

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

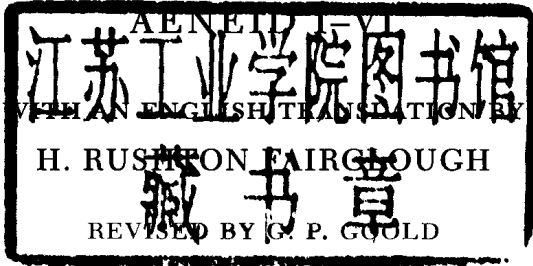
VIRGIL
ECLOGUES
GEORGICS
AENEID 1–6



Translated by
H. R. FAIRCLOUGH
Revised by
G. P. GOOLD

VIRGIL

ECLOGUES · GEORGICS



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND

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

First published 1916
Reprinted 10 times
New and revised edition 1935
Reprinted 15 times
Revised Edition, with new Introduction, 1999
Reprinted 2004, 2006

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

ISBN 0-674-99583-X

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

PREFACE

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

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

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

PREFACE

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

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

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

PREFACE

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

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

PREFACE

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

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

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

G. P. Goold

Yale University
January 1999

CONTENTS

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

Eclogues

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

Georgics

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

INTRODUCTION

Aeneid

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

The Art of Virgil

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

INTRODUCTION

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

Servius

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