

WHERE WAS VERGIL'S FARM ?¹

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OTHER lectures concerned with the poet Vergil which I have submitted to this audience during the last ten years have had, roughly speaking, one predominant purpose, the endeavour to discover something of the personality embodied and concealed for us in the poems which have come down under his name. In one of these, that which dealt with the Youth of Vergil,² I followed the late Dr. Warde Fowler in trying to frame some picture of the circumstances under which Vergil's earliest poems were written and in which he was (or may have been) first brought into contact³ with the future ruler of the world, the young Octavian. But no more than a passing reference was then possible to the old riddle of the precise locality in which Vergil's boyhood was spent. Of course we know that he was a citizen of Mantua : but the ancient Italian townships were all surrounded by a considerable area of land, and the farmers of this were all citizens of the particular town ; and since, as we shall see, the nature of the country on different sides of

¹ This lecture was delivered, with some necessary omissions, at the John Rylands Library on 8 November, 1922. I have to thank my colleagues Mr. G. E. K. Brauhnoltz, Prof. W. M. Calder and Mr. Donald Atkinson for much valuable help with the inscriptions ; and my debt throughout to the wise and searching criticism of Prof. W. B. Anderson is greater than I can easily express.

² *John Ryl. Lib. Bulletin*, II. (1915), p. 212 ; reprinted in *New Studies of a Great Inheritance* (1921), p. 66.

³ Dr. Warde Fowler supposed that Octavius was with his great-uncle Julius in Transpadane Gaul in the winter of 51-50 B.C. In three inscriptions of Brixia (*C.I.L.*, V., 4305-4307) I now find welcome evidence, on Mommsen's almost certain showing, of a lively and continued interest which the princely youth took in that town in the years 44 and 43 B.C. and after. At some later date he made an aqueduct for them which Tiberius renewed (*ibid.*, 4306).

Mantua is exceedingly different, it is not without interest to discover, if we can, in what particular point of the great sub-Alpine plain was placed the village (*pagus*) of Andes in which our ancient authorities tell us that Vergil was born. In the lecture of which I have just reminded you mention was made of the noteworthy research of my colleague Mr. G. E. K. Brauhnoltz who, in the course of a long study of the ancient names of North Italy, had found some definite evidence for identifying the village Andes with a particular modern site on which had been found a votive altar dedicated by a member of the gens Vergilia. I could not then discuss the problem further, though when the lecture came to be printed¹ it was necessary to add that Mr. Brauhnoltz's theory at present held the field. Since then fortune² has allowed me to visit Mantua and to do a little to explore the sites concerned; and the object of this lecture is to explain the conditions of the literary and geographical problem as clearly as I can and to submit to you further evidence in favour of the conclusion indicated by Mr. Brauhnoltz. Whatever novelty or interest may lie in the discovery must be ascribed entirely to him, since without his careful investigation of the inscriptions of North Italy no one would have thought of the solution which I am concerned to support.

This audience has followed me on so many occasions in studies of a purely literary character, dealing with the best known poems of Vergil, that something like an apology is perhaps due for inviting its attention to a somewhat humbler theme, to wit, a problem of ancient geography of a common kind—to examine what scanty evidence there is bearing on the identification of a particular ancient spot. One thing I will venture to assume, that is, that everyone here is interested in Vergil; and those who are more interested in poetry than in geography will perhaps be not unwilling to face a problem which bears directly upon the interpretation of a fascinating though difficult part of Vergil's poetry, a part, too, which has been frequently censured simply because its critics have been in the dark as to the solution of this problem. If they have adopted any view at all, they have been content to take over

¹ *Great Inheritance*, p. 97 footn.

² Really, the liberal gift of the 'Sabbatical' furlough which the University of Manchester makes to its Professors; and the sympathetic help of my friend Mrs. A. W. Benn of Florence, whose automobile rendered possible a visit to a great many points of the region between Mantua and Brescia within the limits of time to which I was bound at the beginning of June, 1922.

from Dante a mediæval tradition of which the origin is difficult to discover, but which, as we shall see, is scarcely to be reconciled with evidence which we do possess from sources almost contemporary with Vergil himself. And even those who are content to regard Vergil's *Eclogues* as merely a collection of not very important allegorical puzzles and who base their admiration for him on his greater poems, will not, perhaps, be unwilling to spend an hour in studying a district which he must have known exceedingly well and traversed scores of times in his schooldays and later, when he studied first at Cremona and then at Milan,—whether or not it contained the site of his father's farm. Here is a section of Kiepert's Map of North Italy (in *C.I.L.*, V.) which shows the situation of the towns and rivers (Fig. 1).

Recall now some of the literary difficulties which make the *Eclogues* of Vergil still full of dark places. So sane a critic as Prof. Henry Nettleship¹ remarked that "the neighbourhood of Mantua notoriously does not suit the description of scenery in the *Eclogues*." Taken by itself this remark is about as illuminating as if one said that the description of scenery in Shakespeare's plays did not suit the neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon. The *Eclogues* are essentially dramatic; and to criticise their author because the scenery which he mentions appears to you different from the scenery of a particular part of a particular country, is just as helpful as it would be to criticise Macbeth because he did not meet the witches on the banks of the Avon, or Hamlet because his father's ghost did not appear (say) on the battlements of Kenilworth Castle. It is obvious that we must enquire what is the background implied in each separate Eclogue before we can judge whether it is or is not consistent. In the Second

¹ *Ancient Lives of Vergil* (1879), p. 49, where he alludes to a remark of Prof. H. A. J. Munro. But in *Journ. Philol.*, VI. (1876), p. 40, the passage which Nettleship no doubt had in mind, all that Munro says is this: "When I was at Tarentum a few months ago, it struck me how much better the scenery, flora, and silva of those parts suited many of the *Eclogues* than did the neighbourhood of Mantua." The poem of Propertius, Book II. (III.), 34, which Munro was illustrating, alludes to *Eclogues* II., III., VII., IX., and (especially often) to X., to the *Georgics*, and to the coming *Æneid*; and describes Vergil as singing of Thyrsis and Daphnis *umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi*, i.e. at Tarentum. Munro suggests very happily that the *villula Sironis* [which Vergil and his father bought when expelled from their own, *Catal.*, X., cf. *Georg.*, IV., 125] may have been in that neighbourhood.



FIG. 1. SECTION OF KIEPERT'S MAP OF GALLIA TRANSPADANA

Eclogue, for example, the speaker expressly declares¹ that he has 'a thousand sheep wandering on Sicilian mountains'; therefore they must be in Sicily; therefore it seems hardly worth while to complain that they are not in Mantua! Or take the VIIIth Eclogue, which contains two separate poems: in the first the recurring refrain speaks of Arcadian song (*Maenalius versus*) and the whole atmosphere is Greek; in the second half not merely the names but the whole subject is Theocritean, and the herbs used for the incantation come from Pontus: why should anyone want to discover scenery at Mantua in such a composition? The Xth and VIth Eclogues, as Skutsch² has shown, have no one scene; each of them follows Vergil's friend Gallus over the whole poetical world, taking small pictures, not to say snapshots, of his poetry, now in Arcadia, now in Thrace, now in Crete; besides that more shadowy region of the universe in which Pyrrha and Deucalion threw their stones. The IVth Eclogue, as we know, is concerned with building a new world, with all the glories of every land newly set therein. You see, therefore, that in five³ out of the ten Eclogues the question of local scenery simply does not arise and it is merely darkening counsel to talk of it.

But what the critics, no doubt, do mean is this: that in the *Eclogues* where reference is definitely made to North Italian conditions, for instance in the Ist, they have been unable to discover any features of scenery which they can identify with what they have seen in the neighbourhood of Mantua. How far they have explored the region of Mantua they do not say. Things that are "notorious" are commonly taken to need no verification.

But what other Eclogues besides the First refer to Italian scenery? The Ninth, which also deals with Vergil's farm, and in which Menalcas, as we shall see (p. 199) represents Vergil; the Seventh, in which Melibœus is invited⁴ to rest with his friends on the banks of the Mincius; and (less definitely) the Third and Fifth, in both of

¹ L. 21.

² *Aus Vergils Friihzeit*, cc. 1 and 2, the results of which are briefly stated in *Great Inheritance*, pp. 68, 78 ff.

³ That is, in *Eclogues*, II., IV., VI., VIII., X. It cannot be an accident that these are all even numbers. Vergil, in his silent way, has chosen from his early work five poems with a local setting, and five with a foreign setting, and arranged them alternately.

⁴ L. 13.

which some one called Menalcas appears ; in the Third Melibœus, and the Roman statesman Pollio are mentioned ; in the Fifth Menalcas claims the authorship of the Second and Third ; and the Fifth is generally and rightly¹ regarded as a lament for Julius Cæsar. We should therefore naturally expect (though we could not demand) that such scenery as is mentioned in these two, the Third and Fifth, would be such as the poet thought natural to scenes not remote from parts of the world which Menalcas and Pollio and Cæsar's friends might be supposed to frequent. But it is clear that our chief concern must be with the First, the Seventh and Ninth, in which Rome and the Mincius, Mantua, and Cremona are all definitely named. The question is whether it is true that the neighbourhood of Mantua does not suit the details of the scenery in these five local Eclogues. If this criticism is true Vergil has made a sad mess. That is what his Oxonian critics seem to take particular pleasure in supposing. What I shall try to show in this lecture, partly by means of typical photographs,² is that although the indications of scenery which these poems contain do not harmonise with the traditional site of Andes, namely, the little village of Pietole about three miles S.E. of Mantua, they do harmonise remarkably well with the neighbourhood of Calvisano, which is indicated by the results of Mr. Braunnholtz's enquiry.

To appreciate the evidence properly we must first note briefly what information we have from sources outside Vergil's own writings. His biographers agree that the village of Andes was included in the township of Mantua ; but only one of the ancient biographies, namely that attributed to Probus, mentions its actual distance from that town. Of this biography Henry Nettleship writes :³ " This fragment, so far as it goes, is so good that we can only wish more had survived." And he conjectures that it was " compiled independently from the same materials as those used by Suetonius." I see no reason what-

¹ On this see now the penetrating and convincing study by Mr. D. L. Drew in *Class. Quart.*, XVI. (1922), p. 57.

² Let me record my cordial gratitude to Prof. Comm. F. Carli, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Brescia, who kindly arranged for procuring those of the Carpenedolo ridge ; and even more to Count Teodoro Lechi, of Brescia and Calvisano, to whose generous and discriminating interest in the question I owe all the rest (save that of Pietole which was taken by my wife in 1908).

³ *Ancient Lives of Vergil*, p. 31.

ever to doubt Nettleship's judgment ; for the biography is one of the only two¹ that altogether exclude the element of fable ; and the only one whose chronology, so far as it goes, is both precise and correct. It must therefore have been drawn from sources current in the first century of the Christian era ; indeed we may reasonably think it was ultimately derived from the great scholar and critic Valerius Probus whose name it bears. Probus flourished under Nero and later, that is, from 56 to 88 A.D., and Nettleship writes that he is "inclined to assign to him without question the first place among commentators on Vergil."²

Now Probus tells us³ that Andes was thirty miles from Mantua. That means, of course, thirty Roman miles which is roughly equivalent to 45 kilometres, or twenty-eight English miles. This appeared to Nettleship to be too far from Mantua to be true ; but his only ground for the objection is that Mantua was a small city. So, however, were many other townships in Italy whose territory extended wider afield than thirty Roman miles ; the hamlet of Hostilia on the Po, thirty-three Roman miles from Verona, was nevertheless a *vicus* of Verona (see Tac., *Hist.*, 3, 9 ; Plin., *H.N.*, 21, § 73). This was set out clearly in 1872 (*C.I.L.*, V., p. 317) by Mommsen whom Nettleship⁴ (in 1879) might have consulted before attacking the text of Probus on so flimsy a ground. Mommsen, who filled many interesting pages of the Corpus with the results of his special study of the confines of the Italian townships, found it impossible from the inscriptional evidence to determine precisely where the boundaries of Mantua ended⁵ and those

¹ Or three, if the curt record of his birth, death, and epitaph, which Diehl (*Vitae Verg.*, p. 45) labels 'Filargyrius No. 2' be called a biography.

² See further Note A, p. 205.

³ *Vitae Vergiliana*, Diehl (Bonn, 1911), p. 43.

⁴ And still more Nissen in 1902 (*Ital. Landeskunde*, II., 1, p. 204 footn.).

⁵ See Mommsen on *C.I.L.*, V., 3827 and *ibid.*, pp. 327, 406, 440. Observe also that in one of his sadly abridged accounts of the seizure (carried out by Octavius Musa) of the Mantuan lands, Servius (*Dan. ad Ecl.*, IX., 7) speaks of the process as extending 'over fifteen miles of Mantuan territory.' Unluckily it is far from clear whether this measurement is of the land confiscated, or of the land left to Mantua ; nor even in which direction it was taken : *usque ad eum autem locum perticam limitarem Octavius Musa porrexerat, limitator ab Augusto datus, id est, per XV. m.p. agri Mantuani*. Was Musa's limit a line drawn straight from Cremona to Mantua and somewhere touching the Vergilian property ? Or at

of Cremona, Verona, or Brixia began ; but he entirely accepts the statement of Probus, and we are bound to do the same. On every critical ground it is improbable that so precise a statement on such a matter would be invented ; with other details given by the same authority, such as the age at which Vergil wrote the *Eclogues*, and the value of the property with which he was endowed by Augustus, it seems to come from very early sources and ultimately from Vergil himself. On this evidence alone Mommsen rejected the tradition which identified Andes with Pietole. Other grounds for the same rejection will soon appear.

Another source of evidence, to which Mr. Brauhnoltz has drawn attention, is in inscriptions containing the name of Vergil's father's family, the gens Vergilia and that of his mother's, the gens Magia. There are only eight or nine occurrences of the name Vergilius or Vergilia among the many thousand ancient inscriptions from the whole of North Italy. Four of these are from townships remote from Mantua ; three are from Verona and one (*C.I.L.*, V. 4137 now in the museum at Brescia, the ancient Brixia) is from Calvisano ; a possible ninth occurrence we will consider shortly (p. 194).

The inscription from Calvisano is on a handsome altar and runs thus :—

Matronabus
Vergilia C. f. Vera
pro Munatia T. f.
Catulla V. S. L. M.

In the atmosphere of the Brescia Museum, where it is now, some of the face has unluckily crumbled ; but when Mommsen saw it, it was complete except for the last *S* of the word *matronabus* and three letters in the word *Catulla*. The dedication is one of a common type, in which one woman pays a vow for the deliverance of another from danger. In a great number of cases the author of the vow is a mother,

right angles to this line ? Or merely, as *ad eum locum* should properly mean, from Cremona to the Vergilian farm itself, or at least to the point described in this line of the Eclogue (*qua se subducere colles incipiunt*) ? In any case, as Prof. W. B. Anderson points out to me, the statement definitely implies that the original territory was more than fifteen miles in breadth, in one direction at all events, and suggests that it was considerably broader.

and the occasion is that her daughter is in her turn bearing a child. It seems probable that this was the case in the present instance because of the deities to whom the dedication is made. The *Matronae* were Keltic deities, whose name suggests that they would be worshipped by mothers.¹

Let me remind you that in Roman nomenclature a married woman retains the Gentile name of her father. Thus the wife of Marcus Tullius Cicero was called Terentia because her father's name was Terentius ; and Cicero's daughter before and after her marriage was called Tullia because her father was Marcus Tullius Cicero. Probably then this inscription was dedicated by a daughter of the Vergilian family who married into the Munatian family and whose daughter is therefore called Munatia. Now, when I add that Calvisano is exactly thirty Roman miles from Mantua, whereas Pietole is less than four, you have the first part of the case for Calvisano. This inscription of course does not prove that the Vergil family actually lived at Calvisano ; nor can the Vergilia who made the vow have been a descendant of the poet, since he died unmarried : what it does prove is that some woman member of that family, probably after her marriage, lived near enough to Calvisano to make a votive offering there, probably for her daughter's safe delivery, and probably, if not certainly, in the first century of the Empire ; for that is the period indicated by the style in which the letters of the inscription are cut. In *C.I.L.*, V. 7567 (from Hasta, about ninety English miles to the W.) two distinguished Vergilii appear in the same period, one of them a *præfectus Drusi Caesaris Germanici filii*.

But the altar from Calvisano is not all the evidence to which Mr. Braunnholtz appeals. Consider now another inscription erected by a member of the gens of Vergil's mother,² namely Publius Magius. If there are any students who are inclined to think that all Latin

¹ Three other dedications to them appear from villages in the neighbourhood (V., 4134, 4159, 4160), and two from Brescia (*ibid.*, 4246, 4247) ; of these, the first, like that from Calvisano, is dedicated for one woman's sake by another woman, her sister, and one other by a woman ; two by men, and one is indeterminate. [Other Keltic cults, existing near Brixia, are mentioned by Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, II., 1, p. 199. W. B. A.].

² This name is given by nearly all the ancient biographies, though in some of them (by a very common mediæval corruption) it is spelt *Maia*.

inscriptions are easy to translate, let me invite their special attention to this one :—

V F
P. Magius Manl
sibi et Asseliae M. f.
Sabinae uxori
et Satriae M. f.
Tertiae
Cassiae P. f. Secundae
matri

That is to say, 'Publius Magius the son of Manius erected in his lifetime this tomb for himself and for Asselia Sabina, daughter of Marcus, his wife.' There is no doubt whatever about the meaning of the inscription so far ; and these first four lines are all¹ that bear directly upon the question we are discussing.

¹ The rest is more difficult. I was at first inclined to render it, 'who was also the mother of Satria T. (d. of M.) and Cassia Sec. (d. of P.),' taking the *et* after *uxori* as connecting that word with the final *matri* (just as in *C.I.L.*, V., 3710 a grand-daughter, joining in an epitaph set up by her grandfather and uncles, pays her tribute *aviae et nutrici sue*), and supposing that Satria and Cassia were the daughters of Asselia by two previous husbands and therefore step-daughters of P. Magius, no *et* being needed between their names, though it was felt to be wanted between those of other members of the family who were not in the same category. Parallels for this use and this omission of *et* in the same epitaph appear frequently, e.g. from Verona in *C.I.L.*, V., 3440 (three wives and three sons but only one *et*, and that stands between the two groups) 3797 and 3822 ; from Cremona in *C.I.L.*, V., 4106. We may note that in V., 4073 a lady named Furia, from Mantua, erects a tomb for herself and her three husbands.

But Prof. W. M. Calder, to whose friendly criticism I am greatly indebted, points out that by the practice regular in Latin epitaphs the word *matri* at the end with the name immediately preceding it ought to mean the mother of P. Magius himself who is the author of the monument ; and further that the last person of the family group who is mentioned on such epitaphs is often added without any preceding *et* as in *C.I.L.*, V., 4460 (from Brixia), where a man erects a tomb *Sibi et . . . uxori et . . . fratri et . . . patri, Antoniae Catullae matri*. Two epitaphs from Verona (*ibid.*, 3673 and 3797) show exactly a parallel arrangement save that the last person mentioned in the first was the author's *contubernalis*, in the second his *uxor*. On the pattern of these inscriptions we should expect, if my first interpretation were correct, not *matri* but *privignis*.

These examples from the same neighbourhood carry great weight, but for the puzzling appearance of 'Satria Tertia the daughter of Marcus,'

Now this inscription which was put upon an elaborate and rather costly monument by a member of the family of Vergil's mother, Publius Magius, was found at a little place called Casalpoglio on the river Chiese, only 12 km. ($7\frac{1}{2}$ English miles) distant from Calvisano, and a little to the S.W. of the direct road from Calvisano to Mantua. These two inscriptions do not prove definitely that the branches of the Magian gens and the Vergilian gens which were allied to produce the poet were identical with the branches of these families which we find near Calvisano and at Casalpoglio; though the period to which both inscriptions belong, if we may trust the character of the lettering, is not likely to be later than the first century A.D., perhaps not later than the first half of it. But if it was not these two branches that produced Vergil, it is certainly a most remarkable coincidence that we should

without any mention of her relation to Magius, between his wife and mother. Of this Prof. Calder writes to me: "As this is a family tomb, Satria probably lived in the house of Magius and may have been a poor relation of his or his wife's. The occurrence of such names on sepulchral inscriptions, with no term of relationship attached, is common, and epigraphists are familiar with the confusion which they introduce into otherwise well-ordered *stemmata*."

We may note in passing that it is quite possible that Satria was homeless when P. Magius took her in—many children were in the generation after the civil wars, and the inscription may well be Augustan—but improbable that she was poor; for from *C.I.L.*, V., 4049 from Medole, only a mile or two from Casalpoglio, we find that a *Satria M. f. Tertia*—who may well be the same person—was buried not with Magius but with *P. Catius Callaui f.* (presumably her husband) and other members of his family. And a few miles further South near Betriacum, on the line between Mantuan and Cremonese territory, a *M. Satrius Maior* in the second century erected a statue to Victory in honour of the two Emperors (Marcus Aurelius) Antoninus and Verus. The Satrian house was clearly one of some distinction.

But to return: I now regard Prof. Calder's view of our inscription not merely as far the more probable but as completely established, because I have found other examples of a person, whose relation to the author of the inscription is not stated, being thus interpolated in the list of his relatives among the inscriptions of the district; e.g. at Verona (*C.I.L.*, V., 3529 and 3742). The district is rich in family tombs.

My friend Mr. J. Peacock of the John Rylands Library, reminds me of the famous epitaph in Salisbury Cathedral attributed to Ben Jonson in which Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, is described as 'Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.' But Salisbury is a long way from Calvisano.

[This style can be paralleled on ancient *metrical* epitaphs: on a prose epitaph, especially a Latin one, such a deviation from the normal form would be made clearly, explicitly, and unmistakably. W. M. C.]

find traces of them in two villages so near to one another, and that one of the villages should be at exactly the distance from Mantua which Probus tells us was the distance of Vergil's farm from that same town.

It is time to say something about the tradition that Dante ¹ accepted which placed the site of Andes in the modern Pietole, two or three miles S.E. of Mantua. So far as I can find, the origin of this tradition has not been traced ; but on the strength of it a monument to Vergil was erected at Pietole not many years ago, which of course to every Italian eye is proof conclusive that that is the place where Vergil was born ! In Mantua I fear that Mr. Brauholtz and I shall be counted mere Bolsheviks, because we hold, in view of the evidence, that we are bound to do all we legally can to explode that handsome column. Now what was the origin of this belief of Dante ? I suggest that it lay in an inscription ² which is now lost but which the fifteenth century scholar Jucundus says was on a stone 'beneath the altar of the (*or* 'a') large church at Pietole'; and slightly later another scholar, by name Pacedianus, said that he copied it when he stayed for some days at Mantua in 1517. Mommsen held it to be merely a forgery, but on what seem to be hardly sufficient grounds ; and if this inscription, which contains the name of one P. Vergilius and which Jucundus says was found at Pietole, existed there in Dante's time, it would be very natural for people to take it as evidence for identifying Pietole with Andes. Jucundus gives it thus :—

P. Vergilio P. f.
Pont. Max.
Sabin.

Even if Jucundus copied the text correctly, the stone must have been a mere fragment, because the last line contains part of a name which

¹ In *Purg.*, 18. 83 Vergil is called

quell' ombra gentil per cui si noma
Pietola più che villa Mantovana

'that noble spirit for whose sake Pietola is more renowned than the town of Mantua.'

² *C.I.L.*, V. 3827 (*b*). [If the inscription, whether ancient or not, was actually in existence in Dante's time, it will afford, as you say, an explanation of his belief. And if it actually existed, as Jucundus says, in the fifteenth century, it is not likely that it was a forgery but practically certain that it was ancient. W. B. A.]

cannot belong to the person mentioned in the first line, because something else intervenes. Now Mommsen thought that the (supposed) forger based this inscription upon another¹ which is said to have been found on the bank of the river Tartarus near Verona. The nearest point of that river to Pietole is twelve miles away. Well, let us suppose that the would-be forger of the Pietole inscription traversed the twelve miles with his forging tools,—or, if he was content with a less literal kind of forging, that he sat in his study, sharpening his quill to increase the number of Latin inscriptions which he would boast of having “found”—in either case, what had he to go upon? The Tartarus inscription as recorded by Cyriacus, a scholar who visited Verona in 1433 or 1434 A.D. and made a collection of its inscriptions, runs:—

*M. Vergilio M. f.
Anthioco Unigenito
sibi et Pamphilo*

Now if the forger could invent the former of these inscriptions with nothing but the latter to go upon we must at least credit him with a vigorous imagination. The surprising² *Pont. Max.* of the second line is surely more likely to be either genuine or a misreading, than a pure invention. And if the third line is what Jucundus had before him, it contains a detail which, to my mind, goes a long way to establish the genuineness of the inscription, because it is a detail which the would-be forger could not have arrived at for himself. The cognomen of the some one mentioned in this inscription of Jucundus, presumably the man who erected the monument, is, as you see, *Sabinus*. Now

¹ *C.I.L.*, V. 3827 (a).

² Cæsar became Pontifex Maximus at Rome in 48 B.C. and after him Lepidus; afterwards the office was one of the Emperor's prerogatives. That this should be the only record of its having been held before 48 B.C. by any member of the family into which Vergil was born would be a wildly improbable surmise. But there were Pontifices at Mantua (that they had some social standing is shown by *C.I.L.*, V., 4057 where they are named as recipients of a fine to be paid if certain property is misused) and the chief of them may have been called Pontifex Maximus. There is one other example of an Italian *municipium* with such an office, Vibo Valentia, in the extreme south (see Mommsen on *C.I.L.*, X., 49 and 50); and priests were probably numerous in a town so largely Etruscan as we know Mantua to have been (see e.g. Verg., *Aen.*, X., 203, *Tusco de sanguine uires*). Hence the phrase in the inscription may be quite genuine.

we have just seen that a family whose cognomen was Sabinus was allied to the family which produced Vergil's mother ; for Publius Magius (of Calvisano) had to wife Asselia Sabina. It is therefore not in the least surprising to find that the Vergilian family which was allied with the Magian family should also be associated with the Sabinus family. These three inscriptions taken together seem to me to make a strong case against mere coincidence, and for the genuineness of the Pietole inscription. We need not therefore follow Mommsen in holding as he did that Jucundus or his informant forged it out of nothing and that Pacedianus simply lied when he said that he had himself seen the inscription at Mantua. I believe that some member of the Vergilian family at some time was honoured (or possibly buried), at Pietole ; but not that Pietole was the ancient Andes, the site of Vergil's own farm.

We have seen, then, what evidence there is outside Vergil's own writings for determining the question. We now come to grips with the most important part of our subject, namely the literary evidence from the *Eclogues* themselves, to see what kind of scenery we ought to look for. Then we shall be ready to consider a few pictures of the scenery of Pietole and Calvisano and to judge for ourselves how far Mr. Braunholtz's theory is supported by the actual facts.

As we have already seen, only five *Eclogues* can be called into evidence, namely the IIIrd, Vth, VIIth, and the two which concern Vergil's farm, the Ist and IXth. There are two points in the Third that may be regarded as indicating features in the scenery of the district. First, that a group of old beech trees (*ueteres fagos*, l. 12) seem to be mentioned as a well-known landmark, and are naturally identified with the same group also mentioned as a landmark in the IXth ; and secondly the last line¹ of this IIIrd *Eclogue*,

Claudite iam riuos, pueri ; sat prata biberunt,

definitely places the scene in some region where irrigation of the fields regularly took place by means of opening and shutting sluices in the main water channels to feed smaller rivulets running through the meadows.

¹ This aspect of the line was suggested to me by my late friend, Prof. Charles E. Vaughan, when, in his last illness, I showed him among the other photographs that from which Fig. 5 below is taken.

In the Vth, again, there is not much that will serve our purpose—beech trees, hazels, elms, and repeated mention of an *antrum* or cave to which the two shepherds turn to find shelter from the heat; ¹ cliffs too (*rupes*, l. 63) are mentioned, and the whole district is described as *montibus in nostris* (l. 8).

In the VIIth again there is little to our purpose but the river Mincius (l. 13); note however the bees swarming in the oak-tree. There is mention also of chestnut trees (l. 53) which do not grow freely on the plain, and some reference to hills and mountains (ll. 56, 58), as normal parts of the scenery described by each of the shepherd poets in their competing quatrains. But one cannot be certain that this scenery is necessarily connected with that implied by the mention of the Mincius in the prefatory passage.

We come to the kernel of the matter in the two Eclogues dealing with Vergil's farm, the Ist and the IXth. In the First Eclogue, as we all remember, Melibœus, who has been expelled from his farm, takes a sad leave of Tityrus, who has secured the continued possession of his by visiting Rome and obtaining a favourable response to his petition from some half-divine young ruler. This has been universally interpreted to mean that Vergil was threatened with expulsion, and then relieved from the danger by some appeal to Octavian.

But in the IXth Eclogue Menalcas is described as having addressed an appeal to Varus on behalf of Mantua which was ² in danger through being too near to the luckless Cremona:—

Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis,
Mantua, uae, miserae nimium uicina Cremonae,
Cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni.

¹ It is worth while to note that though the mention of a cave was part of the pastoral scene in Theocritus, appearing in several *Idylls*, his *ἀντρον* is never what it always is in the *Eclogues*, a noon-day place of shade. It is the actual home of Polyphemus (xi. 44), of Cheiron (vii. 149), and of Menalcas (ix. 15), who boasts of its warmth in winter; and a secret haunt of lovers (iii. 6). Of the serious use made of this Sicilian detail by Apollonius Rhodius and of its tragic adaptation in *Æneid*, IV., I have spoken elsewhere (*Great Inheritance*, p. 146). Hence we must not build too much on the word in the *Eclogues*; but it does seem to suggest that the scenery includes at least one hill-side in which a rocky shelter could be found, not a region of flat land, all meadows and swamps.

² Ll. 27-29.

Further we learn that although it had been said that Menalcas had saved his property by his poetry, nevertheless the report was untrue; the truth was that a stranger held the property and that both Menalcas and his servant Moeris had barely escaped with their lives. The question whether this failure of the poet's appeal for protection preceded or followed the favourable answer of Octavian described in the first Eclogue ('pascite ut ante boues, pueri, submittite tauros') has puzzled commentators from the earliest times.¹

But it is not our concern now to determine in what particular month of 41 B.C. Vergil left the farm near Mantua which beyond all doubt had been his home for the first twenty-nine years of his life; what we want to discover is where that home precisely was.

Let us turn, then, to the local descriptions which these two Eclogues give us. In the First there are three different pictures, two of which are fairly complete. The slightest of the three sketches is that of the scene in which the conversation of the Eclogue takes place. Melibœus comes upon Tityrus while Tityrus is lying in the shade of a spreading beech-tree; and when the conversation ends Tityrus points to the tops of farmhouses in the distance which he says were beginning to show their evening smoke; and points also to the 'lengthening shadows' of the 'high mountains.' Just now we saw that the other three local Eclogues all speak of hills or mountains. We learn further that both of the shepherds live near some small town, whither they used to take their lambs and cheese for sale (ll. 22 and 35-36). The other two sketches are respectively of the farm in which Tityrus is going to stay (ll. 48-59, 80-82), and of that which the less fortunate Melibœus has to leave behind him (ll. 69 and 75 ff.).

The farm which Melibœus is leaving boasts of pears and vines and a green cave in which he could lie at length watching his sheep some distance off on a bushy slope, to which they seem to be 'hanging' by their feet, a description understood at once by anyone who has seen from a distance sheep browsing on a steep hill-side. The same sheep, we learn, at other times feed on clover and the young willow shoots. That is the farm which Melibœus has to leave; and it is clear that it is meant to include some stretch of hilly land. It is also clear that he is a near neighbour of Tityrus, who represents Vergil.

But what of the farm of Tityrus himself? This is described, in

¹ See Note B at the end of this paper.

Vergil's way, in somewhat modest colours. It is 'big enough for you' says Melibœus (l. 48), 'however much the grazing ground may be cumbered with bare stones or muddy reeds.' We learn further that it had a willow hedge beloved by the bees, a lofty elm where the pigeons and turtle doves cooed, and a cliff under the shade of which the vine-dresser could rest and 'sing to the breezes' (*hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras*).

We see then from the mention of the bare stones and the cliff that this farm of Vergil is represented as containing at least some portion of rocky country and some land bordering on a reedy river. Other lines tell us of pine-trees and more than one stream; for Tityrus will enjoy the coolness of leafy shadow (l. 52) among 'familiar rivers and sacred springs.'

What does the Ninth Eclogue add to the picture? Consider the lines (7-10) describing the estate which Menalcas was thought to have saved. These lines are quoted by Quintilian, who tells us that they are literally true except that Menalcas means ¹ Vergil,

Certe equidem audieram qua se subducere colles
Incipiunt mollique iugum demittere cliuo
Vsque ad aquam et ueteres, umbrosa cacumina, fagos,
Omnia carminibus uestrum seruasse Menalcan.

Here then is Vergil's own description of the land which he could not save. It ran some distance—this is implied in the words *omnia* and *usque*—from the point 'where the hills begin to withdraw and let their ridge sink into the plain by a gentle slope, right down to the water and to the group of beeches, once tall trees now broken with age.' Here we have again the ancient beeches which we noted in the Third Eclogue. It must have been a spot which made some impression on Vergil's boyish mind, partly, no doubt, because it marked the end of his father's farm. We learn also that the trees stood somewhere near water, though what water we do not yet know.

The only other point that appears clearly from this Eclogue is that the farmers of Mantua were suffering because Mantua was too near a neighbour to Cremona. This does not prove, but it certainly suggests, that the farms which Mantua was losing lay on the side of Mantua nearest to Cremona. No one has ever supposed that Mantua lost all

¹ Quintil., VIII., 6, 47; and so said Menalcas himself in Eclogue V, 86-7.

its land. Moreover when Vergil was looking back, in the little poem (*Catal.*, X.) about the *Villula Sironis*,¹ he speaks of it as having to replace for his father both Mantua and Cremona. Now Pietole is about 5 km. to the S.E. of Mantua, i.e. on the far side from Cremona ; but Calvisano is nearly equidistant from the two towns, and a little nearer to Cremona.

Now we may consider the actual topography of the district. First of all let me show you a map² which gives a rough idea of the hilly and the marshy territory by marking the heights above sea-level (Fig. 2).

Mantua is only about 20 metres or 66 ft. above the sea. It is almost surrounded by two large lagoons and the whole district from there to the Po, the district in which Pietole lies, abounds in ditches and pools of practically stagnant water, because, as the map shows, the level of the water in the Po at the nearest point, is 19 metres above sea level, so that there is hardly any fall at all between Mantua and the river, a distance of 14 km. (some nine English miles).

Fig. 3 is a photograph of the so-called "fondo Virgilio" at Pietole. The country is bare and monotonous, level meadows shut off from stagnant pools by artificial dykes. In no direction are there any hills to be seen ; both Alps and Appenines are far out of sight. If there were anything that could be called a 'cave' near Pietole, it could only be a sort of rat's hole, hollowed in some muddy bank of ditch or dyke. It is quite clear, therefore, that unless all the descriptions that we have followed in the local Eclogues are to be taken as mere inventions, Pietole cannot be identified with the ancient Andes ; and it is difficult to suppose that the poet was merely romancing when he described, with a definite and practical purpose, the extent of his own farm.³

¹ See further p. 186 footn.

² This map was very kindly prepared for me by my colleague, Mr. W. H. Barker, Reader in Geography in the University of Manchester, from H. Haack's *Alpenländer*. Unfortunately the photograph fails to make clear the difference of tint which in the original marked the land immediately S. and W. of Brescia (over 200 m. level) from the next lower level (over 100 m.).

³ After this lecture was delivered Prof. W. B. Anderson drew my attention to an interesting note of the veteran scholar, epigraphist and explorer Sir W. M. Ramsay in Middleton and Mills' *Student's Companion to Latin Authors* (London, 1896), p. 148 : "Virgil's farm was certainly not at Pietole, which is two miles south of Mantua on the flat plain ; for

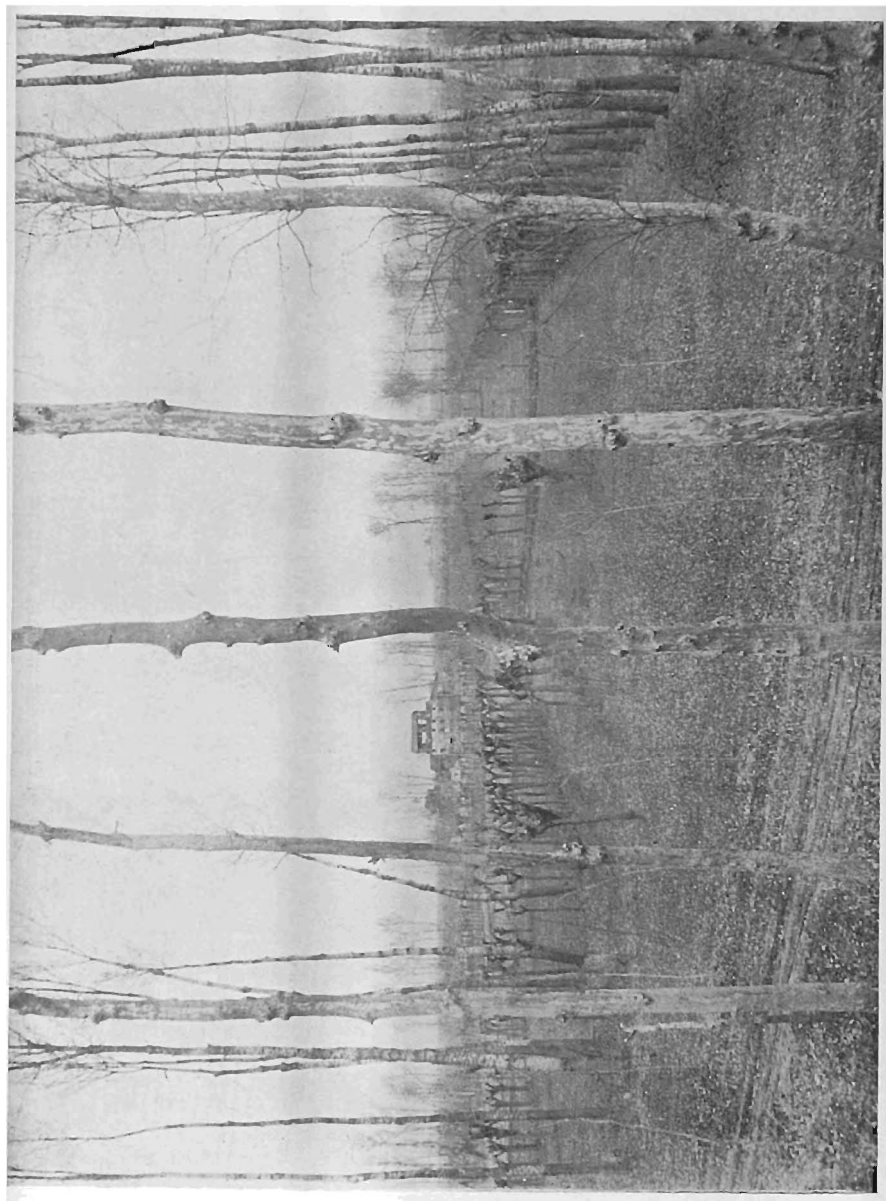


FIG. 3. THE SO-CALLED FONDO VIRGILIO AT PIETOLE

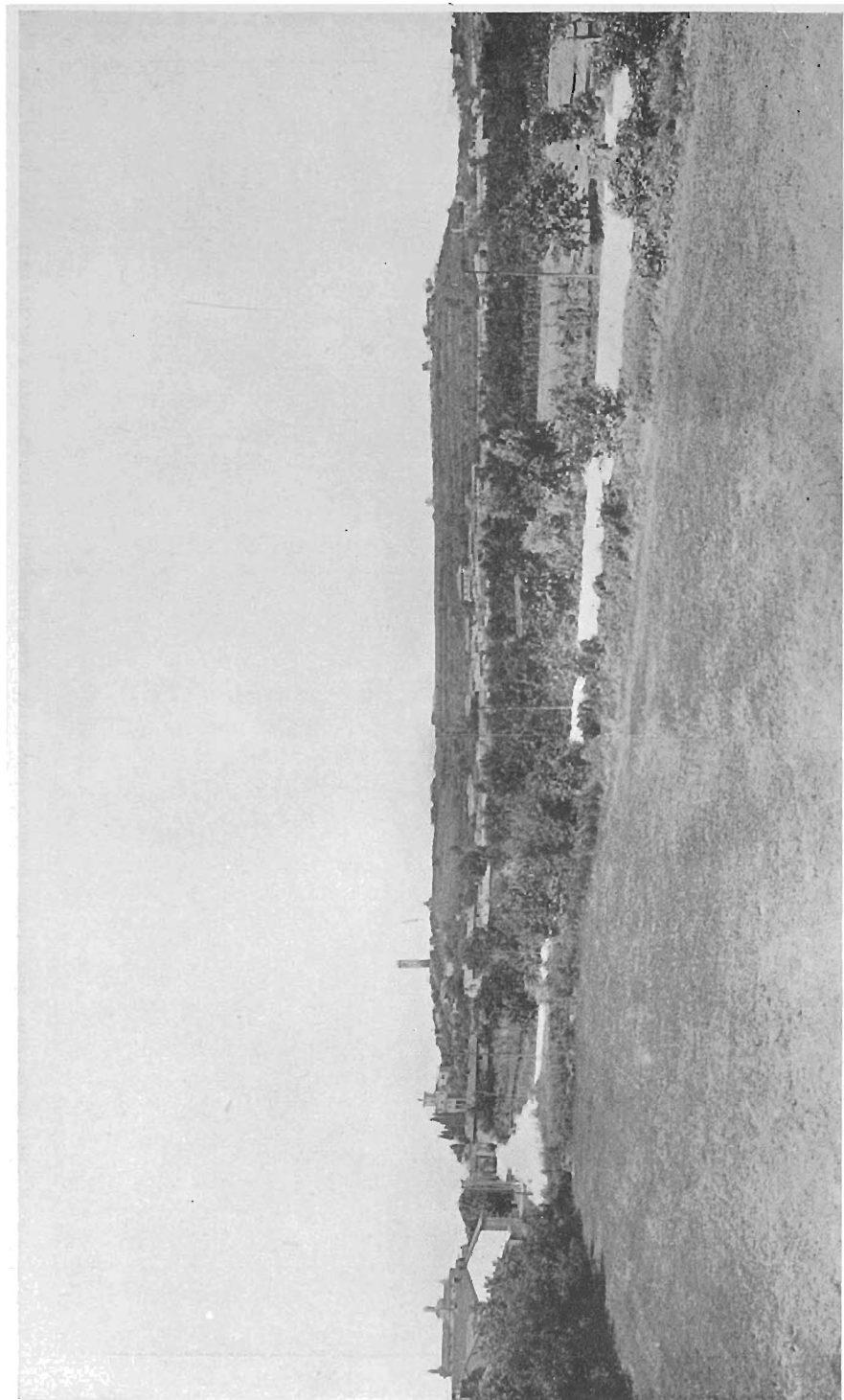


FIG. 6. THE RIDGE RUNNING EAST FROM CARPENEDOLO

But the land steadily rises the moment you pass north-westwards from Mantua. In a mile or two you pass above the 25 metres level, and in a few more, above the 100 metres level, which means that you have been ascending all the way. By the time that you have reached Brescia you have passed the 200 metres level (660 ft.) so that the ascent has been continued. The contrast is immediately perceptible as you travel, not merely in the clearness and freshness of the air, but to the more trustworthy sense of vision, in the absence of swamps and the sudden life which appears in all the little streams, often flowing by the side of the road. The water runs quickly over bright pebbles, except where it is broken by a sluice holding it up into a pool in order to turn it into fields at the side, just as we have seen described in Vergil's Third Eclogue.

Here are two photographs of these road-side streams (Figs. 4 and 5).

What of the hills? As we went north-west from Mantua you may be sure I kept a keen look-out for the first sight of a hill. The first that appeared was a ridge, of which Fig. 6 is a photograph.

This ridge, in the shape of the letter L, runs first roughly from

(1) the farm was a long way from the city (*Ecl.* 9, 59); (2) it was beside hills (*ibid.*, 7 ff.); (3) woods were on or by it (cf. Donatus' [phrase of Vergil's father's prudent policy] *silvis coemendis*; and the flat, fertile valley was certainly not abandoned to forests. After exploring the country I felt clear that the farm was on the west bank of the Mincio, opposite Valeggio, where the northern hills sink to the dead level of the Po valley."

Guided therefore by purely topographical considerations, without regard to the statement of Probus, and with no knowledge of the Calvisano inscription, Prof. Ramsay determined on a site well to the north of Mantua and not very far (about 12 miles) east of Carpenedolo.

[Vergil's own description (*G.*, II., 198-202) of the confiscated land is worth noting :—

Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum
Pascentem niueos herboso flumine cycnos.
Non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina derunt,
Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.

The *flumen* must be the Mincius, as Nissen says (*Ital. Landeskunde*, II., I, p. 203); and I cannot help thinking that Vergil is referring to the Mincius valley north of Mantua; the small patch to the south seems hardly worthy of such magniloquent language. If I am right in this, Mantua must have lost a considerable stretch of territory to the north. W. B. A.]. To this I may add that the *liquidi fontes* of l. 200 can hardly mean the stagnant ditches of Pietole. R. S. C.

North to South, then turns towards the East. The tower in the picture stands at its highest point, at the corner. This is the first hill of any description that you come to when you go from Mantua towards Brescia. In other words it is the last outpost of the Alps north-west of Mantua. Nothing could correspond more precisely to Vergil's description of the point where the hills 'melt into the plain.' The little town at the corner is called Carpenedolo.¹ The morainic ridge, as it runs northwards, forms for some miles the eastern watershed of the river Chiese, whose channel is not far off, bringing down the water from the Val Sabbia and the glaciers of the Adamello group which begins to rise to great heights some twenty-five English miles N. of Brescia. You will see from the map that at Carpenedolo the road which lies at the foot of the hill has reached a height of 122 metres, or over 400 feet, and rises gently to 136 metres at Montechiari, the northern end of the ridge.

Where is Calvisano? Just $8\frac{1}{2}$ km. ($5\frac{1}{4}$ English miles) west of this; and from Calvisano the ridge with its tower is easily seen, in fact it bounds the landscape to the East. But more than this. From Calvisano as you look north you see the mass of the Alps. The snowy peaks are not visible except on clear days, but the hills in front of them, rising above 1600 feet immediately behind Brescia, which is some fifteen English miles away, stand out and are regularly visible (see Fig. 10 below).

One or two other photographs of the district may be added.

The bell tower of Calvisano itself should be compared with the tower of Sant' Andrea of Mantua, which is of slightly earlier date. You will see that in several respects the two show the same type; each is divided into three sections by 'string-courses'; each has its only window above the second string-course; in each an octagon surmounts the square tower; the octagon is crowned by a turret, conical at Mantua, spread into an ogee-curve at Calvisano. But the towers of Verona and Vicenza are markedly different, and the resemblance of

¹The name means 'little group of hedge-beeches' (hornbeam, Lat. *carpinus*) and a companion village a little further N.W. is called Castenedolo 'little group of chestnuts.' [There is a Carpenedo between Vicenza and Venice; and Carpineto near Rome preserves the original form of the name. W. B. A.]



FIG. 7. THE CAMPANILE OF CALVISANO



FIG. 8. THE CAMPANILE OF SANT' ANDREA AT MANTOVA

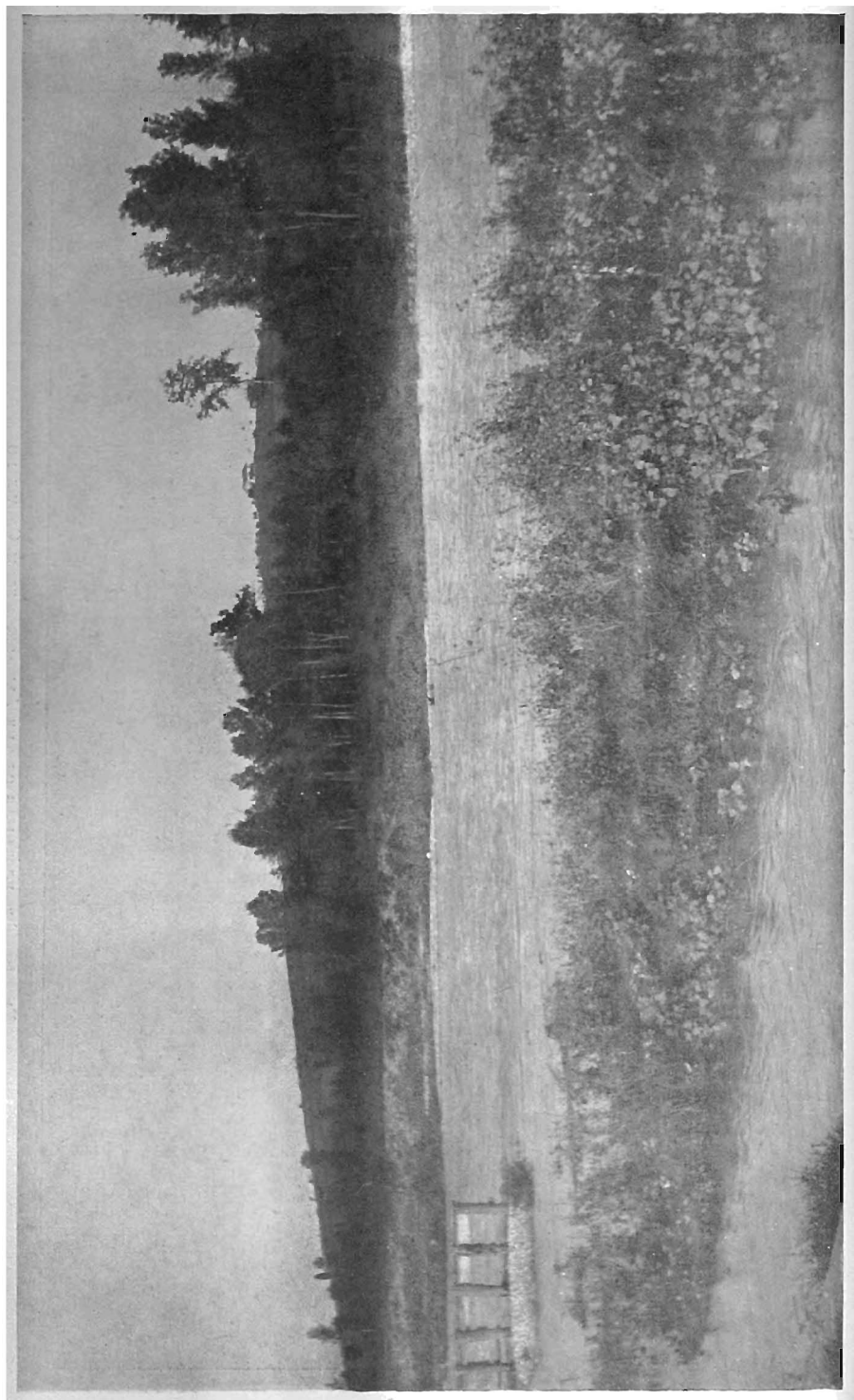


FIG. 9. THE CHIESE NEAR CARPENEDOLO, WITH THE NORTHWARD ARM OF THE RIDGE BEHIND

FIG. 10. THE FOOTHILLS OF THE ALPS SEEN FROM CALVISANO



the other two affords ground for believing that Calvisano maintained its connexion with Mantua right down to the Renaissance.

Vergil's farm, I take it, ran from some rocky point of the Carpenedolo ridge down to the Chiese, of which Fig. 9 is a photograph, showing the Carpenedolo ridge behind it. Only $13\frac{1}{2}$ km. ($8\frac{1}{2}$ English miles) to the west is the River Mella, the only small river of North Italy which Vergil mentions in the *Georgics*.¹ You remember it is named as the place where the shepherds pick a certain flower which serves as medicine for their sheep.

The 'well-known streams' between which Tityrus could lie if he wished were either the Chiese and the Mella,² or the Chiese and the Mincio which cuts through the Carpenedolo ridge some thirteen English miles further to the east.³

Finally let me add a photograph of the view northwards from Calvisano on which Count Lechi has spent a great deal of pains ; it serves at least to show the outlines of the hills behind Brescia. If you have had any experience of photographs taken from a distance of about 24 km. (15 English miles), you will not be surprised that their height is not imposing in the photograph. But their presence is an impressive feature of the landscape seen from Calvisano. Their dark grey sides towering up to a standing belt of clouds, which are torn in fantastic shapes by the winds scouring and buffeting the snow peaks behind, add to the landscape an air of strangeness and mystery ; just that sense of an infinite unknown, which lovers of Vergil know to be perhaps the most characteristic thing in all his pictures of nature.

It is not much, you may say, to be able to identify a particular site with a particular ancient name ; and yet in this case perhaps it is not altogether a waste of time, at least if we may hope that we have formed some picture of the lovely land which fed the imagination of Vergil when he was a child.

Let me add a postscript suggested by the two inscriptions on which much of this case is based. What are they ? One is a rather

¹ IV., 278.

² There is also a small intermediate stream whose name I have not yet ascertained.

³ Again there is a small intermediate stream whose name I have not found.

costly votive offering made by a mother for the safe recovery of her daughter. The other is an even more costly tomb erected by a husband for himself and his wife and his mother ; and on the inscription he goes out of his way to mention another¹ member of the home much less nearly connected to him, if connected to him at all save through his wife. And all over the district round Brescia and Mantua tombs with these long lists of members of a family occur with great frequency. Does not that remind us that in this Northern Venetic² region there was something particularly strong about the tie that bound together members of the same family ? It may well recall also the familiar passage at the end of Book II. in the *Georgics*, where Vergil recounts the delights of the farmer's own life at home. It is not merely that he has plenty of simple fare and interesting work ; not merely that he is removed far from the anxieties of the politician or the soldier ; the central thought is of his intimacy with the land, with the workmen whose toil he shares, with his countrymen and small grandchildren (*patriam paruosque nepotes*) whose food his labour earns. This connexion between the ties that bind a man to his land and those that bind him to his own family, has been nobly expressed by a living poet, Mr. Herbert Trench, when he depicts the feelings of the young French conscripts in 1914 fighting for France, in his " Battle of the Marne " from which I venture to quote a part of the concluding stanzas :—

It is the race creates our soul
By touches many-fingered.
It is our land that makes the soul to sing
In beauty like the forest's murmuring.
As prisoners speak from cell to cell
By beatings on the wall,
So speaks to us out of her shrine,
This sea-beat France, this Gaul—
As a God might speak unto a vine
Travelling across his temple-wall
By impulse from the divine
Upheaved through the familiar ground—
Throbbings of our own heart-beats, our own nation.

¹ See p. 192 n.

² See *Great Inheritance*, pp. 191-5 ; and note that one of Vergil's detractors, quoted by Macrobius (V., 2. 1) called him in reproach *Veneto*, adding *inter silvas et frutices educto rusticis parentibus nato*.

And Beauty is that language of the race,
 O beauty is the tongue,
 In which—be it lived or sung—
 With utter selflessness of mood,
 Into the daring instant's time and place
 The small immediate life is flung
 With the careless gesture of infinitude.
 Thus is upheaved the Nation . . .
 Ascending to the future like a song.

But if you asked Mr. Trench whence he drew his belief in what he calls the 'familial' spirit, that is, in the love of family and fatherland, as being near the root of what is best in human nature, he would tell you, I believe, even if you did not discover it from his writings, that he had first learnt it from Vergil.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

A. *On the Life of Vergil attributed to Probus.*

Nettleship's admiration for Probus (expressed in the 4th Edition (1881) of Conington's *Virgil*, p. lxxv.) is based on the comments explicitly assigned to him by Gellius and others, not on the commentary on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* which passes under his name but which contains matter in many respects dissimilar. In any case the brief life of Vergil stands on a different footing from the "commentary" to which it is prefixed, and which has rather the appearance of a miscellany of Vergilian criticism drawn from several sources, some of which were exceedingly good and early, and some much later, as every one admits. Nothing is more probable than that the compiler of such a handbook for teachers (perhaps in the fifth century A.D.) should introduce it by a short summary of Vergil's life, especially if he found one so good which bore the name of so high an authority as Valerius Probus of Berytus. No doubt the compiler abridged it in taking it over. And that so devoted a student and interpreter of Vergil as Probus is likely to have made some notes on his life can hardly be doubted. The question which has been hotly debated for the last sixty years is whether the contents (so far as they go) of the actual document which we possess, are worthy of Probus. It is so short, so interesting and so inaccessible to English students that I venture to trespass upon the indulgence of the Editor of this BULLETIN so far as to reproduce it here. The text is that given by Diehl (*Vitae Verg.*, Bonn, 1911, p. 33), except that in two places where the reading of the MSS. differs (in the order of the words after *primumque* in the second sentence, and *cauisset* near the end) I have followed that of the first edition, that of Egnatius (Venice, 1507); and that in places where all editors admit that there is a lacuna in the text, I have inserted in italics the kind of restoration which appears to me possible.

Vita Vergiliana Valerii Probi.

P. Vergilius Maro natus Idibus Octobris Crasso et Pompeio consulibus matre Magia Polla, patre Vergilio rustico uico Andico, qui abest a Mantua milia passuum XXX, tenui facultate nutritus. sed cum iam summis eloquentiae doctoribus uacaret, in belli ciuilis tempora incidit, quod Augustus aduersus Antonium gessit, primumque post Mutinense bellum *<ager eius in praemium uictoriae destinatus, deinde abreptus distributusque post Philippense bellum>* ueteranis, postea restitutus beneficio Alfeni Vari, Asinii Pollionis et Cornelii Galli, quibus in Bucolicis adulatur : deinde per gratiam Maecenatis in amicitiam Caesaris ductus est. uixit pluribus annis liberali in otio, secutus Epicuri sectam, insigni concordia et familiaritate usus Quintili, Tuccae et Vari. scripsit Bucolica annos natus VIII et XX, Theocritum secutus, Georgica Hesiodum et Varronem. Aeneida ingressus bello Cantabrico, hanc quoque ingenti industria, *<ab Augusto ut opus maturaret appellatus, per reliquam uitam elaborabat>*. ab Augusto usque ad sestertium centies honestatus est. decessit in Calabria annum agens quinquagesimum et primum heredibus Augusto et Maecenate cum Proculo minore fratre. cuius sepulcro, quod est in uia Puteolana, hoc legitur epigramma :

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

Aeneis seruata ab Augusto, quamuis ipse testamento cauisset, ne quid eorum, quae non edidisset, extaret [quod et Servius Varus hoc testatur epigrammate :

‘ iusserat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis
Vergilius, Phrygium quae cecinere ducem.
Tucca uetat Variusque ; simul tu, maxime Caesar :
non tibi, sed Latiae consulis historiae.’]

Every one admits that the portion in [] was added by the compiler. This *Life* was criticised at length by G. Thilo of Heidelberg, the late joint-editor of Servius, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch*, XL. (1894), pp. 290-304, where he repeats and amplifies the objections raised in a Bonn dissertation by A. Riese in 1862. In 1906, E. Norden followed on the same side (*Rhein. Museum*, LXI., p. 171) with an article in which there was nothing new but a rather surprising violence of tone, which suggests the impatience of one determined to be speedily quit of an unexpectedly complex theme,—*improvisum aspris ueluti qui sentibus anguem pressit, humi nitens, trepidusque repente refugit*.

These criticisms, which I have studied with care, appear to me a mere tissue of guesses, involving assumptions possible only to persons who know nothing of the district of Mantua. Norden accepted a statement made to him privately by some unnamed acquaintance in Rome that the scenery of Pietole harmonised well with the descriptions of Vergil's *Eclogues* ; and Thilo calmly took for granted that within three Roman miles of Mantua there was some ‘ridge of hills sinking into the plain !’ Had the Universities of Heidelberg (in 1894) and Breslau (in 1906) no good maps of Northern Italy ?

Apart from his own guesswork, the only criticisms which Thilo offers on the *Life* are concerned (1) with Keil's certainly inadequate restoration of the fragmentary sentence which refers to *Mutinense bellum*, on which restoration no more words need be wasted; (2) with the statement that Proculus was younger than Vergil, which by combining ingeniously a string of notes from different sources Thilo proves to be incompatible with the theory given in Suetonius that Eclogue V. was a lament for the death of another brother Flaccus. But that theory, which is quite unsupported and was never in the least credible, has been finally put out of court by Mr. Drew's careful investigation (*Cl. Quart.*, XVI. (1922), p. 57) of that Eclogue. We know from Donatus that Valerius Proculus was Vergil's half-brother, *alio patre*; a statement for which I find now welcome confirmation in an inscription of Verona (*C.I.L.*, V., 3409) on a tomb built by a lady named *Magia Procula*, the daughter of one *C. Magius* who was a *Sevir Augustalis* of that town. The combination of the names vouches for an association between the families; there is nothing to prevent our supposing that this *C. Magius* (Proculus) was a cousin of Vergil's half-brother.

(3) Thilo's third serious criticism is of the formation of the local adjective *Andicus* which appears only in this *Life*, and which he supposes to betray "African Latin." On the contrary it is excellent evidence, to any student of the ethnica of ancient Italy, that the biographer was using first-hand information; for this local suffix appears close by in *Arelica* (the ancient name of Peschiera), in the *pagus Farratic-(anus)* of *C.I.L.*, V., 4148, and in the villages *Betriacum*, *Erbuscum*; and it is characteristic alike of Liguria (as in *Ligusticus*, *Marici*, *Venascum*), of the Gauls (*Gallicus*, *Boicus*, *Avaricum*), and of the Veneti (*Veneticus*, *Carnicus*; *Benacus*, *Messanicus*; *Longaticum*). The form has been also vindicated by O. Brugmann (*Idg. Forsch.*, XXVI. (1910), p. 128). On the ethnological significance of the suffix the curious may find full information in the article *Volsci* in the *En-cycl. Britannica* (Ed. XI). Lest any reader should be disturbed by the doubts of two such scholars as Thilo and Norden, let me add that the weight of authority is strongly against them. The excellence and early date of the material from which this *Life* has been drawn was recognised not merely by Nettleship but by three other eminent scholars who like him made a lifelong study of ancient commentaries, Jahn, Keil and Ribbeck; and from a different point of view, and very emphatically, by Mommsen (*C.I.L.*, V., p. 406) whom Huelsen follows (in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclo-p.* s.v. *Andes*). Martin Schanz (*Röm. Literatur*, Ed. 3, Munich, 1911, p. 32), though he gives more than enough room to Thilo's views, still puts the *Life* first in his list of Vergil-biographies, calling it, quite truly, a 'skeleton of facts.' Some of these facts, as we have seen, are very interesting and not so precisely recorded, if recorded at all, by any other authority.

B. On the events underlying Eclogues I. and IX.

On this question the balance of probability seems to me, as (apparently) to Mommsen (*C.I.L.*, V., pp. 406 and 414) and to one of the latest editors of the *Eclogues*, Prof. E. Stampini, to lie with the view quoted in the Servian Commentary ('non nulli,' Serv. Dan., *ad Ecl.* IX., 11; 'quidam,'

Schol. Bern., *Praef. ad Ecl.* IX.) viz. that [in spite of Octavian's ruling] Vergil was finally expelled. This is the natural implication of the two Eclogues as they stand, and it is supported by Martial (VIII., 56, 7-10) who tells us that when Vergil had lost his farm and when Tityrus was mourning for his stolen sheep, Maecenas 'rescued him from poverty,'—not that he restored him to his original farm. At the end of the *Georgics*, Vergil himself tells us that they were written near Naples; we have already seen (p. 186 n.) a possibility that before then he may have stayed for a time near Tarentum. The view of the commentary (though not of the *Life*) attributed to Probus (Hagen, p. 328) that the events of Eclogue I., are later in time than those of Eclogue IX., and that the poet deliberately mystified his readers for a courtly motive, is intrinsically improbable. There is nothing in any part of Vergil's work later than these two Eclogues to prove that at the time when it was written he was living in the N. of Italy.

The Servian commentary further implies (Serv. Dan., *ad Ecl.* IX., 10, 11, 27; so also the Bernese Scholiast in his Preface to this Eclogue) that the change in Vergil's prospects was connected with the replacement of Pollio (*fugato Pollione*) as Governor of Cisalpine Gaul by Alfenus Varus. From the same authority (on *Ecl.* VI., 6) we learn (a) that Varus protected Vergil from a second expulsion; yet in his note on IX., 10 he states (b) that thanks to the *iniquitas* of Varus the Mantuans had nothing left to them but marsh-land (*nihil praeter palustria*) although he adds a quotation, from an orator whom he calls Cornelius, showing (c) that Varus had been commanded to leave them three miles of territory all round the walls.

From this Thilo (l. supra cit., pp. 290 and 302) wished to infer that Vergil's estate lay within the three-mile limit, but (apart from the geographical absurdities discussed above in Note A) the assumption is gratuitous. If we argue, as Thilo does, that from the final description of the fate of the Mantuans, cooped up in their own lagoons, the estate of Vergil was excepted, though Servius does not say so, then there is no reason whatever why it should not have been equally excepted from the confiscatory enactment confining the territory of the town to three miles from its walls. If the statement (b) above requires modification by statement (a), so does statement (c) which is contained in the same note as statement (b).

Our trouble arises wholly from the lamentable process of repeated abridgment which all ancient commentaries have undergone in course of their transmission. We may note as an example that the high authority of the extended version of the Servian commentary (Serv. Danielis) has been brilliantly established by Prof. E. K. Rand in his admirable paper on Donatus (*Cl. Quarterly*, X. (1916) p. 158); where the reader will find evidence, incidentally, of the strange perversity of judgment which dogged Thilo's learning.

In this matter of the confiscation, restoration, and final loss of Vergil's farm the successive abbreviators had an unusually trying problem. They had to deal, as practically all students of the question have agreed, with a series of events, any one of which might be briefly described in much the same terms as the rest. Those who think with me that the authority of Probus is incomparably superior to every other, will see that the first step was taken *post Mutinense bellum*, in 43 B.C.; in the restoration printed

above (Note A) to complete this sentence of Probus I have conjectured that it took the form of some promise to the soldiers (of lands in N. Italy) to be carried out when Brutus and Cassius should have been finally defeated. The fulfilment of the promise, so far as it would injure Vergil, was more than once hindered, with Octavian's sanction, and probably at Gallus' entreaty, first by Pollio and then by Varus. But the clamour and violence of the veterans, which Octavian was then powerless to resist, and which proved nearly fatal to Vergil's personal safety, in the end carried the day. All Octavian could do was to allow his wealthy supporter Maecenas to compensate Vergil for his terrible loss, immediately, no doubt, in hard cash, and before long by the gift of an estate in Campania. Among the stages of the loss the scattered fragments of the commentaries give us glimpses (1) of an appeal to Octavian; (2) of Pollio's protection; (3) of Octavius' Musa's delimitation; (4) of Octavian's new instructions (whatever they were) to Varus; (5) of Varus' final decision; (6) of a violent attack (or attacks) on Vergil's land by veterans discontented with the land granted to them. But so far as I can see we have no means of knowing how far these events actually took place in this order, save that the first three preceded the second three. (1), (2) and (3) may have happened in any order, and so may (4), (5) and (6), save that (4) preceded (5) if the orator "Cornelius" spoke truth.

But from the uncertainties of these fragmentary comments we may at least appeal to Vergil himself. As Thilo saw (*loc. cit.*, p. 302) the tone of the 1st Eclogue is mournful, indeed bitter. The reference to the Civil Wars (ll. 71-2) is overt and the soldiers are 'unnatural' and 'barbarous'; and though Meliboeus is surprised at Tityrus' fortune, he does not envy him (l. 11) for remaining in such a scene of turmoil and cruelty. But Thilo has not noticed, what is not less important, the complete difference of tone in Eclogue IX. Even where the confiscation is described, not *discordia* but merely *fors* is blamed; and the contrast is not between barbarians and peaceful cultivators (*barbarus has segetes*, l. 72) but merely between *carmina nostra* and *tela Martia* (IX. 12). Moeris, the servant of Menalcas, is on speaking terms with the new *possessor*, and though he curses that possessor's kids, he is taking them to market for him. The entreaty to Varus which he quotes was no more than *superet modo Mantua nobis*, that the existence of Mantua should be secured—an entreaty which in fact was granted. And all the poems cited are from some time which seems long ago—some are half-forgotten. Since he wrote them, the poet seems to have "suffered a sea-change" as Shakespeare might have called it. And now it is clear there are many things in his mind besides the sad topic of the lost farm, which is mentioned for the last time in l. 29, indeed it would be truer to say in l. 16, since l. 29 only reports the prayer which has, in fact, saved Mantua from destruction. And in the remaining forty lines we find that the exiled Moeris is expected still (ll. 30-31) to keep bees and cows, and to rejoin his master soon (l. 67) and to hear more of his songs; so both he and Menalcas are clearly on the other side of any actual danger. Further, and most significantly, one of the poems recalls the great hopes of the new peace celebrated—clearly at an earlier date—in Eclogue V. (possibly even, though less clearly, recalling Eclogue IV.). And at the end, what are the last words,

which to every Roman ear would give the omen and key-note of the whole poem? *melius canemus* 'we shall sing better songs'; whereas Eclogue I. ends with the beautiful but grave prognostic of increasing gloom—*maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae*. The shadows were very thick in the years 43, 42 and 41.

What then is Eclogue IX. and when was it written? Surely it is a typical case of the *praeteritorum malorum secura recordatio*. Eclogue X. has been proved (see p. 187 sup.) to be a summary account of the poetry of Vergil's bosom-friend Gallus; is not the Eclogue that precedes it best regarded as containing something like a summary of Vergil's own past work, with specimens (a) of his purely rustic pastorals (23-25), (b) of his political appeal (27-29), (c) of his Theocritean romancing (39-43), and (d) of his prophecies of the new age (47-50)? Is there any topic in the preceding eight Eclogues which these four quotations do not represent—save the praises of Gallus in Eclogue VI? There was no need to allude to that poem; for it was more Gallus than Vergil, and Eclogue X. was to take up that theme again. By the time Vergil wrote this Eclogue, and ended it with *melius canemus*, was he not already bidding good-bye to his early work and all its beloved surroundings, and reaching out to the vaster issues of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*?