

Aeneid VI (264-416)

Gods, who have power over the spirits, and silent ghosts,
 265 and Chaos and Phlegethon¹, places silent with night over a wide area,
 may it be right for me to speak of things (I have) heard, and may it be
 in your power to reveal things buried in the deep earth and mist.
 They² went on in the darkness, with lonely night (around), through the darkness
 and through the empty home(s) of Dis³ and his hollow kingdom:
 270 like a journey with a feeble moon under its reluctant light
 in woods when Jupiter has hidden the sky in darkness
 and black night has taken the colour from things.
 Before the hall itself, in the first entrance of Orcus⁴
 Grief and Cares who get revenge (? guilty conscience) have placed their beds,
 275 and pale Diseases live there and sad Old Age
 and Fear and Hunger, which encourages evil, and foul Need,
 shapes terrible in appearance, and Death and Work:
 then Sleep, the brother of Death, and a mind's evil
 Pleasures, and War the death-bringer in the opposite doorway,
 280 And the iron chambers of the Furies⁵ and mad Discord
 With the snaky hair tied with bloody bands.⁶

¹ a river of the Underworld

² Aeneas and the Sibyl (from Cumae)

³ Pluto

⁴ (the god of) the Underworld

⁵ who chased and punished evil criminals

⁶ note the variety in this "list", and the use of adjectives in particular

In the middle spreading its branches and old arms
is a dark, huge Elm tree, which they commonly say
empty dreams have as a home, and they cling under all the leaves.

285 besides these there were many monsters, from all kinds of wild animals,
Centaur⁷ are stabled at the doorway, and there are two-shaped Scyllas⁸
and the hundred-armed Briareus, and the beast of Lerna⁹
hissing horribly, and the Chimaera¹⁰ armed with flames,
Gorgons¹¹ and Harpies¹² and the shape of a ghost with three bodies¹³.

290 At this point, alarmed by sudden fear, Aeneas seized his sword,
and held out the drawn blade as they came towards him
and if his learned companion had not warned him that spirits
which were thin and without body flew with the empty appearance of a shape
he would have rushed at the spirits and slashed them in vain with his sword.

295 From here is the road which leads to the waters of the Acheron¹⁴ in Tartarus.
This whirlpool thick with mud and with a huge abyss
seethes and throws up all its sand to the Cocytus¹⁵.

The ferryman, horrible, guards these waters and rivers

⁷ half-man, half-horse

⁸ Scylla was one sea-monster, here in the plural. (Woman with dogs' heads around the waist)

⁹ the Hydra - killed by Hercules

¹⁰ lion head/goat body/snake tail - killed by Bellerophon (see Lullingstone villa mosaic)

¹¹ snake-haired women

¹² flying witches

¹³ perhaps Geryon

¹⁴ a river of the Underworld

¹⁵ a river of the Underworld

in fearful squalor, called Charon, who has much untrimmed
300 grey hair lying on his chin, and his eyes - on fire - stare,
a filthy cloak hangs down from his shoulder by a knot.
He himself pushes the boat with a pole and attends to the sails,
and he carries the bodies in his rust-coloured boat¹⁶;
now he is quite old, but old age is for a god fresh and green/strong.
305 To this place rushed the whole crowd poured out onto the banks,
mothers and husbands, and the bodies of great hearted heroes
finished with life, and boys and unmarried girls,
young men put on pyres in front of the eyes/faces of their parents:
(they were) as many as leaves which fall and drop in the woods
310 with the first cold of autumn or as birds which flock to land
from the deep sea when the cold (time of) year
chases them across the sea and sends them to sunny lands¹⁷.
They stood begging to be the first to make the crossing
and they stretched out their hands with a longing for the further bank.
315 But the grim ferryman accepted now these, now those,
while he moved others far away and kept them from the sand.
Aeneas was certainly amazed and disturbed by all this confusion,
and said, "Tell me, Lady, what does this gathering by the river mean?
(Or) what do the souls look for? (Or) how is it decided that these leave the banks
320 (i.e. do not cross), while those sweep the dark shallows with oars (i.e. row across)?
The aged priestess spoke briefly to him like this:

¹⁶ over the river Styx - not named here. (Virgil is not good at geography, but who cares?)

¹⁷ two extended similes - where there is an immediate point of comparison, and then other links

"Son of Anchises¹⁸, most definitely descendant of the gods,
you are looking at the deep pools of Cocytus and the marsh of the Styx.

The gods fear to swear by its power and then be false.

325 All this crowd which you see is the poor and unburied;
that is the ferryman, Charon; these, whom the water carries, are the buried.

He is not allowed to carry (anyone) across the horrible banks
and the noisy streams before their bones rest in graves.

They wander for a hundred years and flit around these shores;

330 then at last, allowed in, they go again to the waters they have longed for."

The son of Anchises stopped and checked his footsteps
thinking a great deal and pitying their unfair fate in his heart.

He saw there (men) sad and lacking the honours of death (*i.e. a funeral*)

Leucaspis and Orontes¹⁹, the leader of the Lycian²⁰ fleet,

335 whom, while carried together across the windy sea from Troy,
the South Wind had overwhelmed, wrapping the ship and the men in water.²¹

Look! the helmsman Palinurus was moving there,

he who recently on the journey from Africa²², while he was observing the stars,
had fallen from the stern (=back), thrown out in the middle of the waves.

340 When he recognised this sad man with difficulty in the great darkness,

he addressed him first, as follows: "Which of the gods, Palinurus,

¹⁸ father of Aeneas. (Venus was his mother.)

¹⁹ two of Aeneas' men when they left Troy

²⁰ southern Turkey

²¹ The loss of Leucaspis and Orontes in one incident and of Palinurus in another have already been mentioned in earlier books of the Aeneid.

²² when heading for Italy

snatched you from us and plunged you into the middle of the sea?

Tell me. For Apollo, never before found to deceive,

has tricked my mind with this one response, Apollo

345 who prophesied that you would be unharmed on the sea,

and would come to the boundaries of Italy. Is this his promise being kept?

But he replied, "The tripod of Apollo²³ did not deceive you,

son of Anchises, my leader, nor did a god plunge me in the sea.

For when the rudder, to which I was clinging having been given as its guard,

350 and I was guiding our course, was torn away by chance with much force,

falling, I pulled it with me. I swear by the rough waters

that I did not have any fear as great for myself

as that your ship, stripped of its equipment (and) separated from its helmsman

should be in trouble with such great waves rising up.

355 For three wintry nights the South wind, through the vast seas, carried me

violently on the water; with difficulty on the fourth day

high up from the top of a wave, I saw Italy.

I was gradually swimming towards the the land; I was already holding it safe,

but (ni) a cruel tribe with weapons attacked me, weighed down with soaking clothes

360 and grasping the rough top of a rock (mons)

with hooked hands (fingers!), and thought foolishly of plunder.

Now the waves hold me and the winds toss me on the shore.

So, I beg you by the pleasing light of the sky and the breezes,

and by your father, by your hopes for Iulus²⁴ as he grows,

²³ the tripod from which the priestess of Apollo prophesied

²⁴ his son, also called Ascanius - the ancestor of the *gens Iulia*, Augustus' family

365 rescue me from these troubles, unconquered one: either throw earth
 on me, for you can, and look for the harbours of Velia²⁵;
 or, if there is a way, if your goddess mother can show you
 one (for you do not, I believe, prepare to go on such great rivers
 and the marshes of the Styx without the power of the gods),
 370 give me, unhappy, your right (hand) and carry me with you across the waters,
 so that I can at least rest in death in a peaceful home."

He had spoken like this when the prophetess began like this:

"From where, Palinurus, has this desire which is so terrible come to you?

Will you, unburied, see the waters of the Styx and the grim

375 river of the Furies, and will you approach the bank without being ordered to?

Stop hoping for the will of the gods to be changed by praying.

But take and remember some words, comfort for your harsh fate:

For the locals, driven far and wide around their cities

by signs from heaven, will give proper rites to your bones,

380 and they will set up a tomb, and will send annual offerings for the tomb,

and the place will have for ever the name of 'Palinurus'²⁶."

His worries were removed by these words and for a short time

his pain was driven from his sad heart; he rejoiced in his name having a place.

Therefore they continued the journey they had begun and approached the river.

385 When the ferryman (nauta) now saw from there, from the waters of the Styx,
 that they were coming through the silent wood and turning their feet towards the bank,

He challenged them first with these words and told them off straight away:

²⁵ south of Pompeii etc. and Paestum

²⁶ *Capo Palinuro*, south of Velia

"Whoever you are, you who approach my river in armour,
come, tell me (now, from where you are) why you come here, and check your step.

390 This is the place of ghosts, of sleep, and drowsy night:

it is wrong to carry living bodies in the boat of the Styx.

I was certainly not happy to have welcomed Alcides/ when he came
on the lake, nor Theseus and Pirithous²⁷,

although they were descended from gods and undefeated in strength.

395 The first (ille) looked for the guard-dog of Tartarus to put him in chains by force

from the throne of the king himself and dragged him away trembling;

the others (hi) attempted to take his mistress²⁸ away from the chamber of Dis.

The Amphrysian²⁹ prophetess spoke briefly in reply to this:

"There are no such traps here (stop being worried),

400 and these weapons do not bring violence; the great doorkeeper may bark

for ever from his cave and terrify the pale ghosts,

and Proserpina may chastely look after her uncle's threshold (i.e. house).

Aeneas from Troy, famous for his goodness and deeds in war,

has come down to the low shadows of Erebus to see his father (?).

405 If the sight of such great goodness does not affect you,

then you should recognise this branch. " (She displayed the branch

which was hidden under her robe.) Then his heart swollen with anger, settled down;

he said no more to them. Amazed at the fearful gift

of the fateful branch, seen (again) after a long time,

²⁷ friend of Theseus

²⁸ Persephone (or Proserpina), the niece and wife of Pluto

²⁹Amphrysian = of Apollo

410 he turned his dark boat and approached the bank.

Then he turned out other souls, who were sitting along the long benches

and cleared the gangways; at once he took into the boat

huge Aeneas. The stitched boat groaned under

the weight and leaking took in a lot of water/marsh.

415 At last he put ashore the prophetess (?) and the man (?) safe on the other side

of the river (?), in the shapeless mud and grey rushes.

...

Cicero in *Catilinam* 2 (extracts)

A speech delivered in the Forum, the day after Cicero, one of the two consuls, had spoken in the Senate, accusing Lucius Sergius Catilina of plans to commit violent acts in Rome - including the murder of Cicero, and of links with a rebel army in the countryside north of Rome. Catilina was present in the meeting, spoke and then left Rome.

Now Cicero, talking to the people of Rome, wants to justify what he did, to stop others being a threat inside Rome and to get approval for action against Catilina in Italy. Note that he wants to say that he has "won" but that there is more to do!

At long last, citizens, we have either thrown (*ieicimus*) Lucius Catilina out of the city, raging with boldness, breathing out crime, working hard at the destruction of his country in a criminal way and threatening you and the city with sword and fire, or we have sent him away (*emisimus*) or, while he himself was leaving (i.e.already), we have escorted him (*prosecuti sumus*) with words. He left, he withdrew, he escaped, he forced his way out. No longer will any destruction be planned within the walls by that monster and beast against these walls themselves. And we have certainly defeated this one (man who is the) leader of this civil war without any doubt. No longer will that dagger be found among our sides/alongside us; we will not be afraid in the Campus¹, not in the forum, not in the senate house, finally not within our own houses' walls. He was moved from his "position"² when he was driven from the city. Now we will fight a proper war, openly against our enemy with no one hindering (us)³. Without doubt we destroyed the man and conquered him magnificently when we drove him away from secret plots (and) into open banditry.

¹ the Campus Martius, where elections took place

² i.e. the place from which he felt could fight best

³ when Catiline was still in Rome and had not been convicted of any crime, some said that he should be shown respect.

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In fact, because he has not taken with him a sword covered with blood - as he wanted⁴, because he left with us/me alive⁵, because we/I wrenched the sword from his hands, because he left the citizens unharmed and the city standing, how distressed, I ask you, do you think that he is to have been struck down and crushed? And now he lies laid low, citizens, and realises that he has been struck down and rejected, and he certainly (*profecto*) often turns his eyes back to this city which he regrets has been snatched from his jaws: it seems to me in fact (*quidem*) to be celebrating because it has spewed out (*subj.!*) and thrown out of its doors such a great pest.

section omitted - see note on page 101

I can see to whom Apulia⁶ has been granted, who has Etruria⁷, who has the ager Picenus⁸, who the ager Gallicus⁹, and who has requested for himself (these) attacks (here) within the city involving murder and fires. They realise that all their plans of the previous night were brought to me; I revealed (them) in the Senate yesterday. Catilina himself was terrified and fled. What are these people waiting for? Certainly (*ne*), they are very mistaken if they are hoping that that previous leniency of mine will last for ever.

⁴ i.e. he had not killed anyone before he left, but he would have liked to

⁵ respectable citizens, Cicero in particular

⁶ S.E. Italy (Brindisi)

⁷ area north of Rome - now Tuscany (Florence)

⁸ the other coast of Italy from Rome (Ancona)

⁹ just north of that on the coast too (Rimini)

I have now achieved what I have waited for, so that you all could see that a conspiracy had been made openly against the state - unless (*nisi*) in fact there is anyone who does not think that people similar to Catilina¹⁰ agree with Catilina¹¹. There is no longer room for leniency. The situation itself demands severity. I will still grant one thing: let them leave, let them set out, let them not allow Catilina to pine away unhappy through missing (*desiderio*) them. I will show them the way. He set out on the Via Aurelia; if they are willing to hurry they will catch up with him about evening.

How lucky the state will be if in fact it drives (Fut. Perf.) these dregs of the city away. By Hercules, with only Catilina got rid of, the state has been relieved and refreshed as far as I am concerned. For what wickedness or crime can be invented or thought about which he has not considered? Which poisoner in all of Italy, which gladiator, which thief, which cut-throat, which parricide, which forger of wills, which cheat, which glutton, which spendthrift, which adulterer, which woman of ill repute, which corrupter of the young, which corrupted person, which scoundrel can be found who could state that he or she had not lived on very close terms with Catilina? What murder has been committed during these years without him, and what wicked debauchery (has been committed) without his help?

Moreover what temptation of the young has there ever been in anyone as great as (*tanta...quanta*) there is in him. A man who loved others in a very shameful way assisted the love of others most shamefully, and he promised enjoyment of their desires to some and the death of parents to others, not only by encouraging them but also by helping them. Now in

¹⁰ similar in character

¹¹ want what he wants in politics - so Catiline is not working alone against Rome (Cicero would like others to go too. Getting rid of him is not enough)

fact how suddenly he had collected not only from the city but also from the countryside a large number of wretched men! Not only was there no one in Rome but there was not even anyone in any corner of the whole of Italy overcome with debt, whom he did not attach to this unbelievable criminal alliance.

But there are still people who say, citizens, that Catilina was driven out by me.¹² If I could achieve this with a word, I would drive out those people who say these things¹³. For obviously a man who was easily frightened or even over-sensitive could not endure the words of a consul; as soon as he was ordered to go into exile, he obeyed¹⁴. In fact on the day before, when I had nearly been killed in my house, I summoned the senate to the Temple of Jupiter Stator, and I exposed the whole situation to the senators. When Catilina came there, which senator addressed him, which greeted him, which finally looked at him as an unfortunate citizen and not rather as a very dangerous enemy? In fact the leaders of that order¹⁵ left that area of the benches which he had approached, empty and bare.¹⁶

At this point I, that violent consul who drives citizens into exile with a word, asked Catilina if he had been at that meeting by night at the house of Marcus Laeca or not. When that very bold man, overcome by knowledge of his guilt, stayed silent at first, I revealed the rest: I explained what he had done that night, where he had been what he had decided for the next

¹² Cicero has claimed this for himself, but also wants to give the impression that Catilina (and others) want to leave and to attack Rome.

¹³ because they would be lying: Catilina has happy to leave.

¹⁴ sarcastic

¹⁵ the senatorial order

¹⁶ no one showed him support or even sympathy - according to Cicero

night and how a plan for the whole war had been drawn up by him. As he was hesitating, as he was trapped, I asked why he was hesitating to set out for that place to which he had for a long time been preparing to go, since I knew that weapons, axes, fasces¹⁷, trumpets, military standards, that silver eagle¹⁸ for which he had even made a shrine in his house, had been sent ahead. Was I throwing into exile a man whom I had seen already to have embarked upon a war?

Oh, what a war so greatly to be feared since Catilina is going to have this praetorian cohort¹⁹ of male prostitutes! Get ready your defences and your armies now, citizens, to face these forces of Catilina, which are so distinguished²⁰. And first send the consuls and your generals against this "gladiator", who is worn out and wounded²¹. Then against that band of outcasts which has been driven out and weakened, lead out the flower and the strength of the whole of Italy.

Moreover the towns - colonies²² or municipia²³ - will be the answer to the wooded hill-tops of Catilina. I do not need to compare the other forces (copias), equipment, garrisons which you have with the poverty and needs of that bandit. But if, after leaving out these things which we are equipped with and which he lacks - the senate, the Roman equites, the city, the

¹⁷ official symbols of authority - axes and sticks, as if Catilina were setting up a rival authority to Rome

¹⁸ the legionary standard which was said to have belonged to the reforming politician Marius

¹⁹ normally a general's escort!

²⁰ sarcastic

²¹ by his lifestyle and by Cicero's opposition

²² new towns founded by and for Roman citizens - like Mérida

²³ old towns, whose inhabitants became Roman citizens

treasury, the taxes, all of Italy, all the provinces, foreign peoples, if after leaving out these things we want to contrast the two causes which are in conflict, from this very action (i.e. the comparison of their aims) we can understand how really (*valde*) weak they are²⁴.

(Cicero then discusses their respective causes! "Right against wrong" etc.!)

Now I want those who have stayed in the city and in fact have been left in the city by Catilina hostile to / as a danger to (*contra*) the safety of the city and of all of you²⁵, because they were born citizens although they are (now) enemies, to be warned again and again. My leniency up till now, if it has seemed too relaxed to anyone, has been waiting for what was hidden to burst out. As for the future, I can no longer forget that this is my country, that I am the consul of these people (here), that I must either live with them or die for them. The gates have no guard, the road has no one waiting in ambush (*insidiator*). If any people want to leave, I can turn a blind eye. But anyone who makes a move in the city (and I will discover not only his action, but any start or attempt against our country) will realise that there are vigilant consuls, excellent magistrates, a brave senate, weapons, a gaol²⁶ which our ancestors wanted to be the avenger of wicked and blatant crimes.

And all these things will be done in such a way that a very serious situation will be settled (*sedetur*) with very little activity, the greatest dangers will be solved (*sedetur*) with no disturbance, and an internal, civil war, the most cruel and important in living memory will be ended (*sedetur*) with me alone, a civilian (*togato*) as leader and general. This I will organise

²⁴ i.e. their cause is weak - as well as their resources

²⁵ the citizens whom he is addressing

²⁶ a place not for imprisonment where you were taken before being executed

in such a way, citizens, that - if it can be done in some way²⁷ - not even anyone wicked in this city will suffer punishment for his crime. But if the enormity of blatant audacity, if imminent danger to our country of necessity leads me away from this lenient way of thinking, I shall certainly achieve a thing which (quod) is hard to wish for (vix optandum) in a war which is so great and so dangerous, that no respectable man will die and that you can all be kept safe by the punishment of a small number.²⁸

This in fact I promise to you, citizens, relying not on my wisdom nor on human thoughts, but on many, clear signs from the immortal gods, under whose guidance ("with whom as leaders") I have come to hold this hope and opinion: they now, not as they once used to do at a distance and from a foreign and distant enemy, but present here, defend their temples and the buildings of the city with their power and their help. You must pray to them, citizens, worship them, beg to them, so that they defend this city, which they wanted to be the most beautiful, most successful, and most powerful, from the wicked crimes of the most wretched citizens, now that all enemy forces have been overcome by land and by sea.

²⁷ they will be stopped rather than punished

²⁸ some guilty people may be punished, but the innocent will not suffer