against the darts,' *προβεβλημένοι τὰς ἀσπίδας*, though of course *obiciunt* also governs *clipeos*, cf. 2. 1 n.
3. 47. *mentem formidine pressus*.
65. *crinem de more solutae*.
81. *redimitus tempora lauro*.
428. *delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum*, 'having dolphins' tails joined to a wolf-bearing womb,' where to take *caudas* as acc. of respect would be very difficult.
4. 137. *chlamydem circumdata*.
518. *unum exuta pedem vinculis*.
589. *terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum | flavent-
esque abscissa comas*, 'beating * her breast and tearing * her hair.'
643. *maculis interfusa genas*.
659. *os inpressa toro*.
5. 269. *evincti tempora taenis*.
511. *quis innexa pedem*.
608. *antiquum saturata dolorem*, 'having her ancient wrath satisfied.'
6. 156. *maesto defixus lumina vultu*.
281. *crinem vittis innexa*, 'having her hair entwined.'

* For the present use of the past participle passive, which these instances exhibit, cf. 6. 335 n.

INDEX TO THE NOTES

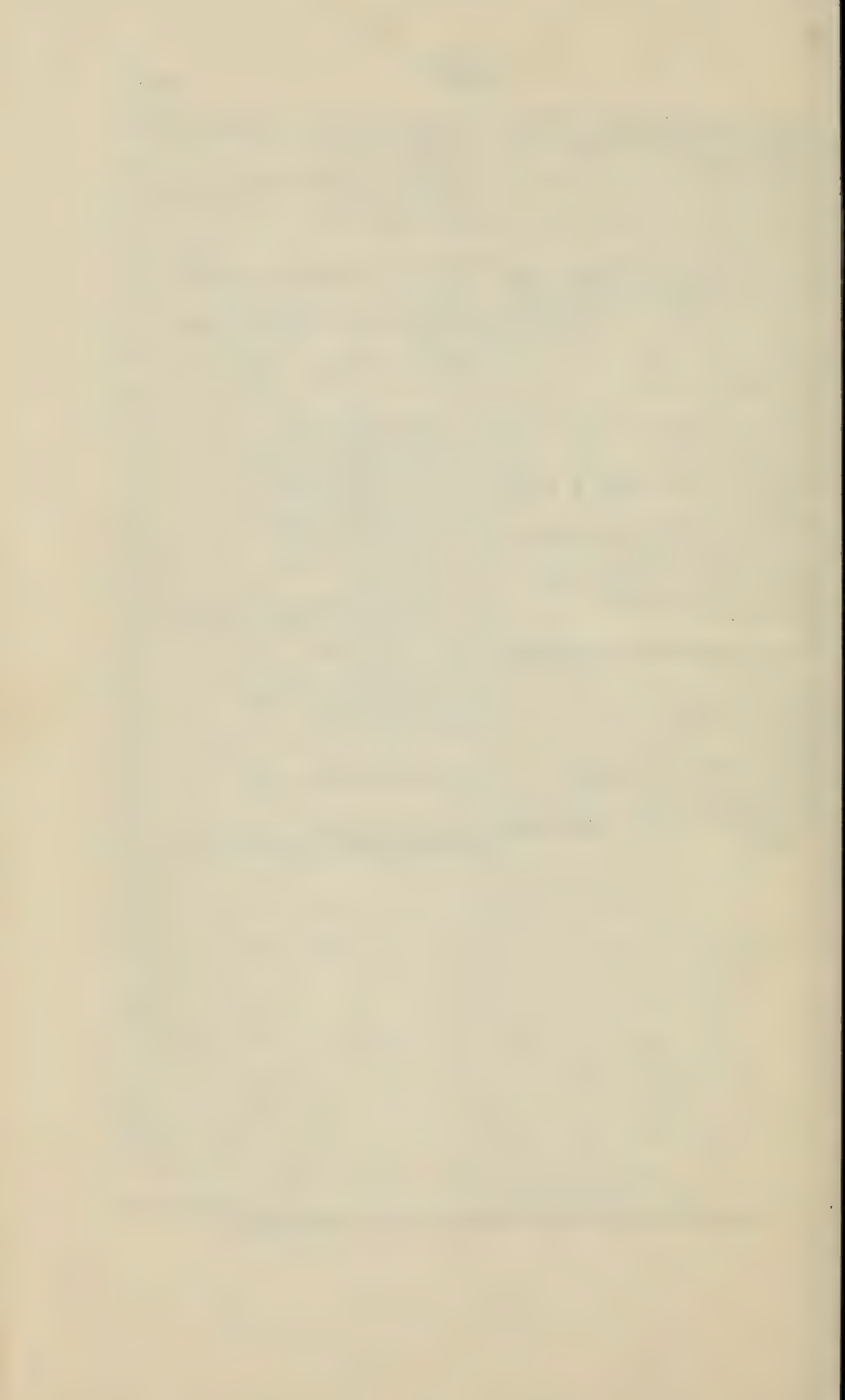
- Abas**, 3. 286
ablative of noun as adverb, 2. 323 ; 3. 417 ; 5. 450
abrumperē lucem, 4. 631
abscondo, 3. 291
ac = 'than,' 3. 236
acanthus, 1. 649
accommodation of sound to sense, 1. 53, 81, 105, 115 ; 2. 26, 53, 84, 251, 464, 498 ; 3. 131, 140, 309, 658, 666, 718 ; 4. 385, 390, 404, 522, 531, 667 ; 5. 215, 242, 278, 422, 458, 481, 614, 642 ; 6. 159, 180, 237, 268, 354, 602
accusative, cognate, 1. 328, 340, 524 ; 3. 56, 284, 342, 602, 690 ; 6. 466
accusative in apposition to sentence, 6. 223
ac veluti, 2. 626 ; 4. 441 ; 6. 707
aditus, 6. 90
adeo, giving emphasis, 2. 567 ; 4. 533 ; 6. 498
adfecto, 3. 670
adjectives at beginning of line for emphasis, 4. 311
adjectives implying knowledge with gen., 6. 66
adjectives, neuter, used as substantives, 3. 232 ; 4. 188 ; 5. 5, 125, 289 ; 6. 50
adjectives, neuter, used adverbially, 3. 68 ; 6. 50
adjectives used for adverb with participle, 3. 70
adoleo, 3. 547
adsis, used in invoking deities, 3. 395
adverb qualifying noun like adj., 1. 21
adytum, 2. 404 ; 5. 84
Aeneadae, 1. 157 ; 3. 18
Aeolides, 6. 529
aer = 'mist,' 1. 411 ; 6. 887
aether, aetherius, 1. 546, 608 ; 5. 517 ; 6. 725
agmen, 2. 212 ; 5. 211
alliteration, 1. 81, 124, 294, 354 ; 2. 498, 783 ; 3. 529, 576 ; 4. 160, 390, 460, 465, 565, 581 ; 5. 153, 331, 368, 422, 436, 444, 458, 500 ; 6. 160, 180, 683
almus, 1. 306, 618
Amazonides, 1. 490
ambages, 1. 341
ambiguū relinquere, 5. 325
ambrosius, 1. 403
animi = 'in mind,' 4. 203, 300 ; 5. 202
animus praesens, 5. 363
annales, 1. 372
Apollonius Rhodius copied, 4. 364, 489, 522, 659 ; 5. 215, 421, 426, 429 ; 6. 453
aposiopesis, 1. 135 ; 5. 195
arma = 'tackle,' 5. 15
armis, ambiguity of, 4. 11
artes = 'a work of art,' 5. 359
assonance, 1. 566, 574, 680 ; 2. 367 ; 3. 576, 660 ; 4. 271 ; 6. 48, 390
asyndeton, 1. 384, 600 ; 4. 373 ; 6. 61
at, in imprecations, 2. 535
atque, marking close connexion, 1. 227, 475 ; 4. 261, 663 ; 6. 162
Atys, 5. 568
auctor = 'guarantor,' 5. 17
audio = 'am called,' 2. 103
Augustus, 1. 286, 289 ; 6. 801
aulaea, 1. 697
aura = 'sheen,' 6. 204
auspex, 3. 20
auspicia maiora, 3. 374
bacchatus, 3. 126
barbaricus, 2. 504

- bidens, 4. 57
 bilinguis, 3. 161
 Byrsa, 1. 367
- caeco Marte, 2. 335
 caeruleus, 3. 194, 432
 caestus, 5. 364, 401
 callis, 6. 443
 cano = 'forebode,' 2. 124; of prophesy, 2. 176; 3. 155, 456
 capere terras, 1. 396
 caput, of persons, 4. 354
 cardo, 2. 493
 chiasmus, 1. 209
 circumfero, 6. 229
 civilis quercus, 6. 772
 cognomen, 3. 133; 6. 383
 comparative strengthened, 1. 347
 concilio, 1. 79
 contrasted words or clauses put simply side by side, 1. 184, 209, 242, 381, 467; 2. 85; 5. 125
 conubium, scansion of, 4. 213
 coronò vina, 1. 724
 corripio spatia, 5. 316
 cortina, 6. 347
 creditus, 2. 247
 cum saepe, 1. 148
 cumulatus, 4. 434
 curare corpora, 3. 511
 currus = 'horses,' 1. 156
 Cybele, 3. 111; 6. 784
- damnatus, with gen., 6. 430
 dative, ethic, 2. 146, 601; 3. 42, 412, 477; 5. 162, 646
 dative for in with acc., 2. 19
 dative of personal agent, 1. 440; 3. 275, 298
 deduco, 2. 800; 3. 71
 defero, 3. 219
 defleo, 6. 220
 deinde, used indignantly, 5. 741
 deponent verbs used passively in participle, 3. 143
 deprensus, 5. 52
 desaevio, 4. 52
 dictu nefas, 3. 365
 dies ater, 6. 429
 dis aliter visum, 2. 428
 discrimen, 3. 684
 do ruinam, 2. 310
 do, with inf., 5. 247; = 'allow,' 3. 77
 do, with subj., 4. 683; 6. 883
 dum, with subj., 1. 5; 2. 136
 duplices, of a pair, 1. 93
- e- or ex- in composition = 'up,' 3. 567; 6. 16
- eburna porta, 6. 893
 egregius, 4. 93; 6. 523
 emotionis, expression of, 1. 459; 3. 347; 5. 173
 enim, giving emphasis, 6. 317
 Ennius copied, 1. 65; 2. 504, 782; 3. 12; 6. 219, 515, 846
 Eous, 2. 588
 epitheton ornans, 4. 486; 5. 311
 equidem, 1. 576
 erat = ἦν ἀπα, 2. 664
 erumpo, 1. 580
 est or sunt omitted, 2. 2
 et, indignant, 1. 48
 et ecce, 5. 166
 evado = 'climb up,' 2. 458; 'pass safely,' 2. 731
 excipio, 3. 210; 4. 114, 297; 6. 173
 excutio, 3. 267
 exhausta, 4. 14
 exordium, 4. 283
 expleo numerum, 6. 545
 expleri, with gen., 2. 586
 exposco, 3. 260
 exsequor, 5. 54
 exsors, 5. 534
 extruo, 3. 224
- facio, with inf., 2. 538
 falle, 1. 684
 fas = fata, 2. 779; 6. 376
 fere, 3. 135
 fero, used absolutely, 2. 34, 94, 555
 fervère, 4. 409
 fluo = 'ebb,' 2. 169
 fomes, 1. 176
 fors et, 2. 139
 foveo, 4. 193
 fui = 'am not,' 2. 325
 fulcrum, 6. 603
 future perfect, use of, 2. 77, 581
- genitive of cause, 2. 413
 genitive of first decl. in -ai, 3. 354
 genitive of Greek nouns, 1. 120
 genitive of nouns in -ius and -ium, 1. 247; 3. 702
 genitive plural in -um, 3. 53; 6. 489
 Genius, 5. 95
 gerundive = pres. pass. part., 1. 269
 golden lines, 1. 291
 Gorgo, 2. 616
 Greek words at end of line, 6. 623
- hactenus, 6. 62
 Harpyiae, 3. 212
 hasta pura, 6. 760
 haurio supplicia, 4. 383

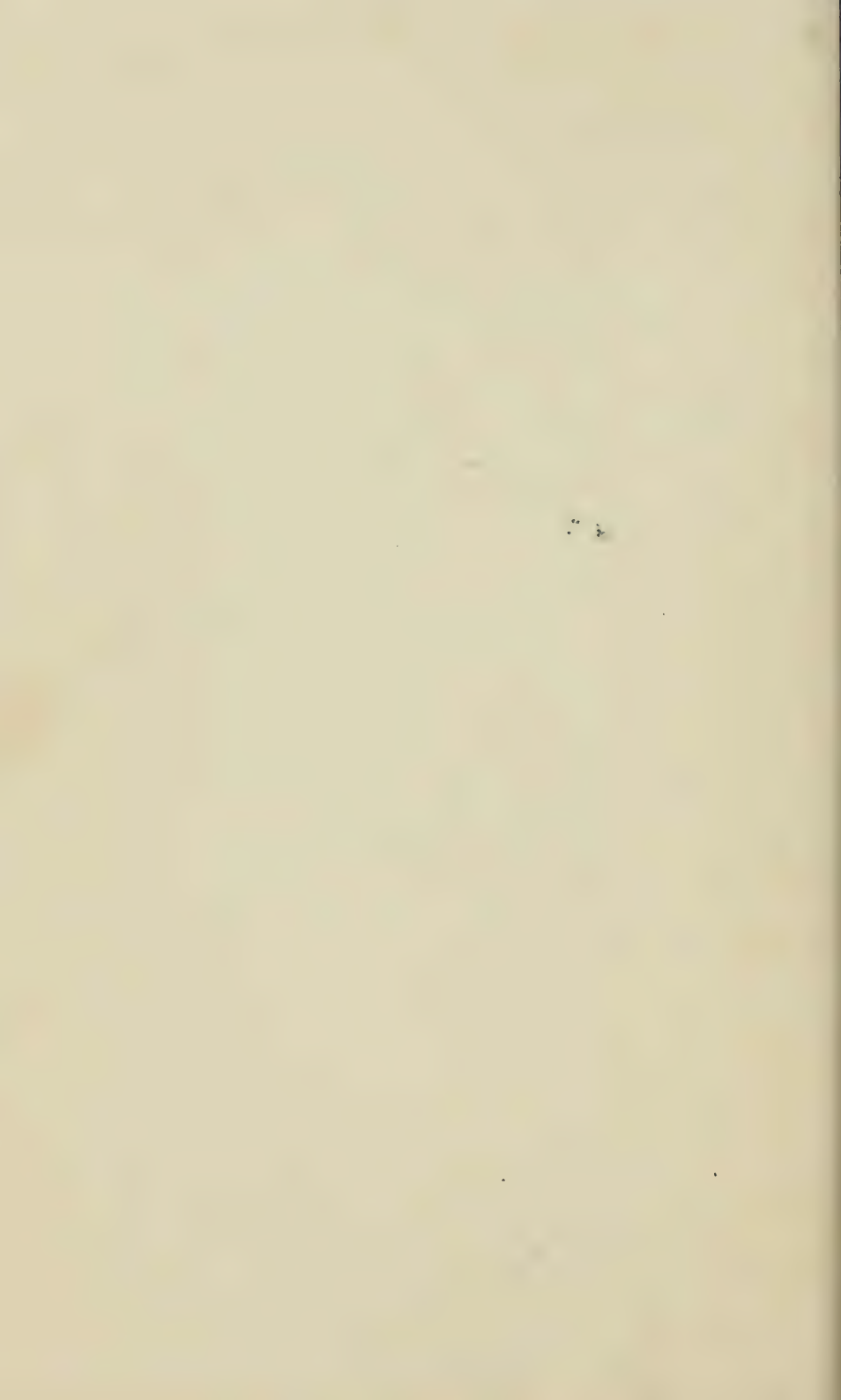
- hendiadys*, 1. 111, 293; 2. 265, 296; 3. 223; 5. 36
 heros, at end of line, 1. 196
 Hesperia, 1. 530
hiatus, 1. 405, 617; 3. 606
hic ille, 3. 558; 4. 675
 Homer imitated, 1. 88, 92, 94, 114, 168, 198, 216, 378, 411, 415, 589, 701, 724; 2. 250, 290, 355, 361, 379, 471, 792; 3. 97, 109, 192, 289, 388, 421, 490, 623, 632; 4. 283, 253, 279, 366, 585, 669; 5. 42, 173, 199, 263, 325, 468, 506; 6. 1, 57, 226, 324, 520, 521, 578, 625, 640, 866, 893
 horreo, 6. 799
 horridus, 5. 37
 horror, 4. 280
 hospitium, 3. 15, 61
 Hyades, 3. 516
hypallage, 1. 180, 361; 3. 362
hypermetric lines, 4. 558, 629
i, scanned as *y*, 2. 16; 5. 589
iacto, of speech, 1. 102
iam iamque, 2. 530
iamdudum, 2. 103; 5. 27
iasius, 3. 168
idem, 3. 80
ille, added pleonastically for emphasis, 1. 3; 5. 186, 334; 6. 593
ille, as title of Jupiter, 2. 779
ille= 'this,' 3. 435
imperium, 1. 340; 3. 159; 4. 229
incedo, 1. 46; 5. 67, 553
inconsultus, 3. 452
indicative for deliberative subj., 3. 88; 4. 534
indicative in apodosis, 2. 54
indicit forum, 5. 758
indignus= 'cruel,' 2. 285; 4. 617; 6. 163
infectus, 6. 742
infelix, 3. 649
infinitive after verbs (epexegetic), 1. 319, 423; 2. 64, 315; after nouns, 2. 10
infinitive, historic, 2. 98, 169; 3. 141; 6. 199
infinitive of purpose, 1. 527; 3. 4, 682
infinitive pass. in -ier, 4. 492
infinitive used indignantly, 1. 37; 5. 615
infula, 2. 430
inhorresco, 3. 195
inpius, 1. 294; 6. 613
inpressus, of embossing, 5. 536
inprobus, 2. 356; 4. 412
inrigo, 1. 691
insignia, 2. 389
in somnis, 3. 150
instar, 2. 15; 6. 865
instauro, 3. 62
insurgo, 3. 207
integer, with gen., 2. 638
intempestus, 3. 587
interpres, 3. 359; 4. 608
inter se, 1. 455; 4. 193
intransitive verbs used in pass. impersonally, 1. 272, 700; 6. 45, 176
intransitive verbs used transitively, 2. 542; 5. 438; 6. 517
invisus, 2. 574
ipse manu, 2. 645; 3. 372
is, use of, in poetry, 4. 479
iuga= 'a pair' of horses, 5. 144
Iulus, 1. 267
 labor, of the thing produced, 2. 306
laena, 4. 262
laevus, 2. 54, 693
 Laocoon, group of, 2. 199
latus, 3. 220
Lavinus, as adj., 1. 2
lego= 'pass by,' 3. 127, 706
lengthening of final syllable, 1. 658, 667; 2. 369; 3. 464; 4. 64; 5. 521; 6. 254
libo, 6. 246
liquidus aer, 6. 202
litare, 4. 50
litotes, 1. 130, 136, 479, 630; 2. 777; 4. 96, 508; 5. 56, 618; 6. 438
longus, 1. 749
loquella, 5. 842
ludus Troiae, 5. 596
luna silens, 2. 255
lustrum, 4. 6; 5. 611
lux, of persons, 2. 281
machina, 4. 89
male, with adjective, 2. 735
Manes, 3. 63, 301; 6. 743
manifestus, 3. 151
manu, pleonastic, 4. 344; 6. 395
Marcellus, 6. 854
meta media, 5. 835
mico, 2. 475
Milton, imitation by, 1. 11, 90, 287, 430, 726; 4. 166; 6. 573, 642
miscuo, 2. 298
mitra, 4. 216
mola salsa, 4. 517; 5. 745
molior, 1. 563; 3. 6
monosyllabic ending, 1. 65; 2. 250, 355; 3. 12, 390; 4. 132
Neptunius, 3. 3

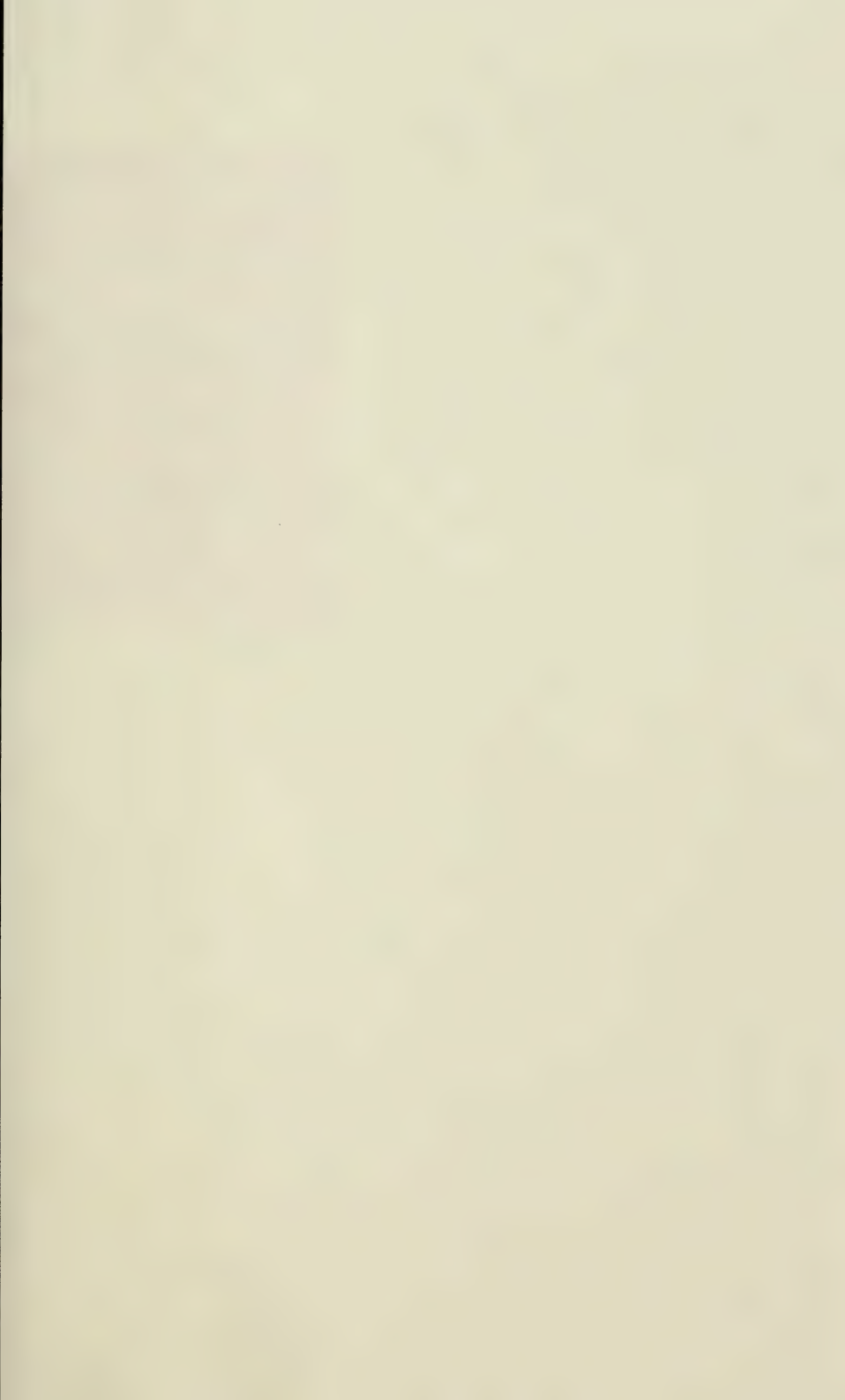
- nexae aere, 1. 448
 numquam hodie, 2. 670
- o final, shortened, 3. 602
 obloquor, 6. 646
 obscenus, 3. 262
 occumbo, 1. 97
 olim, 1. 289
 olli, 1. 254
oracles, language of, 6. 348
 ore favere, 5. 71
 oro, with inf., 6. 313
 Orpheus, 6. 119, 645
oxymoron, 1. 464
- Palladium, 2. 166
 pars, with plural verb, 1. 212
passive in middle sense, 1. 215, 713 ;
 2. 383 ; 3. 279, 405, 509, 634 ; 6.
 184
past part. in present sense, 6. 335
 pavor = 'excitement,' 5. 136
 pedem facere, 5. 830
 pallax, 2. 90
 Penates, 1. 703 ; 3. 12
 Pentheus, 4. 469
perfect instantaneous, 1. 84, 90 ; 4.
 164, 582 ; 5. 140, 243 ; 6. 79
perfect subj. used politely, 6. 39
 per si quis . . . , 2. 142
 Phrygius, contemptuous, 4. 103
 pietas, 1. 10
 pius Aeneas, 1. 378
 placitus, 4. 38
 plausus = 'flutter' of wings, 5. 505
 Plemurium, 3. 603
 praemetuo, 2. 571
 praeterea, 1. 49
prayer, attitude of, 3. 176
present, graphic, 1. 99 ; 2. 275 ; 3.
 309 ; 4. 452 ; 6. 294
 prisca Latini, 5. 598
 procul = 'close by,' 3. 13 ; 6. 10
 proditio, 2. 83
 proicio, or porricio, 5. 238
prolepsis, 1. 70, 259, 659 ; 3. 141, 236 ;
 4. 465 ; 5. 816
 prona maria, 5. 212
 pronuba, 4. 166
proper names in -us used as adjectives,
 1. 2 ; 4. 552
 proprius, 1. 73 ; 3. 85
 prosequor, 3. 130 ; 6. 476
 Proserpina, 6. 142
 protinus, 3. 416
 proximus, 5. 320
 purpureus, 5. 79 ; 6. 641
- que, lengthened, 3. 91
- que, introducing explanatory clause,
 4. 632 ; 6. 361
 qui, with subj. of purpose, 1. 62,
 236 ; causal, 2. 230, 248, 345 ; 5.
 623
 quippe, 1. 39 ; 4. 218
 quod superest, 5. 796
- rapidus, in active sense, 1. 59
 re-, in composition = 'duly,' 2. 139,
 547 ; 3. 170 ; 5. 386 ; 6. 152
 recussus, 2. 52
 refixus, 5. 359
 refulgeo, 1. 402
 refusus, 1. 125
 regnatus, 3. 14
 reliquiae, scansion of, 1. 30
 remordeo, 1. 261
 rependo, 1. 239
repetition, dramatic 2. 668 ; 3. 523 ;
 5. 181
repetition, for emphasis, 1. 99, 120,
 200, 220, 421, 537, 669, 750 ; 2. 51,
 192, 358, 483, 602, 756 ; 3. 247,
 253, 539, 562, 607, 623 ; 4. 25, 83,
 138, 268, 671 ; 5. 118 ; 6. 162
repetition, to connect clauses, 2. 108,
 306 ; 4. 25
 resigno, 4. 244
 res summa, 2. 322
 retexerit, 4. 119
rhymes, 4. 256
 ruit = 'rises,' 2. 250 ; 6. 539
- sacer = 'accursed,' 3. 57
 Saturnus, 6. 792
 scaena, 1. 164
 scilicet, 4. 379 ; 6. 526
 scopulus, 1. 162
 Scylla, 3. 424
 se, omitted, 3. 201
 se ferre, 5. 372
 secare arcum, 5. 658
 secundus, 5. 320
 sed enim, 1. 19 ; 2. 164 ; 5. 395 ; 6. 28
 sedet = 'is resolved,' 2. 660 ; 5. 418
 sentus, 6. 462
serpent, emblem of ghost, 5. 84, 95
shield, sacred, 5. 359
shortening of final syllable, 3. 211
 si forte, with ind., 1. 375
 si quā, with subj., 1. 18 ; 6. 822
 si quis, 1. 603 ; 2. 536 ; 3. 433 ; 4.
 317
Sibylline books. 3. 444 ; 6. 71, 74
 sic deinde, 5. 14
 sic, summing up, 1. 225
 sidera adire, 4. 322
 silentes = 'the dead,' 6. 264

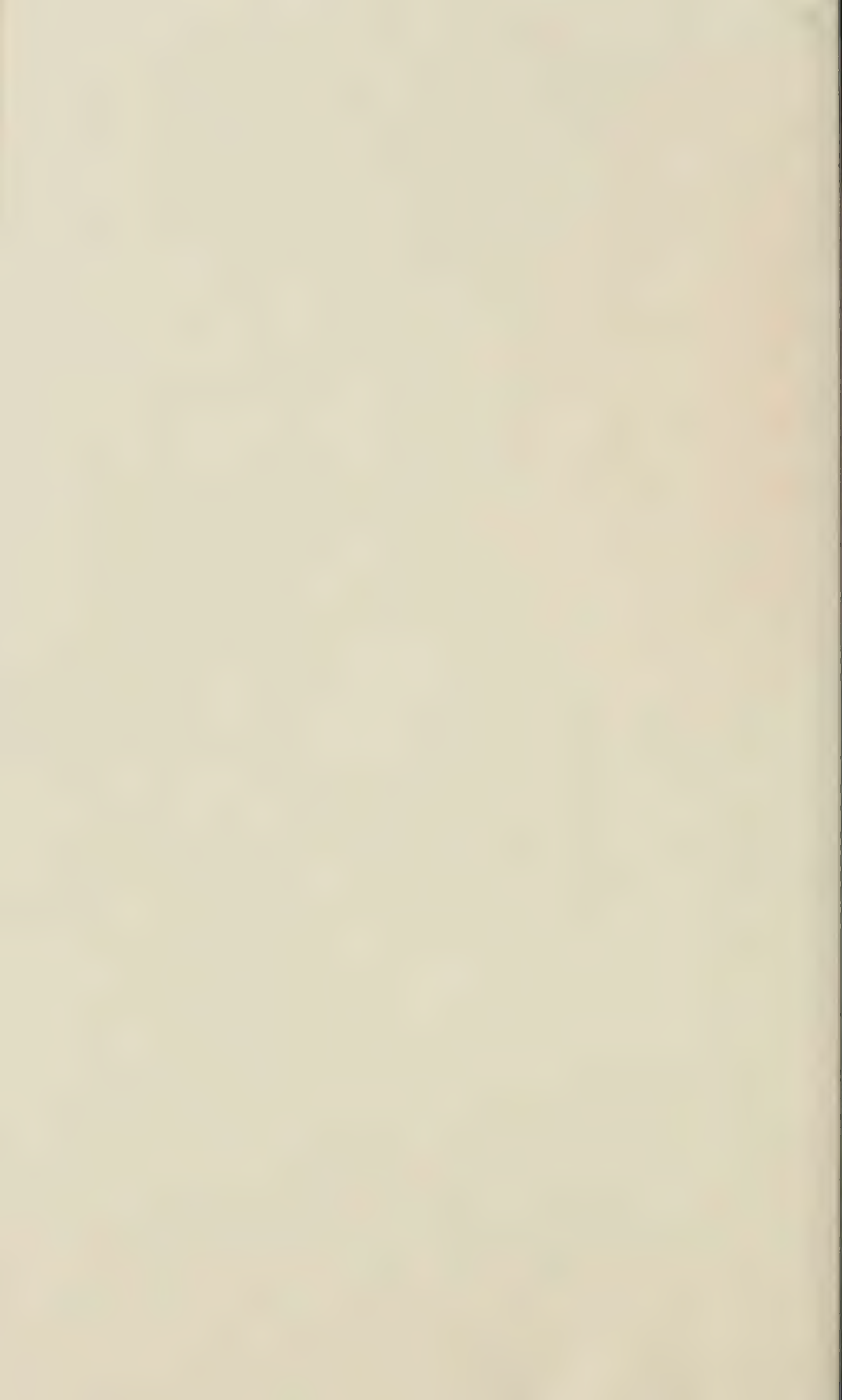
- silva='growth,' 3. 24
 simul . . simul, 1. 513, 631
 sinus, 1. 161
 situs, 6. 462
 soles='days,' 3. 203
 sopitus somno, 1. 680
 sortiti remos, 3. 510
 spero='expect,' 4. 292
spondees at beginning of line, 6. 213
spondees in fifth foot, 1. 617; 2. 68
 sto='stand firm,' 2. 163, 333, 750;
 3. 210; 6. 471
 strata viarum, 1. 422
 stridens, 4. 185, 689
 Strophades, 3. 210
 Styx, 6. 324
 submoveo, 6. 316
 succinctus, 1. 323
 succipio, 6. 249
superlative strengthened, 2. 426; 3.
 321; 4. 141
 suspensus, 3. 372
 suus, referring to a single word, 3.
 469; 5. 832; 6. 206
syncope, 2. 379; 4. 606; 5. 786
synzesis, 1. 698; 6. 280
 Syrtes, 1. 111
- tamen, with unexpressed antithesis,
 4. 329, 420
 tergeminus, 4. 511
 terminus, 4. 614
 testudo, in war, 2. 441
 Timavus, 1. 242, 245
 Titania astra, 6. 725
tnesis, 2. 218, 567; 5. 384
tonsa corona, 5. 556
transitive verbs used intransitively,
 2. 229
- trepido, 2. 685
 trieterica, 4. 302
 trilix, 3. 467
 tripodes, as prizes, 5. 110
 turbo, 6. 594
 tuta timere, 4. 298
- u, made consonantal, 5. 431, 589
 uber, 3. 94
 ultro, 2. 145; 5. 446; 6. 387
unfinished lines, 2. 233; 3. 340; 4.
 361
ὑσπερον πρότερον, 2. 353; 6. 361, 567
 uterque, in plural, 5. 233
- vellera nivea, 4. 459
 veneror='pray to,' 3. 84
verb of 'saying' omitted, 1. 37
 vescitur aura, 1. 546
 vestibulum, 6. 273
 vices Danaum, 2. 433
 vices volvere, 3. 375
 vina coronant, 1. 724
 virtus, 6. 806
 vivectum, 6. 638
 vix, parataxis after, 2. 172; 3. 8,
 90; 5. 857
 voce voco, 6. 247
 volens, 3. 457
 volvere=evolvere, 1. 262
 volvere casus, 1. 9
 voti reus, 5. 237
- y, in Latin words, 6. 98
- Zacynthos, 3. 270
zeugma, 1. 589; 2. 258, 265; 4. 131











VIRGIL
ABRIDG
1844
PAGE 3

IRVING
VENEID
VI
1908

VIRGIL
AENEID

I - VI

PAGE



